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近代中西交往中的语言问题研究

作为文化现象的洋泾浜英语

周毅 著



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序

陈廷湘

从语言问题的视角去追寻近代中西交往的轨迹以及审视近代中西交往的特点，确实是一种颇有意义的尝试。对近代中西交往中的语言的作用进行解剖，远不只涉及语言本身的课题，更触及思想意识、社会文化乃至外交政治层面的问题。正如本书作者所说，这项研究对于人们理解中西交往的那段历史、理解语言与交流之间的关系以及正确处理当今的中外交往都具有重大的历史和现实意义。

近代中西交往之初，西方人一开始便带着“民族中心主义”的傲慢来看待中国，以殖民主义的手段来对付中国；而长期闭关锁国使得本身就自视清高的国人也极为鄙视“番鬼”、“番语”，对其文化不屑一顾。这种文化心理上所存在的巨大差异与中西语言文字上的隔阂，必然导致中西交往间有意或无意的曲解和误会。

周毅博士的这部专著正是站在这样的高度来研究近代中西交往活动的。他从近代中国出现的洋泾浜语尤其是洋泾浜英语着手，重点探究了其历史渊源、成因、语言特征以及影响，并由此考察了中国近代文化史和中外交往史的一个重要方面。在弥补英

语在中国的传播史和影响史研究的不足上做了一件有益的工作。

有关该课题的系统研究成果在国内外尚属少见，但作者仍注重吸取前辈和同仁的研究成果，且在自己所搜集的大量档案材料和中外文图书期刊资料的基础上，借用德国解释学派大师伽达默尔的影响史理念，诠释近代中国洋泾浜英语的历史轨迹，从一个特殊的视角勾勒出近代中国社会变迁的脉络。本书作为一部完整系统的英语在中国的传播史和影响史专著问世，无疑具有特殊的学术价值。

2006年10月10日

于四川大学历史文化学院

英文提要

**Research On The Language Problem In The
Sino-Western Intercourse In The Modern Times**

—— Pidgin English as a Cultural Phenomenon

(Abstract)

Zhou Yi

When human beings are in contact with each other, the closest relation is the relation between language and culture. The first thing to appear when two different cultures meet is the assimilation (interpretation) of their languages. In the Modern Times, the Sino-foreign intercourse in any form must have been first of all based on the communications through oral and written languages. The big discrepancy and barrier in language, culture and psychology between Chinese and Western nations inevitably caused intentional or unintentional misunderstanding and misinterpretation in their daily communications. In addition, some other human factors also

augmented the discrepancy. Westerners, who harbored ethnocentric ideas when coming to China in the early days, showed a strong bias against and contempt for the Chinese people and their language. On the other hand, the closed-door policy and China-type ethnocentrism made China's literati and court officials as well as common people despise any foreign language and culture. Thus, the barrier and misunderstanding in the Sino-Western intercourse of those days became inevitable. For this reason, the language problem, esp. the problem of the pidgin language, arising in the Sino-Western intercourse, is well worth our study.

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned language problem, although vital, has usually been neglected both on the part of participants and on the part of subsequent researchers. To study this issue, we must take into consideration pidgin Portuguese and pidgin English, esp. the latter. Although they once functioned merely as a superficially practical communication tools between the lower-class people and the Westerners in China, yet they played an essential part in the early Sino-Western intercourse. Due to the fact that there lacked mutual respect, understanding and goodwill between China and the West, communication barriers, misunderstanding, misinterpretation and clashes between the two sides occurred from time to time. After Chinese had got the worst of it, they eventually started to run official foreign languages schools of their own and set to learning "barbarian languages", particularly English (the most influential Western language), and their cultures conscientiously in

order to meet the ever-growing needs for foreign affairs and China's self-strengthening. Doubtlessly, de-constructing the role of English in the Sino-Western intercourse in the Modern Times involves not only the linguistic subject itself but also ideological, socio-cultural and diplomatic issues. It is of great historic and realistic significance for us to understand that period of history and the correlation between language and intercourse and to properly handle today's Sino-foreign intercourse.

In the Modern Times of China, the inflexionless, easy-to-learn pidgin language is a sort of linguistic variation purposefully created for the intercourse between one group and the other, almost all from the bottom of society, usually for the sake of living and mutual trading. Therefore, a pidgin language is mostly a trade language. From the 16th century on, when Europe opened its new sea routes, there were more and more contacts between China and the West. Portuguese merchants, missionaries and diplomats were the first group of Westerners who came to China (Canton) by the sea route, together with the Portuguese language. Then, Portuguese blended with Chinese, esp. with the Cantonese dialect, which soon turned into a lingua franca called "pidgin Português" or "Cantão Português" or "Macao Português" between Portuguese people and local Chinese. As the earliest pidgin language in that era, "pidgin Português" made its debut after 1557 during the Late Ming when the Portuguese occupied Macao and became popular in the whole port of Canton after the opening of Canton in the early Qing

Dynasty till the early years of the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1736 – 1795). It greatly influenced and was later replaced by “Canton English” or the earliest “pidgin English”, a term given by subsequent historians. From the year 1635 when the first British ship reached Macao to the year 1836 when Charles Elliot arrived there to succeed as the commercial counselor of Canton and further to the year 1838 when Lin Zexu, the governor-general of the Hubei-Hunan Region, went to Canton as the imperial envoy to ban the opium, Britain had been increasing its normal trade in Macao and Lingdingyang while keeping its opium-smuggling and Chinese-labor-trafficking businesses going up there. In order to monopolize the market and interests in China, British merchants got the upper hand of Portuguese and Dutch merchants by squeezing them out in every way possible. At the zenith of the British colonialist expansion in China, “Canton English”, very much like “Cantão Português”, emerged spontaneously and started to spread fast.

Before the Opium War, English was transmitted into China principally by way of the Canton-Fujian area for the practical purpose of two-way oral communications in Sino-Western business transactions. Thereby, after it evolved into a linguistic variation, “Canton English” acquired some new linguistic features: 1. Its Chinese-English bilingual form was marked by phonetic symbols in the form of Chinese characters. 2. Its word order was based on Chinese grammar. 3. Its sentences were composed of ill-organized words. 4. Its accent was influenced by the Cantonese dialect. It

first began to prevail in the coastal areas of South China, centering around the “foreign factories” and “hongs” in Macao, Hong Kong and Canton, and after the opening of five port cities started to move to the regions of East China, centering around the banks of the Western Pidgin River in Shanghai, hence a fresh name “pidgin English”. In terms of linguistic application as well as linguistic nature, there isn't much difference between “Shanghai pidgin English” and “Canton pidgin English”. The only big difference between them lies in their accents and usages: one is influenced by the Shanghai dialect, and the other by the Cantonese dialect, although “Canton pidgin English” once helped shape “Shanghai pidgin English”.

As a product blended by a language of a superior group (Westerners) and a language of a subordinate group (Chinese), Chinese pidgin English in the Modern Times had involved and developed in an “unconscious” or “laissez-faire” way for nearly one century and a half until it formed characteristics of its own at the second part of the 19th century, influencing the Sino-Western intercourse into the first part of the 20th century. The most influential and representative types of the pidgin English in China are “Canton pidgin English” and “Shanghai pidgin English”. In spite of the fact that “pidgin English” is non-standard (blended, localized, irregular and oral) and even rough, and the fact that the contacts between Chinese and Westerners at that time were indirect, low-rung and highly-limited, “pidgin English” still played an

irreplaceable part in reducing the language and cultural barriers in the Sino-Western intercourse and influencing the process of China's modernization. It is hard even today to estimate the extent to which "pidgin English" distorted and misinterpreted information and messages in that era.

The history of "pidgin Portuguese" and "pidgin English" is the history of the contacts and collisions at the grass-roots level between the Chinese language and the Western languages, between Chinese culture and Western culture; it is also the history of the Sino-Western trade language and the history of *Tongshi's* interpretation activities. Like *Tongshi*, "pidgin Portuguese" and "pidgin English" were products of the Sino-Western trade and by-products of Westerners' penetration into China in the Modern Times as well. Their birth, growth and death mirror to some extent the orbit of the vicissitudes of Chinese society of that age.

The foreign trade in Canton and Shanghai in the Qing Dynasty, Western schools in China run by missionaries from the 1830s to the Opium War period such as Bridgman School in Canton, the Morrison School in Macao and the Anglo-Chinese College in Hong Kong and Ningbo Girl School in Ningbo, the foreign languages schools in Beijing, Shanghai and Canton run by the Qing court in 1862 and afterwards, the first batch of modern government-run universities after the Sino-Japanese War like Beiyang University and Beijing University, and Chinese scholars' introduction and translation of Western science, literature and humanities as well as

Chinese understanding of Western civilization were all resultant from China's continuously deepening recognition of the Western civilization. All these new phenomena were interrelated to the spread of Western languages, English in particular, in the country. It can be said that the transmission of Western languages promoted to a great degree these new phenomena, which in turn encouraged their rise and spread in China of the Modern Times. The interaction between the two left such an indelible mark in history that we can conclude with confidence that in this course of history pidgin languages made their due contributions.

This book is the research into the language problem in the Sino-Western intercourse in the Modern Times. But, the point of its focus is put on the effected history or Wirkungsgeschichte of "Chinese pidgin English" from the historical, linguistic, psychological, cultural and translation perspectives so as to explore the historical orbits and features of the Sino-Western intercourse.

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第一章 有关近代中西交往中“英语问题”的研究及评述

人类在进行交往过程中，语言与文化的关系最为密切。当两种全然不同的文化相遇时，首先发生语言文字上的同化（即翻译）过程。反过来说，任何形式的中外交往都必须以语言文字沟通为前提，而中西语言文字上和文化心理上的巨大差异和隔阂必然导致中西交往间有意或无意的曲解和误会。然而，近代中西交往中出现的语言问题涉及面很宽，而且从来就是一个重要而又极易被忽略的问题，其产生必有双方的责任。近代中西交往之初，西洋人一开始便以“民族中心主义”的傲慢和殖民主义的手段来看待和对付中国；长期的闭关锁国使得本来就自视清高的中华帝国也极为鄙视“番鬼”、“番语”及其文化，上至王公大臣下至乡绅百姓起初都瞧不起西洋人及其文化，于是自觉不自觉地曲解或误会西文和西学。

英语无论是作为近代西洋官话以及“通事们”所掌握的主要外国语^①，还是清廷与西方列强进行外交、文化、教育和贸易交流的第一重要工具，都是我们在考察中国近代史轨迹时值得关注的一大问题。尽管它在近代中国的正式传入和兴起始于鸦片战争前后，然而产生于更早年代并盛行于沿海口岸城市的民间洋泾浜英语（pidgin English 或 pigeon English）——当时中西交往的语

言基础——早在 18 世纪初的广州就出现了。^②由于当时英国是列强之首，加之英美贸易占据清代中国对外贸易的主导地位，英语很自然成了一种国际通用语（*lingua franca*）。^③近代广州和上海的对外贸易，19 世纪 30 年代至鸦片战争前后由中国西方传教士在中国创办的西式学校如广州的贝满学校（Bridgman School）、澳门和香港地区的马礼逊学校（The Morrison School）和英华书院（The Anglo-Chinese College）、宁波的宁波女塾（Ningbo Girl School）等，清廷在鸦片战争后连续在外交和军事上的失利而于 1862 年及稍后开办的京师同文馆、上海广方言馆和广州同文馆，中日甲午海战前后中国创立的第一批现代大学如北洋大学堂和京师大学堂等以及近代国人对西方科学、文学和社会科学的译介活动，所有这些新事物的形成，与英语的传播之间存在着明显的互动关系。可以说，这些新因素的产生很大程度是英语推动的结果；反过来，这类新因素的产生与发展又促进了英语在近代中国的传播。二者的互动带来了极其深远的影响。

英语在近代中国的兴起及其影响在 1840 年前后至 1919 年间表现得特别突出，因为这个时期是中国历史上国人与西方人真正有意识相互接触、相互交流的时期，也是近代国人从被迫睁眼看世界到主动向西方和日本讨教的时期。其间，英语作为国际通用语起了举足轻重的作用。然而，要探究这个问题，首先离不开讨论早期民间的英语形式即洋泾浜英语。对此，学术界尤其是历史学界和外语外事界有一些专门的研究；特别是近二十年来，随着学术的更加开放，这种讨论趋势有增无减。

第一节 百年来有关研究的回顾 及近二十年来的研究动态

只要查阅一下早期国内外研究晚清及近代历史的著述,我们便不难看出,有关对近代中西交往中的语言问题研究成果(如洋泾浜英语和英语在近代中国兴起及其影响的系统探究)颇为少见。即便有之,也大多零星见诸一些近代教育史、文化交流和翻译史等方面专著的部分章节中,其论述往往是一笔带过或轻描淡写。从17世纪上半叶到18世纪上半叶,广州英语——早期中国洋泾浜英语开始在中国南方沿海地区萌芽;^④从18世纪上半叶到19世纪上半叶,广州英语在中西贸易和其他形式的交往中逐渐取代了更早的广东葡语(Cantão Português)或澳门葡语(Macao Português),进而作为新的中西通用语言发挥着越来越重要的作用。但是,有关这一两百年间广州英语演变状况的文献和记载非常稀缺。直到1836年(清道光年间)1月,第一篇专论广州英语的文章才由晚清时期来华的美国传教士卫三畏^⑤写成:他在出版于广州的英文丛报 *The Chinese Repository* 上发表了题为“Jargon spoken at Canton: how it originated and has grown into use; mode in which the Chinese learn English; examples of the language in common use between foreigners and Chinese”(《广州英语:它的起源与应用,中国人学习英语的模式,中外人士会话举例》)的长篇论文。^⑥1873年(清同治年间),毕业于上海广方言馆的首批学生、江苏常州人杨勋连续在《申报》上刊载所著《别