Dialect and Nationalism in China, 1860-1960

Taking aim at the conventional narrative that standard, national languages transform "peasants" into citizens, Gina Anne Tam's pathbreaking work centers the history of the Chinese nation and national identity on fangyan-languages such as Shanghainese, Cantonese, and dozens of others that are categorically different from the Chinese national language, Mandarin. She traces how, on the one hand, linguists, policy makers, bureaucrats, and workaday educators framed fangyan as nonstandard "variants" of the Chinese language, subsidiary in symbolic importance to standard Mandarin. She simultaneously highlights, on the other hand, the folksong collectors, playwrights, hip-hop artists, and popular protestors who argued that fangyan were more authentic and representative of China's national culture and its history. From the late Qing through the height of the Maoist period, these intertwined visions of the Chinese nation - one spoken in one voice, one spoken in many interacted and shaped one another, and in the process, shaped the basis for national identity itself.

Gina Anne Tam is Assistant Professor of Modern Chinese History at Trinity University, San Antonio.

Dialect and Nationalism in China, 1860–1960

Gina Anne Tam Trinity University, Texas



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108745697 DOI: 10.1017/9781108776400

© Gina Anne Tam 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020 First paperback edition 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data Names: Tam, Gina Anne, 1986– author. Title: Dialect and nationalism in China, 1860–1960 / Gina Anne Tam. Description: 1. | New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2019038302 (print) | LCCN 2019038303 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108478281 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108776400 (ebook) Subjects: LCSH: Language policy – China. | Chinese language – Variation. | Language and languages – Political aspects – China. | Language spread – Political aspects – China. | Language planning – China. | Language and culture – China. Classification:LCC P119.32.C6 T36 2020 (print) |LCC P119.32.C6 (ebook) | DDC 306.44/951–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019038302 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019038303 ISBN 978-1-108-47828-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-74569-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To my parents, Sam and Toni Russo, and my husband Tam Wing Sun

Contents

	List of Figures	page viii
	Acknowledgments	1X
	A Note on Romanization and Characters	xiii
	Introduction	1
1	A Chinese Language: <i>Fangyan</i> before the Twentieth Century	35
2	Unchangeable Roots: Fangyan and the Creation of	
	a National Language	72
3	The Science of Language in Republican China	111
4	The People's Language: Fangyan under Communism	147
5	The Mandarin Revolution: Fangyan in Maoist China	186
	Epilogue	210
	Works Cited Index	231 256

Figures

0.1	Zhongguo Hanyu fangyan (the dialects of China)	page 22
1.1	Bible publications organized by language	49
1.2	Hymnal in Ningbo dialect with romanized script and	
	characters	54
1.3	Book of Genesis in Fuzhou dialect	55
1.4	T. P. Crawford's phonetic symbols for Chinese dialects	57
1.5a	August Schleicher's Stammbaum model	62
1.5b	Detail of August Schleicher's Stammbaum model	62
2.1	A picture of the Han people's miserable situation	106
2.2	Diagram showing the evolution of Chinese for the last four	
	millenniums	109
3.1a	Initials of thirty-two Wu dialects from Yuen Ren Chao's	
	Studies on the Modern Wu Dialect	129
3.1b	Detail of first five rows of the initials chart of Yuen Ren	
	Chao's Studies on the Modern Wu Dialect	130
3.2	A comparison of initials in the Zhongxiang dialect and Guoyi	in 132
3.3	A comparison of initials in the Nanjing dialect and Guoyin	133
3.4	A recreation of Luo Xianglin's Hakka finals	143
3.5	An abbreviated sketch of the place of articulations in the	
	Hakka language	144
4.1	Example of a Chinese <i>fangyan</i> survey organizational card	174
4.2	Diagram of the human mouth to guide instructors in	
	Putonghua phonology	178
6.1	Beijing-ese: "leng shenr"	215
6.2	I love Cantonese, I don't speak "stewed winter melon"	222
6.3	What is a <i>fangyan</i> ?	224
6.4	Cantonese is my mother tongue	226

Acknowledgments

One of the joys of researching this book was reading letters between the men featured in its narrative. They wrote to one another about phonological patterns they discovered; they asked one another to read drafts of manuscripts. They offered praise, support, and affection; they inquired about health and sent love to each other's families. It is and always has been entirely obvious to me that this book was the product not of my own mind, but of the assistance, encouragement, and support so kindly provided by dozens of people whom I've had the pleasure of spending time with over the past decade. But as I read the letters that floated between and among these Chinese linguists, from Upsalla to Kunming, the process of writing this book began to feel as though I was participating in a grand scholarly tradition of garnering inspiration from the people whom I am lucky to know. I wish I could thank every single person who made this book possible. I will start with this list.

First and foremost, I am indebted to Thomas Mullaney, whose role in my academic career could not be overstated. For over a decade, he offered pointed criticism, tireless encouragement, and unwavering support. This project would be nothing like it is today without his guidance. Matthew Sommer taught me to never forget that history is ultimately the story of people - histories of cultural constructs, new ideas, and political structures are meaningless without attention to the erudite magistrate, the passionate rebel, or the determined daughter who created these intangible structures or were affected by them. In its early stages, this project also benefited greatly from the thoughtful comments of Haiyan Lee, who pushed me in new directions, and Miyako Inoue, who offered insight into expanding this project's implications. Kären Wigen's years of exacting critiques made me a better writer. Before I began this project, I was privileged to begin my training as a historian at the Indiana University of Pennsylvania's Robert E. Cook Honor's College. In particular, Alan Baumler was an inspiring mentor, who taught critical thinking and passion for history through example.

x Acknowledgments

Also at Stanford, I was fortunate to be surrounded by my very own shuren hui - a group of inspiring individuals who challenged me to be a more thoughtful scholar. A debt of gratitude is thus owed to Wesley Byron Chaney, for our long shop-talk coffees, Alexander Statman, for endless gchat discussions on the argument and scope of this project, and Y. Yvon Wang, for their patient encouragement and feedback on chapters. This book - indeed, my life as an academic - would never have taken form without their support and friendship. Jeffrey Weng, cofounder of the (unofficial) Yuen Ren Chao fan club, introduced me to new sources, new directions, and new ideas. In this manuscript's final stages, the introduction benefited from the thoughtful feedback of Rachel Leow, Sajida Jalalzai, and Zachary Smith, and Fang Xu aided me in my translations of Shanghainese rap. Many others gave me feedback and perspective while writing, including, though of course not limited to, Yumi Moon, Jun Uchida, Victor Mair, Andrew Elmore, David Fedman, Melissa Inouye, Russell Burge, Joseph Seeley, Sarah Pittock, Molly Taylor-Polesky, Lisa Wilcut, Madihah Akhter, Wu Yulian, Philip Thai, and Hirata Koji.

As I edited this manuscript from a dissertation into the book you hold today, I have been privileged to work within my new intellectual home of Trinity University. Carey Latimore has offered unwavering support for fieldwork and research, and fiercely protected exceedingly precious free time for me to complete this project. Anene Ejikeme, Ken Loiselle, and David Lesch have been supportive and thoughtful neighbors, colleagues, and friends. Thanks to Margaret Alvarado for always so graciously granting my last-minute requests to use databases at the UT library in Austin, and Michael Hughes for his excellent advice on images, copyright, and Hong Kong waffles. And finally, my delightful students at Trinity, whether they knew it or not, have consistently inspired me to hone and reevaluate key concepts related to this project. In particular, I want to thank Nathanial Pigott, Alex Liu, and Linus Chan for their insightful discussions and careful work helping me organize piles of notes from the archives. I'd also like to thank my First Year Experience students in 2016–2018 for indulging in sustained discussions about the meaning of Chinese-ness and authenticity, conversations that shaped my thinking as much as I hope it shaped theirs.

While in China, I was blessed with the help of Sun Yat-Sen University professors Li Aili, Huang Tianji, and Shi Qisheng, as well as Hou Jingyi at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Li Rulong at Xiamen University, Xu Baohua at Fudan University, and Li Xingjie at Qingdao University. Guo Hong's tremendous generosity with sources saved me months of work in the archives. I am grateful for Xu Ting's hospitality in

CAMBRIDGE

Acknowledgments

Shanghai, and Yang Yongyan's delightful conversation in Guangzhou. I am also forever fortunate to have serendipitously stumbled upon Amy O'Keefe and Christopher Tang in the reading room at the Shanghai Archives. Our lunchtime conversations encouraged me out the door on those days when I felt burdened and overworked. Thanks are also owed to Stephanie Tang, who, besides inspiring me to investigate Liu Bannong's role in my narrative, was also a wonderful roommate and kayaking partner.

I have had the privilege of sharing parts of my work at a series of conferences and workshops with brilliant colleagues, each of whom has helped sharpen my argument and read my sources more deeply. In particular, I am indebted to Robert Culp, Farina Mir, Jie Zhang, and Fati Fan, all of whom took part in an inspiring manuscript workshop that took this book's potential to new heights. I was extremely fortunate to serve on a panel with Flora Shao, Jin Liu, Janet Chen, and Jing Tsu in 2015 at the annual Association for Asian Studies meeting, and grateful for the opportunity to continue our exciting discussion the following year at the American Comparative Literature Association annual meeting with the addition of Mårten Söderblom Saarela, Ming-Huei Wang, Zhang Han, Miya Xie, and Michelle Pan. Thanks are due to Jeff Wasserstrom, Melissa Dale, Jason Johnson, Kolleen Guy, and Wing Chung Ng for providing opportunities to share my research and offering insightful feedback. Wen Hsin Yeh extended suggestions on sharpening my argument on 1950s language policy and also, with Peter Hanff, generously helped me gain access to the Yuen Ren Chao papers at Berkeley's Bancroft Library.

Financial support for this project was provided by Stanford University and Trinity University. Language study in Taiwan and Hokkaido was made possible by several Foreign Language Area Studies grants and generous support from the Blakemore Foundation. My fieldwork was supported by Fulbright IIE and Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad grants. Writing was supported by the Mellon Foundation Dissertation fellowship and the Weter fellowship. I'd also like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their insightful, detailed, and compassionate feedback, and Jenny Gavcas for helping me hone the argument and make my sentences shine. Lucy Rhymer has been an incredible editor; thanks are owed for her hard work in getting this published.

Of course, not all assistance comes in the form of feedback on chapters or shop talks. Without companionship, this project would have permanently stalled. Friends across the country, including Erica Goodenough, Sarah Kuiken, Yuen Yuen Ng, Ramya Mishra, Sakura Christmas, and

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-74569-7 — Dialect and Nationalism in China, 1860–1960 Gina Anne Tam Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

xii Acknowledgments

Joshua Brett, have both inspired me and reminded me of the importance of friendship. Caroline McTeer was the most wonderful writing partner, always ready with a coffee and a smile. Thanks to Shana McDermott, Jessica Nowlin, Lydia Kneer, Lauren Turek, Erin Kramer, and Sarah Erickson for fighting the patriarchy with me over coffee, yoga, hikes, trampolining, Thai food, manicures, spa days, and brunch, and thanks to Sam Miller, Joseph Kneer, and Jonathan MacLellan for great food, music, and conversation. I would be remiss to neglect my indefatigable team of Pokemon Go raiders who frequent the San Antonio northwest district; their joyful company punctuated my long days of writing for over two years. A significant portion of this book was composed at the Santa Barbara Cottage Hospital café and the Huebner Oaks Starbucks; immense thanks are owed to the staff for their daily big smiles and kind words. My big, loud, loving family has been a bedrock of support for my entire career. My incredible aunt Velma Williams, ninety-nine years old with thousands of stories to tell, kept my passion for history alive while also offering me a place to stay in Oakland whenever I needed it. My baby sis Camille reminds me of the importance of family, my Nana exuded warmth and instilled in me the spiritual value of a good meal, and my Papa inspired me from an early age to think about language in creative, whimsical ways. My father taught me the value of hard work and perseverance. My mother is my hero – a paragon of strength and compassion.

And of course, I owe to Tam Wing Sun a debt beyond measure. How, in only a few words, do I begin to express thanks to someone with whom I shared millions of moments that not only made this work possible, but meaningful? For the daily bitmojis and the caramel macchiatos (double shot, nonfat, one pump vanilla, extra caramel drizzle), for making me better with thoughtful criticism, for injecting me with confidence when I was bereft, and for reminding me daily why I love what I do – for this and so much more, I dedicate this work to Team Tam.

A Note on Romanization and Characters

This work uses *Hanyu pinyin* for romanization of Chinese sources except in the case of individuals or political parties who commonly use names with alternate romanizations. To the best of my abilities, characters accord to the style found in my sources – simplified when the source uses simplified, and traditional when the source uses traditional characters.

xiii