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

Chen, W.

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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 Mandarin* (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 Spanish³⁶⁰ 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 Mandarin*, 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 in 1682, 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 Mandarinica*. 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 Jīnmó (陳璽謨, 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 century³⁶⁴ 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*, *sīzì* 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 dào le 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 diferentes composições* (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), *Bào ēn 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 攪 (*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 “如世所謂十二條梁，唔知邊條得力” (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* compiled 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 ‘Diliùxiá 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-kèen 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)	欸 (p. 31, 15i)	/ (p. 31, 17i)	卓 (p. 31, 10o)
Thom (p. 10–11; p. 22–23)	欸 (p. 10–11)	總 (p. 10–11)	桌 (p. 22–23)

widespread missionary Romanization system for the Southern Mǐn language” (Klötter 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 Mǐn 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 *Ēryǎ* (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 to³⁷⁸

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 *Ēryǎ* 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 Mǐn 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 Mǐn 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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