

# Chinese Englishes: from Canton jargon to global English

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper argues that one approach to the notion of 'Chinese Englishes' may involve the critical re-examination of a rich history of cultural and linguistic contact and language learning and teaching that runs from the early seventeenth century to the present. From a period of 'first contact' in 1637, this history includes the era of Chinese pidgin English from the mid-eighteenth century to the recent past, the impact of missionary schools and universities, Nationalist initiatives before 1949, and the Open Door policies of the last two decades. It also involves the consideration of the recent popularity of Li Yang, a celebrity English teacher, whose method of 'Crazy English' has recently been marketed to millions of followers throughout the PRC. Li Yang's message of 'Make money internationally' serves to remind us that 'pidgin' English (typically glossed as 'business' English) arose during an earlier but no less crucial era of world trade and globalisation.

## ENGLISH IN CHINA AND CHINESE ENGLISHES

Recent sociolinguistic work by a number of scholars has argued in favour of the recognition of Hong Kong English as an autonomous variety on a par with such other Asian Englishes as Indian English, Singapore English and Philippine English. The argument that such a variety now deserves recognition is based on a number of criteria, including the existence of a recognisable accent of English, a distinct lexicon, creative writing, reference works and the existence of a particular historical tradition that has contributed to the formation of the variety (Bolton, 2000a, 2000b). Within mainland China related debates are now in progress with reference to processes of the 'nativisation' of English in the Chinese context as well as the appropriateness of such terms as 'China English', 'Chinese English' to describe localised varieties of English in China (Kirkpatrick and Xu, this issue). Elsewhere, I have suggested that English in Hong Kong has a forgotten past, 'a sociolinguistic history', that links it, historically and developmentally, to the very beginnings of the cultural and linguistic contact between English speakers and Chinese in South China, especially Macau and Canton (Guangzhou) from the early seventeenth century onwards (Bolton, in press). In this paper, I attempt to show that similar links may be made between China's forgotten past(s), forgotten Englishes, and the dynamics of English in the People's Republic of China (PRC) today.

Currently it seems that a knowledge of the English language is spreading rapidly throughout the PRC. With the nation's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Olympic Games scheduled for Beijing in 2008, the popularity of English seems to have reached a new peak with government policy-makers, educationalists, and the Chinese public. A recent news article from Shanghai reported on a sustained campaign to promote English throughout the city involving 'English days' for schools and self-study courses for police, restaurant staff and taxi-drivers:

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At many Shanghai schools, Wednesday is English day. Dormitories wake up to broadcasts of recorded English news and stories. All day, students make their own radio shows, study math, search the Internet, and watch movies – in English. They sing the Back Street Boys and Jennifer Lopez songs in class, and view “Sesame Street” after school on Shanghai TV . . . In addition to English day in schools, they’ve passed out English tapes and books to other sectors of society likely to encounter English-speaking visitors, such as taxi-drivers. (Johnson, 2001: 7)

The article also claims that ‘Shanghai’s accent on English skills also reflects a longer-term desire to overtake the rival Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) as a Chinese, and Asian financial hub’, and speculates that ‘Shanghai’s economy was on track to equal Hong Kong’s in 15 years, if present growth rates continue’. The broad economic picture now seems to show the PRC is out-performing most other Asian and western economies, with an official economic growth rate of around 7 per cent. Evidently, in the minds of many inside China, English seems inextricably linked to the nation’s continued economic growth. When Deng Xiao-ping emerged as China’s leader in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, the government adopted an ‘Open Door’ policy towards the West that brought with it a renewed interest in the learning of foreign languages, particularly English (see Adamson, Lam, this issue).

Precise figures on the remarkable spread of English now underway in the PRC are hard to come by, but some statistics are available. These indicate a dramatic and rapid spread of English throughout China in the last 40 years or so. For example, in 1957, at the height of Russian’s popularity in schools, it is estimated that there were only 850 secondary-school English teachers in the whole country. By 2000, this figure had astonishingly risen to about 500,000, and from last year the government is planning to extend the teaching of English language to all primary schools. Current estimates of the numbers of English speakers in China have recently put the figure at over 200 million and rising, with 50 million secondary schoolchildren now studying the language (Zhao and Campbell, 1995; Adamson, Forthcoming). The claim that English has a ‘forgotten past’ in mainland China may be illustrated with reference to a range of sources dealing with the teaching of English in China, including a not untypical paper from 1996, which discusses the ‘initial stage’ of the history of English teaching thus:

The earliest school offering English courses was set up in 1862, called *Jing Shi Tong Wen Guan* (the Imperial Foreign Language Institute). It was not until 1903 that English courses were commonly given in institutions of higher education and middle schools. (Sun, 1996: 36)

While it is indeed true that the *Tongwen Guan* played an important role in English-language teaching in the late nineteenth century (see Adamson, Lam this issue), such a view ignores much of the early history of English in China, which included the first contact with English maritime traders in the 1630s as well as the ‘pidgin English’ era of the Canton trade of 1720–1839, and early efforts at teaching English in missionary schools in South China. In fact, an examination of the historical record clearly suggests that the first schools to teach English in China were established in Macau in the late 1830s, shortly before the First Opium War.

#### FIRST CONTACT – PETER MUNDY IN MACAU (1637)

The very first contact between English speakers and Chinese of which we have an extended record occurred in 1637, when an expedition of four ships under the command of

Captain John Weddell arrived in Macau and Canton, and it is this expedition that gives us the first detailed account of the British in South China. This was recorded in the diary of an English mercantile trader, Peter Mundy, whose writings, published as *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, are a fascinating memoir of the first contact between the British, the Macau Portuguese and the Chinese. Peter Mundy was a factor (or licensed trader) for 'Courteen's Association', an early rival to the East India Company (Temple, 1919).

Mundy's diary records a host of errors, misunderstandings and misjudgements as Weddell's fleet blundered menacingly around Macau and southern China, apparently terrifying the Portuguese-Macanese and Canton authorities alike. The Macanese and Chinese responses to the arrival of the British merchantmen varied from the ambivalent to the overtly hostile. The four ships under Weddell's command stayed in southern China from June 27, 1637 until December 28 of the same year, when they were summarily thrown out of Macau, 'expelled in all hast, in a Manner perforce, outt of the City and Country, even by Fire and sword as one May well say' (Temple, 1919: 301). In the intervening six months the British sailors and traders on board these ships had participated in and witnessed a round of confusion, mayhem and murder that involved all three parties, the British, the 'Portugalls' and the 'Chinois', as the British traders attempted, unsuccessfully to gain access to the port of Canton (Guangzhou).

Mundy's journal may also be read as an example of early travel writing in which he provides a series of descriptions of the people – Portuguese, Japanese and Chinese – their social customs, their appearance, their dress and their food. Mundy was evidently highly impressed with the riches and opulence of Macau during its 'golden epoch', describing the settlement from the sea as 'a pretty prospecte somewhat resembling Goa, although not soe bigge' (Temple, 1919: 164). He also notes that the Macanese men were all from Portugal, whereas their wives were usually Asian, adding that 'this place affoards very Many ritche Men, cladde after the Portugall Manner' (Temple, 1919: 269). Mundy's impressions of China are largely favourable. He likes the climate, and discusses the absence of sickness amongst the men, and the 'healthy aire' of the place. 'Chinas excellencies' include 'Antiquity, largenesse, Ritchenesse, healthynesse, Plentiffullnesse. For Arts and manner off governmentt I think noe Kingdome in the world Comparable to it. Considered alltogether' (Temple, 1919: 303). As a trader, Mundy also devotes a section of his diary to a description of trading 'commodities', most of which he claimed were 'very ritche, rare, good and Cheape'. Chief among these were 'Gold' and 'Raw silke'. Another commodity was 'China Porcelane', which Mundy mentions is 'the best in the world'. Other goods include powdered sugar ('very good, smelling like roses'); 'muske'; 'Greene ginger' and 'Conserves off severall sorts very good and Cheape' (Temple, 1919: 304). Mundy's account gives an overwhelming impression of a country of wealth, abundance and, at a culinary level, an Eldorado of taste sensations. He records his first taste of 'Leicheea' (lichees):

as bigge as a Wallnutt, ruddy browne and Crusty, the skynne like to thatt of the Raspis [raspberry] or Mulberry, butt hard, which Doath easily and cleanly come offe, having within a Cleare white (somwhatt) hard palpy substance, in tast like to those Muscadine grapes thatt are in Spaine . . . It is said they are proper only to this Kingdome of China, And to speake my owne Mynde, it is the prettiest and pleasauntest Fruit thatt ever I saw or tasted. (Temple, 1919: 162)

In one village, Mundy is also invited to the 'Pagode' or temple, where, after witnessing a fortune-telling ceremony, he is given food and a pair of chopsticks: 'Then broughtt they us some henne cutt in smalle peeces and Fresh porcke Don in like Manner, giving us

Choppsticks to eatt our Meat, butt wee knew not how to use them, soe employed our Fingers'; which is washed down with 'warne Rack [or 'arak, spirits] outt of a straunge bottle' (Temple, 1919: 194). The most historically significant entry, however, is the section which describes his introduction to tea (or 'chaa' as he calls it), which is the first written account from an Englishman in China of the drink that would dominate trade in the coming two centuries, involve British merchants in opium smuggling and lead to the First Opium War from 1839–42.

Chaa, what it is.

The people there gave us a certaine Drinke called Chaa, which is only water with a kind of herbe boyled in itt. It must bee Dranke warmed and is accompted wholesome. (Temple, 1919: 191)

Mundy also comments on the Chinese pronunciation of English words, noting that Chinese speakers pronounce 'very well' as 'vely wen' and Peter Mundy as 'Pe-tang Mun-ty'. In what is probably the first diagnosis of the pronunciation difficulties faced by Chinese speakers of English, Mundy notes that 'it seemes thatt P, L and D are hard to bee Found att the end off their words, especially R, sildome used and hard to bee pronounced by them, allthough it is sometymes by some thatt live among the Portugall att Macao' (Temple, 1919: 313).

#### CANTON JARGON, CANTON ENGLISH AND CHINESE PIDGIN ENGLISH

The two centuries after the visit of Peter Mundy to Macau saw the development of European trade in South China, which, after 1755, was restricted by imperial decree solely to the port of Canton. The first attestations that are available for Chinese speakers of English date from the 1740s and have been cited by a number of pidgin scholars and creolists as early examples of 'Chinese pidgin English'. The term 'pidgin English' was not, however, used until around 1859, and, throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, reference was typically made to the 'broken English', 'jargon', or 'mixed dialect' used at Canton, as in the following account from the British naval captain Anson (1748):

we imprudently choose . . . to carry on the vast transactions of the port of *Canton*, either by the ridiculous jargon of broken *English*, which some few of the *Chinese* have learnt, or by the suspected interpretation of the Linguists of other Nations. (Anson, 1974: 361)

Twentieth-century scholars of pidgin English later based their descriptions of early forms of pidgin English on the data gleaned from accounts of travellers such as Anson (1748), Noble (1762), Hickey (1769) and Anderson (1795), and the writings of later sojourners such as Samuel Wells Williams. Wells Williams (1812–84) began his career as a missionary printer in Macau in 1833 and later became the best-known American sinologist of the nineteenth century, the first Professor of Chinese at Yale, and the author of *The Middle Kingdom*. In 1836 and 1837, Wells Williams published two articles on the Chinese pidgin English in the *Chinese Repository*. For Wells Williams and other missionaries, the use of the Canton jargon was directly caused by the restrictions imposed by the imperial government on the 'intercommunication' of 'natives' and 'foreigners'. He notes that:

Hundreds of Chinese now acquire enough of the jargon spoken to do business, while hardly a foreigner ever devotes an hour to learn the language of the Chinese. The effect of an intercourse so circumscribed can never be otherwise than to keep the two parties totally separated from each

other in all those offices of kindness, sympathy, regard, and friendship, which result from a knowledge of each other's feelings and wants. (1836: 429)

Wells Williams suggests that the absence of westerners proficient in Chinese is a major cause of 'much of the indifference and suspicion of the Chinese exhibited towards foreigners' and, in this context, notes some of the difficulties attached to learning the Chinese language, including the lack of elementary books, grammars and vocabularies; the task of memorising the characters; and the law 'denouncing as traitors all those natives who dare to teach the language of the "central flowery nation" to outside barbarians' (1836: 430). In addition, there is the easy accessibility of the mixed 'dialect':

[T]he foreigner on landing hears a dialect spoken, which with an entire disregard of all rules of orthography and syntax, he can soon 'pick up', which is sufficiently extensive for commercial intercourse with the Chinese. With this jargon he soon becomes well acquainted, and in a short time looks upon the acquisition of the language as a useless as well almost impracticable undertaking. Indeed, of so long standing is the gibberish spoken here, that few ever think of paying any attention to the Chinese. (1836: 430)

The missionary response to Canton 'jargon' was to see it as a barrier set up by the Mandarin officials against the evangelisation and enlightenment of China. In 1833, in the introduction to the second volume of *The Chinese Repository*, Elijah Bridgman argued that language was important on two counts. First, there was the desirability of spreading a knowledge of the English language because, as in India, 'by acquiring a knowledge of the English tongue, the native youth will be introduced into a new world. He will live and move in a new atmosphere. He will be acted upon by new influences. He will see and feel a thousand new relations' (Bridgman, 1833: 2). Second, there was the need for western missionaries to learn Chinese, as

Such knowledge will give the foreigner power and influence with the Chinese, and over them too – a power which will be both harmless and beneficial to all. It is of little use to come in contact with the Chinese unless we can communicate freely with them – interrogate them, and be interrogated; hear them argue for, and defend their high superiority; and in turn, let them hear the opposite statements . . . It is impossible that forms, and usages, and claims founded in error and falsehood, can stand against the *force of truth*. (Bridgman, 1833: 4–5, original emphasis)

In addition to Wells Williams' accounts of Canton jargon, there is also a 'Glossary of words and phrases peculiar to the jargon spoken at Canton provided by John Robert Morrison', an early manual of China trade (Morrison, 1834). Representative items and glosses include the following:

<i>Can do?</i>	Will it do? Also used through, mistake, for 'how d'ye do?'
<i>Catchee,</i>	To get, to bring, to find, &c.; also to become, as 'this thing hab <i>catchee</i> cold', for 'this has become cold.'
<i>Chop</i>	from Malay <i>chapa</i> , a seal or stamp, any thing sealed or stamped; hence government edicts, licenses, &c., also stamped or printed documents. Again, a <i>thing</i> licensed, as a <i>chop-boat</i> ; also, a <i>place</i> able to give licenses, as a <i>chop-house</i> , i.e. a custom-house.
<i>Chop</i>	is also used as synonymous with 'quality', as <i>first chop</i> or <i>No. 1 chop</i> , for 'best quality'.
<i>Chop-chop</i>	quick, fast, as <i>too muchy chop-chop</i> , for 'very quick'.
<i>Chop-sticks</i>	the well known sticks of wood or ivory used by the Chinese in eating.

<i>Face</i>	appearance in society, reputation, credit; to <i>lose face</i> denotes to fall into discredit.
<i>Fan-kwei</i>	foreign devil, a contemptuous designation applied to foreigners.
<i>Hong</i>	a factory, a place of commercial business, a commercial establishment. <i>Hong merchants</i> are by the Chinese called 'foreign hong's', there being also silk hong's, tea hong's, &c.
<i>Joss</i>	from Port. <i>deos</i> , a god; joss-house, an idol temple; <i>joss pidgeon</i> , religious services; the phrase is also used to denote the work of providence, or otherwise fate, as 'he die, hab joss pidgeon', – it was his fate to die.
<i>Lingoo</i>	a linguist.
<i>Mahcheen</i>	a merchant, named adopted by the 'outside merchants', or shopmen.
<i>Makee</i>	is often considered a necessary prefix to a verb, as 'you makee see this side', for 'look here'.
<i>Muster</i>	a sample, a pattern, a specimen.
<i>Nex' day or tomorrow nex' day</i>	the day after tomorrow.
<i>Pay</i>	to give, to deliver to, as 'pay that chit for him', give him that chit, or note.
<i>Piece</i>	a numerical particle, as 'one piece man' for 'a man'.
<i>Pidgeon</i>	or pidginness, a corruption of the English word business, denotes also a matter, a thing. 'That no makee good pidgeon', – the thing is ill done.
<i>Quisi</i>	bad, inferior, low vulgar, indecent.
<i>Sabbee</i>	from Port. <i>saber</i> , to know. 'My no sabbee' i.e. I do not know him.
<i>Side or si'</i>	a position, situation, place, as 'outs', 'topsi', 'downsi'; which <i>si'</i> denotes where, whence.
<i>Two muchy</i>	very much, very many, very, extremely.
<i>Wantchee</i>	to want.

(Abridged from Morrison, 1834: 1–2)

It is also worth noting that a number of the items in the 1834 list, including *can do*, *chop*, *hong*, *piece*, *quisi* (from Cantonese *chī sin*), *side* (as in 'Hong Kong side') and *welly few*, are still found in various styles of Hong Kong English. This jargon is to all intents the same variety of Canton jargon described by Wells Williams, and by 1859 the terms *Canton English* and *pigeon English* ('business' English) also emerge as descriptive labels for this early variety of Chinese English.

After the Treaty of Nanking at the close of the first Anglo-Chinese War of 1839–42, the five 'treaty ports' of Canton (Guangzhou), Amoy (Xiamen), Foochow (Fuzhou), Ningpo (Ningbo) and Shanghai were opened to Britain and other western powers. Canton-English spread north and, by the 1870s, it was reported that the 'uncouth and ridiculous jargon' was 'the almost exclusive medium of communication between natives and foreigners at the open ports' (Nevius, 1872: 204). It was even suggested that 'the Chinese themselves are, to an extent, adopting this language . . . owing to the fact that men of different provinces cannot understand each other's dialect' (Simpson, 1873: 45). One important reason for the spread of Canton-English was the expansion of China trade and the comprador system from Canton and Hong Kong northwards in the wake of the Second Opium War. According to Hao (1970), some knowledge of English was a requirement for the position of comprador, as 'through his expertise in pidgin English and his knowledge of the West, he became a middleman between East and West, not only economically but also socially, politically, and culturally' (1970: 180). After the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin in 1862, numerous other 'ports' (including inland enclaves) were opened to western missionaries, merchants,

and colonial officials. By the turn of the century, over 40 Chinese cities had been opened to western powers, and a system of treaty-port 'semi-colonialism' had been established in China.

By the early twentieth century, however, there was greatly increased access to educated varieties of English through mission schools and other sources, and some Chinese speakers of English developed a distaste for pidgin. For example, Green (1934) notes that 'hundreds of mission schools have for years past been turning out thousands of Chinese who speak English at least as well as most non-English peoples; even among servants there are those who really resent being addressed in pidgin' (1934: 331). In the 1930s, Cannon describes the situation in Hong Kong thus:

'Pidgin' has ceased to be used in intercourse with educated Chinese – it is, in fact, highly insulting to employ it. On the other hand, 'pidgin' seems to have filtered down to the working class, intelligent members of which have realised that, without some means of talking to and understanding European supervisors, they have little chance of becoming foremen and gang-leaders. At Hong Kong chair-coolies and ricksha pullers are beginning to learn a few odd words. As regards the future, it appears likely that 'pidgin,' as a business language, will soon be extinct. Its place is being rapidly taken by English which, though often incorrect, is still definitely English. (1936: 138)

By 1944, Hall noted the 'decline' of pidgin English, which he claimed had begun in the 1890s. After the end of the Second World War, and the formation of the PRC in 1949, conditions in the treaty ports in mainland China changed drastically. According to some accounts, pidgin English continued to be spoken in Hong Kong during the 1950s and 1960s among tradespeople and servants, but most contemporary writers today claim that Chinese pidgin English no longer exists, even in the HKSAR.

#### PIDGIN ENGLISH AND THE REPRESENTATION OF CHINA IN THE WEST

In this context, one important argument is that contemporary pidgin and creole scholars have largely concentrated on the technical description of the linguistic features of Chinese pidgin English, but have typically failed to consider the cultural politics of pidgin English, and the role this played in the creation of a 'Chinese imaginary' (Lee, 1996) in Britain and the USA from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Around this time, pidgin became a weapon in an overtly racist 'comic' commentary on China in such publications as the British *Punch* (at the time of the Second Opium War), and in Charles Godfrey Leland's *Pidgin-English Sing-Song* (1876), which was widely circulated in the USA at a time when Exclusion Acts were being passed to prohibit the settlement of Chinese immigrants in the USA (Bolton, 2000c). Leland's 'rhymes and stories' were penned not only during an era of unequalled western expansion into China through the treaty-port system, but also during a period of mounting Sinophobia in the United States. By the 1870s, the US government was already taking initiatives to exclude Chinese immigrants from settling in the country, and the 1882 Exclusion Act was to remain in effect until 1943 (Lee, 1996). Leland's book contributed to an anti-Chinese discourse that was spread across all classes of society in both the United States and Britain. By the turn of the century in Britain, cheap Chinese labour was seen as a threat to the British working class, at a time when a few Chinese immigrants were attempting to establish themselves as laundry-owners or laundry-workers. Lee reports that in 1906, at least one Liverpool newspaper carried a report on the Chinese consumption of cats and reflects that even in the British cultural imagery of the 1990s, 'the trope of the

cat-eating Oriental is as popular as ever' (1996: 232). In this context, it again seems ironic that, despite his flawed scholarship and obvious racism, contemporary pidgin scholars indicate that 'Leland probably did more than anyone else to draw attention to the existence of CPE [Chinese pidgin English]' (Tryon, Mühlhäusler and Baker, 1996: 486).

The study of pidgins and creole languages has grown into a distinct branch of linguistics over the past 30 or so years, but many of the ideas debated within this field have their provenance in much earlier discussions of language variation. There were many theoretical discussions in the 1960s and 1970s of the monogenesis versus polygenesis dichotomy. The monogenetic explanation was simply that 'many of the world's pidgins and creoles could be traced to a common origin, the Portuguese pidgin that arose in the fifteenth century in Africa . . . that was eventually relexified (or translated word for word) into the pidgins of other European lexical bases that gave rise to the modern creoles' (Holm, 1988: 46). The polygenetic view is that 'pidgins and creoles arose independently . . . but developed in parallel ways because they used common linguistic material (from Indo-European and West African languages in particular) and were formed in similar physical and social conditions' (Romaine, 1988: 92). Another biologically-related term widely used in the discussion of pidgin, creoles, and mixed languages is *hybridization*. Whinnom (1971) argues that 'not only is there no other wholly satisfactory term for the phenomenon of language-mixing, but, *mutatis mutandis*, the biological and linguistic processes of hybridization are closely comparable if not mechanically identical' (p. 91).

Elsewhere, I have attempted to show that there are a number of interesting parallels between notions of 'hybridization' and 'hybridity' in the cultural/literary theories of Mikhail Bakhtin, and those extant in linguistics. Bakhtin's notion of 'double voicedness' associated with hybridization, 'a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation, or by some other factor' (1981: 358), has been frequently invoked in the discussion of cadences and creolisation of new literatures in English. In linguistics, the term 'hybrid' may have a specific meaning with reference to lexical (or 'vocabulary') borrowing, but the notion of hybridization seems not to extend to any wider, precisely-articulated theory of language contact. Nor does it seem that the term is now considered an important item of metalanguage for those working in the field of pidgin and creole studies. A number of controversies in the field still focus on the nineteenth-century theories of 'monogenetic' versus 'polygenetic' explanations, seemingly unaware of the power such terms had in nineteenth-century debates on the racial classification of human beings, and the role of such concepts in the development of race theory. In this context, I have suggested that, in the Chinese context, fear of racial mixing and racial miscegenation was located at the heart of the treaty-port response to pidgin, which might help explain why such varieties were often vilified as 'bastardised jargons' (Bolton, 2000c: 47).

#### MISSIONARY AND REPUBLICAN ENGLISHES 1839–1952

The main mechanism for the 'de-pidginisation' of English in the treaty-port era that began in 1842, and accelerated after 1860, was the system of missionary schools that spread across China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The very earliest of these missionary schools were established in South China, in Macau and Hong Kong. Prominent amongst these were the Morrison Education Society School (opened at Macau in

1839, and transferred to Hong Kong in 1842), and the Anglo-Chinese College (which moved to Hong Kong from Malacca in 1843). The Morrison Education Society School lasted only ten years, but in that time educated a number of early Chinese modernisers. The first headmaster of the Morrison Education Society School was an American missionary, Samuel R. Brown, a Yale graduate. The school's students included the entrepreneurial Tong King-sing (1832–92), who later established China Merchants' Steamship Navigation Company and the Kaiping coal mines, and Yung Wing (1828–1912) and Wong Fun (1828–78), believed to be the first Chinese graduates of western universities. Yung was the first Chinese to graduate from Yale, in 1854, while Wong graduated with a degree in medicine from Edinburgh in 1857 (Smith, 1985). Elsewhere in China, missionary education began to expand after the end of the Second Opium War in 1860, due to the rapid expansion in the numbers of treaty ports and protestant missionary efforts to convert the Chinese. Initially, progress was slow, and by the 1870s there were only 20 mission schools, with around 230 students. After the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, the numbers of missionaries grew very rapidly and, by 1925, more than 250,000 children were being educated in 7,000 Christian elementary schools, and around 26,000 in middle schools (Deng, 1997).

In addition, a system of American protestant missionary universities was also established throughout China. The 13 protestant 'Christian colleges' that were set up at the turn of the twentieth century had a profound influence on Chinese education.<sup>1</sup> These were St. John's University in Shanghai (from 1879), Hangchow University (1897), Soochow University (from 1901), Shantung Christian University (also known as 'Cheeloo' University, from 1902), Lingnan University (previously 'Canton Christian College', from 1903), the University of Shanghai (1906), University of Nanking (1910), West China Union University (1910) at Chengdu, Yenching University (at Beijing, from 1912), Fukien Christian University (1915), Ginling College (1915), Hwa Nan Women's College (at Fuzhou, from 1921), and Hua Chung University (at Wuhan, from 1927). After the establishment of the PRC government in 1949, foreign missionaries were expelled from China, and the Christian colleges were renamed or merged with other institutions, a number of which now rank among the very best universities in the PRC. In addition to these 13 colleges, there was also Tsinghua University, set up in 1911 with money from the Boxer Indemnity Fund, reparations the Chinese government was forced to pay after the 1900–1 rebellion. This institution was partly staffed by western missionaries, and run along American lines. The influence of such schools and colleges on society was felt throughout the 1920s and 1930s, when increasing numbers of middle-class parents sent their children to them to be educated:

Mission schools could be viewed two ways. From the point of view of radical Chinese nationalists, they were tools of Western cultural imperialism because they disseminated values of the Judeo-Christian culture among the Chinese people . . . On the other hand, mission schools made undeniable contributions to China's modernization, not only in technological terms, but in social and political terms as well. Christian colleges answered the need of Chinese youth for western learning and pioneered instruction in practical fields such as medicine, nursing, agriculture, sociology, economics, and law. (Deng, 1997: 69)

The mission schools were pioneers in female education, especially the Bridgman Girls' School in Beijing (1864) and the Shanghai Chinese-Western School for Girls (1890). By 1905, around 7,000 girls were being taught at the primary level, and 2,700 in secondary

schools. Women's colleges followed, including Hwa Nan College in Fuzhou and Ginling College in Nanjing.

By the Republican period, however, in addition to missionary initiatives in English studies, there had developed an indigenous tradition of English-language teaching, which began in the late-Qing era and extended into the years of the Nationalist government. As noted by Adamson and Lam (this issue), Chinese initiatives in teaching English began in 1862, with the founding of an interpreters' college, the *Tongwen Guan* in Beijing. Although the *Tongwen Guan* was conceived as a purely patriotic and Chinese venture, some foreign teachers were employed at the school. These included the missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827–1916), who was to play an important role in its development over the following decades. In addition, Robert Hart (1835–1911), the Inspector-General of China's Imperial Maritime Customs, was recruited to help manage the school. The *Tongwen Guan* gradually began to teach technical subjects in addition to languages, offering courses in anatomy, chemistry, geology, mineralogy and physics. Similar schools were then established in other parts of China, including Shanghai and Guangzhou. At Shanghai's Foreign Language School (*Waiguo Yuyan Wenzhi Xueguan*), the American missionary Young J. Allen (1836–1907) was recruited to teach English. The school offered a range of courses relevant to the needs of Shanghai's expanding business community, including Chinese studies, history, and foreign languages. The school was later renamed the School for Dispersing Languages (*Guang Fangyan Guan*) and was merged with the Jiangnan Arsenal, which trained students in armaments, mechanical engineering, and shipbuilding.

In the last decades of the Qing dynasty, large numbers of Chinese-run 'modern schools' (*xuetang*) were established in cities like Shanghai in competition with the mission schools, in response to a growing nationalism across China. According to the new national syllabus introduced in 1903, the three core subjects to be taught in schools were Chinese, mathematics and foreign languages. The number of government-funded schools increased very rapidly and soon outstripped the mission schools. Eventually, education in all its aspects increasingly came under the control of Nationalist governments, operating mainly from Guangzhou in the early period of the Republic, and later from Nanking (Nanjing). By 1927, the climate of Chinese opinion had turned against mission schools, which were increasingly seen as 'a source of cultural and psychological disunity', and an example of 'inner imperialism' (Ross, 1993: 34). The government introduced measures to recover 'educational rights', including a series of regulations requiring the registration of all private schools in China, and the appointment of Chinese administrators to oversee them.

### LIN YUTANG AND SHANGHAI ENGLISH

In spite of various movements against foreigners in the nationalist period, an indigenous English-language intellectual culture of a kind did develop in the late 1920s and 1930s. This was based in that most literary of cities, Shanghai, although, however, the memories of this period are largely forgotten, or at best only partly remembered, in the literature on this period (although see Zou, this issue).

One key figure among English-speaking Chinese intellectuals in Shanghai at this time was Lin Yutang (1895–1976), whose own intellectual development owed much to the influence of missionary educators. The son of a Chinese Presbyterian minister from Fujian province, Lin had his secondary education in Amoy (Xiamen), where he studied both

Chinese and English, and his college education at St. John's University Shanghai, which was, in his own words, 'the best school for studying English in China' (Sohigian, 1991: 128). Once there, Lin read widely, including Darwin, Lamarck and Haeckel on evolution theory, Westermarck on anthropology, and H. S. Chamberlain on history. Initially intending to study theology, once at university he became increasingly sceptical and dropped his divinity studies. Lin also found that his Chinese studies suffered greatly at St. John's, but he later went to some lengths to improve his knowledge of Chinese language and literature. When he graduated from St. John's in 1916, he took up the post of professor of English at Tsinghua University and married Liao Tsui-feng. In 1919, Lin went to the United States for graduate study, but financial difficulties forced him to move to Leipzig, where he enrolled for a PhD in linguistics. He gained his doctorate on *Alt-chinesische Lautlehre* ('Old Chinese phonetics') in 1923, and in the same year returned to China to take up a teaching post in the English Department of Peking University. Lin stayed in Peking from 1923–6, but, after the city was taken over by warlords, he and a number of other colleagues, including Lu Xun, decided to decamp to Amoy (Xiamen) University. After one year in Amoy, followed by another working for the liberal faction of the Nationalist party at Hankow (Hankou), Lin finally returned to Shanghai in 1928, where he immediately started writing, in both Chinese and English (Sohigian, 1991). His Chinese writings established his popularity as a comic writer and satirist, and earned him the title of 'king of humour'. He also started contributing articles to two English-language publications, first the weekly *China Critic* and then *T'ien Hsia Monthly*.

What is fascinating about both publications is that they were written in English by Chinese bilingual intellectuals for, as far as one can tell, a bilingual Chinese as well as an international audience. Shanghai's literati in the late 1920s fell into three groups, according to their educational background: the 'English-language group' (educated in England, the USA, or universities such as St. John's, Tsinghua, and Yenching); the 'French-German group' (often educated at Aurora Catholic university in Shanghai); and the 'Japanese-language group' which included those like Lu Xun who had studied in Japan (Lee, 1999: 129). Those in the first category included Wen Yuan-ning, John C. H. Wu, Sun Fo, and Lin Yutang, all members of the editorial board of *T'ien Hsia Monthly*. They were representatives of a Chinese academic class who had been educated by missionaries in China and the West, were engaged in debate with westerners and other Chinese intellectuals, and were speaking for a modern China in an intellectual dialogue between East and West (Bolton and Hutton, 1999). Wen, the Chief Editor, had studied at Cambridge University, where he caused a slight stir by taking his manservant with him. On his return to China he taught at Peking University from 1923 to 1934 before coming to Shanghai, and later served as the Chinese ambassador to Greece in the post-war period. According to Gill's (forthcoming) fascinating account of the *T'ien Hsia* group, its 'most brilliant' member was arguably Wu Ching-hsiung (1899–1986), or John C. H. Wu, as he was known to English speakers, who was an outstanding jurist and the author of the 1946 Nationalist Constitution.<sup>2</sup>

In 1935, John Wu took on the post of Managing Editor at *T'ien Hsia* at the request of Sun Fo, the son of Sun Yat-sen. In spite of the demands of his legal career, Wu was an enthusiast for the cultural and literary pursuits, and even published an introductory textbook on the study of English literature. The introduction to the first issue of *T'ien Hsia Monthly* was written by Sun Fo, then President of the Legislative Yuan, who entered a plea for 'international goodwill' and 'cultural understanding':

Culture traffics in ideas. It has no national boundaries, it enriches itself just as much by what it gives as what it takes . . . Culture has always maintained an Open Door policy. There is only one condition for entry – the humility to learn. (Sun, 1935: 4)

Sun then went on to add that ‘being a Chinese-run organ’, the journal’s editorial policy was aimed at interpreting China to the West rather than the reverse, and that while ‘current political controversies’ were to be avoided, all else was permitted, citing one of his father’s favourite quotations ‘T’ien Hsia Wei Kung’ (‘The universe is for everyone’).

Wu was a convinced humanist and internationalist, who himself published essays on both Chinese and western literature, including ‘The Four seasons of Tang poetry’ and ‘Shakespeare as a Taoist’. T. K. Chuan wrote on ‘Descartes and pseudo-intellectualism’ and ‘William James’, and Wen Yuan-ning penned articles on ‘A. E. Housman’s poetry’, ‘Walter De La Mare’s poetry’ and ‘Notes on four contemporary British poets’. There were also articles by westerners on Chinese literature and culture, including Harold Acton on ‘The creative spirit in modern Chinese literature’ and a large number of essays by John C. Ferguson on Chinese Fine Arts. Other contributors were John Blofeld, C. R. Boxer, J. M. Braga, Lawrence Durrell, William Empson, Louis Golding, Emily Hahn, Henry Miller, Herbert Read, Osbert Sitwell, and Arthur Waley, and every issue also contained at least one translation from classical and contemporary Chinese literature. In Wu’s essay, appropriately titled ‘Un Mélange’, he extols the virtues of universalism in culture, remarking that one of the best books on Buddhism is written by Alan Watts, an Englishman; and one of the most informative books on the origin of China by an American, H. G. Creel. He continues:

I have learned much about the American political institutions from DeTocqueville and James Bryce, and much about English literature from Taine and Legouis. It was Liang Ch’i-ch’ao who first initiated me into the western ways of thinking. It was G. Lowes Dickinson who opened my eyes to the loveliness of the Chinese outlook. Laotze taught me the philosophy of Shakespeare. Freud and Marx have helped me to a better appreciation of Mencius. (Wu, 1937: 256)

Lin Yutang contributed a large number of articles and translations to *T’ien Hsia*, particularly in the early years of the journal. These included the articles ‘Feminist thought in ancient China’ (1935), ‘The aesthetics of Chinese calligraphy’ (1935) and ‘Contemporary Chinese periodical literature’ (1936). He also wrote a number of translations, including ‘Six chapters of a floating life’ (1935). During this period he completed and published his first book in English, *My Country and My People* (1935), which was an immediate success in North America and Europe. Lin moved to New York in 1936 and continued publishing articles and short stories in English, including collections such as *The Importance of Living* (1937) and *With Love and Irony* (1940). He based himself and his family in the United States, and also wrote a number of novels including *A Moment in Peking* (1939), *A Leaf in the Storm* (1942), *Chinatown Family* (1948), *The Vermillion Gate* (1954), and *The Red Peony* (1962). He penned and edited a wide range of other writings on subjects including philosophy, religion and the Chinese language. In the United States, Lin Yutang became established as the ‘Emerson of China’, arguably the best-known and most prolific Chinese writer in English of the twentieth century (Sohigian, 1991: 668).

John Wu’s own writings in *Tsien H’sia* are remarkable for their passionate commitment to international tolerance and understanding. In an essay entitled ‘Beyond East and West’, he asserts that: ‘East and West are thoroughly interpenetrated with each other. Differences

of colour are skin-deep. Down in their hearts, men of all races are one. Shakespeare is a first-rate Taoist, and Robert Burton is a full-fledged Buddhist' (1937: 15). He further vows that:

The East has come to learn more and more from the West and to adore it; the West has come to understand and appreciate the East to a degree never before known. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans began to be attracted by Oriental culture, but I suspect it was more the attraction of distance than the appreciation of what was familiar that then prevailed. It was a mere infatuation, a passing fad. But now things are quite different . . . To be born yellow and to be educated white is a privilege that Aristotle himself would have coveted. No, dear Aristotle, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's treasure. And what a treasure it is to be able to feel like a Chinese and to think like a Westerner! And what an ideal, to be as tender-hearted as a woman, and at the same time as tough-minded as a man! (1937: 16–17)

Wu's optimism extends to the century itself, and he concludes that, long after the evils of the epoch had passed, 'this century will be looked back upon as the herald of a new Civilization, the turning point in which men begin to be transformed into Man.'

### CHINESE ENGLISHES – FROM LIBERATION TO GLOBALISATION

A number of trends emerged in foreign-language teaching after the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. From the 1950s to the 1990s, Chinese education experienced a roller-coaster ride of changing policy directives in foreign language education (Adamson, Lam, this issue). By the early 1980s, however, English began to receive increased attention in the national curriculum, although some anxiety about the 'spiritual pollution' associated with foreign cultures and languages persisted (Adamson and Morris, 1997). By 1993, however, the increased 'liberalisation' of official thinking was clearly visible in official policy statements, such as the 1993 syllabus:

A foreign language is an important tool for interacting with other countries and plays an important role in promoting the development of the national and world economy, science and culture. In order to meet the needs of our Open Door Policy and to accelerate socialist modernization, efforts should be made to enable as many people as possible to acquire command of one or more foreign languages. (1993 English syllabus, cited in Adamson and Morris, 1997: 21)

The aims of the 1993 syllabus also included the fostering of communication, and the acquisition of knowledge of foreign cultures (Adamson and Morris, 1997: 22), aims which were repeated in the revised 2000 English syllabus for junior secondary schools.

Today, despite the fact that English continues to grow in importance as a school subject throughout China, attitudes to the language vary. Zhao and Campbell (1995) report that many students resent having to learn the language, and only do so because of its importance for educational advancement, learning English 'purely because they have to'. They claim that 'most Chinese learners of English are not learning English for international communication but for social and economic mobility' (1995: 383, 385). Despite this, the importance of English in education is growing and, in the last ten years, a number of colleges and universities on the Chinese mainland have experimented with the use of English as a teaching medium. For example, the Guangdong Education Commission recently announced its intention to establish English-medium courses in selected schools 'to equip Guangdong students in urban and Pearl Delta areas with the same command of English as their counterparts in Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian

countries by 2005' (Yow, 2001: 2). The same article reported that there were also plans to employ 'native-speaker' teachers in many of the best schools in the province.

Outside the national education system, the study of English has continued to spread. Over the past 20 years, successive 'English crazes' have found expression in a range of ways: in the English-speaking corners that were set up in many cities; in the growing popularity of certification of various kinds, including the TOEFL examination and Business English diplomas; and in various other activities associated with learning the language. English is a strong second language within the Chinese media, and several English-language newspapers and magazines are published for domestic as well as international consumption, including the *China Daily*, *Beijing Review*, *China Today*, and a range of smaller publications in cities such as Beijing, Guangzhou and Shanghai (see Guo and Huang, this issue). English-language books are widely available from bookshops, and include reprints of western 'canonical' texts as well as Chinese literature in English translation. English-language radio programmes for language learning have had a large following for many years, as do such news channels as the Voice of America. In addition, China Central Television Station (CCTV) has now started an English-language news channel for domestic and overseas consumption. The increasing availability of the Internet in China has also opened further channels for communication in English, as has the growing popularity of e-mail communication (Li, 2000).

Another factor has been the popularity of overseas study in English-speaking countries. In the last 20 years, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students have travelled to the United States, Britain, and Australia in order to take degree-level or postgraduate courses in a wide range of university subjects. Again, exact statistics are not easily available, but one 1997 report indicated that between 1978 and 1997, 270,000 mainland Chinese students had gone abroad to study, 40 per cent of them to the United States (Tang, 1997: 10). The same article noted that after the Tiananmen Square 'crackdown' many Chinese students had opted to stay abroad, and 53,000 young Chinese had succeeded in gaining their green cards to remain in the United States. A more recent report from the *People's Daily* claims that more than 400,000 Chinese students studied abroad between 1978 and 2000, and notes that some 110,000 have subsequently returned to China to start their careers (Yan, 2001).

Such figures might also be compared to those of a much earlier era, when the first generations of students went abroad in the late-Qing and Republican eras. In the years 1847–1953, for example, it was calculated that the total number of Chinese students who had studied in the United States amounted to only 50,000 (Chao, 1953). In 2000, according to the *New York Times* there were 50,000 Chinese students in the United States in that year alone, with 'more students at American universities from China than from any other country' (Rosenthal, 2001). Many of the young men and women currently studying in the United States, Canada, Britain and other English-speaking countries stay abroad for varying lengths of time, and may eventually decide to join the international diaspora of overseas Chinese in north America and China. Others will return to China as 'English-knowing bilinguals' and use their experiences, education and knowledge of English to make their way in the rapidly-changing society of the People's Republic.

For those remaining in China, there are now a number of alternatives to state education English teaching, including a small but growing number of private schools and tutorial centres (Lai, 2001). But one of the most radical approaches to English teaching in the late 1990s has been a nationwide campaign by a charismatic English teacher named Li Yang, who claims to have lectured to over 13 million people nation-

wide. His approach is known everywhere throughout China by the striking name of *Feng Kuang Ying Yu* or 'Crazy English'.

### LI YANG'S 'CRAZY ENGLISH'

The 1999 mainland Chinese documentary film *Crazy English* produced and directed by Zhang Yuan provides a fascinating insight into Li Yang's popularity, as it follows the celebrity English teacher on a nationwide tour from sports stadium to university to school to government enterprise.<sup>3</sup> Li Yang is a youthful thirty-something with a pop-star image and entourage to match, who has turned his teaching method into a multi-million business. No mean feat for a self-confessed educational failure. His method relies on a small number of basic principles, which are constantly drilled into audiences of various sizes, sometimes numbering up to several thousand. Three core principles are: 'speak as loudly as possible', 'speak as quickly as possible' and 'speak as clearly as possible.' The training sessions he provides on tour are actually fairly simple sessions of elementary English practice, where he instructs his audiences in pronunciation techniques using a modified 'total physical response' technique in combination with mnemonic hand signals. Interestingly enough, his own pronunciation is characterised by a marked American accent.

In addition to his public appearances, Li also earns money from the sale of books and tapes, but the key to his success is the accompanying psychological pitch, which is geared to the aspirations of his audience. In many of his public appearances, Li relates his own earlier difficulties in mastering the language, urging his devotees to follow his own example of determination and will-power in overcoming adversity, and teaching his audiences such slogans as 'I enjoy losing face!', 'Welcome setbacks!', 'Relish suffering!' and 'Seek success!' In a radio broadcast that occurs early in the film, Li Yang puts across a message of self-help and self-improvement:

Hello everybody! My name is Li Yang. This probably sounds strange. People have asked if I've fabricated my hardships. My parents, classmates and teachers will testify that I lacked confidence. I didn't know where to end up. I had an inferiority complex, felt ignorant. I didn't feel capable of anything. I was always telling myself to be determined: I'll start tomorrow! I'll start tomorrow! Everyone wants to succeed, I want to serve as an example. My Crazy English consists of many philosophies of life and success . . . Money is no longer a problem. In one day, I could make 20 to 30 grand, 30 to 40 grand. That time is past. I've moved onto another stage. Once I've accomplished something, it becomes dull. I think I've found a bigger goal. To tell thousands of people about my process of struggle. Everyone needs to do his work well. Because Chinese people lack confidence. Chinese people need to put their noses to the grindstone.

These exhortations are repeated and elaborated throughout many of his public appearances. In a conversation with his team of assistants, Li also indicates an acute awareness of the nature of his appeal to his constituency:

Our enterprise can gather thousands of people in the freezing cold to listen to my lecture. Why? American General Powell said something once. No matter what country you're from or your religion, there's only one touching story on earth and that is pulling yourself up by your bootstraps with an unremitting determination. Starting from having nothing to being successful . . . Li Yang failed 13 college exams, he failed 3 semesters of English in a row. People will see themselves in this story. Others say he has succeeded because he is gifted. But after hearing this simple story, they will know: he used to be like what we are now. But now he is different from us. He has experienced struggle and overcome himself. It is not because of his family, his opportunity

or his luck, nor because of who his father is. He has risen from an ordinary person to a social hero. This is what we want to spread. As this century ends and the 21st century approaches, what do we need now? We need heroes. What else do we need? English. These two factors continue to make Li Yang's Crazy English.

Li Yang's message of hope also combines with a message of monetary gain that seems to capture the spirit of the state-sanctioned materialism ('to get rich is glorious') of the late 1990s. Occasionally, however, this crosses all boundaries of the possible, as on the occasion when he tells Tsinghua University students that it is possible to earn US\$30,000 per hour teaching English in Japan in companies such as Sony, Toshiba, and Sharp. Another important element of the Crazy English philosophy is a sharp and focused nationalism which Li expresses in a number of ways, including the repetition of patriotic slogans such as 'Never let your country down!', and the employment of a chubby, balding and buffoonish American as an onstage butt. In some performances, Li Yang's self-help philosophy is extended from the individual to the nation:

What's the US industry and agriculture output for 1995? Almost 7,400 billion US dollars. How about for China? 550 billion US dollars. This is just small change for America. There's a Japanese bank called Mitsubishi Bank. One bank's deposit is 700 billion US dollars. More than that of all the banks in China combined. There's another American company, Microsoft. Bill Gates' Microsoft Company. Its value has exceeded 200 billion US dollars. There's another American company, General Electric, whose value will reach 400–600 billion US dollars by the year 2000. The value of one company is almost equal to the GNP of China. I'm telling you all of this, hoping you will remember it. Don't be blinded by the claim 'China's the biggest market.' We should teach our children that China is by no means the biggest market. Where is the biggest market? America, Japan, Europe! What is China's aim? To occupy these 3 markets, right? Here is a question for everybody. What's the purpose of studying English? Repeat after me. Occupy . . . America . . . Japan . . . Europe . . . these 3 big markets. Make money internationally! Say it loudly! Make money . . . internationally! Make money internationally!

Elsewhere, I have attempted to explain the connections between Hong Kong English and Chinese Englishes by referring to the colonial modernity of pre-1949 China, a type of modernity which persists to the present in many of the HKSAR's, educational, social and political institutions (Bolton, in press). In the case of Li Yang's 'Crazy English', we seem to see another modernity at work, that of a rapidly-industrialising China in which the workings of capital and capitalism are reconstituted as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Creolists explain Canton 'jargon' as an early variety of 'business English' and, as China enters the World Trade Organization, Li Yang's approach appears to give voice to the material hopes of millions of Chinese in a variety of brash English that twangs American but rings global with its exhortation 'Make the voice of China be widely heard all over the world!'

#### ENDWORD – WORLD ENGLISHES AND CHINESE ENGLISHES

An important strand in the world Englishes paradigm is its potential for pluralism and pluricentricity. Pluricentricity in the Chinese context may involve a reconsideration of the discourses of both Chinese and English (Hong Kong, with its localised Cantonese and English provides a test case for both). Another strand in the world Englishes paradigm is that of the universalism (the 'we'-ness) of Kachruvian theory. Given the often con-

troversial political history of English in China over the last 200 years, it would be naive to expect the uncritical reception of such universalist sentiments. Faced with a choice between the huckster nationalism of Li Yang and the gentle liberal humanism of Lin Yutang and John C. H. Wu, however, it is hard to resist nostalgia for the earlier forgotten era of cultural and linguistic contact. It is similarly difficult to dismiss all hope of genuine cultural and intellectual understanding, however vulnerable such approaches may be to the critical analyses of cultural theory and postcolonialism. In the case of China, such an enterprise may involve coming to terms with a rich and partially-erased, partially-remembered history, and compiling, in Edward Said's words, 'a historical inventory which tried not only to understand oneself but to understand oneself in relation to others, and to understand others as if you would understand yourself' (Said, 1998).

A further challenge is that of the 'Chinese-English interface' throughout China and the world. As McArthur has pointed out, in terms of numbers of speakers and a range of other factors, English and Chinese represent two of the most important language traditions and cultures in the world today (McArthur, 2000). A recent study by Dalby (2001) places Chinese as the most widely-spoken language in the world, with 1,155 million speakers worldwide, 800 million speaking Mandarin as a first language, and 200 million speaking the variety as a second language. In addition, it is estimated that there are 85 million speakers of Wu dialects (Shanghainese, etc.) and 70 million speakers of Yue dialects (Cantonese, etc.). English is in second place with a total of 1 billion speakers. Of these, 400 million are first-language speakers, and 600 million are second-language speakers. Much more could be said, and doubtless will be said and written, about the linguistic and cultural contacts between these two traditions, and the growing 'interface' between them (McArthur, 2000). On the literary front, the recent 'bilingual creativity' of emigré Chinese writers such as Ha Jin (*Waiting*), Anchee Min (*Red Azalea, Becoming Madam Mao*), and Annie Wang (*Lili: A Novel of Tiananmen*) may in time extend to include creative writing in English from within China (Hang Zhang, this issue).

In 1637, Peter Mundy lamented the financial losses of the Weddell expedition, as he and his companions were forced out of China, 'leaving a great part of our Coiveall [capital] beehind us, and a Farre greater yet uninvested' (Temple, 1919: 301). The earliest attestation for 'capital' as in 'capitalism' in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is 1709, and yet we find this item some 70 years earlier in Mundy's account of one of the very first capitalist ventures put together by a British joint-stock company.<sup>4</sup> Almost 200 years later in 1830s Canton, we find the emergence of 'Canton jargon' and 'Canton English', at a time when the opium trade in that city was the single largest trade of any commodity in the world (Shipp, 1997). One hundred and seventy years further on, Li Yang bombards his audiences with strings of inspirational phrases in English, such as 'Feel the fear and do it anyway!', 'You can speak good English!', 'Storms make trees take deeper roots!', and 'Make money internationally!' From the forgotten pasts of southern China, we move to the unexpected present of Chinese Englishes today.

## NOTES

1. See Latourette (1929), Lutz (1971), and Yeh (1990) on Christian colleges and Chinese universities in the early twentieth century.
2. My sincere thanks to Ian Gill for discussing details of this period with me, and for generously providing access to his memoir of his mother's life.

3. The film *Crazy English* is produced by Chen Ziqiu, and Zhang Yuan, and is directed by Zhang Yuan. The video version in VCD format is distributed by Asia Video Publishing Co., Ltd.
4. Temple's explanatory footnote to this item of vocabulary comments: 'Cavidall, Capital, in goods or money . . . it appears to have come through the Portuguese cabedal' (Temple 1919: 301).

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