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Bilingual Sources of Kwong Ki Chiu's English-Chinese Lexicons, 1868–1887

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1. Introduction

The primary aim of the paper is to revitalize the study of Kwong Ki Chiu's 鄺其照 (1845–1891) English-Chinese lexicography.[1] Born in the present-day Taishan in Guangdong Province, Kwong started as a merchant in the Pearl River region,

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[1] Existing sources suggest Kwong's year of birth could have been 1836, 1841, or 1845. See Bruce A. Chan, "A Forgotten Qing Era Progressive: Kwong Ki Chiu—Lexicographer, Interpreter, Textbook Author, Newspaper Publisher," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 53 (2013): 228 and 256, note 2; and Sam J. L. Wong and Brian Z. Wong, "U.S. Influences on Chinese Education Reform: Universal Education and Moral Education as Tools for Chinese Modernity, 1874–1882," *Pacific Historical Review* 91.4 (2022): 528. I consider 1845, which is based on 1880 United States Federal Census, as the best supported estimate. See "Ki Chin Kwong in the 1880 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry*, https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/22599858:6742 (access: 25 February 2025). The digitization of this document recognized "Chiu" as "Chin," but the biographical data and the record on his three-year-old son "Chi Fun" in this document would verify that the census information was of Kwong Ki Chiu. Kwong's concurrent periodical sources indicate that he passed away in Canton on 14 June 1891, see "Local and General," *Hong Kong Telegraph*, 16 June 1891, p. 2.

with probable brief experience in Australia.[2] He attended an English government school in Hong Kong before becoming a lexicographer, journalist, and prominent official in the Chinese Educational Mission (1872–1881, hereafter "the CEM").[3] In what follows, I will recast Kwong as a pioneer behind the first locally compiled, Cantonese-based bilingual lexicon series, which was widely circulated and helped extend the reach of language education in the territory. Kwong's significance is examined through historical and comparative approaches, by tracing the development of his English-Chinese bilingual lexicons, released in 1868, 1875, and 1887 respectively, and by integrating Chinese and English lexicographical sources and archival materials surrounding his life and publications.

Recently the value of bilingual lexicons in revealing the language, culture, and society of late-Qing China has been widely explored, gathering interests in lexicographical genealogy, linguistic topology, language contact, and language education.[4] The existing scholarship gives balanced attention to both native Chinese and non-Chinese—mainly Anglo-American and European missionary—

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[2] See "The Chinese Commissioners: The Jolly Way in Which They Pass Their Time in Hartford," *New Haven Register*, 21 April 1879, no page number; and "Correspondence," *The London and China Telegraph*, 19 May 1879, p. 421. My search through the mid-nineteenth-century passengers' records in Public Record Office Victoria, Melbourne, has not identified Kwong's journeys, but revealed the migration of a large number of the Kwongs from Taishan. I must thank Mr Yi Li, a friend and resident in Melbourne, who generously helped me access the Victorian archives.

[3] For his education in Hong Kong, see Section 3. For a concise history of the CEM, see Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Stepping Forth into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872–81* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

[4] For an overview of the recent scholarship, see Zhang Meilan 張美蘭, "Qingmo minchu yuwai shuangyu jiaocaishi yu di'er yuyan de Hanyu xuexishi" 清末民初域外雙語教材史與第二語言的漢語學習史[History of extraterritorial bilingual textbooks and history of learning Chinese as second language during the late Qing and early ROC], *Guoji Hanyushi yanjiu* 國際漢語史研究 [International study of the Chinese language history] 1 (2023): 140–53; Uchida Keiichi 内田慶市, "Kindai chūgokujin hen teki ei kan jiten teki fukei" 近代中國人編的英漢字典的譜系 [Genealogy of English-Chinese dictionaries compiled by modern Chinese authors], *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū* 東アジア文化交涉研究 [Journal of East Asian cultural interaction studies] 6 (2013): 3–16; and Wang Ze-wei 王澤偉, "Zhong-Ying-Yin sanyu hebi de yuyan jiaocai: Ying-hua Xiannihuasi zaziwen

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lexicographers, but seldom examines the connections between these intellectual circles. The works of Kwong would serve as a good case for re-evaluating early native Chinese bilingual lexicographers. By interweaving historical and linguistic evidences, this paper argues that Kwong's lexicon series were consistently and fundamentally based in the Cantonese language, evincing that Cantonese was a valid medium through which English was systematically acquired. By arguing so, the paper challenges the existing views that the Chinese language in Kwong's lexicons tended toward standardized Mandarin *guanhua* as they evolved, and charts a wider context which explains its long evolution and widened circulation. To deliver this panoramic perspective, the paper is primarily based on synthesis of varied concurrent sources surrounding Kwong's lexicons; the discussion of representative language data in the lexicons will be of high selectivity.

Kwong's lexicons should first be introduced in comparison to pre-existing English-Chinese bilingual references from the early to mid-nineteenth century. These works were represented by the famed mega-volumes of Robert Morrison's (1782–1834) *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts*, published in Macau in 1815–1822, Samuel Wells Williams's (1812–1884) *An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect*, published also in Macau in 1844, Walter Henry Medhurst's (1796–1857) *English and Chinese Dictionary in Two Volumes*, published in 1847–1848 in Batavia and Shanghai, and Wilhelm Lobscheid's (1822–1893) *An English and Chinese Dictionary with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation*, published in 1866 in Hong Kong. These works were intended for learners of the Chinese language, so the Chinese-English section naturally preceded the English-Chinese section and far exceeded the latter in length. "Chinese" in these works was principally Mandarin *guanhua* in speech and Han Chinese script in writing. The philological depth suggested that these works were compiled to impart systematic knowledge about the Chinese language, tradition, and culture to readers of the same background as the authors'; they were not immediately useful to the Chinese learners of the English language.

(*Note 4— Continued*)

cangben kao yu jiazhi chonggu" 中英印三語合璧的語言教材——《英華仙尼華四雜字文》藏本考與價值重估 [A tri-lingual language vocabulary book: An investigation of *Ying Hua xiannihuasi zaziwen* and a re-evaluation of its value], *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 (Chinese studies) 42.2 (2024): 153–202. The cited works in section 2 are also important contributions along these lines.

Concurrently, there emerged bilingual lexicons catering to the learning needs of the Chinese population. Some survived long enough to present to us intriguing linguistic landscapes. *Chinese and English Vocabulary* 華英通用雜話 compiled by Robert Thom (1807–1846) between 1843 and 1844 exhibited a mixture of Mandarin and Cantonese vocabulary and pronunciation. Thom specifically discussed the phonetic resemblances between English, Mandarin, and *Qingwen* (清文, "Qing language") in his preface, and provided a list of Manchu syllables sonically comparable to high-frequency English syllables.[5] In the section on useful phrases for conversation, Thom exemplified dialogues between Mandarin-speaking government officials and English-speaking visitors, indicating that the gentry-class Mandarins had a primal place in his target readership.[6] The presence of Cantonese—the main spoken language of the region where Thom published this book—was minimal in the sample conversations.

Concurrently, a cluster of small pidgin vocabulary books for learning the "foreign tongue" (*fanhua* 番話) spoken by the "red-haired" (*Hongmao* 紅毛) was entirely Cantonese-based. These books were mainly produced in Canton and Hong Kong during the 1830s through 1870s, all deriving from the work titled "The Must-knows for Trading in the Foreign Tongue of the Red-haired" (*Hongmao fanhua maoyi xuzhi* 紅毛番話貿易須知) and spanning six to twelve double-sided sheets.[7]

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[5] Robert Thom, *Chinese and English Vocabulary* 華英通用雜話, Part 1 (Canton, 1843), access via https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=104042&page=12 (access: 5 March 2025).

[6] Ibid., on the pages from https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=104042&page=94 to https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=104042&page=103 (access: 5 March 2025).

[7] For an overview, see Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, "*Hongmao fanhua* suojie"《紅毛番話》索解 [Inquiry of the red-haired foreign tongue], *Guangdong shehui kexue* 廣東社會科學 [Social sciences in Guangdong] 4 (1998): 148–49; and Qiu Zhihong 邱志紅, "'Guihua' donglai: 'Hongmao fanhua' lei zaoqi Yingyu cihuishu kaoxi"「鬼話」東來：「紅毛番話」類早期英語詞彙書考析 ["Alien tongue" going eastward: An analysis of the early English lexicons about "the red-haired foreign tongue"], *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 [The Qing history journal] 2 (2017): 113–21. I consulted a digital copy of one of these works provided by Berlin State Library, at https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN334876310X&PHYSID=PHYS_0002&view=picture-download (access: 6 March 2025).

The reproductions indicate a lasting demand, which had been extending to overseas destinations, primarily motivated by gold rushes in this period.[8]

While the authorship of the red-haired-foreign-tongue vocabulary books remains opaque, we are sure that the first English-Chinese bilingual lexicons made by Cantonese natives emerged in the same period, during the 1850s and the 1860s. These Cantonese-made bilingual lexicons were different from the missionary dictionaries in design and focus. They were also significantly more structured and elaborate than the pidgin books, juxtaposing the English and Chinese scripts in a manner to exhibit lexical, phonetic, and cultural correspondences, and implying a method of systematic language learning. Most importantly, the lexicons were distinctive and consistent in their basis in written Cantonese, evidently intended for those who would acquire the English as new language through their first-language competence in Cantonese.

Among the earliest and still-available works of this sort are *Chinese-English Phrase Book* 華英通語 authored by Zi Qing 子卿 and Zi Fang 子芳 and published in Hong Kong in 1855,[9] and the voluminous production *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (or *The Chinese and English Instructor* 英語集全), published in Canton in 1862 by Tong Ting-kü 唐廷樞 (or Tang Tingshu, 1832–1892), the modernizing comprador and founder of Kaiping Mines from Xiangshan, Guangdong Province.[10] Kwong's first lexicon, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* 字典集成, followed closely in 1868. It was published by De Souza & Company in Hong Kong[11] under the name Kwong Tsün Fuk 鄺全福, which was the name used by Kwong Ki Chiu when he attended a government school in Hong Kong (see section 3).

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[8] Qiu Zhihong ("'Guihua' donglai") specifically discussed an edition of "The Must-knows" found in New Zealand, which Qiu believed was brought there and used by Cantonese immigrants in the 1870s.

[9] Zi Qing 子卿 and Zi Fang 子芳, *Chinese-English Phrase Book* 華英通語 (Sai Ying Pun, Hong Kong: unknown publisher, 1855). Accessible via ctext at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=95669 (access: 28 June 2024). The English title is taken from the later edition published by A. Roman & Company in San Francisco in 1867.

[10] Tong, Ting-kü 唐廷樞, *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (英語集全, *The Chinese and English Instructor*) (Canton: unknown publisher, 1862), 6 vols. Accessible via ctext at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=95648 (access: 28 June 2024).

[11] De Souza & Company Limited was a book printer, binder, stationer and account book and stamp manufacturer based in Shanghai. It was owned by P. C. Souza and

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The 1868 lexicon evolved into a slightly expanded edition in 1875 with the Chinese Printing and Publishing Company in Hong Kong and an immensely enriched edition in 1887, with international joint partnerships with Kelly & Walsh in Shanghai and Hong Kong, Trubner & Co. in London, and Wing Fung in San Francisco.[12] During that time, Kwong navigated important positions in Shanghai and Connecticut, U.S., to oversee all aspects of the CEM's operation, and joined the leadership of the reformist Liangguang Viceroy Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) as a diplomatic commissioner after his return to China following the termination of the CEM. Kwong's lexicographical project and his outbound experience appeared to be so synchronized, and the Cantonese orientation in his language and career choices so persistent, that a synthetic, diachronic analysis becomes mandatory. Such an integral view is largely missing in the existing studies, which relied on long-known sources and have yet to consider certain authentic data about Kwong, which became digitally available recently.

(*Note 11— Continued*)

J. S. Foreman, with Chinese staff. See "The Office of the North-China Herald. 1904 (January)," in *Desk Hong List; A General and Business Directory for Shanghai and the Northern and River Ports* (Shanghai: The Office of the *North-China Herald*, 1904), p. 26. The Hong Kong printing branch was in operation as early as 1865. See "In the Estate of De Souza & Co.," *The North-China Daily News (1864–1951)*, New Series, vol. 11, no. 294, p. 1. I am grateful for Prof. Benjamin Penny at the Australian National University for directing me to these sources.

12 The reprints I consulted are: Kwong Tsün Fuk, *An English and Chinese Lexicon, compiled in part from those of Morrison, Medhurst and Williams* 字典集成 (Hong Kong: De Souza Co., 1868); Kwong Ki Chiu, *An English and Chinese Dictionary, Compiled from Different Authors and Enlarged by the Addition of the Last Four Parts* 字典集成 (Hong Kong: The Chinese Printing and Publishing Company, 1875); and Kwong Ki Chiu, *An English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Latest and Best Authorities, and containing all words in common use, with many examples of their use* 華英字典集成 (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh; London: Trubner & Co.; Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh; San Francisco: Wing Fung, 1887). Below I will cite the short English titles of these lexicons with the year of publication. I am deeply thankful to State Library of New South Wales for digitizing the 1868 edition in their special collection for my view, and particularly the librarian Mr Ye Jiasong, for helping me access the physical copy of the rare book. More discussion on the particularities of this copy is in Section 4.

2. Known and New Sources

The existing studies on Kwong emerged around the late 1990s and the 2010s, presenting high inter-dependency. Scholars esteemed Uchida Keiichi's pioneering analysis of Kwong's lexicons and biographical sketch.[13] Uchida's sketch synthesized sources volunteered to him by Sam Wong, Kwong's fourth-generation descendant, and hence has been considered as highly credible and citable. Uchida's works were followed by Takata Tokio, who noted Kwong's unusual lexicographical productivity, and explored all existing copies of Kwong's English language textbooks to map their interconnectedness.[14] These Japanese sinologist recoveries established Kwong as one of the first Chinese bilingual lexicographers.

Uchida and Takata's studies were subsequently echoed by more detailed analyses on Kwong's work from the 2000s onwards. Gao Yongwei examined Kwong's *A Dictionary of English Phrases* with a focus on the structure the corpus and its international reception.[15] Si Jia analysed the composition and lexical peculiarities of Kwong's 1868 lexicon.[16] Collectively, the works of Uchida, Takata,

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[13] Respectively, these works are: Uchida Keiich, "Kwong Ki Chiu no '*Hana ei jiten shūsei*' womegutte" 鄺其照の『華英字典集成』をめぐって [About Kwong Ki Chiu's *An English and Chinese Dictionary*]. *Kansai Daigaku Chūgokubungakukai Kiyō* 関西大学中国文学会紀要 [The Kansai University Bulletin of Chinese studies] *19* (March 1998): 1–17; Uchida Keiichi, "Kwong Ki Chiu no genson kara no mēru" 鄺其照の玄孫からのメール [A mail from Kwong Ki Chiu's great-great-grandchild], *Wakumon* 或問 131, no. 19 (2010): 131–46.

[14] See Takata Tokio 高田時雄, "Kiyosue no eigogaku Manabu—Kwong Ki Chiu to sono chosaku" 清末の英語学——鄺其照とその著作 [The learning of the English language in the late Qing: Kwong Ki Chiu and his works], *Tōhōgaku* 東方学 [Eastern studies] 117 (January 2009): 1–17.

[15] See Gao Yongwei 高永偉, "Kwang Qizhao he ta de *Yingyu duanyu cidian*" 鄺其照和他的《英語短語詞典》[Kwong Ki Chiu and his *A Dictionary of English Phrases with Illustrative Sentences*], *Cishu yanjiu* 辭書研究 [Lexicographical studies] 3 (2005): 158–65.

[16] Si Jia司佳, "Kuang Qizhao yu 1868 nian Zidian jicheng chuban" 鄺其照與1868年《字典集成》初版 [Kwong Ki Chiu and the first edition of *English and Chinese Lexicon* published in 1868], *Guangdong shehui kexue* 1 (2013): 149–58.

Gao and Si constituted the main sources of Zou Zhenhuan's evaluation of Kwong's works in the history of Western learning in the late Qing era.[17]

These focused analyses were favourably cited in two panoramic studies, which used language books not as the centrepiece but as mutual verification to newly discovered American sources about Kwong. Bruce A. Chan, descendant of a CEM alumnus, reconstructed Kwong's interweaving life and career as lexicographer, journalist, language instructor, and the CEM's interpreter and guardian of the children that unfolded in his transpacific journeys. Chan's focus was on Kwong's expatriate years. In Chan's broke strokes, Kwong's resourcefulness in supporting pro-Chinese immigrant campaigns, his growing connections with the church and learned circles around Hartford, his active presence in local newspapers, and his American correspondences to key officials in China had achieved commendable social impact.[18] Concurrently, Sam Wong curated important periodical sources to complete a study on the long-lost newspaper *Guangbao*, founded and edited by Kwong, filling a significant gap in existing studies and putting a defining note on Kwong's nationalistic, progressive, and reformist ambitions.[19]

The scholarly interest in Kwong's lexicography did not renew until years later. It had been accepted for a long time that the Chinese-English dictionaries compiled by Morrison, Medhurst, and Williams were the sources of Kwong's first lexicon. A recent co-authored study, by sampling and comparing lexical entries in the 1868 lexicon to those in the three missionary dictionaries, reached the conclusion that the their influences on Kwong was less than that of Wilhelm Lobscheid's (1822–1893) *An English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* (1866–1869, Hong Kong).[20] The fact that Lobscheid and

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[17] Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, "Wanqing xixue dongjian shi shang de Kuang Qizhao" 晚清西學東漸史上的鄺其照 [Kwong Ki-chiu and the dissemination of Western learning in late Qing], *Studies in Translation History* 翻譯史研究 (2013): 208–46.

[18] Bruce A. Chan, "A Forgotten Qing Era Progressive: Kwong Ki Chiu—Lexicographer, Interpreter, Textbook Author, Newspaper Publisher," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 53 (2013): 227–61.

[19] Sam Wong and Valerie Wong, "The Role of the *Guangbao* in Promoting Nationalism and Transmitting Reform Ideas in Late Qing China," *Modern Asian Studies* 51:5 (August 2017): 1469–518.

[20] See Li Rui, Chun Zhang, and Hai Xu, "A Genealogical Study of Kuang Qizhao's *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868)," *International of Journal of Lexicography* 35 (2022): 491–508.

Kwong were both in Hong Kong and connected to British Hong Kong central education circle in the mid- to late 1860s makes the influence very probable.[21]

Although not much has been said about the sources of Kwong's second lexicon in 1875, scholars generally agreed the English-Chinese portion remained largely the same as that in the first lexicon, while the major revision was done to enlarge the Chinese-English classified glossary and to include an information sheet on land and sea routes among major port cities in the world, and a comparative chronology of China and Western history.[22] The addition could have come from any public information of no lexicographical relevance.

The current scholarship has yet to explain the lavish enlargement of the 1887 edition. In my search, new evidence suggests that the English-Chinese section was sourced from *Webster's Complete Dictionary of The English Language* (1864), also known as *The Unabridged* edition. The supportive materials come from a series of letters Kwong wrote from his address at Hartford, Connecticut, where the CEM headquarters resided, to G. & C. Merriam Company, the publisher in Springfield, Massachusetts, in the second half of 1879. In these letters, Kwong requested copies of *The Unabridged* and permission to adapt some of its entries to his upcoming release. "I wish to use your *Webster's Dictionary* as a basis of my vocabulary and definitions," Kwong wrote to the representatives of George and Charles Merriam on 5 August 1879, "copying from your book with such omissions of words and abbreviations in the definitions as the nature and limits of my work require." By "limits" here, Kwong would mean the page layout, where the English and Chinese contents are printed side-by-side. Kwong promised to acknowledge the usage in the preface of the new dictionary.[23]

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[21] Kwong was studying at the first government school in Hong Kong, see biographical sketch in Section 3. Lobschied was the Government School Supervisor, see Wong Tsz, "Decoding the Translations of Political Terms in the Nineteenth-Century Chinese-English Dictionaries—Lobscheid and His Chinese-English Dictionary," *Comparative Literature: East & West* 1 (2017): 204–15, for an overview.

[22] See Takata, "The Learning of the English Language in the Late Qing," pp. 8–9; and Si, "Kwong Ki Chiu and the First Edition of English and Chinese Lexicon Published in 1868," pp. 152–53.

[23] See Correspondence dated 5 August 1879, GEN MSS 370, Box 12, Folder 192. G. & C. Merriam Company Archive. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The full transcription is appended to this article.

On 8 August 1879, Kwong extended the request again, reassuring that a proper acknowledgment would be made.[24] From August to November 1879, in several rounds of negotiations, concerns about market competition were raised and resolved, resulting in Kwong's consent to limit sales of his second edition to American "Chinese stores" and "Chinamen," whose presence was mainly in San Francisco and sparsely in New Orleans and Newark. Additionally, Kwong would also price the third edition highly—nearly doubling the price of the first and second—"to prevent anyone from buying it simply for the purpose of getting a cheap English Dictionary."[25] Kwong convinced G. & C. Merriam Co. that if his dictionary sold well, it would help Chinese learners to acquire basic English. Consequently, the demand for Webster's Complete Dictionary—a reference book for advanced learners—would only rise, not drop.[26] In his eloquent, purposeful writing, Kwong smoothed out the difficulties in their negotiation and projected a win-win outcome for the counterpart, for his lexicons to remain active and impact wider Chinese communities. Kwong's strategy in expanding the content and outreach of native-made Cantonese-based English language learning materials was unprecedented among previous lexicographers.

As their letters unfolded, a mutual agreement was achieved on giving G. & C. Merriam Co. a copyright fee;[27] a formal contract was proposed, revised, and possibly signed.[28] The signature was only probable, because, in the letter dated 8 December 1879, which was the sixth and the last available correspondence between Kwong and G. & C. Merriam Co. on the matter of copyright, Kwong wrote, "Your favour of the 6th instant, including the executed contract and receipt, has come to hand. Please accept my sincere thanks,"[29] but the said acknowledgment was not in the preface to the 1887 lexicon dated 24 November 1882.[30] A separate

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[24] See Correspondence dated 5 August 1879, GEN MSS 370, Box 12, Folder 192. G. & C. Merriam Company Archive. General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The full transcription is appended to the paper.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., Correspondences dated 1, 8, 14, and 26 November 1879.

[28] Ibid., Correspondences dated 4 and 8 December 1879.

[29] Ibid., Correspondence dated 8 December 1879.

[30] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary*, pp. 3–4.

lexical analysis is required to measure the extent to which *The Unabridged* served as a source to Kwong, but judging from the enthusiastic requests for legal use of *The Unabridged*, one expects that Kwong was positively influenced by the lexicographic classic. More importantly, with the recovery of Kwong's correspondences to G. & C. Merriam Co., and many other new archival sources to be treated below, it is pressingly necessary to configure Kwong, the lexicographer who actively sought new sources and personnel to elevate his works, as being at the nexus of an expanding interpersonal and textual network of that encompassed at least two languages, and crossed multiple borders from China to the U.S. as he produced the lexicons alongside his official mission.

The recovery of evidence that Kwong had reached *The Unabridged* offers a new perspective in re-evaluating the evolution of his lexicon series. Prior analyses were unified in saying his series was characterized by vocabulary expansion and a shift towards commercial utility, alongside a weakened use of written Cantonese and an increased inclination towards the official Mandarin *guanhua*, suggesting a gradual assimilation. The language turn in Kwong's lexicons seemed consistent with his advancement in official ranking as a Qing diplomat in the two decades between the first lexicon in 1868 and the final in 1887.[31] This view now verges on an overgeneralizing reduction of Kwong's ambitions. By bridging his new edition with the most trusted English dictionary in America and by engaging in negotiations with G. & C. Merriam Co. as a business equal, Kwong was seeking the best possible resources and connections for not only enriching the lexicon but also finding a sure footing to expand readership and influence the American Chinese market. It is indisputable that the American Chinese communities at that time were predominantly Cantonese-speaking communities from Guangdong Province.[32] Kwong was certain that the frontier reception of the third edition

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[31] Si, "Kwong Ki Chiu and the First Edition of English and Chinese Lexicon Published in 1868," p. 157.

[32] The Cantonese migration was particularly significant during the California Gold Rush in the mid-nineteenth century and later for labour opportunities, especially in railway construction. This finds proof in the U.S. Census data and historical records of the regional backgrounds of the nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants and established studies on early Chinese and Asian Americans, such as Ronald Takaki, *Strangers*

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would be among the Cantonese in America. The presumption in existing studies about Kwong's turn towards written Mandarin *guanhua* in the 1887 edition, then, would deserve a nuanced reconsideration. In what follows, my view that Kwong's bilingual lexicons—reflections of his mental language—were Cantonese-based is rooted firstly in the exploration of his early paths to bilingualism, and secondly in the analysis of the Cantonese undertone revealed in a selection of lexical entries.

3. Early Paths to Bilingualism

As recycled in existing biographical sources, Kwong did not receive a formal Chinese classical-styled education, except that he was instructed to memorize the *Three-Character Classic* (*Sanzijing* 三字經) at a young age and took loosely organized Chinese lessons when he attended school in Hong Kong. The fifth child of his family, Kwong, joined his eldest brother, Kwong Ki On 鄺其安, in running a fabric store on the south shore of the Pearl River at the age of fifteen, exporting silk, linen, and camel hair. In the family business, he developed an interest in the English language and a habit of self-learning through reading newspapers; he was particularly vigorous in contemplating pronunciation and high-frequency words. A kind and helpful young man, Kwong was often gifted by his customers English-language newspapers, magazines, and, at one time, a Bible.[33]

According to his interview at Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley in 1883, Kwong then studied at "the English Government School of Hong Kong."[34] His years of study were unspecified, but between Kwong's

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(*Note 32— Continued*)

from A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1989); Lai Him Mark, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2004); and Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[33] Uchida, "Kwong Ki Chiu no genson kara no mēru," pp. 134–46.

[34] Kwang Ki-Chao (Kwong Ki Chiu), "The Chinese in America." Manuscript, Online Archive of California, https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030hb9h4nb3bg/?order=5&brand=oac4 (access: 25 February 2025), p. 1. This interview took place on his way back to China two years after the closure of the CEM.

teenage years and his departure for Shanghai to assume an official position in 1872, the most likely school where he received his education was the Hong Kong Government Central School for Boys established in 1862. The school was named Victoria College in 1890 and became what we have known today as Queen's College in 1894.

Kwong's enrolment at the Central School was verified by both his own biographical account in the aforementioned interview, and his contribution as one of the "old Chinese Pupils of the Government Central School, Hong Kong" in 1878 to The Stewart Memorial Cup, a trophy presented to Frederick Stewart (1839–1889), Head Master and Inspector of Government Schools. Kwong appeared as "Kwong Tsün Fuk" (鄺全福) in the list of the second cohort of intake or graduates.[35] Kwong was at Central School sometime between 1863 and 1872, by which time he should have been in his late teens to late twenties. His first lexicon was completed during this time.

Looking into Central School's early history, one would be underwhelmed by its language curriculum management and would thus respect Kwong's amateur lexicographical achievements. The school set out to educate local Cantonese young men into aspiring civil servants of British Hong Kong, equipping them with near-native English proficiency as well as above-average classical Chinese competence. This had been an over-expectation at the school's initial stage, even with direct government subsidy and supervision. Many of the students and teachers were locals in Hong Kong and Guangdong, who previously studied or taught in private home-schools. These members were usually occupied by seasonal work at home, such as fishing and farming, which inevitably interrupted school time. Attention was brought to the Master that Chinese students often skip lessons to attend to domestic chores.[36]

That the school was not the centre of the student's daily life and that over 90 percent of the students were Chinese natives who lacked elementary literacy in the English language resulted in great challenges in delivering a quality English curriculum. English learning was first set to occupy five hours a day, followed by three hours of Chinese. The teaching plan was revised to four hours

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[35] Gwenneth Stokes and John Stokes, *Queen's College: Its History 1862–1987* (Hong Kong: Queen's College Old Boys' Association, 1987), pp. 20–21.

[36] Ibid.

a day for English, followed by the same number of hours devoted to Chinese. The reallocation of teaching hours did not seem to help students learn either of the languages, especially in speaking. In a speech contest held in 1864, to the disappointment of the schoolmaster, only five percent of the boys could speak English fluently enough to be qualified. British media in Hong Kong criticized the school for failing to live up to public expectations. It was not the only school that fell short; other first-generation Westernized schools in Hong Kong, such as St. Joseph's College, St. Paul's College, and Ying Wa College, also "had little success at first."[37]

In this context, Kwong's keen interest in the sounds of the English language was unusual; so was his first attempt at lexicography. His decent efficiency in writing, as seen in the letters with G. & C. Merriam Co., had to be an outcome of his rigorous self-learning. The persistent audible Cantonese element in the three lexicons should thus be understood as an emblem of his learning paths. The Cantonese undertone will be given a closer look through a vertically comparative reading of the language data in the three lexicons and a comparison with other contemporary native-made bilingual dictionaries.

4. The Cantonese Undertone

In Kwong's first lexicon in 1868, the word "集成" (literally "collect to complete") in the title spoke for the composition of the three-part work. The first part, taking up the majority of the work, was a collection of around 8,000 English words arranged alphabetically, each of which was put in parallel to its Chinese lexical equivalent. Sentence examples followed some lexical entries. As verified by prior studies, the totality of the vocabulary was the assemblage of Morrison's, Medhurst's, Williams's, and Lobscheid's English-Chinese dictionaries. The written "Chinese" in the lexical equivalents was a mixture of Mandarin guanhua and Cantonese, while the sentences to illustrate usage were usually intended to be read in Cantonese. For example, "Mean, to" was explained as "欲, 想", and provided with the sentence example, "what do you mean to do? 爾想做乜野呢".[38] Although

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[37] Gwenneth Stokes and John Stokes, *Queen's College: Its History 1862–1987*, pp. 11 and 20–21.

[38] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), p.183.

the personal pronoun 爾 (ěr, or ji3, "you")[39] was used in both written Mandarin and Cantonese, the character cluster 乜野 (mat1 je5, literally "what thing"), was undoubtedly a vernacular oral Cantonese expression. The entry "Mean, to" remained in the 1875 edition, and the example sentence was preceded by an additional one "I don't mean you. 我嘅意思唔係話你".[40] The possessive particle 嘅 (ge3) is a natural vernacular Cantonese equivalent to the Mandarin function word 的 (de).

In the 1887 edition, this entry became less marked as vernacular Cantonese. The lexical equivalents were expanded into "Mean, to 欲, 想, 有意, 意係," in which the character "係" ("be") was the only obviously Cantonese element. The examples were revised into more literary and classical phrasing, as in "I don't mean you 我之意思非論及汝" and "what do you mean to do? 汝欲幹甚麼事."[41] The personal pronouns 汝 (rǔ, or jyu5) and function words 之 (zhī, or zi1) an 非 (fēi, or fei1) were more often used in formal written Chinese than in speech. The shift towards literariness did not suggest a removal of the Cantonese presence but a general elevation of the register of the lexicon, which turned Cantonese into an implicit undertone. The presence of vernacular Cantonese could still be discerned in entries in the 1887 edition, such as the declarative "係順風" (hai6 seon6 fung1) as the equivalent to "The wind sits fair,"[42] the verb-object phrase "擺檯"

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[39] In this paper, Chinese characters which I consider to be historically intended to be pronounced in Mandarin in a given lexicon are romanized in the standard Chinese Phonetic Alphabet, or *Hanyu Pinyin*. The syllables with tonal marks (ˉ/ˇ\) differentiate themselves from those in the Cantonese *Jyutping*. Chinese characters which I consider to be historically intended to be pronounced in Cantonese are spelled in *Jyutping*, the Cantonese romanization scheme developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. I am aware that romanized spellings in this paper only approximate—not accurately represent—the sounds in late-nineteenth-century China. In the cases where the issue of pronunciation is not relevant to the argumentation, I do not provide romanization.

[40] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1875), p. 205. The Cantonese sentence 我嘅意思唔係話你 (ngo5 ge3 ji3 si1 m4 hai6 waa6 nei5) is ambiguous, depending on what "話" (wa6) means. It could mean, "What I mean to say is not about you" or "What I mean to say is not to blame you." Either way, it seems compatible with the English original.

[41] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), p. 207.

[42] Ibid., p. 337.

(baai2 toi2) as the equivalent to "to set the table,"[43] and verb-complement phrase "溫到軟" (au3 dou3 jyun5) to "to soak till soft," on the page of which there was also the noun "番鹼" (faan1 gaan2) to "soap."[44] None of these were commonly used terms in written or spoken Mandarin and had to be taken as evidence of the Cantonese ambiance.

The second part of the 1868 edition, titled "Miscellaneous Words" (雜字), was a Chinese-English glossary with fifty categories. Some of the categories introduced vocabulary for communicating general knowledge in natural sciences, such as astronomy, geography, and biology; some itemized important objects and phenomena in household life, farming, business, trade, transportation, and governance; and others were specialized terminology in law and medicine. The geographical word list started with a full page of place names in Canton, Macau, and Hong Kong, an indicator of not only the lexicographer's footprints but also his intended readership.[45] The transliterations of the place names of overseas ports were in Cantonese.[46] Among this category was the still-in-use transliteration "雪梨" (syut3 lei4) of "Sydney" of Australia, which came to the Cantonese's attention mainly because of the gold rushes in the 1850s. It was followed by "乞力埠" (hat1 lik6 fau6), referring to "Adelaide," with the character "埠" (fau6) meaning "port" and not serving as a representation of a sound.[47] If pronounced in Mandarin as "xuě lí" or "qǐ lì bù," these transliterations would not work at all. The section of miscellaneous glossary in the two later editions had gone through title change and expansion in length and elaborateness, but the Cantonese nature remained audible through the print.

The third and thinnest part of the 1868 lexicon, titled "Chinese-English Phrases" (華英句語), was a collection of useful English utterances for various occasions ranging from home living, outings, dining, private business negotiations, and trade-related formal communications. In print, each English expression followed its Chinese counterpart. Questions as simple as "What is that?" were constantly

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43 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), p. 326.

44 Ibid., p. 344.

45 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), p. 2 of "Miscellaneous Words," which followed p. 326 of the English-Chinese vocabulary.

46 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), pp. 4–6 of "Miscellaneous Words."

47 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), p. 5.

included in this section. The renditions changed slightly over the first two editions, from "個的係乜野" (go3 dik1 hai6 mat1 je5) to "個的係乜野呢" (go3 dik1 hai6 mat1 je5 ne1), with an additional end-of-sentence inquisitive interjection "呢."[48] It turned into "此是甚麼物件" (ci2 si6 sam6 mo1 mat6 gin2), a more formal utterance intelligible to non-Cantonese speakers in the 1887 edition, indicating the same shift towards literariness as observed in the English-Chinese dictionary part, which reduced the Cantonese orality in print but did not erase its general presence.

Appended sections containing glossaries and useful sentences were not commonly seen in the early missionary dictionaries. Such an organization was more likely modelling upon the *Chinese-English Phrase Book* 華英通語 (1855) and *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (英語集全, *The Chinese and English Instructor*, 1862). The structural similarity among the three lexicons suggests a strong likelihood of internal influences within the geo-cultural circle encompassing Canton and Hong Kong. The earlier Cantonese-made bilingual lexicons would then be a type of under-recognized source of Kwong's.

A comparison would reveal the key areas where Kwong's first lexicon echoed or departed from the two prior works. The first area concerns pidginization. In the 1855 *Chinese-English Phrase Book*, the major section was a Chinese-English essential word list, arranged first by the semantic category and secondly by the number of Chinese characters. The longest lexical entry did not exceed four characters. Each lexical entry was provided with its English equivalent, and a transliteration of the English equivalent into Cantonese pronunciation, verbalized as written Cantonese. For example, the lexical entry "面" was annotated with the English word "face," followed by the pidginizing pronunciation in "啡時" (fe1 si4). On the same page, the entry "瞳人" was provided with "The pupil of the eye," with the pidginization "的表庇兒柯父地埃" (dik1 biu2 bei3 ji4 o1 fu6 dei6 aai1), in which the small fonts in print indicated a hastened and softened pronunciation to imitate the lateral consonant /l/ and the voiceless consonant /f/ in this phrase.[49] The use of font sizes to instruct on pronunciation

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[48] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1875), p. 33 of the section "Miscellaneous Sentences."

[49] Zi Qing and Zi Fang, *Chinese-English Phrase Book*, vol. 1, non-paginated, via https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144441&page=186 (access: 7 March 2025).

was explained in the preface, in which the lexicographers reminded the learners that the multi-syllabic nature of the English language would not be easily acquired, and would require mindful efforts.[50] The word list was preceded by a two-page English alphabet, and followed by a conversation section that listed simple questions and answers for daily dialogues, both fully pidginized. For example, for a typical bargaining situation, the question "你能減的價錢嚟?" was neatly translated as "Can you lower the price?" and pidginized as 奸夭撈丫啲巴嚟士 (gaan1 jiu1 lou1 aa1 di1 baa1 lei4 si6).[51]

Tong Ting-kü's *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* in 1862 adopted pidginization with greater linguistic rigor. The work commenced with an overview of English phonology, followed by a letter-to-sound chart aiding Cantonese learners in the pronunciation of English letters in spoken Cantonese. Additionally, the work elucidated a set of phonetic rules and showcased the alphabet in both capitalized and uncapitalized forms, presented in uncial and cursive scripts.[52]

Tong was clear about his primary audience, as he noted in the preface, "It is written by the author, a native of Canton province, in the Canton dialect, chiefly to suit the Canton people who have transactions, or are connected, with foreigners."[53] Regarding the possibility of extending influence, Tong explained for himself as well as for *Chinese-English Phrase Book*:

> The words are first given in Chinese; then, the pronunciation of each word, written in English; then, the meaning of those words in the English language; and lastly, the pronunciation of the English words written in Chinese, so that the book is not only useful for Chinese to learn English, but at the same time it will enable foreigners to learn Chinese.[54]

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[50] Zi Qing and Zi Fang, *Chinese-English Phrase Book*, vol. 1, non-paginated, via https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144441&page=16 (access: 7 March 2025).

[51] Ibid., vol. 2, https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144442&page=128 (access: 7 March 2025).

[52] Tong, *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (1862), vol. 1, front pages, non-paginated, via Chinese Text Project at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144157&by_title=%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E%E9%9B%86%E5%85%A8&page=43 (access: 7 March 2025).

[53] Tong, *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (1862), vol. 1, preface in English, non-paginated, via Chinese Text Project at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144157&by_title=%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E%E9%9B%86%E5%85%A8&page=8 (access: 7 March 2025).

[54] Ibid.

Most certainly, by "Chinese," Tong meant Cantonese speech and the Han Chinese script that would represent this spoken language word for word. Throughout the book, Tong demonstrated the feasibility of coding all English sounds in written Cantonese through indexing a wider variety of vocabulary than that in *Chinese-English Phrase Book*. The widened breath was marked by an impressive number of adjectives. For example, under the category of 人 ("human-being," pidginized as 僥文鼻煙 [hiu1 man4 bei6 jin1], romanized as "Yan" by Tong), there was an expected array of derivatives to refer to different gender, age, ethnicity, and nationality, but there were also fine characterizations such as 柔軟人 ("delicate man," 爹利溪地文 [de1 lei6 kai1 dei6 man4], romanized as "yau yuen yan"), 大火氣人 ("bad-tempered man," 喇甜把文 [baat3 tim4 baa2 man4], "tai foh hé yan"), 滋事人 ("troublesome man," 地笠布厘岑文 [dei6 lap1 bou3 lei4 sam4 man4], "Ghee sey yan"), and 悖禮人 ("saucy man," 梳細文 [so1 sai3 man4], "poot lae yan").[55]

Tong's complex annotative system evinced the expressive capacity of Cantonese sounds and scripts when representing the English language, though it could be a significant challenge for readers to learn the system before accessing the foreign language. Tong made a special note on why he would compile the book this way, and why Cantonese should be the best medium through which the Chinese could learn English. "Canton has over a hundred years of history in foreign trade, and the eastern part of Canton is home to the largest number of traders in the whole China," he wrote, "so if one acquires the English language through a careful matching of the sound of English to that of Cantonese, and be specific to every sound of every character, one would learn a more accurate English pronunciation."[56] *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* did not seem to circulate widely. Most likely, the historical reception was unenthusiastic, not only because of the effort required from the reader but also because the lexicon was published as a six-volume thread-bound hard-cover book set in fine—hence pricey—materials.

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[55] Tong, *Ying Ü Tsap T'sün* (1862), vol. 1, preface in English, non-paginated, via Chinese Text Project at https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144157&page=161&by_title=%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E%E9%9B%86%E5%85%A8 (access: 7 March 2025).

[56] Ibid., from https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144157&by_title=%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E%E9%9B%86%E5%85%A8&page=31 to https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=144157&by_title=%E8%8B%B1%E8%AA%9E%E9%9B%86%E5%85%A8&page=32 (access: 7 March 2025).

As the comparison shows, the basis in Cantonese in the earlier native-made bilingual lexicons was not lost in Kwong's first lexicon, but he opted out of pidginization, albeit with some fluctuations. Kwong's first lexicon mobilized two writing systems only, requiring no prior knowledge of the English phonetics and sparing the readers' efforts on working through the pidginizations, while maintaining a similarly wide coverage of everyday vocabulary and a consistent specialization on commerce and trade—key characteristics shared among native-made bilingual lexicons at that time.

The second area that distinguished Kwong's first lexicon from its contemporary works was the attention given to Mandarin *guanhua*. As seen from the above analysis, while Kwong often equated the language of Chinese in his lexicons as the language of "華," the actual speech and script were Cantonese-based. In the first lexicon, Kwong was apparently aware of the need to address the key differences between these two language varieties. In a four-page Cantonese-*guanhua* lexical list preluding the conversation section "Chinese-English phrases," Kwong explained that this insertion was necessary because "the conversations that follow are primarily in the vernacular vocabulary used in the eastern part of Canton region, which may not be comprehensible to readers from other provinces."[57] The list comprised of language variants of 1) names of objects, such as "魚春" in Cantonese versus "魚之子" in Mandarin, both meaning "fish roe," and "價勢" in Cantonese versus "華麗" in Mandarin, both meaning "extravagant(ly)"; 2) function words, such as connectives (e.g., "同埋" in Cantonese versus "一齊" in Mandarin, meaning "and" or "together" respectively), and pronouns (e.g., "呢處" versus "此處", meaning "here," and "乜野" versus "何物" or "什麼東西", meaning "what"). Kwong also thoughtfully included end-of-sentence interjections that only worked in Cantonese, such as 咯 (lo3) and 喇 (laa3), both of which carried affirmative connotation and were ubiquitous in the section of Chinese-English conversation that followed. Kwong also categorized the Cantonese-*guanhua* comparable entries for convenient reference. Kwong's treatment showed his focus on the Cantonese audience, his awareness of the language landscape around him, and his preparedness in securing the potential to extend beyond the Cantonese-speaking communities, but without the intent to replace written Cantonese with

[57] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), unpaginated page following p. 66, the last page of Chinese-English categorized glossary.

guanhua. This was consistent with the Cantonese undertone running beneath his evolving series. As the written Cantonese became more formal and literary in the later editions and hence increasingly approximated the written form of Mandarin *guanhua*, this useful comparison was removed. By the time the third edition was copyrighted in 1882, Kwong had become a known personality of Cantonese origin and connections, and soon his dictionaries and English textbooks were advertised as productions of "Kuang Rongjie from Lingnan" (嶺南鄺蓉階), of which the Cantonese association was obvious.[58]

The third area that differentiated Kwong's production from pre-existing works was in terms of physical accessibility. The first edition was printed on 19.5 cm × 12.5 cm pages, and amounted to 400-odd pages in total, much more portable than the earlier voluminous dictionaries produced by the missionary and local lexicographers. Most likely due to its handiness, there was evidence of actual travel and usage of the first lexicon as well. The original copy of the 1868 lexicon held at the State Library of New South Wales, Australia, exhibits signs of being burnt through the first seven pages, and handwritten corrections on some unidiomatic English sentences in the conversation part. The copy seemed to have been purchased in 1870—two years after it was released—and arrived in Australia in 1871.[59]

Kwong's first lexicon prompted good sales, and subsequently the release of a new and enlarged edition. While travelling between dropping off the third batch of CEM students at Hartford and picking up the fourth batch in Shanghai, Kwong produced the 1875 edition. He also adopted a new English title—*An English and Chinese Dictionary*—while the Chinese title remained unchanged. He inserted

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[58] "Translator Returns to China" 繙譯回華, *Shenbao* 申報, 15 May 1883, p. 3. Rongjie 蓉階 was the style name Kwong adopted after he assumed official positions.

[59] For the diminishing burns, see pp. 1–7 in the English-Chinese vocabulary section; for the reader's corrections, see pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 13 in the conversation section. These are unique marks in the copy held by the NSW State Library. The handwritings on the front cover "Wong a Ching 15th June 1870 Hong Kong" and on the back cover "15th July 1871" are similar to those of the corrections made in pencil. The reasonable guess is that they were left there by the owner of this copy. The hypothesis about the time of purchase and arrival in Australia was the librarians', which I found very probable.

a sizeable addition of 4,000 words to the categorized glossary and humbly retitled it as "雜字撮要" or "The Most important words selected from Miscellaneous topics." He also enriched the collection of useful sentences, and added writing samples for business letters, formal correspondence and legal documents, a comparable Chinese and English calendar, and a section on tariff regulations. The original conversation section was expanded as well, and retitled as "語言文字合璧" or "Words, sentences, notes, bills, letters, petitions & c."

Somewhat intriguingly, in the assorted Chinese-English glossaries in the 1875 edition, Kwong introduced more *guanhua* terms and pidginization. Taking the paper's recurrent phrase "the pupil of the eye" for example. Kwong included the entry "瞳人" in the 1868 categorized glossaries,[60] while in 1875, he revised the entry into "眼珠, 瞳人,"[61] offering the Chinese concept in both *guanhua* and Cantonese, a gesture to cater to a wider readership. He provided "The iris of the eye or the pupil of the eye" as the English equivalent, and the pidginized pronunciations in Cantonese as "地 埃厘士 阿符 哋 埃，又曰，地 漂丕兒 阿符 哋 埃," (dei6 aai1 lei4 si6 aa3 fu4 dei6 aai1, jau6 joek6, dei6 piu1 pei1 ji4 aa3 fu4 dei6 aai1), with blank spaces carefully added after the transliteration of each word to codify a lexical-level correspondence.

Kwong's adoption of pidginization became a source of criticism. The 1875 edition was ambiguously reviewed in *North-China Daily News* in the year it came out.[62] The main critique was precisely about the part of Chinese-English glossaries. The reviewer noticed that "English sounds are given by Chinese characters," which were supposed to be pronounced in "the Canton dialect." The reviewer gave two examples: "天 Sky," represented by "士佳 Sz'kai," and "海關查可人 Tide Surveyor," represented by "低咽沙威亞 Tiate sa wei-ah."[63] The reviewer, in consideration of the overload of Chinese characters on the pages, said the book was "chiefly designed" and "well adapted" to the Chinese learners of the English language,

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60 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), p. 59.

61 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1875), p. 140.

62 See review columns in *The North-China Daily News*, 7 October 1875, New Series, vol. XVL, no. 3488, p. 339.

63 Ibid.

but "useless to the foreign student of the Chinese language."[64] The review also considered the appendices in the section "Words, sentences, notes, bills, letters, petitions & c." as too long and miscellaneous for a lexicon, as something "not elsewhere to be met with,"[65] a comment not to be taken as positive as they appeared. Nonetheless, the 1875 edition's popularity among Chinese users had gone up. In 1879, Shanghai publisher Dianshizhai 點石齋 reproduced it into a pocket-size collectible. In 1881, it was translated into Japanese by Nagamine Hideki 永峰秀樹 (1848–1927) and found new readership in East Asia.[66] We do not and may not have to know the reasons for Kwong's decision with pidginization in this edition, as it would soon be removed in the third edition in 1887, suggesting that Kwong did not consider this an ideal learning method after all.

It is possible that Kwong had read the sharp review in *North-China Daily News*. My clues came in the 1887 edition, which showed drastic modifications. Titled *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (華英字典集成), the third edition spanned 819 pages, more than twice the length of the previous edition. Introducing this expanded work, Kwong recalled that the 1868 lexicon had resulted in "unexpectedly large circulation," which showed "the public need and appreciation for such a work."[67] He also acknowledged that his work would be "more serviceable to Chinese students of English," which accorded with the diagnosis made in the 1875 review. The third edition was explicitly in service of "this class," irrevocably the Chinese learners of English.[68] In light of his renewed articulation of the intended readership, Kwong's removal of the Cantonese pidginization can be interpreted as a decision to return to the initial simplicity and to re-focalize higher-level Chinese learners. The de-pidginization can also be read as a response to the critique in the review, and a gesture to appeal to international knowledgeable communities.

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64 See review columns in *The North-China Daily News*, 7 October 1875, New Series, vol. XVL, no. 3488, p. 339.

65 Ibid.

66 See Takata, "Kiyosue no eigogaku—Kwong Ki Chiu to sono chosaku," pp. 9–10.

67 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), preface, unpaginated.

68 Ibid.

The removal of the pidginization in written Cantonese did not suggest that the auditory and oral aspects of English language learning were discounted. Kwong's 1887 edition had its way of emphasizing the centrality of good pronunciation. Kwong noted in the preface that one significant enrichment in the new edition was that "the classification of the words themselves has been made more minute and accurate."[69] One main cluster of words that he added to the lexicon was language-related vocabulary, especially those involving sounds. Entries such as "consonant 無音之字母"[70] and "vowel 自音之字母"[71] were new additions; specialized phonetic terms such as "linguadental 位於舌與齒的音"[72] came with refined definitions, compared to "linguadental 半舌半齒" in 1868 edition[73] and "linguadental半舌半齒的音" in the 1875 edition.[74] The new definition of "linguadental" showed an affinity to that in the unabridged edition of Webster's Dictionary, which Kwong consulted for the third edition.[75] Webster's definition of "linguadental," which stated "an articulation pronounced by aid or use of tongue and teeth,"[76] placed an emphasis on the position and manner of sound production, which was not found in other known English or Chinese sources of Kwong's.

The conversation section in the 1887 edition also showed an emphasis on the audible and vocal elements of language learning. For a stark example, in the imaginary scenario of introducing a boy to a school teacher, most probably in reminiscence of the CEM experience, Kwong suggested these sentences as essential:

此童子若何 How is this child?
他甚聰明 He is very clever.

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69 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), preface, unpaginated.

70 Ibid., p. 76.

71 Ibid., p. 432.

72 Ibid., p. 197. Though more commonly spelt as "linguodental" nowadays, Kwong did use "linguadental."

73 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Lexicon* (1868), p. 174.

74 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1875), p. 196.

75 See Kwong's letter to G. & C. Merriam Company to request an authorized adaptation of selective entries in the Webster's *Unabridged*, dated 5 August 1879. The full transcript in available in the Appendix.

76 Chauncey A. D. Goodrich and Noah Porter, eds., *Webster's Complete Dictionary of The English Language*, 1864, p. 777.

口音甚佳 His pronunciation is good.
他甚專志讀書 He is attentive to his studies.
及大有進益 And made great progress in study.
他又好記性 He also has a good memory.
他係勤儉幼童 He is a diligent and economical boy.[77]

As seen, one's good pronunciation and accent were valued as highly as one's inner temperamental qualities, such as one's gift, dedication, and frugality. It may be useful to note that when being interviewed at Bancroft Library, Kwong voluntarily showcased his latest completed textbooks to the interviewers, including an English reader and a series of conversation books. He mentioned particularly that "each word is accented, you see,"[78] by which he meant underlining stressed syllables. These instances spoke for Kwong's consistent awareness of the importance of fine pronunciation from a young age. The above-cited segment was also typical of the 1887 edition's increased formality and literariness in written Cantonese, which became more compatible with written Mandarin *guanhua* readers. This would be a sign of readership growth beyond the Cantonese communities. The extended reach of the third lexicon was inseparable from the widened breadth of the content as well as the expansion of Kwong's social network, which came with his bilingual competence.

5. Widening Network and Mission

The expanding audience that Kwong addressed with his decisions with (de) pidginization, elevating the register of the written Cantonese and content enrichment seemed to have synced with his growing network as he navigated important official positions. Scanning the 1887 edition, we would see those appendices once considered by the *North-China Daily News* review to be too voluminous were lavishly expanded. The Chinese-English part encompassed an "enlarged and improved" collection of "miscellaneous terms," "miscellaneous sentences," "forms of letters, notes, and petitions," "a table of distances," "the tariff

[77] Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), p. 619.
[78] Kwang, "The Chinese in America," p. 2.

of imports and exports of China," "the latest improvement on the commercial treaty between China and foreign countries," and "historical Sketch of the Chinese Dynasties, in which the dates are harmonized with the Christian chronology."[79] The bilingual writing samples in the appendices covered a wide range, including announcements, contracts, business letters, orders and receipts, tender documents, rental agreements, and more. With much laid out bilingually and in a comparative manner, Kwong's final lexicon exhibited a formidable effort in paralleling—hence equalizing—the expressive capacities of the English and Cantonese languages while presenting each as a distinct linguistic system with its inner logic and tangible styles.

As seen in the preface, the 1887 edition promised a reference book "of a similar character" of the previous two, "but on a much larger scale, and more complete," on the basis that Kwong had by then resided in the U.S. with the CEM for eight years and "had access to the best aids to the study of the language, and enjoyed the highest facilities for the execution of such a work."[80] Existing studies have shown that Kwong's supportive network extended beyond the CEM officials and connections in Hartford, Connecticut, to the intellectual elite circles both in the Nook Farm community in the city and also at Yale, where he came to know and get along with the fictionist Mark Twain (1835–1910), Joseph Twichell (1838–1918), Twain's best friend and pastor at the Asylum Congregational Church and Yale Board Member, and Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884), Yale's first professor of Chinese, former missionary and American diplomat in China. We must recall that Yung Wing 容閎 (1828–1912), the vice-head of the CEM, was a Yale alumnus and had been in close contact with Williams since as far back as 1849. In their letters that survived the time, Yung saw Williams as a mentor in life choices and in major decisions on China matters.[81] It is thus hard to deny the possibility that Kwong had also become a part of the Yale circle. During his stay in the States, Kwong also grew familiar with leading journalists in the local press

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79 Kwong, *An English and Chinese Dictionary* (1887), book cover.

80 Ibid., preface, unpaginated.

81 See "Letters from Yung Wing," *Correspondence, 1847–1853*; and "Letters from Yung Wing," *Correspondence, 1873 March–1878 February*, in Samuel Wells Williams family papers, Series I, MS547. Archives at Yale.

and beyond, including Joseph Hawley and John Warner, owners and editors of the *Hartford Courant* and E. J. Edwards of *New York Sun and Wall Street Journal*.[82] Inspired by these acquaintances, and starting from January 1880, Kwong wrote to various periodicals to discuss controversial issues that ranged from the British opium trade in China to the anti-Chinese movement in the United States.[83] For producing the third edition of the lexicon and other English textbooks, Kwong consulted Rev. C. S. Sylvester, Moses C. Welch, and the aforementioned E. J. Edwards on American idioms and colloquialisms; he also learned the technique and business of electrotype printing from William H. Lockwood & Sons, a printing firm in Hartford.[84]

All these connections contributed to the completion of the third edition in 1882 and the final release in print in 1887. Around this time, Kwong's idea of his role and work had changed. In the 1880 U.S. census, Kwong described his occupation as "author" and nothing else.[85] In his interview at the Bancroft Library, Kwong described his lifetime's work on bilingual lexicons, English-language textbooks for Chinese learners, encyclopaedic guidebooks and world geography as "literary work."[86] His perception of the word "literary" had also changed throughout the lexicographical production. The table below shows the changes in the related entries.

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[82] Wong and Wong, "The Role of the *Guangbao* in Promoting Nationalism and Transmitting Reform Ideas in Late Qing China," pp. 1477–79.

[83] Two articles were considered particularly outstanding: "Opium Smoking," *The London and China Telegraph*, 21 February 1880, pp. 165–66; and Kwong's letter dated 29 April 1882, *New York Herald*, 1 May 1882. For a brief analysis, see Chan, "A Forgotten Qing Era Progressive," pp. 237–40 and 244–45.

[84] "The Noah Webster of the Chinese," *Hartford Daily Courant*, 3 December 1912, p. 5. See also Chan, "A Forgotten Qing Era Progressive," pp. 244 and 246.

[85] See note 1 for the source.

[86] Kwang, "The Chinese in America," p. 2. The transcription recorded this statement: "I resigned my position & devoted all my time to my literary work from then until now. Nearly 4 years."

Table. "Literary," "literati," and "literature" in three editions

Lexical entry	1868	1875	1887
literary	有學文的，功名	有學問的，功名	有學問的，讀書的
[lexical translation]	having studied the written text, and official titles	having knowledge, and official titles	Having knowledge, book-reading
literati	儒家，讀書人	儒家，有學問的人	儒家，讀書人
[lexical translation]	A Confucian, a person who learns from books	A Confucian, a knowledgeable person	A Confucian, a person who learns from books
literature	文字，文章	文字，文章	文，文字，文學
[lexical translation]	Written character, essay	Written character, essay	essay, written character, literature

* The lexical translations are mine.

Evidently, "literary" had shifted from being fundamentally associated with the written texts (學文), Confucian learning (儒家), and the acquisition of an official title of prestige (功名) in the civil examination system, towards being generally an adjective for being knowledgeable (有學問的), book-reading and studious (讀書的). By introducing his "literary work," Kwong would mean his works were well-researched on the matter of languages, which he had come to recognize as comparable to the traditionally prestigious literary *wen* creations, and himself as one of the Chinese literati. This must be considered in association with the previous analysis of the shift towards formality and literariness across the three lexicons and in connection with the historically low regard of the locally made pidgin lexicons as primarily intended for sheer commercial utility. Kwong's description of his works as literary would, as well, be understood as a gesture of elevating the status of the Chinese variety in his lexicons—written and spoken Cantonese.

Among the books that Kwong showed at the Bancroft library, there was his latest production titled *A Dictionary of English Phrases with Illustrative Sentences*, a full-English reference book for learning idiomatic and colloquial expressions and figures of speech. In 1881, the year of publication, Kwong's *A Dictionary of English Phrases* was recognized by *The American Journal of Philology* as one of the seven

notable American publications.[87] This was a testimony to the work's value and relevance to philological studies in the U.S. In an 1883 report on the appointment of Kwong as translator as Shanghai Tao-t'ai 道台 to replace Tsao Jun-fu, Kwong was introduced as "the well-known dictionary-maker," an unmistaken recognition in local lexicography.[88]

In 1890, Kwong's 1887 edition was rewarded a mention by American ethnographer Stewart Culin (1858–1929) in his journal article about Chinese people in America. Culin considered Kwong's non-pidgin dictionary as "valuable" and "highly esteemed," yet regretfully noted that it "has not come into general use here [Philadelphia] on account of its high price."[89] But Kwong's works became well known in America since and took exciting turns. In 1892, one year after Kwong passed away, French linguist Henri Cordier (1849–1925), then Professor at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, appraisingly acknowledged the usefulness of Kwong's whole education series to learners of the Chinese language, footnoting a full list of his lexicographical works with book abstract for each title.[90] Kwong was much praised, in Cordier's words, for his "industry."

As late as 1902, Kwong's phrasebook went beyond the sinologist circle to enter wide circulation via public libraries affiliated with the American Geographical Society in New York City.[91] The accessibility of the phrasebook earned unexpected notice later. In 1908, Elmer D. Read, in his review of pedagogical problems in teaching idiomatic expression to the deaf community, noted that the phrase book, though compiled for the purpose of aiding Chinese in learning English, was very useful for teaching figurative language to the deaf.[92]

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87 "Recent Publications," *The American Journal of Philology* 2.5 (1881): 140.

88 "Mr Kwong Ki-chiu," *The North-China Daily News (1864–1951)*, vol. XXXII, no. 5972, 3 December 1883, p. 431.

89 Stewart Culin, "Customs of the Chinese in America," *The Journal of American Folklore* 3.10 (July–September 1890): 192.

90 Henri Cordier, "Half a Decade of Chinese Studies (1886–1891)," *T'oung Pao* 3.5 (1892): 540–42.

91 "Accessions to the Library, November–December, 1902," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 34.5 (1902): 459.

92 Elmer D. Read, "Problems Met in Teaching History," *American Annals of the Deaf* 53.3 (May 1908): 204.

In China, Kwong's English learning series were certainly in use as well. In 1913, it was reproduced into a pocket edition by the Commercial Press under the Chinese title, "Concise English-Chinese Dictionary of Idioms" 袖珍英華成語典—a sign of sustained popularity.[93] In 1918, Peking University received two of Kwong's conversation books donated by Chan Leong-Yau 陳良猷 (n.d.), who was the university's student and would become a known name in Kuomintang and later in American Chinese community.

The journey of Kwong as a Cantonese bilingual was not limited to lexicography. One prominent theme in his career, as discussed in existing scholarship, was journalism. Before leaving for Hartford with the CEM, Kwong was engaged in *Huibao* 匯報 (1874–1875), a Shanghai newspaper founded by the bilingual Cantonese officials associated with the CEM, including Yung Wing and Tong Ting-kü, both educated at Robert Morrison's Missionary School in Macau and Hong Kong.[94] Before the closure of *Huibao*, Kwong was the paper's manager.[95] While abroad, Kwong published in newspapers on varied pressing issues. On 1 November 1882, he sent to the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* 申報 a translation of the editorial "Affairs in Annam" published in the *North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* on 23 June 1882, noting that the situation near Tongquin, Vietnam, would escalate into a war.[96] Current scholarships have also uncovered his views against the opium trade in China and against the Chinese Exclusion Act made in letters to *The London and China*

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93 "Introducing a New Book" 新書介紹 [Xin shu jieshao], *Shishi xinbao* 時事新報, 23 July 1913, p. 4.

94 For an overview of *Huibao*, see Natascha Gentz, "Useful Knowledge and Appropriate Communication: The Field of Journalistic Production in the Late Nineteenth Century China," in Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870–1910* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), pp. 60–63.

95 "Wai-pau, Chinese Newspaper Co.," *North China Desk Hong List*, January 1875, p. 36.

96 "A Translation Sourced from *The North-China Daily News*, June 23, on the Western Calendar" 譯西歷六月二十三日上海字林報, *Shenbao*, 1 November 1882, p. 9. The article revealed that it was "translated by Kuang Rongjie from Hartford, U.S." (美國哈富城鄺蓉階譯). The source was "Affairs in Annam," *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette (1870–1941)*, vol. XXVIII, no. 783, 23 June 1882, p. 670.

Telegraph and *New York Herald*, respectively, especially between 1880 and 1882.[97] After returning to China, Kwong served as the diplomatic commissioner of Zhang Zhidong from 1884 to 1889, and was later put in the editorship of local daily *Guangbao* 廣報 (1886–1891). His return to Canton approximated the critical time when there was an interconnected surge of scepticism about information among the local learned communities. The sceptic sentiment was attributable, firstly, to the circulation of misinformation in the pan-Cantonese regions along the Pearl River during the Sino-French War (1884–1885), and secondly, to the Chinese's widespread distrust in translational matters since the Opium Wars.[98] Kwong would thus appear in the scene of Canton as a unique and timely personality with not only bilingual proficiency but also expatriate experience that would remove language barriers in sensing important moods and managing disoriented opinions. In this context, *Guangbao* would be a key medium to shape local opinion for initiating modernizing reforms under Zhang's leadership.

In the autumn of 1891, *Guangbao* was banned for its critical attitude towards the Qing government. *Shenbao* relayed the news of the *Guangbao*'s sudden termination, disclosing, with deep empathy, that the official ban was issued on the grounds that *Guangbao*'s opinions were disruptive and intolerable to the central administration.[99] *Guangbao*'s piercing essays under Kwong's editorship and its subsequent fall were not surprising. Kwong was not radical-minded, though, as *Guangbao* left enough evidence of his progressive vision for China that harmonized democratic and traditional values.[100] His lexicography, which were both concurrent

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97 Chan, "A Forgotten Qing Era Progressive," pp. 237–40 and 244–45.

98 This is discussed in my essay on the Cantonese-run daily, *Shubao* (1884–1885). See Ye Jia 葉嘉, "Cong fanyi zhi huaiyi: Guangdong *Shubao* (1884–1885) de shishi zhishi qujing" 從翻譯至懷疑：廣東《述報》(1884–1885) 的時事知識取徑 [From translation to scepticism: Paths of knowledge in current affairs in the Cantonese daily *Shubao* (1884–1885)], *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 74 (Spring 2022): 49–103. In this paper, I have also discussed the possibility of Kwong being the hidden editor of *Shubao*.

99 "Guangbao bei feng" 廣報被封 [On the closure of *Guangbao*], *Shenbao*, 2 November 1891, p. 2.

100 For a thorough analysis of *Guangbao*'s stance, see Wong and Wong, "The Role of the *Guangbao* in Promoting Nationalism and Transmitting Reform Ideas in Late Qing China," pp. 1469–518.

and preluding to his journeys in journalism and provincial governance, has long evinced his mission in empowering people with new language competence, and the open-mindedness and opportunities of change which surely came along.

6. Conclusion

In the discussion above, the paper explores the interplay between the biography of Kwong Ki Chiu and the development of his English-Chinese lexicon series, while drawing on newly found sources. The paper rediscovers the linguistic nature and significance of Kwong's lexicography by synthesizing dictionary and archival materials through historical and comparative approaches, thereby enriching the study of historical lexicography as well as the understanding of early Cantonese bilingual lexicographers like Kwong. It is apparent that Kwong's series, designed for Chinese users, filled a critical gap in a genre that had previously been dominated by missionary dictionaries rooted in sinology and philology. Kwong not only referenced these earlier works but also expanded beyond them by actively engaging his contemporary Webster's Dictionary. Kwong's series increased the scope and accessibility of native-produced bilingual lexicons, contrasting sharply with prior local phrasebooks that were tailored for specific classes and based on a pidginized format. Close readings of his series reveal a growing equilibrium between the Cantonese basis and the potential to reach a broader Chinese audience, along with international recognition. Through these reconstructive efforts, the paper argues for Kwong's role as a pioneer in developing the first native Cantonese-based resources for English language learning, significantly contributing to the field of bilingual lexicography in late-nineteenth-century China and in areas with Chinese communities.

In doing so, the paper also challenges the pre-existing portrayal of Kwong's lexicon series as a progression towards the replacement of written Cantonese by standardized Mandarin *guanhua*, and instead, asserts that it was consistently Cantonese-based with a gradual elevation in register, literariness and formality, and a steady enrichment in content, which gained global circulation and reputation. In addition, the paper engages evidence of Kwong's attainment of resources and support from overseas knowledgeable communities in the production and promotion of his last lexicon. Kwong's ambition to popularize bilingual competence via facilitating English learning through Cantonese ran in parallel with his later missions in journalism and governance.

Finally, the paper not only contours the life and work of Kwong but also illuminates the network of bilingual sources and personalities that emerged along the frontiers from South China to various Asia-Pacific regions when China assumed the pivotal role as a contact zone in the globalizing world in the nineteenth century. While Kwong's bilingual competence has seldom been critically acknowledged in existing literature, it was undoubtedly a crucial catalyst for many of his accomplishments. It stands to reason that this linguistic agility was a shared characteristic among the late-Qing outbound Cantonese, encompassing merchants, scholars, officials, and others. Consequently, Kwong serves as a vital entry point into the prosopography of these pioneering Cantonese bilinguals, who remain largely unrecorded in historical documents and overlooked in mainstream scholarship, making them difficult to identify amidst the overwhelming volume of digital sources available today. Nevertheless, it is imperative to begin taking small steps toward recognizing and documenting their contributions.

Appendix: Kwong Ki Chiu's Letters to G. & C. Merriam Co.

Transcriptions of two letters from Kwong Ki Chiu to G. & C. Merriam.
Source: G. & C. Merriam Company Archive, GEN MSS 370, Box 12, folder 192, Series I. Historical File CORRESPONDENCE, Yale University.

(1) Letter dated 5 August 1879

Hartford Conn.
August 5th 1879

Messrs G. and C. Merriam
Dear Sirs,

I am preparing a new edition of my English-Chinese Dictionary for publication. My plan has hitherto been to enlarge the work by additions to the vocabulary which forms Part 1st of the work and by giving in a Part end lists of Idiomatic Phrases of Colloquial and Slang expressions, and of Proverbs.

For reasons connected with my interests in China, I desire to change the first part, and instead pursuing my original plan, I wish to use your Webster's Dictionary as a basis of my vocabulary and definitions, copying from your book with such omissions of words and abbreviations in the definitions as the nature and limits of my work require, as shown in the pages on which Chinese characters are not put yet, in your possession.

And I wish to ask if it would be agreeable to your wishes and consistent with your interests to do me the favour to consent to this use of your book. If it would be so I would make such acknowledgement in the preface and may be in accordance with your mind and observe wishes as it may please you to express with regard to its being considered a confidential arrangement.

I shall always remember, with pleasure, my visit to your publishing house and your courtesy in showing me the 1st edition of Webster's Dictionary, old manuscripts, & C.

Yours very truly,
Kwong Ki Chiu

P.S.
Please find in the inclosed sheets which I promised to forward you yesterday.
K. K. C.

(2) Letter dated 8 August 1879

Hartford, Conn.
August 8, 1879

Messrs G. & C. Merriam
My Dear Sirs,

Your favour of the 6th instant has come to hand, and the book as well as manuscripts have delivered by Express.

I am greatly obliged to you for your courtesy in permitting me to use your Dictionary in the manner explained.

I shall take pleasure in complying with your wish to have me make acknowledgement of this use in my preface.

You are so good as to express your cheerful assent to this use, provided the books are not to be manufactured nor sold in this country.

My book will not be published in the United States. With regard to the sale I would say that some copies of my second edition are now sold in this country. This is done in Chinese stores and to Chinamen.

The chief sale in this way is in San Francisco. A very few copes have been sold in New Orleans, New York and in Newark N. J.

But this sale has been to Chinese students of English language. The book is not adapted to the use of any other students. It is constructed to aid in the acquisition of the Chinese language. The new edition may be offered in this country and for the same use. I trust you will be pleased to consider that such sales will not interfere with your trade any more than the sales in China will.

The cost of my book will prevent any one from buying it simply for the purpose of getting a cheap English Dictionary. The second edition of my Dictionary sells in this country for $7.25. The third edition will be two thirds larger than the second and will sell for about $13.00. And if some copies should be found in two volumes as I expect one volume would be too expensive to tempt any one to buy it for an English Dictionary.

I conceive that the use of my book by Chinese students will increase the market for Webster's Dictionary. Firstly introducing a class to the acquaintance of the English language and second by acquainting all such persons with the existence of Webster's Dictionary and to a certain extent with its methods. And the sale of my book will naturally lead to a sale of Webster's Dictionary where otherwise there would be no demand for it.

Thanking you again for the kind permissions contained in your favour abovementioned and hoping that the probability of sales in the United States as abovementioned will not render necessary for you to withdraw that permission I remain.

Sirs
Yours Very truly
Kwong Ki Chiu

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Bilingual Sources of Kwong Ki Chiu's English-Chinese Lexicons, 1868–1887

(Abstract)

Michelle Jia YE

This paper revitalizes the study of Kwong Ki Chiu (1845–1891), a merchant, journalist, lexicographer, and prominent official in the Chinese Educational Mission (1872–1881), through a reading of the three editions of his English-Chinese lexicons, released in 1868, 1875, and 1887 respectively. Existing scholarship portrays Kwong's lexicons as a progression characterized by vocabulary expansion and a shift towards commercial utility, alongside a gradual assimilation to the official Mandarin language *guanhua*, which was attributable to Kwong's change in position from a port merchant to a regional official. Combining a synthesis of bilingual sources surrounding the lexicons and an analysis of a selection of lexical entries, this paper challenges the prevailing view to assert that Kwong's lexicons were consistently written Cantonese-based, justifying Cantonese as a medium through which English was acquired in his time. Newly found manuscripts and periodical sources about Kwong also revealed his efforts in garnering overseas resources and support, which widened not only his personal network but also the circulation of his lexicons. Kwong's ambition in popularizing bilingual competence via facilitating English learning through Cantonese ran in parallel with his later endeavours in promoting language education and journalism for the public in South China. This paper thus offers a point of departure for further exploring bilingual sources surrounding late Qing Cantonese bilinguals of Kwong's calibre and their roles in making Lingnan global.

Keywords: Kwong Ki Chiu bilingual lexicon English Cantonese late Qing

鄺其照華英字典的雙語資源，1868–1887

（提要）

葉嘉

鄺其照(1845–1891)是晚清廣東商人、報人、字典編纂者，也是晚清留美幼童計劃(1872–1881)的重要官員。本文旨在縱讀鄺氏於1868年、1875年和1887年編訂的三版華英字典，發掘其相關雙語資源，從而為鄺氏研究提出新見。過往關於鄺氏字典的研究，多重於其詞彙的增潤，以及書面粵語向官話過渡的傾向，並將之歸因於鄺氏從口岸商人擢升至地方官員的軌跡。本文則另有看法。通過整合鄺氏字典相關之雙語資源，配以詞條選讀，本文旨在表明鄺氏字典一直以粵語書寫，透過粵語習得英語的方法遂具高正當性。新近發現之鄺氏手稿和報刊資料則顯示，鄺氏一直為其華英字典尋找海外資源和支持，此舉不僅拓闊其人脈，亦擴大其字典的海外流通。鄺氏培養華人透過粵語習得英語、獲得雙語能力的抱負，與他後期致力普及語言教育、設報刊廣開民智的舉措，乃相輔相成。可見，鄺氏研究得益於中英文資源的不斷浮出，仍有拓寬的空間，有助深入理解晚清廣東仕商階層之雙語人士連通嶺南與世界的歷史角色。

關鍵詞： 鄺其照　雙語詞典　英語　粵語　晚清