ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN THE CHINESE LEXICON

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Foreword

My personal interest in language and linguistic exchanges formed the starting point for this thesis. It has always fascinated me how vocabulary flows from one language to another and how this process takes place. That is why I chose to investigate the presence of English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon as subject for my master thesis in Oriental Languages and Cultures at Ghent University. I tried to investigate the historical and social background of English loanwords, but the main focus is on the several borrowing methods that are used for the translation of English terms into Chinese. This thesis was written under the guidance of Professor Doctor Christoph Anderl, an expert on Chinese (Medieval) language. I want to thank Professor Anderl from the bottom of my heart for all his help and support. He is a wonderful and kind person who always gives feedback in the most positive way imaginable. Sometimes I was really struggling with writing this thesis and with myself. I could not have finished it without the support of my friends who kept believing in me. Thank you Sara, Lore, Tanita, Nele, Laura, Stan, and all the others. And of course my family: thank you Mam, Dad & Mem for making our home a warm place, a comfortable and stable surrounding. All my love for my sweet Inaya, the sunshine in my life, the one person who motivates me on a daily basis to work hard and become a better person. Even though this thesis has many shortcomings, I hope that whoever reads it finds it interesting, and maybe it will come to one’s mind the next time he or she encounters an English loanword in Chinese. Thank you very much.

Ruth Vervaet

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Introduction

Languages are not static entities, on the contrary they are constantly subject to change. Cultural contact often leads to the exchange of linguistic features and words. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘borrowing’ and a word of foreign origin is called a ‘loanword’. We start this thesis with a general introduction to the topic of language contact and linguistic exchanges (*1. Theoretical framework & methodology*). In the second chapter, we explore historically important periods of borrowing in China (*2. History of loanwords*). This will help us to attain an idea of the existing theories and mechanisms concerning lexical borrowings in Mandarin Chinese. The main topic of this thesis is the presence of English loanwords in Modern Chinese (*3. English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon*). The English language is used as an international communication device, especially on scientific, technological, economic and internet-related subjects. Since China’s opening up in the late 1970s, English has also in the People’s Republic become more and more important. Recently, many English words get integrated in the Chinese lexicon. In 2005, the Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese (*Xiàndài Hànyǔ cídiǎn* 现代汉语词典) added 230 new words derived from English.\(^1\) In this thesis, we try to answer the question why so many English words have been adopted in Chinese. What are the underlying reasons for this phenomenon? How can we understand this from an historic, social and cultural perspective?

Besides the question why English words are adopted, we investigate how the borrowing process takes place. A linguistic examination of the several techniques used for the translation of foreign words into Chinese serves as the main topic of this thesis. Since the differences between English and Chinese are considerable, modifications of the English words are required in the borrowing process. In general, we distinguish three possible options: retaining the pronunciation of the English word, translating according to its meaning, or a combination of both. We discuss the pros and contras of each method, and relate this choice to the social and cultural background. Special attention is paid to the translation of specific foreign words such as brand names, personal names and toponyms. We conducted a small research on the presence of English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines. Do the findings confirm the proposed theoretical hypotheses? In the final chapters, we discuss the role of dialects concerning English words in China (*4. Influence of Cantonese and other dialects*), and the more practical issue of the standardisation of loanwords (*5. Standardisation of loanwords*).

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\(^1\) In total, the Dictionary included 362 new words in 2005, this means that 63,5 percent was derived from English. See Ni (2016: 125).
1. Theoretical framework & methodology

In this preliminary chapter, we introduce the topic of language contact and linguistic exchanges. We define the term ‘borrowing’ and try to answer the questions why and how languages adopt features from each other. This will provide us with a theoretical framework, which forms the foundation for the main chapters. Subsequently, we discuss the applied methodology, that is the scholarly theories and principles related to the topic, as well as a brief outline of the most important scholars – both Western and Chinese. We try to sketch the status quaestionis and the relevance of this thesis. A rather technical overview of important terminology closes this chapter.

1.1. Languages in contact

In 1921, the American linguist Edward Sapir wrote on the topic ‘how languages influence each other’ the following: “Languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves. The necessities of intercourse bring the speakers of one language into direct or indirect contact with those of neighbouring or culturally dominant languages”. Linguists agree on the statement that in the world, there is no language to be found that was never, at some point in its history, influenced by another language. According to Lim & Ansaldo language contact “occurs frequently in bilingual and multilingual societies, in trading environments, through technological transfer as well as colonization and globalization”. When different cultures – and thus different languages – come into contact, it is plausible that exchanges or fusions will take place. In its most simple definition, contact between languages refers to “the use of more than one language, at the same time, at the same place”. Possible outcomes of language contact are the creation of a pidgin or creole, the emergence of code-switching, or the occurrence of borrowed features; this depends on the nature of the contact situation, its intensity, and on the dominance and prestige of one (or both) languages. When the intensity of the contact situation is rather low, the most

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2 Sapir (1921: 205).
3 Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 5).
4 Thomason (2001: 1).
5 “A pidgin is a mixed language that arises in situations where speakers of different languages are unable to understand each other’s native language and, therefore, need to develop a common means of communication. […] Pidgins that develop into full-fledged native languages are called creoles.” See Bussmann (1998: 905-906). Code-switching is the switching between language varieties by bilingual or multilingual speakers. Example of a Spanish-English code-switch: “You didn’t have to worry que somebody te iba a tirar con cerveza o una botella or something like that.” (“You didn’t have to worry that somebody was going to throw beer or a bottle at you or something like that.”) See Poplack (1981: 170), cited in Milroy & Muysken (1995: 247). The difference between code-switching and borrowing has been discussed amply, but the distinction is not always completely clear. Code-switching is a phenomenon that occurs often in a bi- or multilingual context. Speakers switch between
likely outcome is borrowing, as Sapir states: “The simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the ‘borrowing’ of words”.

This means that a language takes on certain features of another language. In linguistics, ‘borrowing’ is defined as “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another”. Several authors point out that this is a rather odd choice of words, as the linguistic phenomenon does not correspond with the meaning of the verb ‘to borrow’ in an everyday context.

As Haugen argues: “The metaphor [i.e. borrowing] implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender’s consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan”. Nevertheless, this term is universally used in linguistic studies, and until today, there is no better alternative at hand.

As we came to a definition of borrowing, we now try to answer the questions who initiates the borrowing, what is borrowed from another language, why these foreign language features are adopted, and eventually how this process takes place.

1.1.1. Who initiates borrowings?

Haugen stated that “all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages”. Borrowing does not require the interference of individuals with perfect bilingual or multilingual knowledge. People with a restricted understanding of the foreign language are as well capable of introducing and using foreign words in their speech. Furthermore, language contact and exchanges do not necessarily involve direct communication with the foreign language (‘s speakers). Translations carried out thousands of kilometres away from the source language’s homeland, are equally a manifestation of language contact, and can thus induce borrowings. In contemporary times, the modern technology makes it easy for people to come into contact with foreign

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6 Sapir (1921: 206).
7 Haugen (1950: 212).
8 The terms ‘borrowing’ and ‘loanword’ are used as metaphors. It is clear that nothing is ‘borrowed’ in its exact definition, since there is no mutual agreement made between the two parties, and nothing is to be returned to the original language. Some scholars have suggested an alternative term. For example, Hickey and Johanson plead to substitute ‘borrowing’ by ‘copying’: “Speakers of language A copy features found in language B into their own language”. Hickey (2010: 18), refers to Johanson (2002). Durkin (2014: 3) suggests the term ‘influence’ as an alternative. However, none of the alternatives are as much in use as the ‘borrowing’ metaphor.
9 Haugen (1950: 211).
10 Haugen (1950: 210).
11 Thomason (2001: 1).
languages. Whenever one turns on the television or the radio, English, French, German and more language sounds are perceived. People search daily for information or amusement on the internet, where the dominant language is English. Online dictionaries and teaching tools help people to master several languages. Notice that our preceding generations did not have the possibilities that we enjoy today, and that situations in which people are confronted with foreign languages definitely occur much more regular than before. Especially the English language manifests itself more and more as the international communication medium par excellence. The overall presence of English gives rise to the integration of borrowed English words in many of the world’s languages. This phenomenon is in line with the statement that borrowing does not require perfect bilingualism, nor direct communication.

1.1.2. What do languages borrow?
Combining descriptions of several authors, borrowing can be defined as ‘the incorporation of foreign linguistic features into another language as the result of contact’. These ‘features’ can take the shape of single words, idioms and expressions, syntactic features, etc. The borrowing of grammatical structures is referred to as ‘structural borrowing’, whereas the adoption of words is called ‘lexical borrowing’. Linguists perceive that lexical borrowings occur much more often than structural borrowings. As Hickey states: “[…] typically individual words or phrases, pragmatic markers, sentence adverbials, or other free-floating elements which are not part of the grammatical structure of a language [are borrowed easily]. Such elements travel well because they do not require integration into the system of the borrowing language”. As lexical items are high content words and not bound to certain linguistic structures, vocabulary is borrowed with more ease than syntax and morphology. Structural borrowings mostly occur in highly intense contact situations.

In Chinese, there are almost no grammatical modifications as a result of influence from European languages to be found. Therefore, from now on, we will only consider lexical borrowings, that is the

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12 Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 5, 163).
14 “Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign elements into the speaker’s native language”, see Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 6). “Borrowing is the transfer of features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact”, see Aikhenvald (2002) and Trask (2000: 44), both cited in Winford (2010: 170). “Borrowing is a process in which one language replicates a linguistic feature from another language, either wholly or partly”, see Durkin (2014: 3).
19 Ramsey mentions the distinction between 他, 她 and 它 (tā) as an example of grammatical change, developed as a result of Western influence. The three forms ‘he’, ‘she’, and ‘it’ are pronounced exactly the same in Modern Chinese. In Classical
Durkin wrote the following on this phenomenon: “Lexical borrowing occurs when the lexis of the donor language exercises an influence on the lexis of the borrowing language, with the result that the borrowing language acquires a new word form or word meaning, or both, from the donor language”. A lexical borrowing does not necessarily involve an (exact) copy of the source word’s form and pronunciation; an alteration of semantic meaning under foreign influence is equally a type of lexical borrowing – which we will later define as semantic borrowing. Furthermore, all lexical items can be borrowed, but not all word classes are the subject of borrowing as often as others. Scholars perceive that in contact situations between languages all over the world, the most frequently borrowed lexical items concern nouns. A plausible explanation for this phenomenon is that nouns are high-content words. In many cases, borrowed nouns refer to culturally specific objects or concepts. Cultural contact leads to encounters with things and ideas which were hitherto unknown to the other culture. People are confronted with the need to name these new items, as Weinreich states there is “the need to designate new things”. This is less the case for verbs, pronouns, classifiers, etc., which are, in many cases, not culturally specific and do not require new name-giving.

1.1.3. Why do languages borrow from other languages?
Linguists believe that every language in the world incorporates features that are borrowed from other languages. For example, English is a language that contains much borrowed material – mostly from Chinese, 他 was the only form available. The gender distinction was made in the beginning of the 20th century, in an attempt to appear more ‘Western’. See Ramsey (1989: 50-51). Furthermore, the increased use of the Chinese passive construction was probably also influenced by Western languages. Whereas the passive construction was traditionally rarely used (and mostly in adversative sentences), it is now used more and more (also for neutral statements), especially in written sources. See Kubler (2016: 307).

In many cases, it is difficult to see whether an expansion of word meaning is due to foreign influence, or solely due to developments of the native language, as Jones states: “It is sometimes impossible to decide whether foreign influence is responsible, or whether the semantic extension is due solely to spontaneous and autonomous development within the native language”. See Jones (1976: 24).


Sapir (1921: 205).
Latin and French.\textsuperscript{28} Weinreich concisely describes the main reason for lexical borrowing: “The need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts is a compelling reason to borrow lexical items”.\textsuperscript{29} Durkin states that most borrowed words are directly related to newly encountered objects and concepts.\textsuperscript{30} For example hitherto unknown culturally specific items or concepts, and new scientific and technological inventions. However, the question arises why a language would adopt foreign terms, as every language contains its own innovative mechanisms to coin neologisms? Research refers to social and attitudinal factors involved. Winford mentions social interaction, bilingualism, demography, power relationships and attitudes towards the other language as important determinants for linguistic exchange.\textsuperscript{31} Firstly, as regards social interaction, it is perceived that the more intense the contact relationship is, the more likely that lexical items will be conveyed. This explains why words and expressions are transferred regularly in a bi- or multilingual context, in which multiple languages are used alternately.\textsuperscript{32} As mentioned before, our modern globalized society offers great possibilities for people and cultures to come into contact with each other. We believe that the internet definitely matches the description of a ‘multilingual context’, and thus opens the door to language exchange.

Another important determinative factor in borrowing are the attitudes towards a certain language. When the common people consider a foreign culture and language as prestigious and admirable, speakers might happily embrace foreign words and phrases and integrate them into their own vocabulary. For example, the English expressions “Oh my God!” and “cool” can be heard in many non-English-speaking countries. This has nothing to do with the ‘need to designate new things’, but the usage of these and other phrases can be explained by the worldwide spread of the English language through the media, entertainment and online, and indeed the ‘cool’ reputation of English, especially among youngsters. On the other hand, there may occur language purism, that is “the cultural resistance to loanwords”.\textsuperscript{33} A purist mentality is mostly present in a society where the feeling prevails that the mother tongue is an essential part of the people’s ethnic identity, culture, history, etc. In that case, people will try to protect their native language from any kind of “foreign incursion”, in an attempt to preserve the purity of their language and

\textsuperscript{28} More than 13,000 words only from Latin, more than 6000 words only from French. Research shows that loanwords make up 41 percent of the English lexicon. See Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009: 25, 56), Durkin (2014: 6).

\textsuperscript{29} Weinreich (1953: 56), referred to by Winford (2010: 177).

\textsuperscript{30} “[…] for nearly all of these languages, certain semantic categories tend to predominate: terms for food and drinks, names of flora and fauna, names of imported goods of various sorts, and words relating to aspects of local material and social culture.” See Durkin (2014: 398).

\textsuperscript{31} Winford (2010: 177).

\textsuperscript{32} Haspelmath (2009: 35, 48).

\textsuperscript{33} Haspelmath (2009: 47).
Speakers will often try to avoid the use of foreign words (and phonetic loans), and make great efforts to bring up alternative (semantic) translations for these terms.

Concluding, the prevailing reason for lexical borrowing is to name cultural-related objects and concepts. The chance that exchanges will take place increases in intense contact situations and with positive attitudes towards the foreign language. Regarding English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, we observe that many loans can indeed be categorized as ‘culturally related terms’. Furthermore, the increasing appearance of English words can be understood as a result of the growing popularity of the English language in China. Despite the suggested hypotheses and conducted research on the topic, it is impossible to foresee which features will be borrowed and which will not. Language change is always unpredictable, as it depends on choices made by the language’s speakers, who are themselves unpredictable. As Thomason states: “The combination of social and linguistic factors that favour the success of one innovation and the failure of another are so complex that we can never (in my opinion) hope to achieve deterministic predictions in this area. […] There is an element of chance in many or most changes; and there is an element of more or less conscious choice in many changes”.

### 1.1.4. How does the borrowing process take place?

The borrowing process varies according to the languages involved, and to what extent they differ from each other. Linguists perceive that exchanges take place more readily between two similar languages. When the phonemic inventories of the two vernaculars involved differ significantly, phonetic modifications are requisite in order to fit into the borrowing language. Sapir writes on phonetic modification: “The borrowing of foreign words always entails their phonetic modification. There are sure to be foreign sounds or accentual peculiarities that do not fit the native phonetic habits. They are then so changed as to do as little violence as possible to these habits. Frequently we have phonetic compromises”. Concerning English and Chinese, it is without any doubt that these two languages differ in many ways. Certain adaptations will indeed be required, for example phonological adaptations, and

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35 For example the French language often shows resistance to the adoption of English words in their original form. For example, ‘database’ is translated as ‘la base de données’, ‘brainstorming’ as ‘remue-méninges’. See Walsh (2016: 66-67). This differs from Dutch, in which the English terms ‘database’ and ‘brainstorm’ are used with no alternatives available.
37 Thomason (2010: 33).
38 ‘Similarity’ here refers to the same writing system, belonging to the same language family, etc. See Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 2).
39 Sapir (1921: 210).
also the transformation of an alphabetic to a logographic writing system. In the main chapter, we will discuss the borrowing process and potential entailed problems profoundly.

Once the foreign word has entered the lexicon, the borrowing can take the shape of an ‘importation’ or a ‘substitution’ in the receiving language. An importation means that there was hitherto no such form at hand in the borrowing language, and thus a new term is introduced. Substitution refers to the fact that an indigenous term is replaced by a borrowed one.\textsuperscript{40} Haspelmath additionally mentions a category of ‘coexistence’, this indicates that a loanword and a native term with the same meaning co-occur.\textsuperscript{41} Following the linguistic principle of economy, one term might disappear in time.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40} T’ sou adds that an importation can evolve into a substitution: “The diffusional process would begin with importation and could then be followed by substitution. For example, new items in the area of food and cuisine could be first added to the recipient culture, along with the designations for them (importation), and subsequently some or many of these items may replace indigenous items (substitution), thus altering the fabric of the recipient culture in important ways.” See T’sou (2001: 37-38).

\textsuperscript{41} Haspelmath (2009: 49).

\textsuperscript{42} “The principle of economy may be simply defined as one meaning encoded by only one form. Encoding via more than one form is avoided as well as unnecessary marking of distinctions. Violations of economy increase synonymy and redundancy.” See Sinnemäki (2008: 71).
1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Theoretical framework
This master thesis can be labelled as a linguistic study. Linguistics is defined as: “A scientific discipline
with the goal of describing language and speech in all relevant theoretical and practical aspects and their
relation to adjoining disciplines”.\(^{43}\) It concerns a very broad scientific discipline, including many
subdisciplines. Both theoretical and applied linguistics are taken into account in this dissertation.
Concerning the more theoretical perspective, there are two major parts. Firstly, we try to explore the
historical background and the social motivations with regard to lexical borrowing. On the one hand, this
touches upon the scholarly discipline of historical linguistics, which focuses on the historical
development of languages, and the implementation of diachronic studies with attention to language
change. On the other hand, it is related to sociolinguistics. The main subject of sociolinguistics is the
relationship between language and its social environment, and thus the relation between language use
and culture.\(^{44}\) Secondly, we consider a more technical linguistic study in order to distinguish several
methods that are used for the integration and adaptation of foreign words. This entails the use of more
structural linguistic topics, such as the examination of phonology, morphology, word formation, etc.

Language contact and exchange can be approached from a theoretical point of view, but parts of the
conducted study are closely related to applied linguistics. That is “the branch of linguistics concerned
with practical applications of language studies, for example language teaching, translation, and speech
therapy”.\(^{45}\) Applied linguistics concerns the more practical use of language – vis-a-vis the theoretical
sub-disciplines mentioned above. When we investigate the topic of borrowings between languages, we
cannot avoid mentioning how translations are carried out, how the government enforces language
planning, the performance of language institutions, etc.

1.2.2. Influential works
During the twentieth century, the topic of language contact has been studied extensively by Western
scholars. The American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir is regarded as a pioneer on the study
of language and culture. In 1921, he published a survey of the world’s languages: ‘Language: an

\(^{44}\) Hudson (1996: 1-2).
\(^{45}\) Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.
Introduction to the Study of Speech’. Especially the ninth chapter ‘How languages influence each other’, is particularly interesting, as it contains some of the earliest insights on borrowing. Another often cited linguist is the American Einar Haugen. He produced the article ‘The analysis of linguistic borrowing’, in which he introduced a typology of loanwords. Since the year 2000, several inspiring works on language contact have been published. Sarah Thomason’s ‘Language Contact: an Introduction’ contains important basic insights in the topic of language contact. In her manuscript, she touches on many forms of language contact and inserts many examples and case studies. Martin Haspelmath and Uri Tadmor published their compilation work ‘Loanwords in the World’s Languages’ in 2009. The first chapters describe a theoretical framework and essential terminology. ‘Chapter twenty-two: Loanwords in Mandarin Chinese’ is written by Thekla Wiebusch and Uri Tadmor. It provides many interesting insights concerning the topic of (English) loans in Chinese, but remains quite superficial and insufficient regarding a more specialized investigation of the topic. Another compilation work to mention is ‘The Handbook of Language Contact’, published in 2010 under the direction of Raymond Hickey. It contains introductory chapters on language contact, written by prominent linguistic scholars such as Sarah Thomason, Yaron Matras, and Donald Winford. The rest of the handbook are separate chapters on language-specific loans, each written by an expert.

Considering important works on the Chinese language from a Western perspective, a classic to mention is Jerry Norman’s ‘Chinese’, on the historical development of the Chinese language and contemporary Chinese dialects. Furthermore, we consulted ‘The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Linguistics’ to attain more insights in the particularities of the Chinese language, for example its morphology and phonology. However, few Western scholars focused on the topic of (contemporary) English loanwords in Chinese. Novotna published several articles on Chinese phonology – unfortunately we were unable to consult them. The Italian linguist Federico Masini wrote a prominent work on the integration of loanwords in

46 Sapir (1921).
47 Haugen (1950).
49 Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009). Haspelmath and Tadmor also present their project “World Loanword Database”, an online database with borrowed material from 41 recipient languages. Despite the promising design, the database only contains one hundred thirty-three loanwords in Mandarin Chinese, of which only six entries are labeled as derived from English. See http://wold.cllld.org.
50 Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009).
51 Hickey (2010).
54 See Novotna (1967).
Masini also contributed to ‘Linguistic Exchanges between Europe, China and Japan: International Conference’, a compilation edited by Federica Casalin. These works provide information on the early integration of European loanwords. However, in order to find sources on contemporary English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, we had to turn to Chinese scholars.

Pioneers Gao Mingkai 高名凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正埮 brought the first systematic contribution to the topic of loanwords in the 1950s. Their Xiàndài Hánỳǔ wài lái cí yánjiù 现代汉语外来词研究 (“Study of Loanwords in Modern Chinese”) contained the first typology of borrowing, by focusing on the formal relation between the original and the borrowed word. Gao & Liu only considered graphic and phonetic loans as ‘real’ loanwords – semantic loans were seen as Chinese neologisms and therefore not included in their study. In 1984, Gao and Liu, with the cooperation of Mai Yonggan 麦永乾 and Shi Youwei 史有为, published the first Dictionary of Loanwords (Hányǔ wài lái cí cídiǎn 汉语外来词词典), which – in line with their previous publications – contained solely graphic and phonetic loans, and disregarded semantic loans.

More recently, in 1999, Ping Chen published ‘Modern Chinese’, in which he relates language change in China to the cultural and social context. Ping Chen’s work has been lauded by Westerners for its clearness and comprehensibility for both students and professionals. Shi Youwei’s work Hányǔ wài lái cí 汉语外来词 (“Loanwords in Chinese”) is cited by many Chinese linguists. It provides a general overview of loanwords in Chinese, both phonetic and semantic. Regrettably, we were not able to consult this work, but we tried to fill the gap by studying the work of Yang Xipeng 杨锡彭. Yang brings a structured and exhaustive overview of loanwords in Chinese – and often refers to Shi Youwei’s work. The last scholars to mention are on more specific topics: Firstly Yip Po-Ching, who provided refreshing insights on the topic of semantic borrowings and free translations. Secondly, Miao Ruiqin’s dissertation ‘Loanword Adaptation in Mandarin Chinese: Perceptual, Phonological and Sociolinguistic

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56 Casalin (2008).
57 Their typology of borrowing included yīnyìcí 音译词, yìyìcí 意译词, fānyìcí 翻译词 (transposition of pattern) and hybrids. See Gao & Liu (1958), referred to by Alleton (2001: 17).
58 Zhao (2006: 7).
60 Ping (1999).
61 Shi (2000).
63 Yip (2000).
Factors’, one of the very few sources on loanword phonology.\(^{64}\) And finally Chan & Kwok, who remain until now the most prominent authors on the topic of English words in Cantonese.\(^ {65}\)

1.2.3. Status Quaestionis
We tend to see that nowadays, English in China is a hot topic both among linguists and policy-makers. Much attention is paid to the increasing amount of English letters and zero translations in China (see 3.2.4. Zero translation). However, zero translations are a very specific kind of borrowings, and solely focusing on this phenomenon, loses sight of other more subtle types of loanwords. More investigation on the topic of English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon is desirable, and this on at least three levels:

(1) In recent years, there do not seem to be many Western scholars who focus on the integration of English words in Chinese. It could be interesting to modify the Chinese theories from a Western perspective, and to combine the Chinese point of view with that of native English-speakers.

(2) Several scholars, for example Gao & Liu, did not include semantic loans in their study. More recently, there seems to be a growing attention to semantic translations among Chinese scholars, but still, they merely discuss loan translations. More research on meaning shifts and free translations is required.

(3) The topic of phonological adaptations contains several “black holes”. For example, there is very little known about the conversion of stress (from English), and the allocation of tones (in Chinese). There is a great need for further examination, and this both from a Western and Chinese point of view.

1.2.4. Relevance of the thesis
We believe that research on English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon is interesting for various reasons. On a historical-sociological level, the presence of loanwords indicates an interaction between cultures. Features borrowed from one language to another provide information on the intensity and direction of the exerted influence. As Sapir stated: “One can almost estimate the role which various people have played in the development and spread of cultural ideas by taking note of the extent to which their vocabularies have filtered into those of other peoples”.\(^ {66}\) For example the borrowing of words concerning politics, technology, business, etc., from a foreign language indicates that this alien culture exerted a major influence concerning these fields. On a linguistic level, a study on loanwords is not just interesting

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\(^{64}\) Miao (2005).
\(^{65}\) Chan & Kwok (1990).
\(^{66}\) Sapir (1921: 206).
in itself, but also provides additional information on the peculiarities of both the source and the receiving language, and can help to improve the quality of translations.\(^{67}\)

In this master thesis, we investigate English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon, with attention to the social and historical context, as well as to linguistic features. Many Chinese authors have brought forth a typology of borrowing methods, but often these typologies do not contain all categories and sub-dimensions. Furthermore, findings of different scholars often contest each other. In this thesis, we attempt to merge these varying insights into one cohesive body. We also believe that it is useful to examine Chinese sources from a Western point of view. Western linguists have paid much attention to the theoretical framework, but the study of English borrowings in Chinese is scarce; whereas Chinese scholars start from their own findings and experience, but often neglect the more technical theoretical background. We try to combine the best of both worlds in this thesis. Notwithstanding the result is far from perfect, we hope that it can bring a new perspective on English loanwords in China, which is both synthesizing and refreshing, and focuses on language as well as social context.

\(^{67}\) Zhao (2006: 1-2).
1.3. Terminology

The purpose of this section is to define some important linguistic terms. In order to do this consistently, the Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics was used.68

1.3.1. Defining a ‘loanword’

According to Haspelmath, a ‘loanword’ or ‘lexical borrowing’ is “a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing”.69 The Oxford Learner’s Dictionary defines a ‘loanword’ as: “A word adopted from a foreign language with little or no modification”.70 A typology of loanwords is created based on the retention or loss of certain original features. Main categories of loanwords in the Chinese lexicon concern:

(1) Phonetic loans. Both the original meaning and (an approximating) pronunciation are retained.

(2) Semantic loans. A semantic loan is a “borrowing of meaning, but not (directly) of word form”.71 A semantic loan can concern a single word, this means that an existing word acquires a new meaning under the influence of a foreign word.72 However, the most well-known semantic loans consider new compounds (a loan translation or calque). That is “a lexical unit created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit”73, while “the structure of the source word is retained”.74

(3) Combined loans. Defined by Haspelmath as: “Borrowings which consist of partly borrowed material and partly native material”.75

(4) Graphic loans. The graphic form of a foreign word is directly adopted in Chinese.76 It concerns words that were borrowed from Japanese. Japanese kanji can easily be borrowed into Chinese without graphic adaptations, it suffices to use their Chinese pronunciation.77 Even though graphic loans from Japanese make up a large part of the Chinese lexicon, they will not be discussed in this dissertation.

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69 Haspelmath (2009: 36).
70 Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.
71 Durkin (2014: 8).
72 Durkin (2014: 9).
74 Durkin (2014: 9).
76 Miao (2016: 568).
Linguists disagree on which of the mentioned categories should be considered as ‘real’ loanwords. Some scholars argue that semantic translations are not loanwords, as they consist of indigenous morphemes which simply obtain new meanings. This meaning shift is not considered as a form of borrowing.\textsuperscript{78} In this thesis, any word or word meaning that came into existence under foreign influence, will be considered as a loanword. This point of view corresponds with most modern Chinese typologies. For example Miao states that a loanword “is used in a broad sense to include all types of borrowings, including phonemic loans, semantic loans, graphic loans and hybrid loans”.\textsuperscript{79} An exhaustive analysis of the various forms follows in the main chapter.

1.3.2. Linguistic terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alphabetic writing system</td>
<td>“System of writing based on phonetic and phonological criteria, i.e. a system in which graphic signs represent individual sounds or sound segments”\textsuperscript{80}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing language</td>
<td>The language that borrows lexical features from another language. Also ‘recipient language’ or ‘receiving language’.\textsuperscript{81}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
<td>“Final segment of a syllable between the nucleus and the head of the following syllable, e.g. [t] in bitter, [d] in head”.\textsuperscript{82}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donor language</td>
<td>The original language from which a loan was derived.\textsuperscript{83} Also referred to as ‘source language’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>“The process by which regional economies, societies and cultures have become integrated through a global network of political ideas through communication, transportation and trade”.\textsuperscript{84}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homophone</td>
<td>“A type of lexical ambiguity in which two or more expressions have an identical pronunciation but different spellings and meanings”.\textsuperscript{85}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{78} E.g. Gao & Liu (1958), Haugen (1950: 210-231), referred to by Winford (2010: 177).
\textsuperscript{79} Miao (2016: 563).
\textsuperscript{80} Bussmann (1998: 46).
\textsuperscript{81} Hickey (2010: 14).
\textsuperscript{82} Bussmann (1998: 193).
\textsuperscript{83} Durkin (2014: 8), Haspelmath (2009: 37).
\textsuperscript{84} Lim & Ansaldo (2016: 17).
\textsuperscript{85} Bussmann (1998: 520).
Isolating language
“A language that does not use morphological means (i.e. inflection) to express syntactic relations, but rather independent grammatical units (particles, words) and/or word order”. 86

Loanword adaptation
The process of modifying certain phonological, orthographic and morphological structures of the source word, in order to fit into the borrowing language. 87 Also referred to as ‘loanword integration’. 88

Logographic writing system
“Writing system in which the meaning of individual linguistic expressions (individual words) is expressed by graphic signs (logogram)”. 89

Mandarin Chinese
“The standard Chinese variety in Mainland China”. 90 Also Pǔtōnghuà 普通话.

Morpheme
“The smallest meaningful element of language that, as a basic phonological and semantic element, cannot be reduced into smaller elements”. 91

Phoneme
“The smallest sound unit that can be segmented from the acoustic flow of speech and which can function as a semantically distinctive unit”. 92

Phonemic inventory
“The set of phonemes of a given language as determined by a phonological analysis of that language”. 93

Radical
“The smallest meaningful orthographic units that play semantic or phonetic roles in compound characters”. 94

Source language
The original language from which a loan was derived. 95 Also: ‘donor language’. 96

Recipient language
The language that borrows lexical features from another language. 97 Also referred to as ‘borrowing language’.

87 Haspelmath (2009: 42).
96 Durkin (2014: 8).
2. History of loanwords

This chapter contains a brief historical overview of the most important periods in which the Chinese lexicon was strongly influenced by other languages. This will allow us to obtain a general idea of translation and borrowing mechanisms in China. The first noteworthy period stretches from the Late Han until the Tang Dynasty. It was then that Buddhism entered Mainland China and the translation of the sutras took place. However, this thesis’s main focus will not be the influence that Sanskrit had on Chinese, but rather the relation between Chinese and European languages.98 The sixteenth century designates the first period of intense contact between the West and the Far East, in the context of trade and catholic missions.99 It was then that European languages started leaving traces in the Chinese lexicon. Remarkably, the European missionaries made use of the same translation mechanisms as the sutra-translators did. In the course of the nineteenth century, the West augmented their presence in China behind the background of global colonization. This coincided with the inflow of Western products and conceptual schemes. It is important to mention that, at this time, Japan played a remarkable intermediary role between the West and China. The era of early communism marked a rather isolationist period, with little Western influence. Nevertheless, China reopened itself for the world in the 1980s, which also meant a renewed entry of English loanwords to the Chinese lexicon.

98 The main topic of this dissertation is ‘English loanwords in the Chinese lexicon’, but in this preliminary chapter, we will consider the European languages as one group. This includes English, French, Italian and Latin, which was particularly important for the catholic missionaries. This choice is justified since the focus of this chapter is to attain a general overview of the most important periods of borrowing. Furthermore, the European languages are considerably intermingled - for instance, as mentioned before, the English lexicon contains many loanwords from Latin and French.
99 There had been encounters before the sixteenth century, like the many explorations of Westerners to China. Nevertheless, these first encounters did not yet lead to modifications of the Chinese lexicon and are not discussed here.
2.1. The first large-scale translation projects: the Buddhist sutras

Buddhism entered China in the first century CE. This new religion rapidly gained popularity, and the ‘sacred’ Buddhist texts, the sutras, were translated from Sanskrit and other Indic languages into Chinese. Cao and Yu state that, between the Late Han and Tang Dynasties, around 2300 sutras were translated, containing circa 56 million characters. However, the sutra translators encountered several difficulties: At that time, Buddhism contained many conceptual schemes and terms that were unknown in China. The translators were obliged to search methods to convey these specific cultural, religious terms into Chinese. This quest gave rise to two factions. The first group argued that a translation should remain as close as possible to the original. This is known as a ‘simple’ or ‘direct’ translation strategy. Xuanzang supported this side and claimed that there were five categories for which it was nearly impossible to find an adequate translation (五不翻). He therefore suggested that certain terms should not be translated at all, and simply be transliterated. The other faction rightly pointed out that these kind of literal translations were opaque to the extent that they became unintelligible for the Chinese audience. This second group favoured a more fluent translation strategy, also referred to as ‘sophisticated’ translation. The renowned sutra translator Kumārajīva backed this approach.

How do these two translation strategies relate to different borrowing methods? Buddhist terms which did not have a Chinese equivalent, should be represented by some type of loanword. The large-scale sutra translations thus caused the introduction of a multitude of loanwords into Chinese. Shi Xiandong refers to this period as the “golden age of foreign loanwords”. A first borrowing method involved the introduction of new words which related closely to the original in terms of both meaning and phonetics. It is clear that this method is strongly associated with the ‘direct translation’ strategy. These transliterations contained a high level of exoticism, but could also be very difficult to understand for the readers, who had very limited knowledge of foreign languages. A second method, favoured by many

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100 Dessein & Heirman (2011: 23-26).
101 Besides Sanskrit, there were also sutras written in Pali, Gandhari or other South-Asian languages. See Heirman & Anderl (2015: 3).
103 Yu & Gu (2013: 2).
104 Xuanzang (ca. 596-664). The wǔbùfān include magic, polysemy, foreign names, long-employed transliterations, and complex conceptions. See Heirman & Anderl (2015: 5).
sutra translators, was semantic borrowing. This involved using a classical Chinese term with a similar meaning, for example derived from the Confucian classics. The indigenous Chinese phrase underwent some semantic modification and adopted an extended Buddhist meaning as a single word or in a new compound. This approach is clearly related to the ‘sophisticated translation’ strategy. The biggest advantage was that the term was already well-known in China, and therefore easily recognized and adopted. However, it is far from certain if these modified meanings were fully grasped by the Chinese, rather they kept in mind the original – e.g. Confucian – connotation of the term. A third option was a combination of transliteration and semantic translation. These various borrowing strategies (phonetic – semantic – combination) are still used until the present day. They will be discussed more profoundly in the following chapters. It is fascinating how the Buddhist translators in fact laid the foundations for the translation and conversion of specific cultural terms into Chinese. The following tables list some examples of loans which entered the Chinese lexicon through Buddhist translations.

**Phonetically translated Sanskrit words in Chinese (transliterations)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese characters</th>
<th>Modern Chinese pronunciation</th>
<th>Middle Chinese pronunciation</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>佛</td>
<td>fó</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>菩萨</td>
<td>púsà</td>
<td>pósat</td>
<td>bodhisattva</td>
<td>bodhisattva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>僧</td>
<td>sēng</td>
<td>sōŋ</td>
<td>saṃgha</td>
<td>monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>涅槃</td>
<td>nièpán</td>
<td>netban</td>
<td>nirvana</td>
<td>nirvana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>刹那</td>
<td>chànà</td>
<td>tʂʰaɪtna / tʂʰeɪtna</td>
<td>kṣaṇa</td>
<td>instant, moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Semantically translated Sanskrit words in Chinese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese characters</th>
<th>Modern Chinese pronunciation</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>世界</td>
<td>shìjìè</td>
<td>loka(-dhātu)</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>众生</td>
<td>zhònghshēng</td>
<td>sattva</td>
<td>living beings, masses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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109 Yu & Gu (2013: 2-4).
110 An example is the word sè 色, whose original meaning was ‘colour’. This was extended to ‘the form of things’ in a Buddhist context. See Cao & Yu (2015: 204).
111 Yu & Gu (2013: 2-4).
113 Guang (2012: 225).
114 For Middle Chinese pronunciations, see Pulleyblank (1991).
116 Sun (2007).
As Buddhism gained popularity in China, the sutra translations increasingly spread across the country, and later became a base for folk literature. This caused also non- or less religious terms to be spread and eventually become part of the Chinese lexicon. Later, these morphemes were also used in new compounds, which makes it difficult to identify their Sanskrit roots. In any case, it is clear that the Buddhist translations had a major influence on the Chinese lexicon. *Fāngbiàn 方便* (‘convenient’), *pingdēng 平等* (‘equal’), *shíji 实际* (‘real’) and *shìjiè 世界* (‘world’) are some examples of Buddhist loanwords that are still commonly used today.

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119 Examples from Sun (2007).
120 Examples from Guang (2012: 225).
122 For example, the morpheme *tà 塔* is derived from Sanskrit and can be seen in Chinese compounds such as *bàotā 宝塔* (‘pagoda’), *dēngtā 灯塔* (‘lighthouse’), and *tālōu 塔楼* (‘tower’). See Shi (2015: 238).
2.2. The first encounters with Western languages through the Jesuits

The first large-scale encounters with Westerners date from the 13th century, when the first explorers – for example Marco Polo – arrived in China. These pioneers were stunned by the Chinese language, but their fascination did not yet lead to a profound study of the Mandarin language. During the 16th century, more and more Europeans travelled to China, both merchants and missionaries.\textsuperscript{124} On a lexical level, this led to the inflow of European words in the Chinese lexicon.\textsuperscript{125} Regarding trade vocabulary, the initial inflow is limited to very few loanwords for new Western products. This is why some scholars claim that it was only later, in the 19th century, that contact with European languages started leaving traces in the Chinese lexicon.\textsuperscript{126} Masini and others consider such a statement a great inaccuracy and highlight the important role of the Jesuit missionaries.\textsuperscript{127} From the sixteenth century onwards, European missionaries started traveling the world to introduce Catholicism in these parts of the globe where it was still unknown.\textsuperscript{128} To be able to communicate with the indigenous people, missionaries had to study the local languages. Fung Kam-Wing refers to this practice as “cultural accommodation”.\textsuperscript{129} These language studies often gave rise to the compilation of dictionaries and grammars. Regarding China, it were especially the Jesuit missionaries – Matteo Ricci among others – who were particularly important. Their first missions to China date from 1579 and soon they engaged in the study of Mandarin.\textsuperscript{130} Besides compiling dictionaries, the Jesuits also translated Western texts into Chinese.\textsuperscript{131} This included the

\textsuperscript{124} Masini (1993: 5).
\textsuperscript{125} As pointed out before, the main purpose of this chapter is to give a general overview of China’s contact with European languages in general, not solely English.
\textsuperscript{126} Wiebusch & Tadmor write: “Only since the 19th century, mainly after the “Opium War” (1839-1842), does contact between Chinese and European colonial languages leave traces in the Chinese basic lexicon, in spite of earlier encounters since the 16th century.” Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580). Also see Peyraube (2000: 13).
\textsuperscript{127} Masini (1993: 135).
\textsuperscript{128} Regarding the ‘dialects’ in Chinese, it is important to notice that the early Chinese missionaries were mostly present along the south-eastern coasts of China. Consequently, the Jesuits must particularly have come into contact with the Fujian Hokkien dialect. Nevertheless, the Jesuits chose to focus on the Mandarin language, which was used among officials throughout the country. This choice was given in by the fact that they wanted to work top down, believing that once the emperor and officials were converted, the masses would follow. Secondly, the Jesuits felt the need to interact closely with the elite, since the political top was not completely pleased with the Christian presence in China. Therefore, the missionaries focused on the official language, and mostly neglected the existence of dialects, or mentioned them in a derogatory way. For example, Klöter (2011: 35) quotes: “[…] with the knowledge of this common language, there really is no necessity for the members of our Society to learn the dialects of the provinces in which they work. A province dialect would not be used in polite society.” See Klöter (2011: 23-35).
\textsuperscript{129} Fung (2008: 18).
\textsuperscript{130} Klöter (2011: 27).
\textsuperscript{131} Fung (2008: 11).
rendering of religious texts, as well as interpretations and writings on Western cartography, geography, astronomy and science.\textsuperscript{132}

While translating, the Jesuits encountered the same kind of problems as those the Buddhist translators had been confronted with: it was extremely difficult to find Chinese equivalents for – at this time Western – terms concerning religion, philosophy and science.\textsuperscript{133} The missionaries used several methods to cope with this obstacle. The first option was the phonetic rendering of terminology into Chinese, for example \textit{bùgéduōlüè 布革多略} for ‘purgatory’, or \textit{yànfūnuò 咽呋诺} for ‘inferno’. However, this kind of ‘translations’ were considered as barbarous and uncultivated by the Chinese population, as the Chinese terms were semantically completely empty.\textsuperscript{134} Secondly, the Jesuits utilized a method also used by the sutra-translators: redefining ancient (for example Confucian) terms.\textsuperscript{135} When they observed that these loan terms were gladly received, phonetic loanwords were merely used for the transliteration of toponyms and proper names.\textsuperscript{136} Nevertheless, a consequential problem of this second method lies in the fact that there might be a semantic overlap between two terms, but their meanings are not fully the same. The conceptual schemes of sixteenth century Europe were completely different from those existing in China. It is uncertain if Chinese citizens totally grasped the semantic modifications that were injected into the terms.\textsuperscript{137} A third option were loan translations: neologisms that were clearly based on Western terms.\textsuperscript{138} Since an abundance of new terms could be unintelligible for the Chinese, the Jesuits favoured the second option of giving classical terms a new, similar meaning.\textsuperscript{139} Some of these terms survived through the centuries, as Masini states: “Some semantic loans or loan-translations [from Jesuit missionaries]… have survived centuries of linguistic history and native speakers would see no difference between these terms and the rest of the traditional lexicon”.\textsuperscript{140}

\addcontentsline{toc}{section}{Notes}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Masini (1993: 135).
\item Kurtz (2008: 39).
\item ‘Semantically empty’ means that the semantic meaning of the morphemes is completely irrelevant. For example, the characters in \textit{bùgéduōlüè 布革多略} are exclusively used as a phonetic rendering of ‘purgatory’. See Kurtz (2008: 40).
\item For example, Kurtz mentions \textit{shàngdì 上帝} which meant ‘ruler on high’ in a Confucian context, and subsequently adopted the meaning of a Christian ‘God’. Kurtz refers to this phenomenon as “conceptual takeovers”. See Kurtz (2008: 40).
\item Masini (1993: 135).
\item Kurtz (2008: 39-40).
\item Examples are the (now obsolete) terms \textit{rénxué 人學} (‘the science of man’ – ‘humanities’) and \textit{gōngxué 工學} (‘common school’ – ‘university’). See Masini (1997: 548-551).
\item Kurtz (2008: 39-41).
\item Masini (1993: 142).
\end{enumerate}
2.3. Trading contact & borrowings via Japan in the nineteenth century

Contact between China and the West remarkably intensified in the course of the 19th century, especially after the Opium Wars.\textsuperscript{141} The concomitant inflow of Western products, ideas, science and technology also affected the Chinese lexicon.\textsuperscript{142} On the one hand, many borrowed words from this period concern cultural terms, like foreign nutriments. Some examples are ‘beer’ \textit{pǐjǔ 啤酒}, ‘coffee’ \textit{kāfēi 咖啡}, ‘curry’ \textit{gālí 咖喱}, ‘ton’ \textit{dūn 吨},…\textsuperscript{143} On the other hand, loanwords of Western concepts concerning social and natural sciences (e.g. ‘geometry’ \textit{jīhè 几何}, ‘logic’ \textit{luójì 逻辑}) also entered the Chinese lexicon, often via Japanese.\textsuperscript{144} We discuss these two categories in what follows.

The Opium Wars and the Nanjing Treaty were the main contributing factors leading to an opening up of China. In the past, European traders had mostly been present in the southern coastal cities like Guangzhou, but as a result from the Treaty of Nanjing, more areas opened up for foreigners.\textsuperscript{145} The improved trading circumstances persuaded merchants to come to China, and an increased amount of Western products entered the country. These merchandises were hitherto unknown to the Chinese population, and therefore did not yet have a Chinese translation. Names of products were mostly transliterated from the original language, as this was regarded the easiest option.\textsuperscript{146} Phonetic loans were furthermore used to render place names and proper names. The transliterations developed by the missionaries in the 16th century remained in use.\textsuperscript{147} Besides this, there also emerged semantic borrowings and loan-translations. Casalin further mentions the category of “autochthonous neologisms”: new Chinese terms which are most probably based on a foreign word, but their relation is not explicitly clear. Examples of autochthonous neologisms are ‘export’ \textit{chǔkǒu 出口}, ‘import’ \textit{jǐnkǒu 进口}, and ‘wages’ \textit{gōngzī 工资}.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{141} Wiebusch & Tadmor (2009: 580).
\textsuperscript{142} Casalin (2008: 133).
\textsuperscript{143} Notice the ‘mouth’ \textit{口} component in these characters, which marks them as ‘phonetic characters’. The mouth-radical is added to an existing character, and indicates that the new character has quasi the same pronunciation as the original. This technique will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapters. See Hu & Xu (2003: 313), Masini (1993: 132).
\textsuperscript{144} Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
\textsuperscript{145} The most crowded trade areas were the Southern-Chinese cities Aomen (Macao) and Guangzhou (Canton). There, foreigners and Chinese were living closely to each other. This gave rise to the birth of pidgin-languages. In Macao, a mixture of Chinese and Portuguese emerged. In Canton, the largest trade city, people started using a hybrid language in which Chinese grammar was extended with English vocabulary. After the Opium Wars, European merchants started spreading through China, and so did some pidgin Cantonese words. E.g. \textit{sānwénzhì 三文治} (‘sandwich’ – now merely replaced by \textit{sānmíngzhì 三明治}), \textit{bāshì 巴士} (‘bus’), \textit{zhīshì 芝士} (‘cheese’). Masini declares that at least 200 modern Cantonese words were adopted from English, and that one third of them got transferred to Putonghua. See Masini (1993: 14-34).
\textsuperscript{146} Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
\textsuperscript{147} Masini (1993: 28).
\textsuperscript{148} Casalin (2008: 138).
The following table lists some additional examples of loanwords dating from this period.\(^{149}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>沙发</td>
<td>shāfā</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>坦克(^{150})</td>
<td>tànkè</td>
<td>tank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>罐克</td>
<td>bǎnkè</td>
<td>bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>爱康诺米</td>
<td>àikāngnuómì</td>
<td>economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>国债</td>
<td>guózhài</td>
<td>national debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>马占</td>
<td>mǎzhàn</td>
<td>merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>沙文</td>
<td>shāwén</td>
<td>servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雪利酒(^{151})</td>
<td>xuělìjiǔ</td>
<td>sherry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 19th century, the European colonizers were dominating the world. Great Asian nations like China and Japan realized that the West was quickly evolving and modernizing. The Japanese reply to this situation came faster and more intense than China’s. The Japanese leaders initiated the Meiji-revolution in 1868, which meant a modernization of thought, science, technology, philosophy, politics, economy, in short of the whole society. The basis of this revolution was “learning from the West”: Japanese scholars studied and translated Western books and applied this newly obtained knowledge in the field.\(^{152}\) To name new concepts, the Japanese developed neologisms, or redefined already existing terms.\(^{153}\) The Japanese lexicon adopted numerous Western terms in their course to modernization.\(^{154}\)

China had experienced the rising force of the West during the Opium Wars, but it was their defeat in the Sino-Japanese War that truly opened eyes.\(^{155}\) The Chinese considered the prosperous development of Japan as a result of the application of Western knowledge regarding politics, warfare, science and democracy.\(^{156}\) In order to regain their political superiority, the Chinese believed that they needed to turn to Western learning as well. Since many important European works were already translated into Japanese, these translations could serve as a shortcut to modern knowledge. As the Japanese language was more related to Chinese than the Indo-European languages were, it seemed to be convenient to study the

\(^{149}\) Masini (1993: 28).
\(^{150}\) Examples from Chen & Gao (2009, 91).
\(^{151}\) Examples from Casalin (2008: 137) and Masini (1993: 132).
\(^{152}\) Gu (2011: 44).
\(^{153}\) Masini (1993: 146).
\(^{154}\) Liu (2012: 1498).
\(^{155}\) Gu (2011: 55).
\(^{156}\) Zhao (2006: 315).
Japanese translations rather than the indigenous European sources.\textsuperscript{157} Liang Qichao expressed it as follows: “It may take 5 to 6 years to learn English, but even then there would still be plenty of obstacles; one might not be able to read books on politics, economics, philosophy and sociology. Learning even a bit of Japanese, however, can be achieved in a few days, a significant amount in a few months. We can possess all of Japanese scholarship in that time”.\textsuperscript{158} Subsequently, students were sent to Japan, who later brought travel journeys and translations back to China.\textsuperscript{159} Furthermore, institutions for the translation of Japanese sources were founded.\textsuperscript{160} By these means, China obtained insights in Western knowledge and science.\textsuperscript{161} As Gu puts it: “Japan served as the window through which China comprehended the West”.\textsuperscript{162}

The study and translation of Japanese works led to the entry of many loanwords to China.\textsuperscript{163} These borrowings enriched the Chinese language exceptionally and many of them are still used frequently today.\textsuperscript{164} One can pose the question for what reason many loanwords were introduced, while the Chinese language contains sufficient techniques of word formation to coin neologisms itself? The answer to this question is twofold. Firstly, as mentioned before, Chinese and Japanese are very similar languages. It was relatively effortless to adopt the Japanese \textit{kanji} and simply employ the Chinese pronunciation. A second aspect was a lack of time: the Chinese could have created their own vocabulary if necessary, but it would have cost much more time and effort to do so.\textsuperscript{165} Nevertheless, many Chinese were opposed against the massive influx of Japanese loanwords, which could be seen as a threat to their native language. Certain scholars tried to introduce indigenous Chinese terms for new words, but their suggestions often did not break through.\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{157}Gu (2011: 44-45).
\textsuperscript{159}Gu (2011: 46-50), Zhao (2006: 318).
\textsuperscript{160}Besides Japanese sources, these institutions also directly studied Western languages and scriptures. An example was the in 1862 founded \textit{Jīngshī Tōngwénguǎn} 京师同文官 (‘Beijing School of Languages’). See Casalin (2008: 11, 135), Masini (1993: 35).
\textsuperscript{161}Zhao (2006: 316).
\textsuperscript{162}“... It helped them to understand Western culture, absorb Western knowledge, learn the beginnings of democracy, strengthen the country, and fortify the army.” See Gu (2011: 62).
\textsuperscript{163}From the 4\textsuperscript{th} century onwards, Japan had been adopting Chinese characters, known as \textit{kanji} in the Japanese script. Throughout the centuries, these \textit{kanji} often got modified. The Japanese also created their own characters (referred to as \textit{wasei-kango}. See Liu (2012: 1492). The entry of Japanese loanwords in the Chinese lexicon was the first occasion where China adopted linguistically from Japan. See Zhao (2006: 325).
\textsuperscript{164}Zhao (2006: 309).
\textsuperscript{165}Zhao (2006: 323).
\textsuperscript{166}For example, Yan Fu introduced ‘economy’ \textit{jìxué} 计学 and ‘society’ \textit{qúnxué} 群学, but these terms could not compete with the generally accepted \textit{jīngjì} 经济 and \textit{shèhuì} 社会. See Zhao (2006: 322).
Loanwords of Japanese origin mostly concerned three domains: life, social sciences and natural sciences.\textsuperscript{167} Most of them belonged to the graphic loan type: both the graphic shape, as well as the semantic meaning were adopted, only the pronunciation was transformed into Chinese phonetics.\textsuperscript{168} Scholars mention five categories of Japanese loanwords. First of all, \textit{kana}-transliterations of Western terms, which then got re-transliterated into Chinese. Second, \textit{kanji} that were modified or created in Japan, and now returned to their ‘home country’ with an extended, modern meaning.\textsuperscript{169} Third, new vocabulary created by the Japanese. Fourth, redefined words; and the fifth and last category concerned ‘conceptual suffixes’.\textsuperscript{170} Linked with the ‘modified \textit{kanji}’, as mentioned by Zhao and Liu, many authors make a main distinction between original Japanese loans and return loans. Original loans concern words coined in Japan (whether or not after a Western model) and then introduced in China. Return loans are words whose origins could be traced to China, and which were copied by Japan in some point in history. These terms were given a modernized, modified meaning in Japan, and then returned once again to China.\textsuperscript{171} Some of these terms had fallen into disuse in China, others were reintegrated.\textsuperscript{172} The following table lists some commonly used (return) loanwords, introduced to China via Japan.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
Chinese & Japanese & English \\
\hline
经济\textsuperscript{173} & jīngji & Keizai & economy \\
百货店 & bàihuòdiàn & hyakkaten & department store \\
代表 & dàibiǎo & daihyō & delegate \\
商业 & shāngyè & shōgyō & trade \\
银行 & yínháng & ginkō & bank \\
普通 & pǔtōng & futsū & common \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{167} Examples of loanwords in the category ‘life’ are làngrén 浪人 (‘wanderer’), lǎodòng 劳动 (‘labour’), liǎojiě 了解 (‘to understand’). Social sciences concern topics such as economics, politics, law, philosophy, etc. For more explanation and examples see Gu (2011: 79-87).
\textsuperscript{168} Casalin (2008: 137).
\textsuperscript{169} Liu (2012: 1498).
\textsuperscript{170} Creative vocabulary is the most important category of Japanese loanwords. An example of a word created in Japan, adopted by China and commonly used there is kēxué 科学 (‘science’). Redefined words were often contested in China: it concerned words whose original meaning got overwritten. For example, mǐnzhǔ 民主 – originally ‘master of the people’, which adopted the modern meaning ‘democracy’. Conceptual suffixes indicate abstract meanings. Examples are ‘doctrine’ zhǔyì 主义 (e.g. ‘Romanticism’ làngmángzhǔyì 浪漫主义, ‘capitalism’ zīběnzhǔyì 资本主义) or xìng 性 (e.g. ‘historic’ lǐshīxìng 历史性). For a more detailed exposition of these categories, see Zhao (2006: 310-314).
\textsuperscript{171} Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
\textsuperscript{172} An example is mǐnzhǔ 民主, which was already used as a term for ‘democracy’ by the missionaries. Nevertheless, in the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the transliteration dēmòkēlăxì 德谟克拉西 predominated. Mǐnzhǔ 民主 re-entered via Japan and remains the most used word for ‘democracy’ until today. See Sun (2006: 137).
\textsuperscript{173} All examples from Casalin (2008: 138) and Masini (1993: 94-195).
Return loans re-introduced in China by Japanese mediation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>世界</td>
<td>shijiè</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>资本</td>
<td>zīběn</td>
<td>capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大学</td>
<td>dàxué</td>
<td>university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>保障</td>
<td>bǎozhàng</td>
<td>protect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>议院</td>
<td>yìyuàn</td>
<td>parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>教育</td>
<td>jiàoyù</td>
<td>education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>教授</td>
<td>jiàoshòu</td>
<td>professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>博士</td>
<td>bóshì</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>物理</td>
<td>wùlǐ</td>
<td>physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>警察</td>
<td>jǐngchá</td>
<td>police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summarizing, we can state that during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, China was linguistically marked by the influx of many Western loanwords. Some entered China through Japanese, others were developed in China itself (transliterations, semantic borrowings, loan translations and neologisms). Shaofen Sun writes: “In the course of translating Western words into Chinese, European missionaries and the Japanese played the most significant roles in forging neologisms in the Chinese language”. Many of these loanwords can still be found in the contemporary Chinese lexicon. Other terms disappeared or were replaced. This was often the case for transliterations, which got exchanged for words with more “semantic content”. The mentioned phenomenon of ‘replacement’ will be discussed in the next chapter.

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176 Casalin (2008: 149).
3. English loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon

3.1. Opening remarks

The previous chapter discussed the most important historic periods for the influx of loanwords, that is to say the translation of Buddhist sutras, the translations conducted by Christian missionaries, and terminology related to the 19th century’s modernization (imported to China through Japanese intermediation). The historical background can help to understand contemporary borrowings, which we will discuss in what follows. In this opening chapter, we firstly examine the growing importance of English in Modern China, and secondly, we touch upon certain difficulties concerning the borrowing of English words into Chinese.

3.1.1. The growing importance of English in China

Our contemporary world is characterized by a quickly-evolving globalization. Oxford Learner’s Dictionary defines ‘globalization’ as “the fact that different cultures and economic systems around the world are becoming connected and similar to each other, because of the influence of large multinational companies, and of improved communication”.\(^{177}\) Mass media and improved (online) communication devices give cultures and people the opportunity to become closely connected to each other.\(^{178}\) The Western countries – and especially the United States of America – are influential and powerful nations concerning politics, economy, science, popular culture, etc. As a result, the English language has become dominant on a global scale.\(^{179}\) As Sun & Jiang state: “English [is] the international language of science and technology. English-speaking countries also exercise great economic and cultural influence, which makes their language attractive to nations desirous of cultural exchange and international development”.\(^{180}\) English is used as an international device for communication by IT people and in the online environment, by scholars and developers, it is used for business purposes, and in the domains of science and technology.\(^{181}\) All over the world, we see young people who are willing to learn English for

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\(^{177}\) Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.

\(^{178}\) Chen & Gao (2009: 92).

\(^{179}\) Du (2008: 48), Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 121). Notice that linguists in the beginning of the 20th century did not foresee the contemporary prominent position of English in the world. This is shown in a quote from Sapir, who thought English would never have the same enormous influence as French had have: “English has colonized immense territories. But there is nothing to show that it is anywhere entering into the lexical heart of other languages as French has […] there are now psychological resistances to borrowing, or rather to new sources of borrowing”. See Sapir (1921: 207).


communication purposes and with the aim of an international job career. Furthermore, the growing importance and prestige of the English language in the world gives rise to the occurrence of English variants in several countries, and the emergence of English loanwords in many of the world’s languages.

Regarding the situation in 20th century China, the first communist leaders ruled the country by rather isolationist strategies. Chinese had been studying the Western works on science and technology since the late 19th century onwards – partly by means of Japanese translations – but the Chinese Communist Party was not particularly eager to conduct much direct contact with the – liberalist – Western world. This situation, in which China was separated from the outside world came to an end with the Reform and Opening (gǎigé kāifàng 改革开放) of China, initiated in the late 1970s. China then turned to the West in order to reform science and technology, and economically opened up for the world. As China became part of the modernized, globalizing world, foreign concepts, terms, and products found their way to the People’s Republic.

This also meant the starting point of a large-scale presence of English in China, which was not the case before, as Wang & Yang state: “Before the early 70s of the last century, English was seldom heard or seen in China, let alone accepted into Chinese books or dictionaries”. As a result, many English loanwords entered the Chinese lexicon, particularly on the following domains: (1) Words related to trade and business. The economic opening up of China, especially since its entrance to the World Trade Organisation in 2001, gave rise to the emergence of many new words concerning business and new Western products, e.g. ‘hamburger’ hànbāobāo 汉堡包 and ‘hotdog’ règōu 热狗. (2) Vocabulary linked to recent developments in science, technology and the IT-sector, e.g. ‘black hole’ hēidòng 黑洞, ‘Nano technology’ nàmjìshù 纳米技术, ‘email’ yìmèi’ér 伊妹儿, ‘World Wide Web’ wànwéiwǎng 万维网, ‘personal computer’ PC jī PC 机 and ‘hacker’ hēikè 黑客.(3) Words related to Western culture and habits, e.g. ‘ballet’ bāléiwǔ 芭蕾舞 and ‘disco’ dīsīkē 迪斯科.

Nevertheless, globalization alone is not sufficient to explain the incorporation of these and many other English words in the Chinese lexicon. Language change can only be induced by the language’s

183 Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
188 Chen & Gao (2009: 92).
189 Chen & Gao (2009: 92).
This means that there should be support among the common people to use English loanwords, for they can really become part of the Chinese lexicon. Positively, we perceive an growing appreciation and interest for Western culture and English language among Chinese. This is especially the case for youngsters, as Wiebusch & Tadmor state: “Especially among the young urban people and the growing successful middle class, Western lifestyle and entertainment have become very popular”. As Western culture is gaining popularity, a growing amount of Chinese people have started studying English (both in Chinese schools and abroad), and more and more English words have been introduced to China. Summarizing, we conclude that the contemporary globalization connects cultures and languages with each other, and this leads to the exchange of terms concerning trade, science, IT, etc. We expect the amount of loanwords in Chinese to further increase in the future. The influx and acceptation of English words in China is closely related to the growing popularity of the West, as Yip declares: “This recent influx of loanwords reflects not only the country’s effort to keep pace with the fast-developing science and ideology of today’s world, but also the voguish preference among the young generation of Chinese for everything foreign, including language”.

3.1.2. Difficulties with the adoption of English words

Regarding the English and the Chinese language, we notice significant differences. First, English makes use of an alphabetic writing system, that is “a system in which graphic signs represent individual sounds or sound segments”. Chinese, on the other hand, is a logographic language, which means that every sign represents a morphological unit. Second, the phonemic inventories of both languages differ substantially. These differences give rise to difficulties with the adoption of English words into Chinese. The amount of loanwords from alphabetic languages in Modern Chinese is rather limited. Some scholars ascribe this to certain characteristics of the Chinese language – such as the syllable structure, the isolating nature and the writing system – which would make borrowing from other languages particularly difficult. Mandarin Chinese is indeed a rather isolating language, which means that it barely uses morphological changes to express syntactic relations. The poor morpheme structure makes “borrowing

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196 Li (2004: 48).
into Mandarin technically easy, since loanwords do not need to undergo complex processes of morphosyntactic integration”. During the borrowing process, English inflectional suffixes, such as tenses and plurals, can simply be omitted. Considering syntactic features, borrowing from English into Chinese is relatively easy.

Nevertheless, certain Chinese characteristics make the integration of loanwords from an alphabetic language as English more complex. We already referred to differences in writing systems and phonemic inventories. Tian calls these complications ‘orthographic constraints’: Mandarin Chinese consists of a fixed inventory of phonemes and syllables, and a more or less solid inventory of characters. A Chinese character represents both meaning and sound. The first problem concerning the borrowing of English words, is that the English sounds cannot be copied in their original pronunciation, but should undergo adoptions in order to fit into the Chinese syllable inventory. Since there is no flawless Chinese equivalent for the English phonemes, the outcome can only be an approximation of the original sounds. The second problem will then be the selection of an appropriate character to represent this sound, since Chinese does not make use of alphabetic letters. Orthographic constraints do make the borrowing process more complex, but there are several strategies at hand to overcome them. The outcome is often surprisingly creative, as Yip puts it: “The inherent meaningfulness and moldability of the Chinese language’s phonetic and graphitic elements enables translators to adopt diverse strategies in the production of optimally acceptable forms”. Yip hereby refers to the meaningfulness and logographic nature of Chinese characters, the efficiency of word-formation techniques, and the abundance of homophones. In what follows, we will discuss the various strategies for the adoption of English words.

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206 One can argue that Hanyu Pinyin could serve as an alphabetic writing system for the Chinese characters. Both in the past and present, there have been discussions whether Chinese should adopt an alphabet. Often mentioned constraints are that an alphabetic writing system does not correspond to the Chinese way of thinking and processing language; the loss of cultural heritage; pinyin not being adequate; that there are too many homophones (which would cause much confusion); etc. See Liu (1986: 41).
207 Chen (2011: 32).
3.2. Phonetic borrowing

The first type of loanwords we discuss are phonetic borrowings (yīnyìfǎ 音译法). This means that the sound of the original word is reproduced into the borrowing language. At the same time, the semantic meaning remains as closely as possible to that of the source word. The result of this kind of borrowing is called a transliteration, which is defined by McArthur as “the result of converting one set of signs to another”. An example of an English-Chinese transliteration is shālā 沙拉 (‘salad’).

The first problem related to phonetic borrowing, is that the phonemic inventories of English and Chinese differ considerably (phonemic inventories of the two languages can be found in attachment I). This means that certain phonemes or syllables which are licit in English, can be illicit in Chinese and therefore need to undergo phonological adaptations in order to fit into the Chinese sound system. In the borrowing process, the closest matching Chinese sounds will be selected, but there exists no one-to-one relationship between English and Chinese phonemes. Consequently, the Chinese transliteration is never a perfect reproduction of the English source word, rather an approximation. The second difficulty with phonetic borrowing is linked to the different writing systems. English is an alphabetic language, built up by phonemes. Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, is a logographic language, where each sign is a morpheme, represented by a Chinese character. To write down the transliterated word, Chinese characters are selected to reproduce the phonetics of the English source word. As Alleton argues: “To approximate the phonetic form of a foreign word, one has to break this word into segments corresponding to Chinese syllables”. The obligatory use of morphemes instead of phonemes puts serious limits to precisely reproducing the original pronunciation. Furthermore, a Chinese character always carries a semantic meaning, which is disregarded in the newly borrowed word.

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211 Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
212 Cheng (1985: 180). ‘Licit’ and ‘illicit’ in this context mean that a sound sequence is (non-)existing in a language.
215 Yun (2013: 2).
More examples of phonetic borrowings are listed below. It is apparent that the Chinese transliterations are only approximations of the English sounds. The semantic meaning of the individual Chinese characters is to be ignored in the newly made compounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Chinese loanword pinyin</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Semantic meaning of the characters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bye-bye²²⁰</td>
<td>bàibài</td>
<td>拜拜</td>
<td>do obeisance – do obeisance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disco²²¹</td>
<td>dískē</td>
<td>迪斯科</td>
<td>to enlighten – this – branch of study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chocolate²²²</td>
<td>qiăokēlì</td>
<td>巧克力</td>
<td>opportunity – to be able to – power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan²²³</td>
<td>fēnsī</td>
<td>粉丝</td>
<td>powder – silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>microphone²²⁴</td>
<td>mài kèfēng</td>
<td>麦克风</td>
<td>wheat – to be able to – wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudding²²⁵</td>
<td>bùdīng</td>
<td>布丁</td>
<td>cloth – man/fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salad²²⁶</td>
<td>shālā</td>
<td>沙拉</td>
<td>granule – to pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofa²²⁷</td>
<td>shāfā</td>
<td>沙发</td>
<td>granule – to send out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetic borrowing can also be regarded as a gradual process. Consider an individual – it can be a translator – who encounters an English word somewhere. The first step is the reception of the English sounds – even while reading this is the case, since people read texts with a voice in their mind.²²⁸ Secondly, the English sounds are converted into the closest matching Chinese correspondent. The third step is to select Chinese characters which represent these sounds.²²⁹ The choice of characters is not self-evident, reckoning the abundance of homophones which are present in Mandarin Chinese. This ‘process’-approach also points out the two major difficulties in borrowing words phonetically from English into Chinese: first, the phonological adaptation of English sounds, and second, the selection of Chinese characters to render these sounds.²³⁰ We discuss these topics more elaborately in the following sections.

²¹⁹ Li (2003: 89).
²²² Yan (2013: 3).
²²⁵ Chen (2011: 32).
²²⁶ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
²²⁷ Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
²³⁰ An exception to this is the copying of alphabetic words in their original form. See 3.2.4 Zero translation.
3.2.1. Phonological adaptation of English sounds

Phonetic borrowing tries to approximate the pronunciation of the source word, but is hindered by the differences in phonemic inventories. Several English phonemes and combinations of phonemes are illicit in Mandarin Chinese and therefore need to be modified. Besides phonemes and phoneme combinations, certain English phonological distinctions cannot be maintained in Chinese. On the other hand, there are also Chinese phonological distinctions that do not exist in English. This means that some phonological ‘information’ will be lost in the borrowing process, while other distinctions will be added.

Phonological differences between Mandarin Chinese and English are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological distinctions</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>/pa/ 爸 versus /pʰa/ 怕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>mā 妈 má 麻 mà 马 ma 马</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voicing</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>bad /bæd/ versus bat /bæt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short versus long syllables</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>fairy /ˈfeəri/ versus ferry /ˈferi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glewwe defines phonological adaptation as “the process whereby word forms from a source language are modified to conform to the phonotactics and other well-formedness requirements of the borrowing language”. Firstly we will discuss the adaptation of English phonemes. Generally, English phonemes are rendered by their closest matching Chinese equivalent. Secondly, we will examine illicit syllable structures, which can be solved by means of deleting a consonant or inserting an extra vowel.

The topic of phonological adaptations needs (and deserves) more investigation. In 2005, Miao Ruiqin published her dissertation “Loanword Adaptation in Mandarin Chinese: Perceptual, Phonological and Sociolinguistic Factors”. She is one of the few authors who focused on the phonological adaptation of European words in the Chinese borrowing process. We combined her theories with complementary insights of Li Zhiyuan, Guo and Glewwe. As literature on this topic is scarce, we tried to check whether the statements seem to be right, and give more (counter) examples. We hope that in the future, more investigation on English-Chinese phonology will be performed. For example, very little is known about

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231 Miao (2005: 1).
234 Glewwe (2015: 1).
235 Besides English, Miao also investigated Italian and German source words.
237 The majority of the examples mentioned by Miao in her dissertation concern brand names. This can give a distorted picture since brand names often contain characters with a desirable meaning, rather than characters that are the closest correspondents to the original English sounds. We tried to check her statements by using other examples as well. For the topic on brand names, see 3.5.2.2. Brand names.
the role of stress (English) and tones (Chinese) in the borrowing process. Further investigation might lead to new insights.

### 3.2.1.1. Phoneme adaptation

Miao wrote in 2005: “Generally, a foreign phoneme is mapped to its phonologically/phonetically closest correspondent in Mandarin”, and “phoneme mapping from a lending language to Mandarin is flexible in that the same foreign sound can have alternative substitutes in Mandarin”.

The latter indicates that there are no absolute rules for the adaptation of phonemes, but in general, the closest Chinese correspondent is selected. In what follows, we discuss the adaptation of vowels, as mentioned by Miao Ruiqin and Li Zhiyuan. I tried to verify their premises by analysing additional examples of English-Chinese transliterations. A checkmark next to the example indicates that the transliteration confirms the theory, while an X indicates an inconsistency. Some inconsistencies can be linked to orthographic reasons: in the phonetic borrowing process, the translator can opt to select characters which convey an accommodating meaning or a desirable connotation. A less similar phonetic substitute with a matching meaning can be preferred over a phonetically better suiting morpheme whose meaning is not in the least related to the source word.

With this consideration in mind, most examples seem to confirm the phonological adaptation theories as mentioned by Miao and Li.

### Plosives

English and Chinese plosives are similar: English plosives are replaced by their ‘closest correspondent in place’. This refers to the position of tongue and lips to articulate sounds. The studied literature prescribes that voiceless plosives are mostly converted into aspirated plosives, whereas voiced plosives are converted into unaspirated plosives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word - IPA</th>
<th>Pinyin – IPA – characters</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>champagne - /ʃæmˈpeɪn/</td>
<td>xiāngbīn - /xiāngbīn/</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>reason unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cola - /ˈkəʊla/</td>
<td>kēlè - /kʰělē/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poker - /ˈpəʊkə/</td>
<td>pūkè - /pǔkè/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudding - /ˈpuːdɪŋ/</td>
<td>bùdīng - /bùdīng/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puma - /ˈpjuːma/</td>
<td>biāomǎ - /pǐāomǎ/</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>orthographic reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tank - /tæŋk/</td>
<td>tànkè - /tǎnkè/</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

238 Miao (2005: 2).
239 Miao (2005: 2).
241 The brand name ‘Puma’ contains the character biāo 彪 ‘young tiger’, since this corresponds nicely with their English name.
242 Li (2003: 98).
Fricatives, affricates and glides

English fricatives and affricates are replaced by their closest correspondent in place. One would expect ‘s’ and ‘z’ to be rendered by ‘s’, but in reality we see conversions to ‘s’, ‘sh’, and ‘j’. The ‘v’, which is illicit in Chinese, is mostly converted to ‘f’ or ‘u’. Glides (‘j’, ‘w’, ‘x’) are often combined by the high vowels ‘i’, ‘u’ and ‘y’ in Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Pinyin – IPA – characters</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sofa - /ˈsoʊfa/</td>
<td>shāfā - /ʃəfə/</td>
<td>X ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee - /ˈkɒfi/</td>
<td>kāfēi - /kʰəfei/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volt - /ˈvɒlt/</td>
<td>fùtè - /fʊtə/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miss - /mıs/</td>
<td>mīsī - /mɪsɪ/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigar - /ˈɡɑː(r)/</td>
<td>xuējiā - /xʊɛtʃə/</td>
<td>X reason unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hormone - /ˈhɔːmən/</td>
<td>hěrméng - /hɤrməŋ/</td>
<td>✓ reason unclear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jazz - /dʒæz/</td>
<td>juéshi - /tʃætsʃi/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheetos - //ˈtʃiːtəs//</td>
<td>gíduō - /tʃiːtwə/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chocolate - /tʃɔkəlt/</td>
<td>giāokèli - /tʃɑokʰɿli/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS - eɪdz</td>
<td>āizī - /aɪtsi/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahoo - /jɔˈhuː/</td>
<td>yāhǔ - /jɑxu/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasals

English and Chinese nasals are similar and thus mostly retained. ‘–m’ cannot be used as coda in Modern Chinese, and should thus be replaced by one of the other nasals. Another option is to add a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Pinyin – IPA – characters</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motorcycle - /ˈmɔːtaˈsækl/</td>
<td>mótuōchē - /mʊtʰɔtsʰɤ/ 摩托车</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opium - /ˈəʊpjəm/</td>
<td>yāpiàn - /japʰjɛn/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cartoon - /kɑːˈtuːn/</td>
<td>kātōng - /kʰatʰoŋ/</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlboro</td>
<td>wānbáolù - /wɔnpɑʊlʊ/</td>
<td>X orthographic reason ✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

243 Li (2003: 111).
244 Miao (2005: 56-67).
246 ‘Sofa’ was firstly introduced in Shanghai, where 沙发 is pronounced as safə, being the closest correspondent in place. See Gao & Liu (1958, 157), cited in Li (2003: 90).
247 Li (2003: 105).
248 Li (2003: 112).
249 Li (2003: 111).
251 The cigarette company Marlboro opted for a Chinese brand name that translates as ‘The path of ten thousand treasures’.
Laterals

/l/ is a licit phoneme in Mandarin Chinese and can be copied as such. Regarding /r/, only the retroflex /ɻ/ does exist in Chinese, in coda position known as the érhuà 儿化. The /r/ is often replaced by its closest correspondent /l/. In coda position, /l/ and /r/ are mostly omitted, in rare cases they are replaced by the retroflex /ɻ/. The limited use of érhuà can possibly be explained by its Northern-Chinese character.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Pinyin – IPA – characters</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salad - /ˈsæləd/</td>
<td>shālā - /ʃala/  沙拉</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radar - /ˈreɪdər/</td>
<td>ɿéidá - /leita/ 雷达</td>
<td>✔✔ /l/ + deletion of coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigar - /ˈʃɪɡər/</td>
<td>xuējiā - /ɕɥɶʈʃa/ 雪茄</td>
<td>✔ deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>email - /ˈiːmæl/</td>
<td>yīmèi - /yimeiɻ/ 伊妹儿</td>
<td>✔ retroflex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

Until now, there is no study focusing on vowel adaptation. In general, it seems to be the case that vowels are represented by their closest correspondent. Notice that not all consonants can be combined with all possible vowels in Chinese, since there is a fixed syllable inventory. In the phonetic borrowing process, consonant adaptation seems to be the primary concern, while the matching of vowels comes second.

Tone

Glewwe has done some research on tones and compared her findings with those of Wu and Chang & Bradley. However, their conclusions are contradictory, and we therefore chose not to mention them here. This demonstrates that further investigation on the topic is desirable.

In summary, we perceive significant adjustments of English phonemes in their conversion to Chinese. The phonetic distinction of tone is added, while voicing is lost. The general tendency is that an English phoneme is replaced by its closest correspondent, but this might vary in some cases.

---

252 “Rhotacization, also known as érhuà, is the suffixation of an ěr sound to the final, often accompanied by changes to the sound values of the latter”. See Ping (1999: 36).
254 Miao (2005: 102) ascribes the limited use of érhuà to the fact that Chinese were historically mostly influenced by the British people, while the retroflex /ɻ/ is a typically American sound. This point of view is questionable, since in contemporary times, it is especially the American culture that is influencing the globe.
255 Chen & Gao (2009: 91).
258 Li argues that English vowels are not separate items, rather they blend into each other and are therefore difficult to distinguish. This is his motivation for not studying vowel adaptions. See Li (2003: 106-107).
3.2.1.2. Illicit syllable structures

English and Chinese have different possible syllable structures. English has a syllable structure of (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C). While tri-consonantal clusters are rare, di-consonants are often encountered. The syllable structure in Mandarin Chinese, on the other hand, is (C)(G)V(C), where only a vowel as nucleus is mandatory. Consonant clusters do not exist in Modern Chinese, and in coda position only the finals /-n/ and /-ng/ are possible. This means that English consonant clusters and many consonant codas are illicit in Mandarin Chinese. The different syllable structures make modifications while borrowing inevitable.

Chris Wen-Chao Li declares:

"Languages vary greatly in their syllable structure templates, as a result of which a sound sequence permitted in one language may not be legitimate in another. Problems arise when attempting to transliterate a language with a more complex syllable structure in a language with a simpler syllable structure. Because the target language cannot allow structures in the source language, modifications such as deletion, epenthesis and blending have to be called upon to adapt potential loan words".

The two major strategies to eliminate illicit consonant clusters are consonant deletion and vowel insertion. Consonant deletion implies that one (or several) consonants are omitted, in order to fit into the (C)(G)V(C)-structure. The other option is the insertion of a vowel in order to syllabify, this is also referred to as ‘vowel epenthesis’. Examples are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant deletion</th>
<th>Vowel insertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maryland266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ Mǎ-lǐ-lán_ 马里兰</td>
<td>deletion of coda ‘d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poker267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ pū-kè_ 朴_</td>
<td>deletion of coda ‘r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guitar268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ jí-tā_ 吉他</td>
<td>deletion of coda ‘r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ bà-lǐ 巴黎</td>
<td>deletion of coda ‘s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>microphone269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ màì-kè-fēng 麦克风</td>
<td>deletion of ‘r’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>card270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ kǎ 卡</td>
<td>deletion of coda ‘rd’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golf271</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ gāo-ěr-fū 高尔夫</td>
<td>insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shock272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ xiū-kè 休克</td>
<td>insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeep273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→ jí-pū 吉普</td>
<td>insertion of a vowel to eliminate illicit coda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

262 Li (2003: 88). Notice that in some Chinese dialects (e.g. Cantonese) final consonants -p, -t, -k are possible, as a heritage from Middle Chinese. See Norman (1988: 52), Ramsey (1989: 88).
264 Li (2007: 49).
269 Li (2003: 96).
270 Li (2003: 97).
271 Li (2003: 96).
272 Li (2003: 98).
273 Li (2003: 98).
An example with many illicit sound sequences is ‘Frankfurt’ (from German):

Frankfurt ˈfræŋkfɜːt → Fǎlānkèfú 法兰克福

Illicit consonant cluster /fr/ → vowel insertion /a/
Illicit consonant /r/ → /l/
Illicit consonant cluster /kf/ → vowel insertion /e/
Illicit consonant coda /rt/ → deletion

3.2.2. Selection of Chinese characters
As the first step of phonetic borrowing is the transformation of the English sounds into licit Chinese syllables, the second is to select characters to represent these syllables. Mandarin Chinese contains a tremendous amount of homophones – especially when tonal differences are ignored – which implies that each syllable corresponds to a group of characters.\textsuperscript{275} An English transliteration can thus be represented by various Chinese characters. This gives rise to arbitrariness and disunity. Notice that an English word can have multiple Chinese translations on three levels. First, the adaptation of sounds can vary depending on region and dialect.\textsuperscript{276} Second, different translators can select other characters to represent the adapted English sounds.\textsuperscript{277} And third, words can have various loans according to the borrowing method employed, for example transliteration and semantic translation (see 3.3. Semantic borrowing). Examples of foreign words with several translations are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Transliterations</th>
<th>Other translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laser</td>
<td>láisài 来赛</td>
<td>jīguāng 激光 (semantic borrowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>láisài 莱赛</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>léishè 雷射 (Taiwanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>léishè 锺射 (Taiwanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacker\textsuperscript{278}</td>
<td>hēikè 黑客</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>háikè 骇客 (Taiwanese)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{274} Chen (2011: 32).
\textsuperscript{275} Yang (2007: 87).
\textsuperscript{276} Yang (2007: 90-98). This causes certain transliterations to be very opaque in their Mandarin Chinese pronunciation. For example, the transliteration for ‘Portugal’ Pútáoyá 葡萄牙 makes a lot more sense in the Xiamen-dialect, where 葡 is pronounced as /ga/. See Yang (2007: 98).
\textsuperscript{277} Zhou & Jiang (2004: 49), Yan (2013: 1).
\textsuperscript{278} Examples from Shi (2013), cited in Miao (2016: 575).
Phonetic borrowing often arouses criticism among Chinese scholars. The first objection against transliterations is the arbitrariness in the selection of characters, which leads to disunity. Secondly, characters are solely selected for their phonetic value, there is no relation between the inherent meaning of the characters and the word in question. Linguists often argue that as each character carries meaning and sound, both should be retained. They consider the use of characters exclusively for their pronunciation value as very ‘un-Chinese’. Many Chinese scholars therefore believe that semantic translations are to be preferred over pure phonetic borrowings. We will discuss this controversy extensively in 3.4. Choosing phonetic or semantic borrowing.

### 3.2.3. Phonetic characters

The Chinese language contains some phonetic characters that do not (or barely) carry semantic meaning. Examples are the characters ma 呀, ne 呢, ba 吧, hā 哈, sī 斯, etc. Many phonetic characters can be recognized by the ‘mouth’-radical 口, which indicates that the character is solely employed for its sound value. Phonetic characters are sometimes used in the transliteration of foreign words and proper names, e.g. ‘coffee’ kāfēi 咖啡, ‘curry’ gālí 咖喱, ‘bar’ jiūbā 酒吧 (see 3.5.1. Loanblends), ‘Harvard’ Hāfó 哈佛, ‘Russia’ Éluòsì 俄罗斯. This technique of creating characters for the transliteration of phonetic

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279 Chan & Kwok (1990: 93).
282 Alleton writes on this: “In the written form, characters will be chosen for their pronunciation, without any necessary relation between their meaning and the word in question. To avoid meaning interferences or absurd sequences, it is now recommended that quasi-meaningless characters, which are not currently used in contemporary language, be employed. Application of this principle would, over the long term, result in the creation of a syllabary, but it has never been consistently put into practice.” See Alleton (2001: 21-22).
283 Many of these are used as particles, interjections, onomatopoeia, etc.
285 Once these phonetic characters are widely known and accepted, it is possible that they do take on meaning. For example, pí 啤 was introduced in Chinese as a phonetic character, but more and more it attains the characteristics of a meaningful semantic morpheme as it is used in new compounds such as ‘dark beer’ hēipí 黑啤, ‘amber coloured beer’ nuànpí 暖啤 and ‘draft beer’ xiānpí 鲜啤. This is also the case for bā 吧: ‘book café’ shūbā 书吧 and ‘internet café’ wǎngbā 网吧. See Zhao (2006: 39), Yip (2000: 345), Li (2003: 130).
borrowings originates from the Buddhist sutra translators. Technically speaking, it would be possible to create phonetic characters for the rendition of all phonetic loans. This would reduce the discrepancy between meaning and sound that is usually present in phonetic loans and that is often criticised. Notice that the overall-use of phonetic characters would bring the Chinese language a step closer to becoming a phonetic (instead of logographic) writing system. However, this practice is rarely encountered as Chinese have not created a significant number of new phonetic characters in recent times.

3.2.4. Zero translation
Zero translation, also called (direct) transplantation (yuánwén yízhífǎ 原文移植法), refers to the appearance of alphabetic letters in Mandarin Chinese. There are two types of zero translation: pure lettered words (zìmǔcí 字母词) and letters in combination with Chinese morphemes. The first type concerns English words, initials, and acronyms, which got copied in their original shape into Chinese. Examples are WTO, CD, BBC, DNA, PPT, Excel etc. The second option is the combination of alphabetic letters and a Chinese part. The source word is mostly a compound word, made up of a letter plus a word. In Chinese, a part of the source word is translated, while the letter is simply ‘transplanted’. Examples are ‘ATM machine’ ATM ji ATM 机, ‘USB’ U pán U 盘, ‘X-ray’ X guāng 光, ‘Y-chromosome’ Y rǎnsètǐ Y 染色体, ‘T-shirt’ T xù T 恤, etc. Zero translation can be understood as the outcome of the contemporary rapid developments and globalization. Since there is a lack of time to produce an appropriate Chinese translation, the word is borrowed its original alphabetic form. The biggest advantage of initialisms and acronyms is their conciseness, which is exactly the reason why they are employed in English in the first place. It is much more convenient to write ‘WTO’ instead of ‘World Trade Organisation’, and ‘DNA’ instead of ‘deoxyribonucleic acid’. As for Chinese, it is more opportune to use ‘WTO’ and ‘DNA’ instead of shìjiè màoyì zǔzhī 世界贸易组织 and tuōyáng トウヤン.

287 For example, ‘sofa’ shāfā could then become something like 口沙口发 instead of 沙发.
290 “Initialisms and acronyms are composed of the initial letters or parts of a compound term, but an initialism is generally verbalized letter by letter (e.g. CD), while an acronym is usually read or spoken as a single word (e.g. AIDS).” See Sun & Jiang (2000: 103).
294 Chen & Gao (2009: 93).
hétáng hésuān 脱氧核糖核酸. Zero translations also reflect the growing importance and popularity of the English language in China. As Yip explains: “As the Chinese people become more and more receptive to foreign ideas, their language also becomes more and more receptive to foreign, particularly English, script. This has made direct transplantation possible”. Especially young people, who attain a higher proficiency in foreign language than the older generations, make much use of English letters.

Nevertheless, language purists point out that lettered words affect the “purity and unity” of the Chinese language. For people with a minor education and monolinguals, these terms are very difficult to understand. The use of lettered words is also mentioned in Article 11 of the Law on the People’s Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language:

“According to the law, (1) for those lettered words that have equivalent Chinese free translations, the lettered words should be replaced by Chinese free translations in publications in Chinese. Therefore, shìjiè mǎyì zǔzhī 世界贸易组织 replaces WTO, guónèi shēnghǎn zǒngzhì 国内生产总值 replaces GDP in publications in Chinese. (2) For those lettered words that have no equivalent free translation in Chinese temporarily, Chinese annotation should be used together with these lettered words in publications in Chinese, for instance, KTV should be followed by Chinese notes yúlè huò cānyǐn chǎngsuǒ de kālāOK bāoxiāng 娱乐或餐饮场所的卡拉 OK 包厢 (an activity that people do for entertainment in which someone sings a song while a karaoke machine plays the music to the song with the lyrics shown by a TV).

The use of lettered words is also mentioned in Article 11 of the Law on the People’s Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language:

Newly-compiled or revised Chinese dictionaries also contain more and more lettered words. This shows that despite the critiques, lettered words “have, more or less, become part of the language”.

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296 Notice that initialisms are sometimes even used for Chinese terms, for example HSK (Hànyǔ Shuǐpíng Kǎoshì 汉语水平考试, a Chinese proficiency test). See Wang & Yang (2006: 49).
298 Zhao (2006: 37).
300 Tian (2012: 967).
301 Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, cited by Shi (2006: 36-37).
3.3. Semantic borrowing

Semantic borrowing (yìyìfǎ 意译法) purely focuses on meaning. This implies that the phonetic pattern of the source word is not preserved or approximated. Chen describes semantic borrowing as “a Chinese word using indigenous morphemes in a way that attempts to capture the most characteristic feature of the foreign concept”. The most subtle form of semantic borrowing is a “shift in meaning”, as mentioned by Wiebusch & Tadmor: the meaning of a Chinese word or morpheme is expanded or modified under the influence of a foreign word. They give the example of diàn 电, which meant ‘lightning’ in the past, but nowadays carries the meaning of ‘electricity’. Meaning shifts are often the result of contact situations with other cultures, but it is unclear from which language the shift exactly derives. Well-known types of semantic borrowings are loan translations (calques) and free translations.

3.3.1. Loan translations

A loan translation or calque is a literal translation of a foreign term: each element of the foreign word gets translated into the borrowing language. The result is an “exact copy of the source word”. Loan translation is often called a “morpheme-for-morpheme” translation, since each morpheme is translated independently to form a new compound. For example, the English word ‘lover’ consists of two morphemes: the verb ‘to love’, and the agentive morpheme ‘-er’. These morphemes are translated separately in Chinese as the verb ‘to love’ àì 爱, and the agentive morpheme rén 人 (‘person’), which together makes àirén 爱人. Additional examples of loan translations are listed below.

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305 Yip (2000: 338). A special kind of semantic borrowing is a ‘graphetic translation’. Regrettably, research on this kind of loanwords is very limited. Yip writes the following on graphetic translation: “In this case the shape of the Chinese script is exploited for its resemblance to the referent of the term being translated. The second syllable is always the word 字 zì ‘written character’. Examples are ‘pyramid’ jīnzìtǎ 金字塔, ‘T-square’ dīngzíchǐ 丁字尺, ‘the Cross’ shízìjià 十字架 and ‘Z-shaped or ‘zigzag’ zhīzìxíng 之字形. These words contain three parts: 1) a character that depicts the shape of the referent 2) the character 字 zì 3) a semantic indicator. The examples can literally be understood as: ‘a tower formed like the character 金’, ‘a length with the shape of the character 丁’, ‘a frame shaped like the character 十’, and ‘an entity looking like the character 之’. These kind of loanwords call upon the pictographic nature of Chinese characters. See Yip (2000: 340).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Loanword in Chinese</th>
<th>Meaning of the components</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basketball</td>
<td>lánqíu 蓝球</td>
<td>basket - ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black market</td>
<td>hēishi 黑市</td>
<td>black - market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blueprint</td>
<td>lántú 蓝图</td>
<td>blue - picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottleneck</td>
<td>píngjǐng 瓶颈</td>
<td>bottle - neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flagship</td>
<td>qǐjiàn 旗舰</td>
<td>flag - warship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flea market</td>
<td>tiàozao shichǎng 跳蚤市场</td>
<td>flea - market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honeymoon</td>
<td>mìyuè 蜜月</td>
<td>honey - moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse power</td>
<td>mǎlì 马力</td>
<td>horse - power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotdog</td>
<td>règǒu 热狗</td>
<td>hot - dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lover</td>
<td>àirén 爱人</td>
<td>to love - person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>niújīn 牛津</td>
<td>ox - a ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft drink</td>
<td>ruǎnyǐnliào 软饮料</td>
<td>soft - beverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superman</td>
<td>chāorén 超人</td>
<td>super - person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>test-tube baby</td>
<td>shīguān yīng’ér 试管婴儿</td>
<td>to test - tube - baby - suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to make love</td>
<td>zuò’ài 做爱</td>
<td>to make - to love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2. Free translations
Whereas loan translations are morpheme-for-morpheme translations of the source word, free translations are a lot more innovative and characterized by a high degree of naturalization in Chinese. Free translation is in fact a description of a foreign cultural term in a Chinese mode of writing. The neologisms are obviously modelled after a foreign word, but there is no direct (phonetic or semantic) relation with the source word, which makes the link to the original rather opaque. T’sou calls this category “descriptive labels”, as free translation is “the description of culturally non-compatible items in a Chinese way”. In order to translate the foreign source word, Chinese morphemes are combined in a very creative way. Examples of free translations are listed below.

---

317 Examples from Chen (2011: 33).
The Chinese translators take some of the most appealing characteristics of the source word and produce a neologism. The abstract foreign word is reformed into a very concrete, almost tactile descriptive noun. Closely related to free translations are figurative translations, a category mentioned by Yip. Where a semantic or explanatory translation is inadequate, a foreign term is given a metaphorical description. Compared to free translations, figurative translations go even further in finding a Chinese way of explaining concepts and things. Examples of figurative translations are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word</th>
<th>Chinese free translation</th>
<th>Literal translation of the Chinese term</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>giraffe</td>
<td>chángjǐnglù 长颈鹿</td>
<td>long-necked deer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>computer</td>
<td>diànnǎo 电脑</td>
<td>electric brain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>typewriter</td>
<td>dázijì 打字机</td>
<td>machine that types characters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td>jiàotáng 教堂</td>
<td>religious hall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>euthanasia</td>
<td>ānlèsì 安乐死</td>
<td>peaceful and gladly dying</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>condom</td>
<td>ānquántào 安全套</td>
<td>safety cover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distort mirror</td>
<td>hāhājìng 哈哈镜</td>
<td>sound-of-laughter mirror</td>
<td>onomatopoeic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hula-hula</td>
<td>cǎoqúnwǔ 草裙舞</td>
<td>grass-skirt dance</td>
<td>metonymy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaleidoscope</td>
<td>wànhuātǒng 万花筒</td>
<td>ten thousand flower tube</td>
<td>imaginative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vampire</td>
<td>xīxuèguǐ 吸血鬼</td>
<td>blood sucking ghost</td>
<td>descriptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rugby</td>
<td>gǎnlǎnqiú 橄榄球</td>
<td>olive ball</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The English source word is abstract: its form gives no indication of the semantic meaning and solely refers to a concept in the outer-linguistic reality. Free translation makes this foreign term concrete by describing the semantics in an imaginative, lyrical way. The final character gives an indication of the meaning or category, while the first two characters are very sensory. Often figures of speech are included, as the examples demonstrate: a ‘distorting mirror’ (hāhājìng 哈哈镜) is described as a mirror which purpose is to make people laugh (onomatopoeic sound of laughing ‘haha’). The free translation for ‘hula-
hula dance’ (cǎoqúnwǔ 草裙舞) focusses on a visual aspect: the clothes that the dancers wear (metonymy). ‘Kaleidoscope’ (wànhuātǒng 万花筒) and ‘rugby’ (gǎnlǎnqiú 橄榄球) are also very sensory: looking into a kaleidoscope creates the impression of staring at thousands of flowers, while the oval rugby ball has the shape of an olive (metaphor).

In free translations and figurative translations, the relationship with the source word is rather indistinct. The original pronunciation is completely abandoned, and the semantic meaning is denoted by a (metaphorical) Chinese description. As mentioned by Hu & Xu, these words are noticeably ‘naturalized’ in the Chinese language.\(^{327}\) This can cause complications for etymological research as the exact origin of the loanword is quite difficult to detect for both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars. An indication of their foreign nature can be that free and figurative translations are often three-character words, while such phrases are rarely encountered in Modern Chinese.

\(^{327}\) Hu & Xu (2003: 310).
3.4. Choosing phonetic or semantic borrowing

3.4.1. The pros and contras of phonetic borrowing
A transliteration is both phonetically and semantically an approximation of the English source word. An important advantage of this kind of borrowing is its promptness: the adaptation of the English sounds is merely a mental process, while the character selection is rather arbitrary.\(^{328}\) In times of massive cultural contact through globalization and new communicative means (internet etc.), foreign influence on language is immense. As the influx of loanwords is rapid and large, it can be difficult to immediately find an adequate semantic translation that completely encloses the meaning of the source term.\(^{329}\) One can then opt for a pure phonetic transliteration of the source term. Yang relates this to Xuanzang’s \(\text{wūbùfān}\): since certain culturally bound terms are nearly impossible to translate, it might be a better option to simply not translate, and thus opt for transliteration.\(^{330}\)

Furthermore, transliterations can be a concise alternative for long semantic descriptions, as Wang Hongyuan states: “It is evident that a phonetic borrowing can express concrete or even abstract concepts more concisely and effectively than a semantic borrowing, which needs a wordy explanation”.\(^{331}\) For example, both in written and spoken form, it is more convenient to use the transliteration \(\text{àizī}\) for ‘AIDS’, instead of the long descriptive term \(\text{huòdēxìng mìyì qūěsūn zònghézhèng}\) 获得性免疫缺陷综合症 (‘Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome’).\(^{332}\)

Chan & Kwok composed a list of “English Loan Words in Hong Kong Chinese”, which mostly contains transliterations.\(^{333}\) Besides loans in Hong Kong Cantonese, the corresponding loanwords in Putonghua are listed as well.\(^{334}\) After an examination of this index, we observe that (almost) all transliterations can be summarized in a few topics: cultural terms, Western objects and nutrients, religious terms, and pharmaceuticals. A more thorough report of our analysis can be found in Attachment II. From this limited examination and the examples mentioned in section 3.2. Phonetic borrowings, we can presume that

\(\text{330}\) Yang (2007: 75).
\(\text{332}\) Yip (2000: 333). Another example is ‘OPEC’ (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries), where the transliteration \(\text{ōupèikè}\) 欧佩克 is preferred over \(\text{shíyóu shūchūguó zǔzhī}\) 石油输出国组织. See Wang (2004: 49).
\(\text{333}\) See “Appendix I: English Loan Words in Hong Kong Chinese” in Chan & Kwok (1990: 85-125).
\(\text{334}\) I did not examine the Hong Kong Cantonese forms, which are beyond the scope of this dissertation.
phonetic borrowings mostly concern (1) culture-related terms which are (2) difficult to define by a descriptive translation. This confirms the theorem of Xuanzang – 1500 years later.

Contrasts of transliterations were already mentioned in chapter 3.2. Phonetic borrowings. Despite its advantages, certain linguistic factors hinder the convenience of transliterations. Novotna refers to the “syllabic and combinatory restrictions of the Chinese phonemes” (which require phonological adaptions) and the “phono-ideographic nature of the Chinese writing system” (difficulties with the selection of characters). The biggest point of criticism against phonetic borrowing is definitely that the semantic value of the Chinese characters which comprise the loanword is neglected. Many scholars label this as very ‘un-Chinese’, as Chinese readers expect and prefer words in which there is at least an indicative of meaning. Using morphemes solely for their phonetic value, can give rise to confusion among Chinese individuals (‘Is the meaning of the characters simply to be ignored?’).

According to Ping Chen, Chinese attach much importance to the use of characters in which sound and meaning are combined harmoniously. If one of these two is omitted “it requires more processing effort” of a Chinese reader to understand the term. Hoosain believes that the inherent meaning of morphemes is particularly important in Chinese: “Although much controversy still surrounds the cognitive mechanisms underlying the processing of Chinese characters, most researchers seem to believe that the Chinese script indicates meaning more directly that do alphabetic or syllabic scripts, which are connected to the meaning completely via sound”. Since it is true for transliterations that “the string of characters that constitute a word does not make much sense when reference is made to the inherent meaning of the graphic forms”, it seems that these kind of neologisms do not belong in the Chinese language. There are several factors that contest this point of view. First, the semantic content of characters is not always unambiguous, even in indigenous Chinese morphemes. Many characters possess more than one meaning (and sound) that are not in the least related. Second, the problem of ‘semantically void characters’ is only valid at the written level of language. The most active and basic form of a language is its spoken form. That is really the ‘language of the people’, where changes find their roots. Combined with the fact that historically the majority of the people were illiterate, there are clear indications that written language

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335 For example, nutrients are very difficult to describe.
337 Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).
341 Ping (1999: 105).
342 For example, 脏 zàng ‘internal organs’ versus 脏 zāng ‘dirty’, and 行 xíng ‘to go’ versus 行 háng ‘row’.

53
is of minor importance in comparison with spoken language. A third point to consider is that historically, it has always been very common for Chinese writers to make use of homophonous characters. While copying manuscripts, scribes often replaced the original character by one with the same pronunciation but a different meaning, as Meyer states: “[…] when producing a new copy, the scribe would not write the graph he saw but would write the sound he heard”. In order to work quickly, scribes would often replace characters by homophones because the stroke order of the latter was less complicated. This phenomenon shows that Chinese attach much importance to the sounds rather than to the inherent meaning of the characters. Until now, in informal situations, Chinese often use homophones to substitute characters that are difficult to write. This third consideration clearly demonstrates the importance of orality in Chinese, and contests the statement that the use of semantically accurate characters would be of paramount importance in Mandarin Chinese.

A last point of criticism against phonetic borrowings is related to language purism. The frequent use of transliterations is by purists considered as ‘spoiling’ the Chinese language. Already on a symposium on the Standardisation of Modern Chinese in Beijing in the 1950s, the overall consensus was that semantic translation should be preferred over transliteration, because this corresponds better to the Chinese culture. As the Chinese linguist Wang Li put it: “Semantic (rather than phonetic) translation reflects the national self-esteem of the Chinese speaking people”. Furthermore, the use of phonetic borrowings would also cause the emergence of a ‘gap’ between the less educated population who are not familiar with foreign languages like English, and the higher educated, who are often rather fluent in English and can easily understand and use transliterations.

3.4.2. The pros and cons of semantic borrowing

The contras of transliterations define the strengths of semantic loans. Semantic borrowings do not comprise a discrepancy between the semantics of the loanword and the meanings of the individual characters (morphemes). They contain a much higher degree of ‘naturalization’, and fit perfectly into the Chinese language system. Their foreign nature is sometimes indistinguishable and therefore, they are in accordance with the requirements of language purists.

343 Meyer (2012: 150), cited by Burdorf (2015: 10). The homophonous characters cannot be seen in the official versions today, since they have been edited and replaced by their original correspondent. Notice that this phenomenon of homophonous characters demonstrates that Chinese showed tendencies of evolving into a phonetic writing system. The fact that this did not happen has often been ascribed to the dominance of the classical texts and the resistance of the officials against the removal of the character script. See Burdorf, Suzanne PhD proposal (not published) (2015: 9-10).


We already mentioned potential disadvantages of semantic loans in the historical part (2.1. The first large-scale translations projects). Semantic loans can suggest that there is no difference between the historical meaning and the semantics of the neologism that came into existence under foreign influence. These loanwords are often culturally specific terms that refer to a different concept, or contain a different connotation.\(^{346}\) It is unsure whether this ‘shift of meaning’ is fully understood by the Chinese people. For example, the translation of ‘tragedy’ as \(\text{bēijù 悲剧}\) (‘sad drama’) is confusing since these two refer to different things depending on whether they are used in a Western or Chinese context. The semantic translation can erroneously give the impression that a ‘tragedy’ is the same as a \(\text{bēijù 悲剧}\).\(^{347}\)

3.4.3. Discussion
Several scholars assume that pure phonetic loans are rather short-lived.\(^{348}\) A foreign term may initially be introduced in Chinese by means of transliteration due to a lack of time, or due to an insufficient understanding of the English source word. Nevertheless, with the passing of time, one will coin a semantic loan, which will eventually replace the initial transliteration.\(^{349}\) As Yan Chen puts it “transliterations are prone to semanticization”\(^{350}\), since Chinese prefer an alternative where “each character makes sense”\(^{351}\). Chan & Kwok similarly state that there is a strong preference for semantic loans: “The general opinion seems to be that if a translation equivalent is easily available and does not entail elaborate circumlocution, this translation is to be preferred because it has the advantage over phonetic loans of being meaningful”.\(^{352}\) Scholars often refer to historical evidence to prove this theory.\(^{353}\) Frequently quoted examples of terms which were initially transliterated, but after time replaced by a semantic loan are given below.

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\(^{347}\) Hu (2004: 35). ‘Tragedy’: “(1) a very sad event or situation, especially one that involves death, (2) a serious play with a sad ending, especially one in which the main character dies; plays of this type” (Oxford Learner’s Dictionary). \(\text{Bēijù 悲剧}\) often simply refers to a theatrical play. Notice that this not only the case for semantic borrowings. Li gives the example of ‘angel’, transliterated in Chinese as \(\text{ānqí’ér 安琪儿}\). The interpretation of ‘a messenger from heaven’ is retained in Chinese, but the extended meaning of ‘someone who acts like an angel’ is not adopted. See Li (2003: 119). The same is true for the phonetic loan \(\text{kù 酷}\) which carries the meanings of ‘cold’, ‘unfriendly’, ‘calm’ and ‘fashionable’ in English, while the Chinese loanword only retains ‘fashionable’. See Miao (2016: 573).

\(^{348}\) Miao (2016: 571).


\(^{350}\) Yan (2013: 3).

\(^{351}\) Ping (1999: 105).

\(^{352}\) Chan & Kwok (1990: 20).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Initial transliterated term</th>
<th>Semantic loan by which the transliteration got replaced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>democracy</td>
<td>démòkèlāxī 德谟克拉西</td>
<td>mǐnzhǔ 民主</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telephone</td>
<td>děnlǔfēng 德律风</td>
<td>diànhuà 电话</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parliament</td>
<td>bàlimén 巴力门</td>
<td>yìhuì 议会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camera</td>
<td>kāimāilā 开麦拉</td>
<td>zhàoxiàngjī 照相机</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Certain loanwords have both a phonetic and semantic borrowed form. Since languages normally behave economically, it is improbable that several terms for one and the same concept would coexist for a long time. Ping Chen writes: “As a rule, the situation in which functionally undifferentiated terms for the same referent coexist in the same language community will not last long”. It is likely that one term will eventually survive the others. According to Ping Chen, this ‘competition of loans’ is characterized by two tendencies: First, loan translations and semantic translations are preferred over transliterations. Second, the form that is used in Northern Mandarin Chinese will be competitive over variants from other dialect regions. We verified the first statement for a limited amount of loanwords. This study was conducted as follows: we looked up the two variants in two dictionaries, and subsequently checked how many results we found in the online search engine Baidu. The full results of this study can be found in attachment III. Contrary to what Ping Chen and other scholars claim, the findings of our small study are not definite. In some cases the semantic translation seems to be more popular in use, but in as many cases, the transliterated form is preferred.

This shows – notwithstanding many scholars believe semantic translations to be the better option – that in some cases there are compelling reasons to opt for transliteration. We already mentioned that phonetic borrowing (1) is a fast solution in rapidly changing times, (2) can be a good option for the translation of certain culturally bound terms, and (3) is a concise alternative for a long descriptive term. Transliterations are also used for (4) foreign proper names (see 3.6. Proper names). A last motivation to choose for phonetic instead of semantic borrowing, is socially determined: using a word which clearly originates

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355 For example, ‘microphone’ màikèfēng 麦克风 (transliteration) versus huàtǒng 话筒 (semantic), ‘hormone’ hè’ērméng 荷尔蒙 (transliteration) versus jīsù 激素 (semantic).
357 Ping (1999: 105).
358 Ping (1999: 105).
359 The second statement about Standard Mandarin Chinese versus dialects was not re-examined since this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.
from a fashionable and high-status culture, can give a certain prestige to the speaker.\textsuperscript{360} As an example we mention the overall use of \textit{bàibài 拜拜} (‘bye-bye’), nowadays used more frequently than the indigenous Chinese expression \textit{zàijiàn 再见}.\textsuperscript{361} We therefore designate (5) the popularity and prestige of English as final reason to opt for a phonetic loan.\textsuperscript{362}

The survival of phonetically and semantically borrowed forms is in the end determined by public preference. Language change is a social conduct, where no definite conclusions can be made: “Social factors, not linguistic factors, primarily determine the choice between translation and transliteration”.\textsuperscript{363} People prefer one or another option for various reasons.\textsuperscript{364} The statement that Chinese people mostly prefer words with semantic content might be true to a certain extent, but in certain cases, it can be more convenient to opt for a phonetic loan. In any case, phonetic as well as semantic borrowings both have their advantages and disadvantages.\textsuperscript{365} In what follows, we will discuss combinations of these two.

\textsuperscript{361} Kang (1999: 46).
\textsuperscript{362} This is especially the case in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Li also mentions the use of \textit{yēsǐ 也死} for ‘yes’ (instead of \textit{shì 是}) and \textit{kù 酷} (‘cool’). See Li (2003: 140).
\textsuperscript{363} Heffernan (2011: 487).
\textsuperscript{364} Heffernan argues that possible reasons are the prestige of a language, and “closeness to the West”: In periods when China was (symbolically) far removed from the Western countries, Chinese preferred semantic translations, in order to differentiate themselves. See Heffernan (2011: 487).
\textsuperscript{365} Tian (2012: 969-970).
3.5. Combinations of phonetic and semantic borrowing

After discussing the characteristics and pros and cons of phonetic and semantic borrowings, we will now investigate loans that combine phonetic and semantic elements. There are three forms to be discussed. The first category concerns loanblends: a phonetic part (derived from the English source word) and a semantic part (a Chinese morpheme) are glued together. The second group are phono-semantic loans, which try to approximate the pronunciation of the source word, and at the same time select characters that match the semantics. This strategy is frequently used for foreign brand names. The third and last category that combines phonetic and semantic elements are newly created characters. These are commonly used in scientific environments, for example for chemical elements.

3.5.1. Loanblends

A loanblend (bànyīnyì bànyìyì 半音译半意译) is a type of borrowing where two components are blended together: a phonetic approximation of (a part of) the English source word and a Chinese morpheme. For example, the English word ‘teddy bear’ is translated as tàidíxióng 泰迪熊: tàidí being a transliteration of the English ‘teddy’, while ‘bear’ was translated semantically as xióng 熊. Some additional examples are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Chinese loanblend</th>
<th>Phonetic part</th>
<th>Semantic part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>credit card</td>
<td>xìnyòngkǎ 信用卡</td>
<td>kǎ 卡</td>
<td>xìnyòng 信用 credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downing Street (in London)</td>
<td>tāngníngjiē 唐宁街</td>
<td>tāngníng 唐宁</td>
<td>jiē 街 street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice cream</td>
<td>bīngjílíng 冰激凌</td>
<td>jílíng 激凌</td>
<td>bīng 冰 ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miniskirt</td>
<td>mǐníqún 迷你裙</td>
<td>mǐní 迷你</td>
<td>qún 裙 skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teddy bear</td>
<td>tàidíxióng 泰迪熊</td>
<td>tàidí 泰迪</td>
<td>xióng 熊 bear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The original English words are compounds in which one part gives an indication of the meaning (e.g. ‘credit’, ‘street’, ‘ice’, ‘skirt’, ‘bear’). In the borrowing process, the translator chose to translate this part semantically, while the other component was transliterated (e.g. card kǎ, Downing tāngníng, cream bīngji, mini mǐní, teddy tàidí). Another type of loanblends are English single words to which a Chinese
A semantic morpheme is added.\(^{371}\) For example ‘beer’ is borrowed as \emph{pìjiǔ 麦酒}: a semantic part \emph{jiǔ 酒} (‘liquor’) is added to \emph{pí 麦} (phonetic approximation of ‘beer’). Additional examples are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Chinese loan blend</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Added morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bar(^{372})</td>
<td>jiǔbā 麦吧</td>
<td>bā 吧</td>
<td>jiǔ 酒 alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beer(^{373})</td>
<td>pìjiǔ 麦酒</td>
<td>pí 吧</td>
<td>jiǔ 麦 alcohol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>card(^{374})</td>
<td>kǎpiàn 卡片</td>
<td>kǎ 卡</td>
<td>piàn 片 thin piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>yīsīlánjiào 伊斯兰教</td>
<td>yīsīlán 伊斯兰教</td>
<td>jiào 教 religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango(^{375})</td>
<td>mángguó 芒果</td>
<td>máng 芒</td>
<td>guǒ 果 fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poker(^{376})</td>
<td>pūkèpái 扑克牌</td>
<td>pūkè 扑克</td>
<td>pái 牌 card game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sardine(^{377})</td>
<td>shādīngyú 沙丁鱼</td>
<td>shādīng 沙丁鱼</td>
<td>yú 鱼 fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauna(^{378})</td>
<td>sāngnà 桑拿浴</td>
<td>sāngnà 桑拿</td>
<td>yù 浴 bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tango(^{379})</td>
<td>tàngēwǔ 探戈舞</td>
<td>tàngē 探戈</td>
<td>wǔ 舞 dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference with the first type of loanblends is that here the original source word does not contain an indication of its meaning. In the borrowing process, a Chinese morpheme is added to the transliteration in order to hint at the semantic meaning.\(^{380}\) The morpheme can give an indication about the referent, as is the case for \emph{jiǔ 酒} in ‘bar’ \emph{jiǔbā 麦吧} (refers to alcohol), and \emph{piàn 片} in ‘card’ \emph{kǎpiàn 卡片} (a thin piece). In many cases the Chinese part indicates the class to which the word belongs. It is then used as an ‘umbrella morpheme’ that connects a group of nouns of the same category. For the above mentioned examples, the following grouping morphemes can be distinguished (loanblends are indicated by \textbf{bold} letters):

\(^{372}\) Li (2003: 130).
\(^{374}\) T’sou (2001: 45).
\(^{375}\) Li (2003: 113).
\(^{377}\) Shen (2009: 66).
\(^{378}\) Li (2006: 151).
\(^{379}\) Shen (2009: 66).
The position of the Chinese morpheme in the loanblend may vary (initial position or ending position), although it is mostly placed at the end of the word. The presence of a Chinese morpheme hinting at meaning of the word facilitates the intelligibility of the loanword. Chan & Kwok state that the manifestation of a semantic morpheme “makes the meaning more specific and eliminates ambiguity”. The semantic part makes it easier for Chinese readers to understand the loanword or at least allows to attain an indicative idea of its meaning. We already mentioned the semantic emptiness as major disadvantage of pure phonetic borrowings. The presence of a Chinese morpheme can solve this problem, as Zhou & Jiang write: “Chinese people tend to reject meaningless phonemic borrowings, many of which have been replaced by alternatives with meanings […] When there is no way out, and a word has to be borrowed phonemically, they add something to it, which allows people to know what the object is or looks like”.

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381 Yan (2013: 3).
382 Ping (1999: 103).
### 3.5.2. Phono-semantic borrowing

#### 3.5.2.1. Characteristics and the preference for phono-semantic borrowing

A phono-semantic loan approximates the English sounds, while characters are selected which match the semantics of the source word. As a result, a perfect assembly of sound and meaning is created. The selection of semantically matching morphemes is possible because of the abundance of homophones in Modern Chinese. Some examples of phono-semantic loans are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Chinese phono-semantic loan</th>
<th>Meaning of the morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sonar</td>
<td>shēngnà 声纳</td>
<td>sound + receive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shampoo</td>
<td>xiāngbō 香波</td>
<td>sweet-smelling + wave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bungee jumping</td>
<td>bèngjí 蹦极</td>
<td>jump + extremity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacker</td>
<td>hēikè 黑客</td>
<td>dark/wicked + visitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>media</td>
<td>méiti 媒体</td>
<td>intermediary + system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vitamin</td>
<td>wéitāming 维他命</td>
<td>safeguard + personal pronoun + life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that the Chinese loans are not literal translations of the source term. Rather they give an indication of the semantic meaning, as Chen states: “While matching the sound of the original word as in transliteration, the combination of the characters also has its own semantic meaning that is intended to be indicative of the semantic content of the foreign word”. For example, the phono-semantic translation for a ‘hacker’ is ‘a wicked visitor’ (hēikè 黑客). This does not give the reader any concrete information about the meaning of the term as “a person who circumvents security and breaks into a network, computer, file, etc., usually with malicious intent”, the loanword rather gives an imprecise suggestion.

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387 The term ‘phono-semantic matching’ was coined by Zuckermann. See Zuckermann (2003), cited in Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 125).
388 Yan (2013: 3).
389 Yan (2013: 3).
392 Hu (2001: 30).
393 Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).
394 Chen (2011: 32).
396 Oxford Learner’s Dictionary.
Many scholars argue that phono-semantic matching is the best option to borrow foreign terms. Mentioned advantages are (1) The semantic void of transliterations is eliminated; (2) While preserving (or at least approximating) the foreign sounds, (an indication of) the meaning is visible in one glance; (3) Potential misunderstandings linked with pure semantic translations are avoided. Linguistically, scholars argue that phono-semantic matching is feasible, since the Chinese language is full of homophones. As a syllable corresponds to several characters, there are plentiful options to find a matching semantic meaning for each syllable. Chinese scholars sometimes seem to be very passionate in favouring phono-semantic borrowings. For example, Hu Qingping talks about a “perfect translation”, which consists of the perfect union between meaning, sound and form. Peter Hu goes even further and declares: “In addition, semantic transliteration symbolizes the broadmindedness of the Chinese nation in terms of absorbing alien cultures, a courtesy that is rewarded by Western nations. All in all, I hope that from now on we will make use of the strong points of Chinese in the process of globalization and create more and more loanwords through semantic transliteration”.

Summarizing, phono-semantic borrowings seem to be gladly welcomed by Chinese speakers, as the outcome is often creative and meaningful. Myers-Scotton puts it like this: “Speakers try to find Chinese characters that stand for a similar reference to the borrowed words. But speakers also want the characters to sound like the borrowed word. They end up with some very imaginative ways of accommodating a borrowed word”. Therefore, phono-semantic borrowings are very popular for the translation of brand names.

3.5.2.2. Brand names
In times of globalization, big corporations focus more and more on the ‘international market place’. Company directors and marketers are attentive to the fact that their promotional campaigns need to be adjusted when entering a new foreign market. Different cultures come with different manners and habits, hence companies need to adapt their marketing mix to each country, in order to cope with cultural differences. This phenomenon is called ‘localisation’: the modification of market behaviour according to the country or region. The brand name is an important marketing tool for companies. When an

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400 Hu (2001: 31).
international corporation enters the Chinese market place, marketers will try to find an accurate and nice translation for their brand name, adapted to the Chinese culture. We will discuss this kind of translations in this chapter.

Picking a brand name is a marketing decision and is closely related to sociolinguistics, as Li & Shooshtari state: “Language use symbolically represents fundamental dimensions of social behaviour and human interaction”.

Sales people examine and make assumptions on how consumers will react to (the name of) their product, and compose checklists for a good brand name. Attachment IV summarizes essential characteristics of a good brand name. Marketers in the USA try to choose a brand name that complies with “four easies”: (1) Easy to say; (2) Easy to spell. A good brand name should be spelt simply, since it has to be suitable for all levels of society; (3) Easy to read. It should be recognized easily, as consumers make rapid decisions; and (4) easy to remember. Moreover, marketers select a brand name that says something about the product (category) and evokes pleasant associations. After all, a good brand name “can enhance brand awareness and/or help create a favourable brand image”.

International companies mostly choose to adapt their brand name according to the region, a strategy known as "localisation". When entering the Chinese market, companies will attempt to find a good translation (a loanword) for their brand name. Marketers seldom opt to solely preserve their alphabetic brand name in China. Companies are aware of the fact that a large part of the (less educated) Chinese population has difficulties reading and writing alphabetical letters, and pronouncing English syllables. Furthermore, well-chosen characters can transfer extra semantic meaning to the customers.

In previous chapters, we already discussed the Chinese preference for words (and brand names) which contain semantic content. Schmitt, Pan & Tavasolli state that semantics are perceived as more important in logographic languages than in alphabetic languages, while in the latter, the pronunciation is a crucial factor. Furthermore, scholars point out to the importance of a word being ‘hǎotīng’: a word that sounds good. According to Fleming & Zuckermann:

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406 Li & Shooshtari (2003: 6, 13).
408 Li & Shooshtari (2003: 14).
411 Keller (1993: 10).
“The notion of 好听 [hǎo tīng] [...] means that the word ‘sounds good’ to the Chinese ear. It is an unqualifiable concept judged by a native speaker based on the interrelation of various linguistic factors such as flow, balance of syllables and pronounceability, whilst also taking into account how well the characters work together semantically. The importance of 好听 when considering names and other words highlights the connection between phonetics and semantics in the mind of a Chinese speaker.” 416

A good option that combines both requirements (semantic content and being 好听), is phono-semantic borrowing. Marketers select characters whose sounds approximate the original pronunciation of the brand name, and which are at the same time linked with the product content. As pointed out before, many Chinese seem to favour phono-semantic borrowing. A good combination of sound and meaning causes a “maximal pleasant association” for the reader. 417 Zhang & Schmitt point out advantages of phono-semantic translations: “The common view is that the phono-semantic approach is superior to sound or meaning alone, because the local brand name resulting from such an approach, within certain constraints, both sounds like the foreign name and enables the marketer to communicate essential brand or product-category characteristics”. 418

We already noted that the selected characters are by no means a literal translation of the source term, rather an indication of the semantics. Marketers will try to select characters which evoke pleasant associations, linked to the product. 419 A well-mediated brand name, that induces enjoyable associations, can lead to consumers who are more easily inclined to remember and buy the product. 420 Furthermore, examples show that marketers choose rather simple, frequently used characters. According to Li & Shooshtari “unpretentious and down-to-earth Chinese characters”. 421 This matches with the requirement that a good brand name should be easy to spell and easy to understand.

Some examples of localized brand names with pleasant associations are listed below. 422

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421 Li & Shooshtari (2003: 14).
422 Notice that it is more difficult for a Chinese brand to find a suitable Western name when entering the (for example American) market. A phonetic copy of the original brand name can lead to the loss of semantic content, while a semantic translation will not have the slightest link with its Chinese pronunciation. Li & Shooshtari mention the example of the Chinese soft drink company Jiānlìbǎo 健力宝: the brand name contains beautiful connotations as ‘health and vigour’, ‘power and strength’, and ‘a precious treasure’. It entered the American market simply as ‘Jianlibao’ and turned out to be rather unsuccessful. See Li & Shoostari (2003: 16-17).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English brand name</th>
<th>Chinese phono-semantic form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola</td>
<td>Kēkǒukělè 可口可乐</td>
<td>tasty – amusing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercedes-Benz</td>
<td>Bēnchì 奔驰</td>
<td>run quickly, gallop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepsi Cola</td>
<td>Bāishikělè 百事可乐</td>
<td>hundreds of happy things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>Duōfēn 多芬</td>
<td>many – sweet fragrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nike</td>
<td>Nàikè 耐克</td>
<td>enduring, durable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simmons</td>
<td>Xímèngsī 席梦思</td>
<td>mat – dream – contemplate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrefour</td>
<td>Jiālélù 家乐福</td>
<td>family – cheerful - happiness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that most of the original brand names do not carry special content, while the translated forms take on a desirable or accommodating meaning related to the product.427

Even though phono-semantic loans seem to be a popular and effective means in advertising, not all brand names were translated by means of phono-semantic borrowing.428 Some companies opted for pure semantic or phonetic borrowing. Some examples of pure semantic borrowing are ‘Microsoft’ Wēiruǎn 微软 and ‘Apple’ Píngguǒ 苹果. Examples of pure phonetic borrowing are ‘Lipton’ Lìdùn 立顿 and ‘Adidas’ Ādídáshī 阿迪达斯.429 Future studies could test whether one and the same product is less or more popular amongst customers depending on whether the brand name is a phono-semantic borrowing with pleasant associations or not.

3.5.3. The creation of new characters
A third and final option to combine phonetic and semantic content is the creation of a new character. Generally, there are several kinds of Chinese characters. The category we discuss here are xíngshēng

423 The English brand name actually refers to ingredients of the soft drink Coca-Cola: kola nuts and coca leaves. When the brand was first introduced in China in the 1920s, the company opted for the transliteration kēdōu kěn là 蝌蚪啃蜡 (‘tadpole biting the wax’). This brand name was not successful and got replaced by the phono-semantic form kěkǒukělè 可口可乐. See Zhou & Jiang (2004: 47).
426 Zhao (2006: 40).
427 Zhao (2006: 40).
428 Yan (2013: 4).
形声 characters, which are composed of a phonetic part and a semantic radical. The phonetic part hints at the pronunciation, while the semantic part suggests something about the meaning. The historical origins of this type of character building can be understood as follows: when the need occurred to create a character for a new word, they often made use of a character with the same pronunciation that already existed. The Chinese then pasted a semantic part and a phonetic indicator together to build a new character. This technique has been used frequently for the creation of new terms. The result is that for many Chinese characters, a hint of meaning and sound can be deduced visually.

It is this typically Chinese method of coining new characters, that can also be used for the translation of foreign terms. Although this technique is very Chinese, we note that the creation of new characters is not very common as a borrowing method in recent times. In the past, it has been applied systematically for the borrowing of scientific terms, such as chemical elements. Some examples are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Chinese loanword</th>
<th>Semantic radical</th>
<th>Phonetic part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>silicon</td>
<td>xī 砂</td>
<td>石 stone</td>
<td>xī 夕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ammonia</td>
<td>ān 氮</td>
<td>气 gas</td>
<td>ān 安</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radium</td>
<td>léi 锘</td>
<td>金 metal</td>
<td>léi 雷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uranium</td>
<td>yóu 铀</td>
<td>金 metal</td>
<td>yóu 由</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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433 The phonetics are not perfectly reliable, as a result of historical changes in the pronunciation: “Owing to the historical evolution of Chinese phonology, in modern Chinese, only 26 percent of the phonetic radicals can be considered reliable cues to pronunciation – even ignoring tonal differences. […] The reliability of semantic radicals cueing the meaning of compound characters is much higher than phonetic radicals cueing the pronunciation of compound characters.” See Shen & Ke (2007: 98). “The information contained in the phonetic component is often not an accurate pronunciation of the host character for various reasons, even if it did so at earlier time”. For example, 江 is pronounced jiāng instead of the expected pronunciation gōng as a result of palatalization. See Wang & Sun (2015: 3).
434 Li (2003: 82).
437 Chan & Kwok (1990: 38).
3.6. Proper names

In this brief chapter we will discuss a specific case of loanwords, that is the borrowing of proper names. This involves both personal and place names (toponyms). Surprisingly, not much attention is paid to this topic. As research falls short, we tried to examine the use of proper names ourselves, and make some remarks and conclusions to this topic. Personal names seem to be in accordance with the principles of pure phonetic borrowing. As regards place names, we perceive more variation in borrowing techniques.

3.6.1. Personal names

The translation of foreign personal names into Chinese follows the principles of phonetic borrowing. This means that the closest Chinese correspondent of the original sound is selected. For example ‘Mark’ Mǎkè 马克, ‘Anna’ Ānnà 安娜, ‘Ruth’ Lùdé 路得, etc. Already in the 1950s, the Office for Name Translation of the Xinhua News Agency started compiling handbooks for the transliteration of foreign names into Chinese. In 1993 they published the dictionary ‘Names of the World’s Peoples – A Comprehensive Dictionary of Names in Roman-Chinese’. The Agency prescribed that a name should always be transliterated with the same characters, and additionally, that common and frequently used characters should be selected. The latter is in conflict with the normal behaviour of the Chinese. Generally speaking, when Chinese people pick a name for their child, they will always search for a name which is hào tīng, and additionally try to select characters that carry a hopeful and auspicious meaning, like particular qualities or aspirations of the parents. From this cultural habit, one could expect the same principle to be applied for the translation of foreign names, that is by phono-semantic matching – as is the case for several brand names.

Since there is only limited material dealing with personal names available, we conducted a minor study. We checked for twenty famous people how their name was translated into Chinese, with attention to phonological adaptations and character choice. These people can be divided into five categories: popular culture, business, science, politics, and ‘creative people’. Before this examination was conducted, we expected to find one of these two options: A. Following the rules of the Agency, the names should be

440 Qu & Li (2015: 537).
441 The dictionary covers 650,000 names, from 55 languages. See Xinhua News Agency Proper Names and Translation Service (1993), referred to by Yan (2013: 5) and Ping (1999: 111).
443 For example, ‘pretty’ lì 丽 or ‘great’ wěi 伟. See Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 121).
translated unambiguously, with the same characters, carrying no special semantic meaning. Or, B. Cases of phono-semantic matching, which would be corresponding with the Chinese cultural habits.

The complete results can be found in attachment V. Even from this very limited examination, we can point out some general conclusions and trends in the translation of personal names. Firstly, all examined names are transliterated following the principles of phonetic borrowing as discussed in 3.2. *Phonetic borrowing*. This also means that possible semantic content in the original names are omitted. For example, the last name ‘Gates’ was not translated semantically. Secondly, most of the examined names are made up of very common characters that do not carry special meaning. Only in the minority of names (six out of twenty), we noticed a character with a pleasant complimentary meaning. Thirdly, the translated personal names are rather long: the first name mostly consists of two or three characters, plus a three-character long surname in many cases. This differs a lot from common Chinese names which consist of only three characters (one for a surname, two for the first name). These long strings of characters do not seem to fit nicely into a Chinese text. To indicate their nature as personal names, a dot (◦) is inserted between the first and last name. The fourth and last remark is that, although some frequently seen personal names do have a standard Chinese transliteration (e.g. Mary Mǎlì 玛丽, George Qiáozhì 乔治, Marc Mǎkè 马克, etc.), we also perceive a lot of arbitrage and divergence. For diverse names, we found several possible transliterations, spelt with different characters. Even for a well-known name as Disney (Disneyland) there does not seem to be a general consensus on how to spell this name. This can cause much confusion. It again points out one of the major problems with phonetic borrowings, that is the disunity in selecting characters.

We can conclude that there are no real conventions for the translation of personal names: disunity in the use of pure phonetic borrowing or phono-semantic matching, and disunity in the selection of characters. Although the rules proposed by the Xinhua News Agency seemed to be accepted at first, Yan Chen states that recently the authority of the Agency is challenged by deviant transliterations, by mass media institutions and online. Besides translators’ inconsistencies, dialect pronunciations can also cause variation in the translation of proper names.

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444 Chinese language teachers who make up names for foreign students do not follow the pattern we describe here, but have their own way of giving names. First, they select one character as a last name, which approximately sounds like the student’s original last name. Second, they choose two characters as a first name, similar to the original first name. If possible, they select morphemes that match the student’s characteristics. This method comes very close to the indigenous Chinese way of giving names to children.


3.6.2. Place names

Even though the National Commission of Geographical Names (Zhōngguó Dimíng Wěiyuánhuì 中国地名委员会) was founded in 1977, there is much variation in the translation of place names: pure semantic, as well as pure phonetic, loanblends and phono-semantic borrowings are used.\textsuperscript{448}

Certain place names, especially geographical names, carry meaning in their original form. In general, these names are translated by means of pure semantic borrowing. For example, ‘the Mediterranean Sea’ Dìzhōnghǎi 地中海, ‘Cape of Good Hope’ Hāowàng Jiǎo 好望角 and ‘Oxford’ Niújīn 牛津.\textsuperscript{449} When the original term does not carry semantic content, rudimentary characters are used to form a phonetic borrowing. This is the case for, amongst many others, ‘Pakistan’ Bājīsītăn 巴基斯坦 and ‘Paris’ Bālí 巴黎.\textsuperscript{450} Place names that are a combination of a proper name and a content word, are translated by phonetic and semantic borrowing respectively, e.g. ‘Aegean Sea’ Àiqín Hǎi 爱琴海. However, these rules are not strictly practiced as can be seen in the translation of ‘New Jersey’ Xīnzéxī 新泽西 (loanblend) versus that of ‘New York’ Niúyuē 纽约 (pure transliteration).\textsuperscript{451}

There are also country or city names for which phono-semantic matching is used. In the borrowing process, appropriate or beautiful characters are selected.\textsuperscript{452} In some cases, this can be a political gesture, as is the case for the ‘heroic’ ‘England’ Yīngguó 英国, the ‘beautiful’ ‘America’ Měiguó 美国, and the ‘virtuous’ ‘Germany’ Déguó 德国. Phono-semantic matching for place names can in some cases be appear as discriminating. What for example to think of the rather derogative translation for ‘Africa’ as Fēizhōu 非洲 (‘wrongdoing continent’)?\textsuperscript{453} This is why Ping Chen believes that all proper names should be transliterated by characters that do not convey certain meanings.\textsuperscript{454}

\textsuperscript{448} The Commission prescribes the use of transliterations for the translation of personal names, but makes mention of the following ‘exceptions’ in which case a semantic translation can be used: (1) People are already used to the semantic translation. (2) The nature as geographical place is obvious. (3) The transliterated form is very long. (4) The name contains numbers or dates. All these exceptions naturally give rise to disunity. See Chen (1990: 92-93).


\textsuperscript{450} Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).

\textsuperscript{451} Chen (1990: 94).

\textsuperscript{452} Fleming & Zuckermann (2013: 120).

\textsuperscript{453} Qu & Li (2015: 539).

\textsuperscript{454} Ping (1999: 111).
3.7. Research: English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines

3.7.1. Outline
We investigated fifteen articles recently published in newspapers and magazines in Mainland China, and tried to detect English loanwords. We selected items on a variety of topics and with different target audiences. The following articles were chosen:

1) China Comment magazine (Bànyuètán 半月谈), which is part of Xinhua News Agency, the official press agency of the Chinese Communist Party.
   * Article on the social pressure on university students.

2) ELLE China, Chinese branch of the French fashion magazine.
   * Article on the film festival in Cannes (France).

3) ELLE China.
   * Article on fashionable clothing for small women.

4) Guangming Daily (Guāngmíng Rìbào 光明日报), newspaper published by Xinhua News Agency.
   * Article on immigrant workers in Malaysia.

5) Beijing Suburbs Daily (Jīngjiāo Rìbào 京郊日报), regional newspaper published in Beijing.
   * Article on achieving an agreement on environmental standards in China.

6) Love-Marriage-Family (Liàn'ài Hūnyīn Jiātíng 恋爱婚姻家庭), magazine with topics related to married life and family life.
   * Article on anti-radiation clothing for pregnant women.

7) People’s Daily (Rénmín Rìbào 人民日报), the number one newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party.
   * Article on Chinese film festival.

8) People’s Daily.
   * Article on the politics of president Xi Jinping.

9) People’s Daily.
   * Financial article on the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

10) New Weekly (Xīn Zhōukān 新周刊), weekly magazine on various topics in present-day China.
* Article on how to recognize a certain car (SUV).

11) Music Weekly (Yīnyuè Zhōubào 音乐周报), magazine on music, dance and entertainment in China.
* Article on Chinese opera festival.

12) Chinese Science and Technology Online (Zhōngguó Kējì Wǎng 中国科技网), under the direction of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (Zhōngguó Kēxuéyuán 中国科学院), publishes scientific research.
* Article on a NASA-satellite.

13) Chinese Science and Technology Online.
* Article on the launching of a satellite in China.

14) China Youth Online (Zhōngqīng Zàixiàn 中青在线), the official newspaper of the Communist Youth League.
* Article on the meeting of president Xi Jinping with the American president Donald Trump.

15) Chinese Workers Online (Zhōnggōngwǎng 中工网), a newspaper linked to various trade unions.
* Article on the relationship of China with South Africa.

The articles, in which the detected loanwords are marked, and a full commentary can be found in attachment VI.

### 3.7.2. Findings

In the fifteen studies articles, we found the following loanwords:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transliterations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero translations</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semantic / free translations</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loan translations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loanblends</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phono-semantic matching</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper names</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Even though our research was very limited, it demonstrated that alphabetic letters are prominent in Chinese newspapers and magazines. We encountered zero translations in twelve of the fifteen articles. All subtypes of zero translations are present: acronyms (e.g. ‘PM’ ‘particulate matter’, ‘3D’ ‘three-dimensional’), alphabetic letters plus Chinese morpheme (e.g. UGC-yingyuàn UGC 影院 ‘UGC-cinema’), and in rare cases even a full transplantation of the original English word (e.g. ‘sports’, ‘Gucci’). Alphabetic letters and words are often used in articles on technological topics. This is in line with our previous findings. Modern technology and science develop very quickly, which leads to an enormous influx of words on these topics. Chinese often do not have the time to (or forsake to) produce a suitable (semantic) translation, and therefore simply copy the English word in its original form. Another hypothesis brought forth in the previous chapters, is that the use of English words can be explained by the rising popularity of the English language and culture, especially among youngsters. Our research supports this theory: especially magazines on more trivial topics, who aim at young women as their target audience, prominently make use of English words. Elle China, the Chinese branch of the international fashion magazine Elle, does not even make the effort to transliterate Western personal names or brand names, but simply uses their alphabetic spelling. This is much less the case for newspapers and magazines on more serious (national) content, especially when they have bonds with the Chinese Communist Party.

Regarding other types of loanwords, we notice that transliterations are merely used for personal names. Besides these, we encountered māmīmen 媽咪們 (‘mothers’) as a phonetic loan, derived from the English ‘mommy’. The Chinese morpheme men 们 is added to the transliterated form in order to indicate plural. Furthermore, the phono-semantic borrowing méitǐ 媒体 (‘media’) was found several times, and one time the méi 媒 was used in a new compound: chuánméi 传媒 (‘communication media’). We spotted lìmǐ 厘米 (‘centimetre’) as a loanblend, which is partly a semantic translation, partly a phonetic loan. Semantic translations are much more difficult to detect, since it is not always clear to which language the borrowing can be traced back. This is especially the case for free translations. However, it is very probable that words such as hóng(dì)tǎn 红(地)毯 (‘red carpet’) and wēibōlú 微波炉 (‘microwave oven’) originate from English (or another European language). We also noticed Jīnzōnglǚ Jiǎng 金棕榈奖 as a translation for ‘Palme d’Or’ (award at the Cannes film festival). This loan can be categorized as a loan translation accommodated with a Chinese morpheme which indicates the category (jiǎng 奖 ‘award’).

Proper names were already discussed and investigated in 3.6. Personal names . Therefore, we limit our findings on proper names to a brief overview:
- Personal names are transliterated (except in one Elle China-article in which zero translation is used), meaningful characters are used in a minority of the cases.

- Concerning names of organisations and associations (e.g. IMF, NASA), sometimes the English abbreviation is used, sometimes the Chinese semantic translation (e.g. Guójì Huòbì Jūjī Zhǔ 私国际货币基金组织 and Méiguó Yǔhángjù 美国宇航局 respectively). Notice the remarkable translation of ‘BRICS’ as Jīnzhuān 金砖: in English, this word is an acronym for five emerging nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South-Africa), while the Chinese loan Jīnzhuān 金砖 is a translation of ‘gold brick’.

- For place names, the general tendency seems to be that when the original term contains meaningful content, it gets translated semantically. Otherwise the place name is transliterated. However, all possible forms of loanwords are encountered for place names: pure phonetic translations (e.g. ‘Hollywood’ Hǎoláiwù 好莱坞), semantic translations (e.g. ‘West Palm Beach’ Xi Zōnglǘ Tān 西棕榈滩), loanblends (category added) (e.g. ‘Florida’ 佛罗里达州 Fólǔolǐdázōu) and loanblends (partly semantic-partly phonetic) (e.g. Avenue des Champs-Elysées (Fr.) Xiāngxièlìshè Dàjiē 香榭丽舍大街 – notice the choice of auspicious characters).

Our small field study confirms the theories of the previous chapters. Zero translations are often encountered in Mainland China without any guiding explanation in Chinese, especially on technological topics and in popular magazines. Even though our study was very limited, we detected all the previously discussed types of loanwords. Arguably many more semantic translations (and loan translations) were included in the articles, but their etymology is rather difficult to verify. Concerning proper names, we believe that more unification is recommended in order to avoid misunderstandings. As Qu & Li state: “The chaotic translation of personal and place names in publications are calling for the standardisation and unification by authoritative dictionaries of personal and place names”.

455 Qu & Li (2015: 555).
4. Influence from Cantonese and other dialects

In the previous chapters we focused on the integration of English loanwords in Standard Mandarin Chinese. In this part, we briefly investigate the influence of dialects concerning English borrowings. China is characterized by an enormous linguistic variation. In the written language there exists a high level of unity, since Mandarin Chinese is used as the official standard language. Putonghua is also brought forth as the standard for spoken language, but there are many regional dialects in China. Most scholars mention seven main dialects: Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min. Some linguists argue that the Chinese dialects should be considered as different languages rather than dialects, since most of them are mutually unintelligible. However, for convenience, we will use the term “dialects” in this thesis.

Cantonese is, after the Northern Mandarin Standard variety, the dialect that accounts for the most speakers. It is spoken in Guangdong, Guangxi and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Both in the past and the present, Cantonese is the dialect that has received the most influence of the English language. Close contact between Chinese and Europeans dates from the arrival of merchants in Canton and the southern regions. As a result, many English words have been absorbed into the Cantonese lexicon – many of these by means of phonetic borrowing, e.g. ‘beer’ bējáu 啤酒 (Mandarin píjiǔ) and ‘cheese’ jīsí 芝士 (Mandarin zhīshì). The Cantonese dialect also contains some special characters that do not exist in Mandarin Chinese. Some of these dialect characters are used for the rendering of English transliterations, e.g. ‘mark’ māk 嘢 and ‘card’ kāt 咭. The island of Hong Kong is even closer related to the English speaking world, as it has been a colony of Great Britain for almost 200 years. Only in the year 1997, the island’s sovereignty was transferred to the People’s Republic of China. The contemporary official language situation in Hong Kong is one of ‘biliteracy and trilingualism’ (liǎngwén sānyǔ 两文三语): bilitaracy refers to competence in both written Standard Chinese and

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458 Ping (1999: 51).
462 Li (2015: 598).
English, *trilingualism* means being fluent in spoken English, Cantonese and Putonghua.\(^{463}\) The English language is very important in Hong Kong for the government, education, business and law.\(^{464}\)

Inhabitants of Hong Kong encounter English on a daily basis through education, business and media.\(^{465}\) Many of them are bilingual, as the official law prescribes. In this multilingual situation, many English words find their way into the Cantonese vocabulary. As a result, there are a lot more English loanwords to be found in Cantonese than in Mandarin Chinese.\(^{466}\) Scholars also perceive that English words and transliterations and alphabetic letters are accepted more easily in Cantonese speaking areas, than in regions where Standard Mandarin is predominating.\(^{467}\) From an historic and social perspective, this should not come as a surprise. As T’sou states: “The Cantonese speaking community has had exposure and access to Western culture for a longer period of time, and on a more massive scale than the Mandarin speaking community in Mainland China”.\(^{468}\)

Without doubt, Chinese dialects have been influencing each other. Especially the Cantonese dialect is gaining importance in Mainland China, and exercises influence on Standard Putonghua.\(^{469}\) The reasons for this phenomenon are plentiful. First, Cantonese is an important variant since it is used in the vital economic regions of the southern provinces and the island of Hong Kong.\(^{470}\) Second, from the 1980s onwards, dialects have become important in cultural life, as they are heard in theatres and on television.\(^{471}\)

For example, Cantonese is also present on the national television channel CCTV.\(^{472}\) As the Cantonese dialect is gaining popularity, words often flow from the Cantonese dialect into Standard Mandarin Chinese. For example, the colloquial words ‘taxi’ *dīksí* 的士 (Mandarin *dǐshì*) and *bāsih* ‘bus’ 巴士 (Mandarin *bāshì*) were coined in Hong Kong. These words were welcomed in Mainland China as shorter alternatives for the rather long forms *chēutjōuheichē* 出租汽车 (Mandarin *chūzūqìchē*) and *gūngguhnheichē* 公共汽车 (Mandarin *gōnggōngqìchē*) respectively, and are commonly used in Mainland

\(^{463}\) Zhang & Yang (2004: 142). “Hong Kong needs English for the maintenance of its status as an international trade and finance center, Cantonese for daily communication among the locals, and Putonghua for its political communication with Beijing and economic and business exchange with the Mainland”. See Zhou & Ross (2004: 6).

\(^{464}\) Li (2015: 598).

\(^{465}\) Chan & Kwok (1990: 9).

\(^{466}\) Ping (1999: 107).


\(^{469}\) Hu (2004: 37).

\(^{470}\) Ping (1999: 52).

\(^{471}\) Li (2015: 595). Another important region for borrowings is Taiwan. See Shi (2006: 35). However, we will not discuss the topic of language in Taiwan in this dissertation.

\(^{472}\) Ping (1999: 58).
China now. Break dance pīlīkmóuh 霹雳舞 (Mandarin pīliwǔ) (a loanblend) and ‘give somebody the sack’ (colloquial for ‘fire somebody’) cháuyàohyú 炒鱿鱼 (Mandarin cháoyóuyú) (a semantic translation) were integrated into Chinese through the Cantonese dialect.

Differences between Chinese dialects can also give rise to certain difficulties concerning English loanwords. The fact that Chinese characters are pronounced differently in the various dialects, can lead to rather strange phonetic borrowings. For example, the English word ‘jeep’ got transliterated as jípū 吉普. Nevertheless, in the Cantonese dialect, these characters are pronounced as gātpóu 吉普, which obviously makes no sense as transliteration. A possible solution could be that each dialect would use different morphemes to transliterate a foreign word. This strategy is sometimes in use. For example, ‘chocolate’ is transliterated in Cantonese as zyūgúlihk 朱古力, and in Standard Mandarin Chinese as qiǎokèlì 巧克力. The pronunciation of the characters approximates the English sounds in each dialect. Notice that both options entail a problem: using the same morphemes in each dialect gives rise to many strange transliterations, whereas the use of different morphemes promotes an unconformity of the written language. Furthermore, different dialects may opt for another translation strategy. Examples of these regional differences are ‘laser’ (jīguāng 激光 in Standard Mandarin versus lèuihseh 镭射 in Cantonese), ‘tip’ (xiāofèi 消费 versus típsí 贴士), and ‘buffet’ (zìzhùcān 自助餐 versus bouféi 布斐). This as well can lead to confusion and misunderstandings.

473 Later, components of these words got also used in new compounds, such as ‘take a taxi’ dǎdī 打的 and ‘minibus’ xiǎobā 小巴士. See Sun & Jiang (2000: 99), Li (2003: 129), Hu (2004: 39).
5. Standardisation of loanwords

The final chapter of this dissertation concerns the standardisation of loanwords, such as the institutions and regulations that prescribe the status of a loan as an integral part of the Chinese lexicon. Throughout this thesis, we have mentioned several times the lack of standard and unity there seems to be concerning the usage of loanwords. However, there were already translation institutions aiming at the standardisation of foreign terms in the 19th century. This chapter tries to provide a brief sketch of the most important institutions, and opinions of scholars on the topic. Furthermore, we try to answer the question how the perceived lack of unity can be understood and possibly solved.

Acceptance and standardisation of loanwords is a gradual process, which starts with the encounter of a (bilingual) individual with a foreign word. The translator will try to make a suitable Chinese translation for this term. However, since different translators, in different regions, may opt for another rendition (semantic versus phonetic, other character choice while transliterating, etc.), this can give rise to the coexistence of various translations for one and the same word. This is problematic, as it can cause terminological confusion and miscommunication.\(^{478}\) Especially for scientific and technological terms, a standardised vocabulary is strongly required for an effective knowledge exchange. In the last two centuries, several standardisation bureaus for scientific terminology have been founded in China.

The first institutions for the translation of Western works were founded in the 19th century. The most important organisation was the Beijing School of Combined Learning (Jīngshī Tōngwènguǎn 京师同文馆), founded in 1862, which initially focussed on the study of Western languages, and later also carried out translations of scientific works.\(^{479}\) At the beginning of the 20th century, the Standardisation Office of the Ministry of Education charged Yan Fu 严复, a prominent linguist, to make a conversion table for foreign scientific words in all disciplines.\(^{480}\) However, these and other praiseworthy attempts all lacked the authority to be decisive. A real centralized organ for the examination of translations, came with the establishment of the National Bureau of Compilation and Translation (Guólì Biānyiguǎn 国立编译馆) in Nanjing in 1932.\(^{481}\) The Bureau engaged in the translation of Western scientific works – on chemistry,

\(^{478}\) Liu (1986: 39).

\(^{479}\) Casalin (2008: 11), Masini (1993: 35). Studied topics were among others astronomy, chemistry, physics, etc. The School also focused on the translation of chemical elements, which gave rise to newly created characters such as jià 钾 ‘potassium’, xīn 锌 ‘zinc’, and měi 镁 ‘magnesium’. See Feng (2002: 6).


\(^{481}\) Liu (1986: 34).
physics, mathematics, astronomy, economy, philosophy, etc. – and the unification of scientific terminology.482

Once the People’s Republic of China was founded, scholars continued the contemplation on translating and borrowing. Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan brought forth the principle of “three one” (one word, one pronunciation, one character).483 This principle indicates that a loanword should receive one standard translation and that it should always be written with the same characters. Gao and Liu believed that this would improve the efficiency of using foreign words in Chinese.484 Furthermore, several state institutions for the standardisation of terms were founded, especially for the regulation of scientific and technological terms. Examples are the National Commission of Language and Script (Guójiā Yǔyán Wénzì Gōngzuò Wěiyuánhuì 国家语言文字工作委员会), and the China National Committee for Terms in Sciences and Technology (Quánguó Kēxué Mingcì Shěndìng Wěiyuánhuì 全国科学技术名词审定委员会).485 As regards the standardisation of foreign proper names, the most effort was put forth by the Xinhua News Agency. They started with the compilation of lists for the transliteration of foreign names in the 1950s. The associates prescribed that a name should always be transliterated by means of the same characters, and additionally that common and frequently used characters should be selected.486 In 1993, the Xinhua News Agency Proper Names and Translation Service published ‘Names of the World’s Peoples: a Comprehensive Dictionary of Names in Roman-Chinese’ (Shìjiè rénmíng fānyì dà cídiǎn 世界人名翻译大辞典). This dictionary contains 650,000 names from languages all over the world, and added a conversion table for those names not included.487 Nevertheless, as mentioned in a previous chapter, the transliterations put forth in the Comprehensive Dictionary are not applied consistently by translators and writers in China.

In the year 2000, on the Eighteenth Meeting of the Ninth National People’s Congress Standing Committee of the People’s Republic of China, the first national law on language was presented. It concerns the ‘Law on the People’s Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese

482 Ping (1999: 109). Shi (2015: 150). The work was carried out by individual translators, authors of textbooks and dictionaries, and journalists. See Alleton (2001: 16). The Bureau is nowadays still in charge in Taiwan.
484 “They further expounded this principle by advancing six rules, including extensive use, faithful transliteration, simplicity, historical conventions, semantic explicitness, and conformity to Chinese word-building grammar”. See Miao (2016: 576).
485 The predecessor of the National Commission of Language and Script The China was already founded in 1949. The National Committee for Terms in Sciences and Technology was founded in 1985. For more information, see the website of the National Committee and the Chinese Governmental Website on Language. Also see Miao (2016: 576), Feng (2002: 7).
Language’, which went into effect on the 1st January 2001. Some articles of the Law concern the usage of foreign words in China. For example, the following is written in Article 11: “Where foreign languages need to be used in publications in Chinese, necessary explanatory notes in standard Chinese shall be applied”. This writing indicates that the government is attentive for the needs of those Chinese citizens who do not master the English language perfectly. Yet, as perceived in the examination of contemporary newspaper and magazine articles, English letters and words are used on a regular basis, without any guiding explanation in Chinese. This can be understood as a consequence of globalization and the widespread use and study of English in China. Furthermore, in Article 25, we read:

“The department in charge of the work related to spoken and written language under the State Council or other departments concerned, shall make arrangements for the examination of the translation of the proper nouns like the names of foreigners and foreign places and the scientific and technical terms into the standard spoken and written Chinese language”.

This article demonstrates that the officials are aware that standardisation is required, not only for scientific and technical terms, but also for proper names. Language use and standardisation is becoming more and more important among Chinese policy-makers. In 2008, the ‘National Medium- and Long-Term Language Work Reform and Development Plan Outline (2010-2020)’ was introduced. State documents and outlines emphasize that the use of standard spoken and written Chinese is to be preferred in all circumstances – that is to be preferred over minority’s and foreign languages. In 2010, the Secretariat of the General Office of the State Council issued the ‘Notification of Strengthening the Work of Examining and Verifying the use of Foreign Language Words in Official Documents of State Administrative Organizations’, in which we read:

“The department in charge of the usage of spoken and written languages under the State Council and other relevant departments must jointly make rules for foreign language word translation and spelling, provide a translation of emerging foreign language words in a timely manner, and their standard translations and Chinese abbreviations must be announced regularly to the public”.

The government calls for the regulation and standardisation of foreign words in the Chinese lexicon. This involves the cooperation of both central organs and regional commissions, institutions and universities. From this brief overview, we see that the most important historical institutions merely focussed on the standardisation of scientific and technological terms. Unified terminology is particularly important in

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488 Pan (2016: 271).
489 Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China.
490 Database of Law & Regulations on the website of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China.
491 Cai et al. (2015: 3-4).
these disciplines as it allows free knowledge exchange and prevents misunderstandings. It can be said that scientific and technological vocabulary already attained a high degree of standardisation. In recent years, however, linguists and policy-makers in China are facing new challenges, which are (in)direct consequences of globalization. By means of modern communication devices such as the internet and mass media, Chinese people daily encounter English words. This gives rise to the use of loanwords in a context which is difficult to regulate. As Zhao states: “Qualified translators do not conduct all loanword translation activities, and loanwords enter into Chinese through various channels”. In our globalized society, encounters with foreign languages are by no means limited to specialised institutions or translators. Yet, if every individual translates the foreign word in his or her own way, it will give rise to much disunity and confusion. Furthermore, zero translations can be understood as a by-product of the growing importance and popularity of English. Letter words can enter China after they have been encountered online, on television, in class, or as a result of contact with English-speakers or Chinese overseas. The government recommends the use of Standard Mandarin Chinese in all publications. Regarding English words and letters, it is prescribed that a Chinese descriptive should be added. Nevertheless, in reality this is seldom the case. The increasing appearance of English words in Chinese publications seems to be unstoppable.

As a mitigating factor, we must not forget that language is a social phenomenon, which cannot possibly be fully controlled by a central government. Language contact and exchanges happen naturally, no institute or authority can impose which words should be used. A loan can only become part of the lexicon if it is widely accepted by the language’s speakers. In this context, central and local institutions can only observe which loans are in use. Policy-makers can then try to bring forward the generally preferred variant as standard form, and consequently include this term in dictionaries. A certain degree of standardisation is necessary for a fluent communication without misunderstandings, as Miao states: “To reduce and eliminate potential miscommunication, it is advisable for government and academic institutions in Chinese-speaking regions to cooperate on the standardisation of loanwords”. Concerning transliterations of foreign proper names, it would be good if a standard (such as the Xinhua Dictionary) would be applied consistently, this would make the understanding of foreign names in Chinese considerably easier.

494 Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).
495 Zhao (2006: 13).
496 Chan & Kwok (1990: 19).
Concluding, we think that the issue of standardisation of the Chinese language is recently gaining attention both among policy-makers and scholars as it becomes more and more urgent following the increasing influx of English letters and words.\textsuperscript{498} There seems to be progress in the decisiveness of language laws and regulations, but the growing presence of English in China poses additional challenges.

We expect the dialogue on how English words should be treated and used in Chinese publications to continue in the future. It remains to see how possible new laws and institutions will deal with the inflow of new loanwords, how further standardisation will be conducted, and whether or not the disunity can be brought to an end.

\footnote{Miao (2016: 576-577).}
Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was the investigation of English loanwords in Chinese, both from a historical-social perspective, as well as from a pure linguistic point of view. We perceive that several borrowing methods that were developed by the Buddhist translators are also used for the translation of English terms in contemporary times. The growing presence of English words in China can be explained as a result from globalization. Especially words concerning science and technology, and cultural words (e.g. nutrients) get integrated in China. Globalization alone is not sufficient to explain this phenomenon: there is also support among the common people, as Western culture and English are considered fashionable and ‘cool’.

On a linguistic level, we distinguish several methods to translate English words. A first option is to transliterate the source word by replacing the English sounds with their closest Chinese correspondent. It is also requisite to transform certain illicit syllable structures. In a phonetic borrowing, the intrinsic meaning of the selected characters is omitted. The most radical type of borrowing is a zero translation: the exact copy of English letters or words. It mostly concerns acronyms and initialisms. Zero translations are getting more and more prevalent in Modern China. This can be explained by the developments in science and technology, the growing popularity of English in China, and the fact that more and more (young) Chinese start studying English. Critics argue that phonetic borrowings are a violence against the purity of the Chinese language, and they therefore favour semantic translations. A semantic borrowing can concern a shift of meaning in a single word, or the creation of a new compound consisting of indigenous Chinese characters. The latter is referred to as a loan translation or calque. Another option is to coin a free translation: a typical Chinese way of describing a foreign term. Although finding a suitable semantic translation can be difficult, the results are often very creative. Free translations account for the type of loanwords with the highest degree of naturalization in Chinese. The foreign nature of semantic translations is often undistinguishable.

The discussion whether phonetic or semantic borrowing is to be preferred for the translation of foreign terms already existed among the Buddhist translators. Both methods have their pros and contras. As Needham states: “Should we transliterate phonetically, with impossible ugly gibberish resulting? Or should we employ already existing Chinese words and distort the meaning?”499 Some scholars argue that phonetic borrowings do not fit into the Chinese way of thinking, as Chinese would prefer characters

where both the semantic and phonetic value are retained. They believe that all transliterations will in time be replaced by semantic borrowings. Historical evidence as well as contemporary research show that this is not necessarily true. On the contrary, we believe that the so-called Chinese preference for ‘meaningful’ characters is probably overestimated.

Furthermore, there are borrowing techniques at hand that combine phonetic and semantic elements. A first option are loanblends, in which a phonetic and semantic part are pasted together. The advantage of loanblends over pure phonetic borrowings is that the Chinese reader can at least get a hint of the word’s semantic meaning. A second option is phono-semantic matching: a transliteration in which the employed characters carry a complementary meaning. Some Chinese scholars believe that this is ‘the perfect translation’, as it combines a foreign pronunciation with content-carrying characters. Nevertheless, phono-semantic borrowings are not commonly used, as shown by our small research in newspapers and magazines. Only for the translation of brand names into Chinese, phono-semantic borrowing is a popular translation strategy. The third and last option is the creation of a new xíngshēng-character. Although this practice is typically Chinese, we perceive that it is rarely applied in recent years. Concerning proper names, we see that foreign personal names are mostly transliterated, but not consistently by various translators. This gives rise to confusion and disunity. We also perceive very long transliterated strings of characters, which is very ‘un-Chinese’. The situation is even more complicated for place names. Although certain standards have been proposed, we encounter all mentioned types of borrowings for the translation of place names.

The topic of English loanwords in Chinese requires more investigation. The precise adaptation mechanisms for phonetic borrowings, the underlying process of free translations, the limited use of phono-semantic matching, and why Chinese do not simply create new xíngshēng-characters for the translation of foreign terms, are topics and questions we were unable to answer in this thesis. In the last chapter, we discussed the rather practical question on the standardisation of loanwords. We perceive that standardisation is more or less ‘on point’ for scientific and technological terms. Nevertheless, regarding ‘everyday’ cultural words and especially proper names, there is much confusion and disunity. We keep in mind that no one can impose nor predict which words will be adopted, and which method will be used in the borrowing process. Language change is a social phenomenon, which eventually always depends on the decisions of native speakers. If the status and prestige of the English language keep expanding, we might presume that the amount of English (loan)words in China will increase in the future.
Bibliography


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Attachments

Attachment I. Phonetic inventories of Mandarin Chinese and English
Illicit phonemes in the other language are indicated in color.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic inventory</th>
<th>Mandarin Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>P, pʰ</td>
<td>T, tʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>T, tʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>K, kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveopalatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postalveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonic inventory</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>P, pʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td>T, tʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>T, tʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>K, kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveopalatal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postalveolar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plosive          | T, tʰ        |
| Nasal            | M, n         |
| Trill            |              |
| Tap or flap      |              |
| Fricative        | F, S, ʃ, ʒ, ɣ |
| Affricate        | Ts, Tsʰ, Tc, Tɕ, Tʂ, Tʂʰ, Tʃ, Tʃʰ |
| Glide (approximant) | ɹ, ʃ |
| Liquid (lateral approximant) | L |


Attachment II. Transliterations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Remarks (reasons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Cultural terms    | 爵士乐 juéshìyuè (jazz)  
芭蕾舞 bālèiwǔ (ballet)  
卡通 kătōng (cartoon)  
迪斯科 disīkē (disco)  
幽默 yōumò (humour) | Transliterations often + categorical morpheme.  
Culturally bound terms, very difficult to describe. |
| Nourishments      | 巧克力 qiǎokèlì (chocolate)  
咖啡 kāfēi (coffee)  
汉堡 hànbǎo (hamburger)  
布丁 bùdīng (pudding) | Food from another culture, almost impossible to describe. |
| Western objects   | 沙发 shāfā (sofa)  
麦克风 màikèfēng (microphone)  
尼龙 nílóng (nylon) | Culturally specific terms. Difficult to describe. |
| Pharmaceuticals   | 哥罗仿 gēluófǎng (chloroform)  
吗啡 mǎfēi (morphine)  
阿司匹林 āsīpǐlín (aspirin) | Words that need to be defined accurately and correctly. |
| Plants and animals| 阿米巴 āmǐbā (amoeba)  
大丽花 dàlíhuā (dahlia) | Discoveries made elsewhere in the world.  
Little knowledge about foreign fauna and flora. |
| Religious terms   | 哈利路亚 hālílùyà (hallelujah)  
伊斯兰 yīsīlán (islam)  
安琪儿 ānqí’ér (angel) | These terms are difficult to describe accurately. Culturally specific words. |
Attachment III. Phonetic and semantic loanwords

Verifying loanwords with a phonetic and semantic variant. (1) Pleco dictionary\textsuperscript{502} (2) New Age Chinese-English Dictionary\textsuperscript{503} (3) Baidu search engine\textsuperscript{504} (4) Evaluation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entries</th>
<th>Pleco</th>
<th>New Age Chinese-English dictionary</th>
<th>Baidu</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Microphone</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td>85.800.000</td>
<td>Transliteration prevails.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máikèfēng</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td>67.800.000</td>
<td>However, the semantic translation is also common in use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huàtǒng</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td>‘microphone’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engine</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td>Equal results.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīnqìng 引擎</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fādōngjī 发动机</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td>‘engine’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitamin\textsuperscript{505}</td>
<td>‘old name for wéishēngsù’</td>
<td>‘old transliteration for wéishēngsù’</td>
<td>94.400.000</td>
<td>Semantic translation prevails.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weítāmìng 维他命</td>
<td>‘vitamin’</td>
<td>‘vitamin’</td>
<td></td>
<td>Even though described as ‘old’ form, the transliteration generates many results online.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéishēngsù 维生素</td>
<td>‘vitamin’</td>
<td>‘vitamin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>‘dialect: cement’</td>
<td>‘dialect for cement’</td>
<td>862.000</td>
<td>Standard Mandarin transliteration prevails.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shuǐméntīng 水门汀</td>
<td>‘cement’</td>
<td>‘cement’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shuǐní 水泥</td>
<td>‘cement’</td>
<td>‘cement’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yánghuī 洋灰</td>
<td>‘popular name for shuǐní’</td>
<td>‘popular term for shuǐní’</td>
<td>721.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>X (variant not included)</td>
<td>970.000</td>
<td>Semantic translation prevails.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>délūfēng 德律风</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diànhuà 电话</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>‘telephone’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{504} http://www.baidu.com/ (2017.04.03).

\textsuperscript{505} Hu (2004: 37): “The word ‘vitamin’ was translated in the 1920s as weítāmìng (‘sustain his life’), was changed into wéishēngsù (‘life-sustaining substance’) in mainland China in the 1950s, when the Ideological Remolding Campaign was launched, during which some leading translators advocated free translation and naturalization to avoid the ‘foreign tone’.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hormone</strong></th>
<th>‘hormone: old name for jīsù’</th>
<th>‘hormone (now called jīsù)’</th>
<th>41.100.000</th>
<th><strong>Semantic translation prevails.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>（hé’ěrméng 荷尔蒙）</td>
<td>‘hormone’</td>
<td>X (variant not included)</td>
<td>684.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（jīsù 激素）</td>
<td>‘hormone’</td>
<td>‘hormone (also hé’ěrméng)’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amoeba</strong></td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>15.400.000</td>
<td><strong>Transliteration prevails.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（āmǐbā 阿米巴）</td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>2.020.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（biànxíng chóng 变形虫）</td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>‘amoeba’</td>
<td>2.020.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utopia</strong></td>
<td>‘Utopia’</td>
<td>‘Utopia’</td>
<td>29.500.000</td>
<td><strong>Transliteration prevails.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（wūtuōbāng 乌托邦）</td>
<td>‘Utopia’</td>
<td>X (variant not included)</td>
<td>15.900.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（liǎnxíngguó 理想国）</td>
<td>‘Utopia’</td>
<td>X (variant not included)</td>
<td>15.900.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motor</strong></td>
<td>‘motor: common name for diàndòngjī’</td>
<td>‘motor’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td><strong>Equal results.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（mǎdá 马达）</td>
<td>‘motor: common name for diàndòngjī’</td>
<td>‘motor’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（diàndòngjī 电动机）</td>
<td>‘(electric) motor’</td>
<td>‘motor’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Angel</strong></td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>6.380.000</td>
<td><strong>Semantic translation prevails.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（ānqí’ér 安琪儿）</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（tiānshǐ 天使）</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>‘angel’</td>
<td>100.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Penicillin</strong></td>
<td>‘penicillin’</td>
<td>‘penicillin (also qīngméisù)’</td>
<td>923.000</td>
<td><strong>Semantic translation prevails.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（pánníxīlín 盘尼西林）</td>
<td>‘penicillin’</td>
<td>‘penicillin (also qīngméisù)’</td>
<td>923.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>（qīngméisù 青霉素）</td>
<td>‘penicillin’</td>
<td>‘penicillin (also pánníxīlín)’</td>
<td>34.000.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attachment IV. Brand names
Requirements of a good brand name, cited in Chan & Huang (1997: 228).

The authors’ three-component criteria for the development of brand names are as follows:

The marketing component:
- suggestive of product benefits;
- promotable, advertisable and persuasive;
- suited to package;
- fit with company image and other products’ image.

The legal component:
- legally available for use (not in use by another firm);
- unique in competition.

The linguistic component:
1 The phonetic requirements:
   - easy to pronounce;
   - pleasing when read or heard;
   - pronounceable in only one way and in all languages for goods to be exported.
2 The morphological requirements:
   - short and simple.
3 The semantic requirements:
   - positive, not offensive, obscene, or negative;
   - modern or contemporary; always timely;
   - understandable and memorable.
## Attachment V. Personal names

The translation of twenty personal names in Chinese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Chinese characters</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pop culture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop culture</td>
<td>David Beckham (football player)</td>
<td>大卫·贝克汉姆</td>
<td>Dàwèi Bèikèhànmù</td>
<td>- Common transliterations of ‘David’ and ‘Beckham’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Nickname: Xiǎobèi 小贝.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitney Houston (deceased female singer)</td>
<td>惠特妮·休斯顿</td>
<td>Huitènī Xiūsīdùn</td>
<td>- hui 惠 = gracious / nǐzi 妮子 = girl. Beautiful connotations for a woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Same transliteration as Houston (city).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colin Firth (actor)</td>
<td>1. 哥連·費夫</td>
<td>1. Gēlián Fèifu</td>
<td>- Two variants found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marc Jacobs (fashion designer)</td>
<td>马克·雅各布斯</td>
<td>Mákè Yāgèbùsī</td>
<td>Common transliteration of ‘Marc’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Business</strong></td>
<td>Warren Buffet (magnate, investor)</td>
<td>沃伦·巴菲特</td>
<td>Wòlún Bāfēitè</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Steve Jobs (founder of Apple)</td>
<td>1. 史提夫·贾伯斯</td>
<td>1. Shǐtífū Jiǎbóshī</td>
<td>Two variants of the name are found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. 史蒂夫·乔布斯</td>
<td>2. Shídīfū Qiáobùsī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Larry Page (founder of Google)</td>
<td>拉里·佩奇</td>
<td>Lālǐ Pèiqí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bill Gates (founder of Microsoft)</td>
<td>比尔·盖茨</td>
<td>Bǐ’ěr Gàicí</td>
<td>Common transliteration of ‘Bill’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Science</strong></td>
<td>Stephen Hawking (physicist)</td>
<td>史蒂芬·霍金</td>
<td>Shídīfēn Huójīn</td>
<td>Other variants of ‘Steven’/’Stephen’: Sīdìwén 斯蒂文 and Sīdífēn 斯蒂芬.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Darwin (biologist)</td>
<td>查尔斯·达尔文</td>
<td>Chá’ěrsī Dá’ěrwén</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Dawkins (biologist)</td>
<td>理查德·道金斯</td>
<td>Líchádé Dàojīnsì</td>
<td>Other variant of ‘Richard’: Líchádé 理查德.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noam Chomsky (linguist)</td>
<td>诺姆·乔姆斯基</td>
<td>Nuòmū Qiáomúshījī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Politics</strong></td>
<td>Theresa Mary May (current Prime Minister UK)</td>
<td>特雷莎·玛丽·梅</td>
<td>Télèishā Mǎlí Méi</td>
<td>Common transliteration of ‘Theresa’/’Teresa’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Name in Mandarin</td>
<td>Name in Pinyin</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton (USA president candidate)</td>
<td>希拉里·克林顿</td>
<td>Xīlālǐ Kèlìndūn</td>
<td>Other variant of ‘Hillary’: Xīlāruì 希拉蕊.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Walker Bush (former president USA)</td>
<td>乔治·沃克·布什</td>
<td>Qiáozhī Wòkè Bùshí</td>
<td>Common transliteration of ‘George’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McCain (Senator USA)</td>
<td>约翰·麦凯恩</td>
<td>Yuēhàn Mǎikāiën</td>
<td>- Common transliteration of ‘John’/‘Johan’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- kǎi 凯 = victorious / ēn 恩 = grace. Positive male characteristics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased creatives</td>
<td>William Shakespeare (poet, play writer)</td>
<td>威廉·莎士比亚</td>
<td>Wēilián Shāshìbiyà - Common transliteration of ‘William’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- wēi 威 = impressive strength / lián 廉 = honest. Positive male characteristics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Orwell (novelist)</td>
<td>乔治·奥威尔</td>
<td>Qiáozhī Aowēi ěr wēi 威 = impressive strength. Positive male characteristic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walt Disney (Founder Walt Disney, film producer)</td>
<td>华特·迪士尼</td>
<td>1. Huátè Díshīnì Huátè Díshìnì</td>
<td>Two variants of ‘Disney’ found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helen Keller (author)</td>
<td>海伦·凯勒</td>
<td>Hǎilún Kǎilē - Common transliteration of ‘Helen’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- kǎi 凯 = victorious. Auspicious characteristic.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attachment VI. Research in newspapers and magazines
Research: English loanwords in contemporary Chinese newspapers and magazines

Legend:

- **Yellow**: zero translation
- **Orange**: transliteration
- **Green**: calque
- **Blue**: semantic / free translation
- **Purple**: phono-semantic loan
- **Pink**: loanblend
- **Red**: proper name / brand name

An asterisk (*) indicates incertitude.

1. 半月谈

Article in China Comment magazine (*Bànyuètán 半月谈*), “University campuses are fermenting the entertainment culture”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>传媒</td>
<td>chuánméi</td>
<td>communication media</td>
<td>phono-semantic in new compound</td>
<td>Phono-semantic loan 媒体 <em>mèi</em> (media), méi is here used in the new compound <em>chuānmei</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA 制</td>
<td>AA-zhì</td>
<td>to split the bill</td>
<td>zero translation + Chinese morpheme</td>
<td>‘AA 制’ cannot be considered as a real loanword, since English speakers never use the expression ‘AA’, rather they say ‘split the bill’ or ‘go Dutch’. Suggestions for the Chinese loan are that ‘AA 制’ derives from ‘Algebraic Average’ + make (制), or ‘All Apart’ + make (制).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>游击战</td>
<td>yóujīzhàn</td>
<td>guerrilla war</td>
<td>free translation</td>
<td>Literal meaning of <em>yóujī</em> 游击: (people who are) roving around and making assaults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTV</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>karaoke (television)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td>‘KTV’ cannot be considered as a real loanword, as the abbreviation is never used in Anglo-American countries. It is suggested that the word is derived from MTV (music/movie television rooms) which existed in Taiwan, and were later replaced by rooms for ‘karaoke television’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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507 Until now there does not seem to be a definite explanation for this word. For more explanation on several suggestions see http://baike.baidu.com/item/AA 制. 

大学校园里正在发酵应酬文化

踏上返校的列车，何凯才回过神来：半年来，自己省吃俭用从生活费里攒下的钱一个假期就花光了，这1600元钱几乎都用于聚会支出。

然而寒假的结束似乎并不意味着“聚会频繁期”的终结。近日，中国高校传媒联盟向400位大学生发放问卷，29.31%的受访者聚会频率达到每周两次以上，其中本科低年级占63.52%。所有受访者中，38.08%的大学生在聚会社交方面的开销占生活费的比例超过30%。

同学间的频繁聚餐已成负担

温是湖南一所高校大三的学生。大学伊始，他就加入了多个学生组织、社团，课余生活充实丰富。他坦言自己有非常多的聚餐，毕业季尤甚。“周末就不得空，赶场子似的。”温解释，各个组织、工作部门之间都会不定期聚餐。他觉得这种现象在各高校已经普遍存在。
2. ELLE China (1)

Article in ELLE China magazine, “70 years of Cannes. Take a look at which films are listed as the main competitors”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>戛纳</td>
<td>Jiánà</td>
<td>Cannes</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>好莱坞</td>
<td>Hǎoláiwù</td>
<td>Hollywood</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蒂埃里·弗雷莫</td>
<td>Diāilì Fúléimò</td>
<td>Thierry Frémaux</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>皮埃尔·莱斯屈尔</td>
<td>Píāiěr Láisīqūěr</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>克鲁瓦塞特大道</td>
<td>Kēlǔwāsàitè Dàdào</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Loanblend of proper name + Chinese morpheme (dàdào 大道 ‘lane’, ‘boulevard’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>托德·海因斯</td>
<td>Tuōdé Háiīnǐsī</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>米丽安·摩尔</td>
<td>Zhūlǐān Mó'ěr</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>朱丽安·摩尔</td>
<td>Zhǔlì'ān Mó'ěr</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>托德·海因斯</td>
<td>Tuōdé Háiīnǐsī</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>科林·法瑞尔</td>
<td>Kēlín Fāruì'ěr</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妮可·基德曼</td>
<td>Níkè Jǐdémàn</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>科林·法瑞尔</td>
<td>Kēlín Fāruì'ěr</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>金棕榈奖</td>
<td>Jīnzōnglǘ Jiǎng</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td>Translation of ‘Palme d’Or’ (Eng. ‘Golden Palm’) + category (jiǎng 奖 ‘award’, ‘prize’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迈克尔·哈内克</td>
<td>Màikè'ěr Hānèikè</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迈克尔·哈内克</td>
<td>Màikè'ěr Hānèikè</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迈克尔·哈内克</td>
<td>Màikè'ěr Hānèikè</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>法国</td>
<td>Fǎguó</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>巴黎</td>
<td>Bǎlǐ</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>香榭丽舍大街</td>
<td>Xiāngxièlǐshè Dùjǐě</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Loanblend of proper name + Chinese morpheme (dùjǐě 大街 ‘avenue’). Notice the auspicious morphemes xiāng ‘sweet-smelling’, and lǐ ‘beautiful’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGC 影院</td>
<td>UGC-yǐngyuàn</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td>Loanblend of zero translation + Chinese morphemes yǐngyuàn 影院.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>媒体</td>
<td>mèiti</td>
<td>media</td>
<td>phono-semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>Méiguó</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Transliteration</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>唐纳德·特朗普</td>
<td>Tángnàdé Télāngpú</td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>叙利亚</td>
<td>Xùlìyà</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>红毯</td>
<td>hóngtān</td>
<td>red carpet</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>罗伯特·帕丁森</td>
<td>Luōbōtè Pàdīngsēn</td>
<td>Robert Pattinson</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>萨弗迪</td>
<td>Sàfúdī</td>
<td>Safdie</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>杰昆·菲尼克斯</td>
<td>Jiékūn Fēníxīsī</td>
<td>Joaquin Phoenix</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>琳恩·拉姆塞</td>
<td>Línēn Lāmūsāi</td>
<td>Lynne Ramsay</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>安德烈·萨金塞夫</td>
<td>Āndéliè Sàjīnsāifu</td>
<td>Andrej Zvjagintsev</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>利维坦</td>
<td>Lìwéitān</td>
<td>Leviathan</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>俄罗斯</td>
<td>Êluōsī</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>德国</td>
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<td>Wǎnīshā Léídègěruìfú</td>
<td>Vanessa Redgrave</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
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</table>
戛纳70周年，看看有哪些作品入围主竞赛单元

本届电影节组委会从1930部报名影片中，选出了19部入围主竞赛单元。

2017年戛纳电影节将于5月17日到28日举行，尽管高冷的戛纳电影节一向不怎么待见好莱坞电影，但今年却有多部好莱坞影片入围主竞赛单元。主办方表示，今年参展女性导演作品数量达到12部，而在去年仅为9部。

日前，戛纳电影节艺术总监蒂埃里·弗雷莫（Thierry Frémaux）和戛纳电影节理事会主席皮埃尔·莱斯库尔（Pierre Lescure）公布了第70届戛纳电影节的入围名单。

今年代表好莱坞出征戛纳电影节，克鲁瓦塞特大道与托德·海因斯的历史片《寂静中的惊奇》，该电影由《大艺术家》和《美丽心灵》的导演小艾伦·帕克主演，以及莱阿·塞杜的《牡蛎花下》，该电影由科林·法瑞尔，妮可·基德曼，克尔斯滕·邓斯特和艾丽·范宁出演。曾在2015年和2016年获得金棕榈奖的戛纳老朋友迈克尔·哈内克以及迈克尔·哈扎纳维希乌斯分别带着《快乐结局》和《敬畏》回归。

当地时间上午11点，戛纳电影节新闻发布会将在巴黎香榭丽舍大街的UGC影院如期举行，弗雷莫和莱斯库尔携手登上舞台，向媒体朋友公布了今年的入围影片。

莱斯库尔在开幕致辞中中提到了即将到来的法国大选和美国总统唐纳德·特朗普。“我们处在一个紧张不安的时代中，” 他说：“特朗普每天都会给我新的惊喜，我希望北朝鲜、叙利亚不会给戛纳造成阴影。”

本届电影节组委会从1930部报名影片中，选出了19部入围主竞赛单元，4部入围非竞赛单元作品，3部入围午夜展映，1部入围特别展映，其中有9部入围影片是导演处女作。弗雷莫表示，今年有12位女性导演带来作品，较去年的9位有所上升。

今年的戛纳红毯将会有不少大牌明星加盟，罗伯特·帕丁森出演了萨弗迪兄弟执导的犯罪剧情片《好时光》，杰昆·菲尼克斯领衔主演了林恩·拉姆塞执导的《你从未在此》。
3. ELLE China (2)

Article in ELLE China magazine, “155CM and thick legs, means no way to get through the summer? I see how beautiful she is though!”.\(^{510}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
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<td>zero translation + Chinese morpheme</td>
<td>jiāoxiǎo 娇小 ‘petite’, ‘delicate’</td>
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<td>literally ‘cowboy pants’</td>
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<td>zero translation of brand name</td>
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<td>zero translation of brand name</td>
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<td>Coachella (festival)</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
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<td>bōximǐyà</td>
<td>bohemian</td>
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<tr>
<td>洛杉矶</td>
<td>Luòshānjī</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

155CM+腿粗就没法过夏天了？我看她挺美啊！

来源：ELLE中文网   2017-04-18 14:46   编辑：Serena

身高155CM且不算纤细的Vanessa Hudgens一直都是很多个子娇小MM的穿衣模板。她平时穿衣却从不会给自己设限，小个子觉得难穿的长裙、长外套、阔腿裤等，她都能穿得很好看。究竟她有什么秘诀呢？

**155CM的“街拍女王”最近在穿什么？**

其实之前我们也给大家介绍过Vanessa Hudgens的穿搭，不过最近她又有一波全新的街拍“上线”，比如身着Isabel Marant Etoile白上衣搭配Citizens of Humanity剪边牛仔裤与By Far穆勒鞋，简单大气。

或是米色吊带长裙搭配Gucci手袋+缎面拖鞋，随性舒适又不失时髦度。

参加热火朝天的科切拉音乐节，一身波西米亚装扮活力十足又不失性感。

常年生活在洛杉矶的Vanessa给即将入夏的我们提供了很多穿衣经验，她的私服也都是以适度露肤为主，相当容易模仿。
4. 光明日报

Article in Guangming Daily newspaper (Guāngmíng Rìbào 光明日報), “The City Bureau at Weisheng prohibits spouses of immigrant workers to help at the bazaar food-and-drink center”.511

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>巴剎</td>
<td>bāshā</td>
<td>Bazaar (Persian ‘bazar’)</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
<td>Also 巴扎 bāzhā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Permanent Residents (PR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>拿督麥慕娜</td>
<td>Nádūmáimùnà</td>
<td>(Malaysian name)</td>
<td>proper name</td>
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</table>

威省市局巴剎、飲食中心 禁外勞 外籍配偶幫手

（大山腳25日訊）威省市政局今日宣佈，今年6月1日起將全面禁止轄下巴剎，飲食中心及路邊攤業者雇用外籍勞工或永久居民
（PR）成為幫工助手，包括本地人的外籍配偶或持有永久居留權的配偶，一律禁用。

威省市政局主委拿督麥慕娜指出，外勞控制州內商業活動的情況愈來愈嚴重，儘管該局聯合移民廳及其他執法人單位常規展開取締行動，但這項課題仍然引起熱議。

因此，該局建議從今年6月開始，在相關的商業單位與活動，落實這項更具體的政策。

“很多本地業者濫用這項權力，把生意交給外勞打理或出租給外勞。我們希望這項新政策落實後，能為本地人提供更多就業機會。”

她強調，即使是持有合法工作證的外勞，從6月開始，也不允許在市政局轄下的巴剎、小販中心或路邊攤工作。

5. 京郊日报

Article in Beijing Suburbs Daily newspaper (京郊日报 Jingjiāo Ribào), “Beijing, Tianjin, and Hebei cooperatively send out environmental standards”.512

<table>
<thead>
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<td>semantic translation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Particulate Matter (PM)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>臭氧 *</td>
<td>chòuyǎng</td>
<td>ozone</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

组织排放，已成为挥发性有机物污染的主要来源之一。

为此，京津冀三地共同制定统一的强制性标准，并适当提高了建筑涂料和胶粘剂中挥发性有机物含量限值标准，达到国内最严水平。该标准实施后，将减少建筑类涂料和胶粘剂挥发性有机物排放量20%以上。

6. 恋爱婚姻家庭

Article in Love-Marriage-Family magazine (Lian’ài Hūnyīn Jiātìng 恋爱婚姻家庭), “The most important function of this anti-radiation clothing”.513

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
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<td>lit. ‘hand machine’</td>
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<tr>
<td>电脑</td>
<td>diàn nǎo</td>
<td>computer</td>
<td>free translation</td>
<td>lit. ‘electric brain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>妈咪们</td>
<td>māmī mén</td>
<td>mommies</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
<td>Transliteration of ‘mommy’ māmī 妈咪 + Chinese morpheme mén 们 to indicate plural.</td>
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<td>X 光</td>
<td>X-guāng</td>
<td>X-ray</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td>+ Chinese morpheme</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Computerized Tomography (CT)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
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<td>DNA</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>DeoxyriboNucleic Acid (DNA)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>电视</td>
<td>diàn shì</td>
<td>television</td>
<td>free translation</td>
<td>lit. ‘electric watching’</td>
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<td>microwave oven</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
<td>morpheme-for-morpheme translation</td>
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<td>shōuyīnjī</td>
<td>radio</td>
<td>free translation</td>
<td>lit. ‘receives-sound-machine’</td>
</tr>
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<td>kǎoxiāng</td>
<td>oven</td>
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<td>lit. ‘baking box’</td>
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<td>电吹风</td>
<td>diàn chuī fēng</td>
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<td>太阳灶</td>
<td>tài yáng zào</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<th>电磁波</th>
<th>diàncībō</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>厘米</td>
<td>lìmǐ</td>
<td>centimeter (li = centi)</td>
<td>loanblend</td>
<td>semantic part 厘 li ‘centi-’ + phonetic part 米 mǐ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

造吗这是防辐射服的最大作用

发表于：2016-03-14  来源：未知  作者：admin  阅读数：67

科技时代生活，手机电脑离不了，准妈妈们难免为辐射而担忧。因此，市面上催生出了一大批保命延寿的产品，其中就包括了我们今天的主角：孕妇防辐射服。如今防辐射孕妇服甚至已经成为不少准妈的必备用品，但是，这些防护服是否真的具备防辐射的功效呢？

短短的几年时间，各类防辐射服大量涌入市场，销量节节攀升。而之前央视新闻频道制作播出的《“防辐射服防辐射”谣言？》节目让防辐射问题再一次成为公众关注的话题。在防辐射服是否有用的讨论之外，我们还应该思考的是：这防辐射服到底需不需要？

防辐射服到底能防住什么？

辐射分为电离辐射和非电离辐射，X光，CT等能量巨大，能够改变DNA结构的射线，称为电离辐射。对电离辐射，超过规定剂量后，对人体确实有比较大的伤害。而另外一类能量不那么大的辐射，就称为非电离辐射。生活中常见的辐射源，包括电脑、手机、电视、微波炉、收音机、烤箱、电吹风……都属于非电离辐射的范畴。

这就是说，我们日常接触到的，往往是非电离辐射。防辐射服主要的‘卖点’，其实是为肚子里的宝宝，遮挡或者屏蔽一部分非电离辐射。

非电离辐射，对宝宝的危害究竟是什么？

明确了这一点后，我们先不讨论防辐射服能不能挡住非电离辐射；更重要的问题是，得知道手机、电脑、电视、微波炉这些东西带来的辐射，到底对准妈妈和宝宝们有没有害，有害在哪里。
首先，从阳光到微波炉、烤箱、手机、电脑等家电，这些非电离辐射在准妈妈身体上，最明显的效用是——加热！没错，就是加热。比如用【太阳光】把太阳能汇聚起来，让物体吸收可见光，产生热量，来烧饭烧菜烧水；烤箱则主要利用了红色辐射来加热物体，微波炉则属于微波辐射，用【电磁波】让水分子等振荡起来、碰撞起来，运动着的分子就能使物体迅速加热了。

上面提到的那些辐射，穿透能力也就在厘米级。因此，以微波炉、烤箱的辐射会危害孕妈咪为由，逃避做饭，这是不具有说服力的。

防辐射服到底有效吗？

问题回到了防辐射服，它到底有没有用，该不该买呢？有店员会介绍说，防辐射服是采用金属纤维混合织物制成的，所以肯定是能防住一部分辐射的。

从物理学上判断，这个说法是有道理的。但是有人用最朴素的办法试验了一下，用防辐射服整个包住手机，手机信号就减弱或者干脆没有了；但如果只是遮挡一下，手机信号似乎并没有太大的变化。所以足见防辐射服降低辐射的效果，大概也就那样。更何况，上面提到的这些辐射，只要在日常生活使用的范围之内，本来就是无害的，所以防一点、减轻一点，又有什么意义呢？

专家提醒：防辐射服根本无用

许多店家向顾客宣传推销防护服时，都对产品质量给予肯定，并强调是权威机构认证的合格产品。对此，质监部门表示，目前，有关防辐射服装的国家标准尚未出台，现在市面上的此类服装依据的都是企业的生产标准。

有专家表示，防辐射服对胎儿的防护作用到底有多大，目前还没有临床实验证实。市面上大多数防辐射孕妇服靠抓住孕妇及其家人“孩子输不起”的心理才能如此畅销，“实际上根本没有多大作用”。

“准妈妈”：买了就图个安心

其实，防辐射服最大的作用也就是告诉身边人：这个女人怀！孕！了！该让座快让座，该躲远点躲远点，这就是最大的功效！

最后，天然辐射“防不胜防”，也无须去防
1. 目前没有证据表明日常非电离辐射会导致孕妇流产率、胎儿畸形率的提高，也不会导致新生儿出生体重过低；
2. 除了微弱的证据表明某些日常电磁辐射与某些疾病的发生相关，但无法证明其因果关系；
3. 日常生活中也存在一定量的天然电磁辐射，但剂量在人体可接受范围内，无须恐慌。如果换成日常的话语体系，结论只有一句话：防辐射服是个坑爹玩意儿，大家还是把钱花在其他地方吧。
Article in People’s Daily (Rénmín Ribào 人民日报), “Film festival gives domestic movies a new boost – demonstration of the final film ‘Master of Memory’”. ⑤14

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<td>/</td>
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<td>sān-D</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

《神秘家族》和《记忆大师》同为悬疑类型，但不同的是，《神秘家族》根据真实案件改编，更具时代特征。片中，林依晨饰演的苗苗在遭遇不幸后一心想要寻找那个事件的真相，没想到这段路困难重重。片中林依晨颠覆以往正面、阳光的形象，饰演一位在雨夜遭遇强暴的17岁少女。林依晨表示，她希望用自己对角色的演绎，带给观众更多的思考。

汇集了徐申东、元华、苑琼丹、陈德容、张兆辉等实力派演员的《泡菜爱上小龙虾》走的是美食题材喜剧类型片的路子，主演在北影节开幕式上带了一道道具“龙虾”亮相吸引了不少眼球。导演赵文涛表示，《泡菜爱上小龙虾》是用诚意之心奉献给观众的好故事。

IP改编的奇幻类型片《鲛珠传》以九州大陆为故事背景，讲述了飞贼泥空空（王大陆饰）、捕快黑羽（张天爱饰）、神秘少年蛤蟆（盛冠森饰）三人共同对抗羽族后裔的故事。奇幻的类型注定了《鲛珠传》会有大量的特效镜头，这也是王大陆首次挑战无实物表演。他坦言，无实物表演需要时刻保持演员的专注，等到熟悉之后就完全是一种新的体验，“感觉很棒”。

新人新作获支持

除了传统类型新片外，《我心雀跃》、《艺术也疯狂》等新人新作也成了电影节上的亮点。

《我心雀跃》是女导演刘紫薇的处女作，讲述了一个发生在上世纪90年代，青春期少女对自己的老师情窦初开的故事。该片在北影节放映之后获得了观众的认可。《我心雀跃》从筹拍伊始就获得了很多影坛前辈的支持，导演田壮壮担当艺术顾问，摄影师侯勇担任摄影指导，剪辑由获得金马奖的杨红雨担任。田壮壮还亲临首映现场，分享他对“少女心”的理解——“少女心这东西太懵懂太朦胧，暗恋一个人就像睡觉一样美，有时候睡不着有时候睡不醒。”

《艺术也疯狂》的导演蔡玉水也是首次执导电影，但他的另一个身份是北京画院画家，国家一级美术师，雕塑家。蔡玉水在《艺术也疯狂》里讲述了跟他职业相关的故事——“一幅画像翻一个镇，一个镇洗涤一颗心”。蔡玉水直言：“电影里有我这些年对当下社会现象以及喧闹的艺术热潮的观察与思考。我想通过摄影机镜头这个更有利的画笔，鄙视那些被金钱私利所驱使，坑蒙拐骗，道德迷失的社会现象，呼唤亲情、友情、人性的回归。”

小众类型也出彩
相较于投资更大、明星更多、受众也更广的商业类型片，动画片、纪录片等都是小众的类型了。本届电影节上亮相的国产动画电影迄今为止只有一部——《豆福传》，片方宣布定档今年7月7日。《豆福传》取材于中国传统文化中汉代淮南王刘安的故事，脱胎于“刘安做豆腐，因祸得福”这一典故，讲述了主人公“豆福”欢乐而又励志的修仙故事。导演邹燚透露，《豆福传》能够问世，靠的也是自己和电影中的角色“豆福”一样的坚持，最艰难的时候团队全部走光，只剩下自己一个人。“再渺小的梦想，因坚持而伟大。”邹燚认为动画片不仅要把技术做好，还要把故事讲好，打动观众，并且应该做自己文化的传承者。

《七十七天》是国内首部户外题材3D探险剧情片，由赵汉唐执导，江一燕主演。据导演介绍，该片的拍摄地平均海拔高达5000米，最高海拔6700米，成为华语电影史上“最高难度”的电影。电影改编自真人真事——上海青年杨柳松以自行车为运载工具，携带有限的给养孤身徒步77天，经历了难以想象的生死考验，横穿无人区。江一燕在电影中刻意扮丑，并坦言这是从影以来最艰难、最苦的一次拍摄，同时也是最享受的一次拍摄。“困难可以激发潜力，我的人生很幸运，遇到一些很特别的人和角色，这次可以很纯粹地拍一部电影，现在这样的作品不多了。”

（黄侦：汪蕾、李老）

8. 人民日报 (2)

Article in People’s Daily (Rénmíng Rìbào 人民日报), “Pay close attention to the yearly work and strive to create a new situation in the work of the people”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>合影 *</td>
<td>héyǐng</td>
<td>a joint (group) photo</td>
<td>semantic translation?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
习近平在视察南部战区陆军机关时强调
抓紧抓实年度各项工作
努力开创部队工作新局面

2017年04月24日 11:06
来源：《人民日报》2017年04月23日 01 版

新华社南宁4月23日电 　（记者李宣良、王经富）中共中央总书记、国家主席、中央军委主席习近平22日视察南部战区陆军机关，强调要以党在新形势下的强军目标为引领，贯彻新形势下军事战略方针，坚持政治建军、改革强军、依法治军，求真务实，开拓创新，真抓实干，扎实落实好军委部署的各项任务要求，努力开创部队工作新局面，以优异成绩迎接党的十九大召开。

在江水映，绿树映衬，4月的南宁春意盎然，生机盎然。上午9时30分许，习近平来到南部战区陆军机关，亲切接见了广西部队师以上领导干部、南部战区陆军及各单位有关人员，同大家一一握手，表示祝贺。

会后，习近平听取了南部战区陆军工作情况汇报，并发表重要讲话。习近平强调，今年是党和国家发展进程中具有特殊重要意义的一年，全军要按照党在新形势下的强军目标要求，抓紧抓实年度各项工作，努力开创部队工作新局面。

习近平强调，要旗帜鲜明讲政治，坚定不移听党指挥，任何时候任何情况下都坚决听从党中央、中央军委指挥。要聚焦备战打仗，立足实战化训练，从难从严从实战需要出发设计和推动实战化训练，确保部队召之即来、来之能战、战之必胜。要强化战斗精神，锻造召之即来、来之能战、战之必胜的精兵劲旅。

习近平指出，要加强爱国主义教育和形势政策教育，激发部队官兵的战斗意志，强化部队官兵的使命感、责任感、荣誉感。要强化官兵信仰和信念，把“两个结合”学习教育融入日常、抓在经常，确保部队始终保持旺盛的战斗意志和战斗精神。

习近平强调，要全面加强部队作风建设，深化群众路线教育实践活动成果，坚决反对形式主义、官僚主义、享乐主义、奢靡之风。要强化宗旨观念，加强和改进经常性思想工作和管理工作，把工作做到基层，把力量沉到一线，把保障落到基层，把官兵具体利益解决好，充分激发部队官兵的战斗精神和战斗意志。

习近平要求各级党委和后勤机关，要认真研究部队实际，加强和改进工作指导，把指导工作指导到基层，把服务工作服务到一线，把保障工作保障到基层，把部队基础打牢，把战斗能力提升。

常委会全体委员、常委会议参加人员、部队官兵和地方党员代表参加汇报会。
9. 人民日报（3）

Article in People’s Daily (Rénmín Rìbào 人民日报), “IMF: The global financial stability continually improves”.516

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund (IMF)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>国际货币基金组织</td>
<td>Guójì Huòbì Jūjīn Zǔzhī</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
<td>semantic translation + category</td>
<td>semantic translation + category ‘organisation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>Měiguó</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. 新周刊

Article in New Weekly (新周刊 新周刊), “How to recognize a fake SUV”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUV</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>SUV (Sport Utility Vehicle)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPV</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>MPV (Multiple Purpose Vehicle)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sports</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>sports</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>马力</td>
<td>mǎlì</td>
<td>horse power</td>
<td>loan translation</td>
<td>morpheme-for-morpheme translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>L (liter)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>发动机</td>
<td>fādòngjī</td>
<td>engine, motor</td>
<td>free translation</td>
<td>lit. ‘machine to mobilize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>沃尔沃 XC90</td>
<td>Wò’ěrwò</td>
<td>Volvo XC 90</td>
<td>brand name + zero translation</td>
<td>Favorable meaning of the morphemes used in the translated brand name for ‘Volvo’ cars: wò沃 ‘fertile’, ‘rich’. Zero translation for the car model.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奥迪 Q7</td>
<td>Àodí</td>
<td>Audi Q7</td>
<td>brand name + zero translation</td>
<td>Favorable meaning of the morphemes used in the translated brand name for ‘Audi cars: dí迪 ‘enlighten,. Zero translation for the car model.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>T (engine model)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>空调</td>
<td>kòngtiáo</td>
<td>airconditioning</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td>Abbreviation of the semantic translation kōngqì tiáojié空气调节, lit. ‘regulation of the air’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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如何鉴别一台伪SUV？

文/邹思微

如何鉴别一台伪SUV？

首先，让我们回到原点，审视一下SUV。

SUV（Sport Utility Vehicle），翻译过来就是运动型多用途汽车，介于轿车、越野车及MPV之间，兼备轿车的舒适性、越野车的越野能力和MPV的空间组合功能。在伪SUV盛行，跨界车众多的今天，光看定义很难搞清楚什么是SUV，更不用说伪SUV。其实要鉴别伪SUV很简单，只要弄清SUV与越野车、跨界车的区别，你马上就会惊奇发现不是每一辆车长得像SUV的车都是SUV。

没有六缸也好意思出门？

SUV的第一个要素就是六缸，也就是运动性好。大马力、大扭矩是必须的，这样才能用充沛的动力去征服各种路况，城市内起步要轻松优雅，高速上超车要畅快从容，越野时要能气定神闲，这些都离不开一台大功率发动机的支持。3.0到6缸以上（含）才算是够格的，而SUV这种车型刚出来那会儿，八缸基本都是标配。

虽说如今的趋势是发动机小排量化，但是小马拉大车这种情况还是不应该出现在SUV上——1.6、1.5这种排量的发动机就算再先进也没有办法提供充沛动力，只能算是够用而已，根本谈不上运动性能。而那些大尺寸的SUV，比如沃尔沃XC90，新奥迪Q7，这种在配备了2.0T发动机以后，基本都卖得不怎么样，因为从主观感受上，消费者就认定这类装配小排量发动机的豪华SUV已经不具备豪华SUV的基本特质。

对于一些自主品牌，发动机更是致命短板。排量小，可靠性差，你买回家的那台车看起来很像SUV的车搭载的可能是台“小面”的发动机，上个坡，开个空调都会喘，你还指望它能征服各种路况？可靠性方面更是噩梦，小毛病不断大毛病不少，随时可能把你抛在路上，你还敢开它出去游山玩水？不过这类车最大的优势在于维修和保养都非常便宜，还能增加你修车知识。

在环保和排放要求越来越严苛的形势下，大排量发动机可能会越来越少，SUV也和大排量车一样被划归到不环保的范畴，所以在未来再出现八缸SUV的可能性并不大。这类环保车在政策上的出路，可能就是变成有钱人的玩具，而这恰好能让SUV车型回到最原始的初衷，再也不会像现在这样满大街跑。
11. 音乐周报


<table>
<thead>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Lāměimòěr de lùqiàyà</td>
<td>Lucia di Lammermoor</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丹尼尔·欧伦</td>
<td>Dānní’ěr Ōlún</td>
<td>Daniel Oren</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>马林斯基</td>
<td>Mālìnsījī</td>
<td>Malinsky</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>多尼采蒂</td>
<td>Duōnǐcàidì</td>
<td>(Gaetano) Donizetti</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Āyīdá</td>
<td>Aïda</td>
<td>proper name</td>
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<td>参孙</td>
<td>Cānsūn</td>
<td>Samson</td>
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<td>达丽拉</td>
<td>Dālìlā</td>
<td>Delilah</td>
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12. 中国科技网 (1)


<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NASA</td>
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<td>National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>美国宇航局</td>
<td>Měiguó Yǔhángjú</td>
<td>American Aeronautics and Space Administration</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>Měiguó</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卡西尼</td>
<td>Kǎxīnì</td>
<td>Cassini</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>地幔*</td>
<td>dimàn</td>
<td>the earth’s mantle</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td>This word is possibly a phono-semantic loan, as màn 慢 (lit. ‘screen’, ‘curtain’) sounds like the English ‘mantle’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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13. 中国科技网 (2)

Article in Chinese Science and Technology Online (Zhōngguó Kējì Wǎng 中国科技网), “China successfully launched its 13th communications satellite”. §20

<table>
<thead>
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<td>laser</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Generation (G)</td>
<td>zero translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 平台</td>
<td>B-píngtái</td>
<td>B-platform</td>
<td>zero translation + Chinese morphemes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ka 通信</th>
<th>ka-tōngxin</th>
<th>Ka-communication</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>媒体</td>
<td>méi-ti</td>
<td>media</td>
<td>phono-semantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Literally ‘intermediary system’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>Měiguó</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka 频段</td>
<td>ka-pínduàn</td>
<td>Ka-band</td>
<td>zero translation + Chinese morphemes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

中国成功发射实践十三号通信卫星

2017-04-13 09:51:54  来源: 中新社 作者: 张春 郭兴建

4月13日19时04分，中国西昌卫星发射中心成功发射实践十三号卫星。实践十三号卫星是中国首颗高通量通信卫星，这颗卫星在高轨上应用激光通信和电推进等技术，通信总容量达到24G以上，超过我国此前所有通信卫星容量的总和。  由于 媒

中新社西昌4月13日电（张春 郭兴建）13日19时04分，中国在西昌卫星发射中心用长征三号乙运载火箭成功发射实践十三号卫星。这是中国第一颗高通量通信卫星，在卫星通信中具有应用前景的宽带应用。

实践十三号卫星是东方红三号B平台的首颗星，设计寿命15年。中国国家国防科技工业局系统工程司副司长赵华说，实践十三号卫星突破了电推进、Ka通信载荷、高功率微波通信导盲等一系列关键技术，将为实现东方红三号B平台功能和性能指标考核，开展中国宽带中精度系统业务试验。

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14. 中青在线

Article in China Youth Online (Zhōngqīng Zài xiàn 中青在线), “Xi Jinping and Donald Trump have met! What happened?”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>特朗普</td>
<td>Télāngpǔ</td>
<td>(Donald) Trump</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>美国</td>
<td>Měiguó</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Transliteration + category (guó 国 ‘land’). Literally ‘beautiful land’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>佛罗里达州</td>
<td>Fóluólídázhōu</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Loanblend: transliteration of ‘Florida’ + zhōu 州 ('administrative division' – ‘province’, ‘state’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>西棕榈滩</td>
<td>Xi Zōnglǘ Tān</td>
<td>West Palm Beach</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>帝勒森</td>
<td>Dìlēisēn</td>
<td>(Rex) Tillerson</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>红地毯</td>
<td>hóng ditān</td>
<td>Red carpet</td>
<td>loan</td>
<td>translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奥</td>
<td>Ao</td>
<td>(Barack) Obama</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Abbreviation of the transliteration Ao bāmá 奥巴马.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>海湖</td>
<td>Hǎihú</td>
<td>Sp. Mar-a-Lago</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白宫</td>
<td>Báigōng</td>
<td>White House</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>Semantic translation, notice the meaning of the morpheme gōng 宫 ‘imperial palace’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>媒体</td>
<td>mèitǐ</td>
<td>media</td>
<td>phono-semantic</td>
<td>Literally ‘intermediary system’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>华盛顿</td>
<td>Huáshèngdūn</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>梅拉尼亚</td>
<td>Méilāniyà</td>
<td>Melania (Trump)</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>北约</td>
<td>Běiyuē</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
<td>Abbreviation of the semantic loan bèi dàxī yang gōngyuē zǔzhī 北大西洋公约组织 ‘North Atlantic Treaty Organization’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>布鲁塞尔</td>
<td>Bùlūsài’ěr</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>近岸内航道</td>
<td>Jìn Àn Nèi Hángdào</td>
<td>Intracoastal Waterway</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>semantic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>约瑟夫厄本</td>
<td>Yuēsèfu Ebēn</td>
<td>Joseph Urban</td>
<td>proper name</td>
<td>transliteration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

习近平与特朗普见面了！看点是什么？

发布时间：2017-04-10 14:02 来源：中青在线

导读

应美国总统特朗普邀请，国家主席习近平于当地时间4月6日乘专机抵达美国佛罗里达州，这是特朗普就任美国总统以来，中美两国元首的首次会晤，“习特会”将就中美关系等重大议题进行深入讨论。特朗普就任美国总统后，中美关系是世界经济和世界格局的重大会晤就此展开。

习近平与特朗普见面了！

习近平将于6和7日同特朗普就中美关系以及共同关心的国际和地区问题广泛深入交换意见，这是美国新政府就职以来中美两国元首首次会晤。

当地时间6日下午1时50分许，习近平乘坐的专机抵达佛罗里达州西棕榈滩国际机场。

习近平和夫人彭丽媛受到美国国务卿蒂勒森夫妇等热情迎接。礼兵分别在红地毯两侧。△视频《习近平抵达美国佛罗里达州将同特朗普举行中美元首会晤》

王沪宁、汪洋、栗战书、杨洁篪等陪同人员同机抵达。中国驻美国大使崔天凯也到机场迎接。
8个关键词告诉你“习特会”为什么倍受关注

第一次

自2016年11月特朗普就任美国总统以来，中美两国元首首次会晤。

早于“习奥会”

特朗普上任两个多月后就与中国元首会晤，比2013年6月的第一次“习奥会”速度还快。

“庄园会晤”

海湖庄园——“冬日白宫”，庄园落成于1927年。1985年，特朗普以不到300万美元价格购得了庄园。美国媒体报道说，与在华盛顿相比，特朗普在海湖庄园时显得更加自如。

“天人外交”

习近平主席和夫人彭丽媛将出席特朗普总统和夫人梅拉尼娅举行的欢迎宴会。

聚焦话题

经贸合作、“朝核”问题等重要问题。

深层调整

2月10日，习近平同特朗普通电话。特朗普称，美国政府坚持奉行一个中国政策。2月27日—28日，中国国务委员杨洁篪对美国进行访问。3月18日—19日，美国国务卿蒂勒森访华，强调“十四字原则”：不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢。

北约外长会议改期

北约外长会议原定于4月5日至6日在布鲁塞尔举行。美国国务卿蒂勒森可能因“习特会”而缺席，所以会议改在4月1日召开。对此，美国有媒体指出，这是过去十几年来第一次发生这样的事情！

为未来定调

中美关系是世界上重要的一对双边关系。一个可预见的、稳定的中美关系需要两国最高层从战略高度审时度势，为未来几十年确定发展方向和基调。意义重大，自然吸引了全世界的目光。

庄园会晤不简单

近年来，在各种私人或国家庄园中进行“不打领带的外交”越来越流行，中国领导人逐渐成为其中的主角。到访的外国领导人或庄园做客，一方面密切领导人之间的关系，另一方面也传达中国对一些国际问题的看法和主张。
15. 中工网

Article in Chinese Workers Online (Zhōnggōngwǎng 中工网), “Xi Jinping sends out an congratulatory letter for the first high-level meeting on cultural exchange between China and South Africa”.522

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 南非 | Nánfēi | South Africa | proper name | Loanblend of Chinese morpheme nán 南 ‘south’ + transliteration fēi ‘Africa’.
| 比勒陀利亚 | Bilètuóliàyà | Pretoria (capital of South Africa) | proper name | transliteration |
| 金砖 | Jīnzuān | BRIC(S) | semantic translation | Notice how the Chinese loan is a semantic translation of ‘gold brick’, while the English source word ‘BRIC(S)’ is actually an acronym for ‘Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa’.
| 非洲 | Fēizōu | Africa | proper name | Transliteration, what to think of the rather derogative fēi 非 ‘wrongdoing’?
| 约翰内斯堡 | Yuēhànnèisībǎo | Johannesburg | proper name | transliteration |
| 祖马也 | Zǔmǎyě | (Jacob) Zuma | proper name | transliteration |

习近平向中国—南非高级别人文交流机制首次会议致贺信

新华社北京4月24日电 国家主席习近平24日致信祝贺中国—南非高级别人文交流机制首次会议在比勒陀利亚召开。

习近平强调，中国和南非同为发展中大国和金砖国家成员。近年来，两国全面战略伙伴关系保持强劲发展势头，给两国人民带来了实实在在的利益。中南高级别人文交流机制是中国与非洲国家建立的首个高级别人文交流机制，是落实中非合作论坛约翰内斯堡峰会成果的重要行动。机制的启动将夯实中南关系的民意基础，有力推动两国人文交流。

习近平指出，这次机制活动期间还将召开中非部长级医药卫生合作会议。中非卫生合作是中非友好合作的重要组成部分。希望有关各方携手同行，深入推进中非卫生合作，造福中非人民。

习近平强调，实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦和非洲《2063年议程》描绘的非洲梦高度契合。中方愿同包括南非在内的非洲国家一道，携手开创中非合作共赢、共同发展的新时代。

南非总统祖马也向会议致贺信，表示，中非高级别人文交流机制的建立是中非良好关系的又一例证，相信机制将推动两国相关领域交流合作取得积极成果，增进两国人民相互理解，将两国关系提升到新的高度，实现南中共同繁荣。

编辑：肖天