

ASIAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT: HONORS THESIS

When the West Met Shanghai

A historical and linguistic analysis of the Shanghai dialect with focuses on the use of English to textually teach the dialect and its effect on the dialect's loanwords.

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Abstract

As a city whose history demonstrates the influence of the West, the relationship between Shanghai and the West is not only defined by economic policy and trade, but also by language. In any situation where communication occurs between two actors and where language is a barrier, there are three options: (1) One teaches the other their language; (2) The development or use of pidgin languages; (3) One learns the other's language. Starting with a historical overview of Shanghai, this thesis titled "When the West Met Shanghai: A historical and linguistic analysis of the Shanghai dialect with focuses on the use of English to textually teach the dialect and its effect on the dialect's loanwords", examines the linguistic interaction between English and the Shanghai dialect through these two specific avenues

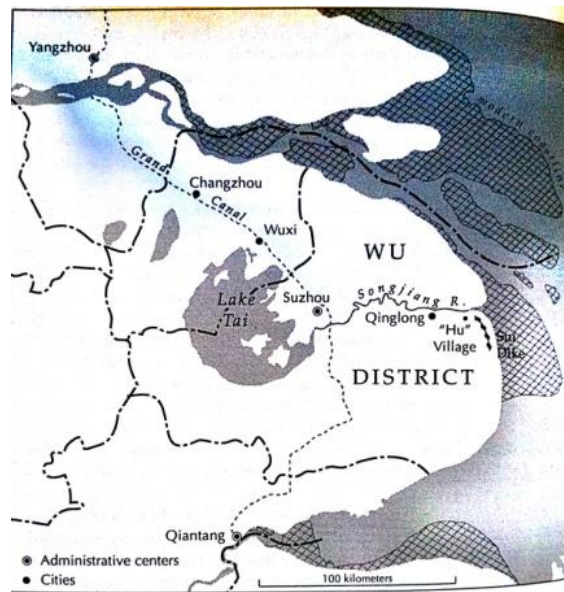
History of Shanghai

Made from the silt of the Yangtze Shanghai was first mentioned in the history books of the early 2nd century under the name Hu 沪 (Pott, *A Short History*, 2). While back then it was just a small village, nowadays Shanghai is a multi-cultural metropolis that hosts a population of 20,860,000 and is home to China's largest financial and commercial centers (*City Populations*). Part of Shanghai's transformation can be accredited to its geographical location. During the period between the Qin and the Han dynasty (221 B.C-220 A.D) followed by the Three Kingdoms (220-280), the land slowly extended as the delta increased. Back then, the area which is now known as Shanghai was a marshy extension of these coastal sands (Johnson 25). The next few pages will detail how this marshy area and later village evolved into the bustling city in which it is today, with a specific focus on Shanghai's interaction with foreigners.

Tang Dynasty (618-907)

It is said that Shanghai started out as a fishing village. While this story of the city's origin does have verifiable roots that trace back to the Tang dynasty, some argue that this myth was propelled by arrival of the Eurocentric Europeans who wanted to portray the idea that Shanghai only flourished after their involvement in the city's trade and investment (Johnson 8-9). Nonetheless, linguistically the first name for the area known today as Shanghai was Hu. This appellation alludes to Hudu 沪渎 which was a pre-Tang fishing village that was situated alongside the Songjiang 松江. The village is said to have derived its name from the fishing

stakes (*hu*) that the villagers used in the *Hudu*, which was a ditch that drained the fens.¹ While there are earlier references to the general area (Hu) that encompasses modern day Shanghai, the village that historians trace Shanghai back to, Hudu was not specifically mentioned until the Tang dynasty (around 713 A.D), when the government built a seawall known as the *hanhai* 瀚海 dike around the Huduea to protect the western lands that were irrigated by the fresh watershed from being affected by the salt-saturated lands that were to the east. These dikes were especially protective during the period between the 8th and 10th centuries, when the sea level rose again due to a warming trend and salt water moved in to cover over about 12 miles of the land. It was during these geographical changes, during theTang dynasty, that a town called Shanghai emerged (Johnson 25-26).



Map 1. The Shanghai Region during the Tang Dynasty. Adapted from Tan, ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*, vol. 5, *Sui, Tang*, 55. By Linda Cooke Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1995), p 26

¹ Fens: “low land covered wholly or partially with water; boggy land; a marsh”. Definition from "Fens." *Dictionary.com*. Dictionary.com, n.d. Web. <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/fens?s=t>>.

Song Dynasty (960-1279)

As the Shanghai region emerged during the Tang Dynasty, it was incorporated into the county of Huating 华亭. However it wasn't until the reign of the Southern Song, that Shanghai became a market town that produced mainly salt, reeds, fish and handicrafts. But before Shanghai became one of the main market towns of the Southern Song, Qinglong 晴隆, another port, was the main point of commerce in that particular area. Besides being the producer of fish, salt and rice, geographically, Qinglong was a collection point of many inland waterways which allowed it to flourish as a market town (Johnson 33). However the shifting sands of the delta which had initially allowed Qinglong to have a geographical advantage ended up silting and sealing the Qinglong River. Because of the impediment, the Songjiang naturally rerouted itself away from Qinglong and this is how Shanghai emerged as the port of choice, as it was situated along the Songjiang and was protected by its dikes (Johnson 35). Aided by the Huangpu River 黄浦江 and the Songjiang, Shanghai received its official designation as a market town in 1074 and then as a market city in 1159. When the Yuan government came into power, it devised new divisions to balance out population; this allowed Shanghai to become a county in 1292 (Johnson 38-39).

Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)

Shanghai's success was mainly based upon its geographical location as a port. Agriculturally speaking, much of the land was inundated with salt and therefore could not be used for the cash crop of rice. In addition to the limitations set by the region's land, Shanghai was also affected by security limitations which included pirate attacks. However the county's commerce started to flourish once again when cotton became the new cash crop. Towards the

end of the Ming dynasty, between 72 and 80 percent of arable land in the eastern parts of Songjiang prefecture, which included Shanghai, was planted in cotton. In terms of commerce, merchants from Shanxi and Shaanxi purchased cotton cloth from Songjiang and shipped it north. Merchants from Fujian and Guangdong brought sugar to Shanghai in exchange for cotton. As the cotton trade grew, so did the number of market towns within Shanghai County (Johnson 49-50). This growth continued into the Qing reign when cotton not only attracted domestic markets, but also began attracting international markets as well (Johnson 9).

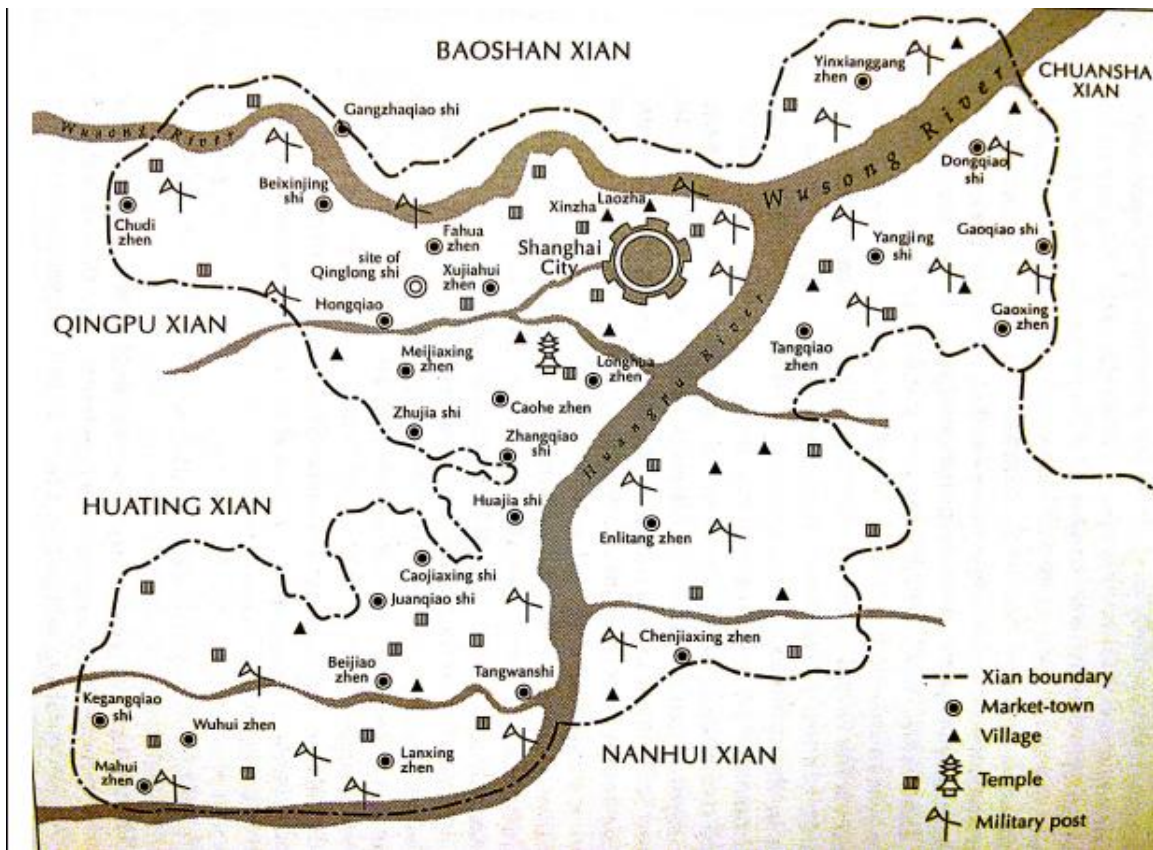
Aside from contact with Western countries through trade, the Ming dynasty (specifically 1608) is also when Shanghai first encountered the Jesuits in the form of a native Catholic named Paul Xu Guangqi 徐光启 and another Jesuit priest. Xu was baptized by Matteo Ricci in Beijing 北京 in 1603 and returned to Shanghai after his father passed away (Boston College). As a member of the local gentry and a high official, Xu was an honored and influential citizen in the city. In addition to the mission outside of the north gate, he also established a large church outside of his home in what is now known as Xujiahui 徐家汇² (Johnson 93). This marked the beginning of Shanghai's ascent into becoming the center of Catholicism in China. This contact will become important especially in the linguistic study of the Shanghai dialect, as many of the first Western dictionaries and textbooks of the dialect were written by missionaries.

Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

² Xujiahui is named after Paul Xu Guangqi (Boston College).

³ Nankeen cloth is a durable cotton cloth that was originally produced in China and later imitated by other countries as well. The name of the cloth is derived from the city in which the cloth was first manufactured, Nanjing (Encyclopedia Britannica).

The cotton trade allowed Shanghai to become a commercial port city that was vital to the economy of the lower Yangtze region. In terms of numbers, while the county only had 22 towns and market towns in 1524, by 1882, even with the size reduction of the Shanghai *xian* 县 (county), there were still 31 market towns within the county limits (Johnson 58).



Map 2. Shanghai *xian* and Its Market Towns under the Qing Dynasty (Johnson 54).

At the time, the main cloth that was produced was nankeen cloth³. It was produced in Suzhou 苏州 and Songjiang and then afterwards shipped from Shanghai to reach the ports of Guangzhou 广州. This cloth gained popularity not only within China, but also with Westerners. Though Shanghai's foreign trade was limited to Liaodong, Korea, Japan, the Ryukyus and the Nanyang,

³Nankeen cloth is a durable cotton cloth that was originally produced in China and later imitated by other countries as well. The name of the cloth is derived from the city in which the cloth was first manufactured, Nanjing (Encyclopedia Britannica).

Shanghai was able to engage indirectly with these British and American traders through the cotton trade via Guangzhou even after the Qianlong emperor confined European trade to that city (Johnson 169).⁴ However due to the effects of the Western slave trade and domestication of cotton production, there was a decline of nankeen sales in the 1830s, which had a calamitous effect on the cotton-dependent economy of Shanghai (Johnson 59).

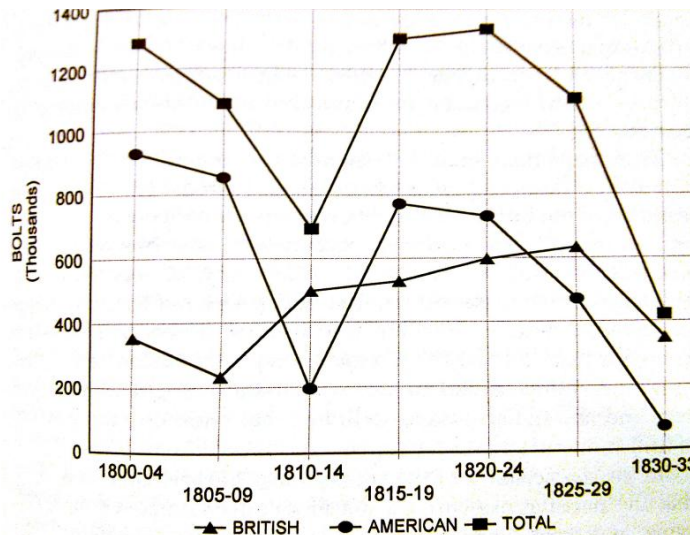


Fig. 1. British and American Purchases of Chinese Cotton, Originally based on statistics from Yan, Zhongping. *Zhongguo Mian Fang Zhi Shi Gao*. Beijing: Keshe Chubanshe, 1955. 33. Print. Taken from Johnson, Linda Cooke. *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1995 Print. P. 171

While Western interaction was increasing in terms of commerce, Catholicism and Christianity were crushed by the Kangxi government so that when the French arrived in Shanghai in 1845, the land where the Catholic mission had stood was simply a garden of pine trees. Hence the French named it “Bois des pins” or “Jardin des pins” (Forest of pines, garden of pines). In 1849, the land that was originally set aside for the Catholic mission was granted to the French and became what is now known as the French Concession (Johnson 93). Besides the French, the British, Americans, and Germans also arrived in Shanghai around this time period.

⁴Nanyang 南洋 refers to Nusantara region which includes Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia and Philippines as described in Horstmann, Kurt. "The Nanyang Chinese: History and Present Position of the Chinese in SE Asia." *GeoJournal* 4.1 (1980): 64. Print.

This influx of foreigners was due to the Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the first Opium War (1839-1842). The first Opium War started in 1839 when the Chinese government, trying to stop opium from coming into China, set fire to some shipments of opium found in Guangzhou that were delivered by the British East India Company. After the British forces moved in and overtook major cities like Hong Kong and Shanghai, China was forced to negotiate and thus the war ended with the Treaty of Nanjing. This treaty ceded Hong Kong and opened up Canton, Fuzhou, Nanpo Islands, Amoy and Shanghai for trade (*Nankeen (cloth)*). In Shanghai, the gardens of the City Temple served the British army as headquarters in the summer of 1842. After the Treaty of Nanjing, more British merchants arrived so that it was noted that the Englishmen of the 1850's called the gardens the "Tea Gardens" (Johnson 100). Additionally, in 1850, an English newspaper was started in Shanghai called the *North China Herald* (Wasserstrom 21).

The presence of Christianity was again felt in Shanghai, not in terms of the presence of the many foreigners that were in the city, but briefly during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) when the native city (minus the concessions) was captured by the Small Sword Society in 1853. While the Small Sword Society claimed to be inspired by the Taiping Rebellion, its argued that the Taipings did not fully support the society because not only was it a more political and military movement, but also because it allowed for the use of opium (Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, 24). Meanwhile even the Taiping Rebellion was known as a "quasi-Christian" movement (Wasserstrom 22). This rebellion, also known as the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, was led by Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, who after a dream, believed that he was the younger brother of Jesus and that their heavenly father had sent him down to kill demons and set wayward China straight. During this time, Shanghai also became a refuge for displaced natives who were fleeing from the Taipings (Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, 50).

After the Taiping Rebellion failed due to political errors, foreigners continued to come into Shanghai. A census conducted in 1870 of the International Settlement (ruled by the Shanghai Municipal Council) revealed a 20 to 1 ratio in terms of natives versus foreigners (Wasserstrom 40). The breakdown of the foreign population at that time can be seen from this table⁶:

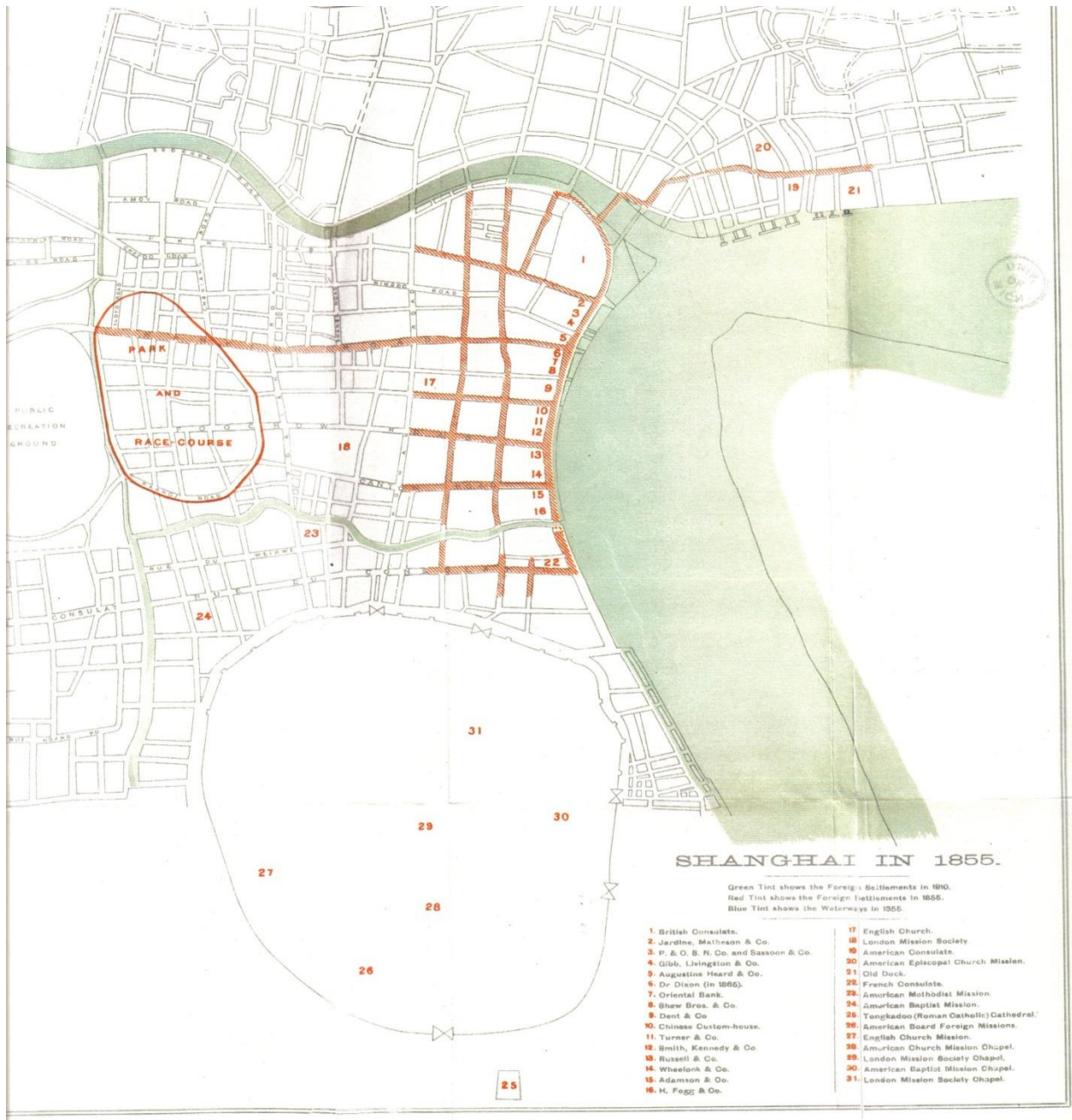
1870 Census of the International Settlement

Country of Origin	Population
Britain	1,338 (with 114 from the Royal Navy)
France	379 (with 335 from the Navy)
United States	352
Germany	165
India and Malaysia (grouped together in the census)	152
Portugal	108
Spain	56
Prussia	39
Japan	29
Sweden	23
Denmark	16
Other (Mexico, Greece, Italy, Norway &	<16

⁶Table 1, 1870 Census of the International Settlement, Information from Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Global Shanghai, 1850-2010: A History in Fragments* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 40.

Austria)	
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By the end of the 19th century, more Japanese had moved into Shanghai due to the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Taking advantage of Shanghai's growth, the Japanese set up factories in the city. The population of Russians also increased as many migrated to Shanghai when they fled the October Revolution in 1917. China itself was increasingly becoming unstable as the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Puyi 溥仪, was forced to abdicate his throne in 1911 and the Republic of China was established under Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1866-1925) (Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai*, 188).



Map 3. Shanghai in 1855 mapping specifically international influence. Adapted from Pott, F. L. Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai: Being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (Hong Kong & Singapore: Kelly & Walsh Limited, 1928), fold-out between p. 120 & 121.

War and Revolution (1911-1972)

While the Republic of China was being set up, the natives of Shanghai were also trying to set up their own governing council, a council that mirrored the Shanghai Municipal Council. Despite being known as the “Paris of the East”, the infrastructure of the International Settlement was better than the rest of Shanghai and the people wanted to amend this disparity by creating an inclusive administration. Despite the effects of the Japanese invasion, the rise of the Communist Party and other cases of political turmoil, Shanghai did converge into one administrative body and legal system at the end of World War II. At the forefront of this administration was the *The Greater Shanghai Plan* 大上海计划, a plan that was developed not only by Shanghai natives but also foreign technicians. This plan was to be implemented in a 25 and then 50 year period and included the development of the Pudong 浦东 area. These pre-1949 planners believed without a doubt not only that Shanghai’s continued viability depended on international investment, but also that China’s own development would be dependent upon foreign involvement as well. However during the early reign of the Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government cracked down on foreign trade and investment with anti-development policies and general decrease of foreign interaction (MacPherson 39). While in the 1930s there was an influx of European Jews in Shanghai, mainly those who were trying to escape persecution from Nazi Germany, when the war ended and the Communist Revolution started again, foreigners and foreign companies were forced to leave Shanghai (Wasserstrom 80-83).

Reform and Reawakening (1972-present)

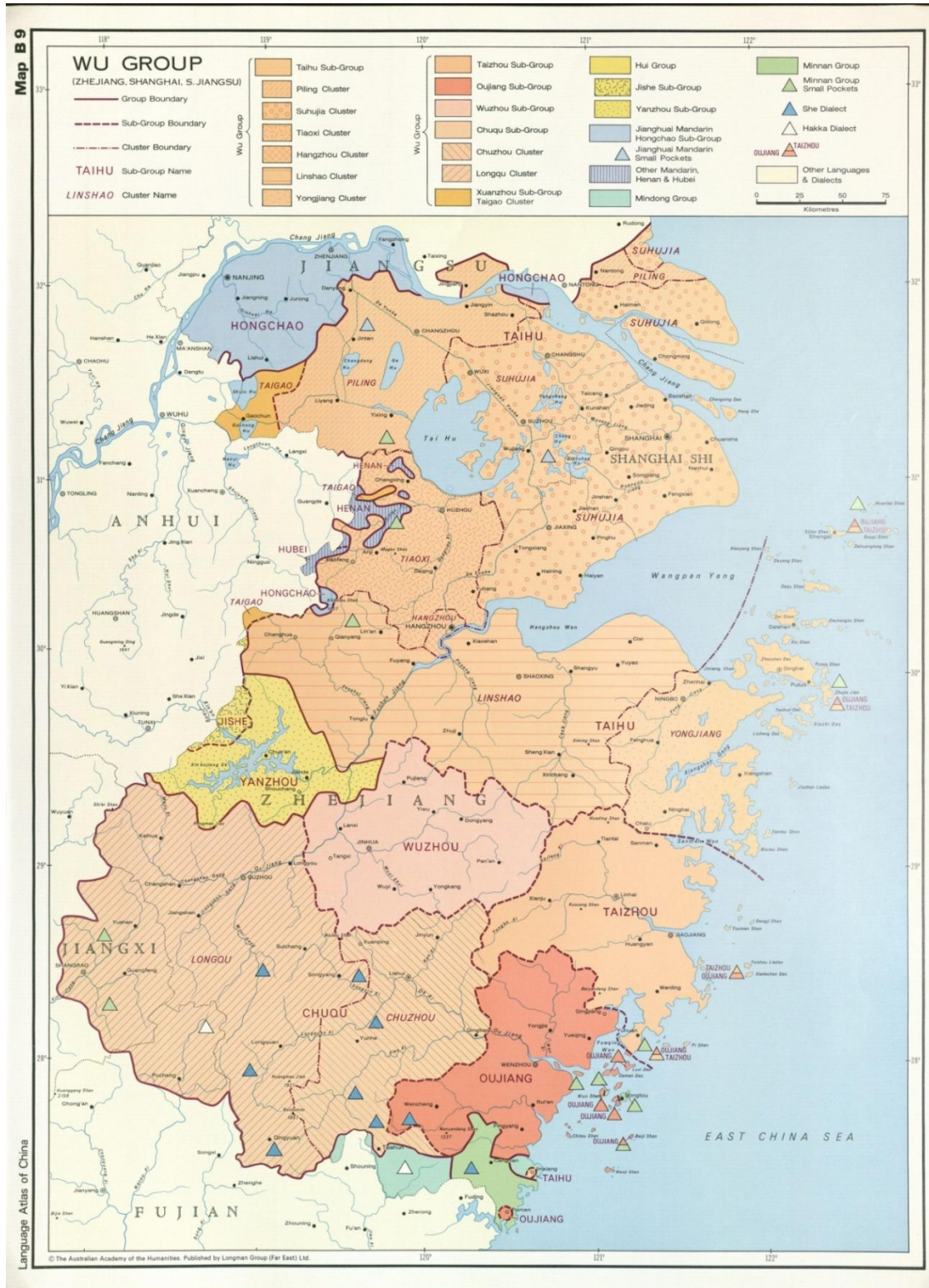
As the Cultural Revolution drew to an end, American officials started to pursue ties with China. This was done in secret at first, but with the death of Mao Zedong 毛泽东(1893-1976) and the leadership of Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (1904-1997), these relations began to strengthen. Economic reforms formally began in 1978 when Deng Xiaoping opened up China to foreign commerce again. For the city of Shanghai, by 1982, its Hongqiao 虹桥 Development zone was opened to encourage foreign investors. In addition, Pudong was starting to be developed as well, in accordance with *The Greater Shanghai Plan* (MacPherson 38). With the incoming foreign investment, the population of foreigners started to increase again. According to the 2011 Shanghai census, there are about 210,000 foreigners living in Shanghai. In terms of investment, Shanghai alone accounts for 10.8% of the total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) invested in China (Wong).

Implications of Shanghai's History for the Shanghai dialect

The history of Shanghai makes it clear that the city's development was intimately with its place in ever growing markets that eventually became both nation-wide and international. It was able to play an important part in these markets because of its geographical location as a port city. The city grew along with these markets and its development was only brought into jeopardy by war or politics. The former often was responsible for a rise in the population of the city as refugees fled to its relative safety, but it was the commercial opportunities there that kept refugees from leaving later. With the coming of the Reform Period, the Chinese Communist Party's efforts to suppress the city's international history came an end and it is now one of the world's most global of cities.

As a city that interacted with foreigners on a daily basis, language became something that needed to be addressed. Language became more and more of an issue as foreigners needed increasingly to have some common language with the native inhabitants in order to conduct their personal and official business as mentioned in the Abstract. The subject of this paper is Shanghainese (*Shanghaihua* 上海话). As a dialect, it was spoken and not usually written, though one can write the dialect using Chinese characters. In order to examine the relationship and interaction that occurred between foreign languages (specifically English) and the Shanghai dialect, one needs to first understand the history and linguistic details of the dialect itself.

Shanghai Dialect: General History and Linguistic History



Map 4. Wu Dialect Region (lmap.org).

Though China's national language is listed as standard Mandarin, the country itself contains over 400 dialects (though some are argued to be languages) that are more or less divided by the country's provinces. These dialects are grouped into language sub-families. The dialect of Shanghai, Shànghǎihuà 上海话, is part of the Wú 吴 language sub-family. The Wú dialects are spoken in eastern China, which includes the Shanghai Municipality, Zhejiang Province, southern Jiangsu Province and various parts of the Anhui and Jiangxi Province as seen in Map 4.

Though spoken in many different provinces, all of the Wú dialects share the tripartite division of stop consonants (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced), complicated tone sandhi dominance and first or last syllable dominance (qtd. in Zhu 1). In terms of the tripartite division, this is one of the main features that separate the Wú dialects from Mandarin, which only has two divisions or manners of articulation.

ANCIENT PRONUNCIATION	MEANING	WU INITIALS	MANDARIN INITIALS AND TONES
<i>pāng</i>	'help'	[p-]	[p ⁻¹]
<i>p'āng</i>	'roar of water'	[p'-]	[p ⁻¹]
<i>b'āng</i>	'side'	[b'-]	[p ⁻²]
<i>tiēi</i>	'low'	[t-]	[t ⁻¹]
<i>t'ieī</i>	'ladder'	[t'-]	[t ⁻¹]
<i>d'ieī</i>	'lift'	[d'-]	[t ⁻²]
<i>kuāng</i>	'light'	[k-]	[k ⁻¹]
<i>k'uāng</i>	'basket'	[k'-]	[k ⁻¹]
<i>g'iwang</i>	'mad'	[g'-]	[k ⁻²]
<i>ki</i>	'basis'	[tś-]	[tś ⁻¹]
<i>k'i</i>	'deceive'	[tś'-]	[tś ⁻¹]
<i>g'ī</i>	'his'	[dǎ'-]	[tś ⁻²]

Chart 2, Examples of Tripartite Division, Excerpted from Yuen Ren Chao. "Contrasting Aspects of the Wu Dialects," *Aspects of Chinese Sociolinguistics: Essays*(Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1976), 36.

In terms of what is meant by tone sandhi, it is a change of a tone when it is put together with other tones. Within the Shanghai dialect, there are two types of tone sandhi. They are the left-

dominant sandhi (L-sandhi) and the right-dominant sandhi (R-sandhi). The former occurs with prosodic words and the latter occurs at the phrasal level.⁷In more general terms, a word or phrase that is left-dominant will be dominated by the tone of the left-most syllable. Likewise, a word or phrase that is right-dominant will be dominated by the tone of the right-most syllable. Below are two examples that demonstrate the two types of tone sandhi:

Individual Tones	Character	Word L-sandhi	Phrasal R-sandhi
<i>cao</i> ³⁴ <i>mi</i> ¹⁴ fry noodles	炒面	<i>'caomi</i> ^{:33 :44} 'fried noodles'	<i>cao</i> ^{:44} <i>'mi</i> ^{:14} 'to fry noodles'
<i>duq</i> ²⁴ <i>sir</i> ⁵² read book	读书	<i>duqsir</i> ^{:11:24} 'study'	<i>duq</i> ^{:11} <i>sir</i> ⁵² 'to read a book'

Chart 3, Examples of Tone Sandhi in the Shanghai dialect, Excerpted from Zhu, Xiaonong. *A Grammar of Shanghai Wu*. München: LINCOM Europa, 2006. Print.; Written using long-short romanization

As part of the Wú language sub-family, the Shanghai dialect demonstrates these linguistic variations.

The popularity of the dialect reflects the location in which it is spoken. Shanghai is the largest city in China and therefore about 18 million people speak the local Shanghai dialect (Zhu 1). Similarly the history of the Shanghai dialect reflects the history of the Shanghai itself. Most of the first residents of Shanghai were immigrants from surrounding provinces who came to Shanghai for commercial reasons. They emigrated from other areas where other Wú dialects were spoken. A quarter of the first substantial population of Shanghai also came from Mandarin and Cantonese speaking provinces. This was before the Mandarin dialect was established as the national language or before any campaigns to spread the use of Mandarin, so a particular

⁷ Prosodic: “the stress and intonation patterns of an utterance”; as described in "Prosodic." *Dictionary.com*. Dictionary.com, n.d. Web. <<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/prosodic>>.

Shanghai dialect began to develop (Zhu 1). As a spoken language, most of the early documentation of the Shanghai dialect was published by foreign missionaries who were trying to learn the language, material which will be examined more in detail later on in this thesis. In 1892, the first book written in the Shanghai dialect was published. Written by Han Bangqing, *Haishang hua liezhuanis* narrated in standard Chinese, but the dialogue is in the Shanghai dialect (Starr 119). While the dialect is still alive today, there have been worries that its usefulness and popularity is on a downward trend. Speaking to friends and family who currently live in Shanghai, most of them agree with the sentiment that is also mentioned by Xiaonong Zhu, who says “quite a lot of young Shanghai people even cannot speak their native tongue properly or don’t speak it at all” (Zhu 2). However, there is recent interest in revitalizing the dialect, with even a new textbook published by Professor Qian Nairong 钱乃荣, one of the most prominent scholars on the Shanghai dialect. His textbook, *Xiǎoxuéshēng xuéshuō Shànghǎi huà* 小学生学说上海话 (tr. Elementary school students speak Shanghainese), is designed to teach the Shanghai dialect to migrant children in efforts to help them assimilate better into the Shanghai society and to keep the dialect alive. In addition, there is also a local channel in the city channel named *Yúlè* 娱乐 which has continuous programming in the Shanghai dialect.

Linguistically speaking, there are two major varieties of the Shanghai dialect. They are the Old Variety and the New Variety. These two varieties, however, are also divided into 6 more specific varieties: Old variety (OV)-Ia, OV-Ib, OV-II, OV-III, New variety (NV)-I, NV-II, and NV-III (Zhu 2). Two of the main differences between the older varieties of the Shanghai dialect and the newer varieties are that the older varieties demonstrate more citation tones and more

complex sandhi tones.⁸For example, the word *taocir* 到处 ‘everywhere’ in OV-III form would be pronounced *tao*⁵⁵*cir*³¹ while in the NV form, it would be *tao*³³*cir*⁴⁴. While the OV versions are hardly spoken any more, the phonology of OV-I is closer to language spoken by the people of Songjiang, which is currently one of the three municipalities of Shanghai. While there are differences between the OV and NV versions, even the newer versions of the Shanghai dialect differ substantially from each other. For example, NV-I has 46 finals, NV-II has 43 finals while NV-III only has 32 finals. Furthermore, both NV-I and NV-II have the same 33 initials while NV-III has 32 of the same initials(Zhu 2).As NV-I is the older of the three, there seems to be a decrease of finals and initials. Similarly, there is also a demonstrated loss of both citation tones and tone sandhi as well.

Though it is commonly labeled a dialect, the importance of the Shanghai dialect in Shanghai was very great, especially before Mandarin became the official language. As foreigners came into the city, dictionaries and books were published to teach the dialect to foreigners. The version of the dialect that was being taught was the older version. Before examining the content of these publications, it is useful to understand the purpose and authors behind these books.

⁸ Citation tones: “the tone that is uttered in isolation”; As described in San Diego State University Chinese Department. "Tone Sandhi in Chinese." *Tone Sandhi in Chinese*. San Diego State University, n.d. Web. <<http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/dept/chinese/materials/352/tonesandhi.html>>.

Joseph Edkins



Figure2, Joseph Edkins,

Photo taken from Wikipedia

Joseph Edkins was born in England in 1823. After graduating from London University, he was ordained in 1847, after which he started to serve with the London Missionary Society (LMS). As part of LMS, he later joined W.H. Medhurst, who was at the time involved in Protestant missions in Shanghai (1848-1858). Together with a few other missionaries, they began to preach in the city and the farmlands that surrounded it. In addition, they also trained pastors through the various classes in which they taught (Mason).

Not only was Edkins able to adapt to Chinese society, but he was also involved, to an extent, with the society itself. For example, Edkins knew many of the top officials involved in the Taiping Rebellion. He studied the language and culture of the city and even the whole country as well. For example, he was known for his view of Buddhism as a preparatory practice that led to Christianity. Therefore, he was not only an evangelist but also a translator, philologist, author, and expert in Chinese religions. He published numerous books and articles such as *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese*(1853); *The Religious Condition of the Chinese*(1859); *Progressive Lessons in the Chinese Spoken Language* (1864); *A Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect*(1869); *The Evolution of the Chinese Language*; *China's Place in Philology*(1871); *Introduction to the Study of Chinese Characters*(1876); ; ; *Chinese*

Buddhism(1893); *Opium*(1898); and *The Revenue and Taxation of the Chinese Empire*(1903)(Mason).

In the case of his books on the Shanghai dialect, his reasons for researching, writing, and publishing his *Vocabulary* and *Grammar* were based on academic, missionary and commercial interests. This is evident in the following excerpt from his preface to *Grammar*:

The little work now in the hands of the reader, is an attempt to elucidate colloquial Chinese, by taking a limited field of enquiry, that of the dialect of a single district [Shanghai]. By this means it has been hoped, something might be done to help the causes of Chinese philology, by collecting facts, which writers having a wider scope, have overlooked. . . .On Missionary and Commercial grounds, it is time that some attempt should be made to supply this want. (pp. iii-iv)

After an illustrious career as a missionary and scholar, Edkins retired from the LMS in 1880, though he continued to be involved in mission initiatives. In addition, he also became a translator for the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs. During his 57 years in China, while his main base was in Shanghai, he also traveled extensively throughout the country, finally returning to Shanghai in 1893 to continue writing. This was also where he passed away in 1905 (Mason).

Shanghai Christian Vernacular Society

The Shanghai Christian Vernacular Society was a group of Christian missionaries and academics who reviewed and compiled the writings of individual Christian missionaries into

more comprehensive publications like *Syllabary of the Shanghai Vernacular* (1891) and *An English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect* (1913). Their books were then printed by The American Presbyterian Mission Press. Below is an excerpt from the preface to the latter of these two books:

As so many people speak the Shanghai or kindred dialects, and there are many missionaries and other foreigners living in this region [Shanghai], it has long been felt that an English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect was a great desideratum. Dr. Edkins had prepared a small work in 1853, which has been very useful in its day, but its range was too limited. No one volunteering to undertake the work, the happy thought occurred to one or more of the missionaries to divide the work of preparation among the different missionaries of Shanghai, assigning to each a certain portion; the whole to be based upon Morrison's *Vocabulary of the Ningpo Dialect* as a guide, but to be enlarged and improved upon. . .

.Missionaries living in Kashing, Soochow, Kiangyin, and other places within a radius of eighty miles or more of Shanghai, who have had advance portions of the work, have found it very useful in their dialect, with only some slight modifications, easily made. And so it is hoped that the work may have a wider sphere of usefulness than the immediate neighborhood of Shanghai and that it will prepare the way for something better and more extended further on. (A Committee ii-iii)

Therefore, while their books were published to guide the Christian missionaries at the time, there were also those that were published for foreigners no engaged in the missionary endeavor.

R.A. Parker

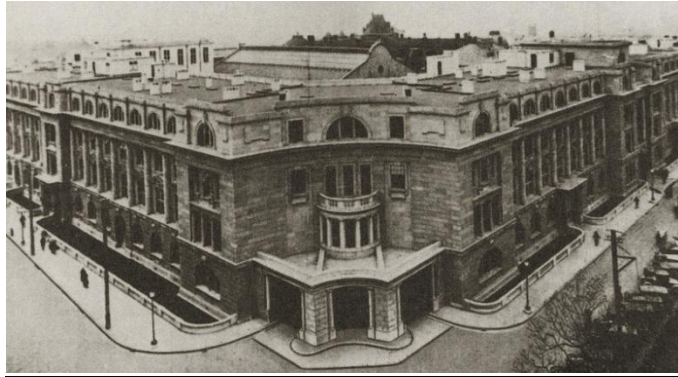


Figure 3: Shanghai Municipal Council; photo taken from www.virtualshanghai.net

While little is known about R.A. Parker besides the fact that he was the official translator and director of Chinese studies for the Shanghai Municipal Council, he did publish one of the first textbooks on the Shanghai dialect amply titled *Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect in Romanized and Character with Key to Pronunciation*(1923). The intention of the publication is described in this excerpt from the “Preface”:

The book is not intended for beginners and a use of it presupposes a previous study of Pott’s *Lessons*⁹, or some other book for beginners... While the book has been adopted by the Shanghai Municipal Council as a text book for their employees who engage in the official study of the local dialect, the author

⁹Pott, F. L. Hawks. *Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect*. Shanghai: Printed at the Commercial, 1907. Print.

indulges the hope that he has hereby made at least a small contribution to the all too scanty, extant, literature in the local dialect, the one which most nearly approximates the language of the Wu Kingdom, of the time of the Three Kingdoms, which was the heyday of China's literary greatness.(i).

As mentioned above, the Shanghai Municipal Council was what governed the International Settlement. The International Settlement was mostly comprised of missionaries and businessmen. As people who have goals that require active engagement in the society and language, they were people who benefited the most from such publications. Because of their interests, this textbook also included court documents (see Fig. 4 below).

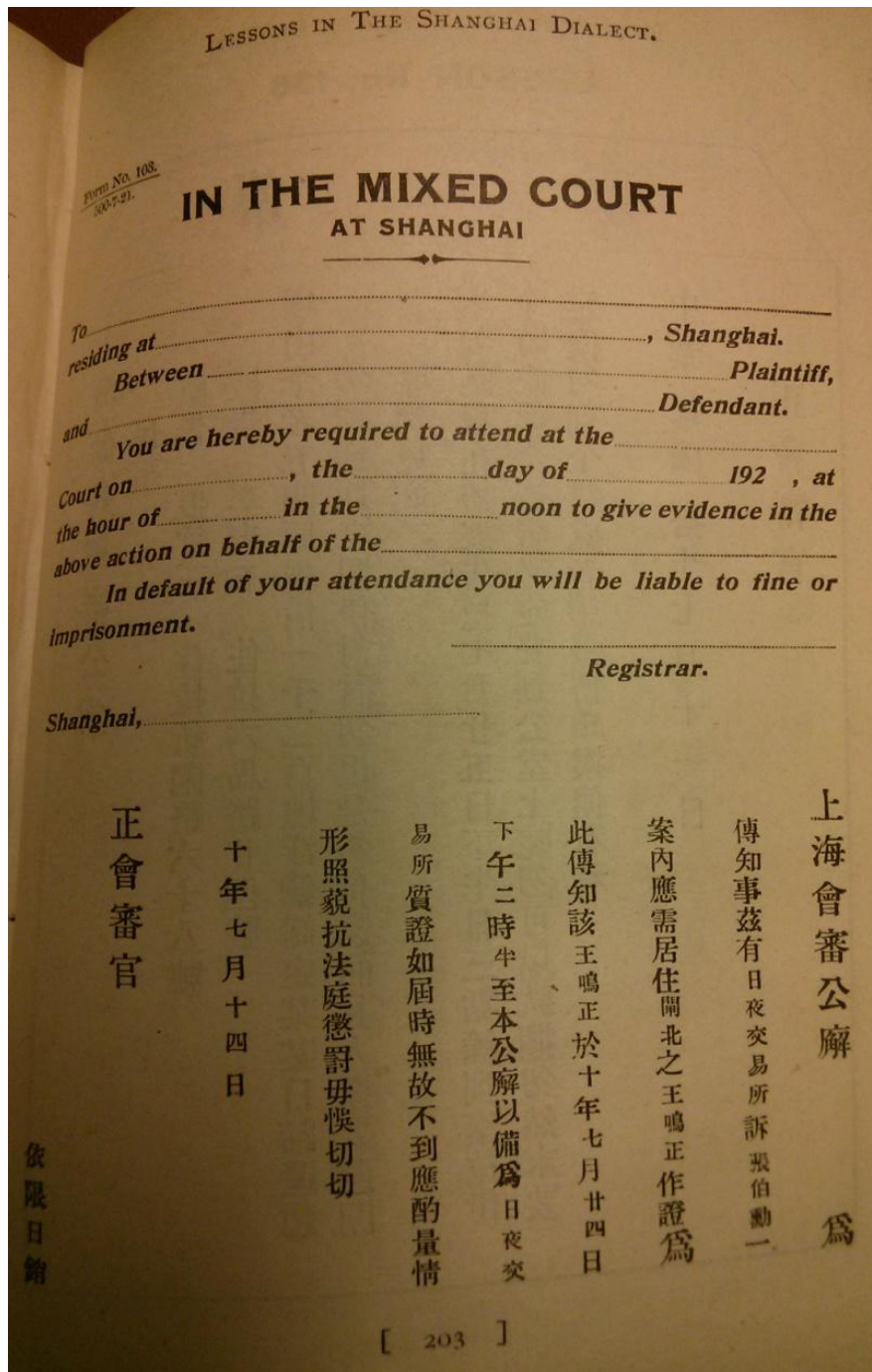


Figure4, Format and translation of a “Mixed Court¹⁰” document, figure taken from Parker, R. A. *Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect: In Romanized and Character*. Shanghai: Shanghai Municipal Council, 1923. Print.

¹⁰ “The Shanghai Mixed Court was established in 1863 amidst protests from both the Chinese and the British about the handling of court cases. The court was originally intended to deal with criminal cases that arose between Chinese and British who were living in close proximity but quickly expanded its scope to encompass civil cases. Shortly afterwards, the court also began

Therefore, these textbooks and dictionaries reflect the history of Shanghai, in that the city was subject to the presence of foreigners not long after it was established as a city. They were published to allow foreigners to actively engage in Shanghai culture and society by using the dialect.

litigating both civil and criminal cases between Chinese who operated in the foreign settlement. This occurred in part because there were no other effective institutions to perform these functions and in part because as people learned to operate within its loosely defined structure, the Mixed Court provided an alternative to adjudication for those who wished to operate outside the formal auspices of the Qing Imperial system” (Hammond 1).

Linguistic Interaction between English and the Shanghai Dialect

There are of course other publications on the Shanghai dialect during this time period; some were even referenced in the quotations from the prefaces of the books that were mentioned. However, these were the main dictionaries and textbooks published at the time and which are still referenced in more current publications on the Shanghai dialect. Based upon these books, not only can the reasons for such publications be understood, but also how foreigners from an English-speaking background tried to learn the Shanghai dialect..

The Teaching of the Shanghai Dialect to Non-Chinese through Textbooks

Because the linguistics and philology of Chinese in general was not as developed when these textbooks were written as it is today, that affected how the Shanghai dialect was taught textually by missionaries and academics. This is especially evident when it comes to pronunciation of the Shanghai dialect. One problem was how to accurately represent the sounds of the dialect for English speakers. The authors of these books forewarned the reader with statements like this one:

The true pronunciation of Chinese sounds can only be learned from a Chinese teacher. A large majority of the sounds have no true equivalent in English; hence the student should bear in mind that *any Romanization used does not represent*

English sounds, but Chinese sounds. This fact cannot be too strongly emphasized.

(A Committee iv)

To supplement the attempts to romanize the sounds of the Shanghai dialect in these textbooks, the sound values of the Shanghai dialect were compared to the sounds of English and its dialects.

Below is a selection of examples taken from the pronunciation guide in *An English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect*:

ph—aspirated; somewhat as an American or Irishman would pronounce *p* in *pin*,

but with a still more decided aspiration 拍

‘*m*—more explosive than *m*, and with less vibration of the larynx. 每

‘—before an initial vowel indicates that the word belongs to the lower series. The

vowel is pronounced with considerable vibration of the larynx and seems

to be slightly aspirated. This aspiration is little more than a huskiness in

the throat and foreigners often make the mistake of too much aspiration. It

should not be confused with *h*. 害

S—as in English. Very often pronounced with a slight lisp. 息

Ky—a peculiar sound which cannot be represented by any English combination.

Perhaps *tky* might better represent it. It is much the same as *ch*,

unaspirated and without vibration of the larynx. 鸡(iv-vi)

In these examples, the pronunciation of the Shanghai dialect is equated to how the English reader would pronounce English sounds with various adjustments in terms of aspiration, accents and

larynx vibrations. Furthermore, as alluded to in the last example, there were also times when the pronunciation couldn't be equated to an English sound. Despite the inability to represent such sounds, words containing these sounds were still included in the dictionary as demonstrated in the example above of *ky*. Moreover these dictionaries were still able to provide a wide array of words. As demonstrated in Figure 5, words relating to business, education, religion and everyday life can be found within these dictionaries:

Provoked, 動氣个 °doong-chi° kuh;
easily—, 輕易動氣 chung-yi° °doong-chi°;
—beyond endurance, 動氣來忍勿住 °doong-chi° le °nyung-°veh-dzu°.

Provoking man, 討厭个人 °thau-ien° kuh nyung°;
—thing, 討厭个事體 °thau-ien° kuh z°-°thi.

Provost of a school, 監院 kan-yoen°;
—, an executioner, 監斬官 kan-°tsan-kwen.

Prow, 船頭 zen-deu.

Prowess, 膽大 °tan-doo°, 勇敢 °ioong-°ken.

Prowl, 偷伴子走 theu-ben°-°ts°tsen;
thief—s, 賊忒油油 zuh-theh yeu-yeu;
wild animal—s, 野獸賊忒油油 °ya-sen° zuh-theh yeu-yeu.

Proximate, 相近 siang-°jung, 貼近 thih-°jung, 隣近 ling-°jung;
what is the—cost? 約酌哈價錢 ink-tsak sa° ka°-dien?

Proxy, 代理个 °de-°li kuh.

Prudence, discernment, 智慧 ts°-we°;
—, caution, 細心 si°-sing, 小心 °siau-sing.

Prudent, 有智慧 °yeu ts°-we°, 精明把細 tsing-ming °po-si°.

Prudery, 怕難為情个 pho °nan-we-dzing kuh.

Prune, a, 梅子 me-°ts.

Prune, to, 修剪 sieu-°tsien.

Prussian blue, 普魯士藍 Phoo-°loo-°z lan.

Prussic acid, 輕糞 chung-se.

Pry into, 偷看 theu-khoen°;
—open, 撬開 chan-khe;
—, by indirect questioning, 探口風 then° °kheu-foong;

—, by asking secretly, 私下問問 s-°au° mung°-mung°.

Psalm, 詩篇 s-phien.

Psalter, 詩篇 s-phien.

Psychology, 心學 sing-yak.

Puberty, 發身 fah-sung, 成人 dzung-nyung.

Public, 公 koong;
in—, 衆人面前 tsoong°-nyung mien-°zien;
—business, 公事 koong-z°;
—opinion, 公論 koong-lung°;
—use, 公用 koong-yoong°;
—road, 公路 koong-loo°, 官路 kwen-loo°;
—funds, 公項 koong-°aung, 公款 koong-°khwen;
the—, 衆人 tsoong°-nyung, 衆百姓 tsoong° pak-sing°;
known to the—, 衆百姓曉得个 tsoong° pak-sing° °hyau-tuh kuh;
—seal, 官印 kwen-iung°;
—hall, 公所 koong-°soo, 公處 koong-°tshu;
—office, 公職 koong-tshu, 公門 koong-mung;
—expenditure, 公費 koong-fi°, 度支 doo°-ts°;
—spirited, 樂善好施 lauh °zen hau° s°.

Publican, (*keeper of a public house*), 開客窩个人 khe khak-nyui° kuh nyung;
—, receiver of taxes, 稅吏 soe°-li°.

Publish, 發印 fah-iung°, 發賣 fah-ma°;
—books, 印書 iung° °su.

Publish a paper, 印新聞紙 iung° °sing-vung-°ts°;
—in paper, 上新聞 °zauung sing-vung;
—abroad, 行閱 °ang-khe, 傳揚 dzen-yang.

Figure 5 English-Shanghainese Dictionary excerpt; Scanned from A Committee of the Shanghai Vernacular Society, comp. *An English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect*. 2nd ed. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission, 1913. Print.

Similarly, early missionaries like Edkins were still able to teach grammar despite the lack of formal analysis on Chinese linguistics by contextualizing the different grammar points and equating them to what is familiar. The latter instance is demonstrated in Figure 6 below:

亮晃晃 liáng 'kwong 'kwong, *a glimmer of light.*
Obs. Such forms of repetition are rare, except when they express plurality (v. Art. 129). In the adjective and verb, they are much more common. See also Part III. Repetition.

119. The formation of compound substantives, by the simple apposition of two or more roots, is also found in other languages. English and German contain many examples. Substantives, adjectives, and verbs all enter into these forms. E. g. hearsay (v. v.), sunset (s. v.), windfall (s. v.), footstool (s. s.), farewell (v. adv.), lebewohl (do. German), adieu (prep. s. Fr. Eng.), addio (do. Ital.), safeguard (a. s.), white-bait (a. s.), Rath-haus (s. s.), council-house (s. s.). Though many of these words are written without a break, the accent on the penultimate indicates, for those that are English, that they are compounds. In languages that have an extensive system of terminations such as Latin, Greek, and Sanscrit, when composition occurs, the constituent roots become one word, and the affix of declension, &c. in the word that precedes is usually omitted. Thus, in *αὐτάδελφος* and *αὐτόχειρ* the simple root *αὐτ* precedes the word to which it is joined, in one case with no adjunct, and in the other with the connecting vowel *ο*. In the Latin word *respublica*, *reipublicæ*, we have two roots in apposition, without the process of declension being interrupted. Cases of simple juxtaposition such as this, are much rarer in the ancient languages than in the modern, where the root admits of few variations in its form.

120. In the development of a language consisting of monosyllabic roots, where nothing can be added or altered, some

Figure 6: Shanghai Grammar book Excerpt; Scanned from Edkins, Joseph. *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese, as Exhibited in the Shanghai Dialect*. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission, 1868. Print. P. 72

Long Term Effects of the Interaction between the Shanghai Dialect and English: Loanwords

Despite the occasional inefficiency of English when it comes to teaching the Shanghai dialect as seen in the excerpt from *An English-Chinese Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect*, the

interaction between the language and dialect did have long term effects, at least for the Shanghai dialect. Perhaps one of the most obvious examples of this effect took the form of loanwords. In this context, loanwords were English words that were equated to sounds within the dialect and hence translated into the Shanghai dialect, for the most part simply because these words did not exist in the Shanghai dialect. English words that became loanwords in Shanghai dialect include: mister, number one, dollars, face, hundred, pass, again, half, last car, pass, romantic, motor, valve, lacquer, chromium, polish, mosaic, cement, steam, gas, palace, toast, pudding, salad, sandwich, butter, cocoa, curry, Vaseline, stick, violin, sundae, microphone, goal, touch ball, double, plug, start, comprador, title, party, angel, dozen, tin, shoot, stop, porter, boy, a moron, chance, tendency, indanthrene, sofa and vitamin (Lu 57-58). Though Chinese characters were used to write these loanwords, when the characters were pronounced in Mandarin, the degree of phonetic similarity between the English word and its Chinese equivalent declined, which is evidence that these terms were first borrowed by the speakers of the Shanghai dialect. Below are some examples that show this:

English	Character	Wu pronunciation	Mandarin pinyin
butter	白脱	paʔ ⁵ t'əʔ ⁵	paɪ ² t'huo ¹
start	司大脱	sɪ ³⁴ du ¹³ t'əʔ ⁵	si ¹ ta ⁴ t'huo ¹
angel	安琪儿	ø ⁵³ dzi ¹³ əl ¹³	an ¹ tɕh ¹ i ² aŋ ²
Vaseline	凡士林	vɛ ¹³ zɪ ¹³ liŋ ¹³	fan ² ʃi ⁴ lin ²
mosaic	马赛克	mo ¹³ sɛ ³⁴ k'əʔ ⁵	ma ³ sai ⁴ k'hu ⁴

Chart 4, English loanwords in the Shanghai dialect (IPA)

When pronounced in the Shanghai dialect, these words sound very much like their English counterparts. However, when pronounced in Mandarin, the match is not as good. While some of these words have been replaced by new words in the Shanghai dialect, some, such as “sofa”, “butter”, “cigar”, and “vitamin,” are still retained even to this day. Furthermore, some of these loanwords also became subject to “second level borrowing” when they made their way from the Shanghai dialect into Mandarin. Here are some examples:

Shanghai dialect	Mandarin
so ⁵³ fa ⁵	沙发 şa ¹ fa ¹
vi ¹³ t'a ⁵ miŋ ¹³	维他命 wuei ² thə ¹ miŋ ⁴
pu ³⁴ tiŋ ⁵³	布丁 pu ⁴ tiŋ ¹

Chart 5: Examples of “Second level borrowing”

Conclusion

Shanghai holds the history of being a global city and this difference is displayed in the dialect as well. The interaction between the natives and foreigners was reflected in the languages that they spoke. The English language directly interacted with the Shanghai dialect when missionaries and foreign academics tried to teach the colloquial Shanghai dialect by using English pronunciations. While this marked a beginning of the Western understanding of Chinese linguistics, specifically of the Shanghai dialect, the English language itself also left a mark on the dialect. The daily colloquial interaction between the English language and the Shanghai dialect did leave a visible mark upon the latter in the form of loanwords. Whether it was due to the lack of terms for the English words and expressions or the eagerness to employ English terminology, English terms became loanwords employed in the Shanghai dialect. While much of the terminology that underwent this linguistic phenomenon eventually became replaced with “native” terms, there are still a few such loanwords that have been retained.

What would be interesting to examine in the future would be to keep track of words that are becoming loanwords today in Shanghai. As more foreigners pour into the city and as new words enter the English language due to technical advances, are there many examples of modern loanwords? Furthermore, another more theoretical point of research would be to examine the effects of the Shanghai dialect upon the English language. So far this thesis only examines the effects of the English language upon the Shanghai dialect. It is not unknown for a Chinese dialect to have an effect on English. A glance at a menu at any Chinese restaurant will prove this. Chop suey, Kung pao chicken, Lo mein, Moo Goo Gai Pan etc., though Cantonese terms, have more or less become part of the English language due to the immigrants that came to America from Canton. Consequently, it would seem that the Shanghai dialect would not have much influence on English because there weren't as many native Shanghainese who immigrated to

America. As Mandarin is now the official language of China and as the livelihood of the Shanghai dialect is questioned by some academics, perhaps there will never be chance for the Shanghai dialect to have the same effect on English as English once had on it.

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