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Foreword by the Editor-in-Chief of Journal of Chinese Language Teaching in Europe

Language is the carrier of civilisation. As one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, Chinese attracts learners across the globe with its profound cultural heritage and vibrant modern presence. In this context, the *Journal of Chinese Language Teaching in Europe* was established to serve as an open, diverse, and innovative academic platform—one that brings together cutting-edge research in Chinese language education and fosters academic exchange and practical exploration in the field of international Chinese education.

Since its inception, the journal has adhered to the principle of ‘based in Europe, facing the world’. Although ‘Europe’ is part of our name, our perspective is by no means limited by geographic boundaries. Instead, we aim to reflect global trends, theoretical innovations, and practical advancements in Chinese language education. We welcome submissions from researchers and practitioners of all nationalities and cultural backgrounds to jointly explore the opportunities and challenges in Chinese language teaching.

The journal focuses on core topics including but not limited to

- **Teaching Theory and Methods:** Second language acquisition, curriculum design, and innovative teaching models;
- **Technology and Chinese Education:** Applications of AI, virtual reality, and big data in Chinese language teaching;
- **Intercultural Communication:** Cultural factors in language instruction and learners’ cross-cultural adaptation;
- **Policy and Development:** Comparative studies of national Chinese language education policies, teacher training, and discipline development; and
- **Learner Studies:** Motivation analysis, cognitive characteristics, and learning strategies.

We encourage interdisciplinary and multi-perspective research, valuing both theoretical rigor and practical relevance. Whether empirical research, case studies, literature reviews, or reflective teaching reports, any work that offers

insights into the development of Chinese language education is welcome in our journal.

As editor-in-chief, I extend my heartfelt thanks to our authors, peer reviewers, and readers. It is your wisdom and passion that allow the *Journal of Chinese Language Teaching in Europe* to continually grow. Looking ahead, we will remain committed to academic excellence and innovation and to promoting the flourishing of global Chinese language education.

Let us move forward together, exploring a broader educational landscape at the intersection of language and culture.

Dr Ye Qiuyue

《欧洲中文教育》主编前言

语言是文明的载体，中文作为世界上使用最广泛的语言之一，正以其深厚的文化底蕴和蓬勃的现代活力吸引着全球学习者。在此背景下，《欧洲中文教育》应运而生，旨在搭建一个开放、多元、创新的学术平台，汇聚全球中文教育研究的前沿成果，促进国际中文教育领域的学术交流与实践探索。

自创刊以来，我们始终秉持“立足欧洲，面向世界”的办刊理念。尽管以“欧洲”为名，但本刊的视野绝不局限于地域边界，而是致力于反映全球中文教育的发展动态、理论创新与教学实践。我们欢迎来自不同国家、不同文化背景的研究者与实践者投稿，共同探讨中文教育的机遇与挑战。

本刊关注的核心议题包括但不限于：

- 教学理论与方法：二语习得研究、课程设计、教学模式创新；
- 技术与中文教育：人工智能、虚拟现实、大数据在中文教学中的应用；
- 跨文化交际：语言教学中的文化因素、学习者的跨文化适应；
- 政策与发展：各国中文教育政策比较、师资培养、学科建设；
- 学习者研究：动机分析、认知特点、学习策略等。

我们鼓励跨学科、多视角的研究，既重视理论深度，也关注实践价值。无论是实证研究、案例分析，还是文献综述、教学反思，只要对中文教育的发展有所启迪，本刊均予以重视。

作为主编，我衷心感谢各位作者、审稿专家和读者的支持。正是你们的智慧与热情，使《欧洲中文教育》得以不断成长。未来，我们将继续坚守学术品质，推动创新，促进全球中文教育事业的繁荣发展。让我们携手同行，在语言与文化的交汇中，探索更广阔的教育图景。

叶秋月博士

QIUYUE YE

(Eötvös Loránd University, Chinese Department)

The Current Status and Challenges of Master's Education in Chinese Language Education in Central and Eastern Europe: A Case Study of Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Abstract

Central and Eastern Europe has a profound tradition in Sinology, with its master's programmes in Sinology historically focusing on areas such as Chinese phonetics, literature, history, and philosophy. However, as economic and cultural cooperation between Central and Eastern Europe and China continues to deepen, the demand for Chinese language professionals has become increasingly diversified. In recent years, the rapid development of Sino-Hungarian relations has led to a significant influx of Chinese enterprises into Hungary, further driving the transformation and innovation of master's education in Chinese language education. This paper takes Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary as a case study to explore the current status and challenges of master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe. It analyses the transition from traditional Sinology master's programmes to a diversified 'Chinese+' training model and proposes future development strategies.

Keywords: Central and Eastern Europe, Chinese language education, master's education, Hungary, 'Chinese+'

叶秋月

中东欧中文教育硕士培养之现状与挑战—— 以匈牙利罗兰大学为例

摘要

中东欧地区拥有深厚的汉学传统，其汉学硕士培养长期以来聚焦于汉语语音、文学、历史、哲学等领域。然而，随着中东欧与中国在经济、文化等领域的合作不断深化，对中文人才的需求日益多元化。尤其是近年来，中匈关系的快速发展促使大量中资企业入驻匈牙利，进一步推动了中文教育硕士培养的转型与创新。本文以匈牙利罗兰大学为例，探讨中东欧中文教育硕士培养的现状与挑战，分析其从传统汉学硕士到“中文+”多元化培养模式的转型路径，并提出未来发展的对策建议。

关键词: 中东欧，中文教育，硕士培养，匈牙利，“中文+”

Introduction

Central and Eastern Europe has long been a significant hub for Sinology research, producing a large number of Sinologists in fields such as Chinese phonetics, literature, history, and philosophy. However, with the acceleration of globalisation and the rise of China's international status, economic and cultural cooperation between Central and Eastern Europe and China has become increasingly close. The demand for Chinese language professionals has gradually shifted from traditional academic research to a broader range of applied fields. This shift has presented new requirements and challenges for master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe. This paper takes Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary as a case study to explore the current status and challenges of master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe, analyse the transformation of its training models, and propose future development strategies.

The Current Status of Master's Education in Chinese Language Education in Central and Eastern Europe

1. Traditional Sinology Master's Education

Sinology research in Central and Eastern Europe has a long history, with traditional Sinology master's programmes primarily focusing on Chinese phonetics, literature, history, and philosophy. Eötvös Loránd University, as a key institution for Sinology research in Central and Eastern Europe, has long oriented its Sinology master's programmes towards academic research, emphasising students' deep understanding of Chinese language and culture. The two-year master's programme focuses on Sinology research. While continuing to study modern and classical Chinese to improve their language proficiency, students also delve into various aspects of Chinese language and culture, including Chinese linguistics and contemporary Chinese society and culture.¹ Courses on Chinese philosophy and religious history have always been an integral part of Sinology research.² Additionally, this training model emphasises the ability to read ancient texts and analyse documents. Students are required to read a large number of Chinese classics and write research papers to develop their academic analytical skills. This model has produced a significant number of Sinologists for Central and Eastern Europe, promoting the development of Sinology in the region. However, it also faces the challenge of being disconnected from market demands.

2. The Transformation of Master's Education in Chinese Language Education

As economic and cultural cooperation between Central and Eastern Europe and China continues to deepen, the demand for Chinese language professionals has gradually shifted from traditional academic research to a broader range of applied fields. In recent years, Chinese investment in Hungary has significantly increased, especially under the Belt and Road Initiative, leading to deeper economic cooperation between China and Hungary. Major areas of Chinese investment in Hungary include infrastructure projects (e.g., the Hungary–Serbia Railway), energy sectors (e.g., photovoltaic power generation and electrical facilities), manufacturing industries (e.g., automobiles, elec-

¹ Ye 2021: 181.

² Ye 2021: 181.

tronics, and chemicals), financial and service sectors (e.g., Chinese banks and cross-border e-commerce), technological innovation and research (particularly in information technology and artificial intelligence), and cultural education and tourism. The development of these industries has created a demand for cross-disciplinary professionals with Chinese language skills.

In response to these new market demands, Eötvös Loránd University has adjusted its master's programmes, expanding from traditional Sinology to include master's programmes in Chinese language teaching, Chinese teacher education, and 'Chinese+Translation' programmes. Li Yuming (2011) pointed out that it is essential to focus on introducing contemporary China rather than ancient China to Chinese language learners.³ Eötvös Loránd University has also introduced a master's programme in Chinese Studies, covering developments in Chinese culture, technology, and trade. This transformation not only meets the diversified market demand for Chinese language professionals but also injects new vitality into master's education in Chinese language education. To enhance graduates' employability, master's classes are scheduled to start at 16:00 on weekdays, allowing students to work or intern before 16:00, thereby combining theory with practice and consolidating and deepening their knowledge structure through practical experience.

Challenges Facing Master's Education in Chinese Language Education in Central and Eastern Europe

1. Changes in Market Demand

The demand for Chinese language professionals in Central and Eastern Europe is undergoing significant changes, shifting from a traditional Sinology research-oriented model to a more diversified, application-oriented talent training model. This change is primarily influenced by the following factors. First, with the deepening of the Belt and Road Initiative, economic, cultural, and technological cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European countries has become increasingly close, leading to a significant increase in demand for professionals proficient in Chinese language and culture from enterprises, government agencies, and international organisations. Second, the

³ Li 2011: 72.

growth of multinational corporations' investments in Central and Eastern Europe has led to a surge in demand for professionals familiar with the Chinese market, legal environment, and business practices. Therefore, the traditional Sinology master's training model, which primarily focuses on in-depth research in literature, linguistics, history, and philosophy, can no longer meet the growing demand for application-oriented Chinese language professionals.

In response to these market changes, Central and Eastern European universities need to re-examine their master's education systems in Chinese language education, adjusting their talent training objectives to include not only academic research capabilities but also cross-cultural communication skills, business practical skills, translation practice skills, and other multifaceted abilities. This shift poses new requirements for the curriculum design, teaching models, and practical systems of master's programmes in Chinese language education.

2. Curriculum Adjustments

To meet the diversified market demand for Chinese language professionals, the curriculum system of master's programmes in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe needs to be adjusted to enhance students' practical abilities and career competitiveness. Currently, Eötvös Loránd University has added applied courses, such as Chinese language teaching and translation, to its master's programmes to meet the talent demands of different fields. However, the existing curriculum system still faces the following issues.

Insufficient proportion of practical courses: Although courses such as Chinese language teaching methods and translation have been added, there is still a lack of internship programmes in collaboration with enterprises and government agencies, resulting in limited opportunities for students to apply their knowledge in real work environments.

Insufficient interdisciplinary integration: The current master's curriculum in Chinese language education primarily focuses on linguistics and cultural studies, with a lack of courses in business, international relations, and science communication.

Insufficient curriculum flexibility: Some students wish to continue academic research, while others prefer careers in international business or cultural exchange. Therefore, universities could consider adopting a modular curricu-

lum system, allowing students to choose different course combinations based on their career development plans.

3. Insufficient Faculty Resources

The transformation of master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe not only requires adjustments to the curriculum system but also places higher demands on faculty resources. However, the current faculty in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe still faces several shortcomings, mainly in the following areas.

Lack of interdisciplinary faculty: Most Chinese language teachers come from Sinology research backgrounds. While they possess solid academic foundations in language, literature, and history, they have limited experience in teaching interdisciplinary subjects, such as business, law, and international relations.

Need for optimised teaching methods: Some teachers still rely on traditional lecture-based teaching methods when delivering practical courses, resulting in limited hands-on experience for students.

Limited sources of faculty: Universities could consider collaborating with Chinese universities to introduce more short-term or long-term visiting teachers or adopt a combination of online and offline teaching models to address the shortage of local faculty.

4. Shifts in Student Career Orientation

As the market demand for Chinese language professionals increasingly shifts towards applied fields, the career orientation of master's graduates in Chinese language education has also changed significantly. Traditional academic research is no longer the primary career choice, with more graduates seeking opportunities in enterprises, government agencies, and cultural exchange organisations. Therefore, enhancing students' practical abilities and professional skills has become an important task in master's education in Chinese language education.

First, universities should strengthen cooperation with enterprises and social institutions, establishing school–enterprise collaboration mechanisms to provide students with internship and practical opportunities. For example, partnerships with Chinese enterprises operating in Hungary could offer intern-

ship programmes, allowing students to apply their knowledge in real business environments.

Second, universities could offer career development courses to help students enhance their employability. These courses could cover job search skills, career planning, and cross-cultural communication, helping students better adapt to the international workplace.

Additionally, universities could consider establishing alumni networks, allowing employed graduates to provide career guidance and industry information to current students, further enhancing the career orientation of master's programmes in Chinese language education.

In summary, master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe faces challenges such as changes in market demand, curriculum adjustments, insufficient faculty resources, and shifts in student career orientation. Universities need to adopt systematic reform measures to adapt to the evolving market demands, improve the quality of education, and ensure that graduates possess international competitiveness.

Practices and Explorations at Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

1. From Traditional Sinology Master's Programmes to the Diversified 'Chinese+' Training Model

Eötvös Loránd University has adjusted its master's programmes, expanding from traditional Sinology to include master's programmes in Chinese language teaching, Chinese teacher education, and 'Chinese+Translation' programmes. This transformation not only meets the diversified market demand for Chinese language professionals but also injects new vitality into master's education in Chinese language education. At the same time, the university actively incorporates the latest Chinese language education concepts from both domestic and international sources, optimising the curriculum system to meet the career development needs of different students. The university has not only innovated in curriculum design but also introduced more practical and interactive teaching methods, such as case studies and scenario-based teaching, to enhance students' practical application abilities.

2. Exploration of the Diversified ‘Chinese+’ Training Model

The Chinese Department at Eötvös Loránd University is currently exploring new directions for master’s education, such as ‘Chinese+Teaching’, ‘Chinese+Translation’, and Chinese Studies (‘Chinese+Contemporary China’). This diversified training model not only broadens students’ career prospects but also provides new ideas for master’s education in Chinese language education. As cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European countries continues to deepen in various fields, the demand for Chinese language professionals with interdisciplinary skills is growing. Therefore, Eötvös Loránd University has not only adjusted its curriculum structure to include contemporary Chinese society and economy but also strengthened industry collaboration. For example, in the Chinese Studies programme, experts from relevant fields are invited to give special lectures to broaden and deepen students’ knowledge.

3. The Launch of Joint Training Programmes with Chinese Universities

Eötvös Loránd University has established joint training programmes with Chinese universities such as East China Normal University and Fudan University, further enhancing the quality and internationalisation of its master’s programmes. Through collaboration with Chinese universities, Eötvös Loránd University has not only introduced advanced teaching resources and faculty but also provided students with more international exchange opportunities, enhancing their cross-cultural communication skills. These collaborative programmes include short-term exchanges, joint degree programmes, and online–offline hybrid teaching models, allowing students to receive professional guidance from top Chinese universities. Additionally, the university encourages students to study in China, offering internships and cultural exchange programmes to deepen their understanding of Chinese society and improve their career competitiveness. The university also plans to establish long-term collaboration mechanisms with more Chinese universities, developing joint research projects to provide broader academic and practical platforms for faculty and students.

Recommendations

1. Adjust Curriculum to Include More Applied Courses

To better meet the diversified market demand for Chinese language professionals, the master's education model in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe needs to adjust its curriculum to include more practical and applied courses. In addition to traditional language courses, courses such as Chinese language teaching, translation, business Chinese, cross-cultural communication, and artificial intelligence should be introduced. These courses can help students build a solid foundation in Chinese language while also enhancing the skills needed in practical work environments. In the 'Chinese+Business' direction, the university could invite corporate executives to give special lectures and provide internship opportunities, allowing students to apply their knowledge in real work scenarios. Additionally, in the 'Chinese+Artificial Intelligence' direction, the university could explore courses in natural language processing and data analysis, laying the foundation for future high-end interdisciplinary talent. Furthermore, given China's rapid development in the global economy, technology, and culture, courses related to contemporary Chinese economy, technological innovation, and cultural industries would better align with market demands. Hybrid online-offline teaching models could also be introduced, allowing students to receive instruction from experts at Chinese universities, further improving teaching quality.

2. Strengthen Faculty Development

The quality of Chinese language education largely depends on the level of the faculty. Therefore, the transformation of master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe urgently requires high-quality faculty support. Although Eötvös Loránd University has established a training centre for local Chinese language teachers in Central and Eastern Europe, offering regular training sessions that have achieved some success, the region still faces issues such as insufficient faculty numbers and uneven quality. To cultivate Chinese language education experts with international perspectives, faculty development must be strengthened. This could be achieved through deep collaboration with Chinese universities and educational institutions, promoting regular faculty training and teaching exchange programmes to enhance teachers' interdisciplinary teaching abilities. Additionally, to im-

prove local teachers' language proficiency and teaching quality, regular lectures and seminars by domestic and international experts should be organised to promote professional development and internationalise academic research. During holidays, local Chinese language teachers in Central and Eastern Europe could be organised to participate in workshops at Chinese universities, continuously updating their knowledge and improving their teaching abilities. In today's digital and intelligent era, how to empower international Chinese language education with artificial intelligence is also an important topic in the professional development of Chinese language teachers in Central and Eastern Europe.

3. Enhance Students' Practical Abilities and Professional Skills

In the context of a growing market demand for Chinese language professionals, in addition to academic research training, master's education in Chinese language education also needs to enhance students' practical abilities and professional skills. To meet societal demands, universities should collaborate with enterprises and industry associations to create more internship and practical opportunities. Through internship programmes, students can translate their knowledge into practical skills while gaining a better understanding of workplace demands, thereby improving their employability. For example, long-term partnerships could be established with Chinese enterprises, multinational corporations, and local companies in Central and Eastern Europe to provide regular internship positions and practical opportunities for students. Additionally, the introduction of case studies and project-based learning can help students learn how to apply Chinese language, translation skills, and business communication knowledge in solving real-world problems. This practice-oriented training model can effectively enhance students' comprehensive abilities, making them more adept in their future careers.

4. Explore the Diversified 'Chinese+' Training Model

To further broaden the career prospects of master's graduates in Chinese language education, exploring the diversified 'Chinese+' training model is an important direction for the future development of Chinese language education. Comprehensive universities should leverage their strengths and regional demands to maintain the basic characteristics of international Chinese language education while integrating Chinese language teaching with related

disciplines, developing a joint training model of 'International Chinese Language Education + Related Disciplines'.⁴ This training model not only focuses on language teaching but also combines knowledge from other fields to cultivate diversified interdisciplinary talent. Master's programmes in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe could draw on the experience of Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary, exploring combinations such as 'Chinese+Translation', 'Chinese+Teaching', and 'Chinese+Business'. Additionally, to meet the needs of different types of students, Eötvös Loránd University is exploring interdisciplinary talent training directions, such as 'Chinese+Business' and 'Chinese+Science Communication'. This training model can help students broaden their interdisciplinary knowledge beyond language learning, enhancing their career flexibility and competitiveness. For example, 'Chinese+Translation' can train students to become high-end translators between Central and Eastern Europe and China; 'Chinese+Business' provides students with opportunities to enter international enterprises; and 'Chinese+Artificial Intelligence' can cultivate technical talent with Chinese language skills to meet future demands for cross-cultural communication in the technology sector. This interdisciplinary training model not only improves students' employability but also better serves the diversified demand for Chinese language professionals in Central and Eastern Europe.

Conclusion

The transformation and development of master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe are facing challenges as they shift from traditional Sinology master's programmes to diversified 'Chinese+' training models. In this process, Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary has provided valuable insights and approaches for the future development of Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe through curriculum adjustments, faculty development, and the introduction of diversified 'Chinese+' training models. In the future, master's education in Chinese language education in Central and Eastern Europe should further align with market demands, optimise curriculum structures, and enhance students' practical abilities and professional skills to meet the increasingly diversified and specialised global demand for Chinese language professionals.

⁴ Guo 2024: 104.

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LENING LIU – HELENA HAN
(Columbia University)

Preliminary Exploration of Micro-changes in Chinese Verb-Object Compounds

Abstract

This paper examines two recent micro-changes in verb-object (V-O) compounds in Modern Chinese: the emergence of the “V个 (gè)N” construction and the increasing attachment of direct object to traditional V-O compounds. By analyzing these linguistic shifts within the framework of Construction Grammar and language change, this study reveals how these micro-changes reflect broader linguistic evolution and adaption, influenced by socio-cultural shifts and language contact phenomena. Additionally, the paper discusses the implications of these micro-changes for teaching Chinese as a second language, highlighting the challenges and pedagogical strategies needed to address evolving linguistic forms. This investigation not only contributes to our understanding of specific linguistic phenomena but also enriches the broader discourse on language as an adaptive system, responding to communicative needs and cultural interactions.

Keywords: Verb-object compounds, language change, Construction Grammar, “V个 (gè)N” construction, teaching Chinese as a foreign language

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摘要

本文探讨了现代汉语动宾合成词近年发生的两种微变化：“V个N”构式的兴起与动宾合成词外挂直接宾语现象的出现与扩展。基于构式语法与语言变化理论的分析，本研究揭示了这些微变化如何在社会文化变

迁及语言接触的影响下体现更广泛的语言适应与演进的过程。此外，本文还讨论了这些微变化对国际中文教育的启示，重点关注了应对新兴语言形式所面临的挑战及相应的教学策略。此项研究不仅丰富了对具体语言现象的理解，亦为理解语言作为一种因应交际需求和文化互动而不断演化的适应性系统提供了更全面的视角。

Introduction

The study of language change is a fascinating area that provides insights into the dynamic and adaptive nature of human communication systems. While large-scale linguistic changes often capture significant attention, the subtler shifts that occur at the micro-level can be equally revealing. These micro-changes, though incremental, reflect the intricate interplay between language structure, cognitive processes, and shifting socio-cultural contexts.

One domain where such micro-changes are particularly evident is the realm of Chinese verb-object compounds. These unique linguistic constructions, characterized by their dual nature as cohesive units that can separate into distinct components, have undergone notable transformations in recent years. Specifically, two key phenomena have emerged: the emergence of “V个(gè)N” construction and the increasing attachment of direct objects to traditional V-O compounds. These micro-changes in V-O compounds are not merely isolated linguistic quirks but rather manifestations of broader processes of language change. They provide a window into the complex interplay between structural constraints, cognitive processes, and communicative demands that shape the evolution of linguistic systems.

Through a comprehensive examination of these micro-changes in Chinese verb-object compounds, this paper aims to make several significant contributions. First, it seeks to elucidate the underlying mechanisms driving these shifts, drawing upon theoretical frameworks such as Construction Grammar and language contact phenomena. By analyzing the interplay between high-frequency exemplars, analogical processes, and socio-cultural factors, we can gain a deeper understanding of the forces that catalyze language change.

Second, this study aims to shed light on the implications of these micro-changes for language pedagogy, particularly in the domain of teaching Chinese as a second language. As these subtle shifts permeate into mainstream

usage, educators face the challenge of navigating the delicate balance between preserving linguistic norms and acknowledging the dynamic nature of language.

Ultimately, by exploring these micro-changes in Chinese V-O compounds, this paper seeks to contribute to our broader understanding of language as a living, adaptive system that evolves in response to the ever-changing needs and contexts of its speakers.

Research Background

Challenges in Teaching Separable Compound Words in Chinese as a Second Language

One of the major challenges for non-native learners in studying Chinese lies in the mastery of separable compound words, known as *lǐhé cí* (离合词). These challenges stem largely from the dual functionality of these compounds, which can exist both in their combined form (*hé 合*) and in their separated form (*lí 离*).

Learners exhibit a clear bias in dealing with these words. On one hand, they tend to use these compounds in their combined form, showing reluctance to separate the components even when contextually appropriate. Wang's investigation using the Global Chinese Interlanguage Corpus at Beijing Language and Culture University highlighted the difficulties Chinese learners face with these constructions. An analysis of 442 sentences containing 16 high-frequency separable compounds revealed a 27.4% error rate in their use, with 80.2% of errors due to failure to appropriately separate the compounds. On the other hand, when learners do attempt to separate these compounds, they often incorrectly insert aspect marker excessively while underutilizing measure words, including the use of “个 (*gè*)” (Wang 2002; Huang et al. 2015). Common errors include constructions like:

- (a) *我今天请客你。
(Wǒ jīntiān qǐngkè nǐ.)
'I will treat you today.'
- (b) *我每天上课三小时。
(Wǒ měitiān shàngkè sān xiǎoshí.)
'I have three hours of class every day.'

- (c) *她们又唱歌起来了。
(Tāmen yòu chànggē qǐláile.)
'They started singing again.'
- (d) *她写字很好。
(Tā xiězì hěn hǎo.)
'She writes very well.'
- (e) *他一到宿舍就帮忙我。
(Tā yí dào sùshè jiù bāngmáng wǒ.)
'As soon as he got to the dorm, he helped me out.'
- (f) *我当面他说：“我不喜欢你。”
(Wǒ dāngmiàn tā shuō: “Wǒ bù xǐhuān nǐ.”)
'I said to his face, “I don't like you.”'

These examples illustrate typical errors that arise from the improper separation and combination of components within separable words. In (c), the directional complement 起来 (qǐláile) is incorrectly positioned after the VO compound 唱歌 (chànggē), which disrupts the fluency of the sentence. 她们又唱起歌来了 (Tāmen yòu chàng qǐ gē láile) should be the correct sentence. Moreover, the underlined 帮忙我 (bāngmáng wǒ) in (e) illustrates a common error where the learner has directly attached the object 我 (wǒ) to the separable compound word 帮忙 (bāngmáng), without the necessary preposition to correctly format the sentence. Since the argument structure of the verb is satisfied within the compound by taking an object, almost all separable compounds cannot take a direct object. Therefore, the correct form should use a preposition to introduce the object: 他一到宿舍就给我帮忙 (Tā yí dào sùshè jiù gěi wǒ bāngmáng).

Recent Micro-changes in Verb-Object Compounds

In recent years, several micro-changes have been observed in the usage of v-o compounds in Modern Chinese, reflecting broader trends in linguistic evolution and adaptation. Two interesting phenomena include the subjectification of the “V个 (gè)N” construction and the emergence of constructions that allow for external direct objects in traditional verb-object compounds.

The “V个 (gè)N” construction, traditionally used to express a quantifiable action in a non-subjective manner, has undergone a shift towards greater subjectivity. This change is characterized by the construction being used to convey actions in a more casual context, often integrated with “不就是...” (bú jiùshi) construction, which downplays the significance of the action or event. Concurrently, there has been an expansion in the structural flexibility of verb-object compounds, allowing for the attachment of external direct objects. Traditionally, compounds like 见面 (jiànmiàn) or 洗澡 (xǐzǎo) do not accommodate external direct object due to the self-contained nature of their structure, where the verb and its object are lexically bound. This new phenomenon challenges the traditional internal object structure and reflects an evolving need for greater syntactic flexibility in response to communicative demands.

These micro changes in V-O compounds will be explored in greater detail in subsequent sections, focusing on their implications for our understanding of language change and acquisition in a socio-linguistic context.

Issues in Verb-Object Compounds Research

The separability frequency of separable compounds varies greatly, with some having a relatively high frequency of separation, while others have a low or even extremely low frequency. Wang’s (2011) comprehensive examination through a large linguistic corpus, specifically focusing on the separable words listed in the *HSK Graded Character List* 汉语水平词汇等级大纲 (*Hànyǔ shuǐpíng cíhuì děngjí dàgāng*) reveals significant disparities in separability frequencies. The average separability frequency among the 207 words studied was merely 0.056. Only four words exhibited a separability frequency over 0.5, and a substantial 87.9% had frequencies below 0.2, underscoring that for 98.1% of the cases, the combined form (hé 合) is more common than the separated form (lí 离). This phenomenon raises the question of why some separable compound words are more prone to separation while others are not, and what factors determine this variability.

Scholars have proposed various theories to explain what influences the degree of separability in separable verbs. Huang et.al (2015) suggest that the separability is influenced by the nature of the object (O) in the V-O compounds. Their posits that if the object represents a free morpheme, the compound is more likely to exhibit higher separability, as seen in examples like

唱歌 (chànggē) and 写字 (xiězì). Conversely, when the object is not a free morpheme, as in 见面 (jiànmiàn) or 理发 (lǐfà), the separability is notably lower. This viewpoint draws on Claudia Ross's discussion on cognate objects, where she argues that certain verbs in Mandarin are obligatorily transitive due to their thematic structure and the presence of cognate objects, which are often semantically weak or empty (Ross, 1998). Her examination of the thematic roles and the aspectual properties of verbs underscores the complexity of verb-object interactions, suggesting that the obligatory transitivity imposed by cognate objects can influence the separability of the verb-object pair.

However, the conclusions drawn from Ross's discussion are contentious. Several examples used to support this theory in this paper do not align with standard Chinese syntax, which challenges the reliability of these theories, such as:

- (a) *我买了一本书，买了半天没买到。
(Wǒ mǎile yì běn shū, mǎile bàntiān méi mǎi dào.)
'I bought a book, bought it for half a day, but didn't succeed in buying it.'
- (b) *我给你教书。
(Wǒ gěi nǐ jiāoshū.)
'I teach you.'
- (c) *我跟他买了车。
(Wǒ gēn tā mǎile chē.)
'I bought a car from him.'
- (d) *我走/跑路。
(Wǒ zǒu/pǎo lù.)
'I walk/run.'

Furthermore, focusing solely on the object in V-O compounds appears insufficient in explaining variations in separability. This approach fails to account for differences observed in "V个(gè)N" construction, where the separability does not seem to depend merely on the nature of the object. For example:

- (a) 唱个歌
(chàng gè gē)
'sing a song'

- (b) 写个字
(xiě gè zì)
'write a character'
- (c) 理个发
(lǐ gè fā)
'get a haircut'
- (d) 见个面
(jiàn gè miàn)
'meet up'

These instances show that the “V个 (gè)N” construction can apply equally to verbs with both free and bound objects, suggesting that other factors may influence the degree of separability.

Theoretical Framework: Construction Grammar and Language Micro-change

Construction Grammar conceptualizes language as comprising constructions, which are fundamental units of language change. These constructions are form-meaning pairings that vary in complexity and size, representing a network of interconnected linguistic elements.

Constructions are made up of many properties (features in some models). Minimally, these properties are: semantics, pragmatics, discourse function on the meaning side and syntax, morphology, phonology on the form side (Croft 2001). The richness and multidimensionality of these properties imply that any change in one aspect could significantly influence the overall dynamics of the construction within the linguistic network. Constructions can range from simple, “atomic” elements that are indivisible, such as the plural noun inflection in English, to complex structures like phrases, clauses, or even entire sentences. For instance, complex quantifiers like “a lot of X” and pseudo-cleft constructions such as “What I did was drive to Santa Cruz” exemplify the varied sizes and complexities constructions can assume (Goldberg, 2006).

Over the past two decades, the conception of language as a system of form-meaning pairs, or ‘signs’, has been emphasized in usage-based models of language. These models argue that language is fundamentally a collection of such pairings, which are used and adapted by speakers in real-time com-

munication. The implication is that language change involves shifts in how these constructions are used and understood within the speech community (Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Croft, 2001). Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Croft (2001) have extensively developed this idea, proposing usage-based models where language is understood as a dynamic system of these form-meaning pairs.

In addition, High-frequency exemplars play a crucial role in language change. This concept, central to the usage-based models of Construction Grammar, highlights how linguistic categories are not static but evolve through the dynamic interplay of various exemplars within a linguistic community. According to Nosofsky (1988) and Strack & Mussweiler (1997), linguistic categories emerge from the associated space shared by different exemplars, with high-frequency exemplars serving as cognitive anchors around which less frequently occurring exemplars are organized.

Goldberg (2005) further elaborates on this by noting that when the linguistic input is skewed—meaning that the frequencies of certain exemplars are significantly higher—these high-frequency exemplars become salient standards of comparison. This salience allows them to influence how other, less frequent, constructions are understood and used, essentially guiding the analogical processes that underpin much of language change. As a result, these high-frequency exemplars become entrenched in the minds of language users, not merely as isolated instances but as central components of a form-meaning pairing that define the norms of usage within the language. Moreover, Goldberg's earlier work (1995, 2006) introduces the idea that the entrenchment of these constructions, driven by their idiosyncratic or frequent usage, solidifies their status within the linguistic system. These constructions, characterized by specific semantic, syntactic, or phonological features, become deeply embedded in the cognitive framework of the language user. This deep embedding facilitates the process by which linguistic change occurs, not through abrupt or systemic shifts as traditional models might suggest, but through gradual and often subtle shifts in usage patterns led by these exemplars.

Thus, the evolution of linguistic constructions is a complex interplay of cognitive processes and usage patterns where high-frequency exemplars play a pivotal role. By acting as anchors, they not only influence individual instances of language use but also guide the broader trajectories of linguistic change, making them fundamental to understanding how languages evolve and adapt over time.

In the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar, language change is often conceptualized as a series of subtle, incremental adjustments within the network of constructions that constitute a language. This perspective highlights that changes in language constructions—be they lexical, syntactic, or morphological—are not monolithic shifts but consist of numerous micro-steps.

Constructionalization, as posited by Traugott and Trousdale (2013), refers to the process through which new constructions emerge, encompassing new forms, new meanings, or both, and becoming integrated into the linguistic network of a community of speakers. It's often accompanied by alterations in the extent of abstraction, productivity, and the degree to which a construction's meaning can be predicted from its parts.

Such changes are not abrupt but occur through a series of incremental adjustments, known as micro-steps, which cumulatively contribute to the evolution of the language's constructional landscape. While some micro-constructions emerge gradually, others appear suddenly. Gradual developments often involve procedural changes, while instantaneous ones tend to carry specific content. While each step in this process happens instantly within an individual's mind, the overall progression towards constructing something new takes place gradually through a sequence of these micro-steps. However, even these sudden changes are preceded by a background of smaller, less noticeable shifts that set the stage for the new construction to be accepted and integrated into the linguistic community.

External factors, such as cultural shifts and language contact, also significantly influence constructional change. Language contact, in particular, has been shown to induce syntactic changes as languages borrow and adapt features from each other. Éva Ágnes Kiss delves into this intersection in her examination of syntactic changes within the Hungarian language. Through a meticulous analysis of the Hungarian verbal complex, she elucidates how contact with other linguistic systems has historically shaped syntactic constructions. Specifically, Kiss demonstrates how Turkic influence catalyzed a process of intricate tense system development, followed by a subsequent simplification spurred by Slavic influence. This historical trajectory underscores the intricate interplay between language contact and syntactic evolution, raising poignant inquiries into the structural conditions conducive to the borrowing and adaptation of linguistic systems. Similarly, broader societal changes are also pivotal in shaping linguistic structures. Cultural transitions reflect shifts in the values, norms, and communicative needs of a speech

community, which in turn influence linguistic expressions and constructions. For instance, the evolution of negation patterns in Middle English provides a clear example of how linguistic structures adapt in response to changing linguistic preferences within a community. As negation strategies shifted, they not only reflected but also facilitated changes in the communicative practices and cognitive orientations of English speakers.

Verb-Object Compounds in Modern Chinese

In the study of Chinese linguistics, verb-object compounds hold a significant position due to their complexity and frequency of use. Notably, most V-O compounds are considered separable compounds (Li and Thompson, 1981; Sun, 2016). The term 离合词 (*líhé cí*) was first introduced by Lu Zhiwei in his seminal work, *Chinese Morphology* 汉语的构词法 (*Hànyǔ de gòucífǎ*, 1957). In this book, Lu Zhiwei was the first to coin the term 离合词 (*líhé cí*) to describe these unique constructions in Chinese morphology. Following Lu, Cao Baoping and Feng Guihua (2003) further develop the concept in their work, *The Formation and Separability Rules of Separable Words* 离合词的构成及离合规律 (*Líhécí de gòuchéng jǐ líhé guīlǜ*). They categorized separable words into three distinct structures, verb-object, verb-complement, and adjunct structures.

Another significant contribution to the field was made by Zhang Shoukang in *On Chinese Word-Formation* 略论汉语构词法 (*Luè lùn hànyǔ gòucífǎ*, 1957), where he first discussed the concept of separable words. He argued that units like 革命 (*gémìng*), 跳舞 (*tiàowǔ*), 洗澡 (*xǐzǎo*), and 鞠躬 (*jūgōng*), which were initially identified by Zhao Yuanren, are neither purely syntactic phrases nor complete words but rather something in-between. Zhang described these units as separable words because they typically function as a single component in syntax. For example, in the sentence 我洗澡了 (*wǒ xǐzǎo le*), the unit 洗澡 (*xǐzǎo*) acts as the predicate rather than 洗 (*xǐ*) as the predicate and 澡 (*zǎo*) as the object. However, when analyzed through the grammatical features of words, they also qualify as phrases due to their internal structure. Therefore, these dominantly structured “separable verbs” act as a single “word” when combined but function as a “phrase” when used separately.

Nature of Separable Words

The nature of separable words in Chinese—whether they belong to the category of words, phrases, or a liminal state between the two—remains a focal point of contention within the field of Chinese linguistics. This debate is characterized by diverse perspectives and ongoing disputes, as scholars continue to present varied interpretations based on their analyses.

From the perspective of those advocating for the lexical classification, separable compounds are considered closer to words or fully lexicalized entities due to their semantic specificity and the binding nature of their morphemic compounds. Lin Handa was among the first, in 1953, to treat separable compounds as a distinct type of word, which he termed “结合动词 (jiéhé dòngcí)”. He argued that these are verbs composed with an adjunct that can incorporate certain syllables in between; the adjunct completes the action denoted by the verb but does not serve as the object of that action. Zhao Shuhua and Zhang Baolin (1996) provided a comprehensive discussion on separable compounds. They discussed these compounds in terms of their common and special cases, and their original and variant forms, arguing that such words exhibit two distinct morphological states which can change temporarily. The trend towards syllabification in Chinese supports common combined form, while the flexibility within the language allows for the occasional separated form, making these compounds a unique class of words distinct from typical words. Rao Qin (2001) approached separable compounds from a valency perspective, analyzing verb-object structures and concluding that separable compounds belong to the category of intransitive verbs. Supporting this perspective, lexicalist theories, as discussed by Jerome Packard in 2000, treat separable verbs as words that are subject to grammatical operations to meet the needs of specific contexts within sentences.

Conversely, advocates for the phrasal interpretation, such as Lü Shuxiang (1979), argue that general separable words should be classified as phrases from a grammatical standpoint. Lü highlighted the contradictions between syntax and morphology, noting that while compounds like 睡觉 (shuìjiào) and 打仗 (dǎzhàng) could be considered words from a morphological perspective, their syntactic behavior compels their classification as phrases due to their separability and positional variability. Zhu Dexi (1982) adopted the approach of “separated as a phrase, combined as a word.” He used the method of extension as a boundary, arguing that verb-object compound verbs before extension are compound words, but once extended, they belong to a combi-

natory verb-object structure. Structurally, Zhu pointed out that 吃饭 (chīfàn) is an agglutinative verb-object phrase where both the verb “吃 (chī)” and the object “饭 (fàn)” are independent words. Conversely, in 吃亏 (chīkuī), the “亏 (kuī)” functions as a bound morpheme and not as an independent word, making 吃亏 (chīkuī) a compound verb-object word rather than a verb-object structure. Unlike other types of compound words, verb-object compound words can often be extended, transitioning from compound words to combinatorial structures upon expansion. Liu Yuehua (1983), in her work on Practical Grammar of Modern Chinese, referred to separable compounds as “tightly bound verb-object phrases.” Similarly, Wang Li (1946) described separable compounds as “竹语 (lèyǔ)” indicating that expressions like 说话 (shuōhuà), 睡觉 (shuìjiào), 走路 (zǒulù), and 害病 (hàibìng) that could extend into 说大话 (shuō dàhuà), 睡了一觉 (shuì le yī jué), 走小路 (zǒu xiǎolù), 害了大病 (hài le dàbìng) should be considered as phrases.

The third theory posits that these constructions occupy a transitional category between words and phrases, possessing characteristics of both. Fan Xiao (1996) noted that while there are clear distinctions between words and phrases, there are also ambiguous cases that exhibit features of both, thus residing in a transitional state. This view supports the notion that linguistic units can transform from phrases to words and vice versa, representing a quantitative change that does not fully transition into a new qualitative state until a fundamental transformation occurs. Shi Youwei (1999) and Li Linding (1990) also support this intermediate classification, suggesting that while separable compounds are closer to words, they embody characteristics of both categories.

The debate extends to those like Lu Zhiwei (1957), who firmly established the term “separable word” while simultaneously clarifying its dual nature. Lu proposed that these compounds behave as a single word when combined but function as two separate words—or a phrase—when the components are split. Lu’s theory was grounded in the distinction between words and phrases, using an extension method to delineate them. This duality is foundational to understanding the flexible and dynamic nature of word formation in Chinese, as proposed by scholars like Zhao Yuanren (1968), Hu Yushu (1995) and Li & Thompson (1989), who described these compounds as inherently cohesive yet structurally separable, emphasizing their unique lexical and syntactic properties.

Grammatical Features of Verb-Object Compounds in Modern Chinese

(1) Typically Do Not Take a Direct Object

Since the argument structure of the verb is satisfied within the compound by taking an object, almost all V-P compounds cannot take a direct object. However, there are indeed some V-O compounds that do take a direct object. For instance:

- (a) 领导很关心你的健康。
(Lǐngdǎo hěn guānxīn nǐ de jiànkāng.)
‘The boss is very concerned about your health.’
- (b) 我们打算出版阎教授的专著。
(Wǒmen dǎsuàn chūbǎn yán jiàoshòu de zhuānzhù.)
‘We plan to publish Professor Yan’s monograph.’

(2) Insertion of Aspect Markers

An aspect marker can be inserted to separate the verb from its object in a V-O compound, illustrating a distinct break in the compound:

- (a) 王小姐毕了业了。
(Wáng xiǎojiě bìle yèle.)
‘Miss Wang has graduated.’
- (b) 他都三十了，还没理过发。
(Tā dōu sānshíle, hái méi lǐguò fā.)
‘He’s already thirty and hasn’t ever had a haircut.’

(3) Insertion of Measure Phrases

Measure phrases indicating frequency or duration can be inserted between the verb and the object:

- (a) 他只念了三年书。
(Tā zhǐ niànle sān nián shū.)
‘He only studied for three years.’
- (b) 小孙子给爷爷磕了三个头。
(Xiǎo sūnzǐ gěi yéyē kēle sān gè tóu.)
‘The grandson kowtowed three times to his grandfather.’

(4) Insertion of Pronouns

Personal and interrogative pronouns can be inserted into verb-object compounds. Generally, personal pronouns are followed by “的 (de)”:

- (a) 我帮他的忙。
(Wǒ bāng tā de máng.)
'I helped him out.'
- (b) 你当什么心。
(Nǐ dāng shénme xīn.)
'You watch out for what?'

(5) Insertion of Complex Linguistic Components

Verb-object compounds in Modern Chinese allow for the insertion of complex linguistic component such as modifiers including nouns, numerals, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, or phrases before the object component of the v-o compound:

- (a) 帮朋友的忙。
(Bāng péngyǒu de máng.)
'help my friend out.'

(6) Insertion of 起 (qǐ), 上 (shàng) and 下 (xià):

- (a) 大家跳起舞来。
(Dàjiā tiàodǎo wǔ lái.)
'everyone started dancing.'

(7) Features Reduplication Forms

Unlike general verbs, the reduplication in separable verbs occurs only with the initial verb-like element in order to indicate a delimitative aspect. While structures like V—Vo or VV-看(kàn)-O are not permissible, the pattern VVO-看(kàn) is possible. For example:

- (a) 睡觉
(shuìjiào)
'sleep'
- (b) 睡睡觉
(shuì shuì jiào)
'sleep a little'
- (c) *睡—睡觉
(shuì yí shuì jiào)
- (d) *睡睡看觉
(shuì shuì kàn jué)

- (e) 睡睡觉看
(shuì shuì jiào kàn)
'sleep a little'

(8) Repetition with Complements

When separable verbs are used with temporal or modal complements, the verb-like element preceding the complement must be repeated. This structure emphasizes the duration or manner of the action. For example:

- (a) 我们照相照了半个小时。
(Wǒmen zhàoxiàng zhàole bàn gè xiǎoshí.)
'we took photos for half an hour.'
- (b) 他跑步跑得满头是汗。
(Tā pǎobù pǎo dé mǎn tóu shì hàn.)
'He ran until he was sweating profusely.'

Recent Micro-changes in Chinese Verb-Object Compounds

“V个 (gè)N” Construction

The “V个 (gè)N” construction in Modern Chinese is a grammatical structure where a verb is directly combined with “个 (gè)” followed by a noun, without an intervening numeral. The characteristics of verb-object compounds in Modern Chinese that we mentioned earlier, notably its lack of a direct object and the ability to incorporate aspect markers, form the foundational underpinnings of the “V个 (gè)N” construction.

In modern Chinese, “个 (gè)” is a measure word used frequently to indicate the concrete quantity of an item. It is applicable to most items that do not have a specific unit of measurement, and it can even be paired with some items that have their own appropriate measure words. Its common usage involves forming a quantity phrase with numerals to modify the following noun or noun phrase, such as in 我今天吃了一个苹果 (Wǒ jīntiān chīle yīgè píngguǒ; I ate an apple today) or 我上午看了一本书 (Wǒ shàngwǔ kànle yī běn shū; I read a book this morning). Instead, “个 (gè)” in “V个 (gè)N” construction is directly combined with a verb followed by a noun component which simplifies the expression by omitting the numeral, as seen in examples like 我去和朋友们吃个饭 (Wǒ qù hé péngyǒumen chī gè fàn; I'll go have a

meal with friends) or 我想去街上溜个弯儿 (Wǒ xiǎng qù jiē shàng liū gè wān'r; I want to take a walk on the street).

Before the constructionalization, the insertion of temporal and quantifying phrases coexisted with aspect markers, which necessitates consistency with the subsequent noun in the construction. Examples such as 写了一个字 (xiěle yí gè zì), 见了一次面 (jiànle yí cì miàn), 教了一年书 (jiàole yì nián shū), and 红了一次脸 (hóngle yí cì liǎn) illustrate this stage of constructional usage. These instances demonstrate that the original constructions allowed for a quantifier that marked the number of instances or the duration of an action. As the construction evolved, the specific phrase 一个 (yí gè) underwent a transformation into (一)个 ([yí] gè), which marks a significant shift towards subjectification and casualness. The deletion of 一 (yí), originally denoting minimal amounts as in 一个 (yí gè), began to embody a more subjective tone—indicating something trivial, casual, or of minor importance. Consequently, the presence of aspect markers became redundant and other quantifiers began to be replaced by 个 (gè), which reflects a larger trend toward a more casual and less formally bound usage in spoken Chinese:

- (a) 小两口红个脸没啥要紧，过一夜就好了。
 (Xiǎo liǎngkǒu hóng gè liǎn méi shá yào jǐn, guò yí yè jiù hǎole.)
 *小两口红过次脸没啥要紧，过一夜就好了。
 (Xiǎo liǎngkǒu hóngguò cì liǎn méi shá yào jǐn, guò yí yè jiù hǎole.)
 ‘It’s not a big deal for the young couple to have a little argument, it’ll be fine after a night.’
- (b) 到了北京给我打电话啊，咱们见个面。
 (Dào le Běijīng gěi wǒ dǎ diànhuà a, zánmen jiàn gè miàn.)
 *到了北京给我打电话啊，咱们见了次面。
 (Dào le Běijīng gěi wǒ dǎ diànhuà a, zánmen jiànle cì miàn.)
 ‘Call me when you get to Beijing, let’s meet up.’
- (c) 知青除了劳动，有的也教个书啥的。
 (Zhīqīng chú le láodòng, yǒu de yě jiào gè shū shá de.)
 *知青除了劳动，有的也教了年书啥的。
 (Zhīqīng chú le láodòng, yǒu de yě jiàole nián shū shá de.)
 ‘Besides laboring, some of the sent-down youth also taught or something.’

教个书 (jiào gè shū) in the 1st sentence of (c) features the use of 个 (gè) as a casual quantifier that minimizes the formality and specifies no particular

quantity or duration. The use of 个 (gè) in this context is subjective which denotes an activity done in a non-specific and casual manner, suggesting that the act of teaching is not the primary duty but rather an occasional or supplementary activity. In contrast, the 2nd sentence of (c) attempts to use 了年 (le nián) which is grammatically incorrect. The phrase 教了年书 (jiao le niánshū) incorrectly combines the aspect marker 了 (le, which indicates completion) with a measure word 年 (shū), implying a specific duration that contradicts the casual tone set by the rest of the sentence.

The “V个 (gè)N” construction is a grammatical construction that has evolved from quantifying expressions to a structure that expresses subjective diminishing. Notably, this construction emerges from the category of “V量可数 (liàng kě shǔ) N” and has been restructured through structuralization, thereby inheriting the semantic features associated with small-scale actions (Lei, 2017).

Subjectivity in language is the presence of personal expression within discourse, where the speaker infuses their stance, attitude, and emotions into the conversation. This subjective tint is often expressed through specific grammatical structures or evolves through linguistic changes to accommodate such expressions (Shen, 2001). In the case of the “V个 (gè)N” construction, this subjectification is particularly pronounced, serving as a mechanism to convey minimal quantities in a subjective context (Wang, 1999; Li, 1988, 1999; Wang, 2005; Wang, 2013; Ren, 2013; Li, 1992; Zhou, 2011). This construction is marked by two primary features: quantitative minimality and temporal brevity. The numeral “个 (gè)” typically modifies nouns that denote a small quantity of tangible objects, while the verbs indicate actions of short duration. Together, these elements express the semantic characteristic of the construction, encapsulating brief actions that impact minimal quantities of objects, thereby emphasizing a subjective interpretation of events.

While the aforementioned studies have significantly contributed to understanding the semantics and pragmatic functions of 个 (gè), they often discuss it in isolation. This narrow focus has somewhat limited our understanding of the grammaticalization processes at play, neglecting how 个 (gè) contributes to the larger syntactic and semantic changes within the construction. To fully appreciate the complexity and dynamics of the “V个 (gè)N” construction, it is essential to consider it within the broader context of construction grammar and language change. The shift towards viewing 个 (gè) as a marker of triviality not only alters the construction’s meaning but also its

function in discourse. Such changes are emblematic of the adaptive nature of language, where constructions evolve in response to shifts in speaker intentions and communicative needs.

Analogy of the “V个 (gè)N” Construction

The “V个 (gè)N” construction, traditionally reserved for verb-object compound, has expanded to encompass non-VO compounds through a process of grammaticalization and analogical extension. In cases where the typical “V个 (gè)N” format does not apply, an interstitial ‘个 (gè)’ can be introduced between two morphemes, expanding the structure. This expansion refers to the broadening of newly formed structures by relaxing certain grammatical constraints, making them applicable to larger linguistic contexts where originally the insertion of ‘个 (gè)’ would not be permissible. Structures such as predicative adjuncts and serial verb constructions have thus evolved under the strong analogical influence of the “V个 (gè)N” pattern, forming new structural types. Although these analogically derived structures may differ from the typical “V个 (gè)N” format in superficial grammatical significance, they share a deep semantic purpose: by incorporating ‘个 (gè)’, they transform an unbounded, abstract activity into a bounded, concrete event. For example:

- (a) 没事了就旅个游啊，瑜个伽呀什么的。
(Méishìle jiù lǚ gè yóu a, yú gè jiā ya shénme de.)
‘If there’s nothing else, go on a trip or do some yoga or something.’
- (b) 今天得面个试。
(Jīntiān děi miàn gè shì.)
‘I have a job interview today.’

The underlined 面个试 (miàn gè shì) in (b) illustrate the innovative application of the “V个 (gè)N” construction beyond traditional verb-object settings through analogy. However, the insertion of 个 (gè) is not universally applicable as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of 笔个试 (bǐ gè shì) and 口个试 (kǒu gè shì). These examples highlight the semantic constraints—‘个 (gè)’ favors contexts where the action can be conceptually segmented or quantified, a condition not met by the inherently indivisible nature of 笔试 (bǐshì) and 口试 (kǒushì).

Instances of this extended use are not uncommon in spoken language. In the data from BLCU Corpus Center as of October 10, 2021, we observed 1 in-

stance of 践个行 (jiàn gè xíng), 2 instances of 祈个祷 (qí gè dǎo), and 333 instances of 旅个游 (lǚ gè yóu). These examples highlight the adaptability of the “V个 (gè)N” construction in accommodating non-conventional verb-object compounds through the insertion of 个.

The “V个 (gè)N” construction enhances the expression of actions as trivial or casual. This effect is further amplified when combined with the “不就是 (bú jiùshì)...” construction, a rhetorical device that trivializes even significant or positive events. The corpus evidence indicates that the “V个 (gè)N” construction has been widely utilized since as early as 1947, with at least 122 recorded instances across seven different types of usage. This widespread historical usage underscores its established role in the language. However, its integration with the “不就是 (bú jiùshì)...” construction marks a more recent linguistic development, which underscores the dynamic nature of language as it adapts to cultural and social changes. This process of amalgamation involves blending the “V个 (gè)N” construction, which already imparts a casual and manageable perception of events, with the “不就是 (bú jiùshì)...” construction that typically downplays the significance of the described actions or situations. The “不就是 (bú jiùshì)...” construction, explored by Yin Shulin (2007), is noted for its rhetorical use in Mandarin, often employed to convey a rhetorical question or to question the inevitability or significance of an outcome. The combined effect of these constructions not only allows speakers to trivialize and casually mention minor or negative occurrences but also extends to traditionally significant and positive events, thus subjectivizing and diminishing their perceived importance. This linguistic strategy is exemplified in sentences such as:

- (a) 不就是结个婚嘛，谁怕谁啊！
(Bù jiùshì jié gè hūn ma, shéi pà shéi a!)
‘It's just getting married, who's afraid?’
- (b) 不就是当个官嘛，还能把我难住？
(Bù jiùshì dāng gè guān ma, hái néng bǎ wǒ nán zhù?)
‘It's just being an official, how could that stump me?’

(a) exemplifies how the combination of “不就是 (bú jiùshì)...” and “V个 (gè)N” constructions diminishes the perceived significance of marriage (“结婚 jiéhūn”), traditionally seen as a significant event. By employing these constructions, the phrase trivializes marriage, presenting it as an ordinary, insignificant event.

Another interesting phenomenon of the “V个 (gè)N” construction is the fixation of certain nouns within the construction, which conveys specific meanings or implications. A notable example of this phenomenon is observed in the colloquial expression “V(你 nǐ)个头 (gètóu)”, where the noun 头 (tóu) is fixed and used to emphatically reject the preceding verb action (V). Compared to a simple refusal, it enriches the emotional depth of the interaction, allowing speakers to express emotions such as anger or joking more vividly. For instance, in a dialogue where one suggests going to karaoke after dinner:

- (a) 吃完饭大家去K个歌吧！
(Chī wán fàn dàjiā qù K gè gē ba!)
‘Let’s go karaoke after dinner!’
- (b) K(你)个头啊！活儿干完了没有？
(K(nǐ) gè tóu a! Huó’r gàn wánle méiyǒu?)
‘What are you talking about? Have you finished the work?’

The underlined phrase in the response uses the construction to express humorously feign anger, thereby rejecting the proposal.

The evolution and amalgamation of the “V个 (gè)N” construction align with Elizabeth Traugott’s theory of linguistic change as a “succession of micro-steps” (2010). These steps reflect gradual and continuous changes in language structures that combine and merge, contributing to the overall dynamics of linguistic evolution. The “V个 (gè)N” construction’s adaptability in incorporating fixed nouns to convey specific meanings exemplifies the dynamic interplay between language structure and communicative needs. It represents a microcosm of broader linguistic evolution, where small changes accumulate over time, driven by shifts in social interaction and cultural norms.

Direct Object Attachment in Verb-Object Compounds

As we mentioned earlier, in the typical structure of Chinese verb-object compounds, the direct object is generally internal to the construction, meaning that the compound itself is self-contained and typically does not take an additional direct object. Jerome Packard (2000) succinctly explains that the verb’s thematic object role is already satisfied within the compound, precluding further object attachment under normal circumstances.

The structural integrity of V-O compounds often poses a challenge to native English speakers learning Chinese. Errors commonly arise when learners at-

tempt to add a direct object to these inherently complete structures. Please see some typical errors made by American students with this regard:

- (a) *我今天下午要见面老师。
(Wǒ jīntiān xiàwǔ yào jiànmiàn lǎoshī.)
'I want to meet the teacher this afternoon.'
- (b) *张先生希望结婚李小姐。
(Zhāng xiānshēng xīwàng jiéhūn Lǐ xiǎojiě.)
'Mr. Zhang hopes to marry Miss Li.'

An incorrect construction like (a) arises from the direct translation of English sentence structures (I want to meet the teacher this afternoon) into Chinese. The correct structure necessitates the introduction of another element, typically a preposition, to properly link the object, thus the correct sentence should be 我今天下午要和老师见面 (Wǒ jīntiān xiàwǔ yào hé lǎoshī jiànmiàn).

Despite this general rule, there are some verb-object compounds with transitive meanings do take a direct object, highlighting a degree of flexibility in V-O compound usage – for example, 关心 (guānxīn), 出版 (chūbǎn), 得罪 (dézuì), and 注意 (zhùyì), as in:

- (a) 请大家注意安全。
(Qǐng dàjiā zhùyì ānquán.)
'Please pay attention to safety.'
- (b) 父母十分担心孩子的安全。
(Fùmǔ shífēn dānxīn háiǐ de ānquán.)
'Parents are very worried about their children's safety.'

However, recent linguistic observations indicate an increase in the frequency with which direct objects are attached to verb-object compounds in Modern Chinese. This micro-change is evident in slogans and colloquial expressions such as:

- (a) 北京牵手奥运!
(Běijīng qiānshǒu àoyùn!)
'Beijing joins hands with the Olympics!'
- (b) 张艺谋搭档蔡国强。
(Zhāngyìmóu dādàng cài guóqiáng.)
'Zhang Yimou collaborates with Cai Guoqiang.'

- (c) 我昨晚做梦你了。
 (Wǒ zuówǎn zuòmèng nǐle.)
 ‘I dreamt about you last night.’

The origins of such usage can be traced back to as early as 1947, with phrases like 约会小姑娘 (yuēhuì xiǎo gūniáng), suggesting that the capacity for V-O compounds to take a direct object has been a latent feature of Chinese. Over the decades, the adoption and spread of such usage have gained momentum influenced significantly by two primary factors. Firstly, the rise in direct object attachment within verb-object compounds can be attributed to language contact phenomena. According to the imperfect learning hypothesis, second language learners, especially within immigrant communities, often acquire and utilize the target language imperfectly. This imperfect learning, characterized by deviations from native norms, can seep into the broader linguistic community, influencing and altering mainstream usage patterns (Lefebvre, 1998; Siegel, 2003; Migge and Smith, 2007). Another driving force behind this linguistic change is the pragmatic need to restructure information within sentences. The direct attachment of objects allows speakers to emphasize or highlight certain elements over others, thus facilitating a different focus or interpretation in communication. This need for flexibility in information presentation has led to the creative adaptation of traditional V-O compounds, accommodating more dynamic and expressive sentence structures.

Due to the increasing interactions between native Chinese speakers and Chinese learners, the imperfect learning errors of these learners have surprisingly “inspired” native speakers, incorporating these errors into the structures of their mother tongue. Historically, this type of language change induced by imperfect learning has occurred multiple times within the history of Chinese language (Mithun, 1988; Peng, 2017; Shen, 2014; Cao and Yu, 2017). Today, this kind of change is happening again:

- (a) 第二外语学习者需要挑战一套新的语言范畴。(石老师提要)
 (Dì èr wàiyǔ xuéxí zhě xūyào tiǎozhàn yī tào xīn de yǔyán fānchóu.
 [Shí lǎoshī tíyào])
 ‘Second language learners need to tackle a new set of linguistic categories.’

- (b) 呼兰：你造谣我也造得高明一些好不好？ — 《脱口秀大会》
 (Hū Lán: Nǐ zàoyáo wǒ yě zào dé gāomíng yīxiē hǎo bù hǎo? —
 “Tuōkǒu xiù dàhuì”)
 ‘Hulan: If you’re going to spread rumors about me, could you at
 least do it more cleverly? – Rock & Roast’
- (c) 王志文：你生气我？
 (Wáng Zhìwén: Nǐ shēngqì wǒ?)
 ‘Wang Zhiwen: Are you mad at me?’
 李小冉：生，特别生！ — 《大丈夫》
 (Lǐ Xiǎorǎn: Shēng, tèbié shēng! — “Dàzhàngfū”)
 ‘Li Xiaoran: Yes, very much so! — May December Love’

The underlying pragmatic motive for this syntactic variation appears to be Chinese native speakers’ need to reorganize information structure in discourse. Specifically, the arrangement of information in a sentence influence how information is highlighted and perceived by listeners. Traditional constructions such as 跟 (gēn) sb 结婚 (jiéhūn) limited the information structure by inherently focusing on the verb 结婚 (jiéhūn) as the new information and the focal point of the sentence. In contrast, emerging constructions like 结婚 (jiéhūn) sb shift the focus, placing emphasis on the object of the action, i.e., the person being married. This shift allows speakers to highlight different elements of the sentence depending on the conversational context. This manipulation is evident when comparing the following questions:

- (a) 你跟谁结婚？
 (Nǐ gēn shéi jiéhūn?)
 ‘Who are you marrying?’
- (b) 你结婚谁？
 (Nǐ jiéhūn shéi?)
 ‘Who are you marrying?’

The traditional form (a) positions 结婚 (jiéhūn) as the primary focus. In contrast, the newer form (b) shifts the focus to 谁 (shéi), the object, thereby altering the information structure. The existence of both constructions within Chinese suggests a functional differentiation driven by the speakers’ intent to manipulate the focus within their utterances. Since the functions of the two constructions differ, there is a necessity for both to exist. The alternative construction 结婚 (jiéhūn) sb not only breaks from the norm but also pro-

vides linguistic evidence of evolving language usage that responds to specific contextual needs. Such variations are indicative of a dynamic aspect of language change, where forms evolve and diverge to meet the expressive demands of speakers.

Implications for Teaching Chinese as a Second Language

Teaching verb-object compound is one of the significant challenges in the domain of teaching Chinese as a second language. These challenges are compounded by the micro-changes occurring in contemporary usage, which can lead to confusion among learners. This section explores pedagogical strategies for addressing the micro-changes observed in V-O compounds, which are crucial for ensuring effective language acquisition.

First of all, in teaching Chinese as a second language, it is crucial to distinguish between the cultivation of receptive and productive language skills. Students should be exposed to new expressions and constructions to develop a comprehensive understanding of modern usage. However, they should not be encouraged to imitate and use these constructions hastily in their own speech or writing. Educators should not hasten to introduce these new expressions actively in the classroom. Instead, the focus should be on clarifying these constructions when queried by students, providing authoritative responses that help them understand the constructions without overwhelming them with the complexities of evolving language usage.

Furthermore, teachers should avoid immediately dismissing emerging linguistics forms as mere errors or mislearning. Language is inherently dynamic, and what might seem like a minor variation today could lead to systematic changes over time. The micro changes observed in compound words reflect ongoing evolutions in the language, which may become standard usage over time. Therefore, recognizing and understanding these subtle shifts is crucial. By acknowledging and discussing these changes, teachers can foster a deeper understanding of language dynamics among students. This approach not only enriches the learners' linguistic insights but also prepares them to engage with a living language that evolves with its cultural and communication contexts.

In teaching Chinese as a second language, a balanced approach towards the micro changes in compound words is essential. Educators should foster an environment where students are informed about the dynamics of language

evolution but are also guided to adopt these changes judiciously in their language practice. This method not only enhances learning outcomes but also respects the natural progression of language as it adapts to new communicative needs.

Conclusion

This study has highlighted two primary micro-changes in Chinese verb-object compounds: the emergence and adaptation of the “V个(gè)N” construction and the increasing instances of direct object attachments to traditional V-O compounds. Through a comprehensive examination of these phenomena, several key conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, The “V个(gè)N” construction illustrates a shift from specific quantification to expressing actions with subjective and casual nuances, highlighting the flexibility and adaptability of language to cultural and communicative changes. Also, the integration with “不就是(bú jiùshì)...” and the fixation of certain nouns within the construction reflect gradual and continuous changes in language structures that combine and merge, contributing to the overall dynamics of linguistic evolution.

Secondly, the attachment of direct objects to V-O compounds challenges the traditional structural constraints of these compounds. This micro-change appears to be driven by language contact phenomena, particularly the influence of imperfect learning among second language learners, as well as pragmatic needs for flexible information structuring within utterances.

These findings underscore the dynamic and adaptive nature of language, which continuously evolves to meet the changing communicative needs of its speakers. The study of micro-changes in linguistic constructions provides a window into the intricate mechanisms that drive language change, highlighting the interplay between cognitive processes, structural constraints, and socio-cultural factors.

The implications of these micro-changes extend beyond theoretical significance. In the domain of teaching Chinese as a second language, acknowledging and addressing these evolving constructions is crucial for fostering comprehensive language competence among learners. By adopting a balanced approach that recognizes the dynamic nature of language while guiding

judicious usage, educators can enrich the learning experience and prepare students for effective communication in a living linguistic environment.

Future research can build upon this foundation by exploring additional micro-changes in other linguistic domains, such as morphology, syntax, and semantics. Longitudinal studies tracking the evolution of these constructions over time would provide valuable insights into the trajectories of language change. Additionally, incorporating sociolinguistic factors, such as regional variations, age, and socioeconomic status, could further elucidate the intricate interplay between language and sociocultural dynamics.

In conclusion, the exploration of micro-changes in Chinese V-O compounds serves as a microcosm of the broader quest to unravel the intricate mechanics of language change. By delving into these subtle shifts, we not only gain insights into the specific linguistic phenomena at hand but also contribute to our collective understanding of language as a living, adaptive system that mirrors the ever-evolving needs and contexts of its speakers.

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A brief discussion on the similarities and differences between Chinese and Hungarian intonations from the perspective of Chinese teaching

Abstract

As for what intonation means, linguists Crystal and Trask have each given their own definitions, which are the two main views widely recognised by the academic world today. The former is a narrow definition, whereas the latter is broad. Among learners of Chinese as a second language, the students who are considered to have truly mastered the intonation of Chinese should be those whom native speakers cannot identify as foreigners just by hearing their voices. Therefore, the type of intonation discussed here is intonation in a broad sense.

Chinese and Hungarian are linguistically distant far apart and belong to different language families. Chinese is a tonal language. Zhao Yuanren (1922) believed that Chinese intonation includes sentence tone (intonation) and character tone (tonal morpheme). Chinese intonation is the result of sentence intonation being affected by a character's tone. However, how does character tone affect sentence tone? This is obviously a complex process. Many Chinese linguists have done a lot of research trying to reveal this process and the relationship between sentence tone and character tone. In recent years, some scholars have achieved outstanding results with the help of experimental phonetics methods. We are glad to see that views on the characteristics of Chinese intonation have reached a consensus: the changes in Chinese intonation are changes of scale, not simply the changing of pitch, and tones are basically unchanged. The core elements of Chinese tones are the focus accent and boundary tone.

Hungarian is a non-tonal language, where focus and stress play a key role. A distinctive feature of Hungarian is that word stress is always placed on the first syllable. Focus position in Hungarian is mandatory and is always before the verb. In this article, we briefly discuss the similarities and differ-

ences between Chinese and Hungarian intonations from the perspective of Chinese teaching, with a view to contribute to the teaching of Chinese as a second language.

Keywords: Intonation, Chinese intonation, scale, boundary tone, Hungarian intonation, stress, focus

姜珊珊

从汉语教学的角度浅谈汉匈语调的异同

摘要

对于什么是语调，语言学家Crystal和Trask都各自给出过定义，也是当今学术界广泛认可的两种主要观点。前者是狭义的语调定义，后者是广义的语调定义。在国际汉语教学中，真正掌握了汉语语调的学生，应该是未见其面，只闻其声的情况下，作为母语者的我们听不出来他是一个外国人。因此，我们这里讨论的语调，是广义的语调。

汉语和匈牙利语相去甚远，分属不同的语系。汉语是声调语言。赵元任（1922）认为汉语语调包括句调和字调。汉语语调是句调受字调影响的结果。但是字调如何影响句调呢？显然这是一个复杂的过程。许多中国语言学家做了大量的研究，试图揭示这个过程以及句调和字调的关系。近年来，一些学者借助实验语音学方法取得了可喜的成果。

匈牙利语是非声调语言，焦点和重音起着关键的作用。匈牙利语的一个显著特征是词重音总是在第一个音节。匈牙利语的焦点位置是强制的，总是位于动词前。

本文从汉语教学的角度，浅议汉匈语调的异同，以期有助于国际汉语教学。

关键词：语调，汉语语调，音阶，边界调，匈牙利语语调，重音，焦点

Introduction

In 2004, the first Confucius Institute in the world was established in Seoul, South Korea, for teaching Chinese language and strengthening cultural exchanges between China and other countries. In the following 20 years, international Chinese language education has flourished. To date, more than 500 Confucius Institutes and more than 1,000 Confucius Classrooms have been established around the world. According to data released by the National Language and Characters Policy Research Center (国家语言文字政策研究中心) in August 2023, 81 countries have included Chinese in their national education systems.¹ Faced with Chinese language learners from many language backgrounds, Chinese scholars have long begun language comparison and error analysis research, aiming to analyse the similarities and differences between Chinese and other languages, observe the common errors made by students while learning, summarise the rules, let ‘positive transfer’ play a positive role, and prevent the negative effects of ‘negative transfer’. Regarding these comparative studies, those related to intonation are few. Intonation teaching has always been a weak link in Chinese language teaching. ‘For a long time, there have been few research results on Chinese intonation, and it is difficult to rely on them for textbook compilation or teaching’.² Fortunately, in recent decades, ‘Chinese intonation research has made great progress and breakthroughs, and many clear and empirical laws have been revealed. The core issues of Chinese intonation have basically been answered or solved’.³

Hungary is located in the middle of the European continent and has a superior geographical location. Relatively cheap labour and the Hungarian government’s Eastern Opening strategy have attracted a large number of Chinese companies to invest and build factories in recent years. For example, CATL has invested more than 50 billion CNY to build a factory in Debrecen, Hungary, and BYD and other related industry chain companies have followed suit. These Chinese companies will provide a large number of jobs to the local people, and being able to speak Chinese has become a major advantage for local people in finding jobs. Chinese language teaching in Hungary

¹ <https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1774363665005508580&wfr=spider&for=pc> (last accessed: 14.04.2025)

² Lin 2002: 5–6.

³ Cao 2022: 13–25.

can be said to have started early. Eötvös Loránd University began providing a Chinese major as early as 1924⁴ and ‘began to recruit [Sinology] doctoral students in 2000’.⁵ In 2006, the first Confucius Institute in Hungary, the Eötvös Loránd University Confucius Institute, was established. At present, there are five Confucius Institutes in Hungary. In addition, the Hungarian – Chinese Bilingual Primary School has been providing Chinese language course for local Chinese children at the basic education stage since 2004.

In 2010, Chinese was already taught as a second foreign language in Hungarian secondary schools. In the same year, Chinese became one of the eight foreign language subjects in the Hungarian college entrance examination. In 2013, the Confucius Institute at Eötvös Loránd University also established the Central and Eastern European Regional Chinese Teacher Training Centre, which provides regular teacher training for local Chinese teachers in 16 Central and Eastern European countries every year.⁶

It can be said that Hungary has a solid foundation for learning Chinese. However, cultivating high-quality Hungarian Chinese language learners who can speak Chinese fluently without an accent is a difficult problem facing us. This article attempts to discuss the similarities and differences between Chinese and Hungarian intonation from the perspective of Chinese teaching, in order to contribute to the cause of Chinese teaching in Hungary.

Definition of Intonation

What is intonation? British linguist David Crystal defined intonation as ‘[a] term used in the study of suprasegmental phonology, referring to the distinctive use of patterns of pitch, or melody,’⁷ while R. L. Trask stated that intonation is

[t]he use of pitch, and possibly of additional prosodic phenomena such as loudness, tempo and pauses, over a stretch of utterance generally longer than a single word for the purpose of conveying meaning.⁸

⁴ Gong 2009: 89–92.

⁵ Hamar 2014: 12–14.

⁶ Ye 2021: 177–185.

⁷ Crystal 2008: 252.

⁸ Trask 1996: 184.

We can see that Crystal believes that intonation refers to changes in pitch, while Trask believes that intonation includes not only pitch, but also the use of prosodic elements such as loudness, speed of sound, and pause. In fact, these are also two main opinions widely recognised in academia today. The former is a narrow definition of intonation and the latter is a broad one. The intonation discussed in this article is intonation in a broad sense.

Chinese Intonation

Zhao Yuanren was the first scholar to study Chinese intonation, and he is considered the pioneer and founder of Chinese intonation research. When Zhao defined Chinese intonation, firstly he recognised the difference between Chinese tones and intonation and distinguished them. Zhao believed that

in speech phenomena, all the functional relations between pitch and time can be called Intonation or Inflection. For example, when foreigners ask a question, they often raise the tone at the end of the sentence, which is an ascending emphasis. This kind of tone is called sentence tone (intonation; jùdiào 句调). However, in several languages in China, Thailand, and Central Africa, not only is there sentence tone (intonation), but also each character (morpheme) has an inherent tone [...] The inherent tone of each character (morpheme) is different from the sentence tone (intonation). As the two tones are considered different phenomena in linguistics, we give the former a special name: character tone (tonal morpheme; zìdiào 字调).⁹

After understanding *zìdiào* and *jùdiào*, the next question is what the relation is between the two. Zhao used several vivid descriptions to illustrate the relationship, including the famous ‘rubber band’, ‘algebraic sum’ and ‘big wave and small wave’ metaphors.

After Zhao, the research on Chinese intonation went mainly in two directions. One started from ‘small waves’ (*zìdiào*), represented by Wu Zongji, and the other, started from ‘big waves’ (*jùdiào*), represented by Shen Jiong.

⁹ Zhao 1922: 9.

Wu studied under Zhao and believed that Chinese is different from the non-tonal languages of the West. To understand the characteristics of Chinese intonation, first we must clarify the tonal changes in sentences. Wu started with ‘small waves’ and gradually investigated the tone sandhi of two-character, three-character, and four-character phrases in Mandarin, and proposed the ‘basic unit of tone group’ on this basis. When Wu conducted in-depth and detailed experimental analysis on the two-character, three-character, and four-character tone sandhi of Mandarin, he found that the tonal changes in sentences are intricate. Specifically, he observed that while some are ‘inevitable’, which is determined by factors such as pronunciation physiology, grammatical structure and phonology, others are ‘probable’, which is determined by factors such as mood and text. The ‘inevitable’ tone sandhi, which is commonly referred to as the continuous tone sandhi model, is the ‘basic unit’ in the intonation. It is the ‘bottom intonation form’ that constitutes the intonation of the sentence, while the ‘sentence tone’, commonly referred to as the intonation, is the ‘surface intonation form’, which is a combination of these basic units through ‘probable tone sandhi’. Having absorbed and inherited Zhao’s ‘big wave and small wave’ and ‘algebraic sum’ intonation concepts, Wu further confirmed through experimental analysis that ‘inevitable tone sandhi’ is mainly a change in tone shape, and ‘probable tone sandhi’, related to mood and intonation, is mainly a shift of the pitch scale. The ‘small waves’ of the character or word tones in the sentence are ‘superimposed’ onto the surface intonation through their tones being lifted or lowered by the ‘big waves’ of the intonation. This is the famous ‘key change rule’.

Shen took a completely different path. Starting with the ‘big wave’ concept, he studied Chinese intonation from the perspective of Chinese intonation structure, and on this basis he proposed the theory of two-line adjustment. Shen adopted the more general method proposed by Western linguists, known as the prehead-head-nucleus-tail method. Regarding this classification method, Shen explained that

when using these concepts, we do not have to introduce Western tonal arguments, let alone treat our views as an extension of a certain Western school [...] we just need a way of saying it temporarily. We do not think that the intonation of various languages in the world will be the same, so we just use the head and tail as

general terms, and then use the specialities of Chinese intonation to enrich their meanings.¹⁰

Shen further proposed that Chinese intonation is mainly manifested in the systematic adjustment of the treble line and the bass line of the whole sentence tonal range. Shen stated that the main adjustment of the treble line is the tone stress. A sudden change in the treble line will cause a pitch difference between both sides of the treble areas, causing a ‘treble fault’ phenomenon. This pitch change has nothing to do with the tone but is related to the tone accent, while the bass line is mainly adjusted rhythmic stress, and rhythmic stress can form a rhythm unit.

Lin Maocan’s thoughts on intonation partly originated from Zhao’s concepts, and partly from the autosegmental-metrical theory on intonational phonology (AM theory) proposed by American linguist Pierrehumbert. Lin combined Zhao’s ‘algebraic sum’ and ‘rubber band’ ideas with the AM theory. He believed that ‘Chinese intonation has two independent variables: pitch accent and boundary tones’,¹¹ which are the two important variables of Chinese intonation. This is because the key information of people’s speech is conveyed by the focus accompanied by pitch accent, and speech attitude is conveyed by emotional intonation/functional intonation. Focus stress and functional intonation act on tones and neutral intonations, and under the restriction of prosodic structure, the pitch (and time length) of speech is regularly changed. The listeners divide the utterance into intonation phrases based on the change of pitch range and the boundary signal of the boundary tones and obtain the key information and emotional information from the stress (prominent pitch) and boundary tones.¹² It can be said that if you grasp these two variables, then you grasp the main contradiction. Lin also actively applied his research results in the study of international Chinese language teaching. Lin¹³ and Lin and Li Aijun¹⁴ compared the similarities and differences between Chinese and English intonation through phonetic experiments, and they further proposed strategies for teaching foreign learners’ Chinese intonation in order to avoid ‘foreign accents’. Regarding the similarities and differences between Chinese and

¹⁰ Shen 1994: 221–228.

¹¹ Lin 2006: 46–51.

¹² Lin 2012: 109–114.

¹³ Lin 2015: 39–46.

¹⁴ Lin–Li 2016: 1–8.

English intonation, Lin and Li mainly compared two aspects: pitch accent and boundary tone. In terms of boundary tone, the boundary pitches of interrogative sentences in Chinese and English are rising, and the boundary pitches of declarative sentences in both languages are mostly declining. This is the similarity. The rise and fall of boundary tones in English interrogative and declarative sentences are the rise and fall of pitch, while the rise and fall of boundary tones in Chinese interrogative and declarative sentences are the rise and fall of the scale of the boundary syllable, and the tone of the boundary syllable remains unchanged. This is the difference. The similarities and differences of pitch accents are explained from two aspects: narrow focus stress and broad focus stress. The pitch of narrow focus stress in English and Chinese are like a peak and valley. The pitches of the peaks and valleys are determined by the fundamental frequency (f_0). This is the similarity. The peak and valley of English pitch accent are directly caused by pitch accents, while the peak and valley of Chinese pitch accent are caused by raising and lowering the pitch when the narrow focus stress function on high tones (yīnpíng 阴平, yángpíng 阳平, qùshēng 去声) and a low tone (shǎngshēng 上声). This is one difference. Another difference is that in English the starting and ending points of the uphill and downhill of peaks and the downhill and uphill of valleys are determined by pitch, while in Chinese the starting and ending points of the uphill and downhill of peaks and the downhill and uphill of valleys are determined by the scale. The broad focus stress in English and Chinese is the gradual decrease in pitch. This is the similarity. The broad focus stress in English is the gradual decrease of its fundamental frequency (f_0), while in Chinese it is the gradual decrease of the scale. This is the difference.

In addition to the linguists mentioned above, there are many Chinese linguists who have studied Chinese intonation and achieved certain results, such as Shi Feng's 'intonation pattern'¹⁵. We are glad to see that views on the characteristics of Chinese intonation have reached a consensus: the changes in Chinese intonation are changes of scale, not simply changing pitch, and the tone is basically unchanged; and the core element of Chinese tones is the focus accent and boundary tone.

¹⁵ Shi 2019: 36–40.

Hungarian Intonation

The Hungarian language belongs to the Uralic language family's Finno-Ugric language branch. It has about 14 million speakers, more than 9 million of whom are in Hungary, with the rest mainly scattered in neighbouring countries (i.e., Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria). It is an agglutinative language, using a large number of affixes to express corresponding grammatical meanings, that strictly adheres to the harmony of high and low vowels. The Hungarian language has no tones such as the Chinese language does. Thus, it is a non-tonal language. So, what are the characteristics of intonation for a language that is so different from Chinese?

When talking about Hungarian intonation, we must first clarify a pronunciation feature of Hungarian language. In general, the word stress in Hungarian is always on the first syllable of the word. Varga (1983): 'In Hungarian, non-contrastive word-stress falls on the first syllable of the word...'.¹⁶ For example, the word 'köszönöm' (thank you) has three syllables, 'kö', 'szö', and 'nöm'. When the word is read, the word stress is on its first syllable, 'kö', and then gradually decreases, with an overall falling tone. Hungarian declarative sentences are the same as Chinese declarative sentences, with a falling tone. For example, in the Chinese sentence '我去商店' (I go to the store), without considering the focus stress, the entire sentence has a falling tone, which is also consistent with the downward inclination of pitch. In the Hungarian equivalent, 'Megyek a boltba' (I go to the store), the sentence does not emphasise anything, and the focus naturally falls on the verb. Here, word stress and sentence stress coincide, resulting in a stress at the beginning. Because Hungarian word stress is always on the first syllable of the word, in this case, the pitch at the beginning of a Hungarian declarative sentence is higher than the pitch at the beginning of a Chinese sentence.

If word stress and sentence stress do not coincide, how is sentence stress expressed?

Turning to sentence stress, the lexical primary stress referred to above is but a potential locus for stress: whether or not the syllable concerned is actually assigned primary stress in the sentence depends on syntactic structure.¹⁷

¹⁶ Varga 1983: 117–152.

¹⁷ Siptár 2000: 22.

A notable feature of Hungarian grammar is that the position of the focus in Hungarian is mandatory and always before the verb. In 1838, Hungarian linguist János Fogarasi proposed that ‘the emphasized word is followed by the verb, in finite form; the rest of the words may stand before or after, and may follow in any order.’¹⁸ This is also called ‘Fogarasi’s Law’. Let us take the sentence ‘*Megyek a boltba*’ (I go to the store) as an example again. If we want to emphasise ‘where to go’, we should say ‘*A boltba megyek*’. In this case, the word ‘*boltba*’ (store-ba) before the verb ‘*megyek*’ (I go) is the focus, so the pitch of ‘*boltba*’ is the highest. Moreover, because word stress is always at the beginning of the word, the highest pitch is the syllable ‘*bolt*’. If we want to ask a question, we could ask ‘*Hova mész?*’ (Where are you going?). The interrogative ‘*hova*’ (where) as the focus should also be placed before the verb ‘*mész*’ (you go). Therefore, interrogative sentences in Hungarian also have a falling tone, and the highest pitch is the first syllable of the interrogative word. Specifically, in the case of ‘*hova*’, the syllable ‘*ho*’ is the highest pitch of the entire sentence. The pitch change of interrogative sentences in Hungarian is higher than that of declarative sentences, because the interrogative sentences always need to attract other people’s attention.

Since in the Hungarian language there is not an interrogative particle like *ma* 吗 in Chinese, a rising interrogative intonation is needed to express questions in yes–no interrogative sentences. For example, ‘*Beszélsz angolul?*’ (Do you speak English?) has an overall rising intonation, but it should be noted that in yes–no interrogative sentences in Hungarian, the highest pitch is the penultimate syllable, which is ‘*go*’ in ‘*angolul*’ and not the last syllable ‘*lul*’. Thus, there is a downward trend at the end of the rising intonation of the yes–no interrogative sentence. In contrast, in yes–no interrogative sentences in Chinese, which do not use the interrogative particle *ma*, the overall intonation is a rising intonation, such as in ‘你会说英语?’ (Do you speak English?). The entire sentence is a continuously rising tone.

It is worth noting that the intonations of Chinese and Hungarian are completely different when it comes to rhetorical questions that express surprise. In order to express surprise, Chinese rhetorical questions feature a steep rising tone, such as in ‘你（真的）要来?’ (You [really] want to come?). However, Hungarian uses a steep falling tone to express the same grammatical meaning, such as in ‘*Jössz?*’ (Are you coming?).

¹⁸ Varga 2002: 14.

The following table briefly explains the similarities and differences between Chinese and Hungarian intonation from the perspective of sentence types. It should be noted that the comparison of Chinese and Hungarian intonation here only considers the most general and common situations of intonation in declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences, and exclamatory sentences in the two languages and does not include special cases.

Sentence type	Subclass	Hungarian language	Chinese language
Declarative sentence		Falling tone	If there is no focal stress, then it is a falling tone.
Interrogative sentence	Wh-interrogative sentence	Falling tone	Same as the intonation of a declarative sentence, it can also be a rising tone when expressing a strong emotion.
	Yes-no interrogative sentences	Rising tone, with the pitch stress on the penultimate syllable and a falling trend at the end of the sentence	If there is an interrogative particle <i>ma</i> 吗, the intonation is the same as that of a declarative sentence; if there is no <i>ma</i> 吗, the intonation is rising.
	Rhetorical question, expressing surprise	Falling tone	Rising tone
Imperative sentence		Falling tone	Falling tone
Exclamatory sentence		Falling tone	Falling tone

Table 1. Comparison of Chinese and Hungarian Intonation from the perspective of sentence types

Conclusion

Based on the above comparison of Chinese and Hungarian intonation, we propose the following implications for Chinese teaching in Hungary:

Firstly, we need to popularise our existing achievements in Chinese intonation from three aspects: teachers, teaching materials, and teaching methods. We need to make our Chinese teachers pay more attention to intonation teaching and improve their theoretical knowledge of intonation; we need to display the results of intonation research in localised teaching materials and open up special sections for training; and we need to summarise the methods of intonation teaching and not always limit ourselves to ‘read after me’.

Secondly, specifically in terms of teaching methods, we need to let students learn how to split a sentence and find the correct rhythm; we need to let students know the characteristics of focal stress in Chinese; and we need to let students know that boundary tones are not simply changes in pitch but changes in scale, while the tone pattern remains basically unchanged.

Finally, practice should be focused on sentence types, paying attention to the similarities and differences between Chinese and Hungarian intonations, especially focusing on the intonation of the boundaries of interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions that express surprise.

With the advancement of science and technology, especially the strong development of AI, we, as practitioners of international Chinese language education, should keep up with the times and constantly try to apply new technology to our research and teaching activities, especially the learning and use of visualisation tools, such as speech recognition software, so that students can clearly see the problems that exist with their intonation. At the same time, in the near future, we also hope to see more experimental research results on the intonation perception and intonation production of Hungarian Chinese learners. We should never forget the feedback from front-line Chinese teachers in Hungary and strengthen exchanges and cooperation with them in order to combine theory with practice and provide targeted solutions.

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Ten different methods and strategies on teaching Chinese characters to second language learners

Abstract

Through the investigation and evaluation of several previous studies concerning the theory of teaching Chinese writing and reading, this paper aims to contribute to the Hanzi pedagogy. We believe that the methods presented here can be appropriately applied in classrooms where students have a first language in which the writing system has no connection to Chinese characters. All students whose first language's writing system is appreciably different from Chinese writing system are in the same situation when they start to learn and acquire reading and writing skills in Chinese. The target demographic of the following teaching methods is broad, and includes students with varying level of Chinese language knowledge. Methods tailored to beginner and more advanced students are discussed as well.

Ten different methods and strategies on teaching Chinese characters to second language learners are presented here. It should be noted that there is no sharp line that separates the different theoretical approaches – this is to say that they do not exhibit mutual exclusivity. The various approaches, conceptual frameworks and considerations are categorized as follows, moving from theoretical proposals to more practical ideas: the *Liu Shu* (Liù shū 六書) approach; the stroke-oriented habit-forming approach and rote memorization; the holistic method and delayed approach; the focus on recognition approach; developing grapho-phonological awareness; the character color-coding approach; mnemonic strategies and wild association; on the unit of instruction: word or character?; learning through hand- or typewriting; characters similar in form (xíngsì zì 形似字) and homonymic characters (tóngyīn zì 同音字).

Keywords: teaching Chinese writing, Hanzi pedagogy, Chinese as a second language

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针对二语学习者的十种汉字教学理论与实践策略

摘要

通过对多项关于中文写作与阅读教学理论的已有研究进行调查与评估,本文旨在为汉字教学法的发展做出贡献。我们认为,本文所提出的方法适用于母语书写系统与汉字不同的学习者。在开始学习和掌握中文的读写技能时,所有母语书写系统与汉字有显著差异的学习者都面临的是相似的起点。这些教学方法适用于广泛的受众群体,包括不同中文水平的学习者,本文还探讨了针对初学者与较高水平学习者的不同教学策略。

本文介绍了十种针对二语学习者进行的汉字教学方法和策略。需要指出的是,这些理论方法之间并没有绝对的界限,亦非互相排斥。我们将这些不同的教学方法、理论框架与思路按从理论到实践的顺序进行了分类,具体如下:六书教学法;以笔画为导向的习惯养成法与机械记忆法;整体识记与延后识字法;识别优先法;图音意识培养法;汉字颜色编码法;联想与记忆术策略;教学单位应以词为主还是以字为主;通过手写或打字学习;形似字与同音字教学法。

关键词: 汉字书写教学, 汉字教学理论, 中文作为第二语言

Liu Shu (Liù shū 六書) approach

When researchers, teachers or even textbook writers attempt to categorize Chinese characters, *Liu Shu* is the most often quoted resource. *Liu Shu*, or the *Six Methods of Forming Chinese Characters*, refers to the post face (xù 叙) written by Xu Shen for the earliest dictionary, the *Shuowenjiezi* (说文解字), compiled in 100 AD. In the post face of *Shuowenjiezi* Xu Shen categorized the Chinese characters under six groups, based on their structure: ideogram (zhǐshì 指事), pictogram (xiàngxíng 象形), picto-phonetic character (xíngshēng 形声), compound ideograph (huìyì 會意), transfer character (zhuǎnzhu 轉注) and loan character (jiǎjiè 假借).

Pictograms can be explained as simplified drawings of what is to be represented. For example: person *rén* 人, sun *rì* 日, and mountain *shān* 山. Ideograms express an idea through an iconic form. For instance: above *shàng* 上, below *xià* 下, and one *yī* 一. A picto-phonetic character consists of two parts: a semantic element and a pronunciation part. The semantic element indicates the meaning of the character, and the phonetic element is used for its sound value alone, independent of its meaning, to represent the pronunciation of the graph. The character eyebrow *méi* 眉 can be taken as an example. With the addition of different determinatives different words are formed, as follows: with the ‘water’ determinative, the meaning of the character is river bank 湄; with the ‘woman’ determinative, we get the character for attractive 媚; with a ‘tree’ determinative, the character means lintel (of a door) 楣; and, when it is preceded by the ‘gold’ determinative, the meaning is americium 镅. In contrast, the compound ideographs are compounds of two or more pictographs or ideographs, based on their meaning: two trees form the character for grove *lín* 林, and three trees in one character makes the character for forest *sēn* 森. Transfer characters are not very common, and also the least understood. Xu Shen only mentioned 考 (*kǎo* to verify) and 老 (*lǎo* old) as examples. Finally, a loan character is used to write a verb based on their common pronunciation. For instance, the character for wheat was borrowed to write the verb come *lái* 来, based on their identical pronunciation.

Several scholars have highlighted the defects of the Liu Shu method. The first argument against the Liu Shu approach concerns the fact that Xu Shen wrote the postface in which this approach was detailed almost 2000 years ago. Since that time, there have been several changes to the Chinese writing system, for example the character simplification movement in the 1940s, which is seen by many as an arbitrary language reform. Furthermore, Xu Shen did not possess any information about the oracle bones either, hence he could not trace back the origin of characters. Therefore, in the light of current knowledge, certain examples of Xu Shen need to be recategorized. For example, according to Xu Shen 信 (*xìn* to believe, to trust) is a compound ideograph, but now we are able to reconstruct Old Chinese and know that this character is a typical case of picto-phonetic category. Second, some characters’ categorization is not clear. For instance, the character for root *běn* 本 can be explained as either an ideogram or a pictogram. Third, Xu Shen’s ideogram and pictogram categories both cover pictographs, with the latter being used to represent concrete pictures and the former for more abstract

forms. The line between these two categories is therefore somewhat vague, and does not provide instructions on how to classify the characters that fall between these two categories. Finally, the category of compound ideographs is debatable as well, with some scholars (e.g. William Boltz: *The Origin and Early Development of the Chinese Writing System*) even claiming that there is no such thing as compound ideographs: Chinese characters are simple pictographs or phonetic-semantic compounds.¹

In summary, Liu Shu can be used to explain ancient characters and is a good method for making the Chinese writing system appear systemized for beginners. Liu Shu is part of the literary heritage of the Chinese language, and hence, as we will see later, using the *Shuowenjiezi* and Liu Shu approaches in classrooms can help to bring Chinese culture closer to students. However, noting the shortcoming presented above, we must recognize that a comprehensive character teaching curriculum should not be based purely on the Liu Shu method.

The stroke-oriented, habit-forming approach and rote memorization

The stroke-oriented, habit-forming approach originates in traditional calligraphy training. The strategy of this teaching approach is to illustrate strokes, stroke order and stroke directions step by step to help students learn characters. The students reproduce (copy) the characters, following the exact stroke order.

The way the information transfers from the short-term memory to the long-term memory is analogous to the process of forming a habit, whereby a process is continually repeated until a habit is formed and transferred into the long-term memory. However, the pertinent question which must be asked is to what extent it can be stated that language learning is a habit-forming process. It has been said that such a purely behaviourism-based view of learning “ignores the internal-state and structure of a human’s memory and information processing and thus fails to recognize the active engagement of a human’s cognitive capabilities in the process of learning and memorizing.”²

¹ Sampson–Chen 2013: 256.

² Chu 2006: 244.

Chu Chengzhi considers another theoretical problem regarding the stroke-oriented, habit-forming approach, and states: “Chinese characters are most suitably analysed as a three-level hierarchical construction: stroke-component-(whole) character. Several strokes form a component. Certain components constitute a character. The immediate building blocks of characters are not strokes, but components.”³ This explanation emphasizes the importance of character components during the learning process, and brings into question the merit of a stroke oriented approach.

However, it is true that the number, writing order and direction of the strokes are primary elements of characters that students are confronted with when learning to write characters, and therefore a good sense for strokes is necessary to successfully acquire Chinese characters. We believe that this stroke sense can and must be developed at the very beginning stage of language learning. An introduction on stroke types and the basic rules of stroke order can provide students with a strong theoretical foundation with which to further character learning, and acquiring the simplest characters through copying tasks quickly enables students to become sensitive to strokes.

When the stroke-oriented, habit-forming approach is heavily utilized, a threshold level can be reached at which the learning process turns into a rote memorization exercise. The students copy characters one after another without logical thinking or analysis of the components. When comparing the effects of four different teaching methods on beginner Chinese as a foreign language learners in terms of character recognition and usage, Cairtriona Osborne, regarding the group that used a rote memorization learning strategy, found that “the ability to use the language was quite limited in this group, suggesting that memorization had occurred without a thorough understanding of the characters.”⁴ Several studies have concluded that only a limited number of characters can be learned through rote memorization. When students can no longer effectively use rote memorization to learn and remember further characters, or wish to memorize a large amount of Chinese characters, they must rely on analogy or rules to relate similar characters.⁵

Following the above-mentioned idea of Chu, that the characters are not directly formed with strokes, we believe that, after obtaining an essential sense

³ Chu 2006: 245.

⁴ Osborne 2016: 221.

⁵ Lam et al. 2001: 121–122.

for strokes while acquiring the basic characters, rote character copying during the language learning process ceases to be useful as students become more advanced. After the initial stage of character acquisition, practicing characters through copying becomes a time-consuming and frustrating endeavour. Once the student is able to automatically and intuitively write strokes in the correct order and direction, focusing on character components instead of strokes becomes much more meaningful. Due to the two problems mentioned above, we believe the stroke-oriented; habit forming approach—although useful at the initial stage of character learning—should not be utilized as the predominant way of teaching Chinese characters.

The holistic method and delayed approach

The pertinent question underlying the evaluation of the holistic method and delayed approach is: when should character teaching begin? The holistic (also known as integrated) teaching method introduces characters at the very beginning stage of language learning. It simultaneously focuses on all four core language skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening. In other words, all aspects of the language are treated as a part of a whole, and there is no distinct or special focus on memorizing characters. The holistic method is widely applied in tertiary level institutions. On the other hand, with the delayed (also known as time lag) approach, characters are not introduced at the very beginning stage of language learning, allowing students to instead focus on developing basic speaking skills first. After the students have developed limited speaking skills, the development of character recognition skills begins. When the student can identify a certain number of characters, they begin the phase in which they learn how to write characters, slowly, step by step, and practice all skills through compound, complex tasks. The presentation of characters can be delayed both in reading and writing exercises or only in writing, and the length of time they are delayed for can also be varied. As we will see later, there are several methods which wholly or partly use the delayed method, e.g. focus on recognition approach and learning through hand- or typewriting.

There is no consensus on the effects of time delayed character teaching. Some scholars see it as a beneficial to the character learning process because this method is similar to how native speakers acquire reading and writing

skills; that is, speaking precedes the use of characters. By using a delay, the learning of characters also results in the review of words which have already been learned, since previously learned oral vocabulary is transcribed with characters. On the other hand, some believe that, since sooner or later the character curriculum must catch up to oral vocabulary, the delayed approach only postpones the character learning process, and does not do so in a way that is beneficial to the student, as it leaves them with a shorter time in which to learn the characters. Another argument against time delayed character teaching is that writing characters might have a positive effect on acquiring oral vocabulary. When character learning is delayed, this potential positive impact is certainly lost.⁶

Focus on recognition

One subtype of the delayed approach is the focus on recognition method. Some researchers suggest that learners should focus on recognition of characters rather than their production. In this way, characters can still be taught in classrooms, but because learning to recognize characters is not as time consuming as acquiring writing skills, students are left with more time to develop speaking and listening skills first.

As Allen states, the importance of character recognition probably exceeds the importance of producing characters, at all levels. “Given the widely acknowledged difficulty in writing Chinese characters, no one finds disparities between reading and writing abilities odd. This is true for the native speaker as well as the student of Chinese or Japanese as a foreign language.”⁷ As he further notes, character recognition ability plays an important role in using electronic media. For typing on a computer or smart phone, one has to be able to recognize and choose from the homophonic characters that appear on the screen side by side. With this technology, character ‘writing’ is left to the computer, but the user still has to be able to accurately recognize characters.

Several Chinese reports note that such a focus on recognition revolution (often mentioned as *duō rèn shǎo xiě* 多认少写) has already started in China. According to Hao Lixia:

⁶ Packard 1990: 167.

⁷ Allen 2008: 244.

The literature and language class curriculum for primary school formulated in 1992 required first and second year students to learn 1150 characters, while the curriculum criteria of 2001 required them to learn to write only 800-1000 characters. The curriculum criteria of 2001 still required students to be able to recognize 1600-1800 of the most commonly used characters, but from these it was only required for them to learn to write 800-1000 characters. This type of requirement clearly reflected the idea that being able to recognize characters does not equate with being able to write characters. It guaranteed that by recognizing a certain number of characters elementary students were able to read somewhat independently by the end of the first year. The current first year textbook of the People's Education Press only requires students to write 100 characters (and recognize 400). The approach of "recognizing many, writing a few" has already become the consensus for teaching writing to primary school students. Reducing the number of characters that the students must learn to write makes it possible for the students to feel less of a heavy burden when tasked with writing new characters. Increased character recognition aims to accelerate reading, while writing fewer characters results in students learning to write effectively and quickly later.⁸

As Zhou Qiong notes, this approach is worth taking into account, especially in children's education. Children at the beginning of their education are at the optimal age for learning, at least in terms of their memorization abilities. Therefore, it is worth considering an approach in which they are made to learn to recognize and read as many characters as they can, and in which expectations and demands regarding character writing are lowered. This lays a good foundation for later stages of the character learning process, where the writing of characters can be more emphasized. While focusing on recognizing the characters, they develop a good sense for strokes, which will help them in writing characters in the long term.⁹

As a subtype of the delayed method, the focus on recognition approach has the same advantages and disadvantages that were mentioned previously.

⁸ Hao 2010: 129.

⁹ Zhou 1999: 18.

However, as we have noted before, the different aims and abilities of students must always be taken into account. Therefore, for students who do not wish to reach high proficiency in Chinese, focus on recognition might be a successful teaching method.

Developing grapho-phonological awareness

Grapho-phonological awareness refers to an understanding of how orthography encodes phonological information. For example, in Spanish “h” is generally not sounded, and, once the learner has mastered this basic pronunciation rule, they can transfer this knowledge to new words and likely pronounce those correctly.

According to Zhu, only about 10% of Chinese characters belong to pictographic or ideographic categories, while 90% are phonetic compounds.¹⁰ These characters have a meaning component and a phonetic component, and the latter gives a clue on the pronunciation. The more accurately the phonetic part encodes the pronunciation of the character, the more regular the character is. There are approximately 200 radicals and 800 phonetics in Chinese (Hoosain, 1991). Radicals and phonetics can be independent characters with their own meaning, or unpronounceable graphic units. In the case of regular phonetic compounds, the phonetic part of the character gives a useful clue for the readers on the pronunciation of the whole character. If the phonetic part is a real character on its own and the reader knows its pronunciation, the reader can derive the pronunciation of the whole character from the sound of its phonetic, or at least suppose that Chinese characters that have the same phonetic may sound similar.¹¹

The majority of researchers do not think that the orthography-phonology correspondence is regular enough to assist reading (e.g., Hoosain, 1991; Wang, 1973). In support of this, researchers assumed that readers directly derive the pronunciation of the character from the sound of its phonetic and highlighted that the predictive accuracy of the pronunciation of the phonetic compound

¹⁰ Zhu 1988: 85.

¹¹ Connie Suk–Han Ho–Peter Bryant 1997: 279.

from its phonetic component is only about 40%.¹² The predictive accuracy is even lower if the tone is also taken into account.

Although Chinese phonetic compounds might seem quite irregular phonologically, other studies have shown that Chinese readers do tend to use the phonetic component when reading Chinese characters (e.g. Chen and Allport 1995, Seidenberg 1985, Zhu 1988, Fang, Hornig and Tzeng, 1986). These findings suggest that although the orthography-phonology correspondence is not taught to native Chinese learners, they gradually pick up and apply the phonological regularities at some stage in the process of learning to read Chinese. Some researchers (e.g. Connie Suk – Han Ho – Peter Bryant, 1997, Richard C. Anderson, Wenling Li, Yu-Min Ku, Hua Shu and Ningning Wu, 2003) suggest that these results have important implications, and can be used to guide the formulation of new strategies to help young Chinese learners with poor reading abilities to improve their reading.

The application of the orthography-phonology correspondence for learning Chinese characters has resulted in the creation of computer games for native speakers to assist their learning. A study examining the effect of a game platform for strengthening the association of phonological components in Chinese characters with the pronunciations of the characters was carried out in a Taiwanese elementary school. The results indicated that playing the games helped students to strengthen the association of the phonetic components and the pronunciations of Chinese characters.¹³

It is true that Chinese orthography-phonology relation cannot be compared to the consistency of correspondence that, for instance, Spanish has. However, certain semi-regular characters, phonetic and tone variations might be compared to the English phonetic system, where one letter often represents different sounds, e.g. the “o” letter in *rose* and *women*. Explaining the logical foundation of characters and drawing attention to the partial information about pronunciation available in regular or semi-regular characters might help foreign students to learn characters. Therefore, it would be an interesting research subject to find out how and to what extent orthography-phonology correspondence can be useful to Chinese as a foreign language learners, and to what extent the learning process accelerates once the student has grasped the essence of pronunciation markers.

¹² Zhu 1988: 85.

¹³ Huang et. al. 2012: 5.

Character color-coding

Color is said to be the most powerful visual stimulus experienced by humans. Many studies have shown how color has an important influence on cognitive processing and the human brain. In marketing, colors are used to entice people to read advertisements. In clinical settings, involved interventions using specific wavelengths of electromagnetic radiation in the visible range are used to treat patients with memory-related problems, such as learning disorders, autism and dyslexia. Research on attention and cognition has shown that colors are able to increase humans' attention level. The more attention is focused on a specific stimuli, the more likely the stimuli will be transferred from working memory into a more permanent memory. Thus, colors can help us in memorizing information.¹⁴

Due to the supportive role that colors have in the learning process, a few online Chinese dictionaries and phone applications, as well as a few books (e.g. Dummitt 2008), have already started to apply character color-coding (e.g. Pleco, MDBG). The characters are colored according to their tones; for instance, Pleco uses red, green, blue and purple for first, second, third and fourth tones, and grey for neutral tone.

Caitríona Osborne, when comparing the effects of four different teaching methods on beginner Chinese as a foreign language learners in terms of character recognition and usage, used character color-coding as the main teaching method for one of the four groups. The study showed that color-coding each character depending on the tone of the character aids memorization, maintains the students' attention in class, and increases the learners' focus on and awareness of tones and pronunciation.¹⁵

Although character color-coding is not an individual teaching method, it can be used as an effective supplementary learning tool, as characters do not represent tones, and even the most regular characters' phonetic components usually do not indicate tone. Despite the scientific evidence in support of character color-coding and the benefits that colors play in memorization, character color-coding is not widely utilized in Chinese language books.

¹⁴ Dzulkifli – Mustafar 2013: 3.

¹⁵ Osborne 2016: 223.

Mnemonic strategies and wild association

According to Wang and Thomas, mnemonics are: “Learning strategies that make elements of abstract information more familiar and encourage students to form meaningful association to these familiar elements.”¹⁶ Mnemonic strategies are learning strategies, consisting of either visual images or words that can make the memorization process easier and increase recall of information.

The dual-coding theory of Paivio¹⁷ explains how mnemonic strategies aid in memorization. Based on this theory, human memory consists of two independent, but connected subsystems, one verbal and one visual. The theory claims that pictures are more effective memory aids than words. However, it also suggests that when information is dual coded (verbally and visually), better recall can be expected.

Many studies have examined the effects of dual coding and mnemonics strategies on language learning (e.g. Paradis, 1978, Wang et al. 1992, Mantyla and Nilson, 1983, etc.). Research has shown the positive influence mnemonic strategies have on language learning, and also that self-generated strategies appear to be more useful than supplied mnemonic cues. However, other studies suggest that some students may have difficulty generating effective mnemonic strategies, since creating such cues require appreciable effort and creativity.¹⁸

In the case of Chinese character learning, mnemonic strategies (often called the wild association method) involve creating stories which relate to character components and imagining characters as vivid pictures. For example, the components of ‘house’ and ‘pig’ make the character ‘home’ 家 (jiā). For this character, Gilbert C. Remillard in *Chinese Blockbluster* proposes the following mnemonic: “When at home, in their own House, some people live like Pigs.”¹⁹

Admittedly, wild association is the least scientific or linguistically appropriate approach to character learning, and it is certainly not a pedagogical method. However, as presented above, there is an empirical explanation be-

¹⁶ Wang – Thomas 1996: 104.

¹⁷ Paivio 1986.

¹⁸ Kuo–Hooper 2004: 25.

¹⁹ Remillard 2017: 322.

hind its usage, and it is at least useful for its ability to make students more deliberately analyze characters and ponder their components.

On the unit of instruction: word or character?

The question here is: what should be the basic unit of instruction, word or character? This dilemma is similar to the meaning-centered approach versus character-centered approach debate, which mainly arises in the field of teaching Chinese as a first language. The meaning-centered approach is consistent with the idea of adopting words as the unit of instruction (*cí běnwèi* 词本位), while the character-centered approach is analogous with teaching characters as the basic element of learning (*zì běnwèi* 字本位).

The meaning-centered approach stresses that the purpose of learning to read is communication; therefore, characters (or rather words and expressions) are introduced in the sequence in which they appear in the textbooks' dialogues. This is the mainstream method that textbooks follow. Regarding characters, this approach makes character teaching somewhat distributed, and there is no attempt to introduce together characters or categorize them based on some criteria, for example teaching characters together that share the same graphic components. This means that the expression 你好 (*nǐ hǎo* hello) is taught sooner than, e.g., components of *hǎo* 好: 女 (*nǚ* woman) and 子 (*zǐ* child), because greetings are elementary and fundamental to communication. In other words, these are more meaningful and useful for students in communication.²⁰

In contrast, the character-centered approach teaches Chinese characters by dividing them into groups based on certain linguistic features. The criteria for making such groups can be for example a common radical, or they can be organized and taught sequentially starting with simple characters and progressing to compound characters.²¹ For instance, with the character-centered approach characters that share the same component (e.g. *xìng* 性 nature, *kuài* 快 fast, *qíng* 情 feeling, *pà* 怕 fear, *máng* 忙 busy, *màn* 慢 slow) could be taught in the same group. Similarly, 女 (*nǚ* woman) and 子 (*zǐ* child) would

²⁰ Li et al. 2014: 290.

²¹ Li et al. 2014: 291.

precede 好 (hǎo good), because the latter is the combination of two more simple characters.

Although the majority of the most commonly used textbooks apply the meaning-centered method, there are some proponents which support the character-centered approach. For instance, Zhang Mingming wrote in *Comparison between word-based teaching method and character-based teaching method* (*Cí běnwèi jiàoxuéfǎ hé zì běnwèi jiàoxuéfǎ de bǐjiào* 词本位教学法和字本位教学法的比较, 1992) that making words the basic unit of teaching is suitable for languages like English and French, where there are a limited number of letters representing sounds, but due to the fact that Chinese characters represent both sound and meaning, the word-centered approach is not the only suitable method of teaching Chinese. Wang Junin “*The “Zi-centered” Theory and TCFL (“Zibēnwèi” lǐlùn hé duìwài Hànyǔ jiàoxué “字本位” 理论和对外汉语教学*, 2005) calls our attention to classical Chinese where characters represented words, and although the Chinese writing system underwent significant changes, the connection between character and meaning still exists. Another supporter of the character-centered approach, Bai Lesang, selected 400 commonly used characters to illustrate the teaching method that takes characters as the unit of teaching. He explains the strokes’ type and order, character components, structure, origin, meaning, pronunciation, as well as the characters’ ancient forms as they appeared on oracle bones and vessels. Lü Bisong also supports the character-centered method, and claims that strokes should be taught first, followed sequentially by stroke orders, simple characters, more complex characters, and finally words and sentences. He believes that in the writing of further teaching materials, such as textbooks, this question concerning the unit of instruction should be considered, and among the first questions examined.²²

Although there is no consensus among scholars, a comparative study of the two methods has shown the beneficial effect on character recall that the grouped method has in comparison with the distributed approach. This result was shown in a delayed recall test, while no differences were observed in the immediate recall test that was conducted. The authors stated that “[t]his delayed effect may suggest an underlying mechanism of learning and retention-instructional effects might be delayed because they boost long-term memory

²² Yu 2017: 184–185.

more than initial learning.”²³ The study’s overall results suggest that “learning characters presented in a grouped sequence can strengthen the orthographic constituents over a period of two week.”²⁴

Learning through hand- or typewriting

Considering the striking change arising in our writing habits with the extended use of mobile phones and computer keyboards, and the progressive disappearance of traditional handwriting from our everyday life, the question of the contribution of handwriting movements to visual perception of characters is of growing importance. Computers are now widely used both at work and in education. Therefore, in the field of teaching Chinese as a second language, the question arises as to whether Chinese characters should only be taught through typewriting, and whether traditional handwriting should be eliminated from classroom.

Jen and Xu introduced a fairly radical approach to Chinese character teaching by suggesting “abolishing the requirement for writing Chinese characters by hand at the beginning of the Chinese language learning process, and utilizing Chinese word-processing software instead.”²⁵ According to their “penless Chinese character reproduction method”, beginners, using well-designed word-processing software, only need to be able to input on a keyboard the romanized letters representing the sound of a character and to recognize the intended character from among the homophone characters presented. For this, students only need to acquire the correct pronunciation and to master their character recognition skills. Hence, Jen and Xu’s method strengthens speaking and reading. With word-processing software, the students will be able to “write” exactly as much as they can both speak and read. If they make mistakes in “writing” Chinese characters, this reflects problems the students have in either speaking or reading. Jen and Xu claim that with the penless approach writing becomes integrated with two other tasks in Chinese language learning: speaking and reading. During typing, the characters appear side by side on the screen for students to choose, so the penless

²³ Li et al. 2014: 298.

²⁴ Li et al. 2014: 298.

²⁵ Jen and Xu 2000: 4.

method also provides opportunity for the students to become aware of the structural differences and similarities among characters. Furthermore, students will be conscious of homonyms as well.

The approach of Jen and Xu is a subtype of the delayed method, the potential advantages and disadvantages of which have been discussed previously. Several studies not related to the Chinese language strongly suggest that motor knowledge acquired through learning to write contributes to the visual recognition of letters. Finding letters on the keyboard has little motor contribution to this learning process. A study comparing the visual recognition of graphic shapes that had been taught through traditional handwriting or typing found “stronger and longer lasting (several weeks) facilitation in recognizing the orientation of characters that had been written by hand compared to those typed.”²⁶ If the findings of these studies investigating the neural basis of the motor contribution to writing are taken into account, the strategy suggested by Jen and Xu is an incomplete and insufficient Chinese language teaching method. Furthermore, the penless method presupposes that every classroom is equipped with computers, which is usually not the case.

Characters similar in form (xíngsì zì 形似字) and homophonic characters (tóngyīn zì 同音字)

The two types of characters discussed in this section are collectively responsible for the most common mistakes made by foreign learners of Chinese; therefore, it is important to raise special awareness to these pitfalls, even in more advanced classes.

Regarding similar characters (xíngsì zì 形似字) Chen Wuyun writes in *Explanation of Similar Characters in Modern Chinese* (现代汉字形似字初探 *Xiàndài Hànzì Xíngsì zì Chūtàn*): “Similar characters’ forms are similar to each other. There are five criteria that need to be taken into account: form of strokes, number of strokes, components, length [of strokes] and structure of characters. Characters similar in form can be defined from these five aspects.”²⁷

²⁶ Longcamp et al. 2008: 803.

²⁷ Chen 1989: 17.

In connection with characters similar in form, Liang Mingxuan and Zhang Yang²⁸ mention the plus/minus one stroke method (jiā jiǎn fǎ 加减法). They suggest making a list of all the characters that look similar and highlighting and explaining the differences. One stroke added or subtracted can make a big difference in meaning and for beginners it is difficult to remember the difference between such characters. Liang and Zhang also suggest an exercise on the similar characters to reduce confusion, proposing the classroom activity of adding one stroke and making a new character, and then reducing one stroke and making a new character (jiā yī bǐ biàn xīn zì, jiǎn yī bǐ biàn xīn zì “加一笔变新字，减一笔变新字”).

Liu Zhigang, when discussing teaching Chinese as a second language, also calls attention to characters which are similar in form, and gives further examples: 日 (rì sun), 目 (mù eye), 厂 (chǎng factory), 广 (guǎng wide), 木 (mù tree), 禾 (hé grain seeding), 办 (bàn do), 为 (wèi act as), 犬 (quǎn dog), 太 (tài highest), 弋 (yì shoot a retrievable arrow), 戈 (gē dagger-axe), 戋 (jiān small), 凉 (liáng cool), 惊 (jīng surprise), 性 (xìng nature), 姓 (xìng surname), 环 (huán ring), and 坏 (huài bad).²⁹

Regarding homophonic characters (tóngyīn zì 同音字), Su Peicheng states in *Modern Chinese Character Study Essentials (Xiàndài hànzi xué gāngyào 现代汉字学纲要)*: “Homophonic characters are similar in pronunciation but are not the same in meaning. Among them, the similar pronunciation can be said to exist in a broad sense or a narrow sense. Characters which are homonymic in narrow sense have the same initial, final and tone, for instance: 但 dàn (but), 蛋 dàn (egg), 淡 dàn (light). Characters which are homonymic in broad sense include characters for which the initial and final are identical, but for which their tone is not the same, for instance: 公 gōng (collective), 供 gōng or gòng (to supply or present offerings), and 拱 gǒng (arch).”³⁰

Wu Zhen gives a detailed explanation³¹ on how he would teach the characters 度 (dù degree) and 渡 (dù to cross a river, sea, etc.), from which we can elucidate how homonymic characters might be effectively managed and taught. 1) As part of a PowerPoint presentation, the teacher shows a short animation about a man who crosses the river in a boat from one side to the other. The animation is intended to help grab the students’ attention. After the

²⁸ Liang–Zhang 2015: 147–148.

²⁹ Liu 2008: 85.

³⁰ Cited in: Wu 2016: 88.

³¹ Wu 2016: 89–90.

animation, the teacher tells the students that the topic of the video was crossing the river (*dù hé* 渡河). 2) On the screen, the teacher shows the pronunciation and the stroke order of the character 渡. Then the teacher writes the character on the blackboard, and asks the students to copy it a few times. 3) The teacher shows and explains the components of the character on the screen and tells the students that this character belongs to the category of picto-phonetic characters. The teacher then explains to the students the meaning of the picto-phonetic character category. 4) The teacher asks the students to make other words with this character, like *dù guò* 渡过, and *dù jiāng* 渡江. 5) The teacher explains the difference between *dù* 渡 and *dù* 度, with the help of the expressions *dù guò* 渡过 and *dù guò* 度过. 6) The students are asked to use these two words to fill in the gaps in the following sentences: A) 我开心地 () 了周末。 B) 我想坐船 () 黄河。 C) 你 () 这条河就能找到他。 D) 她 () 了她一生最好的时光。 7) The teacher makes a conclusion about the difference between the two words: *dù guò* 渡过 is in space while *dù guò* 度过 is in time. 8) After explaining the words *guòdù* 过度 and *guòdù* 过渡, the teacher asks the students to use these two words to fill in the gaps in the following sentences: A) 中国现在处于发展中国家向发达国家 () 时期。 B) 我今天感觉特别累, 应该是学习 () 了。 C) 大学阶段是我们从幼稚 () 到成熟的阶段。 D) () 饮酒会伤害身体。 9) The teacher makes a conclusion about the difference between the two words: *guòdù* 过度: excessive and *guòdù* 过渡: pass from one stage to another. 10) The teacher explains two idioms which include the characters *dù* 度 and *dù* 渡 (*gòngdù nánguān*, *dùguò nánguān* 共度难关, 渡过难关). 11.) Finally, as a group work classroom exercise, the students are asked to make a story using the above mentioned four words and the two idioms. While one group is telling the story, whenever the characters *dù* 度 and *dù* 渡 are mentioned, the other group has to decide which character is used.

Characters similar in form and homophonic characters are always difficult to differentiate for students learning Chinese. Calling the students' attention to these similar characters can help them overcome these difficulties.

Conclusion

Teaching is a field of research where we can never be satisfied with our results, and a field where there is not only a single good answer. What we can do, is to summarize experience and learn from each other. We believe that the teachers' job is to provide students with the tools they need to learn the reading and writing of Chinese characters, and that later on students can decide for themselves how to use the provided methods and the obtained knowledge to achieve their individualized goals. If someone wants to become a translator, he or she will actively use Chinese characters, and for that high proficiency in character writing and reading will be necessary. Others might decide instead to, given their language aspirations, deemphasize Chinese characters, in which case there would be no need to be highly qualified in character writing. With time, students will decide what they want to use the language for.

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匈牙利华文学校现状与挑战 —基于多校调查的综合分析

摘要

本文聚焦于匈牙利的华文学校，对匈牙利华文学校的现状、办学类型、师资概况、教学模式、课程设置以及教材使用情况进行梳理。本文旨在通过分析匈牙利华文教育的特点和面临的挑战，描绘匈牙利华文学校及其教育发展的脉络，以展现匈牙利华文学校的历史和现状。

关键词:匈牙利，华文教育，华文学校，海外华人教育

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Current State and Challenges of Chinese Language Schools in Hungary: A Comprehensive Analysis Based on Multiple School Surveys

Abstract

This paper focuses on Chinese language schools in Hungary, examining their current state, types of institutions, faculty composition, teaching methods, curriculum design, and textbook usage. By analyzing the characteristics and challenges of Chinese language education in Hungary, the study aims to outline the development and trajectory of these schools, thereby presenting both the historical background and the current status of Chinese education in the country.

Keywords: Hungary, Chinese language education, Chinese language schools, Overseas Chinese education

一、研究背景

匈牙利与中国的友谊源远流长，两国于1949年10月6日¹正式建立外交关系，并在冷战时期同属社会主义阵营（朱晓中、徐刚等，2019）。这种深厚的历史渊源为两国在教育领域的合作奠定了坚实基础。匈牙利的中文教育²可以追溯到1923年(梅立崇,1990)，当时东亚研究所（Kelet-ázsiai Intézet）在匈牙利皇家帕兹马尼·彼得大学（Magyar Királyi Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem）³成立（Simay Attila、范立波，2020），标志着中文教育在匈牙利高等教育中的正式起步。1949年中华人民共和国成立后，匈牙利与中国建立外交关系，中文教育逐步发展。20世纪50年代，首批匈牙利学生前往中国学习。自60年代起，一些汉学家如陈国（Barnabás Csongor）、高恩德（Endre Galla）和尤山度（Sándor Józsa）等在这一时期崭露头角（郝清新Hamar Imre, 2014）。从1984年起，每年选派一两名优秀学生赴中国留学，并聘请中国教师来校任教，学生的汉语能力得到了显著提高（叶秋月，2021）。

1985年汉学已由B类专业跻身于A类专业，终于跟英语、法语、俄语、西班牙语和德语这些大语种平起平坐(梅立崇，1990)。这一变化为中文教育带来了新的发展机遇。随着中匈关系的深化和中国经济的快速发展，学习中文的需求显著增加。1988年底，匈牙利政府实施了中国公民免签证政策，进一步推动了两国的友好关系，该政策一直持续到1992年，成为促进两国紧密联系的重要因素。

进入21世纪，匈牙利的中文教育迎来了新的里程碑。2004年匈中双语学校成立⁴，成为欧洲独一无二的提供从小学到中学阶段中文教育的学校。2006年，罗兰大学成立了匈牙利第一所孔子学院⁵。近年来，越来越多的匈牙利高等教育机构开始提供中文课程，同时中等教育领域也不断拓展中文教学。目前，匈牙利共有6所孔子学院⁶，分别位于罗

¹ 数据源于 <https://peking.mfa.gov.hu/zh/page/politikai-kapcsolatok> (最后访问:2025年2月27日)

² 本文所涉“中文教育”是指面向非中文母语者进行的汉语语言和中国文化教学活动。其主要目的是帮助学习者掌握汉语作为外语的能力，并增进他们对中华文化的了解。

³ 现罗兰大学 Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem.

⁴ 数据源于 <https://peking.mfa.gov.hu/zh/page/magyar-kinai-oktatasi-kapcsolatok-dio-hejban> (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

⁵ 数据源于 https://www.konfuciuszintezet.hu/letoltesek/pdf/Konfuciusz_Kronika_2007-1szam.pdf (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

⁶ 数据源于 http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrbhwb/html/2024-07/13/content_26068885.htm (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

兰大学、塞格德大学、米什科尔茨大学、佩奇大学、德布勒森大学和匈中双语学校，为匈牙利的中文教育提供了重要支持。尽管中文学习难度大、合格中文教师短缺以及教材本土化程度不足等问题仍然存在，但随着中匈关系的进一步深化，预计会有更多匈牙利学生选择学习中文，中文教育将更加注重实用性和专业性，培养更多具备跨文化交际能力和专业技能的中国人才。

与此同时，匈牙利的华人社区也在不断壮大。截至2022年初，匈牙利人口总数为968.9万，其中约有3万多华人，使其成为中东欧地区个体华商较为集中的国家之一⁷。在这一背景下，华文教育作为华人社区文化传承和语言教育的重要途径，受到了越来越多的关注。相关教育机构迅速发展，华文学校在其中发挥了至关重要的作用。

自1998年以来，匈牙利华文教育逐渐发展。在前20年，华文教育发展较为缓慢，仅有一所规模较大的华文学校。然而，自2018年起，华文学校迅速增加，呈现出快速发展的态势。尽管如此，针对匈牙利华文教育的系统性研究仍显不足。本文聚焦匈牙利华文学校，梳理其现状、课程设置及面临的挑战，旨在填补相关研究空白，勾勒匈牙利华文教育的发展脉络。

二、文献综述

华文教育在不同地区的发展情况、面临的问题和挑战各不相同，但也存在一定的共性。在欧洲，华文学校⁸的发展受到多种因素的影响，如政策法规、师资情况、教材选择以及学生群体的构成。高伟浓与杨晶（2004）对欧洲华文学校进行了初步研究，指出这些学校普遍面临校舍不足、师资来源有限、教材缺乏适用性、教学交流不足以及教学体系不完善等问题。这些问题在匈牙利华文学校中也有所体现，例如许多华文学校仍然依赖中国国内教材，而在课程设置上也更倾向于传统语言教学，缺乏针对本地学生文化融合需求的调整。因此，高伟浓与杨晶（2004）的研究为理解匈牙利华文教育的现状提供了重要的对比和参考。

⁷ 数据来源于《对外投资合作国别（地区）指南》之《匈牙利》。该《指南》由商务部对外投资和经济合作司组织协调本《指南》编制工作，中国驻匈牙利大使馆经商处编写。 <https://fdi.mofcom.gov.cn/resource/pdf/2024/11/05/4f3c6257f89d4e1dbc59da64bb28931f.pdf> (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

⁸ 本文所涉“华文学校”是以中文为教学语言，教授中文、中华文化及历史，主要服务于海外华人及其后代，帮助其保持语言和文化遗产的学校。

在欧盟范围内，其他国家的华文教育研究也能为匈牙利提供借鉴。例如，英国（王传玲,洪明，2010）、法国（耿红卫，2015）和西班牙（Jiawei G. 2020）的华文学校发展相对成熟，特别是在课程设置、文化融合、政府支持政策以及师资培训方面有一定经验。意大利的华文教育研究表明，政府的认可度和支持力度对华文教育的可持续发展起着至关重要的作用（严晓鹏，2013）。英国的华文学校近年来逐渐向双语教育模式发展，以提高华裔学生的语言能力和文化认同（曹茜，邵有学，2023）。各国华文教育都在强调与当地教育体系的衔接，使学生在在学习华文的同时，不影响其他学科的发展。这些经验对匈牙利华文教育的发展具有一定的启发性。

目前，针对匈牙利华文教育的系统性研究仍较为缺乏，尤其是在学校运营、师资培养和学生需求等方面。虽然有研究涉及东南欧地区的华文教育状况，但具体到匈牙利的深入调查较少。Vámos（2006）通过对匈牙利中匈双语小学的分析，展示了双语教学和跨文化教育的实践与挑战。它不仅为理解匈牙利华文教育的现状提供了重要视角，还为未来的发展提供了宝贵的经验和启示。这种双语教育模式将对匈牙利华文教育的整体发展产生深远影响。综上所述，匈牙利华文教育在发展过程中既受到欧洲华文教育的普遍影响，也具有自身独特的挑战。因此，未来的研究应更多关注匈牙利本地的具体情况，如政府政策、教材本土化、师资培训以及学生需求等方面，以更全面地呈现匈牙利华文教育的现状和发展趋势。

三、匈牙利华文学校概况⁹

匈牙利的华文学校数量相对于欧洲其他国家较少，截止至2024年，匈牙利仅有6所课程设置较为全面的完全小学¹⁰ 华文学校和机构。此外，还有不少于6个华人创办的华文补习机构¹¹，其中约有4个是为华人学生提供外语补习或升学科目的补习课程。据统计数据显示，目前学生规模在500人以上的华文学校约有1所（公立学校），学生规模在250-300人的学校约有3所，规模在100-150人的学校约有2所。匈牙利的华

⁹ 按创立时间先后顺序进行介绍。

¹⁰ 完全小学指，提供连贯的小学教育，包括初级小学（通常指小学一年级至四年级）和高级小学（小学五年级、六年级）的教育。

¹¹ 如：金桥汉语学校、易学468、翰林学院、三一教育、煜博学堂、Talent Center 英才教育等。

文学校在办学模式、课程设置和学生规模等方面呈现出多样化的特点。表1是各主要华文学校的具体情况：

学校名称	成立时间	办学性质	学生人数约(人)	教师人数约(人)	主要课程设置	主要教材	特色
光华中文学校	1998	私立补习机构	已停招	已停招	中文、数学、英语	《语文》 《数学》	历史悠久，注重文化兴趣课
匈中双语学校	2004	公立学校	500	30	中文、匈牙利语、数学、兴趣课	《语文》 《轻松学中文》 《新实用汉语课本》	唯一的双语公立学校
罗兰大学丝路国学堂	2018	公办华文学校	120	18	中文、数学、国学、写作、阅读	《语文》 《数学》 《同步作文》 《阶梯阅读》	线上线下混合教学
优乐教育	2018	私立补习机构	150	15	中文、匈牙利语、英语、兴趣课	《语文》 《数学》	多语言学习，升学辅导
唐人街华文学校	2019	私立学校	300	30	中文、数学、英语、兴趣课	《语文》 《数学》	分层教学，文化兴趣课
匈牙利中德实验学校	2019	私立学校	270	20	中文、数学、德语、英语、兴趣课	《语文》 《数学》	多元文化课程
华星文化艺术学校	2017	私立学校	300	30	中文、数学、兴趣课	《语文》 《数学》	艺术与文化结合

表1：匈牙利主要华文学校概况

3.1 光华中文学校¹²

光华中文学校（以下简称“光华”）由匈牙利华人张庆滨（中医博士）及其妻子张双双女士于1998年创办，是匈牙利第一所私立华文补习机构。学生人数最多时可达300余人，教职工最多是约25人。光华提供

¹² 光华中文学校，目前已经停止运营。虽然光华学校已经关闭，但在过去的25年里，它为匈牙利华人及其子女提供了一个学习华文和文化的平台。光华学校在匈牙利华文教育领域拥有悠久的历史，是不可或缺的一部分。它见证了许多学生在学习中文和了解中国文化方面取得的成就和进步，为促进跨文化交流和认知发挥了重要作用。

从学前班到八年级的中文课程，辅以数学、美术和英语等科目。学校采用人民教育出版社出版的《语文》作为主要教材。为配合学生在常规学校的学习时间，光华的教学安排为每周六、周日，每天五节课，包括三节语文课、一节数学课和一节外语课。每年暑假，学校转为全日制教学（周一至周五），并增设书法、美术、体育、历史和地理等兴趣课程，以丰富学生的学习体验。这种阶段性、有重点的教学模式有助于学生系统掌握中文知识，学习中华文化，深化对母语的理解与运用。尽管光华于2022年因创办人个人原因停止招生，但它在匈牙利华文教育史上仍具有开创性意义。

3.2 匈中双语小学

匈中双语学校成立于2004年9月，坐落在匈牙利首都布达佩斯的匈中双语学校，是中东欧唯一同时使用当地语言和中文教学的全日制公立学校。2024年春季学期，该校有12个年级，20个班级，524名学生，其中中国学生96名。该学校从一年级开始，汉语就是学校的必修课，每周有五节中文语言课。在这里，学生们可以从小学到高中全贯通地系统学习中文。该校匈语授课时间占65%，汉语授课时间占35%。¹³ 该校的中文教育由两部分构成，一部分主要针对匈牙利学生，他们的母语非中文，所以使用《轻松学中文》《新实用汉语课本》等教材。还有一部分学生是华裔华人子女，主要使用《语文》教材。目前，该校有18%的华裔华人学生，这部分学生每天有一节语文课，他们使用《语文》，并由中国籍的教师授课。除此以外，该校也设置了中国文化课程，这些课程是华裔华人学生和匈牙利籍学生一起，由匈牙利籍教师授课。正因如此，授课的内容更偏向于国际汉语教育的文化课程。

3.3 罗兰大学丝路国学堂

罗兰大学丝路国学堂（以下简称国学堂）建立于2018年，隶属罗兰大学“一带一路”研究中心，是中东欧首个公办华文学校。截止2024年春季学期，学生人数约120人，教职工人数约18人。该校采用周末全日制授课，暑期全日制授课，与其他华文学校不同，丝路国学堂与中国国民教育体系保持一致，即学制六年。在课堂规模方面，国学堂有着严格的规定：实体课堂中，每个班级人数不超过15人；而在线课程则保持每个班级不超过12人的小班制度。学校提供的课程包括语文、数学、

¹³ 信息源于<https://baijiahao.baidu.com/s?id=1742641542929907823&wfr=spider&for=pc> (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

国学、阅读和外语。通常，每天安排2节语文课、1节国学课、1节作文/阅读课以及1节数学课。教材主要采用《语文》，辅以《阶梯阅读》、《语文作业本》、《墨点字帖》和《同步作文》进行练习。目前，学校开设线下课程、在线课程，并提供线上线下同步课程供学生选择。为实现精品教育，国学堂选聘授课教师均为拥有高学历、高水平的一线优秀教师，包括罗兰大学中文系专任教师，博士，硕士及有多年教学经验的国内中小学教师等。据统计，丝路国学堂所应聘的教师相关专业度达100%。

值得一提的是，国学堂是首个采用线上授课的华文学校。最初，国学堂采用实体课堂授课模式，但在新冠疫情初期为了减少交叉感染风险，国学堂迅速转变为线上授课模式。罗兰大学对国学堂的办学理念给予了极大支持，在疫情期间提供了丰富的资源支持。因此，即使在毫无预警的情况下转为线上课程，也没有影响到教学质量和学生的学习体验。从这一点可以窥探到，公办学校在资源和积极尝试新变革方面具有显著的优势和魄力。

3.4 优乐教育

优乐教育由华人教师牛志楠牵头创立，于2018年在匈牙利布达佩斯建立了首个校区，分别于2022年和2023年开设了第二和第三校区。2024年春节学期学生人数约150人，主要教职工约15人。该学校专为在匈居住的华人及其子女而设，致力于语言和文化学习。其中大部分学生专注于学习匈牙利语、英语、德语或参加升学备考培训，而以华文学习为主的学生仅占少数。该校的华文课程安排与其他华文学校有所不同，除了采用周末全日制教学外，学生的华文学习时间比多数学校更长。他们每天接受4节语文课程和4节中国文化课程，使用《语文》教材，并配合同步练习册进行课后辅助学习。优乐教育注重多语言学习和升学备考，开设丰富的课程，包括成人英语、成人匈语、中小学学科辅导、中考冲刺、英语、德语和匈牙利语语言教学、竞赛数学、国际象棋、编程、书法、围棋、创意美术等。此外，每年暑期还举办暑期班和以各国语言为主题的夏令营。

3.5 唐人街华文学校

匈牙利唐人街华文学校位于首都布达佩斯，由布达佩斯唐人街（Monori Center）集团公司于2019年投资成立，是唯一一个拥有自己办学办公场所的私立学校。目前，学校设有两个校区，其中一个校区主要以文化科目为主，另一个校区则以兴趣才艺学习为主，同时也是教职工的

办公区域，后者为唐人街集团的资产。截止2023年7月，学生人数约300名，教职员工30余名。¹⁴ 该校以中文教学为主，并提供数学、英语、体育等课程。中文和数学课程采用中国小学和初中同步的人教版教材。学校的教学模式包括周末班和暑期班，为了满足家长的需求，暑期班每周一至周六上课，这样不仅能够确保孩子们在暑期期间保持学习进度，还能够给忙碌的家长提供更灵活的安排。在课程设置方面，该校不仅注重学生的文化学习，还关注他们的身体健康。除了每天的四节文化课程（两节语文、一节数学、一节英语）外，学校还安排了一节体育课程。为了解决不同入学时间导致的进度不一致的问题，每个年级开设两个班，分别使用该年级对应的上下册教材。

3.6 匈牙利中德实验学校

匈牙利中德实验学校创建于2019年，由华人赖华女士创立。2024年春季学期，有13个班级，学生270余人，教职员工20余人。¹⁵ 除了以语文、数学和外语（可选德语或英语）为主的学课外，还开设过舞蹈班、书法班、美术班、篮球班、初级编程班、高级编程班等兴趣班。学校开设学前班、一年级至八年级，每个年级设置上册班级和下册班级以便适应各个水平的插班生。该校也使用《语文》和《数学》作为该校学生的教材，同时使用配套练习册《53天天练》作为补充练习。为了让学生尽可能沉浸在中文语言环境中，每天通常安排了一节语文课、两节语文练习课，以及一节数学课和一节外语课。与大多数华文学校教天数一致，该学校一年的教学天数约为110天。在全年的教学安排中，从9月持续至次年6月为周末全日制教学，而在暑假期间则转为40天的周一至周五全日制教学模式。

3.7 匈牙利华星文化艺术学校

匈牙利华星文化艺术学校是国务院侨办授牌文化社团匈牙利华星艺术团的附属学校，成立于2017年，最初以艺术培训为主。随着学员数量的增加，学校开始提供一站式教育体系，以满足学生的需求，省去家长往返于各个培训机构的困扰。2019年，学校正式引入中文及其相关文化课程。根据2022年的数据显示，学校有近300名学生和约30名教

¹⁴ 数据来源于 https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/QvZ7pBt8nbB0N_9d_wTBeg (最后访问:2025年2月27日)

¹⁵ 数据源于 <https://nemcsakkinai.hu/zh/> (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

职员工¹⁶。学校为学前班至八年级的学生提供中文课程、数学、外语以及主持等主要课程。与其他华文学校不同的是,该校将主持设为主要科目之一,不仅巩固了学生的中文知识,还有效锻炼了他们的表达和沟通能力。通过主持课程,学生们能够更自信地输出所学内容,提升综合素质。在中文课程教材仍选用《语文》,辅以配套练习,与其他。除了这些文化课程外,学校还逐步增设了各种兴趣课程,例如书法、绘画、舞蹈、音乐等,为学生提供了更加多元化和丰富的学习体验和发展空间。同时,学校定期举办各种文化活动和演出,为学生提供展示才华的机会,促进对中华文化的认识和热爱。

3.8 针对华人的补习机构

除了上述规模较大的华文学校外,匈牙利布达佩斯地区还有许多面向华人的小型语言学习或升学考试补习机构。这些机构除了提供周末班和暑期班外,还在周一至周五晚间开设课程。主要服务包括匈牙利语、英语、德语及升学考试(四年级、六年级、八年级)科目的补习。尽管有一些学生在这些机构学习中文,但与大型华文学校相比,这些补习机构的华文教学通常缺乏系统性和连贯性。由于学习中文的学生人数较少,这些机构难以提供充分成熟和完善的中文语言环境。对于追求高质量中文教育的学生而言,这样的机构可能无法完全满足他们的需求。在师资方面,这类补习机构通常由兼职教师承担中文教学任务。因此,这些补习机构虽然提供了中文学习的课程,但在教学质量和语言实践环境方面,与其他华文学校相比仍有较大的差距。据作者不完全统计,截止2024年,专门针对华人的补习机构不少于6家:金桥汉语学校、易学468、翰林学院、三一教育、煜博学堂、Talent Center英才教育等。其中,Talent Center英才教育主要以补习数学、匈牙利语为主¹⁷ 辅以英语或德语补习。易学468和煜博学堂所开设的科目主要针对在匈牙利就读的华人4年级、6年级、8年级的升学考试,简称4、6、8年级中考备考班¹⁸。

¹⁶ 数据源于 https://www.xiaohongshu.com/explore/6339ea9e00000001c0136f7?note_flow_source=wechat (最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

¹⁷ 数据源于<https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/yno1Xez2KwmThCZeezk-kQ>(最后访问: 2025年2月27日)

¹⁸ 匈牙利的小学教育是八年制,分为初级(1-4年级)和中级(5-8年级),中学教育是四年制(9-12年级),大学教育则为4-6年。

四、办学类型及师资概况

据上述概况可知，匈牙利的华文学校的类型呈现出多样化的特点，这主要归因于创办方的不同。尽管华人人口仅有3万左右，华文学校10余所，但该国却拥有四种不同性质的华文学校。其中包括由匈牙利政府设立的公立学校，当地高校开办的公办华文学校，华人企业开设的私立学校以及由个人创办的私立学校。

不同于公立学校的日常教学安排，这些公办和私立的华文学校通常在周末、暑假或工作日的下午进行教学，以便与学生们在正规学校的上课时间相协调。为了确保每位学生都能够得到足够的关注和个性化的指导，这些学校普遍实行小班制教学模式。每个班级的学生人数上限通常设置为15-20人，而实际上大多数班级的人数往往不超过15人。这种小班教学的形式有助于提升教学质量，确保教育资源的有效利用，并促进学生之间以及师生之间的互动与交流。

根据各华文学校公开的数据显示¹⁹，匈牙利的华文学校教师多以兼职的形式任教于当地华文学校。据统计上述6所学校所招聘的教师中有85%拥有与教学相关的经验或毕业于教学相关的专业，这表明匈牙利的华文教师整体拥有较高的教学素养和专业背景。从学校对教师学历和经验的重视程度来看，我们可以窥见匈牙利华人社区对中文教育的重视程度。然而，由于学校通常在周末或暑期开设，对于大多数教师而言，这只是他们的兼职工作。这种情况导致师资力量不稳定性，可能对教学质量和学生的学习体验造成一定影响。同时，由于教师缺乏稳定性，因而很难开展系统性的师资培训。

五、教学模式与课程设置

匈牙利华文学校在教学模式和课程设置方面呈现出多样化的特点，这些特点不仅反映了匈牙利华文教育的现状，也揭示了其在适应本地需求和传承中华文化方面的努力。在教学模式方面，匈牙利华文学校主要采用以下几种模式：一是学年同步教学模式，部分华文学校如罗兰大学丝路国学堂采用与中国国内教育体系同步的教学模式，按照中国小学的课程标准和进度进行教学，这种模式有助于学生系统地学习中文知识，同时也便于教师进行教学管理和评估。二是分层教学模式，为满足不同时间入学的学生需求，一些学校如唐人街华文学校将每个

¹⁹ 笔者统计了各校教师公开简历所得出的数据。

年级分为上、下册班级，确保学生能够根据自己的学习进度选择合适的班级，这种模式不仅提高了教学的针对性，也增强了学生的学习信心。三是线上线下混合教学模式，新冠疫情加速了华文学校对线上教学的探索，罗兰大学丝路国学堂是首个采用线上授课的华文学校，在疫情期间迅速转型为线上教学，并在疫情后继续保留线上课程，为学生提供更多的学习选择，这种线上线下混合教学模式不仅提高了教学的灵活性，也为学生提供了更丰富的学习资源。四是周末全日制与暑期全日制结合模式，大多数华文学校采用周末全日制教学模式，利用周末时间集中授课，部分学校还在暑期开设全日制课程，进一步强化学生的学习效果，这种模式在满足学生日常学习需求的同时，也为家长提供了更灵活的安排。

在课程设置方面，匈牙利华文学校的课程设置不仅注重语言教学，还强调中华文化的传承和多元文化素养的培养。中文课程是华文学校的核心课程，几乎所有学校都将其作为教学的重点，部分学校还增加了语文练习课和作文课，以提高学生的语言应用能力。中华文化课程是华文学校的重要组成部分，部分学校如罗兰大学丝路国学堂开设了国学课程，使用《三字经》《弟子规》等经典教材，帮助学生了解中国传统文化；唐人街华文学校则增加了书法、绘画等兴趣课程，通过艺术形式传承中华文化。为满足学生的多样化需求，部分学校还开设了辅助课程，如优乐教育不仅提供中文课程，还开设了英语、德语、匈牙利语等外语课程，以及数学、编程、国际象棋等学科辅导课程，这种多元化的课程设置不仅丰富了学生的学习内容，也为学生提供了更广阔的发展空间。部分学校还注重跨文化教育，通过设置国际汉语课程和文化交流活动，帮助学生了解不同文化背景下的语言使用和文化差异，这种跨文化课程设置有助于学生培养跨文化交际能力。

尽管匈牙利华文学校在教学模式和课程设置上进行了多样化探索，但仍面临一些挑战。部分学校缺乏足够的教学资源，如教材、教学设备和师资力量，影响了教学效果。目前，匈牙利华文学校使用的教材大多来自中国国内，缺乏针对匈牙利学生语言背景和文化特点的本土化教材，这种教材选择可能导致学生在学习过程中感到困难，影响学习积极性。部分学校的教学模式较为单一，缺乏灵活性，部分学校的中华文化课程缺乏连贯性，导致学生对中华文化的理解不够深入。针对上述挑战，本文提出以下改进建议：一是加强教材本土化，建议华文学校与当地教育机构合作，开发适合匈牙利学生语言背景和文化特点的本土化教材。二是优化教学模式，建议华文学校根据学生需求和教学目标，灵活选择教学模式，同时加强对教师的培训，提高教师对不同教学模式的适应能力。三是完善课程设置，建议华文学校对课程

设置进行系统规划,明确各课程的教学目标和评估标准,将中华文化课程与语言课程有机结合,通过故事、游戏等形式增强学生的学习兴趣。四是加强教学资源保障,建议华文学校通过多种途径筹集资金,改善教学条件,加强对教学资源的管理,确保教材和教学设备的充足供应。

六、教材使用概况

东南亚或欧美华文学校针学龄前儿童的教材通常使用《幼儿华语》、《娃娃学华语》。针对中小学阶段的教材《汉语》(供东南亚全日制中文学校使用)、《中文》(供欧美周末制中文学校使用)及配套多媒体光盘和网络版教材²⁰,还有《快乐汉语》、《汉语拼音》、《说话》、《轻松学中文》等教材。《中国地理常识》、《中国文化常识》、《中国历史常识》(简称“三常”)通常作为辅助性教材。²¹ 相比之下,匈牙利的华文学校主要使用《语文》、《数学》、《轻松学中文》作为教材,同时还配套使用一些辅助练习资料,例如《53天天练》、《阶梯阅读》、《语文作业本》、《墨点字帖》和《同步作文》等。这些教材和练习资料内容丰富,覆盖了日常生活、社交、工作和学习等方面的词汇和语法,以满足学生在不同场景下的语言需求。为传承中华文化,一些学校还专门设置国学课程,每日至少一节,使用的教材包括《三字经》、《弟子规》、《笠翁对韵》、《千字文》、和《论语》等。

除了正式教材,一些学校还引入一些与学生兴趣相关的辅助教材,例如中文故事书、儿童歌曲和文学作品供学生阅读。这有助于激发学生学习中文的兴趣,提高他们的学习积极性。从教材的选择来看,匈牙利华文学校不约而同的选择了与中国教育体系保持一致,这也说明,匈牙利的华人对掌握母语的要求较高,对学习中华文化,传承中华文化也都很重视。

²⁰ 李海峰:侨务部门多向拓展华文教育应对汉语热。<https://www.hqu.edu.cn/info/1074/12325.htm> (最后访问:2025年2月27日)

²¹ 数据源于<http://old.hwjyw.com/bdpd/hjzx/hjig/Europe.shtml> (最后访问:2025年2月27日)

七、匈牙利华文教育资源分布特点

在整体上观察，匈牙利的华文教育呈现出资源分配不均的局面。根据布达佩斯就业与社会保障部的最新统计数据（截至2018年12月31日），华人口主要聚集在这个经济相对发达的首都。这一情况也导致了匈牙利的华文学校分布与其他欧洲国家存在显著差异，即华文学校主要集中在匈牙利首都布达佩斯。

尽管目前尚无针对华文学校数量与分布情况的官方统计数据，但根据笔者的实地考察，截至2024年6月，匈牙利全境约有10余所向华人提供语言学习的学校及机构，主要聚集在匈牙利首都布达佩斯。匈牙利华文教育资源分配不均的问题与该国内部华人聚居地相对集中的情况密切相关。笔者的调查发现，在布达佩斯的华文学校分布基本与本国华人口的聚集地相符，大多数华文学校设立在集中了半数华人的中国商贸区（如唐人街、欧洲广场）附近。这种布局方式可能受到了华人社区需求和便利性的双重考量，以便更好地为当地华人子女提供中文教育服务，促进文化传承与沟通。

八、匈牙利华文教育面临的挑战

与欧洲其他国家一样(汪月,2020)，在匈牙利华文教育所面临的最突出问题之一是缺乏固定的办学场所。大部分华文学校缺乏独立产权，因此只能通过周末租赁或借用当地公立学校的教室，或者直接租用商用办公室来进行教学。这种情况导致校方无法完善教室、办公室、图书室等基础教学设施和办公条件。缺乏一个完全的沉浸式学习环境可能影响学生对华文的感知和理解。

师资素质也是影响匈牙利华文学校教学质量的关键因素之一。据笔者统计，大部分华文教师并非专职，他们主要来自于当地有教学经验的侨民和在当地大学学习的中国硕士生和博士生。然而，并非所有这些教师都具备教学经验或教学相关专业的背景，这可能会影响学生的学习状态和体验。匈牙利与意大利等国家一样，在师资方面面临着相似的挑战。缺乏稳定的师资来源、缺乏统一的教学评判标准以及华文教师培养机制不完善等问题，都是当前匈牙利华文教育亟待解决的难题。目前，在欧洲各国中尚未出现专门培养华文教师的教育机构，这也加剧了师资不足的问题。

此外，根据官方数据和对师生家长的访谈，发现匈牙利华文学校普遍存在一个问题：随着年级增加，学生人数逐渐减少。这一现象可能

与几个因素密切相关。首先，高年级学生面临的升学压力较大，他们可能更集中精力准备匈牙利国内的考试或进入国际学校，因此对于中文学习的需求减少。其次，随着在匈牙利生活时间的增长，学生们可能已经掌握了足够的中文以应对日常生活中的交流 and 需求，缺乏进一步学习的动力和需求。

另一方面，部分华人家庭虽然意识到子女学习中文的重要性，但对其学习深度的重视程度相对不足。他们更倾向于关注子女在匈牙利的语言环境适应和学业发展。这种态度可能导致学生在掌握基本中文沟通能力后，便不再继续深入学习，从而影响其中文能力的进一步提升。因此，尽管华文学校提供了全面的中文教育和文化课程，但随着学生年级的增长，他们的学生群体逐渐缩小，这也是学校面临的一个挑战。这些推测仅仅是基于访谈得出的初步结论，高年级学生流失的具体原因需要进一步深入研究和分析。理解这些因素对于未来华文学校的发展和课程设计具有重要意义，可以帮助学校更好地调整教学策略和课程设置，吸引更多学生持续参与中文学习，确保学校的长期可持续发展。

最后，如何保持学生对中文学习的兴趣和积极性也是匈牙利华文教育面临的重要挑战之一，尤其是在学生需要同时应对正规学校课程并缺乏与中国相关实践机会的情况下。为了克服这些挑战，匈牙利的华文学校可以加强与中国相关机构的合作，引进更多经验丰富的中文教师。同时，组织更多多样化的中文活动、文化体验和交流项目，激发学生对中文学习的兴趣，提高他们的学习积极性。从整体上看，匈牙利所有的华文学校可以建立友谊学校网络，举办校际活动以促进更紧密的联系。

总体而言，匈牙利的华文教育在克服各种困难中逐步发展，为当地华人子女和其他对中文学习感兴趣的学生提供了学习平台。随着中匈两国关系不断加强，相信匈牙利的华文教育将迎来更广阔的发展空间。

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