“All the aids which a beginner needs”: James Summers’ (1828-1891) research on Chinese grammar

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Major conventions

In principle, when quoting passages from James Summers and his contemporaries, their own transcription and glosses are adopted, unless the translation they provide contains obvious mistakes. If glosses or transcriptions are not provided by the authors, they are added in square brackets. In other cases, for instance, when analysing Summers' work and his examples (that is, outside of a quotation), the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* transcription is employed without square brackets. When citing modern sources, *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* is used, and translations are provided where necessary. Finally, all quotations are cited literally from the original works, without any corrections, even if there are obvious mistakes, unless otherwise indicated.

The first couple of words in the book titles are used as abbreviations to refer to the book, unless otherwise indicated (cf. Appendices 1–2).

When referring to the sections of this dissertation, it always means the section in the same chapter, unless otherwise indicated.

Part I: Introduction

1. Research in the context of the historiography of linguistics

This dissertation deals with the works on Chinese grammar by James Summers (1828–1891), the second professor of Chinese literature[1] at King's College London and the first professor who conducted systematic research on Chinese grammar in Britain.[2] It is a study that lies within the field of the historiography of linguistics.

The historiography of linguistics "can be defined as 'the undertaking of writing the history of the study of language'" (Swiggers 2017, p. 74).[3] The discipline focuses on how and why people acquire, describe, explain, and diffuse linguistic knowledge (Brekle 1986, p. 4; Swiggers 2010, p. 2; 2017, p. 80). It involves all aspects related to language, such as linguistics, history, philosophical thought, science and sociology (Brekle 1986, pp. 2–3; Koerner 1995b, p. 13; Swiggers 2010, p. 2). Linguistic historiography has many purposes, for example, to deepen our understanding of historical facts related to the development of linguistics, to contextualise and evaluate previous and current linguistic research, and to preserve and pass on the linguistic knowledge accumulated in the past to future generations.

Interest in the history of linguistics can be traced back to at least the nineteenth century (cf. Koerner 1990, pp. 65–69; 2020, p. 5), but it was not recognised as a scientific discipline until the 1970s (Koerner 2002, p. 374; 2020, p. 4; Swiggers 2010, p. 1). Although this field has become a well-established discipline, it has been quite Eurocentric ever since its inception. According to the table of contents of the influential journal, *Historiographia Linguistica* (1974–2021), from the 1479 total papers published in the journal, only forty-three are relevant to non-Western linguistic traditions, which is less than three percent. The number is excluding some research on non-Western languages conducted by Westerners, such as Yang (2014). The

[1] It was a professorship of "Chinese literature" (*The Calendar of King's College London for 1853–1854*, 1853, p. 22), although the professors needed to teach the Chinese language as well. On the title page of his *A Handbook of the Chinese Language* (1863a, hereafter: *Handbook*), Summers' title is "professor of the Chinese language and literature". Here the official appellation "professor of Chinese literature" in the *The Calendar of King's College London* is employed.

[2] There were two professors of Chinese language and literature in Britain before Summers, i.e., Samuel Kidd (1804–1843) of the University College London and Samuel Turner Fearon (1819–1853) of King's College London. The former had several publications concerning the Chinese language and culture (1838, 1841, etc.), but his research on the Chinese language was basically about Chinese characters without delving into detailed and systematic analysis of grammar. No publication on Chinese language from the latter, Fearon, has been found to date. There is no extant document about his inaugural lecture, either (Kwan 2012, p. 47).

[3] Koerner distinguished between the history of linguistics and a rigorous discipline—the historiography of linguistics, which is "conscious of methodological and epistemological requirements in adequate history-writing in linguistics" (1995d, p. 3). With regard to the definition of the historiography of linguistics, I follow Swiggers (2017) here.

reasons for this Eurocentrism are summarized by Seuren (1998, pp. xii–xiii) as follows: most of the non-European linguistic traditions were focused on interpreting religious classics and were developed for political or commercial interests, which is different from the philosophical origin and scientific analysis of the European linguistic tradition. More importantly, European linguistics is independently developed and received almost no influence from non-European linguistics. Even nowadays, the history of linguistics still focuses on the West.

Up to now, a broad spectrum of research has been conducted in the field. Koerner summarized three types of studies in the field of the historiography of linguistics (Koerner 2020, p. 24): the first type of study is dedicated to the general theories and methodology of the historiography of linguistics, such as Brekle (1986), Koerner (1987, 1995b, 2002, 2020), Zimmermann (2004), Swiggers (2010, 2017) and Zwartjes (2012; with Hovdhaugen 2004). The second type of research focuses on more specific topics, such as the development of a particular trend or thought, for example Koerner (1975), van Driel (1992), Collinge (1995), Graffi (1998) and van Driem (2005). The third type deals with the works and thoughts of individual scholars, such as the research by Kemp (1986) and Solleveld (2020). This dissertation fits into the third category because it is dedicated to the works of an individual, i.e., James Summers.

The historiography of linguistics, of course, can also focus on the history of studying a specific language. This dissertation is directly related to that of the Chinese language, especially the history of European research on Chinese linguistics. In other words, this research is positioned between Chinese and Western historiography of linguistics. Summers published a series of works concerning the Chinese language. These works are part of a tradition of Western writing about the Chinese language that commenced at least as early as the seventeenth century.

1.1 The research on the Chinese language by early Western scholars

When Europeans started to sail to other parts of the world on an unprecedented scale from the fifteenth century onwards, scholars, who had been exposed to local cultures and, in their eyes, "exotic" languages, set out to compile dictionaries and write manuals or grammar and language textbooks. Many of them were also missionaries at the same time and therefore often translated the Bible into other languages. These works laid the foundation for their evangelization efforts (Hovdhaugen 1996, p. 15). Some of these works have been preserved up to the present, among them the oldest extant grammar book about a variety of the Chinese language (i.e., the Southern

Mǐn)[4] called *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu*, which dates back to 1620 AD by an unknown Spanish missionary (Klöter 2011a, p. 3; 2012, pp. 39–41). The first extant Mandarin grammar book, *Grammatica linguae Sinensis* (1651–1653), was compiled by Jesuit Martino Martini (1614–1661) later in the seventeenth century (Paternicò 2013, p. 15).

Before the nineteenth century, European scholars were mainly intrigued by the "ideographic" Chinese characters, and they commonly described the Chinese language as a monosyllabic and monolinguistic language. With the opening-up of China during the nineteenth century, more and more information about its languages was transferred back to Europe and the abovementioned views were challenged. Whether Chinese is a monosyllabic language was debated (cf. Chapter 4 of this dissertation), more research on the varieties of Chinese language was published (cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 10, etc. of this dissertation), and the "ideographic" feature of Chinese characters was questioned (cf. Chapter 2 of this dissertation). At the same time, Chinese got entangled with the historical-comparative, kinship and typological trends of nineteenth-century linguistics (cf. Chapter 2 of this dissertation).[5]

Beginning in the twentieth century, these multifaceted materials attracted increasing academic attention (Paternicò 2013, p. 13), as these works are a treasure of information and ideas. For example, Chappell and Peyraube (2014) and Tola (2018) investigated research on Chinese classifiers, and Gianninoto (2014a) presented the word classes and the technical terms employed by the missionaries. Some studies focus on a singular scholar or book, such as Klöter's (2011a) work on the *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu*, Uchida's (2011) and Levi's (2007) work on the lexicological and grammatical research of Joaquim Gonçalves (1781-1834) and his ideas about language acquisition, Bauer (2013) and Sòng Nán's (2017) dissertations on Georg von der Gabelentz's (1840–1893) *Chinesische Grammatik* (1881) and Lundbæk's (2009 [1991]) research on Joseph-Henry-Marie de Prémare's (1666–1735) *Notitia linguae Sinicae* (1831).

Other studies compare different editions of the early publications and trace how they circulated. For example, Paternicò (2013) described the development of Martini's *Grammatica linguae Sinensis* and analysed its editions from linguistic and documentation perspectives. Lǐ Zhēn's (2014) research on Prémare's *Notitia linguae Sinicae* and Sòng Jú's (2011, 2013) works

[4] Southern Mǐn, a subgroup of Mǐn languages, is generally spoken in Quánzhōu and Zhāngzhōu in Fujian, Cháozhōu/Shàntóu and Léizhōu in Guangdong, Hǎinán and Táiwān, as well as Southeast Asia, like the Philippines and Malaysia (Lien 2017, p. 19), with a total of fifty million users (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2022).
[5] This history of European views of the Chinese language is summarized according to Gianninoto and Casacchia (2017, pp. 520–525).

on the different versions of Thomas Wade's (1818–1895) *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* (1867) also belong in this field.

The "extralinguistic" perspective opens up the discussion on the history of linguistics against its socio-cultural background, including topics like the language attitudes and choices of the missionaries.[6] For example, while debating whether there was a shift of the standard language from Nanjing-Mandarin to Beijing-Mandarin in the mid-nineteenth century in China, Rokkaku claimed that in 1876, Beijing Mandarin was taught instead of Nanjing Mandarin in Japan for the invasion and occupation of Northern China (1992 [1988], pp. 77–87). Klöter (2011a, pp. 34–38; 2017, pp. 76–78) discussed the different language choices of China-based Jesuits and Philippine-based Dominicans.[7]

Some scholars have tried to reconstruct the vernacular Chinese language (namely its phonology, grammar and lexicon) of different historical periods on the basis of the records of early sinologists. For example, Qián Nǎiróng (1997, pp. 7–10) and Jiāng Ēnzhī (2011) reconstructed the phonological system of Shanghainese[8] in the nineteenth century based on the works of missionaries such as Joseph Edkins (1823–1905). Coblin (2000) summarized the features of Mandarin in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) by referring to the works of missionaries and other scholars. Zhāng Měilán (2007) explored the vernacular lexicons of Beijing Mandarin based on Wade's *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* (1867). Chappell (2000) conducted comparative research on grammatical features of Southern Mǐn in the seventeenth century, to name just a few. The abovementioned academic studies were carried out from a perspective of historical linguistics rather than the historiography of linguistics.

1.2 Summers' works in between missionary linguistics and professional sinology

Missionary linguistics, one of the subfields of the historiography of linguistics, deals with the didactic and applied linguistic works by missionaries and for missionaries, most of which applied the Greco-Latin model to grammatical studies, while also taking the characteristics of the local languages into account (Zimmermann 2004, p. 7, p. 19; Zwartjes 2012, p. 193; with Hovdhaugen 2004, p. 2). Technically speaking, Summers' works do not belong in this area for three reasons: first, he primarily worked as a professional academic; second, university students

[6] For more about historical sociolinguistics, see for example: Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy (2012, p. 1).
[7] The Jesuit mission was firstly established in China in 1579, and the Dominicans arrived in Manila and firstly encountered the Chinese language in 1587 (Klöter 2011a, p. 34).
[8] Shanghainese, one of the Wú dialects, is mainly spoken in Shanghai, a city with almost twelve million residents today. Around seventy million people speak a variety of Wú dialects (Hóu Jīngyī 2002, p. 67).

were his target readers; and third, basically, he did not have the intention to evangelize people through most of his works. Still, his works are similar to those missionaries' works in the sense that he adopted many of their ideas and concepts, and he himself had worked as a missionary in China for four years (1848–1852). He had the chance to be exposed to Chinese spoken by native speakers, just as other missionaries. Later on, he served as an Anglican Reverend. His works also include translations of the Bible and other Christian works. More importantly, his publications on the Chinese language are didactically oriented, just like many missionary manuals, as opposed to being theoretical linguistic treatises.

In the first six years of his teaching activities at King's College London from 1854 to 1860, Summers was engaged in the student interpreter programme in cooperation with the Foreign Office. Qualified students of Summers would be sent to China to be interpreters (cf. Chapter 1 and Kwan 2014a, pp. 41–42). His most comprehensive monograph, *Handbook* is dedicated to the education of these students (Summers, 13 April 1861). His goal of teaching the Chinese language and writing Chinese grammars was not to cultivate future sinologists or to conduct theoretical linguistic research but to achieve a practical purpose: to teach the Chinese language to native English speakers as fast and effectively as possible. His dedication to Chinese language acquisition can be observed in his later works after the termination of the interpreter programme, especially in *The Rudiments of the Chinese Language* (1864a, hereafter: *Rudiments*). However, after the publication of *Rudiments*, Summers stopped compiling Chinese manuals but, instead, devoted himself to other pursuits, such as editing and publishing.

As mentioned above, Summers had first-hand experience as a former missionary encountering the "living" Chinese language. Vernacular Chinese was undoubtedly one of his primary concerns while teaching and compiling his books (although it was not the only concern): *The Gospel of Saint John in the Chinese Language* (1853b, hereafter: *Gospel*) is on Shanghainese, while *Handbook* and *Rudiments* are on Mandarin. Since the mid- to late-nineteenth century, many European diplomats or missionaries who returned to Europe from China after finishing their duties were appointed at universities. Humboldt University of Berlin (formerly known as Friedrich Wilhelm University) established an institute for Oriental languages (Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen) in 1887, with the very practical aim of teaching diplomats languages, including Chinese. Carl Arendt (1838–1902), a former diplomat in Beijing for twenty years, held the position from 1887 to 1902 (Hammer 2005, pp. 4–5; Lǐ Xuětāo 2008, pp. 39–40). Prior to that, Gustaaf Schlegel (1840-1903) assumed the post of Chinese professor at Leiden in 1877 to train interpreters. He took up the post after his travels to China and other Asian countries where he had served as a court interpreter (Sybesma 2017c,

p. 538). Even earlier in 1869, the Polish interpreter Alexandre Kleczhowski (1871–1886) held the post at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in France to teach vernacular Chinese (Demiéville 2006, p. 205).[9] One can see that many of these positions were for teaching vernacular Chinese. Summers, as the third professor of Chinese in Britain, was one of the trendsetters, whose duties included training interpreters in Europe in colloquial Chinese.[10]

These scholars are quite different from the so-called "armchair sinologists", who were professionally trained scholars based in Europe yet never had a chance to expose themselves to the Chinese language and culture in China. Such sinologists include Christian Mentzel (1622–1701), Antelmo Severini (1828–1909), Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832), Antoine Bazin (1799–1863), and Stanislas Julien (1797–1873).[11] They learnt about the Far East from the manuscripts and books by missionaries, merchants and diplomats. Many of them initially specialized in fields other than sinology, such as Manchu, Sanskrit and Classics. Their research on the Chinese language came from a philological perspective, based on texts instead of colloquial language. Chinese characters especially caught their attention. Their intent on learning Chinese was to conduct research on the varieties of the Chinese language, on Chinese as an Oriental language, or on the language as a tool for studying Chinese history, philosophy, and literature (cf. Dǒng Hǎiyīng 2005; Demiéville 2006; Alleton 2017; Walravens and Behr 2017). Therefore, the Chinese language was their research tool and also their research subject.[12]

Summers' works also share some features with those of the armchair sinologists. Summers was one of the earliest chairholders of Chinese-related professorships in Europe. He also worked in the British Museum Library and the India Office Library (cf. Chapter 1). Summers had access to many academic works, including works from China and other East Asian countries, as well as classical and up-to-date research from Europe. These works laid the theoretical foundation of his research and expanded his interests from the Chinese language to almost all aspects of China and other parts of Asia—such as literature, history, business and

[9] The first Italian professor who went to China as an interpreter was Lodovico Nocentini (1849–1910), and he held the chair at Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale" and Sapienza Università di Roma (1849–1910, Gǔ Qiànxī 2021, p. 3). He did not need to teach interpreters so he did not focus on vernacular Chinese.

[10] The first professor of King's College London, Fearon, was a diplomat in China. He also paid much attention to colloquial language teaching (Kwan 2011, p. 148). Before Fearon, Kidd held such as chair in University College London after he learned Hakka and Mandarin in Malacca (Kwan 2014a, p. 38).

[11] However, in France, we see a different situation. In 1843, a chair of vernacular Chinese was created at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris (Alleton 2017, p. 479). The first professor of Chinese was Bazin, who held the position till his death (1863), and he was succeeded by Julien (1863–1869, Demiéville 2006, pp. 204–205). Both Bazin and Julien were armchair sinologists, and they are exceptional cases in the applicational trend in sinology.

[12] Summers pointed out that Europeans who only learnt Chinese in their home countries probably cannot be understood by native Chinese speakers, due to "[the] want of practice in speaking, and also the differences of dialects, and the use of book-words for colloquial" (1865c, p. 465, footnote).

society—including the culture of minority ethnic groups in China (cf. Liú Shūmò 2020). His constant curiosity about Chinese and Asia-related topics is an essential quality for a sinologist. The works also reveal his strong interest in Chinese texts. For example, in his *Handbook*, examples from Chinese classical works are explained and analysed (cf. Chapter 3). At the same time, he compiled two academic journals to introduce the East and a magazine to advertise the West (cf. Chapter 3). For Summers, one reason for learning (not teaching) the Chinese language was therefore to understand Asian cultures and further introduce them to Europe. In other words, the Chinese language was his research tool.

While Summers held the chair at King's College London, he was the only professor of Chinese in Britain. At the same time, some renowned scholars held Chinese professorships in other European universities. In Germany, Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889) became a professor at the University of Berlin in 1838 and conducted much research on Chinese and other Asian languages. He started optional Chinese language and philosophy courses in 1883 (Lǐ Xuětāo 2008, pp. 36–37; Walravens and Behr 2017, p. 528). In the Netherlands, J.J. Hoffmann (1805–1878) became the first professor of Chinese and Japanese based in Leiden in 1855, but he mainly focused on Japanese research (Sybesma 2017c, p. 538, p. 540). In fact, as early as 1853, J.J. Hoffmann had already pointed out that vernacular Chinese should be the focus of learning and teaching. However, he never travelled to China, and he did not teach vernacular Chinese (Kuiper 2017, p. 23, pp. 90–91). Instead, his lectures covered Chinese characters, pronunciation, grammar, translation and Chinese culture (cf. Kuiper 2017, pp. 82–101). In Italy, Severini was appointed professor for Far Eastern languages in 1863. He studied Chinese history and politics and taught Chinese and Japanese, using one of Julien's works as a textbook (Zhāng Yǒngfèn and Bái Huà 2016, pp. 167–168). In France, Julien taught Chinese at the Collège de France. Although he did not systematically analyse the Chinese grammar, he would summarize Chinese sentence structure rules when explaining original Chinese texts (Demiéville 2006, pp. 201–202). In other words, Chinese texts were his primary teaching material. At the same time, he also held the professorship at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, where vernacular Chinese was taught. While holding this position, Julien published a vernacular textbook *Ji-tch'ang-k'eou-t'eou-hoa dialogues chinois* (1863) to teach Chinese. It was based on a vernacular Manchu-Chinese manual *Ts'ing Wan K'e Mung* (清文啟蒙 *A Chinese Grammar of Manchu Tartar Language*, 1730), written by the Chinese bannerman Wǔgé 舞格 (dates of birth and death unknown, Takekoshi 2015, pp. 66–69). Unlike most European professors of Chinese, Summers' central duty at King's College London was to teach Chinese.

However, similar to them, Summers also devoted himself to other academic-related work besides teaching, for example, editing journals and working in libraries, as mentioned above.

Hence, rather than a theoretical linguist, Summers was a Chinese teacher, a sinologist and a cultural ambassador who considered language a key to accessing the other curious parts of culture (cf. Summers 1853a, pp. 10–11). His works and teaching activities should be viewed as a hybrid of missionary linguistics and professional sinology.

Summers' Chinese works have caught some attention in the academic world, though so far, no systematic investigation of his works has been carried out. The earliest research on Summers' works was by Gabelentz in 1878. He introduced two of Summers' works very briefly, pointing out that Summers was heavily influenced by Edkins and Schott (p. 628), a point that is also presented in this dissertation. However, Gabelentz did not mention John Daniel Morell's (1816–1891) influence on Summers' syntactic research (cf. Chapter 9). Much more recently, Fāng Huánhǎi and Yú Hǎikuò (2012, 2013) and Liú Shūmò and Fāng Huánhǎi (2013) translated some of Summers' works into Chinese. In 2018, Aichi University of Japan conducted some research on Summers' works on Chinese, and a collection of papers was published. The collection, called *Research on Chinese and Japanese Lexicons* (No. 8), includes papers on Summers' ideas about Chinese nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and Six Scripts (Zhū Fèng 2018; Okumura 2018; Chiba 2018; Shioyama 2018 and Ibushi 2018). Chiba (2021), Shioyama (2021), and Ibushi (2021) did research on his ideas on copulas, existential verbs, prepositions, and adjectives. Other studies include Chén Jié (2012), Zhái Wén (2014), Fāng Huánhǎi and Lín Xīn (2015), and Chén Wēi (2016). In addition, some articles about his life have been published (e.g., Shigehisa 1932; Shōwa[13] 1956; Brown 1967; Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004; Koyama 2007; Nakagawa 2008). Among them, the most informative ones are the works of Kwan (2014a, 2018) and Akaishi (2021).

2. The aims of the present study

As mentioned above, Summers' works on the Chinese language have not yet been studied systematically or holistically. So far, his ideas have not been discussed in the context of works published by scholars before and after him in order to place his contributions to Chinese linguistics into a broader historical context. This desideratum is what this dissertation aims to fill.

[13] "Shōwa" is short for "Shōwa Joshi Daigaku Kindai Bunka Kenkyujo" in this dissertation.

This dissertation does not intend to reconstruct the grammatical system of the Chinese language of the nineteenth century based on Summers' works,[14] nor does it try to judge to what extent Summers' records reflect the Chinese language of his time. Instead, it aims at presenting a comprehensive picture of the nature of Summers' research: what he did, how he did it, and why he did it in the way he did.

My focus is on Summers' ideas on Chinese grammar. The term "grammar" is employed here in a general sense, basically referring to morphology and syntax, and excluding phonology and semantics. The Chinese writing system and transcription methods are mentioned only briefly (Chapter 10). In particular, I am interested in the following issues:

(1) What are Summers' ideas on Chinese grammar, in particular morphology and syntax, as presented in all his works? How did he present these ideas and why did he do it that way?

(2) What is the source of Summers' ideas? Compared to his precursors, what are Summers' innovative ideas regarding the abovementioned topics?

(3) To what extent did Summers inspire his contemporaries or successors with regard to their research on the Chinese language?

The word "Chinese" is used rather loosely in this dissertation. It is sometimes used to refer to the Chinese language in all its varieties in time and space (for example, "Chinese is a tonal language"). At other times, it is used to refer to the (court) language that Summers described or to refer to the current Chinese koine, also known as "Mandarin" or "Mandarin Chinese". When dealing with a specific variety of the language, the name of that particular topolect is applied, such as Shanghainese or Cantonese.[15]

Regarding the historical periodization of the language and its terminology, the dissertation follows Peyraube's (2017, pp. 346–349) summary of the generally accepted periodization (based on Chinese phonology): the language before the *Qiēyùn* (切韻 *Spelling the Rimes*, 601 AD) is termed Old Chinese; that between the *Qiēyùn* and *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* (中原音韻 *Rimes according to the Pronunciation of the Central Plains*, 1324) is Middle Chinese; that between 1324 and mid-Ming dynasty (the beginning of the sixteenth century) is termed Old Mandarin, and the language after the mid-Ming dynasty is termed Modern Mandarin. The terms "classical

[14] Although chapter 10 of this dissertation presents the phonological and orthographic system shown in Summers' works, the dissertation does not aim at reconstructing the Chinese language of the nineteenth century in any sense (phonological system, lexicon, etc.).

[15] Cantonese, i.e., the dialect of Guǎngzhōu is the most prestigious dialect of the Yuè dialects, mainly spoken in Guǎngzhōu, Hong Kong and Macau, other cities situated in the Pearl River Delta, and some areas in the middle and northern Guangdong province. There are around eighty million speakers of Yuè dialects inside and outside China (Hóu Jīngyī 2002, p. 174, p. 176).

Chinese" and "literary Chinese" refer to the premodern written register, whose standard archetype is the Chinese language in the Warring States period (475 BC–221 BC), in contrast to the vernacular style.

3. Framework and methodology

The first three chapters set the stage for the following major chapters of the dissertation. Chapter 1 sketches Summers' time and life on the basis of secondary and primary sources, such as manuscripts and newspapers. Chapter 2 overviews the linguistic tradition in Europe and China briefly, with a section dedicated to Summers' ideas on the Chinese script, followed by Chapter 3, an introduction to Summers' sinological works. The bulk of this dissertation consists of seven chapters on monosyllabism, morphology, parts of speech, classifiers, particles, syntax, and phonology and orthography, respectively. Most of these main chapters comprise five parts.

The first part of each of these chapters introduces the main topic of the chapter from a general point of view, often with reference to some modern views. The purpose of presenting the modern views is not to set a "standard" or a goal for Summers to reach, nor to claim that there is a "correct" approach (which would easily lead to the fallacy of disparaging the past by extolling the present—*yǐ jīn fēi gǔ* 以今非古) or to discount the contribution of Summers and other earlier scholars in this field more generally.[16] Instead, these introductions aim to point out the problems scholars face while studying the Chinese language. According to the theory of uniformitarianism, [17] human beings remain approximately the same biologically, psychologically and socially throughout time. The past can hence be deduced from an analogy of the present, and the basic principles and rules of today can be deployed to explain the past (Labov 1972a, p. 275; 1972b, p. 828; Christy 1983, pp. ix–x; Koerner 1995b, pp. 63–64; Lass 1997, pp. 25–29; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012, pp. 24–25; Bergs 2012, p. 82; McDonald 2020, p. 146). Therefore, this thesis assumes that currently unsolved puzzles also challenged early scholars in their learning, teaching, and research. The first part of each chapter then sets the stage for introducing and analysing the ideas and contributions of Summers and his contemporaries.

The second part of each of these chapters presents and analyses Summers' ideas with a focus on his metalanguage, i.e., the terminological language that he utilises to describe the

[16] For more on the approach of *yǐ jīn fēi gǔ*, see Klöter (2011a, p. 14).
[17] Uniformitarianism is firstly brought up by geologist James Hutton (1726–1797) in 1785 (Christy 1983, p. ix). It is widely adopted in historical research, such as historical sociolinguistics (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012, p. 24).

object language, Chinese (Koerner 1995b, p. 31; Crystal 2008, p. 302). According to Klöter (2011a, p. 84, p. 90), the "metalanguage" embraces more than only the "language" or words. All tools used to analyse the Chinese language should be viewed as the metalanguage, including the macrostructure of the works, the tables and all that has been mentioned or left out on purpose. Therefore, besides focusing on the words or language that Summers used or the detailed examples that he provided, other relevant elements will also be taken into account, such as the macrostructure of his works (cf. Chapter 3; the introduction of his *Handbook*).

The language employed in this thesis while analysing Summers' ideas must also be considered a metalanguage according to Koerner (1987, p. 13; 1995b, p. 28). Three basic principles raised by Koerner will be followed (Koerner 1989, pp. 25–26; 1995b, pp. 17–18, pp. 41–42; 1995c, pp. 13–14): (1) the Principle of Contextualization—The historical background has to be taken into consideration adequately while studying the texts, especially the "general intellectual currents of the time", including the social, economic, and political context; (2) the Principal of Immanence—The analysis of a text has to be based on the text itself and not on modern ideas or concepts; (3) the Principle of Adequation—When necessary, modern concepts and terms, provided with a clarification, can be used to explain old texts to modern readers. This last principle will only be applied when the first two principles are strictly followed. It reminds us to avoid anachronisms in our own writing or confusing the terms and their related concepts in history and today (Bergs 2012, pp. 82–84).

The third and fourth parts of these chapters present influential ideas in the works of Summers' precursors and investigate his impact on the literature of his respective successors. On most occasions, the terms "precursor" and "successor" refer, respectively, to scholars whose grammatical works were mentioned and criticized by Summers, and to those who read and commented on Summers' works, regardless of whether any direct influence can be traced between their works and Summers'.

Almost all research is built on what precedes it, and Summers' is no different. His thoughts on Chinese, including his detailed analyses, terminology, and general approach, were rooted in preceding linguistic research and formed against a special historical, scientific, sociological, and political background. For that reason, the third part of each major chapter will first sketch an outline of the linguistic background by introducing the Western and Chinese traditions and the *Zeitgeist* of Summers' time. I follow Yáo Xiǎopíng (2003a, pp. 112–113) by distinguishing four types of relevant historical sources, which are listed as follows:

(1) definite evidence affirmed by the author himself: this is the most reliable evidence, which serves as the preferred source of this dissertation. In other words, while discussing

which works influenced Summers, those works must be clearly referred to by Summers himself. In the preface of his *Handbook*, Summers commented on many sinological works. Titles of other sinological or linguistic works are mentioned in other places of Summers' monographs and articles. They are counted as definite evidence of the potential influences that Summers got from his predecessors. Works with just one mention in some section or chapter of Summers' works might have a particular influence on that part. For example, Summers mentioned a syntactic work (1852, 1853) by Morell in his *Handbook* only once, i.e., in 'Chapter II. Syntax' (1863a, pp. 97–190). It is, therefore, plausible that Morell inspired Summers' research on Chinese syntax. After presenting Summers' own views, the source of Summers' ideas will be traced to clarify his contribution to the field. The "definite evidence" is also applied to Summers' influence on his successors, namely those scholars who mentioned Summers and his works.

(2) secondary evidence stated by informed contemporaries and friends: in this thesis, the works by those who were associated with Summers will also be taken into consideration. This will help especially to justify Summers' influence when it comes to the works of his students, because Summers taught Chinese at King's College London for twenty years. Several of his students became well-known scholars, who compiled and published works on sinology.

The definite and secondary types of evidence mentioned above will be the major criteria when discussing influences on and of Summers in this dissertation. In this way, the likelihood of possible chains of influence is maximized.

(3) conditions: this refers to the context or historical background of Summers' research, i.e., the historical context of nineteenth century Britain and China, the European linguistic tradition and the Chinese linguistic tradition, which must all have left some trace in Summers' research. This kind of evidence is, however, not as reliable or direct as the definite and secondary types of evidence and will therefore only serve to "back up" the context. When Summers' ideas cannot be deduced from some definite and secondary evidence, conditional evidence will be taken into consideration cautiously.

(4) affinity: this kind of evidence is mainly based on the comparison between the content of the texts and the convergence of the terminology. Similarities in content can emerge from imitation or plagiarism. However, it can also just be a case of "great minds thinking alike". Therefore, in this dissertation, affinity will be combined with other types of evidence in order to avoid the arbitrary association of two random texts. Resemblances in wording, which are similar to "textual parallels", coined by Koerner (1987, p. 23), are

rather different from affinity as such. Although it is not the primary concern of this dissertation, textual parallels will also be considered by combining them with definite evidence. In other words, if the wording and phrasing of Summers are similar to that of others whose work has been mentioned by Summers, a strong influence is assumed.[18]

The works regarding the Chinese language that influenced Summers or were influenced by Summers have been selected according to the abovementioned conditions. A list of them can be found in Appendices 1 and 2, with a brief introduction to each of them.

[18] The discussion of different types of evidence is based on Chén [accepted]. These four types of evidence are named as *zhǔzhèng* 主證, *fùzhèng* 副證, *tiáojiàn* 條件 and *lèitóng* 類同 respectively by Yáo Xiǎopíng. In my consultation with Yáo Xiǎopíng, he stated that the terms were coined and the arrangement of them are organized by himself to research *Mǎshì wéntōng*. I want to express my gratitude to Professor Yáo Xiǎopíng for answering my question. A similar methodology can be traced back to Chinese philologist Gù Yánwǔ (顧炎武, 1613–1682), although he used different terms in his works. In order to scrutinize the pronunciation and the meaning referred to by the characters in *Shījīng* (詩經 *The Book of Songs*, 800 BC–600 BC), Gù Yánwǔ proposed to rely on *běnzhèng* 本證 'evidence provided in the book itself' and *pángzhèng* 旁證 'evidence from other contemporary books', supported by other evidence (The original text reads: "列本證、旁證二條。本證者，《詩》自相證也。旁證者，采之他書也。二者俱無，則宛轉以審其音，參伍以諧其韻" 1982 [16??], p. 35, punctuation added). *Tiáojiàn* and *lèitóng* therefore fall under "other evidence". Gù Yánwǔ's method is based on that of the two late-Ming-dynasty scholars (cf. Xǔ Sūmín 2006, pp. 287–289). The term *pángzhèng* can be traced further back to *Táng lǜ shū yì* (唐律疏議 *Commentaries on the Law of Tang*, 652 AD), where *pángzhèng* refers to the evidence provided by witnesses (Zhōu Mì 1986, p. 42, in Yáo Xiǎopíng's term, *fùzhèng*), which is opposed to a statement by the accused (in Yáo Xiǎopíng's term, *zhǔzhèng* or in Gù Yánwǔ's term, *běnzhèng*). *Lèitóng* is also used as a term of comparative literature, referring to the resemblance in style, structure and ideas between two unrelated works (Diāo Shàohuá 1990, p. 113).

Part II: Summers' works and their historical background

Chapter 1. Summers' life and times

This chapter provides the historical background of Summers' times and briefly introduces his life, focusing on his professional life as a professor of Chinese.

1.1 A brief introduction to Summers' life and the historical background of his works

Summers' life can be divided into five stages with four pivotal turning points, excluding his birth in 1828 and death in 1891: going to Hong Kong in 1848, being imprisoned in Macau in 1849, returning to Britain and assuming the post of Professor of Chinese literature at King's College London in 1852, and leaving for Japan in 1873.

1.1.1 Humble origins and the trip to Hong Kong

James Summers[19] was born on 5 July 1828 (Koyama 2007, p. 1) in Lichfield, Staffordshire, England and was baptized on 30 July 1828 in St. Mary, Lichfield, as an Anglican Christian (*Register of Baptisms in the Parish of St Mary in the City and in the County of Lichfield*, 1828, p. 97). Summers only received an elementary education in Staffordshire. He then worked as a master in the National School at Penkhall for over three years from 1845.[20] Before Summers

[19] Summers has many Chinese names. Nowadays in China, he is often addressed as *Sàmòsī* 薩默斯 or *Sūmóusī* 蘇謀斯, as a transliteration of his family name. His other names based on transliterations are *Sàmò* 薩默 and *Cénmǎshì* 岑馬士 (Mǎ Jǐnqiǎng 2004, p. 2). However, Summers called himself *Shēnyǎkè* 申雅客, *Xīnmáshì* 心麻士 (cf. Chapter 3) and *Sùmǎmáshì* 宿馬麻士 (No. 1, 1866) and *Xīnmǎshì* 心瑪士 in the *Flying Dragon Reporter* (No. 5, 1866). Wáng Tāo (1828–1897, cf. Chapter 3) also addressed him as *Shēnyǎkè* in his *Mànyóu Suílùtú Jì* (漫遊随录图記 *Roaming Notes with Illustrations*, 2004 [1890], p. 156). Another Chinese name that Summers gave himself was *Zuǒmáxū* 佐麻須 as published in his Japanese newspaper *Tai Sei Shimbun* 大西新聞 (cf. Kwan 2014a, pp. 27–28). I was unable to find a photo of Summers, but we do know something about what he looked like. In the records of the Indian Office, Summers was described as 5 feet and 5.5 inches tall with brown hair, grey eyes, and a fresh complexion (IOR/L/MIL/11/281/1620/007).

[20] The school was run by Rev. Samuel Minton (Stanton, 25 November 1852), a vicar who wrote a letter of recommendation for Summers when he applied for the "professor of Chinese literature" post at King's College London. After Summers got the post, the newspaper *Staffordshire Advertiser* reported this news with a brief introduction to his life in Staffordshire: "[w]e learn with satisfaction that Mr. James Summers, a native of Lichfield, who was for some years a pupil in the Training School established here by the Diocesan Board of Education, is elected professor of Chinese literature in King's College London. He left the school to become master of the National School, Penkhull, where he remained for more than three years, until he went to China, in connection with the British chaplaincy established at Hong Kong. He is returned at the end of three years and a half, and has just received the honourable appointment named above" (*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 1853a). "National Schools" were supported by the church and provided elementary education to the children of the poor (Alexander 2011). Akaishi (2021, pp. 4–5) reports that Summers' study in the Training School lasted for a year (September 1844–October 1845), and then he worked in the National School. Foster (1887–1888) records that Summers was from Titchfield (p. 1317). However, based on what was shown in the local newspapers, Summers was born in Lichfield, which sounds or looks very similar to "Titchfield", which might have been the cause of confusion in the registration.

Akaishi claimed that Summers taught the students in the National School by observing the Monitorial System (2021, pp. 5–6). The gist of this teaching method is that the teachers firstly teach the superior students and then

became a professor at King's College London, he had never followed formal higher education.[21] Although one can deduce from his works that Summers had ample working knowledge of English (as his native language), Greek, Latin, German, French, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean as well as some basic knowledge of Hebrew and Sanskrit, there is no evidence that he received any systematic training in linguistics.

During the nineteenth century, Britain colonized large areas in North America, Africa, Australia, and Asia and became the "Empire on which the sun never sets", with its economic and political powers extending over the whole world (Marshall 2004, p. 1; Levine 2007, p. 105). Especially with the help of the completion of the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century, Britain's national productivity and economic strength were significantly enhanced (Matthew 1993, pp. 442–448) and thus became representative of a thriving and flourishing Europe. In contrast, a different picture was shown on the other side of the continent in the Qing empire of China (1644–1912).

Before the eighteenth century, Europeans had a rather positive view of China and the Chinese language, and they admired Confucianism and the Chinese civilization. Summers himself observed that "[t]he colouring of every thing that concerns the Chinese has been heightened by the romantic accounts of this nation given by the early historians of the East, and the imagination has supplied much that was not found in the reality" (Summers 1863a, p. v). From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, this attitude changed, and it plummeted after China's defeat in the Opium Wars (Xavier and Trujillo-González 2019, pp. 7–8). The Qing Empire was swaying in the storm of internal and external strife, finally coming to its end (Jones and Kuhn 2008, pp. 107–162). China lost many wars and signed a number of treaties, which were to its disadvantage. Among them, the *Treaty of Nanking* was signed in 1842 after China was defeated in the First Opium War (1840-1842) by Britain. Britain occupied the island of Hong Kong as its colony according to the treaty. Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo and Shanghai were opened as treaty ports, where the British were allowed to live and establish

let them teach the inferior ones (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2020). This method was appropriately considered more suitable for big classes with many students, but later when Summers was teaching Chinese at King's College London, there were not enough students for this kind of method.

[21] However, afterwards, in 1857, Summers took the entry examinations to Oxford University. The examinations were about classical humanities, including ancient Greek tragedies, Cicero's *Catilinam* and Euclid's *Geometry* (Kwan 2014a, p. 40). This shows that he did not study linguistic-related discipline at Oxford. In the nineteenth century, the professorship of linguistic-related subjects was established in many universities, and in Oxford, there were also such chairs established (Davies and Lepschy 1998, pp. 7–10; Ziegler 2000, p. 93). Therefore, Summers' knowledge concerning linguistics, including terms and the notion of metalanguage, is a result of learning other languages and reading linguistic studies by others. Knowledge of more traditional linguistics was inevitable because he studied Ancient Greek and Roman literature.

consulates.[22] In 1844, America and France successively signed treaties with the Chinese government so that they could gain the same benefits as the British (Zhāng Jiànhuá 2001, pp. 83–84; Qū Wénshēng 2017, p. 100). These five ports became essential to the West and were frequently visited by missionaries and merchants (Zhāng Jìng 2001, pp. 42–43). Thus, the varieties of the Chinese language in those five cities became the main focus of study for many British scholars, and manuals and dictionaries about them were published. Branner even claimed that these five ports are the birthplace of modern Western linguistic sinology (1997, p. 235).

In this context, Summers went to Hong Kong in 1848 and stayed for approximately four years in China. In his description of the situation in China, he summarized China as an "isolated position" with "exclusive policy" and "heathen darkness" (1853a, p. 35). At the same time, he tried to depict China objectively and neutrally and avoid both the "romantic […] imagination" (1863a, p. v) and the "ignorant […] prejudice" (1863a, p. xxi–xxii) of China and its people, language, and culture that were current in the West at that time.

1.1.2 Summers in Hong Kong

Summers was invited to Hong Kong[23] as a missionary and a preceptor (i.e., headmaster, cf. Sweeting 1990, p. 146) in 1848 by Rev. Vincent John Stanton (?–1891), a member of the Church Missionary Society.[24] In 1843, Stanton was appointed as a presbyter by the Bishop of Hertfordshire and the first Colonial Chaplain of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong by the British government (Kwong 2013, p. 254; Akaishi 2021, p. 6). He established St. Paul's College there in 1849–1851, where Summers worked (Kwan 2014b, p. 81; Akaishi 2021, p. 6).[25] The college taught Chinese natives English and religion. At the same time, the preceptors at the school could also gain some experience, training both their Chinese language and proselytising skills (Kwan 2014a, p. 31; 2014b, pp. 91–92).[26] This position as a preceptor (Carl

[22] This summary is based on Wakemann Jr. (2008, p. 173, pp. 178–185, pp. 192–195, pp. 211–212).
[23] It is said that Summers always dreamt of becoming a diplomat (Shigehisa 1932, p. 319; Koyama 2007, p. 1; Kwan 2014a, p. 45), and working in Hong Kong might have been a good opportunity to get closer to his dream (Shigehisa 1932, p. 319).
[24] Akaishi speculated that Minton and Stanton knew about each other and that Minton recommended Summers for the post in Hong Kong (2021, p. 6).
[25] The predecessor of this college was established in 1848 and Summers worked there upon his arrival (Akaishi 2021, p. 6).
[26] St. Paul's College was not the only western school for Chinese natives and newly arrived missionaries established in China. The Anglo-Chinese College, for one, was founded by Robert Morrison (1782–1834) in Malacca in 1818 and later moved to Hong Kong (Masini 1997, p. 13; Kwan 2014b, pp. 83–85). It was considered to have been the best Chinese school in the Far East in 1825 (Masini 1997, p. 13). Morrison was a member of the London Missionary Society, whose main goal in sending missionaries to China was not preaching religion but to translate the Bible. Therefore, studying the Chinese language became the primary job of the newly arrived.

Smith collections, CS/1015/00145549) was to become the prelude to Summers' later post in King's College London (cf. Section 1.2).

Summers was a diligent student of Chinese under the guidance of some native speakers (Summers, 24 November 1852), and he was also a capable assistant to Stanton. He lived as a guest with Stanton's family. In 1850, Stanton recalled:

> I found great difficulty in procuring a suitable Assistant. However, in the autumn of 1848, Mr. James Summers arrived from England, and immediately devoted himself to the study of the Chinese language, in which he has ever since been making rapid progress.[27]

1.1.3 Summers in the dispute of power

As mentioned above, Britain was not the only foreign power that kept up diplomatic relations with the Chinese government. There were moreover continuous disputes among the colonial powers. Summers, unfortunately, got involved in a religious and diplomatic incident in Macau, which reflected ongoing conflicts between Britain and Portugal and between different religious denominations (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, pp. 3–4, p. 59).

After the Portuguese settled in Macau during the sixteenth century, Catholicism became the dominant Christian denomination there (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, pp. 10–11). During his 1849 trip to Macau, Summers as an Anglican, refused to remove his hat to show his respect in a Catholic Corpus Christi procession. For this reason, he was imprisoned on 7 June 1849 (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, p. 18; Kwan 2014a, p. 45). The British Captain Henry Keppel (1809–1904) heard about this but failed to set Summers free in negotiations the next morning, so he raided the prison and saved Summers by force later that day. As a result, one Portuguese soldier died and several were injured (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, pp. 18–20; Koyama 2007, p. 1; Kwan 2014a, pp.

Chinese natives could also learn English and European literature in the missionary schools (Sū Jīng 2005, p. 5, p. 10, p. 56).

Up to 1860, Catholics built 371 schools in the regions of the Southern Yangzi River with a total of 5,510 students (Shǐ Shìwēi 1983, cited in Zhāng Jìng 2001, p. 45). These schools were not very large and often provided free food and accommodation and waived tuition fees in order to attract more students (Zhāng Jìng 2001, p. 45). Chinese people could learn about religious doctrines there as well as receive education in Western languages and scientific knowledge (Kwan 2014b, pp. 85–86). Among all of the church schools in Hong Kong and mainland China, more than ten women's schools were established. This was a shock to the traditional Chinese notion: "ignorance is a woman's virtue" (Zhāng Jìng 2001, pp. 45–46).

In Europe, the first college for educating native Chinese missionaries, Collegio de' Cinesi, was built in Naples in 1724 by the Italian missionary Matteo Ripa (1682–1746) and was approved by the Pope in 1732. It was the only institution for Chinese studies in eighteenth-century Europe (Masini 1997, pp. 7–8; Casacchia and Gianninoto 2011, p. 49; Gianninoto 2018, p. 162).

[27] This was written by Rev. Stanton, cf. *The West of England Conservative, and Plymouth and Devonport Advertiser*, 1850.

45–46). This startled the governments of Britain, Portugal and other countries that had embassies in Macau (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, p. 34). The Portuguese government tried to negotiate with the British government after the incident. It was not until 1850 that the British Navy finally denounced Keppel's behaviour and promised compensation (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, p. 21).

This case must be understood within a highly complicated political context. The forceful reactions on the part of Keppel and Summers were seen as Britain trying to challenge the powerful status of Portugal in Macau; meanwhile the Portuguese themselves demonstrated their grip on the region in their punishments (Mǎ Jǐnqiáng 2004, p. 4). Colonists from the West regarded China as a big cake, from which each country wanted as large a slice as possible. The case of Summers is just one example due to these circumstances.

This incident had a life-long impact on Summers. When Summers applied for a post in the Foreign Office of Britain in 1861, there was still some discussion about his imprisonment in Macau even inside the office (Kwan 2014a, p. 44–45). In *The London and China Telegraph* that year, Summers' case was again brought up, with accompanying negative comments (1861a, p. 219). This case nearly put an end to Summers' dream of becoming a diplomat (Kwan 2014a, pp. 45–46) because of his "stubborn and volatile character" (Koyama 2007, p. 1).[28]

In September 1850, Summers left Hong Kong for Shanghai after he resigned from the college due to the new requirement that all tutors had to be official clergymen, unluckily Summers was not. In Shanghai, he continued his teaching and missionary duties, hired by the Bishop of Shanghai of the Protestant Episcopal Church Mission, American missionary Boone, and British missionary Hobson, the colonial chaplain at Shanghai. He also learnt Shanghainese.[29] Two years later, in 1852, he went back to Britain.[30]

1.1.4 Back to Britain

At the end of 1852, Summers was appointed Professor of Chinese Literature at King's College London. He held the position for more than twenty years. On 23 April 1853, after assuming the post in King's College London, Summers married Jane Frankland, née Colling,[31] who

[28] Oddly enough, in 1890, one year before the end of his life, he failed to raise his hat again and was considered disrespectful to the empress dowager of Japan. As a result, he was injured by a soldier by mistake (Koyama 2007, p. 2). Two incidents about the lifting of hats make Summers sound like fortune's fool: one was in his twenties, the starting point of his career; the other was nearing the end of his life. That Summers was often bad-tempered is confirmed by William Jones Boone (1811–1864) and John Hobson (1849–1862, cf. Akaishi 2021, pp. 10–11).
[29] Summers' experience in Shanghai is summarized from Akaishi (2021, pp. 8–10).
[30] Shigehisa (1941, p. 344) argued that Summers also went to Beijing and Tianjin. No direct evidence for this claim has been found yet, as stated by Akaishi (2021, p. 17).
[31] Her birth and death dates are unknown.

originally came from the United States (*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 1853b).[32] His second wife was Ellen Williams (1843–1907). Altogether, he had nine children (Koyama 2007, p. 2).[33]

1.1.5 Leave for Japan

In 1873 (Summers, 27 June 1873), Summers resigned the post at King's College London and left for Japan to teach English and English literature at several universities, such as one of the precursors of University of Tokyo – called Kaisei Academy at the time, and in Niigata English College (Shōwa 1965, pp. 23–24). He was considered a trailblazer in translating Shakespeare's works into Japanese (Shigehisa 1932). In 1891, he passed away in Japan and was buried in the Foreigners' cemetery of Yokohama (Shōwa 1965, p. 27).

1.2 Summers' professional life

In 1814, the first Chinese-related professorship in Europe, called the Chair of Chinese and Tartar-Manchu Languages and Literature (*Chaire de langue et littératures chinoises et tartares-mandchoues*), was established in France, and Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat was appointed as chair holder. Research on China and Chinese consequently began to shift into a more professional and academic direction (Lundbæk 1995, p. 49; Casacchia and Gianninoto 2011, p. 50; Wesołowski 2011, p. 20; Zhāng Xīpíng 2017, p. 1).

In order to improve their understanding of China, the British—among other Europeans, such as the Germans and the Dutch—established some domestic institutions of Chinese language and culture. The earliest institution for teaching the Chinese language in Britain was the Language Institution for the Propagation of Christianity, founded by Morrison in 1824 (Kwan 2014b, p. 85). Morrison's student Samuel Kidd (1804–1843) began teaching Chinese at University College London in 1837 and became the first Professor of Chinese Language and Literature in Britain (Sū Jīng 2005, p. 58; Hú Yōujìng 2009, p. 12; Kwan 2011, p. 128). King's College London established a chair in 1847 and appointed Samuel Turner Fearon (1819–1853) as the first professor (Kwan 2011, pp. 139–142). Then in 1875, James Legge (1814–1897) became the Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford (Hú Yōujìng 2009, pp. 70–71). Wade assumed the post of Professor of Chinese at the University of Cambridge in 1888 (Hú

[32] His marriage was also recorded in Carl Smith Collection (CS/1015/00145539). However, the date of marriage was "30, June" by mistake in this collection.

[33] Brown (1967, p. 9) mentioned that Summers had two wives. But there is no further information on what happened to his first wife. No obituary or death record was found. Needham (2020, pp. 52–54, cited by Akaishi 2021, p. 15, p. 19) pointed out that Summers left his first wife before he went to Japan and then started his second marriage with Ellen, who had two children from a previous marriage.

Yōujìng 2009, p. 81), but this was only the beginning. As a result, research on the Chinese language and culture became firmly established in British scholarship step by step.

Sir George Thomas Staunton (1781–1859) played a crucial role in establishing the chair for Chinese literature at King's College London. Staunton was a scholar of Chinese culture and acted as a diplomat in China. Morrison was a close friend of his. When Morrison passed away, Staunton decided to establish a Chinese professorship at a British university and donate the books left by Morrison. The first chair was therefore established on his initiative at University College London in 1837. Kidd became the first professor of Chinese Language and Literature, and his contract lasted for five years. Later, Staunton decided to move the chair from University College London to King's College London.[34]

In the spring of 1852, Summers sailed back to Britain. He lived with Rev. Samuel Minton in Liverpool[35] until Capt. Peter Cracroft (1816–1865)[36] recommended him to apply for the post at King's College London. Rev. Vincent Stanton supported Summers' application for the post, writing three reference letters for Summers. In his letters, Summers was referred to as being "diligent" regarding the study of the Chinese language (Stanton, 23 November 1852).[37]

Staunton's attitude towards the candidates for the post held a lot of weight (Kwan 2011, pp. 135–149). For his final call to the chair, Summers retained life-long gratitude to Staunton, and dedicated one of his books to Staunton.[38] His appointment as Professor of Chinese Literature came into effect at the end of 1852.

1.2.1 Summers as a professor

At King's College London, the study of Chinese was independent from the regular courses, and could be found on the list of "Extra Instruction" together with Hebrew, Spanish, vocal music and a number of other subjects, and Chinese courses were only "given within the walls

[34] My information on Staunton's role in establishing the discipline in Britain is based on Kwan (2011, pp. 128–129).

[35] The address of Summers' cover letter on 22 November 1852 is "The Rev. Samuel Minton's…Liverpool". The recommendation letter by Rev. Minton was from the same address. Minton also conducted Summers' wedding ceremony (*Staffordshire Advertiser*, 1853b).

[36] In Summers' letter, only Cracroft, his last name was written. His first name and year of birth and death are cited from Kwan (2014a, p. 33).

[37] Summers mentioned that the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), George Smith (1815–1871), also planned to write a recommendation to Staunton for him when Summers left Hong Kong (Summers, 22 November 1852). It is most likely to be true, though in the end, Summers did not submit any recommendation letter from Smith. Smith was also a teacher at St. Paul's College in Hong Kong (Sweeting 1990, p. 146). Summers was its preceptor so they must know about each other.

[38] Summers wrote on the flyleaf of *The Gospel of Saint John in the Chinese Language* that the book is "[d]edicated to that worthy friend of the Chinese, and liberal patron of Anglo-Chinese literature, Sir George T. Staunton" (1853b).

of the College" (*The Calendar of King's College London for 1853–1854*, 1853, p. 67). For students of Chinese, there were no rules regarding regular hours of attendance issued by the University. Not many students took up the challenge of studying Chinese. After Summers' appointment, the number of students gradually increased. His most renowned students were Robert Kennaway Douglas (1838–1938, cf. Kwan 2018, p. 57), who succeeded Summers as Professor of Chinese Literature after Summers resigned in 1873 (*Edinburgh Evening News,* 1873), Edward Harper Parker (1849–1926) who became a historian and a philologist (Branner 1999, pp. 12–13; Kwan 2018, p. 57); William Marsh Cooper (1833–1896), Arthur Davenport (1836–1916) and William Frederick Mayers (1831–1878), who became diplomats (Zhāng Hóngshēng 2000, p. 319; Yǐn Wénjuān 2020, p. 34).[39]

Since 1854, King's College London had a connection to the Foreign Office. The college taught Chinese to prospective interpreters, who would then work in China. Before they were allowed to work for the Foreign Office, they had to prove their level of proficiency in a competitive examination. Being the professor of Chinese, it was Summers' task to instruct these students (Kwan 2014a, pp. 41–42). Twenty-one students of his were appointed in China until the termination of the programme in 1861 (Summers, 13 April 1861).[40] The effect and result of Summers' Chinese courses are summarized by a comment from one of his students:

> I studied Chinese under the outstanding guidance of Professor Summers. I learnt one thousand words within several months and some sentence patterns for daily conversation. When I arrived in China, I found the grammar and characters I learned very helpful. […] But on the other hand, because my pronunciation was not good, I felt sad and disappointed that Chinese people could not understand me when I repeated the sentences I had learnt so diligently. (Davenport 2000 [1879], pp. 307–308, translation mine)[41]

[39] Parker mentioned another two students of Summers in his book (1902), i.e., Sadler and Bryson. The latter ended up in Hankou, China (Parker 1902, p. 207). Another two students of Summers were mentioned in *The London and China Telegraph*, namely a Mr. Forrest and a Mr. Adkins (1861b, p. 141), both of whom became diplomats. However, no further information was found about them, including their full names. It is said that Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929), who turned to Japanology, was a student of Summers as well (Todd 2007, p. 1; Kwan 2014a, p. 29, etc.). However, Akaishi (2021, p. 17) strongly argued that he was not taught by Summers. Besides, Summers also taught English after he arrived in Japan. Among those students of his, there were many famous figures in history as well (cf. Kwan 2014a, p. 29; Akaishi 2021, p. 2).

[40] For more about the history of the programme, see Kwan (2014a).

[41] Another student of his, Parker, said that Summers' Chinese calligraphy was the best among all the Europeans he had ever seen, but that his "Mandarin" was lousy, and "did not in the least correspond with" Shanghainese, the Ningbo dialect or Cantonese (Parker 1902, p. 207). These three topolects are, of course, different from Mandarin, but one can deduce from his comment together with Davenport's that Summers' pronunciation of Mandarin was probably not very good.

Nowadays, Mandarin is the most commonly taught variety of the Chinese language in the world. However, in Summers' times, there was no consensus on which variety of Chinese should be learnt by students. Among the early missionaries, Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) paid more attention to Mandarin.[42] Protestant missionaries, by contrast, focused more on local Chinese topolects in their contact with the common locals in and outside China. They focused on the vernaculars, just as suggested by the Lutheran motto "to look on the mouth of the people" (Branner 1997, pp. 235–236; Klöter 2005, p. 91; 2011b, p. 244, p. 246). When the five abovementioned treaty ports were opened in 1842, the importance of studying the different topolects of these ports became apparent. The missionaries had to translate the Bible into different topolects, edit dictionaries and publish corresponding teaching materials.[43]

In his letter to Staunton, Summers emphasised that he could speak three varieties of the Chinese language, i.e., Cantonese, Shanghainese and Mandarin (Summers, 22 November 1852). This was confirmed by Stanton (Stanton, 25 November 1852). Summers himself argued that Shanghainese is the most important topolect for the British government because "[Shanghai] is yearly increasing in its commercial importance to England" (Summers, 22 November 1852). His argument served as advice for King's College London. In fact, Summers was following Stanton's suggestion in this, who had argued that Shanghainese should be the first Chinese topolect to be learnt by British students (Kwan 2014b, p. 95). Another reason why Summers recommended Shanghainese so fervently may have been that he himself felt confident to teach it. In his letter to Staunton, Summers said that he knew Shanghainese best of the varieties of Chinese that he was able to speak. After reading Summers' *Gospel*, Qián Nǎiróng (2014, p. 4) emphasised that Summers' record and analysis of the phonological system of Shanghainese in the mid-nineteenth century is basically correct. Despite this fact, however, Mandarin—more specifically Nanjing Mandarin—played the most important role in Summers' works, including his most thorough Chinese monograph, *Handbook*, which served as a textbook for students at King's College London (Summers, 13 April 1861). Regardless of his emphasis on Shanghainese in his letters, Nanjing Mandarin was indisputably the most important variety of the Chinese language in Summers' point of view. That is also why this dissertation mainly focuses on his research on Mandarin.

[42] This does not mean that the Catholic missionaries ignored the local vernaculars, but barely any extant materials can be found (cf. Klöter 2007, pp. 195–196; 2011b, p. 244).

[43] According to Yóu Rǔjié, there are in total more than 600 extant versions of the translation of the Bible into Chinese topolects and 249 different manuals, dictionaries, grammar books, etc. by Westerners (2003, p. 6). The missionaries also taught the Roman alphabetic orthographies to the local people in order to write their respective topolects. Those orthographic systems were very popular among illiterate believers and were used as a communication tool, especially in the southern Fujian region (Yóu Rǔjié 2003, p. 18).

However, "Mandarin" was not a simple and elementary concept. In his inaugural address (1853a, pp. 28–29), Summers mentioned the "universal spoken language" in China, which was used by officers and in court. This spoken language had two types: "[o]ne, taking its rise from Peking, spoken in the **extreme** north of China; the other, taking its rise from Nanking, is used **throughout** the central and southern districts" (p. 29, emphasis added). From the words "extreme" and "throughout", one can see that Summers observed that Nanjing Mandarin is more widely used and hinted that it is therefore worth learning. In his *Handbook*, Summers also emphasised that Nanjing Mandarin has the "correct sound" and is "the language of universal circulation" (1863a, Part II, p. 4). In the same book, he stated that Wade's *The Hsin ching lu* (1859) records Beijing Mandarin, which is "not employed throughout the provinces as Mandarin, except by the high officials who come direct from the northern capital" (1863a, p. x). Summers changed some words into their counterparts in Nanjing Mandarin from Beijing Mandarin while citing examples from Gonçalves' *Arte China* (cf. Appendix 1). Therefore, his *Handbook* is not based on Beijing Mandarin but on Nanjing Mandarin. There is some other evidence in his *Handbook* showing that Summers gave preference to Nanjing Mandarin, such as the five tones of Mandarin that he specified. Summers stated that sometimes he learned Mandarin with "a native of Peking" who stayed in Shanghai (Summers, 24 November 1852), which means that he showed at least some interest in the dialect from Beijing. However, from what has been mentioned above, the "Mandarin" that he described in his works and that he taught to his students was Nanjing Mandarin.

That being said, some features based on other varieties of the Chinese language can be found in the examples of his *Handbook*. The most important example is the AAB pattern of the reduplication of adjectives (cf. Chapter 5). Other examples are the word "*piĕ-t'eû* 鼻[頭] 'a nose,' met. 'a servant'" (1863a, p. 44),[44] the expression "*yiù-shă* 有殺 'has killed'" (1863a, p. 71)[45] and the demonstrative "*kó* 個" in "*kó-jîn* [個人] 'that man'" (1863a, p. 105).[46] However, the *Handbook* includes examples cited from Chinese literary works with some words or expressions not commonly used in Mandarin nowadays. For example, "*chūng-í* 中意 lit. 'hit the centre-idea,'–'please, suit'" (Summers 1863a, p. 73) is commonly used in Cantonese,

[44] *Bítóu* with the meaning "nose" and "servant" does not exist in present-day Mandarin, but can still be found in topolects like Shanghainese and Southern Mĭn (Xŭ Băohuá and Miyata 1999, pp. 6867–6868).
[45] *Yŏu* acting as an adverb denoting "already" appears in topolects in Fujian and Zhejiang (Xŭ Băohuá and Miyata 1999, p. 1750).
[46] Using *gè* as a demonstrative pronoun is a characteristic of Pekingese, Shanghainese, Xiang, Gan and Cantonese (Xŭ Băohuá and Miyata 1999, p. 373).

Shanghainese and Hakka[47] (Xǔ Bǎohuá and Miyata 1999, p. 711). However, in *Shuǐhǔ zhuàn* (水滸傳 *Water Margin*, fourteenth century), [48] one of the novels cited in the *Handbook*, expressions like *bù zhōngyì* 不中意 'not pleased' were listed (1997, p. 945). The language in *Water Margin* is a mixture of Shandong and Zhejiang topolects, and there are discussions about which topolect the fiction was based on (Lǐ Yǒnghù 2008, p. 82). For Summers, it was not easy to distinguish dialectal features, considering the time span of the Chinese language discussed in his works.

Although Summers considered Nanjing Mandarin to be the most widely used in China, six years after he returned to Britain, the *Treaties of Tianjin* were concluded after China's defeat in the Second Opium War in the year 1858 (Fairbank 2008, pp. 243–250). This series of treaties not only concerned Britain, but also France, Russia, and America (Gě Fūpíng 2014, p. 166). Hankou, Nanjing, and some other cities were opened to the West as treaty ports (Fairbank 2008, p. 251). The most important result of this treaty, however, was that it henceforth allowed foreign diplomats to enter Beijing (Fairbank 2008, p. 250). With this series of treaties, the sphere of influence of Western countries extended from the South to the capital of China. This was seen as the point where it became obvious to the British and other Westerners that they should urgently learn Beijing Mandarin (Kwan 2014a, p. 44). Besides, after the massacre and wars in Nanjing during the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), the dramatic decline of the local population reinforced the shift of the Westerners' interest in the Chinese language (Simmons 2020, pp. 22–24). Diplomats and missionaries are not linguists and their interest in a language is a merely practical one. The change in the political situation was followed by the change in the preference for the language in language teaching activities (Kaske 2008).

Most of the early missionaries and Western merchants before the mid-nineteenth century learnt and wrote about Nanjing Mandarin. Some of them, like Morrison, noted the rise of Beijing Mandarin, and still advocated learning the former (Morrison 1815b, p. xviii). After the mid-nineteenth century, some Chinese and European scholars like Summers still preferred Nanjing Mandarin (Simmons 2017, p. 68; 2020, pp. 24–32). The Nanjing pronunciation preserved more characteristics of classical Chinese; for example, the *Rùshēng* 入聲 'entering tone' made the Nanjing pronunciation more "orthodox" and was therefore favoured by

[47] Hakka is mainly spoken in central and Eastern Guangdong, Western Fujian and Southern Jiangxi, with around 44 million speakers (Hóu Jīngyī 2002, p. 155; Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2022).

[48] Summers' translation of the book is *Stories of Banditti* (1863a, Part II, p. 51). The formation of *Water Margin* was a long and complicated process. Here I follow the general concept and attribute the work to Shī Nàiān (fourteenth century, cf. Mair 2001, pp. 626–628).

conservative Chinese scholars (Kaske 2008, pp. 41–42). As a scholar, Summers considered Nanjing Mandarin to be the "correct sound", which did not reflect the state's urgent need to learn Beijing Mandarin.[49]

1.2.2 Summers' other duties

Summers continued his studies of Chinese with great enthusiasm and was eager to apply his knowledge to the field (Summers, 13 April 1861). This was one of the reasons why he also found employment in the British Museum Library from 1858 to 1859 (Harris 1998, p. 253) and later worked at the India Office Library in 1868 (Kwan 2018, p. 75).[50] These part-time jobs gave him the opportunity to get access to articles and books about the Far East, which helped him to improve his Chinese. It was to the advantage of these institutions that he could compile the catalogues for libraries in conjunction with deepening his previous knowledge about Asia. In the very beginning of his professorship, he did not "reach a proficiency as to be able to read and write [Chinese] like a native", but he was sure that he "[could] attain it with the foundation already laid" (Summers, 22 November 1852). He published some works on Chinese and he even studied Japanese, starting around 1864.[51] In 1868, he was able to deliver a speech on "Japan and the Japanese" (*The Hampshire Advertiser County Newspaper*, 1868). Besides, he registered as a student in Magdalen Hall at Oxford (Foster 1887–1888, p. 1371)[52] —though he never received a degree (Kwan 2014a, p. 40)—and held a position as a curate at Hitchin Church, Hertfordshire in 1863 (Koyama 2007, p. 1; Nakagawa 2008, p. 99). He was also a

[49] This could be one of the reasons why the Foreign Office terminated the interpreter plan with King's College London in 1861.

[50] Summers' professorship at King's College London carried an annual salary of 100 pounds (Staunton, 30 December 1852). Summers always suffered from some financial shortages in order to publish his journals (Shigehisa 1941, p. 350; Nakagawa 2008, p. 118). This could also be one of the reasons why Summers had part-time jobs since he had to make the ends meet.

[51] The essay 'The Japanese language and grammar' was published in *Chinese and Japanese Repository* (November 1864, pp. 151–158) and marks the commencement of Summers' study of Japanese (Nakagawa 2008, p. 107).

[52] Magdalen Hall became part of Hertford College in 1874 (Kwan 2014a, p. 40). Lundbæk wrote that Antonio Montucci (1762–1829) mentioned "a professor in the Hertford College" who was a teacher of the Chinese language, and this teacher was James Summers (Lundbæk 1995, p. 27, p. 52). When Montucci passed away, Summers was only one year old. Montucci, therefore, could not know that Summers would have become a Chinese teacher in 1852 and he registered in the predecessor of "Hertford College". In fact, Montucci only mentioned that there was one professor for Chinese at the Hertford College (Montucci and Morrison 1817, p. 17). "Hertford College" in this context, as correctly pointed out by Lundbæk, was the East India College at Hertford, which is different from the one at Oxford which Summers attended. "James Summers" was not a common name for Chinese teachers in nineteenth century Britain either. Therefore, Lundbæk might confuse the "Hertford College" Summers studied at and the East India College, and therefore considered Summers to be the Chinese teacher in Montucci's work.

corresponding member of the Ethnographical Society of Paris (C*hinese and Japanese Repository*, Vol. 1, 1863–1864, title page).[53]

The British Library is the national library of Britain. Its history can be traced back to the British Museum founded in 1753. Summers wrote to King's College London to request permission (7 June 1858) to work for the Department of Printed Books of the British Museum. The library of the British Museum held various sources for Summers' studies. Summers helped to compile the catalogue of the East Asian collections from August 1858 onwards (Kwan 2018, p. 66). Although he resigned approximately half a year later, he still helped as requested until 1865 (Kwan 2018, p. 66). From 1868, Summers worked in the India Office Library for about five years (Kwan 2014a, pp. 50–52).

The India Office Library was founded as early as 1789 (Datta 1966, p. 99). It held book collections from China, which were simply placed on the shelves and left there to be covered by dust until Dr. Fitzedward Hall (1825–1901)[54] became aware of these treasures (Summers 1872a). While working there, Summers finished his book *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Japanese and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office* (hereafter: *Catalogue*), which was published in 1872.

Summers kept good connections with these institutions,[55] so that he could still get access to the materials even when he did not work there. Besides his teaching commitment at the university and his work in the libraries, he managed to edit journals and publish books concerning Asian languages and cultures.[56] For instance, in 1873, Summers printed *Taisei Shimbun*, which was one of the first Japanese newspapers published overseas, although there was just one issue (Shōwa 1956, p. 21; Koyama 2007, p. 2, etc).[57] Summers' achievements not only reflect the fact that he had free access to important libraries, but also his diligence and hard work, as mentioned by Rev. Stanton.

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[53] The Ethnographical Society of Paris (Société Ethnologique de Paris) was established in 1839 and "became the example of the ethnological societies in England and America" (Vermeulen 1995, p. 28).

[54] Hall was the librarian of the India Office Library, an Orientalist, as well as professor of Hindustani in King's College London since 1862 (*The Calendar of King's College London for 1863–1864*, 1863).

[55] For example, after he stopped working formally in the British Museum Library, he still offered help to the library (Harris 1998, p. 253; Kwan 2018, p. 66).

[56] Publishers run by Westerners also emerged in the treaty ports and places like Hong Kong and Macau. Before 1899, there were already twelve such publishers (Yóu Rǔjié 2003, p. 5). The most important ones are: The Morrison Education Society, which moved from Malacca to Hong Kong together with Morrison's Anglo-Chinese College in 1843; The London Missionary Society Press, which was established in Shanghai by Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857) in 1843; and The American Presbyterian Mission Press, which was established in Macau in 1844 and moved to Shanghai in 1860 (Lǐ Bīn 1997, p. 105; Zhāng Jìng 2001, pp. 43–44; Yóu Rǔjié 2003, p. 5). From 1844 to 1859, 434 works were published by such publishers, including religious preaching materials, textbooks, dictionaries, and introductions to Western science (Zhāng Jìng 2001, pp. 43–44). Many famous scholars like Alexander Wylie (1815–1887) and Joseph Edkins worked for such publishers (Lǐ Bīn 1997, pp. 105–106).

[57] More works published by Summers will be introduced in Chapter 3.

To sum up, in the course of his career, Summers expanded his interest in the history, cultures, literature, and other aspects of China and East Asia. He edited and published journals about them as an academic scholar, with the help of the store of books in libraries collected by missionaries and merchants. At the same time, he was one of the earliest occupants of a professorship for Chinese in Europe who travelled to and worked in China, differing from the early armchair sinologists in this respect. Although he only spent four years in China, Summers had exposed himself to the native environment of the Chinese language, and experienced close contact with the Chinese culture. During his daily communication with local people, he gained active knowledge of the Chinese language through his diligent studies, be it Cantonese, Shanghainese, or Mandarin. This set the cornerstone of his applied approach to the Chinese language in his teaching activities after he returned to Britain and assumed the post at King's College London, which was later on reinforced by the student interpreter programme in collaboration with the Foreign Office.

Chapter 2. A glimpse of the history of linguistics in the East and the West

In order to contextualize Summers' research on Chinese, this chapter presents the respective linguistic traditions of the East and the West and the status of linguistic research in Summers' time. To be more specific, the first section introduces the emergence, development and decline of the Greco-Latin model in the West, and the linguistic trends in the nineteenth century are presented in the second section. The third section provides a brief discussion about the Chinese linguistic tradition. Section four is a case study, showing how Summers viewed Chinese characters through the lenses of Eastern and Western linguistics. The chapter only touches on the issues directly related to Summers' research exclusive of grammar, because the grammatical details are the topic of later chapters.

2.1 The Greco-Latin model

The history of linguistic thought in Europe can be traced back to ancient Greece. Although at that time studying language was not their main point of departure, many topics in linguistics were touched upon by those great minds, such as the origin of language, the nature of language, parts of speech and the structure of the syllable (Robins 1997, p. 44; Law 2003, p. 13; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, pp. 26–27, pp. 37–38). Dionysius Thrax (170 BC–90 BC), the representative linguist in this period of time, considered words to be the smallest unit of grammar and sentences as the largest. He proposed eight parts of speech for the Greek language (i.e., nouns, verbs, participles, articles, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions) according to their inflection and meaning. His research on gender, number, case and tense in the first systematic grammar *Tékhnē grammatikē* (ca. 100 BC)[58] was emblematic for early linguistic research (Robins 1997, pp. 41–48). This work was considered the standard Greek grammar for the following 1300 years (Robins 1997, p. 39). Roman scholars, such as the author of *Ars maior* and *Ars minor*, Aelius Donatus' (350 AD) and the eminent Priscian (ca. 500 AD), found that the Greek model could largely be applied effectively to Latin as well (Taylor 1995, pp. 88–89; Robins 1997, p. 58, pp. 68–75; Law 2003, pp. 67–68, pp. 89–90; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, pp. 74–76). Almost all of Dionysius' eight classes of words remained unchanged in Greek and Latin grammars[59] until the end of the Middle Ages, and they subsequently influenced the analysis of the vernacular European languages (Robins 1997, pp. 42–43). This history laid the foundation for the Greco-Latin model.

[58] There are discussions about who the author of this work was. See Robins (1997, pp. 38–39) and Law (2003, pp. 55–56).

[59] Articles, however, are exceptions, since they do not exist in Latin. Latin grammarians, therefore, singled out interjection in order to keep the exact number of "eight" word classes (cf. Robins 1997, p. 65).

The Greco-Latin model evolved in the Middle Ages, when linguistic research was mostly devoted to Latin grammar, especially in the early periods, with some exceptions that explored other languages such as Old English (Robins 1997, pp. 79–80; Law 2003, pp. 192–204; McDonald 2020, p. 120). Scholars were not interested in specific languages and considered the grammar of all languages to be the same. Latin, the general academic language at that time, was taken as the departure point of language research, and "Grammatica" was interchangeable with "Latin" (Xú Zhìmín 1990, p. 30, p. 32; Bossong 2007, p. 124; McDonald 2020, p. 120).

During the Renaissance, starting with Antonio de Nebrija's (1441–1522) grammar of Spanish published in 1492 (Bossong 2007, p. 124), the growing number of linguistic scholars found that the Greco-Latin model was also greatly effective for the study of vernacular languages (Cén Qíxiáng 1988, pp. 70–71; Xú Zhìmín 1990, p. 35; Simone 2014, pp. 154–155). However, with the "discovery" of more parts of the world, many "exotic" languages drew the attention of European missionaries and linguists (Xú Zhìmín 1990, p. 35; Robins 1997, pp. 118–119; Liú Rùnqīng 1997, p. 28).

The missionary works about "exotic" languages, which are very different from European languages in their phonology, lexicon, and grammatical structure, changed European linguistics gradually but fundamentally. The difficulties in applying the Latin model to the increasingly diverse pool of languages drew some criticism and led to confused statements about classical Chinese, which was described as a language without structure (Liú Rùnqīng 1997, p. 30; Bossong 2007, p. 127; McDonald 2020, p. 120). European linguistics, therefore, had to "free itself from the frame of classical grammar opening the mind to new possibilities of linguistic categorization and presentation of information" (Hovdhaugen 1996, p. 20). These encounters with different parts of the world finally spawned a turning point in the area of linguistics in the nineteenth century.

The Greco-Latin model was nevertheless applied to a certain extent to describe the "exotic" languages by missionaries and language teachers like Summers for didactic purposes (cf. Chapter 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and Conclusion). Summers' pedagogical grammar is rooted in the earlier European traditions and bears features of the Chinese language in mind. These aspects of Summers' work will be dealt with in the major chapters of this dissertation.

2.2 Nineteenth-century linguistics

Compared to previous research, linguistics became an autonomous and rigorous scientific discipline in the nineteenth century (Jankowsky 2013, p. 635). It gradually gained autonomy from philosophy, rhetoric and philology by employing terms and concepts from, and by using

principles and methodology of, the natural sciences, especially that of biology (Joseph 1995, p. 221). For example, biological terms, such as 'morphology', 'organism', and 'decay', were introduced into linguistics and employed by Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), August Schleicher (1821–1868), Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775–1849) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), among others (Salmon 2000, p. 15; Bynon 2001, p. 1230; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, p. 225, p. 235; Burridge 2013, p. 145, p. 152, p. 164). Languages began to be considered organisms, which went through evolvement and could be classified into families, branches, and subbranches (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, pp. 235–241). More importantly, scientific principles and rigorous methodology were employed in linguistic research. For example, Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829) argued that while identifying the kinship of languages, identical language structures between languages should be taken into consideration, instead of merely similar words, which can simply be the result of random borrowing (Jankowsky 2013, p. 643). Schleicher claimed that trustworthy conclusions cannot be drawn until a sufficient amount of evidence is procured (Jankowsky 2013, p. 649). Although discussions on linguistic topics, such as the kinship of languages, can be traced back to earlier periods, the nineteenth century saw a rigorous scientific approach to these topics.

At the same time, linguistics as an academic subject in its own right was institutionalized in European universities in the nineteenth century, and the first chair related to linguistics (for *Orientalische Literatur und allgemeine Sprachkunde*) was established at the University of Berlin in 1821 for Franz Bopp (1791-1867, Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 3, p. 8).

In the nineteenth century, comparative historical linguistics was established and became the most fruitful linguistic field during that period (Robins 1997, p. 182; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 1). William Jones' (1746–1794) famous report to the Asiatick Society of Bengal in 1786 is generally seen as the starting point of historical comparative linguistics. In this report, he pointed out that Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, Greek, Gothic and Celtic share the same origin, although several scholars had proposed similar hypotheses before Jones (Seuren 1998, pp. 79–80; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 61, pp. 65–66; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, pp. 218–220; Jankowsky 2013, pp. 637–638). The significance of Sanskrit in the research on comparative linguistics is undeniable. Sanskrit and Persian consequently gained a lot of attention in the West (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, pp. 221–222). Studying Asian languages was not a novel interest anymore, but became an integral part of linguistics in the nineteenth century.

Terms and theories from nineteenth-century linguistics are also reflected in Summers' works. In the following sections, I introduce two particular trends of the nineteenth century in the context of Summers' research: linguistic kinship and typology.

2.2.1 The kinship of languages

In the nineteenth century, linguistic research on language kinship became more popular. It gradually changed into comparative historical research under the guidance of scientific principles, although the "linguistic botanizing" taxonomy can be traced back to the Renaissance, if not earlier (Koerner 1995a, pp. 212–213; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 43). As early as 1599, the Leiden classicist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) classified European languages into three major genetic types in his *Diatriba de Europaeorum linguis* (1610) according to their shared vocabularies, i.e., Latin (with Greek as its source), Germanic, and Slavic. In fact, an earlier dictionary published in 1537 by Czech Sigismund Gelenius (1497–1554) showed that Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Slavic are related (Koerner 1995a, p. 212). Summers raised a similar idea in an article in his magazine *Flying Dragon Reporter* (1866–1870, hereafter: *Flying Dragon*), when he introduced the English language to Chinese readers from a perspective of the kinship of languages:

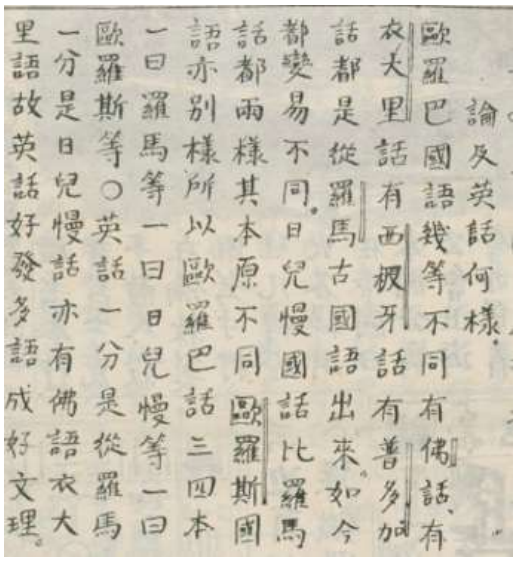


Figure 1: 'On English' in *Flying Dragon*[60]

論及英話何樣

歐羅巴國語幾等不同，有佛話，有衣大里話，有西班牙話，有普多加話，都是從羅馬古國語出來。如今都變易不同。日兒慢國話比羅馬話都兩樣，其本源不同。歐羅斯國語亦別樣。所以歐羅巴話三、四本：一曰羅馬等，一曰日兒慢等，一曰歐羅斯等。

[60] © British Library Board (Asia, Pacific & Africa OP.711 General Reference Collection 1867–1870 LOU.LON 71A [1867] 14 Jan 1867–Dec 1870, 0021).

英話一分是從羅馬，一分是日兒慢話，亦有佛語、衣大里語，故英話好發多語成好文理。(Summers, 14 July 1866, No. 7, punctuation added)

A discussion on which kind of language English is

There are several classifications of national languages in Europe, such as French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, which all originate from the language of the ancient Roman country [i.e., Latin]. They have changed and become very different nowadays. Germanic languages are different from Roman languages. Their origins are not the same. Russian is also different [in its origin]. Therefore, European languages have three or four roots: one is the Roman class, one the Germanic and one is the Russian class.

English partially [derives] from Roman [and] partially from Germanic, with [some] French and Italian [influence]. Hence, the English language arises out of many languages [as its roots and] develops [its own] proper grammar.[61]

Summers argued that in Europe, there are at least three language branches, i.e., Roman, Germanic and Russian. Although he did not explain how he had arrived at this conclusion, this superficial classification of European languages was not novel at his time. Summers only provided vague conclusions without mentioning the methods, so one cannot see whether this statement reflects the nineteenth-century spirit. He further stated that English is a hybrid of mainly Roman and Germanic. Similar to Summers' notion, Grimm pointed out that English is a mixture of Latin and Germanic as early as 1851 (Davies and Lepschy 1998, pp. 141–142).

Besides exploring the kinship of European languages, Summers adopted the term "Indo-Chinese languages" in his works to discuss the relationship between Chinese and other East Asian languages (1863c, p. 3, p. 7).[62] The term "Indo-Chinese" was first coined by the Scottish scholar John Leyden (1775–1811) in 1806, who claimed that the languages from India, China and East China Sea, e.g., Chinese, Vietnamese, Malay and Burmese, all have the same origin (van Driem 2005, pp. 85–86). Summers shared a similar view. As a 'Reverend' (his own title on the copyright page of the *Catalogue*), Summers followed the biblical tradition and claimed that language is a "power" and "a divine gift" endowed by God to express thought (1853a, pp.

[61] This is a transcription of Figure 1, followed by my own translation.
[62] This term became "Sino-Tibetan" in 1924 (van Driem 2005, p. 87).

4–5; 1863d, p. 113). After the "catastrophe at Babel", languages were differentiated (1853a, p. 6). Summers asserted that Chinese is the "classical language" among the languages spoken around China and "occupies the same position as Latin and Greek do among Europeans" (1863a, p. xviii), which reflects the prestigious status the Chinese language held throughout East Asia. He further argued that Chinese is the primary language in Asia, especially among the East Asian languages; he asserted that other languages, such as Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese, were derived from Chinese, or in his words, that Chinese is the "parent" of these languages (1863c, p. 7; 1863a, p. xvii). Summers likewise elucidated that all the variations of the Chinese language also have the same origin (Appendix V, 1863a, p. 226, p. xvii).

2.2.2 Linguistic typology

In the sixteenth century, rationalists sought to discover common principles shared by vastly different languages (Liú Rùnqīng 1997, p. 34; Bossong 2007, pp. 124–125). The creation of a universal language was even seen by some as a possible goal to fill the gap left in Europe after the use of Latin declined (Xú Zhìmín 1990, pp. 47–49; Robins 1997, p. 128–129; Liú Rùnqīng 1997, pp. 31–32; Simone 2014, pp. 170–176). That was when Chinese characters became a popular research subject (see Section 2.4). The Port-Royal grammarians of the seventeenth century were classical representatives of this school of thought, who argued that different languages should have the same categories and principles. In their publications, they explained such general principles of grammar. Their works were influential until the late eighteenth century and even the early nineteenth century (Wheeler 1995, pp. 172–174; Liú Rùnqīng 1997, p. 33, p. 37; Robins 1997, pp. 131–132, p. 140; Graffi 2001, p. 17; Bossong 2007, p. 124; Simone 2014, p. 166). In contrast to the Middle Ages, the endeavour of discovering the general principles of languages in this period took the diversity of languages into account, which demonstrated the abovementioned trend of linguistic typology. It was not until the nineteenth century that typological research was distinguished from the research on kinship of languages (Robins 1997, pp. 187–191). Typology, unlike kinship, is not based on historical comparisons of languages (Jankowsky 2013, p. 651).

Linguistic typology was not a focus of Summers' research, yet it was a popular topic in the nineteenth century. In Summers' works, the terms "inflexion",[63] "agglutination"[64] and "isolated"[65] appeared. Unlike many linguists of the nineteenth century, who conducted research

[63] For example: in 1863a (p. xii, p. xx, p. 12) and 1853a (p. 5).
[64] For example: in 1863a (p. xx).
[65] For example: in 1863a (p. 117).

on linguistic typology based on morphological structure (for example, Friedrich von Schlegel, his brother August von Schlegel (1767–1845), and Humboldt),[66] Summers did not use these terms to classify languages but only to analyse the structure of words. For example, discussing pronouns, he stated: "[i]n their isolated state, without the addition of any grammatical particle, their position alone will show the case to which they belong" (Summers 1863a, p. 117) and "[the Chinese] employ no inflexions to show the mutual relations of words" (Summers 1864a, p. 5).

August von Schlegel divided inflectional languages into synthetic and analytic ones. Synthetic languages are those with "high morpheme-per-word ratio", for example, Sanskrit; analytic languages, on the other hand, are languages that use "particles instead of inflections", for example, English (Koerner 1995a, p. 214; 1999, p. 45; Jankowsky 2013, p. 651). Correlatively, Schleicher separated the history of language into two phases: prehistory and documented history. The former phase contains a development from monosyllabic structure to agglutination and finally arrived at inflection, while the latter shows degeneration from synthetic languages to analytic languages (Koerner 1995b, p. 62; Itkonen 2013, p. 762). Summers agreed that there was a process from isolated languages to agglutination languages and inflected languages, though he did not state this clearly. He claimed that Chinese had also become "more analytic" (1863a, p. 143). He even tried to explain why Chinese did not go through the same steps to become an inflected language:

> a. In course of time the monosyllabic character of some languages appears to have changed by the union of words of different qualities, e.g. as by adding prepositions, &c, which had originally a substantive meaning. (1853a, p. 7)
>
> b. The reason why Chinese has never undergone this process, and obtained inflexions, appears to be, because the original terms, which were employed as the names of objects and relations of things, were so definite and distinct from each other, and the characters, which at a very early period represented them, so unique and separate, that union of two of the latter being impossible, two of the former could not well be agglutinated. (1863a, p. xx)

For Summers, the Chinese language and its writing system at an early stage prevented the words from agglutinating and inflecting.

[66] See Koerner (1995a, pp. 213–214), Seuren (1998, pp. 81–82) and Jankowsky (2013, pp. 651–652).

Summers further analysed the grammatical structure by applying the terms "analytic" and "synthetic" for pedagogical purposes. He proposed to the students to study and memorize verbs together with adverbs, in order to show the time when the action takes place as the equivalent of tenses in English. Summers actually argued that using the analytical method means learning words out of any context, while using the synthetic method means learning the collocation of words:

> The *tenses* of the verb can be distinguished only by the various adverbs of time or by the context; and all that can be done here is to give the auxiliaries, which may be said to form the principal tenses, the *present*, the *past*, and the *future*. The numerous modifications of the time of an action are produced by the arrangement of the words and the form of the sentence, for which the student may refer to the syntax. It will be necessary even here to follow the synthetical rather than the analytical method, and to show the student how the exact meanings of the tenses found in European languages are conveyed in Chinese. (1863a, p. 82)

For Summers, Chinese is very well capable of expressing complicated thoughts and emotions, despite its isolated traits.[67] Summers wrote:

> Chinese is just that kind of language which leaves the speaker free from the technicalities of grammar and of artificial forms of expression, and allows him to rise in sublimity by the power of allusion and the various figures of the rhetor's art, and through the various styles of composition to affect his hearers; or to descend into the vulgar colloquial, and raise a smile at his antagonist's expense, or ridicule the cavils of a supposed objector. (1863a, p. xxii)

In this sense, Summers agreed with those who argued that Chinese has its own self-sufficient system. For example, Joshua Marshman (1768–1837, 1814, p. 189) stated although Chinese has no inflection at all, the Chinese language does "subserve the same purposes" as languages with inflections do. Edkins criticizes Becker's comment on Chinese as being allegedly "less perfect", "abnormal", and "misshapen". He recommended that European scholars study Chinese closely before coming to such conclusions (Edkins 1857, pp. ii–iii). French Jesuit Calude Buffier (1661–1737) was probably the first who claimed that the grammatical system

[67] But on the other hand, Summers always undervalued Chinese characters. He stated that although the characters meet the needs of the Chinese language, they cannot record the pronunciation, let alone the phoneme, and suggested applying the Roman alphabet as the notation system of Chinese (cf. Chapter 10).

of each language has its own autonomy and therefore the Latin model cannot be imposed onto all languages (Seuren 1998, pp. 65–66).

2.3 The Chinese linguistic tradition

In general, due to practical pedagogical reasons, missionaries only borrowed limited details of the local linguistic traditions to describe the indigenous languages of different parts of the world (Zwartjes 2011, p. 14). The same approach can be found in Summers' works. In other words, although Summers mentioned some Chinese traditional grammatical terms and concepts, he did not receive any direct or great influence from Chinese authors, only indirectly learning about them from other sinologists' works.

The linguistic research conducted by ancient Chinese scholars contains three disciplines: *wénzìxué* 文字學 'grammatology', *yīnyùnxué* 音韻學 'phonology' and *xùngǔxué* 訓詁學 'philology'. Generally speaking, grammatology deals with the structure of the characters (including the evolution of the characters). Phonology studies the diachronic and synchronic pronunciation (initial consonants, finals, and tones) of words. Philology not only focuses on the meaning of words, but also "explains the semantics according to the position and relationship of words in a sentence, and furthermore takes this as the basis of grammatical research" (Lǐ Bǎojiā 2007, p. 23). For most of history, traditional linguistic research in China was conducted within the interpretation of classical works and literary research.[68]

Many ancient Chinese scholars devoted themselves to compiling dictionaries, for example, *Shuōwén jiězì* (說文解字 *Explaining Graphs and Analyzing Characters*, 100 AD) by Xǔ Shèn (ca. 58–147) in the Han dynasty (202 BC–220 AD). In this dictionary, characters are arranged into 540 classes according to their graphic radicals, which was an innovation introduced by the author (Wáng Lì 1981, p. 33). For example, the characters 河 *hé* 'river', 江 *jiāng*, 'river', 湖 *hú*, 'lake' and 海 *hǎi*, 'sea' all share the same radical for water 氵 and, therefore, are arranged lexically under this radical. Another example is the noted *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* (康熙字典 *Dictionary of Kāngxī*), complied by scholars in the 1710s. It became the main source of many early Chinese dictionaries compiled by western scholars, for example, Morrison (1815b, p. ix). In his *Catalogue* (1872a), Summers mentioned this *Dictionary of Kāngxī* briefly. When he was in

[68] Some scholars advocated that traditional Chinese linguistic research is an independent discipline, for example, Fāng Xiàoyuè (1964, p. 149) and Hé Jiǔyíng (1995, p. 4). However, it cannot be denied that the study of Chinese classics had profound effects on traditional Chinese linguistics in its development (cf. Zhōu Fǎgāo 1966, p. 2; Wáng Lì 1981, p. 209).

Japan, Summers also tried to compile a Chinese dictionary. His ideas about Chinese characters and compiling dictionaries are introduced in Section 2.4 and Chapter 3.

When the Jesuits started to learn Chinese, they also adopted some Chinese pedagogical techniques, for instance, memorizing Chinese classics and trying to recite them (Klöter 2011a, p. 35). Many other missionaries also emphasised the importance of memorizing. That is why in his *Handbook*, Summers provided the students with Chinese chrestomathy, i.e., a selection of Chinese works.

The linguistic research conducted by Chinese scholars was influenced by other traditions as well, i.e., the phonetic knowledge from India (introduced to China together with Buddhism, cf. Chapter 10) at the end of Han dynasty and a substantial amount of linguistic knowledge from Europe through the works of missionaries, diplomats and also Chinese scholars who travelled overseas and learnt about Western linguistics. There was no systematic grammatical research on Chinese conducted by Chinese scholars until the publication of *Mǎshì wéntōng* (馬氏文通 *Basic Principles for Writing Clearly and Coherently by Mister Mǎ*) in 1898 by Mǎ Jiànzhōng 馬建忠 (1845–1900), a work influenced by the European and Chinese linguistic tradition (cf. Zhōu Fǎgāo 1966, p. 8; Wáng Lì 1981, p. 174; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2003a, pp. 112–132; Zádrapa 2017, pp. 682–683).[69]

2.4 A case study: Chinese characters

Although discussing the Chinese script is beyond the scope of grammar, it is an important research subject within Chinese linguistics. In order to give a complete view of Summers' ideas on Chinese, and to get an idea of how European and Chinese linguistic ideas influenced Summers' research, this section presents Summers' views on Chinese characters and their origins.

It is a long-standing assumption that Chinese characters are ideographic, i.e., that they represent ideas or notions directly without the involvement of any elements of the spoken language itself. This idea is inextricably linked to the endeavour to find or devise a universal language and the "real character". Ever since the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the world started to become more interconnected, and an urgent need for an efficient tool to communicate with the entire world arose. Against this background and because of reports provided by

[69] For more detailed discussions on traditional Chinese linguistics, see Fāng Xiàoyuè (1964), Zhōu Fǎgāo (1966), Wáng Lì (1981, 1990, 2004 [1956]), Shào Jìngmǐn (1990), Malmqvist (1994), Hé Jiǔyíng (1995), Gōng Qiānyán (1997), Pú Zhīzhēn (2002), Sūn Liángmíng (2005b), Lǐ Bǎojiā (2007), Harbsmeier (2009), Wilkinson (2013), Shēn Xiǎolóng (2013) and McDonald (2020).

missionaries about Chinese characters, for example, those by Portuguese Dominican Friar Gaspar da Gruz (ca. 1520–1570) and the Italian Jesuit Ricci, intellectuals like Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1713) were confronted with Chinese characters. These scholars held the opinion that Chinese characters denoted ideas directly. Therefore, Chinese characters were considered "real characters" and thought to be able to spread "real knowledge".[70] In the early nineteenth century, Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) successfully deciphered the Egyptian hieroglyphs and coined the term "*idéographique*/ideographic" (DeFrancis 1984, p. 135). Hence, in many works "hieroglyph(ic)" shares the same sense with "ideograph" (Boltz 2017b, p. 404). In fact, Champollion argued against the claim that the Egyptian script is purely ideographic and non-phonetic, but his works accidentally popularized the term and the subsequent notion of the "ideograph (ic)" (DeFrancis 1984, p. 136). In the nineteenth century, however, some other scholars claimed that Chinese characters were not ideographic but that they designated some elements of the Chinese language. For instance, Peter Du Ponceau (1760–1844) argued that Chinese characters should be considered "lexigraphic" since they represent words in Chinese (1838, p. xxxi). Joseph Marie Callery (1810–1862) claimed that sound also plays a role in characters (1841, Pars Prima, p. 5). Their works were Summers' reference works.[71]

Generally speaking, Summers was of the opinion that in the early stage of the development of the Chinese writing system, characters should be regarded as hieroglyphs, i.e., the "signs of concrete notions" (1863a, p. xix). As time passed by, some characters were created or evolved to convey generic notions (Summers 1863a, p. xix, pp. 17–18) or even only their "etymology" (1853a, p. 16). Finally, some characters should be judged as being "purely phonetic", especially when used as a part of another character (1853a, p. 16).

Summers used the concepts of *bùshǒu* (部首 radical) and *Liùshū* (六書 Six Scripts). Both of them are rooted in traditional Chinese philology. "Radical" has two meanings in Summers' works, just as in other Chinese linguistic works. Firstly, it refers to the "generic heads for classes of characters […], [which serve as] an index [to all characters]" (1863a, p. 19), and they

[70] This part of the ideographic assumption is based on DeFrancis (1984, pp. 133–135), Yáo Xiǎopíng (2011a, pp. 148–151), Handel (2017), Boltz (2017b) and Erbaugh (2017).

[71] In his *Handbook* (1863a, pp. xviii–xix), Summers mentioned several works about scripts in order to explain the origin, the development, and the classification of the writing systems. They are *Grammaire égyptienne* (Vol. 1, 1836) by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832), *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit* (Vol. 2, 1821) by Ulrich Friedrich Kopp (1762–1834), *Göttingisches historisches Magazin* (Vol. III, 1788) by Christoph Meiners (1747–1810) and Ludwig Timotheus Spittler (1752–1810), *Neues Lehrgebäude der Diplomatik* (Vol. 2, 1761) by Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806) and 'Paläographie' (1837) by Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842) in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. These works were only mentioned while discussing the scripts by Summers, and they did not have particular influence on Summers' grammatical research.

are the "characters which classify [characters]" (1853a, p. 15), i.e., *bùshǒu* 部首 in traditional Chinese linguistics. Therefore, "radical" here is a lexicographic concept. There are, according to Summers, two hundred and fourteen radicals in total (1863a, p. 6; 1864a, p. 17). Rather than following the classification of characters in *Shuōwén jiězì*, Summers apparently used that of the later works, most likely from the *Dictionary of Kāngxī*.[72] Secondly, Summers employed "radical" to designate the ideographic parts of a character. Moreover, he took the perspective of grammatology in claiming that the *bùshǒu* and the ideographic parts are usually the same for a specific character (1853a, p. 16).[73] Here, radicals are considered as supplements of "alphabets" by Summers in the sense that they are also a type of elementary writing form, although they are "alphabet[s] of ideas, not of sounds" (1863a, p. xx). The notions that the radicals convey are fundamental as they have to be expressed by all human languages and are at the same time generic, such as referring to parts of bodies, zoology, and botany (1864a, pp. 17–19).

Traditionally, Chinese characters are classified into six types (i.e., the Six Scripts) according to their structure and formation. This classification can be traced back to the first century, and the "first full description" of it is in *Shuōwén jiězì* (Boltz 2017c, p. 615). Summers' description of the Six Scripts is very similar to that in *Shuōwén jiězì*. In Summers' translation of the terms of the Six Scripts, *xiàngxíng* 象形 'representing a form' is translated as "hieroglyphic", *huìyì* 會意 'conjoining meanings' as "ideographic" and *zhǐshì* 指事 'indicating the matter' as "significative". Among them, "ideographics" are formed by two of the "hieroglyphics" and denote a new idea (Summers 1863a, pp. 15–16). The components of an "ideographic" are all radicals since they all contribute some meaningful elements to the "ideographic" (1864a, pp. 2–3).

Xíngshēng 形聲 'giving form to sound'[74] is translated as "phonetic". This type of character, Summers explained, includes a part that denotes some kind of "generic notion" and a sound-indicating part (1863a, pp. 17–18), while the term "phonetic" suggests that Summers focused more on the latter. The sound-indicating part, as argued by Summers, sometimes denotes meaning, and these parts originally are also radicals (1853a, p. 18; 1863a, p. 17). This argument, on the one hand, reflects Summers' ideas of the diachronic evolution of the Chinese

[72] He also mentioned the number of five hundred radicals in *Shuōwén jiězì*, for example in 1863a (p. 19).
[73] The original text reads: "[t]he name radical is given to that part of the character which appears most prominent and distinct, and has an influence on its meaning. It is often the *generic* word for the series or class at the head of which it stands" (Summers 1853a, p. 16).
[74] The literal English translations of these terms are from Boltz (2017c).

characters as mentioned above; on the other hand, it corresponds to the general understanding of Wáng Shèngměi's "Right-script theory" (*Yòuwénshuō* 右文說).[75]

Besides, the other two classes, namely *zhuǎnzhù* 轉註 'reversed and refocused' and *jiǎjiè* 假借 'substituted and lent' were also introduced by Summers. *Zhuǎnzhù*, Summers argued, refers to those pairs of characters which possess inverted "figures" and denote "antithetic" meaning, for example, the "hieroglyphic" "figures" of *zuǒ* 左 'left' and *yòu* 右 'right'. Therefore, his translation of *zhuǎnzhù* is *antithetic* (1863a, pp. 16–17). For *jiǎjiè*, Summers' translation is *metaphorical*, which includes "all particles and proper names". For example, the designation 'wife' of the character *shì* 室 is derived from its basic meaning 'house' (1863a, p. 17). This indicates that he considered *jiǎjiè* to be a method of using existing characters instead of creating new characters. Hence, both Western and Chinese linguistic research and thoughts helped forming Summers' ideas of Chinese characters. Summers' attitude towards Chinese characters is related to his endeavour to Romanize Chinese, which will be discussed in Chapter 10.

To conclude, when Summers became a professor of Chinese, European academics had expanded their scope of linguistic research to include more than just the European languages. "Exotic" languages drew their attention and the research on Asian languages became an important part of linguistic research. Linguistics evolved as an independent discipline with rigorous principals and methods. At the same time, the Greco-Latin model continued to influence missionary grammars for pedagogical purposes. Meanwhile, Chinese linguistic thoughts had been in development throughout history. All these ideas, methods and terms from the East and the West, helped shape Summers' research on the Chinese language.

[75] Wáng Shèngměi was a scholar in the Song dynasty (960–1279), who argued that the right component of a character denotes some meaning of the entire character (凡字，其類在左，其義在右), according to Shěn Kuò (1031–1095). Many scholars, therefore, argued that Wáng suggested that the phonetic part of a *xíngshēng* character indicates the meaning as well as the sound of the character (cf. Liú Yòuxīn 1982; Cài Yǒngguì and Lǐ Yán 1988).

Chapter 3. An introduction to Summers' works concerning China and its language

During his lifetime, Summers published many books and edited several journals. Below follows a list of his publications concerning the Chinese language and China in chronological order, which will be followed by an introduction to each item:

1853a: *Lecture on the Chinese Language and Literature Delivered in King's College London, April 13, 1853*

1853b: *The Gospel of Saint John in the Chinese Language, according to the Dialect of Shanghai, Expressed in the Roman Alphabetic Character with an Explanatory Introduction and Vocabulary*[76]

1862: *The Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostles' Creed* (in the dialect of Canton)

1863: *A Handbook of the Chinese Language. Part I and II, Grammar and Chrestomathy, Prepared with a View to Initiate the Student of Chinese in the Rudiments of This Language, and to Supply Materials for His Early Studies*

1863–1865: *Chinese and Japanese Repository of Facts and Events in Science, History and Art, Relating to Eastern Asia*

1864: *The Rudiments of the Chinese Language, with Dialogues, Exercises, and a Vocabulary*

1866-1870: *Flying Dragon Reporter*

1868: Notes for *English Outline Vocabulary*

1870–1873: *The Phoenix, a Monthly Magazine for China, Japan & Eastern Asia*

1872: *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office*

1884b: *On Chinese Lexicography, with Proposals for a New Arrangement of the Characters of That Language*

These are not all the works that Summers published. For example, Summers also wrote books and articles about Japan and the Japanese language. However, they are not relevant to the topic of this dissertation.[77] In what follows, I will briefly introduce each of the works listed above.

[76] The *Lecture on the Chinese Language and Literature* was published before *The Gospel of Saint John in the Chinese Language* though in the same year, since in the Preface of the latter, Summers asks his readers to refer to the former book (1853b, p. a).

[77] In one of his essays, Summers clarifies that Chinese and Japanese are totally different languages, without a lot of explanation (1873b, p. 2).

3.1 *Lecture on the Chinese Language and Literature*[78]

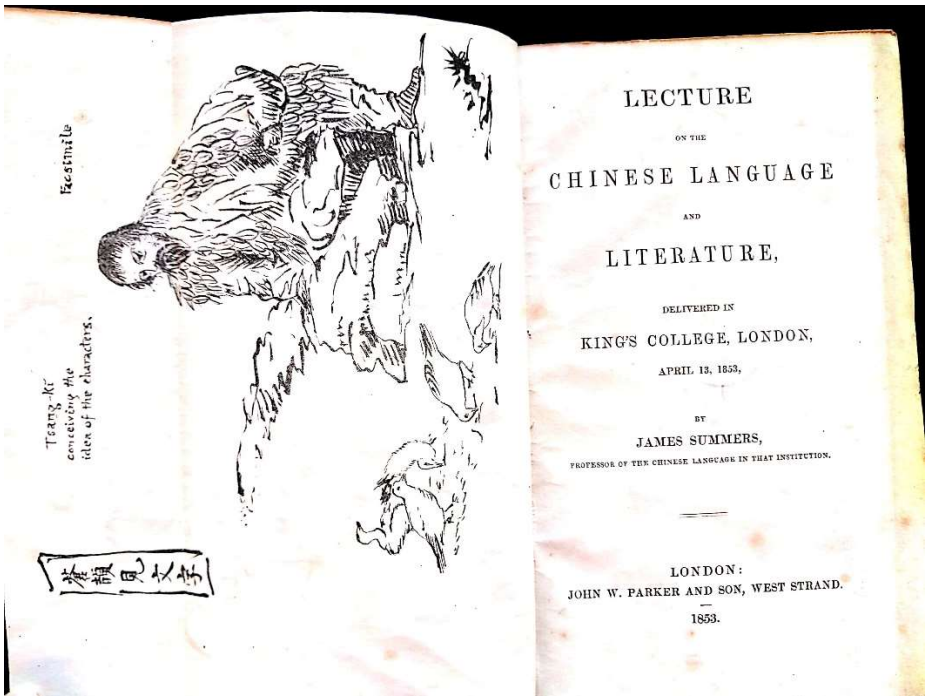


Figure 2: Title page of *Lecture*[79]

Summers had to deliver an inaugural lecture four months after assuming the post of professor of Chinese literature at King's College London on 13 April 1853 (1853a, title page, see Figure 2). The topic was Chinese language and literature, and the speech was published in a small booklet of thirty-six pages, attached with seven plates about hand-written Chinese characters.

Summers started the lecture with a general introduction to human language that hinted at the special status of Chinese. His main focus was on Chinese characters and phonetics. He mentioned the grammar in a few short paragraphs, including morphology, classifiers, the essential criteria of classifying the words, and the importance of function words in Chinese. The second part of his lecture was on Chinese literature and the four traditional categories of Chinese works: *jīng* 經 'classical writings', *shǐ* 史 'historical writings', *zǐ* 子 'professional writings' and *jí* 集 'miscellanies'. Most of his assessments of the Chinese language and culture are rather superficial in this work. One reason is that his audience knew very little about this unfamiliar language and culture. Therefore, he could not discuss these topics in depth, and his purpose was only "to elucidate generally, and solicit attention to, the language and literature of China" (Summers 1853a, p. 10).

[78] Hereafter: *Lecture*.
[79] Leiden University Libraries SINOL. 15.200.14 (ESB).

3.2 *The Gospel of Saint John in the Chinese Language*[80]

This book is one of the earliest translations of *The Gospel of Saint John* into Shanghainese. Summers wrote it not in Chinese characters but in the Roman alphabet. He mentioned several reasons for this decision. Firstly, Roman transcriptions will help the missionaries, who are not fluent in Shanghainese (1853b, Preface, p. v), and who, of course, have hardly any knowledge of Chinese characters. For those who only want to learn Shanghainese, this book can serve as an elementary guidebook in Summers' mind. Secondly, because the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population during those days was still illiterate (1853b, Preface, p. iv), a book with phonetic notations can help them to read the *Gospels* in their own language by themselves. From this final explanation, it becomes clear that Summers hoped to provide the foundation upon which a community with more native pastors and followers would grow. Therefore, in Summers' view, using the Roman alphabet to record Chinese topolects had great practicability.[81]

Gospel has three parts. The first part consists of a preface and a brief introduction to Summers' own orthography (1853b, Introduction, p. ii). Despite the fact that the book focuses on phonology, Summers also provided some grammatical advice. He described some word formation rules, for example "the repetition of the same syllable" (1853b, p. vii) and briefly introduced nouns, verbs, pronouns, numerals, particles, prepositions, and conjunctions. His analysis of the grammar remains superficial throughout this work.

The main concern of *Gospel* is the translation itself in the second part: twenty-one chapters with the title *Good News from Saint John*. It is followed by a list of the major vocabulary used in the first two chapters as the third part.

3.3 *The Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostles' Creed*

Summers mentioned that he translated *The Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostles' Creed* into Cantonese to preach the Christian religion to coolies in Guyana (Summers 1863d, p. 115). The two texts were published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1862. I have not been able to find this particular publication. However, Summers has included these two pieces of works in his *Chinese and Japanese Repository* (1863d, pp. 115–116). They are in

[80] Kuiper claimed that Summers used the translation of parts of the *New Testament* as textbooks (2017, p. 162). *Gospel* could therefore be that which was used, but I did not find further support for this claim. Schott mentioned that he learned about Shanghainese from Summers' *Gospel* (Schott 1857, p. 3).
[81] For more about the orthographic system used by Summers, see Chapter 10.

Roman letters with notations of the tones but without any characters or grammatical explanation.

3.4 *A Handbook of the Chinese Language* [82]

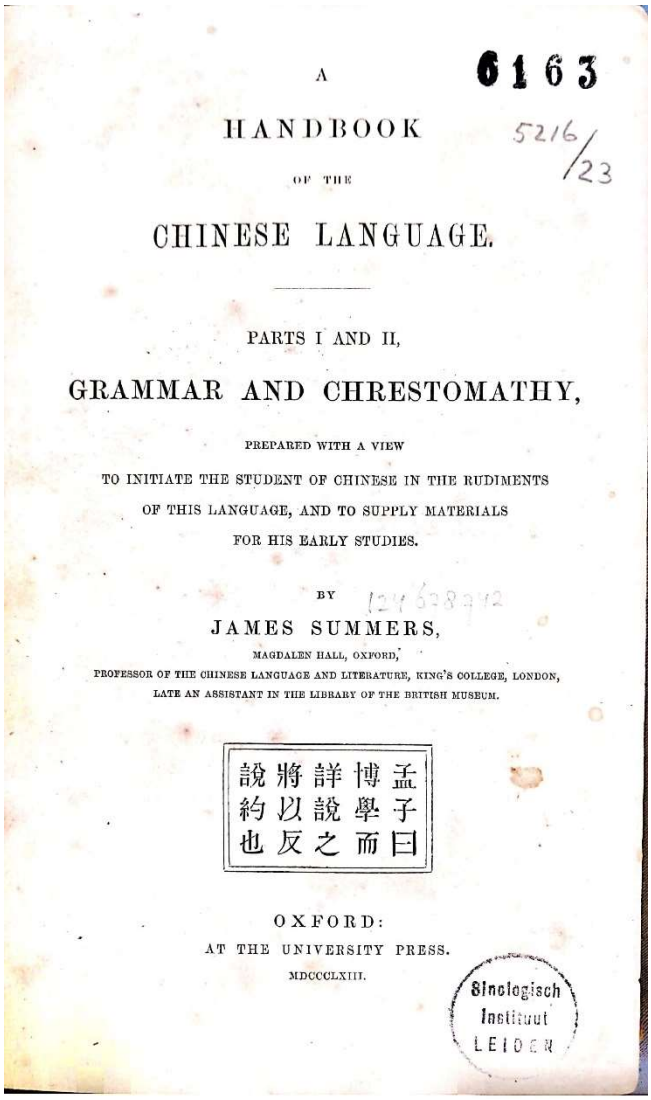


Figure 3: Title page of *Handbook*[83]

Handbook served as a textbook for beginning Mandarin learners at King's College London (Summers 1863a, p. v, Part II, p. 20). The preparation of publishing this book had already started before February 1858 (Summers, 13 February 1858). John Francis Davis (1795–1890), the second Governor of Hong Kong, even read part of it in 1861 (Summers, 13 April 1861), and he regarded it as "one of the most useful [textbooks] to students" (Davis 1865, p. 60). It

[82] When citing from this work, the marked pages are all from Part I of the book, unless otherwise indicated (e.g., "Part II, p. 20").
[83] Leiden University Libraries 3 8691 G 16.

was also the first textbook for learning Chinese published in Britain (Summers 1863a, p. xv; Davis 1865, p. 60).[84]

There are two quotations on the flyleaves of *Handbook*. The first is by the German linguist Becker: "linguistics does actually not teach people how they should speak but only how people speak […]".[85] The second one is by Chinese philosopher Mencius (327 BC–289 BC): "[s]tudy things profoundly, and investigate the precise meaning of what you learn, and then you will acquire the means of forming a comprehensive system of principles (博學而詳說之，將以反說約也)" (Lílóuzhāngjù Xià, *Mencius* 《孟子·離婁章句下》, see Figure 3).[86] Both quotations are about studying. The first one is about language and language teaching, which thus reflects the content of the *Handbook*. The quotation reveals that for Summers, linguistic research should be descriptive instead of prescriptive. The target of his *Handbook* is therefore to present the rules of Chinese and to describe them accurately. The second quotation from *Mencius* points to the methodology of study, which reflects that Summers' intention was to write a detailed book to help students learn as many aspects of the Chinese language as possible within a carefully developed system of rules and principles. By presenting these two quotations, Summers also shows his attempt to integrate Chinese educational thoughts with western linguistic methodology in his *Handbook*.[87]

The full title of this book is *A Handbook of the Chinese Language. Part I and II, Grammar and Chrestomathy, Prepared with a View to Initiate the Student of Chinese in the Rudiments of This Language, and to Supply Materials for His Early Studies* (see Figure 3). "Part III", the exercises, and "Part IV", the dictionary, were never published.[88]

In the preface of *Handbook*, Summers commented on various sinological works. As a professor of Chinese, he had a good grasp of the literature. Summers argued that none of them were suitable for beginners to solve the most elementary problems, for example, how to write

[84] However, Summers' *Handbook* is not a standard textbook in the vein of, for example, Edkins' *Progressive Lessons in the Chinese Spoken Language* (1862, cf. Appendix 1) but, rather, a pedagogical grammar. Although *Progressive Lessons* has a lot of vocabulary and illustrated sentences arranged under themed topics, it only includes a few instructions, therefore leaving the teaching of grammar to instructors. *Handbook* dedicates considerable space to grammar with examples and explanations, which also serves self-learning purposes.

[85] Becker's original text in German is: "[d]ie Sprachlehre lehrt nicht eigentlich, wie man sprechen soll, sondern nur, wie man spricht" (1841, p. 9, English translation mine).

[86] The translation is from Summers himself, and it differs from Legge's (1861, p. 199) and Julien's (1826, p. 45) translations, respectively. I do not want to judge whether the translation itself is accurate, but follow Summers' own translation since it reflects Summers understanding about study.

[87] This is suggested to me by Prof. Nicola McLelland.

[88] The catalogue of Henri Cordier (1849–1925) also mentioned that the third part of the *Handbook* is about exercises while the fourth part is a dictionary. However, there is no introduction concerning the publication of these two parts (Cordier 2003 [1878], p. 765). Gabelentz also claimed that the last two parts of the *Handbook* were never published (1878, p. 628).

Chinese characters and where to obtain copies of writing (1863a, p. xi). Part of his motivation to write and publish the *Handbook* was therefore to provide solutions for these elementary problems. As it turned out, the book provides "all the aids which a *beginner* needs", i.e., phonology, sections on grammar, vocabulary, and literature, etc. He stated that the book could even be used for self-learning (1863a, p. xii, p. xv). According to some terms that were employed in this book, such as "locative", "ablative", and "instrumental" cases (p. 107), the targeted reader of this book can be identified as those who have a general grammatical understanding of inflected languages, such as Latin. In addition, some examples and explanations in his book are in German, French, and other European languages. Hence, Summers also anticipated that his readers would know these languages.

The "Introduction" to *Handbook* includes a brief description of some basic knowledge of Chinese and China, such as Chinese characters, Chinese culture and the relationship between China and Britain. Summers highly praised the Chinese language and culture for their great influence in East Asia and their "endurance and steadfastness" (1863a, p. xviii) throughout history, and argued that studying Chinese would help China and Britain to understand each other and serve as a tool to spread British religious and political values within China (1863a, pp. xxiv–xxv).

In Part I of *Handbook*, Summers explained the basics of the Chinese language. This part mainly includes etymology ("Sect. I. Articulate sounds and their symbols" and "Sect. II. The forms of expression") and syntax ("Sect. I. On simple constructions" and "Sect. II. On sentences"). There are also six appendices with vocabularies and expressions, such as Chinese surnames, dynasties, the commonly-used characters in reign titles, units of measurement, differences in pronunciation among the dialects, and synonyms and antonyms. Summers did not present the analysis of classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese separately.[89]

This way of teaching grammar, i.e., introducing both "etymology" and "syntax", fits in the European tradition. For example, the Roman grammarian Marcus Terentius Varro's (116 BC–27 BC) *De lingua Latina* (ca. 47 BC – 45 BC) includes etymology, morphology and syntax (Robins 1997, p. 59). The first two of the eighteen volumes of Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* deal with phonology under the name of "orthography"; the third to the sixteenth volumes are about morphology and parts of speech, and the last two volumes are on syntax (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011a, p. 75). The same outline was also adopted by Lindley Murray (1745–1826) in his well-known English grammar (1823 [1795]): the part of orthography focuses on

[89] However, he did state that classical Chinese and vernacular Chinese are different (cf. Chapter 4).

phonology and the writing system. Words, including parts of speech and morphology, are described under the name of "etymology" since the term *Etymologia* also refers to the inflections of words and parts of speech (Flynn 1943, p. 108; Law 2000, p. 77; Luhtala 2013, p. 350). The last part of the grammar is syntax. The structure of Murray's English grammar is very similar to the *Handbook*. Actually, most of the early western books on the Chinese language shared a similar structure. What is special about the arrangement of the *Handbook* is that the sections on phonology, parts of speech and morphology are all classified under the chapter titled "Etymology". Although they are divided into two parts in the chapter, the structure of the *Handbook* is still slightly different from previous works.

The second part of *Handbook* is a selection of literary works and some translations, for example, *Shàngshū* (尚書 *Book of Documents*, Warring States Period, 475 BC–221 BC), *Lúnyǔ* (論語 *The Analects*, Warring States Period), *Mèngzǐ* (孟子 *Mencius*, Warring States Period), *Shèngyù guǎngxùn yǎn* (聖諭廣訓衍 *Sacred Edict Expansion*, 1724), *Hǎoqiú zhuàn* (好逑傳 *The Fortune Union*, Late Ming and Early Qing), *Water Margin* and *Sānguó yǎnyì* (三國演義 *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, fourteenth century)[90]. Aside from classic Chinese works, Summers also included the Chinese translation of *Aesop's Fables*, a selection of proverbs, some classical poems, and some examples of letters written in different styles.[91] Part II of *Handbook* covers a wide range of different types of essays in Chinese.[92]

Lǐ Bǎojiā (2007, p. 138) claimed that books by Western scholars about the Chinese language typically embrace the following parts: (1) an introduction to the phonology and characters; (2) an explanation of parts of speech based on the Greco-Latin tradition, sometimes mentioning special parts of speech and particles in Chinese; (3) a morphological analysis, including the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs; (4) a syntactic analysis, with a focus on word order and particles; (5) a delineation of figures of speech and an introduction to different registers; and (6) a selection of Chinese works. Such categorisation likewise reflects the macrostructure of Summers' *Handbook*. This arrangement can actually be traced back to Spanish-Roman educator Marcus Fabius Quintilian (ca. 35 AD– ca. 100 AD), who proposed a

[90] Summers stated that he selected several sections from *Sānguózhì* (三國志 *History of the Three Kingdoms*, ca. 280 AD), but actually, the quotations of these sections in *Handbook* is from *Sānguózhì tōngsú yǎnyì* (三國志通俗演義 *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*). For a detailed description of the work, see Mair (2001, pp. 621–622). Summers mentioned the difference between these two works, but he appeared to have mixed up their names (1863a, Part II, p. 17). Some works mentioned in this paragraph are written in literary Chinese, such as *Shàngshū*, *Lúnyǔ* and *Mèngzǐ*, which is different from colloquial Chinese.

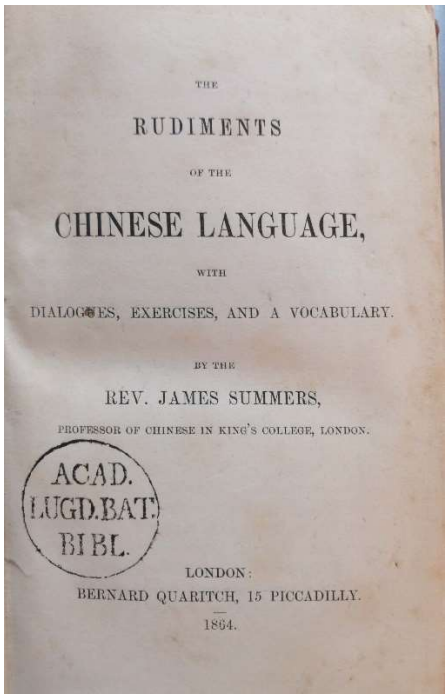
[91] Here, Summers referred to the translations by Medhurst, Davis, Bazin, etc. (Summers 1863a, p. xii).

[92] Uchida (2007, p.187) stated that Summers' selections are based on Robert Thom's (1807–1846) classification of Chinese works in his *Esop's Fables* (Mun Mooy and Thom 1840, p. v.).

three-level hierarchy of learning presented in his *Institutio oratoria* ('Educating the orator'). He argued that the students should be taught to read (phonology) and write (orthography) before they start learning grammar (morphology and syntax). At a later stage, they will be able to study passages and learn rhetoric (Harris and Taylor 1997, p. 66; Law 2003, p. 60).

The *Handbook* is Summers' most systematic work of Chinese linguistics. In it, he reflected on a multitude of issues, such as colloquial and literary Chinese, Mandarin and other varieties of the Chinese language, phonology, grammar, punctuation, and even calligraphy, rhetoric, and literature. In practice, students might only need this *Handbook* instead of several different manuals. This advantage was exactly what Summers had in mind. Since *Handbook* was also designed for self-learning, Summers provided many examples and explanations. *Handbook* served more as a pedagogical manual for beginners of the Chinese language from all linguistic angles, rather than a profound theoretical academic treatise on one specific area.

3.5 *The Rudiments of the Chinese Language*


THE

RUDIMENTS

OF THE

CHINESE LANGUAGE,

WITH

DIALOGUES, EXERCISES, AND A VOCABULARY.

BY THE

REV. JAMES SUMMERS,

PROFESSOR OF CHINESE IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

LONDON:
BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY.
1864.

Figure 4: Title page of *Rudiments*[93]

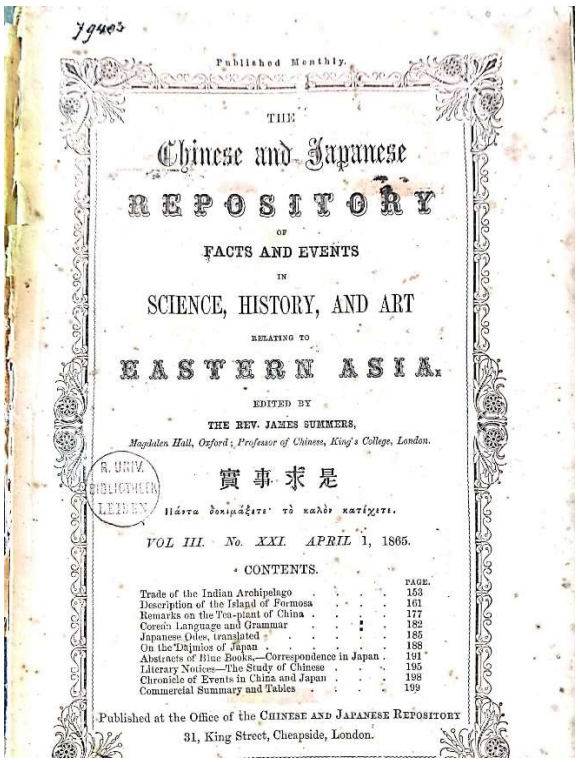
Rudiments is another manual of Mandarin. It is more concise and simpler than the *Handbook*, designed to help travellers to obtain some rudimentary knowledge of Chinese. In the preface, Summers stated that he is going to "put Chinese into a European dress by the use of Roman type" (1864a, p. i). Therefore, there are not many characters in the book, but transcriptions

[93] Leiden University Libraries SINOL. 15.410.86.

using the Roman alphabet are provided instead. This work is closer to a pure textbook than the *Handbook* in the sense that the instruction it provides is simpler, and it only covers the most important grammar points along with multiple examples.

The outline of *Rudiments* is very similar to that of the *Handbook*. The first part is *Etymology*, and it has eleven sections that discuss phonetics, characters, and parts of speech. The second part only consists of one section dedicated to explaining basic syntactic rules. Exercises can be found in the third part including lists of phrases, common expressions and translation exercises. The last part also lists some vocabulary, which is based on Edkins' book *Progressive Lessons* published in 1862 (Summers 1864a, p. ii). Summers rearranged the words alphabetically, but excluded characters from his list. The transcription is based on Summers' own system (see Chapter 10) instead of being copied from that of Edkins'. For example, the entry "有" in Edkins' book is rendered as "*'Yeu*, have; there is" (p. 1),[94] whereas in *Rudiments*, it is "*Have*, yiù" (1864a, p. 115).

3.6 *Chinese and Japanese Repository*[95]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THE

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OF

FACTS AND EVENTS

IN

SCIENCE, HISTORY, AND ART

RELATING TO

EASTERN ASIA.

EDITED BY

THE REV. JAMES SUMMERS,

Magdalen Hall, Oxford; Professor of Chinese, King's College, London.

是求事實

Πάντα δοκιμάζετε· τὸ καλὸν κατίχετε.

VOL III. No. XXI. APRIL 1, 1865.

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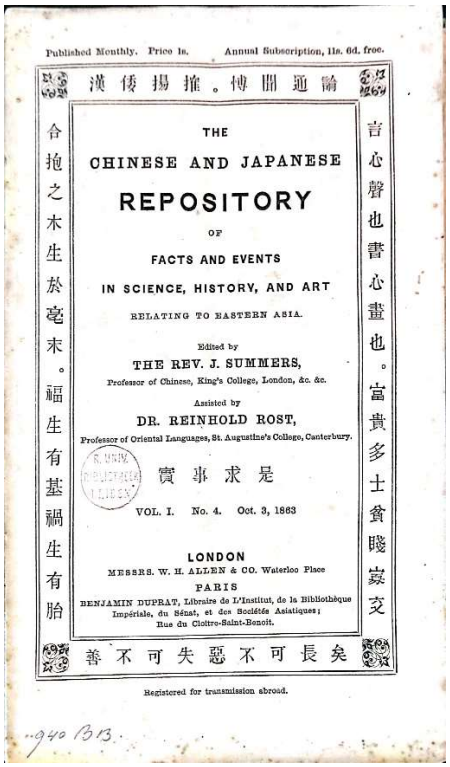
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言心聲也書心畫也。富貴多士貧賤寡交

THE

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

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Edited by

THE REV. J. SUMMERS,

Professor of Chinese, King's College, London, &c. &c.

Assisted by

DR. REINHOLD ROST,

Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.

是求事實

VOL. I. No. 4. Oct. 3, 1863

LONDON

MESSRS. W. H. ALLEN & CO. Waterloo Place

PARIS

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善不可失惡不可長矣

Registered for transmission abroad.

Figure 5: Title pages of two issues of *Repository*[96]

[94] The inverted comma "'" is one of the markers of the tone applied by Edkins (see Edkins 1862, p. 10).
[95] Hereafter: *Repository.*
[96] Leiden University Libraries 5 940 B 13.

Summers edited the monthly journal *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, which has twenty-nine issues in total, with the assistance of Orientalist Rheinhold Rost (1822–1896). The journal was published between June 1863 and December 1865 and is available in three volumes: the first volume includes the articles that were published from July 1863 to June 1864; the second contains articles from August 1864 to December 1864; and the third contains those from January 1865 to December 1865.

The title reveals its connection with *The Chinese Repository*, a noted journal that was issued between 1832 and 1851 in Canton. Elijah Coleman Bridgman (1801–1861) and Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884) acted as the main editors. *The Chinese Repository* aimed at introducing every aspect of China to the West. It was discontinued due to financial problems and a loss of interest of the compiler (Tán Shùlín 1998, p. 115). Summers realized the importance and influence of this journal, but only few people in Britain had actually accessed it. This became the reason why Summers published the *Chinese and Japanese Repository* (1863c, pp. 1–12) and intended to reprint some essays from *The Chinese Repository*. However, in all the three volumes of his *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, only about five percent out of a total of 155 papers—eight essays to be exact (Yǐn Wénjuān 2020, p. 38)—were taken from *The Chinese Repository*. Some articles were reprinted from newspapers like *North China Herald*.

Chinese and Japanese Repository covers information on many aspects, for example, recent news,[97] business information[98] and the technology of agriculture.[99] The essays also touch on different literary genres, such as novels,[100] travel notes,[101] and poetry.[102] The journal not only focuses on China and Japan, it also extends its scope to other countries in East and Southeast Asia, such as the Philippines[103] and Korea.[104]

In *Repository*, Summers published translations of essays from other languages,[105] but he only wrote five articles on the Chinese language himself, including a book list (Summers 1967 [1864c], pp. 167–168), reviews, and literary notices.[106] Therefore, only two of his essays focus on Chinese, namely, 'On the application of the Roman alphabet to the language and various

[97] e.g., Anonymous (1967 [1865b], pp. 399–400).
[98] e.g., Anonymous (1967 [1864a], p. 126).
[99] e.g., Anonymous (1967 [1864b], pp. 199–209).
[100] e.g., H. C. trans. (1864, pp. 357–365).
[101] e.g., Satow (1967 [1865], pp. 305–312, pp. 361–380, pp. 425–437, pp. 465–472, pp. 521–528, pp. 569–577).
[102] e. g., Anonymous (1967 [1865c], pp. 484–487).
[103] e.g., Loney (1967 [1865], pp. 89–91).
[104] e.g., Anonymous (1967 [1865a], pp. 236–238).
[105] e.g., De Lauture (1863, pp. 32–36).
[106] e.g., Summers (1863e, pp. 36–42; 1967 [1864d], pp. 26–28; 1967 [1865b], pp. 195–196).

spoken dialects of China and Japan' (Summers 1863d, pp. 112–124) and 'Sketch of the Chinese language and literature' (Summers 1865a, pp. 401–408).[107] The former essay explains how to use the Roman alphabet to record Chinese and Japanese texts, while the latter article provides a brief introduction to the Chinese language from phonetics to lexicology, following the path paved in his *Handbook*.

Many subscribers of the journal were also authors of the articles in the journal. This phenomenon reflects the limited audiences of the journal, probably due to its unaffordability to the general public in England. In order to earn more money for the publication, Summers offered to translate advertisements into Chinese to publish them in the *Repository*.[108] This anticipated his *Flying Dragon*, which will be discussed next.

[107] At the end of this essay, it says "to be continued". However, this volume is the last one of the *Repository*, which shows a sudden closure of the journal.
[108] This paragraph about the readers and the problems of the *Repository* is summarized from Yǐn Wénjuān's work (2020, p. 36).

3.7 *Flying Dragon Reporter*


The Flying Dragon Reporter

飛龍報篇

Figure 6: Title page of the first issue of *Flying Dragon*[109]

Flying Dragon is different from the other journals published by Summers. It is written mainly in Chinese (cf. Figure 6), and is a monthly commercial leaflet or newspaper. For example, the first issue includes information about banks, products of sugar companies and so on. There is also some recent European news, interesting general knowledge, such as an introduction to the ostrich (No. 14, 1867), and other articles in the paper. Its potential readers were East Asians, especially Chinese, who were interested in European products, but also Western people who lived in Singapore, Yokohama, Batavia, etc.[110] This is the reason why it was at first published

[109] © British Library Board Asia, Pacific & Africa OP.711, General Reference Collection 1867–1870 LOU.LON 71A [1867] 14 Jan 1867–Dec 1870, 0001.

[110] 'Trade with the far East', 'Supplement to the *Flying Dragon Reporter*', No. 14, 1867.

only in Chinese. It is said to be the first newspaper printed in Chinese in Europe (Huáng Hú and Fàn Shūjié 2004, p. 60; Kwan 2018, p. 58).[111]

In the first twelve issues, the characters are hand-written vertically from right to left without punctuation, just like the composition of traditional Chinese literature. Issues No. 13 to No. 16 (1867), however, are partially printed and partially hand-written. Summers wrote that he bought metal fonts from Hong Kong with the funds that he received by selling the *Flying Dragon*. He then could print almost all the Chinese characters by himself.[112] Therefore, from issue No. 17 (1867) onwards, the newsletter is printed almost exclusively with movable type called *huózì* 活字. English translations begin to appear in later issues, for example, the "European news for Orientals" (No. 52, 1870), which may indicate the expansion or a change in the target reader. Figure 7 suggests that the *Flying Dragon* got orders from Singapore and some islands in the Southeast Asia. In the thirteenth issue (1867), Summers mentioned for the first time *Zhàwǎmǎlǐshuō* 乍瓦馬理說 and a text with an adaptation of Arabic script (see Figure 7).

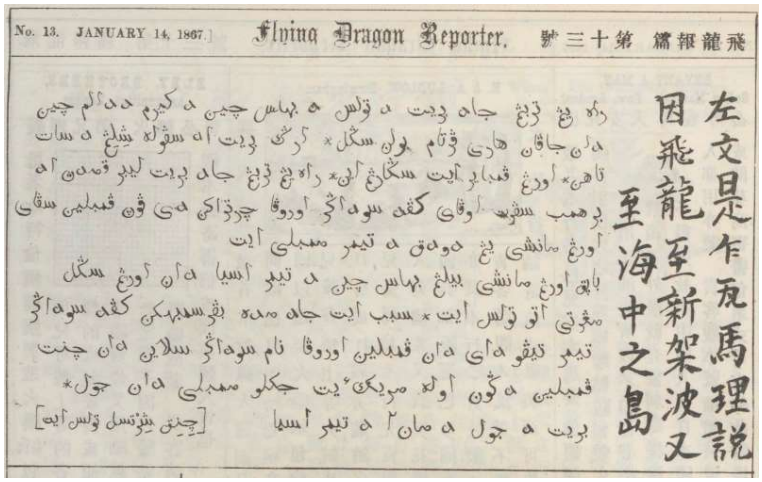


Figure 7: Javanese Pégon or Gundil in *Flying Dragon*[113]

These scripts are called Javanese *Pégon* or *Gundil*, used in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries (Coulmas 1999, pp. 243–245). The *Pégon* text provides a brief introduction to the *Flying Dragon*, which might serve as the advertisement of the magazine in Indonesia.[114] The Chinese text says (Figure 7):

[111] The first foreign journal published in Chinese was the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (1815–1822) by Morrison in Malacca (Masini 1997, p. 13).
[112] This can be found in: 'Editor's notes for advertisement', *Flying Dragon Reporter*, No. 13, 1867 and Whitaker (31 January 1867).
[113] © British Library Board Asia, Pacific & Africa OP.711 General Reference Collection 1867–1870 LOU.LON 71A [1867] 14 Jan 1867–Dec 1870, 0049.
[114] A special thanks to Dr. Kurstin Gatt (University of Malta) and Farda Ayu Sekar Rini. Dr Gatt identified the Arabic alphabet and some diacritics in the text and pointed out to the author that the latter are used to accommodate

> 左文是乍瓦馬理說 因飛龍至新架坡 又至海中之島
>
> The scripts on the left are *Zhàwǎmǎlǐshuō*. [They are included in this issue] since the *Flying Dragon* has reached Singapore and islands in the sea. [English translation mine]

The number of pages of each issue in the *Flying Dragon* is not fixed. Some issues consist of only one page (for example, No. 1, 1866) while others contain eight (No. 16, 1867). Some of the same advertisements appear in different issues.

The writing style of the articles in the *Flying Dragon* is close to literary Chinese in general, even though some of the words are very colloquial. Many of the articles contain linguistic errors, but a few of them, for example "A collection of recent news" (No. 45, 1869, see below), are written in proper and elegant literary Chinese. Considering the stylistic inconsistencies in the texts, it is very likely that there was more than one author of these Chinese articles.

3.7.1 The authorship of the Chinese articles in the Flying Dragon

Summers was the only editor of the *Flying Dragon*. In issues No. 11 and No. 12, an article that introduces the journal clarifies that Summers compiled the *Flying Dragon* without anyone else's help:

> 纂輯《飛龍》者，不過愚弟，姓申名雅客，或叫心麻士。先居在中國四年，學華語，[…] 要利於中華內地之民 (No. 11, 1866; No. 12, 1866)
>
> The person who compiles *The Flying Dragon* is only me myself, with the surname *Shēn* and name *Yǎkè*. I can also be called *Xīnmáshì*. I lived in China for four years, and learnt Chinese… I would like to bring benefits to the Chinese people. [English translation mine]

The personal pronoun he used to refer to himself here is *yúdì* 愚弟 (see above). In his *Handbook*, Summers stated clearly (1863a, p. 66):

> The substitutes for the personal pronoun *I* and *my* are, 小弟 lit. 'small younger brother', for *I* […] 愚 lit. 'stupid', for *I*, especially in letters.

These self-abasing terms were acknowledged by Summers. Therefore, he himself wrote this small article and clarified that he was the only editor. Besides, the supplement of the *Flying*

non-Arabic sounds. Ms Rini and her friends helped the author to understand the main idea of the *Pégon* text.

Dragon also implies that there is only one editor (1867).[115] However, he was not the author of all the Chinese articles published within it.

In the 'Supplement to the *Flying Dragon Reporter*', the following quotation is worth mentioning:

> In ordering Advertisements to be inserted, a limit as to price for a series should be named. The particulars should be sent to Mr. G. Street (30, Cornhill, London), who will have a draft of translation prepared and submitted to the Advertisers. In case of no advertisement being inserted, 5 per cent. on the annual cost will be charged as a fee for the Translator. (No. 14, 1867)

Mr. G. Street was a publishing agency, which is mentioned as early as the fourth issue of the *Flying Dragon* (April 1866). The merchants that were interested in advertising with the journal had to contact the agency, which would also provide a Chinese translation of the advertisement. The translator would then receive a commission, which means that it was very likely that *Flying Dragon* had a regular translator.

One cannot ignore that most of the Chinese articles in the *Flying Dragon* are very poorly written, with many grammatically incorrect sentences and evidence of immature writing skills, just like the abovementioned self-introduction and the article shown in Figure 1 in Chapter 1. An early Chinese diplomat, Zhāng Déyí (1847–1919), claimed in his *Ouměi huányóu jì* (歐美環遊記 *Travel Notes in Europe and America*) when he travelled to Europe in 1867 that *Flying Dragon* was well printed, but the grammar of its articles is quite poor ("文法不甚佳", 1981, p. 112).

However, there are two articles that are very well written. In issues No. 30 (June 1868, p. 137) and No. 36 (December 1868, p. 185), an article written from a first-person perspective by a Chinese man, Liú Xūndào (劉勛道), was published. Liú stated that he was from Dinghai, Zhejiang, and he came from a family of scholars. After the decline of his family, he had no choice but to work on British ships, and finally ended up in Britain. In the article, he stated that Britain is a great country with outstanding people. Considering the contents of this article, it could also be that Summers found a Chinese person to write about what a great country Britain was in order to propagandize the advertised products in his *Flying Dragon*. The full text is as follows:

[115] The original text reads: "[i]t is edited by a gentleman" [emphasis mine] ('Trade with the far East', 'Supplement to the *Flying Dragon Reporter*', No. 14, 1867).

現今世界之人，或是往本地，或是往外國去者，都喜聽各樣新聞，知道各處物。吾本是中國浙江省寧波府定海人氏，居住在狀元橋東、官廟前，姓劉名勛道，字梅生。吾家本是世代書香，是從咸豐皇帝年間流落在上海，卻被賊子作亂，吾無路可走，只得到英船用工度日，赴倫敦，現多久居英國多年。英國地界有四拾洲，馬頭、府縣不計其數。有大京城，名叫倫敦。京城長闊週圍四拾餘里，縱橫大約十里。前有錦江之險，四面八方清山綠水，有樹木奇花之茂盛。若說風土，國富民貴。時有營紘之樂，歲無水旱之憂。所產之物，阜積如山。人物，文有相如之賦，武有伏波之才，醫有仲景之能，下有君平之穩。九流三教，出乎其類；天文地理，無所不知。其萃者，不可勝記。若說到京都富貴子第豈能盡數！文官軍將，智勇作備，忠義慷慨。賢士才子之計其數。營伍軍容，人馬威儀，旌旗蔽目，劍戟森林。女有沉魚之容，閉月羞花之形。京都街上，其闊非凡：車馬轟轟，行人不直，在街方過，然妙景勝他鄉，無窮妙處，無窮處！真是風月無邊，妙不可言。此乃天下九州萬國第錦繡之京都也！戶口三百萬，屋宇三十一萬，街頭五家臺，灣一直共三千里。 (No. 30, 1868, p. 137; No. 36,1868, p. 185, punctuation marks added)

People who either travel domestically or abroad nowadays in the world all like to listen to different kinds of news and like to know different things. I was born in Dinghai, Ningbo, Zhejiang province, China. My house used to be in the east of Zhuangyuan bridge and in front of Guanmiao. My name is Liú Xūndào, Méishēng. My family used to be a scholars' family for generations. In the Xianfeng period, I was stranded in Shanghai and harassed by thugs. I had no other choice but to work on British ships to survive. I then went to London and have now stayed here for many years. There are forty stated in Britain with countless docks and counties. There is a big capital city called London. The perimeter of the city is about forty *li*, while its diameter is around ten *li*. In the front lies a beautiful river to guard it, with clear mountains and waters surrounding it from all directions and lush trees and beautiful

flowers. The country is prosperous and the people are wealthy. They are always happy about the environment, without worries of droughts and floods. They can produce a lot of goods. They have top literates, good soldiers, nice doctors and great thinkers. They know all things both in humanistic studies and natural sciences. The remarkable ones among them are too many to all be named. It is impossible to count the outstanding young people from the rich and noble families, too. Their generals and militaries are brave and loyal. There are countless wise men in the country. Their army is well equipped. The women in the country are beautiful and elegant. The streets of London are wide. Many carriages and horses pass by and a lot of pedestrians walk by. The wonderful scenery is better than any other places, which is impossible to describe. This is the most splendid capital in the world. It has three million households, three hundred thousand houses, five towers in the streets and three thousand miles in the bay. [English translation mine]

This article is well-worded with skillful figures of speech, that show an exquisite literary style. Despite a few minor errors, such as the last character in 旌旗蔽目, which should be *rì* 日 'sun', it proves that its author, Liú Xūndào, was well-educated.

The other well-written article is the following:

近事輯聞

王紫詮廣文，中國吳郡人。前至倫敦京都時，曾來見余。言所刊《飛龍報篇》，采輯奇聞異事，美不勝收，茲已遍布中國各省，誠足以增廣智識，開拓見聞也。惜其時，王君忽一往北境蘇覺攔，未得縷談。茲蒙惠書於余，述其遊覽蘇覺亂京，名"勝爰爲略登"，數則，如左：蘇土之中，有村曰"都拉"。樹木蔥茂，泉澗瀠洄，四圍皆山，一碧數里。附近有靈伯倫囿，廣袤萬頃。每至夏時，士女往遊者，絡繹不絕。中有瀑布一條，從空下注，匯成巨池，尤為勝景。(No. 45, 1869, p. 260, punctuation added)

Recent events

Wáng Zǐquán, Guǎngwén, born in Wujun, China. When he arrived in London, he came to visit me. He said that the *Flying Dragon* collected anecdotes and interesting things. It is very good and has been diffused

> all over China. It is enough to broaden one's knowledge. It is a pity that at that time, he suddenly went to North of Scotland. We could not chat with each other about details. He sent me letters to describe his tour in the capital of Scotland, named Edinburgh. Some [sentences] of [his letter] are as follows: in Scotland, there is a village called Dollar. There are lush trees, nice springs and curving brooks there. The village is surrounded by mountains, with miles of green plants. Castel Campbell is nearby, which stretches for ten thousand hectares. Every summer, many gentlemen and ladies travel there. There is a waterfall in the middle, pouring from the sky and converging into a giant pool, which is particularly spectacular. [English translation mine]

Wáng Zǐquán (1828–1897), i.e., Wáng Tāo, was a Chinese scholar, who used to work at London Missionary Society Press run by Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857) in Shanghai, and helped Legge translate Chinese classics (cf. Appendix 1). He travelled in European countries like France and Britain (1867–1879), and wrote *Roaming Notes with Illustrations* (1890) to record his trips (Wáng Yīchuān 1999, pp. 58–66). In this book, he wrote that he had had a long conversation with Summers.[116] The above article in the *Flying Dragon* introduces one part of Wáng's trip in Britain from the perspective of Summers. Not only is it grammatically and semantically correct, but it is also very sophisticated in its skill and style, even better than the first article by Liú Xūndào. Unfortunately, there is not enough material to know about the authorship of this article.

These articles suggest that Summers knew some Chinese people and even scholars in London. However, it remains a puzzle why he did not ask Liú Xūndào or other well-educated native Chinese speakers to translate or edit the translation of the articles in the *Flying Dragon*. One of the possibilities could be that he felt confident enough of his own Chinese proficiency, or that he wanted to save money and therefore translated most of the articles and advertisements himself.

3.7.2 The articles about linguistics in the Flying Dragon

In the *Flying Dragon*, there are several short articles educating its readers on some basic knowledge of European languages, especially English. Summers was not the first Westerner

[116] The original text reads: "詹那以馬車來迓，同往見申雅客，坐談久之始別" (Wáng Tāo 2004 [1890], p. 156). However, no sentence in this article in *Flying Dragon* is quoted from Wáng's book, and the latter was published much later.

who published materials about the English language in Chinese. Morrison did the same kind of work in his *A Grammar of the English Language* (1823), published in Macau for the students in his Anglo-Chinese college. In Boston, Massachusetts, *A Guide to Conversation in the English and Chinese Languages for the Use of Americans and Chinese in California and Elsewhere* (1854), a work similar in scope, was published by Stanislas Hernisz (1805–1866). However, Summers was very likely to have been the first who published on European linguistics in Chinese in Europe, although his articles are far from systematic.[117]

There are in total eight such articles, introducing the pronunciation of each English letter with a transliteration in Chinese characters (i.e., '寫番音以漢字之法', No. 1, 1866 ; No. 2, 1866), English syllables and the kinship of European languages (i.e., '論及英話何樣', No. 7, 1866), elementary words and a brief vocabulary (i.e., '論外國語', No. 8, 1866), parts of speech (i.e., '論英國話語', No. 9, 1866), numbers (i.e., '論及英國話歐洲數目字用', No. 10, 1866), conjugation of verbs (i.e., '論大英國之言話', No. 11, 1866), the order of reading English words (i.e., '論歐羅吧之話語讀法', No. 20, 1867; No. 25, 1868) and a Chinese article with an English literal translation (i.e., '日風相賭', No. 20, 1867). He wrote these articles mainly for Chinese merchants, because he stated:

> 中國人讀英國是甚緊為之，英人目下做大生意在中國。(No. 8, 1866)
>
> It is very important for Chinese people to read about Britain, [since] the British now are doing big business in China. [English translation mine]

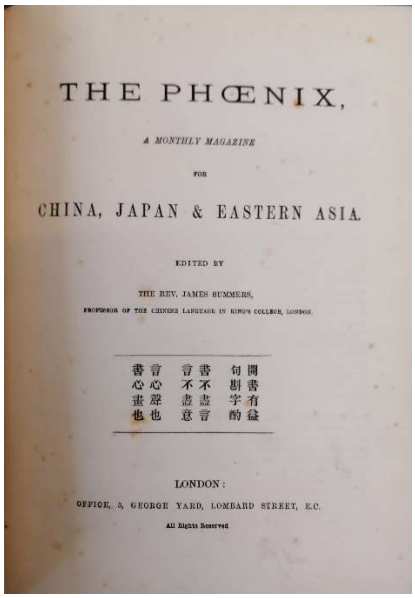
3.8 *Notes on Writing Chinese with Roman Letters*[118]

John Bellows (1831–1902) edited the book *English Outline Vocabulary*, and Summers' *Notes* appears as the preface of the second edition (1868). Bellows' own part only consists of a word list of essential English vocabulary on the one side and corresponding blank spaces on the other side of each page. The blanks spaces were meant to be filled in by missionaries who wished to record local languages when they arrived at some new place (Bellows and Bellows 1904).

[117] Aside from these examples, Chinese people also compiled and published some books for learning English in the nineteenth century (cf. Jì Yāxī and Chén Wěimín 2007, pp. 275–323).
[118] Hereafter: *Notes*.

Summers' *Notes* emphasises the importance of accurately transcribing the pronunciation of Chinese characters by employing the Roman alphabetic system. Summers argued that the tones are more important than any other element of the syllable in Chinese (1868, p. 3). He recommended to always use some established notation system, for example, Wade's system for the Peking dialect (1868, p. 6). By placing this essay before his word list, Bellows seems to suggest to his readers to use Summers' essay as a general guideline for transcribing sounds of unknown languages using the Roman alphabetic system.

3.9 *The Phoenix, a Monthly Magazine for China, Japan & Eastern Asia* [119]


THE PHŒNIX,

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

FOR

CHINA, JAPAN & EASTERN ASIA.

EDITED BY

THE REV. JAMES SUMMERS,

PROFESSOR OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

書言　言書　句圓
心心　不不　斷書
盡辭　盡盡　字有
也也　意言　酌益

LONDON:

OFFICE, 5, GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD STREET, E.C.

Figure 8: Title page of *Phoenix*[120]

The *Phoenix* was published between July 1870 and June 1873. It was compiled into three volumes: Volume 1 binds the issues published from July 1870 to June 1871; Volume 2 contain issues from July 1871 to June 1872; and Volume 3 those from July 1872 to June 1873. When Summers resigned from his post at King's College London and went to Japan in 1873, the journal had to cease publication although he had planned more articles for it. For example, the British naturalist Brian Houghton Hodgson (ca. 1800–1894) had already prepared more essays to introduce Nepal and other areas for this journal and had to submit them elsewhere due to Summers' abrupt departure (Hodgson 1874, p. vi). The themes of the articles in this journal are similar yet broader in scope compared to those of the *Chinese and Japanese Repository*, discussed in Section 6. In Volumes 2 and 3, the title was changed to *The Phoenix, a Monthly*

[119] Hereafter: *Phoenix*.
[120] Leiden University Libraries 5 328 D 17–19.

Magazine for India, Burma, Siam, China, Japan and Eastern Asia. Several essays in *Phoenix* discuss some lesser-known languages and cultures of Asia, such as the language of Nepal (Hodgson 1870, pp. 43–45, pp. 59–62). In this series of publications, Summers did not include many of his own essays, only a few book reviews regarding the topic of the Chinese language.

The journal was supported by many authors and scholars, who submitted their essays without asking for any remuneration (Summers 1870a, pp. iii–iv, p. iv). Some advertisements for the journal can also be found, for example, in the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* (1872).

3.10 *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office*[121]

As stated in the preface of the *Catalogue* (Summers 1872, p. iv), Summers compiled this catalogue in 1872, with the help of elite European scholars Julien, Edkins, Ernst Johann Eitel (1838–1908), Wylie, and Samuel Beal (1825–1889). The difficulties that he encountered when editing this book include the translation of the book titles, the names of the authors, the confusion of the publication dates, and the correspondence between Chinese titles and the Sanskrit titles of the Buddhist collections (Summers 1872, p. iv). Summers selected some of the collections and introduced them briefly according to their categories. The books are divided into three types in the *Catalogue*, namely "Language", "Philosophy and Religion", and "Miscellaneous Works".

The books listed under "Language" (1872, pp. 1–12) are divided into three sections: ancient inscriptions, dictionaries, and encyclopaedias. In the category of ancient inscriptions, Summers introduced the *Examples of Scrolls and Inscriptions on the Bells, Tripods, Vases, and Vessels of Successive Ages* (1797)[122] and three more books. By mistake, Summers stated that *Siuen ho* 宣和 was the pseudonym of the author (1872, p. 2), but it was actually one of the reign titles of the Song Dynasty.

The second category is dictionaries. Summers argued that Chinese scholars arranged their dictionaries according to three methods: (1) the form of the characters (radical); (2) the "name" of the characters (rhyme); and (3) the meaning (1872, p. 3). He then introduced the dictionaries

[121] The years of publication and transcriptions of all ancient books in this section are from the *Catalogue*, unless otherwise indicated.

[122] Known as *Xuēshì zhōngdǐng kuǎnzhì* 薛式鐘鼎款識 or *Lìdài zhōngdǐng yíqì kuǎnzhì fǎtiè* 歷代鐘鼎彝器款識法帖, written by Xuē Shànggōng (薛尚功, Song dynasty). The text was engraved as lithoglyph in 1144. This book includes an ample collection of inscriptions on sacrificial vessels (Hú Yùshù 1992, pp. 373–374).

of *Tsz wei* (字彙 *Character's Collected*, 1615, Summers 1872, p. 5), *Kanghi's Code or Canon of Characters* (i.e., *Dictionary of Kāngxī*, Summers 1872, p. 6), etc. Most of the dictionaries in this category are about Chinese, but there are some on Japanese, Korean, and Manchu.

Summers introduced two books under the section of encyclopaedias: *Tsien kio lüi shu* (潛確類書 *Encyclopedia Written in House Tsienkio*, 1632, Summers 1872, p. 10) and *Yuen kien lüi han* (淵鑑類函 *The Fathomless Mirror*, 1710, Summers 1872, p. 11).

The category "Philosophy and Religion" (1872, pp. 13–48) includes ancient Chinese classics, Confucianist works and Buddhist works. Ancient Chinese classics consist of many editions and annotations of the Five Classics. Summers specially explained the sacredness of the Classics (*jīng* 经) in Chinese culture. Some works he mentioned here do not belong to the category of the Classics, for example, *Er ya yin t'u* (爾雅音圖 *The Words of the Er-ya, an Ancient Dictionary of Classical Synonyms, &c., with Plates*, dates unknown, Summers 1872, p. 20). The collection of texts on Confucianism contains various editions of the Four Books and *Hiau king* (孝經 *The Classic of Filial Piety*, dates unknown, Summers 1872, p. 23). There are twenty-seven books under the category of "Buddhist works", including *Ta pan nyi po lo nu to king* (大般若波羅密多經 *Mahâ Prajnâ Pâramitâ Sûtra*, 630, Summers 1872, p. 24) translated into Chinese by Hiuen-ts'ang (玄奘, 602–664) etc., seventy-two in total. The Library of the India Office owned a considerable amount of Buddhist works (1872, p. iii).

The list of miscellaneous works (1872, pp. 49–65) contains texts which are difficult to classify. In this part, Summers introduced literary books, for example, *The Fortunate Union* (1872, p. 51); philosophical works such as *Chutsz tsuenshu* (朱子全書 *The Complete Works of Chutsz*, dates unknown, Summers 1872, pp. 49–50); works in translation, such as *Ching yin tsui yau* (正音撮要 *The Important Points of the True Sounds*, 1852, Summers 1872, p. 49) and *The Bible* (Summers 1872, p. 56, translated into Chinese by Joshua Marshman); a book about martial arts, i.e., *Wu kien tsi* (舞劍集 *On Fencing*, dates unknown, Summers 1872, p. 65); and even a book of pictures of beauties, one known as *Pe mei sin yung t'u chuen* (百美新詠圖傳 *Portraits and Accounts of Celebrated Beauties*, dates unknown, Summers 1872, p. 53), etc. There are twenty-three books in total.

The classification of the collection is problematic, because it leads to too many "Miscellaneous works". The appendix of this catalogue (1872, pp. 66–70) is even less well categorised. It lists books on the Chinese language, such as *C'hu hio Yue yin tsi yau* (初學粵

音切要 *The Beginner's Requirements in the Canton Sounds*, 1855, Summers 1872, p. 66), as well as lists books on teaching English to Chinese students, for example, *Chi wan k'i mung* (智環啟蒙 *Graduated Reading*, 1856, Summers 1872, p. 66). There are also some Japanese books, such as *Ching pu kiau* (正卜考 *On Divination*, 1858, Summers 1872, p. 67). There are nineteen books in total listed in the appendix of *Catalogue*.

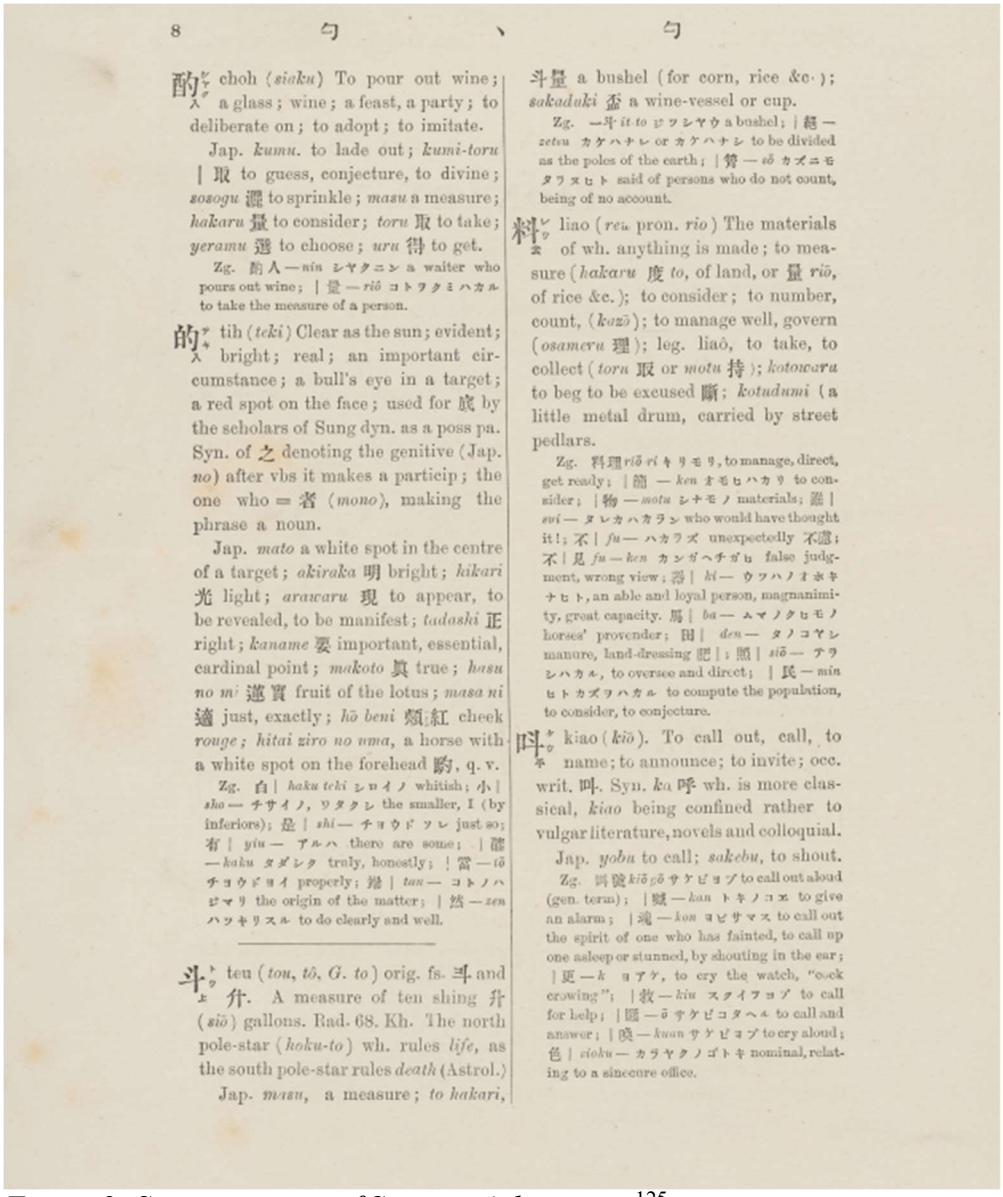
Summers' catalogue is the first of the East Asian collections of the India Office Library (Kwan 2018, p. 75), and it was quite an achievement. There are some mistakes in it. However, it must be regarded as the first attempt as a basis for further research.

3.11 *On Chinese Lexicography, with Proposals for a New Arrangement of the Characters of That Language* [123]

In 1872, a number of Americans and Europeans who lived in Japan and wanted to learn more about Japanese culture decided to established the Asiatic Society of Japan in Yokohama. Today, they are known as the pioneers of Japanology. They met frequently to discuss their views on Japan-related topics, and a journal was published in English carrying the title *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* since 1874.[124] On 23 January 1884, Summers delivered a lecture called *Lexicography* when the society met. It was afterwards published in their annual journal.

Summers started the speech by narrating the long history and continuity of the Chinese language and its characters. An introduction to the script followed, including its evolution and style. He discussed principles of arranging Chinese characters in various dictionaries in order to provide arguments for his own method, which he felt was to be preferred above all others. Summers stated that the users of his dictionary would be provided with an easy way to look up characters. They would need to firstly remove the radical parts from the rest of the character. The latter he called the "Root-key" (1884b, p. 179), and he continued to explain how to identify the "Root-key" by separating the characters into components. For example, if a character only consists of radicals, then the "Root-key" should be either the right or the bottom radical in the character, like 叫 jiào 'to call' in Summers' own example (cf. Figure 9).

[123] Hereafter: *Lexicography*.
[124] This brief introduction to the society is based on Kendrick (1978, p. 13, p. 19).



8 勹 丶 勹

酌 choh (*siaku*) To pour out wine; a glass; wine; a feast, a party; to deliberate on; to adopt; to imitate.

Jap. *kumu.* to lade out; *kumi-toru* | 取 to guess, conjecture, to divine; *sosogu* 灑 to sprinkle; *masu* a measure; *hakaru* 量 to consider; *toru* 取 to take; *yeramu* 選 to choose; *uru* 得 to get.

Zg. 酌人—*nin* シヤクニン a waiter who pours out wine; | 量—*riō* コトヲクミハカル to take the measure of a person.

的 tih (*teki*) Clear as the sun; evident; bright; real; an important circumstance; a bull's eye in a target; a red spot on the face; used for 底 by the scholars of Sung dyn. as a poss pa. Syn. of 之 denoting the genitive (Jap. *no*) after vbs it makes a particip; the one who = 者 (*mono*), making the phrase a noun.

Jap. *mato* a white spot in the centre of a target; *akiraka* 明 bright; *hikari* 光 light; *arawaru* 現 to appear, to be revealed, to be manifest; *tadashi* 正 right; *kaname* 要 important, essential, cardinal point; *makoto* 眞 true; *hasu no mi* 蓮實 fruit of the lotus; *masa ni* 適 just, exactly; *hō beni* 頬紅 cheek rouge; *hitai ziro no uma*, a horse with a white spot on the forehead 駒, q. v.

Zg. 白 | *haku teki* シロイノ whitish; 小 | *shō*— チサイノ, ワタクシ the smaller, I (by inferiors); 是 | *shi*— チヨウドソレ just so; 有 | *yiu*— アルハ there are some; | 確—*kaku* タダシク truly, honestly; | 當—*tō* チヨウドヨイ properly; 緣 | *tan*— コトノハジマリ the origin of the matter; | 然—*zen* ハツキリスル to do clearly and well.

斗 teu (*tou, tô, G. to*) orig. fs. 斗 and 升. A measure of ten shing 升 (*siō*) gallons. Rad. 68. Kh. The north pole-star (*hoku-to*) wh. rules *life*, as the south pole-star rules *death* (Astrol.)

Jap. *masu*, a measure; *to hakari*, 斗量 a bushel (for corn, rice &c.); *sakaduki* 盃 a wine-vessel or cup.

Zg. 一斗 *it-to* ヒトツシヤウ a bushel; | 絕—*zetsu* カケハナレ or カケハナシ to be divided as the poles of the earth; | 筲—*shō* カズニモタラヌヒト said of persons who do not count, being of no account.

料 liao (*reu* pron. *rio*) The materials of wh. anything is made; to measure (*hakaru* 度 *to*, of land, or 量 *riō*, of rice &c.); to consider; to number, count, (*kazō*); to manage well, govern (*osameru* 理); leg. liaò, to take, to collect (*toru* 取 or *motu* 持); *kotowaru* to beg to be excused 斷; *kotudumi* (a little metal drum, carried by street pedlars.

Zg. 料理 *riō ri* キリモリ, to manage, direct, get ready; | 簡 —*ken* オモヒハカリ to consider; | 物 —*motu* シナモノ materials; 誰 | *sui*— タレカハカラン who would have thought it!; 不 | *fu*— ハカラズ unexpectedly 不意; 不 | 見 *fu*—*ken* カンガヘチガヒ false judgment, wrong view; 器 | *ki*— ウツハノオホキナヒト, an able and loyal person, magnanimity, great capacity. 馬 | *ba*— ムマノクヒモノ horses' provender; 田 | *den*— タノコヤシ manure, land-dressing 肥 | ; 照 | *shō*— テラシハカル, to oversee and direct; | 民—*min* ヒトカズヲハカル to compute the population, to consider, to conjecture.

叫 kiao (*kiō*). To call out, call, to name; to announce; to invite; occ. writ. 叫. Syn. *ka* 呼 wh. is more classical, *kiao* being confined rather to vulgar literature, novels and colloquial.

Jap. *yobu* to call; *sakebu*, to shout.

Zg. 叫號 *kiō gō* サケビヨブ to call out aloud (gen. term); | 賊—*kan* トキノコヱ to give an alarm; | 魂—*kon* ヨビサマス to call out the spirit of one who has fainted, to call up one asleep or stunned, by shouting in the ear; | 更—*k* ヨアケ, to cry the watch, "cock crowing"; | 救—*kiu* スクイヲヨブ to call for help; | 應—*ō* サケビコタヘル to call and answer; | 喚—*kuan* サケビヨブ to cry aloud; 色 | *sioku*— カラヤクノゴトキ nominal, relating to a sinecure office.

Figure 9: Specimen page of Summers' dictionary[125]

The left part 口 and the right part 斗 are both radicals, with 斗 being the "Root-key". Afterwards, the "Root-keys" have to be broken down into strokes. The characters are arranged according to the first strokes of their "Root-keys". Thus, the character 叫 is found under the index *dot* "丶". The task of identifying the strokes and memorizing the order of strokes is comparatively easy for students to grasp, according to Summers. This way of organizing characters would enable students to use the dictionary efficiently (1884b, p. 181).

In 1208, Hán Dàozhāo (韓道昭, ca. 1170–1230) sorted characters by removing their radicals first and arranging them according to the number of strokes of the rest of the character (Bottéro 2017, p. 591). Summers' method follows a similar routine, but instead of counting the

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number of strokes, one has to figure out the stroke order of the characters. It is debatable whether Summers' method makes the process of identifying characters easier for students who have no prior knowledge of radicals. Furthermore, Summers stated that his dictionary includes approximately 12,000 characters (1884a) arranged under six strokes (1884b, p. 178), which leads to another issue in Summers' approach: on average, 2000 characters are classified under the same category. Therefore, his method does not appear to be more efficient for finding characters compared to the method of classifying characters under two hundred radicals.

In the journal, it is reported that after the lecture, a lively discussion followed. An attendee argued that a dictionary is always useful but one cannot give a comment on Summers' methods before the publication of the dictionary. It seems that those present were confused and unsure about such a work. Summers never published a dictionary employing this method in the end, due to a lack of subscribers and funds (Summers, 14 August 1884).[126]

From all the works presented in this chapter, it is evident that Summers was not only a Chinese teacher but also an editor and a publisher whose interests lay in the Chinese language and in cultures of East and Southeast Asia.

[126] Compiling a dictionary seemed to have been one of Summers' dreams. He also planned to compile a six- or eight-volume dictionary of the "complete 'thesaurus'" of the Chinese language between 1866 and 1869, but it was never published (*The London and China Telegraph*, 1865, p. 445; Cordier 2003 [1878], pp. 694–700, p. 765).

Part III: Summers and Chinese grammar

Chapter 4. Summers and the claim that Chinese is a "monosyllabic language"

Since the early seventeenth century, Ricci and Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) initiated the argument that the Chinese language is monosyllabic, implying that there is a one-to-one relationship between syllable and word. This was a general assumption until the twentieth century (DeFrancis 1984, p. 177; Yáo Xiǎopíng 2011b, pp. 489–490; Vermaas 2017, p. 432), and it is referred to as the "Monosyllabic Myth" by Kennedy (1951) and DeFrancis (1984). Many of Summers' precursors shared this idea; their arguments are presented later in this chapter. In this chapter, I first evaluate the notion that Chinese is monosyllabic at the level of the word. Next, I will introduce Summers' ideas on the topic: what was his point of view on the matter and how did he come to his conclusions?

4.1 A general introduction to Chinese as "monosyllabic" at the level of the word

Packard (2004, pp. 7–13) presented various ways of defining the notion "word", and based on this, Vermaas (2017) evaluated the claim that Chinese words are monosyllabic. The first question is: what is a word? To answer this question, the following considerations may be taken into account.

First, there is the notion of the "orthographic word". Orthographic words are defined from the perspective of the writing system, with everything between two spaces being regarded as an orthographic word. If a writing system does not employ spaces, as was the case in the ancient Roman *scriptura continua* (Linell 2005, p. 13), then, by the above definition, there are no orthographic words. For the Chinese writing system, the character counts as the orthographic word (Vermaas 2017, p. 433). As a result, since there is a one-to-one relationship between syllable and character (in most scenarios), every syllable, regardless of its lexical status, will correspond to the notion of the "orthographic word". However, besides using Chinese characters, the Chinese language can also be written with alphabetic writing systems, for example, the *Pinyin* system. The revised version of the *Basic Rules of the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet Orthography* (GB/T16159-2012), published in mainland China, stipulates that under certain circumstances, two or more syllables can be joined together, thus forming an orthographic word, that is longer than one syllable (2012, 5.1 and 5.2, p. 2).

Second, a word can also be defined as a combination of form and meaning, which needs to be committed to memory (Packard 2004, p. 9). This is called the "lexical word", the concept of which is closely linked to entries listed in dictionaries. In the Chinese tradition, entries are

normally monosyllabic characters. There are, of course, expressions and idioms that are not monosyllabic, and their form and the corresponding meaning have to be memorised as well. Nowadays, Chinese dictionaries also take words as entries, such as the *Xiàndài Hānyù cídiǎn* (現代漢語詞典 *Modern Chinese Dictionary*). In this sense, lexical words in Chinese are not necessarily monosyllabic.

Third, words can be defined as units that express complete and basic semantic notions. They are called "semantic words". However, the concept of "complete and basic semantic notion" is not well-defined (Packard 2004, p. 10). It comes close to the smallest meaningful form (Bloomfield 1926, p. 155), in other words, the morpheme (Vermaas 2017, p. 434). For Chinese, a semantic word would be the same as an orthographic word if based on the script, as there is, by and large, a one-to-one relationship between character and morpheme.

Fourth, there is the "phonological word", which is defined according to phonological criteria. For example, in some cases in speech, pauses demarcate words. Pauses, prosodic features such as stress and tone assignment, and phonological rules such as sandhi rules help to determine what counts as a phonological word (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002, p. 13; Packard 2004, p. 10). In this sense, Chinese words are not necessarily monosyllabic.

A fifth perspective from which one can define the notion of "word" is syntax. From that perspective, words are defined as syntactically minimal free forms or minimal units occupying syntactic slots (Packard 2004, p. 12; Vermaas 2017, p. 434). According to Packard, this criterion is the most widely accepted way of defining words (Packard 2004, p. 12).[127]

From all these different ways of defining words, what is important to keep in mind is, first, that all these different "words" do not, as a general rule, overlap. What counts as a "phonological word" is not necessarily a word according to orthographic or semantic criteria. Second, every time we use the term "word" we have to make clear which definition of the term we go by. As will become clear when I turn to Summers' work, this discussion is especially important in the context of Chinese because, in the history of the Chinese language, the syntactic word has changed in size. Whereas in earlier times, syntactic words generally

[127] These paragraphs on the definition of words is based on Packard (2004, pp. 7–13) and Vermaas (2017). Of course, there are also other ways of defining words. For example, native speakers of a language, who are not professional linguists, would generally consider a linguistic unit, which is smaller than a sentence but bigger than a phoneme, to be a word. The words defined this way are "sociological words", and in Chinese, the sociological word is *zì* 字 (Chao 1968, pp. 136–137). The term *zì* here refers to both the morpheme and the basic unit of the writing system, the character. Sometimes, native speakers also use this term to designate disyllabic and bimorphemic forms. Hence as a sociological word, *zì* does not always correspond to the basic unit of the Chinese writing system (Packard 2004, pp. 14–15). In such cases, it is not equivalent to an orthographic word if based on character writing, and it is not necessarily monosyllabic. For more on this topic, see Di Sciullo and Williams (1987, p. 1), Dai (1997, pp. 112–113), Packard (2004, p. 12) and Vermaas (2017, p. 434).

consisted of one syllable, in Modern Mandarin, most syntactic words are disyllabic (Wáng Lì 2004 [1956], p. 396; 1990, p. 226; Wáng Huàpéng 2000, p. 120). These modern disyllabic words, however, consist of combinations of units that functioned as syntactic words in earlier days. In other words, elements that were "syntactically free forms" at some point in the past lost their freedom, and as such lost their syntactic wordhood. What complicates the situation even more is that, in modern times, but even more so in Summers' time, the written and spoken registers do not always align. This variability leads to a situation wherein what would count as a syntactic word in written Chinese is not necessarily a minimal free form in spoken Mandarin. For example, in the sentence *xué ér shí xí zhī* 學而時習之 'learn and often practice it', *xí* is a syntactic word, whereas in spoken Mandarin, it is a bound morpheme. Several factors contributing to this process of "disyllabification" have been proposed, such as an increase in compounding in response to the need for new words following developments in society (cf. Chéng Xiāngqīng 1992, pp. 58–61; Xú Shíyí 2005, p. 74), Chinese people's preference of even numbers (Hóng Bō 1999, p. 160), the need to cancel homonymy (cf. Lǚ Shūxiāng 1963, p. 21; Li Fang-Kuei 1980 [1973], p. 2; Wáng Lì 2004 [1956], p. 397), a change in syllable weight (Feng 1997, p. 246; 2017, pp. 109–110), dimidiation (Packard 1997, p. 10; Boltz 2017a, p. 87), and the influx of loanwords (Masini 1997, p. 145; Wáng Lì 2004 [1956], p. 396).[128] In what follows, I will present Summers' ideas on the monosyllabism of Chinese.

4.2 Summers' view on the question of whether Chinese is "monosyllabic"

Summers' thoughts were influenced by the myth of language evolution that was popular in the nineteenth century (cf. Chapter 1). For him, all languages were monosyllabic in the very beginning (1864a, p. 5), and Summers distinguished literary Chinese (in his terms, "book language") and colloquial language. The former is monosyllabic (1853b, p. iv), which demonstrates that Chinese is an old language and that literary Chinese has remained unchanged throughout history (1853a, pp. 6–8). Therefore, for Summers, the difference between literary Chinese and colloquial Chinese is not only about style but also about history. In other words, literary Chinese is ancient, while colloquial Chinese is more modern.

Summers argued that colloquial Chinese is a general concept, which includes different varieties of the Chinese language, or in Summers' words, "dialects" (e.g., 1863a, p. xvii; 1853a, p. 28). According to Summers, the differences between the varieties of Chinese are huge because of the vast territory of China and the limited communication between different regions

[128] This matter will not be discussed in this dissertation.

(1853a, p. 28). He stated that most of the Chinese population speaks their own dialect. According to him, although there is Nanjing and Beijing Mandarin, these varieties are only spoken by the few people "who hold a high position or a cultivated station in society", and therefore "[w]e must descend to the mass of the population, and hear what they speak" (1853a, p. 29).

With regard to colloquial Chinese and its varieties, Summers remained convinced throughout his life that colloquial Chinese was not monosyllabic but disyllabic or even polysyllabic at word level (1853b, p. iv; 1863a, p. 41, p. 69, p. 96; 1864a, p. 5).[129] He raised this idea as early as his *Lecture* in 1853 (p. 7) and he held on to it until the third volume of his *Repository* (1967 [1865b], p. 196). Here are some examples:

> a. [T]he local dialects of China are […] full and polysyllabic. [T]he concurrence of two or three syllables […] produce[s] single words. (1853b, Preface, p. iv)
>
> b. The fact that the Chinese generally put two and three syllables together to form a simple notion is enough to show that the term monosyllabic is not applicable to this language. (1863a, p. 96)
>
> c. Monosyllables in Chinese are meaningless; therefore Chinese is not a monosyllabic language. (1864a, p. 5)

According to these quotations, for Summers, words are closely related to expressing ideas, and single words convey simple notions (cf. the semantic criterion to define words as introduced above).

After introducing some basic phonological knowledge of Chinese, Summers wrote the following summary of his ideas on the monosyllabism of Chinese:

> Up to this point we have considered only the *sounds* and *syllables* of the Chinese, independent of any meaning that might be attached to them. We next turn to *words* as the expression of ideas. By a word is here meant one or more syllables, which, on being pronounced, convey but one signification. (1863a, p. 12)

He claimed that (semantic) words in Chinese are not monosyllabic, however, he did not elaborate on what "one signification" means. For him, as long as a unit expresses some meaning, it is a word. Lí Jǐnxī (2007 [1924], p. 16) happened to have the same point of view concerning the definition of words, which may help to clarify Summers' notions:

[129] This is not innovative at his time, see 4.3.1 below.

> No matter it is one character or more, as long as it conveys an idea, it can be called a word […]. Some linguists say that the Chinese language is monosyllabic. However, in reality, a character sometimes does not have any meaning or the meaning is not clear. Most of the time it is necessary to use two characters in order to form a word.[130]

Summers also regarded the phonological form and argued that it is the accent that unifies syllables into a word. Hence, phonological words are not monosyllabic for Summers:

> There are, however, means existing by which these monosyllabic representatives of the characters are wrought into intelligible language. They may be so connected with each other, and so intoned or accented, that we find some cohering, some nearly vanishing, others making themselves heard more clearly, and conforming themselves to the laws of euphony and the conditions of all human speech; and to such a degree does this cohesion, intonation, and accentuation of syllables take place [...]. Every thing depends on accent and emphasis to make a language polysyllabic. Without accent and emphasis, polysyllables become monosyllables. (1864a, p. 6)

Unfortunately, Summers did not explore this idea any further, and this quotation is the only time when Summers mentioned phonology in the context of wordhood.

Nevertheless, when a character is written down, it is considered to be a word, and monosyllabic at that (Summers 1853a, p. 18; 1967 [1865b], p. 196; 1864a, p. 3). This reveals that, for Summers, the Chinese writing system is logo-syllabic; considering the terms developed in Section 1, one can say that for Summers, the orthographic words are monosyllabic in Chinese. However, Summers also noted that if the Chinese language is transcribed with an alphabetic system, the orthographic words are not monosyllabic:

> [I]f the mother tongue of any Chinese were written down from his mouth, with appropriate signs, marking the emphasis and intonation which he produced, and making those syllables coalesce (or nearly so) which he uttered rapidly together, we should find that our production was a polysyllabic tongue—yea, very polysyllabic. (1864a, p. 6).

[130] The original text reads: "不問它是一個字或是幾個字，只要是表達一個觀念的，就叫做詞……有些語言學家都說中國是單音語係。但在中國言語的實際上，一個字有時無意義，有時意義不明，大多數是要兩個字復合才成功一個詞的。"

Summers observed that the confusion about the status of Chinese as monosyllabic is caused by the Chinese writing system:

> The common error which we have to combat is the absurd idea that Chinese is a monosyllabic tongue, and that all you have to do is to commit to memory so many thousand characters, which are, truly enough, representatives of syllables, but not often representatives of words, which are in Chinese mostly dissyllabic. The mistake arises, we conceive, from viewing the Chinese as expressed to the eye by written symbols, and from forgetting that every language is independent of its written characters, and existed long before they were invented. (1967 [1865b], p. 196, emphasis added).

Each character represents a single syllable (1864a, p. 1, pp. 9–10), so when we define the notion of the "word" orthographically, it could be concluded that Chinese is monosyllabic. However, when we only listen to the language, we come to a different conclusion. As can be deduced from the underlined quotation above, when Summers referred to Chinese as a "monosyllabic" or "polysyllabic" language, he meant a language that is monosyllabic or polysyllabic at the level of the word.

Summers explained the reason for the prevalence of disyllabic and polysyllabic words. He claimed that there are not many syllables in Chinese—the total number approximates 400 in Mandarin besides tones and aspirated initial consonants (1853a, p. 19; 1863a, p. 4), so monosyllabic colloquial Chinese would lead to a flood of homonyms. Disyllables, by contrast, can avoid the ambiguity of homonyms (1853b, p. iv). For Summers, this is the reason why disyllables have replaced monosyllables to form words to a great extent.

To sum up, at the level of the word, Summers argued that colloquial Chinese is not a monosyllabic language (although literary Chinese is) mainly from a semantic perspective. However, it should be pointed out that saying that "Chinese is not a monosyllabic language" does not mean that there are no monosyllabic words in Chinese. In fact, when Summers explained each part of speech, he always first pointed out the "primitive" forms of each word class, i.e., monosyllabic words. An example of a primitive noun would be *chá* 茶 'tea' (1863a, p. 41). His overall intention is to emphasise the abundance and importance of disyllabic and polysyllabic words in vernacular Chinese. Therefore, a syllable can be a word, but a word may consist of multiple syllables.

4.3 Summers' precursors and the claim that "Chinese is a monosyllabic language"

As mentioned above, the discussion of whether Chinese is a monosyllabic language or not concerns the concept of "word". In Priscian's time or even earlier, language units were placed in a hierarchy of sounds, syllables, words and sentences. Smaller units join together to form bigger units (McDonald 2020, p. 96, p. 177). Since the Stoics (third century BC), words have been defined from the perspective of semantic and syntactic criteria as "meaningful sound" or "meaningful utterance" (Law 2003, p. 40).[131] Summers adopted the European linguistic tradition that "syllables" are the units to construct words, and also defined "word" from a semantic and syntactic perspective, as presented in Section 4.2.[132]

4.3.1 Semantic words and the "monosyllabism" claim

In the works that Summers referred to, the concept of "word" is rarely defined. One author who provided a description resembling a definition is Marshman (1814). He consulted the British grammarian James Harris' (1709–1780) definition, which states: "[w]hen to any articulate voice there accedes by compact a meaning or signification, such voice by such accession is then called a word" (Harris 1773 [1751], p. 328). Considering the European tradition, this means that sounds form words, which then express ideas. Marshman picked the key words "meaning" and "significant" to define a word and asserted that a word is formed by "letters" in order to "convey ideas" (1814, p. 15).[133] Thus the semantic criterion plays an important role in how he defined "word" in his works, and for example, he wrote: "[b]y compound words however, are not meant two characters intended to express any two of the parts of speech; but two united to express one object, whether it be a thing, a quality, or an action" (p. 500). One can see, that, for him, a compound is only one word instead of two, as long as it conveys only one meaning. It is, therefore, not monosyllabic. Rudolf Stier (1800–1862, 1833) shared the same criterion, although he did not define "word" clearly. He emphasised the importance of meaning for a word to the extent that if a unit does not convey a clear meaning, for example, an interjection, then it is not a "word" (p. 130). These definitions were based on semantic criteria. These authors argued that Chinese is not a monosyllabic language. Semantics was the

[131] This indicates that there is no space for "morphemes" between "syllables" and "words". The term "morpheme" was not coined till the 1880s (cf. Chapter 5).

[132] Another example is the following quotation: "[t]he syllables, which are appended to strengthen the original notion conveyed by the prime syllable, are such as denote the *agent*, an *object*; the *completion* or the *expansion* of the idea conveyed by the word to which they are joined; or they are purely *formative* in character, and produce nouns or verbs, adverbs or adjectives, as conventional usage has determined" (Summers 1863a, pp. 40–41).

[133] In the context, Marshman actually wanted to argue that the hieroglyphic and ideographic features of the Chinese characters can express an object or an idea in a more direct way. He did not define "word" directly.

common departure point for the concept of wordhood and the discussion of monosyllabism for most of the scholars.

It is widely agreed upon that disyllabic and polysyllabic words account for a significant percentage of the Chinese vocabulary, by for example, Francisco Varo (1627–1687, 2000 [1703], p. 17), Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 2, p. 109), Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851, 1842, p. 3, p. 20), Thomas Taylor Meadows (1815–1868, 1847, p. 16) and Bazin (1856, p. xii, pp. xv–xvi). Most of these scholars supported the notion that "syllables" combine to express one meaning in Chinese, thereby forming a word; thus, for example, Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 107; 1826, p. 51), Williams (1842a, p. 48) and Bazin (1856, p. v, p. xii). Varo (2000 [1703], p. 17), Gützlaff (1842, p. 2) and Bazin (1856, p. iii) made the distinction that colloquial Chinese is not monosyllabic while literary Chinese is. As for the advantage of polysyllabic words over monosyllabic words, many scholars stated that they help to avoid ambiguity caused by homonyms, for example, Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 107), Williams (1842a, p. 48) and Bazin (1856, p. v), just like Summers.

4.3.2 Orthographic words and the trigger of the "monosyllabism" claim

The abovementioned linguistic hierarchy of the articulated sound, namely sounds combining to form syllables, and syllables combining to form words and so on, was apparently strongly influenced by the orthographic system and the didactic mode of literacy, since in Priscian's time, there was no space between Latin or Greek words in writing, and a major part of reading was practicing how to articulate letters into syllables and syllables into meaningful words (McDonald 2020, p. 96). This method of viewing and learning languages also influenced the research on the Chinese language.

Summers stated consistently that one should not confuse the Chinese language system with the Chinese writing system. This argument is apparently aimed at opposing the ideas of some of his precursors, who defined Chinese words using the orthographic criterion: what is written with one unit of writing (a character) is a word. For example, Du Ponceau (1838, pp. xii–xiii) asserted that in the very beginning, the Chinese language was totally monosyllabic, while characters, syllables, words, and even ideas correspond to each other. His argument also shows a combination of the orthographic and the semantic criteria. Prémare's words can further serve as an appropriate example: "[t]he Chinese characters …[have] some definite signification, and that hence there are as many words as there are characters" (1847 [1831], p. ix). This point of view is shared by many scholars to whom Summers referred. For instance, Schott (1857)

argued that one character corresponds to a basic word ('*grundwort*' [sic], p. 18), two of which can form a compound character ('*wortcompositum*' [sic]). For example, *bái* 白 'white' and *xīn* 忄心 'heart' form *pà* 怕 'to be afraid' (p. 20, p. 23). Other similar examples, with corresponding words and characters, can be found in his book (p. 29, p. 31).

When it comes to the compilation of dictionaries more generally, "character" and "word" was always mixed-use. For example, Williams wrote: "[a] dictionary […] containing old forms of characters, has the words arranged under 540 heads or radicals" (1842a, p. 3). Bridgman (1841, p. xxi) argued that "the object of the former [i.e., *Shuōwén jiězì*] is to explain the orthography of words by an exhibition of their component parts". Morrison (1815a, p. 34) suggested that "[I]n order to find out a word in the dictionary, excepting the Radical part, reckon how many strokes of the pencil are necessary to form the character which you wish to find, then, under its radical and that collection of characters consisting of the given number of strokes, look for it". This can also be seen as a claim that lexical words are monosyllabic.[134] In China, traditionally, people tend to compile dictionaries using characters as entries, while in the West, words are used.

Morrison's idea of monosyllabism is unclear. In his grammar (cf. above and 1815a, p. 2, p. 37), he stated that Chinese is monosyllabic, but in the dictionary that was published in the same year, he argued that the disyllabic units *tāotiān* 滔天 'appalling' and *xiàmín* 下民 'populace' (p. xv) are words. Elsewhere, he wrote: "[t]hat the Chinese Language has no Compound Words, seems a misapprehension" (p. x). He also described compound words in Chinese in the following year (1816, pp. 1–2). There might have been a moment in 1815 when Morrison came to the conclusion that Chinese is not a purely monosyllabic language, or more likely, that orthographic words are monosyllabic, while semantic words are not.

Edkins (1853, p. 191) challenged the argument for Chinese being classified as a monosyllabic language: "[s]ome terms originally consist of two syllables, which are written separately, only because the Chinese mode of writing requires each character to be the sign of a monosyllable [for example] 吩咐 *fun fú* 'to command'". In *Chinese Repository*, for which see Chapter 3 above, a similar statement can be found, saying that the characters are

[134] A standard definition and example of the "lexical word" is shown in Prémare's work: "[n]ot only are words to be committed to memory, but attention to the form and meaning of the characters is required, so that when e. g. the character *sin* 信, "faith", is pronounced, not only shall the idea of this virtue present itself to the mind, but the character itself, and the two parts from which it derives its meaning, viz. *jin*, 人 , a man, and *yen*, 言 words, and in fine the monosyllable itself with its proper tone shall be contemplated in the imagination as in the smooth surface of a mirror" (1847 [1831], p. v).

monosyllabic whereas the oral language is polysyllabic (Samuel Dyer, 1804–1843, 1835, p. 174; DeFrancis 1950, p. 20). Theophilus Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) also pointed out that Chinese has polysyllabic words which are considered monosyllabic units because of Chinese characters, without any further explanation (1730, Vol. I, p. 106). Abel-Rémusat argued that the perception that Chinese is monosyllabic is based on the writing system of Chinese characters (1826, pp. 169–170).[135] These viewpoints anticipate Summers' statement that the writing system should be distinguished from the language itself.

4.3.3 Phonological words and the "monosyllabism" claim

In one of Edkins' works, he mentioned a concept very similar to that of the "phonological word":

> Words arrange themselves in groups of two, three and four, regulated by accent. The accent falls usually on the last word in a combination of two; on the second and fourth in a combination of four; and on the first and last in a combination of three. But when, as often occurs, two sounds are so closely combined as to become one dissyllabic word, the accent is on the first. (1862, p. 99, emphasis added)

When two "sounds" combine "closely" and the accent is on the first syllable, they can form a word. Hence, if not, they form a phrase or some other unit. What exactly "closely" meant to him cannot be determined precisely, but the "accent" criterion that he came up with falls within the scope of the phonological definition of "word". Today Duanmu (1999) also propounded the argument that there are stresses within Chinese words concealed by tones.[136] Edkins was not alone in his stance on accent and word unity. By his letter to Abel-Rémusat it would appear that Humboldt was already trying to find accents in Chinese words, since the unity of the words builds upon the accents, he said (2001 [1826], p. 172). Unfortunately, neither of them analysed more data or came up with a theory concerning the "phonological word". Summers apparently aligned himself with these researchers. All of them, therefore, argued that Chinese is not monosyllabic.

[135] In his letter to Abel-Rémusat from 1827, Humboldt praised Abel-Rémusat's objection to the classification of Chinese as a monosyllabic language. He stated that the fallacy is caused by the confusion of the language itself and characters (Humboldt 2001 [1826], p. 169; DeFrancis 1950, pp. 17–18). However, in one of Summers' reference books published in 1836, Humboldt argued that the Chinese language is monosyllabic, despite the fact that there are compounds in Chinese, since the essential grammatical issue is Chinese has no inflection (Humboldt 1836, pp. cccxci–cccxcii).

[136] See p. 248: "when there is foot, there is stress, and vice versa".

4.4 Summers' successors on the view that Chinese being a monosyllabic language

There is no ground-breaking work that is concerned with the claim that Chinese is a monosyllabic language in the publications of Summers' successors. Some of them viewed "words" from various perspectives, while considering the differences between literary and colloquial Chinese. For example, Wade viewed words from an orthographic perspective and argued that "The *tzŭ* [字 'character'] [are] written words of the language" (1867, p. xi), and he asserted that there are polysyllabic combinations in Chinese, but that "each syllable is a word in its original integrity" (1867, p. xii). This shows that, for him, there was also a distinction between the ancient Chinese and the colloquial Chinese in his time.

In his 1904 work, Douglas clarified that "characters" as a unit of the writing system should not be mixed up with "words":

> In transcribing Chinese words I have so far departed from the usual practice as to write them as words and not syllable by syllable. It cannot be too strongly impressed on the student that each character does not necessarily represent a word, and that as a matter of fact there are far more polysyllabic than monosyllabic words in colloquial Chinese. In no other language has the confusion between the written characters and the words been so persistently maintained as in Chinese. (p. 8, emphasis added)

His idea about the polysyllabic characteristic of vernacular Chinese and the cause of monosyllabism are very similar to Summers. Douglas further explained that the notion of Chinese being monosyllabic would lead to false pauses and incorrect rhythm while speaking: "[s]eeing the syllables written as so many words, they pronounce them as so many words, and the result is that, when attempting to speak, they utter a series of jerky monosyllables without the slightest reference to the rhythm of articulate speech" (1904, p. 9). In order to deal with this issue, he joined syllables together without any spaces or hyphens in between when he considered these syllables form "words":

> In the present work I have not confined the system to such Chinese expressions as are expressed by one word in English, but have used it in a way which I believe will best assist students to catch the rhythm of the language. For instance, I have written such words as *K'anshutih* [看書的], 'a student of books,' thus, rather than *K'an shu tih*. (1904, p. 9)

Although he did not define the notion of "word", the point that can be extracted from this quotation is that, for him, a Chinese word is not a translation from an English word, but a non-

pausing unit in the Chinese rhythmic system. This is a new perspective compared to the earlier works. It falls within the notion of a "phonological word".

Davis is another author who applied different criteria to his definition of "word":

> a. But when a Chinese sees that 人 *jhin*, "a man", is the root of a character, he knows the word has a reference to the human race in some one or other of its relations. (p. 86)
>
> b. The third and most interesting office of the roots is in serving not only as the elements of all compound words, but as the generic heads for their specific classification…The root *Ta* [大], "great," combined with *Koong* [弓], "a bow," forms the word *Ee* [夷], "a barbarian". (p. 87)

In these two examples, a "character" is equivalent to a "word", and terms like "compound words" referring to compound characters are evidence that orthographic Chinese words are monosyllabic for him. Sometime later, however, in 1870, he provided a clear statement that Chinese is not monosyllabic (p. 3) and that there are compounds in Chinese from a phonological perspective:

> The language of China is in a great measure composed of what, for want of a better expression, we will call "compound terms," consisting of two words or characters, which may be a noun with its adjective, a verb with its adverb, two nouns united—and a great many other grammatical combinations of the kind. These are always pronounced together, —as much so as parts of the same compound word in other languages. (p. 14)

In *Phoenix* (1870b, p. 17), Summers praised Davis for including compound words in his works on Chinese. Davis expressed his appreciation for Summers' help in supervising the publication of the book, especially in the printing of the Chinese characters (Davis 1870, p. vii). Although it is Morrison that shaped Davis' view (Davis 1870, p. 3), not Summers, Davis finally aligned with Summers in the same "school".

Gabelentz (1881) took literary Chinese as his object of research while using the semantic criterion and came to the conclusion that one character normally stands for one word (p. 25) and a meaningful syllable is a word (p. 24).

4.5 Summary

Many early sinologists viewed words from more than one perspective. For those who took the orthographic word as a basis, Chinese is monosyllabic. Summers rebutted those of his

precursors who did not distinguish between the writing system and the language system and therefore stated that Chinese is monosyllabic. This is based on his view that literary and vernacular Chinese need to be looked upon differently: at the level of a word, the former is monosyllabic and the latter is not. For Summers, the semantic criterion is essential in defining words. Summers' point of view was not novel, but he was able to compile the ideas of his predecessors and present them in a coherent way to his students.

Chapter 5. Morphology

In this chapter, Summers' point of view regarding Chinese morphology is discussed, i.e., whether the concept of morphology is applicable to Chinese and, if so, what the morphological processes are. Additionally, Summers' innovation on this subject, compared to his contemporaries, is presented.

5.1 General introduction to Chinese morphology

Morphemes are the "smallest meaningful units" in a language and morphology can be seen as the study of how morphemes form words (Malmkjaer 1995, p. 422; Crystal 1997, p. 90; 2008, p. 314; Strazny 2005, p. 715). Some morphemes stand alone as syntactic words (i.e., free morphemes), whereas others need to combine with one another in order to form syntactic words (i.e., bound morphemes). Because, as I have discussed above, the "syntactic word" in Chinese is not easy to pin down, the distinction between these two types of morphemes is not always easy to make (cf. Chapter 4; Kratochvíl 1968, p. 61; Sun 2006, p. 46). Morphemes that do not form stand-alone words themselves can be further divided into roots and affixes. Words are formed by a single independent root, by a combination of roots, or by a combination of roots and affixes.

Inflection and word-formation are the two basic notions within morphology (Malmkjaer 1995, p. 426; Crystal 2008, p. 314). Inflection refers to agreement, conjugation, declension, and case marking, none of which is found in Chinese. Word formation is about the composition of words. In Chinese, the three major word-formation processes are discussed below.

5.1.1 Affixation

Affixes have to be used together with roots in order to form words. This process is called affixation. Affixes tend to be functional rather than lexical (Packard 2015, p. 267). They are generally productive (Dai 1992, p. 146; Packard 1997, p. 17; 2004, p. 73; Arcodia 2012, p. 98) and normally occupy fixed positions in words (Kratochvíl 1968, p. 60; Arcodia 2012, p. 98; Liao 2014, p. 8), for instance, *zi* 子 as a nominal suffix in nouns such as *xiāngzi* 箱子 'box'. In Chinese it is not easy to distinguish between affixes and roots. For example, *rén* 人 'man, *-er*' in *Běijīngrén* 北京人 'Pekingese' is quite productive and occupies a rather fixed position in words. It can be treated as the equivalent to *-er* in English to denote an actor or stakeholder, some kind of people in a functional or grammatical way, in which case, it could be analysed as

an affix: ‘Beijing-er’. However, *Běijīngrén* can also be analysed as a compound, ‘Beijing-person’, in which case *rén* would be a root (Arcodia 2012, p. 22; with Basciano 2017, p. 111).

Affixes can be divided into different types. For example, some of them help to form new lexemes and change the word class of the roots. They are normally called derivational affixes. Some of them only add grammatical meaning to roots without changing the word class of the roots or creating new lexemes. They are called inflectional affixes nowadays (Malmkjaer 1995, p. 428; Packard 1997, p. 17; 2004, pp. 70–71; 2015, p. 267, p. 270; Liao 2014, pp. 3–4). Affixes can also be classified as prefixes, suffixes and so on according to their position in words.

5.1.2 Compounding

Two or more roots can form a compound.[137] Compounds can be analysed according to various relations between their components. The components in a compound can be described by their “parts of speech” or form-class-identity (Packard 2004, p. 32; Pān Wénguó et al. 2004, pp. 29–34). For example, the noun *báicài* 白菜 ‘Chinese cabbage’ can be viewed as formed by an adjective component *bái* 白 ‘white’ and a nominal element *cài* 菜 ‘vegetable’. A compound can also be described by the “syntactic” relationship between its components (Kratochvíl 1968, pp. 73–76; Packard 2004, p. 27; Pān Wénguó et al. 2004, p. 35; Liao 2014, p. 9). For example, *dìzhèn* 地震 ‘earthquake’ can be viewed as a subject-predicate compound with the “subject” *dì* 地 ‘earth’ and its “predicate” *zhèn* 震 ‘shake’; returning to the previous example, *báicài* 白菜 ‘Chinese cabbage’ could be seen as a modifier-head compound with the “attributive” 白 *bái* ‘white’ and the “head” *cài* 菜 ‘vegetable’. Furthermore, a compound can also be described by the semantic meaning of its components (Packard 2004, p. 25). For example, two morphemes with the same or similar meaning can form a compound, such as the two morphemes of the compound *péngyou* 朋友 ‘friend’ convey the following meaning respectively: “those who have the same teacher are called *péng* and those who share the same ideal are called *yǒu*”.[138] Therefore, the compound *péngyou* ‘people from the same school → like-minded people → friend’ is formed by two morphemes, which share a similar meaning.

[137] Dǒng Xiùfāng (2004, p. 41), Liao (2014, p. 9), Arcodia and Basciano (2017, p. 108) and others argued that both free and bound roots can form compounds in Chinese. However, Packard (2004, p. 78) stated that “true compounds” are only formed by free roots, i.e., words.

[138] The original text reads: “同門為朋，同志為友”, which appears in the annotations of *The Book of Change* by Zhèng Xuán, quoted from *Chóng kān Sòng běn shísān jīng zhùshù fù jiàokān jì* (重刊宋本十三經註疏附校勘記 *Republishing the Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics of the Song Dynasty with Collation Notes*, 1815, 93–1, see: http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/, Date of access: 18 November 2022).

5.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is another common word-formation process, which generally applies to syllables or morphemes (Arcodia and Basciano 2017, p. 111). Reduplication either intensifies or attenuates the meaning of the original morphemes in Chinese. The former function mainly affects nouns, adjectives used attributively, and classifiers, whereas the latter affects verbs and adjectives used predicatively[139] (Arcodia and Basciano 2017, pp. 111–113). Reduplication is, therefore, not applicable to all morphemes in Chinese.

Besides the relatively common word-formation processes, in Chinese, especially in Old Chinese, it is generally agreed that a change of tone is able to form a new word. For example, when 好 (*hǎo* in modern Mandarin) 'good' is read in a 'going tone', it changes into a verb, which means 'to love' (Packard 1997, pp. 2–3). This process still exists in some varieties of the Chinese language (Arcodia and Basciano 2017, p. 105).

5.2 James Summers and Chinese morphology

In Summers' works, "word-building" (1863a, p. xiii; 1864a, p. 42, p. 43) and "the formation of words" (1863a, p. xiii) are employed to refer to what we call "morphology" today. He also used the terms "formation of nouns"[140] and "formation of adjectives"[141] in his works.

5.2.1 Does Chinese have morphology?

Summers is of the opinion that Chinese words are formed according to a set of complicated rules. He said: "this process [of the formation of words] […] does exist […]. This part of Chinese grammar is vast in extent, and many years of discriminating study will be required to exhaust it" (1863a, p. xiii).[142] However, for Summers, Chinese words do not have inflections, and the grammatical meaning expressed by inflections in the western languages is expressed at the level of syntax in Chinese:

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[139] For example, in sentence *Jīntiān zánmen gāoxìnggāoxìng* 今天咱們高興高興 (lit. 'Today we happy', 'Let's have some fun today'), the reduplication of adjective *gāoxìnggāoxìng* serves as the predicate and the meaning of the adjective is attenuated. However, normally, the pattern of reduplication of disyllabic adjectives in Mandarin is AABB (e.g., *gāogāoxìngxìng* 高高興興 lit. 'happy happy', 'very happy') and the meaning of the original *gāoxìng* is intensified when reduplicated in this pattern.

[140] For example, 1863a (p. 42, heading).

[141] For example, 1863a (p. 55, heading).

[142] The precondition for this statement is that not all words in Chinese are monosyllabic in Summers' view (cf. Chapter 4).

a. [T]hey employ no inflexions to show the mutual relations of words. (1864a, p. 5)[143]

b. Relations which, in some languages indeed, are regulated by the inflections of the words themselves, but in Chinese, and in some other languages, they are shown by the relative position of the words and clauses. (1863a, p. 180)

Although Summers noted previously that "the distinctions of *case*, *number*, *person*, *tense*, *mood*, &c., are unknown to natives of China" (1863a, p. 40), he employed these terms in his analysis of Chinese grammar. For example, he wrote: "[t]he distinction of gender and number are made in a similar way by prefixes or suffixes: - *nân* 男 'male' and *nǜ* 女 'female' are prefixed to *jîn* [人] 'man' to express the gender" (1863a, p. 52). This is consistent with his didactic intention to compile Chinese grammar in an easy and familiar way for western students.

Summers classified Chinese words into three categories, i.e., primitive words, derivative words and composite words/compounds according to their structure. Primitives are also called "simple [words]" (Summers 1863a, p. 69), which refer to "monosyllables bearing their primitive signification", for example, nouns like *fàn* 飯 'rice' and adjectives like *hăo* 好 'good' (1863a, p. 41, p. 55). Which part of speech primitives belong to is sometimes flexible. "Some primitive nouns may be used as verbs" (1863a, p. 42), but primitive adjectives "are used exclusively as adjectives, and are but seldom employed in the other grammatical relations" (1863a, p. 55). Summers noted that primitives are not very commonly used in colloquial Chinese compared to literary Chinese (1863a, p. 69, p. 84, p. 41). This reflects the abovementioned idea of Summers, i.e., that literary Chinese is monosyllabic at the level of the word (see Chapter 4).

Summers' opinion of the other two types, namely derivatives and compounds, is presented in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3. Summers focused on the morphology of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. The following sections only take these four parts of speech into account. For the other parts of speech (for example, pronouns), morphology is not mentioned by Summers.

[143] For more, see 1853a (p. 26) and 1863a (p. 40, p. 97, p. xx).

5.2.2 Affixation

Several relevant term-like words are employed by Summers concerning the affixation of words, namely "formative"[144], "root", "stem", "affix", "prefix" and "suffix". This section analyses Summers' ideas on affixation, starting from the explanation of these words.

5.2.2.1 "Formative"

Formatives are "syllables", which are used to "strengthen the original notion conveyed by the prime syllable[s]" (Summers 1863a, p. 40), "give nominal [, adjective, adverbial] and verbal forms to the words they thus affect" (1863a, p. 14) and "take the place of terminations" (1863a, p. 14).[145] They themselves normally do not convey lexical meaning, but rather functional meaning:

> a. Nouns, verbs, and particles are formed by the juxta-position and cohesion of syllables, all of which are sometimes significant. Sometimes one of the syllables is merely *formative*, like *er* in *butcher*, *ed* in *wounded*, *ing* in *singing*, or *ly* in *truly*. (1864a, p. 7)
>
> b. [They] denote the *agent*, an *object*; - the *completion* or the *expansion* of the idea conveyed by the word to which they are joined. (1863a, pp. 40–41)

But, he argued, "[some] are purely *formative* in character, and produce nouns or verbs, adverbs or adjectives, as conventional usage has determined" (1863a, p. 41). Thus, the following conclusions about "formatives" can be drawn.

Firstly, his term "formative" is close to what we call "derivational affix" today. According to Summers, formatives "give nominal and verbal forms", i.e., they may change the word class of the root, or at least mark the word class of the entire word. He wrote in the *Rudiments*: "[n]ouns may be distinguished by their form when certain *formative particles* are presented as affixes" (1853a, p. 42). Summers listed some formatives that do not change the word class of the root, for example: "*e̍r* 兒 'a child;' [nominal suffix] as *mîng- e̍r* [名兒] 'a name'" (1864a, p. 46). There are also formatives that change the word class of the root. Summers noted one of them in his work *Gospel*, which concerns Shanghainese:

> In the local dialects of China, especially that of Shanghai, this is clearly seen, the verb and the noun taking each its distinct form. A noun is not

[144] Also called "formative particle", cf. 1863a (p. 54, p. 84).
[145] "Termination" is a term that is rarely used and is not defined by Summers.

> transformed into a verb without its proper change of form by suffix [...]. And in like manner the verb does not take the form of the verbal noun, except by the addition of a formative particle; e.g. wŏ, "to say," forms wŏ -dâ, "a word." (1863b, Introduction, p. vi)

Secondly, a "prime syllable" refers to the root, which conveys the essential meaning of the entire derivative word. A pure formative, Summers argued, does not convey any lexical meaning. However, some formatives also convey some general notions, in other words, "agents", that "strengthen" (1863a, p. 55) the meaning or "force" conveyed by the roots (cf. 2.2.2).

5.2.2.1.1 Nominal, adjectival and adverbal formatives[146]

In the *Handbook*, nominal formatives are classified into different types according to the semantic meaning they express: agent,[147] class and gender,[148] shape, form and combination

[146] "Derivative verbs" will be discussed in Section 5.2.5. English translations of Chinese elements in this section are cited from Summers, while the ones within square brackets are added by me.

[147] Formatives, which "generally indicate a person or agent" are "like the words *man*, *boy*, in *herdsman*, […] *errand-boy*" in English (1863a, p. 42). Summers listed the following formatives with the nouns they thus formed, for example: *shŏu* 手 'hand' in *shuĭshŏu* 水手 'water-hand → sailor', *rén* 人 'man' in *gōngrén* 工人 '[work-man] → workman', *jiàng* 匠 'workman' in *mùjiang* 木匠 '[wood-workman] → carpenter', *gōng* 工 'artisan' in *huàgōng* 畫工 '[painting-artisan] → painter', *fū* 夫 'fellow' in *măfū* 馬夫 '[horse-fellow] → groom', *jiā* 家 'family, [nominal suffix]' in *chuánjiā* 船家 '[ship-nominal suffix] → ship-owner', *zĭ* 子 'son, [nominal suffix]' in *tiānzĭ* 天子 'the son of the heaven → the emperor', *chúzi* 廚子 '[cook- nominal suffix] → a cook' and *ér* 兒 'child, [nominal suffix]' in *nŭ̆ér* 女兒 '[female- nominal suffix] → girl' and *huàr* 話兒 '[speech- nominal suffix] → word' (1863a, pp. 42–43). The last two formatives are special, since "they frequently help to form names of things, and often form diminutives' (1863a, p. 43). Besides these "names of agents", Summers also wrote that the expression *shīfu* 師傅 'a teacher' in *tìtóu shīfu* 剃頭師傅 'head-shaving teacher → barber' and the verb *zuò* 作 'make' in *shuĭzuò* 水作 'water-make → a confectioner or baker' are "used to form nouns" as well (1863a, p. 50). He did not put these two together with the other formatives, probably because they are not a single syllable or not a nominal formative.

For the formative *jiā,* Summers gave different types of examples of the words formed by *jiā*, including those in which *jiā* does denote the meaning of 'family', such as *bĕnjiā* 本家 'own-family → a clansman', those in which *jiā* denote 'school', for example *dàojiā* 道家 'the Tauists' [sic], and those in which *jiā* do not convey concrete meaning, such as *chuánjiā* 船家 'ship-[nominal suffix] → ship-owners' (1863a, p. 44). The first type may not fall in the scope of "formatives", but they are still listed by Summers.

With regard to diminutives, Summers further explained that besides adding these two formatives to the roots, "[*d*]*iminutives* are formed by means of certain words, signifying *little*, *small*, prefixed; [*xiăoyáng* 小羊] 'small sheep' =*a lamb*, [*xiăomă* 小馬] 'small-horse,'= a *colt*" (1863a, p. 52).

[148] Formatives that denote classes, including social position and gender, are *hù* 戶 'householder' in *pínhù* 貧户 'poor-household → the poor', *shēng* 生 'born, [nominal suffix]' in *xiānsheng* 先生 'the one who gets to know something earlier → teacher', *dì* 帝 'a ruler, a prince' in *huángdì* 皇帝 'ruler-ruler → emperor', *nŭ̆* 女 'woman' in *chŭnŭ̆* 處女 'live at home-woman → a young lady not yet introduced to society', *shī* 師 'teacher' in *cháshī* 茶師 'tea-teacher → tea-inspector', *zhŭ* 主 'lord' in *diànzhŭ* 店主 'shop-lord → shopkeeper', *shŏu* 首 'head, chief' in *chuánshŏu* 船首 'ship-head→ captain (of a ship)' (1863a, p. 44).

(1863a, p. 42),[149] objects[150] and localities[151] (1863a, p. 45).[152] However, in his *Rudiments*, nominal formatives are not classified into these types, but simply listed according to their frequency of appearance (p. 46).[153] This is due to the stronger didactic focus of the *Rudiments*.

In the class of derivative nouns, Summers singled out a type of word, which is formed by an "active verb and its object with the addition of the genitive particle *de* 的, which throws the whole into the form of a participial expression", for example: *zuòshēngyide* 做生意的 'make trade (person) → tradesman' and *jiāoshūde* 教書的 'one who teaches book-lore → teacher' (1863a, p. 45). These expressions are nouns for Summers. "[T]hey are not often used in the presence of the individual whose calling or character they signify" (1863a, p. 45), i.e., there is no need to say *jiāoshūde rén* 教書的人 'the teaching person', *jiāoshūde* itself is enough.[154] For Summers, *de* is used as a nominal formative here, which changes the "verb and object" expression into a noun, to indicate the agent of the action.

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[149] Considering the formatives that denote "shape and form", Summers paid special attention to those that express "round shape or all in a piece, and places", for example, *tou* 頭 'head, [nominal suffix]' in *yātou* 丫頭 'girl-[nominal suffix] → a servant-girl', *duìtou* 對頭 'antithesis-[nominal suffix] → an enemy', *fàntou* 飯頭 'meal-[nominal suffix] → a cook', *shétou* 舌頭 'tongue- [nominal suffix]→ the tongue' and *rìtou* 日頭 'sun-[nominal suffix] → the sun' (1863a, pp. 43–44). In all these examples, only the last one has a round shape. Other formatives "which relate to objects of various forms and combinations: e.g., 塊 *kwei* 'a lump', 子 *tsż* 'child'" (1863a, p. 42) are without any examples of words, which they form.

[150] Formatives which denote "general objects" are such as: *zi* 子 'child, [nominal suffix]' in *dāozi* 刀子 'knife-[nominal suffix] → knife', *jīnzi* 金子 'gold-[nominal suffix] → gold', *rìzi* 日子 'day-[nominal suffix] → day' and *dīngzi* 釘子 'nail- [nominal suffix] → nail' and *ér* 兒 'child- [nominal suffix]' in mér 門兒 'door, [nominal suffix] → door' and *huàr* 話兒 'speech-[nominal suffix] → word', *tou* 頭 'head, [nominal suffix]' in *shétou* 舌頭 'tongue-[nominal suffix] → tongue' and *mùtou* 木頭 'wood-[nominal suffix] → a piece of wood' (1863a, p. 45).

[151] This type is *tóu* 頭 'head', *kŏu* 口 'mouth' and *mén* 門 'door' as formatives for designations of places, for example, *shāntóu* 山頭 'mountain-head → a mountain-top', *lùkŏu* 路口 'road-mouth → a thoroughfare' and *yámen* 衙門 'authorities-door → magistrate's office' (1863a, pp. 45–46). Some of them are mentioned in other types, for example, *tóu* is also a formative denoting "shape". But when it is counted as a member of formatives of localities, *tóu* expresses a different meaning, according to Summers.

[152] Another formative mentioned by Summers is *men* 們, "the common mandarin particle for 'all', it may be looked upon as a *formative* particle" (1863a, p. 54).

[153] The following formatives in the *Rudiments* are not presented in the *Handbook*: *qì* 氣 'breath, feeling' in *nùqì* 怒氣 'angry-feeling → anger', *fēng* 風 'wind, air, manner' in *wēifēng* 威風 'prestige-manner → dignity', *xìng* 性 'nature, disposition, faculty' in *jìxing* 記性 'memory- nature → memory' (1864a, p. 48). In *Handbook*, they are considered as a means of forming abstract nouns, which are placed right after the analysis of compound nouns, together with *xīn* 心 'heart' in *xiăoxīn* 小心 'small-heart → attention' (1863a, p. 51). However, in the following paragraph, Summers wrote: "[o]ther abstract nouns are formed upon the same principle as those noticed in the foregoing articles; viz., (1) by uniting synonymes, (2) by placing one noun in the genitive case before another" (1863a, p. 52). In fact, words that are formed by these two methods are considered to be compound nouns according to Summers. Therefore, words formed by units like *qì* are considered to be different from compound nouns. *Qì*, *fēng*, *xìng* and *xīn* are also formatives in Summers' point of view in the *Handbook*.

[154] Summers gave two examples that are not "of an active verb and its objects" with *de*, namely, adjectives *cōngmíngde* 聰明的 'clear-bright (person),' 'an intelligent person' and *nénggànde* 能幹的 'able to transact affairs,' 'an able man' (1863a, p. 45). They do not fit in the context, but belong to "derivative adjectives" (see below).

For derivative adverbs, Summers only mentioned that they are formed by adding any of the formatives *rú* 如 'as', *yǐ* 以 'to use,' or *rán* 然 'yes'[155] to the roots. But he only gave examples of derivative adverbs formed by *rán*, not the other two,[156] for example, *hūrán* 忽然 'suddenly', *guǒrán* 果然 'certainly', *duànrán* 斷然 'decidedly' and *zhérán* 輒然 'immediately' (1863a, p. 84).

Summers' ideas about derivative adjectives call for further discussion. Summers stated that "[some syllables] require the genitive particle to form them into attributives, and may be considered as *derivatives*" (1863a, p. 55). The function of the "common formative particles" is "to strengthen the attributive force of the adjective" (1863a, p. 55). These formatives are "*tĭ* 的 [*de* in *pinyin*] in the mandarin and *chī* 之 [*zhī* in *pinyin*] in the books" (1863a, p. 55). The examples of the derivative adjectives are *fùguìde* 富貴的 'rich' in *fùguìde rén* 富貴的人 'rich man' and *lìhàide* 利害的 'hurtful' in *lìhàide rén* 利害的人 'a fierce, bad person'[157] (1863a, p. 55). In Summers' opinion, as long as an attributive expression is added with *de* to modify nouns, it is a "derivative adjective", no matter if the rest of the expression without *de* is a primitive or compound; whereas composite adjectives are "formed by the union of two or more syllables" (1863a, p. 55) without *de*. In his works, Summers did not give any example of derivative adjectives formed with *zhī*.[158]

5.2.2.1.2 The complexity of the concept "formative"

Some clues about the complexity of the "formatives" can be found in Summers' works. The line between "formative" and "root" is not clear-cut. For example, the characteristic of the nominative formatives for the type that denotes "class" is that "some of these may perhaps be considered to be in apposition to their prime syllables" (Summers 1863a, p. 44); in other words, we are dealing with a compound, since "appositional relation" is one of the relations between components within a compound word, according to Summers (see 5.2.3). This shows that for Summers these elements have similarities with both formatives and roots, and that they themselves also convey some meaning as other "prime syllables" in the words. The specific

[155] *Rán* does have the meaning of "yes", while in this case, it conveys the meaning of "so" or "this way".
[156] According to Summers' translation, the other two formatives normally do not serve as the suffix in a word, such as *rú* in *rúcĭ* (如此 'like this') and *yǐ* in *yĭlín wéihè* (以鄰為壑 'use the neighbor's place as the drain, beggar-thy-neighbor').
[157] These are Summers' own translations.
[158] Only once did he claim that "*shén-jîn* 善人 'a virtuous man'" is correct, while "*shén-chī-jîn* 善之人" is not, probably "for the sake of the rhythm" (1863a, p. 109).

example he referred to here is *huángdì* 皇帝 'ruler-ruler → emperor', because *huáng* and *dì* are synonyms. The relation of these components of words are appositional for Summers, which is discussed in 5.2.3.

On top of that, as found in Summers' *Handbook*, the same formatives are classified under multiple categories and certain nouns can be formed by different types of formatives. For example, *hù* 戶 'householder, a house-door' belongs both to "agent" formatives and to "class" formatives (1863a, p. 42, p. 44),[159] while *huàr* 'a word' is formed by both "agent" and "object" formative *ér* (p. 43, p. 45). It is consistent with Summers' claim that the meaning that formatives denote is rather unspecific.

Overall, for Summers, formatives are morphemes that mark or change the part of speech of a word. They frequently appear as suffixes and are not the root of the word that they help to form. The difference between "formative" and "root" is gradual, leading to different levels of "purity" of formatives: the archetype of formatives does not convey any meaning. As a result, those formatives which denote some general or functional meaning are less pure, but in general, formatives are functional instead of lexical in the sense that they denote grammatical notions such as the "agent" for nouns and for adjectives, the formatives *de* and *zhī* strengthen the attributive force. The so-called "derivative words" are formed by roots and formatives.

5.2.2.2 "Root"

The term "root" appears several times in Summers' works. To him, a "root" is a single word, i.e., a "primitive" in Summers' own words, to which formatives are added (1864a, p. 46), for example, *xiāng* 箱 'box' in *xiāngzi* 箱子 'box' (1864a, p. 46). Summers applied "root" not only to analyse how words are formed, but also to study the etymology of words. In his *Lecture* he used it to refer to the "historical basic form of a word" (Bussmann 1996, p. 1013): "[t]he roots of most languages are found to be monosyllabic" (1853a, p. 7). This statement is almost identical to his description of "stem": "the stems in all languages are monosyllables in the same way" (1863a, p. 69). This is the only time when Summers mentioned "stem". His description resembles one of the modern meanings of the term "stem", namely the base morpheme "that underlies all words of the same word family and that is the carrier of the (original) lexical base meaning" (Bussmann 1996, p. 1121). In this sense, "root" and "stem" share the same meaning for Summers.

[159] The formatives that denote the "general objects" (1863a, p. 45) are all repeated under the type of "agent" and "class and gender" (1863a, p. 42).

5.2.2.3 “Affix”, “prefix” and “suffix”

In Summers’ works, “affix” (1863a, p. 80, p. 136, p. 144), “prefix” (1863a, p. 12, p. 47, p. 52), and “suffix” (1863a, p. 52, p. 53, p. 56) are mostly used as verbs. For example, he stated: “[t]he following particles and auxiliary words affixed to the verb also show that some tense of the potential mood will be required” (1863a, p. 80).

To Summers, there is a difference between “affix” and “formative”: “affix” may refer to function words. For example: “*lā* or *ā* 呀 (suff.) marks the *vocative*; *ts‘ûng*, 從 (pref.), ‘to follow, -from’, while *laî*, 來 (suffix) ‘to come’, marks the *ablative; e.g. ts‘ûng Pĕking laî* [從北京來], ‘from Peking’” (1864a, p. 57). The “affix” concerns not only morphology, but also syntax, whereas “formative” only refers to the word-forming affixes, which holds the function of an indicator of certain parts of speech. In all his works, when Summers analyses “derivative words”, he always means the words that are formed by adding certain formatives, not any other kind of “affixes”.

5.2.3 Compounds

“Compounds” (Summers 1863a, p. 55, p. 69, p. 84), which Summers also called “composite” words (1863a, p. 41, p. 45; 1864a, p. 53), are “formed by the union of two or three syllables, each preserving its individual signification” (1863a, p. 46), and their constituents bear certain relationships to each other (1863a, p. 41). Summers analysed the components of compounds mainly from the perspective of their semantic and “syntactic” relationship, with the assistance of the description of their “parts of speech”. For instance:

> a. [W]ords of opposite meaning are united to form the general or abstract term implied by each other, e.g. […] *tō-shaù* 多少 ‘many, few-quantity, or how many?’ (1863a, p. 13)
>
> b. The genitival relation, when the former of the two may be construed as if in the genitive case. (1863a, p. 41)

The first quotation describes the relationships between components of the composite words from a semantic perspective, and the second from a grammatical perspective. In his more detailed description of word structures, Summers also analysed their “part of speech”. For example, when discussing how synonymic verbal elements form nouns, Summers wrote: “[t]wo verbs are sometimes united to form nouns: e.g.- *hîng-weî* 行為 ‘actions,’ both verbs

meaning *to do* (synonymes)" and "[t]wo adjectives are united to form nouns" e.g.- […] *yiū-mún* 憂悶 'sad-sorrowful - sorrow' (1863a, pp. 46–47).

In general, Summers stated that the constituents of Chinese compounds are in the following two relations: first, they may be appositional in relation. An appositional relationship is explained as "words, identical or cognate in meaning, placed together and explanatory of each other [to form a new word]" (1863a, p. 46). The detailed relation of the components in this relation can be further divided into repetition, synonyms and so on (1863a, pp. 46–47; 1864a, p. 49). Second, the components may also be "in construction, viz. as subject and verb, as adjective and substantive, or as attributive genitive and the word which it qualifies" (1863a, p. 85). He focused on composite nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.3.1 "Repetition"

What is now known as "reduplication" (Summers 1863a, p. 53) was normally called "repetition" by Summers, which means "simply *repetitions* of the same word [… for example] *t'aí- t'aí* 太太 'aged lady,' used in addressing or speaking of a mandarin's lady […] *kō-kō* 哥哥 'elder brother, -Sir' in speaking to one of inferior rank" (Summers 1863a, p. 46) and "*k'ān-k'ān* 看看 lit. 'look-look,' i.e. look!" (1863a, p. 70). Summers argued that repetition is a process of forming compounds (1864a, p. 49; 1863a, pp. 46–47), and the function of repetition is:

> a. [It] has the effect of intensifying the meaning of the single syllable, and gives the notion of a *good* many, often *all*, *every*, to the single noun. […] These repetitions must be construed according to the sense of the passage, sometimes as nouns, sometimes as adverbs, and sometimes as expressions of plurality, and very often as the imitation of natural sounds. […for example:] *yiū wán-wán* 遊玩玩 'to roam for pleasure'. *mwán-t'iēn tū shí sīng-sīng* 滿天都是星星 'the whole sky is starry'. *siaú hă-hă tĭ* 笑哈哈的 'laughing with a Ha! ha!'". (1863a, pp. 102–103)
>
> b. Repetition has already been referred to as being a common method of forming words and phrases and for intensifying adjectives and adverbs […], but it is often merely for the sake of the rhythm that words and syllables are repeated. A few select expressions of this kind may be seen in Appendix I. (1863a, p. 189)

However, in Appendix I, Summers did not point out which examples are used "merely for the sake of the rhythm". Most of the examples have the effect of "intensifying", for example, *āiāi* 哀哀 'Oh! Oh!, bitterly'[160] in *āiāi tòngkū* 哀哀慟哭 'to weep bitterly' and *yíbùbù* 一步步 'step by step' in *yíbùbù mōshàngshānlai* 一步步摸上山來 'step by step, feeling his way, he ascended the mountain' (1863a, pp. 196–197). Therefore, for Summers, the main effect of repetition is to intensify the meaning of the original morphemes (or in his words, "words").

Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and onomatopoeias can be reduplicated, according to Summers, with a focus on the first four. To Summers, nouns are reduplicated to denote the meaning of "all" or "every". It is a way to express "plurality" or with "a distributive force", for example, *rìrì* 日日 'every day, daily' and *ti'aû-ti'aû* 條條 'each article' (1863a, p. 53, p. 62; 1864a, p. 55). In Summers' works, adjectives are "sometimes doubled to intensify the meaning", for example *jīngxìde* 精細的 'fine-small, fine' becomes *jīngjīngxìde* 精精細的 'very elegant', and *wényǎde* 文雅的 'letters-elegant, of literary elegance' turns into *wényǎyǎde* 文雅雅的 'of a very fine style of composition' (1863a, p. 56). Two patterns of the reduplication of adjectives are presented here: AAB and ABB. (The former is not actually grammatically correct in Mandarin, see Section 5.4). Another special feature of reduplicated adjectives is that they can form "an adverb of manner frequently", just like the "repetition of the adverb", for example, *píngpíng'ān'ān* 平平安安 'peacefully, comfortably' (1863a, p. 87). For reduplicated verbs, Summers claimed that the process expresses "repetition or continuation of an action", for example, *mómo* 磨磨 'to go on rubbing' and *tántánxiàoxiào* 談談笑笑 'keep talking and laughing' (1863a, p. 74). Throughout his works, the patterns of reduplication of verbs are AA and AABB.

He also argued that A *yi* A expresses the meaning of diminutive: "*Diminutives*, or verbs that indicate the diminution of the action expressed by the primitive, are formed by adding *yĭ-tiēn-âr* 一點兒 'a little,' or by the repetition of the verb with *yĭ* 一 'one' placed between: e.g.-*k'aī yĭ-tiēn-âr* 開一點兒 'open a little' [...,] *tàng-yĭ-tàng* 等一等 'wait a little, -delay'" (1863a, p. 75). For Summers, the pattern A *yī* A does not fall into the reduplication of verbs but it denotes a different and opposite meaning, namely attenuating.

[160] *Āiāi* is considered to be an onomatopoeia "indicat[ing] pain", which can be translated as "Oh! Oh!" in Summers' point of view (1863a, p. 95).

5.2.3.2 Compounds bear other appositional relation

Apart from reduplication, other types of the "appositional" compounds are presented in this section. The most common "appositional" relation is the combination of synonyms or cognate words, which can be found in nouns,[161] verbs,[162] adjectives[163] and adverbs.[164] Other than that, nouns have their own way of forming appositional compounds. Some nouns are formed by "placing generic terms, the equivalents for *tree, stone, flower, fish, &c.*, after the special object: e.g.- […] *kweí-hwā* 桂花 'the flower of the cassia.' *sūng-shû* 松樹 'the fir-tree'" (1863a, p. 47). Summers also argued that classifiers are generic terms and the nouns with which they are associated are specific terms (cf. Chapter 7). Others are formed by "the commencement of a series", which means that "two nouns of a series are used to form the name of the class which the series expresses" in *Handbook* (p. 47). Summers only provided two examples: "*kūng-heú* 公侯 'a nobleman,' lit. *duke-marquis*; the series being *kūng-heú-pĕ-tsż-nán* [公-侯-伯-子-男] 'the five degrees of nobility' and *kiă-tsż* 甲子 'the cycle'; these two characters being the signs of the 1st year of the cycle" (1863a, p. 47).[165]

5.2.3.3 Compounds with components "in construction": taking "in construction" nouns as an example

The constituents within compound nouns can be in genitive relation,[166] dative relation[167] and antithetical relation, according to Summers (1863a, p. 41). With regard to the notion "genitive relation", Summers wrote: "[c]omposite nouns with a genitival relation existing between their component syllables are such as have the first syllable attributive to the second, as when a

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[161] For example, *lùlì* 律例 'statute-law' (1863a, p. 46). Note that, for Summers, *yīng'ér* 嬰兒 'infant' is a compound noun, not a derivative noun. It is not formed by a root and a formative. *Ér* keeps its own meaning and status as a primitive itself and is a synonym of *yīng*, according to Summers (1863a, p. 46).

Summers argued that synonymous verbs, adjectives or cognate verbs can also form composite nouns, for example, *xíngwéi* 行為 'actions', both verbs meaning *to do* (synonyms) and *fèiyòng* 費用 'expenses', lit. 'to expend-to use' (cognate), 仁慈 *réncí* '*benevolent-kind*-kindness' (1863a, pp. 46–47). *Fèi* and *yòng* are actually not cognate words, but here I will follow Summers' statement.

[162] Summers wrote: "The composition of verbs may be considered under nearly the same heads as the composition of nouns. We have compound verbs formed (α) by repetition, or by the union of synonymes or words bearing a cognate meaning […]" (1863a, p. 69). For example, *kànjiàn* 看見 'look-see → see', *qīhŏng* 欺哄 'cheat-deceive → cheat' and *yīnggāi* 應該 'should-ought → ought' (1863a, pp. 69–70).

[163] When describing composite adjectives from a semantic perspective, Summers said: "adjectives of cognate signification come together and strengthen each other", for instance, *qiănbó* 淺薄 'shallow-thin → poor, weak' (1863a, p. 55).

[164] For example, *xiànjīn* 現今 'now-now, at present' (1863a, p. 85).

[165] I doubt whether there are any more examples of this type.

[166] Or in Summers' own words "genitival relation", see 1863a (p. 41).

[167] Summers also called it "dational relation", see 1863a (p. 50).

genitive case or a participle precedes in European languages" (1864a, p. 52). He further explained that there are three ways to form a word of this kind. First, two nouns form a new noun, with the first morpheme being in the "genitive case", for example, *niúròu* 牛肉 'cow-flesh → beef'. Second, "adjective or a participle" placed before a noun in order to form a new word, for example, *dàmài* 大麦 'great-corn → wheat' and *fēiqiáo* 飛橋 'flying-bridge→ drawbridge'. Third, some prepositions or adverbs are placed before nouns to form a new noun, for example, *xiānfēng* 先鋒 [鋒] 'forward-point, van→ the van of an army' (1863a, pp. 49–50). "Dative relation" is "the first of their component syllables in the dativa l relation to the other" (1864a, p. 53), for example: "*hiŏ-fâng* 學房 'learning-room', i.e. a room for that purpose,= a school-room" (1863a, p. 50). Summers wrote: "[n]ouns formed by uniting words *antithetical* in meaning are very common, and they generally signify the abstract notion implied by these extremes [… or] gives rise to a *general term*", for example, *qīngzhòng* 輕重 'light-heavy→ weight' and *xiōngdì* 兄弟 'elder brother and younger→ brethren' (1863a, p. 51; 1864a, p. 53). He also wrote about verbs,[168] adjectives[169] and adverbs,[170] which will not be elaborated on here.

5.2.4 The change of tones

Besides the abovementioned word-formation processes, Summers explained that in Mandarin, a change of tone can change the word class of a word, but no consistent rule can be derived for this process (1853a, p. 26; 1853b, p. vi; 1863a, p. 8). However, in the examples he gave, there are words with changed tones, like "*chù* 主 'a lord' becoming *chú* 'to rule'", but there are also words, which additionally, have changed consonants and vowels, such as "*ŏ* or *gŏ* 惡 'bad'

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[168] Summers stated that there is a kind of verb that is "formed by the addition of the cognate object, or that on which the action of the verb naturally falls. This object […] increases the perspicuity of the expression", for example, *chīfàn* 吃飯 'eat-rice→ for eat (any meal)' and *shèzuì* 赦罪 'forgive-sin → pardon' (1863a, p. 73).

Besides all these ways of forming composite verbs, Summers also mentioned some other methods. For example, he said that verbs and adjectives can form new verbs, such as *zhăngdà* 長大 'increase-great, enlarge' (1863a, p. 73). There are also some "idiomatic forms of expression", which are formed by *dă* 打 'to strike' in *dăsuàn* 打算 'strike-calculate → plan, reckon' and those "[i]mpersonals and phrases in which the subject follows", such as *xiàyŭ* 下雨 'falls-rain → it rains' (1863a, p. 74).

[169] For example, he wrote: "[a] substantive sometimes stands before an adjective, as one noun stands before another in the genitive case, and thus intensifies the adjective: e.g.- *pīng-liâng* 冰涼 'ice's cold' = icy-cold" (1863a, p. 55). He also said that there are some affixes which can help to form adjectives, for example, *kĕ* 可 'can' in *kĕlián* 可憐 'can-pity → pitiable, miserable', *hăo* 好 'good' in *hăoxiào* 好笑 'good-laugh → laughable', *yŏu* 有 'have' in *yŏuliángxīn* 有良心 'have good heart → conscientious' (1863a, pp. 56–57).

[170] Summers also tried to describe composite adverbs according to the word class of their components. For instance, he wrote: "[t]he adverbs of *quality* are generally formed by uniting an adverb of *manner* to an adjective; e.g.- […] *pĕ-pwán* 百般 'all kinds of', lit. 'a hundred classes'" (1863a, p. 89).

becomes *wú* or *hú* 'to hate'" (1863a, p. 8). Therefore, for Summers, the change of "the tone of a character" refers to the different pronunciations of heteronyms. However, throughout all his works, Summers did not elaborate on this topic.

5.2.5 Composite verbs

As discussed above, according to Summers, words are classified into primitives, derivatives and composites. However, when analysing verbs, Summers only classified them into two types. Accordingly, he wrote: "many [syllables] […] are formed into verbs by their connexion with certain auxiliaries and adjuncts; these may be designated *compound* or *derivative*" (1863a, p. 69). He only used the term "formative" once when analysing the morphology of verbs: "[t]he student may refer to Arts. 211–213 for several auxiliary or formative verbs and examples" (1863a, p. 137). Verbs that are formed by adding these "formative verbs" should be "derivative verbs" according to Summers' general statement. However, in his *Handbook* (p. 69), he called them "composition of verbs" and "compound verbs", instead of "derivative verbs". This section discusses whether there is any difference between "derivative verbs" and "composite verbs" and further explain why Summers classified the verbs into two types instead of three as with the other parts of speech.

5.2.5.1 "Auxiliary verbs" as formatives

As mentioned above, the term "formative verb" in Summers' works only appeared once. There is another similar term that Summers employed while discussing the morphology of verbs, namely, "auxiliary verb". Summers wrote: "[t]he student may refer to Arts. 211–213 for several auxiliary or formative verbs and examples" (1863a, p. 137).

In Arts. 211–213 of the *Handbook* (pp. 76–77) and relevant analysis in the syntax part (pp. 136–137), Summers discussed two types of elements: (1) causative markers, such as *jiào* 叫 'call' in *jiào wǒ zuò guān* 叫我做官 'cause me to be a magistrate', and (2) passive markers, like *jiàn* 見 'to see' in *jiànxiào* 見笑 'to be laughed at' (1863a, p. 76). These two types of elements are "auxiliary verbs" for Summers.

Besides the above examples, "auxiliary" also includes verbs that follow primitive verbs to "limit or perfect the notion of the primitive", for example, *huài* 壞 'injure' in *nònghuài* 弄壞 'do-injure → spoil' and *bài* 拜 'worship' in *guìbài* 跪拜 'kneel-worship → prostrate' (1863a,

p. 70). The meaning of the first morphemes is general, while the second morphemes, the auxiliary verbs, specify the meaning.

Furthermore, another type of "auxiliary verb" is placed "*before* or *after* [the principal verb], to give the idea of intention or completion to the action" and "[to] determine the tense into which it must be construed". This includes those "for the perfect tense" and those "[f]or the future tense" (1863a, p. 69, pp. 70–71), such as *le* 了 'to finish' in *sǐle* 死了 'is or was dead'[171] and *yào* 要 'will' in *yàoqù* 要去 'wish-go → will or shall go'.[172] According to Summers, these combinations fall in the area of morphology, while very often, tense in Chinese is "shown in the context by some adverb of time […]. [It does not] belong to this part of the grammar, but will be found treated of in the syntax" (1863a, p. 71).

In the syntax part of his *Handbook* (p. 129), Summers stated that there are other types of auxiliary verbs, for example, those which are prefixed to one verb and denote "*power*, *origin*, *fitness*, *desire*, *intention*, *obligation*, &c." (1863a, p. 69).[173] This class is similar to what are now generally called "modal verbs".

All types of "auxiliary verbs" mentioned by Summers have been listed above. Regarding their functions, auxiliary verbs "are used to modify the verbal notion" (1863a, p. 129). Notably, Summers wrote that "[a]uxiliary syllables and particles do however frequently distinguish the parts of speech" (1863a, p. 40), so "auxiliary verbs" have the ability to mark the part of speech-verb.

5.2.5.2 "Derivative verbs" or "composite verbs"?

"Auxiliary verbs" are morphological elements for Summers. When they are part of a verb, they are not considered a root by Summers, but they modify the verbal notion of the root. They can serve as indicators of the word class of verbs, and appear quite frequently. In this way, it seems

[171] Other examples are *guò* 過 'to pass over' in *dúguò* 讀過 'has read or studied', *yǒu* 有 'to have' in *yǒushā* 有殺 'has killed', *wán* 完 'to finish' in *chīwán* 吃完 'has eaten', *yǐ* 已 'already' in *yǐzhì* 已至 'has arrived', *jì* 既 'finished' in *jìchī* 既吃 'has eaten', *céng* 曾 'already done' in *céngshí* 曾食 'has eaten' "for perfect tense" (1863a, pp. 70–71).

[172] Other examples are *yuàn* 願 'desire' (no detailed example), *kěn* 肯 'shall, will' (no detailed example), *jiāng* 將 'to approach' in *jiāngzuò* 將做 'approach-do → shall do, about to do', and *bì* 必 'certainly, must' in *bìxíng* 必行 'certainly- walk → shall walk, must walk' "for future tense" (1863a, pp. 70–71).

[173] This type of auxiliary verbs includes *néng* 能 'able, can (physically)' in *néngfēi* 能飛 'can fly', *qǐ* 起 'arise, begin' in *qǐzuò* 起做 'begin to do', *yù* 欲 'long for, wish' in *yùsǐ* 欲死 'wish to die', *yīng* 應 'it is fit' in *yīngtīng* 應聽 'should listen', *yí* 宜 'it is right' (no detailed example is given), *kě* 可 'can, may (morally)' in *kěqù* 可去 'may go', *qù* 去 'go' in *qùzuò* 去做 'go to do', *yào* 要 'will, intend' in *yàodú* 要讀 'will read', *gāi* 該 'it is proper' and *dāng* 當 'ought' in *gāidāng* 該當 'ought to bear, ought' (1863a, p. 70).

that “auxiliary verbs” are considered to be a subcategory of formatives by Summers. Hence, the logical conclusion would be that verbs formed by auxiliary verbs are “derivative verbs”, not “compound verbs”, given the general context of Summers’ works.

However, in Summers’ discussion in the section on verbs in *Handbook*, he did not distinguish between “derivative verbs” and “compound verbs”, but rather treated them as one type of verb. For example, he wrote:

> The composition of verbs may be considered under nearly the same heads as the composition of nouns. We have compound verbs formed (α) by repetition, or by the union of synonymes or words bearing a cognate meaning; (β) by joining to the primitive an auxiliary verb, without which the former would convey only a general notion; (γ) by prefixing to one verb another, denoting *power*, *origin*, *fitness*, *desire*, *intention*, *obligation*, &c.; (δ) by placing certain verbs *before* or *after* others, to give the idea of intention or completion to the action; (ε) by uniting two verbs, similarly to those mentioned above (β), but which when united give rise to a notion different from the meanings conveyed by the parts separately, or one of them is equivalent to a preposition; and (ζ) by adding the proper object to the verb, like the cognate accusative in Greek, and thus forming a new verb. (1863a, p. 69).

These are all the types of verbs he mentioned, excluding primitives. Among them, (β), (γ), (δ) and (ε) are verbs formed by “auxiliary verbs” as mentioned above. (β) and (ε) are integrated into one type. From this quotation, we gather that Summers employed “compound verbs” to include all words formed by an auxiliary verb and the other two types of verbs, without distinguishing between “derivative verbs” and “compound verbs”.

Therefore, for Summers, “auxiliary verbs” have certain peculiar features, which set them apart from the archetype of formatives. In other words, those features make the auxiliary verbs assimilate to the root morphemes of verbs. Hence, it is not easy for Summers to draw a line between “auxiliary verbs” and root morphemes or between “derivative verbs” and “compound verbs”. One of the possible features is that many of the auxiliary verbs actually retain their verbal meaning to some extent while forming a verb. They are close to verbs semantically. Formatives, on the contrary, normally denote a rather general meaning or even lose their lexical meaning and tend to be functional when forming a word. In this sense, roots are more closely related to auxiliary verbs than typical formatives. This is possibly one of the reasons why

Summers employed "auxiliary verb" instead of insisting on the term "formative".[174] However, as mentioned above, the line between "formative" and "root" is not clear-cut. Verbs that are formed by "auxiliary verbs" stand more or less on the vague "boundary" of compounds and derivatives for Summers.

5.2.6 A summary of Summers' view of Chinese morphology

According to Summers, words in Chinese do not inflect as their counterparts in European languages do, but they do have their own rules of formation. Summers classified words into three types, based on their inner structure: primitives (one syllable with primitive meanings); derivatives (formed by primitives and formatives); and composite words, which are formed by more than one primitive.

Formatives are similar to what we call "derivational affixes" today. The archetype of formatives does not convey any meaning in the words that they form. But in general, the less "pure" formatives denote unspecific or grammatical notions in order to strengthen the meaning of the correlating roots, although the boundary between "root" and "formative" is blurred. Formatives mark the part of speech of the entire word they thus form. It is noteworthy that in this system *de* is the formative to form derivative adjectives in Mandarin. Summers suggested that as long as *de* is added after an adjective, no matter the primitive or composite adjective, it modifies a noun and transforms the entire unit to a derivative adjective. Different from derivative words, each component of a composite word retains its lexical meaning. Summers analysed the structure of composites mainly from the perspective of the semantic relation and "syntactic" relation, as well as the "form class" of their components.

Summers' point of view about words formed by "auxiliary verbs" is very interesting. The main feature of auxiliary verbs is their proximity to verbs in the sense that many of them retain their verbal meaning when forming a verb, although they share some features with formatives, such as determining the word class.

Words formed by the reduplication of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs fall within appositional-relation-composite words. From Summers' point of view, all reduplication forms emphasise or intensify the meaning of the original morphemes.

Summers' research on morphology focuses on didactic purposes. This explains some paradoxes in his writings. For instance, Chinese has no inflectional morphology and Summers was clear about this. However, he employed many terms from the Latin tradition to explain

[174] The other reason for this use might be to keep coherence to the European tradition, see 5.3.6.

semantic meaning (not morphology) of the composite words in Chinese, such as "genitive", "participle", and "ablative" (cf. 5.2.3.3). For example, *niú* 'cow' in the word *niúròu* 'cow-meat → the meat of the cow → beef' can be understood as bearing the equivalent of "genitive case" in European languages semantically. In Chinese, the first nominal element modifies the second without changing its form at all. "Genitive case" was employed to refer to the first morpheme when two morphemes form a modifier-modified-/possessor-possessed-relation type of word. The use of these terms is an indication of the pedagogical orientation of his works, which aims to help the students who are familiar with Latin linguistic tradition to be able to learn Chinese more easily. Furthermore, while explaining what counts as a formative in Chinese, Summers listed some elements that denote an "agent" or "person" and can be translated as '-er' or '-or' in English, such as *shǒu* 'hand' in *shuǐshǒu* 'water-hand → sailor'. Although in Summers' mind, the archetype of formatives should not convey any meaning, and even though the meaning that these elements convey was clearly written down by Summers, he still treated them as nominal formatives. His students, whose mother tongue was English, were always his first concern in compiling his books. Pedagogical practice was the top priority for Summers and it outweighed the sublimated theories. This point will be revisited multiple times throughout this dissertation.

5.3 Summers' precursors and Chinese morphology

"Morphology", a term originated in biology was first introduced to linguistics in German in 1859 by the German linguist August Schleicher (Koerner 1995b, p. 55; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 200; Salmon 2000, p. 18; Bynon 2001, p. 1230). He analysed ways to classify languages in the field of comparative linguistics and linguistic typology. His morphological typology research is based on different combinations of roots and inflectional affixes. In his opinion, roots convey lexical "meaning", while inflections express the "relations" between meanings (Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 200; Blevins 2013, pp. 382–383). He therefore considered the Chinese language to be an isolating language because all forms in Chinese are roots with lexical meaning (Schleicher 1848, pp. 7–8; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 213). In the English literature on this subject, "morphology" appeared as a linguistic term in the year 1870 (Salmon 2000, p. 16). Then, "morpheme" was coined by Russian structuralist linguist Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1845–1929) in the 1880s (Mugdan 1986, p. 29; 1990, p. 51; Davies and Lepschy 1998, p. 304; Aronoff and Volpe 2005, p. 274; Seuren 2015, p. 136). The notion of morpheme being the smallest meaningful unit, however, had already been discussed by Juan

Bautista Lagunas (d. 1604) under the name of "particle" while researching a Mesoamerican language in 1574 (Breva-Claramonte 2007, p. 246).

In the nineteenth century, many German scholars analysed morphology under the name of "Wortbildung" (Salmon 2000, p. 19), for example, Stephen Endlicher (1804–1849, 1845, p. 79, p. 163). Summers' term "word-building" (1853b, p. vi; 1863a, p. xiii; 1864a, p. 42, p. 43) as mentioned above thus derived from the German term.[175] However, the research on the structure and formation of words started much earlier.

The Word and Paradigm pedagogical model is a traditional way of researching morphology rooted in Greco-Roman tradition (Malmkjaer 1995, p. 256, p. 432). It is based on the binary structure of words and sentences without any other grammatical layers between them. Words are considered to be independent and stable units and there is no concept of morphemes or roots in this model (Malmkjaer 1995, p. 432; Dǒng Xiùfāng 2004, p. 21; Blevins 2013, p. 375). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Word and Paradigm Model was still very popular due to its convenience for pedagogy, especially for the teaching of classic languages (Robins 1997, p. 177).

A word was treated as a whole, although attention was paid to the final segments through the Middle Ages (Law 2000, p. 80), until 1506, when Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) introduced the Hebrew linguistic knowledge of roots and affixes to Europe. In Reuchlin's grammar, words are either primitive or derivative. Primitive refers to "a word form without any derivational affixes", which is equivalent to the modern definition of "root" (Law 2003, pp. 247–248; Jacquesson 2018, pp. 151–153). The term "root" first appeared in English literature in 1530 (Law 2003, p. 132). In nineteenth-century German linguistic works, terms like "root", "affix", and "suffix" were widely used (Jacquesson 2018, pp. 150–151). These terms and concepts are very similar to those in Summers' research. This section, however, focuses on the research of scholars whose works were referred to by Summers.

[175] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "word-building" can be found in English literature as early as 1760 (https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/view/Entry/230192?redirectedFrom=word-building#eid14318407 [Date of access: 24 February 2023]). However, the meaning it conveys back then is "wording" and "expression" (Anonymous 1760, p. 105), without referring to the concept of "morphology". The first time it has been used in the context of morphology in English literature as shown in *Oxford English Dictionary* is in *Tiw; or a view of the roots and stems of the English as a Teutonic tongue* by William Barnes (1801-1886, 1862, p. v), but this work appeared nine years after the publication of Summers' *Gospel* (1853b). Therefore, the English term "word-building" being used as a synonym of "morphology" can probably be attributed to Summers rather than to Barnes.

5.3.1 Does Chinese have grammar in the eyes of Summers' precursors?

Some early scholars, like Mentzel and Andreas Müller (1630–1694) argued that Chinese has no grammar (Klöter and Zwartjes 2008, p. 186). However, in the works to which Summers referred, most of the scholars agreed that there are certain rules in forming Chinese words. Many scholars of his time stated clearly that the words in Chinese do not have inflection.[176] The grammatical meaning expressed by inflections in western languages is conveyed by particles, collocation of words, and the position of the words in a sentence in Chinese.[177] However, among them, Schott claimed that there are only "roots" in Chinese words (1857, p. 4).

As mentioned above, Summers divided Chinese words into three types according to their structure. In the works of his precursors, it is common to find words classified into two types: simple words, which are formed by only one constituent, and compounds, which are formed by more than one constituent.[178] Summers' derivative words belong to "compounds" in their classification. Summers' method of classifying words according to their morphological rules is therefore different from his precursors in the sense that he divided them into three abovementioned classes instead of two. At the same time, his method also shares some similarities with scholars like Edkins,[179] in the sense that Summers' derivative words are part of the compounds in their works.

5.3.2 Summers' precursors and affixation

In his Latin grammar, which Summers referred to, Key argued that affixes are attached to a word in order to "add[…] or alter[…] its meaning" (1858, pp. 4–5). When it comes to the study

[176] For example, Marshman (1814, p. 186), Gützlaff (1842, p. 24), Endlicher (1845, p. 163), Prémare (1847, p. 28), Bazin (1856, p. xxvii), Schott (1857, p. 4) and Edkins (1857, p. ii).

[177] For example, Marshman (1814, p. 517), Gützlaff (1842, p. 24), Endlicher (1845, p. 163), Prémare (1847, p. 28) and Edkins (1857, p. iii).

[178] For example, Morrison (1816, pp. 1–2) said: "two or more characters are joined […] and form in fact, a compound word." Endlicher (1845, pp. 168–169) also stated that nouns can be divided into simple words and compound words. The former expresses a specific meaning through a monosyllable, while the latter consists of two or more simple "words". The same idea was shared by Bazin (1856, p. xii), who stated that a simple word is made up of one syllable, written with one character and expressing one idea; whereas a compound word is formed by several syllables, written with multiple characters but expressing only one meaning. Marshman (1814, p. 500) also mentioned that "compound words" are "two characters united to express one object". Gützlaff (1842, p. 18), however, divided words into three types: 1) those formed by synonymous words; 2) those formed by two units that denote a general meaning and a definitive meaning separately; and 3) those by two elements that denote different meaning but whose meaning is different from but cognate to its constituents. Although Schott (1857, pp. 12–14) claimed that Chinese is monosyllabic, words can still combine together in four different ways: combination of synonyms, of antonyms, with affixation and others (genitive construction, verb-object construction, participial-noun construction and reduplication).

[179] Edkins (1857) argued that words that are made up of only "one word" are "primitive" or "simple" words, while "compounds" or "derived (words)" consist of more than one "word" (p. 101, p. 191).

of the Chinese languages, what needs to be emphasised again is that words formed by affixes in most works that Summers referred to are considered to be a subcategory of compounds. They are not categorized independently as they are in Summers' works. In order to clarify their influence on Summers, affixation is discussed separately in this section.

Sinologists have employed various terms for affixes. For example, Abel-Rémusat (1822, pp. 110–111)[180] and Bazin (1856, pp. 6–13) [181] employed the term "termination" (*terminaison*) to discuss suffixes, whereas Endlicher (1845, pp. 173–174)[182] used the term "appendix syllable" (*Anhangssylbe*). They agreed that these affixes do not convey any lexical meaning—different from "roots"—but only serve as expletives. Like Summers, Morrison also employed the same term "formative", and wrote: "*[t]sze* [子] is often added to the names of thing, as a formative of the Noun, or as an Euphonic particle. Occurs in the sense of Love or affection, as for a child" (1815b, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 702). In his opinion, "formative" expresses the meaning of "diminutive", which is also brought up by Summers.

As for the analysis of the term "formative", Anglo-Sinicus' (Dyer)[183] idea anticipated Summers':

> A vast multitude of nouns are made by what we shall call *formatives*: i. e. by adjoining to the word containing the radical idea, either (1)

[180] Abel-Rémusat argued that *zǐ* 子 'son, [nominal suffix]' in *fángzi* 房子 'house', *ér* 兒 'infant' in *háiér* 孩兒 'infant', *tóu* 頭 'head' in *shítou* 石頭 'stone' are used as word endings (*terminaison*), which are purely expletive (*purement explétif*).

[181] From Bazin's point of view, *zǐ* 子 'son, [nominal suffix]', *tóu* 頭 'head', *jiàng* 匠 'craftsman', *rén* 人 'man', *shǒu* 手 'hand' and some generic terms denoting trees or plants (like *shù* 樹 'tree' in *líshù* 梨樹 'pear tree') are all terminations of nouns (*la terminaison des substantifs*). He said that when *zǐ* is used in the word *fùzǐ* 父子 'father and son', its meaning is retained. However, in the word *fǎzi* 法子 'method', *zǐ* (*zi*) has no lexical meaning, but only acts as a termination (1856, p. xvi). For him, "terminations" convey no meaning in the words they thus formed and their function is only to form the noun. He did not mention whether the tone of *zi* in these two examples are different, but in his transcription, there is no difference. He also employed the term "affix" (p. 25). According to his statement, "affix" refers to inflectional affixes, not derivational affixes, which are discussed in this thesis. Although Bazin had pointed out that Chinese words do not have inflections, for the purpose of pedagogy, he had to follow the European tradition of linguistics as close as possible (p. xxvii). For most occasions, he took *men* 們 as an affix (p. 24, p. xvi), but sometimes, he also treated affixes as terminations, for example: "Les affixes des noms propres, quand ces noms dé signent un royaume, une province, un département, un arrondissement, un district, une montagne, un fleuve, un lac, etc., ou les termes génériques dont j'ai parlé, sont *koŭe* 國 le rotaume […] *Ta'-ing- koŭe* 大英國 l'Angleterre" (pp. 60–61).

[182] Endlicher argued that when *zǐ* is used to form a noun without changing the meaning of the other morpheme, then it is merely a euphonic ending (*als ein bloßser euphonischer Ausgang*). He also argued if *zǐ* keeps its meaning in a word, then it is a derivative syllable (*Ableitungssylbe*), for example *zǐ* in *tiānzǐ* 天子 'emperor' (1845, p. 174). Endlicher (1845, p. 174, footnote) himself claimed that this idea was adopted from Prémare, who wrote: "[s]ubstantive nouns, when alone, or when they close a phrase, require something after them, by which they may be in a manner supported" (1847 [1831], p. 30).

[183] Anglo-Sinicus is the pseudonym of Samuel Dyer as stated in *The General Index of Subjects Contained in the Twenty Volumes of the Chinese Repository with an Arranged List of the Articles* (Bridgeman and Williams 1851, p. xxii).

> particles having a certain generic sense, (2) or euphonic particles. Under the first head we will notice several classes. I. By the addition of 氣 ke, denoting (i.) The mental constitutions; as, angry ke [*nùqì* 怒氣] denotes anger […] (ii.) Celestial phenomena or appearances; as, heaven ke [*tiānqì* 天氣] denotes weather […]. We proceed to notice the nouns made by adjoining euphonic particles. These particles are not to be considered as bringing with them any distinctive idea but they frequently throw the preceding word into the substantive form; thus, the particle 子 tsze, a child, forms such nouns as the following; table tsze [*zhuōzi* 桌子…]. There are many cases where this word, following another noun, would have its own proper meaning; but there is no difficulty in determining when it is euphonic, and when not so. (1840, pp. 349–351)

From this quotation, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, formatives do not convey the "radical idea" of the word, but the root elements of the word do. They either denote a very general meaning in the word or do not denote lexical meaning at all. Second, some of the formatives, or as Dyer called them "euphonic particles", mark the part of speech of the word they form. But occasionally, they can also be root morphemes and therefore convey their own lexical meaning. All these views were adopted by Summers, together with the term "formative". Hence, Summers' perspective of formatives was heavily influenced by Dyer.

Some other scholars also argued that affixes can serve as indicators of part of speech, such as Schott (1857, pp. 12–13)[184] and Bazin (1856, p. xiii).[185] In his discussion of adjectives, Bazin argued that the common termination of adjectives is *de* (1856, p. 26), which can be applied, for example, when determining the part of speech of *hǎode* 好的 'good' to be an adjective (p. xiii). Both of these points were adopted by Summers.

To conclude, most of Summers' terms and examples about the affixation had already been mentioned by his precursors. Different from others, Summers singled out derivative words from the category of compounds. Among them, Dyer's analysis influenced Summers the most, including the term "formative".

[184] Schott stated that *ér* 'child' and *zǐ* 'child' are "additions (*zusätze*)", placed after the "basic words (*grundwörter* [sic])". They function as markers of nouns (*kennzeichen von substantive* [sic]). However, for Schott, there are only "roots" in Chinese words (p. 4), therefore, these "additions" are also roots with full meaning.
[185] Bazin shared the idea that the part of speech of a word can be recognised from its terminations (1856, xiii).

5.3.3 Summers' precursors and reduplication

Some of Summers' precursors, such as Marshman (1814, p. 512) and Edkins (1857, p. 102), also argued that reduplication is a process of forming compounds, just like Summers. Below, I only present those ideas that influenced Summers.

Discussing the effect of reduplication, Edkins (1853, p. 194) said: "the repetition of words frequently affects the grammatical sense of the words repeated. At other times it is mere tautology adopted for rhythmical reasons, or for the purpose of emphasis as in English".[186]

As for the reduplication of adjectives, Edkins' (1857, p. 136) argued that they can be reduplicated as either an AAB (for example: *jīngjīngxì* 精精細 'elegant, fine') or an ABB pattern (like *wényǎyǎ* 文雅雅 'having a literary polish'). These patterns and examples were borrowed by Summers (see Section 5.4). Edkins (1857, p. 192) pointed out that sometimes the reduplication form of adjectives "becomes an adverb", like *míngmíngshuō* 明明說 'he spoke plainly', which was also adopted by Summers in his work.

Schott (1857, p. 71) gave an example of the reduplication of verbs *shuōshuōxiàoxiào* 說說笑笑 'chatting and laughing on and on (*in einem fort plaudern und lachen*)', which indicates that the reduplication of verbs intensifies the meaning. Although he did not state clearly that the A *yī* A structure denotes the diminutive as Summers did, in the translation of the examples, Edkins translated it as "a little", such as in *děngyiděng* 等一等 'wait a little' (1857, p. 177).

In short, Summers adapted his precursors' ideas about reduplication.

5.3.4 Summers' precursors and their views on Chinese compounds

As mentioned above, Summers claimed that there are generally two relations between the constituents in compounds.

The first is the appositional relation, including the combination of repetitions, synonyms, specific and generic terms, and the commencement of a series in the part of nouns. All of these subcategories had been noted by Summers' precursors. For example, Edkins (1853, pp. 72–73) said that species and genus combine together to form nouns like *sōngshù* 松樹 'pine'. Schott

[186] What Edkins meant by "the repetition affects the grammatical sense" is basically reflected in the reduplication of nouns. He said that "[r]epetition of nouns gives them a plural sense", for example, *zǐzǐsūnsūn* 子子孫孫 'sons and grandsons' (1857, p. 214). This idea was shared by Gützlaff (1842, p. 32) and Schott (1857, p. 71), but in their examples, the reduplication of nouns also leads to the meaning of "every" and "each", for example, *jiājiā* 家家 'every family, families' and *rénrén* 人人 'each person, all men (*jeder mensch, alle menschen*)'. Endlicher (1845, p. 196) also mentioned that the reduplication of nouns shows plurality.

argued that synonyms form a composite (1857, p. 55). Summers' precursors did not mention words formed by "the commencement of a series". However, as mentioned above, there are very few items in this category and Summers himself only gave two examples.

The second relation between constituents in compounds in Summers' works are formed by "[w]ords [which] are in construction". Summers mainly used case terms to express the relation between the constituents of compounded nouns, such as genitive relation and dative relation. Bazin (1856), for example, also employed cases to describe the relation. He claimed that when two nouns stand together to form another noun, the first noun is in the genitive case and the second one is in the nominative case (p. 16), such as, *niúròu* 牛肉 'beef' (p. 18). While talking about verbs, the "addition of the cognate object, or that on which the action of the verb naturally falls" was also mentioned by other scholars. For instance, Edkins (1857, p. 169) gave the same examples like *chīfàn* 吃飯 'to (eat rice) dine' and *dúshū* 讀書 'to study (books)'. Edkins did not state that these are verbs combined with their cognate objects, as Summers did, but he said: "[t]he proper force of the substantive is lost in these expressions, at least in translation".

As for the part of compound adjectives and adverbs, Edkins and Summers had a lot in common as well. For example: Edkins (1857, pp. 135–136) also mentioned that two synonyms may form an adjective such as *shēchǐ* 奢侈 'extravagant'; the combination of a noun and an adjective can serve as an adjective (for example, *bīngliáng* 冰凉 'icy cold'); the two "potential particles" *kě* 可 and *hǎo* 好 can help to form adjectives, such as *hǎoxiào* 好笑 'laughable', and two primitive adverbs can form an adverb, like *kuàngqiě* 况且 'and much more when, further' (Edkins 1857, p. 192). These are all mentioned in Summers' works.

In the structure of compound words, most of Summers' arguments had been mentioned in his precursors' works.

5.3.5 Summers' precursors on the change of tones

Regarding tonal change, Edkins said: "[v]ariation in tone might be enumerated as a third mode of supplying the want of inflexions". For example, the tone of *mú* 磨 in *mú ʻtsz* 磨子 'a mill' is a "quick rising tone" in Shanghainese, which is different from that in *mú máh* 磨麥 'grind wheat' (1853, p. 79). But he emphasised that although the tones are different, "the enclitic 子 [*ʻtsz*] is an inseparable appendage to the noun" (1853, p. 79). Morrison (1815b, Part I, Vol. 1, p. 17) said: "[w]ords used both as nouns and verbs, are generally, when used as verbs, read in

Keu Shing [departing tone]". Schott's idea and one of the examples were adopted by Summers. Schott argued that certain words move from one word class to another by changing their tones or their articulations, such as "*ngŏ*"/"*ú*" 惡 'evil'/'to hate' (1857, p. 27). Their argument, especially Schott's, reveals that they do not regard tonal change as a word-formation process. By contrast, they actually point out that different pronunciations can be recorded with the same written character, and their different forms belong to different word classes, although the meaning they convey has some connection with each other. In other words, their description is more like an explanation of heteronyms in Chinese, rather than a derivational relation between the elements in question.

5.3.6 Summers' precursors on "auxiliary verbs"

As mentioned above, Summers was hesitating about the identity of "auxiliary verbs", since they have the properties of both the roots and the formatives. His precursors had similar views, which are presented here.

Regarding Summers' view on auxiliary verbs discussed above, the term itself was also employed by authors like Marshman (1814, p. 403), Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 131), and Bazin (1856, pp. 38–39). Abel-Rémusat gave many examples, but did not classify them into different types nor did he explain them in detail. Bazin's examples are very similar to those of Abel-Rémusat (Abel-Rémusat 1822, pp. 131–136, pp. 150–155), but Bazin classified auxiliary verbs into three categories, which includes what we now call "directional complements" like *lái* 来 'come' in *jìnlái* 進來 'enter-come → get in', those which express the meaning of tense, mode and aspects, (for instance, *le* 了) and other auxiliary verbs like *kě* 可 'can' in *kěpà* 可怕 'can-afraid → formidable', *bă* 把 'take' in *bă wŏ dăsĭle* 把我打死了 'He killed me' (1856, pp. 38–39; pp. 78–82). Marshman (1814, p. 455, p. 403) claimed that auxiliary verbs either express tense (e.g., today's adverb *yĭ* 已 'already', p. 435), or mood (e.g., today's auxiliary verb *yuàn* 願 'would', p. 416). His examples also include aspect markers (e.g., *le* 了, p. 435).

Among all the scholars whom Summers mentioned, Edkins' classification and explanation of auxiliary verbs is the most detailed (1853, 1857). Before delving into Edkins' "auxiliary verbs", his "auxiliary words" will firstly be discussed. Although Edkins divided words into only two classes, namely simple words and compounds, he stated that there are certain words which are formed by adding "auxiliary words".[187] He said that auxiliary words are "which have

[187] Edkins also used other terms, like "enclitic" and "proclitics" (1853, p. 74, p. 125; 1857, p. 104, p. 103).

nearly or quite lost their primary meaning as independent [words]" (1853, p. 125), i.e., they "are such as losing their own independent character and governing power, are applied to limit other words in their action or signification" (1857, p. 165). Examples of the nominal "auxiliary words" are not only the common *zǐ* 子 'son, [nominal suffix]', *ér* 兒 'son', *tóu* 頭 'head', but also words that denote "agents", for example, *fū* 夫 'man' in *mǎfū* 馬夫 'horse-man → a groom'.[188] Many of these examples also appeared in Summers' works, and are also listed under the category of "agents". Also, within this "agent" category, Edkins (1857, pp. 105–106) mentioned "an active verb, with its object followed by *de*, for agents", for example, *dúshūde* 讀書的 'read-book agent → student', as Summers did, although Edkins did not explain it in such detail as Summers. Edkins further claimed that "[t]ransitive verbs with a noun after them, followed by 的 *tih* are employed to designate agents, as in 辦事的 *pan' shï tih*, [do-thing agent→] a manager. Such examples are both compounds, inasmuch as the verb and its object retain their meaning, and derivative since *tih* is nothing more than a termination" (1857, p. 111). Therefore, although Edkins only divided words into primitives and composites as mentioned above, he distinguished derivatives and compounds in the way that the elements of a compound retain their own lexical meaning, whereas in derivatives, one of the elements does not have any lexical meaning.[189] This is very similar to nominal formatives in Summers' works, including their concept, categories and examples.

Let's turn to the "auxiliary verbs" in Edkins' works. Edkins divided "auxiliary verbs" into six classes according to their semantic meaning, namely "auxiliaries which limit the verb to a single act of perception" (e.g., *jiàn* 見 'to perceive' in *yùjiàn* 遇見 'meet-perceive → meet'), "auxiliaries [which] give direction to the action of the verb" (e.g., *shàng* 上 'go up' in *bānshàng* 搬上 'move-go up → remove upwards'), "auxiliaries [which] describe the beginning, cessation and completion of an action" (e.g., *wán* 完 'end, finish, complete' in *jiǎngwán* 講完 'speak-finish → finish speaking'), "auxiliary words [which] give the idea of collection and separation"

[188] Other examples are: *shǒu* 手 'hand' in *qiǎoshǒu* 巧手 'clever artificer', *zuò* 作 'to do' in *mùzuò* 木作 'wood-do → carpenter', *jiàng* 匠 'artificer' in *níwǎjiàng* 泥瓦匠 'mud-tile artificer → bricklayer', *jiā* 家 'family' in *hángjia* 行家 'bank-family → acting party', *rén* 人 'man' in *dúshūrén* 讀書人 'read-book man → scholar', *gōng* 工 'work, a workman' in *huàgōng* 畫工 'paint-workman → painter', *shīfu* 師傅 'teacher' in *cáifeng shīfu* 裁縫師傅 'tailor-teacher → tailor', *tóu* 頭 'head' in *fàntóu* 飯頭 'food-head → cook in a monastery' (Edkins 1857, pp. 103–105)

[189] As for the idea that formatives denote localities in Summers' category, Edkins also wrote: "口 *'k'eu*, mouth, 門 *men* 'door' are used in compound for any opening or entrance", for example *yámén* 衙門 'government-door → magistrate's office' and *shānkǒu* 山口 'mountain-mouth → mountain pass' (1857, p. 106). However, Edkins did not claim that these two are "auxiliary words".

(e.g., *kāi* 開 'open', express separation in *fēnkāi* 分開 'separate-open → separate'), "[auxiliaries which express] restraining, resisting, and destruction" (e.g., *zhù* 住 'dwell at' in *bǎngzhù* 綁住 'tie-dwell → tie up') and "[auxiliaries which express] excess and superiority" (e.g., *guò* 過 'pass, exceed' in *mántou fāguò* 饅頭發過 'bread raise pass → the bread has risen too much (of bread-making)',1857, pp.165–169).

Summers' detailed description and classification of auxiliary verbs are similar to Edkins, Abel-Rémusat and Bazin. However, there is an essential difference: in Summers' view, auxiliary verbs are not typical formatives, but they are more like verbs, whereas for the others, auxiliary verbs and auxiliary nouns are all auxiliary words, which are affixes. However, there are also scholars who consider "auxiliary verbs" closer to roots than to affixes, for example, Schott's work (1857, pp. 60–62), and most of Summers' examples of auxiliary verbs, which denote "*power*, *origin*, *fitness*, *desire*, *intention*, *obligation*, &c." (1863a, p. 69), were from Schott. In fact, in the European linguistic tradition, "auxiliary verbs" are a type of verb that always combines with other verbs and helps conjugate the latter to denote grammatical categories like mood and tense (Anderson 2000, p. 803). The term "auxiliary verb" which Summers employed denotes a similar but broader meaning to that of the European linguistic tradition.

5.4 Summers' successors and Chinese morphology

Some of Summers' successors also touched on the topic of Chinese morphology.[190] Among them, Gabelentz's (1881, 1883) study of morphology is more systematic, but with no specific trace of Summers' influence.[191]

An overt change of the second edition of Edkins' *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial*

[190] For example, Douglas (1904) mentioned that two synonyms can form a new word (p. 55, p. 92).

[191] Gabelentz argued that words can be divided into three types according to their structure: monosyllabic stem words (*einsylbige Stammwörter*), reduplicated words (*Doppelungen*) and compounds (*Zusammensetzungen*). The last class includes words with more than one root and words formed by roots and affixes (1883, p. 26). To be more specific, according to Gabelentz, compounds formed by more than one root are synonym compounds or antonym compounds, which express abstract meaning (like *chángduǎn* 長短 refers to length), or attributive compounds, such as *héshuǐ* 河水 'water of the river' (1881, pp. 115–117; p. 125; 1883, pp. 21–22). With regard to the auxiliary nouns, he also gave examples with *ér* 兒 'son' and suffixes (*Nachfügung*), which denote career, like *rén* 人 'man' in *jiàngrén* 匠人 'worker' (1883, pp. 88–89). As for the auxiliary verbs, he mentioned those which appear at the front of a word (*vorantretende Hülfsverba*), such as *yào* 要 'will' "for future tense (*futuri*)", those placed after the main verb (*Nachgefügt*), for instance, *le* 了 'complete' "often for the past tense" (*praeteriti*) and those that show the directions (*Hülfswörter der Richtung*) like *lái* 來 'come' (1883, pp. 97–98). He also mentioned the reduplication of verbs (1883, p. 99). In general, Gabelentz's research on Chinese morphology is similar to that of his precursors, including Summers.

Language (1864) will be discussed here. Edkins deleted the AAB pattern from the reduplication of adjectives, with the ABB pattern remaining (1864, p. 145). In fact, the AAB pattern is a reduplication pattern in Shanghainese. For example, in Shanghainese, 雪雪白 [in Mandarin: *xuěxuěbái*] 'snow-white' is acceptable, whereas in Mandarin, it is ungrammatical (Xú Lièjiǒng and Shào Jìngmǐn 1997, p. 72). This pattern also exists in other varieties of the Chinese language, such as the topolects of Shèxiàn, Yīngshān, Sūzhōu, Fúzhōu and Hakka of Chángtīng (Huáng Bóróng et al. 2001, p. 51, p. 52), but not in Mandarin. Therefore, Edkins deleted the AAB pattern in the second edition of his book concerning Mandarin. However, as mentioned above, Summers adopted both these patterns together with Edkins' examples in his *Handbook*. In other words, Summers did not notice that the AAB reduplication pattern of adjectives is ungrammatical in Mandarin. Perhaps his Shanghainese was good and he mistook it for a pattern in Mandarin as well.

In Doolittle's dictionary, the ABB pattern of the reduplication of adjectives also appeared, with the example *wényǎyǎ* 文雅雅 'polish' (1872, Vol. 1, p. 288). Its English gloss is closer to that of Edkins' "having a literary polish" (1857, p. 136) than Summers' "of literary elegance" (1863a, p. 56). It is more likely that Doolittle referred to Edkins' first edition of *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language* (1857).

5.5 Summary

Summers argued that Chinese words do not inflect but that there is still morphology in Chinese. He divided words into three types according to their structure, namely primitives, derivatives and compounds, which was an innovation on the dominant division into two types by his contemporaries.

Summers stated that derivatives are formed by adding formatives to a primitive. Formatives, for Summers, only denote unspecific or grammatical meaning rather than concrete lexical meaning and can mark or change the parts of speech of the word. They mainly form nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Summers' view of formatives was greatly influenced by Dyer (1840).

According to the relationship between their components, Summers classified compounds into two types. In the first type, the components are in an appositional relation. This class includes compounds formed by repetition, appositional synonyms and so on. The second type is "words […] in construction" (1863a, p. 85). This classification of two general types is innovative, although the detailed classes and most of his examples had already been mentioned

by his precursors.

Summers' classification of what he called auxiliary verbs is interesting. For Summers, auxiliary verbs are closer to verbs—actually a general notion in European linguistics—although Summers also pointed out some similarities between auxiliary verbs and formatives. Therefore, while discussing the morphology of verbs, Summers only divided them into primitives and composites, without further distinction between derivatives and compounds, and he tended to call them "compound/compositive verbs".

When it comes to the research on compound adjectives and adverbs, Summers was greatly influenced by Edkins (1857).

With regard to reduplication, Summers had a lot in common with his precursors. Summers claimed that reduplication was used to intensify the meaning of the original element. In the part on the reduplication of adjectives, he borrowed the patterns AAB and ABB with examples from Edkins (1857), without noticing that the AAB pattern is ungrammatical in Mandarin.

Overall, Summers' research on morphology is well organised. The classification of words into different hierarchies is very clear and makes a lot of sense. For example, "reduplication" is classified under the "appositional relation", and the "appositional relation" is classified under "composite". Although each detailed category was mentioned by previous scholars, Summers rearranged them in his own way. In his research he did not follow one particular scholar but instead presented a convergence of the work of his precursors. His introduction to Chinese morphology has strong didactic features, yet had little influence on other scholars.

Chapter 6. Parts of speech

This chapter discusses whether and how Summers classified words and whether certain parts of speech exist in Chinese in his view. It further investigates the sources and influences of Summers' works.

6.1 A general introduction to the problems of classifying Chinese words

The term "parts of speech" was originally "parts of the sentence" in Greek (*mérē lógou*), but when translated into European vernaculars, it was converted to "parts of speech". This translation indicates that these "parts" are not the units of a sentence anymore, but instead, the units of language. This raised the question of whether the parts of speech that were distinguished in European languages (nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, pronouns etc.) are the same for all the languages of the world, including Chinese.[192] Guō Ruì (2002, p. 11), for one, listed many reasons why it is difficult to classify Chinese words according to European categories and argued that it is not clear whether Chinese words can be classified at all. If one takes both literary Chinese and vernacular Chinese into account without distinguishing them clearly, as most of the early sinologists did, things become even more complicated.

There is, for example, discussion on the question of whether Chinese has a separate class of adjectives. Chinese words that seem to be the semantic counterparts of adjectives in English have a lot in common with elements that are generally acknowledged to be verbs in Chinese. For example, syntactically, adjectives in Chinese can be the predicate of a sentence without the help of a copula, and some of them can be reduplicated in the same way as verbs. However, they also have a number of properties that set them apart from verbs. For instance, they can modify an NP without the help of *de* 的, while verbs cannot. They also display patterns of reduplication, with ensuing meanings, which cannot be found with verbs.[193]

A similar case can be made for the class of prepositions. Whether there is a separate class of such words in Chinese is a hotly debated issue. There are elements in Chinese that behave like prepositions in European languages. However, many of them originate as verbs, and the same forms act as verbs in other contexts. For example, in the following sentences, *zài* 在 'to be, in' behaves like a verb in example (a), yet it functions as a preposition in example (b), where *shàngbān* is the main verb:

(1) a. *Tā zài jiā.*

[192] The part about "parts of speech" in this paragraph is based on McDonald (2020, pp. 191–192).
[193] See Paul (2015, pp. 139–174) and Basciano (2017, pp. 558–560).

he be home

'He is home.'

b. *Tā zài Běijīng shàngbān*.

he in Beijing work

'He works in Beijing'.

Not all of such words have a verbal counterpart, while otherwise behaving the same as the others in their prepositional use.[194]

Furthermore, in locative expressions like the ones in (2) below, the ground noun is often followed by an element (*wài* 'outside' and *qián* 'in front of' in (2)), which is often referred to as a "localizer" in Chinese linguistics (e.g., Chao 1968, pp. 620–627; Li 1990, p. 4).

(2) a. *fáng wài*

house outside

'outside the house'

b. *mén qián*

door front

'in front of the door'

These "localizers" share characteristics with both nouns and adpositions (Ernst 1988, p. 221; McCawley 1992, pp. 228–231). Historically, many of these elements were nouns.[195] The distribution of these locative expressions is similar to NPs (Li 1990, p. 4). However, these localizers can be translated into European languages as adpositions and have also been classified as postpositions (Chao 1968, pp. 621–622).

6.2 Summers and parts of speech

Summers claimed that "Chinese words have really no classification or inflection" and "all Chinese words cannot be classified under European denominations" (1863a, p. 40). He reminded students that "[i]t is of great importance for the student to be able to divest his mind of the idea of a Chinese word being a noun or a verb, and to be able to treat any word as a noun or a verb, according as the case may require" (1863a, p. 141). Students should be open-minded, think outside of a European framework, and be aware that Chinese words have no classification inflectionally. In other words, Chinese words cannot be classified by their forms as words per se in the same way as European languages, but he did not object to other criteria of

[194] See Li and Sandra (1981, pp. 356–367), McCawley (1992, pp. 218–219), Paul (2015, pp. 53–54), and Basciano (2017, pp. 560–561).

[195] Paul claimed that some of them are not originally nouns but verbs (see Paul 2015, p. 106).

classification.

That having been said, classifying words for Summers was a task he must fulfil, due to the necessity of analysing Chinese grammar in a way familiar to his readers who were brought up in the Latin linguistic tradition and who were used to its classification of words. He stated that it will be "more convenient for our purpose of analysis" and "necessary to acquire words before we can […] examine the structure of the sentence" while "many [words] may be placed in grammatical categories and be distinguished by the respective terms for the parts of speech" (1863a, p. 40). Therefore, in practice and for didactic purposes, Summers tried to classify Chinese words according to criteria other than inflection.

6.2.1 Summers' criteria for classifying words

As mentioned above, inflection cannot serve as a criterion for classifying Chinese words. Summers had to find other ways.

6.2.1.1 "Position" and its definition

The following quotations reveal one of Summers' criteria:

> a. [A]ny expression may be treated adverbially in certain positions in the sentence. (1864a, p. 65)
>
> b. [T]he position of the words alone can determine how the expression must be construed. (1863a, p. 142)
>
> c. The position also of a syllable or word may determine what part of speech it is, while the same syllable, disconnected from the sentence or phrase, would have no grammatical worth at all. (1864a, p. 42)

As presented in these quotations, the position of a word in a sentence or a phrase is one of Summers' criteria for classifying Chinese words. Lí Jǐnxī's famous statement in 1924 sounds quite similar to quotation (c): "*yī jù biàn pǐn, lí jù wú pǐn* (依句辨品, 離句無品 'The class [of a word] is determined by the sentence. Outside the sentence, it has no class')".[196]

However, Summers did not clarify what the word "position" really means: whether it refers to a syntactic slot that the word fills, or to the relative position of the word when collocated with other words. In the quotation "[t]he subject must be a noun or a word used as

[196] Lí claimed that his argument is inspired by some earlier Chinese scholars' statements in the Yuan (1271–1368) and Qing dynasties (1644–1912), for example, *Wén wú dìng fǎ, wén chéng fǎ lì* 文无定法, 文成法立 'There are no fixed grammatical rules; When the passage is finished, the rules are set' (Sūn Liángmíng 2005a, p. 23). However, these scholars focused on how to compose works of literature rather than on how to classify words.

such" (1863a, p. 183), Summers suggested that syntactic function is the criterion "position". However, for Summers, the collocation of words or the relative position of words (or word-constituents) also helps to classify words:

> a. Auxiliary syllables and particles do however frequently distinguish the parts of speech. (1863a, p. 40)
>
> b. Nouns may be distinguished by their form when certain formative particles are present as affixes. (1864a, p. 42)
>
> c. A noun before an adjective is either (1) the subject of a sentence of which the adjective is the predicate, or it is (2) construed as an adverb. (1863a, p. 99)

It is clear that word formation processes are included in the views illustrated by these quotations. For example, the "formative" *zi* (cf. Chapter 5) helps to form nouns like *xiāngzi* 箱子 'box' (1863a, p. 43). One of the main features of "formatives" like *zi* is to mark the part of speech of the word, according to Summers. Therefore, "position" is a very important criterion to classify Chinese words according to Summers. "Position" in his eyes refers not only to the syntactic function of the word (i.e., to be the subject or the predicate) but also the collocation with other words (or morphemes, i.e., the relative "position" with elements like "formatives").

6.2.1.2 The "meaning" of a word as the criterion for classifying words

In his *Flying Dragon*, Summers wrote a series of articles to teach Chinese people the English language (cf. Chapter 3). In one of them, he distinguished nouns from verbs according to the criterion *yìsi* 意思 'meaning' in his own words as follows:

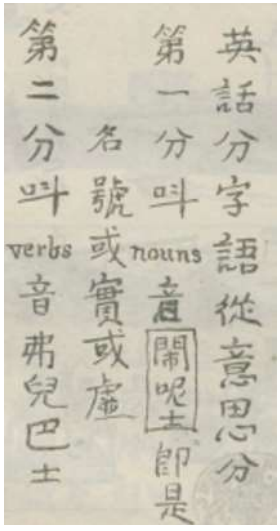

Figure 10: "Meaning" of the word as a criterion to classify words in *Flying Dragon*[197]

> 英話分字語，從意思分第一分叫 nouns， 音 "鬧呢士", 即是名號，
> 或實或虛。第二分叫 verbs， 音"弗兒巴士"，即行動食思之意。
> (論英國話語, in *Flying Dragon*, No. 9, 1866, punctuation added).
>
> In English, there are different parts of speech. According to the meaning [of words], the first class is called "nouns", pronounce *nàoneshì*, which are the real or unreal names [of things]. The second class is called "verbs", pronounce *fúérbāshì*, which means moving, acting, eating and thinking. [English translation mine]

To Summers, the lexical meaning of words can serve as a criterion in the classification of words, which also applies to Chinese. He wrote:

> a. [T]he meaning of a character or word and its position in the sentence will generally determine to what category it belongs. (1863a, p. 40)
> b. Though the Chinese employ the *same* word frequently to express the substantive or the verbal meaning, they have a class of words almost exclusively applied to *things*, and another class to *actions.* (1853b, p. vi)

When more than one criterion applies, the question of which criterion is prioritised should be considered. However, Summers did not discuss this issue at all.

In summary, Summers claimed that Chinese words cannot be classified under the European system inflectionally. Words in Chinese, however, can be classified according to other criteria, such as their relative positions, i.e., some morphological and collocational rules and their meaning. For him, classifying Chinese words is necessary in order to analyse individual sentences and to improve the teaching of the language.

6.2.2 Summers' classification of parts of speech in different works

His *Lecture* (pp. 26–27) introduces the traditional Chinese terms *xūzì* 虛字 'function words' (literally, 'empty words') and *shízì* 實字 'content words' (literally, 'substantial words'), the latter of which is further subdivided into *sǐzì* 死字 'nouns' (literally, 'dead words') and *huózì* 活字 'verbs' (literally, 'living words'; more discussion on these notions below). Summers did

[197] © British Library Board (Asia, Pacific & Africa OP.711 General Reference Collection 1867–1870 LOU.LON 71A [1867] 14 Jan 1867–Dec 1870, 0029).

not propose his own classification in this book, but just briefly introduced the traditional Chinese classification of words without any explanation of the criteria.

In *Rudiments*, Summers classified words into nouns (a term which includes substantives and adjectives), verbs, and particles (1864a, p. 42). But in the same book, he also introduced pronouns (pp. 59–60) and adverbs (pp. 65–69). The classification here is very close to the Greco-Latin tradition. For instance, substantives and adjectives are subcategories of nouns, and they are presented in a rather simple way. This publication is a manual for fast learning for beginners. Theories and detailed explanations, therefore, give way to practical application: putting Chinese into familiar European dress so the students do not get startled.

In his most comprehensive work, *Handbook*, Summers also briefly mentioned the traditional Chinese distinction of empty words and substantial words, but he focused on dividing the words into the following classes: nouns (including classifiers), adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and other particles (including onomatopoeias). The order of the parts of speech listed here is based on the order of how they are presented in the *Handbook*. From this order one can realize that Summers' classes are derived from traditional European classification: first come those classes that have inflections of case, number, and gender in European languages, namely nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, which are then followed by verbs. The parts of speech that have no inflections, such as adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions follow.[198]

6.2.2.1 Is there a class of "adjectives" in Summers' opinion?

As mentioned above, there is the question of whether Chinese has a separate class of adjectives. In the *Rudiments*, Summers classified substantives and adjectives under nouns, but in his *Handbook* (1863a, p. 55), he said that "[s]ome syllables are used exclusively as adjectives, and are but seldom employed in the other grammatical relations". He suggested that, grammatically speaking, adjectives should be regarded as an independent class. Although he did not mention the similarities between verbs and adjectives directly, he did say that adjectives can be the predicate in sentences without the help of copulas: "[a] noun before an adjective is […] the subject of a sentence of which the adjective is the predicate" (1863a, p. 99). However, this kind of syntactic similarity between verbs and adjectives is apparently not strong enough for

[198] This system of classification does not get any influence from the Chinese philological tradition. In the chapter on syntax, Summers used forty pages to discuss the details of particles, especially of literary Chinese, under thirteen classes. This will be discussed in Chapter 8, together with the relationship between empty words and particles in Summers' view.

Summers to abandon the European tradition of considering the bond between nouns and adjectives.

6.2.2.2 Summers' ideas of Chinese adposition

Summers' attitude towards the independence of the class of adpositions is worth mentioning. In the beginning of the section "The prepositions" in his *Handbook*, Summers said:

> The relations expressed by the prepositions are shown in Chinese partly by prepositions properly so called, and partly by the union of these in construction with postpositions. The former are generally verbs; the latter, commonly nouns. (pp. 91–93)

He employed the term "prepositions" as the title of this section, which indicates that "preposition" refers to both "preposition" and "postposition" in his terminology. Summers obviously assumed that the meaning expressed by prepositions and postpositions in European languages have their counterparts in Chinese. He indicated, however, that there is no class of adpositions in Chinese, because prepositions are verbs, whereas postpositions are nouns. Verbs and nouns are just used as adpositions. In the examples he gave for prepositions, he always wrote the meaning of their verbal counterparts first, for instance, "*tsaí* 在 'to be in a place,'- *in* (locative) (*in*) or *on*" (1863a, p. 91).

Postpositions "are treated as nouns" (1863a, pp. 91–92), for example, *chūng* 中 'middle,' *tsaí-ŭ-chūng* 在屋中 'in the middle of the house', as translated by him (1863a, p. 92). His above statement "are treated as nouns" is confusing. The statement might be understood as saying that these elements are postpositions in nature but can be treated as nouns. However, considering Summers' general attitude towards parts of speech in Chinese, i.e., "to treat any word as a noun or a verb, according as the case may require", he tried to argue here that these postpositional elements must be treated as nouns, although they are not inflectionally marked as such.

Summers additionally presented two usages of the term "postposition": normally, they combine with prepositions, e.g., *zài fángzi nèi* 在房子內 'within the house' (1863a, p. 92). When the expression "stands as the nominative case, or the subject of a sentence", the preposition *zài* has to be omitted, just like in the sentence *Chéng nèi yŏu mĭ mài* 城內有米賣 lit. 'the city's interior has rice to sell', i.e. 'In the city there is rice to sell' (1863a, p. 142),[199]

[199] Some scholars (e.g., Paul 2015, pp. 98–99) made a difference between the monosyllabic and the disyllabic forms of localizers. They argued that the latter are generally nouns, while the former share more features with

which hints at the concepts of existential sentences in Chinese. Existential sentences express the existence of some entity, which is denoted by the nominal phrases, at a certain place. One of the typical patterns of this kind of sentences is: *Locus* (place+ localizer) -verb-noun phrase (Li and Thompson 1981, p. 510; Simpson 2017, p. 212), just like the abovementioned example of Summers. Unfortunately, this example and the extremely brief instruction is the only time that Summers touched on this topic.[200]

6.3 Summers' precursors and parts of speech

Classifying words has always been an important task for grammarians in Europe. For instance, Dionysius combined morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria to classify Greek words into eight classes (Evans 2000, p. 708; Anward 2006, p. 628), namely nouns, adverbs, verbs, participles, conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, and articles for didactic purposes (Sasse 1993, p. 646; Robins 1997, p. 43, p. 44; Swiggers and Wouters 2007, pp. 53–54). In medieval times, grammarians further classified words into ten classes, namely nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, pronouns, verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, articles, and interjections, mainly based on morphological criteria (Sasse 1993, p. 646). These classes were considered universal for all languages (Breitenbach 2000, p. xxxiii).[201]

Word classification was not a new topic for Chinese linguistics either. The opposite concepts of function words and content words originated in the Chinese linguistic tradition. They were introduced to Europe by Prémare and were widely used as a tool to analyse all languages in modern linguistics (Robins 1997, p. 120). The distinction between these two concepts first arose in the Song dynasty with the terms *xūzì* 'empty words' and *shízì* 'substantial words'. At that time, *shízì* referred to nouns, which meant that the remaining kinds of words

adpositions. One of the differences between them is that the particle *de* can be added in between the disyllabic form and its complement, but not in between the monosyllabic form and its complement in modern Mandarin. In all Summers' works, most of the examples of "postpositions" are monosyllabic. Only three of them in the *Handbook* (pp. 92–93) are disyllabic: "*pŭ-tsaí* 不在 lit. 'not present' = without" in "*t'ā-mân pŭ-tsaí* 他們不在 'without them' (they being absent)", "*waí-t'eû* 外頭 lit. 'outside head'= beyond (extra or ultra)" in "*miaú-mân waí-t'eû* 廟門外頭 'outside the temple-gate'"; and "*kwó-k'ŭ́* 過去 lit. 'pass over go'= beyond (extra)" in "*Meî-lìng kwó-k'ŭ́* 梅嶺過去 'beyond the Mei Ling'". Although Summers argued that these elements "supply the place of prepositions" (p. 92), he considered these elements as postpositional nouns since they follow their complements, and he employed the term "preposition" to refer to postposition as well. Summers did not analyse the differences between monosyllabic and disyllabic "postpositions". It is plausible that he saw no difference between these two forms. Most likely, as long as an element can be translated as a postposition in European languages, then it is a noun that is used as a postposition in Chinese for Summers. This echoes Chao's observation presented at the beginning of this chapter.

[200] His research on Chinese classifiers and particles will be discussed in the next two chapters.

[201] For a discussion of different parts of speech in European scholars' works, see Kemp (1986, p. 345), Sasse (1993, p. 646), Robins (1997, p. 44), McDonald (2020, pp. 88–89, pp. 191–192, pp. 205–221) and Swiggers and Wouters (2007, p. 52), among many others.

were *xūzì*, including verbs and some adjectives (Shào Jìngmǐn 1990, p. 33; Gōng Qiānyán 1997, pp. 13–14). From the Qing dynasty onwards, the term *xūzì* referred to the concept of function words (Shào Jìngmǐn 1990, p. 34).[202] Likewise, *sǐzì* 'dead words' and *huózì* 'living words' are also two opposing concepts. In most scenarios, the former referred to nouns and the majority of adjectives, while the latter referred to verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and particles (Gōng Qiānyán 1997, pp. 13–14). Semantic and syntactic criteria were employed to categorize words into different classes by early Chinese scholars (Sūn Liángmíng 2005b, p. 392, p. 394; Hǎi Xiǎofāng 2011, p. 313).

6.3.1 Are there any "word classes" in Chinese?

Some early scholars, such as Mentzel and Müller, argued that Chinese words cannot be classified into parts of speech (Klöter and Zwartjes 2008, p. 186). However, most of the works to which Summers referred classified Chinese words into different classes. For example, Edkins argued that parts of speech do exist, although they are concealed: "[t]he frequent interchange of the parts of speech, and the rhythmical construction of sentences, have almost kept in concealment among the natives, the classification of which words naturally admit" (1853, p. 63). Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 38) stated that there are words which have fixed classes, but some of them have to be analysed case by case. Gützlaff (1842, p. 37) argued that: "Chinese words do not exactly belong to one particular class". Dyer's statement can serve as a summary of the views of Summers' contemporaries: "[i]t has often been said that 'the Chinese language has no grammar': if by this is meant that the different parts of speech are not distinguished by inflections, as in most other languages, the observation is so far correct" (1840, pp. 347–348). Their statements imply that Chinese words cannot be classified inflectionally, but that there are other ways of classifying them.

6.3.2 The criteria for classifying words in Summers' reference works

In the non-Chinese linguistic works to which Summers referred, scholars basically used morphological[203] and semantic criteria (e.g., Stier 1833, p. 120; Becker 1841, p. 82) to classify words.

Many sinologists specifically used the syntactic function and collocation of words, i.e.,

[202] Sūn Liángmíng (2005b, p. 307), on the contrary, argued that after the late South Song (1127–1279) period, the scope of *xūzì* and *shízì* were very close to that of the "function words" and the "content words" presently. However, the discussion about this is not my focus here.

[203] For example, Thomas Hewitt Key (1799–1875, 1858, p. 33) said that "Adjectives are declined like substantives". Substantives and adjectives, therefore, are in the same class for him (p. 5).

the "position" of the words, to classify words. Gützlaff (1842, p. 23) explained this criterion as follows: "[a] word may be used as a substantive, adjective, or verb, just as it pleases the speaker or writer, and its position shows in what sense it ought to be understood". The same idea was shared by Varo (2000 [1703], pp. 53–55),[204] Marshman (1814, p. viii, p. ix),[205] Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 35)[206], Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 176),[207] Bazin (1856, p. 27),[208] Edkins (1853, p. 64, p. 102; 1857, p. 100, p. 208, p. 224),[209] Schott (1857, p. 67)[210] and William Martin (1827–1916, 1863, p. 10).[211]

Like Summers, some scholars employed semantic criteria to classify words, for example, Marshman (1814, p. 194, p. 269),[212] Varo (2000 [1703], p. 53)[213] and Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 35).[214] When scholars employ semantic criteria, it is the lexical meaning of the words that they

[204] The original text reads: "[f]or [the word], when positioned in the sentence […] or [used] in conjunction with other [words], in the end does receive a specific meaning […]. By putting certain terms side by side with others, and using them according to their [syntactic] positions, the cases of the declensions can be understood [in terms of] our eight parts of speech, which are nouns, pronouns, verbs, participles, prepositions, adverbs, interjections, and conjunctions".

[205] The original text reads: "[o]n examining the various parts of speech, the reader will perceive, that the whole of Chinese Grammar turns on Position" (p. viii) and "Thus does position alone, or, its being surrounded with certain other words, vary a word even in English" (p. ix).

[206] The original text reads: "[b]eaucoup de mots chinois peuvent être pris successivement comme substantifs, comme adjectifs, comme verbes, quelquefois même comme particules. On peut à volonté marquer précisément le sens où un mot est pris, et le rôle qu'il joue dans la proposition, ou bien laisser au lecteur le soin de le déterminer, d'après le sens du contexte et la position relative des mots".

[207] The original text reads: "[b]ut however it may be in this respect the connection in which a character occurs is sufficient to determine whether it be a substantive or a verb".

[208] The original text reads: "[l]es adjectifs composés ne se distinguent des substantifs de la quatrième que par la position et la terminaison commune des adjectifs 的".

[209] The original text reads: "[f]or example the words 過 *kú'*, 能 *nung*, 生 *sáng* are in the books verbs or nouns according to their position" (1853, p. 64), "Substantives become adjectives to other substantives, if placed before them in combination" (1853, p. 102) and "It is the position of such words in the group and the sentence to which they belong, that determines to what part of speech they should be referred. […] [B]y the laws of combination, the part of speech to which a word belongs is at once seen, the cases of nouns and the moods and tenses of verbs are clearly expressed, and various kinds of derivatives are formed among all the principal parts of speech" (1857, p. 100). Some detailed examples read as such: "A verb as the subject of a proposition is a substantive" (1857, p. 208) and "A subject may consist of a substantive, or a substantive group, or of a pronoun, a verb or verb group, an adverb of place and time, or an adjective construed as nouns" (1857, p. 224).

[210] Schott's (1857) idea about Chinese parts of speech is similar. Although he focused on the combination of words, he argued that Chinese words have fixed classes, but also act differently depending on the position: "We have already seen that a verb before another, as well as a noun before and after a verb, can play an adverbial role (The original text reads: "Wir haben bereits gesehen dass ein verbum vor einem anderen, ebenso ein nomen vor und selbst nach einem verbum [eine] adverbiale rolle spielen kann)" (p. 67).

[211] The original text reads: "[e]ach character, in general, may thus play several parts—appearing without any change of form, as a substantive, adjective, verb, or adverb, according to its position in a sentence".

[212] The original text reads: "[a] second kind of adjectives are those, which, originally expressing ideas in their nature substantives, are often used to express the quality they originally denote, as existing in another substantive" (p. 269).

[213] The original text reads: "[e]ach one of [the words] has almost the same […] part [of speech] of the eight general [parts of speech] which make up Latin [grammar], for to one and the same syllable can be attributed the meanings of a noun, a verb, an adverb, etc." (The underlined part is added by me and the rest are from the book).

[214] The original text reads: "[b]eaucoup de mots chinois peuvent être pris successivement comme substantifs, comme adjectifs, comme verbes, quelquefois même comme particules. On peut à volonté marquer précisément le sens où un mot est pris, et le rôle qu'il joue dans la proposition, ou bien laisser au lecteur le soin de le déterminer,

rely on. Some scholars used the semantic criteria directly, without considering syntax. Naturally, then, Chinese words can be classified. For example, Morrison (1815a) analysed Chinese grammar directly without discussing whether Chinese words have fixed classes. He assumed that Chinese has parts of speech and that these are similar to their semantic counterparts in English. Prémare (1847 [1831]) also applied semantic criteria when discussing literary Chinese. For example, he stated that the meaning that some verbs convey in Chinese makes it impossible to use them as nouns (p. 177).

Some scholars[215] also tended to combine the various traditional European parts of speech together with the tradition in China, namely the distinction between content words and function words, and "living words" and "dead words" (Gianninoto 2014a, p. 146).

Therefore, Summers' classification inherited the notions of his precursors. The classification of words should rely on the criterion of syntax and semantics.

6.3.3 Different classes of words

The research to which Summers referred in his publications is rooted in the European grammatical tradition, and therefore, his division of parts of speech follows suit. The following table shows the classifications of Summers' precursors.

Table 1: Parts of speech according to Summers' precursors ("√" shows that they have the class, while "O" means this class is subsumed under another class)[216]

d'après le sens du contexte et la position relative des mots".

[215] To name but a few, see Bridgman (1841, p. xvi), Edkins (1853, pp. 62–63) and Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 27).

[216] Remarks on Table 1:

1. The scholars, who discussed classifiers in the section on nouns or on numerals, are listed here as "including classifiers" in the table. But in fact, most of them regarded classifiers as particles, not as numerals or nouns. This will be discussed in Chapter 7. Morrison (1815a, p. 37) argued that the appellative of what we call "classifiers" today is "numerals" (see Chapter 7). He did not state clearly whether classifiers are a subcategory of nouns or numerals (The latter, in his words, is called "numbers", cf. 1815a, p. 81). However, he analysed them in the section on nouns. Therefore, in Table 1, classifiers are placed under nouns. The same applies to Prémare.
2. Bayer did not say that it is a subclass of "Numerus" but only explained the classifiers in the section on numerals (pp. 47–48).
3. Wade did not explain in his book these terms in a systematic way but only lists them. He also mentioned that numerals are also called classifiers (1859, p. 18).
4. Some works are not included in this table as they do not discuss parts of speech, for example:
a. Although in dictionaries scholars used terms "nouns", "verbs" and so on, they did not introduce each class or divide the words systematically, like Morrison (1815b), Williams (1844, 1856), Medhurst (1832, 1842, 1843, 1847, 1848) and De Guignes (1813);
b. Some works only provide translations of sentences or articles, without grammatical analysis, for instance: Edkins (1862), Medhurst (1844), Morrison (1816), Davis (1823), Thom (1840), Bridgman (1841), and Martin (1863). Although Williams (1842) dedicated a chapter for classifiers, he did not discuss other parts of speech;
c. Additionally, there are some other books about characters (Du Ponceau 1838; Callery 1841), sociology (Meadow 1847) and literature (Schott 1854; Horace Hayman Wilson 1786–1860, 1852). Therefore, these works are not analysed in table 1.
5. Particles will be discussed in Chapter 8.
6. The situation of "adpositions" is complicated, and it is discussed in 6.3.4.

	nouns	adjectives	pronouns	verbs	adpositions	adverbs	Interjections	conjunctions	Numerals
Varo (1703)	√ including adjectives	O	√	√	√	√	√	√	√ including classifiers
Bayer (1730)	√ including adjectives	O	√	√	√	√	√	√	√ including classifiers
Fourmont (1742)	√ including classifiers	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Marshman (1814)	√	√ including numerals	√	√	√	√	√	√	O
Morrison (1815a)	√ including classifiers (called numerals)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rémusat (1822)	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√ including classifiers
Gonçalves (1829)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√ including classifiers
Prémare (1847 [1831])	√ including adjectives and classifier	O	√	√	√	√			
Gützlaff	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

(1842)							are called expletives and interjections		including classifiers
Endlicher (1845)	√ including classifiers, adjectives, numerals	O	√	√		√	√	√	O
Edkins （1853）	√	√	√	√	√	√	√ are called expletives and interjections	√	√
Bazin (1856)	√ including classifiers	√ including numerals	√	√	√	√	√	√	O
Schott (1857)	√ including classifiers	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
Edkins （1857）	√ including classifiers	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Wade (1859)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
Summers (1863a)	√ including classifiers	√	√	√	cf. 6.2.2.2	√	√	√	√

Though different scholars used different criteria to classify words, the final results are similar. The classes they all agreed on are nouns, verbs, pronouns, and adverbs. The problematic classes for Chinese, are adjectives, numerals, and classifiers. Whether these words are independent classes seems to be the nucleus of the debate. Among these three, classifiers are a separate class in Chinese, which has no direct counterpart in European languages (see Chapter 7). For these scholars, adjectives were sometimes treated as a subcategory of nouns, while numerals were sometimes placed under nouns or adjectives. These points of view stemmed from the European linguistic tradition and are independent from the properties of Chinese. However, scholars also took the characteristics of the Chinese language into consideration. For example, in Chinese, there are no articles, and consequently, European sinologists did not try to impose this class on Chinese. Overall, Summers' classification was a close approximation to those of his precursors.

6.3.4 Summers' precursors and adpositions

In the following paragraphs, I discuss whether Summers was influenced by his precursors as far as his discussion of the class of adpositions in Chinese is concerned. Although none of Summers' precursors employed the term "adposition" in their works, like Summers, they normally discussed "preposition" and "postposition" in the same section as more or less similar types of words, for instance, Marshman (1814, p. 485), Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 141), Endlicher (1845, p. 335) and Edkins (1853, p. 148; 1857, p. 187). The term "localizer" was not employed, but "postposition", a term that was coined in 1533 by Spanish grammarian Bernabé Busto,[217] was widely used in missionary grammars (Zwartjes 2002, pp. 46–47).

6.3.4.1 Summers' precursors and prepositions

For some of the early scholars, there was an independent class of prepositions in Chinese. Edkins (1853, p. 148) argued that adpositions in Shanghainese are used to show the relationship between nouns and what he called "case particles". Those used before nouns and that express dative and ablative meaning are called "prepositions", such as *cóng* 從 'from'; while those that express the locative and that are used after the nouns are called "postpositions", for example *qián* 前 'before'. He further stated that some prepositions can be "used as verbs", for example, *cóng* 從 'to follow' in Shanghainese. The same statements appeared in his research on Mandarin as well (1857, p. 187). For Edkins, prepositions can be used as verbs, and they

[217] His birth and death years are unknown.

originate from verbs, but prepositions and verbs are two independent classes (1857, p. 209).[218] Marshman (1814, p. 485, footnote) also observed that the same form can be a preposition or a verb depending on the different position in the sentence, but prepositions are a closed class and are mainly functional, not like verbs (1814, p. 73).[219] However, there were also scholars who tended to imply that prepositions are not a separate class, an idea shared by Summers. For example, Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 76, p. 142) argued that some verbs are taken as prepositions, while Endlicher (1845, p. 335) mentioned that most prepositions are verbs. In other words, for them, "prepositions" in Chinese are not really an independent word class. It is the verb that acts as the preposition.

6.3.4.2 Summers' precursors and postpositions

Some scholars in Summers' time stated that there is no postposition in Chinese, but that instead other classes of words are used as postpositions under certain circumstances, which is very similar to what Summers said. For example, Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 76) employed the term "preposition" to refer to both prepositions and postpositions. For him, some nouns when combined with other nouns can also be treated as postpositions and express the meaning of a postposition, for example, *nèi* 內 'in' in *hăinèi* 海內 'in the sea'.[220] Endlicher (1845, p. 337) mentioned that nouns can be used as postpositions. When Endlicher translated the meaning of the postpositions into German, he always pointed out their nominal notion, for instance, *shàng* 上 'das Obere' (p. 337).[221] There were also some scholars, whose attitude towards this question was unclear, such as Edkins and Marshman.[222]

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[218] The original text reads: "The prepositions are almost all freely used as verbs, being such originally. In both cases they precede nouns, so that their character as prepositions or verbs in any individual case, must be decided by the sense, not by position".

[219] The original text reads: "Prepositions which, as united with verbs, scarcely exceed twenty in any language, (of which also several concur in expressing nearly the same idea,) seldom do more than mark some circumstance relative to the verb, or augment its force, or occasionally invert its meaning".

[220] The original text reads: "Plusieurs substantifs se prennent comme prépositions, quand ils sont construits avec d'autres noms: *kouĕ tchoûng* 國中 dans le royaume, *hàï néï* 海內 dans la mer".

[221] However, he did not use the translation to emphasise the relationship between verbs and prepositions as Summers did; for instance, his translation of "*vveí* 為" is only 'wegen' (p. 336), without any reference to its verbal meaning.

[222] Edkins' perspective on this topic is not clear. On the one hand, he argued that there is an independent class of postpositions and that "[t]he postpositions are freely used as adjectives. When they follow their word they are postpositions; when they precede they are adjectives" (1857, p. 209). The main difference between the two classes, i.e., adjectives and postpositions, is their syntactic features. On the other hand, he also stated that adjectives are used as postpositions, which seems to indicate that postpositions are not an independent word class: "These adjectives when used as locative particles, do not retain like the prepositions their original character. They become abstract signs of place, and are translated as substantives, adverbs, or prepositions, according to the exigencies of the occasion, as in 他在上我在下 *t'a tsai' shang' 'wo tsai' hia'*, he is above and I below. Here perhaps it is most correct to say that *shang'* and *hia'* are substantives governed by the verb *tsai'*" (1857, pp. 189–190). Edkins stated

Summers' precursors also discussed some other characteristics of adpositions. For instance, Bazin (1856, pp. 89–90) pointed out the semantic difference between prepositions and postpositions: prepositions generally denote relations of cause, tendency, union, simultaneity, conformity, and proximity, while postpositions express the relations of place, situation, order, and time.[223] Endlicher (1845, p. 338) noted that sometimes in literary Chinese, prepositions are used together with the postpositions like preposition *yú* and the postposition *shàng* in the sentence *Wáng zuò yú táng shàng* 王坐於堂上 'The king sits in the hall'. In vernacular Mandarin, however, prepositions can be omitted. No one before Summers raised the point that when the expression serves as the "subject", the preposition is omitted and only the postposition remains. This was a novel observation made by Summers.

Generally, there was no consensus among scholars about whether adpositions were an independent word class or a function of other words. Some of them stated that prepositions and postpositions are different in their positions and in their connections with other words, namely that, verbs were used as prepositions, while nouns or adjectives functioned as postpositions. These insights were adopted by Summers. For Summers, verbs and nouns serve as adpositions in Chinese; therefore, to him, there is no "adpositions" class as such in Chinese.

6.4 Summers' successors and parts of speech

Most of Summers' successors used syntactic and semantic criteria to classify Chinese parts of speech as well. Some of them argued that the position of a word can help to classify it, for example, Douglas.[224] Most of them suggested that in Chinese, words cannot be placed in fixed classes. But in practice, they used semantic criteria in order to place words in fixed classes. For instance, Douglas (1875, p. 43) stated that words belong to fixed parts of speech according to

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that adjectives can be used as postpositions while placed after nouns. Semantically they could thus be translated into other homologous classes of words in European languages, such as nouns. Edkins considered postpositions a type of particle ("The postpositions, or case particles answering to our locative prepositions" 1857, p. 199). However, Edkins noted that adjectives are sometimes considered as a part of particles, so he was unsure whether postpositions stand as an independent class from adjectives.

Marshman's attitude was clearer than Edkins', but still rather vague. He wrote: "The Postpositions are about nine in number", which states that postpositions are a closed class of words. However, he further argued that postpositions could be considered as nouns or adjectives ("Hence they may be considered either as substantives, or as adjectives including within them some substantive signifying place, situation, &c.") since they are often preceded by a genitive particle, for example the expression "*mun tchee choong* 門之中 'the door's mid space'" (1814, p. 487, the page number was wrongly printed as 587 in the original book).

[223] The original text reads: "Les rapports exprimés par la préposition, c'est-à dire par la particule qui se place avant son complément, sont, en général, des rapports de cause, de tendance, d'union, de simultanéité, de conformité, de proximité ……Les rapports exprimés par la postposition, c'est-à dire par la particule qui se place après son complément, sont, en général, des rapports de lieu, de situation, d'ordre et de temps".

[224] See: 1875 (p. 38) and 1904 (p. 52, p. 53). He also claimed that the collocation of words helps classify them.

the meaning that they convey. Gabelentz (1881, p. 113) also argued that the lexical meaning of a word is the main criterion to classify words, and words have different functions in different sentences, which is similar to Schott's idea.[225]

Considering how they classified words, most of them were similar to their precursors, including Summers himself, for example Edkins (1864a), Wade (1867) and Douglas (1904). Gabelentz's (1881) classes were different. He classified the words according to some characteristics of the Chinese language, so his results differ from the traditional classes in the West: interjections, onomatopoeias, pronouns, nouns, prepositions, numerals, adjectives, verbs and negation words. He may not have been influenced by Summers in this regard.

When it comes to adpositions, Edkins' opinion changed in his work by 1871; however it shows no trace of influence from Summers.[226] As mentioned above, Gabelentz had his own way of classifying words. His class of adpositions roughly corresponds to his "part and relational words" (Theil- und Verhältnisswörter). He stated that this type of word can act and be translated as nouns, adverbs, some conjunctions, adjectives, prepositions, postpositions, verbs etc..[227] In literary Chinese, these words are all monosyllabic but in colloquial Chinese, some of them might be followed by elements like *miàn* 面 'side' to form disyllabic units (1883, p. 36, p. 91). None of Summers' successors mentioned that when the expression is used as the "subject", the preposition can be omitted, as Summers did.

6.5 Summary

Summers' ideas on the parts of speech in Chinese represent the general trends of his time. Since there are some properties of the Chinese language which are not compatible with the traditional European linguistic framework, it is not easy to decide whether or how words in Chinese can

[225] In practice, the semantic criterion is based on the assumption that the classes of these Chinese words are the same as those of their semantic counterparts in European languages (Cikoski 1970, p. 10).

[226] Edkins argued that the "locative postpositions are best explained as substantives" and "the original force of such words was verbal" (1871, pp. 87–88). His focus shifted to the connection between postpositions and nouns and verbs, instead of focusing on adjectives as he had in 1864 or earlier. In 1888, he integrated his argument about the relationship between postpositions and other words into one statement from a cognitive point of view. He wrote: "[a]djectives are usually in pairs. When direction is indicated by adjectives [,] verbs of motion are involved in the idea. The hand indicates direction by pointing in the case of above, upper, below, right, left, front, back. The idea may become also an adverb or a postposition. It is so with 上 *shang*, ascend above, upper, with 中 *chung*, to strike the middle, central, middle, within. Beside the natural sounds imitated, the hand itself would be so important a factor that its name would inevitably enter into the composition of many of these words, to a greater or less degree. Right and left would be named from the act of pointing" (1888, pp. 75–76, emphasis added).

[227] The orginal text is: "[d]ie Wörter dieser Art sind durchweg einsylbig, aber wegen der Vielfältigkeit ihrer Functionen wichtig. Sie können nämlich angewandt und übersetzt werden: a) als Substantiva; b) als Adverbien, zum Theil unsere Conjunctionen vertretend; c) als Adjectiva; d) als Postpositionen, unsere Präpositionen ersetzend; e) als verba factiva: zum x machen; f) als verba neutra transitiva: x sein oder werden im Verhältnisse zum Objecte" (1883, p. 36).

be classified. But the classifications of many sinologists were rooted in the European tradition, while at the same time taking the characteristics of Chinese into account. Syntactic position and the lexical meaning of words were important criteria employed in the research of Summers and his contemporaries. One reason for this is that most works by early sinologists were manuals, that were used for teaching purposes. Their purpose was to teach Chinese. Practical approaches were thus more important to the authors than theoretical analysis. An efficient teaching system, which intertwined the linguistic knowledge of the students had to be employed as a convenient way of presenting the Chinese language. Hence, authors had to classify words and found ways to place words in fixed classes. Lǔ Shūxiāng's (2001 [1954], p. 221) comments on Lí Jǐnxī may serve as a perfect explanation for this kind of scenario: "Mr. Lí Jǐnxī would rather drift a bit away from his theory in practice. He does not want to implement his theory earnestly, because he is engaged in teaching. He is unwilling to pursue utopia."[228] Summers' approach was similar. His works are representative of the works that he based himself on. Although Summers also briefly mentioned the traditional Chinese word classes, those classes had little influence on him in his detailed classifications.

Despite his reliance on his precursors' study of Chinese parts of speech, we also find some innovative idea in his work, such as when the adpositional expression with a postposition stands as the "subject" of the sentence, the preposition can be omitted. This brief mention touches on the topic of existential sentences. However, he did not explore this at all and his argument was not adopted by his successors.

[228] The original text reads: "黎錦熙先生寧可讓他的實踐和他的理論脫點兒節，不肯認真貫徹他的理論，因為他從事實際教學，他不願意追求空想。"

Chapter 7. Classifiers[229]

Classifiers are a special word class in Chinese, which was noticed by Western scholars from the beginning of their research on Chinese. This chapter is dedicated to classifiers, with a focus on Summers' terminology for this category, his ideas towards their semantic and syntactic functions, and the source and influence of his ideas.

7.1 A general introduction to "classifiers"

In Mandarin, numerals cannot be placed before nouns directly. For example, **yī píngguǒ*一蘋果 'one apple' and **yī miàn* *一麵 'one noodle' are ungrammatical. Some element needs to intervene,[230] so expressions *yí ge píngguǒ* 一個蘋果 'an apple' and *yì wǎn miàn* 一碗麵 'a bowl of noodles' are thus formed. These intervening elements, which are placed between numerals and nouns, are collectively referred to as *liàngcí* 量詞 in Chinese (Hé Jié 2008, p. 7) and are generally translated as "classifiers" in publications in English. However, this class of elements can be subdivided into measure expressions[231] and sortal classifiers.[232]

Measure expressions exist in all languages (Croft 1994, pp. 151–152; Wáng Lì 2004 [1956], p. 272; Zhang 2007, p. 49; Her and Hsieh 2010, p. 528; Cheng and Sybesma 2015, p. 1523). They "create units" and "provide a measure for counting" (Croft 1994, p. 151, p. 162). Measure expressions are further subdivided into measures, containers, aggregates, and so on (Li and Thompson 1981, p. 107; Sybesma 2017a, p. 621). Some examples of such measure expressions in Chinese include: *jīn* 斤 'pound' in *liǎng jīn niúròu* 兩斤牛肉 'two pounds of beef'; *píng* 瓶 'bottle' in *yì píng shuǐ* 一瓶水 'a bottle of water'; and *qún* 群 'flock' in *yì qún yáng* 一群羊 'a flock of sheep'. Sortal classifiers designate the natural unit of count nouns and reveal the inherent and permanent features of the objects to which the nouns refer (Croft 1994, p. 163; Allan 1977, p. 114, p. 304; Del. Gobbo 2014, p. 28). For example, *ge* 個 in *yí ge píngguǒ* 一個蘋果 'an apple' refers to the natural unit of apples. This is a fundamental difference

[229] A modified version of this chapter has been translated into Chinese and accepted by *International History of Chinese Language*.
[230] For a possible explanation, see Sybesma (2007, p. 240).
[231] Different scholars use different terms to refer to "measure expressions", for example, numeral pseudo-classifiers (Croft 1994, p. 152), mass-classifiers/massifiers (Cheng and Sybesma 1998, p. 3) and measure words (Chappell and Peyraube 2014, p. 123). Here the term "measure expressions" is adopted from Cheng and Sybesma (2014).
[232] "Sortal classifiers" have different appellations, for example, count classifiers (Cheng and Sybesma 1998, p. 3), count-noun classifiers (Zhang 2007) and classifiers (Chappell and Peyraube 2014, p. 122). In this section, the term "sortal classifier" is adopted from Cheng and Sybesma (2014).

between sortal classifiers and measure expressions. While the former mentioned the unit that is part of the semantic denotation of the noun, the latter creates the unit for counting or measuring, as the above examples attest (Croft 1994, p. 151, p. 163).

The term "classifier" reveals one of the functions of sortal classifiers, i.e., to classify nouns according to the inherent semantic meaning of nouns, as mentioned above (Sybesma 2017a, p. 622). Generally, the criteria of classification include the material, shape, consistency, and size of the objects to which nouns refer (Allan 1977, pp. 297–298; Aikhenvald 2000, p. 2). When it comes to Chinese classifiers, the following features play a role:

1. physical shape—for example, the classifier *zhāng* 張 is used for things that have flat surfaces, like *sān zhāng zhuōzi* 三張桌子 'three tables';

2. natural attributes—for example, the classifier *zhī* 隻 is generally used for animals, like *yì zhī niǎo* 一隻鳥 'a bird';

3. cultural attributes—for instance, the classifier *jiàn* 件 can be used for clothes, as in *liǎng jiàn máoyī* 兩件毛衣 'two jumpers';

4. functional attributes—for example, *bǎ* 把 is used for things which have handles, like *yì bǎ dāo* 一把刀 'a knife'.[233]

Among the above, the object's physical shape and functional attributes are the main criteria in Mandarin (Cheng and Sybesma 2015, p. 1524).

Furthermore, classifiers can help disambiguate ambiguous nouns because each classifier designates a different unit. For example, the noun *kè* 課 has two lexical meanings, namely 'lesson' and 'course'. Yet in *yì jié kè* 一節課 'a (CL- segment) lesson' and *yì mén kè* 一門課 'a (CL- subject) course', the respective meanings of *kè* are clear.[234]

In some languages, there is a general classifier, which can substitute most of the specific classifiers (Aikhenvald 2000, p. 98). In Mandarin, *ge* is often taken as the general classifier. *Ge* can collocate with different types of nouns, such as those that refer to human beings or that do not have specific classifiers of their own (Myers 2000, p. 197, p. 199; Crisma, Marten and Sybesma 2011, p. 286, p. 289; Cheng and Sybesma 2015, p. 1524). Therefore, *ge* is both the sortal classifier for some nouns, such as *rén* 人 'man', and the general classifier. As the general classifier, it is also often used by "default". In other words, when grammar requires the presence

[233] These different classes are summarized by Sybesma (2017a, p. 622), and the individual examples are from Lǔ Shūxiāng (1999, p. 653, p. 676, p. 299, p. 52).
[234] This paragraph is based on Allan (1977, p. 290), Zhang (2007, pp. 52–53) and Del. Gobbo (2014, pp. 40–42).

of a classifier and one does not know which classifier to choose, one goes with *ge* (Erbaugh 1986, p. 406; 2002, p. 61; 2006, p. 44; Sybesma 2007, p. 241; Sybesma 2017a, p. 621). What has also been observed is that when a noun appears for the first time, a specific classifier is used and when it reappears in the same context, *ge* may be used as a substitute (Erbaugh 2002, p. 47; 2006, p. 44; Cheng and Sybesma 2015, p. 1524).

To conclude, sortal classifiers (insofar as they are distinguished from measure expressions) have a very close relationship with both nouns and numerals. On the one hand, they classify nouns via the lexical meaning of the nouns, which is their semantic function. On the other hand, grammatically, they are obligatory when nouns appear together with numerals, demonstratives, e.g., *zhè* 這 'this', or certain quantifiers, e.g., *zhěng* 整 'whole' (Allan 1977, p. 286; Li and Thompson 1981, p. 104; Del. Gobbo 2014, p. 26). Sortal classifiers generally occur contiguously to numerals, demonstratives, and quantifiers (Grinevald 2004, p. 1019).

7.2 Summers' research on the Chinese classifiers

Summers' term for measure expressions and sortal classifiers is "appositive". He wrote about these elements in his *Lecture*, *Handbook*, *Rudiments* and *Repository*[235]. He also briefly introduced the Japanese classifiers in the second volume of his *Repository* (Summers 1967 [1864b], pp. 151–158).

7.2.1 Classifier, appositive and noun

In this section, I explain why Summers employed the term "appositive" and analyse the function of cataloguing the classifiers in his works.

7.2.1.1 Why "appositive"?

Summers stated that there are too many homophones in Chinese, implying that they lead to ambiguity in the vernacular. Several syllables are hence combined to form larger and distinct words. As shown above, he divided nouns into three types according to their morphological structure, namely monosyllabic primitives, derivatives formed by primitives and formatives, and compounds formed by compositing primitives (cf. Chapter 5). The corresponding noun and the element now termed "classifier" form one nominal compound, according to Summers:

> To obviate [ambiguity], when speaking, the Chinese unite words of a similar meaning to strengthen and determine each other, and give

[235] For articles in *Repository*, cf. 1967 [1865a] (pp. 401–408) and 1967 [1864b] (pp. 151–158).

> clearness to their idea. They also have a class of formatives, and another of classifiers,[236] by which they give a definiteness to the word they employ. (1853a, p. 19)

This quotation indicates that Summers advocated that Chinese classifiers have their own meaning, related to the meaning of the corresponding nouns.

He further argued that classifiers and nouns are in an "appositional relation". Detailed examples and analysis of the "appositional relation" in his works can be found in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. Here, only two quotations are given for clarification:

> a. Here one syllable explains the other, and means the same thing; the syllables are in apposition. (1864a, p. 49)
>
> b. The appositional relation, when synonymes or words conveying accessory notions are joined together. (1863a, p. 41)

Summers argued that classifiers share very similar meanings with their nouns, and therefore should be referred to as "appositives" (1863a, p. 47; 1864a, pp. 49–50). He mentioned—but did not adopt—the terms "classifier", "numeral" (1864a, pp. 49–50), and "numerative" (1863a, p. 47). His logic seems to be that these terms do not reveal the role that they play in the compounds they thus form (1864a, p. 50).[237] When he delivered his inaugural address (i.e., 1853a), Summers employed the term "classifier" (1853a, p. 19, p. 25), which revealed that his own opinion on the relationship between these elements and nouns had not yet matured. Ten years later, with the publication of his *Handbook*, "appositive" became the only term that he advocated using. Consequently, I use "appositive" from now on in the discussion of Summers' works.

7.2.1.2 Classifying nouns

Summers distinguished different types of appositional relationships.[238] Appositives and their nouns are "specific and generic terms", in which the appositive is the generic term and the noun with which it is associated is the specific term (1864a, p. 50). Moreover, in his *Handbook*, he provided a "List of appositives, with the nouns and classes of nouns to which they are united in composition" (1863a, p. 47, emphasis added). Summers alluded to the fact that one of the

[236] This is one of the few cases when Summers employed the term "classifier" instead of "appositive".
[237] The original text reads: "none of these terms seem quite appropriate, and the designation appositive is here applied to them, as being more in accordance with the part which they play in compounds" (1864a, p. 50).
[238] For example, he said: "this apposition may vary. The syllables may hold the following relations: they may be, (1) a repetition, (2) synonymes, (3) specific and generic terms, (4) the commencement of a series" (*Rudiments*, p. 49).

functions of appositives is to classify nouns.

In his *Handbook*, Summers provided two lists of appositives, including sixteen most and thirty-two less frequently used ones, though in *Rudiments*, only the former sixteen are listed. In the list of the sixteen frequently used appositives, he stated that *ge* is the most common, and that it can be used with almost all objects, men and things (1863a, p. 47; 1864a, p. 50). He also stated that *tiáo* 條 is used "with long things", *zhī* 隻 "with names of *animals*, *ships*, and *things that move*", *zuò* 座 for "of things *fixed* in a place" and *bǎ* 把 for "things that may be held" (1863a, pp. 47–48). These describe the shape, natural attribution, and function of their respective nouns. He made no explicit reference, however, to a system of classifying nouns according to these criteria; nor did he describe these criteria clearly. That the lack of analytic perspective of theoretical linguistic treatises, along with the many examples he provided, especially considering their frequency, demonstrates that Summers' works contain features of didactic manuals.

When introducing the appositives, Summers compared them to measure expressions in German, English and other European languages, for example, *cup* in *cup of wine* or *glas* [sic] in *ein glas Wein* (1863a, p. 47; 1967 [1864b], p. 156). Summers wrote:

> a. Many measures of time, space, weight, &c., are used as appositives…e.g. 一擔米 [*yí dàn mǐ*] 'a picul of rice'. (1863a, p. 115)
>
> b. Besides the above, many words are used as appositives, especially such words as express quantity of any kind, a collection or a class of objects. (1863a, p. 49)

This implies that for Summers the term "appositive" is a general term, which encompasses both "classifiers" and "measure expressions" as defined above. Summers stated that "the Chinese, in conversation, extend the use of such words to every object; they say, for example, 'one handle fan' for *a fan*, 'one length road' for *a road*" (1863a, p. 47). On the one hand, Summers suggested that Chinese people use appositives more extensively, applying them to every noun; on the other hand, he implied that appositives are not unique to Chinese or strange to Europeans. His method of explaining serves to limit potential alienation of the Chinese language and makes it sound accessible to European beginners.

7.2.2 Appositives and numerals

For Summers, appositives are more closely connected to nouns than to numerals. In fact, the term "appositive" makes his attitude clear:

> The Chinese noun […] requires one such syllable appropriate to its signification, to stand in apposition, as it were, and to form and embody the whole word. (1864a, p. 50)

Appositives and their corresponding nouns form a nominal compound, as mentioned above, and this compound is then linked to a numeral, according to Summers. He said that "appositives always belong to the noun itself and not to the numeral" (1864a, p. 52). This shows that Summers was familiar with the claim that appositives belong to numerals (see Section 7.3), an idea with which he appeared to be at odds.

The position of appositives was illustrated by Summers as follows:

> The measure of a thing, as regards number, is denoted by the numeral being placed before the noun, with the proper appositive between them, or by placing the numeral and the appositive after the noun, thus *sān-pǐ-mà* or *mà-sān-pǐ* is 'three horses'. (1863a, p. 114)

Summers presented both the [Numeral- Classifier- Noun] order and the [Noun- Numeral-Classifier] order. In the entire Pre-Qin period (before 221 BC), the [Numeral- Classifier] units were generally placed after the noun (Wáng Lì 2004 [1956], pp. 279–280). This order still co-exists in certain contexts in Modern Mandarin, such as enumerations in shopping lists and recipes (as suggested by Rint Sybesma in personal communication). But generally, the [Numeral- Classifier- Noun] is more commonly used in Modern Mandarin. Furthermore, Summers mentioned that appositives can be placed after nouns directly without numerals to form "general terms", for example, *mǎpǐ* 馬匹 'horses' and *chuánzhī* 船隻 'ships' (1864a, p. 52). He did not expound. Indeed, few such examples exist in Chinese. Besides numerals, Summers noted that demonstratives also require the presence of an appositive (1863a, p. 64).[239]

Another interesting argument of Summers is worth mentioning here:

> The Chinese seem to consider the bare word as indicative of plurality or generality, for they distinguish the *plural* only in extraordinary cases, and where it is absolutely necessary to do so; but they constantly mark the *singular*, which is itself a proof that the simple word modified is plural in meaning. […] To define clearly the singular, *yǐ* or *yǐ- kó*, 'one' must be used before the noun with the appositive; e. g. *yǐ- kó-jîn* [一個人], 'a man;' […] When a numeral above *one* is used it is unnecessary

[239] The original text reads: "[T]he appositives will be required after these [demonstratives]. e.g.- […] *nā-kó-jîn* [那個人] 'that man'".

> to denote the plural in any other way than by that numeral which is used; e. g. *sān jîn* [三人] 'three men', *sź chĕ-mà* [四隻馬] 'four horses'. (1864a, pp. 54–56)

Here, Summers argued that the plurality of nouns is unmarked and the singular is marked in Chinese. In other words, bare nouns denote "plurality and generality". However, he did not delve into the topic any further.

To conclude, in Summers' view, it is the noun that requires the presence of the appositive in order to form a composite noun, and the entire composite noun further combines with a numeral or a demonstrative. Therefore, he employed the term "appositive" and considered appositives as a type of content word (Chén Wēi 2016).[240] In Summers' view, appositives are used to classify nouns, to clarify the meaning of nouns and disambiguate homonymic nouns by adding their own meaning to nouns. The distinction between sortal classifiers and measure expressions is not relevant to Summers' work; his "appositive" is used for both.

7.3 Summers' precursors and Chinese classifiers

The early missionaries tended to employ the term "numeral" for classifiers, which can be traced back to the earliest extant Chinese grammar *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* from the early seventeenth century (Klöter 2011a, p. 74). Chappell and Peyraube attributed the tradition of using the term "numeral" to "the Spanish missionary linguistic tradition" since this was normally the term used by the early Spanish missionaries (2014, p. 126). As early as 1620/1621, classifiers were recorded as a special word class in Chinese with the name "specific numerals" (Gianninoto 2014a, p. 139; Chappell and Peyraube 2014, p. 124). This Spanish tradition was adopted by many sinologists whose works were referred to by Summers (for instance, Morrison 1815a, p. 37; Abel-Rémusat 1822, p. 50; Gonçalves 1829, p. 49 and Callery 1841, pars secunda, p. 42). Gonçalves (1829, p. 131) indicated that classifiers are a subcategory of numerals. This might be one of the reasons why the term "numeral" was employed by Gonçalves. The other reason might be that these scholars considered their grammatical function to be essential. For example, Morrison stated clearly that "they are used in numbering" (1815a, p. 37). Therefore "numeral" was the term he used, although he introduced these elements in the section on nouns.

Although Morrison himself insisted on the term "numeral" for these elements, he noted their strong connection with nouns. He stated that "the numeral has an allusion to some quality

[240] There is another conclusion: Summers' research did not include measure expressions used in the verbal domain (Chén Wēi 2016). However, verbal classifiers apparently are not Summers' concern at all.

or circumstance of the noun" (1815a, p. 37). Williams subsequently claimed in his *Easy Lessons in Chinese* (1842a, p. 123) that in view of Morrison's words these elements should be called "classifiers". Moreover, he argued that the appellation "numerals" is easy to be confused with the real numerals.[241] The term "classifier", as opposed to "numeral", indicates that these scholars emphasised the connection between classifiers and nouns.

Several scholars used various terms to refer to the elements that are called "classifiers" today. For example, Bazin (1856, p. 22) claimed that they should be called "numeral particles" as they appear in between numerals and enumerated nouns. Furthermore, they avoid the ambiguity of homonymic nouns and clarify the meaning of the nouns. Hence, they can also be regarded as "substantive auxiliaries" (p. 21, p. 66). These scholars noted different features of these types of words and did not consider one feature to be more important than another. However, as mentioned above, Summers did not use terms like "classifier" and "numeral", but "appositive" instead.

Schott (1857) is the one who adopted a term similar (in fact, identical) to "appositive" in a book that was highly praised by Summers (1863a, p. x). His term is "apposition",[242] which is also based on the relation between appositions and their corresponding nouns in Schott's point of view. He expounded on classifiers in the section 'Noun to noun (*Nennwort zum Nennworte*)'. However, this explanation was all Schott has written about appositions. In the section 'Allness, majority and proportions (*Allheit, mehrheit und zahlverhältnisse* [sic])', he interpreted appositions from the aspect of numbers and even applied the appellation "numeralwort [sic]". Schott also mentioned that they accompany the noun (pp. 154–155). He therefore equivocated on the term "apposition" or "numeralwort" and did not seem to have given these elements much thought. We know that Summers read Schott's book. Summers effectively adopted his idea of the "apposition" and integrated it into a more consistent and elaborate framework as shown above. Compared to Schott, Summers' point of view of classifiers is more mature.

7.3.1 Summers' precursors' research on classifiers and nouns

Abel-Rémusat argued that classifiers do not have a meaning of their own (1822, p. 50). However, most of the works that Summers referred to generally state that these elements have some meaning, and that their meaning is related to the noun with which they collocate (Morrison 1815a, p. 37; Williams 1842a, p. 124; Edkins 1853, p. 75). Some scholars further

[241] However, he sometimes also called them "numerals", for example in 1842a (p. 16).
[242] The original text reads: "Apposition findet auch statt in ausdrücken wie: 一杯酒 *ĭ pei çièu* ein becher wein; 一羣羊 *ĭ kiün jang* eine herde schafe" (p. 56).

argued that they modify and clarify the meaning of the noun (Bayer 1730, p. 47; Gützlaff 1842, p. 37; Bazin 1856, p. 66). In vernacular Chinese, these elements are thought to be used together with homonymic nouns for disambiguating purposes (Williams 1842a, p. 148; Endlicher 1845, p. 174; Bazin 1856, p. 21).[243]

Furthermore, many scholars pointed out the classifying function of classifiers, such as Marshman (1814, p. 500), Endlicher (1845, p. 175), Edkins (1853, p. 88) and Schott (1857, p. 154). Among them, Marshman (1814, p. 500) and Gützlaff (1842, p. 33) wrote that these types of elements express "generic" meaning.

Regarding the criteria of the classification of nouns, Edkins (1853, pp. 88–90) argued that the collocation of "numeral particles"[244] with nouns follows conventions only, though sometimes one may find some semantic connection between them. Others, like Morrison, Marshman, and Endlicher, presented the criteria by listing classifiers and their corresponding nouns: for example, they classified nouns according to their physical shape[245] and their

[243] An interesting example is Williams, who emphasised that a certain noun can be used together with more than one classifier in order to express a different meaning. For example, he noted that "*yat chéung tí lí t'ò* 一張地理圖 expresses a map in a loose sheet, and *yat fuk tí lí t'ò* 一幅地理圖 denotes the same mounted and suspended on a wall; *Yat chik mún* 一隻門 means the leaf of a door, and *yat tò mún* 一度門 means a gateway or door, the passage" (1842a, p. 124). These nuances were not noted in Summers' works.

[244] This is the term Edkins employed to refer to classifiers (1857, p. 133). He also used "substantive auxiliaries" as the term (1853, 1862, 1857). Edkins' (1857) analysis of "numeral particles" was very detailed. He had his own special way of presenting them and explaining their function. His logic was that nouns are classified according to their lexical meaning. These different classes of nouns can be used together with different numeral particles. Therefore, numeral particles are combined with already realized nominal classes. Their semantic function, according to Edkins, is not to classify nouns, but probably to serve as indicators of different nominal classes. Edkins divided "numeral particles" into four types (1857, pp. 120–121):

(1) "Distinctive numeral particles", which are used together with "appellative nouns". Appellative nouns are "the names of individual objects, organisms, genera, and species", for instance, *hé* 河 'river' and *dāo zi* 刀子 'knife' (1857, p. 108). The "distinctive numeral particles" do not have any lexical meaning (1857, p. 120), for example, *jiàn* 件 and *zhī* 隻. Edkins mentioned that distinctive numeral particles "have no meaning of their own" (p. 120) and they cannot be translated into European words. This means that they do not have counterparts in European languages semantically;

(2) "Significant numerals" that are "applied to material nouns". The so-called "material nouns are the names of substances", as *zhǐ* 紙 'paper' and *ròu* 肉 'flesh'. "They refer to the material of which individual objects are composed" (1857, p. 108). Significant numerals can be further divided into indefinite and definite quantities. The latter refers to measures and weights, while the former refers to expressions like "a piece of". Edkins stated that the difference between "distinctive numeral particles" and "significant numerals" is that the latter can be translated and the former cannot (1857, p. 126);

(3) "Collectives" are "names of groups into which appellative nouns are formed", for example, *duì* 對 'a pair';

(4) *Kind* or *manner* numerals "are applied to appellative nouns in the same manner as collectives", for example, *yàng* 樣 in *sān yàng zuòfǎ* 三樣做法 'three ways of doing it';

(5) Numeral particles applied to verbs.

Edkins pointed out that "numeral particles" also exist in the verbal domain. However, his research did not influence Summers' view of Chinese classifiers.

[245] Such as: *zhāng* 張 in Morrison (1819, Part 2, Vol. 1, p. 17); *tiáo* 條 in Marshman (1814, p. 508) and Morrison (1815a, p. 56), and *tuán* 團 in Endlicher (1845, p. 179).

function.[246] By contrast, scholars such as Williams and Gützlaff pointed out the connection between nouns and their associated classifiers (or "numerals" in Gützlaff's terms) and clearly named the criteria:

> a. Each one is used to define and designate a certain class of objects, the members of which are supposed to have some quality or circumstance in common, as size, use, material, form, &c. (Williams 1842a, p. 123)
>
> b. Most of these terms are attached to nouns, to which they bear some relation, either in shape or quality. (Gützlaff 1842, p. 37)

Scholars like Morrison pointed out that it is the noun that decides which classifier to choose (1819, Part 2, Vol. 1, p. 31).[247] Marshman (1814, p. 500) considered classifiers as part of a compound noun, which is identical to Summers' view. For them, a classifier and a noun first form a compound before adding a numeral.

In addition, several scholars mentioned that *ge* 個 is generally used in front of nouns that denote "men" and "things" (Morrison 1815a, p. 49; Abel-Rémusat 1822, p. 116). They typically do not elaborate on this, but only state that it is more commonly used than any other classifier (Williams 1856, p. 167) and that it is used with nouns that do not have specific classifiers (Varo 2000 [1703], p. 95, p. 159; Gonçalves 1829, p. 131).

7.3.2 Summers' precursors and the grammatical function of classifiers

With regard to the position of the classifier in a sentence, some of Summers' precursors only mentioned that classifiers come after numerals. In principle, these scholars paid more attention to the connection between numerals and classifiers. Therefore, they tended to use "numerals" to refer to classifiers, like Varo (2000 [1703], p. 159). There were also scholars who only considered the relationship between nouns and classifiers and only mentioned that classifiers are placed before nouns. They therefore tended to use terms related to nouns to address classifiers; for instance, Marshman (1814, p. 500) used the term "generic particles" to indicate that they "[prefix] to certain substantives" and "[express] genus or kind", and form a compound word together. However, most scholars stated that the position of classifiers is to be in between the numeral and the noun, for example, Edkins (1853, p. 192; 1857, p. 120) and Endlicher

[246] For example, *bǎ* 把 in Morrison's work (1819, Part 2, Vol. 1, p. 630) and *dǐng* 頂 in Marshman's book (1814, p. 509).

[247] The original text reads: "[v]arious numerals are joined with [*zhè* 這 'this'] according to the Noun which follows".

(1845, p. 175).

Some scholars emphasised that classifiers are required when enumerating, for example, Morrison (1815a, p. 37) and Prémare (1847, p. 30). Gützlaff (1842, p. 37) even argued that "where a strict enumeration of the subject is not required, the numerals are omitted". Some scholars pointed out that classifiers collocate not only with numerals but also with demonstratives, for example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 95), Morrison (1819, Part 2, Vol. 1, p. 31), Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 116), Edkins (1857, p. 120) and Schott (1857, p. 154). So did Summers.

Just like Summers, some of his precursors mentioned the order [Noun- Numeral-Classifier], such as Morrison (1815a, p. 37), Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 50) and Schott (1857, p. 155). Some of them pointed out that vernacular Chinese generally employs classifiers, while literary Chinese does not (Edkins 1853, p. 91; Schott 1857, p. 154).

Summers stated that classifiers can be placed after nouns directly without numerals. Edkins (1853, p. 76; 1857, p. 107) also pointed this out in his work, and argued that in this case, they and the nouns attach together to form a new noun, like *chuánzhī* 船隻 'boats'.[248] However, Summers was the only one who mentioned explicitly that this kind of structure expresses genericity. Other works that Summers referred to do not mention this kind of structure.

Chinese nouns are not inflected and Marshman said that they express plurality in themselves: "[in] Chinese […] nearly every substantive capable of suggesting a plural idea may be supposed to do so, unless restricted by the connection, or the addition of another character" (1814, p. 211). Marshman further explained how numerals are used to clarify the number. From a present-day point of view, his argument could be rephrased: grammatical number in Chinese is expressed in syntax, not in morphology. As mentioned above, Summers was also of the opinion that Chinese nouns denote either plurality or generality.[249]

The difference between measure expressions and sortal classifiers is not a relevant topic in most works to which Summers referred, although almost all scholars introduced Chinese classifiers by mentioning measure expressions of various European languages. They argued that the words that are used in between numerals and nouns in Chinese are similar to measure

[248] Edkins also gave some examples which are not really of this type, for example, *bīngkuài* 冰塊 'piece of ice' and *gāngtiáo* 鋼條 'steel spring' (1853, p. 75). These two examples are not generic terms and the second elements in them seem to designate the shapes of the entire objects.

[249] In his study of Cantonese, Williams (1842a) argued that classifiers have the function of individualization:

> a. They are used both in reckoning a large number, and in speaking of individuals, but express the sort of thing spoken of, and not the number of them (p. 123)
> b. [They are] being used whenever the sense requires any individuality (p. 123).

Scholars like Crisma, Marten and Sybesma (2011, p. 290) and Sybesma (2017a, p. 624) also stated that classifiers have this function in Cantonese.

expressions in European languages (Marshman 1814, p. 500; Morrison 1815a, p. 37; Gützlaff 1842, p. 33; Williams 1842a, p. 123; Edkins 1857, p. 120), just that they appear more extensively (Williams 1842a, p. 123). As mentioned above, Summers adopted this point of view as well. There were very few scholars who alluded to the differences between measure expression and sortal classifier, but Summers did not take their arguments into consideration.[250]

7.3.3 The arrangement of the presentation of classifiers by Summers' precursors

For didactic purposes, some scholars arranged their lists by placing the frequently used classifiers before the less commonly used ones, for example, Varo (2000 [1703]), Williams (1842a) and Gützlaff (1842). In this way, students could access and acquire those most frequently used first.

Besides presenting the commonly used classifiers with interpretations, Summers also listed thirty-two less-common classifiers without further explanation. For this he referred to *A Grammar of the Mandarin Dialect* (1857, p. 119–133) by Edkins (Summers 1863a, p. 48). This reveals that Summers was very familiar with and thought highly of Edkins' elaboration on those specific classifiers.

7.4 Summers' successors and Chinese classifiers

Classifiers are also discussed in Summers' successors' works, but many of them were not influenced by Summers.[251] Gabelentz (1881, p. 129) employed the similar term "apposition",

[250] One of them is Bazin (1856, p. 23), who simply stated that '[l]es collectifs' and 'les noms monosyllabiques des poids et des mesures' are all "des substantifs auxiliaires", which is the same as Edkins' (Bazin 1856, p. 21). Bazin did not explain this any further. Another one who alluded to the difference is Edkins. In 1853, he singled out three classes of "auxiliary nouns", namely, those which denote containers, measures and collectives (pp. 94–95), for example, *wǎn* 碗 'bowl', *chǐ* 尺 'foot' and *duì* 對 'pair'. He argued that they are all "auxiliary nouns". In 1857, he stated that in vernacular Chinese, not only are there collectives, weights, and measures but also "certain words appropriated to appellative nouns". For Edkins, measure expressions and classifiers both exist in Chinese, and they together belong to a bigger class, i.e., "substantive auxiliaries" in his own term. However, at times he himself was uncertain whether one unit is a measure or not. For instance, in his list "Measures", he also included the classifier *ge* (1862, pp. 17–18). Although Rémusat also pointed out that the nature of the nouns decides which classifier to choose (1826, Vol. 2, p. 84, p. 233), in his examples, measure expressions are not separated from sortal classifiers, such as *liǎng chuàn niànzhū* 兩串念珠 'two chaplets' (1826, Vol. 2, p. 84). The original text reads: "On sait que les Chinois ne se contentent pas de mettre un nom de nombre avec un substantif, mais qu'ils y joignent une particule qui varie suivant la nature de la chose nombrée" (1826, Vol. 2, p. 233) and "Les Chinois distinguent de plus les objets de différente nature qui peuvent se compter, par des particules ajoutées aux nombres" (1826, Vol. 2, p. 84).

The list of classifiers in the *Grammatica Sinica* by Martino Martini, which was published as early as 1653, does not contain any measure expressions (Chappell and Peyraube 2014, p, 125). It seems that the author was aware of the difference between classifiers and measure expressions. However, Summers did not refer to this book.

[251] Edkins' point of view of Chinese classifiers remained unchanged in the second edition of his two works, *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language* (1864a) and *Progressive Lessons* (1864b). Justus Doolittle (1824–1880) followed the Spanish tradition, using the term "numerals" to refer to classifiers. He only provided a list and

but instead of adapting it from Summers, he was more likely to have adopted it directly from Schott, as Schott's work was also referred to by Gabelentz (Gabelentz 1878, p. 620). Wade wrote that sometimes classifiers are placed directly after nouns like *măpǐ* 馬匹 and *chuánzhī* 船隻, which express *horses* or *ships* collectively (1867, Part VIII, Vol. 2, p. 105). The statement is very similar to Summers', and it is very likely to have been borrowed from him.

7.5 Summary

Summers took classifiers as a type of nominal element. He focused on the relationship between classifiers and nouns. For him, classifiers are appositions to nouns. They form a compound with a corresponding noun before collocating with a numeral. Therefore, he employed "appositive" as the term for classifiers, a method adopted from Schott's work (1857).

Just like many of his contemporaries, Summers stated that classifiers have a meaning of their own. They clarify the meaning of nouns and disambiguate homonymic nouns. He also discovered their function to classify nouns. Although Summers did not claim this so directly,

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did not explain their grammatical features (1872, Vol. 1, p. 328).

Most of Summers' successors focused on the relationship between classifiers and nouns. For example, Douglas stated that classifiers are placed between numerals or demonstrative pronouns and nouns. The most important function of classifiers is to classify nouns. They are thus called "classifiers" by Douglas (1875, p. 32; 1904, p. 64). Wade (1867) called them "numerative nouns" and "associate (or attendant) nouns". They appear before or after nouns and help to classify them (1867, Vol. 2, p. 105, p. 106). In an essay on the Hainan dialect written by Robert Swinhoe and published in *Phoenix*, classifiers were called "numertions" in accordance with the Spanish missionary tradition, and "classifier" was also probably adopted from Douglas's works (1870, p. 68; 1871, p. 116).

The only one who pointed out clearly the distinctive feature of classifiers is Douglas, who stated that classifiers "have a certain reference to the nature of the substantives to which they are attached" (1875, p. 32, emphasis added). Moreover, in the examples of classifiers that he gave, there is no measure expression. One of his examples is *kuài* 塊 'a piece of' used "before dollars, bricks, stones, etc., e.g., *sān kuài yáng qián* 三塊洋錢 'Three dollars', *liǎng kuài shí* 兩塊石 'Two stones' (1904, pp. 5–6). *Kuài* is a special case. Sometimes it can be understood as sortal classifiers and measure expressions at the same time. For instance, *kuài* 塊 'piece' in yí *kuài* dàngāo 一塊蛋糕 'a piece of cake' does not denote the natural unit but a created unit of the objects. It is used as a measure semantically. However, it can also show the shape of that portion and that portion is comparatively stable. This reveals the sortal-classifier-feature of *kuài* (Cheng 2012, p. 211; Del. Gobbo 2014, p. 31). But sometimes it is a classifier, as in the two examples Douglas gave, since it denotes the natural unit of the objects.

Doolittle argued that classifiers are a subcategory of numerals (1872, Vol. 1, pp. 328–329). Gabelentz (1881) and Douglas (1904) talked about classifiers when analyzing nouns. No one declared that classifiers are an independent part of speech. According to Tola (2018, p. 39), Tarleton Perry Crawford (1821–1902) is the first scholar who classified classifiers as an independent word class in his *Mandarin Grammar* (1869).

Wade (1867) also noted some interesting properties of classifiers. He seemed to allude to the fact that they have the function of individualizing one item from the whole. He said: "the true function of the attendant nouns is, apparently, to distinguish the generic from the specific (or the general from the particular). The noun *t'ien*, being *'huang t'ien*, Heaven, or *t'u*, being *'hou t'u*, Earth, are general designations incapable of subdivision into minor denominations; they have consequently no attendant nouns associated with them. Where the general designation [applies to what] is capable of subdivision into parts or items, the attendant noun is of use in numeration, in that it represents the item as distinguished from the total. [These attendant nouns, therefore, will be spoken henceforth as Numeratives]" (1867, Vol. 2, p. 106).

different criteria of classifying nouns were listed in his examples of the appositives, including physical shape, function, and other properties of the objects to which the nouns refer. These points of views were also suggested by many of his precursors.

The difference between measure expressions and sortal classifiers is not relevant to most of the works at that time. Summers and his contemporaries considered elements that are placed in between a numeral and a noun in a sentence in Chinese as an extension of expressions like ‘glass’ in ‘a glass of wine’, very likely for pedagogical purposes. Considering the way in which the classifiers were presented, both Summers and many other scholars sorted the classifiers by their frequency of usage. This decision likely resulted from pedagogical purposes of their publications.

Compared to his predecessors, Summers was the first to observe that classifiers could be placed directly after a noun to form general terms, which was later adopted by Wade (1867).

Chapter 8. Particles

As is well known, the term "particle" is used for those elements—generally small and indeclinable—that are difficult to put in any of the commonly acknowledged word classes (Linell 2005, p. 77; Crystal 2008, p. 352; Simpson 2014, p. 156). More often than not, they perform grammatical functions rather than conveying a lexical meaning (Bussmann 1996, p. 867). In this chapter, I deal with the following issues: how did Summers define such indeterminate type of words for Chinese? Which words did he consider "particles" and why? How do we evaluate Summers' ideas of "particles" against the background of the histography of linguistics?

8.1 Summers and particles[252]

In Summers' works, "particle" is not a clear or well-defined concept. This section first presents Summers' definition of "particles" and their functions, followed by an analysis of the classification of particles in his *Handbook*. I then delve into Summers' analysis of one typical particle in Mandarin, i.e., *de* 的.

8.1.1 The definition and function of "particle"

Particles can be divided into the following categories based on all of Summers' publications: Summers called the first category of particles "euphonic particles". These particles lack a lexical meaning but are used as rhythmical elements to express the feelings of the speaker (1863a, p. 13).[253] The function of the "pure euphonic" particles in Chinese is only to "make a clause sound well". But pure euphonic particles are very rare, whereas most euphonic particles denote the feelings of the speakers (1863a, p. 176). Although there are peculiar euphonic particles in different "local dialects", according to Summers (1863a, p. 13), the most common ones in Mandarin are the "final euphonic particles", such as *li* 哩, *ma* 嗎, *la* 啦, *ya* 呀 and *luo* 咯 (1863a, p. 95). Summers claimed that the members of this type overlap a lot with interjections. For example, in classical Chinese, *zāi* 哉 is "euphonic" and an "exclamatory particle" in a sentence like *Xián zāi Huí yě*! 賢哉回也! 'how worthy is Hui!' (1863a, pp. 176–

[252] In his works, Summers sometimes discussed particles of other Asian languages as well, such as demonstrative and genitival particles in Japanese (1967 [1864b], pp. 155–156) and genitive particles in Manchu (1870c, 1, p. 25). This chapter focuses on his views on particles in Chinese.

[253] The original text reads: "[t]he same principle of rhythm, which leads to the elision of one of two syllables in a word, under certain circumstances, also leads to the addition of a meaningless particle when the sound of the whole would be improved thereby".

177). *Yĕ* 也 is "euphonic" and "also denote[s] an affirmation" (1863a, pp. 176–177). Besides being used as a "final [euphonic] particle", *yĕ* also appears as a euphonic particle in the middle of a sentence and "serves the purpose of a comma", such as in *jīn yĕ zé wáng* 今也則亡 'the present is, - then gone for ever' (1863a, p. 177). For Summers euphonic particles can sometimes also be interpreted as punctuation in Chinese.

The second category of particles consists of conjunctions, adverbs, and other parts of speech, excluding nouns (also adjectives) and verbs (1864a, p. 42). This type can be seen as equivalent word classes to those that are indeclinable in European languages. Summers stated that "particles" include the following: conjunction,[254] adverb[255] and onomatopoeia.[256] As discussed in Chapter 6, for Summers, there is no equivalence to prepositions in Chinese, but only verbs that sometimes serve as prepositions. However, some words that are often considered "prepositions" are mentioned in his discussion of particles, for example: "[t]he word *ì* 以 'to use, to take, by,' is less commonly employed alone as a causative particle than as a verb to stand for the preposition 'by, with'" (1863a, p. 165). Such words, for Summers, are either verbs or particles. What needs to be emphasised is that "interjections" are included in both the first type ("euphonic particles") and in the second type, as stated by Summers (1863a, p. 176).

The third category of particles includes grammatical elements in European languages, such as case, number, mood, tense, and degree of comparison. These elements do not exist in Chinese, but their semantic or syntactic counterparts in European languages are taken as the third type of particles. For example:

> a. case: "[t]he relations usually expressed by *cases* are shown in Chinese by the presence of certain *particles* (pref. or suff.) or by *position*. Thus, *tĭ* 的 (suff.) is the mark of the *genitive* case" (1864a, p. 57).
>
> b. number: "[e]xamples of the use of the plural particles and adjuncts […such as *mân* 們 'all'] now follow" (1863a, p. 108, example: 1863a, p. 54).
>
> c. tense and mood: "[t]he ordinary auxiliary particles, which distinguish tense and mood [such as *liaù* 了 'finish'], are not employed with these verbs" (1863a, p. 127; example:

[254] E.g.: "[t]he adversative particles include all words which, being used as conjunctions, imply *opposition*" (1863a, p. 162).
[255] E.g.: "several other words are used in the books as interrogative adverbs or particles […]. The interrogative particles will be found further on [the section 'The interjections and other particles' (1863a, pp. 95–96)]" (1863a, p. 90).
[256] E.g.: "there are in the Chinese colloquial style a great number of expressions in imitation of the various sounds heard in nature (*onomatopoeia*)" (1863a, p. 95). This quotation is from the section "The interjections and other particles" (1863a, pp. 95–96). One can then deduce that Summers considered onomatopoeia a type of particle.

1863a, p. 70).

d. comparative and superlative: "[p]articles which form the superlative [such as *shīn* 甚 'very'] are very frequently suffixed instead of being prefixed" (1863a, p. 112; example: 1863a, p. 58).

The members of these categories have different functions, which are not clear-cut but overlap with each other. For Summers, the total of these categories resembles the concept of *xūzì* 'empty word':

> Among the particles which the Chinese denominate *hŭ-tsż* are included all words which do not come under the category of nouns, or under that of verbs, but simply denote the relations which the nouns and the verbs of the sentence bear to each other, or the feelings which exist in the mind of the speaker at the time the sentence is uttered (1863a, p. 178).

The quotation "[a]mong the particles which the Chinese denominate *hŭ-tsż*" also implies that, in Summers' opinion, there are some other particles apart from *hŭ-tsż* 'empty words'. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Summers sometimes used "formative particle" to refer to "formative" (see also: 1853b, p. vi), or word-forming elements were also classified as particles by Summers.

To conclude, for Summers, "particles" include word-forming formatives and "empty words". The latter are euphonic and express the feelings of the speakers or show the relation between nouns and verbs.

8.1.2 Summers' classification of particles

Based on the extracted categories of particles described above, this section discusses how Summers classified particles and how he names them in his *Handbook*.

In the syntax part of his *Handbook*, Summers used more than thirty pages to list and explain the function of particles in example sentences (1863a, pp. 142–179). As early as 1853, when he published his first monograph on Chinese, Summers emphasised the importance of particles in the Chinese language and the difficulty of acquiring them. He stated that even Chinese scholars themselves consider using particles properly as a sign of a higher education (1853a, pp. 26–27).

Summers divided particles into thirteen classes according to their different functions and meaning. These thirteen classes are: attributive particles, e.g., *de* 的 '-s', *zhī* 之 '-s' (1863a, pp. 142–147); connective particles, e.g., *yì* 亦 'also', *ér* 而 'and, and yet, and then, but, and consequently' (1863a, pp. 147–152); affirmative particles, e.g., *shì* 是 'it is so, it is the truth',

rán 然 ‘it was thus’ (1863a, pp. 152–157); negative particles, e.g., *bù* 不 ‘not’, *fú* 弗 ‘not (1863a, pp. 158–162); adversative particles, e.g., *ér* 而 ‘but’, *dàn* 但 ‘but yet, but especially’ (1863a, pp. 162–165), causative particles, e.g., *yǐ* 以 ‘to use, to take, -by’, *yóu* 由 ‘origin, source’ (1863a, pp. 165–167); conditional particles, e.g., *ruò* 若 ‘if, as’, *rú* 如 ‘as’ (1863a, pp. 167–168); illative particles, e.g., *gù* 故 ‘consequence, inference’, *jiù* 就 ‘consequence, inference’ (1863a, pp. 168–169); interrogative particles, e.g., *hé* 何 ‘what’, *shuí* 誰 ‘who’ (1863a, pp. 169–173); dubitative particles, e.g., *huò* 或 ‘perhaps’, *yǔ* 與 ‘or’ (1863a, pp. 173–174); intensitive particles, e.g., *tài* 太 ‘too, too much’, *tuī* 忒 ‘too, too much’ (1863a, pp. 174–175); exclamatory particles, e.g., *ya* 呀 for wonder or astonishment, *a* 啊 for wonder or astonishment (1863a, pp. 175–176) and euphonic, e.g., *zāi* 哉 as exclamation or euphonic, *hū* 乎 as exclamation or euphonic (1863a, pp. 176–178).

Several particles appeared in multiple classes because of their various functions. For example, when *ér* 而 denotes ‘and, and yet, and then, but, and consequently’ in the sentence *jīng xǐng ér xì zhī* 驚醒而戲之 ‘he awoke in a fright, and then played with him’, it is one of the “connective particles” (1863a, p. 148). *Ér* can also “imply opposition, or the addition of something to the previous clause”. It then acts as an “adversative particle”, like in *shù ér bú zuò* 述而不作 ‘to compile, but not to compose’ (1863a, p. 162). Sometimes, *ér* “has an illative force, and sometimes it is merely euphonic” (1863a, p. 148). According to Summers, an illative particle marks “the consequence or the inference” (1863a, p. 169). In one of his examples *Bú lè shàndào ér wáng qí guó* 不樂善道而亡其國 ‘He delighted not in virtuous principles, and so he lost his kingdom’ (1863a, p. 148), *ér* shows the illative meaning. As to “merely euphonic”, Summers gave the example … *érkuàng yú rén hū* …而況於人乎 ‘…much more as regards man!’ (1863a, p 148). By calling it a “euphonic particle”, Summers expressed the view that *ér* does not convey any meaning in this sentence. *Kuàng* alone can express the meaning of “much more” (Wáng Hǎi et al. 1996, p. 225). In fact, *érkuàng* (*yú*) can also be considered as a unit to denote the meaning of “much more” (Wáng Hǎi et al. 1996, p. 85). Summers indicated here that *kuàng* denotes the meaning of “much more”, while *ér* is the euphonic particle.[257]

Most particles Summers included in this part are taken from classical Chinese, but there are some colloquial particles as well, such as connective particle *yòu* 又 ‘again’ in *kànle yòu*

[257] This is different from Marshman (1814, p. 263), who stated that *ér* means “and” and *kuàng* refers to “much more”.

kàn 看了又看 ‘having looked he looked again’ from the vernacular novel *The Fortunate Union* (1863a, p. 149).

Despite having distinguished these thirteen classes, Summers pointed out some other “particles” in his works that are not included in this list, for instance, initial and final particles (1853a, p. 26). These two classes are rooted in traditional Chinese linguistics. Similar names and classes can be found in many works by Chinese authors, for example, *fāyǔcí* 發語詞 ‘initial particles’ and *yǔyǐcí* 語已辭 ‘final particles’ in Liú Qí’s[258] *Zhùzì biànlüè* 助字辨略 (1711) (Hé Jiǔyíng 1995, p. 414). Later in his career, Summers employed these two to refer to particles such as *shuí* 誰 ‘who’ and *zāi* 哉 (1863a, p. 169). He integrated many of them into the class of “interrogative particles” (1863a, p. 169), since for Summers, particles should be classified according to their function instead of their position.[259] He also mentioned other “particles”, such as plural particles (1863a, p. 108) and auxiliary particles (1863a, p. 127). Their function mainly lies in the area of morphology instead of syntax, according to Summers. That is the reason why they were not taken into account in the section “The syntax of the particles”.[260]

8.1.3 An example of Summers’ research on particles—Summers on ‘de’ 的

According to the statistics of *Lexicon of Common Words in Contemporary Chinese* (現代漢語常用詞表 (草案), 2008, p. 3), *de* is the most frequently used word. Roughly speaking, in Mandarin, in [X *de* N], X is interpreted as a modifier of N, regardless of the nature of X, whether it is a noun, pronoun, adjective, prepositional phrase (if there is such a thing), or sentence (which is then interpreted as a relative clause). Research on Mandarin cannot avoid discussing *de*. Therefore, tracing the source and influence of Summers’ perspectives of *de* is possible. Moreover, Summers and most of his contemporaries considered *de* to be merely a particle, unlike some other “particles”, which can sometimes also be classified as other parts of speech. For example, *zhī* 之 is sometimes a euphonic particle and sometimes a verb denoting

[258] Liú Qí (劉淇) was born in the Qing dynasty. His birth and death years are unknown.

[259] However, the reference of “initial particles” in Summers’ works is different from *fāyǔcí* in Chinese traditional linguistics. The latter only refers to those particles which do not convey any lexical meaning, such as *fú* 夫 in *Fú sān nián zhī sāng, tiānxià zhī tōng sāng yě* 夫三年之喪，天下之通喪也 ‘Three years of mourning is universal’ in the *Analects*.

[260] Summers also mentioned *reflexive particles* (1863a, Part II, p. 74). In the section “The pronouns”, it is called the *reflexive* pronoun (1863a, pp. 63–64). Unlike some of his precursors, Summers normally did not consider Chinese pronouns as particles. This is the only time he stated so, which shows Summers’ hesitation when classifying certain elements.

'to proceed to' (1863a, p. 144). Summers' ideas of *de* can be seen as a characteristic of his research on particles.

8.1.3.1 *De* as an "attributive particle"

In his chapter *Syntax*, Summers stated that *de* is an "attributive particle". The effect of attributive particles is "to throw that which precedes them into the form of a qualifying or attributive expression, that is, either the genitive case of a noun, the adjective, or the relative clause" (1863a, p. 142). In Summers' description, *de* has all these functions: "[a]fter a noun it produces the genitive case [e.g. *hwâng-tí tĭ mà* 皇帝的馬 'the emperor's horse'], after a verb it makes the participle [e.g. *yiù tseù-tĭ, yiù fī-tĭ* 有走的, 有飛的 'there are those which walk and those which fly', or 'some walk, others fly'],[261] and after a sentence it must be construed into the form of the relative clause [e.g. *nâ- kó shí tsŏ jĭ laî tĭ jîn* 那個是昨日來的人 'that is the man who came here yesterday']" (1863a, p. 143; examples: p. 143).

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 5, in the section "On adjectives", Summers argued that *de* is used after an adjective to form a derivative adjective which serves as a morphological formative. In the section "The pronouns", Summers also mentioned that "the genitive case of the personal pronoun", namely the combination of a personal pronoun and *de,* takes the place of the "possessive pronoun" (1863a, p. 63).

8.1.3.2 Ellipsis of *de*

When explaining adjective modifying nouns, Summers discussed whether and when *de* can be omitted. He argued that *de* is used either to "avoid ambiguity in the expression" or "for the sake

[261] Summers discussed the structure "verb and *de*" in the chapter 'Etymology' of the *Handbook*: "[t]he participles are generally shown by the genitive particle *tĭ* 的 […] being suffixed to the verb in one or other of its tenses [and by other methods]" (1863a, p. 81). In this case, *de* directly follows the verb, such as *biànde* 辯的 'he who discusses', or is placed after "the verb in one or other of its tenses", for example, *huíle de* 回了的 'returned'. Summers actually emphasised how *de* helps to form "participles" in Chinese. For instance, *de* is placed after the "past tense" verbal structure *huíle* to form a "past participle" *huílede* 'returned'. In his own words: "[a]ny verb may be formed into an attributive in the form of a participle by adding thereto *tĭ* [的], the genitive particle; and, consequently, any tense of a verb may be changed into the corresponding participle in the same way" (1864a, p. 65). Besides, Summers also discussed another situation: "an active verb and its object with the addition of the genitive particle *tĭ* 的 […] throw […] the whole into the form of a participial expression [to designate agents…such as] *tà-yù-tĭ* 打魚的 lit. 'strike-fish (sub. *person*), one who takes fish,'= a fisherman" (1863a, p. 45). Apparently, for Summers, the head of the phrase "person" is omitted in this kind of structure, and the entire unit thus forms a noun. He said: "[n]ouns formed in this way are very numerous" (1863a, p. 45). In *Rudiments* (1864a, p. 54), Summers said "when *tĭ* is used after a verb it forms a substantive; e.g. *hiŏ-tĭ* 學的 'a learner'", which is similar to *biànde* 辯的 'he who discusses'. Therefore, when *de* is used after a verb, this entire unit then forms either a "participle" or a "noun".

of the rhythm" (1863a, p. 109). He therefore considered this topic from two perspectives. From the perspective of grammar and semantics, Summers stated that on the following occasions, *de* cannot be omitted:

(1) when verbs or participles are used as adjective units modifying nouns (1863a, p. 55): This is actually derived from the "rhythm requirement". For example, *de* in *fùguìde rén* 富貴的人 'a rich man' can be omitted and *fùguì rén* 富貴人 is totally acceptable. However, in *lìhàide rén* 利害的人 'a fierce, bad person', *de* is required because, for Summers, the rhythm of *fùguì rén* is *fùguì/rén*, but of *lìhài rén* it is *lì/hàirén*. The change of the "rhythm" also leads to a semantic misunderstanding. *Hàirén* would thus form a verb-object structure, denoting 'to injure a man'. According to Summers, although the verb *hài* 'to hurt' has become a part of the adjective *lìhài* 'fierce', it still reserves some quality of a verb, which means that it governs the noun *rén* 'person' as its object. Because the expression is grammatically and semantically ambiguous without the presence of *de*, *de* cannot be omitted.

(2) "A noun and an adjective combined sometimes form an epithet, which is used as an adjective: e.g. *tá-tàn-tĭ* 大胆[的] lit. 'great-liver'=brave, *kūng-taú-tĭ* 公道[的] lit. 'just-doctrine'= just" (1863a, p. 56). Here Summers emphasised that *de* is already a fixed part of these "derivative adjectives" (see Chapter 5). If *de* is omitted, the adjective may be understood as an attributive plus a nominal element. Therefore, in this case, *de* is required to avoid ambiguity.

8.1.4 Summary

Summers' thoughts regarding particles amount to the following definition: [p]articles are elements that do not convey concrete lexical meaning. They are used for euphonic reasons and to express the feeling of the speaker or to signify the interrelationship between nouns, verbs, and adjectives in sentences. Particles include derivational affixes, elements equivalent or similar in function to inflection in European languages, and those words that are not nouns, adjectives, and verbs. For Summers, "particle" is a set comprising non-homogeneous members instead of being a technical term. Summers classified particles and names them according to their functions, and places certain particles, which have more than one function, into different classes.

The main characteristic of Summers' research on particles may be illustrated by his views on *de*. Summers stated that *de* has both a morphological and a syntactic function. Whether and when *de* can be omitted depends on the rhythm and the semantic-grammatical ambiguity. In

fact, these two aspects reflect the euphonic function and grammatical function of particles as proposed by Summers.

8.2 Summers' precursors and Chinese particles

As early as the fourth century BC, Aristotle already divided words into nouns, verbs, and links or relational particles (Robins 1997, p. 33; Breva-Claramonte 2007, p. 240). In the sixteenth century, scholars studying Latin and other European languages, especially their respective conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, and other indeclinable words, merged these into the category of particles, together with inflectional affixes (e.g., case markers) and derivational affixes (e.g., diminutives). They further argued that the division of nouns, verbs and particles is universal in all languages (Breva-Claramonte 2007, p. 241, p. 245). Particles were also one of the topics of early Arabic linguistic research, and they were defined negatively, referring to those words apart from nouns and verbs (Owens 2000, p. 288). These facts provide a picture of the obscure status of particles.

Already in early Chinese linguistics, some research on the topic of particles was conducted. A similar but very problematic term, "empty word", appeared in many Chinese works. This term had various references in different periods of time and in different works. However, since the late seventeenth century, "empty word" has become the name of a fixed class, and the term "function word" is now employed to refer to this class (cf. Chapter 6). The class of empty words includes elements that do not have a lexical meaning.

Yuán Rénlín[262] in his treatise *Xūzì shuō* (虛字說 *On Empty Words*, 1710) argued that "empty words are used to express the sounds. When the sounds are expressed, the emotions then appear".[263] He argued that semantically empty words do not convey meaning but only express the feelings of the speaker via sounds. Grammatically, empty words are used to designate the relation between words and sentences, which was also noted by the Qing era scholar Wáng Yǐnzhī (1766–1834) in his famous work *Jīng zhuàn shì cí* (經傳釋詞 *Annotation of Form Words in Classics*, 1798, in Gōng Qiānyán 1997, p. 17). These semantic and grammatical functions of particles were also mentioned by Summers, although not directly citing from the abovementioned works.

The main framework of Summers' ideas on particles built upon the general research in Europe and China at that time. The following paragraphs trace the origin of Summers' ideas on

[262] Yuán Rénlín (袁仁林) was born in Qing dynasty (1644–1912). His birth and death years are unknown.
[263] "故虛字者，所以傳其聲，聲傳而情見焉" (in Sūn Liángmíng 2005b, p. 464).

particles.

Scholars, for example, Gesenius (1813, p. 149) and Key (1858, p. 138), tended to agree that indeclinable words are particles, as opposed to nouns, verbs and pronouns. Most of the sinologists before Summers did not define "particle", apart from Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 27): "[t]hose which are not essential in composition are called empty, though no character can strictly be so called since it necessarily has some signification. Therefore, when characters are used as mere particles, and are called *hü tsz'* [虛字], they must be understood to be by *kiá tsié* 假借, or metaphor, i.e., they are changed from their natural to a foreign sense". Prémare indicated that particles are the same as *empty words* and are grammatical rather than lexical. Although they may originally have had a lexical meaning, their meaning had since changed and become grammaticalized.

Many scholars did not single particles out as an independent class but rather mentioned them in different places in their works, for example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 123, p. 125), Gützlaff (1842, p. 21, p. 23); Bazin (1856, p. 90, p. 94). In contrast, Marshman (1814, contents, pp. ii–v), took particles as a category that includes adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections, as opposed to substantives, adjectives, pronouns and verbs. Generally speaking, early sinologists usually considered the following word classes to be particles: interjections,[264] conjunctions[265] and classifiers.[266] Varo (2000 [1703]) also included demonstratives (p. 95) and personal pronouns.[267] This makes the particle quite a mixed category. Edkins even stated that particles include words that "cannot be conveniently classed under any part of speech" (1857, p. 204). This is a negative definition of "particle".

When it comes to the function of particles, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 53) and Du Ponceau (1838, p. ix) stated that in Chinese there is no inflection, so particles help distinguish the corresponding functions. In other words, the function of particles are to Chinese what inflectional affixes are to European languages to demonstrate gender,[268] number,[269] case,[270]

[264] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 99), Morrison (1815b, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 433) and Rémusat (1822, p. 77).
[265] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 99) and Gützlaff (1842, p. 126).
[266] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 159), Morrison (1815b, Part 1 Vol. 1, p. 346), Rémusat (1822, p. 50), Gützlaff (1842, p. 34), Endlicher (1845, p. 174), Bazin (1856, p. 22) and Edkins (1857, p. 119).
[267] For example: "[t]he particle *gû* 吾 has a plural but is used only in writing" (p. 67).
[268] For example, Morrison (1815a, p. 66).
[269] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 55), Marshman (1814, p. 372), Morrison (1815b, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 125), Rémusat (1822, p. 38), Gützlaff (1842, p. 30, p. 31), Endlicher (1845, p. 198), Bridgman (1853, p. 6), Bazin (1856, p. 24) and Edkins (1857, p. 96).
[270] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 57), De Guignes (1813, p. 6), Morrison (1822, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 26), Endlicher (1845, p. 209), Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 28), Bridgman (1853, p. 6) and Edkins (1857, p. 97).

tense,[271] voice,[272] comparative and superlative,[273] and so on. This demonstrates that particles show the relation between other words and between sentences, which was pointed out by many scholars.[274] Like Summers, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 71, p. 83) also indicated that particles help to form words, for example, the particle *zi* 子 'nominal suffix' can form nouns while the particle *kě* 可 '-able' could do the same for verbs. Thom (1840, p. xi) claimed that in the traditional Chinese writing system, there was no punctuation. Instead, particles are substitutes for punctuation, an idea also pointed out by Dyer (1840, p. 358).[275] Abel-Rémusat (1822, p. 82) stated that the final particle *yě* 也 does not have its own meaning and functions as punctuation, which is very similar to Summers' analysis of *yě* (1863a, p. 177).

Many scholars went so far as to translate the Chinese "empty words" into English as "particles", such as Abel-Rémusat (1826, p. 88), Williams (1842a, p. 84; 1844, p. 203), Endlicher (1845, p. xviii) and Edkins (1853, p. 40).

8.2.1 Earlier classifications of particles

Summers' thirteen classes of particles were presented above. Almost all these classes were mentioned by his precursors, although their terms and examples differed slightly from Summers'. For example, Edkins (1857, p. vii, p. 199) listed some affirmative particles, such as *shì* 是 'it is, yes'. Edkins and Prémare used the term "negative particle" to refer to elements such as *bù* 不 'not' (Edkins 1857, p. vii, p. 199) and *méi* 没 'without' (Prémare 1847 [1831], p. 77). The term "conditional particle" was employed by Morrison (1815b, Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 127) and Gützlaff (1842, p. 91). Gützlaff even provided a definition: "conditional particles […] circumscribe the conjunctive. Such as 如 joo ['if']" (1842, p. 91). Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 80) presented several "argumentative or intensitive particles", such as *tài* 太 'too'. The term "particula interrogative" appeared in Abel-Rémusat's (1822) works, as for example, *yé* 邪 (p. 86). Comparable to the "exclamatory particles" in Summers' works, Abel-Rémusat also

[271] For example, Morrison (1822, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 64), Gützlaff (1842, p. 97), Edkins (1853, p. 143) and Bridgman (1853, p. 6).
[272] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 125) and De Guignes (1813, p. 225).
[273] For example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 73, p. 79), De Guignes (1813, p. 446), Marshman (1814, p. 288) and Morrison (1815a, p. 77).
[274] For example, Endlicher (1845, p. 163), Schott (1857, p. 78. Schott employed "Hülfswörter" to refer to particles. Sometimes he also used the term "partikel", such as in p. 81 and p. 88) and Bazin (1856, p. 25).
[275] The original text reads: "[f]or commonly the utmost imaginable confusion prevails in native works with regard to stops. Often, when the reader meets with one of these particles, he understands that it is the first word of a new sentence; and then again after a few characters, when he meets with a particle corresponding to the first, he understands that the pause is on the preceding character: the reader goes on, and perhaps meets with an expletive; he then understands that the complete sentence ends with it".

analysed those "particula admirativa" that denote admiration, surprise, agony, and other feelings of the speaker (1822, p. 77). For instance, *hū* 乎 can express sympathy at the end of the sentence *Xī hū*! 惜乎! 'What a pity!' (1822, p. 83). The term "adversative" is found in Edkins' work, who stated that "[w]hen our word *but* means *merely*, *only*", it would be expressed in Chinese by adversative conjunctions such as *dànshì* 但是 (1857, p. 202). Summers' idea of "adversative particle" was slightly different. As long as the particles denote an opposite meaning, they are adversative particles to Summers. Moreover, the categories illative conjunctions and causal conjunctions can be found in Edkins' work as well (1857, p. 203). Although Edkins called them "conjunctions", Summers treated conjunctions as a type of particle. Therefore, it is very likely that Summers' adversative particle, illative particle, and causal particle take Edkins' corresponding classes as their model.

As for "connective particles", Gützlaff (1842, pp. 135–136) employed the same term and used the example *dào* 到 or 倒 'yet, however, still, on the contrary' in expressions such as *zhè dào yě búcuò* 这到也不错 'this then is not a mistake'. The word *dào*, however, was considered as an adversative particle by Summers, denoting the meaning of 'then, but then' (1863a, p. 165). For Summers, "[connective particles] imply an addition of something" and denote 'and, also' (1863a, p. 147). In Gützlaff's opinion, connective particles are elements that simply connect two elements. Gützlaff even took *de* 的 and *zhī* 之, which connect adjectives and nouns, as "connective particles" (1842, p. 38). Therefore, "connective particle" is a very different concept for him than for Summers. Morrison also used "connective particle" to refer to words such as *jì* 暨 'with' (1822, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 310) and *jiāng* 將 (1822, Part 1, Vol. 2, p. 4). He did not explain his reasoning or give any examples of *jiāng* being used as a "connective particle". We know, however, that *jiāng* can be an adverb denoting 'and', for example, in *jiāng xìn jiāng yí* 將信將疑 'half believing, half doubting' (*Modern Chinese Dictionary*, 2005, p. 675), which falls into Summers' domain of "connective particles". Summers' perspective of connective particles is more likely to be based on Morrison's work than on Gützlaff's.

The "euphonic particles" in Summers' work correspond to those in Edkins' work. Edkins argued that some particles do not have a meaning but just have a rhythmic function.[276] Although the book by Edkins is about Shanghainese, Summers' approach to explain euphonic particles in Mandarin is similar. Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 187) mentioned that on some occasions,

[276] For example, he said: "許 hó' is a meaningless particle used to complete the rhythmus [sic]" (1853, p. 114) and "The euphonic particle 'lá 拉 is used to fill up the rhythmus" (1853, p. 82).

particles are used just "for the sake of euphony and elegance". Actually, according to Summers' own statement, "pure" euphonic particles merely make a sentence "sound well". Yet most "euphonic particles" express the feeling of the speaker and are interjections (1863a, p. 176). Many of Summers' examples in this category are also examples of interrogative or exclamatory particles (cf. 1863a, pp. 177–179). Therefore, euphonic particles are a combined class of rhythmic and some interrogative or exclamatory particles. This class of particles has the same function as "empty words" in Yuán Rénlín's work mentioned above.

The only new term introduced by Summers is the "dubitative particle", as it cannot be found in the works of Summers' precursors. "Dubitative particles", for Summers, are words that "give a character of *doubt* to the clause or sentence in which they occur", and he stated clearly that some of them overlap with conditional and interrogative particles (1863a, p. 173). However, Summers did not explain the differences between "dubitative particles" and conditional or interrogative particles. In fact, as early as Varo's work, the term "dubitative" had already been distinguished: "[t]he interrogative has diverse forms, one being, dubitative" (2000 [1703], p. 107). Summers singled out those interrogatives that express "doubt" as an independent class by naming them "dubitative particles".

Hence, Summers' classifications and terms are somewhat different from, yet are at the same time rooted in the works of his precursors. He reanalysed their research and integrated it into his own work. His perspective of the classes and functions of particles are, however, not only built on one single work, but on that of a variety of authors.

8.2.2 Summers' precursors and the particle de

Varo pointed out that *de* can form the genitive case (2000 [1703], pp. 57–59), and Edkins stated that *de* is the marker "of the genitive or possessive case" (1857, p. 97). With regard to the term "attributive", Edkins said: "[w]hen a noun is united with another by the connecting particle 的 *tih*, it is related to it as an attributive genitive to its object, and it always precedes" (1857, p. 206). Wade (1859, p. 17) likewise argued that *de* is placed after some elements and forms an attributive. When *de* is placed after a verb, Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 145) and Wade (1859, p. 3) claimed that the entire unit forms a participle, denoting the agent (Prémare (1847 [1831], pp. 30–31; Edkins 1857, pp. 105–106). However, although there are some scholars who also mentioned the participle-forming function of *de*, none of them discuss "*tĭ* 的 […] being suffixed to the verb in one or other of its tenses" in as much detail as Summers did (cf. footnote 261).

With regard to *de* being used as a "relative particle", Edkins (1857, p. 204) also mentioned that

de “has the power of a relative pronoun” when used after verbs. Some scholars also stated that *de* can form adjectives (and adverbs), for example, Varo (2000 [1703], p. 71), Marshman (1814, p. 270, p. 465) and Edkins (1857, p. 137).[277]

As mentioned above, Summers pointed out two situations when discussing whether *de* can be omitted: “avoid ambiguity in the expression” and “for the sake of the rhythm”. In the sources he consulted, no scholar came to the same conclusion, although many of them also noted that on some occasions, *de* can be omitted.[278] The example that Summers used, i.e., *lìhàide* 利害的 ‘fierce, bad’, appeared both in the works of Bazin (1856, p. 87) and Edkins (1857, p. 137).[279] Neither Edkins nor Bazin discussed whether *de* can be omitted or not in this expression when modifying a noun. Summers borrowed their example, analysed it and came to a separate conclusion.

8.3 Summers’ successors and their discussion of particles

In research on the Chinese language, some of Summers’ successors argued that particles can express the comparative (Douglas 1875, pp. 50–51), mood and tense (Douglas 1875, p. 55; 1904, p, 96, p. 104), case (Gabelentz 2015 [1881], p. 211; Douglas 1904, p. 44) and other inflections. They also employed “particle” as the translation of “empty words” (Douglas 1875, p. 42; Gabelentz 2015 [1881], p. 230).

Sinologists also classified particles in special ways. Wade classified particles according to their functions, form classes and positions, for example: *ěr* 爾 is an “adverbial particle” (1867,

[277] For more, see Chapter 5.

[278] For example, Varo (2000 [1703]) argued that when there is more than one attribution before a noun, *de* has to be placed directly before the noun. For example, *de* is required in the sentence *Zhè yí wèi shì fúzhōufŭ tàiyé de gōngzĭ* 這一位是福州府太爺的公子 ‘This man, or person, is, of the mandarin, of the city of Fo cheu, son’ (pp. 61–63). Endlicher (1845, p. 228) agreed that *de* has to be placed in between many attributions and the head noun. He further added that *de* cannot be omitted when it is used after the reduplication of adjectives. (The original text reads: “ [w]enn mehrere Eigenschaftswörter einem Hauptworte beigelegt werden, so kann das letzte mit der Partikel 之 *tći* oder 的 *tĭ* versehen werden, besonders wenn durch Verbindung zweier synonymer Eigenschaftswörter ein besonderer Begriff bezeichnet werden soll. Wird durch blosse Wiederholung des Eigenschaftswortes, wie diess in der Umgangssprache häufig der Fall ist, der Begriff der Eigenschaft verstärkt, so darf die Partikel 的 *tĭ* niemals fehlen”. Endlicher 1845, p. 228). The same view was shared by Prémare (1847 [1831], p. 31). Scholars also tried to analyse this issue from a semantic perspective. Prémare wrote: “[w]hen only two nouns are used whose sense is easily perceived, the particle [*tih*] 的 should be omitted; e. g. Chung Kwoh, 中國 the Middle kingdom, not 中的国” (1847 [1831], p. 28). Varo (2000 [1703], p. 59) argued that when expressing “material quality”, *de* has to be omitted, such as in *tóngqián* 銅錢 ‘coin of copper’, which normally cannot be used as * *tóng de qián* *銅的錢. On the contrary, when *de* is used to denote possession, it cannot be omitted, for example in the sentence *Zhè yīfu shì wŏde* 這衣服是我的 ‘This suit is mine’, otherwise, the sentence would mean ‘This dress am I’. However, Summers did not mention any of these observations in his works.

[279] Edkins translated it as “dangerous”, although, for the same meaning, we write the word as 厲害的 nowadays.

documentary series, Vol. 1, p. 31) and *yān* 焉 is an "expletive terminal particle" (1867, documentary series, Vol. 1, p. 41). Gabelentz (2015 [1881], p. 232) classified them into verbal particles, final particles, interjections, pronominal particles etc., according to the etymology and the positions of the particles in the sentence. These classes and names apparently were not influenced by Summers.

Douglas discussed different functions of *de*, for example, to form adjectives (1904, p. 45) and "serve the purpose of a relative" while placed after verbs (p. 46), but he did not touch on the topic of the omission of *de*. Gabelentz (1883, p. 90) argued that *de* is usually required when disyllabic adjectives serve as attributions or words of other parts of speech used as adjectives.

None of Summers' successors really adopted his innovative analysis of particles and his points on the omission of *de*, i.e., concerning the rhythm and disambiguation of expressions. However, Gabelentz (2015 [1881], p. 230) claimed that particles have two basic functions: (1) to show the relation between the constituents of sentences and between sentences; (2) to make the sentence sound better and to express the feelings of the speaker. Here his statements are similar to Summers'.

8.4 Summary

Summers' research on particles was rooted in both European and Chinese traditions. For Summers, particles mainly have two functions: to make the sentence well-sounding and to express the feelings of the speaker, and to present the relationship between verbs and nouns in sentences.[280] A similar statement can also be found in the work of Summers' successor Gabelentz. Based on these functions, Summers included words that are not nouns (including adjectives) or verbs, elements corresponding to inflections of European languages, and derivational affixes in the domain of particles. This corresponds with his precursors' views. The two functions served as a thread running through Summers' research. Even when he discussed the omission of *de*, these two points were his main concern. Therefore, Summers' research on particles is self-consistent.

Summers classified and named particles mainly according to their functions. A particle can be placed into different classes according to its particular function. Although his classes and terms for particles are different from those of his precursors', all the classes he listed can be traced back to those of his precursors, mainly Varo (2000 [1703]), Abel-Rémusat (1822),

[280] Another function is to mark or change the part of speech of a word, since he included formatives in particles. However, formatives were not his major concern while discussing particles (cf. Chapter 5).

Prémare (1847 [1831]) and Edkins (1857).

While researching the particle *de*, Summers argued that its main function is to mark the attribution, therefore it is called an "attributive particle". When it follows nouns, the genitive case is formed. When *de* is used after an adjective, the entire unit becomes a derivative adjective. *De* can also be placed after verbs, together with the "tense" markers to form various participles or nouns that designate the agents. When *de* is placed after a sentence, the entire "sentence" becomes a relative clause. All of these had already been mentioned by his precursors. However, when discussing if *de* can be omitted or not when placed before a noun, Summers took the two main abovementioned functions of particles into account. This was not pointed out by his precursors nor can similar statements be found in his successors' works.

Chapter 9. Syntax

In this chapter, I discuss how Summers defined "sentence", "syntax", and other relevant terms. I also present his analysis of Chinese syntax and further explain the reasoning behind his thoughts and his innovative ideas, with some detailed examples from his works.

9.1 A general introduction to the topic of "syntax"

A "sentence" can be defined from different perspectives. Semantically, a sentence expresses a complete thought. Logically, a sentence consists of a subject, i.e., the topic, and a predicate, i.e., what the topic is about. Orthographically, a sentence is a unit that starts with a capitalised word and ends with a full stop. Grammatically, a sentence is an independent form, embracing smaller constituents, such as the subject, the predicate, the object, the attributive and the adverbial. Pragmatically, sentences are the dynamic and practical units of the language system, whereas words and phrases are stationary units.[281] How words are combined and how to form sentences are the topics discussed in syntax (Sun 2006, p. 147).

According to their structure, sentences can embrace one or more coordinated clauses (Shi 2017, p. 81). Furthermore, sentences can be divided into different types, such as declarative, interrogative, exclamative and imperative, according to their "modality" (Huáng Bóróng and Liào Xùdōng 2002, Vol. 2, p. 109), "value" (Chao 1968, p. 58), or "illocutionary force" (Shi 2017, p. 83).

There are no inflections in Chinese. Word order and function words present the grammatical relationships within sentences. Word order in Chinese is comparatively rigid. The unmarked word order is SVO and modifiers always precede the modified units.[282] The word order of any type of sentence in Chinese remains the same. Interrogative sentences can be identified by certain particles or by wh-words, and the affirmative and negative forms of the verb, for example, VO-NEG-V *kànshū-bú-kàn* 看書不看 'read [the] book-not-read' or V-NEG-VO *kàn-bú-kànshū* 看不看書 'read-not-read book' express the meaning of 'read the book or not' (Otting and Sybesma 2017, pp. 663–665).

[281] This part about the definition of sentences is based on Crystal (1997, p. 94) and Zhāng Bīn (2010, pp. 376–377).
[282] This paragraph about the word order is based on Xuē Fèngshēng (2000, p. 391), Wang (2005, p. 197) and Sybesma (2017b, pp. 589–590).

9.2 Summers and Chinese syntax

9.2.1 Relevant terms in Summers' works

In this section, I will discuss the concepts of terms like "sentence", "clause", "subject", "predicate", "object" and "syntax", and further discuss the relation between these concepts in Summers' research.

9.2.1.1 "Sentence" and "clause"

Summers defined "sentence" semantically and grammatically. He stated that a sentence is formed by words consisting of only two members, i.e., a subject and a predicate, to express a thought or an assertation (1863a, p. 180). He then defined subject and predicate logically by stating: "[e]very sentence consists of two members only; (1) the subject, or that thing about which something is said or predicated, and (2) the predicate, or that action or attribute which is asserted of the subject" (1863a, p. 180). The definition indicates that, for Summers, the subject and the predicate are interconnected and essential for a sentence. He further illustrated which kind of element can fill the slots of subject and predicate (see 9.2.1.2).

In some instances, the term "clause" in Summers' works refers to a complete sentence, for example, he wrote: "a clause which contains subject and predicate simply, is a predicative clause" (1863a, p. 180). This quotation reflects his definition of "sentence", i.e., a unit with a subject and a predicate. Yet, "clause" can also refer to a sentence-forming unit that is smaller than a sentence and very close to what we would generally consider to be a clause today, for instance: "[t]he subordinate clause stands to the principal clause [...] as its subject. [In this case, the subordinate clause] is a noun sentence" (1863a, p. 181). Furthermore, clauses also embrace even smaller units, similar to what we would call "phrases" today: "[a]n attribute appended to a subject forms an attributive clause [...]. The attributive clause cannot stand alone, because it does not express a complete thought, but only one of the elements of the sentence; e. g. 'the red rose,' 'the benighted traveller.'" (1863a, p. 180).[283] The "clause" in this quotation is closer to the sentence constituent. Overall, in Summers' terminology, the term "clause" has a wider range of meanings than "sentence", since the latter only refers to a unit including a subject and a predicate.

[283] What is also worth mentioning here is that, for Summers, the attribute of this kind of structure is the principal word (1863a, p. 180).

9.2.1.2 “Subject”, “predicate” and “object”

Summers argued that the subject has to be a nominal constituent, such as a noun or even a sentence that functions as a noun (1863a, p. 183), which reflects “that thing” in his definition of the subject. He advised students to start analysing a sentence provided in the Chinese chrestomathy of the second part of his *Handbook* by first identifying the subject. His analysis of the example sentences reveals more clearly his understanding of a “subject”. For example, in the sentence *Shēng rén bù néng yí rì ér wú yòng* 生人不能一日而無用 ‘Mortals cannot exist for a day without expending something’,[284] Summers argued that *shēng rén* is the subject. The adjective *shēng* ‘living’ is the modifier of the noun *rén* ‘people’. These two words form a nominal constituent, according to Summers’ idea of “subject”, serving as the subject of this sentence. Summers translated the Chinese sentences in his works as literally as he could, even though the English translation would sometimes sound strange (1863a, Part II, p. 21, footnote). Therefore, analysing his translation will help us understand how he approached Chinese sentences. The rest of the sentence *bù néng yí rì ér wú yòng*, based on his translation, is considered a predicate by Summers.

Another example given by Summers is: *xiǎodì zuórì jìnyè, búguò liáo biǎo yǎngmù zhī chéng* 小弟昨日晉謁，不過聊表仰慕之誠 ‘I, your humble servant, in waiting upon you yesterday, intended merely to show a slight mark of the sincerity of my respect’.[285] Summers argued that *Xiǎodì zuórì jìnyè* is the subject of the sentence (1863a, p. 183), therefore the second half of the example is the predicate. In this example, the “subject” *Xiǎodì zuórì jìnyè* ‘I, your humble servant, in waiting upon you yesterday’, according to Summers’ translation, is a nominal constituent (although we might consider it to be a sentence or an embedded clause), in which *Xiǎodì* ‘I’ is the nucleus while (*zuórì*) *jìnyè* ‘in waiting upon you’ is a participial instead of a verb.[286] According to Summers’ own perspective, they have to be considered as

[284] The translation is from the *Handbook* (Part II, p. 39). This sentence is from *Shèngyù guǎngxùn* 聖諭廣訓 *Sacred Edict*. The selected part in the *Handbook* (Part II, Chrestomathy, pp. 6–7) is from *Shèngyù guǎngxùn yǎn* 聖諭廣訓衍 *Sacred Edict Expansion* by Wáng Yòupǔ as suggested by Summers (Part II, p. 36, footnote). Most likely, one of Summers’ reference works on this topic is William Milne’s translation published in 1817 (1863a, Part II, p. 38, footnote) but his translation is different. In his *Handbook* (p. 183), Summers wrote: “cf. 7. a. 10, ii”, among which “7” is the page of the chrestomathy in the second part, “a” marks the row and “10” indicates the line. In this way, the crossover point of the vertical and horizontal lines is the characters which the reader shall spot. However, “ii” here is a typo. It should be “11” (10–11) instead, since *shēng* 生 ‘living’ is the tenth character, and it is an adjective here, which cannot serve as the subject according to Summers’ definition of “subject”.

[285] This sentence is from the Chinese fictional text *The Fortunate Union*, see 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 8). For the translation of the sentence, see 1863a (Part II, p. 41).

[286] Davis translated the book into English and his translation was highly praised by Summers (1863a, Part II, p. 17). In Davis’ book, this sentence is rendered as: “[m]y unsuccessful visit of yesterday was only a slight token of respect” (1829, Vol. II, p. 35), in which the subject is not a sentence either but a nominal element. It might have been the case that Summers consulted the syntactic structure of Davis’ translation to develop his own version of

two nouns and their relationship is that the latter is "an adverbial expression of time, place, or manner" (1863a, p. 99). Hence, this entire sentence is a simple sentence (see 9.2.3).

A predicate, Summers claimed, generally needs to be completed by one or two objects.[287] For example: (*ruò shì gè zhìchéng lǎoshi de rén*) *kěyǐ yòng tā zài jiā chūrù* (若是個志誠老實的人) 可以用他在家出入 '(If he is an honest man,) I can employ him in the family to go in and out'.[288] When there are two objects in the sentence, Summers stated, the one that follows the verb closely is called the "direct object" and the other is the "indirect object' (1863a, p. 184). However, Summers did not explain these concepts any further, nor did he give any examples.

9.2.1.3 "Syntax"

Syntax, according to Summers, is the study of how words combine with each other in order to express the relationship between them and how ideas are conveyed by different structures of sentences (1863a, p. 97).[289] The study of syntax consists of two objects in his definition, i.e., "the arrangement of words" (1863a, p. xii) and "the structure of sentences" (1863a, p. 180). The former focuses on the relation between words (1863a, p. 180). This is discussed in Section 9.2.2. In Summers' work, the latter is employed as the criterion to divide sentences into three types: i.e., simple sentences, complex sentences and compound sentences (which is explained in 2.3). Section 9.2.4 presents how Summers classified sentences according to their modality.

9.2.2 Summers' research on the relations of the words in sentences and on the word order

Summers proposed three relations between different words in sentences, namely:

(1) predicative relation—the relation between the subject and the predicate;

(2) attributive relation—the relation between a modifier and the unit that it modifies; for Summers, this kind of relationship basically applies to the nominal domain only. Adjectives, the genitive case of nouns, nouns in apposition in relation to a modified element, nouns with prepositions, and relative clauses are described as being able to serve as attributes (1863a, p. 181);

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the English translation. The other version of the English translation of this work, which Summers mentioned (1863a, Part II, p. 17), is by Thomas Percy (ca. 1729–1811). However, Percy did not translate the work literally (cf. Percy 1761, Vol. III, pp. 66–67).

[287] For more about "objects", cf. Section 9.2.2.

[288] This sentence is from *Water Margin*, see 1863a (Chrestomathy, pp. 13–16).

[289] The original text reads: "by syntax we mean to denote that arrangement of the words which expresses the relations existing between them, and the various forms of the sentence by which simple and complex ideas are exhibited."

(3) objective relation—the relation between verbs and their objects: for Summers, the function of the object is to complete or supplement the predicate, so he also called them "supplemental expressions" (1863a, p. 180). The elements that can be objects in sentences, Summers claimed, are either "the thing or person which the principal verb of the sentence affects", i.e., nominal elements,[290] or "the circumstances of time, place, manner or causality, which serve to modify the action of the verb" (1863a, p. 181). The latter category includes those that modify verbs, which are almost identical to adverbials (this will be discussed further in the next section when dealing with the "adverbial sentence").[291] In fact, Summers' argument about the latter is based on English grammar, or at least not Chinese grammar, which can be seen from his examples 'with smoke' in 'black with smoke' and 'this morning' in 'withered this morning'. He did not give any examples in Chinese.[292]

Summers claimed that the arrangement of words in sentences in Chinese is natural and logical. The basic word order in sentences, according to Summers, is SVO and the modifier precedes the modified elements, i.e., nouns follow adjectives, and verbs come after adverbs (1853a, p. 27; 1863a, p. 142; 1864a, pp. 70–71). Compared to the abovementioned "three relations" that exist in sentences, Summers appended a "modifier-modified" relationship between verbs and adverbs here, which is different from the "objective relation" mentioned above.

Moreover, Summers claimed that sometimes two verbs are placed directly next to each other without particles or other elements in between. In this case, the latter verb expresses the purpose of the former. For example, in the sentence *Tā lái, kàn* 他來，看 'he is come to look', *kàn* 'look' is the purpose of *lái* 'come' (1863a, pp. 128–129), which is what we call "serial verbal phrases" today.

Some other elements have rather fixed absolute positions in sentences in Summers' presentation, for example, elements that express the time (in this case, he means a point of time or "the time *when* of an action") are normally placed in one of two positions: either at the

[290] This explains why the attributive relation includes the modifiers of the subject and the object, as both of subject and the object are nominal.

[291] Compare the wording of the following examples:
1. "The object may be […] the *circumstances* of *time*, *place*, *manner* or *causality*, which serve to modify the action of the verb" (1863a, p. 181);
2. "Adverbial sentences are such as specify the conditions of *time*, *place*, *manner* or *causality*" (1863a, p. 181).

[292] The only possible Chinese example in his works is the elements that denote the duration of time. Summers stated that they have to come after the verb or "after the expression to which it belongs", together with the expression of length and height, for instance, *sāntiān* 三天 'three days' in *xiàyǔ sāntiān* 下雨三天 'it has rained three days' (1863a, p. 99, p. 114; 1864a, p. 71). However, it was not noted by Summers that this serves as the object of the verb in any way.

beginning of the sentence, such as *jīnnián* 今年 'this year' in *Jīnnián guǒzi duō* 今年菓子多 'this year there is much fruit' (1863a, p. 97); or between the subject and the verb, for example, *zuótiān* 昨天 'yesterday' in *Wǒ zuótiān dúshūle* 我昨天讀書了 'I read yesterday' (1863a, p. 114). Here Summers contradicted his own argument, because on page 114, he wrote: "[i]t should be noted that a point of time is placed first generally, but not before the subject of the sentence, and especially if this be a pronoun". On page 97, however, he said: "[t]he expression of the time when of an action generally stands first in a sentence". Hence, generally speaking, Summers' idea could be that the unmarked position of this kind of element should be in between the subject and the verb. These elements cannot be placed in front of the subject if the latter is a pronoun.[293]

9.2.3 Summers and the structure of sentences

Summers classified sentences into three types, namely "simple sentence", "complex sentence" and "compound sentence", based on their internal structure.

9.2.3.1 Simple sentences

A simple sentence includes only one clause with one set of subject and predicate. A simple sentence, according to Summers, is also called "predicate clause", in which "the verb is the principal word" (1863a, p. 180). Both the subject and predicate in a simple sentence can "be enlarged and modified to a great extent" (1863a, p. 181). Hence, the subject of a simple sentence can be constituted by one or more words, for example, a mono-word-subject *dì* 帝 'emperor' in *dì yuē* 帝曰 'the emperor said' or a multiple-word-subject *dàrén zhī dào* 大人之道 'principles of great men' as in the sentence *fán dàrén zhī dào yǒu sān* 凡大人之道有三 'Great men generally have three principles of action' (1863a, p. 181).[294] Regarding the second example, Summers explained that a subject can consist of two nouns in which the former one is "in the genitive case, to express the origin, cause, or relationship of the latter" (1863a, p. 184), i.e., *dàrén zhī* is in the genitive case to express the possession relationship to the second

[293] Another example of this type is the elements that denote locality. They follow the temporal elements, as claimed by Summers, for example (*zài*) *Běijīng* (在)北京 'in Peking' follows *zuótiān* 昨天 'yesterday' in *zuótiān zài Běijīng* 昨天在北京 'yesterday in Peking' (1863a, p. 98).

[294] On page 184 of his *Handbook*, Summers again cited this sentence as an example of the subject ("cf. 2. 9 [should be "g"]. 12–16"). However, in this instance, he argued that *fán dàrén* together is the subject of the sentence without any further explanation.

noun *dào*.[295] The particle *zhī* is mentioned by Summers frequently as the genitive marker. It is used as a common tool to "enlarge" or "explain" the subject. Summers' analysis of this sentence is in agreement with his definition of the "simple sentence". Summers further proposed that simple sentences are rather rare in Chinese. Most of the sentences are either complex or compound (1863a, p. 181).

9.2.3.2 Complex sentences

Complex sentences have a principal clause and one or more subordinate clauses, which serve as the subject, the attribute, or the adverbial of the entire sentence. These clauses are called "noun sentences", "adjective sentences" and "adverbial sentences" respectively, according to Summers (1863a, p. 187, p. 181).

Noun sentences are those which occupy the position of nouns in sentences for Summers, including a single verb, such as *yǐn* 飲 'drink' in *kǒng yǐn fēi qí shí yě* 恐飲非其時也 'I fear, to drink is not this time',[296] verb-object structure, for example, *hài rén* 害人 'injure people' in *hài rén bù hǎo* 害人不好 'to injure people is bad', or verb and "adjuncts of time", for instance, *xué ér shí xí zhī* 學而時習之 'To learn, and constantly to dwell on the subject' in *Xué ér shí xí zhī, bù yì yuè hū* 學而時習之，不亦說乎 'To learn, and constantly to dwell on the subject, is it not a pleasure!' (1863a, p. 184). The last example is integrated from the verb-object structure, i.e., *xí zhī* 習之 'dwell on the subject' and the verb "with adjuncts of time" structure (1863a, p. 184), i.e. (*xué ér*) *shí xí* (學而)時習之 '(learn and) constantly dwell on'. As mentioned above, Summers argued that the subject has to be a nominal element. When it is or has a verbal element, it is not a simple subject anymore, but becomes a noun sentence that is part of a complex sentence. Therefore, the essential part of a sentence is the verb. In other words, having a verb is the main criterion to prove that a unit is a sentence for Summers.

According to Summers, the adjective sentence is equivalent to a relative clause, and its function is to explain or modify nouns (1863a, pp. 184–185). Summers' explanation stated that as long as a unit can be translated into an English relative clause, it is considered an adjective sentence in Chinese. *De* 的, *suǒ* 所 and *zhě* 者 are sometimes used to mark an adjective sentence to modify a noun, and these particles are normally used to refer to the subject of the adjective sentences (1863a, p. 181, p. 185). These particles are the same as the markers of a

[295] His translation does not reflect his analysis literally in this case.
[296] Namely, "I suspect, this is not a time to drink" (1863a, Part II, p. 45).

noun sentence (1863a, p. 181, p. 184). For Summers, although a noun sentence and an adjective sentence formed with these particles are semantically and structurally different, adjective sentences often "assume the character of a noun". Summers gave an example to explain his idea (1863a, p. 185):

> *(Yí jiàn Tiě gōngzǐ lái bài, zǎo fēi bào yǔ Guò gōngzǐ,) gāng děngde Tiě gōngzǐ dào mén. (Guò gōngzǐ zǎo yī guān qíchǔ, xiào hāhā de yíngjiāng chūlái).*
>
> (一見鐵公子來拜，早飛報與過公子，) 剛等的鐵公子到門。 (過公子早衣冠齊楚，笑哈哈的迎將出來).
>
> ('Directly this man saw Mr. Tǐ going to visit, he hastened to give information to Mr. Kwo,) who was just waiting for Mr. Tǐ to arrive at the gate. (Mr. Kwo, ready dressed, came out to receive him, smiling, and with a respectful but cordial 'Ha! ha!'')[297]

Summers stated that *gāng děngde Tiě gōngzǐ dào mén* 剛等的鐵公子到門 'who was just waiting for Mr. Tǐ to arrive at the gate' is an adjective sentence, with *de* as the marker. The "antecedent" of this "adjective sentence" is *Guò gōngzǐ* 過公子 'Mr. Kwo', which directly precedes it. The relation between *Guò gōngzǐ* and the adjective sentence is appositional, and therefore the latter "assume[s] the character of the noun" (1863a, p. 185). However, Summers' explanation of the sentence is flawed. *Gāng děngde Tiě gōngzǐ dào mén* itself is independent from the sentence that precedes it. The subject is *Guò gōngzǐ* in the sentence *Guò gōngzǐ zǎo yī guān qíchǔ, xiào hāhā de yíngjiāng chūlái* 過公子早衣冠齊楚，笑哈哈的迎將出來 'Mr. Kwo, ready dressed, came out to receive him, smiling, and with a respectful but cordial 'Ha! ha!'', which follows it. Moreover, this example is unrelated to the relative clause, and *de* therefore does not mark it as such.

Summers' analysis of this example is entirely based on its English counterpart. However, this leads to a paradox: according to Summers' own argument, the modifier always comes before the modified unit in Chinese: "[a]ll attributive words and clauses precede. Hence the relative clause in English is to be turned into an attributive and placed before its antecedent noun (expressed or understood) in Chinese" (1864a, p. 71). However, in his analysis of the example, the "antecedent noun" *Guò gōngzǐ* precedes the adjective clause. In order to avoid a contradiction here, Summers had to employ the concept of "apposition" in the so-called

[297] The quotation is from *The Fortunate Union*, see: 1863a (Chrestomathy, 8.c.18; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 41). The punctuation, explanation, and translation are all Summers'.

"adjective sentence" to state that the noun that the adjective sentence modifies or explains, i.e., its antecedent, is appositional in relation to the adjective sentence. His analysis, therefore, leaves traces of a foreign concept being applied to the Chinese language.

The last type of the clause that forms a complex sentence is the adverbial sentence. Adverbial sentence are used to "express the circumstances of *time* (i.e., the point of time, the duration of time or the repetition of the circumstance), *place* (i.e., rest in, motion to, or motion from a place), *manner* (i.e., similarity, proportion, or consequence), and *cause* (i.e., a reason, a condition, a concession, or a purpose)" (1863a, p. 185, pp. 181–182). Summers made a similar statement when talking about objects (cf. Section 9.2.2 above). For him, "adverbial sentences" would serve as the objects of sentences. However, the examples he gave here show a rather different argument. For example, *suànjì dìng le* 算計定了 'plans being determined on', *dào cìrì* 到次日 'the next day' and *rì wèi chū* 日未出 'before the sun was up' "are three adverbial sentences of time" of the sentence *suànjì dìng le, dào cìrì rì wèi chū jiù qǐlai* 算計定了，到次日日未出就起來 'His plans being determined on; the next day, before the sun was up, he arose',[298] in which the principal sentence is *qǐlai*. Summers claimed that *jiù* is not a necessary word but only a conventional word, whose function is to "summarize" the three adverbial sentences (1863a, p. 185). These elements are all placed before the verb; therefore, they cannot be the object of the sentence since, according to Summers, the word order in Chinese is SVO. One of the possibilities is that Summers' ideas about word order in Chinese sentences and which kind of elements can be objects were influenced by various scholars with different linguistic backgrounds. This is further explained in Section 9.3 of this chapter. Besides, Summers pointed out some patterns of the different adverbial sentences, such as a pattern of time "*yī*+ verb" as in *Yí jiàn Tiě gōngzǐ lái bài, zǎo fēi bào yǔ Guò gōngzǐ* 一見鐵公子來拜，早飛報與過公子 'Directly this man saw Mr. Tǐ going to visit, he hastened to give information to Mr. Kwo', and a marker of place *cóng… dìfang* 從...地方 'from…place' (1863a, pp. 185–187).

9.2.3.3 Compound sentences

A compound sentence includes simultaneously independent and co-ordinate clauses (1863a, p. 182). Summers claimed that there are three different types of compound sentences according to the relation between the clauses.

[298] The quotation is from *The Fortunate Union*, see: 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 8; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 41).

The first is a copulative relation, namely, one clause is the other's supplement. To be more specific, the two or more clauses in a compound sentence are (1) equally stressed semantically; (2) the second clause is stressed, such as sentences that are connected by "not only…but also" in English; (3) there are several clauses connected by particles that denote a sequence, just as "first, then, next, finally" in English, with stress increasingly laid on them; or (4) an alternative relation between two clauses is expressed by *huòzhě* 或者 'or' and *hái* 還 'or' (1863a, p. 182, p. 188). Summers provided some example sentences for these different types:

a. *dì xīn shí yǒu bù ān. Jīn yì bù gǎn jiǔ liú*
   弟心實有不安，今亦不敢久留
   'my mind would be truly ill at ease. As it is I would not presume to detain you for long'
b. *qiú lüè tíng ní shí, shǎo dòng yì cān*
   求略停尼時，少動一餐
   'only a very little time, to take a slight meal'[299]
c. *Jīn xìng yǒu yuán, yòu dé xiāng péi*
   今幸有緣，又得相陪。
   'Now happily we have had the good fortune to meet again to-day'[300]
d. *Hái shì dàng zhēn, hái shì dàng shuǎ*
   還是當真，還是當耍
   'Are you in earnest, or are you joking?' (1863a, p. 188).

Among these sentences, each clause in (a), (b) and (c) is stressed equally according to their meaning, while clauses in (d) are in an alternative relation. Summers did not provide examples for the second and the third type.

The second class of compound sentences consists of clauses with an adversative relation. The meaning of the clauses is contrary to one another. Summers further divided them into two sub-categories: the first category includes sentences in which the second clause negates the first one, just like "not… but" in English (1863a, p. 182). The second category refers to compound sentences in which the second clause limits the first, such as "only" in the sentence

[299] In the original text of *The Fortunate Union*, the text is 略停片時，少勸一餐 (Míngjiào zhōng rén 1994 [Early Qing], p. 194).
[300] Sentences (a), (b) and (c) are from *The Fortunate Union*, cf. 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 9; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 43). The punctuation, explanation, and translation are all Summers'.

"you may read it, only read it without stammering" in English (1863a, p. 182). Summers gave two Chinese examples for these two categories:

a. *Qí rì yè zhī suǒ xī, píng dàn zhī qì, qí hào wù yǔ rén xiāng jìn yě zhě jǐ xī, zé qí dàn zhòu zhī suǒ wéi, yǒu gù wáng zhī yǐ*

其日夜之所息，平旦之氣，其好惡與人相近也者幾希，則其旦晝之所為，有梏亡之矣

'By the daily and nightly growth of virtue, the spirit which each dawn revives, makes all men similar in their love and hate; but the deeds which each day brings to pass, wither and destroy it'[301]

b. *Xiǎo dì yì bù rěn yán qù, dàn zhuāng yǐ shù*

小弟亦不忍言去，但裝已束

'I, for my part, can hardly allow myself to speak of going; but as every thing is packed'[302]

Semantically, the first sentence is an example of the contradictory type, while in the second sentence, the second clause "limits" the first one, which is closer to "only" in English, according to Summers' classification.

The third class of compound sentences is formed by clauses with a causative relation, in which one clause expresses the reason for the other (1863a, p. 182, p. 188); either the former clause shows the reason while the latter clause expresses the result or the other way around. For Summers, the order of the two clauses in causative relation can be changed and the meaning of the entire compound sentence remains the same. Therefore, these two types are in a "causative relation" semantically, although different particles may be used in these two kinds of sentences, respectively (1863a, p. 182). The examples from Summers are the following:

a. *Dūn xiào tì yǐ zhòng rén lún*

敦孝悌以重人倫

'Give practical weight to filial piety and fraternal love in order to strengthen the relative duties'[303]

b. *Shēng rén bù kě yí rì ér wú yòng, jí bù kě yí rì ér wú cái*

生人不可一日而無用，即不可一日而無財

[301] The sentence is from *Mencius*; see: 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 5; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 35).
[302] This is a sentence from *The Fortunate Union*; see: 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 9; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 43).
[303] The sentence is from *Sacred Edict Expansion*; cf. 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 6; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 37).

‘Mortals cannot exist for a day without expending something, and consequently they may not exist for a day without the means of doing so’[304]

c. *Shí jù zī dào, yǐ lì yú shì*

實具茲道，以立於世

‘he was fully furnished with these principles for an example to the world’

d. *Wú yì wú sì, gù bù wéi*

无益吾祀，故不为

‘There being no profit in keeping the sacred rites, they kept them not’[305]

According to Summers’ translation, “result” also includes purpose or consequence, as can be seen in the first two examples. The second clauses in (c) and (d) express the results. Therefore, all four of these examples provided by Summers are actually in a “reason-result” causative relation. He did not give any examples in which the result is expressed in the first clause.

9.2.4 The modality of sentences

Summers divided sentences into five types according to their modality, or in his words, “form” (1863a, p. 183). This shows that for him, the “forms” of these sentences are different. These five types are the imperative sentence, which denotes a command; the optative sentence, which expresses a wish; the assertive sentence, which corresponds to judgements; the interrogative sentence in questions; and the exclamatory sentence, showing some exclamation. Summers arranged these five types in this order since for him, verbs naturally convey the imperative, while the optative sentence is closely connected to imperative sentences semantically, and the exclamation is different from questions only “by the manner of its enunciation” on most occasions (1863a, p. 183).

In imperative sentences, Summers argued, the subject is always omitted. If it appears, it is placed in front of the verb according to the basic word order of Chinese. However, when the subject is “a proper name or the designation of a person” and not a pronoun, the subject can be placed after the verb, just as in *lái, yǔ*! 來，禹! ‘come, Yü!’. This example reflects Summers’ semantic definition of “subject”, i.e., “that thing about which something is said or predicated”,

[304] The sentence is from *Sacred Edict Expansion*; cf. 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 7; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 39).
[305] These two sentences are from *The Epitaph of Jīzǐ*; see: 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 2; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 27).

as mentioned in 9.2.1.1. Optative sentences, Summers wrote, have almost the same form as imperative sentences, with only the verbs changing into those that express a wish or desire (1863a, p. 183).

The discussion of interrogative sentences takes up more space than the other types in the *Handbook*. He argued that some particles help to diagnose an interrogative sentence. The "particles" to which he referred are final particles, such as *ma* in *Nǐ yǒu qián ma* 你有錢嗎 'have you any cash?' and interrogative pronouns like *shénme* 什麼 'what' in *zhè yì zhī mǎ shí shénme* 這一隻馬食什麼 'what does that horse eat?'. In some interrogative sentences, there are no such "particles", and the "form" of the sentence, namely a positive expression and a negative expression, can also mark the interrogative sentence (for example, *Tā zài jiā bú zài jiā* 他在家不在家 'lit. he is at home not at home? → is he at home?', 1863a, p. 184). Summers argued that expressions like *duōshǎo* 多少 'lit. many-few→ how many' also belong to this kind. He did not discuss the positive-negative "form" of the verbs here, but only the presence of the semantic positive-negative meaning of a word in an interrogative sentence.

As mentioned above, Summers argued that there is not a big difference between interrogative sentences and exclamatory sentences, except the use of some particles that denote an exclamation instead of an interrogation (for example, *Shéi gǎn bú ràng, gǎn bú jìng* 誰敢不讓，敢不敬 'Who then would presume not to yield, and reverently to comply?').[306] In his translation, Summers used a question mark instead of an exclamation mark at the end of the sentence, but apparently, he is of the opinion that the sentence is an exclamatory sentence. This is not based on the interrogative pronoun *shéi*, but from the semantic meaning conveyed by the sentence.

It seems that the "form" of sentences is not the criterion that Summers employed to divide sentences into different classes, since these five so-called "forms" do not really differ from each other very much in Chinese according to Summers' own introduction, except for the meaning of the verbs or the appearance of certain particles. The "form" criterion may distinguish interrogative sentences and exclamatory sentences from other types of sentences but barely from each other. Therefore, Summers' criterion for classifying sentences is not purely based on their "forms" but rather their modality and meaning.

There are other aspects about Chinese sentences and syntax in Summers' works, for example, ellipsis. He argued that subjects in Chinese are often omitted either because of the

[306] This is a sentence from *Shàngshū*; cf. 1863a (Chrestomathy, p. 1; translation: 1863a, Part II, p. 25).

context or because of the preceding clause; for example the subject *I* is omitted in the sentence *Qiú nǐ gěi wǒ zuò zhèi ge* 求你給我作這個 'I beg you to do this for me' (1863a, p. 98; 1864a, p. 71), since the context is clear enough to diagnose the subject.

9.3 Syntactic research in Summers' reference works

In Priscian's time or even earlier, language units were placed in the hierarchy of sounds, syllables, words, and sentences, with the smaller units joining together to form the larger ones (Oniga 2016, pp. 289–290; McDonald 2020, p. 96, p. 177). In this view, there are no other units between words and sentences in the structural hierarchy. Inflections fill the gap between words and sentences[307] until the term "sentence member" was coined in 1747 by the French scholar Gabriel Girard (ca.1677–1748).[308] "Sentence members" are close in meaning to sentence constituents, and they include subjective, attributive, etc. They are the grammatical functions of phrases, not the phrases per se. Scholars like Henri Weil (1818–1909) in 1844 turned to research phrases from other aspects, for instance, semantics, rather than focusing on their function in sentences. These scholars argued that phrases are the "blending of ideas" and can be called "word groups". However, phrases as a concept did not become independent from their syntactic function until 1894, when John Ries (1857–1933) pointed out that words and phrases could both function as sentence constituents and that a specific phrase could be used as different sentence constituents, for example, as subject and as object.[309] Therefore, the concept of phrases was first considered within the concept of words, and then they were viewed from the perspective of their syntactic function. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the concept of "phrases" finally gained independent status.

In Summers' works, words like "phrase" (e.g., 1863a, p. 12) and other relevant "terms" also appear. However, Summers did not differentiate them from "words" at all.[310] Summers

[307] For example, the units that can be used as subjects are "nominatives".

[308] However, according to Oniga (2016, pp. 288–295), Gabriel was not the first scholar who argued for an intermediate syntactic unit between "word" and "sentence". He stated that Bohemian pedagogue Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670) proposed such a unit with the term "phrasis" in the first half of the seventeenth century, but Comenius' ideas of this concept were unfortunately neglected. In the eighteenth century, when scholars finally realized the necessity of such a grammatic unit, instead of adopting Comenius' term, new terms were coined and popularized, i.e., French term *groups de mots* (Girard 1747) and German term *Satzglieder* (Becker 1841, cf. Oniga 2016, p. 295).

[309] The history of the research on phrases in this paragraph is based on Graffi (2001, pp. 136–142).

[310] In his *Handbook*, Summers wrote: "[i]t is, moreover, desirable that couples and triples of characters, which form phrases, should be sought for and committed to memory, so as to store the mind with good expressions, either for positive use or that they may be readily recognised when uttered by native Chinese" (1863a, p. xiv).

On the basis of this quotation, it seems that for Summers, a phrase is composed of more than one syllable. However, elsewhere in his works, a phrase is a short sentence or a word:

a. sentence: "[i]t remains for the student to collect phrases with the same consecutive tones, and to practise

followed the traditional hierarchy of "sound → syllable → word → sentence", without consulting the research on phrases. For him, words are combined to form sentences, as stated in Section 9.2.

As early as the Stoics (third century BC), the study of how words combine to form sentences was conducted (Seuren 2015, pp. 134–135). The notion that an assertion, a proposition or a statement embraces a subject and a predicate can be traced back to Aristotle (384 BC–322 BC) as *hypokeimenon*, i.e., "that about which something is said", and *katēgoreumenon*, i.e., "that which is said about it" (Law 2003, p. 168). Until the twelfth century, the notions of "subject" and "predicate" started to be applied to analyse sentences, and thus, syntactic research was finally integrated into pedagogical grammar. Despite that, during the Middle Ages, syntactic research was sometimes integrated into the study of the parts of speech (Luhtala 2018, p. 53). In the late eighteenth century, the terms "subject" and "predicate" became part of the mainstream grammatical tradition in Europe (Law 2003, p. 168; Luhtala 2013, p. 352).

With regard to the word order in sentences, Port-Royal grammarians Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) and Claude Lancelot (ca. 1615–1695) argued that the "natural" order of word arrangement is nominative-verb-accusative (2001 [1662], p. 44), i.e., SVO is the "natural" word order. The same idea was presented by Humboldt and Rask in the nineteenth century by arguing that the natural order presents the natural sequence of thought (Graffi 1998, pp. 257–258; 2001, p. 25, p. 27). Summers adopted this argument and stated that Chinese words follow the natural order to form sentences (cf. Section 9.2).[311] Arnauld and Lancelot also emphasised the importance of verbs in sentences, which was adopted by Humboldt, who argued that the kernel of a simple sentence is the verb (Graffi 1998, p. 261, p. 263). Summers' analysis of the simple sentence also reflects the same point of view.

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reading them aloud. Such short sentences may be found already marked with the proper tones in the body of this work" (1863a, p. 12, emphasis added);

b. word: "[t]he expression of length, height, or duration is placed after the phrase to which it belongs; e. g.- *kaū lŭ ch'ĭ* 高六尺 'six cubits high'. *taú-lú sź-lì* 道路四里 'the road is four miles long'" (1863a, p. 99, emphasis added).

Summers used many terms interchangeably with "phrase", such as "part of speech", "phraseology", "compound", "expression" and "group". He did not use them as technical terms, nor did he define them properly, just like how he treated "word". He used them like any other speaker of English would. The different terms for "phrase" are interchangeable, not only among themselves but also between them and "word" (cf. Appendix 3).

[311] The "copula theory" of Arnauld and Lancelot, i.e., every verb can be re-written into a form with a copula, for example, *Peter lives* is equivalent to *Peter is alive* (Arnauld and Lancelot 2001 [1662], p. 97; Graffi 2001, p. 76), also had some followers among the missionaries that preceded Summers. For example, Edkins (1853, p. 206) stated that the complete form of a sentence always includes a copula and the verbal predicate always includes the copula, but Summers did not share this opinion.

Research dedicated to Chinese syntax in ancient China is hard to find, as it was always mixed together with the study of function words and was not performed systematically. Special sentence patterns—for example, double negative sentences—were more widely studied by comparison and most of the research was conflated with the study of rhetoric (Shào Jìngmǐn 1990, p. 32).[312]

However, what will be shown in the next section is that the most influential syntactic work for Summers is *The Analysis of Sentences Explained and Systematized, after the Plan of Becker's German Grammar* (1852) by John Daniel Morell (1816–1891).

9.3.1 Summers and Morell's English syntactic research

Morell was a British philosopher and inspector of schools (Theobald 1894 [1891], p. 2), who believed that the study of syntax had to be strengthened over the study of etymology at schools (Morell 1852, p. v). As suggested in the title, Morell's analysis of syntax is based on Becker's *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1829).[313] Based on this work *Deutsche Sprachlehre* (1829), Becker published two pedagogical grammars in 1831 and 1833. Becker's ideas about sentences and syntax are almost identical to Morell's and Summers'. For example, he argued that subjects and predicates form sentences, and that verbs or predicates are the most important elements in sentences. The relationship between subjects and predicates was called "predicate relation" by him. The scope of subject and predicate can be further expanded by adding attributes and objects. Therefore, there are three relations in sentences, namely a predicative relation, an objective relation (the relation between predicate and object), and an attributive relation (the relation between attributive and subject). Becker distinguished the complement object (like "object" in our terminology) from the determining object (like the modern term "adverbial"), in the sense that the former is necessary but the latter is not and the latter is actually an adverbial. This is the origin of Summers' point of view of the object, i.e., he considered both the complement and adverbial an "object". Therefore, there are five sentential components, i.e., subject, predicate, attributive, object and adverbial. Becker also classified sentences into simple sentences, complex sentences (*Hauptsatz and Nebensatz*), and compound sentences (*zusammengesetzter Satz*). The difference between the latter two is that clauses in compound sentences are logically instead of grammatically inter-connected, while clauses in complex

[312] Although no attention was paid to systematic syntactic research, the method of judging the full stop and pause (*jùdòu* 句讀) and rhetorical skills such as antithesis (*duìzhàng* 對仗) reveal the Chinese's intuitive perspective towards syntax (Shēn Xiǎolóng 2013, p. 329, p. 336).

[313] Morell also mentioned that his work got some inspiration from the school grammar of "Dr. A. Heussler", which is also based on Becker's principals (Morell 1852, p. v), but which I could not find.

sentences are the opposite. Complex sentences can be further divided into case sentences (*Kasussätze*, i.e., clauses expanded on subjects and objects), adverbial sentences (*Adverbialsätze*, i.e., clauses expanded on adverbials, which express the relation of time, space, result, reason, method and degree), and adjective sentences (*Adjektivsätze*, i.e., clauses which are expanded on the attributives).[314]

However, Summers did not mention Becker's *Deutsche Sprachlehre* at all but instead emphasised the importance of Morell's work (1863a, p. 181, footnote). Therefore, Becker first directly influenced Morell, and Summers gained indirect influence from Becker through Morell, although Morell was not the first one who introduced Becker's analysis to Britain.[315] As stated by Davies and Lepschy (1998, p. 95), Becker's syntactic analysis was very influential in German and English school grammars of the nineteenth century. Through Summers' work, a(n indirect) connection between Becker and Chinese syntactic research was established.[316]

Morell's book was very popular and in 1853, a second edition was published and titled *The Analysis of Sentences Explained and Systematised with an Exposition of the Fundamental Laws of Syntax*, with some revision and many exercises. Compared to the first edition, Summers' analysis received more influence from the second edition, which is presented in the following sections.[317]

9.3.1.1 Morell's definition of "sentence", "subject", "predicate", "object" and "syntax"

Regarding the construction of sentences, Morell argued that a sentence consists of two parts, namely the subject and the predicate (1853, p. 2). Between them, the verb (to be more specific, the "finite verb") is the vital and essential element of a sentence (1853, p. viii). For Morell, infinitive verbs feature as nouns, which serve as the subject or the object of a sentence (1853, p. 5). Hence, a sentence, according to Morell, must have a verb, and the nominal element takes second place. Semantically, Morell defined a sentence as a "complete utterance of a single thought" (1853, p. 1) from a logical perspective.[318]

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[314] This paragraph is based on Graffi (2001, p. 138) and Vesper (2017, pp. 117–125).
[315] For an introduction to pedagogical English grammar, cf. Michael (1987, pp. 370–371).
[316] In fact, some of Becker's terms and ideas about syntax were discussed in one of Summers' reference books, *Organism der Sprache* (1841, cf. pp. 230–231; pp. 241–242; p. 470; p. 511, etc.). However, this work by Becker did not focus on explaining syntax systematically and Summers did not mention this work in the syntactic part of his book but adopted Morell's grammar instead.
[317] Summers only mentioned part of the title "Analysis of sentence", which can refer to both editions.
[318] This is also mentioned in the first edition of his work as "[a]ny number of words conveying a complete assertion" (1852, p. 9). This kind of definition can be traced back to Priscian, who argued that a sentence consists of a nominal element and a verbal element in order to express a complete thought (Graffi 2001, p. 113).

Morell also defined "subject" and "predicate". He first divided sentences into five categories according to their different "forms", namely assertive, interrogative, imperative, optative and exclamatory (1853, p. 1).[319] However, in the first edition in 1852, Morell separated sentences into four classes: affirmative, interrogative, imperative and optative, which is identical to Becker's classification: i.e., *Urteilssatz*, *Fragesatz*, *Wünschesatz* and *Heischesatz* (Vesper 2017, pp. 123–124). Considering Summers' terminology and classification of the modality of sentences, he was influenced by the second edition (1853), not the first edition (1852).[320] Morell then defined the subject and predicate on top of this: "[t]hat respecting which any Assertion, Interrogation, &c. is made, is called The Subject of the sentence: that which we say about the Subject is called The Predicate" (1853, p. 2).[321] Morell emphasised the close bond between thought and language. Although Summers did not define subject and predicate exactly the same way as Morell, he also defined them logically and adopted the five expressions of the "forms" of thought, together with the term "form" of Morell.

Regarding the object, Morell treated it as the complement of a verb (1853, p. 13), which is very similar to Summers. However, Morell argued that objects are necessary on some occasions, for example, when the verb is transitive (1852, p. 10; 1853, p. 13). In contrast, Summers stated that verbs generally need complements, without specifying any conditions.

Syntax, Morell stated, concerns the laws of how words combine to express thoughts (1852, p. 65; 1853, p. 81). He also mentioned that syntax deals with the relations between words (1853, p. 84), and listed the predicative relation, objective relation, and attributive relation (1852, pp. 65–66; 1853, pp. 84–85).

9.3.1.2 Simple sentence, complex sentence, and compound sentence in Morell's work

Sentences, according to Morell, are divided into three classes according to their inner structure, namely simple, complex and compound (1852, p. 27; 1853, p. 32). Among them, simple sentences refer to those that consist of only one sentence, but even the parts of a simple sentence can be "enlarged" (i.e., expanded by adding more elements, see below). As long as there is no finite verb involved in the procedure of enlargement, the sentence stays a simple sentence (1852, p. 27; 1853, p. 32). This again proves that for Morell, the presence of a (finite) verb is the criterion for identifying a sentence. Morell also explained the "enlargement" of the subject and

[319] The original text reads: "[t]he thought, we utter, may take the form of an Assertive, an Interrogative, an Imperative, an Optative, or an Exclamatory expression".
[320] However, Summers also discussed the modality in the section on simple sentences, which is the same as Becker (cf. Vesper 2017, pp. 123–124).
[321] Morell provided a very similar definition in the first edition (1852, p. 10).

predicate. He argued that a simple subject can add some adjectives, another noun in the possessive case or in apposition, and participles, etc. as adjuncts (1853, p. 4, pp. 6–7). Predicates can be enlarged by adding objects, which is called "the completion of the predicate", or by adding adverbials, prepositional phrases and other elements that "render its signification more specific and distinct", which is "the extension of the predicate" as stated by Morell (1853, p. 13, pp. 18–19).[322] Summers, however, took both ways of "enlargement" (the "completion" and the "extension") of the predicate as "object" (1863a, p. 181 and Section 9.2.2). Regarding the "extension" of the predicate, Morell's statement anticipated his and Summers' classification of adverbial sentences: "[t]he circumstances which determine more accurately the meaning of the predicate may be classified under four heads: i. Those relating to time. ii. Those relating to place. iii. Those relating to manner. iv. Those relating to cause and effect" (1853, pp. 20–21, including an explanation of each of them in pp. 21–25).[323]

A complex sentence, Morell argued, consists of a principal sentence, including the main subject and main verb and one or more subordinate sentence(s) with other finite verb(s) (1852, p. 29; 1853, pp. 32–33). Morell also divided subordinate sentences into three classes, namely the substantive sentence, the adjective sentence and the adverbial sentence (1852, p. 29; 1853, p. 34), and each of them were further divided into more detailed sub-categories (1852, pp. 29–36; 1853, pp. 34–35, pp. 37–39, pp. 41–48). For example, temporal adverbial sentences are further subdivided into sentences that denote point of time, duration of time, and repetition of circumstances (1852, p. 33; 1853, p. 42). They are not presented here in detail for a tautological reason, since Summers adopted Morell's thinking. However, Morell's statement about the "adjective sentence" is worth a few lines here. As mentioned in Section 9.2.3.2, Summers' analysis of the example *gāng děngde Tiě gōngzǐ dào mén* 剛等的鐵公子到門 'who was just waiting for Mr. Tǐ to arrive at the gate' is not based on Chinese grammar, and he noticed violations of the basic word order in Chinese. In Morell's explanation, the adjective sentence "explains or describes something respecting the antecedent noun, and therefore performs the function of an adjective to the whole sentence" (1853, p. 38). Both the term "antecedent" and the explaining of its function were adopted by Summers to analyse the example.

Concerning the compound sentence, Morell defined it logically, i.e., sentences that are formed by more than one principal assertion (1852, p. 38; 1853, p. 59). More specifically, the

[322] Similar account can be found in his work in 1852 (pp. 27–28).
[323] Similar descriptions can be found in the first edition (1852, pp. 19–21).

relation between each clause is copulative, adversative or causative (1853, pp. 59–63), which was adopted by Summers'.[324]

The concept of "clause", during Morell's time until the late nineteenth century, was similar to "expression", including "any group of words that possessed some semantic and syntactic unity" (Michael 1987, p. 333), just as in Summers' own application.

As can be seen from the above, the first edition of the *Analysis of Sentences* by Morell shows a stronger influence of Becker's German grammar, but Summers' works followed the second edition of Morell's work, in terms of the terminology and the classification of sentences according to their modality.

9.3.2 Syntactic research in Summers' sinological reference works

Some of the sinological works to which Summers referred do not include an independent chapter or section dedicated to syntax. Those sinologists often discussed Chinese syntax from a traditional European perspective of nominal cases, such as Gonçalves (1829, p. 146) and Endlicher (1845, p. 199). This shows that syntax is not one of their main concerns. A few authors, on the contrary, dedicated chapters or sections to syntax, just like Summers. For example, the third part of Edkins' work (1857, pp. 206–252) is titled "syntax". It includes chapters that are mainly concerned with figures of speech, such as Chapter 10 "Antithesis" (pp. 249–250).[325] Marshman (1814, pp. 499–541) also dedicated a chapter to syntax and Morrison (1815a, pp. 268–272) focused on Chinese syntax as well, and introduced its basic principles.

While discussing the arrangement of words in sentences, besides pointing out the different relations between words, Summers further elaborated on how different parts of speech combined with one another in more detail, for example, two nouns follow each other and so on (1863a, pp. 99–103). This part, as pointed out by Gabelentz (1878, p. 629), is similar to Schott's work (1857, pp. 55–77).

Generally speaking, Bridgman's two works greatly influenced Summers' research concerning Chinese syntax. One of them is his monograph on Cantonese (1841), and the other

[324] In the first edition, the terms are "coupled", "opposed" and "account" (1852, p. 38), which are different from those adopted by Summers.

[325] Antithesis refers to couplet sentences, and is used frequently in classical literature. Couplet verses are required to be parallel to one another in the sense of not only the number of syllables, the part of speech and the meaning of each word, but also the structure of phrases. Edkins gave some examples in Mandarin, such as *yí ge rén chàng bǎi ge rén hè* 一個人唱百個人和 'one man sang and a hundred joined in harmony' (1857, p. 249). *Yí ge rén* and *bǎi ge rén* are both numeral-classifier-nominal phrases, in which *yí ge* and *bǎi ge* modify *rén* and the entire phrases are used as the subject of the verbs *chàng* and *hè*. In this sense, antithesis also reveals that ancient Chinese writers were aware of some basic rules of syntax.

one is an article that was published in the *Chinese Repository* (1840). The statements of these two works are very similar to one another. Bridgman himself claimed that these ideas about syntax are summarized from Abel-Rémusat's work (1841, p. xv; 1840, p. 330). Summers not only borrowed the ideas but also the wording of the two works of Bridgman. Hence, he was directly influenced by Bridgman's works as opposed to Abel-Rémusat. For example, in his inaugural lecture (1853), Summers copied almost every single word of Bridgman's (1841, p. xv) general introduction about Chinese word order:

> In every Chinese sentence, in which nothing is "understood" the elements of which it is composed are arranged in the following order: the subject, the verb, the complement direct, and the complement indirect. Modifying expressions precede those to which they belong; thus, the adjective is placed before the noun [in Bridgman 1841, p. xv: substantive, subject or complement; the substantive governed before the noun that governs it], the adverb before the verb. (1853a, p. 27)

This paragraph shows how Summers understood the basic sentence constituents and word order. It also explains the origin of his idea: when there are two objects, the first one that follows the verb directly is called the "direct object". In fact, this point of view can also be traced back to Abel-Rémusat's work as mentioned above[326] with the examples of *tiānzǐ néng jiàn rén yú tiān* 天子能薦人於天 'the son of the heaven can recommend people to the heaven' and *yǔ zhī tiānxià* 與之天下 'give him the empire' (1822, p. 67). The noun *rén* after the verb *jiàn* in the former example is considered the direct object, while the object *tiān* of the preposition *yú* is taken as the indirect object of the verb *jiàn*. In the second example, the pronoun *zhī* is the direct object of the verb *yǔ* and the noun *tiānxià* is the indirect object, according to Abel-Rémusat. Therefore, his— just like Summers'— criterion of the direct object and the indirect object is their distance from the verb without considering the prepositions in-between. Other scholars also touched on the word order of Chinese. For example, they pointed out that attributes come before the nouns that they modify (Abel-Rémusat 1822, p. 44; Bazin 1856, p. 66) and adverbs are placed before verbs (Varo 2000 [1703], p. 155; Gonçalves 1829, p. 152; Edkins 1853, p. 180; 1857, p. 206). Wade mentioned several times that *bǎ* 把 is used to mark that the object is placed before the verb (1859, p. 28, p. 34), in other words, the unmarked order shall be verb-object.

[326] "Dans les verbes à double rapport, le complétaient direct se place après le verbe, et est suivi du complément indirect".

Regarding the research on the structure of sentences, Edkins proposed a similar analysis as Summers'. Edkins (1857, p. 206) argued that before discussing the relative position of words in sentences, the first step is to figure out how words combine to form potential units of sentences. This is the same train of thought as Summers'. Moreover, Edkins argued that the subject and predicate can be expanded, which he further explained how to do in different ways. For example, subjects can be enlarged by adding classifiers or adjectives (1853, pp. 208–209, p. 210). He also distinguished the subordinate sentence and the coordinate sentence (1853, p. 215, p. 226) and stated that coordinate sentences can be connected by adversative conjunctions and disjunctive particles, etc. (pp. 242–245). However, Edkins' works and Summers' differ from each other in many aspects. For example, regarding their terminology, Edkins adopted "subordinate clause" and "coordinate clause" (1857, p. 232), instead of "complex sentence" and "compound sentence" in Summers' works. "Compound sentence" for Edkins referred to both sentences that consist of subordinate clauses and principal clauses, and sentences that consist of coordinate clauses (1857, p. 232). Their detailed arguments are also different. For example, Summers divided complex sentences into noun sentences, adjective sentences and adverbial sentences, while Edkins divided them into relative clauses, explanatory clauses, comparing clauses and so on (pp. 232–241). Summers' research was certainly primarily influenced by Morell's work, not that of Edkins', which contrasts with Gabelentz's observation (1878, p. 629).

As for ellipsis, Edkins (1857, p. 224) mentioned that subjects can sometimes be omitted. Bazin (1856, p. 75) argued that first and second person pronouns are often omitted in colloquial Chinese. Summers borrowed some examples and explanations from Edkins (1857, p. 247), although they mainly concerned semantics instead of syntax. For example, the word *bàishòu* 拜壽 'lit. bow longevity' is considered the ellipsis of 'to visit and bow to any one on his birth-day' for the purpose of displaying elegance (1863a, p. 104). The verb *bài* has the meaning of "meet and salute in order to wish or congratulate" (*Modern Chinese Dictionary*, 2005, p. 32), not simply "to bow".

In general, the outline and main content of Summers' analysis of syntax was adopted directly from Morell (and indirectly from Becker) at its core. On top of that, Summers also referred to other sinologists' works in order to extract their ideas concerning Chinese syntax. Among them, Bridgman's works were the main source for Summers. Summers directly adopted the ideas, and even wording, from Bridgman, while Bridgman himself claimed that his statement is only a summary of Abel-Rémusat's. In other words, Summers fused the syntactic

research on European grammar together with the knowledge of Chinese syntax, in his analysis of Chinese sentences. Some traces of this "fusion" can be seen in some of Summers' examples that were mentioned in Section 9.2.

9.4 Scholars after Summers and Chinese syntax

Edkins' ideas about Chinese syntax remained unchanged in his later works. Wade did not dedicate a separate chapter or section to syntax in his masterpiece *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* (1867); nor did he discuss simple sentences or complex sentences. Gabelentz's research on Chinese syntax is more profound and systematic, but his terminology and method of analysing Chinese syntax does not show any influence from Summers' works.

Douglas (1875, p. 39) noted that the basic word order in Chinese is SVO and that modifiers precede the modified units. He also stated that the direct object follows the verb, that the indirect object succeeds the direct object (1875, p. 39), and that the "person" involved follows the verb while the "thing" follows the "person" (1875, p. 49). Although his ideas are similar to those of Summers and Summers' precursors, he not only defined the direct and indirect objects by their distance from the verb but also made a connection between them and the denotation of the words. In neither of his works (1875, 1904) did he dedicate a chapter or a section to syntax. His explanation of Chinese sentences and syntax are mixed together with the discussion of Chinese word classes. He did not write about simple or complex sentences, either.

Overall, where Chinese syntax is concerned, the works of Summers' successors do not show any traces of Summers' influence.

9.5 Summary

For Summers, sentences are formed by subjects and predicates while verbs are the most important element. Syntax, according to Summers, is the study of the relation between words and the structure of sentences. The relations between words are predicative, attributive or objective. He divided sentences into simple sentences, complex sentences, and compound sentences. His analysis of example sentences in Chinese is very interesting. Some traces of his attempt to integrate European linguistic research into the peculiar features of the Chinese language can be found as he elaborated. Similar to his research on other topics of the Chinese language, the syntactic part of his work was heavily influenced by his precursors, especially that of Morell's (1853) on English and Bridgman's ideas of Chinese syntax. He is the first

sinologist to introduce Morell's and Becker's syntactic research into Chinese studies, although this element does not come through in his successors' research.

Chapter 10. A brief note on Summers' ideas of Chinese phonology and orthography

In the *Handbook*, *Rudiments*, and *Gospel*, "orthography" was introduced at the very beginning of the main body of the book as an indispensable part. The term "orthography" here not only refers to Romanization rules but also to the phonology of the Chinese language (cf. 1863a, p. 1; 1864a, p. 9; 1853b, p. ii). In fact, phonology did not grow into an independent linguistic discipline until the first half of the twentieth century, and by that time, phonological analysis had a strong bond to the missionaries' endeavour to devise orthographic systems (Klöter 2006, pp. 82–83). Based on this broader context, this chapter presents Summers' description of the Chinese phonological system in the mid-nineteenth century as well as his transcription system. However, for clarity's sake, I discuss them separately.

Since the main concern of this thesis is the grammatical notions displayed in Summers' works, this chapter focuses on presenting Summers' own phonological and orthographic systems without going too deeply into the details of his sources and influences.

10.1 Summers and the Romanization of the Chinese language

Summers wished to Romanize the Chinese language. One of the reasons for this was his negative attitude towards Chinese characters, although he admired the effectiveness of creating new compound characters by combining several elementary ones (1863a, p. xix).[327] His main objections against the use of the Chinese script can be summed up as follows.

First, Chinese characters are not able to record the language sufficiently. He claimed that Chinese characters do not correspond to sounds, and therefore impede analysing "sounds into their elements and articulations" (1863d, p. 113). Besides, Chinese characters are rarely used to record the varieties of the Chinese language. Some "syllables" of the vernaculars, such as expletives, have no corresponding character (1853a, p. 30; 1863d, p. 115).

Second, Chinese characters are rather difficult to master not only for foreigners but also for native speakers. They require long tuition and are therefore not an efficient tool (1853a, p. 30; 1853b, Preface, p. iv). Summers especially complained about how difficult in teaching literacy Chinese characters are for "a man of letters in Europe" to read and write:

> We can easily conceive how slow and how tedious his operations would become, and how these roundabout expedients would tend to

[327] Summers' calligraphy, however, was very good. One of Summers' students, Parker, commended his Chinese calligraphy as the best among all the Europeans he had ever seen (1902, p. 207). Luckily, Summers left some calligraphy works behind. In his cover letter that he submitted to King's college London (22 November 1852), Summers enclosed a list of the titles of several Chinese books, written by hand.

> cramp his mental energies, and produce a lethargic condition of intellect. The rapid processes of the brain would evaporate while their expression was dragging its slow length along in hieroglyphics, or something quite as bad. (1863d, p. 112)

This critique is not only an expression of a private exasperation of his earlier experience of learning characters, but also an argument for the superiority of Romanized writing system over others concerning Chinese. He recommended to "[l]et the Chinese and Japanese retain their crooked characters as a literary curiosity, but for practical purposes and popular use the Roman alphabet surpasses both" (1863f, p. 204) and hoping that one day, even Chinese and Japanese would employ the Roman scripts (1868, p. 18). In fact, in the journal *The Chinese Repository*, one of Summers' sources of reference, some articles were published to criticize the flaws of the Chinese characters, which were very similar to Summers' comments. For example, it is claimed that the pronunciation of Chinese is concealed by the characters and that therefore students always need a teacher to guide them through (Bridgman 1834, p. 3). Also, learning Chinese characters is difficult and time-consuming, even for the Chinese people themselves (Dyer 1835, p. 168).

Transcribing the Chinese language with Roman letters, by contrast, was not only necessary but also feasible, according to Summers. Firstly, in colloquial Chinese, not too many homophonic words can be found since, Summers explained, colloquial Chinese, including Mandarin and all other vernaculars, is not monosyllabic (at the level of the word, cf. Chapter 4). Therefore, it can be rendered with Romanized transcription without causing ambiguity. Secondly, transcribing the Chinese language with Roman letters is a much more precise way than the method of *fǎnqiè* 反切, Summers argued. Roman letters render every sound so that students can command the details of pronunciation through aural and visual signs (1863d, p. 113; 1863a, p. 225).

The *fǎnqiè* method deserves more explanation here. Chinese phonology was established when the method *fǎnqiè* 反切 was invented (Gōng Qiānyán 1997, p. 3). *Fǎnqiè* is a way of transcribing Chinese characters. At the end of Han dynasty, the introduction of Sanskrit transcriptions inspired the invention of *fǎnqiè* (Hé Jiǔyíng 1995, p. 94). Summers introduced *fǎnqiè*–here spelled *fàn-tsĕ*–in his *Handbook*:

> The Chinese divide the syllable into two parts, the initial and the final; and they define the pronunciation of characters by a process called *fàn-tsĕ* 反切 'to cut off in opposite directions;' thus the initial of the syllable

> *ke* may be taken and the final of the syllable *mung*, and they together constitute the syllable *kung*. (1863a, p. 4)

It is obvious that Summers understood the concept, yet forgot to mention the tones.

Thirdly, there are certain regular correspondences between the articulation of different varieties of the Chinese language. The application of one universal Romanized transcription system would help to present and distinguish the differences and correspondences between the varieties of the Chinese language (1863a, pp. xxiii–xxiv).[328] Hence, Summers not only hoped to Romanize Mandarin Chinese, but also to devise or adopt a universal system in order to transcribe all varieties of the Chinese language, and even the other Asian languages (Summers 1863d, pp. 112–124), which was also an idea raised in *The Chinese Repository* (Williams 1836, p. 22) and among scholars in the mid-nineteenth century (Klöter 2006, p. 88).

In Summers' time, a Romanization system that was used universally did not exist (Summers 1853a, p. 20), although in 1868, there were two favoured Romanization systems in China: Wade's system of the Peking dialect used in the ports and Williams' transcription of Cantonese used in areas like Canton and Hong Kong (Summers 1868, p. 6). Establishing a system like this had become one of Summers' academic goals. He also recommended for a Romanized system of the Chinese language that could be employed by both European and Chinese learners (Summers 1853a, p. 211). In fact, his system reached these goals to some extent: he applied his own Romanization system to transcribe Mandarin in the *Handbook* and *Rudiments*. While listing the possible diphthongs in his *Handbook*, Summers often made remarks like "Shanghai D." or "Canton D." to indicate that such diphthongs do not exist in Mandarin but in the respective dialects instead (1863a, p. 3). He employed the same system to transcribe Shanghainese in his *Gospel* and Cantonese in his *Repository*. His Romanization system was used by him and his students. Moreover, his translation of the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostle's Creed* to Cantonese with his Romanization system was tailor-made for Chinese coolies in British Guyana (1863d, p. 115).

The above examples also show that Summers' intention to render the Chinese language with the Roman alphabet reflected the Protestant educational principles, although Summers was no longer a missionary when he compiled these works. As stated by Heylen (2001, p. 150), missionaries from different denominations had different purposes when using the Roman transcription: Roman Catholic missionaries learned the Chinese characters and languages with the aid of the alphabetic scripts, while Protestant missionaries "began preparing a whole range

[328] Marshman is the first European scholar who tried to conduct such research (Branner 1997, p. 248).

of literature" with Roman scripts in order to preach their religion and to educate the Chinese people.

10.1.1 Summers' orthographic rules

Summers contended that it is not enough to only employ Roman letters to transcribe Chinese. Some "marks" are needed to designate the tones and other features of Chinese (1853a, p. 21). Hence, his system consists of two parts: Roman letters and diacritics, including the spiritus asper <‘> after the consonant for marking aspiration, for example in *t‘ā*. Summers also briefly mentioned placing an <h> after the consonants to indicate the aspiration, for example, *thien* (1863a, p. 4). However, the first option is the one Summers used in his works. This diacritic was adopted from Williams, who applied the spiritus asper to indicate aspiration (Branner 1997, pp. 250–251).

For marking tones, Summers claimed that he followed the Jesuit tradition and applied eight diacritics (1863a, p. 7; 1853a, p. 23). The five tones in Nanjing Mandarin in his *Handbook* are rendered as a macron <¯> for the "upper even tone" (*shàng-p‘îng-shīng* 上平聲), a circumflex accent <^> for the "lower even tone" (*Hiá-p‘îng-shīng* 下平聲), a grave accent <`> for the "upper rising tone" (*shàng-shàng-shīng* 上上聲), an acute accent <´> for the "upper descending tone" (*shàng-k‘ŭ-shīng* 上去聲) and a breve <˘> for the "upper entering tone" (*shàng-jĭ-shīng* 上入聲) respectively (1863a, p. 7). The signs were indeed adopted from the Jesuit Trigault's *Xīrú ěrmù zī* (西儒耳目資 *An Aid to the Ear and the Eye of Western Scholars*, 1626); however, of all the works that Summers referred to, Varo's grammar (1703) is the first publication that employed this set of signs to mark Chinese tones (Coblin and Levi 2000, Editor's foreword, pp. xiv–xvi). Summers called these diacritics "tone-accents" and said that they should be placed on top of each syllable to designate the tone of the entire syllable (1853b, Introduction, p. iv). This indicates that Summers considered tones as an attribute of syllables, not of vowels, i.e., they are suprasegmental, although in practice, he still placed them on top of the vowels. In fact, although Summers did not express the rule, he always placed tonal markers on top of the last vocalic sign in the syllable, such as *kiá and sź*.[329] Summers' transcription of the tones for Mandarin is the same as, and was most probably adopted from, Morrison (1815a), including the tonal markers and the position of the markers in the syllable.

[329] For the nature of <z>, see 2.2.

The basic principle of his orthography is, except for rare cases (for example, <i>, see Section 10.2), that each Roman letter should represent one "value" consistently and uniformly, as proposed by William Johns (1746–1794) and Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884, Summers 1863a, p. xii). Johns pointed out the necessity of a consistent and universal system of transliteration while transcribing Asian names of people and places with Roman letters in 1788 (Cannon 1998, p. 137). Lepsius shared his idea and argued that while transcribing non-European languages, each sound should be transcribed by a specific symbol and every modification needs to be marked by a certain diacritic (Solleveld 2020, p. 194).

Lepsius' idea and system were supported by the Church Missionary Society as early as 1845 (Solleveld 2020, p. 195). This is another reason why Summers followed Lepsius' suggestion, apart from approving of his ideas. Summers had a history with, and an emotional connection to, the Church Missionary Society. His old friends and benefactors who recommended him for the position at King's College London, Rev. Stanton and Smith, were all members of the society (cf. Chapter 1). In his *Lecture* (p. 20), Summers argued that he adopted the orthographic system, recommended by Rev. Henry Venn (1796–1873) of the Church Missionary Society. Therefore, Summers took the general suggestions of the Church Missionary Society as the doctrine of his own transcribing system. Regardless, some details differ, as shown later in this chapter.

Based on this principle, Summers argued that English orthography, especially for vowels, is not ideal for his transcription system because of the irregularity of the correspondence between the "letters" and their "values" (1863d, p. 122; 1863a, p. xii). This explains why Summers also gave German and French examples alongside the English ones when explaining the pronunciation of each symbol. The English consonant system, however, was suitable for transcribing Chinese, as stated by Summers. For example, in *Gospel* (1853b, Introduction, pp. ii–iii) and *Handbook* (1863a, p. 3), most of the examples of the "value" of the consonants are shown in English words. Summers stated that the Italian and German orthographies are the ideal ones (1853b, Introduction, p. ii), but he did not give any examples of Italian (there is no evidence showing that he spoke Italian). The notion that the Italian orthographic system, especially that of the vowels, was suitable for transcribing a non-European language like Chinese can be traced back to Venn (1848, p. 2) and can be found in *The Chinese Repository* (Williams 1836, p. 23; 1838, p. 480). Summers' transcription of the vowels and consonants is very similar to that in *The Chinese Repository* (compared to Williams 1842b, pp. 28–44).[330]

[330] Williams' system is based on Jones' orthography with some modifications (Klöter 2006, p. 89).

Summers himself was a Chinese teacher and, at the same time, a publisher. For didactic and practical reasons, the "applicability" principle of transcribing the Chinese language weighed a lot in his works.[331] To be useful and simple for European beginners was the goal of his transcription system. The proposed Romanized system should be a system that is familiar to Europeans, "without any modern inventions" and borrowing as little as possible from other alphabetic systems (1864f, p. 442) to cater for the needs of students who are used to the alphabetic systems. This also explains why Summers did not fully adopt the transcription system proposed by Williams in *The Chinese Repository* with nine complicated diacritics (cf. Klöter 2006, p. 90). Only two of the diacritics of Williams were employed by Summers in his works: the abovementioned aspiration marker spiritus asper and the marker of nasal vowels, i.e., superscript <n>. The latter can be seen in Summers *Gospel* (for example, 1853b, p. 1) for the rendering of Shanghainese.

There are some interesting minor conventions in Summers' orthography. For example, in his *Handbook*, *u* is rendered as <w> and *i* as <y> when standing at the beginning of a syllable, such as <wai> and <ya> in the "Table of the syllables in the *Kwān-hwá*" (1863a, p. 5). Summers added more such conventions in his *Rudiments*; *ui* for example can be rendered as <wi> (p. 9). The unstated rule is that medial *u* is always rendered as <w>, just as the abovementioned example *Kwān-hwá*, [332] whereas the medial *i* is rendered consistently everywhere except as <y> in his *Gospel*. This is where examples like <kyo̤> are found.

10.1.2 Some changes in Summers' orthography in his Gospel and Handbook

What needs further clarification is that Summers' orthography in his *Gospel* and *Handbook* differ in three overt aspects.

Firstly, in *Gospel*, Summers also included <zh>, whose value is similar to *si* in *vision* as one of the consonants (1853b, p. iii), and in Summers' time, its value was [ʒ] (Prins 1972, p. 231). However, this sign never appeared in any actual examples of Chinese syllables in his works, which suggests that this consonant does not exist in Chinese, or at least, not in Mandarin, Shanghainese, Cantonese or any other variety of the Chinese language that Summers ever transcribed, or that this sign <zh> was abandoned by Summers in his later works. In fact, [ʒ] is transcribed as <j> in his *Handbook* (see Section 10.2), and this script appeared repeatedly in *Handbook* and *Rudiments*. In his *Gospel*, the same script <j> is pronounced as *j* in *jaw* (1853b,

[331] About "applicability", see Klöter (2006).
[332] More examples will be given in Section 10.2.

p. iii), whose value was [dʒ] in Summers' time (Prins 1972, p. 228), and no examples of syllables with <j> can be found in *Gospel*. Summers later claimed that <dj> stands for the English <j> (1863a, p. 3), which never appeared in any Chinese syllables that Summers transcribed either. Figure 11 shows the confusing relationship between the two values and two scripts in *Gospel* and *Handbook*:

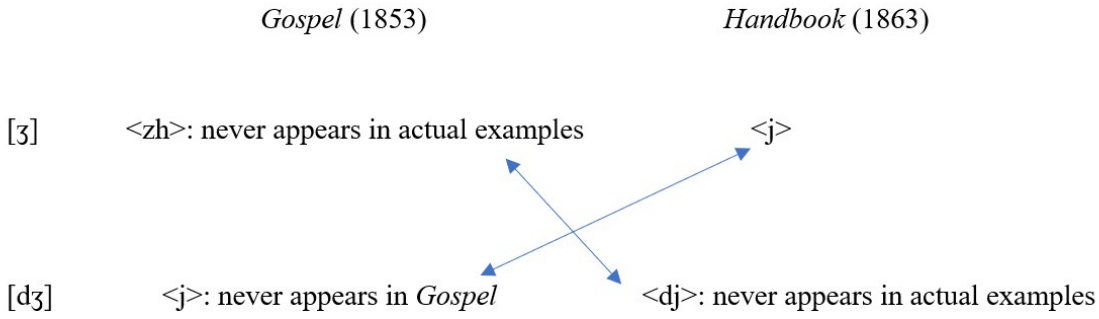

Figure 11: [ʒ] and [dʒ]

As shown in Figure 11, the corresponding relationship between the vertexes of each diagonal are easily noticeable. This should not be seen as a simple typo in his systems, but rather serve as an example of a shift in his orthography, i.e., in his *Handbook*, <j> is employed for [ʒ] whereas <zh> was abandoned. Besides, consonant [dʒ] does not exist in all the varieties of Chinese that Summers transcribed.

Secondly, in *Gospel*, when syllables start with <ü> or <ö>, these two vowels must be rendered as <Ue> and <Oe> (1853b, p. iv). This rule was abandoned in *Handbook*. <Ö>, as stated by Summers, does not exist in Mandarin, while <yü> stands for *ü* when there is no initial consonant in the syllable (1863a, p. 5).

Thirdly, his transcription of the apical vowel (i.e., the buzzing final) also changed (see 10.2.2).

10.1.3 Phonetic or phonemic?

In this section, I do not intend to claim that Summers aimed for a phonemic orthographic system, due to the fact that the phonemic principles of orthographies were not circulated until the 1940s, and the theoretical foundation of such a system was not laid before the late nineteenth century (Klöter 2005, pp. 127–129). However, Summers raised an intriguing point, which is cited here:

> 正 *ching* or *cheng*, 真 *chin* or *chen*, are equally good spellings in each case. It is therefore ridiculous to contend about shades of pronunciation that are almost imperceptible from their very nature, and are unnoticed by the natives themselves.
>
> These few remarks are merely intended as a friendly warning to the beginner not to be led astray by science, falsely so called, which affects a fastidious taste and does not lead to the truth in the end. By confining the system of orthography within bounds, a thoroughly correct pronunciation will be cultivated, while a simple system of spelling will be instituted. (1868, p. 5)

Discussing one of the examples *cheng* and *ching*, he noted that *ching* in southern Mandarin becomes *cheng* in Peking dialect, adding that "the difference however is hardly perceptible to a native" (1863a, Appendix V, p. 227). Practice always weighs more than theories in Summers' mind. He pointed out that an orthographic system should not pursue absolute correctness in order to pinpoint every single nuance and create new symbols for each of them, since they sometimes mean the same to native speakers, which reveals another pedagogical aspect of Summers' works.

10.2 Summers and Chinese phonology

Summers tried to explain the pronunciation of each vowel and consonant through the analogy of articulations in English, German, and French. In this section, I render his Chinese vowel and consonant system, mainly for Mandarin, in modern IPA, primarily according to his *Handbook*. The value of each symbol is based on Summers' English, German, or French examples, especially those in English and how they were pronounced in his time.[333] In the inventory, (G) represents German and (F) French. English examples are not marked, following the conventions Summers himself used (1863a, pp. 1–3; 1864a, p. 10). The example characters and their transcription are from his *Handbook*, unless otherwise indicated.

10.2.1 Chinese vowels

Summers listed nine simple vowels, among which, seven are further divided into long and short versions (except for <o̤> and <ö>). The short vowels were marked with a breve <˘> on top. The breve, as stated above, was also used to mark the entering tone by Summers. For him, most

[333] The method is adopted from Coblin (2003).

of the short vowels were long vowels affected by the entering tone, which explains why the breve had a dual function (1863a, p. 2). Employing the breve for marking both the entering tone and a short vowel is a special feature of Morrison's Romanization system (Coblin 2003, p. 346), which was likewise adopted by Summers. The difference between the "short" and "long" vowels will not be presented in the following inventory, following Summers' own arrangement.

Summers argued that there are three fundamental vowels, namely <a>, <i> and <u>. Other single vowels or diphthongs are derived from them (1863a, pp. 1–2).[334] He stated that these vowels should be pronounced as in German and Italian, which is identical to how Lepsius illustrated the basic vowels in his work (1863 [1855], p. 46). Summers further claimed that there are no "accumulations of vowels" (1864a, p. 1), and that each vowel has to be separately pronounced "open" and "in full", even if they are transcribed with two letters (1853b, Introduction, p. iii). Although Summers mentioned the term "diphthong" in his works as "those sounds formed by the combination of two primary vowels" (1863a, p. xxiii), for him, the Chinese "diphthongs" have to be pronounced separately as if they were marked by diaeresis. This becomes one rule that I apply when rendering Summers' diphthongs with IPA. Below,

[334] This belongs to one of the trends in the nineteenth-century-sound laws. In the area of phonetics, some rules about the historical development of the European languages were formulated at that time, such as the famous Germanic and High German sound shifts or Grimm's Law (Koerner 1990, p. 7; Robins 1997, p. 191; Burridge 2013, p. 151). In Summers' journal *The Phoenix*, Joseph Edkins (1823–1905) published a paper, claiming that the development of the Chinese language obeys Grimm's Law as well. He also suggested taking East Asian languages into account in order to perfect Grimm's Law (Edkins 1872, pp. 68–69).

Grimm and other linguists like August Schleicher stated that *a*, *i* and *u* are three basic vowels in the beginning stage of every language (Jankowsky 2001, pp. 1332–1333). This notion anticipated Summers' elaboration of the Chinese vowels: "There are three primary vowel sounds, *a*, *i*, *u*, and from these the other vowels and the diphthongs spring (1863a, p. 1)" and "*Ai* and *au* are modified into *e* and *o*, pronounced *ay* and *o*" (1864a, p. 9). In fact, he recommended Grimm's *Geschite der deutschen Sprache* (1853 [1848]), Becker's *Organism der Sprache* and Humboldt's *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java* (1836, 1838, 1839) to the students on this topic. However, Grimm and Humboldt's works did not contribute to Summers' research on Chinese grammar. Summers even drew a triangular diagram to show the relationship between these three vowels and the other vowels (1863a, p. 1), which was a typical way to present the interrelation between vowels in the mid-nineteenth century (Kemp 2001, p. 1469). Summers placed *a*, *i*, *u* at the vertexes of the triangle, while the diphthongs and other vowels, which can be "produced" (p. 1) by uniting the two vowels at the vertexes, were placed on the edges:

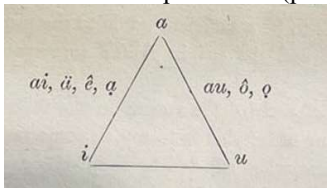

Figure 13: The vowel triangle by Summers (Leiden University Libraries 3 8691 G 16)

Appendix V. in Summers' *Handbook* (pp. 225–229) compares the system of vowels and consonants in Mandarin, Cantonese and other varieties of Chinese: "[t]he regular changes which we find in European languages occur in Chinese […]. These principal changes serve to show the uniformity that exists in Chinese dialects; the diversity being always in accordance with some well established [sic] law of euphonic change (pp. 226–228)". This suggests that, for Summers, rules discovered for European languages might also apply to the varieties of the Chinese language.

vowels in Summers' works (with a focus on his *Handbook*) are summarized and presented according to the first vowel of the diphthong (either the medial or the main vowel) by me.

(1) <i> ([i] or muted after <ch> or <sh>, see Section 10.2.2), <ie>, <ien>, <ia>, <iau>, <iai>, <io>, <iu>, <iun>, <iuen>, <iung>, <in>, <ing>, <iang>

Examples: *nì* 你, *siè* 寫, *tién* 店, *kiá* 架, *k'iaù* 巧, *kiaī* 皆, *h'iò* 曉, *yiū* 憂, *kiūn* 軍, *kiuén* 卷, *hiūng* 兄, *yīn* 音, *yíng* 應, *liàng* 兩

Summers stated that <i> is just like *ee* in English (1863a, p. 1), which was pronounced [i:] in Summers' time (Prins 1972, p. 122). Its value is interpreted here as [i]. For <io>, Summers stated that this vowel does not exist in Mandarin but only in Shanghainese. In his Gospel, *h'ió* could serve as an example of this diphthong, and the word it forms is *h'iò-tă* (1853b, p. 5, 48). In the vocabulary Summers provided at the end of this book, *h'iò-tă* is not included, but "*Hyo̤-tă* to understand" is listed (1853b, Vocabulary of the first two chapters, p. 2). According to the context and the Chinese translation, this word should be 曉得 'to know'. Summers, however, did not claim that the *i* stands as <y> (except when it is at the very beginning of a syllable) or *io̤* as <io> orthographically. The aspirations of the initials are also different based on his script. Moreover, a very similar *h'io̤-tă* can be found in the work (1853b, p. 5). However, in his *Handbook*, he also gave some examples of <io> in Mandarin: *kiŏ* 覺 (p. 159), *kiŏ* 却 (p. 174), *kiŏ* 脚 (p. 191), *kiŏ* 鞠 (p. 204), *kiŏ* 麴 (p. 204), *hiŏ* 學 (p. 168), *tsiŏ* 爵 (p. 177), *liŏ* 略 (p. 188), *niŏ* 虐 (Part II, p. 98, p. 10) and so on. These syllables are all marked with entering tone (or have short vowels). Hence it has to be intentional that the entering tone and <io> co-occur. It shows that, according to Summers, in Mandarin <io> exists but only with the entering tone.

(2) <e> ([e]), <ei>, <eu>, <en>

Examples: *k'ĕ* 客, *meī* 每, *sheù* 手, *yên* 眼

Summers' <e> here should be [e], since he wrote that it sounds like *a* in *lame* (1863a, p. 1). In his time, *a* should already be pronounced as [ei],[335] but in the eighteenth century, it was the monophthong [e:] (Prins 1972, p. 122). Summers claimed that this *e* is "the flattened *a* in *shame*" by "gradually closing and contracting the organs" from <a>. Therefore, based on his abovementioned principles, it is rendered as a monophthong [e] here, instead of the diphthong [ei]. According to the German example *ei* in *sein*, <ei> would have been [ai] in Summers' time

[335] Qián Nǎiróng (2014, p. 3) suggested that it should be the diphthong [ei] based on Summers' *Gospel*. As mentioned, Summers proposed a "universal" transcription system to render all varieties of the Chinese language and the value of <e> should be the same when he employed it to render Shanghainese and Mandarin. However, I do not adopt Qián's transcription here since it should be a monophthong.

(Wright 1907, p. 61). However, Summers also gave another [ai] as in *aisle*, arguing that "[b]y the union of *a* and *i* the *diphthong ai* is produced, as *ai* in *aisle*" (1863a, p. 1). Therefore, here <ei> is rendered as [ei] based on its simple-vowel component, which is a general rule of Summers' Romanization.

(3) <a> ([a]), <ai> ([ai]), <au> ([au]), <an>, <ang>

Examples: *mà* 馬, *t'aī* 台, *p'aú* 炮, *fán* 範, *tàng* 等

Summers wrote that <a> is like *a* in *darf* in German and *ah* in English, which was [a] or [a:] in Summers' time (Wright 1907, p. 49; Prins 1972, p. 145). Here [a] is adopted.

(4) <ạ> ([ə]), < ạr>, <ạn>, <ạng>

Examples: *kạ* 個,[336] *ậr* 兒, *sạ̄n* 孫, *kạ̄ng* 更

<ạ> is rendered according to the German example *e* in *haben* in *Handbook* (1863a, p. 3). Wright argued that when *e* is unstressed in New High German, it is pronounced as [ə] (1907, p. 66). Besides, in Summers' introduction, this sound is supposed to be similar to *ir* in *sir*, *er* in *her*, *a* in *organ* and *o* in *son* (1863a, p. 1, p. 3). These English examples were actually cited from linguist Monier Monier-Williams' (1819–1899) work *Original Papers Illustrating the History of the Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India* (1859, p. xii)[337] by Summers (1863d, p. 122). According to Prins (1972, p. 146, p. 150, pp. 154–155), for many instances in Modern English, *ir* and *er* is rendered as [ə]. However, in *o* in *son* or the other example given by Monier-Williams, i.e., *u* in *gun*, the vowels were [ɒ] and [ʌ][338] in Summers' time (Prins 1972, p. 123). Because the English examples that Summers provided do not have the same value, <ạ> is rendered as [ə] based on the assured German example. Summers also mentioned that <ạ> is the <ă> in Morrison's works (1863a, p. 3). Coblin argued, however, that the value of Morrison's <ă> is [æ] (2003, p. 346), which does not really match Summers' description.

(5) <o> ([o]), <oi>, <ọ> ([ɔ])

Example: *kō* 哥, *tsoí* 在, *tsó* 照

Based on Summers' German example *o* in *oder*, <o> is rendered as [o] (Wright 1907, p. 55), whereas <ọ> is [ɔ] since Summers' example is *aw* in *law* and in the time, it was [ɔ] (Prins 1972, p. 123). Summers stated that <ọ> does not exist in Mandarin but that it does in Cantonese and

[336] This syllable appeared in the *Gospel* (1853b, Vocabulary, p. 2) with the function "sign of the possessive case". The character is added by me.

[337] In this book, Williams also argued that English orthography should not be adopted for Romanizing the Indian languages, due to its "irregular and systemless" features (Monier-Williams 1859, pp. xi–xii).

[338] In fact, Qián Nǎiróng (2014, p. 3) interpreted it as [ʌ].

Shanghainese. The example *tsó̤* is from Shanghainese in *Gospel* and the character is added by me. Summers also mentioned that the value of <o> in his works is the same as <o> in Morrison's (1863a, p. 3). The latter is rendered as [ɔ] by Coblin (2003, p. 351), which indeed corresponds to the value of <o̤> in Summers' work.[339]

Summers stated that the vowel <oi> does not exist in Mandarin but in Cantonese, *tsoí* is identified from Summers' transcription of the *Lord's Prayer* and *Apostle's Creed* in Cantonese (1863d, Vol. I, p. 115) and the character is added by me because Summers did not provide any Chinese characters in these two texts.

(6) <u> ([u]), <wa>, <wai>, <wan>, <wang>, <wo>, <wei>, <ui>, <wui>, <uen>, <wüi>, <ung>

Example: *fū* 夫, *hwá* 話, *kw'ái* 快, *twán* 端, *ch'wāng* 窗, *kwó* 過, *kweí* 桂, *tusí* 罪, *shwuì* 水, *ch'uên* 船, *hwüí* 會, *sūng* 松

The value of <u>, as stated by Summers, is that of *oo* in English, which was [u:] in word-final positions in his time (Coblin 2003, p. 351). Hence, <u> is rendered as [u] here.

Summers stated that <ui> does not exist in Mandarin; in Cantonese, however, <wui> does. The example of <ui>, therefore, is chosen from his transcription of the *Lord's Prayer* in Cantonese (1863d, p. 115). I added the character 罪 for clarification.

(7) <ü> ([y]), <üi>

Example: *nǜ* 女, *tsüí* 醉

According to Summers, the value <ü> was as *ü* in *Mühe* (G). At the time, *ü* showed no difference from today's *ü* in German (Wright 1907, p. 55), which is rendered here as [y] in IPA. However, Wright also wrote that the value of <üi> is as *eu* in *Beute* (G), which is [oi] like Summers' transcription of <oi>; instead the alternative combination of [y] and [i] (Wright 1907, pp. 59–60). Summers also wrote that Morrison's transcription for his <ui> and <üi> is the same <uy> (1863a, p. 3), and Coblin interpreted <uy> in Morrison's works as [ʊi] (2003, p. 350). Apparently, Summers considered <ui> different from <üi>. In this case, I interpret his <üi> as [yi] by applying his general rule of the diphthongs in Chinese, i.e., each vowel in a diphthong has to be pronounced individually and separately.

(8) <ö> ([ø])

Example: *kȫn* 'to see'看 (1853b, p. ix)

[339] Qián Nǎiróng (2014, p. 3) rendered <o̤> as [aw] and <o> as [ou], which are not adopted in this dissertation, since they do not correspond to the English or German examples that Summers provided.

Two corresponding examples were given by Summers: *ö* in *Löwe* (G) and *œu* in *sœur* (F). They had the same sound [ø] at that time (Wright 1907, p. 55; Pope 1952, p. 284; Coblin 2003, p. 349). Summers stated that this vowel exists in Shanghainese, but not in Mandarin. The example *kön* is from Shanghainese in *Gospel* (1853a, p. ix), to which I added the character because he did not provide any characters.

Summers' ideas about apical vowels are presented in Section 10.2.2.

10.2.2 Chinese consonants

Table 2 presents an inventory of twenty-nine consonants as found in Summers' *Handbook*, including twenty-six single consonants, two approximants and a special case of <r>.

Table 2: Consonants in Summers' works

Summers' transcription	IPA transcription	Analogy in European languages	Chinese examples	remarks
<b>	[b][340]	/	*bâng* 棚 (1853b, p. 46)[341]	Summers stated that <b> exists in Shanghainese and Southern Mĭn language, but not in Mandarin.
<ch> & <ch'>	[tʃ] (Prins 1972, p. 228) & [tʃʰ]	*ch* in *hatch*	*Cheū* 周 & *ch'ŭ* 出	
<d>	[d][342]	/	*-dậ* -頭 (1853b, p. xii)	Summers stated that this consonant exists in Shanghainese and the Ningpo

[340] Summers stated that it should be pronounced as the English <b> (1863a, p. 3), whose value was [b] at Summers' time (Prins 1972, p. 227).
[341] Character added by me.
[342] Summers stated that it should be pronounced as the English <d> (1863a, p. 3), whose value was [d] at his time (Prins 1972, p. 227).

				dialect, but not in Mandarin.
<f>	[f] (Prins 1972, p. 230)	*f* in *fit*	*fū* 夫	
<g>	[g] (Prins 1972, p. 227)	*g* in *good*	*gaú* 傲	
<h>	[h] (Prins 1972, p. 233)	*h* in *heart*	*haú* 好	Summers argued that "before *i* and *ü* it is a strong aspiration, nearly *sh*" (1863a, p. 3).
<j>	[ʒ] (Prins 1972, p. 233)	*z* in *azure*	*jû* 汝	
<k> & <k‘>	[k] (Prins 1972, p. 226) & [k^h]	*k* in *king*	*kw‘ái* 快 & *k‘ě* 客	Summers argued that when <k> is followed by <i>, it is pronounced similar to <chi> and <ci> (1864a, p. 11).
<l>	[l] (Prins 1972, p. 229)	*l* in *line*	*leū* 樓	
<m>	[m] (Prins 1972, p. 228)	*m* in *mine*	*maú* 帽	
<n>	[n] (Prins 1972, p. 228)	*n* in *nine*	*nù* 女 & *pàn* 板	
<p> & <p‘>	[p] (Prins 1972, p. 226) & [p^h]	*p* in *pine*	*pàn* 板 & *p’îng* 平	

<s>	[s] (Prins 1972, p. 230)	*s* in *see*	*siaù* 小	
<sh>	[ʃ] (Prins 1972, p. 231)	*sh* in *shine*	*shàng* 上	
<t> & <t‘>	[t] (Prins 1972, p. 226) & [t^h]	*t* in *tiny*	*tō* 多 & *t‘iēn* 天	
<v>	[v] (Prins 1972, p. 230)	*v* in *vine*	*và* 哇[343] (1853b, p. 7)	Summers stated that this consonant exists in Shanghainese and the Ningpo dialect, but not in Mandarin.
<ts> & <ts‘>	[ts] & [ts^h]	*ts* in *wits*	*tsiŏ* 爵 & *ts‘àu* 早	
<sz>	[sz]	/	*szé* 事	In the “Table of the syllables in the *Kwān-hwá*”, there are only <sz> and <tsz>, without <z>.
<tsz> & <ts‘z>	[tsz] & [ts^hz]	/	*tszé* 子 & *ts‘zé* 賜	
<ng>	[ŋg]	*ng* in *anger*	*ngò* 我 & *yâng* 陽	
<w>	[w] (Prins 1972, p. 233)	*w* in *way*, or *v* in *vine*	*waí* 外	In Summers’ transcription, <w> stands for <u> at the beginning of a syllable.

[343] Interrogative pronoun, character added by me.

<y>	[j] (Prins 1972, p. 233)	*y* in *you*	*yâng* 陽	
<r>	[r]	*r* in *run*	*ậr* 兒	

In Chinese, Summers argued, there are no consonant clusters. Even those transcribed with two letters are not considered to be clusters as such, for example, the initial consonants <ch>, <sh>, <ts> and the final nasal consonant <ng> (1864a, p. 1). They are single consonants as well. Therefore, the twelve "clusters" with <w>, mentioned in Summers' own table of consonants (1863a, p. 3) are considered to be combinations of consonants and a vowel <u> (or an approximate etc., but not a consonant). Table 3 is a list of these combinations.

Table 3: The combination of consonants and <w>

Summers' transcription	IPA transcription	Analogy in European languages	Chinese examples
<chw> & <ch'w>	[tʃw][344] & [tʃʰw]	*chw* in *hatchway*	*chwâng* 壯 & *ch'wāng* 窗
<kw> & <k'w>	[kw] & [kʰw]	*qu* in *queen*	*kwŏ* 國 & *k'weí* 塊
<lw>	[lw]	*lw* in *bulwark*	*lwán* 亂
<mw>	[mw]	*mw* in *homeward*	*mwán* 滿
<nw>	[nw]	*nw* in *inward*	*nwân* 暖
<sw>	[sw]	*sw* in *swain*	*swán* 算
<shw>	[ʃw]	*shw* in *a rash wish*	*shwŏ* 說
<ju>/<jw>	[ʒw]	*j* in *jouir* (F)	*jwàn* 軟
<tw> [345]	[tw]	*tw* in *twist*	*twàn* 短
<tsw>[346]	[tsw]	*tsw* in *Cotswold*	*tswàn* 纂

Summers noted a difference between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. He employed the spiritus asper <'> to designate aspirated consonants, but he did not include the aspirated consonants in his table of the syllables: "[i]n the Mandarin or Court dialect…there are four hundred and ten syllables, besides those with aspirates, as *thien* or *t'ien*" (1863a, p. 4), although aspiration is actually used to distinguish the meaning (1863a, p. 8). This shows that he considered the two corresponding consonants as a pair and that aspiration is only an additional

[344] Clusters are all rendered by combining their components here.
[345] No syllable with <t'w> is found in Summers' works.
[346] No syllable with <ts'w> is found in Summers' works.

feature that does not need an extra letter in the transcription. In Table 2, the aspirated consonants are listed next to their unaspirated correspondences. The term "aspiration" not only referred to a distinct feature of a pair of consonants by Summers, but also to the natural characteristic of some consonants. For example, Summers wrote: "[w]hen the letter *h* is used it will be understood to be a very strong aspiration; thus, *haì* 海 'the sea' is pronounced as if written with the German guttural *ch*, *chaì*" (1863a, p. 8). Meanwhile, he gave very confusing examples of *h'wá* 畫 'to sketch' (1863a, p. 43), *h'ì* 喜 (1863a, p. 70), *h'ŏ* 渴 (1863a, p. 198) and *h'aī* 開 (1864a, p. 99) with <h> and the spiritus asper. However, he rendered the same characters differently elsewhere, such as *hwā* 畫 (1863a, p. 113), *hwá* 畫 (1864a, p. 131), *hì* 喜 (1863a, p. 81), *k'ŏ* 渴 (1864a, p. 150) and *k'aī* 開 (1863a, p. 8). Hence, <h'> is a discrepancy in Summers' work, so it should not be included in his transcription of Mandarin.

In his *Gospel*, Summers argued that <'> and <h'> are used to mark "different degrees of aspiration" (p. iii), and there are examples with <h'> in the text. In *Gospel*, no other consonants are placed together with <h> or <h'> to denote aspiration, but only with the spiritus asper <'>. Therefore, the spiritus asper marks the distinctive feature of aspiration for the consonants, a function that <h> or <h'> do not have based on Summers' orthography. There are examples with both initials <h> and <h'>, which suggests that these are two different consonants in Shanghainese. Jiāng Ēnzhī (2011, p. 46) mentioned that in later Shanghainese, there are three glottal consonants, i.e., [ʔ], [ɦ] and [h]. Unfortunately, Summers did not explain the differences any further. It seems that <h'> stands for the strong aspirated consonant, either a voiced fricative [ɦ] or voiceless fricative [h], and <h> for the less strongly aspirated glottal stop [ʔ]. In this case, his transcription of [h] in *Gospel* and *Handbook* are different, i.e., <h'> and <h> respectively.

The abovementioned special case of <r> is also worth noting. According to Prins, in Summers' time, <r> could be either [ɹ] or [ə (r)] in English (1972, p. 229). In Summers' *Handbook*, this consonant never occurs initially, but always follows <e̊>, forming the syllable *e̊r* 兒. Since the value of <e̊> is [ə], the value of <r> is interpreted as [r] in Table 2.

According to Summers, the structure of syllables in Mandarin is V, CV or CVC. The final consonants of the last type can only be the nasal <n> or <ng> in Mandarin (1853a, p. 19; 1863a, p. 4; 1864a, p. 1), which can also occur word initially.[347] In Cantonese and Hakka, <k>, <p>

[347] In his *Handbook*, Summers could not decide how to render 愛: sometimes he interpreted it as *gaí* (1863a, p. 118, p. 143, p. 164, p. 192, p. 198, etc.), whereas in other cases it was rendered as *ngaí* (1863a, p. 52, p. 57, p. 67, p. 109 and Part II, p. 28, etc.). No specific patterns are found to explain these differences.

or <t> can serve as final consonants (1863a, p. 226). However, in Summers' table of the Mandarin syllables which are numbered, two of them are without any vowels, namely, 320 <sz> and 372 <tsz>. Furthermore, in his works, <ts'z> also appeared without a vowel. Summers explained that <sz> equivalents to the "hissing sound of" <s> followed by the "buzzing sound of" <z>. The same applies to <tsz> (1863a, p. 3). This idea can at least be traced back to Lepsius: "[i]n the Chinese language, for instance, *z* is used as a vovel [sic] in the roots *sz*, *tsz*" (1863 [1855], footnote, p. 48). However, in his *Gospel*, Summers argued that there is a vowel following <tsz> and it is rendered as a double-*o*- superscript <∞> at the right corner of a consonant, for example, *tsz*$^{\infty}$ (1853b, p. ii). He described it as follows:

> [T]here is a peculiar vowel sound written tsz$^{\infty}$, dz$^{\infty}$, &c. This is pronounced only in part. Rule: Place the lips in the position required for producing the vowel *u* or *oo*, then pronounce the *tsz* or *dz* without moving the lips, but do not enunciate the vowel sound. (1853b, p. ii)

As stated above, the value of <u> and <oo> in Summers' time was [u:], which is a close back rounded vowel. According to his explanation, the lips should be rounded while pronouncing <tsz$^{\infty}$> and the position of the tongue is not affected by <∞> at all. Hence the script with <∞> is not really the transcription of a vowel, but rather a way of pronouncing the preceding consonants. By comparison, Lepsius proposed that there is an "indistinct vowel-sound" which is "inherent in all soft *fricative* consonants", which is why *z* can form syllables without any other vowels in Chinese and is rendered as <z̥> (1863 [1855], p. 48). Furthermore, after consulting Gützlaff, Lepsius concluded that this vowel is derived from the Chinese vowel *u* (1863 [1855], p. 234), which was anticipated by Summers' abovementioned argument in *Gospel*. Summers did not write any scripts for vowels here, not because he believed that vowels are not necessary for a syllable,[348] but because such consonants inherently possess certain features of vowels.[349] This deduction can further explain Summers' argument that in his system, <shi> and <chi> end with a vowel <i>, though this <i> "is not sounded at all" in Beijing Mandarin and Nanjing Mandarin (1863a, p. 39).[350] He did not write any script after the buzzing *z* but an <i> after <ch> [351]and <sh> in his *Handbook*.

[348] It is quite different from the descriptions by Williams in the *Chinese Repository*, who argued that "*sz* […] is combined with a peculiar vowel sound" (1836, p. 26) but later on changed it "to be enunciated by a hissing, not followed by any distinct vowel sound" (1838, p. 485).
[349] Summers did not include such a rounded vowel in Chinese phonology, nor did he consider it as two different vowels, which is different from what has been stated by Jiāng Ēnzhī (2011, p. 47).
[350] Summers' application was mentioned by Schott (1857, p. 8).
[351] And also <ch'> as in *ch'ĭ* 吃 (1863a, p. 76).

While explaining the articulation of the vowels and consonants, Summers used the method of analogy, as mentioned above. His description of them is rather vague, for example, he stated: "*r* in *run*; rather more rolling than the English *r*" (1863a, p. 3).

10.2.3 Chinese tones

"Tones", Summers stated, is the European term for the "modulation(s) of the voice", which is referred to by the Chinese as *shēngyīn* 聲音 'tone-sounds' (1853a, p. 21; 1863a, p. 6). They have the function of differentiating the meaning that the syllables convey (1863a, p. 6). They are not "accents" of emphasising or the "elevated utterance of syllables in words" (1863a, p. 6). Tones are "certain fixed intonations", a property of syllables and they do not change according to the emotions of the speakers or the environment (1864a, pp. 12–13). However, they do vary for the purpose of "euphony" (1863a, p. 6). Although he did not explain this any further, Summers seemed to account for the existence of sandhi.

Summers claimed that there are eight tones in total in Chinese. In its varieties, the number of tones varies. Thus, the eight tones are further divided into a higher and a lower register, each of which have four types, i.e., even, rising, departing and entering tones. [352] In Mandarin, there are five tones, i.e., the upper even tone, the upper rising tone, the upper departing tone, the upper entering tone and the lower even tone, as mentioned above (1853a, p. 23; 1853b, Introduction, pp. iv–v; 1863a, p. 7; 1864a, p. 12).

Summers' analysis of the tones is sometimes attached to that of vowels. Two examples are the following. Firstly, from what has been mentioned above, the tones for Summers are merely a change to the pitch of the syllable. He considered the "entering tone" as a "short abrupt utterance" (1863a, p. 7). The difference in duration is caused by the vowels instead of the tones. That is why he distinguished between short and long vowels as mentioned above. Second, what we call a "neutral tone" is not included in his tonal system. However, he did indicate the feature of the vowel reduction in neutral tonal syllables. This argument was based on the analogy of English, clearly for didactic purposes. He wrote:

> [T]he simple vowels… may be accented or unaccented; in the latter case they are hardly distinguishable from one another […]. [I]n such syllables as *de* in *derive*, *on* in *mason*, *al* in *vocal*, these words might

[352] According to modern research on Chinese phonology, the voiced and unvoiced initial consonants impacted the tones of the syllables and finally split the four tonal categories into a high-pitched register and a low-pitched register which ended up with eight tonal categories in total in Middle Chinese (see Norman 2010 [1988], pp. 52–53).

> be written dŭraiv, mesŭn, vokŭl, and the syllables dŭ, ŭn, ŭl, uttered with the same vowel sound. Hence in unaccented syllables the short vowels are interchangeable. So also in Chinese. (1868, pp. 4–5)

Summers stated that accents are not tones, as mentioned above. For him, it is the vowel that changed or was reduced in the "unaccented" syllable, which has nothing to do with tones at all. In these two examples, Summers touched on the alien "tone"-topic from a familiar "the value of the vowels"-topic. It is both a strategy for himself originating from when he learnt Chinese tones, but it is also a tailored approach for his students with a European linguistic background.

When it comes to pedagogy, Summers argued that learning the tones is important yet difficult for students (1853a, p. 22; 1863a, p. xiii). Summers himself paid a lot of attention to tones when he learnt Chinese (Summers, 22 November 1852) and put a lot of effort into describing how to pronounce tones for his students. Analogies were his most frequently used method. For example, in order to explain the even tone, he cited Shakespeare's work:[353] "The sound or tone of voice in which Richard the Third may be supposed to have shouted, "A horse! a horse!" […] corresponds with the first tone (*p'îng-shīng*) of the Chinese" (1864a, p. 13). He even applied the tonal diacritics and concepts in English sentences so that students could understand the intonation (1863a, pp. 7–8). Sometimes, one can sense some irritation on his part. When trying to explain the second tone (lower rising tone) in Shanghainese, for example, he wrote: "this tone accords precisely with the accent of natives of Scotland, which is impossible to describe" (1853b, p. v).

His basic pedagogy of teaching tones was from the familiar to the unfamiliar, i.e., to start with similar features in English in order to help the students understand the tones gradually. He then asked the students to pronounce tones "with the full force and modulation" and as exaggeratedly as possible. With more practice, especially with native speakers, students would eventually speak in a natural way (1863a, p. xiii).

10.3 Concluding remarks

In early nineteenth century, the general consensus among scholars was that Chinese was difficult, was purely monosyllabic and had to be written with Chinese characters (DeFrancis 1950, p. 18). According to Summers' works, the colloquial Chinese was not monosyllabic, therefore, it was possible to render it with Roman letters, without the ambiguity caused by homophones. This shows the consistency of Summers' logic.

[353] Summers was very familiar with Shakespeare's works. He contributed a lot to the introduction of Shakespeare's works into Japan (cf. Chapter 1).

For Summers, Chinese characters could even be substituted with the Roman alphabet, at least for foreign students, which he indicated in his *Gospel* and his *Rudiments*. The former is a Shanghainese translation of the *Gospel* without a single Chinese character, whereas the latter is a manual for fast learning. However, in his *Handbook*, Chinese characters are valued as an important aspect of learning the Chinese language. The *Handbook* is a textbook about both colloquial and literary Chinese. It aims to provide students with a solid basis of the language. Hence, in Summers' mind, the Roman-alphabet replacement of Chinese scripts is a long-term ideal, not an enforceable reality in the short term. For the purpose of pedagogy, he had the responsibility to teach the students how to learn, recognize, and write Chinese characters correctly. He even gave examples of both handwritten and printed characters to help students in his appendix.

Summers' orthographic system was an adapted version of those developed by Williams and Morrison, and followed general principles found in Lepsuis'. It did not inspire other scholars, including Parker (cf. Branner's summary, 1999, p. 15), Wade (1867), Davis (1870) and Gabelentz (1881, p. 26). Among them, Doolittle (1872, p. I) and Douglas (1904, pp. 6–7) stated clearly that both their works follow Wade's transcription system of Beijing Mandarin.

Part IV. Conclusion

This dissertation aims to provide a systematic analysis of James Summers' research regarding the Chinese language, with a focus on grammar, and identify the sources and influences of his ideas. In general, Summers' research on the Chinese language mirrors the thoughts of his precursors. However, his research did not receive a lot of attention from his successors.

1. Summers' terminology

Many of the terms employed by Summers, such as "case", "tense" and "participle", originated in the Greco-Latin grammatical tradition. Some of them were from sinological works on Chinese, while others were adopted from research on other languages. For example, many syntactic terms were adopted from Morell's monograph on English syntax (1852, 1853). Some of the linguistic terms are still in use today, but by Summers, they were employed as part of the common language. The term "word" is a good example of this. Appendix 3 is an inventory of "terms" Summers employed in his works.

Summers also briefly mentioned some Chinese traditional linguistic terms, like "substantial words" and "empty words", though without providing any thorough explanation. More traces of Chinese traditional linguistic thought can be found in Summers' analysis of particles. However, Summers did not mention a single work concerning grammar written by a Chinese scholar; instead, he referred to other publications by European missionaries, such as Edkins' *Grammar of the Shanghai Dialect* (1853, p. 62), in which the Chinese scholar Bi Huazhen's[354] research on "empty words" is introduced. Therefore, instead of gaining direct inspiration from Chinese scholars, Summers appeared to have adopted their ideas from other sinologists.

2. The characteristics of Summers' research on Chinese

After analysing Summers' research on Chinese, hybridism and eclecticism are its outstanding characteristics, which can be explained by and unified under the dominant feature of his works, i.e., a pedagogical orientation.

2.1 Hybridism

Summers was aware of the distinction between literary and vernacular Chinese, but in the majority of his examples and analysis he did not emphasise them, nor did he dedicate different

[354] Qing dynasty, date of birth and death unknown

sections to them in his works.[355] Although the section "Syntax of the particles" in his *Handbook* (1863a, pp. 142–179) appears to be dedicated to particles in literary Chinese, the examples in this section include examples from classical works. Two examples include *Xiào tì yě zhě, qí wéi rén zhī běn yú* 孝悌也者，其為仁之本與 'Filial piety and fraternal love,- these are the sources of benevolence' (1863a, p. 153) from the *Analects* (Old Chinese) and another from vernacular fiction, *Qiě kàn xià huí fēn jiě* 且看下回分解 'Just look at the following chapter for explanation' (1863a, p. 151), whose origin can be traced back to *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* from the fourteenth century (Old Mandarin).[356] His examples of the vernacular Chinese include not only quotations from vernacular novels, but also everyday expressions, like *Tā zài Guǎngdōng bù hǎo* 他在廣東不好 'He was not well in Canton' (1863a, p. 98).

Furthermore, he claimed that his *Handbook* and *Rudiments* reflect the grammar of Mandarin, and amended some examples from Cantonese to illustrate expressions in Mandarin (see the introduction of 1.9 *Arte China* and 1.10 *Esop's Fables* in Appendix 1). Some examples in his *Handbook*, such as the AAB reduplicated pattern of adjectives, reveal features of varieties of the Chinese language other than Mandarin (cf. Chapter 5).

In other words, the essence of Chinese grammar is presented to be the same in Summers' works, no matter the period of time, or the variety of Chinese topolect. This feature is summarized as "hybridism".

2.2 Eclecticism

Summers' research is based on various sources, rather than on one individual work or tradition. This is especially apparent in his transcription system, his morphological research, and his syntactic analysis. His accounts of parts of speech may illustrate this. In fact, Summers presented two parts-of-speech systems in his works. The first is based on the European tradition, in which Chinese words are classified as nouns, verbs and so on (cf. Chapter 6). The second system is an eclectic system with the Chinese system as its outer shell and an inner kernel that conforms to European traditions. This second system subsumes the first system, as shown in Figure 12.

[355] Just like Gabelentz' comment: "[a]lter und neuer Stil sind nicht immer genügend gegeneinander hervorgehoben, während doch gerade in diesem Buch ein scharfes Auseinander halten Beider geboten schien" (1878, p. 629).
[356] The conclusion is based on the data of Scripta Sinica database (http://hanji.sinica.edu.tw/, Date of access: 18 November 2022).

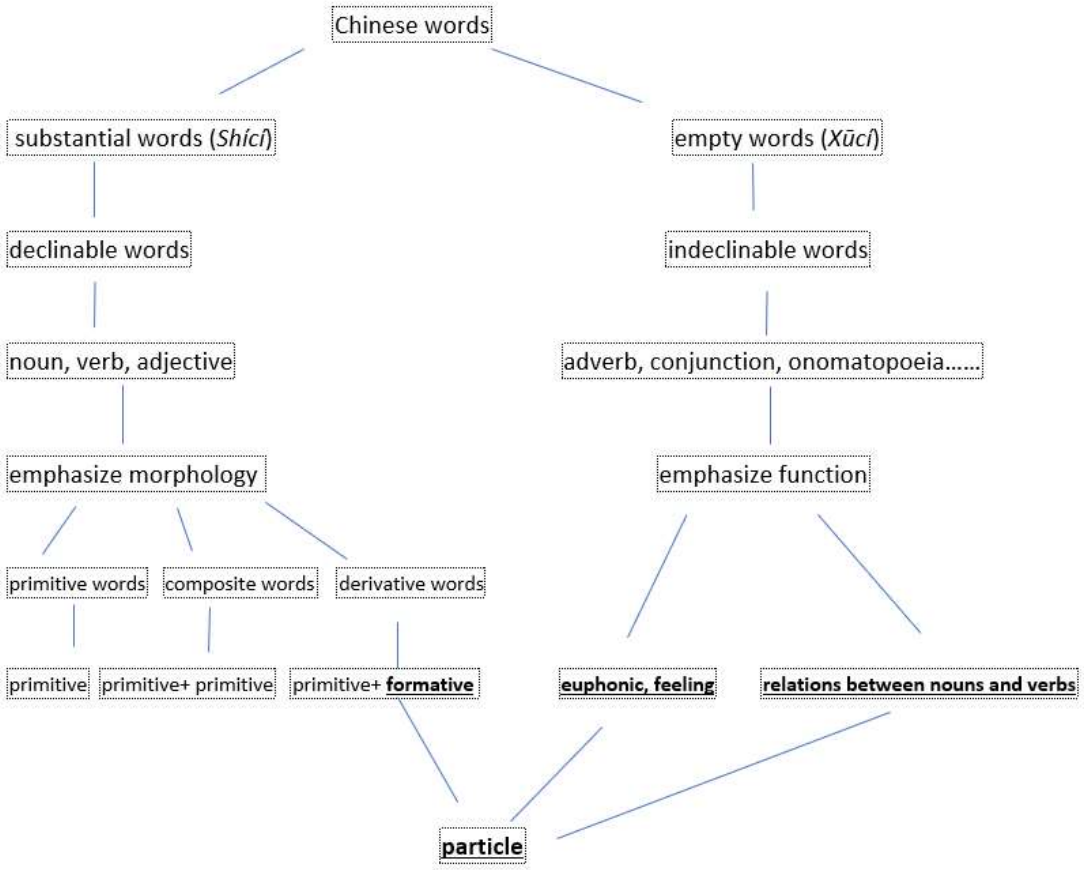

Figure 12: Parts of speech in Summers' works[357]

The terms and concepts of "substantial words" and "empty words" are rooted in Chinese linguistic tradition; however, the criterion of Summers' classification is based on the European tradition. Declinable words in European languages are considered substantial words, and so are their Chinese semantic counterparts, whereas indeclinable ones count as empty words. For the Chinese counterparts of the declinable words, Summers focused on exploring their morphological rules. For the indeclinable words, he emphasised their function.[358]

In general, European linguistic traditions and Chinese language research are both traceable in Summers' research.

2.3 Pedagogical orientation

Hybridism and eclecticism may lead to some contradictions. For instance, Summers stated clearly that Chinese nouns do not have cases, but he applied terms like "ablative" and "genitive" while explaining the relationship between different components in compounds. He also pointed

[357] The bold and underlined items all belong to particles.
[358] Adverbs are a special case here since Summers mentioned some morphology of adverbs, and at the same time classified them under empty words, in the sense that semantically they do not convey concrete meaning and grammatically European adverbs are indeclinable.

out that Chinese words cannot be classified in the same way as European words, since words do not inflect in Chinese. However, he still classified the words for the convenience of explaining the grammar. Furthermore, while discussing Chinese word classes, Summers implied that there is no such class as "preposition" in Chinese. However, he devoted an entire section, called "The preposition", to those words which can be translated using English prepositions. When elaborating on the word order and concept of the "object" of Chinese, Summers adopted syntactic views on both English and Chinese, without integrating them into a consistent system. Readers might be left with a sense of inconclusiveness, which may correspond to Summers' struggles to balance theory and practice while comparing English and Chinese grammar.

Summers adopted a European linguistic framework to some extent, which is sometimes incompatible with the Chinese language. Before concluding that Summers deliberately ignored the intrinsic characteristics of the Chinese language and forced a European framework onto it, or that Summers was Eurocentric or xenophobic (cf. Zwartjes 2011, p. 11), one ought to view his methodology from a different perspective: Summers had his own concerns and clear reasons for rendering Chinese grammar the way he did. This can be summarized as the "pedagogical orientation" of his works.

In *The Psychology of the Child*, psychologists Jean Piaget (1896–1980) and Bärbel Inhelder (1913-1997) summarized their thoughts on child psychology and proposed two hypotheses of cognitive development, i.e., assimilation and accommodation. For them, assimilation is the "filtering or modification of the input" in order to "become incorporated into the structure of the subject", while accommodation is "the modification of internal schemes to fit reality" (Piaget and Inhelder 2000 [1962]), p. 5). In other words, when learning new things, we first try to apply what we have already known to conceive of the world, and then revise our schemata in accordance with the positive or negative feedback received (Thelen and Smith 2006, p. 304). Summers' audiences were trained and educated in the European linguistic tradition. It is only reasonable therefore to teach them a peculiar language, Chinese, with familiar terminology and pedagogy first (Hovdhaugen 1996, p. 18; Klöter 2011a, p. 86, p. 99; Zwartjes 2011, p. 14), while simultaneously adding information on features of the Chinese language, such as their analysis of classifiers. Summers' research is not the bed of Procrustes, but rather an adaption of the European framework with concessions to adjust the characteristics of the Chinese language.

Modern psychology suggests that innovation cannot be generated from nowhere, but has to be based on preceding research. A new achievement has to be in accordance with the

established standards and values in order to be accepted (Breitenbach 2000, p. xxi). To make his research recognized by other European scholars and accepted by his students, Summers had to base his ideas on European traditions and the research of his precursors.

Furthermore, teaching the Chinese language is a practical activity. Although there was, of course, a certain amount of theoretical guidance behind Summers' teaching activities and research, theoretical rules were not of any serious concern to Summers or his students. For Summers, Chinese has, for example, no cases in theory, but in the teaching process, some compromises had to be made. Lǐ Bǎojiā (2007, p. 17) and Gianninoto (2018, p. 149) summarized the features of textbooks and pedagogical works. These works are designed for practical and immediate purposes: in order to be practical and to help the students to learn fast, they are unavoidably superficial and concise in their theoretical descriptions (or discard some theoretical rules). At the same time, they provide many examples with transcriptions and literal translations. This is the nature of textbooks, and this is reflected in Summers' *Rudiments* as well. Although his *Handbook* was not really for immediate use, he needed to make concessions on his theoretical propositions in this textbook, too.

3. The contribution of Summers' research to the historiography of linguistics

Most of Summers' ideas on Chinese grammar were derived from his precursors. It is clear that, although Summers himself belonged to the Anglican church, the works of the missionaries from other religious orders, such as the Jesuits, also inspired Summers indiscriminately, which was very common in the field of Chinese missionary linguistics (cf. Masini 2017, pp. 16–26; Uchida 2017, p. 230).

Instead of classifying words into two classes according to their inner structure, Summers classified them into three types, namely primitive, compound and formative. He made an original contribution when he divided Chinese compounds into two classes according to the relation between their components, i.e., appositional and in construction. His point of view about "auxiliary verbs" is also very interesting because it starts out from a general notion in the European tradition that consider them closer to verbs than to formatives.

In his research on classifiers, Summers pointed out that when classifiers are placed to the right of their nouns, the entire unit expresses a general term. This original observation was mentioned later on by Wade (1867). Moreover, Summers touched upon the topic of existential sentences when discussing the omission of prepositions. It is unfortunate that he did not explore this idea any further.

Summers' research on Chinese particles is very clear and consistent. The thread that goes through the entire discussion is that particles have two basic functions, i.e., marking the relation of the words in a sentence and enhancing the euphony of a sentence. Although each individual function is not described by him for the first time, he integrated the ideas of his precursors into a cohesive thesis. These two functions were also noted by Gabelentz in his successive works. Additionally, Summers applied these two functions to discuss whether the particle *de* can be omitted before a noun, an idea that cannot be found in his precursors' or successors' works.

For syntax, Summers introduced the general framework of Morell's research on English syntax into Chinese, which had not been adopted by his precursors.

Whether entirely original or not, Summers formulated some clear views on other aspects of the Chinese language as well. He clearly saw that there is a distinction between literary and vernacular Chinese: literary Chinese is older and words in this variety tend to be monosyllabic, while vernacular Chinese is not monosyllabic in the sense that words are normally disyllabic or polysyllabic. Summers argued that the fallacy of classifying Chinese into a monosyllabic language at the level of the word derived from the confusion between the writing system and the language system.

Apart focusing on the Chinese language only, Summers' interests expanded to the realms of literature, history, politics, and the economy of China and Asia more generally. Like the missionaries, Summers also translated the Bible and other evangelizing works. His identity is best defined by his work as a trendsetting Chinese teacher in a European university, who had first-hand experience with and active knowledge of Chinese and China, which therefore allowed him to teach vernacular Chinese to European students. His *Handbook* is the first Chinese textbook published in Britain, and he is the first professor of Chinese who conducted systematic research on Chinese grammar in Britain. Additionally, he was also a bridge between Asia and Europe, collecting and spreading knowledge about the East to European readers, as well as introducing Europe to China. His Chinese articles, which introduce basic knowledge about English to native Chinese speakers in his *Flying Dragon*, are most likely the earliest ones published in Europe. His catalogue of the Indian Office Library is the first of the East Asian collections at this institution. Language, as the foundation of comprehending Asian cultures, was only part of his broader interests. The Chinese language, for Summers, was not easy to acquire, but deserved to be studied. As he said to his audience at the very beginning of his professional career in his inaugural lecture:

> Were it a discourse upon the geography, the history, the natural productions, or the arts and manufactures of China, the subject would

> be comparatively easy to lay before you, and one in which you would naturally take much more interest; but the language of a people, at once so ancient, so peculiar, so exclusive, and so far removed from the civilization and refinement of our western world, presents difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, the consideration of which will perhaps somewhat tax your patience (Summers 1853a, p. 10).

To conclude, Summers' main contribution to the research on Chinese linguistics does not lie in innovative insights but in the synthesising of prior achievements, including the time-honoured linguistic tradition in Europe, comprising for instance terms like "case" and "gender", and drawing on prevailing works in the nineteenth century, such as Morell's (1852, 1853) research, as well as that of sinologists on China and Chinese, for example, Dyer (1840), Bridgman (1841) and Schott (1857). His research took the Indo-European tradition as its core and at the same time took notice of the inherent features of Chinese. On top of that, he produced a number of original ideas. Overall, Summers was not a linguist, and the purpose of his works was not to discuss theoretical issues. His works show overt pedagogical characteristics. As a representative of Chinese research in his era, he tried to provide beginners with all the materials and knowledge of the Chinese language that he thought were necessary. The title of this dissertation pays homage to Summers' pedagogical efforts by way of a quotation from Summers *Handbook*, his most comprehensive work on Chinese:

> In the work which the author now ventures to present to the public, he thinks […of] all the aids which a beginner needs in this most difficult study. (1863a, p. xii)

Appendix 1. A brief introduction to the works referred to by Summers

This appendix lists Summers' reference works, sorted by their authors. Section 1 includes those that are mentioned in the 'Preface' of the *Handbook*. Other reference works of Summers are introduced in Section 2.

1. The works mentioned in the Preface of the *Handbook*

1.1 *Arte de la lengua Mandarina* (1703) by Francisco Varo (1627–1687)[359]

Varo, a Spanish Dominican missionary finished this manual in 1682 but passed away before it was edited by one of his students and published in Canton in 1703 (Coblin and Levi 2000, p. x, p. xii). It was originally written in Spanish[360] without a single Chinese character, and it was based on Nanjing Mandarin (Breitenbach 2000, p. xxiii). This book has a strong connection with the Greco-Latin linguistic tradition and was influenced by the Latin grammar *Introductiones latinae* (1481) written by Nebrija (cf. Breitenbach 2000, pp. xxxv– xxxvi). It is thought to be the first Chinese grammar ever published (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2003b, p. F3). Varo pointed out the importance of reading the classics in Chinese. This approach found approval by later sinologists, including Summers, for example, 'Part II. Chinese chrestomathy' of his *Handbook*. Summers quoted many classical works to make use of them as a pedagogical tool, and did not directly comment on Varo's book.

1.2 *Museum sinicum* (1730) by Theophilus Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738)

Bayer was a German scholar. This book contains two volumes, written in Latin. It includes Chinese grammar, characters, dictionaries and the translation of the Chinese classic *Dàxué* (大學 *Grand Learning*). It is a collection of almost all the materials about Chinese that Bayer had been able to find (Zhāng Xīpíng 2017, p. 4), with a revised version of the *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu* published in 1620 (Chappell and Peyraube 2014, p. 119). It is the first book on Chinese published in Europe, and its study of grammar is based on the Latin model (Lundbæk 2017 [1995], p. 23, p. 123). Summers disapproved of the content of this book, calling it "vague and unsatisfactory" (1863a, p. vi).

[359] This book was translated into English in 2000, and into Chinese in 2003. This dissertation refers to the English version when citing Varo's *Arte de la lengua Mandarina*, marked as Varo (2000 [1703]).

[360] "At least two original versions of the manuscript existed in the late seventeenth century: the Spanish grammar completed by Varo in1682, and a Latin one which he wrote two years later" (Breitenbach 2000, p. xxiii).

1.3 *Meditationes sinicae* (1737) and *Linguae sinarum mandarinicae hieroglyphicae grammatica duplex* (1742) by Étienne Fourmont (1683–1745)

Fourmont was a French scholar. *Meditationes sinicae* discusses topics like the history of sinology and Chinese phonology, with a main focus on Chinese characters (Leung 2002, p. 190). *Linguae sinarum mandarinicae* consists of phonology, parts of speech, syntax, the expression of weights and measures, the Chinese sexagenary cycle, etc. (Leung 2002, p. 214; Zhāng Xīpíng 2009, pp. 675–676), which is based on earlier works, especially the *Notitia* by Prémare (Paternicò 2015, p. 112). Summers argued that Fourmont's books are not worthy of reading by students, and that they involve plagiarism (1863a, p. vi).[361] His works had hardly any influence on Summers' grammatical ideas.

1.4 *Clavis sinica* (1814) by Joshua Marshman (1768–1837)

Marshman was a British missionary. He discussed the Chinese language systematically from many aspects in this book. The book mainly concerns literary Chinese but also touches on colloquial Chinese. Summers considered this book "an able attempt to reduce Chinese to a grammatical form" (1967 [1864c], p. 167).

1.5 *A Grammar of the Chinese Language* (1815a), *Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts* (1815b–1821) and *Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language* (1816) by Robert Morrison (1782–1834)

Morrison was a well-known British sinologist who devoted himself to missionary work, to the progress of education and to the development of sinology. His contribution to the Sino-British communication cannot be neglected.

A Grammar of the Chinese Language mainly focuses on Chinese parts of speech, morphology and syntax. Summers argued that this book is worth studying but not practical enough to be a textbook, and he said that the book "formed prematurely", commenting that not a lot of people referred to it in his time (1863a, p. vi; 1967 [1864c], p. 167).

Morrison's dictionary contains three parts in six volumes. The first part has three volumes. Its main source is the *Dictionary of Kāngxī* (Morrison 1815b, p. ix). The Chinese characters are listed according to their radicals. The two volumes of the second part are based on *Wǔ chē*

[361] Abel-Rémusat initiated the accusation of Fourmont's plagiarism, between his *Linguae sinarum mandarinicae hieroglyphicae grammatica duplex* and Varo's *Arte de la lengua Mandarina*. This opinion was adopted by all sinologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although no substantial proof was given (Leung 2002, p. 230).

yùn fǔ (五車韻府 *Erudition Syllabic Dictionary*) by Chén Jìnmó (陳蓋謨, ca. 1598–1678), which arranged Chinese characters alphabetically, with the collocation of words and example sentences (cf. Yang 2014, p. 303; Wàn Xiànchū 2015, pp. 166–167). The third part is an English-Chinese dictionary. Morrison's dictionary is the first Chinese-English bilingual dictionary ever published (Yang 2014, p. 301). Summers stated that it is not suitable for students but very useful for collecting data (1863a, p. vii), [362] so he used this dictionary as a reference for his own work (1863a, p. xii), and called it "a monument of labour and learning" (1967 [1864c], p. 167).

Morrison's *Dialogues* is not a grammar but an exercise book for everyday conversations. It aimed at helping students to communicate in Chinese in various situations. Summers argued that some parts of the book are not based on Mandarin but Cantonese (1863a, p. vii),[363] but nonetheless "the dialogues and detached sentences […] are pretty good [and contain] some useful phraseology in them" (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

1.6 *Notitia linguae Sinicae* (1831) by Joseph-Henry-Marie de Prémare (1666–1735)

Prémare was a French Jesuit. This work was originally compiled in the early eighteenth century[364] in Latin and published in Malacca in 1831. James Granger Bridgman (1820–1850) translated it into English and published it in Canton in 1847. This later version was the one to which Summers referred.[365] It is a grammar of classical Chinese and Mandarin, and is considered to be the earliest book that uses the terms of traditional Chinese linguistics to classify the parts of speech, namely *xūzì*, *shízì*, *sǐzì* and *huózì* (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2014, p. 67). With this work, Prémare aimed to identify and explain the characteristics of the Chinese language (Gianninoto 2014b, p. 54).

1.7 *Éléments de la grammaire chinoise ou principes généraux du kou-wen ou style antique* (1822) by Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832)

[362] Some scholars in his time, for example, Julius Klaproth (1783–1835) and Abel Rémusat (1788–1832), asserted that Morrison's dictionary can only be used in Canton or Macau, not all over China, and is not suitable for academic research (Hillemann 2009, p.157).

[363] There are some hints in the book which indicate that the dialogue can be used in Canton. For example, *Nǐ jǐshí dàole Guǎngdōng* 你幾時到了廣東 'When did you arrive in Guangdong' (Dialogue two) which indicates that the province where the speakers were was Guangdong. However, the style of the dialogues is not very colloquial.

[364] Gianninoto (2014a, p. 141) stated that it was compiled in 1732, while Masini (2017, p. 20) argued that this was in 1720.

[365] For example, in his *Handbook*, Summers asked the students to refer to Bridgman's translation of Prémare's work (1863a, p. 107, p. 112, p. 120).

Abel-Rémusat was an eminent French sinologist. He held the first professorship of Chinese in Europe, established on 11 December 1814, and his inaugural lecture marks the starting point of the European academic discipline of sinology (Lundbæk 1995, p. 49, cf. Chapter 1). Summers stated that this book analyses the examples given in Prémare's *Notitia linguae Sinicae*, and it "correspond[s] to the wants of the students… [while being] very clear and scientific" (1863a, p. vi). Prémare's most outstanding achievement, according to Summers, is that he was able to catch "the genius and peculiarities of the Chinese language" (1863a, p. vii). Summers greatly admired this work as "the best scientific grammar of Chinese" (1967 [1864c], p. 167) and as a result, it functioned as one of the most important reference books in Summers' research.

1.8 *Hien wun shoo* (1823) by John Francis Davis (1795–1890)

Davis was a British sinologist and diplomat. Rather than focusing on grammar, this book focuses on the translation of Chinese proverbs in order to provide concrete examples for learning. Summers argued that this book is "curious and useful" (1967 [1864c], p. 168) for beginners as it translates proverbs word by word, and students may gain a lot by memorizing these expressions (1863a, p. viii). Davis also translated some Chinese literary works into English, for example, a *Caizi jiaren* romance *The Fortunate Union* by Early Qing author Míngjiào zhōng rén (名教中人, dates of birth and death unknown). In the second part of his *Handbook*, Summers quoted a part from the Chinese version of *The Fortunate Union* (1863a, Part II, Extracts, p. 8), and suggested that students should refer to Davis' translations (1863a, Part II, p. 17). Summers also wrote an advertisement for Davis' translation of *The Fortunate Union* in the fifth issue of his *Flying Dragon* (1866).

1.9 *Arte China constante de alphabeto e grammatical comprehendendo modelos das differentes composiçoens* (1829) by Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781–1834)

Gonçalves was a Portuguese Lazarist priest. This book was designed for students who wanted to learn Chinese at the institute where Gonçalves taught, the Colégio de S. José in Macau (Levi 2007, p. 212; Zwartjes 2011, p. 290). The main purpose of this book is to teach reading, translating and writing Chinese. Gonçalves also compiled two dictionaries,[366] which could be

[366] Namely, *Diccionario Portuguez–China* (1821) and *Diccionario China–Portuguez* (1833). Summers stated that these are very good dictionaries, but "the student is supposed to read Chinese characters for no aid" (1967 [1864c], p. 167). In the *Repository* (1967 [1864c], p. 168), he mentioned another dictionary of Gonçalves: *Lexicon Magnum Latino-Sinicum* (Macao, 1841), but did not make any comment on this dictionary.

used as a supplement to *Arte China* with regard to the pronunciation and usage of the characters (Wáng Míngyǔ and Lú Chūnhuī 2015, p. 177). Gonçalves invented a so-called "Chinese Alphabet" according to the radicals of Chinese characters, which served as an indexing system to organize characters in dictionaries. The third and fourth chapters of his *Arte China* are devoted to grammar, but this part has barely any explanations of grammar, instead providing many examples of classical and colloquial Chinese.

Since there are very few explanations in the book, Summers stated that this book offers "no help to a student without a teacher", although it contains many good expressions and phrases (1863a, p. viii; 1967 [1864c], p. 167). The 'Poetical Extracts (ancient and modern)' (Part II, Extracts, p. 33), 'Dialogues and phrases in the Mandarin dialect' (Part II, Extracts, p. 27) and 'Epistolary style' (Part II, Extracts, p. 32) in Summers' *Handbook* are copied from this book (cf. Gonçalves 1829, p. 454, pp. 215–220, p. 495, p. 490). Summers changed some words (for example, he changed the word *nǐna* 你納 'you' into *nǐ* 你 'you'). According to Uchida, *nǐna* was an expression in Beijing Mandarin, and the predecessor of *nín* 您 'you'; it did not apply in Nanjing Mandarin (2011, p. 233). Uchida deduced that Gonçalves' book is based on Beijing Mandarin. As a result, Summers amended *nǐna* to *nǐ* because he did not consider the former to be an expression of Nanjing Mandarin (Uchida 2007, Note 6, p. 192). This leads to the conclusion that the *Handbook* is not based on Beijing Mandarin but Nanjing Mandarin. However, an expression in the Beijing Mandarin *bànfǎer* 辦法兒 'method', as it appeared in Gonçalves' work, was not revised as *bànfǎ* 辦法 'method' by Summers (Gonçalves 1829, p. 218). This indicates that for Summers, the rhotic sound *-er* was also acceptable in Nanjing Mandarin.

1.10 *Esop's Fables Written in Chinese by the Learned Mun Mooy Seen-Shang, and Compiled in Their Present form (with a Free and a Literal Translation) by His Pupil Sloth* (1840) and *Chinese Speaker, or Extracts from Works Written in the Mandarin Dialect as Spoken at Peking* (1846) by Robert Thom (1807–1846)

Thom was a British diplomat. This book was compiled by Thom and translated by a Chinese native, Mun Mooy (蒙昧), who knew Mandarin and Cantonese (Thom 1840, p. x). This version was an attempt to familiarize Chinese readers with Greek antiquity by providing some Chinese features in the translation, for example, placing the stories in the time of the Chinese King *Yúshùn* (虞舜, p. 27) or at a Chinese place of Mount Emei (峨眉山, p. 28). This work not only

focuses on the fables, but also introduces the Chinese language and its characters, including particles and the Six Scripts. Summers chose five fables from Thom's work in his 'Part II: Chinese chrestomathy' of *Handbook* (p. 21, p. 14), i.e., *Shù mù jǐng yù* (束木警喻 'The old man, his sons, and the bundle of rods', No. 38, pp. 45–46), *Bàoēn shǔ* (報恩鼠 'The lion and the mouse', No. 46, pp. 55–56), *Chē fū qiú fó* (車夫求佛 'The waggoner and Hercules', No. 56, pp. 68–69), *Bào pēng yáng* (豹烹羊 'The wolf and the lamb', No. 1, pp. 1–2) and *Èr shǔ* (二鼠 'The country mouse and the town mouse/Two rats', No. 8, pp. 8–9). They are almost identical to Thom's, even applying the same variation "悞" of the character 誤 (*wù* 'mistake').[367] The character 攖 (*yīng* 'violate') in Thom's work was mistaken by Summers as 櫻 (*yīng* 'cherry').[368] Additionally, in the 'Errata' of Thom's book, this character and its pronunciation are explained; in other words, Summers may have not read this work carefully enough. Summers revised one sentence: in Thom's version (1840, p. 55), the sentence is "如世所謂十二条梁，唔知邊条得力" (In Mandarin: *rú shì suǒ wèi shíèr tiáo liáng, wú zhī biān tiáo dé lì*), whereas Summers wrote it as "如世所謂，十二條梁，不知何條得力" (*Rú shì suǒ wèi, shíèr tiáo liáng, bù zhī hé tiáo dé lì*).[369] The main difference is that Summers changed the Cantonese words and expressions into Mandarin, which indicates again that the *Handbook* is intended to teach Mandarin, not some other topolect.[370] Overall, for Summers, *Esop's Fables* is "very good, but stilted and quaint in style" (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

The *Chinese Speaker* by Thom is based on a Chinese work called *The Important Points of the True Sounds* complied by the Qing scholar Gāo Jìngtíng (高敬亭) to help the Cantonese learn Mandarin. In the original Chinese version, Gāo Jìngtíng claimed that his hometown is in Guangdong. He moved to Beijing when he was thirteen and learned Mandarin from a teacher in Daxing, nowadays a district of Beijing. For Gāo Jìngtíng, the Peking pronunciation is orthodox.[371] That is why Summers stated that the *Chinese Speaker* is "a translation of a work

[367] Compare: Summers (1863a, Part II, Extracts, p. 21; p. 14) and Thom (1840, p. 55; p. 2).
[368] Compare: Summers (1863a, Part II, Extracts, p. 14) and Thom (1840, p. 9).
[369] The translation of these two sentences is: "[t]his applies to what we say: "of a dozen of beams (of wood), we know not which is the strongest!" (Thom 1840, p. 55).
[370] There were three versions of *Aesop's Fables* in Chinese in the Qing dynasty. The other two (1888 and 1919) were both later than Summers' *Handbook* so he could not cite those. Before Summers' work, Trigault and Zhāng Gēng translated and compiled a version of *Aesop's Fables*, named *Kuàngyì* (況義, 1625). Each of the fables in *Kuàngyì* ends with "Yì yuē (義曰 'the meaning is'" (Méi 2008, p. 71), which is different from what is in *Handbook*. Summers never mentioned this version. Therefore, Thom's *Esop's Fables* is the one Summers referred to, and it is Summers who changed the words in this sentence in order to adapt it to Mandarin.
[371] The original text reads: "故趨逐語音者 […], 天下之內又以皇都為則。[…]則京話為官話之道岸。僕生於

in the Peking dialect" (1967 [1864c], p. 168). It is not a grammar book, but a manual. In Thom's version, very few tones are marked, because he argued that for beginners, learning tones was a waste of time, and was only necessary when appreciating and writing poems (Thom 1840, p. xix.). This was questioned by Summers, for whom, "each word and expression a native utters in every-day life has its peculiar intonation […]. A foreigner therefore who would acquit himself respectably in communicating with the Chinese, must learn the tones" (1853a, p. 22).[372] In the second part of the 'Chinese chrestomathy' of the *Handbook,* Summers quoted the Chinese version of the 'Dìliùxiá Guānhuàpǐn (第六段官話品 'The six section on Mandarin')' and 'Dìshísìxiá Xùntóng (第十四段訓童 'The fourteenth section on teaching children')' of *The Important Points of the True Sounds*. They are almost identical to Thom's version, except for some typos.[373] The first article gives reasons why students should learn Mandarin, whereas the latter encourages students to have a good learning attitude.

1.11 *Chinese and English Dictionary* (1842, 1843), *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1847, 1848), *A Dictionary of the Hok-këèn Dialect of the Chinese Language* (1832) and *Chinese Dialogues, Questions, and Familiar Sentences* (1844) by Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857) Medhurst was an English missionary, who mastered the skills of printing and established the London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai (Lǐ Bīn 1997, p. 105). Similar to Morrison's, Medhurst's *Chinese and English Dictionary* and *English and Chinese Dictionary* are also based on the *Dictionary of Kāngxī* (Shěn Guówēi 2011, p. 124). According to Summers, Medhurst's *Chinese and English Dictionary* is better than the first part of Morrison's dictionary (1863a, p. ix). In his *Repository*, Summers wrote: "[*Chinese and English Dictionary*] is a very practical work. It does all it professes", while the *English and Chinese Dictionary* provides "valuable materials, [but] [m]ore explanation [sic] of various word [is] required" (1967 [1864c], p. 167).

The other dictionary by Medhurst is based on Southern Mǐn. Medhurst applied the system in *Shíwǔ yīn* (十五音 *Fifteen Sounds*), designed by Xiè Xiùlán (謝秀嵐, Qing dynasty) in the nineteenth century. In this dictionary, Medhurst constructed the first version of "the most

南邑西樵隅僻之地，少不習正音。年十三，隨家君赴任北直。因在都中，受業於大興石雲朱夫子" (Zhèngyīn jíjù xù 正音集句序 [Preface to *Zhèngyīn jíjù*] in *Zhèngyīn cuōyào*, 1852, p. 1, punctuation added).

[372] The emphasis on tones in learning and teaching Chinese is not a new topic. In fact, in the *Arte de la lengua Chio Chiu*, the importance of the tones was mentioned as well (cf. Klöter 2011a, p. 187).

[373] Table 4: The differences of the two texts in Summers' *Handbook* and Thom's *Chinese Speaker*

Summers (1863a, Part II, Extracts, p. 31)	欵 (p. 31, 15i)	/ (p. 31, 17i)	卓 (p. 31, 10o)
Thom (p. 10–11; p. 22–23)	款 (p. 10–11)	總 (p. 10–11)	桌 (p. 22–23)

widespread missionary Romanization system for the Southern Mǐn language" (Klöter 2006, pp. 81–83). This dictionary influenced the format and layout of *A Tonic Dictionary* (1856) and *A Syllable Dictionary* (1874) by Williams (Shěn Guówēi 2011, p. 123). Summers stated that Medhurst's dictionary is "meagre" but "contains a good introduction" (1967 [1864c], p. 167).

Medhurst's *Chinese Dialogues* gives many examples of Chinese words, sentences and dialogues, but without a grammatical analysis. It imagines real situations from life as the context for dialogues and provides the reader with lists of words and sentences. For example, it divides the weights and measures into measures for grains, land, length and weights. The vocabulary and example sentences in each type are also divided into "On trade", "On bargaining" and others. Summers considered this book "the very best manual of the kind" (1967 [1865b], p. 196), except that some examples are considered to be stiff (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

1.12 *Notices of Chinese Grammar* (1842) by Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803–1851)
Gützlaff was a German missionary who specialised in the area of Chinese history. This work introduces the basic knowledge of Chinese phonetics, characters and morphology. According to Summers, the work consists of many examples, but still needs some revision (1967 [1864c], p. 167). However, he still referred to this book while analysing grammar (1863a, p. xxi).

1.13 *Systema phoneticum scripturæ sinicæ* (1841) by Joseph Marie Callery (1810–1862)
The French missionary Callery was a student of Gonçalves (Wáng Míngyǔ and Lú Chūnhuī 2015, p. 185). This publication is a two-part dictionary. The first part starts with a basic introduction to Chinese, like other dictionaries, and is followed by phonetic classifications of character-components and a translation of phrases and sentences. The second part is the dictionary, in which characters are arranged under 1040 phonetic-components. As Summers commented, this dictionary did not list any example sentences, but the interpretation of each character is accurate, and it can be a useful work (1863a, p. ix; 1967 [1864c], p. 168).

1.14 *An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* (1844), *A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect* (1856), *Easy Lessons in Chinese* (1842a) by Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884)
Williams was a pioneer of American sinology. He was a diplomat, missionary and the editor (together with Elijah Coleman Bridgman) of the journal *Chinese Repository,* which inspired Summers to edit his own journal *Chinese and Japanese Repository*.

The preface of *An English and Chinese Vocabulary* has two book lists, which reflected the status of the research on Chinese language and literature at that time. Williams marked the pronunciation of Cantonese, Southern Mĭn and Mandarin of each character in the index of this book. The aim is to help missionaries to learn those three varieties and communicate with native speakers and other speakers of those dialects (Williams 1844, Introduction, pp. i–ii; index, p. 338). Summers executed a similar kind of job in his *Handbook* (Appendix V, pp. 225–229). For Summers, this *Vocabulary* is "very well, but not nearly extensive enough" (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

A Tonic Dictionary includes a Cantonese dictionary and *Bǎijiā xìng* (百家姓 *A Hundred Family Surnames*). Summers' *Handbook* refers to Williams' works for vocabulary (1863a, p. xii).

The first four chapters, as well as Chapters 6, 8 and 9 of Williams' *Easy Lessons* introduce Chinese characters and language, with some reading and translation exercises. These can be applied to all topolects of Chinese, but the other chapters are only devoted to learning Cantonese. A distinct feature of this book is that Chapter 7 contains 27 classifiers with explanations and examples. Summers' chrestomathy of the *Handbook* selected a letter from Lín Zéxú (林則徐, 1785–1850)[374] to the Queen of Britain from this book. The two versions are identical (Williams 1842a, p. 243–245; Summers 1863a, Part II, p. 23). Summers wrote that this book is "very good; perhaps the best introduction for a beginner" (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

1.15 *Meng Tseu, vel Mencium* (1824–1829) by Stanislas Julien (1797–1873)

Julien was a student of Abel-Rémusat and a very well-known French sinologist. The "Prix Stanislas Julien", one of the most important international prizes in the area of sinology, is named after him. Summers praised his translation of *Mencius* (1863a, p. ix), which was translated from a Manchu version (Demiéville 2006, p. 201), but systematic grammar research is not its main concern.

1.16 *Grammaire mandarine* (1856) by Antoine Pierre Louis Bazin (1799–1863)

Bazin was a French sinologist who translated many Chinese theatre scripts. He is the first European to claim that classical Chinese (文言 *wényán*) should be distinguished from vernacular Chinese (白話 *báihuà*) in his *Grammaire mandarine* (Demiéville 2006, p. 205). His

[374] Lín Zéxú (1785-1850) was a Chinese officer who played an important role in the first Opium War. He was against the opium trade with Britain.

research focused on vernacular Chinese. According to Summers, this work is good but flawed (1863a, p. ix).

1.17 *Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Grammatik* (1845) by Stephen Endlicher (1804–1849)
Endlicher was an Austrian botanist, who was also interested in literature. He contributed a lot to compiling a catalogue of Chinese literature in Austria and promoting the movable-type printing of Chinese characters in Europe (Zhāng Xīpíng et al. 2003, p. 346). He had learnt Chinese before he published this book, which mainly focuses on literary Chinese, especially on the characters and morphology. Summers appreciated this work for its perspicuousness (1863a, p. ix), for instance, citing some analysis of nouns, especially the examples of several formatives and the plurality of nouns from Endlicher (Endlicher 1845, pp. 171–198; Summers 1863, pp. 41–55).

1.18 *Supplément au dictionnaire Chinois-Latin du P. Basile de Glemona* (1819) by Julius Klaproth (1783–1835)
Klaproth was a German scholar who could speak Japanese, Chinese, Manchu and other languages. He had connections with many contemporary sinologists (Walravens 2006). Summers stated that his sharp criticism is always to the point (1863a, p. ix), although Klaproth had never written a monograph on Chinese grammar. Summers said Klaproth wrote a supplement (1819) to the *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin* (1813) by French scholar Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes (1759–1845), and he considered this dictionary "the foundation of a good dictionary" (1967 [1864c], p. 167). However, the supplement only adds some tables of the variations of characters and so on, without referring to Chinese grammar. Guignes' dictionary plagiarised the *Dictionarium sinico-latinum* by the Italian Franciscan missionary Basilio Brollo da Glemona (1648–1704) and influenced Morrison's dictionary as well (Summers 1863a, p. x; Yang 2014, p. 331; Coblin and Levi 2000, Editor's foreword, p. xii; Masini 2017, p. 19). There are no example sentences in the dictionary, which makes it less useful for students than the dictionaries by Morrison and others. Klaproth's famous *Asia Polyglotta* (1823) was mentioned by Summers in his cover letter for applying for the post at King's College London (22 November 1852). This work writes about Chinese history, the relationship between Chinese language and other languages and between the varieties of the Chinese language.

1.19 *Chinesische Sprachlehre* (1857) and *Entwurf einer Beschreibung der chinesischen Literatur* (1854) by Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889)

Schott was a German orientalist, who was a professor at Berlin University (Walravens and Behr 2017, p. 528). His *Chinesische Sprachlehre* elaborates on literary Chinese from various perspectives, especially its function words. But it does not touch on Mandarin or vernacular Chinese. Summers considered this work "superior to all others" and "well worthy of the most careful study" (1863a, p. x). In his *Handbook*, Summers also cited some examples from Schott's book.[375] Schott also mentioned Summers' work, mainly his *Gospel* (Schott 1857, p. 3, p. 8).

1.20 *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language, Commonly Called the Mandarin Dialect* (1857) and *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese, as Exhibited in the Shanghai Dialect* (1853) by Joseph Edkins (1823–1905)

Edkins was a British missionary, who wrote articles for many journals, including Summers' *Repository*. Summers praised the merits of his *A Grammar of Mandarin* and *A Grammar of Shanghai Dialect*, stating that the former includes first-hand data from the native speakers, while the latter displays accurate knowledge of Shanghainese (1863a, p. x). These two books by Edkins were both republished, which manifests their popularity. The second edition of *A Grammar of Mandarin* (1864) was revised. In 2011 and 2014, Chinese translations of Edkins' two books were published.[376]

In his *Repository*, Summers introduced Edkins' *A Grammar of Mandarin* again (1967 [1865b], p. 197). However, this introduction was based on the second edition which was published in 1864. Summers emphasised the difference between these two versions. Edkins moved to the north part of China after the publication of the first edition, as a result of which he revised his work by basing it on the Beijing dialect for the second edition (Summers 1967 [1865b], p. 197).

1.21 *The Hsin ching lu* (1859) by Thomas Francis Wade (1818–1895)

Wade was a British diplomat who was assigned to China. His most famous work is *Yü-yen tzŭ-erh chi* (1867) and his transcription system of Chinese became the basis of "Wade-Giles Romanization system". He always advocated learning Beijing Mandarin instead of Nanjing

[375] For example, Summers (1863a, p. 144) and Schott (1857, p. 80); Summers (1863a, p. 156) and Schott (1857, p. 132).
[376] The Chinese translation of his *A Grammar of Mandarin* is based on the second edition.

Mandarin. *The Hsin ching lu* has three parts. In the first part, he focused on words and expressions related to Heaven "*tiān* (天)". The compilation method of *Ěryǎ* (爾雅 *Approaching to the Orthodox*)[377] obviously inspired his procedure. The second part of this book is a translation of the first part of the *Sacred Edict Expansion*, the emperor's educational dictum which was disseminated by the Chinese government to its people. It became a very popular document among missionaries wanting to learn Chinese (Sī Jiā 2013, pp. 90–91). The third part of Wade's work contains exercises for the pronunciation of Beijing Mandarin together with explanations. Wade's book does not provide systematic research on Chinese, Summers fairly argued. He also quoted some examples from this book (e.g., 1863a, p. 83, p. 111, p. 141, etc.).

1.22 *Chinese Classics* (1861–1872) by James Legge (1815–1897)

Legge was a British missionary and the first professor of Chinese at Oxford. He translated many Chinese works into English, and his *Chinese Classics* was one of them. This work has seven volumes, covering "the Four Books" and three of the "Five Classics". His translation has become part of the classical canon. The first volume consists of *The Analects*, *Grand Learning* and *Zhōng yōng* (中庸 *Zhongyong*) and the second volume is the translation of *Mencius*. These were the only two volumes Summers had read by 1863. He recommended this book to his students for further study and in his *Handbook*, also suggested that students would refer to Legge's explanation of some words (1863a, p. 143).

2. Other works which Summers referred to[378]

2.1 *The Present State of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature* (1852) by Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860)

Wilson was a British orientalist. Summers mentioned the *Present State* in his *Lecture* and noted that it provides a brief introduction to Chinese literature (1853a, p. 23). He agreed with Wilson's opinion on the inter-relationship between language, culture and literature. Wilson argued that the basis of appreciating literature is a mutual understanding of language and

[377] *Ěryǎ* is the first Chinese dictionary, compiled between the Warring States period and the Han dynasty. It classifies Chinese characters according to their meaning.

[378] There are also some other works concerning the Chinese language and culture mentioned in Summers' journals, but he did not take them into account in his own research on Chinese grammar. Some of them were published after his *Rudiments*, such as, the British naturalist Robert Swinhoe's (1836–1877) essay 'On the Chinese dialect spoken in Hainan' (Swinhoe 1870, 1871). Some of them are translations of Chinese classics and focus mainly on characters and vocabulary, such as *The Thsien-tseu-wen* (1864) translated by Julien, which Summers advised the students to use to learn Chinese characters (1864e, p. 480).

culture. Therefore, studying a language and understanding a culture is the first step for literary research (Wilson 1852, p. 3; Summers 1853a, pp. 10–11). However, his *Present State* does not contribute a lot to the development of grammatical theory. Wilson also collected many Buddhist works from China, which became a very important source for Summers' *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese, Japanese and Manchu Books in the Library of the India Office* (Summers 1872a, p. iii).

2.2 *A Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* (1841) by Elijah Coleman Bridgman

This is a manual on Cantonese, with classifications of words and analysis of sentences. Summers mentioned this work in his *Lecture* while emphasising the importance of the tones (Summers 1853a, p. 22; Bridgman 1841, p. iv). He advised the students to pay attention to the rules of writing characters in this book (1863a, p. 39). He further stated that this book has "valuable matter in it" (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

2.3 *Mélanges asiatiques* (1825, 1826) by Abel-Rémusat

The paragraph that Summers cited from this work reporting on the need of readers and translators of great Chinese works (1863a, p. xxii; Abel-Rémusat 1826, pp. 15–16). The four-volume book covers not only the languages of China but also many cultural aspects of and research on Asia, such as Laozi and *Daode jing*, Buddhism, Chinese medicine, Baptists in India, Julien's translation of *Mencius* and Morrison's dictionaries. The second volume of this work is dedicated to topics related to China and Chinese studies (Dondey-Dupré père et fils 1825, pp. vii–viii).

2.4 *Progressive Lessons in the Chinese Spoken Language* (1862) by Joseph Edkins

In the preface of his *Rudiments* (1864a, p. ii), Summers stated that most of the vocabulary in his book is based on *Progressive Lessons*, thus, he recommending this book to his students. *Progressive Lessons* by Edkins was republished at least three times, which indicates how popular it was. The first part of this book has fifty-two lessons. It always introduces words first and then it continues to exemplify them in phrases and sentences. The second part also has fifty-two lessons, but with commonly used words and phrases according to the topics discussed. It ends with an introduction to the tones of the Beijing, Nanjing and Yāntái (煙台)[379] dialects.

[379] It is a city in Shāndōng province, which has become one of the treaty ports after the signing of the *Tianjin Treaty*. Edkins visited Yāntái in 1860 (Hú Yōujìng 2009, p.20)

The book does not emphasise theoretical knowledge, but instead provides many concrete examples for the students to practice and recite.

2.5 *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, and on the Chinese Language: illustrated with a Sketch of the Province of Kwang-Tûng, Shewing Its Division into Departments and Districts* (1847) by Thomas Taylor Meadows (1815–1868)

Meadows was a British sinologist. This work of his not only focuses on the Chinese language, but also on the introduction to some general knowledge about China. In his *Handbook* (1863a, p. 2), Summers argued that Meadows made "just remarks" on the phonological features of the Peking dialect.

2.6 *A Lexilogus of the English, Malay, and Chinese Languages; Comprehending the Vernacular Idioms of the Last in the Hok-keen and Canton Dialect* (1841) by James Legge

This is a work based on *English and Malay Phrases* published in 1840 by Alfred North (1807–1869) of the American Mission, Singapore (Rony 1991, p. 133). Chinese translations and transcriptions of Cantonese and the Southern Mĭn language with Roman alphabets were added by Legge and the American priest Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880) of the Morrison Education Society (Lodwick and Svendsgaard 2000). The Cantonese alphabetic transcription system was adopted from Elijah Coleman Bridgman's *A Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* (1841), whereas that of the Southern Mĭn language is mainly based on British Protestant missionary Samuel Dyer's (1804–1843) *Vocabulary of the Hok-keen Dialect*. It is edited and compiled by many people, including the help of some Chinese native speakers.[380] This book, however, does not deal with grammar. Summers stated that the Cantonese translation in this work is good (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

2.7 *A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing, in a Letter to John Vaughan* (1838) by Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760–1844)

Du Ponceau was a Franco-American lawyer, philologist and historian (Du Ponceau and Whitehead 1939, pp. 189–192). This work focuses on Chinese characters. Summers only mentioned the title and publication details of this book without any comments (1967 [1864c], p. 168).

[380] This brief introduction to the work is based on its preface.

2.8 *The Analytical Reader: a Short Method for Learning to Read and Write Chinese* (1863) by William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827–1916)

Martin was an American Presbyterian missionary. He picked two thousand commonly used characters based on statistics to compile this work and pointed out the importance of the components of the characters in comprehending the Chinese writing system (Gianninoto 2018, p. 156; Lǐ Yàn and Zhào Chényè 2020, p. 231). However, Summers argued that Martin's way of studying Chinese characters is not very effective (1967 [1865b], pp. 195–196).

2.9 *The Chinese Repository* (1832–1851) by Elijah Coleman Bridgman and Samuel Wells Williams

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Summers claimed that his *Repository* followed the steps of *The Chinese Repository*. Therefore, the essays concerning the Chinese language in the journal also influenced Summers.

2.10 *Neu geordnetes Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache, als durchgängige Hinweisung auf eine allgemeine Sprachlehre dargestellt* (1833) by Rudolf Stier (1800–1862) and *Hebräische Grammatik* (1813) by Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842)

In his *Lecture* (1853a, p. 7), two works about Hebrew grammar were mentioned by Summers. The first one is written by the German Protestant priest Stier (cf. Chisholm 1911, Vol. 25, p. 917). It has two parts, focusing on phonology and morphology, respectively. The second Hebrew work, however, was not specified by Summers. He only mentioned the author's name, Gesenius. Gesenius was a German Orientalist, who started the scientific and comparative research on Semitic philology (Chisholm 1911, Vol. 11, p. 909). He published several works on Hebrew and most likely, Summers referred to his *Hebräische Grammatik* published in 1813, as this work was so popular that it had at least twenty-seven editions and was translated into English more than once (Chisholm 1911, Vol. 11, p. 909).

2.11 *Organism der Sprache* (1841) by Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775–1849)

Becker was a German naturalist, physician and chemist before he started doing linguistic research. His experience as a natural scientist is evident from his methodology of analysing languages and even in the title of this work (Koerner 1975, pp. 736–737). He considered language as an organic system of relations (Koerner 1975, p. 740; van Driel 1992, p. 235). This work consists of phonetics, morphology, word classes and syntax on the basis of general and philosophical grammar (Koerner 1975, p. 738; van Driel 1992, p. 235; Collinge 1995, p. 197;

Graffi 2001, pp. 18–19; Itkonen 2013, p. 765). A large amount of space in this work is dedicated to syntax, and his logic-based syntactic research had a large influence on language education in Germany in the following century (Koerner 1975, p. 739; Graffi 2001, p. 139, cf. Chapter 9). Summers mentioned Becker's *Organism der Sprache* twice in his *Handbook* while introducing phonetics (1863a, p. 2) and discussing the relationship between copulas and demonstrative pronouns (1863a, p. 122).

2.12 *A Latin Grammar* (1858) by Thomas Hewitt Key (1799–1875)

Key was a comparative philologist and a "professor of the Roman language, literature and antiquity" at University College London (Stray 2004). While explaining the reflexive pronoun, Summers pointed out that in Chinese, *qīn* 親 'related' is used to express the meaning "self" and cited the example *sib* 'self, related' from Old English from Key's *Latin Grammar* to show the etymological and semantic similarity between these two words in Chinese and English (1863a, pp. 63–64). This is a very detailed example in Key's work, which indicates that Summers was very familiar with this work.

2.13 *The Analysis of Sentences Explained and Systematized* (1852, 1854) by John Daniel Morell (1816–1891)[381]

[381] For an introduction to Morell and his work, see Chapter 9.

Appendix 2. A list of the works by Summers' successors

This appendix introduces the works written by Summers' successors in three sections. The first section includes works on China and Chinese by Summers' students. Having taught at King's College London for twenty years, some of his students became famous scholars. Scholars who mentioned or commented on Summers' research in their works are introduced in the second section. The third section focuses on his contemporaries, who had some connection to Summers.

1. Works by Summers' students

Several of Summers' students became famous scholars, as mentioned in Chapter 1. Among them, Parker was a field worker of Chinese dialectology, who collected first-hand data on living and real languages from the mouths' of informants, even though he was accused of the inaccuracy and inconsistency of his transcription of Chinese by Bernhard Karlgren (Branner 1999, p. 15). "Comparativism in Chinese was practiced very haphazardly" until Parker's works were published, according to Branner (1997, p. 244). Parker published many articles in journals like *China Review*. Almost all of them were about Chinese phonology, vocabulary and topolects.[382] Only very few of them touched upon the topic of Chinese grammar, for example, concepts like "fruitful" words (i.e., substantial words), empty words, dead words, "active" words (i.e., living words), and statements like "[e]very word in Chinese is capable of being almost any part of speech" (1892, p. xv). A connection between these very general ideas and Summers' works cannot be easily established.

Another student of Summers was Douglas, who has two publications concerning the Chinese language. The first one is *The Language and Literature of China* (1875). This book contains two lectures, i.e., "The language of China" and "The literature of China". It is very similar to Summers' inaugural address, the *Lecture* (1853), both in its form and content. The second monograph is *A Chinese Manual Comprising a Condensed Grammar with Idiomatic Phrases and Dialogues* (1904), which focuses more on grammar.

2. Scholars who commented on Summers' works

2.1 Georg von der Gabelentz (1840–1893)

Gabelentz was a famous German linguist, who occupied a chair in Leipzig and Berlin. In a paper published in 1878, he commented on many works about Chinese by several sinologists, including the *Handbook* and the *Rudiments* by Summers. He stated that the *Handbook* is a

[382] For a full list of Parker's works, cf. Branner (1999).

decent textbook for beginners and that it is mainly inspired by Schott and Edkins (pp. 628–629).

His most influential monograph on Chinese is *Chinesische Grammatik mit Ausschluss des niederen Stiles und der heutigen Umgangssprache* (1881), which was published after the paper mentioned above, so he had already read Summers' works before the publication of this book. This work focuses on literary Chinese, especially syntax, with an emphasis on the pattern of the "topic-comment" structure of Chinese sentences (Yáo Xiǎopíng 2015, pp. 908–909). The *Chinesische Grammatik* contains three parts. The first part provides a general introduction to the language from a historical perspective, including varieties of the Chinese language, the phonological system and etymology. The second part is called the analysis system and aims to help the reader to understand Chinese texts, while the third part, the synthetic system, tells students how to use the Chinese language (Gabelentz 2015 [1881], pp. 807–808). Gabelentz himself stated that these three parts were inspired by other scholars: the first part was influenced by Callery, Williams and Edkins, the second by Julien and Schott; and the third by Prémare and Gonçalves (1881, p. xiv).

Gabelentz published another book in 1883 introducing both vernacular Chinese and literary Chinese, which is called *Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Grammatik: mit Übungsstücken*, containing approximately one hundred and fifty pages. The basic ideas were adopted from his *Chinesische Grammatik*, but they are presented in a more concise way.

2.2 John Francis Davis (1795–1890)

Davis' *Chinese Miscellanies: a Collection of Essays and Notes* was published in 1865. He made positive comments on Summers' *Handbook* and *Repository* in this work and stated that the *Handbook* is "one of the most useful" textbooks for beginners (pp. 60–61). In the second edition of *The Poetry of the Chinese* (1870), Davis expressed his appreciation of Summers for the publication of the book (p. vii). Summers introduced *The Poetry of the Chinese* in his journal *Phoenix* (1870b). Davis and Summers had a good relationship, and Davis had access to Summers' research on Chinese.

2.3 Justus Doolittle (1824–1880)

Doolittle was an American Board missionary, who also engaged in tea trading in China (Lín Lìqiáng 2005). In his *Phoenix* (1871, p. 156), Summers mentioned *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* edited and published by Doolittle between 1868 and 1872. Summers also reviewed his book called *Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language in Two Volumes,*

Romanized in the Mandarin Dialect published in 1872 (1872b, pp. 168). The latter work is basically a dictionary, and in the preface to the second volume of this dictionary, Doolittle stated that Summers' *Handbook* was one of his references. He also wrote: "[t]erms relating to Chinese Literature [d]erived chiefly from Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature* and from Summer's *Hand-Book of the Chinese Language*" (Vol. 2, p. 668). The "terms" are mainly the categories of Chinese literary works, such as Chinese classics, without any reference to the grammatical analysis.

3. Summers' contemporaries

In this section, Summers' contemporaries and their works are introduced. Works that are not directly related to the Chinese language, but focus only on history, literature, etc., are not taken into account.

3.1 Joseph Edkins (1823–1905)

Edkins published several articles in Summers' journals,[383] as well as two monographs on Chinese after 1864. The first one is *China's Place in Philology: an Attempt to Show That the Languages of Europe and Asia Have a Common Origin* (1871), comparing the varieties of the Chinese language. The second one is *The Evolution of the Chinese Language as Exemplifying the Origin and Growth of Human Speech* (1888), which was reprinted from the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* (1887). This second book discusses Chinese within the scope of all human languages by applying the methodology of nineteenth-century comparative linguistics to Chinese. Edkins also published a book on the Chinese writing system, called *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters* (1876).

3.2 Thomas Francis Wade (1818–1895)

Wade once wrote to the Foreign Office of Britain, claiming that the Chinese courses taught by Summers were not useful for educating interpreters (Kwan 2014a, pp. 43–44). Hence, he was very likely to have read and known Summers' works and syllabus. His masterpieces are *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* (1867) and *Wên-chien tzu-erh chi* (1905). The former analyses the vernacular Beijing dialect, while the latter focuses more on literary Chinese.

[383] For example, 'On the identity of Chinese and Indo-European roots' in *The Phoenix* (Edkins 1872).

Appendix 3. An inventory of Summers' terminology

This appendix summarizes the linguistic terms and their references in Summers' works. It aims to provide a general picture of each term and helps the reader to find the terms more easily in this dissertation.

Terminology	Possible definition or reference	Source
word	linguistic units that convey meaning: they are sentence-forming units consisting of one or more syllables according to certain morphological rules and are unified by phonological features like accents.	Chapter 4
word-building	morphology	Chapter 5
primitives	monosyllabic words; components of characters except for radicals	Chapter 5
derivatives	words formed by primitives and formatives	Chapter 5
compound/composite	words formed by primitives	Chapter 5
(pure) formative	derivational affix, word-class-marker	Chapter 5
affix/prefix/suffix	some function word; derivational affix	Chapter 5
root	units that convey the essential meaning of the derivative word; the historical basic form of a word	Chapter 5
stem	the historical basic form of a word	Chapter 5
auxiliary verb	a type of verb-forming element, which has the feature of both formatives and verbs	Chapter 5
repetition	reduplication	Chapter 5
appositional relation	the relation of the morphemes of a word which are reduplicated,	Chapter 5

	synonymous, specific and generic or the commencement of a series	
genitive relation	modifier-modified/possessor-possessed relation of the morphemes	Chapter 5
dative relation	the first morpheme of a word is “in the dative case” semantically	Chapter 5
antithetical relation	the morphemes of a word are antithetical semantically	Chapter 5
postposition	localizer	Chapter 6
appositive	sortal classifier and measure expression	Chapter 7
particle	euphonic element, indeclinable words, grammatical elements	Chapter 8
subject	that thing about which something is said or predicate	Chapter 9
predicate	that action or attribute which is asserted of the subject	Chapter 9
clause	sentence; clause; phrase	Chapter 9
sentence	a unit that includes a subject and a predicate	Chapter 9
syntax	the arrangement of words; the structure of sentences	Chapter 9
complex sentence	formed by a principal clause and subordinate clauses	Chapter 9
noun sentences	serving as the subject of a complex sentence	Chapter 9
adjective sentence/relative clause	serving as the attribute of a complex sentence	Chapter 9
adverbial sentence	serving as the adverbial of a complex sentence	Chapter 9

compound sentence	formed by independent and co-ordinate clauses	Chapter 9
copulative relation (of clauses in compound sentences)	one clause is the other's supplement	Chapter 9
adversative relation (of clauses in compound sentences)	the meaning of the two clauses contradicts each other	Chapter 9
causative relation (of clauses in compound sentences)	one clause expresses the reason of the other	Chapter 9
imperative sentences	sentences that convey commands	Chapter 9
optative sentences	sentences that convey wishes	Chapter 9
assertive sentences	sentences that convey assertions or judgments	Chapter 9
interrogative sentences	sentences that convey questions	Chapter 9
exclamatory sentences	sentences that convey exclamation	Chapter 9
orthography	transcription rules; phonology	Chapter 10

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Summary

James Summers (1828-1891) is the first British professor who conducted systematic research on Chinese grammar. As a former missionary, he had been directly exposed to vernacular Chinese, which enabled him to teach and research it at King's College London in his later career. This dissertation provides a complete picture of his research on Chinese grammar throughout his publications. It further brings Summers to prominence in the historiography of linguistics. By tracing which and whose ideas inspired him and who he, in turn, influenced, this study identifies his position relative to other linguists.

This dissertation consists of ten chapters, excluding the Introduction and the Conclusion. The first three chapters briefly introduce Summers' life, the linguistic and general historical background of Summers' times, and his works related to China and Chinese. From the fourth to the ninth chapter, Summers' research on Chinese monosyllabism, morphology, parts of speech (including less standard categories like classifiers and particles), and syntax is discussed. Chapter 10 outlines Summers' ideas on Chinese phonology and its writing system. Three appendices dedicated to the sinological and linguistic works by Summers' predecessors and successors, respectively, and an inventory of the terms Summers employs follow.

Summers' research on Chinese grammar was heavily influenced by the works of Samuel Dyer (1804-1843), Joseph Edkins (1823-1905), Wilhelm Schott (1802-1889), and John Daniel Morell (1816-1891), and indirectly by Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775-1849) among many others. Compared to the study of his predecessors, Summers pioneered several innovative ideas, such as hinting at existential sentences, dividing words into three types according to their structure, and pointing out that noun-classifier phrases express a generic notion. His works are centered around Nanjing Mandarin, with some examples and analyses of other varieties of Chinese from different periods in time.

More importantly, Summers was able to integrate the research of his predecessors and arrange their findings and conclusions in his own clearly pedagogically oriented research, abandoning the purely theoretical conclusions to help his students learn Chinese efficiently.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

James Summers (1828-1891) was de eerste Britse hoogleraar die systematisch onderzoek deed naar de grammatica van het Chinees. Als missionaris in China was hij direct blootgesteld geweest aan het Chinees, hetgeen hem in zijn latere positie aan het King's College London in staat stelde die taal te onderwijzen en er onderzoek naar te doen. Deze dissertatie biedt een volledig overzicht van zijn onderzoek naar de grammatica van het Chinees, zoals dat is neergelegd in zijn publicaties. Door na te gaan door welke ideeën hij is beïnvloed en wie hij op zijn beurt heeft beïnvloed, positioneert dit werk Summers in de geschiedenis van de taalkunde. Qua taalkundige inzichten bevond hij zich tussen China en Europa.

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit 10 hoofdstukken, de inleiding en de conclusies niet inbegrepen. De eerste drie hoofdstukken gaan over Summers' leven, de tijd waarin hij leefde, de taalkunde in die tijd en de werken die hij heeft geschreven over de Chinese grammatica. In de hoofdstukken 4 tot en met 9 wordt in detail ingegaan op zijn bevindingen met betrekking tot de vraag of het Chinees een monsyllabische taal is, de morfologie van het Chinees, woordcategoriën (inclusief minder gebruikelijke als klaswoorden en partikels) en de syntaxis. In hoofdstuk 10 wordt ingegaan op wat Summers te zeggen heeft over de fonologie van het Chinees en het schrift. Het proefschrift bevat drie aanhangels, met een overzicht van relevante werken van Summers voorgangers en opvolgers en van de door Summers gebruikte terminologie.

In zijn onderzoek naar de Chinese grammatica is Summers direct beïnvloed door Samuel Dyer (1804-1843), Joseph Edkins (1823-1905), Wilhelm Schott (1802-1889) en John Daniel Morell (1816-1891) en indirect door Karl Ferdinand Becker (1775-1849), onder vele anderen. Summers heeft echter ook een aantal nieuwe observaties gedaan en nieuwe analyses voorgesteld, zoals op het gebied van existentiële zinnen, het idee dat je woorden in drie categoriën kunt verdelen op basis van hun interne strucuur en de observatie dat nomen-klaswoord-combinaties een generieke betekenis hebben.

Het Chinees in zijn werk is het Mandarijn van Nanjing, maar hij geeft en analyseert ook voorbeelden uit andere varianten van het Chinees, uit (zijn) heden en verleden.

Kenmerkend is het feit dat Summers bevindingen uit het werk van anderen heeft geïntegreerd in de duidelijk pedagogisch georiënteerde boeken van hemzelf: theoretische conclusies sneuvelden als ze volgens zijn visie een efficiënte taalverwerving en -pedagogiek in de weg stonden.

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Curriculum vitae

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