ON MODERN WRITTEN CHINESE

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues for the necessity of the separation of written Chinese from spoken Chinese after the May Fourth Movement by examining the formal function of these languages. It is then shown how modern formal Chinese has newly developed and what principles formal grammar must observe. Finally, a quantitative method is developed for measuring the degree of formality.

SUBJECT KEYWORDS

Written Chinese, Formal style, Prosodic grammar, Degree of formality

1. SPOKEN AND WRITTEN CHINESE

Modern written Chinese (白話文) is a result of the May Fourth Movement (1919). Before then, Chinese intellectuals (which included virtually everyone who was literate) wrote in classical (literary) Chinese.[1] Although there were proposals for writing in the vernacular before the May Fourth Movement, with people like Huang Zunxian （黃遵憲） promoting the view that "my hand writes [what] my mouth [says] (我手寫我口)" in the late Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the shift from writing in literary Chinese to writing in the vernacular did not actually occur until the Literary Revolution (文學革命) launched by Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu in 1919.

One important argument for replacing literary Chinese with the vernacular in writing was, according to Hu Shi, that literary Chinese became a dead language thousands of years ago. However, what is striking is the fact that there are still remnants of literary Chinese within modern Chinese vernacular writing. For example:

1. 當然，這並不是說，凡是漢族所擴及的地區，原來在這些地方居住的民族都被吸收爲漢族了。事實並不如此，即在目前，漢族聚居的地區裏還是有少數民族雜居在內。（費孝通《中國少數民族的發展》）

"Of course, this does not mean that local people have been entirely integrated into the Han nationality in all of the areas where the Han have penetrated. In fact, this is not so because even now there are many minorities which have mixed with the Han race within Han regions."

—— from Fei Xiaotong Minority Development in China

In the above paragraph there are about 44 morphemes (free, as well as bound) and 11 of them are taken from classical Chinese, e.g. "所擴及 extend to," "吸收爲 to take as," "並不如此 is certainly not like this," "即在目前 even now," "聚居 to live together" and "在內 within." Actually, classical expressions like these are not merely remnants, they are required to make the written text sound natural. Zhang (2002) promoted the view that people "should incorporate some literary expressions into their own writing 要把來自文言的東西融會到自己的筆下. " (Zhang Zhongxing 2002:134)

Why is this syncretization of literary forms into the vernacular necessary? Feng (2005) argued that this is essentially a result of formal style requirements. In other words, modern formal Chinese cannot be composed without employing some literary Chinese. Thus, literary and colloquial Chinese cannot truly be divorced in the modern context of language communication as will be explained below.

It is well-known that if a writing style is too literary it may not easily be understood by ordinary or sometimes even educated people; while if it is too colloquial it will not be acceptable because of its lacking an air of formality. The traditional dilemma of separating colloquial expressions from literary diction in modern written Chinese has arisen from the inseparability of vernacular grammar with literary expressions which makes it possible to create a formal style of writing. Thus, the formal and informal styles of Chinese can be analyzed as follows:

Figure 1. Diagram of Formal and Informal Chinese
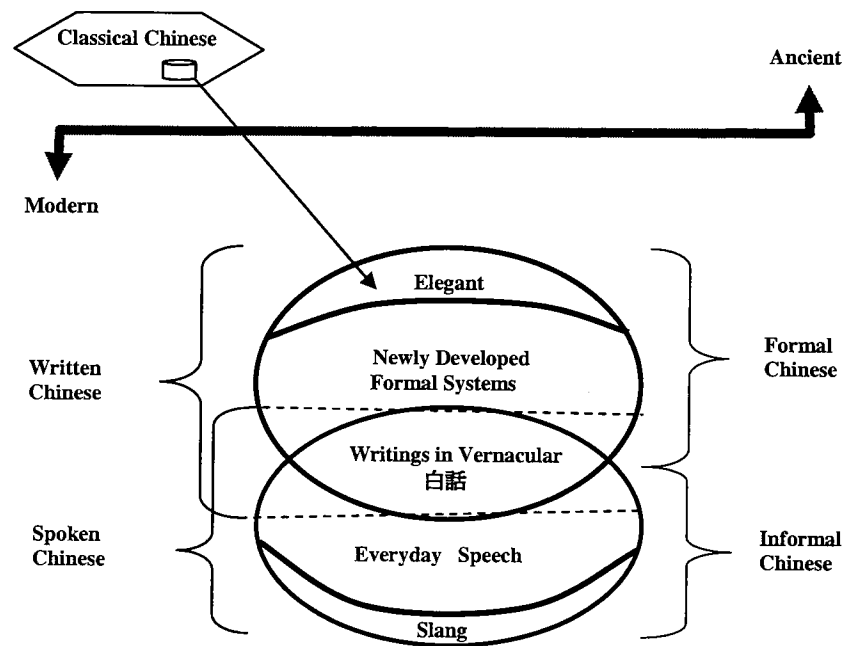
2. a.   What is called written Chinese should be defined in terms of the formal style of writing in modern Chinese.

   b.   The notions of 'informal/formal' and 'spoken/written' are not isomorphic, i.e. 'formal' does not only imply 'written,' nor does 'spoken' always refer to 'informal,' and vice versa. Formal Chinese is also an utterable language and is not reserved only for writing. The definition given in (2a) implies that formal Chinese can be both spoken and written.

   c.   Classical Chinese and modern Chinese should be clearly distinguished here: classical Chinese refers to the language with many linguistic features of the Han and pre-Han periods (i.e. up to the 3rd century) which remained prevalent up until the May Fourth Movement, while modern Chinese is defined in terms of its auditory comprehensibility to the ordinary people of today. Thus, speech that cannot be understood by means of its sound alone by an ordinary high school graduate will not be considered modern (for a more detailed discussion of this criterion, see Feng 2003a/b).

d. Formal expressions in modern Chinese developed from two major sources: classical Chinese and completely new expressions that developed within the formal system itself after 1911.[2] Note that even though some formal expressions have been taken from classical Chinese, they are no longer only considered as classical Chinese because they have been accepted into and processed by the modern system of formal Chinese and understood as such by native speakers.[3]

e. As a result, it is not necessary to master classical Chinese in order to become a writer of modern Chinese because the classical forms used today are very limited (only about 250 words and 300 phrasal patterns, see Feng 2005).[4] Thus, it is unnecessary to promote the study of classical Chinese for the purpose of mastering the writing of modern Chinese.[5]

Given the above conclusions, we are not merely facing traditional questions such as "where can we draw the line between modern expressions and classical patterns?" and "how can we separate them?" but also new questions like (1) why does modern Chinese need expressions from classical Chinese, (2) how can classical Chinese be syncretized into modern Chinese, (3) what types of classical expressions can be syncretized into modern writing and (4) how many classical expressions are present in modern Chinese? All of these are important questions raised by this study.

Though we will not delve into every detail of these questions here, it is important to clarify why modern Chinese needs expressions from classical Chinese. The traditional philologist Huang Kan (黃侃) presciently answered this question long ago: "The separability of written language from spoken language… is inevitable." ("文與言判…非苟而已" 《黃侃日記》 p.199, written in 1922), because modern written Chinese makes use of classical Chinese to distance itself from the vernacular.

It is well-known that writing in the vernacular started with the slogan "write what you say (寫口)," but has ended up with a new separation of writing and speaking again today. This may not have been expected by the initiators of the May Fourth Movement, but was accurately predicted by Huang Kan. Of course, today's separation of writing from speaking is not simply a reversion to the past. What is important to note here is the fact that all languages necessitate two relative functions: formal and informal. If "write what you say" results in a purely informal style and if classical Chinese served as the formal style of the past, then something must have been developed or created to fill

the gap when classical Chinese was abolished by the May Fourth Movement because there was still a need for a formal style in social communications.

However, why must the creation of a formal style require the use of classical Chinese? As was argued in Feng (2003 a/b), a formal style can be established by creating a sense of expressive distance from everyday speech. That is to say, when linguistic expressions are used, the more distant the expressions are kept from everyday speech, the more formal sense they can create in their listeners. The demand for vernacular Chinese to function formally after the May Fourth Movement probably motivated speakers and writers to use some classical forms to satisfy their urgent need for stylistic effect. This is the reason why the separation of writing (formal) from speaking (informal) has been resurrected in modern times.

2. THE PROSODIC GRAMMAR OF WRITTEN CHINESE

If classical forms must be used to write in a formal style in modern Chinese then we must ask: in what ways can these classical forms be used? Though there may be a variety of ways to make use of them, one obvious structure should be pointed out in the study of modern formal style, namely they cannot be used directly in modern formal writing without a prosodic justification as pointed out by Feng (2003 a/b). For example:

3   a. 我校   *我的校   *我們校   *我們的校
        wǒ xiào   *wo DE xiào   *wǒmén xiào   *wǒmén DE xiào
        I school   I POSS school we school   we POSS school
        my school   my school   our school   our school

    b. 住嘴   *住嘴巴
        zhù zuǐ   *zhù zuǐ-ba
        stop moth   stop moth
        shut up   shut up

    c. 他困在山裏了   *他（在山裏）困了
        Tā kùn zài shān lǐ lē.   *Tā (zài shān lǐ) kùn lē.
        he stop at mountain inside Asp.   he (at mountain inside) stop Asp.
        'He was stopped in the mountains.'   'He was stopped (in the mountains).'

It has been shown (Feng 2003 a/b) that monosyllabic words in classical Chinese (*Qian'ou ci* 嵌偶詞) must be used in a disyllabic template in order to be considered grammatical in modern Chinese.[6] In fact, more examples demonstrate that not

only must the monosyllabic classical forms be prosodically conditioned in modern formal writings, as we saw above in (3a,b,c) and in (9) and (11) below, moreover newly developed formal expressions in the modern written language (*Heou ci* 合偶詞) are also strictly constrained by prosody. As the examples in (4) illustrate, VV tends to require a disyllabic VV or NN, and a disyllabic Adverb expression tends to require a disyllabic VV or AA.

4. **a. VV selects VV**

加以+批*(判)
jiāyǐ + pī*(-pàn)
give + criticism

予以+批*(評)
yǔyǐ + pī*(píng)
give + criticism

從事+教*(學)
cóngshì + jiào*(-xué)
engage in + teaching

b. VV selects NN

堅持+*(真)理   (持理)
jiānchí + *(zhēn)lǐ   (chí-lǐ)
insist on + truth   (insist on truth)

面臨+危*(險)   (臨危)
miànlín + wēi*(xiǎn)   (lín-wēi)
face + danger   (face danger)

導致+*(疾)病   (致病)
dǎozhì   + *(jí)bìng (zhì-bìng)
cause + disease   (cause disease)

c. Adv selects VV

公然+*(逃)跑
gōngrán + *(táo)pǎo
openly + escape

共同+*(協)商
gòngtóng + *(xié)shāng
jointly + discuss

並肩+戰*(鬥)
bìng-jiān +   zhàn*(dòu)
shoulder to shoulder + fight

d. Adv selects AA

極其+*(容)易
jíqí   + *(róng)yì
extremely + easy

更加+*(美)好
gèngjiā   + *(měi)hǎo
even more + beautiful

極為+*(不)滿
jíwéi   + *(bù)mǎn
extremely + unsatisfied

There exist about 400 *Heou ci* (c.f. *Expressions of Written Chinese* 《漢語書面用語初編》, 2006) which must be used in a disyllabic couplet. Given the examples of *Qian'ou ci* and *Heou ci* and the fact that formal expressions are prosodically constrained, we are able to conclude that the grammar of formal Chinese is essentially a prosodic grammar, which can be defined as follows.

5.   **Prosodic Grammar**
      If the computational system of a language operates under prosodic conditions, then the grammar of the language is characterized as a prosodic grammar.

Regarding the characteristics of the prosodic grammar of written Chinese, several principles and rules have been proposed in previous studies (Feng 2003 a/b/c). For example:

6.   a. $*[\sigma] \rightarrow [\sigma\sigma]_{\text{foot}}$
           Disyllabic Foot Structure：A monosyllable cannot form a foot and thus cannot stand alone.

     b. $[\sigma\sigma]_{\text{PrWd}} \rightarrow [\sigma\sigma]_{\text{PrWd}} + [\sigma\sigma]_{\text{PrWd}}$
           Stylistic Coherence Principle：A prosodic word (PrWd), commonly formed by a foot, selects another prosodic word in formal Chinese.

     c.   **Principle of Prosodic Stylistics:** The more formal an expression, the more prosodic words are used to compose it, and vice versa.

(6a) gives rise to the constraint that classical monosyllabic words must occur in a disyllabic template in modern Chinese, while (6b) results in a "disyllabic word used in a disyllabic couplet." (6c) affects the proportion of formal features used in modern writing (see section 4). Given these principles, we would expect there to be an unavoidable interleaving of expressions between literary dictions and colloquial patterns in modern formal Chinese. This turns out to be the case as we will see below.

3. INTERLEAVING OF LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL DICTIONS

Based on the analysis above, we can view modern formal Chinese as a new language which developed after the May Fourth Movement. It is new in the sense that formal Chinese serves as a diglossic grammar within modern Chinese. What is this new diglossic grammar composed of? Feng (2005) suggests that modern formal Chinese consists of several components, as illustrated in the following diagram:

Figure 2.   **Modern Formal Chinese**
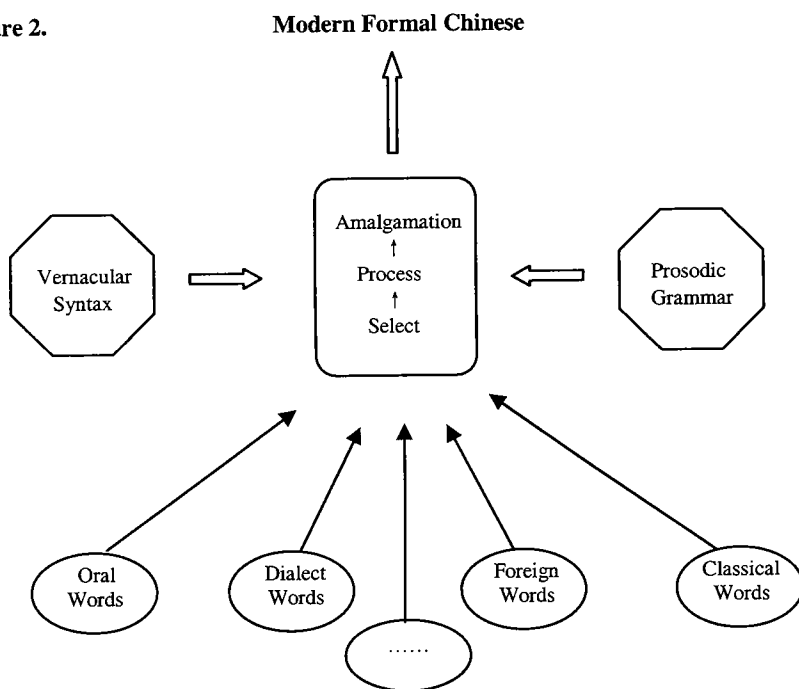
According to the diagram above, written Chinese 書面語 can be characterized as a formal language composed of a syntactic system based on modern Chinese (i.e., Mandarin Chinese) with a set of prosodic constraints on its morphosyntactic operations and a lexicon consisting of expressions from ordinary speech, dialects, foreign languages and classical Chinese. Of course, this does not imply that the expressions from these sources can all be assimilated directly into modern writing without any manipulation. On the contrary, all of the elements taken from spoken, dialect, foreign and classical sources may need to be manipulated according to the prosodic stylistic principles given above in (6). Actually, as represented in Figure 2, there are three principles being proposed for organizing the different elements in modern formal Chinese, which are elaborated below.

4. PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION

4.1. Selection Principle

The selection principle is very simple: a speaker or writer has the freedom to select whatever element they want from the lexicon (or a dictionary) for the purpose of expressing different styles of language, from colloquial to formal. If styles of expression can be characterized in terms of their distance from everyday speech (or degrees of familiarity), then different sources of expressions can be classified according to their

different degrees of formality in written Chinese. This is illustrated as follows ('>'stands for "is more formal than"）:

7.   Classical > foreign > dialect > spoken expressions

The more familiar an expression, the closer it is to everyday speech and vice versa. Given the distance-gradation-principle in (7), we are able to rank expressions into degrees of formality according to their stylistic properties, as well as their source. For example:

8.   fǎngfú 仿佛 > sìhū 似乎 > hǎoxiàng 好像 "seems like"

These three words share the same meaning. The only difference between them is that *fangfu* is more formal than *sihu*,[7] which is more formal than *haoxiang*.[8] Although there may not always be triplets of degrees of formality like the preceding example, each individual expression can theoretically be ranked with a proper degree of formality according to the distance-gradation-principle. In fact, *Expressions of Written Chinese* (Feng 2006) ranks virtually all formal expressions in modern Chinese into one of the three degrees of formality based on the principles and methods illustrated above. As a result, one can select an expression (*Qian'ou ci, Heou ci* or a phrase *Guju xing* 古句型) from this reference book in order to facilitate formal writing and speaking.

4.2. Process Principle

Word or phrase-selection from sources or reference books is a preliminary step towards expressing a formal style in Chinese. However, this does not mean that one can freely select whatever they want. Also, it is not the case that every formal element, whether a word or phrase, can be used directly without some necessary grammatical modification. Thus, principles for selecting and using formal expressions are needed. Two such important processing principles were proposed in Feng 2005: the Principle of Auditory Intelligibility (PAI)[9] and the Principle of Shaping by Prosody (PSP).

The PAI requires any formal expression to be auditorily intelligible, while the PSP requires that auditorily intelligible formal expressions must be shaped within a proper prosodic structure. For example,

9.   zhīdào 知道 vs. zhī 知 'to know'

a.他知道今天沒有課

Tā zhīdào jīntiān méi yǒu kè.

He know today not have class

'He knows that there is no class today.'

b. *他知今天沒有課

*Tā zhī   jīntiān méi yǒu kè.

He know today not have class

'He knows that there is no class today.'

c. 他不知今天沒有課

Tā bù zhī   jīntiān méi yǒu kè.

He not know today not have class

'He does not know that there is no class today.'

10. Jiěshì 解釋 vs. jiě 解 and shì 釋; and xiǎn 鮮

a.這道題無解

Zhè-dào tí   wú jiě

This-CL problem no solution

'This (mathematics) problem has no solution.'

b.♪這道題無釋

♪Zhè-dào tí   wú shì

This-CL problem no solution

'This (mathematics) problem has no solution.'

c.多還可以，♪鮮則不行

duō   hái kěyǐ, xiǎn zé   bù xíng

more still okay, less however not okay

'More is fine, less wouldn't do.'

In (9), the monosyllabic counterpart *zhi* of the common word *zhidao* is auditorily intelligible to native speakers of high school level or above, even though (9b) is not grammatical. In (10a) the monosyllabic counterpart of *jieshi, jie* is also intelligible. However, (10b) and (10c) represent a different scenario: neither *shi* nor *xian* are auditorily intelligible by a native high school level speaker, although they are free-standing, common words in classical Chinese. According to the Auditory Intelligibility Principle, both of them must be excluded from modern Chinese. In other words, a boundary between classical and modern Chinese can conveniently be drawn according to

the Auditory Intelligibility Principle: anything that is not auditorily intelligible is not modern Chinese.

Even though intelligibility is important, prosody must also be taken into account before a formal style can be successfully formed. It has become increasingly clear, based on the study of prosodic syntax over the past fifteen years, that something being intelligible does not necessarily mean that it is utterable. The example given in (9b) shows that the monosyllabic verb *zhi* 'to know' cannot stand alone and must be used within what is characterized as a 'disyllabic template' in order to be effable. There is mounting evidence that words and phrasal patterns are ineffable without a proper prosodic shape (Feng 2003 a/b/c, 2005, 2008). For example:[10]

11.	SPOKEN		WRITTEN
a.	一樣	a'	同
	yíyàng		tóng
	'the same'		'the same'
b.	不一樣	b'	不同
	bù yíyàng		bù tóng
	'not (the) same'		'not (the) same'
c.	A 跟 B 一樣	c'	A 和 B 同
	A gēn B yíyàng		A hé B *tóng
	'A and B are the same.'		'A and B are the same.'
d.	一樣的东西	d'	同的東西
	yíyàng -de dōngxī		*tóng -de dōngxī
	same POSS thing		same POSS thing
	'the same thing'		'the same thing'
e.	*四環以外准鳴笛		
	*sì huán yǐwài zhǔn míngdí		
	Fourth Ring outside permit honking		
	'Outside the Fourth Ring (road) honking is permitted.'		
f.	四環以內不准鳴笛		
	Sì huán yǐnèi bù zhǔn míngdí		
	Fourth Ring inside not permit honking		
	'Within the Fourth Ring (road) honking is not permitted.'		
g.	待上級准假後 才能離京		
	dài shàngjí zhǔn jià hòu cái néng lí Jīng.		

wait superiors approve vacation after only can   leave Beijing.

'Only after his superiors approve his vacation can he leave Beijing.'

h.口語　　來參觀旅遊的人(不)應該去

Spoken　lái　cānguān lǚyóu de　rén　　(bù) yīnggāi qù

　　　　Come visit [particle] people (not) should go

　　　　'People who come to visit should (not) go [there].'

i.書面　　　觀光遊客不宜*往/ *宜前往/不宜前往

Written　guānguāng yóukè bù yí *wǎng /*yí qiánwǎng /bù yí qiánwǎng

　　　　Visiting tourist not should go /should proceed /not should proceed.

　　　　Visiting tourists should (not) proceed (further).'

12.	WRITTEN		SPOKEN
a.	無法 + 學*(习)	a'	沒辦法學
	wú fǎ　xué*(xí)		méi bànfǎ　xué
	no way　study(-learn)		no way　study
	'no way to study'		'no way to study'
b.	禁止 + 說*(话)	b'	不許說
	jìnzhǐ　shuō*(huà)		bù xǔ　shuō
	prohibit　speak(-word)		not allow speak
	'talking prohibited'		'talking prohibited'
c.	毫無 + 權*(力)	c'	一點權都沒有
	háo wú　quán*(lì)		yìdiǎn quán dōu méiyǒu
	little not-have rights(-power)		little rights even not have
	'no right at all'		'no right at all'
d.	共同 + 談*(笑)	d'	一塊兒談
	gòngtóng　tán*(xiào)		yí-kuàir tán
	together　talk(-laugh)		together talk
	'talk together'		'talk together'

Without being shaped by prosody, the examples given in (11c', d', e) and (12a-d) are all ungrammatical. Thus, the grammar of written Chinese is essentially a prosodic grammar as stated in 5.

4.3. Amalgamation Principle I: Understandability

After selection and processing are complete, we are then faced with the next question: how can we transform formal expressions into spoken expressions? This is what has been called the 'amalgamating problem.'

"採用少數（古代）詞語，要怎麼樣才是融會而不是攙雜。情況千變萬化，很難具體說明。勉強說，可以用耳朵作個尺子，量一量，凡是聽起來生硬，明顯覺得不像日常說話（包括談論學術問題）的，是攙雜而未融會，反之是已經融會而不是攙雜。"

—— 張中行《文言津逮》

"When can adopting a few (classical) words into modern writing be considered as amalgamation rather than adulteration? The situation is extremely complex and difficult to pin down. I would have to say that we may use the ear as a measure. Anything that sounds odd to the ear or obviously not like everyday speech (including discussion of academic issues) will be considered adulteration, not amalgamation, and vice versa." —— Zhang _Gateway to Literary Chinese_ (2002)

As noted above, it is not uncommon that one "should incorporate some literary expressions into their own writing" (Zhang, 2002). However, syncretization does not imply adulteration. Thus, we must clearly distinguish amalgamation (融會) from adulteration (攙雜). The new style of formal Chinese has been formed by a process of amalgamating classical expressions into the modern vernacular. It is not adulteration, even though there may be isolated examples of it. Thus, the principles of intelligibility and effability must combine together in order to derive the resulting amalgam.

吝嗇的人，我們說他小氣；妒忌的人，我們也說他小氣。小氣，自然不夠偉大；即使不是十足的小人，至少該說是具體而微的小人。但是，如果小氣的人就算是小人之一種，則小人滿天下，而足稱為君子者，實在太少了。（取自王力"小氣"）

"Stingy men, we say 'they are petty;' jealous men, we also say 'they are petty.' Pettiness, naturally is not very great, even if they are not entirely petty men, we should at least say they are trivial men. However, if being a person who is petty is considered as one type of petty man, then petty men are everywhere, and those who can be considered as gentleman, they are truly few."

—— Wang _On Pettiness_

The shaded portions are literary expressions from classical Chinese and here they are amalgamated with spoken expressions. This passage can be read aloud and is completely intelligible and easily understandable. Even though there are many classical expressions in it, the way it is composed, artfully combining classical and spoken Chinese, make it a masterpiece of modern formal Chinese.

4.4. Amalgamation Principle II: Modulate literary dictions with colloquial expressions

It is clear by now that modern formal writing must amalgamate literary dictions with colloquial expressions. However, to what degree and how can one modulate them? Years of research (Feng 2003 a/b/c, 2005, 2006, 2008) have suggested a tentative conclusion, indicating to a ratio of 2:3 between formal and informal expressions in written Chinese. Examining the above example:

客嗇的人，我們說他小氣；妒忌的人，我們也說他小氣。小氣，
　1　　　　2　　　　　　3　　　　4　　　　　5
自然不夠偉大；即使不是十足的小人，至少該說是具體而微
　6　　　　　　　7　　　　　　　8
的小人。但是如果小氣的人就算是小人之一種，則小人滿天
　　　　9　　　　　　　　　　　　　10
下，而足稱爲君子者，實在太少了。（取自王力“小氣”）
　　　　　11　　　　12

There are a total of 12 phrases in this passage, among which 5 contain literary dictions, giving a ratio of 5:7. In other words, we have about 42% formal and 58% informal expressions here. The formality ratio of 2:3 seems to be something like a golden mean that characterizes the ratio of literary and colloquial dictions. Based on measurements of the stylistic ratio, we are able to characterize the process of formal writing in terms of a wave model: [11]

Stylistic Wave (of formal Chinese)
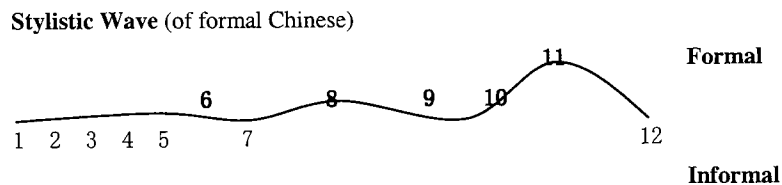
This Stylistic Wave Model can also be viewed as the alternation between literary dictions and colloquial expressions used in a ratio of 2:3 in formal Chinese. As a result of the theory and the methodology presented here, we are able to offer a solution to the problem of the incalculability of styles in human languages. Of course, there are new questions which have arisen and new areas of research which have opened up which must be left for future studies.

5. CONCLUSION

Here, I have argued that written Chinese is in fact a new language that has only recently matured and that is independent of spoken Chinese. Based on the theory of Prosodic Grammar, the features of formal written Chinese consist of (1) monosyllabic words used in disyllabic templates, (2) disyllabic words used in disyllabic couplets and (3) formal patterns. Although these formal written features must be used following strict principles, such as Stylistic Coherence, Auditory Intelligibility (PAI) and Shaping by Prosody (PSP), they must also be mixed with some colloquial features in order to make the language natural. As a result, an amalgamation principle which modulates literary diction with colloquial expression is proposed here. Furthermore, based on these principles, a method of calculation has been developed for the quantitative analysis of the degree of formality of a specimen of Chinese writing.

These results have significant empirical and theoretical implications. An interesting avenue for future research will be to investigate how and why a new language develops and how the diglossic requirement is forced upon and satisfied by language function. Empirically, this study indicates that the statistical measurement methods which have recently been developed into a new technology[12] may perhaps be extended to a wide range of related fields, such as degree of formality measurement, composition testing, readability scaling, style gradation, textbook compilation, L2 learning, literacy acquisition, etc. All of these are important areas for future research.

NOTES

1.Here the term "classical Chinese" refers to expressions that are commonly found in pre-modern Chinese writings but are not used in the everyday speech of today.

2. For example, there are systematically developed formal expressions like jinxing 进行 'carry out':

我們一定要對這個問題進行研究。

Wǒmén yídìng   yào duì zhège wèntí jìnxíng   yánjiū.

we   definitely need towards this issue carry-out study

'We must study this question (we must carry out study on this question.'

However, in oral speech, native speakers do not use them at all. For example:

瞧! 您的閘不靈了, 得修理一下了。   / *得進行修理了.

Qiáo! Nín de zhá   bù líng le, děi xiūulǐ yíxià le / *děi   jìnxíng   xiūlǐ le.

Look you POSS brake not effective Asp. must repair a little Asp. must carry-out repair Asp.

'Look, your (bicycle) brake has some problems, you have to fix it.'

Only on formal occasions, e.g. regulating transportation, can the same thing can be paraphrased formally as:

閘皮失靈, 必须進行修理!

Zhá   pí   shī líng,   bìxū jìnxíng   xiūlǐ.

Brake rubber lose efficiency, must carry-out repair.

'If the brake is not efficient, one must repair it.'

3. This hypothesis needs further research to explore the mechanism and extent of the assimilation.

4. The classical forms that have crept into modern Chinese are not necessarily used in colloquial expressions. This is discussed in section 3 below.

5. This does not mean that study classical Chinese will not help modern writing, but it is important to note that, theoretically, classical Chinese is not modern Chinese and practically, people cannot afford to spend so many years of classical training before incorporated it into their modern writing.

6. See Huang (2008) for a detailed discussion of how classical monosyllabic words like xiào 校 'school', zhù 住 'shut' and kùn 困 'stop'…etc. are used in disyllabic templates.

7. One could argue that fǎngfú is more 'literary' than sìhū, as opposed to more 'formal.' The question of clearly distinguishing literary from formal is a topic for future research.

8. How to decide whether one expression is more formal than another is a problem that requires more study. Here, I rely on both a native speaker's intuition and the frequency of occurrences inside relevant syntactic environments within our database.

9. This principle was developed according to Zhang's (2002) ear-measurement strategy as explained in section 4.3 below.

10. From Feng 2003b.

11. Here I only intend to give a schematic diagram. Accurate and precise result can be easily formed by appropriate techniques.

12. See Feng, Wang and Huang (2008) for the Automatic Feature Checking Algorithm which has been verified using nearly 4,000 compositions from the HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi, or Chinese Proficiency Test), resulting in a precise correspondence between the degree of formality as calculated by the algorithm and the scores on the HSK.

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論現代漢語書面語
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題要
本文提出現代漢語書面語和口語區分的必要，認為這是五四運動打倒文言文以來，語言社會功能發展的必然結果。文章討論新興漢語正式語體的結構模式與組織原則，並提出一種測量方法，把書面正式語體中難以把握的典雅色彩變成可以計算的量化成分。文章認為：這一方法不僅可用于測量當代文章的莊雅度，同時或可用來鑒別閱讀難度和提高寫作的能力。

關鍵詞
書面語，正式語體，韻律語法，莊雅度

CORRIGENDA

The affiliation of authors, on page 1 and 29 in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* Volume 36, Number 1 (2008), should be revised as:

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The University of Hong Kong
Eric Zee
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p.29   北京华轻声的韵律特征
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