

Chinese influence on the English lexicon

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Declaration

I, Ai Zhong confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Contacts between English and Chinese have existed for several centuries, causing lexical exchanges between the two languages. As a result, numerous lexical items are taken from Chinese to English and vice versa. This thesis particularly focuses on Chinese contributions to the English language. Two types of analysis feature in this study. Typological analysis identifies different kinds of Chinese influence, including the most classic and recognized types of lexical borrowing; two marginal and implicit types of lexical influence, namely indirect borrowing and expressions with ethnic tags; and different Chinese varieties of English, which reflect the long history of language contact between the two languages and the recent emergence of Chinese contributions to the Western culture. In the semantic analysis, lexical borrowings from Chinese are contextualized in various semantic fields: 14 semantic sketches cover domains that have extensive reference to China and Chinese culture, while three case studies focus on some special patterns of Chinese influence on the English vocabulary in three specific areas. Both the typological and the semantic analyses show possible ways of approaching the topic of Chinese influence on the English lexicon. Additionally, this study presents a tentative taxonomy of Chinese influence, which can be applied to other languages or other kinds of language contacts. Overall, the study demonstrates the possibility of combining different methods and mixed sources to give a more comprehensive account of how Chinese influences the English language as well as to adequately reflect the contacts between two languages and two cultures.

Impact Statement

This thesis investigates the Chinese influence on the English lexicon, with the purpose of linking different areas of linguistics, such as historical linguistics, applied linguistics, contact linguistics, and lexicology, and also other disciplines, such as food, technology, politics, ceramics, to name but a few. My starting point for researching the language contact between Chinese and English is my own background and experience of being a Chinese student in an English-speaking country, which helps me to obtain and examine data from various sources.

An important aim of the thesis is to raise awareness of the fact that Chinese has a considerable influence on the English vocabulary and then open intercultural dialogue between English and Chinese. Many English speakers may not notice that some words they use frequently are ultimately from Chinese, while many Chinese speakers, especially the young generation, do not know their language has contributed numerous expressions to other languages including English. Besides, a large number of Chinese young people turn their backs on traditional Chinese folkways. As for myself, I am also not familiar with many traditions of Chinese culture. Considering this, the present study explores a range of semantic domains and their terminologies, presented in brief sketches or in detailed case studies. This is a linguistic study obviously, but the methods I have taken illustrate many interesting cultural perspectives as well. Since language can be used as a vehicle for learning and understanding culture, this study presents a model of using linguistics to approach other disciplines and vice versa.

In the near future, I hope to turn this thesis or part of the thesis into different forms of research outcomes and publicize them through publications, my blog and other media opportunities, my teaching materials, and a dictionary on Chinese contributions to the English lexicon. In addition, as my research progressed, more ideas related to the topic come up but are merely touched on in this thesis. I look forward to further discussions and hope to get new insights after I step back from this thesis for a while.

There is no attempt to give a comprehensive list of all Chinese borrowings in English because of the limited data available and the lack of extensive knowledge in all areas, and thus this thesis is only able to touch upon lexical items within certain fields, periods, and regions. In 2016, I took part in the Bloomsbury Festival event called ‘You’re a linguist

and you don't know it', hosted by UCL Survey of English Usage, and I engaged with hundreds of participants by asking them what kind of Chinese borrowings they know or recognize. There were plentiful interesting and surprising answers from different people's lexicon. More events of this kind might create more opportunities for gathering further data as well as raising awareness of the research. Looking to the future, the topic of the thesis is a promising one for further public engagement activities, and these may lead to fresh insights and new research directions.

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PART I. INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Overview

As the two languages spoken by the greatest number of speakers in the world, English and Chinese each show powerful impacts on other languages throughout their histories. English and Chinese have also been in contact with each other and influenced each other for several centuries. The exchanges of lexical items between the two languages are the most representative and long-lasting end-products in this language contact. This thesis concentrates mainly on one-way contact from Chinese to English – in other words, the process of Chinese words and phrases entering into the English language. This process is usually called ‘borrowing’ in linguistics, a term also used to refer to the borrowed lexical item itself. This study, however, also considers other kinds of lexical influence which cannot be considered to be borrowing in the strictest sense.

Language contact is not a new area of research; over the last two centuries, work on contact linguistics has produced a large number of theories, arguments, and analyses, especially relating to French and Latin influence on English in earlier periods. Comparatively, large-scale studies on the linguistic and cultural influences from Chinese are rather few, but there are a large number of sources of information and data on this topic scattered across different areas of enquiry. In this thesis, the major focus is on the linguistic features and patterns of Chinese influence on the English lexicon, based on data collected from a variety of sources. The central research question is to determine what are the Chinese contributions to the English language, while other questions and issues that will be addressed in the thesis include: what can be counted as Chinese influence on English; how does Chinese influence the English language linguistically and culturally; how do linguistic borrowings from Chinese make their way into the English lexicon; how do linguistic borrowings from Chinese replace or co-exist with the native words; what kind of morphological changes do Chinese borrowings experience in the English language; and what are the major factors that may influence borrowings from Chinese?

All these research questions call for information about the contact between the two languages (and even two cultures) and also lead to some surprising revelations about lexical exchanges. The findings and predictions about Chinese influence in this study may also be applied to other languages with similar mechanisms of lexical and cultural borrowing. Particularly in relation to the last question, several extra-linguistic factors

account for Chinese contributions to the English lexicon. Borrowings from Chinese enrich the English language; at the same time, Chinese culture can be understood through the vehicle of linguistic borrowings. In this respect, the study of Chinese influence on English is of value because it may lead to a better understanding of languages and cultures. Considering the close connection between language and culture, this study presents a possible model of using linguistics to support other disciplines or scholars from other disciplines. Before addressing all the questions listed above, the next couple of sections will first deal with the basic concepts and terminology that inform the study.

1.1 Defining ‘borrowing’

In linguistics, ‘borrowing’ is defined as the adoption of linguistic elements or features, including morphemes, words, phrases, constructions, meanings, etc. (e.g. Bloomfield 1935, Katamba 2005, Durkin 2009). In addition, ‘borrowing’ is also frequently used as a term to describe the process in which one language (or variety) takes new linguistic elements from another (Hockett 1958, Campbell 1998, Durkin 2014, Poplack 2017). With regard to language change, Lehman (2013: 17) defines borrowing as the result of ‘the influence of one language on another’, counting it as one of the major reasons for change in language.

However, the term ‘borrowing’ is not satisfactory to all. Hockett (1958: 402) asserts that this term ‘requires some caution’, though Haugen (1950) regards ‘borrowing’ as a more unambiguous and appropriate term than ‘stealing’, ‘adoption’, or ‘diffusion’ in linguistic discussion. Some more recent studies including Johanson (2002), Matras (2009), and Haspelmath (2009) suggest that the word ‘borrowing’ sounds misleading and strange and provide alternative terms such as ‘copying’, ‘replication’, and ‘transfer / transference.’

In many studies, ‘borrowing’ is used as a synonym of ‘loanword’ (e.g. Wang Yinquan 1999, Crystal 2002, Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009, Lu 2009), and in fact the English term ‘loanword’ itself is a borrowing from the German word *lehnwort* (OED). Actually, borrowing and loaning are two sides of the same linguistic phenomenon: from the standpoint of the donor language, the words are loaned; from the viewpoint of the recipient language, the words are borrowed. To clarify, the words occurring in the process of borrowing or loaning are called ‘loanwords.’ In addition, ‘loanword’ is also used by many scholars to name a major type of lexical borrowing (e.g. Haugen 1950, Van Hout and Muysken 1994, Durkin 2009, Winford 2010).

Since the term ‘borrowing’ has been well-established and conventional in linguistics for more than two centuries (cf. Haspelmath 2009, Durkin 2014), I will follow the terminology adopted by previous works. In this thesis, ‘borrowing’ is used in its broadest sense as: (1) the process in which lexical items are transmitted from one language to another, (2) the linguistic item coined during the process of language contact, and (3) the umbrella term encompassing a number of types associated with the lexical transmission. Some other kinds of lexical influence, though normally are not considered to be borrowing, also involve the processes and/or the end products of borrowing from another language or culture through contact.

1.2 Defining ‘English’ and ‘Chinese’

According to Nevalainen’s (2006) definition of a standard language, one of the features of a standard is to reflect ‘maximal variation in function’ (p. 29). In other words, a standard language can be used for all purposes within a language community. Considering this, it is hard to come up with a concise, official, and satisfactory definition of Standard English. British English is undoubtedly a standard over the globe due to its power and prestige; with the emergence of American English as an alternative global presence, however, British English is no longer the only global standard. Other English-speaking communities and individuals also strive to make the language different in order to show their specific identities, and many have developed their own standard varieties of English as a mother tongue, including Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Crystal 2002). In Kachru’s (1985 and later) framework of ‘World Englishes’, the above-mentioned ones belong to the ‘Inner Circle.’ As for the ‘Outer Circle’, many localized standards are springing up in other parts of the world as Singapore, Malaysia, India, and Hong Kong, where English is used officially or semi-officially.

Furthermore, a number of new English varieties of the ‘Expanding Circle’ have emerged in recent decades, such as Chinglish, Japlish, Korish, Frenglish, Spanglish, and the like, which are formed by a mixture of English and the local language. Unlike the standard languages that enable community members to communicate with each other efficiently, these non-standards are often criticized and called ‘broken English’ and ‘bastardized English.’ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that they are varieties of English, though lacking the prestige of the standard varieties (Crystal 2002). China has its own story to tell about hybrid English varieties. The early contact between China and the West gave birth to

Chinese Pidgin English, which set the fundamental rules and features for later Chinese Englishes. Studies of World Englishes and Chinese Englishes are reviewed in the following chapter, and there are further discussions of Chinese Englishes in Chapter 6.

The concept of Standard Chinese is even more complex, and so many names are used for varieties of Chinese that even native Chinese speakers need to be careful about what can be called ‘Standard Chinese.’ After all, each name has its particular historical nuances and sociolinguistic overtones (Norman 1988). In Chinese, terms associated with ‘Standard Chinese’ are as follows:

- *Hanyu* (汉语, lit. ‘Han people’s language’) refers to the language spoken by the Han nationality that makes up over 90% of Chinese citizens of the People’s Republic of China, contrasting with all of the non-Han languages spoken in China and the rest of the world. ‘Han’ is named after the Han Empire, which ruled the country for more than 400 years and gave its name to the people and the language in China.¹ *Hanyu* is the usual term in academic writing. Therefore, foreigners who are learning Chinese are said to be learning *Hanyu*.
- *Putonghua* (普通话, lit. ‘common speech’), based on the dialect of Peking, is the official name of the standard language in China. It only refers to the spoken standard; it is possible to ‘speak *Putonghua*’ but not to ‘write in *Putonghua*.’
- *Guoyu* (国语, lit. ‘national language’) is the term used to refer to the national language as opposed to foreign languages, non-Chinese languages within China, and non-standard dialects. The term *guoyu* might be influenced by the Japanese word *kokuguo* (Sofronov 1979). Before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, *guoyu* was the name for the official language of China. But since 1955 it was replaced by *Putonghua* in mainland China and only continues to be used in Taiwan.
- *Huayu* (华语, lit. ‘Hua people’s language’) is the standard Chinese used in Singapore, Malaysia, several other countries in Southeast Asia, and other overseas Chinese communities in the rest of the world.
- *Zhongwen* (中文 lit. ‘Chinese written language’) is mostly used in a university setting, such as a department of Chinese language and literature, in which ‘Chinese’ is always translated into *Zhongwen*. Although *wen* means ‘written language’, *Zhongwen* can refer to the spoken language as well.

¹ Although nowadays Chinese people use *Han* to name their ethnic group and the language because of the Han Empire, in fact the Qin Empire, the first imperial empire of China, was known in the West earlier. Moreover, the English name of *China* is possibly derived from the sound of the name of *Qin*.

Besides the terms mentioned above, there are few more names in Chinese that can represent the concept of standard Chinese language: *hanwen* (汉文), *huawen* (华文), and *tangwen* (唐文) for written forms of Chinese; *tanghua* (唐话) and *zhongguohua* (中国话) for spoken forms of Chinese. Additionally, nowadays the word ‘Mandarin’ refers to modern standard Chinese if there is no clarification required.

On the other hand, varieties of Chinese cannot be identified as easily. In fact, the term *dialect* is frequently used by native speakers of Chinese to refer to a regional language variety.² Mandarin, spoken by about two-thirds to three-quarters of the Chinese-speaking population, is just one of the varieties. In general, Chinese dialects are divided into seven groups, namely Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min. Each group can be divided into sub-groups (or sub-dialects), which in turn can be further divided into vernaculars and accents. The differences between these Chinese dialect groups are similar to those among the varieties of English (DeFrancis 1984). However, since these dialects are mutually unintelligible, some linguists argue that Chinese dialects are as diverse as different languages so that Chinese may have a status equivalent to a language family (cf. Crystal 1987, Norman 1988, Sun 2006).

In this thesis, the term ‘Chinese’ is used as a generic name for its written standard and all regional dialects, unless otherwise specified. Therefore, a ‘Chinese borrowing’ refers to a word or a phrase originating from any variety of Chinese, and its sound and spelling in English may be influenced by the dialectal phonetic system and the romanization system (see next section). Since the central theme of the thesis is Chinese influence on the English lexicon, full attention is devoted to the features and usages of these borrowed words and phrases in *English*, especially in British English. In a few cases, some specific uses in American English, Australian English, etc. are also looked at. In the process of borrowing from Chinese into English, Chinese is the source, donor, model, original, or originating language, while English is the target, recipient, receptor, receiving, replica, or borrowing language, according to the terminologies given in Furiassi et al. (2012). In this thesis, I refer to either *target* or *recipient language* (in the case of English) while using *source* or *donor language* (in the case of Chinese).

² The term *fangyan* (方言, lit. ‘regional speech’) is from the title of a book written by Yang Xiong, which is the 1st book devoted to Chinese dialect vocabulary. Chinese *fangyan* is the equivalent of the English word *dialect*, and is preferable to refer to any of the Chinese regional language variety.

1.3 Notes on romanization

Romanizing Chinese characters is a difficult and controversial task. A number of romanization systems for Chinese came into use over the last two centuries, including Yale, Wade-Giles, Pinyin, and many more (see 4.1.2 for a detailed discussion). Because the Pinyin system is now the most widely used and is also the official romanization system in China, the present thesis mainly uses Pinyin to transcribe the corresponding Chinese terms and names; but in a few cases, other forms are also used. For instance, long-established Chinese loanwords in English such as *kung-fu* and *T'ai Chi* are transliterated using their older and more accepted spellings. Words that originated from non-Mandarin dialects are also transcribed in their more recognized forms, for example, *bok choy* and *char siu* from Cantonese, *kopitiam* and *kiasu* from Hokkien, and the like. It should be noted that many of the older and dialectal spellings are rather irregular or un-systematic.

For the reader's convenience, expressions derived from Chinese mentioned in this thesis are illustrated in their romanized forms, with their original Chinese characters (simplified version) and literal translation in parentheses:

feng shui (风水, lit. 'wind water')

On the other hand, the expressions that are reproduced in English (such as loan translations and semantic loans) are accompanied by their original Chinese characters and Pinyin spellings as follows:

spring festival (春节 *chunjie*)

To facilitate understanding by both English and Chinese speakers, this thesis drops all diacritics, hyphens, and apostrophes from the Pinyin spellings, with a few exceptions: any word retrieved from dictionary sources is spelt as its headword appearing in the dictionary; also, any apostrophe before a word starting with a vowel in a multi-word string such as *Xi'an* and *Chang'e* is kept to reduce confusion. Additionally, throughout the thesis, expressions derived from Chinese are not capitalized unless they are proper names such as *Shanghai*, *Tiananmen*, and *Confucius*.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into four parts as follows. Part I introduces previous studies associated with the issues of Chinese influence on English as well as the methods and

data used in the present study. Chapter 2 first reviews the literature on the topic of borrowing, and Chinese borrowings in particular. Close attention is also paid to studies in related disciplines, including pidgin, Chinese Englishes, and World Englishes. Then Chapter 3 consists of two test cases based on data from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) and the *Report on the Awareness of Chinese Discourse Overseas* respectively, giving a general impression of Chinese influence on the English lexicon. The *OED* is also the major source of data throughout the thesis, though data from a variety of other sources and the methodologies to explore these data are also discussed.

The chapters included in Part II look at different types of linguistic influence that are derived from or associated with Chinese: Chapter 4 is devoted to four well-studied divisions of lexical borrowing, i.e. loanwords, loan translations, semantic loans, and loan-blends; Chapter 5 deals with two rather implicit kinds of Chinese influence, which are often dismissed in earlier scholarship; and Chapter 6 starts with a discussion of the historical background of the Sino-West contacts from the 16th century, and examines the features of Chinese Pidgin English and later Chinese Englishes.

The two chapters making up Part III investigate Chinese contributions from a semantic perspective. Partially following the semantic categorization of the *Historical Thesaurus*, Chapter 7 discusses the research question of what fields are more likely to fall under Chinese influence. Each semantic field is explored in depth in order to see the dynamics of Chinese contributions to the English lexicon and the impact of Chinese culture on the English-speaking world. After the discussions of various semantic fields, Chapter 8 presents three case studies on Chinese influence in three specialized fields: an anthropological study of ceramic lexis, a sociological study of Chinese festivals, and an etymological study of a single word, *tea*.

The final part and also the final chapter, Chapter 9, attempts to develop a new taxonomy of various types of Chinese influence discussed in this thesis. There is a further exploration of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, taking all kinds of Chinese influence into consideration and expanding the results of test case 1 presented in Chapter 3. Finally, Chapter 9 ends with a discussion of the limitations of the present study and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

English and Chinese have a long history of language contact with each other. The past several decades have seen a wealth of literature on contact linguistics, but relatively few studies have been published on English-Chinese contact. This review of the literature in the field starts with issues related to linguistic borrowing, the significant outcome of language contact and also the central theme of this thesis, including its definitions, classifications, and motivations. Then the second part gives assiduous attention to the publications on the topic of Chinese borrowings in English, many of which are from a lexicographical perspective. The final part of this chapter is devoted to Chinese-specific English varieties, also demonstrating considerable influence from Chinese, and attempts to trace the historical connections between different types of Chinese Englishes and their places in the context of World Englishes.

2.1 Studies on borrowing

2.1.1 Classifications of borrowing

2.1.1.1 Classification according to the linguistic system

Different scholars classify borrowing in different ways. For example, Clyne (1980) offers a typological classification of interference based on the speech of German immigrants in Australia, which includes eight categories: phonological, prosodic, graphematic, morphemic, morphological, semantic, lexical, and syntactic borrowing. Similarly, Humbley (1974) gives a classification of borrowing that applies particularly to a situation of ‘cultural borrowing’, namely Anglicism in French, according to the levels of the linguistic system affected: graphic and phonetic borrowing, morphological borrowing, semantic borrowing, lexical borrowing, syntactic borrowing, and phraseological borrowing.

Following the theories developed by Darbelnet (1976), Meney (1994), Clyne (1980), and Humbley (1974), Capuz (1997) proposes a typology of linguistic borrowing which is applied to the situation of borrowing from English to the Romance languages: formal (both phonological and orthographic), morphological, semantic, lexical, syntactic, phraseological, and pragmatic borrowing.

Since some categories are much larger than others, it is necessary to further classify them into sub-categories. Among all categories, lexical borrowing is by far the commonest type of linguistic borrowing (Deroy 1980, Capuz 1997). Two classic taxonomies of lexical borrowing are set by Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953). Haugen's grouping is primarily based on the relationship between morphemic and phonemic substitution and includes three subtypes: loanwords, loanblends (hybrids), and loanshifts. Further, loanshifts include what are usually called 'loan translations', such as German *Wolkenkratzer*, French *gratte-ciel*, and Spanish *rascacielos*, all modeled on English *skyscraper*; and 'semantic loans', such as *humoroso* in American Portuguese, bearing the meaning of the American English *humorous* (Haugen 1950: 214-5). Weinreich (1953) divides borrowing into simple lexical elements and compounds. He also adopts some different terminology from Haugen such as loan rendition and loan creation. Their established taxonomies and terminology are followed by many scholars later on. As an example, Durkin suggests that types of borrowing include loanwords, loan translations, semantic loans, and loan blends: loanwords borrow 'a word form and its associated word meaning, or a component of its meaning'; loan translations replicate 'the structure of a foreign-language word or expression by use of synonymous word forms in the borrowing language'; semantic loans extend 'the meaning of a word as a result of association with the meaning of a partly synonymous word in another language'; and loan blends show borrowing of 'a complex word with substitution of one or more native morphs for morphs in the borrowed word' (2009: 134-8). These four types set up the classic typology of lexical borrowing employed by this thesis, and will be discussed in great detail in Chapter 4.

2.1.1.2 Material vs. structural borrowing

Matras and Sakel (2007) set up a dichotomy between material borrowing and structural borrowing (also called matter borrowing and pattern borrowing). Material borrowing refers to borrowing of sound meaning pairs (generally lexemes, e.g. *bocka*- [< English *pocket*] in Pennsylvania German *bockabuch* 'pocketbook') whereas structural borrowing refers to the copying of morphological, syntactic or semantic patterns (e.g. German *herunter-laden* [< English *down-load*]). Some types of lexical borrowing may fit in this dichotomy (Haspelmath 2009): loanword is a major type of material borrowing while loan translation belongs to structural borrowing.

2.1.1.3 Cultural vs. core borrowing

Another distinction is made between cultural borrowing, which designates words for objects new to the culture or for new concepts (e.g. *espresso* in English, ultimately from Italian), and core borrowing, which duplicates already existing words in the recipient language (e.g. *OK* in German, replacing *gut* and *einverstanden*) (Haspelmath 2008, Myers-Scotton 2002, 2006). Considering borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two or more languages, cultural borrowing is essential and also inevitable during the contact process. Furthermore, cultural borrowing is believed by many scholars to fill lexical gaps (e.g. Haspelmath 2009, Matras 2009). On the other hand, core borrowing meets no real lexical need.

However, the terminology of ‘cultural’ or ‘core’ sounds very vague and misleading. The word ‘culture’ itself has notoriously numerous definitions. In the case of ‘cultural borrowing’, it is unclear what aspect of culture is borrowed. As for ‘core borrowing’, the term is potentially deceptive about whether it concerns core vocabulary only (Haspelmath 2009). In addition, some words can be core vocabulary in certain languages but not in others. There are several other sets of terms for these two categories of borrowing, such as ‘necessary and luxury loans’, and ‘catachrestic and non-catachrestic innovations’ (cf. Tagliavini 1973, Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011), which are equally vague and ideological.

2.1.1.4 Other classifications

Besides the main classifications above, there are some other classifications of borrowing from different perspectives. For example, Fischer (2003) divides borrowings into three types: morphological, semantic, and sociolinguistic. Bloomfield (1933) distinguishes cultural borrowing and intimate borrowing according to the relationship between the affected languages; he also compares borrowing between national languages and borrowing between dialects, which may be called ‘dialect borrowing.’

According to the degree of novelty of borrowing, Capuz (1997) proposes the term ‘frequency borrowing’ after the French term *anglicisme de fréquence* (Darbelnet 1976) and the German term *Frequenzsteigerung* (Humbley 1974) since this kind of borrowing increases the frequency of something similar in the receiving language. Its opposite is ‘absolute’ or ‘ordinary’ borrowing when the borrowed word is completely new in the receiving language.

In addition to cultural borrowing and core borrowing, Haspelmath (2009) also offers a third type, therapeutic borrowing, which is said to occur for therapeutic reasons when the original word is unavailable. For example, *bréad* ‘morsel’ and *bræde* ‘roast meat’ are homonyms in Old English, but the latter was replaced by the French loanword *roast* [< Old French *rost*] in the 14th century (Burnley 1992, Haspelmath 2009). The therapeutic reasons along with the reasons of necessity (cultural borrowing) and prestige (core borrowing) will be discussed further in the next section from the perspective of motivations for borrowing.

2.1.2 Motivations for borrowing

There is no purely linguistic reason for borrowing, so that many extra-linguistic issues should be taken into account. In order to investigate why words are borrowed from one language to another, it is necessary to look at the possible motivations for borrowing.

2.1.2.1 Traditional motivations

As mentioned before, the distinction between cultural and core borrowings relates to the motivation for borrowing. Traditionally, the two commonest motivations for borrowing are need and prestige, which are also frequently cited by many scholars (e.g. Townend 2002, Durkin 2009, Haspelmath 2009). Durkin (2009) regards borrowing for need as necessary borrowing and borrowing for prestige as unnecessary borrowing, putting the two on opposite sides. Therefore, these two important reasons lead to a dichotomous classification of borrowing into cultural borrowing and core borrowing (see also Myers-Scotton 2002).

Borrowing due to ‘need’ occurs when new things, concepts, creatures, artefacts, institutions, religions, etc. are encountered by (or introduced to) speakers of another language (Katamba 2005). This is particularly common for words of the natural world or the scientific register (Durkin 2009). Normally, the donor language already has a name but the recipient language doesn’t have a suitable one. Thus, there is a lexical gap. Borrowing is believed to help fill this gap; the products of borrowing, borrowed words or phrases, act as gap-fillers, such as the English loan *Internet* in German, which is a classic example of technological innovation and lexical innovation (cf. Durkin 2009, Matras 2009).

Unlike borrowing for ‘need’, borrowing for ‘prestige’ often occurs when there is already a parallel expression in the recipient language. Speakers adopt new words from another language in order to be associated with the prestige of the donor language (Haspelmath 2009), or just to show off, such as using the French loan *crème de la crème* in English (Katamba 2005). Durkin offers several possible situations in which borrowing for prestige may occur: for example, the donor language has a particular status as a language of learning or science, as the language of a politically or socially dominant class, or as the language associated with a particular function, field of discourse, etc. (2009: 143). Other terms like ‘cultural pressure’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), ‘one-upmanship’ (Katamba 2005), and ‘loss of vitality’ (Myers-Scotton 2006) can also be found to describe this reason for borrowing, but these are not as well-established and widely-used as ‘prestige.’

Although borrowing for need and borrowing for prestige may come from different starting points, they still share some similarities. For instance, both of them can enrich the lexicon of the recipient language (Matras 2009). Furthermore, they probably occur in the situation of reasonably widespread bilingualism. In this case, it is more convenient and efficient to use the borrowed words (Haspelmath 2009).

2.1.2.2 Other explanations

In addition to the two important motivations mentioned above, there are a number of other good reasons for borrowing. First of all, efficiency is important when people from different language backgrounds communicate with each other. If a suitable word exists in another language, the quickest and easiest way of borrowing is to adopt that word rather than to coin a completely new one from nothing. Of course, language is not only a method of communication, but also a symbol of social or cultural identity. Thus, borrowing can be used to show the speaker’s identity. This is especially true for bilingual speakers who may say something about how they perceive themselves and how they interact with their interlocutor (Katamba 2005). Matras (2009) suggests that borrowing may take place when it is inconvenient to maintain the separation of the two languages and then there is pressure on bilingual speakers to allow the two languages to converge. This motivation for borrowing is based on the cognitive side of language processing and thus is called ‘cognitive pressure’ (p. 152).

As mentioned earlier, Haspelmath (2009) gives three reasons for borrowing: two are the

common ones, namely need (for cultural borrowing) and prestige (for core borrowing), while the third is therapeutic reasons (for therapeutic borrowing). There are two further subtypes of therapeutic borrowing: borrowing because of word taboo and borrowing for homonymy avoidance. Similar to Haspelmath's reason related to taboo, another motivation for borrowing is to use euphemism to avoid embarrassment: for example, English borrowed *faeces* 'dregs' and *defecate* 'to clear from dregs or impurities' from Latin (Katamba 2005: 138).

2.1.3 Borrowing, nonce borrowing, and code-switching

In recent decades, a distinction between borrowing and code-switching, two processes or products of language contact, is recognized by many scholars (e.g. Poplack et al. 1988, Heath 1989, Sankoff 1998, Myers-Scotton 2002, Clyne 2003, Thomason 2003, Poplack and Dion 2012, Poplack 2017). However, in the literature there is no clear-cut distinction between the two. For instance, some scholars (e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002, Thomason 2003) regard those singly occurring foreign words as code-switches while others (e.g. Poplack et al. 1988, Sankoff 1998, Poplack 2004) consider them as borrowings. Thomason (2003) suggests that borrowing and code-switching stand at opposite ends of a continuum, which shows the possibility that code-switches will become borrowings if they increase usage. Durkin (2009) makes a similar assumption that 'code-switching within a bilingual community at least sometimes results in lexical borrowing' (p. 175). On the other hand, Heath (1989) claims that code-switching can never become or lead to borrowing.

The concept of the nonce borrowing, sometimes also called an 'ad hoc loanword' (Daulton 2008, Cook 2018) and 'incipient loanword' (Haspelmath 2009), has been suggested as a mid-point on the borrowing-code-switching continuum or an intermediate type between borrowing and code-switching. Based on empirical evidence, Poplack (2017) concludes that nonce borrowings and code-switches only have extra-linguistic features in common; as for linguistic characteristics, nonce borrowings are much closer to more frequent borrowings, or established loanwords. In terms of the transmission process, nonce borrowings and code-switches are at the 'actual starting point of the borrowing process' (Field 2002: 9). Some of them later become widespread and well-established loanwords, while others have vanished in daily usage and, in some cases, are merely mentioned in dictionaries. Haspelmath (2009) equates nonce borrowing with code-switching, defined as the use of a foreign element in speech 'for the nonce' (p. 41). In contact linguistics, a concept closely related to code-switching is code-mixing: code-

switching involves phrases or sentences, while code-mixing is mostly at the morpheme or word level. Code-mixing and nonce borrowing therefore refer to the same linguistic phenomenon: the single (or extremely rare) occurrence of a foreign morpheme or word in the recipient language. These terms are therefore used alternately in this thesis.

2.2 Studies on Chinese borrowings

Researchers have carried out numerous studies on borrowings from different perspectives, considering different motivations and proposing different classifications and terminology. The topic of Chinese borrowings in English, however, has been relatively little studied. Only a few examples of Chinese borrowings are mentioned in early publications, including *bohea*, *chop suey*, *ketchup*, *kowtow*, *silk*, *tea*, and *typhoon*. For example, Serjeantson's book on the history of foreign words in English includes 27 Chinese words (1935), and Freeborn's *From Old English to Standard English* (1998) tabulates 17 loanwords from Chinese.

Early dictionaries of foreign terms or word origins also have a noticeable tendency towards European source languages. For instance, Skeat's *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1888) contains eight Chinese-originated entries (and one in the Addenda); Bliss's *A Dictionary of Foreign Words and Phrases in Current English* (1966) has six; and Carroll's *The Dictionary of Foreign Terms in the English Language* (1973) includes nine. Nonetheless, these are pioneering works in which Chinese borrowings start to get a mention.

The first book-length work focusing on Chinese borrowings is Chan and Kwok's *A Study of Lexical Borrowing from Chinese into English with Special Reference to Hong Kong* (1985). Chan and Kwok select 108 lexical items in their list, which was the largest collection of Chinese borrowings at that time, although they exclude most proper names and compounds.

However, even 108 is not a satisfactory number for modern scholars. Cannon later expands Serjeantson's and Chan and Kwok's lists in his two articles (1987, 1988) on Chinese borrowings in English, which are part of his borrowings in English series (Japanese borrowings studies, 1981, 1984, 1994, 1995, 1996; Chinese, 1987, 1988; German, 1990a; Malaysian, 1992; Arabic, 1994). Cannon disputes Chan and Kwok's arbitrary exclusion of proper nouns and multiple items, and suggests that their list would

reach 750 if those words are included. In order to give a comprehensive analysis of Chinese borrowings, Cannon collects 1189 items from standard dictionaries and printed sources plus two colloquial expressions. The final number becomes 979 after deleting variant forms and duplications. Cannon then checks for the appearance of these words in eight desk dictionaries, three British and five American, including the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1982), the *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (1983), the *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* (1984), the *Random House College Dictionary* (1975), the *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary* (1980), *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1980), the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (1982), and *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983). The appearance of items in the eight dictionaries is illustrated in Table 2.1 as follows:

Table 2.1. The appearance of Chinese borrowings in the eight dictionaries (Cannon 1988)

Appearance in dictionaries	No.	Examples
In all eight	45	<i>chow mein, ginseng, Japanese, typhoon, yang</i>
In seven	32	<i>chop-chop, mahjong, Pekingese, soy, Zen</i>
In six	27	<i>black tea, Confucian, hyson, paper tiger, wok</i>
In five	34	<i>bohea, face, longan, warlord, wonton</i>
In four	18	<i>Han, I-Ching, Kuomintang, Tai-ping, Tang</i>
In three	40	<i>bok choy, dimsum, maotai, pinyin, Shanghai</i>
In two	101	<i>fish ball, kylin, Putonghua, samshu, Tanka</i>
In one	168	<i>foo yong, Hakka, Kuo-yu, Mao, pi-pa</i>

According to Cannon's criteria, at least three appearances represent an indication of acceptance in general international English, and 196 out of the 979 items (20%) meet this criterion, including *chopstick, chow mein, ginseng, ketchup, Taoism, tycoon, and typhoon*. Therefore, these 196 Chinese borrowings are believed to enjoy general acceptance in English (or general international English in Cannon's words). Moody (1996) re-examines these 196 borrowings and deletes loan translations (e.g. *barefoot doctor, paper tiger, and winter melon*) as well as compounds with Chinese elements (e.g. *Appalachian tea, beef tea, black tea, and green tea*) from the list in order to include the Chinese etymons only. The total becomes 92 – less than half of Cannon's list. The major focus of Moody's study, however, is on determining transmission languages (Japanese, French, Pidgin English, etc.) and source languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, Amoy, etc.) in English-Chinese contact. Additionally, Moody finds that the semantic fields of Chinese borrowings largely correspond to the source languages. For example, a large proportion of Cantonese

borrowings is made up of food terms, while borrowings from Mandarin are typically associated with fields of ‘high’ culture, such as philosophy, religion, art, literature, and so on.

Cannon’s and Moody’s studies are supplemented by J. Yang (2009), who compares Cannon’s list of 196 with the Chinese borrowings that appear in eight updated desk dictionaries, including the *Chambers English Dictionary* (2003), the *Collins English Dictionary* (2000), the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (2004), the *American Heritage College Dictionary* (2004), the *Oxford American College Dictionary* (2002), *Random House Webster’s College Dictionary* (2001), *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (2005), and *Webster’s New World College Dictionary* (2002).³ Based on the 196 borrowings in Cannon’s list, J. Yang deletes compounds, especially those containing *tea* and *Japanese*, and also words that are borrowed via other languages. But unlike Moody, J. Yang retains loan translations and sets up a corpus of 100 Chinese borrowings. The comparison between Cannon’s and J. Yang’s lists is illustrated in Table 2.2. In addition, J. Yang finds 59 more Chinese borrowings included in the eight updated dictionaries, including *brainwash*, *Peking duck*, *spring roll*, and *tofu*. Table 2.2 shows that both the acceptance and the frequency of Chinese borrowings in English have increased over the two decades from Cannon’s study to J. Yang’s study. The disagreement between the two lists is due largely to the different scopes of ‘borrowing’ defined by the two scholars and the different dictionaries (or editions) used in the two studies.

Table 2.2. A comparison of Cannon’s and J. Yang’s lists of Chinese borrowings

	Cannon’s list in eight older dictionaries (Cannon 1988)	Cannon’s list in eight newer dictionaries (J. Yang 2009)	J. Yang’s additional list in eight newer dictionaries (J. Yang 2009)
In eight	25	57	6
In seven	15	15	5
In six	16	9	10
In five	18	7	7
In four	11	6	16
In three	15	1	15
In one or two	/	5	/
Total	100	100	59

Based on the results, J. Yang makes several predictions: in terms of source languages,

³ The *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* and the *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary* that are used in Cannon’s study, are replaced by the *Collins English Dictionary* and the *Oxford American College Dictionary* in J. Yang’s study.

more Chinese borrowings will be contributed by Mandarin; regarding orthography, more loanwords will be Pinyin-based; as for types of borrowing, more loan translations will occur; in relation to semantics, Chinese borrowings will come from a wider range of semantic fields, not restricted to food and drink. Another key finding of J. Yang's study is that in his data, the percentage of nonce borrowings is extremely high, indicating that in general there are very few established loanwords in China English (for more studies on China English and other varieties of China Englishes, see 2.3.3).

Rather than examining Chinese borrowings in various dictionaries, several scholars confine their test for membership to one comprehensive dictionary of the English language, namely, the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Benson (2002) estimates that the shared vocabulary in the *OED2* and Cannon's list is less than 50%. As a matter of course, the *OED* contains far more items associated with China that are not recorded in Cannon's list or other works. However, the bulk of Benson's book is concerned with the treatment of China in the definitions and quotations in the *OED2*, rather than the number of Chinese borrowings in the dictionary. Benson notices that China is 'one of the best represented countries of the world' in terms of mentions in the *OED* (2002: 6) – 903 references in definitions (under 646 headwords) and 2,804 in quotations (under 2,207 headwords) – and the number of times it is referred to is larger than the number for most countries, except Great Britain, the US, India, and Australia. Benson concludes that within the *OED*, China and its people are treated 'unfairly' (p. 134); furthermore, references to China in quotations are even more negative than those in definitions. A more recent study by Zeng and Zhao (2011) compares the images of China in the *OED2* and *LDOCE5*, and reports that China is becoming more positively evaluated and judged in the dictionary. This may reflect the shift in the Western attitude towards China and the Chinese.

The launch of *OED Online* in 2000 makes the method of exploring Chinese borrowings in this colossal dictionary a bit easier. De la Cruz-Cabanillas (2008) retrieves 345 tokens from the *OED* and looks at several aspects of Chinese loanwords, such as parts of speech, transmission languages, source languages, transliteration and pronunciation. S. Chen (2013) combines the data from De la Cruz-Cabanillas's article (2008), Juřicová's bachelor thesis (2012) and his own corpus, ascertaining that there are 394 Chinese loanwords in the *OED*. Chapter 3 of the present study will make a new attempt to comprehensively identify Chinese borrowings in the *OED*.

Instead of exploring the entire *OED*, Durkin (2014) draws data from revised *OED3* material only, comprising the letters M, N, O, P, Q, R, and A to ALZ, which were updated between 2000 and November 2012. Durkin gives reasons for the benefit of this approach,

‘... the material has been edited over a relatively short period of time, using much the same set of resources for each word (e.g. dictionaries and databases for information about foreign languages, etc.), applying the same set of editorial principles and guidelines, and, just as importantly, employing the same style, so that data can easily be extracted computationally.’ (2014: 23).

Although Chinese is listed among the 25 most prolific donor languages in Durkin’s study (24th place), the discussion on Chinese loanwords only occupies two pages and the book still places more weight on major and well-known donors like French and Latin.

Another significant big dictionary and the major competitor of the *OED*, namely Webster’s dictionary, also provides researchers with numerous words associated with China. For instance, Knowlton (1970) looks in *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (1961, 1969) for the etymologies of words of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean origins. He observes several errors, inconsistencies, and editorial policy changes in these Far Eastern word entries in *Webster’s Third*, which may provide valuable advice to editors of *Webster’s Fourth* as well as those working on other dictionaries.

Zeng and Zhang (2009) collect 543 Chinese-originated words from the CD-ROM version of *Webster’s Third* (2000) and categorize these words by using a ‘folksonomy’ approach, although they do not give a clear explanation for the term ‘folksonomy’ itself. The semantic categories with most items are: Regions and Ethnic Groups (101), Plants (71), Food, Drink, Vegetables and Fruits (67), and Animals (38). Zeng and Zhang also compare 15 entries in Webster’s dictionary and *A New Century Chinese-English Dictionary*, and suggest that the former is more likely to adopt foreignization strategies during compilation while the later prefers domestication.

As the account above shows, the majority of previous studies on Chinese borrowings rely hugely on data from dictionaries. The appearance of words in one or multiple dictionaries is regarded as an evidence of their acceptance in the English language. In a case study of the Chinese word *gaokao*, B. Yang (2013) extracts examples from various media sources because *gaokao* has not yet been included in any leading dictionaries. However, *gaokao*

is currently included in the *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, meaning ‘a test of a student’s academic skills, used for admission to colleges and universities.’ Besides, it is arguable whether *gaokao* is a loanword. In some scholars’ terminology, this kind of temporary loanwords as well as nonce words belongs to ‘China English’, a Chinese variety of English. The following section will look at the studies on the topic of Chinese-relevant varieties of English, which show a growing awareness of the Chinese influence on the English vocabulary used by particular groups or in particular contexts.

2.3 Studies on Chinese Englishes

The previous section has viewed studies of Chinese loanwords and other types of lexical borrowing in the English language. These studies are mainly concerned with Chinese-originated words used in the English contexts. The following section looks at the English varieties in the Chinese context which, as I will further discuss in Chapter 7, also make substantial contributions to the English lexicon. These Chinese-specific English varieties are discussed under the topic of ‘English in China’ in some studies (e.g. Yong and Campbell 1995, Wei and Fei 2003, Bolton and Graddol 2012, Graddol 2013, Fang 2017). However, this section and Chapter 7 uses ‘Chinese Englishes’ in the titles and headings to cover these varieties since they are not only used in China, but also in some Chinese communities in the English-speaking world. Chinese people, either home or abroad, have acquired more familiarity with English and then become creative with linguistic expressions in English.

2.3.1 The development of Chinese Englishes

English has exerted considerable influence on Chinese for a long time, dating back to the landing of British ships on Canton’s shore. Bolton (2002b, 2003) traces the history of English in China from the 17th century to the present and links the study of ‘Chinese Englishes’ to a range of related disciplines, including sociolinguistics, cultural studies, language contact, pidgin studies, education, and globalization. In a later piece of research (2012), Bolton, co-authoring with Graddol, re-examines English in China’s past and in contemporary China, and also sketches out the role and development of English in China’s educational contexts.

From a historical perspective, Wei and Fei (2003) define the three stages of English in China as: (1) Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), (2) Chinglish, and (3) Chinese English into China English. In a similar vein, Wang Ying (2017) examines how ELF is used in China

and discusses the four research strands led by the development of English in China, including: (1) Chinese Pidgin English, (2) Chinglish and Chinese English, (3) the Chinese variety of English with unique Chinese cultural ideas or ‘China English’, and (4) Chinese speakers’ English used for intercultural communication or ‘Chinese ELF (ChELF).’

2.3.2 Chinese Pidgin English (CPE)

There are a vast number of general introductions to and comprehensive surveys of pidgins, which are always discussed together with creoles (cf. Hall 1966, Romaine 1988, 2017, Holm 1988, 1989, 2000, Todd 1974). Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), the pidgin used in China, has been of interest to many scholars in the last several decades. Developed from the Canton jargon back in the early 18th century, CPE is sometimes termed ‘Canton (Pidgin) English’ (e.g. Williams 1836, Reinecke 1937, Bolton 2002b, 2003, Van Dyke 2005, O’regan 2016) and ‘China Coast Pidgin (CCP)’ (e.g. Selby and Selby 1995, M. Li et al. 2005, Ansaldo et al. 2010) to indicate its coastal origin.

According to geographical fact however, CPE can be divided into two varieties: Canton Pidgin English, which was spoken earlier, and Yangjingbang (Pidgin) English (洋泾浜英语), which appeared later and was mainly used in Shanghai. Many studies in the literature misuse the term *CPE*: when they refer to CPE, they are actually discussing either of the two sub-types. For example, some scholars (e.g. M. Li et al. 2005, Ansaldo et al. 2010) use *CCP* as an equivalent of the term *CPE*; on the other hand, some (e.g. Shi 1991, J. Li 2017) think Yangjingbang English is the Chinese name for CPE. Neither idea is entirely appropriate. So here, CPE is used as the general term to indicate all pidgin English forms in China, including both Canton Pidgin English and Yangjingbang English.

Unfortunately, both CPE varieties mentioned above are now almost extinct in contemporary China. Selby and Selby draw an apt analogy between studying CPE and studying dinosaurs:

‘... Their fossils [dinosaurs] give us clues about their appearance, their environment and their lifestyle. Some of their relatives have evolved into species which survive today. ... Only the barest traces of Pidgin survive. Because the language is one of history’s losers, it has, like the dinosaurs, been characterized clumsy, outmoded and comical.’ (1995: 113)

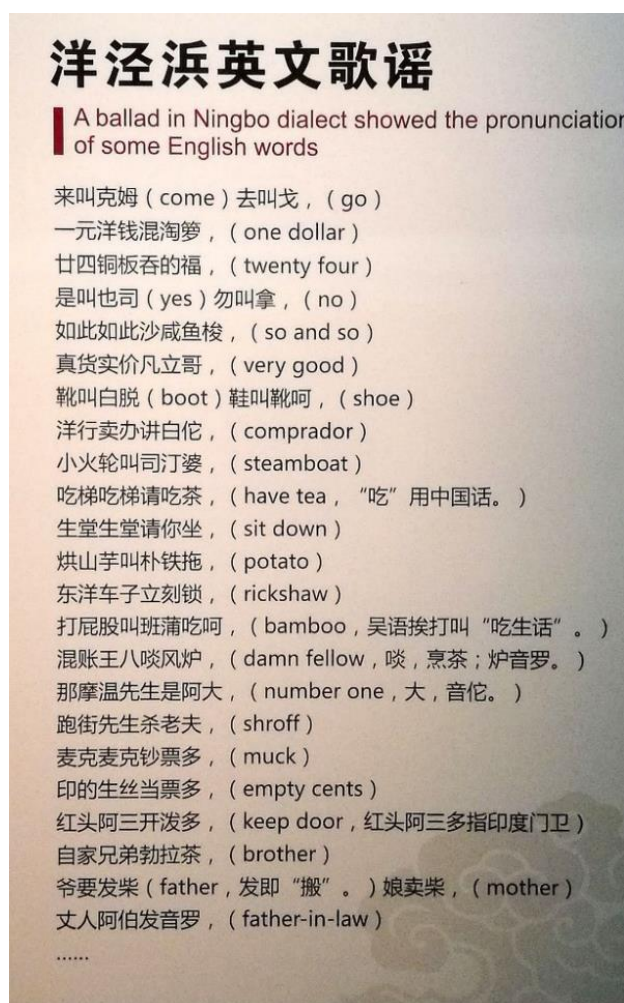
The original sources for CPE researchers are not very numerous. Most available sources

of CPE comprise travelers' diaries as a record for their experiences and booklets as teaching or self-learning materials in China. For example, *The Language of the Redhaired Foreigners* (红毛通用番话, henceforth *Redhaired Glossary*) (Anon c. 1835) includes nearly 400 entries, with pronunciations represented by Chinese characters. The *Redhaired Glossary* is a valuable source for CPE vocabulary and phonology, though it provides no grammatical information on the language (Ansaldi et al. 2010). Another frequently-cited source is the six-volume *Chinese and English Instructor* (英语集全, henceforth *Instructor*), written by Tang Tingshu (唐廷枢) in Canton in 1862. Whereas the *Redhaired Glossary* is mainly a list of single words, the *Instructor* contains more sentences and dialogues based on themes. Leland's (1876) *Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect with a Vocabulary* is also a fruitful source, with 22 ballads, 12 stories, a vocabulary list, and a list of proper names.

Yangjingbang English, though mostly used in Shanghai, is believed to be deeply influenced by the Ningbo dialect, thanks to the valuable sources of evidence. An early account of Yangjingbang English is a vernacular poem called the *Ningbo Yangjingbang English Ballad* (宁波洋泾浜小调) for the purpose of teaching English to the Shanghai people. The most frequently-quoted version of the ballad, having 22 lines in total (see Figure 2.1), is also included in *An Illustrated-Book of Shanghai Proverbs* (上海俗话图说) by Wang Zhongxian (汪仲贤).⁴ At the end of the ballad, Wang (1999) suggests that it would be better to read it with Ningbo dialect to put it into rhyme.

⁴ There are several versions of *Ningbo Yangjingbang English Ballad* with divergent opinions on the original English words, such as *steam boat / steamer*, *have tea / chow tea*, *bamboo / bamboo chop*, *damn fellow / damn fool* / *daffy low*, *muck / much / mark*, and *empty cents / petty cents* (cf. Li Wei 2016; J. Zheng 2016).

Figure 2.1. The museum label of *Ningbo Yangjingbang English Ballad* in Ningbobang Museum



Another Ningbonese contribution is the *Annotations of English* (英话注解), sponsored and edited in 1860 by six Ningbonese businessmen in Shanghai. Like some above-mentioned works, the *Annotations of English* also uses a Chinese regional dialect, that is, Shanghainese with Ningbonese accent, to imitate the pronunciation of English words, phrases, and sentences.

The *Chinese Repository* (中国丛报), a monthly magazine published in Canton from 1832 to 1851, provides several valuable pieces on the Canton dialect and the Canton area during that period from a western perspective. Two editors, Elijah Coleman Bridgman and Samuel Wells Williams contribute most, such as ‘Introductory remarks: Presses in China and study of Chinese’ (1833), ‘Jargon Spoken at Canton’ (1836), and books printed at the office of the *Chinese Repository* including *A Chinese chrestomathy in the Canton dialect* (1841), *Easy Lessons in Chinese: or Progressive Exercises to Facilitate the Study of That*

Language, Especially Adapted to the Canton Dialect (1842), *An English and Chinese Vocabulary, in the Court Dialect* (1844), and so on.⁵ What is more, the *Chinese Repository* also is a prolific source that contributes many quotations to the *OED*, and a number of Chinese borrowings, especially early loans, are first attested in the *Chinese Repository* (see also 4.1).

Robert Anderson Hall, in an article entitled *Chinese Pidgin English grammar and texts* (1944), outlines the grammatical structure of CPE used by English speakers, accompanied by a selection of texts with phonemic transcription. In addition, based on Reinecke's (1937) doctoral dissertation, Hall recapitulates the four main periods of CPE as follows:

1. Origin at Canton and Macao, c1715-1748;
2. Classical period, used at Canton, 1748-1842;
3. Period of expansion and greatest use, in Hong Kong, Treaty Ports, and Yangtze valley, 1842-ca.1890;
4. Decline (as consequence of social and political disfavor, and preference for standard English), 1890-present time (1944: 95).

In his book-length *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1966), Hall provides an overall survey of pidgins and creoles used in areas around the globe, such as Africa, the Caribbean area, the South Pacific, and China. Hall's 1966 survey is considered as 'the first major attempt to treat pidgin and creole languages from the perspective of modern descriptive linguistics' (Romaine 1988: 39). Another interesting work by Hall is *Pidgin English and linguistic change* (1952), in which he analyses 57 linguistic features of CPE and concludes that CPE is closer to English than to Chinese (see further the discussion in section 5.1).

2.3.3 *English in contemporary China*

Various terms are used to refer to Chinese Englishes in the modern age, including *Chinglish*, *Chinese English*, and *China English*. While some scholars (e.g. Z. He 1994, Kerr 2001, X. Hu 2004) alternately use these terms, others attempt to make distinctions between them. For example, Jiang (1995), Chen and Hu (2006), and W. Zhang (2009) differentiate between China English and Chinglish; Eaves (2011) analyses the differences between the three varieties of English in mainland China. Chinglish expressions are widely regarded as erroneous, ungrammatical, or even nonsensical. Chinese English also

⁵ For a detailed study on the *Chinese Repository*, see Malcolm (1973).

demonstrates a strong flavour of Chinese grammatical features but has less errors, and thus is more comprehensible to Chinese English learners and some English speakers. Comparatively, China English attempts to introduce those very China-specific things or concepts to the English-speaking world and a number of China English expressions have developed into different types of lexical borrowing and been accepted in the English lexicon. The most recent variety of Chinese Englishes, namely New Chinglish, is creatively produced by English learners in China and is mainly confined to the Internet contexts.

Some other terms, such as *Chinese-coloured English* (Huang 1988), *Sinicized English* (Cheng 1983), and *very Chinese-like English* (Kent 1999), also appear in the literature. However, these terms are not widely used by later scholars and thus gained no popularity.

2.3.3.1 Chinglish

Niu and Wolff (2003a) suggest that Westernized China might be aptly referred to as ‘Chingland’ as a result of China’s opening its door to the world, and therefore the English language spoken by Westernized Chinese people is called ‘Chinglish.’ As a follow-up to their study, Niu and Wolff (2003b) give six assumptions about ESL in China; one of the assumptions is that Chinglish is unacceptable or bad language. On the other hand, Jiang (1995) claims that ‘Chinglish is not a bad thing’ and is also inevitable (p. 1).

Henry (2010) conducts an ethnographic research in Shenyang, China, and collects the data from a wide variety of social groups, including Chinese students, English language teachers, school administrators, parents, linguists, translators, and editors, in order to examine both Chinese and foreign perspectives on Chinglish. Also, in the university context, Xiao and Zuo (2006) present quantitative research on how Chinese non-English majors use Chinglish in oral English and make some pedagogical observations based on the results of the research.

Several studies such as Heng Hartse (2014) and M. Zheng (2015) use vivid examples to contribute to the topic. Heng Hartse (2014) undertakes an in-depth case study of *long time no see*, a classic Chinglish expression. He also accepts the idea of treating *long time no see* as a Chinese English phrase and regards it as ‘an exemplar of Chinglish Triumphant’ (p. 65).

M. Zheng (2015) discusses the vitality and future of Chinglish by exploring many examples from a wide range of online sources. Two examples mentioned in her study are Xia Ming and Oliver Lutz Radtke, two folk collectors of Chinglish expressions. Xia Ming has collected over 500 photos of Chinglish examples in his flickr album, for the purpose of refreshing people's view on language.⁶ In the same vein, Oliver Lutz Radtke has a blog called 'Chinglish Museum' for his Chinglish collections.⁷ He has also written two popular books on Chinglish, entitled *Chinglish: Found in Translation* (2007) and *More Chinglish: Speaking in Tongues* (2009), displaying some representative Chinglish samples from his more-than-1500 collections. Another Chinglish collector and also linguistic expert is Victor Mair, who regularly contributes numerous posts about Chinglish on the University of Pennsylvania's 'Language Log' weblog.⁸ The above-listed publications and online sources demonstrate a high level of awareness of this relatively new variety (i.e. Chinglish) in both scholarly and non-scholarly accounts.

2.3.3.2 Chinese English

Xu Zhichang is responsible for several publications on Chinese English. Xu (2008) analyzes the syntactic features of Chinese English, taking a descriptive approach. He then presents a more comprehensive investigation of features of Chinese English at the levels of lexis, syntax, discourse, and pragmatics in his book-length *Chinese English: Features and implications* (2010a). The data for Xu's empirical study is drawn from three sources, namely (1) interviews with undergraduate and graduate students in Beijing (ID), (2) newspaper articles from *China Daily* (ND), and (3) short stories from Ha Jin's collection *The Bridegroom* (2000) (SD). In the same year, Xu also writes a chapter on Chinese English, as a shorter version of his book, in Kirkpatrick's *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (2010). Within the framework of World Englishes, Xu concludes with the likelihood of Chinese English becoming a major and powerful variety of English. In a more recent publication which Xu coedits with David Deterding and Deyuan He, he collects a number of relevant papers under the name *Researching Chinese English: The State of the Art* (2017).

The creativity of Chinese English is displayed by many examples in several studies. From the perspective of language contact, Kirkpatrick (2015) discusses the influence of English

⁶ Available at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/XiaMing/sets/1095036/>.

⁷ Available at <http://chinglish.de/>.

⁸ Available at <http://languageblog ldc.upenn.edu/>.

on Chinese (and vice versa) and demonstrates this with examples at the levels of lexis, syntax, word order, rhetoric and pragmatic norms. Fang (2008) focuses on four Chinese English idioms, namely *Long time no see*, *Good good study*, *day day up*, *People mountain, people sea*, and *Horse horse, tiger tiger*, and concludes that the influence of Chinese languages on English, though not prominent now, has received growing attention and shown linguistic creativity, especially on the Internet. As is mentioned before, Heng Hartse's (2014) case study on *long time no see* also suggests that the acceptance of this phrase as a Chinese English creation indicates the confidence of users and the pliability of language.

2.3.3.3 China English

Unlike Chinglish and Chinese English, China English refers to a variety of standard English with Chinese characteristics (R. Wang 1991). The notion of 'China English' is first proposed by the Chinese scholar Ge Chuangui in his discussion of the problems of English-Chinese translation (1980). Since then, the last three decades or so have seen a rapid growth of interest in the study of the 'China English' variety. Some salient features of China English have been discussed by many scholars over and over again. For example, Deterding (2006) as well as Li and Sewell (2012) investigate a number of phonological features of China English, whereas Wei and Fei (2003) use examples to demonstrate the syntactical and discourse characteristics of the variety and its differences from Standard English. Scholars like Jiang (2002), W. Zhang (2009), and Eaves (2011) all give an overview of China English's linguistics features in terms of phonology, lexis, syntax, and discourse.

Attitudes towards China English are the focus of a number of empirical studies. From the educational and social perspectives, Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) sent out questionnaires to 171 students in a university in Beijing and find that China English has not yet become socially acceptable. In their concluding remarks, Kirkpatrick and Xu suggest that 'It will be interesting to repeat this study with a comparable cohort of students in future' (p. 277). As a response to their call, He and Li (2009) conduct a survey with a larger scope, with over one thousand participants at four universities in China. He and Li adopt three approaches, namely questionnaires, matched-guise experiments, and interviews, to see how non-English major students and teachers view China English. Their findings are similar to Kirkpatrick and Xu's study: communicating with other non-native speakers is still the primary goal of learning English in China, and a nativized variety like China

English is increasingly accepted as an appropriate pedagogical model of English.

X. Hu contributes two investigations on attitudes towards China English: in the first study X. Hu (2004) distributes a questionnaire to over 1200 Chinese university students, and in the second, about 600 university teachers are consulted (X. Hu 2005). The results show that the majority of the students have never heard of China English and treat American or British English as the only standard; by contrast, most teachers believe that China English will eventually develop into a standard variety alongside American and British English. In a similar vein, Chen and Hu (2006) not only distribute questionnaires to university teachers but also to business people to ascertain their acceptance of China English and conclude that China English, though not being fully accepted as one variety of English, should and will stand alongside other varieties. A more recent study on the changing attitudes towards the variety is Hansen Edwards' (2017) small-scale survey in Hong Kong, with 123 participants mainly from Mainland China. In the study, 37% of the respondents accept China English as a legitimate variety of English. Additionally, Hansen Edwards discusses the possibility of being a native speaker of China English and finds that nearly half of the respondents agree with this idea regarding the environmental, educational, and parental influences.

Considering the transfer from L1 to L2, Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) also indicate that China English contains a number of discourse and rhetorical norms that are derived from Chinese. To explore the rhetorical features of China English, You (2008) analyzes the data from an online bulletin board forum called *The 21st Century Community* and finds that the rhetorical potential of China English is determined by its users and contexts. The Chinese young generation adopt different rhetorical strategies largely depending on context, which may or may not involve those specific Chinese cultural features.

China English is also studied within a range of related disciplines, for example, Ma (2012) explores China English in academic writing, and Chang (2017) discusses the application of China English in translation and interpreting. Outside the academic context, You (2011) focuses on the multilingual innovation of white-collar workers on online bulletin boards in China, whereas He (2017) explores how Chinese professionals use English in the workplace, based on the data collected from over 2000 participants. In terms of political discourse, Alvaro (2013, 2015) investigates the English language in China's political media, which is called *Xinhua English*, *Zhonglish*, or *New China Newspeak* by other

scholars (e.g. Barmé 2012, Mair 2013).

2.3.3.4 New Chinglish

A few recent publications notice a newly produced type of English in China, but there is no consensus about the name of this new variety. It is termed ‘New Chinglish’ by Li Wei (2016) and Xu and Deterding (2017). Li Wei (2016) discusses the functions of New Chinglish from a ‘translanguaging’ perspective, which originally refers to ‘a pedagogical practice where one receives information through the medium of one language and gives information through the medium of a different language’ and later ‘an effective approach to bilingual and other types of language education’ (p. 3).⁹ Li Wei further divides New Chinglish into several varieties, including (1) New Chinglish with regional flavour, (2) re-appropriated English, and (3) Shitizen Chinglish (see 7.2.4 for further discussion). In a more recent study, Li Wei (2018) uses New Chinglish and Singaporean examples to elaborate the notion of translanguaging at length. He suggests that translanguaging, rather than replacing existing terms such as code-switching and code-mixing, opens up possibilities of developing new approaches to multilingualism. From a World Englishes perspective (see next section), Xu and Deterding (2017) draw an analogy between ‘new’ Chinglish and other varieties of World Englishes, such as Singlish, and conclude that this new variety’s function is changing from negative to positive. Furthermore, Xu and Deterding list several methods of forming New Chinglish expressions and discuss New Chinglish’s playfulness in different contexts. Xu and Tian (2017), though they do not use the term ‘New Chinglish’, explore a number of interesting neologisms in China English Vocabulary (CEV), such as *tuhao*, *dama*, and *human flesh serach*, and find that semantically, many of these new words serve a crucial function to introduce political or social phenomena or traditional culture.

2.3.4 World Englishes and Asian Englishes

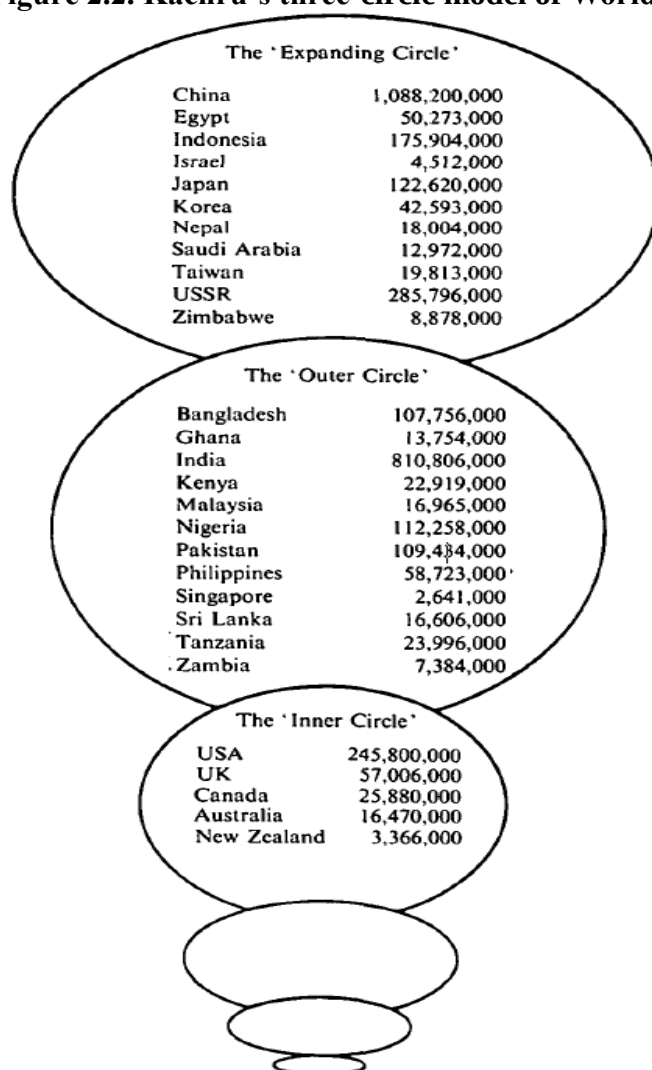
For English as used in contemporary China, a great number of studies have been conducted within the framework of ‘World Englishes’, especially after Kachru’s (1985 and later) famous model of World Englishes, which used three concentric circles to represent the use of English in different countries (see Figure 2.2).¹⁰

⁹ For a detailed exposition of the development of ‘translanguaging’ as a research perspective, see Li Wei (2016).

¹⁰ This is the most frequently-cited version of Kachru’s three-circle model (1992: 356), first mentioned in a chapter (1985) and later published in diagrammatic form in 1988.

In Kachru's World Englishes framework, English varieties in China are in the Expanding Circle, where English is used as a foreign language (EFL). As the country with the greatest territory and largest population in Asia, China has the largest number of English users. Because of this, Englishes in the context of China have been recognized as important members of the World Englishes family and the topic of 'Englishes in China' is of great interest for many scholars. Further, the notion of 'Asian Englishes' provides a narrower framework for this topic. Thus, a huge number of articles on English in China have been published by two journals entitled *World Englishes* (1981 onwards) and *Asian Englishes* (1998 onwards), many of which have been mentioned above. In addition, *English Today* has also contributed many relevant articles, such as 'Why China English should stand alongside British, American, and the other "World Englishes"' (X. Hu 2004), 'China English, at home and in the world' (X. Hu 2005), 'English in Asia, Asian Englishes, and the issue of proficiency' (Bolton 2008), and 'World Englishes or English as a Lingua Franca: Where does English in China stand?' (Fang 2017).

Figure 2.2. Kachru's three-circle model of World Englishes (1992: 356)



2.3.5 Hong Kong English

Besides the aforementioned Chinese Englishes, another variety of English in China that should be noted here is Hong Kong English. Though a relatively less-researched variety than China English, Hong Kong English stands out from all English varieties due to its special political and historical background. Before becoming the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of China in 1997, Hong Kong had been a British colony for over 150 years. Until 1974, English was the sole official language of Hong Kong; from 1974 onward, the status of Chinese was gradually strengthened by the Official Languages Ordinance and the Basic Law (Bolton 2000). Nowadays, Chinese and English are both official languages of Hong Kong. In a study in 2008, Bolton estimates that Hong Kong has 3.1 million English speakers – almost 45% of its total population – whereas around 25% of the population in Mainland China speaks English. Recently, the *OED*'s March 2016 update adds 13 lexical items from Hong Kong English, including *char siu*, *lucky money*, *milk tea*, *sitting-out area*, and *yum cha*, suggesting that Hong Kong English is now identified by this mainstream dictionary as an active contributor to the English lexicon.¹¹

The past several decades have seen a growing interest in the study of Hong Kong English. In his 'circle of World English' model, McArthur (1987) places Hong Kong English in the category of 'East Asian Standardizing English' along with Chinese English, Japanese English, Philippines English, Malaysian English, and Singapore English. A special issue of *World Englishes* published in 2000 collects an index of papers that were presented in a colloquium on the topic of 'Hong Kong English', which was held in the University of Hong Kong. The papers in this special issue cover a wide range of perspectives on Hong Kong English, including articles like 'The sociolinguistics of Hong Kong and the space for Hong Kong English', 'Towards a phonology of Hong Kong English', 'Relative clauses in Hong Kong English', 'Futures for Hong Kong English', and end with a bibliographical guide to Hong Kong English research before the millennium. However, it should be noted that none of the studies listed above are concerned with the lexis of Hong Kong English.

Kingsley Bolton, who used to teach in several universities in Hong Kong and is currently

¹¹ For a list of new Hong Kong English words in the *OED*, see <https://public.oed.com/updates/march-2016-update-new-hong-kong-english-words/>.

the co-editor of the journal *World Englishes*, is responsible for several works on Hong Kong English. For example, Bolton (2002) edits a book-length volume entitled *Hong Kong English: Autonomy and Creativity*, which is the expanded version of the 2000 special issue of *World Englishes*. His *Chinese Englishes: A Sociolinguistic History* (2003) analyzes the English in Hong Kong and China by using various sociolinguistic approaches, and also links the subject to other disciplines, including anthropology, history and sociology.

Similar to China English, whether Hong Kong English really exists as a variety has been discussed over and over again (e.g. Luke and Richards 1982, Tay 1991, Bolton 2002, Pang 2003, Poon 2006). A number of recent publications may serve as circumstantial evidence for this area, including: an overview of all aspects of Hong Kong English (Setter et al. 2017); discussions on the functions and status of Hong Kong English (Luke and Richards 1982, D. Li 1999, 2018); research on teaching Hong Kong English (McArthur 2005, D. Li 2007, Evans 2017); a series of studies on Hong Kong English from a corpus-linguistic perspective, using the International Corpus of English in Hong Kong (ICE-HK) (Wong 2007, 2010, 2017); investigations on the attitudes of Hong Kong students towards Hong Kong English and other varieties of English (Q. Zhang 2013, 2014, Hansen Edwards 2015, 2016); and a dictionary (probably the first) of Hong Kong English (Cummings and Wolf 2011).

2.3.6 Bibliographical research on English in China

It seems inevitable that some publications on this topic have not been looked at in this literature review. Therefore, several bibliographical works may serve the purpose of introducing more studies in this field. Given the dearth of bibliographies on the topic of English in China, Adamson et al. (2002) provides a bibliography, described as ‘preliminary’, as the supplement to the articles in *World English*’s (2002) special issue. Adamson et al.’s bibliography, though preliminary and partial, provides a wide range of subject groupings like ‘Educational issues’, ‘Linguistics and sociolinguistics’, ‘Pragmatics and discourse analysis’, and ‘Works in English by Chinese writers’, which are useful for scholars from various disciplines.

Bolton et al.’s (2015) contemporary bibliography on English in China makes an excellent complement to Adamson et al.’s (2002), covering works published between 2003 and 2015 but also including several key publications before 2003. The primary focus of

Bolton et al.'s bibliography is on works published internationally and from Chinese core journals as well.

The present review of the literature on English varieties in China gives inevitably greater emphasis on publications from international journals and book series, where English is the working language, whilst few references have been made to Chinese research outputs. Considering the fact that researchers' language background influences their standpoint, it is also important to listen to the voice of Chinese researchers. Bibliographical articles based on core journals in China facilitate access to Chinese sources. For example, Du and Jiang (2001) present an overview of studies on China English by Chinese scholars since the 1980s. This research bibliography demonstrates the development of 'China English' as an emerging research area and summarizes its major features as they are discussed in previous studies. D. Li et al. (2008) review 143 articles in Chinese journals between 2001 to 2005, with a particular focus on language teaching and learning in China, and categorize articles into several research domains, among which one domain is called 'Learner perspective and China English.'

Although the last several decades have seen the emergence of a number of publications on the topic of 'Chinese borrowings' and 'Chinese Englishes', very few studies link these two areas together and give a comprehensive account of the lexis of these contributions from Chinese. Considering this, the present study attempts to put both into the scope of Chinese influence, in order to determine all types of linguistic borrowings from Chinese to English and new mechanisms of language contact between Chinese and English. The two test cases in the next chapter will give an overview of some features of and attitudes to Chinese influence on the English vocabulary through exploring two specific sources. Besides, the data and the methods approaching the topic of Chinese influence will also be introduced in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Data

In order to present an overview of Chinese influence on the English language, the data for the present study are mainly retrieved from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), the most comprehensive historical dictionary of the English language, while the data from other dictionaries, written records, online sources, and media contents are also collected for analysis. This chapter first investigates several linguistic features of Chinese borrowings through a test case, which is based on close observation of 260 Chinese borrowings in the *OED*. Then the chapter introduces a variety of data and approaches that shape the rest of this thesis, exploring the possibilities of combining different kinds of sources and methods of investigations to give a fairly comprehensive account of Chinese borrowings in the English lexicon. Finally, the second test case looks at a more recent wordlist from ‘A Report on the Awareness of Chinese Discourse Overseas’ (China Foreign Languages Publishing Administration 2018), including many words that have not been included in any dictionary yet. Test case 2 therefore aims at showing an awareness of Chinese contributions to the English-speaking world.

3.1 Test case 1: Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

3.1.1 Recognizing and counting Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Needless to say, it is extremely difficult to assess the extent of borrowing from Chinese to English. At the end of his article (1987), Cannon gives his final words in a ringing tone: ‘Cannot the method of calculating the number of borrowings and naturalized borrowings be made more standardized?’ (p. 205). It is possible in theory but formidable in practice to ascertain how many Chinese borrowings there are in the English language. Even if the membership is confined in only one dictionary, in this case, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the calculation task is still not easy at all.

There is no consensus on the accurate number of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, and different studies report very different figures. Mao claims that over 900 Chinese words enter the *OED* (2006: 116); C. Wang suggests there are more than 1000 Chinese-originated words (2010: 23); Cui gives a more shocking number by saying ‘In the *OED* (2006), there are 3561 word entries of Chinese origin, which suggests that many elements of China English have, as it were, melted into Standard English’ (2006: 41). However, all

three above-mentioned studies only give passing references to the numbers they offer, without providing details of data collection methods.

More detailed explorations of the *OED* are done by De la Cruz-Cabanillas (2008) and S. Chen (2013), who identify 345 and 394 Chinese loanwords respectively. In addition, there are several studies on finding Chinese borrowings in partial *OED*. For instance, R. Wang (2000) counts 13 Chinese borrowings in the *OED Additions Series*; Juřicová (2012) discovers 65 new entries of Chinese origin that are added to the *OED* during 2008 to 2012; Durkin (2014) identifies 61 Chinese loanwords among the *OED3* entries ranging from M to R and A to ALZ.

So why are the counts inconsistent with each other even if they are using the same source, i.e. the *OED*? The following are several possible reasons:

- **The extent of the definition of ‘borrowing’**

Several studies (e.g. De la Cruz-Cabanillas 2008, Durkin 2014) look at loanwords only, so that loan-translations and semantic loans are not included. The term ‘borrowed word’ is equivalent to ‘loanword’ in Durkin’s study (2014); on the other hand, C. Wang (2010) uses ‘borrowed word’ in a broader sense and he finds over 1000 words borrowed from Chinese.

- **The disagreement about compounds and derivatives**

A small number of Chinese borrowings, though very few in total, are so established in the English lexicon that they have been as productive as some native words as elements in compounds and derived forms. Examples include *tea*, *Japan*, *China*, *Chinese*, and the like. In the *OED*, the word *tea* alone contributes over 200 compounds and derivatives, and a dozen phrases and idioms. A majority of the studies on this topic do not include compounds and derivatives in their wordlists or corpora (e.g. Chan and Kwok 1985, Moody 1996, De la Cruz-Cabanillas 2008, J. Yang 2009, S. Chen 2013), while Cannon’s list (1987, 1988) contains over 230 compounds and derivatives formed with *tea* or *Japan*. Based on previous calculations, it is estimated here that the number of Chinese borrowings in the *OED* can only reach 1000 if these compounds and derivatives and also loan translations are counted.

- **The inclusion of indirect borrowings**

Several languages have been active transmitters in Chinese-English contact including Japanese, French, Dutch, Korean and others. China's early trade with Europe passed on a large number of Chinese objects as well as Chinese words, which arrived via Dutch, French, Portuguese, etc. When it comes to Asian transmission languages, the story becomes more complicated. Most East Asian languages belong to the Sinosphere, where Chinese deeply influences other languages. In the past Chinese characters were widely used in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Although nowadays only Japanese keeps using Chinese characters known as *Kanji*, a few borrowings via Korean and Vietnamese can still be traced to their Chinese written forms, called *Hanja* and *Chữ Nôm* in their writing systems respectively. Since a huge number of Japanese words have a corresponding kanji form, should all Japanese loanwords in English be regarded as indirect borrowings? If all of them are counted in Chinese borrowings, the size of the corpus will be doubled or even more.

- **The acceptance of words with disputed origin**

Some loanwords, especially early loans, are considered to have a disputed origin. As an example, in the first edition of *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (1964), Pyles suggests that '*Silk* may be ultimately from Chinese, although there is no known etymon in that language; as *seoloc* or *sioloc* the word came into English in Old English times from Baltic or Slavic' (p. 348). But in the sixth edition the words are slightly changed into '*Silk* fiber came from China, but the origin of the word *silk* [Old English *sioloc* or *seol(e)c*] is unknown' (Pyles and Algeo 2005: 264). The *OED*'s etymology section indicates that '... The ultimate source is commonly supposed to be Latin *sēricus* or Greek *σηρικός* silken, < Latin *Sēres*, Greek *Σῆρες*, the oriental people (perhaps the Chinese) from whom silk was first obtained.' It seems that *silk* has a definite reference to China, but whether the word originated from the Chinese language is arguable. In that case, most studies do not treat silk as a Chinese loanword except Skeat (1888), Serjeantson (1935), and Pyles (1964). Words like *silk* are called 'false loans' in Chan and Kwok's term (1985), referring to words that are 'erroneously being ascribed to Chinese because of ignorance about the Chinese language' (p. 18). De la Cruz-Cabanillas (2008) disregards all words with disputed origin and even excludes the widely-accepted Chinese loanword *China*.

As well as reflecting the differences discussed above, previous studies also show

disagreements on whether to take into account proper names, obsolete terms, variant forms, duplications, and culturally-borrowed terms, which will be reconsidered in this thesis. The first test case, however, only looks at those ‘recognized’ Chinese borrowings in the *OED* which are explicitly indicated as Chinese in origin. These can be identified in a straightforward way, simply by entering ‘Chinese’ in the ‘Language of Origin’ search box, and this method retrieves 260 results (see Figure 3.1). I call these 260 words collectively the ‘default’ group of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*. The majority of them (253 out of 260) take the form of loanwords, with very few cases of loan translations, loan-blends, and pidgin expressions (for discussions of typological issues, see Part II). The following sections examine different aspects of these ‘default’ Chinese borrowings.

Figure 3.1. A screenshot of the *OED*’s Advanced search webpage (Source: *OED*)¹²

The screenshot shows the Oxford English Dictionary's Advanced search interface. At the top, the OED logo and 'Oxford English Dictionary' text are visible, along with a 'Quick search' bar. The main heading is 'Advanced search'. Below this, there are tabs for 'Entries', 'Senses', and 'Quotations'. The 'Entries' tab is selected. The search area includes a text box for 'Enter search' and a dropdown for 'in Full Text'. There are also checkboxes for 'Case-sensitive' and 'Exact characters'. To the right, there are 'Options for NEAR/NOT NEAR' with a dropdown set to 'One Word' and a checkbox for 'Ordered'. Below these, there are sections for 'Subject' (with a text box and 'Browse subject' link), 'Date of entry' (with a text box and radio buttons for 'All', 'Current', and 'Obsolete'), 'Language of Origin' (with a dropdown menu showing 'Chinese' and a 'Browse origin' link, which is circled in red), and 'Part of speech' (with a dropdown menu set to 'All').

3.1.2 Part of speech distribution

Some studies (e.g. Haugen 1950, Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009) suggest that nouns are more easily borrowed than other parts of speech (POS). The Chinese borrowings illustrate this well, with nearly 90 percent (233 out of 260) in nominal use (see Table 3.1).

¹² Available at <http://www.oed.com/advancedsearch/>.

Table 3.1. POS distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Parts of speech	No. of results	Examples
n.	233	<i>baozi, chop-stick, pai gow, zhuyin zimu</i>
n. and adj.	20	<i>Gan, Hokkien, Miao, Song</i>
int.	3	<i>aiyah, aiyoh, wah</i>
n. and int.	1	<i>pung</i>
v.	1	<i>pung</i>
int., n., and v.	1	<i>ganbei</i>
phr.	1	<i>no can do</i>

By contrast, other parts of speech are not as borrowable as nouns. Twenty Chinese loanwords are in both nominal and adjectival uses, including: words designating a Chinese ethnic group or a Chinese language variety, such as *Gan, Hakka, Hokkien, Miao*, and *Miaotse*, and words denoting a dynasty or art and technology of that dynasty such as *Ming, Qin, Qing*, and *Song*. There are also 3 interjections of Chinese origin, namely *aiyah, aiyoh*, and *wah*. The noun and interjection *pung* and the verb *pung* are in separate entries, while the entry *ganbei* includes three word classes. In addition, there is one phrase among the 260 Chinese borrowings, that is, *no can do*, translated from the Chinese expression *bukeyi* (不可以). According to the etymological information under its *OED* entry, this is a Chinese Pidgin English expression.

3.1.3 Dialectal distribution

In the *OED*, the etymology section gives information about the language of origin, and sometimes it provides a high level of detail, such as information on Chinese dialects or varieties. As mentioned before, the term *Chinese* refers to a group of language varieties: there are seven major subdivisions of Chinese, among which the most widely used nowadays is Mandarin. The varieties of Chinese can be so distinct from each other phonologically and lexically that they are considered ‘different languages’ by some scholars (e.g. Ramsey 1987). Cannon (1988) suggests that Chinese borrowings in English derive lexical items from Mandarin, Cantonese, and Amoy (1988). Actually, Amoy is a sub-dialect of Hokkien, which belongs to Southern Min family.¹³ The three primary source languages for Chinese borrowings and their contributions are listed in Table 3.2.

¹³ Southern Min (or Min Nan) is a family of Chinese varieties used in south-eastern China (see also 8.1).

Table 3.2. Dialectal distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Varieties of Chinese	No. of results	Examples
Cantonese	39	<i>dim sum, hoisin, oopack, wok</i>
Southern Min	10	<i>bohea, kiasu, mee, pekoe</i>
Mandarin	8	<i>cha, hoey, pela, pe-tsai</i>
Wu	2	<i>senshaw, ve-tsin</i>

The *OED* gives explicit dialect information in around 60 entries; for other entries, the *OED* generally lists ‘Chinese’ in their etymology section. Cantonese contributes the most Chinese borrowings to the dictionary with 39 results, including a high number of food terms such as *dim sum*, *hoisin*, *oopack*, and *wok*. Several other words that are ultimately from Cantonese such as *cheongsam*, a type of Chinese dress, are not attributed to any specific dialect. The fact that the *OED* is an ongoing and uncompleted project partly accounts for this inconsistency. There is a move in many newly-added or revised entries towards including dialect information (cf. *OED* entries *boba*, *mee*, *shumai*, *ve-tsin*). Southern Min loanwords are mainly contributed by Hokkien, a sub-dialect of Southern Min, including *ang moh*, *ang pow*, *char kway teow*, and *mee*, while the word *Hokkien* itself is from Amoy, a sub-dialect of Hokkien. Although the *OED* only mentions Mandarin origin in eight entries, a large proportion of Chinese loanwords are from Mandarin, the national language, such as *baozi*, *hongbao*, *ganbei*, and *guanxi*. Additionally, two borrowings from Wu can be found in the *OED*, namely *senshaw* and *ve-tsin*. *Ve-tsin* is ultimately from Shanghainese, a sub-dialect of Wu, probably because the first Chinese *ve-tsin* (monosodium glutamate) company was founded in Shanghai.

Besides dialectal information, the *OED*, in many cases, also reports the specific romanization system by which a Chinese loanword is transcribed. For example, *oopack* and *paktong* from Cantonese are largely influenced by Meyer-Wempe transcription; *pai-hua* and *po shan lu* follow Wade-Giles transcription (see 4.1 for further discussion on the transcription of Chinese borrowings). As a result of the various language varieties and romanization systems of Chinese, doublets are very likely to occur even in a confined source, in this case, the *OED*. A classic pair is *cha* and *tea*. According to the *OED*, the Mandarin (as well as Cantonese) form *cha* was brought into Europe by the Portuguese in 1559, while the Amoy form *te* was brought by the Dutch c1610-55 (see also 8.3). Other overlaps are: *pe-tsai* (Mandarin) and *bok choy* (Cantonese), *qipao* (Mandarin) and *cheongsam* (Cantonese), *mien* (Mandarin) and *mee* (Hokkien), etc.

3.1.4 Semantic distribution

The *OED* incorporates the taxonomy of the *Historical Thesaurus*, a semantic classification project based at the University of Glasgow which categorizes words into various semantic fields. This section examines the semantic features of Chinese borrowings via their ‘Thesaurus’ link in the *OED*, in order to present a historical overview of what kinds of borrowings are accepted by the English lexicon. It should be noted that the *Historical Thesaurus* is largely based on the *OED2*, while the second edition of the *Historical Thesaurus* and the online version of the *OED3* are still in progress. Therefore, many entries and senses, especially those newly added ones, do not have a ‘Thesaurus’ link. Generally speaking, over two thirds of the *OED* senses have a link to the *Historical Thesaurus*. Among the Chinese borrowings, 42 out of the ‘default 260’ do not have a ‘Thesaurus’ link. For those words, I imitate the approach of the *Historical Thesaurus* to allocate them to a semantic category. The semantic distribution of these 260 Chinese borrowings with their examples are given in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3. Semantic distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Semantic categories	No.	Examples
The External World		
The earth	2	<i>Min, Nanyang</i>
Health and disease	3	<i>Nei kuan, qinghaosu, tui na</i>
People	13	<i>Hakka, kwai-lo, Miao, Tanka, Teochew</i>
Animals	4	<i>pela, Shar-Pei, shih-tzu, wonk</i>
Plants	18	<i>bok choy, goji, moutan, litchi, yulan</i>
Food and drink	61	<i>boba, char siu, chop suey, hoisin, ketchup</i>
Textiles and clothing	9	<i>cheongsam, pongee, qipao, senshaw, tsatlee</i>
Physical sensation	7	<i>gow, wah, yen, yen-yen</i>
Space	2	<i>pailou, whangee</i>
Time	3	<i>pi, tsung, yuan</i>
Action	2	<i>chin chin, no can do</i>
Relative properties	8	<i>dotchin, li, liang, suan-pan, tan</i>
The supernatural	10	<i>fum, ho-ho, t'ao t'ieh, Tai Chi, shen</i>
The Mental World		
Mental capacity	3	<i>feng-shui, I Ching, p'o</i>
Emotion	3	<i>gung ho, kiasu, kow-tow</i>
Will	3	<i>gung ho, ming, yen</i>
Possession	2	<i>ang pow, hongbao</i>
Language	20	<i>Gan, Hokkien, Pinyin, Putonghua, wen li</i>
The Social World		
Society and the community	10	<i>hoey, kongsi, tong, guanxi, tsu</i>
Inhabiting and dwelling	2	<i>Tanka, t'ing</i>
Armed hostility	4	<i>ko, Min Yuen, tuchun, yieh</i>
Authority	29	<i>ganbu, kow-tow, Kuomintang, Qing, Yanan</i>
Morality	1	<i>te</i>
Faith	10	<i>Chan, tao, wu-wei, yang, yin</i>

Communication	9	<i>chen shu, latinxua, li shu, ta tzu-pao</i>
Travel and travelling	6	<i>sampan, taikonaunt, Tanka, yulo</i>
Occupation and work	21	<i>Kuan, san ts'ai, mei ping, p'an</i>
Trade and finance	11	<i>fen, jiao, liang, renminbi, yuan</i>
Leisure	39	<i>erh hu, mah-jong, pai gow, wei ch'i, wushu</i>

At its very highest level, the *Historical Thesaurus* has three major divisions (level-1 categories) – The External World, The Mental World, and The Social World – reflecting the main areas of human activities. Further, there are several sub-categories at the next level of the three broad categories (level-2 categories). As can be seen in Table 3.3, Chinese borrowings are found across a wide range of semantic areas. However, certain fields have far more Chinese loanwords than others. The top 5 semantic categories (level-2) with most words listed are ‘Food and drink’ (61), ‘Leisure’ (39), ‘Occupation and work’ (32), ‘Authority’ (29), and ‘Language’ (20) – all are fields deeply associated with Chinese culture or Chinese people’s activities.

In addition, 76 entries are arranged into more than one semantic category, because some Chinese borrowings are polysemous or have several parts of speech as discussed in 3.1.2. For instance, many edible plants, such as *bok choy*, *choy sum*, *goji*, and *litchi*, are allocated to both the ‘Plants’ and ‘Food and drink’ categories, so that these two categories have a large overlap. Another extreme example is *Kuan*. Under the entry for *Kuan* there are three etymologically unrelated senses but in one entry: in full *Kuan Hua*, a former name of Mandarin; in full *Kuan Yin*, a Chinese goodness; in full *Kuan Yao*, a type of ceramics. The three senses of *Kuan* are indexed in ‘Language’, ‘The supernatural’, and ‘Occupation and work’ respectively.

It is also interesting to look at those fields with ‘zero’ Chinese borrowing, such as ‘Existence and causation’, ‘Goodness and badness’, ‘Law’, ‘Education’, to name but a few. Obviously, ‘zero’ borrowing does not mean that there is no law or education in China; probably Chinese is not the prominent language in these fields, or these fields may include other types of borrowing rather than loanwords. In regard to the semantic fields themselves, some fields offer fewer opportunities for language contact and cultural exchange, such as ‘Law’, where specialized vocabulary is extensively used. In comparison, food, drink, textiles, clothing, ceramics, and other things that can be traded, are more possible candidates for borrowing. Another observable trend is that words within the same semantic category, in some cases, are likely to be borrowed ‘together’ – i.e. they

are first attested in English in the same source or in the same period. An investigation into the first attestations of Chinese borrowings will be carried out in Chapter 4.

3.1.5 Frequency distribution

In December 2015, the *OED Online* added frequency information to entries for words in current use, mainly based on the data from Google Books Ngram Corpus. How the frequency score is calculated can be found on the *OED* website¹⁴ and information on how the corpus has been constructed is available on the Google Books webpage.¹⁵ Except for seven words, all Chinese borrowings in the ‘default’ group are assigned a frequency band in the *OED*, and the distribution of their frequency bands are given in Table 3.4 (the higher the score, the more frequent the words are).

Table 3.4. Frequency distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Frequency Band	No. of results	Examples
1	25	<i>boba, goji, I Ching, kwai-lo, ve-tsin</i>
2	90	<i>bohea, char siu, fu yung, kylin, nien hao</i>
3	76	<i>cheongsam, dim sum, hoisin, kow-tow, oolong</i>
4	44	<i>cha, chop-stick, feng-shui, guanxi, ketchup</i>
5	16	<i>qi, Song, Tang, tao, te, yang, yin</i>
6	2	<i>China, se</i>
7	0	/
8	0	/

As illustrated in Table 3.4, most Chinese borrowings are assigned to Bands 2 to 4, which fairly fits the overall frequency distribution of all non-obsolete *OED* entries (see Table 3.5 below). Frequency Band 1 (the lowest frequency) contains a number of newly added loanwords such as *aiyah, boba, dai pai dong, goji, mantou*, and *siu mei*, as well as some words with old spellings like *towcok, ve-tsin, wên jên, yuan hsiao*, and *yüeh ch'in*. On the other side, there are no Chinese loanwords in Bands 7 or 8, showing that the Chinese impact on the core vocabulary of English is negligible. Only 2 cases can be found in Band 6, namely the country name *China* and the musical instrument *se*, which are the most frequent Chinese loans among the ‘default’ 260 words. However, it should be noted that many of *se*’s uses that have been counted in Google’s Ngram Corpus probably do not carry the musical instrument sense – especially the chemical element *Se* – since the Ngram Corpus does not distinguish homographs, which may be a weakness in the *OED*’s Ngram-based frequency information. According to the *OED*’s description of frequency

¹⁴ See <https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/>.

¹⁵ See <http://storage.googleapis.com/books/ngrams/books/datasetsv2.html/>.

bands, unlike the everyday vocabulary in Band 6 to 8, words in Band 5 tend to be ‘restricted to literate vocabulary associated with educated discourse’, such as the dynasty names *Tang*, *Song*, and *Ming*, and philosophical concepts *tao*, *te*, *yang*, and *yin*.

Table 3.5. Frequency distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED* vs. overall frequency distribution of all *OED* entries

Frequency Band	% of Chinese borrowings in the <i>OED</i>	% of all non-obsolete entries in the <i>OED</i>
1	10%	18%
2	36%	45%
3	30%	20%
4	17%	11%
5	6%	4%
6	1%	1%
7	0%	0.18%
8	0%	0.02%

3.1.6 Four fake news items related to the *OED* and Chinese borrowings

As a landmark in the history of English dictionaries, the *OED* is regarded as the most authoritative source by the general public. The legitimacy of a single word will become official if it is included in the *OED*. Newly-coined Chinese words try to make their way to this gigantic dictionary, which is perceived as the key to acceptance in the English language.

However, misinformation about the *OED*’s inclusion of new words of Chinese origin has occurred again and again during the present decade. In 2008, the news that the Chinese word *dia* (嗲, possibly a pidgin word from ‘dear’) had been included in the *OED* circulated quickly in the media. A journalist with *The First* (竞报) reported that *dia* and its derivatives *diaist*, *diaistic*, *diaism*, etc. had all been added to the dictionary. However, it was soon found to be a made-up story and was listed among the top ten items of fake news of 2018 in China.

At the end of the year 2010, it was rumoured that several Chinese words and phrases including *no Z-turn* or *buzheteng* (不折腾), *human flesh search* (人肉搜索) and *three vulgarities* (三俗) had been adopted by the *OED*. The news source for most Chinese media was from *Huanqiu* (a news website under the auspices of *People’s Daily* and *Global Times*), which mentioned *New America Media* as its source (Wang 30 December 2010); the article with the headline ‘English adopts more Chinese phrases’ on *New*

America Media was originally published in *China Daily*, written by Professor Xiao Xiaoyan from Xiamen University. Professor Xiao's exact words are as follows,

‘Over 1,000 words of Chinese origin can now be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and, since the mid-1990s, the adoption of Chinese words and phrases into English seems to have been on the rise. Chinese words found in English are mostly direct borrowings – for example, *buzheteng*, ...’ (Xiao 29 December 2010).

Obviously, the two sentences were conflated during translation and circulation by other media, which caused misinformation. But this kind of misinformation seems to recur every several years. More fake news, this time, about the *OED*'s inclusion of two Chinese-originated words *tuhao* and *dama* broke at the end of 2013. On 14 November 2013, *Beijing Youth Daily* first reported the news with the headline ‘Hopefully, *tuhao* and *dama* will enter the *Oxford Dictionaries* next year’ (“土豪” “大妈” 有望明年收进牛津词典), and quoted the words from Julie Kleeman, the Bilingual Dictionaries Project Manager of the Oxford University Press,

‘A lot of media has given attention to the word “tuhao” which also triggered our interest ... If the influence of “tuhao” keeps rising, we will consider including it in our dictionaries of the 2014 edition.’

This piece of news was reproduced by various media home and abroad, including *China Daily*, *People's Daily*, *Global Times*, and *CNBC*. Its aftermath lasted for several years – the likeliness of *tuhao*'s and *dama*'s inclusion has still been discussed on *China Daily*, The Telegraph, and Ifeng after 2015, and many Chinese netizens still believe that *tuhao* and *dama* are on the watchlist of the *OED*. To date, nevertheless, neither *tuhao* nor *dama* have made their way to the *Oxford Dictionaries* or the *OED*.

Recently, the China International Publishing Group (CIPG), an organization under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee, released ‘A Report on the Awareness of Chinese Discourse Overseas’ (中国话语海外认知度调研报告), with the purpose of finding out the 100 Chinese words most recognized by English speakers. The news was fully reported in the media, but some falsehoods were circulating at the same time. A short online article was headlined ‘Chinese English terms like *nihao*, *jiaozi*, etc, are included in the *OED*’ (“你好” “饺子” 等中式英语被收录进牛津词典).¹⁶ Two

¹⁶ Available at <http://www.g.com.cn/edu/33668260/>.

articles found on *Ifeng* and *Chongqing Evening News*, originally reported by *Xinhua* (Lin 10 March 2018), used the same picture of several dictionaries, and the caption below the picture read ‘with the increasing influence of China on the global stage, the popularity of Chinese among the world is growing as well, with *nihao*, *jiaozi*, *renminbi*, etc. being included in the newest edition of the *OED*’ (see Figure 3.2).¹⁷ In fact, among the top 10 words on the list, *nihao* (你好) and *gugong* (故宫) are the only two that have not been adopted by the *OED* (see next section for detailed analysis of the top 100 list).

Figure 3.2. An online picture and its caption misinform about the inclusion of *nihao* in the *OED*



随着中国在国际舞台上影响力不断增强，汉语在全世界的普及度也越来越高，“你好”（Nihao）、“饺子”（Jiaozi）、“人民币”（Renminbi）等被收入最新版的《牛津英语词典》。

It is interesting to consider why these false reports of Chinese borrowings happen at particular times, what is the nature of them, and why they are always related to the *OED*. To answer these questions, here I highlight some similarities between these pieces of fake news:

Fake news reports are normally caused by a trigger. For example, rumours of *tuhao* in the *OED* spread after the BBC published a short video about introducing the word *tuhao*.¹⁸

¹⁷ Available at http://culture.ifeng.com/a/20180310/56620327_0.shtml/. Also available at http://www.cqwb.com.cn/kxw/2018-03/10/content_389281999635714.htm/.

¹⁸ Available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/magazine-24677113/>.

In a similar vein, the false report about *nihao* being included in the *OED* started after the release of ‘A report on the awareness of Chinese discourse overseas.’

Even though people esteem the great status of the *OED*, very few of them have access to it. The annual subscription fee is over £200 (or nearly \$300), so that only those who work in research institutes and universities are likely to have full unrestricted access to the *OED*. Ordinary people have absolute trust in the opinions of these experts, which are not always correct.

Those who work for the Oxford University Press are believed to know the in-house policy of the *OED*. Interviews with insiders make the news sound more trustworthy. For instance, Julie Kleeman was interviewed by *Beijing Youth Daily* and said that the inclusion of *tuhao* in the *OED* 2014 update was under consideration. It seemed that her words were quoted out of context. In a later interview by *Xinhua*, the most influential and authoritative media in China, she pointed out that even though some Chinese words like *tuhao* and *dama* were gaining publicity in the foreign media, they were not very commonly-used in English so that the *OED* language experts ‘would need to see evidence of it in use across a range of English media, over the course of a period of time.’ The *OED* editor Fiona McPherson was also interviewed. She told the *Global Times* that Chinese buzzwords like *tuhao*, *dama*, *hukou*, *weibo*, *yuncai*, etc. need more attestations before they are included in the *OED* wordlist, and the process of a word being included in the *OED* normally takes 10 years.

Thanks to the digital era, nowadays news spreads quickly on the Internet. During the circulation of news, misinterpretation and mistranslation result in deviation from an original story. For instance, the rumoured inclusion of *buzheteng* and the like is due to the mistranslation and secondary processing of Professor Xiao’s original article. However, it is very difficult for readers to detect this kind of fake news.

Overall, the popularity of news about Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, though mostly misinformation for the moment, demonstrates some prospective candidates for entries and their attempts at getting wider media coverage and increasing usage. These pieces of news also show Chinese people’s passionate desires to see their buzzwords being accepted in the English lexicon. Although many news items are momentarily fake, they will possibly come true if these Chinese words continue gaining publicity in the media and widespread currency in modern English, and then come to *OED* editors’ attention.

3.1.7 Summary of test case 1

Test case 1 explores the data from a historical dictionary, namely the *OED*, and examines several features of Chinese borrowings in English. Most Chinese borrowings are nouns; Cantonese, Southern Min, and Mandarin are the three primary source languages that contribute most Chinese borrowings to the *OED*; according to the *HTOED* classification, a large proportion of Chinese borrowings is found in semantic fields including ‘Food and drink’, ‘Leisure’, ‘Occupation and work’, ‘Authority’, and ‘Language’, which reflect the major areas of Chinese culture and Chinese people’s activities; in terms of frequency, Chinese borrowings make a very small contribution to the core vocabulary of English. It should be noted that the ‘default 260’ list only enumerates the most well-established or the most easily identified group of borrowings in the *OED*. As a result, numerous other types of borrowing are not included here (for an exhaustive calculation of the total number of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, see 9.3; for the full list, see Appendix 1). Meanwhile, several pieces of fake news about Chinese borrowings being included in the *OED* drum up the public interest in this topic and also propose some potential candidates for dictionary entries. As mentioned before, an oft-made assertion from previous studies is that if different kinds of borrowing are taken into account, the size of Chinese-originated lexical items in the English lexicon will be tremendously expanded. Therefore, a variety of other sources are required to present a fuller picture of Chinese borrowings in modern English.

3.2 Data and methods

Test case 1, which is based on the *OED* data, is not adequate and gives a limited number of results. There are two major reasons: firstly, the *OED* treats loanwords as the default type of borrowing while other types are mostly not recognized as borrowings; secondly, since the *OED* is a long-term project, its inclusion of new words is a little bit behind the way people use language. In addition, the online version of the *OED* includes *OED3* entries which are added after 2000, as well as entries in previous versions, so there are several inconsistencies in the entries. On the other hand, as the most comprehensive dictionary of the English language, the *OED* actually includes far more Chinese borrowings than the ‘default’ group, though numerous searches in the dictionary have to be carried out (see also 9.3). Besides, the *OED* provides a range of information, including word’s origin, transmission process, frequency, meanings, semantic categories, region categories, attestations, and many more, which illuminate different aspects of Chinese

influence on the English language. Considering this, the present study of Chinese borrowings is largely focused on the collection and analysis of the data from the *OED*.

Since no dictionary is supposed to include all words and words take time to be qualified as dictionary entries, it is definite that the *OED* keeps some words out. Thus, this study also looks for words in a broad range of dictionaries. Being included in a dictionary partly shows that the word has been integrated into the English vocabulary. Other than from the *OED*, a large proportion of the data are drawn from the *Oxford Dictionaries Online* (ODO) and the so-called ‘Big Five’ learner’s dictionaries, namely *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (OALD), *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (CALD), *COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary* (COBUILD), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE), and *Macmillan English Dictionary* (MED), which focus primarily on modern English and practical usages, such as collocation and phraseology.

A range of dictionaries and other publications, especially those focusing on foreign words, also provide historical and etymological information, including *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Johnson 1755), *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Skeat 1888), *A History of Foreign Words in English* (Serjeantson 1935), *Phrase and Word Origins: a study of familiar expressions* (Holt 1961), *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (Pyles 1964, Pyles and Algeo 2005), *The Dictionary of Foreign Terms in the English Language* (Carroll 1973), *The Harper Dictionary of Foreign Terms* (Ehrlich 1990), *Dictionary of Word Origins* (Flavell and Flavell 1995), *From Old English to Standard English* (Freeborn 1998), and the like. The above-mentioned sources, along with the *OED*, record the English lexicon’s acceptance of many well-established Chinese borrowings, whereas there has been much dispute over whether some words, such as *silk*, were of Chinese origin. More cases of conflicting information about word’s etymologies given by different sources will be investigated later, especially in Chapter 4.

Words restricted to particular geographical contexts, specific usages in different registers, or subject areas may not be found in general dictionaries, dictionaries of a certain variety of English, or dictionaries for learners. When some region-specific usages are concerned, dictionaries for Englishes except British English are consulted, such as *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary* (MWCD) and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (AHD) for American English, *Australian Oxford Dictionary* (AOD) and *Macquarie Dictionary* (MD) for Australian English, and *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*

(*COD*) for Canadian English. As for specific slang usages, rather than in general dictionaries, examples of slurs and swear words are more likely to be found in some specialised dictionaries or encyclopaedias, including *A Dictionary of International Slurs* (Roback 1944), *Wicked Words* (Rawson 1989), *An Encyclopedia of Swearing* (Hughes 2006), and *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (Partridge 2006).

This study devotes a great deal of attention to the semantic analysis of Chinese influence on the English lexicon. The semantic classification of the present study largely follows that of the *Historical Thesaurus*, which is available as a component of the *OED* website, and as a matter of course, a few alterations are made to allocate Chinese borrowings. The semantic approach adopted by the present research is demonstrated by a sketch of 14 semantic fields in Chapter 7 and three case studies in Chapter 8. For many particular fields with an extensive specialist vocabulary, existing dictionaries and publications are not adequate, and thus these fields are in need of tremendous amounts of specialist data. For example, the field of **Food and Drink** is plentifully supplied with examples from Chinese restaurants, especially those located in Chinatowns in London, Manchester, Birmingham, New York, and Washington; as for **Plants**, many edible plants can be found in supermarkets; names for different types of Chinese **Clothing** can be searched out in a range of retailers in-store or online. Numerous fine pieces of Chinese ceramics, as well as ceramic terms, were brought to other countries since early contact periods. The technical terms of ceramics show more restricted use and are not fully represented in any dictionary. Therefore, the vast majority of the data for the case study of **Ceramics** are drawn from museums home and abroad, including British Museum, Shanghai Museum, Southern Song Dynasty Guan Kiln Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and Metropolitan Museum of Art. Considering the status of French in the field of ceramics, many indirect borrowings via French are also found on the museum object labels. In comparison, tea museums (e.g. China National Tea Museum, Flagstaff House Museum of Tea Ware) and tea shops (e.g. Whittard, T2) use a number of terms borrowed directly from Chinese, especially from Southern Min dialects. Several site visits to these real-life places are conducted to collect data and in-depth information.

Several domains of Chinese cultural properties, especially **Religion and Philosophy**, **Mythology**, and **Intangible Cultural Properties**, sometimes lack consistency in the terminology used. In other words, terms in these culture-related fields may experience different degrees of morphological change or semantic change: morphologically, different

spellings denoting the same concept occur, either to replace or co-exist with previous ones; semantically, some expressions of Chinese origin develop a new meaning in the English context. For **Intangible Cultural Properties**, a few examples are selected from a range of Intangible Cultural Heritage lists: at the international level, the UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding; at the national level, four batches of the National List; at the local level, lists from various provinces and regions. These lists are called for the purpose of safeguarding and raising awareness of the significance of various aspects of culture. Because of the intimate connection between culture and language, this kind of linguistic study helps us better understand cultural contact, or, conversely, the cultural perspective helps us approach the topic of linguistic borrowing.

This thesis, at many points, considers data from the media, including both mass media and social media. Mass media, printed or online, features news on the topic of China, especially in **Politics, Society and Community, Trade and Finance, and Technology**. The uses of Chinese borrowings are explored in various English media at home and abroad, including *BBC*, *China Daily*, *CNBC*, *The Economist*, *People's Daily*, *The Telegraph*, to name but a few. In the media, Chinese-originated expressions, in most cases, are explicitly highlighted, in italics, in quotes, in brackets, or with explanatory notes, suggesting that they are still exotic in the public eye. Very few of them have been included in any mainstream English dictionaries, so close engagement with media data is a good way to investigate recent borrowings.

The uses of Chinese borrowings and code-mixing between Chinese and English can also be frequently encountered in social media platforms, such as *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Twitter*, *Weibo*, and so on, with the purpose of breaking into the huge Chinese market, attracting attention, making cultural references, or simply showing language competence. Social media illustrates well the contexts in which some Chinese borrowings are used and the influences of Chinese on the English lexicon in today's world. In addition, several films, TV series, online shopping sites, and other types of entertainment are also good sources of linguistic evidence for this research of Chinese influence.

3.3 Test case 2: Top 100 most recognized Chinese borrowings in English¹⁹

In recent years, there has been an increasing awareness of Chinese influence on the English language, as reflected by greater inclusion in dictionaries, relevant studies on this topic, and wide media coverage. The topic of Chinese influence has been explored by a number of scholars, but it is also of great interest to the wider public in China. One particular report, produced and published with backing from the Chinese government, gives evidence of this awareness, and of the sense of pride that Chinese people feel about the use of Chinese words in English. On February 17, 2018, the China International Publishing Group (CIPG) released a report on the most recognized Chinese words in the English-speaking world. The data for ‘A report on the awareness of Chinese discourse overseas’ (中国话语海外认知度调研报告) were obtained from two resources: (1) a number of articles selected from 50 mainstream media, and (2) questionnaires distributed in eight English-speaking countries, including the US, the UK, Australia, the Philippines, South Africa, Canada, Singapore, and India. It should be noted that the report only investigates the usage and understanding of Chinese words in their Pinyin forms. Firstly, the Pinyin forms of about 300 Chinese words were counted in 50 English-language media; then, the most frequently-used 150 words were included in questionnaires circulated to over 1200 well-educated English-speakers in the aforementioned eight countries; and the final list consists of the ‘top’ 100 Chinese words used in English.

Shaolin ‘a style or school of Chinese martial arts’ tops the list, followed by *yinyang* ‘two opposite elements in Chinese philosophy’ and *yuan* ‘a Chinese unit of currency.’ The rest of the top 10 words in their Pinyin forms are: *gugong*, *nihao*, *wushu*, *qi*, *qigong*, *renminbi*, and *majiang* (see Appendix 2 for the full list). Besides the ranking, the report also reveals some interesting facts about Chinese borrowings as follows.

3.3.1 Romanization of Chinese words

As mentioned before, the report only reveals which Pinyin forms are most recognized in the English-speaking world. As a result, it does not include those long-established Chinese loans that entered the English language a long time before the Pinyin system was created, such as *tea*, *chopstick*, *ketchup*, and *loquat*. Neither does it feature many popular loanwords from Chinese dialects other than Mandarin, for example Cantonese loans including *bok choy*, *dim sum*, *hoisin*, *Hong Kong*, *wok*, and so on.

¹⁹ Part of this section is published in the journal article entitled ‘The top 100 Chinese loanwords in English today: Can one recognise the Chinese words used in English?’ (Zhong n.d.).

Because words are excluded for the reasons explained above, much of the top 100 list is made up of words that many English speakers might not recognize. To test this, the words on the list were looked up in the online version of the *OED*. Only 16 out of the top 100 have been included in the *OED* with their Pinyin forms as the headword. The 16 items are as follows:

Shaolin, yin-yang, yuan, wushu, qi, qigong, renminbi, Pinyin, hongbao, guanxi, wuxia, jiaozi, putonghua, ganbei, mantou, ganbu.

Wade-Giles was the prevalent romanization system of Chinese before Pinyin and has been gradually replaced by the latter since 1950s. Though the Pinyin forms of several words receive increasing recognition in the English world, their Wade-Giles spellings are still adopted as headwords in the *OED*. Here are the six examples that are ranked in the top 100 list:

hutung, Kung-fu, T'ai Chi, tao, Kuan, yuan hsiao.

The romanization of headwords of Chinese origin in the *OED* is quite inconsistent because according to the *OED*'s policy, the headword for a word with numerous variant spellings is the most regularly attested modern spelling.²⁰ Besides the words romanized by the Pinyin and Wade-Giles systems, there are several words with spellings that follow different transcription systems, including *mah-jong, fum, Confucianism* (from *Confucius*), and *goji* (see also 4.1).

3.3.2 Types of borrowing and duplicated forms

Nearly half of the words on the list have been included in entries or sub-entries in the *OED*, and a large proportion of them are loanwords, naturalized by Pinyin and other romanization systems (see above). It is noteworthy that two recent loans, namely *hukou* 'an official document certifying residence' and *daigou* 'a person outside China who buys consumer goods on behalf of people living in China' have been included in *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, though they do not appear in the *OED*. *Daigou* is also included in the *Macquarie Dictionary*, a dictionary of Australian English, because of the common *daigou* phenomenon in Australia.

²⁰ See <https://public.oed.com/history/oed-editions/preface-to-the-third-edition/>.

Other types of lexical borrowing also contribute several words to the list, such as the loan-translations *Middle Kingdom*, *Spring Festival*, *hotpot* or *firepot*, and *silk road*, and the semantic loans *dragon*, *temple*, and *trigram*. In some cases, the ethnic tag ‘Chinese’ is added to indicate Chinese origin as in *Chinese New Year*, *Chinese-lantern*, and *Chinese wall*.²¹

Several long-established words and phrases are still used today, such as *acupuncture*, *Empress of Heaven*, and *Terracotta Warriors*, which give a veiled hint that the objects or concepts originally came from China. *Tofu*, now a household word in English, is an indirect borrowing via Japanese. There is only a slim chance that *tofu* will be superseded by its Pinyin form, *doufu*.

On the other hand, not all the items listed in the top 100 are Chinese-specific things, such as *peace*, *anti-corruption*, *party*, *harmony*, *online shopping*, and *innovation*. One reason for ranking them in the list is they appear so frequently in the China-related news, especially in the past several years. For example, *online shopping* (网购 *wanggou*) and *high-speed rail* (高铁 *gaotie*), which are among China’s ‘Four New Great Inventions’, were not invented by the Chinese at all.

Different types of borrowing and variant spellings both cause some duplicated forms to express the same thing. Table 3.6 illustrates a collection of doublets which appear as headwords in mainstream English dictionaries (words that only appear in the quotations are not included).

Table 3.6. Duplicated forms of words in the list of top 100 most recognized Chinese words

Loanword (Pinyin)	Loanword (non-Pinyin)	Loan translation (literal)	Loan translation (loose)	Semantic loan	Indirect borrowing	Ethnic tag
wushu			martial arts			
hongbao	ang pow	red packet	red envelope, lucky money			
	fum, fung-hwang, fêng huang			phoenix	ho-ho	
	moo goo (gai pan)			mushroom		

²¹ The more common English name for *Chinese wall* should be the *Great Wall*.

jiaozi	pot sticker	gyoza
	bean curd	tofu
ba gua		trigram
	ang moh, kwai-lo, gweilo	foreign devil
	Great Wall	Chinese Wall
yuan hsiao	Lantern Festival	Bon
	Middle Kingdom	China
Huang He	Huang Ho	Yellow River
	Spring Festival	Chinese New Year
	firepot	hotpot
	silk road	silk route
ganbu		cadre

3.3.3 Semantic distribution

The report divides the 100 Chinese words into 11 subject categories (see Table 3.7). According to the semantic distribution shown in the table, a large proportion of the words in the list are related to traditional Chinese objects or concepts. For example, among the top 20, six are terms of Chinese martial arts, including *Shaolin*, *wushu*, *qigong*, *gongfu*, *taiji*, and *shifu*. Names for the traditional Chinese festivals and relevant things also contribute several terms to the list, such as *Qingming*, *Chongyang*, *Yuanxiao*, *Chunjie*, *Zhongqiu*, *hongbao*, *chunjie*, *chunyun*, and *denglong*. Food terms without doubt perform an important role among all selected candidates on the list, from the well-known *jiaozi*, *doufu*, *huoguo*, *gouqi*, *mantou*, to a longer name of a dish like *gongbao jiding*.

Table 3.7. Semantic categorization of the top 100 most recognized Chinese words

Semantic fields	No.	Examples
Wushu & Kungfu	7	<i>Shaolin, wushu, qigong, gongfu, taiji, shifu, wuxia</i>
Food	8	<i>jiaozi, mogu, doufu, huoguo, gouqi, mantou, jianbing, gongbao jiding</i>
Festivals & Customs	8	<i>Qingming, Chongyang, chunlian, Yuanxiao, Duanwu, Chunjie, Zhongqiu, denglong</i>
Culture	10	<i>majiang, long, feng, mazu, zhonghua, zhongguo, huaxia, cuju, maobi, zhenjiu</i>
Religion & Philosophy	10	<i>yin-yang, qi, Laozi, dao, bagua, Kongzi, Sunzi, Ru, Mengzi, zhongyong</i>
Natural & Cultural Attractions	10	<i>Gugong, hutong, Changjiang, Tiantan, Tiananmen, Changcheng, xionghao, Huanghe, jinsihou, bingmayong</i>

Governmental Institutions & Political Relationship	9	<i>hukou, guan, fantan, fanfu, gongchandang, lianghui, dang, ganbu, gongan,</i>
Social Relationship & Social Governance	5	<i>hongbao, guanxi, maidan, laowai, ganbei</i>
Political Discourse	11	<i>heping, zhongguomeng, hexie, yidai yilu, zhen shi qin cheng, shisan wu, zhongguo gushi, mingyun gongtongti, sichou zhilu, zhongguo daolu, zhongguo shengyin</i>
Economy & Technology	15	<i>yuan, renminbi, dama, Chang'e, Yanghang, chunyun, chuangxin, tuhao, Wukong, daigou, zhifubao, zhongguo zhizao, xiaokang, wanggou, gaotie</i>
Common Expressions	7	<i>nihao, pinyin, xiexie, putonghua, mafan, dia, duibuqi</i>

Although these 100 words are just a small part of Chinese influence on the English lexicon, the semantic fields here make up of a fairly representative collection of Chinese-specific areas. These semantic fields create more opportunities for borrowing and more generally, language contact and cultural exchange, which conforms with the idea mooted in Chapter 7.

3.3.4 Summary of test case 2

Test case 2 investigates the data from a recent language report of the most recognized Chinese-originated or Chinese-related expressions in English. However, the report only takes account of the usage of Chinese Pinyin forms, so the Chinese words that spread to the West before the Pinyin system was created are not included. Consequently, the list does not contain many examples of well-established Chinese loanwords and other types of lexical borrowing, which will be further discussed in Part II. In terms of semantic classification, the top 100 list covers a range of semantic categories of Chinese-specific things and concepts. Although the top 100 wordlist demonstrates a representative sample of the Chinese words used in the English-speaking world, 100 is a fairly small sample size. Considering this, more semantic fields, along with more examples in each field, will be explored in detail in Part III. Overall, these 100 Chinese expressions, to some extent, do reflect the acceptance of Chinese influence by English speakers and the English lexicon, with nearly half of them being included in the *OED* or other dictionaries through different borrowing processes. Furthermore, words on this list may provide a benchmark for linguists and dictionary editors when they are looking for lexical contributions from Chinese.

3.4 Summary

In summary, this study draws data from the *OED* alongside other dictionaries, publications, real-life sources, news reports, social media platforms, and various online sources, in order to examine different aspects of Chinese influence on the English language. I therefore use both well-established sources like dictionaries and up-to-date sources such as the top 100 list discussed above, which reflect more rapidly evolving trends of Chinese borrowings and Chinese Englishes. Both qualitative and quantitative data are employed by the present study, giving shape to the Chinese contributions to the English lexicon. The three chapters in Part II will give a typological analysis of Chinese influence and identify what types have entered and integrated into English successfully. A semantic analysis will be carried out in the sketches and cases studies in Part III, demonstrating how Chinese influence has shaped the language of different domains, linguistically and culturally. Besides the typological and semantic approaches, historical and etymological approaches will also be adopted throughout the thesis, which uncover the history of Sino-West contacts and the development of individual words. More details for specific cases will be given when mentioned in later parts of the thesis. Of course, it is not possible here to cover all words from Chinese that have ever appeared in the English language, especially those nonce borrowing expressions. Rather, the present study aims at showing the possibility of combining different sources and approaches to provide a relatively inclusive account of Chinese influence on English; what is more, these sources and approaches can be adopted in other studies on linguistic borrowing, or more generally, studies on language and/or culture.

PART II. TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Chapter 4

Lexical borrowing: Four classic types

Based on Haugen's (1950) classic typology of lexical borrowing which is also employed by later works (e.g. Durkin 2009, Furiassi et al. 2012), this chapter focuses on the four types of Chinese borrowings, namely loanwords, loan translations, semantic loans, and loan-blends. The biggest group is, without doubt, loanwords, which is also the category that most of the 'default 260' belong to. The discussion in this chapter starts with some of the Chinese loans that are attested earliest, with a good deal of attention to the early studies and quotations that list these loanwords. For Chinese loanwords there are various transcription systems. A possible dividing line between early and late loans is the period when the Wade-Giles system gave way to Pinyin in the latter half of the 20th century. Meanwhile, Chinese proper names illustrate both lexical regularity and irregularity via different transcriptions. Other types of lexical borrowing, though not as recognizable as loanwords to English speakers, also reflect language contact and different contact situations. Loan translations and semantic loans do not have any morphological accommodation to the English language at all, but demonstrate the coinage of new English expressions under the influence of the Chinese language and culture (in the case of loan translations) and the occurrence of new meanings derived from their Chinese source words (in the case of semantic loans). Loan-blends, so far the most productive type (if compounds and derivatives are taken into account), follow English word-formation and also preserve Chinese elements.

4.1 Loanwords

Loanwords make up the largest group among all types of lexical borrowing, and are also the most accepted type in the English-speaking world. Most of the 260 'default' Chinese borrowings in the *OED* are loanwords, which show very little or no morphological and semantic integration. However, there is an obvious but subtle distinction between early loans and late loans borrowed from Chinese, due to the changing language environment in both source and target languages.

4.1.1 Early loans

The earliest Chinese word in English written records – as shown in the first attestation under the *OED* entry 'China, n.¹ and adj.' – is the country name and also a ceramic term *China*, dating to 1555, at the beginning of the Early Modern English period. Though this

is the first of the ‘early loans’ in the *OED* data, attested significantly earlier than entries in the ‘late loans’, loanwords from French and Latin are borrowed into English much earlier. ‘Early loans’ in the data are therefore only ‘early’ in contrast to later Chinese borrowings.

The study of Chinese loanwords or Chinese borrowings, as mentioned before, begins much later than the study of other aspects of English. Johnson’s dictionary (1755) notes some words of Chinese origin or words with reference to China, including *bohea* (‘a species of tea’), *mandarin* (‘a Chinese nobleman or magistrate’), *junk* (‘a small ship of China’), and *tutanag* (‘the Chinese name for spelter’), although the etymological information given by Johnson is quite arbitrary and not accurate by modern standards. It was not until the 20th century that an increasing number of publications began to mention Chinese borrowings in the English language, as listed in Table 4.1 (see also 2.2). Chinese-originated or Chinese-related words included in earlier books and dictionaries are very likely to be the most established Chinese loanwords, or at least the ones best-known to English speakers, such as *bohea*, *bonze*, *chop suey*, *silk*, *tea*, and *typhoon*. If Rosch’s prototype theory (1973), in which people categorize items based on a prototype representation of that category, is applied in lexical borrowing, most of the words listed should be at the very core of the ‘Chineseness’ rankings (a pale imitation of Aitchison’s ‘birdiness rankings’ [2003]); in other words, these loanwords, no matter of Chinese origin or merely with reference to China, are the most accepted and recognized Chinese borrowings in the English-speaking world, and are considered the most typical.

Table 4.1. Chinese borrowings in publications between 1750 and 2000

<i>A Dictionary of the English Language</i> (1755)	bohea, China, China-orange, China-root, ginseng, junk, mandarin, silk, tea, tutanag	10
<i>An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language</i> (1888)	bohea*, China, Chinese, junk, mandarin, nankeen / nankin, serge, silk, tea, typhoon	10
<i>An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, new edition revised and enlarged</i> (1910)	bohea, bonze, China, Chinese, cougou, galingale, hyson, junk, ketchup, mandarin, nankeen / nankin, pekoe, pikul, sampan, serge, silk, souchong, tael, tea, typhoon	20
<i>A History of Foreign Words in English</i> (1935)	bohea, bonze, chaa, chin-chin, congou, daimio, galingale, ginseng, gobang, hong, hyson, japan, kaolin, ketchup, kowtow/kotow, kylin, li, litchi, loquat, oolong, pekoe, pongee, samisen, shogun, silk, souchong, soy, sycee, tea, tong, tycoon, wampee, whanghee, yamun/yamen, yen	35

<i>Phrase and Word Origins: a study of familiar expressions</i> (1961)	China orange, chop-chop, chow, cumshaw, kowtow, kumquat, lose face, pay-dirt, yen	9
<i>The Origins and Development of the English Language</i> (1964)	bohea, catchup / ketchup, chop suey, chow, chow mein, ginseng, japan, judo, ju-jitsu, kowtow, kumquat, litchi, oolong, pekoe, pongee, silk, souchong, tea, tong, tycoon	20
<i>The Dictionary of Foreign Terms in the English language</i> (1973)	chia, fu, ginseng, haikwan, kowtow, lei, lohan, sampan, samshu	9
<i>The Harper Dictionary of Foreign Terms, 3rd ed</i> (1990)	à la chinoise, bêche-de-mer, cha, chop suey, chow, chow fan, chow mein, crêpe de Chine, cumshaw, dim sum, ding hao, gung ho, jiang, joss, kang, kan pei!, kiang / jiang, kowtow, kumshaw, kun, kung fu, mahjong, mao tai, sampan, sang-de-boeuf, tai chi chuan, tao, wan sui / wan sei, yamen / yamun	29
<i>Dictionary of word origins</i> (1995)	Japan, kaolin, ketchup, kowtow, silk, soy, tea, typhoon, yen	9
<i>From Old English to Standard English</i> (1998)	chop-suey, chow mein, dim sum, ginseng, gung ho, ketchup, kow-tow, mah jong, kumquat, lychee/litchi, pekoe, sampan, shih-tzu, souchong, wok, yang, yin	17

* *Bohea* is listed in the Addenda rather than in the main dictionary.

It should be noted that except for Johnson's dictionary, all books and dictionaries chosen here specifically focus on foreign words or word origins. As Table 4.1 shows, those publications normally include 10 to 20 Chinese borrowings, mostly in the form of loanwords. Many of them, such as *bohea*, *ginseng*, *kowtow*, *tea*, and *typhoon*, appear in more than one work and are thus regarded as the well-established Chinese loanwords by later works. Based on the wordlist in Table 4.1, several particular features that make early loans different from late loans are listed below:

- **Complicated etymologies and disputed origins**

Early Chinese loans are very likely to have disputed origin. For example, Johnson (1755) deduces that *silk* is from Saxon *seole*, while other scholars (e.g. Skeat 1888, Serjeantson 1935, Flavell and Flavell 1995) suggest that the word is probably borrowed through Latin and Greek, and ultimately from Chinese. Even the same book may hold divergent opinions on the origin of *silk*. In the 1st edition of *The Origins and Development of the English Language* (Pyles 1964), the author notes that '*Silk* may be ultimately from Chinese, although there is no known etymon in that language.' (p. 348); but in the 6th edition, the whole sentence is rephrased to '*Silk* fiber came from China, but the origin of the word *silk* is unknown.' (Pyles and Algeo 2005: 264). The *OED* suggests that *silk* is

supposed to be ultimately from ‘Latin *sēricus* or Greek *σηρικός* silken, < Latin *Sēres*, Greek *Σῆρες*, the oriental people (perhaps the Chinese) from whom silk was first obtained.’ If there were enough evidence to prove *silk*’s Chinese origin, the earliest Chinese loanword in English would not be *China*, but *silk* instead, whose first attestation in the *OED* is the Old English period (c888).

A similar divergence between different editions is evident from the well-known Chinese loanword *typhoon*, meaning ‘a violent storm.’ Skeat’s original edition of *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1888) puts ‘Chinese’ in brackets as *typhoon*’s etymology, while the revised and enlarged edition later in 1910 claims the word as Arabic and Greek, and also suggests that its Chinese origin seems to be ‘a late mystification, and unhistorical’ (p. 676).

Many of the words on the list, such as *China*, *dim sum*, *gung ho*, *ketchup*, *kowtow*, *mah-jong*, *yang*, and *yin*, overlap with those of the *OED*’s ‘default 260.’ Interestingly, *ginseng*, denoting the East Asian plant *Panax ginseng* or its root, was once a default group member but no longer belongs to the default group after *OED*’s 2017 update, and is now given a partial Latin and partial French origin. But still, its revised etymology involves Chinese influence on the variant forms of *ginseng*, and its meaning has an obvious Chinese reference. For loanwords with uncertain origins like *ginseng*, linguists or lexicographers may give their own judgement on such matters if no earlier attestation can be found. One practical approach is taken by Johnson, though not applicable in modern lexicography, simply writing ‘I suppose Chinese’ in the etymological section of *ginseng*.

Besides loanwords, other types of borrowing also contribute one or two instances to the early works: loan translations, such as *lose face*, meaning what the *OED* defines as ‘to be humiliated, to lose one’s credit, good name, or reputation’; words with ethnic tags, including *China-orange* and *China-root*. Here I also include the words with reference to China and words borrowed indirectly into English, according to the scope of ‘borrowing’ in this study: for example, from Japanese, *bonze*, *daimio*, *gobang*, *judo*, *ju-jitsu*, *samisen*, *shogun*, *soy*, *tycoon*, *yen* (‘unit of money’); from Malay, *ketchup*, *pikul*, *sampan*, *tael*; from French, *à la chinoise*, *bêche-de-mer*, *crêpe de Chine*, *sang-de-boeuf*. Some words have a more complicated etymology, with more than one indirect borrowing processes via several transmission languages: an extreme example is *galingale*, whose route into English may involve Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persian (Skeat 1910, Serjeantson 1935).

Pidgin terms like *cumshaw* and *joss* and anglicized Chinese words like *chop-chop*, *chop suey*, *chow*, *chow fan*, *chow mein*, *kowtow*, and *tong* can also be found in the publications listed. (For further discussions on indirect borrowing and pidgin words, see Chapters 5 and 6).

- **Attestation in a limited range of sources**

Almost all *OED* entries are attested by one or many quotations supplied with details including date, author, title, etc. The date of the first attestation that tops the quotation section is the earliest evidence that the *OED* editors can find, so is the first attestation available to researchers. Taking a closer look at the first quotations of the Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, many of them are found to share the same date. One major reason for this is the fact that early Chinese loans first appeared in a limited number of sources, so that evidence for those words were ultimately from the same sources (see the list below).

Table 4.2. A selective list of the sources and first attestation of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Sources	Examples
1655 Álvarez Semedo, <i>The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China</i>	chen shu, longan, lü
1669 Johan Nieuhof, John Ogilby (tr.), <i>An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China</i>	Shang, Tang
1671 Olfert Dapper, John Ogilby (tr.), <i>Atlas Chinensis</i>	yang, yin
1699 William Dampier, <i>Voyages and descriptions</i>	kumquat, chop-stick
1711 Charles Lockyer, <i>An account of the trade in India</i>	pongee, sycee, joss
1736 Jean-Baptiste du Halde, Richard Brookes (tr.), <i>The general history of China</i>	suan-pan, T'ai Chi, paitung, tao, Han, yellow goat, sexagenary cycle, Yin
1747 Thomas Astley (publisher), <i>A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels</i>	taotai, yamun
1790 <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i>	feng-shui, Qin, Qing, tan, mandarin duck, Chinese pavilion, Chinese pink
1804 John Barrow, <i>Travels in China</i>	kow-tow, the sticks of fate, imperial yellow
1824 <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i> (suppl.)	li shu
1834 Charles Gützlaff, <i>A sketch of Chinese history, ancient and modern</i>	Miao, Yao
1834 <i>Canton Register</i>	chop-chop, taipan
1834 <i>Chinese repository</i>	face
1839 <i>Chinese repository</i>	pipa, qin, san hsien, Tanka, yüeh ch'in, go [< Japanese]
1850 <i>Chinese repository</i>	yin-yang
1850 <i>Chinese repository</i>	Amoy, p'o, qi
1853 <i>North-China Herald</i>	Szechuanese Tai-ping, t'ing, yellow jacket
1868 Joseph Marryat, <i>A history of pottery & porcelain, mediæval & modern</i>	famille rose, famille verte

1874 Carl Engel, <i>A descriptive catalogue of the musical instruments in the South Kensington museum</i>	pan, se
1874 <i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	ti-tzu
1876 <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i>	k'ai shu, ts'ao shu
1886 <i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	sheng, tan
1886 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Chinese Porcelain</i>	flambé
1887 <i>Chinese Times</i>	shang, wen li
1888 Friedrich Hirth, <i>Ancient porcelain: a study in Chinese mediæval industry and trade</i>	blanc de Chine, Chün, Kuan, Yuan
1898 William Giuseppi Gulland, <i>Chinese porcelain</i>	famille noire
1899 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Oriental ceramic art</i>	hare's fur, tea-dust, tou
1901 William Cosmo Monkhouse, <i>A history and description of Chinese porcelain</i>	Ch'ien Lung, famille jaune, ho-ho, san ts'ai
1902 <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i>	Mien, Min
1902 William Giuseppi Gulland, <i>Chinese porcelain</i>	Yung Chêng
1904 Edward Dillon, <i>Porcelain</i>	Lung-ch'üan, reign mark, Ting-yao, wu ts'ai, Yi Hsing
1904 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Chinese art I</i>	ling chih, p'an, ting, tsung, yu
1906 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Chinese art II</i>	K'ang-His, fish-bowl, ink-sketch, onion green
1908 <i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	erh hu
1910 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Chinese art II</i>	Tz'u Chou
1910 Stephen Wootton Bushell, <i>Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain</i>	Yüeh
1915 Robert Lockhart Hobson, <i>Chinese pottery and porcelain</i>	mei ping, po shan lu, t'ao t'ieh
1922 Roger Edward Lindsell, <i>Ma-Cheuk or Mah-Jongg</i>	mah-jong (n.), punging, East wind, West wind
1922 Philip Naftaly, <i>How to play Ma Jong</i>	North wind, South wind
1923 Jean Bray, <i>How to play Mah Jong</i>	mah-jong (v.), tile
1923 Joseph Park Babcock, <i>Babcock's Rules for Mah-Jongg</i>	pung (n. & int.), pung (v.)
1936 Edgar Snow, <i>Living China: modern Chinese short stories</i>	wen-yen
1937 Edgar Snow, <i>Red Star over China</i>	Kiangsi, Latinxua, Long March
1941 Edgar Snow, <i>Scorched Earth</i>	tangpu
1945 Buwei Yang, Chao, <i>How to cook & eat in Chinese</i>	red-cooking, soy jam, stir-fry (n.), Szechuan, yuan hsiao
1948 Robert. W. Dana, <i>Where to eat in New York</i>	dim sum, won ton
1956 <i>Contemporary China 1955</i>	ganbu, Sanfan, Wufan
1958 William Willetts, <i>Chinese art</i>	li ting, ming chi, tsun, wên jên
1962 Edgar Snow, <i>The Other Side of the River</i>	Mao-tai, Suzie Wong, warlordism
1963 Buwei Yang, Chao, <i>How to cook & eat in Chinese</i> (rev. ed.)	potsticker

During the late 17th and early 18th century, Chinese loanwords were mostly contributed by English editions of Jesuit writings. For example, *chen shu*, *longan*, and *lû* all first appeared in the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Álvarez Semedo's *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China*, which was first published in Portuguese and was then translated into English in 1655. John Ogilby, a Scottish travel publisher, atlas maker and translator, translated Johan Nieuhof's *An Embassy from the East-India*

Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China (1669) and also Olfert Dapper's *Atlas Chinensis* (1671) (mentioned in Speake 2003: 883): the former recorded two dynasty names *Shang* and *Tang* and the latter included the two contrary philosophical concepts *yang* and *yin*.

Chinese loans were particularly common in particular types of writing in the early days. Travel literature contributed a few early Chinese loans, such as *kumquat* and *chop-stick* in *Voyages and descriptions* (1699), *pongee*, *sycee*, and *joss* in *An account of the trade in India* (1711), *suan-pan*, *T'ai Chi*, *paitung*, and *tao* in *The general history of China* (1736), and *taotai* and *yamun* in *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1747). Journalism is also a genre that frequently provides first evidence for early borrowings, such as *chop-chop*, *pipa*, *san hsien*, and *Tai-ping*. Especially during the period when westerners came into contact with the Chinese, a range of English-language newspapers were springing up in various treaty ports in China, including *The Chinese repository* (中国丛报, 1832-1851) and *The Canton Register* (广州纪录报, 1827-1843) in Canton, *The North-China Herald* (北华捷报, 1850-1941) in Shanghai, and *The Chinese Times* (中国时报, 1886-1891) in Tientsin (for further discussion on this period and pidgin expressions, see the Chapter 6).

In terms of a single source, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, one of the top 1000 sources in the *OED*, has contributed a number of Chinese loans, including dynasty names *Qin* and *Qing*, calligraphy terms *k'ai shu*, *ts'ao shu*, and *li shu*, ethnic groups *Mien* and *Min*, and so on. In a similar vein, experts in several fields can also be regarded as prolific sources of Chinese borrowings. For example, Stephen Wootton Bushell, a Chinese porcelain specialist in the 19th century, produced many significant books on Chinese art (and porcelain in particular), which first mentioned ceramic terms including *ling chih*, *p'an*, *ting*, *tsung*, *yu*, *K'ang-His*, *Tz'u Chou*, *fish-bowl*, *ink-sketch*, *onion green*, *tea-dust*, *tou*, and *hare's fur*. These specialist terminologies are well known by ceramists or porcelain lovers, but are not familiar to the general public. The American journalist Edgar Snow, who witnessed the Sino-Japanese War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China during the 20th century, recorded words like *Long March*, *tangpu*, *Latinxua*, *wen-yen*, *Mao-tai*, etc. in his famous books *Living China* (1936), *Red Star over China* (1937), *Scorched Earth* (1941), and *The Other Side of the River* (1962).

Later Chinese borrowings, except in very few cases, do not share the same attestation date

or same source very commonly. This is because contact between China and the West became more frequent and direct, so that more books, journals, and other types of written records were discussing various topics relevant to China. The *OED* editors therefore have a wider selection of quotation evidence for those late loans.

- **Limited semantic fields**

As shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, these ‘early’ and ‘established’ Chinese borrowings are encountered in certain domains: textiles, *nankeen*, *pongee*, *serge*, *silk*, *sycee*; plants and fruits, *galingale*, *ginseng*, *kumquat*, *litchi*, *loquat*, *wampee*, *whanghee*; tea, *bohea*, *chaa*, *congou*, *hyson*, *oolong*, *pekoe*, *souchong*, and *tea* itself; food, *chop suey*, *chow mein*, *dim sum*, *ketchup*, and *won ton*; ceramics, *famille rose*, *san t'sai*, *reign mark*, *Yi Hsing*, and *po shan lu*. These fields are widely accepted as ones that show Chinese characteristics or Chineseness.

In addition, it seems that the semantic fields that characterize particular Chinese loanwords (and sometimes other types of borrowing) are to some extent associated with the period of first attestation as recorded in the *OED*. For instance, most mah-jong terms included in the *OED* are first attested in the English-speaking world between 1922 and 1923, mainly found in publications about mah-jong, including the word *mah-jong* itself, patterns that represent winds from certain directions *East wind*, *West wind*, *South wind*, *North wind*, and both the noun and verb forms of *pung* as well as its compound *punging*. Similarly, Chinese musical instruments such as *pan*, *se*, *ti-tzu*, *sheng*, *tan*, and *erh hu* are first attested in the late 19th and the early 20th century. Also, a majority of ceramic terms have reached English at the turn of the 20th century, including *ho-ho*, *san ts'ai*, *Chün*, *Kuan*, *Yuan*, *ling chih*, *p'an*, *ting*, *tsung*, *yu*, *K'ang-His*, *Yung Chêng*, *Ch'ien Lung*, *Tz'u Chou*, *Yüeh*, *tou*, *Lung-ch'üan*, *Ting-yao*, *wu ts'ai*, *Yi Hsing*, *mei ping*, *po shan lu*, *t'ao t'ieh*, those through French *famille jaune*, *famille rose*, *famille verte*, *famille noire*, *blanc de Chine*, *flambé*, and non-loanword borrowings *fish-bowl*, *ink-sketch*, *onion green*, *tea-dust*, *hare's fur*, *reign mark*, to name but a few. One hypothesis is that *OED* editors use a range of specialist sources which contribute the terminology in specific fields, such as *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1908) for music and opera, *A history and description of Chinese porcelain* (1901) for ceramics, and *How to cook & eat in Chinese* (1945, 1963) for food, and the like. For this reason, authors who specialize in certain fields and know China well are more likely to contribute words to the *OED*. Examples include Stephen Wootton Bushell and Edgar Snow, as mentioned

above. As well as this, the semantic fields to which early loans belong may also reflect the interests of the time when these words were added to the dictionary. For instance, if a word was added to the First Edition of the *OED*, published in 1928, then it may be a reflection of Victorian and Edwardian tastes and trends, when there was a fad for Chinese textiles, ceramics, and other Chinese arts and crafts.

Later loans may illustrate a wider diversity of semantic fields, but the aforementioned fields are still the mainstay among all. Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 will discuss the semantic fields to which Chinese borrowings relate, including but not limited to the ones mentioned above, with more examples and case studies.

4.1.2 From early loans to late loans

By definition, the idea of ‘early’ Chinese loans is a relative concept; thus, late loans from Chinese could be more accurately called ‘recent loans.’ There is no clear dividing line between early loans and late loans. Probably one significant distinction between the two is their transcription. In the etymologies of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, two linguistic terms are used very frequently: *Wade-Giles* and *Pinyin*. These are the two romanization systems most recognizably used in China and thus are the most accepted ones to latinize Chinese loanwords in the English language.

Wade-Giles was based on the romanization system in Thomas Wade 1867’s work, *Yü-yen Tzŭ-erh Chi* (语言自迩集, lit. ‘language beginner’s collection’), a coursebook on Beijing dialect. It was later amended by Herbert Giles in his *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (1892). Wade-Giles was replaced by the Pinyin system in 1958 but it was a gradual process. There are a dozen of Chinese loans in the *OED* still using the Wade-Giles version as their headword, including *ko*, *mien* ‘noodle’, *Nei kuan*, *nien hao*, *tao* (also *Taoism* and *Taoist*), *tou ts'ai*, *tsung*, *Tz'u Chou*, *wên jên*, *yuan hsiao*, and the like.

Today’s Chinese speakers may find it hard to use or understand the Wade-Giles system, especially because of its use of diacritics (as in *lei wên*), apostrophes (as in *k'ai shu*), and hyphens (as in *shih-tzu*). Besides, Wade-Giles and Pinyin systems differ in several consonants and vowels. For example, in the Wade-Giles system the stop consonant *p* with apostrophe (*p'*) is aspirated while the bare *p* is not. As a result, words with the initial *b* in Pinyin are transcribed as *p* in Wade-Giles, such as *pai-hua* (Pinyin transcription *baihua*), *paitung* (*baitong*), *pao-chia* (*baojia*), *pi* (*bi*), and *po shan lu* (*bo shan lu*).

Pinyin, or more fully Hanyu Pinyin (汉语拼音, lit. ‘Han language spelled sounds’), was developed by Zhou Youguang and several other linguists, and was officially approved by the central government to be the standard romanization system in 1958.²² It later became an ISO (International Organization for Standardization) standard in 1982. The Wade-Giles system was still influential because it was so established, however, and Pinyin did not become the ‘standard’ romanization system for loanwords till the end of the 20th century. Late loans, especially those added to the *OED3* after 2000 (the year when the *OED* became digitized), are more likely to use Pinyin forms as their headwords, such as *guanxi*, *hongbao*, *qigong*, and *qipao*. On the other hand, several earlier borrowed words in the *OED2* change their headword forms from Wade-Giles to Pinyin versions, and some examples are listed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Chinese loanwords that shift from Wade-Giles to Pinyin spellings in the *OED*

<i>OED2</i>		<i>OED3</i>
Honan	→	Henan
pao-tzu	→	baozi
mei p'ing	→	mei ping
So-na	→	suona
Sung	→	Song

Nevertheless, Pinyin has not completely replaced Wade-Giles, since there are still a few Chinese loanwords using Wade-Giles-spelled headwords in the *OED*. There are several possible reasons: firstly, since the *OED* is an ongoing project, those entries that have not been updated are kept as they were in the *OED2*. Secondly, the choice of spelling, as in any non-obsolete entry in the *OED*, is based on frequency; *OED* editors do not change headwords from Wade-Giles to Pinyin transcriptions as a matter of course, but only when a Pinyin form becomes the more usual spelling in English. In the case of *baozi* / *pao-tzu* (< 包子, ‘a Chinese steamed bread roll’), for instance, the change to the new Romanization system has made *baozi* a more frequent spelling than *pao-tzu*; meanwhile, the dictionary still records the Wade-Giles spelling *pao-tzu* and other spellings in the variant forms, and acknowledges the old transcription in the etymology. Another example is *tao* (< 道, ‘way [of life]’), whose Pinyin form should be *dao*. The first attestation of *tao* (1704) was even earlier than the Wade-Giles system was created, but the form is the

²² Zhou Youguang (1906 – 2017) is known as ‘the Father of Pinyin.’

same as in Wade-Giles. The form *tao* passed on over three centuries and has also created derivatives like *Taoism* and *Taoist*. It is hardly likely to change all *tao*'s in existing publications as well as in people's cognition. Besides, the Pinyin system was adopted as the official standard in mainland China in 1958 whereas it was approved in Taiwan in 2009.²³ Most place names and personal names in Taiwan are still transcribed in Wade-Giles spelling, including *Taipei*, *Kaohsiung*, *Hsinchu*, *Chiang Ching-kuo*, *Chou Chieh-lun*, *Hsieh Su-wei*, and such like.

Besides the differences between Wade-Giles and Pinyin systems mentioned above, another significant distinction is the way they denote tones in Chinese Mandarin. The former adds superscript numbers after syllables while the latter uses four diacritics to indicate four tones, as mentioned in Chapter 1. In the forms of the Chinese loanwords in English, all the tone indicators, no matter in which system, are removed. The removal of Mandarin tones is a double-edged sword: on the positive side, the Chinese loanwords look more naturalized in the English language, but on the negative side, English speakers have no idea how to pronounce these Chinese loans properly, or at least in a Chinese way, while Chinese speakers are confused about the homophones written without tones.

Romanization systems of Mandarin other than Wade-Giles and Pinyin, though less influential, still give us some hints of early attempts to latinize Chinese and their contributions to bringing Chinese language and Chinese culture to the West. For example, the Scottish sinologist James Legge translated several classic Chinese books and texts in a six-volume series called *The Sacred Books of China* (1879-1891). In his translation, Legge used his own romanization to transcribe Chinese religious and philosophical terms such as *Yi King* (= *I Ching*, 'an ancient Chinese divination manual'), *lî* (= *li*, 'rite'), and *tâo* (= *tao*, 'way [of life]'). However, Legge's romanization and other systems was supplanted by Wade-Giles and later Pinyin. In a similar vein, the Hong Kong Government romanization, Cantonese Pinyin, and Jyutping are the current Cantonese romanization schemes, which are thought to improve upon a variety of previous ones. Table 4.4 lists a selection of Mandarin and Cantonese romanization systems developed in different periods. Though these systems are different from each other, they all have historical significance and are employed for different purposes. (For further discussion on Cantonese romanization systems, see Cheng and Tang 2016).

²³ Between 2002 and 2008, the official romanization system of Mandarin in Taiwan is Tongyong Pinyin (通用拼音, lit. 'general use spelled sounds').

Table 4.4. List of Mandarin and Cantonese romanization systems

Mandarin romanization systems		Cantonese romanization systems	
1879	Legge romanization (James Legge)	1888	Standard Romanization (John Chalmers)
1892	Wade-Giles (Thomas Wade & Herbert Giles)	1935	Meyer-Wempe romanization (Bernard Meyer & Theodore Wempe)
1925	Gwoyeu Romatzyh (Lin Yutang & Yuen Ren Chao)	1941	S. L. Wong romanization (Wong Shik-Ling)
1931	Latinxua Sin Wenz (Qu Qiubai et al.)	1958	Yale romanization (Parker Po-fei Huang & Gerard Kok)
1943	Yale romanization (George Kennedy)	1960	Guangdong romanization / Canton romanization (Rao Bingcai et al.)
1958	Hanyu Pinyin (Zhou Youguang et al.)	1971	Government romanization (Hong Kong Government)
2002	Tongyong Pinyin (Yu Bor-chuan)	1971	Cantonese Pinyin (Yu Ping Chiu)
		1972	Sidney Lau romanization (Sidney Lau)
		1993	Jyutping / LSHK Romanization (Linguistic Society of Hong Kong)

4.1.3 Proper names

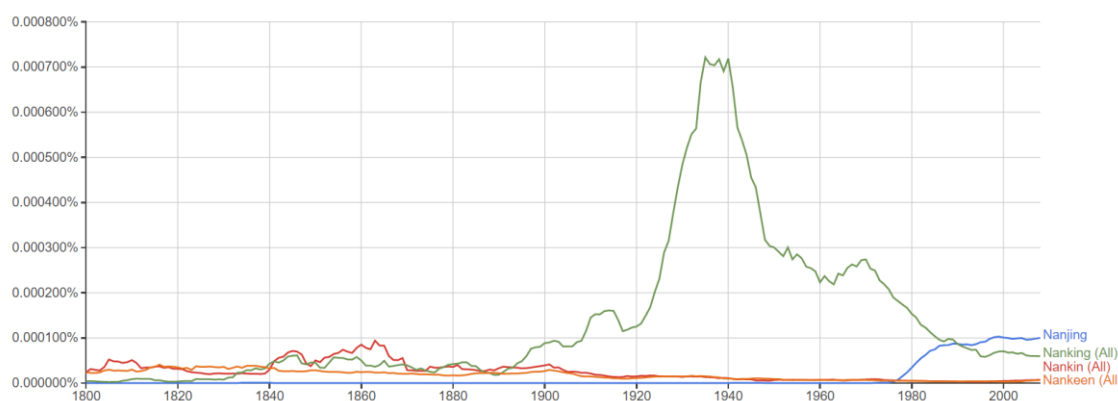
Section 4.1.2 mentions Pinyin's partial replacement for Wade-Giles with a few examples of changing headwords in the *OED* (see Table 4.3). In addition, Pinyin also makes a tremendous impact upon spelling Chinese place names, such as *Beijing*, *Shanghai*, and *Guangzhou*. But still, several formerly-used forms like *Peking* and *Canton* can be found in the lexis of English. Thanks to a romanization system called 'postal romanization' (邮政式拼音), foreigners living in China by the end of 19th century were no longer suffering from various spellings of cities and counties of China. Thomas Wade and Herbert Giles, who developed the Wade-Giles romanization system, also contributed to postal romanization (for the full story of postal romanization, see Harris 2009). As a result, postal style spellings are very close to Wade-Giles forms, such as *Honan*, *Fukien*, *Kiangsu*, and *Szechuan*. But unlike Wade-Giles, postal romanization drops all diacritics and hyphens.

In 1964, postal romanization was officially abolished by the central government. But the system was still in common use till the 1980s, when Pinyin gained popular acceptance. Since then, Chinese place names have been spelt in Pinyin on most occasions, for example, 'Beijing Olympic Games', rather than 'Peking Olympic Games.' By contrast, many other expressions featuring place names that are already established in the language retained their earlier forms. Peking duck, one of the most well-known national dishes, is rarely called 'Beijing duck.' The ethnic tag 'Peking' is also applied to fabrics, as in *Peking carpet*, *Peking crepe*, *Peking Labrador*, *Peking point*, *Peking rug*, and *Peking stripe* (for more

use of place names to denote objects, see 5.2). Some universities with a long history also keep the traditional spelling as their intangible heritage, such as Peking University and Tsinghua University, though the latter is not named after a place.

One example which shows the variation that has resulted from changes in transcription systems is presented by *Nanjing* (南京, lit. ‘southern capital’), an ancient capital of the imperial China. Figure 4.1 shows the use of variant forms in the English-speaking world over the last three centuries. The Ngram figure and later ones are obtained from Google Books Ngram Viewer, demonstrating how words and phrases have occurred in the Google corpus over a selected period.²⁴ As mentioned before, the frequency score of *OED* entries are also calculated by using frequency data derived from Google Books Ngram data.²⁵ *Nankin* was attested in the late 17th century, and *Nanking* was commonly used from the 19th century until the general acceptance of the Pinyin form *Nanjing*. The less common form *Nankeen* also came into use since the 17th century. The *OED* suggests that its suffix *-een* is probably derived from Latin through French as in *canteen*, *bombazeen*, *velveteen*, and *sateen*, while the last three are all related to fabrics. Thus, *nankeen* is generically used to denote a kind of fabric or objects relating to fabric (see also 5.2).

Figure 4.1. Ngram of *Nanjing* variants



Like place names, personal names also reflect cultural significance and linguistic change. Early philosophers like Confucius and Mencius maintain their old spellings so as to follow tradition and avoid confusion. However, since the 1990s the Pinyin form *Lao Zi* or *Laozi* has overtaken *Lao-tzu*, which was transcribed by the Wade-Giles system. In comparison, *Sun Tzu*, also a Wade-Giles transcription, is still the more common spelling,

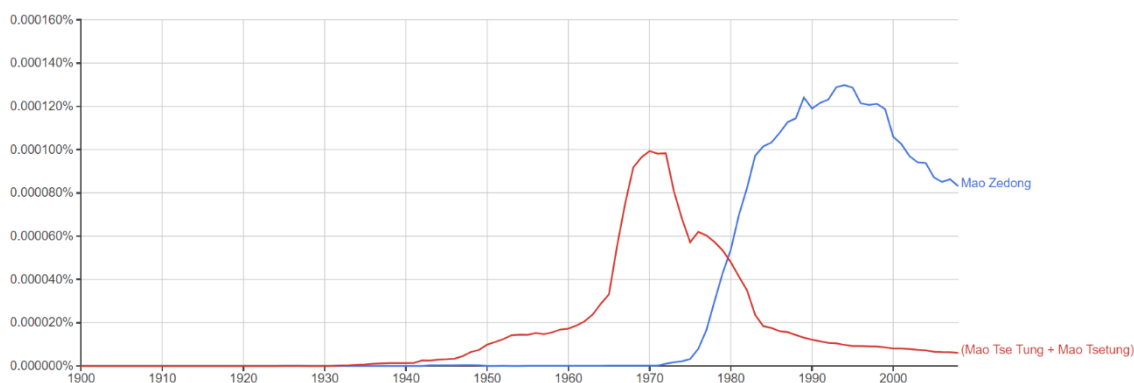
²⁴ Available at <https://books.google.com/ngrams/>.

²⁵ See <https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/>; see also 3.1.5.

rather than *Sun Zi* or his original name *Sun Wu*.

Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Republic of China, is more commonly called by his art name *Sun Yat-sen* (孙逸仙) in the English-speaking world, while his most popular name in Chinese is *Sun Zhongshan* (孙中山). Sun Yat-sen University, apparently named after Sun Yat-sen, has kept this western name since its establishment, though the school's Chinese name literally refers to Zhongshan University (中山大学). In fact, the majority of Chinese people in Modern China now use Pinyin to transcribe their names in most written records, including names which have well-known Wade-Giles forms in the West. The transcription of Chairman Mao's name illustrates this well. As Figure 4.2 shows, the Wade-Giles forms were predominant prior to the general acceptance of the Pinyin system. Since the 1980s, the Pinyin spelling *Mao Zedong* overtook other variants such as *Mao Tse Tung*, and now almost nobody uses the Wade-Giles forms.

Figure 4.2. Ngram of *Mao Zedong* variants



Except for place names and personal names, Chinese dynasty names also provide a historically grounded sketch of Chinese culture. Over twenty dynasties and hundreds of emperors left their marks on the history of the country, but not all of them are equally well-known to English speakers. The first dynasty of Imperial China, the Qin dynasty (221 – 206 BC), whose Wade-Giles transcription is *Ch'in*, is believed to be one possible etymological ancestor of the country's name *China* (Keay 2009). Han (206 BC – 220 AD) and Tang (618 – 907) are the most famous dynasties of Imperial China, since the Chinese language is also called *Hanyu* (汉语) and the biggest ethnic group in China is named after Han, whereas the Chinatowns in different cities are known as 'street of Tang people' (唐人街) and one of the symbolic cloth in China is *tangzhuang* (唐装, lit. 'Tang costume').

The *OED*'s policy on proper names is quite strict so that only those have generic use can be included in the dictionary. As a result, a number of Chinese proper names denoting Chinese-specific objects can be found in the fields like **Tea, Textiles and Clothing**, and **Ceramics**. (For further discussion on these fields, see Chapters 7 and 8).

4.2 Loan translations

Loan translations (or calques), as the name suggests, are words or phrases that translate an original expression from one language into the recipient language. As discussed in 3.1.1, there is no consensus in the literature whether loan translations should be regarded as borrowings. The treatment of loan translations in the *OED* is not on equal terms with that of loanwords. Most of the loan translations derived from Chinese are lodged in the entry of another headword, causing greater difficulty in identifying them as Chinese borrowings. But still, a few exceptions can be found, including *brainwash*, *paper tiger*, *potsticker*, and *snakehead*, which have either been added recently to the *OED3* or upgraded to headwords with their own entries in recent revision. Most of the examples given in this section, though not among the 'default 260', are in fact included in the *OED*.

Loan translations aptly illustrate the reproduction of Chinese expressions by using 'the corresponding word forms' (Durkin 2009: 135) in the recipient language, in this case English. As a matter of course, translation is an indispensable approach in the process of borrowing so-called 'loan translations.' Following the terminology in translation studies, the distinction between 'literal' and 'loose' translations also applies to the studies of lexical borrowing. In many cases, loan translations are too literal and open to misinterpretation, though some native expressions may have the same kind of interpretive difficulties: is *mooncake* a cake on the moon; is *spring roll* a roll eaten in spring; is *lion dance* a dance performed by real lions? For English speakers, these word-for-word translated expressions may sound ungrammatical or even nonsensical. Perhaps more transparent forms for the abovementioned examples would be *moon-shaped cake*, *Spring Festival roll*, and *dance in lion costumes*, but none of these are in common use because the literally translated loans are so established in English and are in the same forms as they first appeared in the English-speaking world.

In the process of producing loan translations, the original forms in the donor language, including the sound, are lost; what is more, the figurative senses (if any) are missing as well. It is hard to know whether a particular original form is a metaphor in Chinese

contexts or not by simply looking at the translated text and its literal meaning. For example, *iron rice bowl* (< 铁饭碗 *tiefanwan*) refers to a secure lifetime job that can make a good living; *lily feet* or *golden lilies* (< 金莲 *jinlian*) are figurative descriptions of the bound feet of Chinese women in the past; *paper tiger* (< 纸老虎 *zhilaohu*) and *running dog* (< 走狗 *zougou*), two common expressions in the phraseology of the Communists, are actually used to address a reactionary and a lackey of a foreign power respectively. Obviously, the figurative senses of these loan translations require English speakers have some knowledge of both the target language (English) and the source language (Chinese).

By contrast, several Chinese loan translations make some degree of adaptations to the English language, such as *Gang of Four* (< 四人帮 *sirenbang*, lit. ‘four people gang’), *Son of Heaven* (< 天子 *tianzi*, lit. ‘heaven/sky son’), *reform through labour* (< 劳动改造 *laodong gaizao*, lit. ‘labour reform’), *walking on two legs* (< 两条腿走路 *liangtiaotui zoulu*, lit. ‘two pieces legs walk’), and *lean to one side* (< 一边倒 *yibiandao*, lit. ‘one side lean/slope’). These loan translation phrases, based on Chinese lexical units, accommodate to the English syntax (e.g. adding a preposition, deleting the Chinese classifier, and changing the word order) and thus it is easier for English speakers to understand or at least guess their meanings. *Brainwash*, ‘to force someone to accept a new belief’ as a verb or ‘a means of brainwashing’ as a noun, is different from its Chinese word order *xinao* (洗脑, lit. ‘wash brain’). A possible assumption about why we now have *brainwash* (attested to 1950 in the *OED*) rather than *washbrain* in English is that the word is formed in some way analogous to *eyewash* (1703), *mouthwash* (1840), *handwash* (1846), *hairwash* (1869), and many more.

In the process of translation and later borrowing, there may be more than one ‘corresponding’ word in the target language. In other words, there are many synonyms in English. As a result, several almost identical loan translations can be found in the English lexicon: *firepot* / *hotpot* (< 火锅 *huoguo*, ‘fire pot’), *Silk Road* / *Silk Route* (< 丝绸之路 *sichou zhilu*, ‘silk’s road’), *bubble tea* / *boba tea* / *pearl milk tea* (< 珍珠奶茶 *zhenzhu naicha*, lit. ‘pearl milk tea’; also called *boba naicha* [波霸奶茶] in Taiwan, lit. ‘boba milk tea’), *Middle Empire* / *Middle Kingdom* (< 中国 *zhongguo*, lit. ‘central country/nation’), and *Flowery Empire* / *Flowery Kingdom* / *Flowery Land* / *Flowery*

Nation (< 中华 *zhonghua*, lit. ‘central flower’). As can be seen in these duplicated forms, some are more literal (e.g. *firepot*, *Silk Road*, *pearl milk tea*) while others are not exact equivalents for the Chinese expressions (e.g. *hotpot*, *Silk Route*, *bubble tea*). In addition, some forms are more established in English than the others, such as *hotpot*, *Silk Road*, and *bubble tea*.

4.3 Semantic loans

J. Yang (2009: 91) claims that Chinese borrowings are of only two types: loanwords and loan translations, but he omits a third category, semantic loans. Semantic loans (sometimes called *loan shifts* and *semantic calques*), borrow a meaning from the source language to extend the meaning of a word which is already established in the target language. Like loan translations, semantic loans also use existing English words to represent Chinese items or concepts, but unlike loan translations, the process of creating semantic loans does not involve reproducing or remodelling English words and morphemes. Loan translations can be formed by combining morphemes (e.g. *splittism*), by compounding (e.g. *bubble tea*, *mooncake*), or by grouping words into phrase (e.g. *Gang of Four*, *reform through labour*), while semantic loans are mostly found at the word level with very few exceptions.

Semantic loans that acquire an additional Chinese meaning are more likely to be found in certain fields where concepts are difficult to convey: for example, in traditional Chinese religion and philosophy, *element*, *geomancy*, *hexagram*, *sexagenary*, *sign*, *trigram*, and *zodiac*, representing abstract concepts or ancient symbols; in linguistics, *phonetic*, *primitive*, *radical*, and *signific*, which are all related to Chinese characters or components; in the mah-jong game, *tile* (‘a thin flat piece used in the game’), *wall* (‘the arrangement of tiles’), and *wash* (‘to shuffle the tiles’). Another four mah-jong terms, *East wind*, *West wind*, *South wind*, and *North wind*, are also good examples of semantic loans. Originally, each of them referred to a wind blowing from the certain direction. After the mah-jong game became familiar to westerners, these expressions were used with the new meanings, i.e. ‘any one of the four tiles representing this wind.’ It should be noted that *East wind* and the three other winds are loan translations as well, since their ‘real wind’ senses existed as early as Old English and until the 20th century their ‘mah-jong wind’ sense became known in the English-speaking world. They might be treated as both semantic loans and loan translations, showing that the dividing line between these categories of lexical borrowing is not always clear. Probably an intermediate type ‘semantic loan

translation’ can bridge the gap.

It is possible to make a hypothesis herein that some semantic loans may be developed from loan translations or vice versa. Take the ‘wind’ with reference to mah-jong game as an example again: the *OED* entry *wind* has a sense representing ‘any of the four compass-positions about the wall of tiles’, which probably takes the meaning from the four ‘winds’ mentioned above. Interestingly, these wind-related terms and also the single word *wind* are all attested first with the relevant senses in 1922, though in different sources (see also 4.1.1). There is no evidence to confirm whether the mah-jong-related sense of *wind* appeared in the English vocabulary first, or *East wind* after Chinese *dongfeng* (东风, lit. ‘east wind’) appeared first, unless an earlier attestation can be found. In a similar vein, the senses of ‘designating a certain class of accommodation available on the train’ under the entries *hard* and *soft* are respectively loan translations of *hard seat* (< 硬座 *yingzuo*) and *soft seat* (< 软座 *ruanzuo*) in a Chinese context. The same rule applies to *year* with reference to Chinese zodiac. *Year* is frequently used in expressions like *Year of the X* or *X year* (*X* is one of the twelve animals in the Chinese zodiac, called a *sign*, another example of semantic loan), and earns itself a new sense ‘any of the twelve years of the zodiac cycle.’ All these examples show that each element in a loan translation has enormous potential as a semantic loan.

4.4 Loan-blends

Loan-blends are sometimes regarded as an intermediate type between loanwords and loan translations (Durkin 2009:138) or partial loan translations (Furiassi et al. 2012: 9). As the name suggests, loan-blends are formed by blending morphemes from both the donor language and the recipient language together. A classic example is *taikonaut*, which is a blend of Chinese *tai kong* (太空, lit. ‘outer space’) and English *astronaut*. Another possible etymology of *taikonaut* is that it is formed by compounding *tai kong* with the combining form *-naut* (< ancient Greek ναύτης ‘sailor’), as in *astronaut*, *aeronaut*, *oceanaut*, and *cosmonaut*. Loan-blends normally involve clipping, for example the *g* in *tai kong* is clipped in the process of blending. But here I use the term *loan-blend* in a less strict way, covering compounds and derivatives developed from loanwords as well.

All compounds and derivatives containing a Chinese element are treated as loan-blends

in this study. An example of derivation is *Confucian*, which is derived from *Confucius* (the Latinized name of a Chinese philosopher) accompanied by the English suffix *-an*. The fields of **People** and **Language** have a large number of loan-blends, formed by adding *-ese* to a Chinese place name, such as *Shanghainese*, *Cantonese*, *Pekingese*, *Szechuanese*, and *Chinese* itself (see also Chapter 7). In comparison, compounding a loan-blend is even more productive. Cannon (1987) suggests that *Japanese* and *tea* are the most productive among all Chinese borrowings, although whether the word *Japanese* is a Chinese borrowing is still questionable. In the *OED* entry for *tea*, nearly 200 compounds are listed, including *tea-bag*, *tea ceremony*, *tea-time*, etc. Many more regional compounds can be found in other dictionaries, such as *Macquarie Dictionary (MD)* for Australian English, and *Canadian Oxford Dictionary (COD)* for Canadian English (see also 8.3). *Tea*'s productivity is even comparable 'to some high-frequency Latin roots' (Cannon 1987: 204). The high productivity of *tea* well illustrates that Chinese borrowings can be well integrated into the English language and fully accepted by the English speakers. However, how to treat these loan-blends is problematic. Firstly, since *tea* is a very established loanword in English, many English speakers may not regard *tea* as a Chinese borrowing, so may not regard *tea* compounds as loan-blends. Secondly, many *tea* compounds were coined after the tea drink became famous in the English-speaking world, and thus are not associated with any Chinese meaning; for example, *tea-party*, *tea room*, and *afternoon tea* are apparently western creations. Thirdly, in the cases of many Chinese-related compounds and derivatives, it is hard to make deductions about whether they are indeed loan-blends or loan translations. For example, *milk tea*, a drink originating in southern parts of China, may be the result of either a combination of Chinese borrowing *tea* and the modifier *milk* indicating that the drink is made with milk and tea, or a translation from Chinese *naicha* (奶茶, lit. 'milk tea').

Several loan-blends are coined by analogy with existing and somewhat related words in English. As an example, *Cantopop*, 'Cantonese pop music', is probably after *Britpop* (British pop music) as suggested in its *OED* etymology section, as are *Mandopop* and *Minnan pop* (also known as *Hokkien pop* and *Tai-pop*). Actually, blending *pop* (representing popular music) to the shortening or initial of a place name is a common way of naming a music genre nowadays, especially in Asia, where examples include *C-pop* (Chinese pop music), *J-pop* (Japanese pop music), *K-pop* (Korean pop music), *T-pop* (Thai pop music), and *V-pop* (Vietnamese pop music). In a very different field, *Mamenchisaurus*, a Chinese genus of dinosaur whose fossil was first discovered in

Mamingxi of Sichuan province, is formed by combining Chinese *Mamenchi* (in fact a corruption of *Mamingxi*) and Latin *-saurus* (a combining form to coin words relating to dinosaurs). In this case, *Mamenchisaurus* is not simply formed by analogy with other dinosaurs like *Plesiosaurus*, *Megalosaurus*, *Supersaurus*, etc., but also follows the tradition of naming species in the fields of flora and fauna, where Latin is the dominant language.

Loan-blends are frequently used in the field of **Food and Drink** as well. One can always find many fascinating examples on the menus of Chinese restaurants overseas, such as *egg fu yung*, *hoisin sauce*, *kung pao chicken*, *Peking duck*, *prawn siu mai*, *won ton soup*, *young hyson*, to name but a few. After all, **Food and Drink** is a very fruitful field for Chinese borrowings (see also Chapter 7). From the above-listed as well as unlisted food names, it can be seen that loan-blends on the menu are often explicit about the principal ingredients of the dishes, so that eaters, especially vegetarians or allergy sufferers, know for certain what they are eating: egg, chicken, beef, pork, seafood, sauce, soup, noodle, and so on. By contrast, those very specific Chinese food items keep their native quality, such as *fu yung*, *hoisin*, *siu mai*, *won ton*, and *hyson*, either because they are difficult to translate, or because their Chinese characteristics, especially the sounds, can be preserved.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has been concerned with the four types of lexical borrowing from Chinese. These types have different degree of accommodation to the English morphological system: loanwords attempt to preserve most of their Chinese sounds, through transcription systems such as Wade-Giles, Pinyin, and Postal systems; loan translations and semantic loans use purely English elements, formed by reproduction of Chinese lexical items or semantic extension; loan-blends are a mixture of Chinese and English elements, and thus are regarded as an intermediate type between loanwords and loan translations.

Most of the *OED*'s 260 'default' Chinese borrowings mentioned in Chapter 3 belong to the 'loanword' type, which is mainly due to the algorithm used by the *OED* search function: they only include those entries where Chinese is the etymon, not those where a Chinese word is just the model of coinage, so that other types of borrowing are left out, even if their Chinese origin may be mentioned in the etymology section. This also suggests that loanwords are still the most accepted and recognized forms of borrowing in the English-speaking world than any other type of lexical borrowing, not to mention other

kinds of Chinese influence on the English lexicon. However, the examples in this chapter show the surprisingly high productivity of loan translations and loan-blends, especially in particular Chinese-specific fields. The next chapter will deal with two rather implicit kinds of Chinese influence, which also contribute numerous interesting examples to this study.

Chapter 5

Implicit influence: Indirect borrowings and ethnic tags

This chapter focuses on two types of Chinese contributions that have fairly implicit influence on the English lexicon. Indirect borrowings reach English through more than one language. The borrowings ultimately from Chinese considered here come to the English-speaking world via other transmission languages due to different historical and cultural factors. Particular attention is given to Chinese borrowings via Japanese, given the status of Chinese characters in the Japanese writing system and the great impact of Chinese culture in the Sinosphere. Expressions with ethnic tags, on the other hand, make references to China by attaching relevant epithets to their names. However, many of these China-related expressions convey a negative meaning, which to some extent reflects westerners' stereotyped attitudes towards China. These two types of Chinese influence on English, namely indirect borrowings and ethnic tags, are normally not considered as Chinese borrowings, and the contribution of Chinese is often unrecognized or ignored in these words or phrases. The central theme of this chapter is the role that Chinese plays in the borrowing process; it also explores how cultural influence from China extends as far as the English lexicon.

5.1 Indirect borrowing

The oft-studied distinction between direct and indirect borrowing is differently interpreted by linguists. Direct borrowings from Chinese to English take shape in several different forms, including loanwords, loan translations, loan-blends and semantic loans, which have been discussed in the previous chapter. Some scholars (e.g. Furiassi et al. 2012) put loan translations and semantic loans in the category of indirect borrowing because the coinages are reproduced in the target language (in this case English) and thus are made up of English elements. In this thesis, however, the term *indirect borrowing* refers to a transmission process (or its lexical product) in which more than two languages play a part. In other words, the borrowings are passed through one or more transmission languages in addition to the source language (Chinese) and the target language (English).

5.1.1 Indirect borrowings in the OED

Borrowings, no matter direct or indirect, undoubtedly enrich the English lexicon. Lexicographers, however, normally attribute indirect borrowings to the transmission language, alternately called the intermediate, intermediary, or mediating language. If

more than one transmission language is involved, the origin of the borrowed word is ascribed to the final ring in the chain of the borrowing process. Table 5.1 below demonstrates the distribution of indirect borrowings found in the *OED* which are ultimately from Chinese. However, some previous studies exclude these indirect loans from Chinese borrowings.

Table 5.1. Indirect borrowings in the *OED*

Transmission language	No. of entries	Examples
Japanese	200+	<i>emoji, go, kanji, kimono, plum rains, ramen, tofu</i>
French	21	<i>famille noire, galangal, kaolin, radical, sexagenary cycle</i>
Latin	15	<i>acupuncture, Analects, Mamenchisaurus, superintendency</i>
French/Latin	14	<i>ginseng, legist, prefect, prefecture, rectification</i>
Malay	14	<i>candareen, kopitiam, popiah, sinseh, totok</i>
Portuguese	6	<i>joss, kittisol, lorcha, macao, mandarin, tiresol</i>
Russian	6	<i>Central Committee, Labour Day, labour hero, Red Army</i>
Korean	5	<i>gochujang, hapkido, ontol, onmun, soju</i>
Vietnamese	5	<i>dong, gaydiang, hao, Nung, pho</i>
Greek	4	<i>hexagram, iconomatic, parathesis, trigram</i>
Dutch	2	<i>kraak porselein, soya</i>
Other	25	<i>ginkgo, mace, ri, silk, tea</i>

Among all transmission languages, Japanese stands out due to its profound cultural and language contact with Chinese. Chinese contact with Japan can be traced back to the imperial era, especially in Sui and Tang dynasties, when Japanese embassies came to China on a mission to import Chinese culture and technology into Japan (for further discussion on Sino-Japanese contact, see 5.1.2). Chinese characters were also brought back to Japan, called *kanji* in Japanese. The *OED* includes 533 ‘default’ Japanese borrowings (retrieved via a similar approach to the ‘default’ Chinese borrowings mentioned in Chapter 3): 144 of them give explicit references to Chinese in the etymology, such as *emoji* (< 絵文字, ‘picture character’), *go* (< 碁, ‘chess’), and *ramen* (< 拉麵, ‘pull noodle’). However, many entries, especially those have not yet been fully updated, do not mention Chinese origins. As an example, *kimono* is written as 着物 (‘wear object’) in Japanese kanji (i.e. Chinese characters); thus, only those who have knowledge of Chinese, Japanese, and English can notice the Chinese contribution to the Japanese loanword’s etymology. In addition, some loan translations modelled on Japanese expressions but ultimately from Chinese elements are also found, including *martial art* (< 武芸 *buhei*), *plum rains* (< 梅雨 *baiu*), *reign name* (< 年号 *nengō* or 元号

gengō), *thought crime* (< 思想犯罪 *shisō hanzai*), *thought criminal* (< 思想犯人 *shisō hannin*), *thought police* (< 思想警察 *shisō keisatsu*), and *thought reform* (< 思想改革 *shisō kaikaku*).

Latin and French are two prolific contributors to the English lexicon. According to Durkin's (2014) study, based on the *OED* data, the biggest group of English loanwords are of either Latin or French origin. In the process of borrowing Chinese words or senses to the English vocabulary, French and Latin act as two significant transmission languages and input 21 and 15 entries respectively. Many loanwords of French origin denote a type of Chinese porcelain, including *celadon*, *famille jaune*, *famille noire*, *famille rose*, *famille verte*, *rouge de fer*, *rouge flambé*, and *sang-de-bœuf*, conceivably made famous and brought to Europe by the French (see also 8.1). Chinese borrowings via Latin in many cases are in the form of semantic loans, that is, using an existing word with a new meaning, such as *element* (a concept in Chinese medicine), *radical* (a set of basic Chinese characters), and *superintendency* (an administration region in China). In a similar vein, the word *Analects* is used to render the title of the Confucian Classic *Lunyu* (论语, lit. 'discourse saying'), first appearing in James Legge's translation. Fourteen words are partly a borrowing from Latin and partly from French (counted as a separate category 'French / Latin'), including *ginseng* (a Chinese root plant), *legist* (a legal philosopher in the Imperial China), *prefect* (a Chinese governor in the past), and *rectification* (a political term used by the Communist Party), which in most cases are semantic loans as well.

Another big group of Chinese borrowings is constituted of words from Malay. Language contact between Chinese, Malay, and English vividly illustrates the result of Chinese migration and European colonialism in Malaysia and surrounding areas. Waves of migration from China to the territory of Malaysia started after the fall of the Ming dynasty. According to the most recent census of Malaysia in 2010, Chinese is now the second largest ethnic group in Malaysia, making up 24.6% of the national population. Since there is a large population of immigrants in Malaysia, most indirect loans designate a person of the Chinese communities, including *Baba*, *Peranakan*, *sinkeh*, *sinseh*, *totok*, and *towkay*. As a matter of fact, a considerable proportion of Chinese immigrants were from Southern China, so that Southern Min dialects such as Hokkien and Amoy are very likely to be the ultimate origin of the Malay etymons as in *kopitiam* (< 咖啡店, 'coffee shop'), *popiah* (< 薄饼, 'thin pancake'), *sinkeh* (< 新客, 'new visitor'), and *sinseh* (< 先生, 'master').

As well as this, Malay also plays a part in the transmission process in other cases. Although *tea* and *ketchup* are not attributed to Malay loanwords, the *OED* suggests that *tea* perhaps comes through Malay *te*, *teh* while *ketchup* is perhaps partly via Malay *kecap*, *kicap*.

The lexical influence of Chinese on Asian languages is uneven due to different historical and linguistic factors. As discussed above, Japanese adopts Chinese characters in its writing system because of the long-standing cultural and language contacts between China and Japan, whereas Chinese immigrants mainly contribute to the impact of Chinese languages, especially Hokkien, on Malay. Like Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese also contain many Chinese-originated words in their lexicons, known as Sino-Korean (or Hanja) and Sino-Vietnamese respectively.²⁶ However, Chinese characters were regarded as a threat to linguistic purism and cultural independence, and were thus abolished in Korea and Vietnam. As a result, Chinese influence on Korean and Vietnamese is not as strong as that on Japanese. In the *OED*, there are only very few indirect loans from Korean or Vietnamese and ultimately from Chinese, including *onmun* (< 谚文, ‘speech letter’), *soju* (< 燒酒, ‘burned liquor’), *dong* (< 銅, ‘bronze’), and *hao* (< 毫, ‘one hundredth of a cent’), but these truly reflect the complicated language contact history in the Sinosphere. What is more, the *OED* is not always explicit about the Chinese contribution. As an example, *pho*, a Vietnamese-style noodle soup, is said to be derived from French *pot-au-feu* in the *OED*’s etymology. The *American Heritage* gives another possible suggestion on *pho*’s origin, that is, from Cantonese *yuk6 fan2* (‘meet rice-noodle’).²⁷

Other indirect loans with a Chinese reference in the *OED* are:

- through Portuguese, as *joss*, *kittisol*, *lorcha*, *macao*, *mandarin*, *tiresol*, and probably *coolie* (modelled on a Portuguese lexical item), since Portugal was once a colonial power in various Asia regions;
- through Russian, as *Central Committee*, *Labour Day*, *labour hero*, *labour heroine*, *Red Army*, *Red Guard*, which are all political terminology of the Communist Party;
- through Greek, as *hexagram*, *iconomatic*, *trigram*, *parathesis*, denoting symbols or characters when used in the Chinese contexts;
- *kraak porselein* and *soya* through Dutch, a trade and colonial language like

²⁶ Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, and Sino-Vietnamese are collectively called ‘Sino-Xenic dialects’, a term coined by the linguist Samuel Martin (cf. Norman 1988).

²⁷ The numbers 6 and 2 after *yuk* and *fan* respectively are tone numbers given in the *American Heritage*.

Portuguese.

In addition to the 13 indirect loans from French / Latin, other borrowings of multiple or disputed origins found in the *OED* include those:

- via colonial languages, as *cangue* (< French < Portuguese), *tael* (< Portuguese < Malay), *mace* (< Dutch or Malay);
- via Asian languages, as *bonze* (< Japanese or Portuguese), *ginkgo* (< Latin < Japanese), *ri* (< Japanese or Korean), *Roju* (< French < Japanese);
- via ancient language, as *Sinaean* (< Latin < Greek < Arabic), *hegemony* (< Latin or Greek), *zodiac* (< European languages < Latin < Greek);
- of uncertain or disputed origin, as *silk* and *tea*, which are also among the early established Chinese loanwords discussed in the previous chapter.

5.1.2 Sino-Japanese vocabulary in English

As illustrated in Table 5.1, Japanese tops the list of transmission languages that pass on a Chinese word or concept to English. Before we look more closely at the Chinese borrowings via Japanese, it is really necessary to know some basic concepts of the Japanese language, especially its notoriously mixed writing system. Once we understand more about the Japanese language, it is easier to map the transmission of words from China to Japan and identify the Chinese origins of these words. Every language is mixed to some extent (Hjelmslev 1938); but among all languages, Japanese might be considered to be the most complicated one in the world (Nakajima 2002, Joyce 2004). The modern Japanese writing system is a mixture of three types of scripts: *kanji*, the logographic characters borrowed from Chinese; *kana*, the syllabic scripts which are partially derived from Chinese characters; and *romaji*, the alphabetical letters as in any Latinized alphabet.

5.1.2.1 Chinese characters in Japanese writing system

Kanji (漢字, lit. ‘Chinese characters’) are used to write most content words of Chinese origin or native Japanese, including: most nouns (e.g. 餃子 *gyoza*), the stems of verbs, adjectives and adverbs (e.g. 可愛 in 可愛い, ‘cute’), and most proper names (e.g. 神戸 *Kobe*). The total number of Chinese characters in Japanese is enormous, though not comparable with that in Chinese. The *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* (大漢和辞典), the most comprehensive Japanese dictionary of kanji, contains over 50,000 characters. In China, where Chinese characters are used more extensively, the largest Chinese character

dictionary *Zhonghua Zihai* (中华字海) consists of 85,568 characters (Zhao and Zhang 2007). It is also noticeable that the majority of these Chinese characters or kanji are not in common use now, and are thus obscure or archaic variant forms.

Japan had started limiting the number of kanji since the mid-19th century, and turned it into a matter of government intervention after the Second World War. During the post-war period, various schemes such as the complete abolition of kanji and exclusive use of romaji were considered. A scheme called *jōyō kanji* (常用漢字, lit. ‘regular use Chinese characters’) arose as a compromise solution. The *jōyō kanji* are 2,136 characters consisting of 1,006 *kyōiku kanji* (教育漢字, lit. ‘education Chinese characters’), plus 1,130 additional kanji taught in junior high and high school. In addition to *jōyō kanji*, 983 kanji found in personal names are called *jinmeiyō kanji* (人名用漢字, lit. ‘personal names use Chinese characters’).²⁸ Although the official list of *jōyō kanji* has been revised several times, the total number of *jōyō kanji* did not change too much and remains around 2,000. All characters that are not contained in the *jōyō kanji* and *jinmeiyō kanji* lists are named *hyōgai kanji* (表外漢字, lit. ‘outside list Chinese characters’). But the sum of *hyōgai kanji* is unknown, which adds difficulty to any attempt to count the total number of kanji in Japanese.

Japanese has borrowed Chinese characters since the Middle Chinese period, so there are inevitably some local developments of these characters. A distinction is made between *kokuji* (国字, lit. ‘national character’) and *kokkun* (国訓, lit. ‘national meaning’). *Kokuji* refers to a character which first appeared in Japan rather than in China, such as 腺 (‘gland’), a medical term that is borrowed into Chinese; *kokkun* refers to a kanji that is given a meaning different from its original Chinese meaning, such as 弁, originally meaning a hat in Chinese, but now commonly used in the multi-character Japanese word 弁当 (*bento*), meaning lunch box. Another frequently-used term referring to ‘made-in-Japan’ vocabulary is *wasei kango* (和製漢語, lit. ‘Japanese-made Chinese’).²⁹ Japanese words (normally in multi-character forms) made up of Chinese morphemes with reproduced meanings are considered as *wasei kango*. A large number of *wasei kango*

²⁸ The term *jinmeiyō kanji* sometimes only refers to the 983 kanji that are only used for personal names, and sometimes it may refer to 3,119 characters, including both *jōyō kanji* and the additional 983.

²⁹ *Wasei kanji* (和製漢字) and *wasei kango* (和製漢語) are two different concepts: *wasei kanji* is at the character level, and is sometimes used as an alternative term for *kokuji*; *wasei kango* is at the word or phrase level, normally referring to Japanese expressions compounded of two or more Chinese characters.

vocabulary items were coined during the Meiji era (1868-1912), when Japan experienced a series of reforms, modernization and westernization. Later, western concepts reached China via the wasei kango vocabulary, including 科学 (science), 民主 (democracy), 主义 (-ism), to name but a few.

In modern Japanese, *kana* (仮名, lit. ‘borrowing names’) consists of two sets of syllabaries, each containing 46 basic characters or 71 including diacritics: *hiragana* (平仮名), used primarily for native or naturalized Japanese words and grammatical elements (e.g. お in お弁当 *obento*, ‘lunch box’); and *katakana* (片仮名), used for foreign words and names (e.g. オランダ *Oranda*, ‘Netherlands’), scientific names like plants and animals (e.g. アズキ *adzuki*, ‘red bean’), and onomatopoeia. Kana characters originally derive from Chinese characters, but have been simplified and modified to an extent that their Chinese origins are no longer apparent. Besides, unlike kanji, kana only represent sounds and can only convey meaning as part of words.

All Japanese words, even those normally written in kanji, can be spelled out in hiragana or katakana, so whether choosing kanji or kana depends largely on personal preference. Writing in kanji gives the word a more formal tone, while kana expresses a softer, informal, or more emotional feeling (Kess and Miyamoto 2000). For example, *adzuki* can be written in either katakana as アズキ or in kanji as 小豆. Another example is the word *kawaii*, meaning ‘cute’, which can be written entirely in hiragana as かわいい, or as the kanji-kana combination 可愛い.

The Latin scripts, or *romaji* (ローマ字, lit. ‘roman letters’), are not frequently used in writing. But a few examples can be found, such as acronyms and transcriptions of Japanese names, and romaji are also used in some specific contexts where non-Japanese speakers want to know the pronunciation of a Japanese word (e.g. food terms like *ramen* on the menu of a Japanese restaurant in an English-speaking country). As is mentioned above, writing in kanji or kana is a matter of personal preference. On the other hand, using romaji may bring convenience to westerners when naturalizing Japanese words, normally transcribed by the Hepburn system. When a Japanese word or multi-word unit is borrowed into English, its English spelling is almost identical to its romaji form. In a few cases the diacritic on the vowel needs to be removed: for example, *enjo kosai*, meaning

‘compensated dating’, is derived from *enjo kōsai*.

5.1.2.2 Chinese borrowings via Japanese

In Table 5.1, it is roughly estimated that there are over 200 Chinese indirect borrowings in the *OED* through Japanese. This number is based on a rough calculation similar to that in test case 1, simply changing the language of origin from ‘Chinese’ to ‘Japanese’ and getting 533 ‘default’ Japanese borrowings from the *OED*. Among these 533 lexical items, 144 mention ‘Chinese’ in their etymology section; further, many of them can trace their ancestry back to Middle Chinese. On the other hand, over 60 Japanese borrowings associated with Chinese can be found in the *OED* through cross-referencing but they either do not mention ‘Chinese’ in the etymology or do not belong to the ‘default’ Japanese borrowings, such as *dan*, *ken*, *kendo*, and *plum rains*. Therefore, in the *OED*, there are approximately 200 Japanese borrowings having been influenced by Chinese. Although these words are marked as Japanese loanwords or Japanese borrowings, they also to some extent reflect Chinese contributions. Because of the status of Chinese characters in the Japanese writing system, a large number of loanwords from Japanese are ultimately from Chinese. What is more, these indirect loans also make references to China or Chinese concepts. A classic example is *tofu*, a very common food term in English. The English spelling *tofu* follows the Japanese romaji form *tofu*, which originally comes from Chinese 豆腐 (lit. ‘bean rotten’). Other examples include:

- Chinese-style food, *gyoza* (< 餃子), *ramen* (< 拉麵), *soy* (< 醬油);
- plants native to or cultivated in China, *kaki* (< 柿), *kikyo* (< 桔梗), *kudzu* (< 葛), *mitsumata* (< 三桠), *napa* (< 菜っ葉), *nashi* (< 梨), *reishi* (< 靈芝), *shiitake* (< 椎茸), *wakame* (< 若布), *yuzu* (< 柚子);
- animals native to or cultivated in China, *akoya* (< 阿古屋[珠]), *sika* (< 鹿);
- art forms introduced into Japan from China, *bonsai* (< 盆栽), *gagaku* (< 雅樂), *Nanga* (< 南画);
- measurement or monetary units based on traditional Chinese systems, *ri* (< 里), *rin* (< 厘), *sen* (< 錢), *shaku* (< 尺), *sun* (< 寸), *tsubo* (< 坪), *yen* (< 円 < 圓);
- Buddhism or Taoism concepts originally introduced from China, *bonze* (< 凡僧 or 坊主), *koan* (< 公案), *mu* (< 無), *mushin* (< 無心), *sabi* (< 寂), *sennin* (< 仙人), *Zen* (< 禪);
- there are also a few indirect loans derived from Chinese proper names, such as

sentoku (< 宣德), *Shorin ryu* (< 小林流 < 少林流), *temmoku* (< 天目), and *Tendai* (< 天台), mostly designating the China-related crafts or concepts.

By contrast, many other Japanese loanwords only borrow the form from Chinese characters, and develop new meanings in the Japanese diaspora. Some established examples include *bento* (< 弁当), *furo* (< 風呂), *miso* (< 味噌), *sushi* (< 鮓) and *tycoon* (< 大君), using characters under the category of *kokuji* or *kokkun*. In other words, these Japanese words are originally written in Chinese or quasi-Chinese characters, but the meanings they convey are not from China. During the Meiji era, numerous *wasei kango* terms were coined and later borrowed into the Chinese lexicon. Some had actually existed in ancient Chinese literature but became obsolete in Chinese, while others were reproduced in Japanese, by combining Chinese characters to create a new word. Since they are all written in Chinese characters, such as 思想 (thought), 改革 (reform), and 干部 (cadre), even many Chinese people may not realize that these words come from Japanese. This process of reborrowing – Chinese gives the forms to Japanese, and then Japanese returns the meanings to Chinese – is implicit but abundant. Two recent examples are *emoji* (絵文字) and *kaomoji* (顔文字)³⁰, which are now ubiquitous in Internet slang in Japan, China, and the whole world.

5.1.2.3 Doublets via different routes

Doublets, two (or more) words with same etymological root, are quite common in the English lexicon. Since foreign words make up a considerable proportion of the English vocabulary, in many cases borrowed doublets reached English via different routes. In many cases, one route is direct whereas the other is indirect. For example, many doublets come from Chinese and Japanese. Regardless of the differences between traditional and simplified forms in both Chinese and Japanese, several etymological twins have almost identical forms and meanings in their own source languages, as *hsien / ken* (< 县 ‘prefecture’), *suan-pan / soroban* (< 算盤 ‘abacus’), *qi / ki* (< 氣 or 气 ‘vital energy’), *Chan / Zen* (< 禅 ‘a sect of Buddhism’), and *kylin / kirin* (< 麒麟 ‘Chinese unicorn’). *Kylin* refers to an auspicious and fabulous creature in both Chinese and Japanese culture, and once the Chinese mistakenly used the term *kylin* to refer to the giraffe. Nowadays the Chinese no longer call the giraffe *kylin*, but the meaning of ‘giraffe’ is kept in Japanese

³⁰ In the English-speaking world, *kaomoji* is more commonly known as *emoticon*, whereas in China, it keeps the *wasei kango* written form 颜文字.

and also in Korean. *Wei ch'i* (< 围棋) and *go* (< 碁, shortened from 囲碁) both designate a Chinese board game, but the Japanese 囲碁 are rarely used in modern Chinese. In a similar vein, the Chinese *ling chih* (< 靈芝) and the Japanese *reishi* (< 靈芝) are slightly different in their own writing systems; the Japanese *samisen* (< 三味線), a three-stringed musical instrument, is ultimately derived from the Chinese *san hsien* (< 三弦).

In English, the above-mentioned doublets can be used alternately because they denote very similar things. By contrast, some doublets make distinct references to different things. A good example is *jiaozi* and *gyoza*, both derived from the Chinese characters 餃子, which refer to dumplings with different and distinctive styles. According to my own eating experience, the Japanese-style *gyoza* tastes more similar to potsticker (a loan translation of 鍋貼). Similarly, the *OED* indicates that *yakisoba* (< 焼きそば) is perhaps after the Chinese etymon *chow mein* (< 炒面). But like the *jiaozi* / *gyoza* pair, *chow mein* and *yakisoba* are stir-fried noodles of clearly distinct styles, which belong to different cuisines. No one would order *yakisoba* in a Chinese restaurant or order *chow mein* in a Japanese restaurant.

Other Asian languages also contribute several doublets to English. In most cases, words borrowed via different routes have developed variant meanings, and they can be considered as cognates. For instance, measurement and monetary units in many Asian countries follow the traditional Chinese system and terminology. In other words, they find their ultimate origin in Chinese, but have closely connected cognates from other languages, and sometimes doublets in English: from Japanese, *rin*, *sen*, *ryo*, *yen*, *sun*, *shaku*, *ri*, *tsubo*; from Korean, *won*, *ri*; from Vietnamese, *hao*, *dong*; from or via Malay, *candareen*, *mace*, *tael*, *catty*, *picul*. Cognates *sensei* from Japanese and *sinseh* from Malay are both derived from the Chinese 先生, but are applied in different fields: Japanese *sensei* is normally used to address a martial arts master, while Malay *sinseh* means a traditional Chinese physician. Another pair of doublets *tea* and *cha*, which involve a more complicated and fascinating story of transmission, will be discussed in detail in a case study in Chapter 8.

If the coverage of the term *doublets* is extended to all types of borrowings rather than only the etymologically-related loanwords, more lexical twins can be found in the English vocabulary (see also Chapter 9). Pairs of indirect loans and loan translations like *enjo*

kosai / *compensated dating* and *bai-u* / *plum rains* are doublets with closely connected or identical meanings, but in both cases their loan translation forms give almost no clue to their Chinese origins.

5.2 Ethnic tags

In English, many things (especially food) are named after a particular place, which is used as an epithet: examples include *English muffin*, *French fries*, *Swiss roll*, *Turkish delight*, *Yorkshire pudding*, etc. In many cases, European place names can be found in these tags, but this section will examine how far China, a Far East country, has left an imprint on the English language in the form of expressions featuring a ‘national tag’ (in Birnbaum’s term) or an ‘ethnic adjective’ (in Alexiadou and Stavrou’s term). The central concern of this section is the use of the country name *China* and other China-relevant ethnic tags in English expressions. The reference to China is embedded in the name, and thus the expressions bearing an epithet attribute certain characteristic of the object or concept described to China or Chinese culture, though that is not the case all the time.

5.2.1 Patterns of ethnic tag uses

Generally speaking, there are four types of use of *Chinese* and *China* in the ‘ethnic tag + noun’ structure. The four patterns are as follows:

(1) The qualifying use

The very first pattern is *Chinese* used as a modifier with a qualifying function, as in *Chinese food / meal*, *Chinese restaurant*, *Chinese quarter*, etc., denoting a kind of food, eating place, district, etc. Normally phrases with the modifying word *Chinese* indicate a national specialty and thus are mostly used outside of China. Several loanwords from French also carry ethnic tags to designate a Chinese craft or art form, and naturally, the tags are in French: *Chine* (China), as in *blanc de Chine*, *satin de chine*, and *toile de Chine*; *chinois* (Chinese), as in *ombres chinoises* and *pavillon chinois*. As these examples show, the French syntactic structure prefers to put the ethnic tag after the noun.

(2) The classifying use

In some specific names of natural products like *Chinese pear*, *Chinese rhubarb*, *Chinese yam*, *Chinese muntjac deer*, and *China goose*, the ethnic tags *Chinese* and *China* are used to describe flora and fauna obtained from China. Their function, similar to pattern (1), is to indicate the native country. Furthermore, ethnic labels in the names of natural products

have an additional classifying function, adding a subclassification to the general type of entity (Breban 2017). For instance, a *Chinese pear* is a subtype of *pear*: the head noun *pear* denotes the general type while the pre-modifier *Chinese* is applied to a specific species of *pear*.

(3) The distinguishing use

In some cases, ethnic tags do not designate a subtype of species. As an example, *Chinese cabbage* is derived from the species *Brassica rapa* while the very common word *cabbage* actually refers to the species *Brassica oleracea*. So strictly speaking, *Chinese cabbage* is not a subtype of cabbage; it is so called probably because Chinese cabbage is to some extent allied to cabbage (though not all speakers might agree with this kind of classification; personally speaking, I considered Chinese cabbage and cabbage to be totally different vegetables from a very young age). According to Rosch's prototype theory (1975), the round and greenish-white cabbage (commonly called *white cabbage*) are more prototypical than Chinese cabbage, red cabbage, and Savoy cabbage, though they are all called *cabbage*. In the same vein, *Chinese gooseberry* (more widely known as *kiwi*) is not a *gooseberry*. The former is a species of the genus *Actinidia* whereas the latter is in the genus *Ribes*. Species with the distinguishing epithet *Chinese*, like the two mentioned above, resemble the true entity to some extent. Rather than referring to these using loanwords from Chinese or the binomial names given by the complicated binomial nomenclature system, the 'ethnic tag + common noun' compounds are perfectly understandable: the native country is suggested by the first modifying element and the species is denoted by a similar and more common one. Although this kind of naming is not very accurate, it is quite practical for daily use (for more discussions on practical uses, see 5.2.5).

(4) The idiomatic use

Some objects and concepts that are not native to China also contain a 'Chinese' label, mostly related to negative things, such as *Chinese consumption* (the possession of only one effective lung), *Chinese restaurant syndrome* (Monosodium glutamate symptoms), *China syndrome* (a nuclear meltdown scenario), and *Chinese water torture* (a kind of torture). These English phrases exude malevolence towards China; a possible explanation for this is, in the past, there was not enough interaction between China and the West, so that some westerners used to have prejudiced attitudes towards the Chinese, as reflected in their language.

More slang expressions which feature the tag *Chinese* can be found in particular semantic areas, and again these have pejorative meanings in most cases. For example, in aviation slang, a *Chinese ace* is an inept aviator; a *Chinese landing* refers to a landing with one wing lower than it should be; and a *Chinese three-point landing* indicates a crash (cf. Roback 1944, Hughes 2006, Partridge 2006). Sport is another fruitful source of slang. In cricket, a poorly executed shot is called a *Chinese cut*; similarly, a *Chinese drive* is a snick through the slips; a left-handed bowler's off-break to a right-handed batsman is termed a *Chinaman* (cf. *OED*, Partridge 2006). Likewise, some baseball terms contain the epithet *Chinese*, such as *Chinese line drive* (a pop fly) and *Chinese blow* (a fluke hit). Another example is *Chinese home run* or *Chinese homer*, also known as a 'cheap home run': in this phrase *Chinese* represents what was *cheap*, probably as cheap as a labourer (Dickson 2009). Almost all of these sport terms carry a derogatory implication, probably affected by the usual stereotype of China and its people from westerners' perspectives. So what are the stereotypes associated with China? The following section will focus on the relations between the ethnic tags of China and the fields in which China specializes, and the stereotyped images of the Chinese will be discussed in details in 5.2.3.

5.2.2 Semantic fields and ethnic tags

Terms describing natural products (i.e. plants and animals) contribute a large proportion of the expressions with the modifying word *Chinese* or *China*, including *Chinese artichoke*, *Chinese bellflower*, *Chinese cherry*, *Chinese crested dog*, *Chinese desert cat*, *Chinese olive*, *China pea*, *Chinese pepper*, *China rose*, *Chinese Teal*, *Chinese thrush*, *Chinese varnish*, *Chinese water-lily*, and *Chinese wax* (see also Section 1). Normally, these flora and fauna are native to or grown in China. Besides plants and animals, there are several other objects or concepts obtained from China, as are shown in their names.

Several compounds denote musical instruments associated with China (though some of them are not of Chinese origin), such as *Chinese block*, *Chinese crescent* (or *Chinese pavilion*), *Chinese fiddle*, *Chinese gong*, and *Chinese horn*. Another area with rich terminology is colour. *Chinese blue*, *China blue*, *Chinese green*, *Chinese indigo*, *China ink*, *Chinese orange*, *Chinese red*, *Chinese vermilion*, *Chinese white*, and *Chinese yellow* are all dyes or pigments termed by the 'ethnic tag + noun' structure. These colours are frequently found in ceramics and textiles – two fields in which China has an unrivalled reputation (for the semantic analysis of these two fields, see Chapters 7 and 8).

It seems inevitable that people with similar physical appearances are always conflated. Thus, Westerners sometimes may have a feeling that all Asian people look alike and, vice versa. In some cases, the tag *Chinese* is used in a generalized sense to refer to any Oriental culture; conversely, the modifier *Chinese* or *China* in numerous expressions can be replaced by those referring to other Asian countries, especially China's immediate neighbour, Japan. For example, *Chinese pagoda tree* and *Japanese pagoda tree* refer to the same tree, with the binomial name *Styphnolobium japonicum*, which is native to China and often grown in Japan. Other pairs include *Chinese / Japanese bayberry*, *Chinese / Japanese gall*, *Chinese / Japanese indigo*, *Chinese / Japanese lantern*, *Chinese / Japanese yam*, and the like. Some species of Asian origin may be known by many names, with regional tags representing various regions of East Asia, such as the species *Pyrus pyrifolia* can be called as *Chinese pear*, *Taiwanese pear*, *Japanese pear*, *Korean pear*, or *Asian pear*. In addition, the epithet *Chinese* can be substituted by a vague tag *Oriental*, which relates to the countries and cultures of the Orient. As an example, both *Chinese greenfinch* and *Oriental greenfinch* make reference to a species of bird. And a kind of Chinese export porcelain can be called either *Chinese Lowestoft* or *Oriental Lowestoft*. *Mandarin*, the former official language and a current variety of the standard language in China, is often used attributively in many names, as in the names of natural products *mandarin cat*, *mandarin duck*, and *mandarin orange*, porcelain pieces *mandarin jar*, *mandarin porcelain*, and *mandarin vase*, and items of clothing *mandarin cap*, *mandarin coat*, *mandarin collar*, *mandarin hat*, *mandarin jacket*, and *mandarin sleeve*.

India, Russia, and Turkey, located en route from China to Europe, also contribute names for many objects and concepts related to or ultimately from China. As a result, *Indian*, *Russian*, and *Turkish* appear as qualifiers in many expressions: *Chinese burn* and *Indian burn* equally mean a juvenile torment in children's slang; both *Chinese crescent* and *Turkish crescent* refer to a musical instrument; *Chinese rhubarb* is also known as *East Indian rhubarb*, *Russian rhubarb*, and *Turkey rhubarb*, according to its route of importation (*OED*). Other examples of this kind of interchangeable tag include *Chinese jute*, also called *Indian mallow*; and *Russian scandal*, which is often used as a synonym for *Chinese whispers*. Another interesting finding suggests that in cricket terms, *Chinese cut* and *Chinese drive* are also termed *French cut* and *French drive*. These bad misses in cricket are modified by *French* or *Chinese*, to some extent expressing British historical hostility towards its immediate neighbour France and ethnic prejudice against an

inscrutable nation, in this case China.

Names for more specific geographical areas in China also appear in the ‘ethnic tag + noun’ structure, like *Canton ginger*, *Nanking cherry*, *Shanghai oil*, and of course, the internationally famous *Peking duck*. Most of these proper names, such as *Canton*, *Nanking*, and *Peking*, were former romanized English names, rather than their modern forms *Guangdong*, *Nanjing*, and *Beijing*. Possible interpretations of using old names could be: the contacts between China and the West had a long history, bringing Chinese natural and artificial products to western countries and creating names for these ‘fresh’ entities; later English speakers followed the naming tradition to use the old-fashioned tags of Chinese areas; some westerners in the modern age are still not familiar with the modern transcription systems for Chinese words; or simply, a sense of nostalgia in the English language (see also 4.1). These regional tags, combined with an English element, denote the two representative manufacturing industries of China, namely ceramics and textiles, as in *Canton china*, *Canton enamel*, *Canton flannel*, *Canton matting*, *Canton ware*, *nankeen cloth*, *nankeen cotton*, *Nankin china*, *Peking carpet*, *Peking crepe*, *Peking point*, *Peking rug*, *Pekinese stitch*, etc. What is more, in the field of ceramics, a large number of ceramic crafts are termed by places of origin, imperial dynasties and reign marks (for more examples, see 8.1.2).

5.2.3 Stereotypes of China and the Chinese

Some dictionaries of slurs, curses, or swearing record several expressions with the modifier *Chinese*, expressing incompetence, fraud, disorder and confusion (e.g. Roback 1944, Rawson 1989, Hughes 2006). The Western World’s early impression of Chinese people was informed by contact with Chinese labourers, who had arrived in numbers in America, Australia, and Europe since the 19th century, bringing their habits and customs with them. Their alien living habits and strange accent were ridiculed by the local people, which led to the coinage of many pejorative sayings and slurs (Birnbaum 1971). Chinese immigrants were regarded as unintelligible and uncompetitive and thus had very little status in western countries, as suggested by one of the examples mentioned above: a *Chinese ace* refers to an inept aviator. Another colloquial expression *Chinaman’s chance* means ‘no chance at all’. In American usage this expression shows the little chance a native of China would have in any controversy with white American locals (Porter 1966).

Meanwhile, Chinese immigrants and traders were also stereotypically labeled as ‘frauds’

in western countries. The unfavourable impression on westerners made them believe that Chinese people were dishonest and deceitful. This mistrust of the Chinese community was shown in several jocular or disparaging expressions: a *Chinese compliment* refers to a pretended deference; a *Chinese copy* is a slavishly exact copy; a *Chinese deal* is a saying for a pretended deal; a *Chinese hat trick* signifies an election-day fraud; and *Chinese whispers* indicates inaccurate gossip. Obviously, *Chinese* is equal to ‘fake’, ‘pretended’, and ‘inaccurate’ in these phrases. Another example is *Chinese Rolls-Royce*, which is without doubt not a real Rolls-Royce: it refers to a Ford car which is small, old, and cheap (Roback 1944). In a similar vein, the epithet *Chinese* in *Chinese attack* verifies that it is not a real attack. A *Chinese attack* also involves a lot of noise and other activity to confuse the enemy and distract their attention from a simultaneous genuine attack (Rawson 1989, Partridge 2006). Probably dating back to WWI (see the entry in the *Merriam-Webster Unabridged Dictionary*), *Chinese fire drill* is a slur for a state of chaos, confusion, or disorder – a mixture of many negative features.

The stereotype of ‘Chinese confusion’ was a century-long one. For centuries, China was regarded as a mysterious Far Eastern country with many alien and incomprehensible cultures including its difficult language. In English, the idiom *it’s all Greek to me* expresses something hard to understand. But the Greek counterpart is *Αυτά μου φαίνονται κινέζικα*, meaning ‘this strikes me as Chinese.’ There is broad consensus that Chinese is the hardest language in the world, because many non-English languages use ‘Chinese’ in their equivalent expression to this English idiom (Rosenberg 1979), such as *Dat is Chinees voor mij* in Dutch and *Esto me suena a chino* in Spanish. Therefore, Chinese was used in many figurative expressions to denote something complex and difficult. A good example is *Chinese puzzle*, which indicates an intricate problem or an unintelligible situation. Termed after the Great Wall (the defensive wall built between China and Mongolia), *Chinese wall* has a figurative sense as ‘an insurmountable barrier’ (*OED*), especially a barrier to understanding. There is also a Chinese wall between China and the West. Just as Roback (1944) remarked, the *Chinese Wall* was not only a physical structure; it was a temperament.

Western stereotypical prejudices against the Chinese are not only affected by how the Chinese act and speak, but also by what they eat. Rice is the staple diet in China. But it is still surprising that *Chinese wedding-cake* is slang for ‘rice pudding.’ This old-fashioned and stereotypical slang leaves non-Chinese people an illusion that all wedding-cakes in

China are made from rice, which is absolutely not true.

5.2.4 Derogatory terms with or without ethnic tags

So far, this study has discussed various expressions with ethnic tags relevant to China, and many of them convey a negative meaning. As an example, *Chinese helicopter*, a derogatory term in Singapore English (or Singlish), was newly included by the *OED* in 2016 and is defined as ‘a Singaporean whose schooling was conducted in Mandarin Chinese and who has limited knowledge of English.’ But soon after this inclusion, an online petition was launched on www.change.org calling for the removal of this term from the *OED*. This is analogous with a petition nearly 20 years ago for removing *nigger* from the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (for more details see Henderson 2003). Entries like *Chinese helicopter* and *nigger* are usually labelled as *derogatory* or *offensive* in dictionaries. But even after these protests, they are still there. Should these offensive terms be removed from dictionaries?

Adherents of the petition and other like-minded people think that dictionaries, especially those authoritative ones like the *OED* and the *Merriam-Webster*, spread the pejorative words to the world. In this case, dictionaries that contain socially debilitating and destructive words could be ‘agent[s] of subversion’ (Henderson 2003). The younger generation may have never come across almost-forgotten terms which bear historical prejudices, and then may have the impression that these terms are acceptable since they are included in dictionaries, depending on how these entries are represented in the dictionaries. Meanwhile, old prejudices begin to resurface. However, the forcible removal of negative terms because they annoy certain communities will not change the prevailing attitudes towards them nor improve their social status, though for the moment there is no clear evidence to show this. Besides, English learners will misunderstand the derogatory uses and connotations if no dictionary mentions them. Since every word is part of a language, which in turn is part of a culture, it seems that those negative expressions should be kept in dictionaries like the *OED*, which records numerous words that are obsolete or out-of-date. Take *Chinese helicopter* as an example again. The term is probably derived from the mispronunciation of ‘Chinese-educated’, as is indicated in an *OED*’s quotation. This is not the only example of English speakers’ malevolence towards non-natives’ ‘poor’ English. In Chinese Pidgin English, many expressions are coined by the imitation of Chinese accents like *chop chop* (‘quick quick’), which originated in Cantonese. Several words contain an *-ee* ending to imitate Chinese Pidgin English, such as *allee samee* (‘all

the same'), *makee* ('make'), and *muchee* ('much'). Pidgin English not only mocks Chinese accents, but also their odd grammatical structure, like *no can do* (and also *can do*), *look-see*, and also *long time no see*. (For further discussion on Chinese Pidgin English, see next chapter.)

5.2.5 Ethnic tags in the Chinese context

It seems that the majority of English phrases with tags such as *Chinese*, *China*, and the like, do not just happen to refer to the name of China, but are also semantically associated with China to some extent. It would be interesting to see what equivalent terms are used in China and whether same ethnic tags can be found in Chinese. For flora and fauna originating in China, there is no need to add a tag to denote their origin. Take *Chinese cabbage* for example again. In Chinese, one of the names by which it is known is 白菜 (baicai, lit. 'white vegetable'), and no one will call it 中国白菜 ('Chinese white vegetable'). But for some objects and concepts that are not from China and are mainly used outside China, ethnic tags remain in their Chinese forms during the process of translating or borrowing, such as 中式切 (zhongshiqie, lit. 'Chinese-style cut') and 中国城 (zhongguocheng, lit. 'China town'). When referring to some regional peculiarity especially food, regional tags are still in use, as in 北京烤鸭 (beijingkaoya, lit. 'Beijing roast duck'), 重庆火锅 (chongqinghuoguo, lit. 'Chongqing hot pot'), 广式点心 (guangshidianxin, lit. 'Cantonese-style dim sum'), 海南鸡饭 (hainanjifan, lit. 'Hainanese chicken rice'), to name but a few.

Early imports from other parts of the world are explicit in Chinese with specific Chinese lexemes, including 胡 (hu), 番 (fan), 洋 (yang), and 西 (xi), which all carry the meaning of 'foreign', 'alien', 'extrinsic' or 'western.' Vegetable terminology has many examples, like 胡萝卜 (carrot), 胡椒 (pepper), 番茄 (tomato), 番石榴 (guava), 洋葱 (onion), 洋山芋 (potato), 西兰花 (broccoli), 西红柿 (tomato), etc. Some of these vegetables arrived in China thousands of years ago so that very few modern Chinese people may notice that what they eat actually has a foreign origin.

On the other side, white cabbage is, though not very commonly, called 洋白菜 (lit. 'foreign white vegetable') and 圆白菜 (lit. 'round white vegetable') in Chinese. Theoretically it would be possible to rename existing species in the same kind of way.

For example, *cabbage* in English can be renamed as *British cabbage* or *European cabbage* considering its ancestor, or using the less common name *headed cabbage* because of its shape. This way of renaming is analogous to retronymy, that is, adding a distinguishing or modifying word to an existing term. Likewise, the preferred terms for *cherry* and *anise* could be *Greek cherry* and *Levant anise* respectively, in order to distinguish them from *Chinese cherry* and *Chinese anise* or any other varieties. As can be seen from these examples, obviously my suggestions are unrealistic, because it is hard to find alternatives that can completely replace these conventional and widely-used terms.

5.3 Summary

Furiassi et al. (2012) put loan translations and semantic loans under the category of ‘indirect borrowing’ because the formal evidence for these two types is not as visible and detectable as that of loanword. This argument is to some extent true, although in the present study I use the term *indirect borrowing* in a different way, that is, the process or the lexical products of borrowing from Chinese into English via an intermediate language. As can be seen from the *OED* data, Japanese is the most prolific transmission language that passes on Chinese borrowings, because of the prolonged cultural and linguistic interactions between China and Japan. At the same time, however, many indirect borrowings, especially those through a Sino-Xenic language (i.e. Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese), only show the formal provenance of Chinese characters, rather than the semantic association with China.

Another implicit approach of Chinese influence is through adding an ethnic tag to an English word. Actually, loan translations, semantic loans, and expressions with ethnic tags are formed in a very similar way: they all use existing English elements; they are all reproduced in the recipient language (in this case English); and semantically, they are all given new meanings, in these examples with reference to China or Chinese culture.

Considering these facts, the scope of *borrowing* in this thesis is much broader than what most people would recognize as borrowing; thus, what counts as a Chinese borrowing herein should meet one or both of the following criteria:

- show formal evidence of Chinese contribution, such as retaining Chinese morphemes in loanwords and loan-blends, Chinese syntactic structure in loan-translations, the independent development of Chinese characters in indirect loans, or China-related ethnic tags;

- have a meaning that involves concepts introduced from China or can represent cultural influence from China, such as crafts originally made in China, flora and fauna native to China, or outsiders' stereotyped attitudes towards China.

Those words and phrases that faithfully illustrate the Chinese influence in form and/or meaning are attributed to Chinese borrowings. Others, though do not meet the abovementioned criteria, still fall under the notion of Chinese influence on the English language, such as the expressions of Chinese Englishes, which will be discussed in the next chapter. It can be seen from the chapters in Part II that the various types of Chinese influence truly enrich the English lexicon and also serve as a carrier of language and culture. Words do reflect language contacts and record historical information. Notwithstanding, there is still a *Chinese wall* between China and the West even today.

Chapter 6

Chinese Englishes

This chapter deals with a more complicated transmission process that transfers lexical items from Chinese to English. The ‘transfer’ used herein can refer to either the English words or morphemes brought by English speakers via language contact, or the English skills acquired by Chinese-English bilinguals to create novel English expressions in the Chinese context. At the same time, Chinese culture has also been transferred or exported to the English-speaking world. This chapter begins by discussing the earliest form among all Chinese Englishes, that is, Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), by tracing its long and fascinating history. Developed from jargon into a language variety, CPE has also influenced later Chinese varieties of English, namely, Chinglish, Chinese English, China English, and New Chinglish. Throughout the chapter, numerous interesting examples, from historical records or the Internet, are explored in detail. Then the chapter is brought to a close with an attempt to construct a model that applies to all Chinese varieties of English.

6.1 Chinese Pidgin English (CPE)

Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) is deemed to be the oldest form of pidgin English and thus is called the ‘mother of all pidgins’ (M. Li et al. 2005, Romaine 2005). *Pidgin* is itself a pidgin word: it is generally believed to be derived from a Chinese mispronunciation of the English word *business* (Leland 1876, Yule and Burnell 1886, Crystal 1997, Martino 2003).³¹ As the name indicates, Chinese Pidgin English is a type of pidgin, no matter whether it is the earliest one. Previous sources and studies on CPE also refer to it as ‘jargon’ (Williams 1836, Ansaldo et al. 2010, J. Li 2017), ‘dialect’ (Noble 1762, Leland 1876, Reinecke 1937), ‘slang’ (Morrison 1823), ‘baby talk’ (Leland 1876, McMahon 1994), or even ‘devil’s talk’, which appeared in the title of a pamphlet.³² But these names are no longer used now.

Attitudes towards CPE are normally negative, since it is often described by derogatory

³¹ In terms of the origin of pidgins in general, there are two opposite theories: pidgins could be traced to one origin (monogenetic) or pidgins arose independently (polygenetic); for more detailed discussions, see Holm (1988), Romaine (1988), and Crystal (1997). For further discussions on the etymology of the term ‘pidgin’ and its *OED* attestations, see Hancock (1979) and Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990).

³² The ‘Devils’ Talk Pamphlet’ has been described by many studies (e.g. Leland 1876, Hunter 1882, Selby and Selby 1995), but there is no surviving copy of it today.

adjectives such as ‘broken’, ‘rude’, ‘bad’, ‘evil’, ‘ridiculous’, ‘deteriorated’, and ‘fractured’ (see Anson 1748, Leland 1876, Reinecke 1937, Y. Chen 1979, Nichols 1996, etc.). As a pidgin, CPE without doubt has features like limited vocabulary and non-standard grammar. Lin Yutang, a great Chinese writer, translator, and linguist, begins his article entitled ‘In Defense of Pidgin English’ by expressing that:

‘I think pidgin a glorious language. It has tremendous possibilities. So far as I know, Bernard Shaw and Otto Jespersen are the only people who have a good word to say for pidgin.’ (1933: 54).

6.1.1 English or Chinese?

Many scholars (e.g. Todd 1974, McMahon 1994, Nichols 1996, Crystal 1997) hold the opinion that pidgin is no one’s native language. This raises a question: is CPE a variety of English or a variety of Chinese or an intermediate type? Cheng (1983) and Shi (1991) both state that CPE is neither a version of English, nor a version of Chinese. Leaving aside the correctness of this statement, here comes another question: is CPE closer to English or to Chinese?

In order to answer this question, Hall (1952) statistically analyses 57 linguistic features of CPE (such as parts of speech, forms, constructions) and his results are as follows:

Table 6.1. The distribution of linguistic features of Chinese Pidgin and their relationship with English and Chinese (Hall 1952)

Exclusively Chinese	3
Closer to Chinese than to English	4
Common to both Chinese and English	29
Closer to English than to Chinese	9
Exclusively English	10
Independent developments in Chinese Pidgin	2

Hall’s concluding remarks are:

‘Chinese Pidgin is not a mere translation of Chinese sentences with English words. It is a language with its own grammatical structure, drawn chiefly from these features which are common to both Chinese and English, but definitely closer to English than to Chinese.’ (1952: 141-2).

Some later studies agree with Hall’s argument that CPE, or at least CPE in Hall’s time, derives primarily from English (Baker and Mühlhäusler 1990, Tryon et al. 1996), while

several other studies hold the opposite opinion, arguing that a large amount of CPE features can be traced back to Chinese (Shi 1991, Selby and Selby 1995). Some remain neutral, suggesting that both English and Chinese influences play an important role (Ansaldo et al. 2010).

Besides English and Chinese, the influence of other source languages including Portuguese, Malay, and even Hindi can also be found in the CPE lexicon (Shi 1991, Selby and Selby 1995, Ansaldo et al. 2010). Some famous examples are: *cangue*, *comprador*, *joss*, and *junk* originating from Portuguese, *gong* from Malay, and *chop* from Hindi (more examples with their sources languages are listed in Bolton's 'China Coast' vocabulary [2003, 180-5]). CPE, therefore, is a veritable mixed language and bridges the gap between speakers from different language backgrounds who gathered to the coast of China for the purpose of trade. The next section will trace the development and decline of CPE back to the early 16th century, when the European traders first appeared in Chinese waters.

6.1.2 The historical contexts of CPE

Thanks to continuous research on pidgin (though not very many studies on CPE) in the past few centuries, extinct pidgins including CPE are never forgotten. Normally, pidgins do not last for very long, and very few of them can survive for more than a century (Crystal 1997). It is a linguistic miracle that CPE once existed for more than two centuries as a contact language. What is more, a few words and phrases are even still in use today.

As mentioned in 2.3.2, Hall (1944) distinguished four main periods in the history of CPE:

1. Origin at Canton and Macao, c1715-1748;
2. 'Classic' period, used at Canton, 1748-1842;
3. Period of expansion and greatest use, in Hong Kong, Treaty Ports, and Yangtze valley, 1842-c1890;
4. Decline, 1890-present time.

In this study, I adopt Hall's division of the history of CPE, but add two more periods. So the newly-divided periods are as follows:

- The landing period, c1515-1715
- The Early Canton jargon period, 1715-1757
- The Late Canton jargon period, 1757-1842
- The Yangjingbang English period, 1842-1890

- The declining period, 1890-1949
- Back-to-the-West period, c1950-the present

6.1.2.1 The landing period (c1515-1715)

The earliest European contact with China was made by the Portuguese. Portuguese merchants came to the coast of China in the early 16th century, probably in 1515 and 1517 (Bridgman and Williams 1835). After several unsuccessful attempts to trade with China, the Portuguese finally founded a fixed depot at Macao in 1553 (Franke 1967) and established their first trading post in 1557.

Following the Portuguese, numerous attempts were made by other Europeans to open trade with China. Dutch and Spanish trade and colonial activities in China started from the first half of the 17th century (Shi 1991). After being defeated by the Portuguese at the Battle of Macau in 1622, the Dutch, or more accurately the Dutch East India Company (Dutch name: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC), abandoned the attempt to occupy Macau and turned to occupy Penghu. Then they moved to the southwest coast of Taiwan and established outposts there. The Spaniards strove to colonize the northeast coast of Taiwan as the Dutch did on the southwest coast, but were ejected by the Dutch. The period of colonial Dutch rule, known as Dutch Formosa (1624-1662), was brought to an end by Zheng Chenggong's (郑成功) army in 1662.

The very first British expedition to China was made in 1596, but the fleet under the command of Captain Benjamin Wood was lost and failed to find trade routes to China, according to the British Library records. Several decades later in 1637, four ships under the command of Captain John Weddell successfully arrived in Canton, a former name for Guangzhou (广州), as was recorded in *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667* (Temple 1907). In the account of his travels, Peter Mundy recorded the difficulties in interacting with the natives, so that the westerners in Canton and Macao had to employ interpreters. Martino (2003) attributes the British presence on the south coast of China to three factors: (1) Japan's isolationist foreign policy from 1633, called *sakoku* (鎖国, lit. 'closed country') in Japanese, pushed British merchants to open trade in China; (2) the Qing government began to rule Taiwan from 1683, which resolved the conflict between the mainland of China and the island of Taiwan and also opened up more maritime routes; (3) the recognition by other Western trading powers of the East India Company.

The British East India Company (also known as the Honourable East India Company) was founded before the Dutch East India Company, but opened trade in China later than other Western powers. Their earliest contact with China was made through establishing a trading post in Taiwan in 1672, almost 50 years after the Dutch according to the British Library's records. In 1699, the Company's base for the trade with China was transferred from Taiwan to Canton, with the ship *Macclesfield* calling at Canton (Morse 1926, Shi 1991). As a late comer, the British presence in China had not lasted long enough to establish a lingua franca. The mixed language used in coastal waters was largely influenced by Portuguese, which later also left an impact on CPE. But by the turn of the century, the demand for Chinese trade arose dramatically, leading to the development of an English-based lingua franca (Selby and Selby 1995).

6.1.2.2 The Early Canton jargon period (1715-1757)

A trading jargon, first referred to as 'Canton Jargon' and later termed 'Chinese Pidgin English', gradually evolved after the British opened trade at Canton. While a number of scholars (e.g. Anson 1748, Noble 1762) suggest the first attestation of CPE or its earlier form dates back to the 1740s, Morse (1926) provides an earlier and definite year 1715 when Chinese merchants began to learn a 'curious patois known as pidgin English' (p. 6). Following Morse, some later studies (e.g. Reinecke 1937, Hall 1944, Van Dyke 2005, Ansaldo et al. 2010) take 1715 as the earliest year of CPE being used by merchants in Canton, whilst Shi (1991) indicates that the year 1715 is still arguable.

In the first half of the 18th century, almost all European ships at the Canton Bay were under the Union Jack (Morse 1926). However, in 1757 the Qianlong Emperor implemented the Canton System triggered by the Flint affair. The Canton System, or in Chinese *yi kou tong shang* (一口通商, lit. 'single port commerce system'), barred foreign ships from all ports except Canton. Another decree of the same period was to forbid teaching Chinese to foreigners (Ansaldo et al. 2010). From then on, Sino-West trade was confined and contact was prohibited except through official mediators.

Ansaldo et al. (2010) suggest that the seed of CPE was very likely sown in the early days of the Canton trade. As the term 'pidgin' did not appear until the 19th century (its first attestation is 1807 in the *OED*), and throughout the late 18th and the early 19th centuries, CPE was typically referred to as a 'jargon', 'dialect', 'broken English', 'baby talk', or

even ‘devil’s talk’ used at Canton (as discussed earlier in this chapter). Here, I would like to use ‘Canton jargon’ to name this and the following periods.

6.1.2.3 The Late Canton jargon period (1757-1842)

After the Canton System arose, CPE, or Canton jargon at this stage, developed quite slowly, since the settings for using this language variety were very limited and the foreigners who resided at Canton (except the Portuguese at Macao) were very few. Reinecke (1937) says that in 1826 there were only 76 adult male European residents in Southern China. The East India Company’s factories were probably the main context of English usage during the Canton System period (Bolton 2003).

The restricted trade and contact between China and the West was gradually changed by opium-smuggling first by the East India Company, and then by other British companies after the former’s monopoly was abolished in 1833. Until the First Opium War (1839-1842), the British, as well as other Western merchants, were in inferior cultural position. But after the war, the situation shifted dramatically. China’s first unequal treaty, the Treaty of Nanking (南京条约), forced China to open five ‘Treaty Ports’ (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai) and gave the British privileges in these treaty ports. Thus the ‘single port commerce system’ (一口通商) became the ‘five ports commerce system’ (五口通商). What is more, the Treaty resulted in Hong Kong being ceded to the British Empire.

One immediate outcome of opening treaty ports to the West was the rapid development of CPE, since there was an urgent need for an effective medium for communication. Under such circumstances, the most natural one to adopt was Canton-English, as Reinecke (1937) calls it. In terms of the grammar and lexicon of CPE, Baker (1987) finds that the major linguistic changes of CPE coincided with the Opium War period when there were an increasing number of foreign residents in Canton. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that Canton jargon had evolved into a more developed and more widely-used form, namely, a pidgin.

So far, the previous three sections have discussed the formative periods of CPE along the Chinese coast, mainly in Canton, but also in its surrounding area such as Macao, Hong Kong, and Whampoa (now Huangpu). Considering this, many scholars use the terms ‘Canton (Pidgin) English’ (e.g. Williams 1836, Reinecke 1937, Bolton 2002b, 2003, Van

Dyke 2005, O'regan 2016) and 'China Coast Pidgin (CCP)' (e.g. Selby and Selby 1995, M. Li et al. 2005, Ansaldo et al. 2010) to indicate its coastal origin. Most studies in the literature investigate the linguistic features and historical contexts of Canton Pidgin English, since Cantonese influence was without doubt overwhelming in the early days of CPE. However, after the First Opium War when Western powers began expanding along the China coast, a new type of CPE came into being, that is, Yangjingbang (洋泾浜) English.

6.1.2.4 The Yangjingbang English period (1842-1890)

Named after a tributary of Huangpu River (黄浦江) in Shanghai, Yangjingbang English as well as the tributary itself played an important role in the semi-colonial history of Shanghai. After the ratification of the Treaty of Nanking, Shanghai was opened to Western powers as one of the five treaty ports. Rather than colonizing Shanghai to make it another 'Hong Kong', the British, the American, and the French successively established their concessions in Shanghai in the 1840s.³³ Yangjingbang then was part of the boundary between the British and the French concessions. Thus, the local tributary achieved fame and gave its name to the mixed language of that period.

Similar to Canton Pidgin English, Yangjingbang was mainly spoken between foreign settlers and the natives. As well as this, Yangjingbang English was also a communicating medium between the Chinese. As discussed earlier, Chinese dialects are not mutually intelligible. As a result, Yangjingbang English functioned as a temporary lingua franca in Shanghai for locals and newcomers, including those from foreign countries and those from other regions of China. Dennys (1878) relates this linguistic outcome to an historical event, suggesting that the Taiping rebellion (1851-1864) caused an influx of people from Central China to Shanghai, and then stimulated the formation of this fused dialect.

Though extinct in modern China, Yangjingbang English left us lots of linguistic treasures. First of all, the term 'Yangjingbang' in Shanghainese widens its meaning to refer to any non-standard language, especially Chinglish and other Chinese varieties of English (see 6.2 for further discussion). Besides, hundreds of Yangjingbang English words remain in

³³ In 1863, the British and the American merged their concessions into the Shanghai International Settlement, or *gonggongzujie* in Chinese (公共租界, lit. 'communal concession'), while the French kept their separate French Concession, or *fazujie* in Chinese (法租界, lit. 'French concession') and *La concession française de Shanghai* in French.

the Shanghainese lexicon, and some of them are even borrowed into other Chinese varieties including Mandarin. Examples are: *sofa* (沙发), *smart* (时髦), *mosaic* (马赛克), *title* (抬头), *microphone* (麦克风), *beer* (啤酒), *vaseline* (凡士林), to name but a few. Though beyond the scope of the current study, English loanwords in Shanghainese and Mandarin would be an interesting research topic for further studies.

6.1.2.5 The declining period (1890-1949)

Crystal defines *pidgin* as ‘a system of communication which has grown up among people who do not share a common language, but who want to talk to each other, usually for reasons of trade’ (2003: 346). The two conditions of the formation of pidgin are implied in this definition: (1) the lack of bilingualism among people who do not share a common language, and (2) the need to communicate usually for reasons of trade. But once the two conditions no longer exist, will a pidgin die out or survive? In 1878, talking about CPE, Dennys predicted that:

‘... far from dying out, it seems rather probable that in the course of years it [CPE] will take rank as a dialect beside the lingua franca of the Mediterranean Sea.’ (p. 174)

But history shows this prediction is incorrect. In the 1930s, Green (1934) and Cannon (1936) recorded that pidgin English was still being used, though it was very rarely heard at that time and was likely to be extinct soon. It is also worthwhile noticing that during the 1960s, newspapers and reports in Hong Kong had gradually reduced discussions about pidgin, or Anglo-Chinese, as it came to be called (Selby and Selby 1995).

A linguistic term that always accompanies *pidgin* in many studies in the field is *creole*. A creole can be regarded as a more developed and stabilized form of pidgin, for example, Macanese Patois (or Patuá) is a Portuguese-based creole spoken in Macao. But neither Canton Pidgin English nor Yangjingbang English had the chance to develop into a creole. One major reason for the decline of CPE is the boom of English usage in China. At the turn of the 20th century, missionary schools began to spread across China. According to Deng’s study (1997), there were more than 250,000 children being educated in 7,000 Christian elementary schools and 26,000 in middle schools by the year 1925. English educationists believed that pidgin would pollute ‘Shakespeare’s sacred speech’ (Storfer 1939: 431). In pursuit of Standard English or pure English, some Chinese speakers of English developed ‘a distaste for pidgin’ (Hall 1944, Bolton 2002). As well as this, the Chinese literati kept their longstanding discrimination against the pidgin-speaking

merchants (Thomason 2001, Si 2013).

The depression of Western trade as well as the departure of Western powers also made a tremendous impact on the decaying CPE. Probably resulting from the East India Company's closing of commercial activities along the China coast, the Canton trade declined around 1830 (Van Dyke 2005). Yangjingbang English became extinct several decades after Canton Pidgin English; it had at least survived till 1943, when the Western powers closed their concessions in Shanghai due to the Japanese invasion. There is a controversy over the exact 'closing time' of CPE in Hong Kong. According to Cannon's accounts in 1936, pidgin was only spoken by the working class and had ceased to be used among educated Chinese. Bolton (2002) doubts whether pidgin was still in use in Hong Kong during the 1950s and 1960s among traders and servants. Another insight is that Hong Kong residents developed a bilingual (or bicultural) identity from the 1960s (Ansaldi et al. 2010), since both Cantonese and English were the official languages there. Obviously, there was no room or no context for CPE to exist.

6.1.2.6 Back-to-the-West period (c1950-the present)

As early as the 1850s, CPE spread to regions outside of China. It was, in Leland's words, 'very extensively spoken on the whole sea-board of China, and in the Straits' (1876: 6). CPE was also brought abroad by Chinese emigrants to Australia, New Zealand, and the western United States (Reinecke 1937, Mühlhäusler and Baker 1996). Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) also attest CPE in USSR, North Korea, etc., as shown in their map of CPE locations (p. 111). But this kind of expansion of CPE was transitory, due to the fact that many Chinese emigrants in English-speaking countries thought it was possible and profitable to learn the more 'correct' and 'standard' English rather than pidgin; as a result, the next generation who were born there began speaking Standard English (Reinecke 1937).

In many theories, the transmission process is irreversible. But as a kind of Chinese influence, CPE contributes some expressions, though not many in number, to Present-Day English. 20 CPE words and phrases are included in the *OED*, such as *chop-chop*, *joss*, *long time no see*, *no can do*, and of course *pidgin*. This number may be conservative, and does not include derivatives: as an example, *pidginize* and *pidginization* are derivatives of *pidgin*. And *makee* can be used as a combining form to form new words as in *makee-talk*, *makee-do*, *makee-learn*, and the like.

6.1.3 Features of CPE

As has been mentioned above, one notable feature of CPE is its limited vocabulary. Early collections of CPE were more likely to be published as pamphlets rather than chunky dictionaries. Chinese people at that period found it less difficult to learn an interlanguage like CPE, without remembering thousands of words from the English lexicon.

Besides, CPE contains grammatical features from both Chinese and English, which makes several CPE expressions sound very non-standard or even ‘bad’ to native speakers of English. Examples include *can do* and its inverse *no can do*, *look-see*, and a more recent example is *long time no see*, which is sometimes categorized as ‘Chinese English’ (see 6.2.2).

Many CPE expressions have reduplicative formation, as *chin-chin*, *chop-chop*, and *chow-chow*. This kind of reduplication can be found in other pidgins, such as *sing-sing* and *pom-pom* in New Guinea Pidgin (also known as Tok Pisin). In some respects, the process of Chinese people speaking pidgin is quite similar to that of babies learning a new language. It is believed that babies repeat words or syllables to create mental representations of what they heard; and this is why pidgin is sometimes called ‘baby talk’ (Leland 1876, McMahon 1994). Besides the repetition of the same words or syllables, letters can also be reduplicated. A good example is double *e*, with a dozen CPE expressions ending with *-ee* including *allee samee*, *catchee*, *littee*, *loosee*, *makee*, *muchee*, *piecee*, *talkee*, *too-muchee*, *walkee*, *wantchee*, and the like. *Lychee* and *sycee*, two Chinese-origin words, are very probably formed in this way as well.

Though the number of CPE expressions that are still in use today is not significant at all, they should never be forgotten, not only for their linguistic value, but also for their historical significance. Moreover, the techniques of forming CPE are adopted by its successors. In other words, these more recent types of Chinese Englishes inherit most features of CPE.

6.2 Englishes in contemporary China

As discussed in 6.1, Chinese-English contact started at the turn of the 17th century when the British ships arrived in Canton and formed Canton Jargon and later Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). Successors of CPE emerged after China’s open-door policy, with a larger

population involved in learning and using English in China.

According to Bolton's (2003) investigation, the total number of English learners in China is estimated to be more than 200 million. Nearly a decade later, the English-speaking population in China approximates 390 million (Wei and Su 2012). Some recent studies (e.g. Bolton and Graddol 2012, Jenkins 2014, Wang Ying 2017) suggest that the number is over 400 million, which even outnumbers the US population and is nearly one third of China's population. In this case, China, along with its 400 million English learners and users, provides a fruitful context for linguistic researchers and thus there is an increasing number of works in the literature (see 2.3.3). The following sections will discuss the post-CPE Englishes. But unlike previous works, this study pays more attention to Chinese-originated varieties of English that contribute more or less to the English-speaking world, rather than the Englishes restricted to the context of China.

6.2.1 *Chinglish*

A frequently-heard type of English-Chinese hybrid is *Chinglish*. Such blends of *X* and *English* have been formed and widespread since the 1970s (McArthur 1990). Like its counterparts including Singlish, Japlish, Spanglish, and many more, Chinglish is 'a localization of English in its expansion' (M. Zheng 2015: 164).

Like its predecessor CPE, *Chinglish* always carries negative connotations and is described by unfavourable adjectives such as 'poor', 'bad', and 'broken': it is regarded as an 'awkward mixture of Chinese and English' (Jiang 1995), a 'deficient nativist form of the English' (Henry 2010), and an 'erroneous' or 'error-ridden' version of English (Eaves 2011, Heng Hartse 2014). It is also believed that Chinglish threatens the purity of English (cf. Li Wei 2016). Many English learners in China feel ashamed and embarrassed to speak Chinglish. Considering this, the Chinese government and the general public have organised several campaigns – officially or voluntarily – to eliminate Chinglish in public places, especially prior to big events hosted in China, including APEC China 2001 and 2014, Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics, Expo 2010 Shanghai, 2016 G20 Hangzhou summit, and so on. But still, there are numerous Chinglish expressions on traffic and information signs, in the mass media, in shops and supermarkets, and on restaurant menus. Here are some illustrative examples that come up in a Google search for 'Chinglish' (Figure 6.1):

Figure 6.1. Examples of Chinglish expressions (Source: Google)



Many of these erroneous translations are produced by deficient translators or translation devices (Eaves 2011), or even by online translation machine. A recent governmental attempt on reducing Chinglish expressions is to issue a series of rules called the *Guidelines for the use of English in public service areas*, covering areas such as Transportation, Tourism, Culture and entertainment, Sports, Education, Health and medicine, Post and telecommunications, Accommodation and catering, and Commerce and finance. The *Guidelines* came into effect in December 2017, providing thousands of standard English translations in the hope of eliminating most Chinglish signs in the near future.

6.2.2 Chinese English

Many scholars (e.g. Z. He 1994, Kerr 2001, X. Hu 2004) equate *Chinese English* with *Chinglish*. By contrast, Eaves (2011) distinguishes *Chinglish* and *Chinese English*: she defines Chinglish as a nonsensical and erroneous form of language while Chinese English is an interlanguage (p. 65), though other scholars (e.g. Selinker 1972, Wei and Fei 2003) consider Chinglish as an interlanguage as well. To avoid using either *Chinglish* or *Chinese English*, Yip (1995) coins the term *Chinese-English Interlanguage* (CIL), which involves two linguistic systems, namely, Chinese (the native language) and English (the target language).

The dividing line between Chinglish and Chinese English is still not distinct at all. Following the model of Gupta's (1992) clear-cut distinction between Singapore Colloquial English and Singapore Educated English, a possible dichotomy between the two Chinese-English varieties can be set up: Chinglish is normally created by English learners at beginner's level while Chinese English is an educated variety of English (cf. Xu 2010, Eaves 2011).

Unlike the above-mentioned Chinglish examples that are pure nonsense, many Chinese English expressions are more comprehensible to Chinese natives and some English speakers; in other words, the meaning of these Chinese English words or phrases can often be guessed at. In 2009, a vote for 'Top 10 funny Chinese English expressions' was posted on *Sina* website and received more than 7000 votes (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. 'Top 10 funny Chinese English expressions' by netizens' vote (Source: Sina)

English	Chinese	Votes (percentage)
1. Good good study, day day up.	好好学习，天天向上	3529 (8.9%)
2. How are you? How old are you?	怎么是你？怎么老是你？	3470 (8.7%)
3. You have seed. I will give you some color to see see. Brothers! Together up!	你有种，我要给你点颜色瞧瞧，兄弟们，一起上！	3143 (7.9%)
4. You ask me, me ask who?	你问我，我问谁？	3117 (7.8%)
5. We two who and who?	咱俩谁跟谁？	2943 (7.4%)
6. No three no four	不三不四	2585 (6.5%)
7. Horse horse tiger tiger	马马虎虎	2292 (5.8%)
8. One car come, one car go, two car pengpeng, one car died!	关于一场车祸的描述	2193 (5.5%)
9. people mountain people sea	人山人海	2080 (5.2%)
10. If you want money, I have no; if you want life, I have one!	要钱没有，要命一条！	2054 (5.2%)

Most Chinese English expressions are word-for-word translation such as *Good good study, day day up*, meaning 'if you study hard, you will improve day by day.' Though there is ungrammatical duplication in this idiom, the English version is not too far away from its original meaning. Another good example is *people mountain people sea*, which figuratively describes a flow of people. Similarly, *One car come, one car go, two car pengpeng, one car died!* is a very vivid depiction of a car accident and a good illustration of code-mixing. Since *crash* may not be a familiar English word for some language learners, a Chinese onomatopoeia *pengpeng*, an equivalent of 'bang' in English, is used instead. But not all Chinese English expressions are easily understandable. *Horse horse tiger tiger*, a frequent four-character Chinese idiomatic expression, makes no sense to

English speakers. This idiom simply means ‘so-so’, but even some Chinese people do not know that the combination of the two animals originally comes from a folk tale. The set of questions *How are you?* and *How old are you?*, referring to ‘Why are you here?’ and ‘Why are you always here?’ respectively, coincide with existing English expressions and cause some misunderstanding.

Long time no see, originally a CPE expression, is still in use today and can be regarded as a classic example of Chinese English. Unlike the examples above, *Long time no see* is not a completely literal translation because its equivalents in Mandarin and Cantonese are 好久不见 (lit. ‘very long not see’) and 好耐唔見 (lit. ‘very long time not see’) respectively (cf. Mair 2012). The phrase is very frequently used as a greeting by English users in China but also by native English speakers in the English-speaking world, and it has been included in both the *OED* and the *M-W*. It is possible to predict that other Chinese English expressions will be gradually adopted by the English community sooner or later.

Several scholars (e.g. Li Wei 2016, Xu and Deterding 2017) categorize these innovative Chinese English expressions as ‘New Chinglish’ (see 6.2.4 for further discussion). However, these expressions are not that ‘new’ compared to a number of more recent innovations. Considering the fact that New Chinglish expressions require themselves a certain newness and require the users to have higher-level knowledge of English and more innovative linguistic techniques, I still put the abovementioned expressions in the category of ‘Chinese English.’

6.2.3 China English

‘China English’, first coined by the Chinese scholar Ge Chuangui in 1980, refers to a Chinese variety of English that can express China-specific things such as *Four Books* (四书), *Five Classics* (五经), *eight-legged essay* (八股文), *May Fourth Movement* (五四运动), *Four Modernizations* (四个现代化), and the like. Nearly a decade later, Ge’s term has become widely employed by other scholars, though with slightly different definitions. According to R. Wang’s (1991) definition, China English is the English ‘used by Chinese people in China, with Standard English as its core along with Chinese characteristics’ (p. 3, my translation). Li Wenzhong (1993) redefines China English as an English variety taking Standard English as its basis, with Chinese features of lexis, syntax and discourse, but without any L1 interference. But it is arguable that there is interference in intercultural

communication between English and Chinese (Xie 1995). Li Wenzhong (1993) also suggests that China English is not confined to Chinese people in China, and this suggestion is supported by later works (e.g. A. Zhang 1997, Li Wei 2007, He and Li 2009). He and Li (2009) further point out that rather than Standard English, it is more appropriate to describe standard Englishes in the plural as the core of China English.

Despite these slight disagreements about the definition of China English, there is broad consensus in the literature on the definite distinction between China English and other types, that is, to express China-specific things or concepts. There are three major ways of introducing unique Chinese expressions (cf. Cheng 1983, Li Wenzhong 1993, He and Li 2009, Xu 2010):

- **transliteration** (e.g. *fengshui*, *mahjong*, *kungfu*, *tai chi*, *Putonghua*, *Renminbi* / *RMB*, *dazibao*, *maotai*)
- **translation** (e.g. *iron rice bowl*, *capitalist roader*, *paper tiger*, *running dog*, *Gang of Four*, *one country two systems*, *Three Represents*, *Four Modernizations*, *the Spring Festival*)
- **semantic regeneration** or **semantic extension** (e.g. *face*, *intellectual*, *propaganda*, *cadre*)

Many of these examples have made their way to the English world: they can be used by English natives, appear on mass media, or be included in mainstream English dictionaries. At the beginning of the borrowing process, they can be regarded as nonce borrowings, that is, lexical items used once, or a very few times, in the recipient language (Thomason 2003). Once these lexical items have been widely used and achieved more established status in the English lexicon, they can be considered as the end products of lexical borrowing. Thus, these three approaches of transmitting Chinese concepts correspond to the three types of lexical borrowing, namely, loanword, loan translation, and semantic loan (see Chapter 4). This also conforms with the idea that nonce borrowings are possible to become regular and established borrowings (cf. Thomason 2003, Haspelmath 2009, Poplack 2017). In addition, these China English expressions require certain knowledge of Chinese cultural entities, which reflect some key aspects of Chinese social and cultural life.

In terms of semantic domains, many of the examples mentioned above, as well as others

that have not been mentioned already, are associated with politics and governance, such as *one country two systems*, *Four Modernizations*, *reform and opening up*, *socialism with Chinese characteristics*, *Three Represents*, *Harmonious society*, *Chinese dream*, *New Era*, and the like (see also 7.3.4). These peculiar styles of political expressions or slogans are termed ‘Xinhua English’ or ‘New China News English’ or ‘Zhonglish’ (cf. Mair 2009a, 2009b, Alvaro 2013, Pu and Wang 2013, Li Wei 2016), since most of them are coined or translated by Xinhua News Agency, the official press agency of China.

According to Kachru’s (1985 and later) well-known three concentric circle model of World Englishes, the China English variety (or Chinese English as called by some scholars) is used in the same way as other varieties of English such as British English, American English, Australian English, Singaporean English, Sri Lankan English, Japanese English, and Korean English. Furthermore, the Chinese variety of English belongs to the Expanding Circle, where English is used as a foreign language (EFL). China English, for the moment, is still not as legitimately standard and widely used as British English and American English. But China English is a developing variety recognized by many scholars, especially Chinese scholars (e.g. Li Wenzhong 1993, Jiang 2003, Wei and Fei 2003, X. Hu 2004, Xu 2010a) with the expectation that in the very near future it will become a standard or a member of the Inner Circle. Additionally, in the past two decades, several surveys show that teachers and students home and abroad are developing more positive attitudes towards China English (cf. Kirkpatrick and Xu 2002, X. Hu 2004, 2005, Chen and Hu 2006, He and Li 2009, Hansen Edwards 2017). It may be that we will not have a long wait, since so many words and phrases have already made their way to the English vocabulary used outside of China (see the examples above and in Chapter 4).

6.2.4 *New Chinglish*

Wei and Fei (2003) examines the development of English in China, which has gone through three stages: (1) Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), (2) Chinglish, and (3) Chinese English and China English, which have been discussed in the previous sections of the present study. In the same vein, Wang Ying (2017) identifies four strands of English in China. The first three strands echo Wei and Fei’s (2003) three stages, while the fourth strand is related to Chinese speakers’ own English within the framework of ELF. This strand is termed ‘New Chinglish’ and is proposed by very recent works (e.g. Li Wei 2016, Xu and Deterding 2017). Li Wei (2016) further divides New Chinglish into three types

as follows:

- (1) New Chinglish with Chinese regional accents and flavour that are mainly comprehensible to native Chinese speakers;
- (2) Re-appropriated English words and phrases that have been assigned Chinese meanings, again mainly comprehensible to native Chinese speakers only; and
- (3) Shitizen Chinglish – new inventions of English words and expressions with Chinese characters, usually mediated through new social media. (p. 12).

For the first type, Li Wei (2016) uses English Brother (英语哥) as an example. English Brother, whose real name is Zhang Xu (张旭), uploaded a video in which he spoke English with ten different Chinese dialects in 2012.³⁴ His Chinglish has two obvious features: the code-mixing of English and Chinese and the non-native-like pronunciation of English with distinctive accents. But it is not an exaggeration since many Chinese people in different regions have a strong accent and would speak English in a similar way as the video shows. Following English Brother, a more recent and hugely popular *wanghong* (网红, which means ‘internet celebrity’) called Papi Jiang (Papi酱), whose real name is Jiang Yilei (姜逸磊), has made a series of short videos on the code-mixing of English and Shanghainese (probably called Shanglish or Shanghailish) since 2015. In addition, Papi Jiang shot another video to summarize eight ways of mixing English and Chinese such as giving emphasis, adding conjunctions, inserting jargons and acronyms, using proper names, and so on, attracting over one million views on the *bilibili* website and over 0.8 million views on Youtube.³⁵ Li Wei’s second type of New Chinglish corresponds to ‘Chinese English’ in the present study. The remaining part of this section turns to look at the third type, the so-called ‘Shitizen Chinglish’, with a range of interesting examples listed in previous studies (e.g. Xu and Deterding 2017, Xu and Tian 2017, Li Wei 2016, 2018) and a news report from *People’s Daily* (Ren et al. 2010). Generally speaking, New Chinglish expressions are formed by the following four approaches:

³⁴ Available at https://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XMzgwNjkyMDI0/.

³⁵ Available at <https://www.bilibili.com/video/av5954441/> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OyIE4Ez0hA&index=6&list=RD2-VZ6yGs6WI/>.

- **Blending**

Table 6.3. List of New Chinglish expressions formed by blending

New Chinglish expression	Chinese expression	Meaning
Chinsumer	中国消费者	A Chinese consumer.
eggache	蛋疼	Formerly a male version of PMS; now in extensive use, a feeling of irritation in a situation where nothing can be done.
foulsball	中国足球	Chinese football.
goveruption	政腐	A government with corruption.
gunvernment	枪杆子政权	After a quotation from Mao, ‘Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.’
Innernet	中国互联网	Chinese internet.
sexcretary	小蜜	A secretary who has an affair with the boss.
shitizen	屁民	A citizen who feels he or she has no rights in the country.
smilence	笑而不语	Smiling while keeping silent.
stuck market	中国股市	Chinese stock market.
stupig	笨猪	As stupid as a pig.
suihide	躲猫猫	The death of a person after playing hide-and-seek.

Blending is a frequently-used strategy for creating New Chinglish words, as these examples show, such as *smilence* (< *smile* + *silence*), *Chinsumer* (< *Chinese* + *consumer*), *gunvernment* (< *gun* + *government*), and *democrazy* (< *democracy* + *crazy*). Though other countries also have consumers, football, internet, and stock market, the innovative expressions *Chinsumer*, *foulsball*, *Innernet*, and *stuck market* demonstrates their peculiar characteristics in the context of China. Compared to simply adding an ethnic tag like ‘Chinese’ before the word, the coinage of New Chinglish words is much more playful and sometimes voices Chinese netizens’ complaints in a roundabout way.

- **Insertion**

Table 6.4. List of New Chinglish expressions formed by insertion

New Chinglish expression	Chinese expression	Meaning
departyment	政府部门	Government departments that are derelict in their duties.
profartssor	叫兽	A professor who talks nonsense in class.
propoority	房地产	Property in the form of buildings that will make people poor.
togayther	好基友一辈子	Applied to gay couples’ rights to get together.

Similar to the approach of blending, there are also some examples of insertion, such as *togayther* (< *together* + *gay*) and *propoority* (< *property* + *poor*), placing one existing English word into another one. These kinds of New Chinglish words sound quite similar to the original English word but have a specific Chinese flavour in terms of their meanings, which in most cases carry negative connotations.

- **Code-mixing**

Table 6.5. List of New Chinglish expressions formed by code-mixing

New Chinglish expression	Chinese expression	Meaning
geilivable	给力	Cool, very good, pleasant.
halfyuan	五毛	Worth half a yuan or 50 cents in RMB; extended to internet commentators who try to guide public opinion.
niubility	牛逼	The ability of doing something damn well.
No zuo no die	不作死不会死	If you don't do bad things, you will be in a trouble.
shability	傻逼	The ability of doing silly things.
You can you up, no can no bb.	你行你上啊, 不行别逼逼。	If you can do it, just do it; if you can't, just keep silent.
zhuangbility	装逼	The ability of showing off oneself.
No Z-turn	不折腾	Avoiding taking drastic actions that may cause trouble.

Another method of coinage is to mix Chinese and English words or morphemes. Different from the blending examples mentioned above which normally mix two English words, this type of coinage involves both Chinese and English elements. Several examples contain the English suffixes *-able* and *-ability*, meaning the quality of being the stated, as *geilivable* (< *geili* 给力 + *-able*), *niubility* (< *niubi* 牛逼 + *-ability*), *shability* (< *shabi* 傻逼 + *-ability*), *zhuangbility* (< *zhuangbi* 装逼 + *-ability*), and the like.

At the phrase level, a good example is *no zuo no die*, which probably follows the pattern of 'no pain no gain' and derives from the Chinese phrase '不作死就不会死', meaning 'if you don't do bad things, you will be in a trouble.' *Zuo* (作) comes from Wu dialect and is normally used to describe girls (especially Shanghainese girls) who are spoiled, stagy, and affected. But none of these adjectives accurately express the same meaning as *zuo*, and because there is no English equivalent, the Chinese word *zuo* is kept in the phrase.

Another example is *you can you up, no can no BB*, where the second part of the sentence has the same structure as *no zuo no die*. Again, this expression comes from Chinese cyber-slang ‘你行你上啊，不行别逼逼’, in which *bibi* (逼逼) is a slang used in northern China meaning ‘gabby’ or ‘talky.’ So the whole sentence means ‘if you can do it, just do it; if you can’t, just keep silent.’ Since the pronunciation of *bibi* in Chinese is the same as *BB* in English, the simpler form *BB* is used in the coinage instead.

An early pioneer of this type is *taikonaut* (< *taikong* 太空 + *astronaut*), which has already been included in several English dictionaries such as the *OED*, *Collins*, and *Macmillan*. The successful integration of *taikonaut* into the mainstream dictionaries show the possibility of turning an instance of code-mixing or nonce borrowing into a more frequent and stable borrowing. Hopefully, some instances of Chinese-English code-mixing and other New Chinglish expressions formed by different approaches will follow the same path of *taikonaut* and continue to enlarge the English vocabulary.

• Transliteration

Table 6.6. List of New Chinglish expressions formed by transliteration

New Chinglish expression	Chinese expression	Meaning
daigou	代购	A person outside China who purchases goods for customers in China; also the action of this kind of purchasing.
dama	大妈	A middle-aged Chinese woman.
Duang	龘	The sound of bouncy hair.
fuerdai	富二代	A person born with a silver spoon in his or her mouth.
guanggun	光棍	A bachelor.
hukou	户口	An official document certifying residence.
lianghui	两会	The annual plenary sessions of Chinese political organizations.
laowai	老外	A foreigner in China.
shengnu	剩女	A bachelor girl.
tuhao	土豪 / 壕	A Chinese nouveau riche.
wanghong	网红	A social media KOL (key opinion leader).

Transliteration is without doubt the easiest and quickest way of creating a new word or phrase. Therefore, a number of New Chinglish words are coined by transliterating their original Chinese pronunciation (see Table 6.6). Many words in this category represent a particular group of people in society such as *dama*, *tuhao*, *wanghong*, *fuerdai*, and *daigou*

(see also the semantic field of **Society and Community** in Chapter 7). Most of the words listed above are widely used on social media as well as in mass media in English-speaking countries. As an example, *duang* is an onomatopoeic word coined by Jackie Chan, a Chinese Kungfu superstar. In a TV commercial, Jackie Chan said *duang* to describe how bouncy his hair is after using a shampoo. However, *duang* is not an existing Chinese word, so Chinese netizens use Jackie Chan's Chinese name to create a new Chinese character 噹 (pronounced as 'duang'). The coinage of this new Chinese character was even reported by *BBC* (Chen and Devichand 2 March 2015) and *The Economist* (5 July 2016) due to Jackie Chan's great influence.

A further step for New Chinglish words via transliteration is to be permanently borrowed into the English lexicon, in other words, to become loanwords, just like many China English words have already done. The dividing line between the transliterated China English words and the transliterated New Chinglish words relates to the fact that those of the former type have already been loanwords in English, such as *fengshui*, *maotai*, and *Renminbi*. However, this line is not solid because a few New Chinglish words have made their way into the English-speaking world. For example, *daigou* has been included in the *Macquarie Dictionary* since the daigou market in Australia is huge. Similarly, there is an entry for *hukou* in *Oxford Dictionaries* already. Chinese people are eager to see more Chinese-originated words entering mainstream dictionaries, which makes this process a hotbed of fake news (see also 3.1.6).

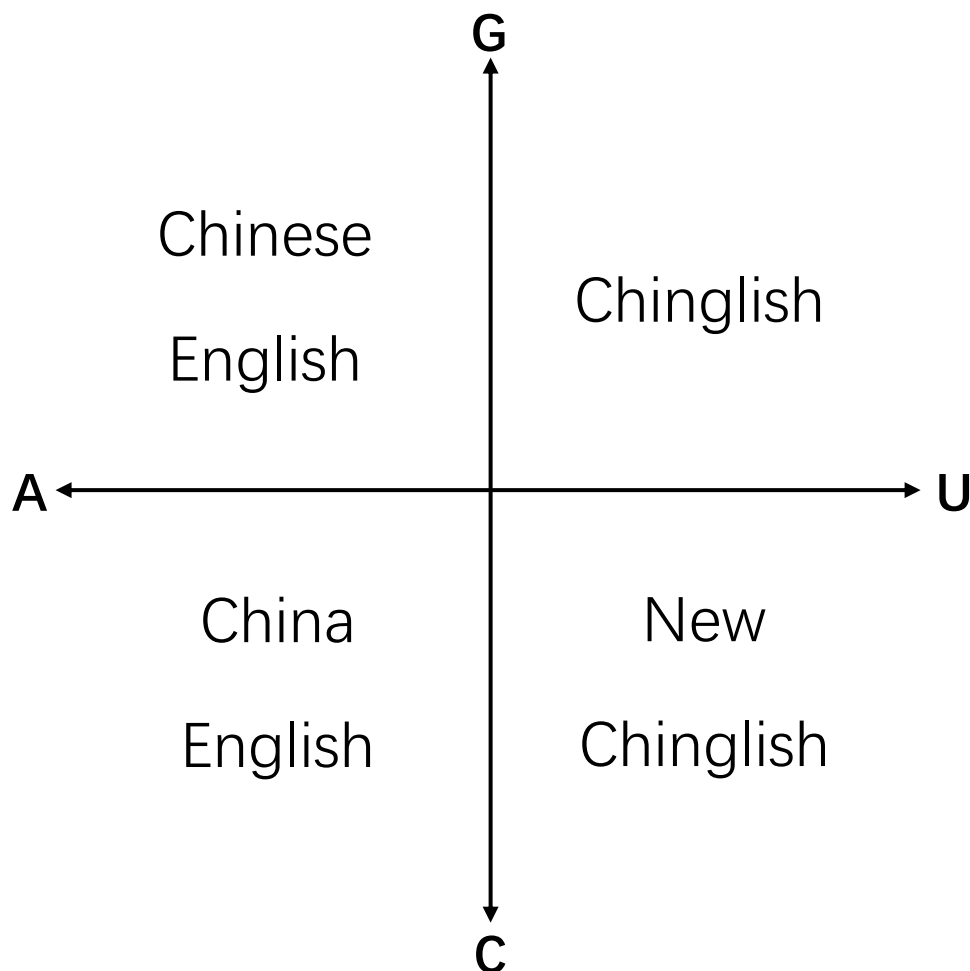
This emerging variety is mostly created by the new generation of English learners in China. Unlike the Chinglish expressions used by previous generations, New Chinglish ones have fewer errors but more creativity. It is also worthwhile mentioning that this new variety is mainly used by the 'digital natives' and is spreading fast online. The digital generation are confident of playing on words and thus continuously contribute to English neologisms. Thanks to numerous netizens, several New Chinglish expressions have occurred on crowdsourced websites such as *Urban Dictionary* and *Wikipedia*, including *smilence*, *profartssor*, *geilivable*, *no zuo no die*, *laowai* and *tuhao*, which is a good starting point for borrowing.

6.3 Generalization of Chinese Englishes

The final section of this chapter attempts to deal with the dissimilarities and similarities between these Chinese varieties of English. Rather than redefine them, I propose a model

to illustrate their features. This model (as shown in Figure 6.2) is built in imitation of the Cartesian Coordinate System in geometry.

Figure 6.2. The model of Chinese Englishes



The following points need to be clarified:

- Two axes divide the plane into four areas (or ‘quadrants’ in geometric terminology), namely, Chinglish, Chinese English, China English, and New Chinglish.
- The horizontal axis represents the degree of acceptance in the English lexicon, with ‘acceptable’ (A) and ‘unacceptable’ (U) standing at opposite ends of the continuum. Compared to Chinglish and New Chinglish, Chinese English and China English have gained wider acceptance in the English-speaking world, with a number of expressions being included in mainstream dictionaries, such as *long time no see*, *add oil*, *fengshui*, *Putonghua*, *paper tiger*, and so on. By contrast, Chinglish and New Chinglish are more casual and playful, and look more like vernaculars produced by English learners.

Furthermore, most New Chinglish expressions are confined to the Internet for the moment, but due to worldwide media coverage, they will reach an acceptable level soon. There are already entries for *daigou* and *hukou* in the *Macquarie Dictionary* and *Oxford Dictionaries* respectively.

- The vertical axis is associated with Chinese characteristics, with ‘grammatical’ (G) at one end and ‘cultural’ (C) at the other. All varieties of Chinese Englishes reflect Chinese characteristics to some extent. Chinglish and Chinese English demonstrate a stronger flavour of Chinese grammatical features than the other two varieties so that they contain more word-for-word translation as well as ungrammatical expressions, such as *slip carefully*, *long time no see*, and *Good good study, day day up*. On the other hand, China English also has some literal-translated expressions like *iron rice bowl* and *Spring Festival*, but most expressions are at the word or phrase level and thus have less syntactic mistakes. At the same time, both China English and New Chinglish expressions introduce more Chinese-specific things and cultural concepts to the English-speaking world. Therefore, the coinage of China English and New Chinglish words or phrases require a higher level of linguistic techniques and sounder knowledge of Chinese culture.
- The four regions are infinite; in other words, those Chinese Englishes do not reach but are rather comparatively closer to the extremes. In regard to acceptance, for instance, more expressions that belong to China English and Chinese English have gained general or even complete acceptance, but a few New Chinglish expressions are getting more attention in the English-speaking world and are being integrated into the English system as well.
- This is not a perfect nexus of the four Chinese varieties of English. Some linguistic information cannot be demonstrated by this model, such as the approaches or the processes of forming expressions, their historical development, their relation to CPE, their frequency in use, the semantic fields that contain more such expressions, and so on. As has been mentioned before, Englishes in contemporary China follow some features of CPE, such as their fused syntactic construction and restricted vocabulary. If CPE is added to this model, it should be placed in the middle: in terms of the acceptance in the English-speaking world, a dozen pidgin words, including *chop-chop* and *chop-stick*, have entered mainstream dictionaries and come into common use now,

but even more do not survive; as for the Chinese characteristics, CPE expressions apparently bear very Chinese-style grammatical features, and meanwhile, record history and culture with lexical items, which make an impact on China's contemporary culture and language trends.

Overall, it is possible in theory that this model could be applied to other pidgins or Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes with similar mechanisms of linguistic borrowing. However, it is hard to test this for the moment because firstly, not all pidgins have a as long history as CPE, which is the oldest form of pidgin English, and secondly, most Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes have less speakers and thus less influences than Chinese Englishes. In spite of this, considering the new model has potential wide applicability to many emerging language varieties, it serves as a useful starting point for further discussion.

PART III. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

Chapter 7

Semantic sketches

Part III consists of two chapters attempting to show that Chinese expressions have been borrowed into a number of different semantic fields but have been more influential in some than others. The idea of giving semantic sketches in this chapter is largely inspired by the series of historical dictionaries by Cannon, in which he organises the data into a range of semantic fields and writes an analytical essay before each dictionary. In this way, the dictionary-like books are more informative for people who are interested in various subject areas. Following Cannon's approach, I will represent the data in three general categories and 14 subcategories by describing each semantic category, accompanied with a complementary list of words in that specific field. The classification of the present study is mainly based on the hierarchical structure of the *Historical Thesaurus*, but with some changes in conformity with the Chinese-specific items and the weight of each category: there are several reheadings and regroupings; and those categories that have very few or null Chinese contributions are removed. The semantic framework of categories and subcategories are displayed in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1. The classification of the semantic fields in this study

The External World	The Mental World	The Social World
Plants	Religio-Philosophy	Society & Community
Animals	Mythology	Technology
Food & Drink	Language & Linguistics	Trade & Finance
Textiles & Clothing		Politics
People		Intangible Cultural Properties
		Leisure

Aside from the *OED*, various sources such as other dictionaries, media contents and real-life data all contribute numerous examples to different semantic fields. **The External World** and **The Social World** are two massive groups according to the data, and contain similar numbers of lexical items, distributed across their subcategories; comparatively speaking, **The Mental World** is a much smaller group. Across all three top-level categories, a large proportion of Chinese borrowings designate words for Chinese-specific concepts or objects which are not already known in English, and therefore cannot be regarded as core borrowings. Many of the lexical items mentioned in this chapter, and a significant proportion of the lexis included in this study overall, are either very rare or

nonce borrowings; in many cases, they are likely to become more established in the English lexicon, for example as a result of their use in the media or their appearance in particular dictionaries or other sources. In several fields, Chinese borrowings are mainly restricted to technical vocabulary; this is discussed further in the following sections, and interdisciplinary perspectives are also adopted to approach the vocabulary of these particular specialist fields.

7.1 The External World

The first top-level category is **The External World**, which is divided into five further sub-categories that show tangible evidence of Chinese influence on other civilizations. The flora and fauna of China are introduced to the English-speaking countries and then enrich the English language, mostly with an ethnic tag to denote their birthplace. Chinese food is without doubt a rich supply of linguistic borrowings, including numerous well-known loanwords as well as many surprising Chinglish expressions. The revival of Chinese clothing is largely due to the widespread media coverage and celebrity effect, making those Chinese-originated terms come into fashion in the English-speaking world. Since China is the world's most populous country, a number of demonyms for the local inhabitants and foreigners in China are widely used in English, though many stereotypical expressions are still in use today.

7.1.1 Plants

Plant is without doubt a fruitful area of Chinese borrowings, with a number of expressions with ethnic tags. According to the data from the *OED* and the *M-W*, the ethnic tag 'Chinese' alone contributes over 70 expressions of flora (see the list below). Plant names that contain the tag 'China' are fewer, around 20, and some of them use 'China' and 'Chinese' alternately, such as *China / Chinese jute*, *China / Chinese pink*, *China / Chinese rose*, and *China / Chinese wood oil*.

Since many plants are edible, there is a considerable overlap between the fields **Plant** and **Food and Drink**. Chinese vegetables enrich westerners' table with the greenish *pe-tsai*, *bok choy*, *choy sum*, *tat soi*, and *gai lan* (see Table 7.2). Most of them are the varieties of species *Brassica rapa*, except *gai lan*, which belongs to *Brassica oleracea*.

Table 7.2. Names for Chinese plants

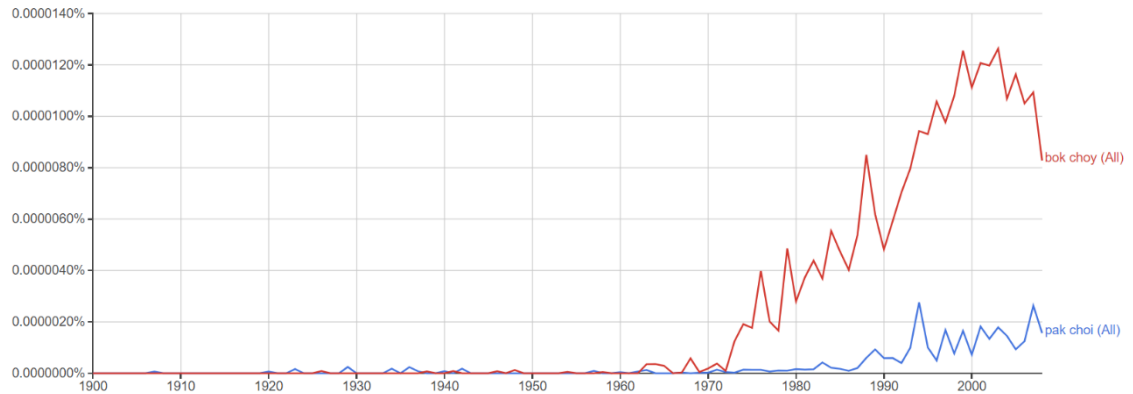
Botanical name	Common name	Mandarin name	Cantonese name
<i>Brassica rapa</i> var. <i>pekinensis</i>	Chinese cabbage, Chinese leaf, Chinese leaf lettuce, napa cabbage	<i>pe-tsai</i> [< 白菜 <i>bai</i> cai, lit. ‘white vegetable’ or 大白菜 da bai cai, lit. ‘big white vegetable’]	<i>sui choy</i> [< 绍菜 <i>siu</i> coi, lit. ‘Shao (place name?) vegetable’], <i>wombok</i> [< 黄芽白 wong ngaa baak, lit. ‘yellow sprout white’]
<i>Brassica rapa</i> var. <i>chinensis</i>	Chinese cabbage, Chinese white cabbage, Shanghai Chinese chard	[青菜 <i>qing cai</i> , lit. ‘green vegetable’ or 小 白菜 <i>xiao bai cai</i> , lit. ‘little white vegetable’]	<i>bok choy</i> , <i>pak choy</i> , <i>tsing pak choy</i> [< 白菜 baak coi, lit. ‘white vegetable’]
<i>Brassica rapa</i> var. <i>parachinensis</i>	Chinese flowering cabbage	[菜心 <i>cai xin</i> , lit. ‘vegetable heart’]	<i>choy sum</i> , <i>choi sum</i> [< 菜心 <i>coi sam</i> , lit. ‘vegetable heart’]
<i>Brassica rapa</i> var. <i>rosularis</i>	Chinese flat cabbage	<i>tat tsai</i> [< 塌菜 <i>ta cai</i> , lit. ‘flat vegetable’ or 塌棵菜, lit. ‘flat ke (quantifier) vegetable’]	<i>tat soi</i> [< 塌菜 <i>taap</i> coi, lit. ‘flat vegetable’]
<i>Brassica oleracea</i> var. <i>alboglabra</i>	Chinese broccoli, Chinese kale	[芥蓝 <i>jie lan</i> , lit. ‘mustard blue’]	<i>gai lan</i> [< 芥兰 (or 芥 蓝) <i>gaai laan</i> , lit. ‘mustard orchid’]

Obviously, the botanical names with awkward-sounding Latin morphemes are so difficult for daily use that only encyclopaedias refer to flora using their botanical names. For the sake of everyday use, common names are more widely used and many of them begin with an ethnic tag. Since common names are normally neither official nor standardized, a single species may get several names, for example, *Chinese broccoli* and *Chinese kale* both refer to *Brassica oleracea* var. *alboglabra* (see the ‘common name’ column in Table 7.2). However, these kinds of descriptive English names are quite confusing: broccoli and kale are absolutely different vegetables in English. In that case, the loanword *gai lan* (芥蓝, lit. ‘mustard orchid’) causes less confusion and indicates the plant is native to China, though the Cantonese pronunciation may be difficult for both Mandarin and English speakers.

Another ambiguous term is *Chinese cabbage*, which can refer to either the *pekinensis* variety or the *chinensis* variety. In order to avoid ambiguity, UK groceries coincidentally use *Chinese leaf* and *pak choy* to name the two varieties respectively. It should be noted that *pak choy* is a British-preferred spelling while *bok choy* is more widely used in North America, as suggested by the *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. In terms of frequency, *pak choy*

is the less common variant of *bok choy* in dictionaries and other written sources, as is shown in the Ngram of names denoting this plant species (see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1. Ngram of *bok choy* and *pak choy*



Interestingly, the headword is *pak-choi* in *OED2* but is changed into *bok choy* in *OED3 Online*. Meanwhile, UK supermarkets including Waitrose, Sainsbury's, and Morrison's are still using *pak choy* (or *green pak choy*) on their packages (see Figure 7.2). This may be a mismatch of a word's usage in real life and in recorded sources.

Figure 7.2. Pak choy packages in different supermarkets



China's lovely fruits should not be left out. Many of them were borrowed into the English lexicon in a fairly early period, such as *litchi* (1588), *longan* (1655), *kumquat* (1699), *loquat* (1829), and *wampee* (1830). *Litchi* (or *lychee*) is even listed among the first recorded loanwords from Chinese in Freeborn's famous book *From Old English to Standard English* (1998: 351). A more recent contribution of Chinese fruit is an edible

‘berry’, *goji berry* or simply *goji*, which entered the *OED* in 2010 with the first attestation in 2002. Again, the loanword *goji* may lead to less misunderstanding than its previous vernacular name *wolfberry*, though the *OED* suggests that *goji* ‘may originate from an irregular transliteration.’

List:

bean sprouts, bok choy / pak choy, Buddha’s hand, China aster, China bean, China berry, China brier, China cinnamon, China fir, China grass, China jute, China orange, China pea, China pink, China root, China rose, China shot, China tea, China tree, China wood oil, Chinese air plant, Chinese angelica, Chinese anise, Chinese arborvitae, Chinese artichoke, Chinese azalea, Chinese banana, Chinese bellflower, Chinese mushroom, Chinese bladdernut, Chinese bush cherry, Chinese cherry, Chinese chestnut, Chinese chive, Chinese cinnamon, Chinese cork tree, Chinese crab, Chinese date, Chinese dogwood, Chinese elm, Chinese evergreen, Chinese fan palm, Chinese fleecyvine, Chinese forget-me-not, Chinese gall, Chinese ginger, Chinese gooseberry, Chinese grass, Chinese hat plant, Chinese hibiscus, Chinese holly, Chinese jujube, Chinese lantern, Chinese lemon, Chinese lilac, Chinese lily, Chinese long bean, Chinese matrimony vine, Chinese millet, Chinese money plant, Chinese nut, Chinese okra, Chinese olive, Chinese orange, Chinese pagoda tree, Chinese parasol, Chinese parsley, Chinese pear, Chinese pitcher-plant, Chinese primrose, Chinese pulse, Chinese quince, Chinese rhubarb, Chinese sacred lily, Chinese silk plant, Chinese snowball, Chinese squill, Chinese sugar-cane, Chinese sumach, Chinese tallow, Chinese toon / Chinese cedar, Chinese trumpet creeper, Chinese varnish, Chinese water-lily, Chinese watermelon, Chinese wistaria, Chinese witch hazel, Chinese yam, choy sum, eagle-flower / immortal eagle flower, gai lan / Chinese broccoli / Chinese kale, ginkgo, ginseng, goji / goji berry / Chinese wolfberry, kaoliang, kumquat, ling, ling chih, litchi / lychee, longan, loquat, moc-main, moutan, pe-tsai / Chinese leaf, tat soi, towcok, tung / tung tree / tung oil tree, wampee, whangee, whitebark pine / whitebark pine tree, wood ear / tree ear, yulan

7.1.2 Animals

Compared to the field of **Plants**, the **Animals** field has relatively fewer Chinese borrowings. The largest group within this field is made up of bird names, with dogs and insects following and a smaller number of other mammals and sea creatures. A plausible hypothesis is that to bring animal species from the East to the West is much harder than to bring plant species. But like the field of **Plants**, a large proportion of the Chinese

influence in this field is represented by expressions that bear an ethnic tag. For example, ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’, denoting the country’s name, can be found in *China bedbug*, *China cantharides*, *China hog*, *China mink*, *China rooster*, *Chinese goose*, *Chinese greenfinch*, *Chinese mountain cat*, *Chinese muntjac deer*, *Chinese painted quail*, *Chinese pheasant*, *Chinese rose beetle*, *Chinese scale*, *Chinese Teal*, *Chinese thrush*, and *Chinese water deer* (*OED*, *M-W*). Sometimes the labels ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’ are used alternately as in *Chinese wax* and *China wax*.

Specific regional tags are also common in naming animal species, such as *Peking duck* (here it refers to a type of large white duck, not the dish), *Peking nightingale*, *Peking robin*, *Peking spaniel*, *Tibetan mastiff*, *Tibetan spaniel*, *Tibetan terrier*, and the like. Interestingly, *nankeen*, an older form of the city name Nanking, is used in the names of two Australian birds, namely *nankeen hawk* (or also called *nankeen kestrel*) and *nankeen night heron* (or *nankeen crane*, *nankeen heron*, *nankeen bird*). However, in these cases *nankeen* does not indicate the geographical origin of the bird, but refers to a yellowish colour and thus is spelt with or without capitalization. In a few cases, the national tag and the regional tag can be alternately used, such as *Chinese wolf* / *Tibetan wolf* and *Chinese mitten crab* / *Shanghai hairy crab*, but the regional ones give a clearer hint about their birth place.

Several place names or related forms alone designate Chinese species: *Langshan*, a hill in Nantong, refers to a breed of Chinese domestic fowl; *Lhasa*, a city in western China, names a variety of Tibetan dog, though it is more commonly called *Lhasa apso*; *Pekinese*, apparently derived from *Pekin*, denotes a breed of hairy dog which was brought from China to Europe in 1860 (*OED*). Another example is *Mamenchisaurus*, binding the Chinese root *Mamenchi* and the Latin combining form *-saurus* (probably from Greek σαῦρος ‘lizard’), which always appears in words relating to dinosaurs. Therefore, *Mamenchisaurus* simply means a genus of dinosaur whose fossil was found in Mamenchi. As a matter of fact, *Mamenchi* is a corruption of Mamingxi (马鸣溪, lit. ‘horse neigh creek’), the name of a ferry crossing in Sichuan. When the dinosaur term was borrowed back to Chinese, the mistaken transliteration was kept in Chinese as ‘马门溪龙’, which literally means ‘horse gate creek dragon.’

Three loan translations are found in this field and are all included in the *OED*. One is *armour-fish*, a mysterious fish found in South China Sea, originating from Chinese

zhoujiayu or *kuijiayu* (胄甲鱼 or 盔甲鱼, lit. ‘helmet fish’); the second one is *goldfish*, a small freshwater fish native to China, probably after Chinese *huangjinyu* (黄金鱼, lit. ‘yellow gold fish’); the final one is *ironsmith*, a small bird species, which is loosely translated from *datieque* (打铁雀, lit. ‘forge iron finch’).

Chinese people have domesticated dogs since ancient times, and thus a range of dog breeds and their names were brought to the West from China. Besides the abovementioned ones accompanied by location tags or named after locations, there are several loanwords for Chinese breeds, including *wonk* (from Chinese *huang* 黄 ‘yellow’), *Shar-Pei* (from *shapi* 沙皮 ‘sandy fur’), *shih-tzu* (from *shizi* 狮子 ‘lion’), and *chow-chow* or its shortened form *chow* (from *xiao* 獠 ‘a kind of dog’). The pidgin word *chow-chow* is also a derogatory term for a Chinese person. Similarly, in Chinese culture, calling a person ‘dog’ is always pejorative. For example, *running dog* (走狗, lit. ‘walk dog’), a former political term, is used to refer to a lackey.

Several animal species, despite definitely being introductions from China, contain no reference to the Chinese origin in their names, and thus are not included in the list below. Examples of this kind include Lady Amherst’s pheasant, panda, Père David’s deer, ring-necked pheasant, rose pigeon, sika, and tangun horse.

List:

Dogs: chow / chow-chow, Lhasa apso, Pekinese / Peking spaniel, Shar-Pei, shih-tzu, Tibetan mastiff, Tibetan spaniel, Tibetan terrier, wonk

Other mammals: China hog, China mink, Chinese mountain cat, Chinese muntjac deer, Chinese water deer, Chinese wolf / Tibetan wolf

Birds: China rooster, Chinese goose, Chinese greenfinch, Chinese painted quail, Chinese pheasant, Chinese Teal, Chinese thrush, ironsmith, Langshan, mandarin duck / mandarin, nankeen hawk / nankeen kestrel, nankeen night heron / nankeen crane / nankeen heron / nankeen bird, Peking duck, Peking nightingale, Peking robin, Shanghai fowl

Insects: China bedbug, China cantharides, Chinese rose beetle, Chinese scale, pela / Chinese wax / China wax / Chinese tree wax

Others: armour-fish, Chinese mitten crab / Shanghai hairy crab, goldfish, Mamenchisaurus

7.1.3 Food and Drink

Food and Drink is without doubt a significant part of Chinese culture, and also a large contributor to the English vocabulary, with a large number of expressions that can be found in the *OED* and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, ‘Chinese food’ does not refer to a single cuisine, but a wide range of regional cuisines. The most famous and widespread ones are collectively known as ‘The Eight Major Cuisines’ or ‘The Eight Great Traditions’ (八大菜系, lit. ‘eight big cuisine systems’), including Lu (Shandong), Chuan (Szechuan), Yue (Canton), Su (Jiangsu), Zhe (Zhejiang), Min (Hokkien), Xiang (Hunan), and Hui (Anhui).

In terms of the worldwide recognition, today Cantonese cuisine is better known than others in Western countries for two main reasons: (1) Canton had long been a treaty port since the 17th century when foreign merchants began trading with the Chinese (see also the Canton jargon period); (2) from the mid-19th century Chinese laborers landed at the United States because of the Gold Rush and many of them were from Canton. Therefore, both western merchants and Cantonese immigrants brought Cantonese cuisine to the West, and increasingly opened Chinese restaurants over the globe. As a result, when being adopted into the English language, a large proportion of Chinese food terms are spelt in Cantonese romanization, such as *char siu*, *siu mai*, *siu mei*, *won ton*, and the like.

Chow-chow, probably a pidgin word, has been used to denote ‘Chinese food’ (and also ‘Indian food’) since the 19th century. Other anglicized Chinese food terms of this kind include *chow mein* (fried noodles), *chow fan* (fried rice), *ho fun* (rice noodles), *lo mein* (stirred noodles), and *chop suey* (a dish with mixed ingredients). Chop suey is believed to be a completely American invention and is usually related to the anecdote of Li Hongzhang, a Chinese general of the Qing dynasty. During his visit to the US in 1896, Li asked his chef to put all leftovers into one dish, and when his American friends asked about the name of the dish, Li came up with the word *chop suey*. However, according to the *OED*, the first attestation of *chop suey* is in an 1888 magazine called *Current Literature*. Coe (2009) finds an earlier attestation, 1884, in a newspaper called *Brooklyn Eagle*. Therefore, the invention of chop suey should not be attributed to Li Hongzhang,

since the word's appearances in the English-speaking world were several decades before he visited the US.

Not only the names of Chinese food have Americanized versions, the flavour of Chinese dishes overseas also tends to meet the American's taste. Thus, a new branch of Chinese cuisine, the American Chinese cuisine, has been developed, with a range of prominent dishes such as sweet and sour chicken, almond chicken, walnut shrimp, broccoli beef, crab or cheese rangoon, egg fu yung, moo goo gai pan, prawn cracker, and fortune cookie. Some of them do not have Chinese equivalents or have never been heard of in China, while others look and taste totally different from their original versions. In a similar vein, other branches of overseas Chinese cuisine, like Australian, Canadian, British, Japanese, Korean, Malaysian, and Singaporean Chinese cuisine, together with American Chinese cuisine, are all criticized as 'not genuine' by many Chinese people. It is slightly problematic to treat the names for these exotic styles of cuisine as Chinese borrowings: in most cases, the dish name and the dish itself are not borrowed from Chinese, but many foreigners regard them as the most typical Chinese food as far as they know. The exotic dishes, no matter whether they are really from China or not, are now popular and ubiquitous over the world, thanks to the expansion of Chinatown and Chinese restaurant business. As Lee mentions in her book (2008), in America there are more Chinese restaurants than McDonald's, Burger King, KFC, and Wendy's combined. On the whole, the Chinese restaurants and Chinatowns overseas are the very places where people outside China experience Chinese flavours as well as culture from the East. The popular American sitcom *The Big Bang Theory* illustrates this well, featuring characters who are Chinese restaurant-goers and Chinese takeaway lovers. According to the main characters' weekly schedule, every Friday is devoted to Chinese food, either eating in the Chinese restaurant named 'Szechuan Palace' or ordering a Chinese takeaway. In an episode, Sheldon even starts learning Mandarin because he suspects the restaurant passed off orange chicken as tangerine chicken so he wants to confront the restaurant owner, though he fails in the end (*The Big Bang Theory*, Season 1, Episode 17). Orange chicken, tangerine chicken, and probably sweet and sour chicken, are actually variations of General Tso's chicken, which is named after a military leader of the Qing dynasty, Zuo Zongtang (or Tso Tsung-t'ang in Wade-Giles transcription). A documentary entitled 'The Search for General Tso' uncovers the tale of General Tso's chicken and gives credit to Peng Chang-kuei for developing this dish. Peng, originally a Hunanese, was Chiang Kai-shek's chef in Taiwan. Peng used a famous personage from his hometown to name this

iconic dish in 1952. As for orange chicken, Panda Express, one of the largest Chinese restaurant chains in the US, claims that their Chef Andy Kao developed this dish in 1987. The Panda Express's official website also indicates that their signature dish was inspired by the flavors of Hunan Province.³⁶ It seems that both General Tso's chicken and orange chicken have roots in Hunan. As a matter of fact, most Americans have gung-ho attitudes towards chicken, fried food, and sweetness. Once the three features integrate into one dish, General Tso's chicken and its precedents have gained massive popularity in the US as a matter of course.

As Chinese food has become popularized around the globe, Chinese culinary terms are commonly appearing on restaurant menus or supermarket shelves worldwide. Considering the fact that most English speakers are not familiar with either Chinese characters or Pinyin (and other) transcriptions, names of Chinese dishes are given in very explicit translations, telling every detail of the ingredients and cooking methods. Some real examples found on different menus include 'crispy belly pork', 'beef in black bean sauce', and 'hot poached superior chicken with spring onions and chilli' to name but a few. On the other hand, the staple dishes of regional cuisine do not need such detailed descriptions and thus are very likely to be named with ethnic tags, including *Peking duck*, *Yangzhou fried rice*, *Fujian fried rice*, *Hainanese chicken rice*, *Shanghai steamed bun*, *Szechuan boiled fish in hot chilli*, and *Lanzhou beef noodles*.

As a country where wheat is a staple crop, China has various kinds of wheaten products. However, in the past English food terms, rather than loanwords, were generally used to name these exotic Chinese items. For instance, 'dumpling' is applied to a range of filled dough dishes originated in China, including *baozi*, *jiaozi*, *wonton*, and so on, but the *OED* entry for it only describes the British type of dumpling without mentioning the Chinese-style dumplings. Probably in the future, the Chinese dumpling sense will be added when the entry is revised, just as many semantic loans mentioned in 4.3. Furthermore, 'rice dumpling' can refer to *yuan hsiao* (or *tang yuan* in the southern part of China), the dumpling eaten at the Lantern Festival, or *zongzi*, the dumpling wrapped in bamboo leaves for the Dragon Boat Festival; *mantou* and *baozi* (or simply *bao*) are called 'steamed bread', though they are not bread at all. Since it is very hard to find corresponding English terms which denote the exact items, English speakers have come to accept these Chinese

³⁶ See <https://www.pandaexpress.com/ourfamilystory/>.

loanwords to the English language. Many words mentioned above have already been included in the *OED*, and other Chinese culinary terms are trying to make their way to the English-speaking world. This may be a long and tough process, mainly because there are too many ways to accommodate a Chinese word to English. I have seen the ethnic tag in ‘Yangzhou fried rice’ spelled in at least four ways in different restaurants: *Yangzhou*, *Yang Chow*, *Yeung Chow*, and *Young Chow*. Even on a single menu, the same food may be listed in different ways, like *char siu*, which is elsewhere on the menu called ‘barbecued pork’ and ‘roast pork’, or appears along with other descriptions.

Loanwords from Chinese, though alien-sounding, show the identity of the culinary delights of China. At the same time, though, they give no information to non-Chinese speakers about the food itself, such as its ingredients, its flavour, and its cooking methods. By contrast, the translated versions and further loan-translations contain these culinary details. However, western diners are sometimes confused by those too-literal translations: there is no bird in *bird’s nest soup*, no prawn in *prawn cracker*, no oyster in *oyster sauce*, no pineapple in *pineapple bun*, no moon in *mooncake*, and so on. What is more, most Chinese restaurants, both home or abroad, provide bilingual or multilingual menus to attract non-Chinese diners. However, these sometimes feature bizarre expressions, such as the examples listed in Figure 7.3 below.

Figure 7.3. Funny Chinglish dish names (Source: Google)



The first dish ‘husband and wife lung slice’ could be translated as ‘sliced beef and ox tongue in chili sauce.’ This translation is found in the book *Enjoy Culinary Delights: A Chinese Menu in English* published by Foreign Affairs Office of the People’s Government of Beijing Municipality in 2012. The book also provides many translation rules and examples in order to regulate the culinary translation in the capital city. Another translation for the same dish is ‘Mr and Mrs Smith’, found in a Huston restaurant. Though this kind of free translation is far away from its original meaning, it is an innovative try and is less awkward than the couples’ lungs. The duck dish in Figure 7.3 could be translated as ‘quick stir-fried duck’, in which ‘stir-fry’ is a recognizable cooking of China. ‘The palace quick-fries dices chicken powered’ is actually the very famous kung pao chicken, whereas ‘soup on baby food’ should be ‘baby Chinese cabbage in chicken broth.’ More of these kinds of Chinglish examples have been discussed in Chapter 6, and though they are entertaining they also cause problems for diners.

When it comes to edible vegetables and fruits originating in China, the semantic field of **Plants** gives further discussion. Here I will not repeat them again to avoid duplication. For the same reason, some festive foods, including *mooncake*, *zongzi*, *jiaozi*, *tang yuan* and *yuan xiao*, will be mentioned in the case study of festivals in Chapter 8. In terms of tea, the most prominent drink of China, its etymology and the relevant tea terms can be found in the case study of *tea*.

List:

Dishes and prepared food: beggar’s chicken, bird’s nest (soup) / swallow nest, bor law yau, char kway teow, char siu / roast pork, chow-chow, chow fan, chow mein, congee, douhua / dou fu fa, egg fu yung, eight treasure rice pudding / eight jewel rice pudding, five grains, Hainanese chicken rice / chicken rice, hasma, ho fun / haw fun, hot pot / fire pot, kung pao chicken, lo mei, lo mein, mee, moo goo gai pan, mooncake, moo shu, oyster omelette, Peking duck, poon chai, prawn cracker, preserved-egg / thousand-year egg / hundred-year egg / century egg / Ming Dynasty egg, salt-baked chicken, sampan congee / boat congee, sea cucumber / bêche-de-mer, shark fin / shark’s fin (soup), siu mei, smelly tofu / stinky tofu, spring roll, subgum, tea egg, tofu / bean curd, wonton noodle, Yangzhou fried rice, yee mein / yi mein

Beverage: bing, boba (tea), bohea, brick tea / tea-brick, bubble tea, butter tea, campoi,

cha / tea / chai / char / chia / tsia, congou, da hong pao, ganbei, hyson, Keemun, Lapsang Souchong, leaf tea, longjing / dragon well tea, Mao-tai, milk tea / lai cha, millet wine, oolong, oopack, padre, pearl tea / gunpowder tea, pekoe, pouchong, Pu-erh (tea), samshoo, Shaoshing, singlo (tea), si mutt lai cha / silk-stocking milk tea / pantyhose tea, souchong, tea-dust, tieguanyin, tong sui, Tsingtao (beer), tung-ting / dong ding (tea), Twankay, white tea, young hyson

Edible plants: bean sprouts, bok choy / pak choi, Buddha's hand, choy sum, gai lan / Chinese broccoli / Chinese kale, ginseng, goji / Chinese wolfberry, kaoliang, kumquat, ling, ling chih, litchi / lychee, longan, loquat, pe-tsai / Chinese leaf, tat soi, wampee, whangee, wood ear / tree ear

Chinese dumplings: bao / baozi / pao-tzu, bo lo baau / bor law yau / pineapple bun, char siu bao / char siu bun / roast pork bun, dim sum, har gow, jiaozi, Mandarin roll, mantou / steamed bun / steamed bread, potsticker, siu mai / shumai, won ton, xiaolongbao / Shanghai steamed bun, yuan hsiao / tang tuan / tong yuen, zongzi / rice dumpling

Additives: black bean sauce / douchi, five spices, fu yung, hoisin (sauce), ketchup, oyster sauce, Shanghai oil, Sichuan pepper, star anise, sweet and sour sauce, ve-tsin, XO sauce

Overseas Chinese cuisine: chop suey, crab rangoon, fortune cookie, General Tso's chicken, lemon chicken, orange chicken, popiah, tangerine chicken, wonton soup

Cookware and tableware: chopstick, chopstick rest, kuei, li, li ting, lei, tou, wok, yu

Preparation for table or cooking: red-cook, red-cooking, stir-fried, stir-fry, stir-frying

Meal: dim sum, siu yeh / yexiao, small chow, yum cha

Places for eating: cha chaan teng, dai pai dong, dim sum house, night market, kopitiam, yum cha house

7.1.4 Textiles and Clothing

Although the origin of the word *silk* is still a controversial topic (see also 4.1), there is no doubt that 'Silk fiber came from China' (Pyles and Algeo 2005: 264). The ancient trade

route between the East and the West was called the ‘Silk Road’ or ‘Silk Route’ (*sichouzhilu* 丝绸之路, lit. ‘silk’s road’), showing that silk played an important role in early trade.³⁷

The two cities, Nanking (now Nanjing) and Peking (now Beijing), were the capitals of various imperial dynasties and major centres of trade with other countries, and are still the places of textile manufacture. *Nankeen* and *Peking*, two words from city names, both have a sense of a kind of fabric. They can also be used attributively before nouns relating to textile and clothing, as in *nankeen breeches*, *nankeen cloth*, *nankeen cotton*, *nankeen trousers*, *Peking crepe*, *Peking point*, and *Peking stripe*. The word *Peking* also refers to ‘a type of Chinese rug or carpet’ (*OED*), appearing alone or in combinations like *Peking rug* and *Peking carpet*. *Pekinese*, which contains the same etymon as *Peking*, is related to needlework in its special use *Pekinese stitch*. In a similar vein, two nonce words that share the same etymological root with *nankeen*, namely *nankeening* and *nankinett*, both means ‘a kind of cloth’ (*OED*). The *OED* also mentions the usage of *nankeen* before adjectives, forming terms such as *nankeen-clad*, *nankeen-coloured*, *nankeen-jacketed*, *nankeen-trouserred*, etc. Besides *nankeen* and *Peking*, another ethnic term that is usually associated with textile and clothing is *Canton*, also an important trade port, as can be found in expressions like *Canton crepe* / *crape*, *Canton flannel*, and *Canton matting*.

The most famous Chinese clothing in westerners’ eyes is very likely to be *qipao* (旗袍, lit. ‘banner gown’), thanks to Maggie Cheung’s 20ish impressive qipaos in the 2000 film ‘In the Mood for Love’ (花样年华). The film was on general release both at home and abroad and even won second place on the BBC’s list of ‘The 21st Century’s 100 greatest films.’³⁸ The BBC specially remarks that ‘the year 2000 was a landmark in global cinema, and, in particular, saw the emergence of new classics from Asia like nothing we had ever seen before.’

The Chinese-style one-piece also has a Cantonese name, *cheongsam* (长衫, lit. ‘long shirt’), and both *qipao* and *cheongsam* are associated with the Shanghainese. Qipao is

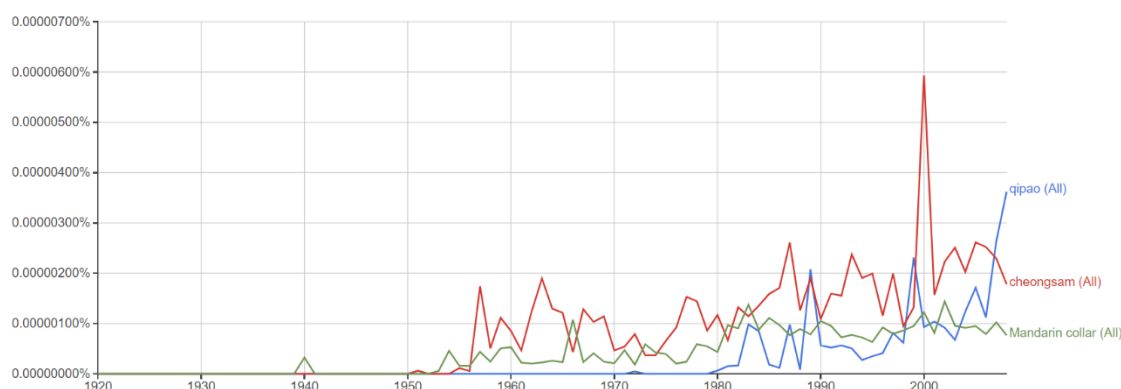
³⁷ The term *Silk Road* (originally in German *Seidenstraße*) was first coined in Ferdinand von Richthofen’s 5-volume work *China: The Results of My Travels and the Studies Based Thereon* (*China: Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien*, 1877–1912).

³⁸ Available at <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20160819-the-21st-centurys-100-greatest-films/>.

sometimes mistakenly believed to be the creation of the so-called ‘banner-man’ (旗人) during the Qing Dynasty, indicated by the morpheme *qi* in *qipao*. In fact, the term *qipao* in current usage refers to the type of dress developed in Shanghai in the 1920s, probably adopting Manchu clothing to some extent but not created by the Manchurian banner-men. Qipao has been popularly worn by female students and upper-class ladies since then, and was later brought to Hong Kong by Shanghainese immigrants.

Qipao is known for its distinctive collar so that it is sometimes called *Mandarin collar dress* or *Mandarin collar gown*. Google Ngram demonstrates the frequency of these terms referring to qipao from 1920 (the time qipao became popular) to present day. The statistics show that, *cheongsam* has been the most frequent expression over several decades but was exceeded by *qipao* very recently (see Figure 7.4). Remarkably, the overwhelming peak of *cheongsam* in 2000 coincided with the year when ‘In the Mood for Love’ was released.

Figure 7.4. Ngram of *qipao*, *cheongsam*, and *Mandarin collar*



Some clothing retailers including Hobbs, Ted Baker, ASOS, and Phase Eight use another ethnic tag *Chinoiserie*, a French word meaning ‘a style in art reflecting Chinese influence’, to describe this Chinese-style dress. A quick search in Amazon (Women’s Fashion category) and eBay (Women’s Clothing category), two large online shopping platforms, displays the real-life uses of these qipao-related terms. Table 7.3 shows that *cheongsam* is the most common word preferred by Internet users, followed by *qipao* and *Mandarin collar dress*.

Table 7.3. Searches for *qipao* terms in Amazon and eBay

Terms	Amazon	eBay
qipao	3,000+	20,964
cheongsam	5,000+	36,262
Mandarin collar dress	1,000+	1,848
Chinoiserie dress	186	118

Besides qipao, some other Chinese garments became world-famous because of massive media exposure. For example, at the 2001 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Shanghai, world leaders wore a modern version of the Chinese traditional dress known as *Tangzhuang* (唐装, lit. ‘Tang [dynasty] suit’), which was jokingly called ‘APEC jacket’ after the summit (see Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5. Vladimir Putin and George Bush in Tangzhuang at the APEC Summit in Shanghai on 21 October 2001 (Source: Eriko Sugita / EPA)



China continued the dressing custom at 2014’s Beijing APEC. World leaders, again, put on clothing that represented Chinese style (see Figure 7.6). This time, they wore a type of menswear called *Zhongshan suit* (中山装) or *Mao suit* (毛服), both named after former Chinese leaders.

Figure 7.6. Barack Obama and Xi Jinping in Zhongshan suit and Peng Liyuan in qipao at the APEC Summit in Beijing on 10 November 2014 (Source: Greg Baker / AFP / Getty Images)



However, not everyone appreciates Chinese clothing. A CNN article humorously suggested that the Mao-style suits were similar to Spock's or Captain Kirk's outfits and were more suitable for a Star Trek convention. In some other cases, foreign people may have misunderstanding of Chinese-style clothing. The theme of the 2015's Met Gala was 'China: Through the Looking Glass' (中国：镜花水月), which celebrated the opening of the Metropolitan Museum's exhibition with the same theme. A range of distorted interpretations of Chinese clothing could be found at the gala. For example, Lady Gaga and Georgia May Jagger wore kimono-like dresses, which were absolutely Japanese-style.

List:

Textiles: Canton crepe / crape, Canton flannel, Canton matting, China-crape, China silk, Henan / Honan (silk), moc-main, nankeen, nankeen cloth, nankeen cotton, nankeen-clad, nankeen-coloured, nankeen-jacketed, nankeen-trouserred, nankeening, nankinett, nankins, peeling, Peking / Pekin, Pekinese stitch, Peking carpet, Peking crepe, Peking point, Peking stripe, Peking rug, pelong, pongee, senshaw, senshaw silk, shantung, silk, Tientsin, tsatlee, whangee

Clothing: cheongsam / changshan, Chinoiserie dress, Mandarin collar / Mao collar, Mandarin collar dress, Mao cap, Mao trousers, magua, nankeen breeches, nankeen trousers, qipao, samfu, samfu jacket, Tangzhuang / Tang suit, Sun Yat-Sen suit / Zhongshan suit / Mao suit, Sun Yat-Sen jacket / Mao jacket, yellow jacket / imperial

yellow jacket

7.1.5 People

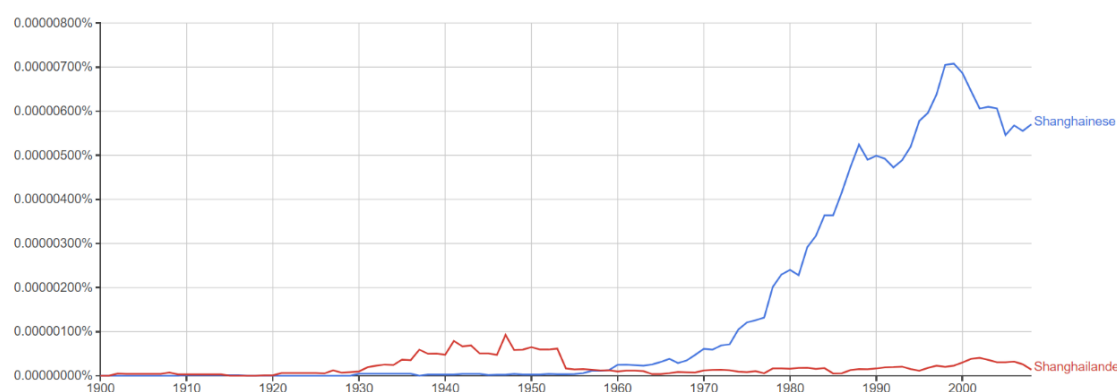
As a populous country, demonyms related to China are also large in number. The semantic field of **People** includes a range of words designating locals and residents in China, members of ethnic groups, people of Chinese descent, foreigners in China, and exonyms for Chinese people. It should be noted that many words in this field overlap with those in the field of **Language**, which will be discussed later.

Officially, China recognizes 56 ethnic groups, Han and 55 non-Han ethnic minority groups but actually China has many more unrecognized and undistinguished ethnic groups. The Han majority, named after the Han Dynasty, makes up over 90% of China's total population and is also the world's largest ethnic group. Ethnic minorities or subgroups of the Han majority include *Hakka*, *Miao* (or *Miaotse*), *Tanka*, *Teochew*, *Yao*, *Yi* (formerly known as *Lolo*), *Yüeh*, to name but a few, and the ones listed here are all included in the *OED*. Several ethnic groups speak non-Sinitic languages or reside not only in China, such as *Korean*, *Lahu*, *Lisu*, *Manchu*, *Mongol*, *Pareoan*, *Tibetan*, and *Uyghur*; some of them were previously regarded as 'outsiders' or even 'barbarians.' The Mongol-led Yuan Dynasty and the Manchu-led Qing Dynasty are sometimes called 'Mongol Dynasty' and 'Manchu Dynasty' respectively. In today's China, the government devotes considerable effort to grant equal rights to all ethnic groups. Ethnic autonomous areas are established at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels, as a method to protect the ethnic languages, customs and religions. For example, at the provincial level (also the top level of the national administrative divisions), China has five ethnic autonomous entities, namely Inner Mongolia (or Nei Mongol) Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, and Tibet (or Xizang) Autonomous Region.

Unlike members of ethnic groups, demonyms for natives or inhabitants of a particular district in China are usually named after the place name and formed with the suffix *-ese*, as *Cantonese*, *Hainanese*, *Hunanese*, *Khotanese*, *Macanese*, *Pekinese* (or *Pekingese*), *Shanghainese*, *Szechuanese* (or *Sichuanese*), *Taiwanese*, *Yunnanese*, and the like. Since the suffix *-ese* denotes both the people and the language, the derivatives formed in this way belong to both the semantic fields of **People** and **Language**. Another very special 'suffix' *-lander* is found in the early-twentieth century but is very rare now, as in

Shanghaiander. Shanghai is never called ‘Shanghailand’ and *-lander* is not an existing English suffix. So unlike *Englander*, *Finlander*, *Greenlander*, *Hollander*, *Icelander*, *Marylander*, *Netherlander*, *New Zealander*, and *Thailander*, the demonym *Shanghaiander* was very likely to be a folk etymology, apparently after *highlander*, *lowlander*, *mainlander*, and *islander*. In the 1950s, *Shanghaiander* was soon replaced by *Shanghainese*, since *-ese* is more commonly used to make names of persons and languages (see Figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7. Ngram of *Shanghainese* and *Shanghaiander*



The Chinese people or people of Chinese descent outside China are collectively known as ‘overseas Chinese.’ The largest communities of overseas Chinese are in Southeast Asia, including Thai Chinese, Malaysian Chinese, Chinese Indonesian, Chinese Singaporean, Chinese Filipino, and Straits Chinese. Malay-originated words like *Baba* and *Peranakan* are used to refer to people of full or partial Chinese ancestry in Malaysian and Indonesian Englishes. *Nonya*, also a borrowing from Malay, is applied only to female *Peranakan*. In addition, the term *Nonya* is also the name for a type of cuisine, combining the characteristics of Chinese cuisine and Malay / Indonesian cuisine. Nonya dishes are ubiquitous in Southeast-Asian countries, but are also quite popular in China now.

The US also has one of the largest overseas Chinese communities due to different waves of immigration. According to the American Community Survey, the population of Chinese (excluding Taiwanese) in the US is over five million in 2017. A more popular demonym for the second-generation Chinese immigrants in the US in daily usage and in media is the abbreviated form *ABC* (in full the *American-born Chinese*; coincidentally the same as *Australian-born Chinese*). Similar abbreviations include *BBC* (*British-born Chinese*) and *CBC* (*Canadian-born Chinese*), to name but a few. In Australian English,

Mongolian is a slang term for ‘a Chinese immigrant to Australia’ (*OED*). The new generations of Chinese immigrants are sometimes disparagingly called *banana*, imitating the colours of the fruit banana – yellow outside but white inside – who struggle a lot with their cultural identity and sense of belonging.

Exonyms, i.e. external names, for the Chinese people also contribute many terms to this field. The *OED* alone includes dozens of words referring to a Chinese person. Many of them are obsolete, such as *Chinaist*, *Chinenses*, *Chinesian*, *Chinian*, *Chino*, and *Chinois*. China was formerly known as ‘Cathay’ and ‘the Celestial Empire’ and thus its people are called *Cathayan* and *celestial*. *Seres* and *Serian* are from the Latin root word *Sērēs*, possibly from Chinese *si* (丝, ‘silk’) since the country originated silk and silk products.

Matisoff suggests that ‘exonyms are liable to be pejorative rather than complimentary’ (1986: 6), and this is especially true of exonyms for the Chinese. A large proportion of the terms denoting a Chinese person are derogatory and offensive, including *Chinaman*, *Chinawoman*, *Chinee*, *Chink*, *Chinkie*, *chow*, *chow-chow*, and *coolie*. Chinese people, and more extensively Asian people, are said to be ‘yellow’ because of their skin colour, and thus *yellow man* is an offensive exonym for a person of Chinese or Japanese ethnic origin. *Monkey* (and its shortened form *monk*) in American slang refers to a non-white person and specifically to a Chinese person, and *yellow monkey* is another ethnic slur with a negative connotation. What is more, because China is a communist country, its people are offensively called *red monkeys*. Besides the abovementioned ones, several other ethnic slurs are based on racial stereotypes: physical peculiarities, as *slant-eye*, *slopy*, *panface*, *pigtail*; Chinese pronunciation, as *ching chong*, *ping pang*; and Chinese names, as *Ah Beng*, *Pong*. The Racial Slur Database³⁹ collects more ethnic epithets for the Chinese people, and many of them are designated by the ‘very Chinese’ items, including *bamboo coon*, *chop stick*, *cookie*, *crabrangook*, *dancing dragon*, *dim sum*, *General Tso*, *panda trainer*, *ping pong*, and *rangoon*. Two Cockney rhyming slang expressions are also found – *kitchen sink* and *pen and ink* – both mean ‘Chink.’

Meanwhile, foreigners in China are also addressed in contemptuous ways. *Barbarian* might be the most moderate one among all derogatory terms of address for foreigners. In most cases, terms denoting foreigners applied by the Chinese are associated with ‘ghost’

³⁹ Available at <http://www.rsdb.org/>.

or ‘devil’, as *fan kwei* (番鬼, lit. ‘foreign devil’), *kwai-lo* or *gweilo* (鬼佬, lit. ‘devil guy’), and the loan translation *foreign devil*. Foreigners, especially those light-skinned ones, are also described as red-haired; thus a Hokkien word *ang moh* (红毛, lit. ‘red fur’) was coined in early East-West contact period and is mainly applied in Singapore English now. Two early written records of foreigners and foreign language at Canton bear these kinds of ethnic slurs in their titles, namely *The ‘Fan Kwae’ at Canton before Treaty Days* (广州番鬼录, Hunter 1882) and *The Language of the Redhaired Foreigners* (红毛通用番话, Anon c. 1835). (For detailed discussion on Canton jargon and later Chinese Pidgin English, see Chapter 6.) A more recent and more friendly epithet for foreigners in China is *laowai* (老外, lit. ‘old foreigner’). The Chinese morpheme *lao* not only means ‘old’, but also is a common colloquial prefix as in *laoshi* (老师, ‘teacher’), *laohu* (老虎, ‘tiger’), and *Laozi* (老子, name of a Chinese philosopher).

List:

Chinese ethnicities: Cantonese, Formosan, Hainanese, Hakka, Han, Hokkien, Hongkonger / Hong Kongese / Hong Kong Chinese, Hunanese, Khotanese, Lahu, Lisu, Macanese, Manchu, Manchurian, Miao / Miaotse, Mien, Pareoan, Pekinese / Pekingese, Shanghainese / Shanghaiander, Sichuanese / Szechuanese, Taiwanese, Tanka, Teochew, Tibetan / Tibetan, Tonkinese, Tungan, Uyghur, Yao, Yarkandi, Yi / Lolo, Yüeh, Yunnanese

Overseas Chinese: Baba, banana, British Chinese / British-born Chinese / BBC, Chinese American / American-born Chinese / ABC, Chinese Australian / Australian-born Chinese / ABC, Chinese Canadian / Canadian-born Chinese / CBC, Chinese Filipino, Chinese Indonesian, Chinese Singaporean, Malaysian Chinese, Mongolian, Nonya, Peranakan, Straits Chinese, Thai Chinese

Exonyms for Chinese people: Ah Beng, bamboo coon, Cathayan / Cataian, celestial, Chinaist, Chinaman, Chinawoman, Chinese, Chinenses, Chinesian, ching chong, Chinian / Chinean, Chink, Chinkey / Chinkie / Chinky, Chino, Chinois, chop stick, chow, chow-chow, cookie, coolie, crabrangoon, dancing dragon, dim sum, General Tso, John, John Chinaman, monk, panda trainer, panface, pigtail, ping pang, ping pong, Pong, ragoon, red monkey, Seres, Serian, sing-song girl, slant-eye, slopy, yellow man, yellow monkey

Foreigners in China: ah-cha, ang moh, barbarian, fan kwei / fan kwai / fan gwei, foreign devil, gweilo / kwai-lo / kwai-tze, hak gwei, laowai, red-haired

7.2 The Mental World

Compared to the other two highest-level categories, **The Mental World** has fewer subcategories and a smaller quantity of borrowings from Chinese. But still, a range of Chinese borrowings can be found, denoting religious and/or philosophical notions, mythical creatures, and linguistic concepts. Since the Chinese terms in these fields are incomprehensible to ordinary people, many of them enter the English lexicon in the form of semantic loans.

7.2.1 *Religio-Philosophy*⁴⁰

In Chinese culture, there is no clear boundary between religious and philosophical systems, so that several lexical items can fall into either **Religion** or **Philosophy** category. Considering this, the present classification combines **Religion** and **Philosophy** categories into one called **Religio-Philosophy**, which includes all relevant terms in the intertwined Chinese religious and philosophical systems. Generally speaking, the field of **Religio-Philosophy** includes a number of well-established loanwords from Chinese, though variant spellings emerged in the history. Besides, several semantic loans are used to denote those sophisticated concepts in this field.

Chinese religio-philosophy dates back to around 500 BC. The expressions *Hundred Schools of Thought* (诸子百家, lit. ‘many masters, hundred schools’) refer to either the very many Chinese religio-philosophical branches or their classic period, that is, the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period. Though ‘hundred’ exaggerates the number, it truly reflects the vast range of schools and thoughts. Among all Chinese religio-philosophical systems, Confucianism is the most influential and long-standing one. In Chinese, *ru* (儒, lit. ‘soft’) is the word used for this doctrine or school, but *Ruism* is not as commonly used as *Confucianism* in the English-speaking world. Obviously, *Confucianism* is named after its founder, *Confucius*, which is markedly different from the present Pinyin form *Kongzi* (孔子) or *Kongfuzi* (孔夫子). According to the etymological note of *Confucian* in the *OED*, the Jesuit missionaries gave birth to the word *Confucius*:

⁴⁰ Part of this section is published in the journal article entitled ‘The top 100 Chinese loanwords in English today: Can one recognise the Chinese words used in English?’ (Zhong n.d.).

‘*Confucius* is Latinized from the Chinese *K'ung Fû tsze*, meaning ‘K'ung the (our, your) Master (or Philosopher)’, *K'ung* being the surname of the great Chinese sage. A translation of three of the Chinese Classics, by four of the Roman Catholic missionaries, was published at Paris in 1687, under the title, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive Scientia Sinensis Latine exposita*. (Prof. J. Legge.)’

The morpheme *zi* (子) in *Kongzi* (孔子), meaning ‘master’, is commonly used in respectful term of address to a man. Besides *Kongzi*, there are several other *zi*’s in ancient China, such as *Mengzi* (孟子), another great Confucian sage; *Laozi* (老子), the founder of Taoism and the author of *Tao Te Ching*; and *Sun Zi* (孙子), the author of *The Art of War*. These four *zi*’s are all listed in the top 100 most recognized Chinese Pinyin-spelt words used in English (see test case 2 in Chapter 3). However, the Pinyin forms of the four *zi*’s are less frequently used than other variants, which are well-established in the English lexicon. To test this, here I conduct an experiment by comparing the frequencies of all variant forms in the Google Ngram Viewer (see figures 7.8-7.11). According to the Google Corpus, the Latinised *Confucius* has been the dominant form throughout the past two centuries; in a similar vein, *Mencius* is far more prevalent than other variants; it was not until the 1990s the Pinyin form *Lao Zi* or *Laozi* exceeded *Lao-tzu*, which was transcribed by Wade-Giles system; by comparison, *Sun Tzu*, also a Wade-Giles transcription, is still the more common spelling than *Sun Zi* and his original name *Sun Wu*.

Figure 7.8. Ngram of *Confucius* variants



Figure 7.9. Ngram of *Mencius* variants



Figure 7.10. Ngram of *Laozi* variants

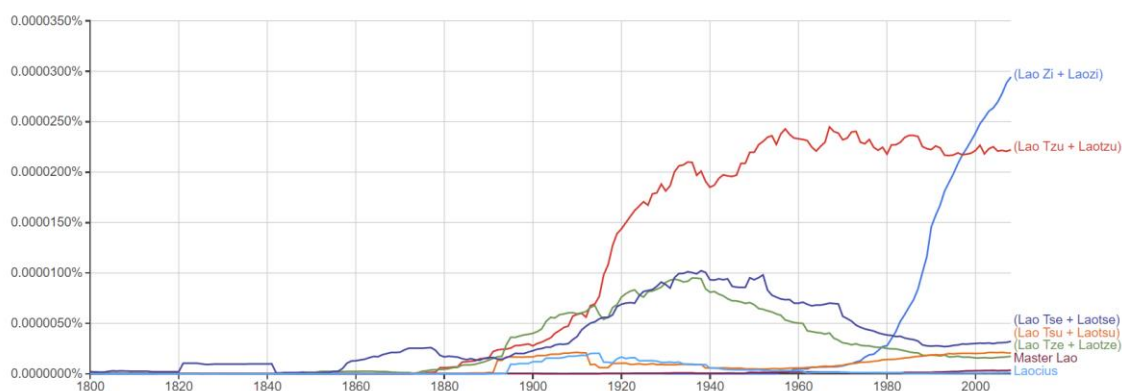
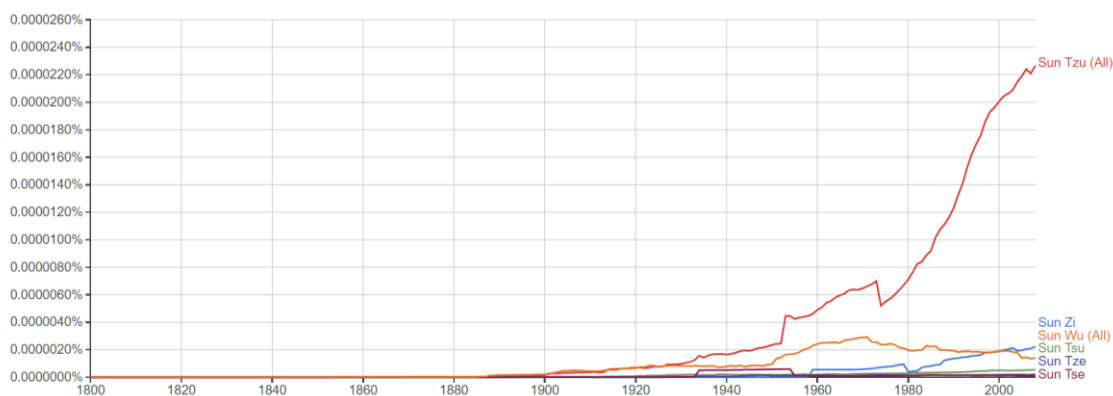


Figure 7.11. Ngram of *Sunzi* variants



Confucianism passed to posterity numerous precious books, classics, commentaries, and sayings. The most famous ones among all are the Four Books and Five Classics (四书五经), two China English expressions to name a collection of the most authoritative Confucian books. The Four Books include *Great Learning* or *Daxue* (大学, lit. ‘great learning’), *Doctrine of the Mean* or *Zhongyong* (中庸, lit. ‘middle and average’), *Analects of Confucius* or *Lunyu* (论语, lit. ‘edited conversations’), and *Mencius* (孟子, lit. ‘Meng

the Master’), whereas the Five Classics refer to *Classic of Poetry* or *Shijing* (诗经, lit. ‘poetry classic’), *Book of Documents* or *Shangshu* (尚书, lit. ‘esteemed books’), *Book of Rites* or *Liji* (礼记, lit. ‘rites classic’), *Book of Changes* or *I Ching* (易经, lit. ‘change classic’), and *Spring and Autumn Annals* or *Chunqiu* (春秋, lit. ‘spring and autumn’).⁴¹ The basic concept of the *Book of Rites* is *li*, which can refer to ‘rites’, ‘ceremony’ or ‘rules.’ The *OED* not only includes *I Ching* as a main entry, but also some basic concepts in the book. Several Chinese-specific concepts, however, are put under the entry of the existing English words, such as *trigram* (a figure consisting of three strokes) and *hexagram* (a figure consisting of six parallel lines). The symbols of eight trigrams and sixty-four hexagrams form the basis of *I Ching*. The idea of *Tai Chi* (太极, lit. ‘supreme pole’) also comes from *I Ching*, and the explanation is as follows:

‘Therefore in (the system of) the Yi there is the Grand Terminus, which produced the two elementary Forms. Those two Forms produced the Four emblematic Symbols, which again produced the eight Trigrams. The eight trigrams served to determine the good and evil (issues of events), and from this determination was produced the (successful prosecution of the) great business (of life). [是故，易有太极，是生两仪，两仪生四象，四象生八卦，八卦定吉凶，吉凶生大业。]’ (translated by Legge 1899).

According to Legge’s translation, *Tai Chi* is translated as ‘Grand Terminus’, while ‘the two elementary Forms’ actually refer to *yin* (阴, lit. ‘shade’) and *yang* (阳, lit. ‘sun’). The combination *yin-yang* and the *yin-yang* symbol represent the idea of dualism. Since the eight trigrams (八卦) can ‘determine the good and evil’, they are widely applied to fortune-telling, medicine, and acupuncture (see discussion on Chinese medicine in 7.3.5), always accompanied by five elements or *Wu Xing* (五行, lit. ‘five movements’), namely wood, earth, water, fire, and metal. The eight trigrams and five elements and the overall *I Ching* theory are remarkable in both Confucianism and Taoism. In terms of Taoism, the core values are *tao* (道, lit. ‘way’), *te* (德, lit. ‘virtue’), and *wu* (无, lit. ‘no’). *Tao* and *te* are embodied in the title of Laozi’s classic text – *Tao De Ching* – all are Wade-Giles romanization. *Wu*, as in *wu wei* (无为, lit. ‘no action’), conveys an attitude of following the natural and genuine way. Some Confucianists regard the *wu wei* attitude as a negative one, which is probably one reason why *Tao De Ching* is not included in the Four Books

⁴¹ *Daxue* and *Zhongyong* are two chapters of *Liji*.

and Five Classics.

List:

Religio-philosophical concepts: ba gua / eight trigrams, Chan, Chan Buddhism, Confucian, Confucianism, Confucianist, element, five elements / wu xing, joss, legist, li, Mohism, Mohist, Neo-Confucianism, p'o, qi, sixty-four hexagrams, Tai Chi, tao, Taoism, Taoist, te, wuwei, yang, yin, yin-yang

Philosophers: Confucius / Kongzi, Laozi / Lao-Tzu, Mencius / Mengzi, Mozi / Mo Tzu / Micus, Sunzi / Suntsu

Classics: Analects, Five Classics, Four Books, I Ching, Tao Te Ching

Chinese Buddhism: Kuan Yin / Lord of Mercy, Lohan, po shan lu, temple / miao, wood block / Chinese block / temple block

Zen philosophy: bonze, mu, mushin, no-mind / no-thought, Tendai, Zen

*7.2.2 Mythology*⁴²

Merging a Chinese mythical creature into the English lexicon and further, Western culture, is not easy to explain and to execute. The easiest way is to use an existing English word to name it, for example, *dragon*. In Chinese and East Asian culture, the dragon is a propitious imaginary animal. In the past, the dragon was used as an imperial symbol of Chinese emperors; in the present day, the common parental expectation is to 'hope the child becomes a dragon' (望子成龙), an idiomatic Chinese expression. During the late half of the 20th century, four Asian regions, namely South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, were collectively called *Four Little Dragons* (四小龙) for their rapid industrial and economic growth.

In Western culture, however, a dragon is generally represented as an evil monster. As in many fairy tales, the dragon always plays the part of the villain and is doomed to be killed by a prince or a knight. The story of Saint George slaying a dragon is now legend, but the image of dragon often appears when people in various countries celebrate Saint George's

⁴² Part of this section is published in the journal article entitled 'The top 100 Chinese loanwords in English today: Can one recognise the Chinese words used in English?' (Zhong n.d.).

Day. ‘Like a dragon’ can also be a figurative description of a fierce or violent person. A popular British TV show is known as *Dragons’ Den*, in which entrepreneurs pitch their business ideas to five potential investors, who are referred to as ‘dragons.’ Interestingly, the original Japanese version of the show is entitled *The Tigers of Money* (マネーの虎, lit. ‘money’s tiger’) and the panel of millionaires are called ‘tigers.’ This can be one example of the cultural difference between the East and the West.

Considering the difference, initials *Chinese* and *East Asian* are sometimes added before *dragon* when referring to the Chinese-specific creature. Dictionaries normally do not give a separate definition for the Chinese dragon, with one exception – the *Unabridged M-W* – defining dragon as ‘a beneficent supernatural creature in Chinese mythology connected with rain and floods.’ Under one definition in the online *Oxford Dictionaries* it says ‘In European tradition the dragon is typically fire-breathing and tends to symbolize chaos or evil, whereas in East Asia it is usually a beneficent symbol of fertility, associated with water and the heavens.’ Alternatively, *long* (龍), meaning ‘dragon’ in Chinese, is used in a few cases, though the headword for *long* in the *Unabridged M-W* is in its Wade-Giles romanization *lung*.

In a similar vein, *phoenix* and several other Romanized forms from Chinese are alternately used to name a bird-like supernatural creature. Since most Chinese words average out at two characters in length, the Chinese phoenix is termed *feng huang* (鳳凰) – *feng* for male phoenix and *huang* for female phoenix. Other variants include: *fêng huang*, *fum hwang*, *fum hoam*, and *fung hwang*. The gender distinction between *feng* and *huang* does not apply when the former is paired with *long* (dragon) and connotes femininity. As is mentioned before, in the past, *long* was used as the symbol of Chinese emperor and *feng* represented their empresses. Thus, *feng* (also *fum*, *fung*) can appear alone without gender reference. Another variation of the Chinese phoenix is *ho-ho*, or more fully *ho-ho bird*. Though the *OED* only mentions *ho-ho* originates from Chinese, it may be an indirect borrowing via Japanese. The Japanese word for ‘phoenix’ borrows the Chinese characters but reads *hō-ō* (ほうおう), which sounds very similar to *ho-ho*.

As two symbols of power and propitiousness, the Chinese dragon and phoenix, or *long* and *feng huang*, are frequently found on ceramics. Besides, Chinese ceramic crafts are also decorated with or shaped in some other creatures and gods in Chinese mythology,

such as *kylin* (麒麟), *tao tie* (饕餮), *kui* (夔), *Four Benevolent Animals* (四灵), *Eight Immortals* (八仙), and *Guanyin* (观音). *Kylin* is sometimes called the *Chinese unicorn* and this spelling is more popular than the pinyin form *qilin*. But its Japanese doublet *kirin* gains greater popularity especially after the Japanese beverage company Kirin (キリン) was named after it, though in modern Japanese *kirin* also refers to a giraffe. *Kylin* is one of the *Four Benevolent Animals* or *siling* (四灵) – namely dragon, phoenix, *kylin*, and turtle – all are regarded as auspicious creatures in Chinese culture. A different version of *Siling* comes from *I Ching*, in which the *Four Symbols* (si xiang 四象) refer to four animals: *Azure Dragon*, *White Tiger*, *Vermilion Bird*, and *Black Turtle*, representing the four directions.

In Chinese there are many mystical compounds, such as the abovementioned *Four Symbols*, *Five Elements*, *Eight Trigrams*, *Sixty-Four Hexagrams*, and *Twenty-Eight Mansions*. Additionally, the *Eight Immortals* stand for a combination of legendary figures, with a diversity in gender, age, and social status. These eight male and female beings are called *xian* (仙) meaning ‘immortal’, which is a concept similar to *shen* (神), the Chinese words for god or goddess. The most well-known Chinese goddess is *Kuan Yin*, also known as *Guanyin* (观音, lit. ‘perceive sounds’) in Pinyin and *Lord / Goddess of Mercy* in English. As a Buddhism goddess, *Guanyin* is the translation from the Sanskrit name *Avalokitasvara* or *Avalokiteśvara*, originally depicted as a male image but widely accepted as a female divine in Chinese Buddhism. Another venerable Chinese goddess is *Mazu* (妈祖, lit. ‘maternal ancestor’), sometimes called ‘the Empress of Heaven’ in the West. The *Mazu* culture or *Mazuism* is especially popular in coastal regions including Fujian, Taiwan, and some Southeast Asian countries.

On the list of the top 100 recognized Chinese Pinyin words, two legendary names, *Wukong* and *Chang’e*, are particularly noticeable since they are not included in the ‘Chinese culture’ category but in the ‘Economy & Technology’ instead (see test case 2). As an unwritten tradition in astronautics, spaceflight programs and crafts prefer to use mythological names such as *Apollo*, *Helios*, and *Ulysses*. China’s Dark Matter Particle Explorer (DAMPE), launched in 2015, has the nickname ‘*Wukong*.’ *Wukong* (悟空), also known as the *Monkey King*, is the main character in a great classical novel, *Journey to the West* (西游记). Literally *wu* means ‘to understand’ while *kong* refers to ‘space’, and thus the *Wukong* explorer carried out the mission of understanding and exploring outer

space. Similarly, the ongoing Chinese Lunar Exploration Program (CLEP) since 2003 is named after the Chinese goddess of the moon, *Chang'e* (嫦娥), who is believed to reside on the moon. In legend Chang'e is accompanied by a rabbit called *yutu* (玉兔, lit. 'jade rabbit'); in reality the Yutu lunar rover landed on the moon with the Chang'e 3 lander in 2013. Before Chang'e and Yutu's journey to space, their names have already appeared in a previous astronomical adventure. In 1969, the Apollo 11 crew mentioned Chang'e and Yutu in the conversation before mankind's first moon landing, as recorded in NASA voice transcription:

CC Roger. Among the large headlines concerning Apollo this morning, there's one asking that you watch for a lovely girl with a big rabbit. An ancient legend says a beautiful Chinese girl called Chang-o has been living there for 4000 years. It seems she was banished to the Moon because she stole the pill of immortality from her husband. You might also look for her companion, a large Chinese rabbit, who is easy to spot since he is always standing on his hind feet in the shade of a cinnamon tree. The name of the rabbit is not reported.

LMP Okay. We'll keep a close eye out for the bunny girl. (Woods et al. 2009)

List:

Chang'e, Chinese zodiac / shengxiao, Dragon King / Longwang, feng (huang) / fum / ho-ho bird / phoenix, Eight Immortals, foo dog / guardian lion / stone lion, Four Benevolent Animals / Four Symbols, Guanyin / Kuan Yin / Lord of Mercy, kui, long / lung / dragon, Mazu / Empress of Heaven / Tin Hau, nian / sui, qilin / kylin / kirin, shen, Shennong, taotie, Three Patrons and Five Deities / Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors, t'ien / tian, Wukong, Yellow Emperor / Huangdi, Yutu

7.2.3 Language and Linguistics

As mentioned in various places of this thesis, 'Chinese' is widely used as an umbrella label for all language varieties spoken in China or in Chinese communities overseas. There are nearly 300 Chinese languages – 299 to be exact – according to Simons and Fennig's most recent *Ethnologue* (2018). The present field, without doubt, has a large overlap with the field of **People**, since many words designate both the inhabitant and the language of a place in China. The major language groups include Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Kejia (Hakka), Yue (Cantonese), and Min. All Chinese language groups, or *dialects* (a more preferable term to the Chinese), can be divided into various sub-groups (or sub-

dialects), which in turn can be further divided into numerous vernaculars and accents, and in many cases, these varieties or dialects are mutually unintelligible. To solve this communication problem, the National Language Unification Commission adopted Mandarin, on the basis of Beijing dialect, as the de facto official and universal language in 1932, which is also regarded as ‘Standard Chinese’ in modern China. In addition, standard and non-standard Chinese varieties are tone languages. The national language Mandarin, which is based on Beijing dialect, has four tones. Regional dialects may have more tones: for example, Shanghainese has eight tones and Cantonese has nine. This is probably one of the many reasons why Chinese languages are mutually unintelligible.

Language policies in China since the 20th century were largely shaped by the ideas developed during the May Fourth Movement. Advocates of the New Culture Movement, a movement that chronologically overlapped with and closely related to the May Fourth, espoused ideas such as promoting vernacular Chinese (known as the *pai-hua movement*), establishing a national language, abolishing Chinese characters, and adopting the Latin alphabet to write Chinese. Though the movement did not successfully remove Chinese characters in the end, several transliteration systems for Chinese sprang up during the 20th century, including Zhuyin zimu, Gwoyeu Romatzyh, and Latinxua Sin Wenz. In the 1950s, Zhou Youguang developed Pinyin, which had superseded other systems and had become the official romanization system since 1958 in mainland China and since 2008 in Taiwan (see also 4.2).

Chinese is a logographic language and Chinese characters are logograms, which are written in a system totally different from that of any alphabetical language. To introduce Chinese linguistic concepts into the English-speaking world, a range of Chinese linguistic terms are borrowed into English, mostly via the form of semantic loans and loan translations. The Chinese *root character*, a smaller unit of a character, is analogous with a morpheme in an English word. A root character that designates a speech sound is a *phonetic* or a *primitive*, while the one that plays a semantic or functional role is called a *radical*, a *signific*, or in some studies (e.g. P. Chen 1999, Loewe and Shaughnessy 1999) a *semantic determinative*. For example, the Chinese character 铜 (*tong*, ‘copper’) is made up of the phonetic 同 (*tong*, ‘together’) and the radical 钅 (derived from 金 *jin*, ‘gold’), a semantic component frequently used in characters of various metals. A widely-held belief is that over 80% or even over 90% Chinese characters are formed by combining phonetic and semantic components like the example 铜 above.

List:

Standard Chinese: baihua / pai-hua, Guanhua / Kuan Hua, Guoyu / Kuo-yü / Taiwanese Mandarin, Hanyu, Huayu, Mandarin, Putonghua

Regional language varieties or dialects in China: Amoy, Cantonese, Gan, Hakka / Kejia, Hokkien, Hunanese / Xiang, Lolo, Macanese, Manchu, Mandarin, Miao, Mien, Min, Southern Min / Min Nan, Mien, Nung, Pekingese / Beijing dialect, Shanghainese / Hu dialect, Szechuanese / Szechwanese / Sichuanese, Sze Yap, Tangut, Teochew, Wu, Yao, Yi, Yue / Yüeh, Yunnanese

Traditional Chinese languages: bronze script, Middle Chinese / Ancient Chinese, Old Chinese / Archaic Chinese, oracle bone script, wen li / wen-yen

Chinese varieties of English: China English, Chinese English, Chinglish, pidgin / Pigeon English / Chinese Pidgin English / Yangjingbang English

Transcription systems: Gwoyeu Romatzyh, Jyutping / LSHK Romanization, Latinxua / Sin Wenz, Pinyin / Hanyu Pinyin, Postal Romanization, Tongyong Pinyin, Wade-Giles, Yale, Zhuyin fuhao / Bopomofo, Zhuyin zimu

Chinese-relevant languages or writing systems: hanja, kanji, Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, Sino-Vietnamese

Linguistics: Chengyu / four-character idiom, empty character, empty word, full character, full word, parathesis, phonetic / primitive, radical / signific / determinative, root character, Simplified Chinese character, tone, Traditional Chinese character

7.3 The Social World

Chinese borrowings related to **The Social World** cover all aspects of Chinese social life, including members of different communities, scientific contributions, economic development, political propaganda, cultural properties, and leisure activities. These are all hot topics in today's world, which increase public awareness of Chinese influences on Western culture and thus lead to numerous recent borrowings. Meanwhile, early borrowings faithfully record the long history of China and its cultural legacy.

7.3.1 Society and Community

In recent years, many Chinese words relevant to social phenomena or social members have entered English via transliteration, which can be regarded as New Chinglish expressions, but most of them have not been recorded in the *OED* and other mainstream dictionaries yet (see also Chapter 6). Table 7.4 demonstrates some examples of New Chinglish words or relevant expressions mentioned in a range of news outlets. *Daigou*, meaning a Chinese shopper overseas who buys products on behalf of people living in China, is probably the social terminology that gains greatest acceptance in the English-speaking world. Since the idea of the daigou has developed a booming market across the globe, now the word *daigou* is known by many English speakers and is included in the *Oxford Dictionaries* and the Australian *Macquarie Dictionary*; what is more, *daigou* was among the finalists of the *Macquarie Dictionary*'s word of the year for 2017 considering its huge influence in Australia.

Not all terms have made their way into mainstream English dictionaries like *daigou*. The *OED*'s inclusion of *dama* (a middle-aged woman) and *tuhao* (a nouveau riche) is actually a piece of fake news, first reported by *Beijing Youth Daily* in 2013 (see also 3.1.6). But without doubt these two terms have received wide media coverage. As can be seen in Table 7.4, the Chinese term *dama* is directly used in the news, referring to a Chinese middle-aged woman who loves square dance and shopping. Therefore, *dama* is always mentioned in the news on the topic of square-dancing in public places or purchasing gold products. Although *dama* normally means 'middle-aged woman', it sometimes denotes an older age group: the *South China Morning Post* (17 December 2014) and *Daily Mail* (8 September 2015) use the expression 'dancing damas' while *BBC* (12 December 2013) and *CNN* (1 March 2017) call them 'dancing grannies.' There are more English expressions for *tuhao*, such as *new rich*, *new money*, *upstart*, *crass new rich*, *uncouth rich*, as well as the French loanword *nouveau riche* and the Japanese loanword *tycoon*. *CNBC* has an interesting expression, 'China's version of the "Beverly Hillbillies"' (15 November 2013), which is in some way analogous to the Chinese *tuhao*.

Due to China's One-Child Policy (from approximately 1979 to 2015), the sex ratio in China has been skewed till now. It is estimated that there will be 30 million more young men than young women by 2020. Those who cannot find a wife are jeeringly called *guanggun* in Chinese, or loosely translated as *bare branches* by various English media.

Statistically, there may be more males than females, but the number of single ladies in China is also considerable. The term *shengnu*, normally translated as ‘leftover women’, is a buzzword included in the governmental report on *Language Situation in China* (2006). The phenomenon of the so-called ‘leftover women’ is quite common in big cities and also arouses government worries. The numerous single women and men in China muster the popularity of Singles’ Day or Double 11, a holiday celebrated by these unmarried women and men (see also 8.2.4). In addition to gender imbalance and a falling marriage rate, the One-Child Policy has also led to the emergence of *little emperor*, a loan translation meaning the spoilt only child in the family.

Table 7.4. Chinese buzzwords mentioned in English media

daigou “haiwai daigou,” or overseas personal shoppers, that source luxury items for customers back home (<i>CNN</i> 19/08/2014) Chinese shopping ‘agents’ (<i>Reuters</i> 18/12/2014) <i>Daigou</i> agents (<i>CNBC</i> 30/05/2016) daigou, China’s overseas shoppers (<i>Financial Times</i> 26/09/2016) “daigou” – Chinese expats who buy consumer goods for people back home in China (<i>BBC</i> 16/03/2018)
dama Dama, which means something akin to “big mama” in Chinese (<i>Wall Street Journal</i> 12/08/2013) dancing grannies (<i>BBC</i> 12/12/2013) Chinese dama, or middle-aged women (<i>China Daily</i> 16/08/2014) dancing damas (<i>South China Morning Post</i> 17/12/2014) older women known as damas (<i>BBC</i> 24/03/2015)
fuerdai the “second-generation rich”, or <i>fuerdai</i> (<i>Economist</i> 02/07/2015) the Chinese ‘fuerdai’ – or ‘second rich generation’ (<i>Daily Mail</i> 09/07/2015) fuerdai – “second-generation rich kids” (<i>Business Insider</i> 03/10/2015) the fuerdai, a Mandarin expression that means “rich second generation” (<i>New York Times</i> 18/04/2017) <i>fuerdai</i>, or “the wealthy second generation” (<i>Financial Times</i> 13/12/2017)
guanggun leftover men, aka “bare branches” (<i>Business Insider</i> 06/02/2013) guanggun (“bare branches”) (<i>Economist</i> 23/04/2015) 30-plus bachelors, or “leftover men” (<i>China Daily</i> 07/03/2016) a “bare branch” in China – single, unmarried, a bachelor (<i>BBC</i> 28/08/2016) “bare branches” – rural men unable to find brides (<i>Guardian</i> 02/09/2018)
shengnu [“Leftover ladies”] are also referred to as “3S women”: single, seventies, and stuck (<i>New York Times</i> 15/03/2010) “leftover” women (<i>sheng nu</i>) (<i>New York Times</i> 11/10/2012) “leftover woman” (or “shengnv” in Chinese) (<i>CNN</i> 21/08/2013) unmarried females, often stigmatised as “sheng nu” or leftover women (<i>BBC</i> 08/04/2016) leftover woman / single woman (<i>China Daily</i> 13/06/2018)

tuhao

newly rich ‘tuhao’ (*South China Morning Post* 18/10/2013)

“tuhao” – which loosely translated means “nouveau riche” (*BBC* 31/10/2013)

the uncouth rich (*China Daily* 18/10/2013)

crass new rich / China’s version of the “Beverly Hillbillies” (*CNBC* 15/11/2013)

the rich *tuhao* (“nouveau riche”) (*Economist* 28/11/2018)

Terms borrowed from Chinese are now not only applicable in the Chinese context, but also used to denote anyone falling in those groups. As an example, the *Washington Post* depicts Donald Trump as ‘what Chinese call a *tuhao*, another bumptious billionaire’ (9 February 2018). Ivanka Trump, accordingly the second generation of *tuhao*, is said to be ‘the epitome of the fuerdai, a Mandarin expression that means “rich second generation,” a term provoking a mix of respect and resentment’ in a *New York Times*’ article (18 April 2017).

The abovementioned expressions are mainly borrowed into the English lexicon via transliteration, with a few cases via loan translation such as *leftover man*, *leftover woman*, and *little emperor*. *Boat people*, *low-end population*, and *melon-eating masses* are also examples of loan translations, designating very China-specific groups of people in the society. Earlier terms in the field of **Society and Community** include names for a range of secret societies of Chinese (or their members) in English-speaking countries or colonies, such as *Boxer*, *Gormogon*, *highbinder*, *hoey*, *tong*, *triadist*, and *Triad Society*. In terms of social relations, *guanxi* represents a very subtle social concept in the Chinese context. Although the word was newly added to the *OED* in 2016, the concept has existed in Chinese culture for a long time. There is no English word (e.g. *relationship*, *connection*, *network*) that is the exact equivalent of the Chinese *guanxi*, meaning ‘a network of personal connections and social relationships one can use for professional or other advantage’ (*OED*’s definition). *Guanxi* is also closely associated with the issues of *mianzi* or *face* in English, meaning reputation or honour. To save face rather than to lose face is a common concern in Chinese social life. What is more, the words *guanxi* and *mianzi* regularly feature in linguistics publications about intercultural politeness and pragmatics. Therefore, it is not surprising that many linguists are very familiar with these terms.

List:

Members of society: boat people, daigou, dama, diaosi, fuerdai, guanggun / leftover man, heihaizi, little emperor, low-end population / low-end people, melon-eating masses, sandwich class, shengnu / leftover woman, tiger mother, tuhao

Secret societies: Boxer, Gormogon, highbinder, hoey, tong, triadist, Triad Society

Social relations: guanxi, lose face, mianzi / face, naked marriage, save face, tzu

Social activities: compensated dating / enjo kosai, square dancing

Population policies: family planning policy, hukou / national household registration system, one-child policy, two-child policy

7.3.2 Science and Technology⁴³

Chinese scientists had developed numerous brilliant innovations since ancient times. Among all the innovations, four were frequently mentioned together as the ‘Four Great Inventions’ (四大发明), namely, compass, gunpowder, papermaking, and printing, though the East and the West still have arguments over the origin of these four inventions. However, invasions and civil wars over the centuries made China fall behind in the global sci-tech race. It was not until the 1960s when the concept of ‘Four Modernizations’ (四个现代化) was promoted across the country and set as goal of strengthening different fields in China. One of the four ‘Modernizations’ referred to science and technology, and since then, China sped up its sci-tech development to achieve world level. In recent years, China has devoted much money and manpower to change the situation from technological imitation to innovation, and in 2015 launched an ambitious plan named ‘Made in China 2025.’ This new strategic plan aims to change the western impression of products with ‘Made in China’ labels, which still carries a negative connotation. More people around the world are now using Chinese-made and Chinese-designed products, whether they notice the producing country or not.

In 2017, four new technological innovations of China were collectively called the ‘Four New Great Inventions’ (新四大发明), including *high-speed rail* (高铁), *online shopping* (网购), *mobile payment* (移动支付), and *dockless shared bicycles* (共享单车) (see Figure 7.12). As a matter of fact, these four new innovations were not invented by the Chinese, according to a BBC’s ‘Reality Check Verdict’ (Jakhar 3 April 2018): the first

⁴³ Part of this section is published in the journal article entitled ‘The top 100 Chinese loanwords in English today: Can one recognise the Chinese words used in English?’ (Zhong n.d.).

modern high-speed train provided service in Japan in 1964; the concept of online shopping was invented by an Englishman Michael Aldrich in 1979; the first payment via mobile was made in Finland in 1997; European cities started the bike-sharing schemes in the 1990s. Although the so-called ‘Four New Great Inventions’ were not invented in China, they were reinforced by China’s cutting-edge technologies. People all over the globe are using the new Chinese-developed modernizations, no matter if they are aware of it or not.

Figure 7.12. China’s Four New Great Inventions (Source: Xinhua)



China’s high-speed rail (HSR) has become world-famous because of its record-breaking speed and length of rail network. However, the term *high-speed rail* is not Chinese-specific since it can refer to similar types of rail transport in other countries. Recently, how to express *gaotie* (高铁, lit. ‘high iron’), the Chinese word for *high-speed rail*, in English triggered a heated discussion on the Internet. In the past College English Test Band-6 (CET-6), a nation-wide college-level English exam, students were asked to translate *gaotie* into English. *High-speed rail* or *high-speed train* is without doubt a standard answer. But for students who do not have a high level of proficiency in English, some Chinglish-like expressions are created, such as ‘tall subway’, ‘high way’, and even ‘high Fe’ (because Fe is the symbol of the chemical element iron). According to the *Guidelines for the Use of English in Public Service Areas*, which was issued in 2017 by

the Chinese government to eliminate Chinglish expressions in public service areas (see also 6.2), the official English expression for *gaotie* is ‘G-series high-speed train’, as opposed to another type of Chinese rail transport ‘D-series high-speed train’ (动车 *dongche*). Interestingly, if students directly write the transliteration of the original Chinese word as *gaotie*, they will lose the point. This shows *gaotie* has not been adopted by English like its Japanese counterpart *Shinkansen*. As the world’s first high-speed rail, *Shinkansen* (新幹線), also nicknamed *bullet train* because of its appearance and speed, has already been included in the *OED*. Another Japan-made train *Azuma* (東), meaning ‘east’ in Japanese, has been operated by Virgin Trains East Coast (now LNER) since October 2017 and shortens the travel time between London and Edinburgh to four hours. Probably in the near future, *gaotie* will make its way to English like *Shinkansen* and *Azuma*, with more exports to different countries and more trains carrying the Chinese brand name *gaotie*.

The brand name *Alipay* is nearly equivalent to ‘mobile payment’ in the Chinese context, whereas its major competitor, WeChat Pay, is catching up. With over 700 million Internet users and 500 million mobile payment app users, China has the world’s largest e-commerce and mobile payment market; it is now bigger than America’s, according to an article in *The Economist* (16 February 2018). The Chinese conglomerate Alibaba Group owns the country’s (and the world’s) dominant digital platforms, Taobao (淘宝) for online shopping, and Alipay or Zhifubao (支付宝) for mobile payment. Taobao now exceeds Amazon and eBay combined while Alipay outguns PayPal. Alibaba Group is also ambitiously opening up the global market, with Taobao and Tmall (previously Taobao Mall) providing international shipping services and Alipay supporting transactions in worldwide retailers and in various currencies. In London for example, Alipay provides payment services in Harrods, Selfridges, Harvey Nichols, and many more.

The Pinyin forms of *high-speed rail*, *online shopping*, and *Alipay* are ranked in the list of Top 100 most recognized Chinese words in English (see also Test Case 2). The only one among the ‘Four New Great Inventions’ that is not on the list is bike-sharing. The scheme of bike-sharing has been operated in many European cities for several decades. I still remember for the World Expo 2010 in Shanghai, Denmark Pavilion provided 1500 bikes for visitors to ride on the circular slope and Denmark’s Odense Pavilion, with the theme ‘Revival of the Bicycle’, also showed the country’s unique cycling culture with bicycle

exhibitions, a 150-meter bike path, and free bikes to ride. For many Chinese people like me, this was the first experience of knowing the concept of bike-sharing thanks to Denmark's national pavilion and urban pavilion. In 2014 and 2015, two Chinese bike-sharing companies Ofo and MoBike were founded. Based on the European cases, the Chinese technology made the shared bikes dockless. Within three years' time, the colorful bikes from the above-mentioned companies appear in many overseas countries including US, UK, Italy, Singapore, and so on.

Besides everyday consumer products, public transport services and electronic payment platforms, China also achieves significant breakthroughs in areas of aeronautics. Up to now, 11 Chinese astronauts, or taikonauts, have travelled in space in a series of Shenzhou Space Program. *Taikonaut*, the blending of Chinese *taikong* (太空, lit. 'outer space') and English element *-naut* (apparently from *astronaut*), has been included in the *OED* and several other mainstream dictionaries like *Collins* and *Longman* (but surprisingly not in *M-W* and *Cambridge*).

List:

BAT (Baidu, Alibaba and Tencent), dockless shared bicycles / bike-sharing, e-commerce / online-shopping, Four Great Inventions, Four New Great Inventions, gaotie / high-speed rail / high-speed train / G-series high-speed train, mobile payment / e-payment / Alipay, Made in China 2025, taikonaut

7.3.3 Trade and Finance

China's trade with the West can be traced back to the Han Dynasty, when the ancient trade network known as *Silk Road* was established. Silk, ceramics, commodities, as well as Chinese culture, philosophies, religions, and technologies were exported from China. Many words also came to the English-speaking world during the early trading period, or even passed through other languages and cultures. A revival of the Silk Road took place in recent years, with the promotion of China's new development strategy called the *Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road*, or simply the *Belt and Road Initiative*. The Initiative is a new attempt to connect the East and the West, and thus the original Silk Road can be retrospectively called the *Old Silk Road*, though it is rarely so called.

Currency plays a significant role in trade. In ancient times, Chinese people used shell

money and later knife money (ancient Chinese money shaped like a knife) and spade money (ancient Chinese money shaped like a spade) as a medium of exchange. China's monetary system largely influenced other Sinosphere countries. For example, the Japanese *mon*, Korean *mun*, and Vietnamese *văn* are cognates, written in the same Chinese character *wen* (文). Similarly, the Japanese *yen* and Korean *won*, both derived from the Chinese *yuan*, are indirect borrowings in this case (see also 5.3). *Yuan* is now the principal currency unit in mainland China, but currencies in other parts of Greater China are still translated in English as 'dollar', like *Hong Kong dollar*, *Macau dollar* (or *Macau pataca*), and *New Taiwan dollar*.

Formerly a British colony, Hong Kong's monetary and financial systems followed the British ones for a long time. The portrait of Queen Elizabeth II appeared on previous versions of Hong Kong coins. Also, terminologies relevant to Hong Kong's currency and economy have entered the English lexicon, including *Asian flu* (the 1997 Asian financial crisis), *Hang Seng Index* (stock-market index in Hong Kong), *hong* (a foreign company in China), *taipan* (a foreign businessman in China), *security system* (a system for merchants in Hong Kong), and Hong Kong currency units such as *Hong Kong dollar*, *cent*, and *mil*. Besides *Hang Seng Index* which was started in 1969 and *Asian flu* in 1997, all other Hong Kong trading and financial terms are attested in 18th or 19th century according to the *OED*.

In Chinese culture, the dragon and the tiger are two auspicious animals. The four fastest-growing and highest-income economies in Asia, namely Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea, are collectively called *four dragons* or *four tigers* (see the *OED* entries *dragon* and *tiger*). Since they are relatively smaller economies, they are also known as *four little dragons*, which is a translation of the most common term 四小龙 in Chinese. The four Asian dragons achieved rapid growth in the second half of the 20th century, but suffered a setback due to the financial crisis of the late 1990s.

List:

Trade and business: Alipay, bamboo network, Belt and Road Initiative / One Belt One Road, Canton System, Cohong, daigou, hong, hoppo, security system, Silk Road / Silk Route, taipan, tea money, towkay

Economy: Asian flu, four (little) dragons / four tigers / Asian tigers / dragon economies /

tiger economies

Stock market: A share, B share, China concepts stocks, H share, Hang Seng index, red chips (stocks)

Currency and monetary units: avo, ban liang / half tael, candareen, cash, cent, fen, knife money, Hong Kong dollar, jiao, li, liang, Macau pataca / Macau dollar, mace, mil, New Taiwan dollar, renminbi / RMB, shell money, spade money / spade coin, sycee, tael, tiao, yuan

7.3.4 Politics

Politics is a broad and thus complex topic, especially for a country like China where the civilization has taken thousands of years. Admittedly, politics also works in conspiracy with military, governance, legislation, and many more. So here I also include the relevant terms in this semantic field. To start with, the history of China can be roughly divided into three stages, namely Ancient China, Imperial China, and Modern China. Feudal and imperial dynasties in Chinese history include Xia, Shang / Yin (also known as Shang-Yin), Zhou, Qin, Han, Xin, Three Kingdoms, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing. Most of the Chinese dynasties listed here have already been included in the *OED*. Dynasty terms not only designate the ruler belonging to the specific periods, but sometimes also denote works of art, artefacts, and ceramics produced in those periods. In a similar vein, the reign titles (or *nien hao*) of Chinese emperors, especially of the Ming and Qing dynasties, also make their way to the English-speaking world by their frequent appearance with reference to Chinese porcelains. Some of them like *K'ang-Hsi*, *Yung Chêng*, and *Ch'ien Lung* are listed in the *OED* because of their relatively high frequency while the others are less recognizable. (For a detailed discussion on the *OED*'s inclusion of Chinese *nien hao*, see the case study of ceramics in Chapter 8). Additionally, during several periods in Chinese history, there was not any single authority ruling a unified China; rather, multiple political states claimed suzerainty over China, or several states rapidly succeeded one another. Multiple authorities can be told by their names, usually in the form of loan translations, such as *Spring and Autumn*, *Warring States*, *Six Dynasties*, *Three Kingdom*, *Southern and Northern Dynasties*, and *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*.

The Revolution of 1911, more commonly called the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命) in

China, brought China's imperial date to an end and established the Republic of China. However, it started another era of political upheaval in 20th-century Modern China. The military conflict between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Nationalist Party of China (or more frequently called Kuomintang) led to a prolonged war. The civil war started with a period called the White Terror in 1927. As noted in the *OED*, 'The colour white has been associated particularly with royalist and legitimist causes, and hence with counter-revolutionary, anti-communist, reactionary, or conservative parties.' Thus, *White Terror* does not only specifically refer to the period of violent repression in China, but also to similar periods in France (1795), Russia (1917-1922), Finland (1918), Hungary (1919-1921), and the like.

In 1949, the Communist Party defeated Kuomintang and established the People's Republic of China (PRC). Since then, the Communists have had control of mainland China whereas Kuomintang relocated the government to Taiwan. Mainland China is sometimes also called 'Communist China' or 'Red China' (Smith and Davis 2005). In the years following 1949, the People's Republic of China underwent a series of campaigns, including Sanfan (or Three-anti Campaign), Wufan (or Five-anti Campaign), Hundred Flowers Campaign, Great Leap Forward, and Cultural Revolution. These campaigns left their names in historical textbooks and also English dictionaries like the *OED*; meanwhile, expressions with marked Chinese characteristics were coined during the campaigns, such as *brainwash*, *Gang of Four*, *Red Guard*, *Four Olds*, *dazibao* (or *ta tzu-pao*), *capitalist road*, and so on, and were mostly found on political slogans and propaganda posters. Mao Zedong, the founding father of the People's Republic of China, made the sloganeering and propaganda into art forms during his years in power.⁴⁴ Figure 7.13 is an example of propaganda poster, on which the slogan reads 'Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, waging revolution depends on Mao Zedong Thought.' Slogans bolstering Mao's and the party's leadership were widely used in media, wall papers, posters, and also people's everyday speech during that period. Several slogans, either in the Mao Era or in the Post-Mao Era, choose to use the format of short rhythmic expressions within several characters. Four-character expressions are especially popular, since they are clear to express ideas and easy to spread information. 'The Hundred Flowers' (百花齐放) and 'seek truth from facts' (实事求是) are two good examples. Both of them are adapted from classical

⁴⁴ Notable collections of Chinese propaganda posters include: University of Westminster's Chinese Poster Collection, British Library collection of Chinese propaganda posters, and the website <https://chinese posters.net/>.

phrases and thus embrace a strong cultural connotation. In this case, either a phonetically-borrowed term or a literally-translated expression do not work well. Rather, a loose translation, which probably will become a loan-translation later, is a more effective means of promotion and communication. In addition, many translated slogans are regarded as ‘Chinese English’, and some examples can be found in Chapter 6.

Figure 7.13. Chinese propaganda poster (Source: Chinese Posters)



Mao's political theories, military strategies, party policies, together with his sloganeering are collectively known as Mao Zedong Thought, or Maoism among Western sinologists. His followers are accordingly called Maoists. Though Mao's successors eluded his most extreme doctrines and avoided overusing slogans, they still coined a number of terms. It seems that policy makers are also good neologisers; their newly-coined political terminologies and theories shape the 'new' China. For instance, the core of Deng Xiaoping Theory (also called Dengism) is *reform and opening up* and *socialism with Chinese characteristics*; Jiang Zemin proposed *Three Represents*; Hu Jintao developed *Scientific Outlook on Development*, *Eight Honors and Eight Shames*, and the notion of *harmonious society*; Xi Jinping, the current leader, promoted 'Chinese dream' to compete with 'American dream.' These new theories and ideas have been mostly translated by Ministry of Foreign Affairs or *People's Daily*, the party's most trusted mouthpieces. Foreign media directly use the 'official' translation provided. What is more, many of these political ideologies and theories become recognizable among English speakers thanks to widely-spread propaganda (see the discussion on the top 100 most recognizable Chinese

words in Chapter 3). The political history of propaganda art continues in the Post-Mao Era and the ‘New Era’ – another item of terminology in Xi Jinping Thought.

List:

Chinese dynasties: Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Han, Jin, Ming, Qin, Qing, Shang / Yin / Shang-Yin, Six Dynasties, Song, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Spring and Autumn, Sui, Tang, Three Kingdoms, Warring States, Wei, Xia, Xin, Yuan, Zhou

Terms in the imperial and early republican period: Ch'ien Lung, hien / hsien, hoppo, hoppo-man, K'ang-Hsi, kow tow, May Fourth, May Fourth movement, nien hao / reign mark / reign name / reign title, prefect, prefecture, procurator, procuratorate, red button, Republic of China, Sun Yat-senism, superintendency, Tai-ping, tangpu, taotai, tupan, tutang, yamun / yamen, Yung Chêng

Terms in the Mao Era: (both) red and expert, brainwash, brainwashing, cadre school, capitalist road, capitalist roader, Cultural Revolution, ganbu / cadre, Gang of Four, Great Leap Forward, Hundred Flowers, lean to one side, little red book, Long March, Maoism, Maoist, Maoization, mass line, May Seventh, paper tiger, production brigade, rectification, recitification campaign / movement, Red China, Red Chinese, Red Guard, reform through labour, reform through labour camp, reform through labour farm, reorganizationist, running dog, Sanfan / three-anti, self-criticism, semi-proletariat, smash the four olds, splittism, struggle meeting, Tachai, ta tzu-pao / dazibao / big-character poster, thought reform, walking on (or with) two legs, wall newspaper, White Terror, worker-peasant, worker-peasant-soldier, work point, work team, Wufan / five-anti, Yenan / Yan'an

Terms in the Post-Mao Era: Chinese dream, Democracy Wall, Democracy Wall movement, Eight Honors and Eight Shames, five-year plans, Four Modernizations, harmonious society, Made in China 2025, New Era, One Belt One Road / Belt and Road Initiative, one country two systems, reform and opening up, Scientific Outlook on Development / Scientific Development, seek truth from facts, sharp power, socialism with Chinese characteristics, Three Represents

Rule or government: Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party / Communist Party of China / CPC, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference / CPPCC, Kuomintang, National People's Congress / NPC, People's Republic of China / PRC,

State Council, two sessions / lianghui, yuan

Military: Chinese Civil War, People's Liberation Army / PLA, Red Army, route army, scorched earth, Sino-Japanese War / The War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, tuchun, war-lord, yellow jacket

7.3.5 Intangible cultural properties

The 2003 UNESCO General Conference adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As defined in Article 2 of the Convention, 'intangible cultural heritage' (ICH) means,

'[T]he practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.'

The Convention therefore aimed to both safeguard and raise awareness of the significance of these aspects of culture. Numerous countries like China are now putting more effort on protecting their ICH items. The protection and promotion of the intangible cultural properties has become a hot topic in China. China has ratified UNESCO's Convention, with 33 items included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and 7 in the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. In addition to UNESCO's lists, China has its own lists at the national and local levels. According to Chinese Cultural Studies Center's statistics, there are 2,438 items inscribed on the national lists and 8,786 on the provincial lists.⁴⁵

The notion of 'intangible cultural properties' covers a range of domains. As defined in UNESCO's Convention, intangible cultural heritage involves: (1) oral traditions and expressions (like language), (2) performing arts, (3) social practices, rituals and festive events, (4) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and (5) traditional craftsmanship. Likewise, the national lists include, inter alia, folk literature, traditional music, traditional dance, traditional opera / theater / drama, narrative / storytelling traditions, traditional sports / recreational activities / acrobatics, traditional arts, traditional handicraft skills, traditional medicine, and folk customs. Lexis related to

⁴⁵ For the full lists, see the website www.culturalheritagechina.org/.

many of these areas can be found in the data for this study. Several areas like **Clothing**, **Leisure**, and **Language** are discussed in relation to multiple separate semantic fields. Some areas, such as **Ceramics** and **Festivals**, will be discussed in case studies in the next chapter.

It is noticeable that on those above-mentioned lists, no matter at which level, many Chinese cultural properties carry the ethnic label ‘Chinese’, such as *Chinese medicine*, *Chinese paper-cut*, *Chinese seal engraving*, *Chinese shadow puppetry*, *Chinese abacus*, *Chinese zhusuan*, *Chinese chess*, *Chinese yo-yo*, *Chinese calligraphy*, *Chinese painting*, *Chinese woodblock printing*, *Chinese clothing*, to name but a few. Considering the difficulty of transmitting these Chinese properties or concepts via their Pinyin forms, the ‘ethnic tag plus similar English item’ expression is often more acceptable to English speakers, especially those who are not acquainted with Chinese culture. Some of these expressions have doublets without the tag *Chinese*. As an example, *Chinese yo-yo*, a game of juggling with discs, string, and hand sticks, is derived from Chinese *kongzhu* (空竹, lit. ‘air bamboo’) and is also known as *the devil on two sticks* and *diabolo* (a loanword from French). Similarly, the *OED* includes two cognates of *Chinese abacus*: a lexical borrowing from Chinese *suan-pan* (算盘, lit. ‘calculating dish’) and an indirect borrowing from Japanese *soroban*, which is ultimately from *suan-pan*.

Among all Chinese cultural properties, the four most representative ones are collectively called ‘The Four Quintessence’ (国粹, lit. ‘national essence’), namely Chinese calligraphy, Peking opera, Chinese medicine, and Chinese martial arts (also known as *kung fu* or *wushu*), with numerous terms in each sub-field. The rest of this semantic sketch looks at the borrowings derived from Chinese cultural properties in these fields. (For kung fu terms, see the semantic field of **Leisure**.)

Calligraphy in China used to be a basic tool of communication, but it is usually regarded as a form of artistry now, especially in the digital era. Chinese calligraphy also influenced Japanese and Korean calligraphy profoundly, by transmitting calligraphy tools and techniques to the two countries. Major styles of Chinese calligraphy include seal, clerical, regular, grass, and running scripts. *Seal script* in English is rarely called by its Chinese name *zhuan-shu* (篆书, lit. ‘engraving script’); but its sub-varieties, namely the large and small seal scripts, are more frequently referred by their Wade-Giles forms – *ta chuan* and *hsiao chuan* – and the former has been included in the *OED*. Meanwhile, the clerical,

regular, and grass styles can also be found in the *OED* in loanword forms, as *li shu*, *k'ai shu* (also known as *chen shu*), and *ts'ao shu*. The term 'running' in calligraphy is equivalent to 'cursive.' However, the running script (in Chinese 行书, lit. 'walking script') is not as abbreviated as the grass one, and thus is sometimes called *semi-cursive script*. On the other hand, the grass style or *ts'ao shu* (草书, 'grass script') is known as *cursive script*. In addition, 'hand' in English has a meaning of 'style of handwriting' (*OED*); thus, the grass and running styles are also called *grass-hand* and *running-hand* respectively, though there is not enough evidence to suggest whether these two are loan translations from Chinese or English expressions coincident with their Chinese equivalents. Since Chinese calligraphy is usually written with ink, many relevant items of calligraphy are compounded with *ink*, as *ink-brush*, *ink-painting*, *ink-sketch*, *ink-squeeze*, *ink-stick*, and *ink-study*. *Ink-painting* or *ink wash painting*, which is loosely rendered from its Chinese name *shuimohua* (水墨画, lit. 'water ink painting'), is a form of art that is closely related to calligraphy because they use similar techniques and tools.

Peking opera, a famous form of Chinese performing arts, is so called because it is mainly performed in Beijing dialect. Other Chinese opera forms, usually designated by their place of origin, include *Kun opera*, *Yue opera*, *Shanghai opera*, *Sichuan opera*, *Tibetan opera*, to name but a few. Sometimes the English word 'opera' is added unnecessarily, as in *Kun Qu opera* and *Yueju opera*, in which *qu* (曲) and *ju* (剧) already bear the meaning of 'opera.' The major five roles in Chinese opera are: *sheng* (principal male character), *tan* or *dan* (principal female character), *jing* or *hualian* (rough male character with painted face), *mo* (elder supporting character), and *chou* (clown). The former two have entered the *OED* with same first attestation, the 1886's *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (see also 4.1).

As discussed in 4.1, words within a specific semantic field are very likely to be attested in the same period or even from the same source. Such semantic fields, like ceramics and mah-jong, are the ones that are peculiar to Chinese culture. Another example is the field of music and opera: according to the *OED*, Chinese musical instruments including *erh hu*, *paiban*, *pan*, *qin*, *san hsien*, *se*, *suona*, *ti-tzu*, *yang ch'in*, *yüeh ch'in* and opera terms like *sheng* and *tan* are all first attested in the 19th and the early 20th century. Considering the time period of their first appearance in the English-speaking world, these terms are mostly spelled in Wade-Giles or other non-Pinyin transcriptions.

Chinese medical system, with over 2000 years' history, is probably the oldest one in the world. Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), referring to either Chinese herbs or medical practices, are still in wide use today. Mass media and social media outside of China bolster the myth of TCM and make many westerners opt for Chinese remedies for health and beauty, from medicines like cough syrup *Nin Jiom Pei Pa Koa* (*Wall Street Journal* 22 February 2018, *Telegraph* 27 February 2018) and *He Shou Wu* for both skincare and haircare (*Glamour* 1 August 2018, *Daily Mail* 5 February 2019), to beauty tools such as jade roller and jade *gua sha* (*Vogue* 28 June 2018, *Glamour* 29 October 2018). The beauty secrets shared by celebrities and KOLs (Key Opinion Leaders) also strongly promote Chinese medical products. For instance, Meghan Markle has reportedly been using jade rollers and acupuncture, even during her pregnancy (*Guardian* 29 May 2018, *Vanity Fair* 4 February 2019). Additionally, several essential concepts, including *qi*, *eight trigrams*, *five elements*, *yin* and *yang*, are also applied to Chinese martial arts (see the semantic sketch of **Leisure**).

Although festive terms will be discussed in a detailed study in the next chapter, here I would like to mention a notion closely related to Chinese calendar and rituals, that is, the twenty-four solar terms. The solar terms, representing segments or points that divide a year into 24 parts, were widely applied in agriculture, astronomy, and festivities in early days. As the name suggests, there are 24 solar terms; the most famous four terms are: *chunfen* (春分, lit. 'spring centre'), *xiazhi* (夏至, lit. 'summer extreme'), *qiufen* (秋分, lit. 'autumn centre'), and *dongzhi* (冬至, lit. 'winter extreme'). Their English equivalents are *spring equinox*, *summer solstice*, *autumn equinox*, and *winter solstice*, normally falling on the same day as the Chinese ones, or within one-day's deviation. Though the twenty-four solar terms have been listed as UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage since 2016, like several other intangible cultural properties, they are rarely used today and less known by the young generation. The heritage lists at different levels are created with the aim of introducing these cultural properties, enhancing their viability, and preserving their contribution towards the Chinese civilization and the civilization of mankind. This is also an important aim of this section as well as the whole thesis.

List:

Performing arts: Chinese shadow puppetry / ombres chinoises, chop stick, chou, Chuanju / Sichuan opera, dan / tan, dragon dance, erh hu, huju / Shanghai opera, jing / hualian, Kun Qu / Kun Qu opera / Kun opera, lion dance, lü, mo, Nanyin / Southern Tunes, paiban,

pan, Peking opera, pingshu / storytelling, pipa, qin, san hsien, se, sheng (musical instrument), sheng (male character in opera), suona, Tibetan opera, ti-tzu, xiangsheng / crosstalk / comic dialogue, yang ch'in, yangge / yang-ko, yueju / Yue opera / Cantonese opera, yüeh ch'in, yueju / Yue opera / Shaoxing opera

Calligraphy: bronze script, hsiao chuan / small seal script, ink-brush, ink-painting / ink wash painting / literati painting, ink-sketch, ink-squeeze, ink-stick, ink-study, li shu / clerical script / chancery script, k'ai shu / chen shu / regular script, oracle bone script, running script / running-hand / semi-cursive script, seal script, ta chuan / large seal script, ts'ao shu / grass-hand / cursive script, xuan paper / rice paper

Chinese medicine: acupuncture, bagua / eight trigrams, cooling, element, ginseng, gow, gua sha, heaty, He Shou Wu, long pulse, meridian, mother, mother-son, nei kuan, Nin Jiom Pei Pa Koa, qi / chi, qinghoosu, son, Traditional Chinese medicine / TCM / Chinese herbs, tui na / Chinese massage, tu-mo, wuxing / five elements / five phases / five agents, yen

Festive folkways: Buddha's Birthday, China National Day, Chinese Arbor Day, Chinese zodiac / shengxiao, Double Ninth Festival / Chongyang, Dragon Boat Festival / Duanwu / Tuen Ng / Double Fifth Festival, fu, golden week, hongbao / ang pow / lai see / red envelope / red packet / lucky money, joss stick, Lantern Festival / Yuanxiao / Yuan Hsiao, money tree, Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival, Porridge Day / Laba Rice Porridge Festival, Qixi Festival / Magpie Festival / Chinese Valentine's Day, Singles' Day / Double Eleven, Spring Festival / Chinese New Year / Chunjie, Spring Festival Gala, Tomb-Sweeping Day / Qingming / Ch'ing Ming Festival / Chinese Memorial Day, Torch Festival, twenty-four solar terms, Water Splashing Festival, Zhongyuan Festival / Ghost Festival (for more festive terms, see 8.2.)

Others: abacus / suan-pan / soroban, Chinese seal engraving, Chinese zhusuan / abacus calculation, Chinese paper-cut, Four Great Inventions, kongzhu / diabolo / Chinese yo-yo, luopan / feng shui compass

7.3.6 Leisure

There is much in the way of entertainment in China – from music to dance, from game to sports – all of them have enriched Chinese people's social lives. Mah-jong has been the

national pastime in China for several centuries, and many Chinese people jokingly call mah-jong as ‘the fifth quintessence.’ Nowadays mah-jong has become popular overseas, with a number of books explaining mah-jong terminology to English speakers. Many mah-jong terms come to the English vocabulary, mostly in the form of loan translations and semantic loans, such as the mah-jong symbols *bamboo*, *dragon*, *flower*, *honour*, *East wind*, *South wind*, *West wind*, and *North wind*, actions or arrangement of tiles *draw*, *meld*, *wall*, *wash* and *thirteen orphans*, to name but a few. By contrast, only a few loanwords of mah-jong are used in English contexts, including *pung*, *woo*, and *mah-jong* itself. It is reasonable to include limited loanwords in the mah-jong game, since the English players are not expected to learn many Chinese words in order to play the game from the Far East.

In China there are many localized variations of mah-jong, and the most popular ones are Sichuan mah-jong, Cantonese mah-jong, Shanghai mah-jong, and Wuhan mah-jong, which have slightly different rules and terminologies. Terms like *chow*, *kong*, and *pong* (the alternative spelling of *pung*) are ultimately borrowed from Cantonese. Although outside of China, the most common mah-jong version is the National Standard mah-jong (also known as Competition mah-jong), some overseas variations can still be found, including Japanese mah-jong and American mah-jong, also with many scoring and terminological differences. In the American version, for example, mah-jong symbols like *character* and *bamboo* are usually called *crak* and *bam*. For the players’ convenience, the English terminology of mah-jong game adopts several words from that of card game, such as *discard*, *draw*, *meld*, and so on. Probably it should be called *dismahjong* rather than *discard*. In addition, the American mah-jong even adds *jokers* to tiles, which is a very bizarre mixture of Eastern and Western game culture.

Chinese martial arts are also a national leisure activity which became famous across the globe thanks to kung fu film stars like Bruce Lee and Jackie Chan, and the Hollywood animation *Kung Fu Panda* as well. *Martial art* is in fact a general term to cover various forms of self-defence or attack sports, especially those from East Asia, including Chinese *kung fu* and *wushu*, Japanese *judo* and *karate*, and Korean *taw kwon do*. *Wushu* (武术, lit. ‘martial art’) and some gentler physical practices like *tai chi* and *qigong*, adopt a range of essential concepts from Chinese **Philosophy** (see 7.2.1) and Chinese **Medicine** (see 7.3.5), such as the balance of *yin* and *yang*, the use of *qi*, and the application of *Five Elements* (五行 *wuxing*) and *Eight Trigrams* (八卦 *bagua*). Kung fu schools overseas are very keen on introducing these terms and concepts to kung fu enthusiasts. In many

cases, loan-blends are the preferred options because they keep the native quality from Chinese and explain the basic concept well in English. For example, *fist* is frequently used to replace the Chinese *quan* (拳, *quan* in Pinyin and *chuan* in Wade-Giles), as in *Tai Chi Fist*, *Shaolin Fist*, and *Wing Chun Fist*. *Boxing* is another alternative for *quan*, like *Tai Chi Chuan* is also known as the *Chinese boxing*. Similarly, *palm* is used as an alternative for *zhang* (掌), as in *Bagua Palm* or in the literally translated *Eight Trigrams Palm*. An observable use of existing English words – especially verbs, such as *kick*, *lock*, *punch*, and *strike*, denoting the techniques that are applicable to various types of martial arts – can be seen on the booklets or websites of many overseas kung fu schools. The idea of ‘Furious Five’ (five anthropomorphized animals, namely monkey, mantis, crane, viper, and tiger, see Figure 7.14) in the animation *Kung Fu Panda* comes from the *Five-animal fist* or *Five-animal play* (五禽戏 *wuqinxi*), denoting styles of martial arts that imitate the shape of a certain animal. Also in the film, the panda’s master, a red panda (the rightmost in Figure 7.14), is called ‘Master Shifu’, although *master* is the equivalent of the Chinese word *shifu* (师傅); and therefore, the name may sound like a duplication for many Chinese speakers.

Figure 7.14. *Kung Fu Panda* characters (Left to right: Viper, Mantis, Tigress, Monkey, Po, Crane, and Master Shifu; Source: DreamWorks)



Wuxia (武侠, lit. ‘martial warrior’) is a Chinese loanword used attributively to designate ‘a genre of Chinese historical fiction or martial arts films’ (*OED*). Other than kung fu films or wuxia films, the latest craze to sweep many English-speaking countries is wuxia literature. WuxiaWorld, founded in 2014, is a platform for English versions of Chinese wuxia novels and gains millions of views every day.⁴⁶ The website is considerate enough

⁴⁶ Available at <https://www.wuxiaworld.com/>.

to provide a glossary of terms, from martial arts terms to weapons, and from cosmologic philosophy to creature. Figure 7.15 shows a selection of the terms, and more examples can be found on the website.⁴⁷

Figure 7.15. A selective glossary of terms in wuxia novels (Source: Global Times / WuxiaWorld)



Although Chinese wuxia films and literature make a good effort to obtain world recognition, some clichéd bias towards the Chinese still exists. In cricket and baseball terminologies, several expressions contain the ethnic tag *Chinese*, such as *Chinese blow*, *Chinese cut*, *Chinese drive*, and *Chinese home run*, referring to a bad try or a miss. These negative expressions are neither of a Chinese origin nor used in the Chinese context, but are so called to conform the usual stereotype of Chinese people, who can do nothing well, in westerners' eyes (see also 5.2 for the discussion on ethnic tags).

⁴⁷ See <https://www.wuxiaworld.com/page/general-glossary-of-terms/>.

List:

Mah-jong: bamboo / bam / stick, character / crak / number, chow, discard, dot / circle / disc / wheel, dragon, draw, East, East wind, flower, honour, kong, mah-jong / mah-jongg, meld, North, North wind, pung (n. & v.) / pong / triplet, punging, season, self-draw, South, South wind, tile, wall, wash, West, West wind, wind, woo / hu

Other games: fan-tan / tan, macao, pai gow, pakapoo, Shanghai, tangram, weiqi / wei ch'i / go chess, xiangqi / Chinese chess

Martial arts: Bagua Quan / Eight Trigrams Fist, chin na / qinna, Five-animal play / Five-animal fist, kung fu / gongfu, martial arts, qi / chi, qi gong, Shaolin, shifu / sifu / master, taijiquan / Tai Chi Chuan / tai chi / Chinese boxing, wushu / Chinese martial arts, wuxia, yongchun / Wing Chun / Wing Chun Fist

Other sports terms: Chinaman, Chinese blow, Chinese cut, Chinese drive, Chinese homer / Chinese home run / Pekinese poke, Chinese line drive, dragon boat

Music: Cantopop, C-pop, Mandopop, Minnan pop / Hokkien pop / Tai-pop / Taiwanese pop

Dance: dragon dance, lion dance, square dance, yang-ko

Other entertainments: imperial drama / imperial period drama / imperial palace drama, ombres chinoises / Chinese shadow play, TikTok / Douyin

7.4 Summary

The sketches represented in this chapter deal with the semantic descriptions of Chinese influence in the lexicons of particular semantic fields, supplemented with a list of terms in each field. Linguistic borrowings in various fields shows different patterns of cultural influence on the English vocabulary, and also show different contexts in which these borrowings are used. However, it is inevitable that the semantic analysis of this chapter puts unbalanced weight on different fields, largely dependent on the data available. Since language is always regarded as a part of culture and a vehicle of learning culture, exploring Chinese linguistic and cultural influences in these fields can shed new light on the research of linguistic and cultural contact between China and the English-speaking

world or even beyond. This is primarily a linguistic research, but the approaches adopted by this study illustrate astonishing cultural perspectives as well. This chapter gives brief sketches for a range of semantic fields with short accounts and fuller lists, and the following chapter sets out to fill in details of Chinese borrowings through three case studies in three sub-fields, namely **Ceramics**, **Festivals**, and **Tea**.

Chapter 8

Case Studies

Chapter 7 deals with Chinese influence on the English lexicon of particular semantic fields, by listing and analysing a range of examples in which Chinese-English contact plays a key role. This chapter looks more closely at three cases, namely **Ceramics**, **Festivals**, and **Tea**, which involve a number of Chinese-specific cultural concepts and linguistic contributions. Taking account of the differences in the nature of these fields, various kinds of sources are used to examine each case. In the study of ceramics, many ceramic terms are passed on from the Chinese imperial period or coined by westerners who brought Chinese ceramics to the West, so the data for this study are mainly collected from museums' ceramics collection in and outside of China. These ceramics terms are found in both general and technical use, though most of the data presented in this case study relates to technical use in restricted contexts. The second case study on festivals devotes a great deal of attention to terms related to Chinese New Year, the most important festival for the Chinese people and now a global festival, while some other Chinese festivals, traditional or modern, are also discussed from a linguistic perspective. The field of festivals shows a mixture of old and new Chinese influence. Considering this, I look at the dictionary data alongside evidence from a wide range of newspapers and social media platforms. The final case study, unlike the previous two, focuses on the development of an individual word, *tea*, and thus *tea*'s entries in a number of dictionaries are compared in order to examine its etymology, variant forms, and meanings. Different starting points of these case studies provide different paths to approaching the topic of borrowing, so it is worthwhile to employ this combination of sources and methods, rather than only look on a single word or only look on a field or topic. Furthermore, it is hoped that these case studies can link linguistics to several related disciplines which involve many terms ultimately from Chinese and suggest new ways of exploring language and culture contact.

8.1 A study of Chinese ceramics

Ceramics, one of the most tangible products of human culture, are believed to reflect cultural contact, diffusion, or change through time and space (Arnold 1988). The skilful transformation of ordinary clay into beautiful objects has fascinated the imagination of people throughout history and across the globe.

Chinese ceramics, believed by many to be by far the finest in the world, were made for daily uses, for imperial court, for temple ritual, for export, or for other purposes (Krahl and Harrison-Hall 2009). Thus, the very name *china* became a term for ceramics since the country was the origin of ceramics and several words with Chinese origin entered the English lexicon after Chinese ceramics became popular in the West.

The impetus for this study came from a field trip and the lack of systematic studies of ceramics from both the East and the West. The data for this study comes mainly from museums, including the British Museum's Gallery for the Sir Percival David Collection, Shanghai Museum's Ancient Chinese Ceramics Gallery, Southern Song Dynasty Guan Kiln Museum's Chinese Ceramics Culture Exhibition, the Victoria and Albert Museum's Ceramics Study Galleries, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴⁸ In addition, several published studies, the *OED*, and BBC's three-part documentary series *Ceramics: A Fragile History* also provided me with fruitful sources of information.

The study is structured as follows. First comes an introduction to some easily confused terms which appear very frequently in the field of ceramics. Next is a study of the various technical terms for ceramics with regard to particular historical periods, geographical locations, and colours. This is followed by a discussion of transmission languages during the process of cultural and language contact.

8.1.1 Terms relating to ceramics

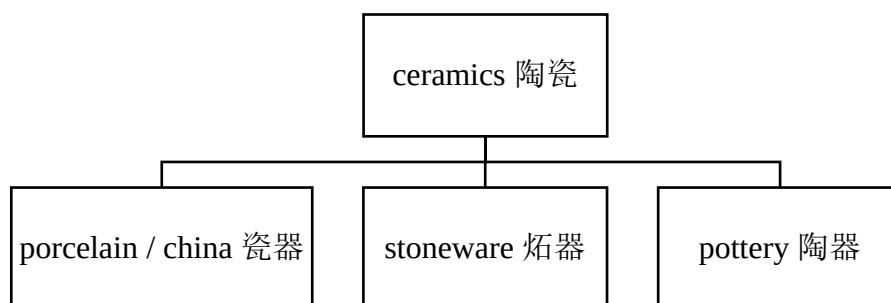
The use of the terms *china*, *ceramic*, *porcelain*, *pottery* and the like in discussing Chinese ceramics presents some semantic difficulties, since these terms lack universally-accepted definitions. According to the *OED*, *pottery* is a synonym of *ceramics* and means 'pots, dishes, and other articles made of fired clay' as a mass noun whereas the word *porcelain* is strictly defined as 'an impermeable translucent ceramic material made from china clay or kaolin' (*OED*; see also Valenstein 1988). However, in China, both *pottery* and *porcelain* are considered hyponyms under the all-inclusive umbrella term *ceramic*. The major differences between *pottery* (in Chinese 陶 *tao*) and *porcelain* (瓷 *ci*) are temperature, material, and glaze (Shanghai Museum; see also Pierson 1996).⁴⁹ Besides these two primary categories, Chinese recognizes *stoneware* as the category between

⁴⁸ The data of Metropolitan Museum of Art are from Suzanne Valenstein's book (1988) *A handbook of Chinese ceramics*.

⁴⁹ They are called *tou* and *ji* in Japan, but the written characters are the same in both Japanese and Chinese.

them (Hu and Zhu 2005). The Chinese translation of the generic term *ceramics* is 陶瓷, a combination of 陶 (pottery) and 瓷 (porcelain). Some museums like British Museum and Shanghai Museum use the word *ceramics* to refer to the collection in their galleries. The relationships between these terms can be seen in the diagram below.

Figure 8.1. The relationship between common ceramic terms



Under the entry *pottery*, the *OED* note reads ‘In technical and professional use pottery is divided into *earthenware*, *stoneware*, and *porcelain*, but in ordinary use the term is now often applied only to articles of earthenware, stoneware, etc. ... as opposed to ... ceramics like porcelain and china.’ Thus, whether *porcelain* is a hyponym or co-hyponym of *pottery* depends on the context.

A colloquial term *china* is also frequently used in everyday English usage as a synonym of *porcelain*, since it was originally manufactured in China, and first brought to Europe in the 16th century by the Portuguese, who named it *porcelain* (*OED*). The origin of *china* is still a matter of debate. According to the *OED*, the Persian name was widely diffused as *chīnī* throughout India and from India this form and use of the word was probably introduced in the 17th century into England. Another assumption is, in the sense of ‘porcelain’, the word *china* came from the transliteration of *Changnan* (the old name for Jingdezhen, a town in Jiangxi Province famous for porcelain manufacture). It is possible that the country name *China* was first known to the West for its products. But maybe this is just a coincidence. Another possibility is that the country is so called as the land of *Qin* (sounds like *chin*), the first Chinese empire.

8.1.2 Classification of Chinese ceramics

The dividing line between the classifications of ceramics is quite subtle and is not always possible to draw (Valenstein 1988). As a matter of fact, ceramics can be categorized

according to diverse technological techniques, use of regional raw materials, local cultures and alien influences. Considering Chinese ceramics reflect a continuous development of crafts in both time and space, a number of ceramic terms are named after the period or place in which the particular ceramics are known. The following sections discuss the nomenclature of ceramics.

8.1.2.1 Names of dynasties / periods

It is hard for any museum to cover the complete history of Chinese ceramics. For example, the earliest Chinese ceramics from the Sir Percival David collection in the British Museum date back to the Western Jin dynasty (265-313).⁵⁰ Fortunately, most Chinese ceramics are dated by inscription. Marks of dynasties such as *Tang*, *Song*, *Yuan*, *Ming*, and *Qing*, in most cases, can be found on the bottom of the ceramic crafts, indicating in which period these pieces were made. The names of dynasties are also used attributively (or used as adjectives) as in *Six Dynasties celadon jar*, *Sung vase*, *Tang porcelain*, etc., to designate ceramics produced in China during that dynasty or period.

Besides the names of the dynasties of China, marks presenting in whose reign the objects were made are also used on Chinese ceramics, especially since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). These marks are called *nianhao* in Pinyin or *nien hao* in Wade-Giles (< 年号, lit. ‘reign mark’) and the Wade-Giles transcription displays as the entry headword in the *OED*. Three loan translations of *nien hao*, namely *reign mark*, *reign name* and *reign title*, appear in the subentry of *reign* used in slightly different contexts.

Reign marks became extremely popular in the Ming and Qing dynasties, and such marks can be helpful in dating ceramics. This is especially true that reign marks make it easier to assign a piece to one or the other specific regime during the reigns of consecutive Ming or Qing emperors (Valenstein 1988). A good illustration can be found in Shanghai Museum’s display of the bases of various Jingdezhen pieces from the Ming and Qing dynasties (see Figure 8.2).

⁵⁰ The Sir Percival David collection is often known as the most important collection of imperial wares outside China, which provides a representative overview of the development of unique Chinese ceramics with nearly 1700 objects.

Figure 8.2. Samples of the reign marks of Jingdezhen imperial wares of Ming and Qing dynasties (Source: Shanghai Museum)



In the *OED*, five Chinese borrowings come from the reign marks of Chinese emperors including *Wan-Li*, *K'ang-His*, *Yung Chêng*, *Ch'ien Lung*, and *Tao Kuang*. All of them are related to ceramics, denoting a kind of pottery or porcelain made during the reign of the emperors, as in *Yung-chêng porcelain* and *Tao Kuang teapot*. All the headwords denoting reign marks in the *OED* use Wade-Giles spellings *Wan-Li*, *K'ang-His*, *Yung Chêng*, *Ch'ien Lung*, and *Tao Kuang*, rather than the Pinyin *Wan Li*, *Kang Xi*, *Yong Zheng*, *Qian Long*, and *Dao Guang*. As is discussed in 4.1, the Wade-Giles system has been widely superseded by Pinyin in present-day Chinese. In this case, Wade-Giles forms in the *OED* might indicate a longer and greater influence on the Western world while most recent borrowings choose Pinyin spellings for the romanization of Chinese scripts.

What is more, all the five reign marks, as well as all many other ceramic terms cited in this study, with a couple of exceptions, were first added to the *OED* in the Burchfield supplements, published between 1972 and 1986. Robert Burchfield, the Chief Editor of these supplements, visited China in 1979 during his editorship, which could be a factor that influenced the increase in Chinese ceramic terms in the *OED* (for more discussion on Burchfield's journey to China, see Ogilvie 2012).

The five reign marks included in the *OED* stand for the peak periods of Chinese imperial ceramics. A complete list of the reigns of the Ming and Qing emperors (27 in total) is shown in Table 8.1 below. Many of them, though not included in the *OED*, also represent the remarkable imperial patronage of ceramics. These terms are mainly used in specialized discourse, as in museums or art galleries, but are not found in more general use.

Table 8.1. Reign names of Ming and Qing dynasties

Ming Dynasty 明代	1368 - 1644	Qing Dynasty 清代	1644 - 1911
Hongwu 洪武	1368-1398	Shunzhi 顺治	1644-1661
Jianwen 建文	1399-1402	Kangxi / K'ang-hsi* 康熙	1662-1722
Yongle 永乐	1403-1424	Yongzheng / Yung-cheng* 雍正	1723-1735
Hongxi 洪熙	1425	Qianlong / Ch'ien-lung* 乾隆	1736-1795
Xuande 宣德	1426-1435	Jiaqing 嘉庆	1796-1820
Zhengtong 正统	1436-1449	Daoguang / Tao-kuang* 道光	1821-1850
Jingtai 景泰	1450-1457	Xianfeng 咸丰	1851-1861
Tianshun 天顺	1457-1464	Tongzhi 同治	1862-1874
Chenghua 成化	1465-1487	Guangxu 光绪	1875-1908
Hongzhi 弘治	1488-1505	Xuantong 宣统	1909-1912
Zhengde 正德	1506-1521		
Jiajing 嘉靖	1522-1566		
Longqing 隆庆	1567-1572		
Wanli / Wan-li* 万历	1573-1620		
Taichang 泰昌	1620		
Tianqi 天启	1621-1627		
Chongzhen 崇祯	1628-1644		

* The reign names with an asterisk are included in the *OED*, though their headwords are transcribed by non-Pinyin romanization.

8.1.2.2 Names of places

The 11 geographical and ceramic-related items in the *OED* are mostly defined by the formula 'The name of a [county / town / port / city / province] in China; (used to designate) a type of porcelain or pottery produced there.' Like reign marks mentioned before, 8 out of the 11 place-names in the *OED* use Wade-Giles spellings, such as *Lung-ch'üan* (in Pinyin transcription *Longquan*), *Tê-hua* (*Dehua*), *Yi Hsing* (*Yixing*), and *Yüeh* (*Yue*).

As expected, there are more ceramic-making centres mentioned in other sources. For example, on the two Chinese kiln maps in British Museum and Southern Song Dynasty Guan Kiln Museum, there are 21 and 38 kiln sites respectively, as are shown in Figures 8.3 and 8.4.

Figure 8.3. Map of Chinese kilns (Source: British Museum)



Figure 8.4. Map of Chinese kilns (Source: Southern Song Dynasty Guan Kiln Museum)



Surprisingly, although mentioned in various sources, *Jingdezhen* (景德镇), the pre-eminent centre for ceramic production for nearly 800 years, is not included in the *OED*. In fact, after the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), Jingdezhen and its surrounding area was the most important centre of ceramic manufacture, outproducing all other kiln complexes in China (Valenstein 1988). Jingdezhen held its position as the greatest ceramic metropolis throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties and continues to do so today. Since most Ming and Qing and present-day ceramics come from Jingdezhen, there is no need to categorize ceramics by the place of origin. Thus, unless otherwise noted, Ming and Qing ceramics are often classified according to the reign marks of the emperor in whose era they were produced.

8.1.2.3 Names of colours

A number of ceramic terms are indirect borrowings via French. For example, the French term *famille* ('family') is commonly used in the field of Chinese ceramics as in *famille verte*, *noire*, *jaune*, and *rose*, terms used to classify Chinese ceramics by their colour palette. The four French terms refer to different types of Chinese porcelain decorated in

coloured overglaze enamels, of which the predominant colours are green, black, yellow, and rose-pink respectively. These terms are believed to be coined by a French collector of Chinese ceramics Albert Jacquemart in his book *Histoire de la céramique* published in 1873 (Pierson 2007).

China is generally recognized to be the origin of the world's most advanced ceramics, and has been superior in the production of ceramics for so many centuries. Thus, it is very common that many Chinese loanwords appear in ceramic terminology. The French terms mentioned above also have their Chinese doublets. For instance, *famille verte* is also called *yingcai* (硬彩, 'hard colours'); *susancai* (素三彩, lit. 'plain three colours'); *Kangxi wucai* (康熙五彩, lit. 'Kangxi [emperor] five colours') because this type of porcelain is chiefly of the Kangxi period (1662–1722); or simply as *wucai* (五彩, lit. 'five colours'). Normally the five colours may include green, yellow, black, red, blue, or occasionally, purple and white. If porcelains of this type are set against a black or yellow ground, they will be placed in the subcategories of *famille noire* and *famille jaune* (Valenstein 1988). The Chinese names for the later two are *modi susancai* (墨地素三彩, lit. 'inky-ground plain three colours') and *huangdi susancai* (黄地素三彩, lit. 'yellow-ground plain three colours'). These ceramic terms may be unfamiliar to most people, but more familiar to ceramic collectors and lovers. Some of them, such as *sancai* (Wade-Giles transcription *san ts'ai*) and *wucai* (*wu ts'ai*), as well as the above-mentioned *famille* compounds, have entered the English vocabulary as borrowings, while other specialist terms have not.

Another term belonging to the 'family' of colours is *famille rose*, which also has Chinese doublets, including *fencai* (粉彩, lit. 'powdered colours'), *ruancai* (软彩, lit. 'soft colours'), and *yangcai* (洋彩, lit. 'foreign colours'; so called because of the use of dyes from foreign countries). However, the terms derived from Chinese are not at all widely used in the English-speaking world and only the indirect borrowing *famille rose* has been included in the *OED*. It is sometimes believed that the technique of decorating porcelain in the *famille rose* enamels was known in Europe before it was known in China (Valenstein 1988).⁵¹

⁵¹ *Guyuexuan qi* and *falangcai* are another two Chinese duplicates of *famille rose*. Potters made the porcelains at the imperial kilns in Jingdezhen but painters decorated them in the Imperial Palace, Beijing. Formerly scholars called this type of top quality porcelains painted in the Palace as *Guyuexuan qi* (古月軒器, 'Pavilion of the Ancient Moon wares') because the *Guyue* seal appears on many pieces. But these ceramics are now known as *falangcai* (琺瑯彩, 'foreign colours') since the colours are believed to have been introduced to China through foreign Jesuits.

Ceramists in China, Europe, and Japan have developed sophisticated lexicons for describing ceramics. Because of different routes of transmission or translation, doublets are quite easy to find in the field of ceramics. Besides the ‘famille’ series mentioned above, other French / Chinese pairs (see Table 8.2) include *blanc de Chine* (‘white of China’) / *Dehua* (德化, the name of a place in Fujian province in south-eastern China), and *rouge de fer* (‘red of iron’) / *tie hong you* (铁红釉, lit. ‘iron red glaze’).⁵² As can be seen in Table 8.2, indirect borrowings via French are more likely to be included in the *OED* than words of Chinese origin, suggesting the predominant status of French in the field of ceramics.

Table 8.2. French and Chinese duplicate terms of ceramic colours

Words of French origin	Words of Chinese origin
<i>famille verte</i> *	<i>yingcai, susancai, Kangxi wucai, wucai</i> *
<i>famille noire</i> *	<i>modi susancai</i>
<i>famille jaune</i> *	<i>huangdi susancai</i>
<i>famille rose</i> *	<i>fencai, ruancai, yangcai</i>
<i>blanc de Chine</i> *	<i>Dehua</i> *
<i>rouge de fer</i> *	<i>tie hong you</i>

* The terms with an asterisk are included in the *OED* as headwords.

Additionally, in terms of colours of ceramics, there exist borrowings from French such as *sang-de-bœuf* (‘bullock’s blood’), *café au lait* (‘coffee with milk’), and *clair-de-lune* (‘moonlight’); borrowings from Chinese include *jiangdouhong* (豇豆红, lit. ‘cowpea-red’), *qingbai* (青白, lit. ‘blue-white’), *tianbai* (甜白, lit. ‘sweet-white’), *tianqing* (天青, lit. ‘sky-blue’), and a loan translation *imperial yellow* (赭黄 *zhehuang*).

8.1.3 Transmission languages

French Jesuits in China linked the East to the West, and brought back oriental art as well as languages. Therefore, many words have been introduced into English from French, which previously adopted these words from Chinese. In the field of ceramics, besides the above-mentioned French terms denoting colours, other examples include *kaolin*, *magot*, *potiche*, and *rouleau*.

⁵² In 1856, the French expression *émail rouge d’alun* was used to translate Chinese *fan hong you* (矾红釉, lit. ‘vitriol red glaze’). But after 20th century (or maybe earlier), they were replaced by *rouge de fer* (‘red of iron’) and *tie hong you* (铁红釉, lit. ‘iron red glaze’) in the two languages respectively (*OED*).

As discussed in Chapter 5, Japanese is undoubtedly the most active transmitter in the process of Chinese-English linguistic contact. Many Japanese loanwords are ultimately derived from Chinese characters. As an example, the name *temmoku* (< 天目 *tianmu*, ‘eye of heaven’) was first given to a bowl, which was brought to Japan during the Song dynasty by a Zen priest from the Zen temple of the *Tianmu shan* (‘Eye of Heaven mountain’) in Zhejiang province, China. This generic name *temmoku* then came to be applied to the whole category of wares of this type, especially tea bowls, which were particularly admired in Japan and were called *Temmoku bowls* after the Japanese pronunciation of *Tianmu* (Hobson and Hetherington 1923; see also the *OED* entry *temmoku*). This is why later ceramists use the Japanese name for a type of Chinese porcelain.

There are some other Japanese terms in the English lexicon, including *Jomon* (縄文), *raku(yaki)* (乐烧), and *kinrande* (金襴手). Although they are all adopted from Chinese (especially Middle Chinese) characters, unlike *temmoku*, these terms have little or no reference to China in meaning.

Ceramics are also associated with numerous other cultures and in multiple locations beyond China. As a result, many place names are used to designate ceramics, such as the following: names of places in Japan such as Hirado, Hizen, Satsuma, Yayoi, Seto, Kutani, and Imari; names of places in France as Chantilly, Limoges, Marseilles, Moustiers, Nevers, Quimper, and Sèvres; names of places in Britain as Bristol, Castleford, Chelsea, Derby, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham, and Peterborough; names of places in Italy as Carrara, Castelli, Doccia, and Faenza, and the like. These words listed above, however, are not clearly influenced by Chinese and thus are out of the scope of this study.

8.1.4 Summary

Chinese ceramics form an essential part of Chinese art and represent a high standard of quality. As a proof, in Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*, there is a line which reads, ‘They are not China dishes, but very good dishes.’ Chinese ceramics have had a notable impact on western culture and also the English language. Thus, there is a considerable influence from Chinese in ceramic terminology, though many terms belong to specialist vocabulary that have not entered the English lexicon. As the origin of the world’s greatest ceramics, the country shares its name with its product. A large proportion of terms in this

field are derived from Chinese proper names, including dynasty names, reign names, and place names. French and Japanese regularly feature in the field of ceramics and contribute a number of indirect borrowings to the English vocabulary. Considering this, it is important to interpret the role of these transmission languages in the borrowing process and their predominant status in the domain of ceramics, which is useful for us to study language and cultural contact.

8.2 A study of Chinese festivals⁵³

The *OED*'s September 2017 update sees the inclusion of a new expression, *Chinese New Year*, under the main entry of *Chinese*. Also called the *Spring Festival* or *chunjie* (春节), *Chinese New Year* is one of a number of borrowings that refer to festivals, but it is the most important and oldest festival in the Chinese calendar, and nowadays it is not only celebrated in China. With an increasing number of Chinese emigrating abroad or travelling overseas for holidays during the period of Chinese New Year, it boosts sales in many countries other than China, creating what has been described in a BBC news report as a 'global bonanza' (*BBC* 6 February 2013).

Many cities, including London, Manchester, Liverpool, and San Francisco, celebrate Chinese New Year with a large-scale parade in the city centre, especially around the Chinatown district. Lion dances or dragon dances can also be seen in this kind of annual event. Some countries like the UK, the US, Canada and New Zealand issue commemorative stamps and coins for Chinese New Year annually. New York school children even have a day off for this Chinese holiday. International brands are trying their utmost to attract Chinese customers with Chinese-New-Year-themed decorations and products. As in the UK, several department stores and supermarkets like Harrods, House of Fraser, and Marks and Spencer decorate their window displays in a very Chinese style, while local supermarkets promote 'Chinese Meal Deals' during the period to give Chinese visitors or residents of Chinese origin a warm welcome (*China Daily* 3 February 2016). BBC's three-episode documentary *Chinese New Year: The Biggest Celebration on Earth*, watched by millions of people at home and abroad, is a great introduction of this festival to the western world and a tangible evidence of its wide influence.

Foreign leaders and celebrities are conscious of China's growing influence and the

⁵³ Part of this section is published as a book chapter entitled 'A linguistic celebration of Chinese New Year in the modern world' (Zhong 2019).

importance of Spring Festival in Chinese culture and take this opportunity to give greetings to the Chinese people. Theresa May, Britain's Prime Minister, sent her best wishes to everyone in Britain, China and around the world who celebrate Chinese New Year, following the tradition started by her predecessor David Cameron in 2014. Likewise, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull and several other politicians also issued New Year greetings to the Chinese people. UN new Secretary-General António Guterres gave his very first Chinese New Year greeting in 2017. Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong not only gave a video address, but also posted his message on his Facebook page, since there is a large number of Chinese immigrants in Singapore. Facebook co-founder and CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, uploads his Chinese Lunar New Year photo and video greeting in fluent Mandarin thanks to his ethnic Chinese wife (*Facebook* 16 February 2018). The royal family is also keen on improving Sino-UK relations: pictures of the Queen stroking the 'lion' for Chinese lion-dancing can be found on many websites (*Economist* 28 January 2017); the Prince of Wales and Duchess of Cornwall appeared in Chinatown as an official visit to mark the festival (*Telegraph* 19 February 2015); Prince William gave a Chinese New Year address as an ice-breaker before his tour of China in 2015 (*Telegraph* 19 February 2015). The previous President of the US, Barack Obama, used to send warm wishes for Chinese New Year every year during his Administration. Although the current President Donald Trump did not follow suit in 2017, he delivered a letter to Chinese President Xi Jinping wishing the Chinese people a prosperous Lunar New Year. Ivanka Trump, the 'First Daughter', posted videos of her five-year-old daughter Arabella Kushner singing a Chinese song and reciting a Chinese poem she learned for New Year on Twitter and Instagram, which captured the hearts of Chinese netizens.

The previous case study of ceramics shows examples of very long-standing cultural exchange and linguistic contact; in comparison, the current case study of Chinese festivals, though containing many traditions as well, starts with the more recent awareness of the exotic folkways and terms, which is a good starting point for transmitting cultural and lexical items. Therefore, many of the borrowings discussed in this study are much more recent. Although words or phrases associated with Chinese festivals, especially Chinese New Year, have received wide media coverage and many mentions in common usage, a large proportion of them have not been included in any mainstream dictionary. Considering this, the present study finds and examines these festive terms appearing in English before any dictionary will ever take notice of them, which may be the stage one

(or even stage zero) of a possible new process of borrowing. This case study first focuses on aspects of Chinese New Year from a linguistic perspective, such as the most common morphemes and words that are related to the festival, the linguistic-specific customs during the celebration period, and issues relating to political correctness. Besides Chinese New Year, other Chinese festivals, traditional or modern, are also investigated in regard to their variant forms and semantic changes in the English language. The data investigated here are mainly obtained from various online sources, including some which are blocked in mainland China, such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and many other media websites.

8.2.1 Frequent loanmorphs for Chinese New Year

Several Chinese words, including *chun* (春), *nian* (年), *sui* (岁), and *hong* (红), are frequently used during the Chinese New Year period in China. As has been mentioned before, unlike English, Chinese is a logographic language, and each character represents a sound and a meaning. Therefore, these linguistic components within fixed expressions are code-switches or nonce borrowings in the first place. Due to the contact between China and the English-speaking world, some expressions have made their way to the English lexicon. Once these expressions have more occurrences in the English language, they become established loanwords (or in several cases, loan translations). Accordingly, the smaller units of loanwords, in Cannon's (1996) term, are called loanmorphs.

8.2.1.1 *chun* (春)

Table 8.3. List of expressions with *chun*

Common English expression	Chinese expression	Pinyin transcription	Literal meaning
Spring Festival	春节	chūn jié	spring festival
spring transportation	春运	chūn yùn	spring transportation
Spring Festival Gala	春晚	chūn wǎn	spring evening
spring roll	春卷	chūn juǎn	spring roll
Spring Festival scrolls	春联	chūn lián	spring couplets

Chinese New Year is commonly known in Mandarin as *chunjie* (春节, which literally means 'spring festival'). It is so called largely due to the fact that Chinese New Year normally falls in January or February in the Gregorian calendar. Just as the old Chinese saying goes 'A year's plan starts with spring' (一年之计在于春 *yunian zhiji zaiyu chun*), spring is the most important of the four seasons and is thus considered the most appropriate first month of the year as a good start. Accordingly, there are several Spring-

Festival-related items or activities containing the Chinese combining form *chun*- (春, ‘spring’).

Most *chun*-related terms come into the English world via translation rather than transliteration. Two well-established borrowings are *Spring Festival* and *spring roll*, referring to the festival itself and a famous food eaten in this festival. During the Spring Festival period, millions of workers and students in China travel home in order to celebrate the festival with their families. There is a specific term to describe this annual migration of Chinese people and also refer to this peak period, that is, *spring transportation* (春运 *chunyun*). The original Chinese word *chunyun* was coined by *People’s Daily* in 1980 as the shortened form of *chunjiekeyun* (春节客运, lit. ‘spring festival passenger transportation’). This is described as ‘the biggest migration of people on earth’ by various media both home and abroad (*CNN* 18 February 2015, *China Daily* 13 January 2017, *Forbes* 14 February 2018). It is estimated that every year billions of trips are made during the Chinese New Year rush, according to a BBC’s report in 2016 (*BBC* 4 February 2016). Especially on public transportation, there are crowds of people everywhere.

After arriving home, on Chinese New Year’s Eve, family members will sit down and enjoy the reunion dinner and at the same time, watch *chunwan*, the four-hour Spring Festival extravaganza. *Chunwan* (春晚, lit. ‘spring evening’) is the abbreviation of *chunjie lianhuan wanhui* (春节联欢晚会, lit. ‘spring festival gala evening’), so it is normally translated in English as the Spring Festival Gala or CCTV Chinese New Year’s Gala, since it is produced by the state TV broadcaster CCTV (China Central Television). Although the Spring Festival Gala has polarized public opinion about its artistic merit, it is still the most watched TV show on the planet, watched by millions of viewers every year. On YouTube alone, in spite of the fact that the website is blocked in mainland China, the 2018’s gala video still has more than four million views (see Figure 8.5).⁵⁴

⁵⁴ CCTV Chunwan. 2018. ‘2018 CCTV Spring Festival Gala,’ YouTube video, 15 February, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FeRi86DcfyA>. Accessed 28 February 2018.

Figure 8.5. The Spring Festival Gala for the Year of the Dog (Source: YouTube)



8.2.1.2 *nian* (年)

Table 8.4. List of expressions with *nian*

Common English expression	Chinese expression	Pinyin transcription	Literal meaning
New Year	新年	xīn nián	new year
make a New Year visit	拜年	bài nián	worship year
Chinese New Year's Eve	年夜	nián yè	year night
Chinese New Year's Eve	大年夜	dà nián yè	big year night
the day before Chinese New Year's Eve	小年夜	xiǎo nián yè	small year night
Chinese New Year's Eve reunion dinner	年夜饭	nián yè fàn	year night dinner
Little New Year	小年	xiǎo nián	small year
New Year cake	年糕	nián gāo	year cake
New Year painting / picture	年画	nián huà	year painting
New Year flower	年花	nián huā	year flower
Spring Festival goods	年货	nián huò	year product
do New Year shopping	办年货	bàn nián huò	prepare year product
New Year meat	年肉	nián ròu	year meat
New Year card	贺年卡	hè nián kǎ	celebrate year card
Lunar New Year Fair	元宵市场	nián xiāo shì chǎng	year night market

According to Chinese mythology, there is a monster called *Nian* (年, lit. ‘year’). In early spring (around the Chinese New Year period), it will come out and attack people, especially kids. The two weaknesses of the Nian monster are loud noises and the color red. Therefore, fireworks and firecrackers are created to make loud noises and houses are decorated in red to keep the Nian monster away, which has long been a tradition of Chinese New Year. Although the Nian monster is evil, Chinese New Year is a joyous celebration. The Chinese form of New Year is *xinnian* (新年). During this holiday, people visit relatives and friends and send their greetings. The Chinese have a phrase for it: *bainian* (拜年, lit. ‘worship year’). The Chinese New Year’s Eve is also known in Mandarin as *nianye* (年夜, lit. ‘year night’) and thus the reunion dinner on the eve is called *nianyefan* (年夜饭, lit. ‘year night dinner’), which is regarded as the most important family meal of the whole year.

Several items associated with the Chinese New Year, when used in the English language, are modified by the English tags ‘New Year’ or simply ‘year’, such as the colored woodblock printing used for decoration *year painting* or *year picture* (年画 *nianhua*), the floral decoration during festival season *New Year flower* (年花 *nianhua*), and the New Year shopping and preparation *Spring Festival goods* or *New Year goods* (年货 *nianhuo*).

A particular food for the Chinese New Year’s meal is a type of sticky rice cake that can be called either *niangao* (年糕) or *year cake*, though it is not really like cake. *Niangao* can be eaten at any time of the year, but it is most popular during the Spring Festival because in Chinese, *gao* (糕 ‘cake’) is a homophone of *gao* (高 ‘high’). In this case, eating *niangao* expresses a wish for reaching a new high in the coming new year (for more food-related homophones, see 8.2.2.4).

8.2.1.3 *sui* (岁)

Table 8.5. List of expressions with *sui*

Common English expression	Chinese expression	Pinyin transcription	Literal meaning
Chinese New Year’s Eve	岁除	suì chú	year eliminate
Chinese New Year’s Day	岁首	suì shǒu	year head
wait for new year	守岁	shǒu suì	stay up year
red packet (money)	压岁钱	yā suì qián	suppress year money

New Year film	贺岁片	hè suì piān	celebrate year film
New Year song	贺岁歌	hè suì gē	celebrate year song
New Year card	贺岁卡	hè suì kǎ	celebrate year card
offend Taisui god	犯太岁	fàn tài suì	offend Taisui god

Similar to *nian*, the morpheme *sui* (岁 ‘year’) originated from a mythological monster: according to the story, once upon a time, the Sui monster frightened kids on New Year’s Eve. All parents were so worried about their children that finally they found two solutions: to be at their children’s bedside throughout the whole night to wait for the Sui monster, an action called *shousui* (守岁, lit. ‘stay up year’); and to put a red packet with money inside under the pillow to scare away the Sui monster; hence the money known as *yasuiqian* (压岁钱, lit. ‘suppress year money’). Nowadays *shousui* refers to the after-reunion-dinner time on New Year’s Eve, and most households will watch the Spring Festival Gala while waiting for the year to come. And for many Chinese children, the very first thing to do on New Year’s Day is of course to find *yasuiqian* given by their parents. A possible English translation for *yasuiqian* is *lucky money*, meaning ‘money placed in a red envelope and given as a gift’ according to the *OED* definition, but it is not the exact equivalent. Other alternative terms include loan translations *red packet*, *red envelope*, and loanwords like *hongbao* and *ang pow* (see next section); but again, these borrowings have lost the original connotation of Chinese *yasuiqian*, whose essential function is to beat the Sui monster.

To celebrate Chinese New Year, modern Chinese people create a variety of entertainments. For example, films released during the festival season are called *hesui pian* (贺岁片, lit. ‘celebrate year film’), whose posters or DVD covers are mostly in red (see Figure 8.6). Likewise, songs for the festivals are named as *hesui ge* (贺岁歌, lit. ‘celebrate year song’). Sometimes *sui* and *nian* can be used alternatively, so a Chinese New Year card can be called either *hesui ka* (贺岁卡) or *henian ka* (贺年卡). However, since the English-speaking world also has films, songs, and cards, there is no need to borrow these terms into English. With reference to China, probably an ethnic tag ‘Chinese’ will be added before the existing English words.

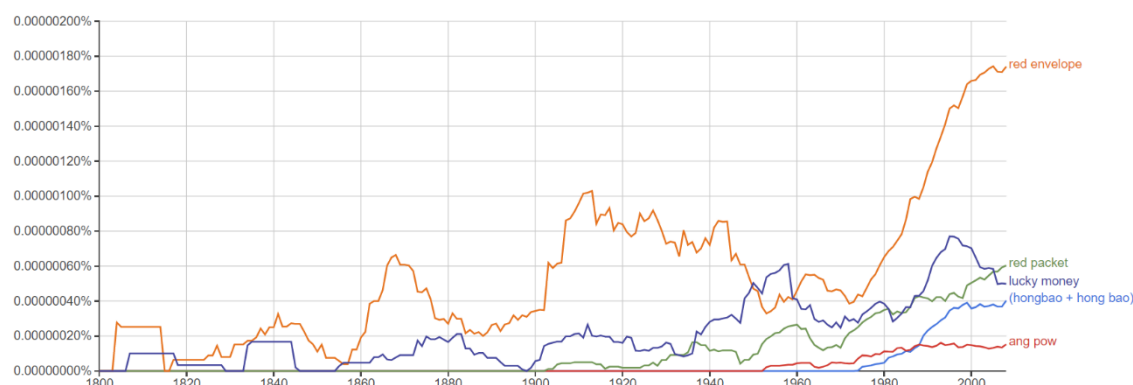
Table 8.6. List of expressions with *hong*

Common English expression	Chinese expression	Pinyin transcription	Literal meaning
Chinese Red	中国红	zhōng guó hóng	Chinese red
red packet / red envelope / hongbao / and pow / lai see	红包	hóng bāo, âng-pau (Hokkien)	red packet
digital red packet	电子红包	diàn zǐ hóng bāo	digital red packet
WeChat red packet	微信红包	wēi xìn hóng bāo	WeChat red packet
grab red packet	抢红包	qiǎng hóng bāo	grab red packet
red lantern	红灯笼	hóng dēng lóng	red lantern

Since the money is presented in a red packet, it is so called *red packet* or *red envelope*. As mentioned before, red packets are given to children and unmarried young adults by

the seniors during the festival period. Giving red packets is a hugely popular custom not only at Chinese New Year; people also hand over this monetary gift at weddings, birthday celebrations, and company annual parties. The massive popularity of red packet, also known as *hongbao* (红包, lit. ‘red packet’) in Mandarin, *ang pow* (红包) in Hokkien, and *lai see* (利是 or 利事, lit. ‘profit thing’) in Cantonese, even makes its way to the English language. Both *hongbao* and *ang pow* are included in the *OED* as main entries, while loan translations like *red packet*, *red envelope*, and *lucky money* appear as sub-entries. The frequency of use of these hongbao-related terms could vary depending on the World English variety in question. *Ang pow*, for instance, is widely used in both Singapore and Malaysian English. But still, *red envelope* is the predominant form among all duplicated expressions of this traditional red object (Figure 8.7).

Figure 8.7. Ngram of *hongbao* variants



These years, digital red packets seem to be preferred by more people than physical ones. Since most of them are sent via an app called WeChat (*weixin* 微信), they are also called *WeChat red packets*. Millions of people sent billions of digital red envelopes during the Spring Festival period, and ‘grabbing red packets’ (*qiang hongbao* 抢红包) has become an incredibly popular New Year’s game which has replaced the tradition of watching Chunwan Gala and fireworks for some people (*China Daily* 22 January 2017, *BBC* 27 January 2017). Nobody will care whether these digital red packets can bring as much fortune as the traditional paper ones.

The Spring Festival ends with the Lantern Festival which falls on the 15th day of the 1st lunar month. Numerous lanterns are displayed on that day. In fact, lanterns are used as decorations during the whole festival period, especially red ones. In ancient China, red

lanterns (*hong denglong* 红灯笼) were hung at the entrances of houses; later on, red lanterns became the symbol of festivity and happiness.

8.2.2 *How to celebrate Chinese New Year in a linguistically correct way?*

With the modernization of China, some traditional new year customs have fallen by the wayside, but some of them are still followed today. The following are several well-known and unknown customs, especially those linguistics-related ones.

8.2.2.1 Greetings at Chinese New Year

The most common and basic Chinese New Year greeting is of course ‘Happy New Year’, translated into Chinese as *xinnian hao* (新年好) or *xinnian kuaile* (新年快乐). Another popular greeting, originated from Cantonese, is *kung hei fat choy* (恭喜发财, *gongxi facai* in Mandarin, lit. ‘congratulate have wealth’), which is included in Cummings and Wolf’s dictionary of Hong Kong English and is also a common greeting in Philippine English. In recent years, this greeting is always jokingly followed by the rhyming *hongbao nalai* (红包拿来, lit. ‘red packet bring here’).

Foreign politicians and celebrities who are able to speak one or two simple greetings in Chinese can easily win Chinese people’s favour. Since these greetings are used for the nonce, they could be regarded as nonce borrowings. As an example again, the two recent successive UK Prime Ministers, David Cameron and Theresa May, consistently finished their Chinese New Year video messages with ‘Xin nian kuai le’ – though Chinese netizens jokingly comment that Auntie May (Theresa May’s Chinese nickname) has a Sichuan accent when she speaks Chinese. Normally the courtesy greetings by foreign notables are simple and short, whereas Prince William in 2015 employed 11 Chinese characters in his New Year’s address, as ‘Zhu ni men chun jie kuai le, yang nian da ji!’ (祝你们春节快乐, 羊年大吉!), meaning ‘Wish you a happy Spring Festival, and good luck in the Year of the Sheep!’. That is a fairly long sentence, which makes Chinese netizens shift their attention from William’s receding hairline to his Chinese language skills (*Telegraph* 19 February 2015). But even Prince William cannot compete with Donald Trump’s five-year-old granddaughter, Arabella Kushner. Chinese people have a quite tolerant attitude towards Trump because of his cute granddaughter, who is able to sing Chinese songs and recite Chinese poems.

8.2.2.2 Mind your ‘year’

As mentioned in Chapter 4, *year* and *zodiac* are two good examples of semantic loans, entering the English vocabulary through semantic extension. As a sophisticated concept, the Chinese zodiac is divided into 12 parts just as its western counterpart, but with a difference of time-length: each part represents one year instead of one month, depending on the lunisolar Chinese calendar. Each year is named after one of 12 animals that appear in the Chinese zodiac or *shengxiao* (生肖, lit. ‘birth imitate’). For example, 2017 was the year of the Rooster. However, since the Chinese word *ji* (鸡) is gender-neutral and age-neutral, it can also be translated into the year of the Chicken, Hen, Cock, etc.

Another Chinese zodiac sign that may cause a linguistic dispute is the year of the Sheep. Again, the Chinese word *yang* (羊) is gender-neutral and age-neutral, so English speakers struggle a lot with the choices between *sheep*, *goat*, *lamb*, and the less common ones like *ram*, *ewe* and *tup*. Obama provided a smart answer in his video message welcoming 2015’s Lunar New Year: ‘So whether you’re celebrating the Year of the Ram, the Year of the Goat, or the Year of the Sheep, may we all do our part to carry forward the work of perfecting this country that we love.’⁵⁵

Despite China’s modernization, people still care about the ancient philosophy of the Chinese zodiac and are said to have the typical personality and fate of the specific animal, which is called the ‘my year’ (本命年 *ben ming nian*, lit. ‘origin life year’). Some people take it for granted that people in their year must be really lucky. Although *shengxiao* has not been included in any English dictionaries, it is frequently used by the Press and retailers. As an example, the Royal Mint launches coins of zodiac animals every year to attract Chinese consumers, and the collection of coins is named ‘The Shengxiào Collection.’ However, the Royal Mint only gives the tone mark to *xiào* not to *sheng* (should be *shēng*), which may look very weird to some Chinese perfectionists. On the other hand, the traditional ‘truth’ is, when it is your year, you are going to have more bad luck. The Chinese explanation is that in your year, you are going to offend a god called *Taisui* (太岁), a term familiar to many Chinese auspicious culture followers. To lift this curse and receive more good luck, you should wear something red, such as red strings around the wrist, red socks, or even red pants.

⁵⁵ Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yy3x8jUcH-w/>.

8.2.2.3 Traditional vs. modern customs

There are a number of other customs that are observed during the Spring Festival. Before the big day – Chinese New Year’s Eve – comes up, the house will be decorated with red objects. Besides red paper scrolls which are hung on each side of the door as decorations, another popular decoration is the Chinese character *fu* (福, ‘fortune’), also written on a red paper (but a square one). Theresa May and her husband Philip were recently mocked by *The Evening Standard* for holding the Chinese character *fu* upside down on a visit in Shanghai (*Evening Standard* 2 February 2018). The newspaper also provided the ‘right way’ of demonstrating *fu* (see Figure 8.8).

Figure 8.8. Theresa May and Philip hold paper-cuttings of *fu* in Shanghai (Source: *The Evening Standard*)



In China, however, most *fu* characters are displayed upside-down on purpose. The reason is, in Chinese the words for ‘upside-down’ (倒) and ‘arrive’ (到) sounds the same; in linguistic terminology, they are homophones. Therefore, an upside-down *fu* character indicates that good fortune is arriving. In that case, Theresa May did it correctly and *The Evening Standard* definitely did not know the cultural connotations of her actions.

Then comes the most significant dinner of the year, the reunion dinner on the Chinese

New Year's Eve. Family members get together to celebrate, eat, and watch the Chunwan Gala. Chinese people are supposed to stay up the whole night on the last day of the 12th lunar month. At midnight, people set off fireworks and firecrackers, or in Chinese, *yanhua* (烟花, lit. 'smoke flower') and *bianpao* (鞭炮, lit. 'whip gun'), which in the past were believed to be created to scare off the evil Nian monster. Since the English vocabulary already has *firework* and *firecracker*, no 'necessary borrowing' (Durkin 2009) is needed in this case. As mentioned above, the traditional red packets are gradually replaced by digital ones, and recently, LED fireworks and e-firecrackers have become the more environmental-friendly alternatives (*Xinhua* 29 January 2018).

There are many more modern customs associated with Chinese New Year. A new and popular habit in recent years is table-talk Q&A, which may be a nightmare for most young people in China. During the Spring Festival, their parents and relatives will ask them hundreds of questions about their academic achievement, love life, job prospects, and even plans to have a baby. It seems that they can never provide answers good enough to live up to their parents' or relatives' expectations. Tips for answering the Spring Festival questions can be found on many Chinese online forums, especially before the 'big day' comes. Just before 2017's Spring Festival, the Shanghai Rainbow Chamber Singers (上海彩虹合唱团 *shanghai caihong hechangtuan*) provided a 'Spring Festival Survival Guide' (春节自救指南 *chunjie ziji zhinan*) in the form of a chorus, attracting over a million viewers on various social platforms including YouTube within a single month (see Figure 8.9),⁵⁶ and was even reported by BBC and CNN (*BBC* 28 January 2017, *CNN* 9 February 2017). In fact, the official English translation of the song title is 'What I Do is for Your Own Good', which is the most frequent Chinese parental mantra *wo doushi wei ni hao* (我都是为你好). The lyrics include many common interrogations, such as 'Did you pass TOEFL?', 'Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend?', 'When will you get married/have children?', and 'Why are you so fat?' And the fight-back response is also provided in the lyrics like 'My dear family, please just let me live my own life', speaking out the genuine feeling of most young people. Many netizens said they had a comfortable Spring Festival this year after they and their families heard this song.

⁵⁶ Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvdXowqlv5U/>.

Figure 8.9. Song of ‘Spring Festival Survival Guide’ by Shanghai Rainbow Chamber Singers (Source: YouTube)



8.2.2.4 Food homophones

At Chinese New Year, dishes are chosen because their names sound similar to some auspicious words or phrases. The Chinese homophones are extremely hard to be borrowed into the English language, no matter in the form of loanwords, loan translations, or semantic loans, because no Chinese borrowing can satisfy the so-called ‘phono-semantic matching’ (see also 4.4). As mentioned before, the pronunciation of *gao* (糕, ‘cake’) makes it a homophone of *gao* (高, ‘high’) so people eat *niangao* (年糕) in order to seek a higher status in the new year. For the same reason, turnip cake (*luobo gao*, 萝卜糕) sometimes is eaten as well since it is also a type of *gao* (糕).⁵⁷ The expression that people say to each other as they eat any type of *gao* is *bubu gaosheng* (步步高升, lit. ‘step-by-step high up’).

Fish is also a must for the Chinese New Year’s Eve dinner, because in Chinese, *yu* (鱼, ‘fish’) is a homophone of *yu* (余, ‘surplus’). When eating fish, Chinese people need to

⁵⁷ In fact, *radish/daikon cake* is a more accurate name, because Western-style turnips are different from Chinese radishes and are not used in this dish.

follow several customs: first of all, fish should be cooked as a whole including its head and tail in order to show the concept of wholeness, and in some families, they will put the fish head facing the elders at the table to show respect. Normally, fish is served as the last dish on the New Year's Eve menu; most importantly, the fish dish cannot be finished and must have some left-overs to express a wish to be in surplus in the coming new year; near the end of the dinner, people will call out a greeting based on the pun as *niannian youyu* (年年有余/鱼, lit. 'year by year have surplus / fish').

Some regions of China have their own specialities, whose auspicious meanings only make sense in local languages or dialects. In Cantonese, for example, a vegetable called *fat choy* (发菜, lit. 'hair vegetable') has a similar sound with 'prosperity' (*facai*, 发财), while the pronunciations of 'pig's trotter' (*zhushou*, 猪手) and 'success' (*jiushou*, 就手) are almost the same in Cantonese. People sometimes will cook these two ingredients together. Similarly, a type of Chinese cabbage *bok choy* (白菜) resembles the sound of 'hundred of fortune' (*baicai*, 百财), while the words for 'lettuce' (*shengcai* 生菜) and 'create fortune' (*shengcai* 生财) are homophonous. A popular fruit during Chinese New Year is mandarin orange, especially in southern China, because its Chinese name *ju* (橘 or 桔) and the word for 'auspicious' (*ji*, 吉) are pronounced alike in Teochew.

8.2.3 How to celebrate Chinese New Year in a politically correct way?

Besides the linguistic cautions mentioned above, there are also several political correctness cautions to keep in mind. Language and behaviours that are politically incorrect will lead to a war of words or a linguistic debate, in most cases on the Internet, though. The following are some examples of 'war of words' caused by cultural differences, ethnical standpoints, and religious beliefs.

8.2.3.1 North vs. South

Since China occupies a vast territory, the differences between the southern part and the northern part are also considerable. First things first, the must-eat food of the festival. For northerners, *jiaozi* (饺子, lit. 'dumpling') is without doubt a must for Chinese New Year. On the other hand, people in the south part of China do not stick to a single food and seem to have a wider range of choices. Many southerners even have mistaken ideas that northerners only eat *jiaozi* during the festival.

The Chinese New Year ‘Civil War’ also involves temporal matter. The Spring Festival refers to a period of about two weeks in spring, but there is no clear consensus on its exact duration. Some people consider that it begins on Chinese New Year’s Day, the 1st day of the 1st month in the Chinese calendar, while others regard Chinese New Year’s Eve as the start. In some northern regions of China, the festival starts from as early as the 23rd of the 12th lunar month, known as Little New Year or *xiaonian* (小年, lit. ‘small year’).

There is, however, broad consensus about the end of the festival period: the Lantern Festival or Yuanxiao Festival (*yuanxiao jie*, 元宵节, lit. ‘prime night festival’), which falls on the 15th of the 1st lunar month. After the sun goes down, people come out to see the full moon in this evening, appreciate the sight of various lanterns, and solve the riddles stuck on the lanterns. It is another important day for family reunion. The specific food for Yuanxiao Festival is thus called *yuanxiao* (元宵, lit. ‘prime night’), a round rice dumpling filled with sweet paste such as sesame, red bean, and peanut butter. The food term has already been included in the *OED*, though its Wade-Giles form *yuan hsiao* appears as the headword. *Yuanxiao* or *yuan hsiao* is a more-northern food, while southerners prefer to eat *tangyuan* (汤圆, lit. ‘soup round’) or *tangtuan* (汤团, lit. ‘soup dumpling’) on the Lantern Festival. *Yuanxiao* and *tangyuan* look very similar in shape and color, but the making processes are slightly different. In spite of this, the round shape of both *yuanxiao* or *tangyuan* has a symbolic significance for family reunion, and this day marks the end of Chinese New Year festivities.

8.2.3.2 #CNY vs. #LNY

Several other Asian countries like Korea and Vietnam also celebrate their own New Year in their own way, which are generally the same day as Chinese New Year because their festivals originated from ancient China and are based on Chinese calendar. Below Ivanka Trump’s Tweet about her daughter’s Chinese New Year song video (see Figure 8.10), some Korean and Vietnamese netizens posted comments such as ‘Why use the hashtag #ChineseNewYear?’, ‘Why only use Chinese characters for greeting?’, ‘Why is the song in Mandarin Chinese?’, and the like.⁵⁸ They prefer the politically correct term ‘Lunar New Year.’ Chinese New Year is also called Lunar New Year because it is widely believed to be set by the lunar calendar, which is based upon the phases of the moon. This

⁵⁸ See comments under the Tweet of @IvankaTrump, 2 February 2017, <https://twitter.com/IvankaTrump/status/827132690910556160/>.

is a misperception, though. The Chinese calendar in fact is a lunar-solar mix, that is, a lunisolar calendar.

Figure 8.10. Ivanka Trump’s Chinese New Year greeting and a video of her daughter’s ‘Happy New Year’ song in Mandarin (Source: Twitter)



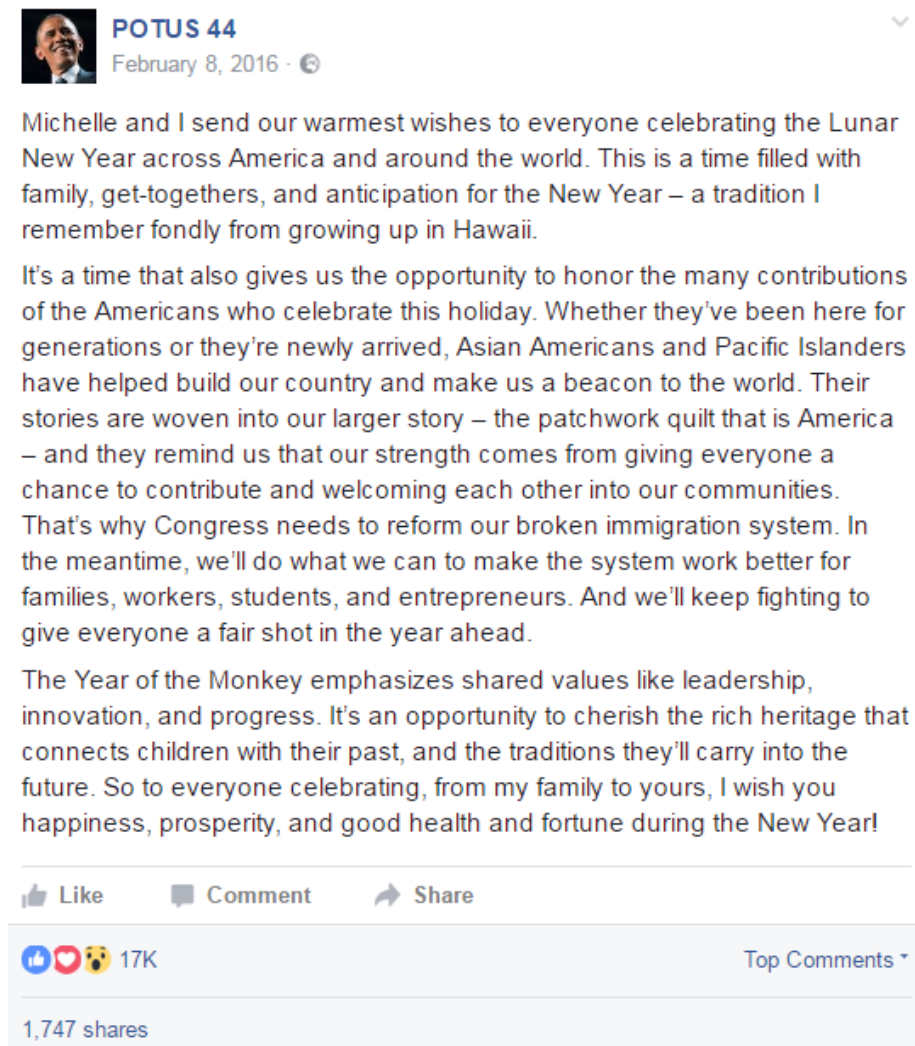
There is resistance among some Chinese speakers to the term *Lunar New Year*. More recently, many Chinese netizens blamed Liu Wen, a Chinese supermodel, for using the expression ‘Happy Lunar New Year’ rather than ‘Chinese New Year’ on her Instagram.⁵⁹ Liu Wen then changed her message to ‘Happy Chinese New Year.’ The war of words turned into a war of hashtags on Instagram and Twitter. Whereas the Chinese prefer to use CNY because of their national identity, many westerners also accept CNY, not only for its long history, but also because of China’s huge market. Meanwhile, supporters of LNY are mainly from other Asian countries especially Korea and Vietnam, who disregard the fact that the term *Lunar New Year* is not accurate at all.

Obama, again, has handled this issue in a highly diplomatic way. His previous greeting on Facebook for 2016’s Lunar New Year avoided using the term ‘Chinese New Year’

⁵⁹ See <https://www.instagram.com/p/BfWePHdB0Ua/?hl=zh-cn&taken-by=liuwenlw/>.

(see Figure 8.11).⁶⁰ In addition, the White House website posted the transcript of the President's message, translated in Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese.

Figure 8.11. Obama's greeting for the Year of the Monkey (Source: Facebook)



8.2.3.3 The avoidance of ‘pig’

Another war of words is between different religious groups. The *mangniange* (忙年歌, lit. ‘busy year sing-song’), handed down from generation to generation, record traditional customs throughout the festival. One line of the sing-song reads ‘*ershiliu, dunzhurou*’ (二十六, 炖猪肉), meaning ‘stewing the pork on the 26th.’ The longer version of this line is ‘*layueershiliu, shazhugenianrou*’ (腊月二十六, 杀猪割年肉, lit. ‘on the 26th of the 12th lunar month, killing the pig and cutting the year meat’), as represented in Figure 8.12 (*Xinhua* 23 January 2017).

⁶⁰ See <https://www.facebook.com/POTUS44/posts/452481201608392/>.

Figure 8.12. The scene of butchering pig to get ‘year meat’ on the 26th of the 12th lunar month (Source: Xinhua)



But for certain religious groups, pork is forbidden according to their religious restrictions. Ethnic minorities in China who have these kinds of religious faiths follow the rules of not eating pork. Some netizens and even official accounts on social media platforms, however, also avoid using the word *zhu* (猪 ‘pig’) and its flesh *zhurou* (猪肉 ‘pork’). On Weibo, China’s biggest Twitter-like microblogging website, official accounts such as *People’s Daily* (人民日报) and *The Communist Youth League* (共青团中央), which have over 50 and 5 million followers respectively, use ‘*dun darou*’ (炖大肉, lit. ‘stew big meat’) rather than ‘*dun zhurou*’ (炖猪肉, lit. ‘stew pork’). The official Weibo account of Chunwan gala reuses a picture of buying meat at the butcher’s and makes some alterations: the name of the butcher’s shop is changed from ‘猪肉铺’ (pork butcher) into ‘羊肉铺’ (mutton butcher); the pig head on the table is replaced by non-specific flesh (see Figure 8.13).

Figure 8.13. The original image of the butcher's (left) and the altered version (right) (Source: Weibo)



Based on 75 versions of ‘Busy Year Sing-Song’, a user on the website Zhihu (知乎), China’s Quora, concludes that ‘pork’ appears most frequently in these songs, followed by its alternatives *darou* (大肉 ‘big meat’) and *nianrou* (年肉 ‘year meat’), while ‘mutton’ and ‘beef’ are only used in very few cases.⁶¹ Therefore, the officials’ tacit avoidance of ‘pig’ and ‘pork’ were criticized by thousands of linguistically-sensitive Chinese netizens. Some comments worried about how to name the year 2019. According to the cycle of Chinese zodiac animal signs, the year 2019’s *shengxiao* is pig. In the English-speaking world, there is no such concern, and ‘Year of the Pig’ is widely used by many retailers on their English websites to attract Chinese consumers.

8.2.4 Other Chinese festivals

China has many of the world’s most widely celebrated festivals. For example, in mainland China, there are seven public holidays and the statute decrees that residents in China should have one or more days off to celebrate the festivals. Besides the New Year’s Day (January 1) and the Labour Day (May 1) which also applies to other cultures and the National Day (October 1) that marks the nationhood of the republic, the other four public holidays in mainland China are traditional festivals and are based on the Chinese lunisolar calendar, including Spring Festival, Qingming Festival, Dragon Boat Festival, and Mid-Autumn Festival. Other Chinese traditional festivals include Lantern Festival, Qixi

⁶¹ Available at <https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/33829504/>.

Festival, Chongyang Festival, Laba Festival, to name but a few. To introduce Chinese festive folkways to the English-speaking world, various common names are used to refer to these festivals. For instance, *Qingming Festival* is also descriptively called *Tomb-Sweeping Day*. The ethnic tag ‘Chinese’ is applicable to several festivals that have similar customs in other cultures, as in *Chinese New Year*, *Chinese Valentine’s Day*, and *Chinese Arbor Day*. Some festivals are named after their date, like *Dragon Boat Festival* and *Chongyang Festival* are commonly known as *Double Fifth Festival* and *Double Ninth Festival*. In addition, items (especially food) that are closely associated with the festivals can also be metonymically used to name these festivals, such as *Mooncake Festival*, *Dumpling Festival*, and *Laba Rice Porridge Festival* (though it should be more accurately called Laba congee). A selective list of the Chinese festivals and their alternative names are given in the table below (see Table 8.7), whereas some regional or non-universal festivals, such as Water Splashing Festival, Torch Festival, Buddha’s Birthday and Mazu’s Birthday, are not included here. (For more folk festivals and folk customs in China, see ICH lists; see also 7.3.5.)

Table 8.7. List of Chinese festivals

Date	Name by transcription	Name by description / metonymy / translation	Name by ethnic marker	Name by date
1 st day of the 1 st lunar month	Chunjie	Spring Festival	Chinese New Year	
15 th day of the 1 st lunar month	Yuanxiao / Yuan Hsiao	Lantern Festival		
15 th day after chunfen (spring equinox)	Qingming / Ch'ing Ming Festival	Tomb-Sweeping Day	Chinese Memorial Day	
5 th day of the 5 th lunar month	Duanwu / Tuen Ng Festival	Dragon Boat Festival / Dumpling Festival		Double Fifth Festival
7 th day of the 7 th lunar month	Qixi Festival / Chi Ch'iao T'ien	Magpie Festival	Chinese Valentine’s Day	Double Seventh Festival
15 th day of the 8 th lunar month	Zhongqiu / Chung Ch'iu Festival	Moon Festival / Mooncake Festival / Reunion Festival		Mid-Autumn Festival
9 th day of the 9 th lunar month	Chongyang / Chung Yeung Festival			Double Ninth Festival
1 st day of October			China National Day	
8 th day of the 12 th lunar month	Laba	Porridge Day / Laba Rice Porridge Festival		

A few festive terms in the list above have been included in English dictionaries. Most of

the examples are named by means of description, metonymy, or loose translation, such as *Dragon Boat Festival*, *Lantern Festival*, *Moon Festival*, and *Spring Festival*. *Moon Festival* is included in the *OED*, while its alternative name *Mid-Autumn Festival* is included in the *Collins*. Two Wade-Giles-spelt festive terms, namely *yuan hsiao* (also refers to the dumpling eaten during the festival) and *Ch'ing Ming*, can be found in the *OED* and the *M-W* respectively. Surprisingly, no Pinyin-transliterated forms of Chinese festivals have become dictionary headwords so far.

The same thing happens in Google Doodles. Google celebrates various festivals with a doodle, but the way in which the festival is named on the doodle is different year to year. Google's celebration of Chinese festivals can be traced back to 2001. As can be seen in Table 8.8, descriptive and translated expressions are the mainstream forms of Chinese festivals found in Doodles. The only exception is Qixi Festival. Used to be called 'Chinese Valentine's Day', now *Qixi Festival* stands alone in its Pinyin form. *Lantern Festival* and *Dragon Boat Festival*, with no other forms come up, are the most accepted ones throughout the past two decades. From 2012 to 2014, *Chinese New Year* was provisionally used by the Doodles team, but gave place back to *Lunar New Year*, which seems to be a more politically correct term for several ethnic groups (see also 8.2.3.2).

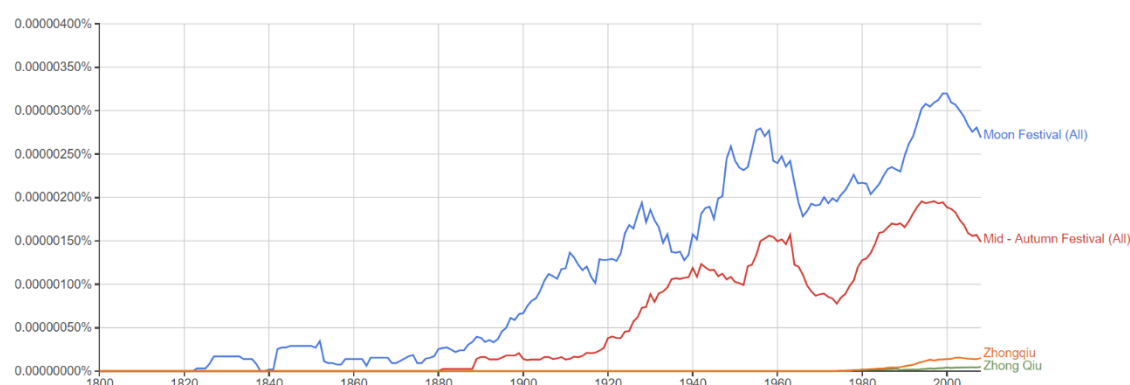
Table 8.8. List of traditional Chinese festivals for Google Doodles

2001	Lunar New Year				
2002	Dragon Boat Festival				
2003	Lunar New Year				
2004	Lunar New Year				
2005	Lunar New Year				Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2006	Lunar New Year		Dragon Boat Festival		Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2007	Lunar New Year				Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2008	Lunar New Year		Dragon Boat Festival		Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2009	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	QiXi Festival	Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2010	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Chinese Valentine's Day	Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival

2011	Lunar New Year's Eve	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Chinese Valentine's Day	Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2012	Chinese New Year	Lantern Festival		Chinese Valentine's Day	Moon Festival / Mid-Autumn Festival
2013	Chinese New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Qixi Festival	Mid-Autumn Festival
2014	Chinese New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Qixi Festival	Mid Autumn Festival
2015	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Qixi Festival	Mid Autumn Festival
2016	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Chinese Valentine's Day	Mid-Autumn Festival
2017	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Qixi Festival	Mid-Autumn Festival
2018	Lunar New Year	Lantern Festival	Dragon Boat Festival	Qixi Festival	Mid-Autumn Festival

In early days, *Moon Festival* and *Mid-Autumn Festival* both appeared in Google Doodles, but only *Mid-Autumn Festival* has been kept since 2013. It should be noted that terms in Google Doodles only reflect the usage of Chinese festive names selected by certain people (like the designers or other Google staff) within the period of less than two decades. For a longer period of usage by a wider range of users, a test via Ngram Viewer is conducted here. Figure 8.14 illustrates the usage of *Moon Festival*, *Mid-Autumn Festival* and the Pinyin forms *Zhongqiu* and *Zhong Qiu* since 1800. As the graph shows, *Moon Festival* has been the dominant form throughout centuries. As a matter of fact, when the Chinese people are learning English, the English expression for this festival in our English textbook is *Mid-Autumn Festival*, while *Moon Festival* is rarely heard in China and *Zhongqiu*, though a potential loanword in English, is not accepted in our English class.

Figure 8.14. Ngram of variants of *Mid-Autumn Festival*



As discussed in Chapter 5, many Asian countries especially East Asian ones are greatly influenced by the Chinese culture. In the East Asian cultural sphere or sometimes called

the Sinosphere, Chinese festivals have developed into a number of localized varieties. For example, Korean and Vietnamese versions of Lunar New Year are called *Seollal* and *Tết Nguyên Đán* (or simply *Tết*) respectively, which follow several Chinese traditions such as eating reunion dinner on New Year's Eve and giving lucky money to kids. Lantern Festival, known as *yuan xiao* (lit. 'first night') in China, *Koshōgatsu* ('little first lunar month') in Japan, *Daeboreum* ('big full moon') in Korea, *Tết Nguyên tiêu* ('full moon festival') in Vietnam, and *Chap Goh Mei* ('fifteenth night') in South Asia, is universally celebrated with lanterns, riddles, and the full moon. In a similar vein, *Dragon Boat Festival* also refers to related festivals outside of China like *Tango no Sekku* in Japan, *Dano* in Korea, *Tết Đoan Ngọ* in Vietnam, which all originate from the Chinese characters 端午 (*duanwu*, lit. 'start noon'); the Chinese Qixi Festival and the tale of 'The Cowherd and the Weaver Girl' inspire the Japanese *Tanabata* and the Korean *Chilseok*, both written as 七夕 (*qixi*, lit. 'seventh eve') in Kanji and Hanja; the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival corresponds to the Japanese *Tsukimi* ('moon viewing'), the Korean *Chuseok* ('autumn eve'), and the Vietnamese *Tết Trung Thu* ('mid-autumn festival'); the Double-Ninth Festival, also celebrated in other countries in the Sinosphere, is known as *Chōyō* in Japan, *Jungyangjeol* in Korea, and *Tết Trùng Cửu* in Vietnam, which are all derived from the Chinese 重阳 (*chongyang*, lit. 'double sun') or 重九 (*chongjiu*, lit. 'double nine'). The above-mentioned localized festivals in different regions amply illustrate how Chinese festive customs, Chinese characters, and Chinese calendar make an impact on other countries in the Sinosphere: similar festive traditions are passed on, the festival names are derived from Chinese characters, and ultimately the related festivals fall on the same date. (For more details on the customs of the traditional festivals, see Roy 2005.)

Besides traditional festivals, several modern Chinese festivals are extending their influence over the globe. China National Day is not a one-day festival, but the second longest holiday after the Spring Festival holiday period. Millions of Chinese people spend their holiday shopping and travelling. As a result, commercialism is transforming this seven-day holiday and the seven days are called the 'Golden Week' – also the golden opportunities for the retailers in and outside of China. Every year, about seven million Chinese tourists go abroad during this national holiday. In 2018, the UK became the top destination among European countries for Chinese tourists, according to the data from Alipay, China's biggest mobile payment platform (*China Daily* 15 October 2018). UK retailers such as Bicester Village, Harrods, Selfridges, and Heathrow airport have installed Alipay at their tills, making Chinese consumers feel at home. What is more, the

term ‘golden week’ appears on a range of shop windows and websites, as an example shows below.

Figure 8.15. A sidebar promotion during the Golden Week (Source: Bicester Village website)



Another modern festival that has been a great commercial success is the Chinese Singles’ Day. Falling on the 11th of November, Singles’ Day is alternatively known as Double Eleven. In 1993, students at Nanjing university first started this observance as an anti-Valentine’s Day (Stampler 2014). A *Telegraph*’s report attributes this festival to China’s gender imbalance and further, the country’s one-child policy (Davidson 2018). Single men and women spend the day celebrating their singlehood or going on a blind date to meet more people. But people who are not single can also celebrate this festival and many couples even prefer to get engaged or married on this day. Singles’ Day has two variants in East Asian cultural sphere: Pocky & Pretz Day in Japan and Pepero Day in South Korea, both named after brand names of stick-like biscuits (see Figure 8.16).

Figure 8.16. Pocky, Pretz, and Pepero (Source: Japan Centre and Amazon websites)



In recent years, Singles' Day in China has become an e-commerce bonanza. During the 24-hour shopping event in 2018, Chinese netizens made 213.5 billion yuan (equivalent to \$30.9 billion US dollars) in sales on Tmall website and app, shattering 2017's record with 27 percent growth (Yicai 11 November 2018, Kharpal 11 November 2018). Alibaba Group, China's largest retailer and the owner of Alipay and Tmall, has been expanding its business to global markets; thus, in the foreseeable future, Singles' Day will become a global holiday like the Golden Week.

8.2.4 Summary

In recent times Chinese New Year and other Chinese festivals are becoming global holidays. Many foreigners show interest in celebrating Chinese festivals and learning more about Chinese culture and thus may have much greater awareness of festival-related terms, which are becoming less exotic and more recognizable to the English speakers. Without the ubiquitous and widespread promotion of Chinese festivals by media, politicians, retailers, and the Chinese communities overseas, many English speakers may never know *hongbao* or *red packet* or other words like this. The Chinese government is happy to see these festivals strengthen China's cultural 'soft power' with celebration by more people in more parts of the world, though some unexpected cultural and linguistic debates took place nationally and internationally. All in all, it is exhilarating to see more Chinese people and foreigners nowadays celebrating these festivals and more locals taking a revived interest in the past.

The next case study mostly investigates the single word *tea*, a well-established Chinese borrowing. It would be interesting to imagine the lexical items in the field of festivals are becoming normalized in the same way that *tea* and *tea*-related words were becoming normalized many centuries ago. Maybe at a given point in time, the same morphological and semantic development of *tea* in the English lexicon will happen to *hongbao* or *red packet* and many other terms of Chinese festivals.

8.3 A study of *tea*

Tea is a drink for all people. China has the earliest records of tea discovery and drinking. In early times people used tea as medicine; it was not until the Tang Dynasty (618-907) that people started to drink tea for pleasure and for social events (Salter 2013). The Chinese old saying ‘seven necessities’ (开门七件事, lit. ‘open door seven things’) demonstrates a typical Chinese way of living, including *firewood* (柴 *chai*), *rice* (米 *mi*), *oil* (油 *you*), *salt* (盐 *yan*), *sauce* (酱 *jiang*), *vinegar* (醋 *cu*), and this case study’s topic, *tea* (茶 *cha*). Tea leaves spread to Arabic and African countries as a major export from China via the Silk Road on land and sea, establishing trade connections between the East and West (Salter 2013). In the 17th century, Dutch and Portuguese traders introduced tea to Europe including Britain. Since its arrival in Britain, tea has shaped the nation’s trade, foreign policy, history, culture, fashion, manners, and lives (Chrystal 2014).

Tea is also a widely-used word borrowed from Chinese. Since *tea* has been in the English lexicon for a long time and now is so frequently used in daily life, very few English speakers recognize it is actually a Chinese borrowing. As mentioned before, *tea* has contributed over 200 loan-blends to the English lexicon and has even developed several metaphorical uses. For a drink that people over the globe take every day, not surprisingly there are lots of interesting stories to tell about the word *tea*: about its origin, its semantic development, and its modern usages. Thus, unlike the previous two case studies which explore a range of terms in the fields of ceramics and festivals, this study focuses on the word *tea* itself and discusses the questions as follows:

- How did *tea* and other variants come into the English language?
- How frequent is *tea* in Present-Day English?
- What are the central meanings of *tea*?
- What does *tea* mean in specific regional context?
- What are the related expressions and fields of *tea*?

To investigate the linguistic features of the word *tea*, most data for this study are drawn from a broad range of online dictionaries alongside evidence from museum and online sources. The *OED* provides fairly comprehensive definitions and etymology of the entry *tea*. The word *tea* is also examined in the so-called ‘Big Five’ learner’s dictionaries, namely *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (OALD)*, *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (CALD)*, *COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary (COBUILD)*, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE)*, and *Macmillan English Dictionary (MED)*, which differ greatly from the *OED* in target users, entry presentation, and in-house policies. When some region-specific usages of *tea* are concerned, dictionaries for Englishes other than British English are consulted, such as *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary (MWCD)* and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (AHD)* for American English, *Australian Oxford Dictionary (AOD)* and *Macquarie Dictionary (MD)* for Australian English, and *Canadian Oxford Dictionary (COD)* for Canadian English.

8.3.1 *The etymology of tea*

8.3.1.1 Transmission languages and source languages

To trace the history of the word *tea*, Table 8.9 sorts out some important information including transmission languages, source languages, and relevant forms given in the ‘Origin’ or ‘Etymology’ sections in different dictionaries. As a matter of fact, neither the word *tea* nor the plant leaf tea came directly from China to Britain. It is believed that Dutch traders, who were the chief importers of the tea leaves through the Dutch East India Company from 1610, adopted the word for ‘tea’ in the form *thee*, which then spread to other parts of Europe (Harper 2001, Dahl 2013). Thus, the modern English form *tea*, along with French *thé*, German *Tee*, Italian *tè*, Spanish *te*, Swedish *te*, etc., was brought into these European languages via Dutch. Dutch, however, is not the only transmission language for the word *tea*. According to the *OED*, *OALD*, *AHD* and *MD* (see Table 8.9), *tea* entered English probably via Malay, since Malacca was controlled by Dutch colonial power during 1641-1825, a period during which it was known as Dutch Malacca.

Table 8.9. A summary of the Etymology/Origin sections in different dictionaries

Dictionary	Transmission languages		Source languages		Relevant forms
	Dutch	Malay	Min dialect	Pre-modern Chinese	
<i>OED</i>	Dutch <i>thee</i>	Malay <i>te, teh</i>	Chinese, Amoy dialect <i>te</i> , in Fuchau <i>tiä</i>		= Mandarin <i>ch'a</i> (in ancient Chinese probably <i>kia</i>)
<i>OALD</i>		Malay	Chinese (Min dialect) <i>te</i>		related to Mandarin <i>chá</i>
<i>CED</i>			Chinese (Amoy) <i>t'e</i>	Ancient Chinese <i>d'a</i>	
<i>M-W</i>			Chinese (Xiamen) <i>dé</i>		
<i>AHD</i>	Dutch <i>thee</i>	Malay <i>teh</i>	Amoy <i>te</i>	dialectal Early Middle Chinese <i>dai</i>	equivalent to Mandarin <i>chá</i>
<i>AOD/COD</i>	Dutch <i>tee</i>		Chinese (Amoy dialect) <i>te</i>		= Mandarin dialect <i>cha</i>
<i>MD</i>	Dutch <i>tee</i>	Malay <i>te, teh</i>	Amoy Chinese <i>t'e</i>		related to Mandarin and Cantonese <i>chá</i>

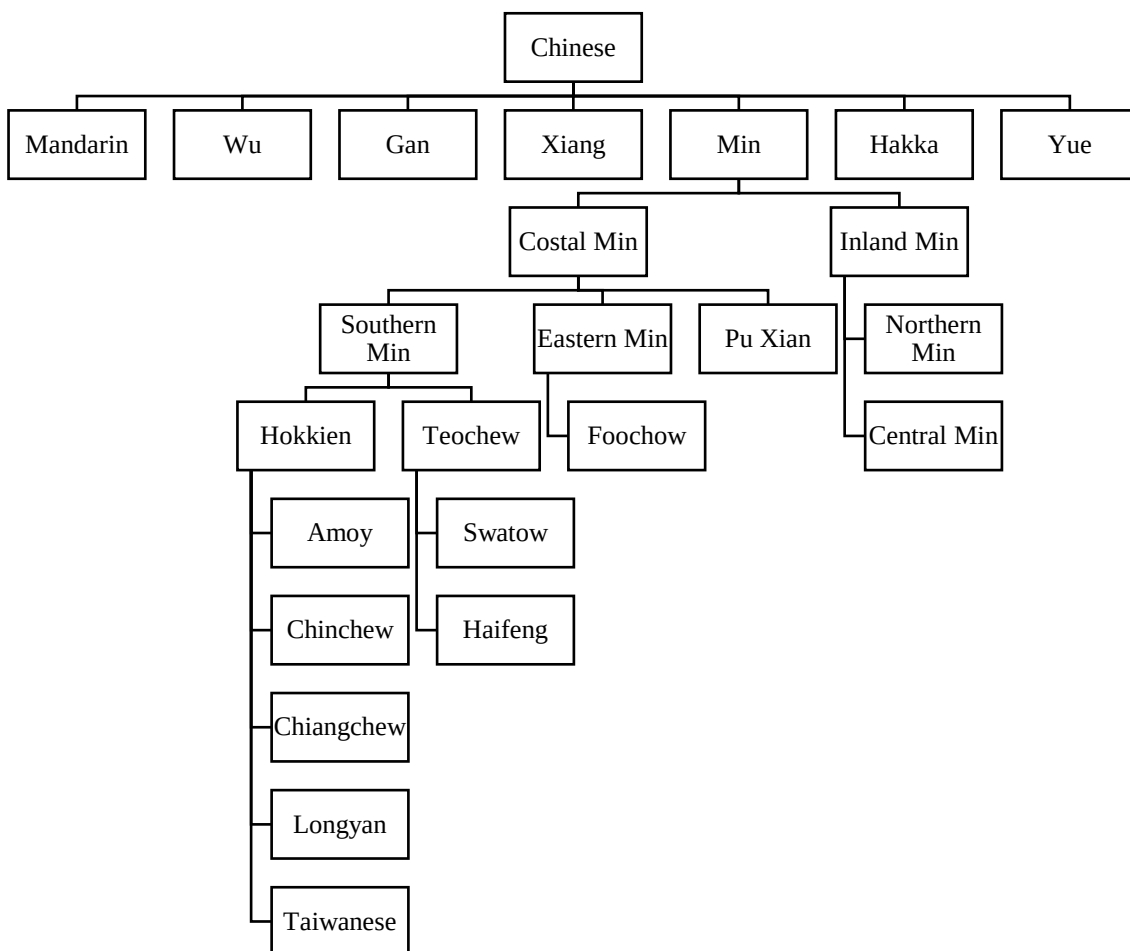
When it comes to the ultimate source language of the word, there is no doubt that *tea* derives from Chinese, which in fact refers to a large group of dialects. However, there is no consensus on the terminology of the specific Chinese dialect in different dictionaries' Word Origin sections. As can be seen in Table 8.9, terms like *Amoy*, *Fuchau*, *Min dialect*, and *Xiamen* are used in different dictionaries, which require the dictionary users to have a knowledge of Chinese language varieties.

Min (闽语) is one of the seven major groups of Chinese but has greater dialectal diversity than any of the other groups, since its varieties are often mutually unintelligible (see Chapter 1; see also Norman 1988). Early classifications split Min into Southern and Northern subgroups (e.g. F. Li 1937, Yuan 1960), but a later work divide Min into coastal and inland groups (Pan et al. 1963). The coastal group can be further divided into three groups, namely Southern Min (闽南语), Eastern Min (闽东语), and Pu-Xian Min (莆仙语), while the inland group includes variants of Northern Min (闽北语) and Central Min (闽中语).

The two major dialect groups of Southern Min are Hokkien (福建话) and Teochew (潮汕话). As a previous lingua franca amongst overseas Chinese communities throughout

Southeast Asia, Hokkien was traditionally spoken in southern Fujian province and remains one of the major Chinese dialects of Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines (*OED*). Amoy (厦门话) is the principal and prestige dialect of Hokkien. The term *Amoy* is a western romanized name for Xiamen (厦门), nowadays a sub-provincial city in south-eastern China, so that the Amoy dialect is also called Xiamen dialect or Xiamenese.⁶² To sum up, Amoy (or Xiamen dialect) is a variety of Hokkien, which is a member of the Southern Min dialects, which in turn constitutes a part of Min, one of the seven major language groups of Chinese. This hierarchical relation is illustrated in Figure 8.17, a tree diagram of Chinese dialects, including the Amoy branch. (Some minor dialects are not included.)

Figure 8.17. The language tree of Chinese dialects and the Amoy branch



⁶² The forms of many place names including *Amoy* are based on Postal Romanization. For detailed discussion on romanizing Chinese place names, see Section 4.1.

Another rarely mentioned source language is *Fuchau*, which only appears in the *OED*'s etymology section of *tea* (see Table 8.9). In fact, *Fuchau* is one of the various romanized names of *Fuzhou* (福州) in early English publications, along with *Foochow*, *Fuchow*, *Fuh-Chow*, *Hokchew*, and so on. The Fuzhou dialect is the prestigious and representative variety of the Eastern Min dialect spoken mainly in eastern Fujian province and is not mutually intelligible with Hokkien and Amoy. But there is one similarity between Fuzhou dialect and Amoy dialect: both were regional varieties spoken in Treaty ports which were opened to foreign trade in the 19th century.

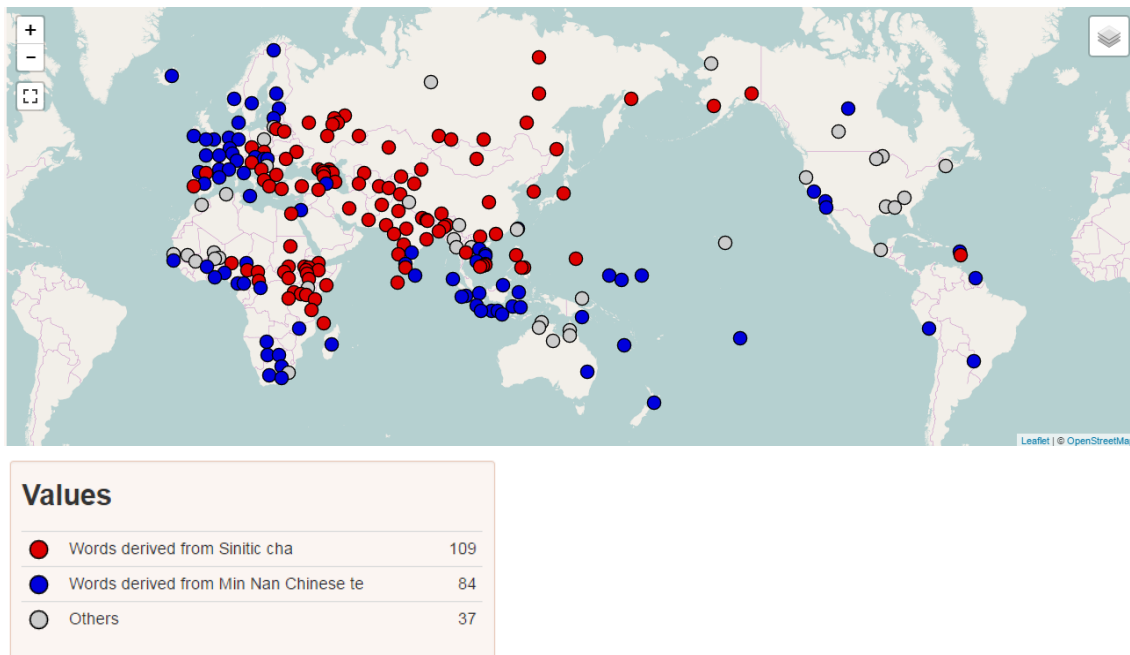
Besides *tea*, Southern Min and its sub-dialects contribute quite a lot of words to the English language. According to the *OED*, borrowings from Amoy included in the dictionary are *cumshaw*, *ketchup*, and *sinseh*; from Hokkien: *Ah Beng*, *ang moh*, *ang pow*, *bohea*, *char kway teow*, *kiasu*, *kongsi*, *kopitiam*, *mee*, *pancit*, *popiah*, *sinkeh*, and a loan translation *shophouse*; from Southern Min but without mentioning the specific dialect variety: *nunchaku*, *pekoe*, and *rotenone*. Many of these words are indirect borrowings via other languages, especially Malaysian and Japanese. In addition to *bohea* and *pekoe*, some other tea terms like *congou*, *hyson*, *oolong*, *pouchong*, and probably *souchong* also derive from Min dialects owing to the fact that Fujian province is one of the major areas of tea production in China. (See the list in the field of **Food and Drink** for more tea-related terms.)

8.3.1.2 Two paths and two forms

As can be seen in Table 8.7, several etymological sections in dictionary entries for *tea* mention that *tea* is related or equivalent to the Mandarin form *cha* (also *chá* or *ch'a*). Although both written as 茶 in Southern Min and Chinese Mandarin, it is pronounced *tê* and *chá* respectively. Dahl (2013) uses a map to illustrate the sources of the words for *tea* in various languages in the world (see Figure 8.18).⁶³

⁶³ Available online on the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) website <http://wals.info/chapter/138/>.

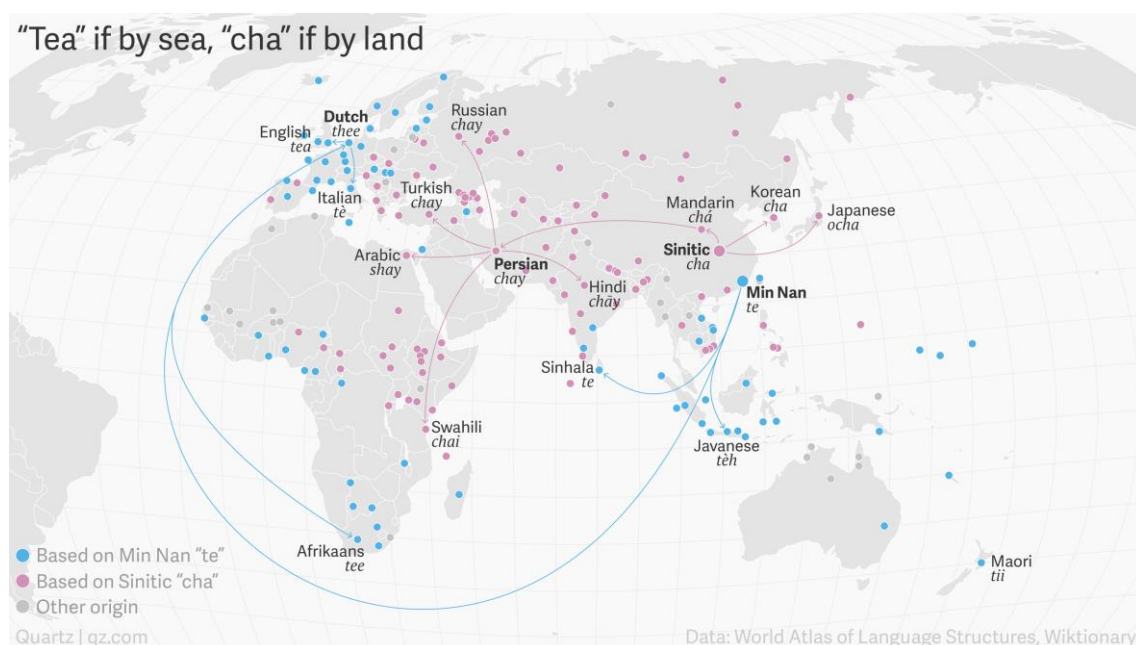
Figure 8.18. Sources of the words for *tea* in various languages over the world (Source: World Atlas of Language Structures Online)



The two forms of the word reflect two paths of transmission and different transmission languages: whereas *tea* is borrowed via Dutch (and probably via Malay) from the Amoy dialect, *cha* derives from Cantonese via Portuguese, since the trade route of Portuguese tea importation went via Macao rather than via Amoy (Dahl 2013). The Cantonese pronunciation is almost identical to the Mandarin one aside from the tone. Most dictionaries regard *cha* as a borrowing from Mandarin, but it is more likely to be borrowed from Cantonese because Macao's official language is Cantonese. There is also a well-known borrowing from Cantonese, *yum cha* (饮茶, lit. 'drink tea'), which means 'a meal eaten in the morning', normally consisting of Cantonese-style dim sum and tea.

With the exception of Portuguese, most European languages including French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish, borrowed the word via Dutch thanks to the Dutch East India Company who brought the tea leaves back to Europe. A map by Sonnad (2018), which is based on the WALS data, graphically demonstrates this long-distance ocean trade from China to the Netherlands, and then to the other parts of Europe (see Figure 8.19). On the other hand, Persian, Hindi, Arabic, Turkish, Russian and Greek forms all came overland from the Mandarin form *cha* (Harper 2001). Meantime, Japan and Korea, China's close neighbours, adopted the word in earlier periods.

Figure 8.19. The spread of the words for ‘tea’ across the world (Source: Sonnad 2018)



However, the map is not perfect for several reasons. Firstly, it does not show the trade route via Macao and Portugal. Secondly, it should be noted that Japanese has the kanji (Chinese character) form 茶 (ちゃ), which was borrowed from Chinese and is also pronounced *cha* in Japanese. Normally this kanji is not used on its own in modern Japanese, but is either used in compounds or accompanied by a honorific prefix *o-* (お). The Persian, Turkish, Russian, and Hindi forms are all transcribed as *chay*, which may confuse people who do not speak these languages. Thirdly, as a comment in the Reddit’s Etymology Maps community (a ‘subreddit’) pointed out, this map misleads people to think Min Nan (Southern Min) is a non-Sinitic language.⁶⁴

8.3.1.3 Other variant forms of *tea*

A third and related form to refer to ‘tea’ is *chai*. *Chai* is a type of Indian tea made by boiling tea leaves with milk, sugar, and sometimes spices (see *OALD*, *AHD*). The term was probably passed overland to Central Asia and Persia, the major point of contact, where the final /ɪ/ (or *i*) was added to both the sound and the spelling; then it passed on to Russia, Eastern European countries and Arabic countries (Dahl 2013). Other forms included by English dictionaries are *char*, *chia*, and *tsia*, which are all variant (and probably obsolete) spellings of *cha*. In spite of these alternative forms, *tea* is still the most

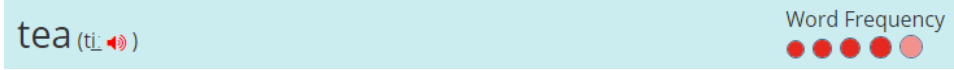
⁶⁴ See comments on the map at www.reddit.com/r/etymologymaps/comments/9wkaa6/tea_sea_trading_origin_cha_land_trading_origin/.

common term, and the longest-established one. None of the alternatives are as polysemous as *tea*, and they are not found in as many compounds as *tea*.

8.3.2 The frequency of *tea*

As is mentioned before, *tea* is a very frequent, probably the most frequent, Chinese-originated word in the English language. In order to investigate how frequently *tea* is used in Present-Day English, different ways of displaying the frequency by various dictionaries are compared and illustrated in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10. The frequency of *tea* displayed in online dictionaries

<i>OED</i>	Frequency (in current use): ●●●●●●●●
<i>OALD</i>	
<i>COBUILD</i>	
<i>LDOCE</i>	tea /ti:/ ●●● S1 W2 noun 
<i>MED</i>	tea - definition and synonyms ★★ ★

The word *tea* in the *OED* is assigned to Frequency Band 6 (the highest is 8): this includes words which occur between 10 and 100 times per million words in modern English. About 1% of all non-obsolete *OED* entries are in Band 6, and this adds up to around 6000 words. Other words found in Band 6 include *dog*, *ship*, *machine*, *career*, *stress*, *gas*, *happy*, and *traditional*; colour adjectives such as *red*, *blue*, *green*, *yellow*, *orange*, *brown*, *grey*, *purple*, and *pink*; geographical terms such as *Scottish*, *Irish*, *Australian*, *Canadian*, *Asian*, *French*, *Italian*, and *German*.⁶⁵

Similarly, *COBUILD* also displays an interactive graphic indicating the word frequency, suggesting that *tea* is one of the 4000 most commonly used words in the Collins Dictionary. The *OALD* uses large and small key symbols  to show words from the so-called ‘*Oxford 3000*’ and high-frequency meanings respectively. The selection of the **Oxford 3000** words is based on three criteria: frequency in the British National

⁶⁵ For more information on Frequency Bands, see the article ‘Key to frequency’ on the *OED*’s official website, available online at <https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/>.

Corpus and the Oxford Corpus Collection; frequent usages in a variety of contexts; and familiarity to most users of English.⁶⁶ It seems that only being frequent in the corpus is not enough for a word to qualify as a ‘frequent word’ or ‘common word’; a wider range of contexts and users are also significant. *LDOCE* not only presents tea as high-frequency core vocabulary, indicated by three red circles, but also shows the status of *tea* as belonging to the ‘Top 1000 spoken words’ (S1) and Top 2000 written words (W2) in the dictionary. The headword *tea* in *MED* is in red, accompanied with three red stars ★★ ★. There are 7500 red words like *tea* which are used by English speakers in speech and writing in 90% of the time; among them, three-star words are the most frequent.

It should be noted that some symbols used by dictionaries may be mistaken for frequency graphics. For example, the *CALD*’s entry *tea* contains two symbols: A1 and B1. They actually show the level at which learners know the word. A1 represents beginner level while B1 is for intermediate level. In *M-W*, under the headword *tea*, there is a line reads ‘Popularity: Bottom 40% of words.’ It does not mean that *tea* is an unpopular and low-frequency word in the language; in fact, ‘popularity’ here refers to how often a word is looked up on the *Merriam-Webster* website, which might be driven by news events, celebrities, sports, and so on. Overall, as most dictionaries suggest, *tea* is very frequent word compared to other Chinese borrowings or even compared to other English words. According to the *OED* data, only about 0.2% of entries are more frequently-used than *tea*. Because of *tea*’s high frequency and long existence in the English language, this word of Chinese origin is not generally recognized as a Chinese borrowing for many English speakers.

8.3.3 Senses of *tea*

8.3.3.1 Order of senses

Most dictionaries list several senses for *tea*, a polysemous word. Senses of *tea* are presented in different order in different dictionaries, which is studied by many scholars as a research field of sense arrangement. There are mainly three types of arranging the order of a word’s meanings: historical, logical, and frequency order.

As a historical dictionary, the *OED* adopts the historical order – starting with the oldest

⁶⁶ See the *OALD* website: <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/about/oxford3000/>.

meaning and ending with the most recent – but not very strictly. Table 8.11 demonstrates a summary of all senses under the headword *tea* (n.) in the *OED*, though this entry is unrevised for the moment. The numbers in brackets are the dates of first quotation for each sub-sense.

Table 8.11. A summary of senses of *tea* in the *OED*

1. a. leaf of plant (1655)	1. b. denoting various kinds (1704)	1. c. <i>phr.</i> given away with a pound of tea; not for all the tea in China (1937)		
2. a. drink (1625)	2. b. <i>phr.</i> cup of tea (1908)	2. c. cupful (1922)	2. d. <i>phr.</i> one's tea (1934)	2. e. <i>phr.</i> tea and sympathy (1956)
3. plant (1663)				
4. a. meal or social entertainment (1738)	4. b. <i>slang.</i> to take tea with (1888)	4. c. <i>slang.</i> to go (out) for one's tea (1978)		
5. general name for infusions (1666)				
6. applied to various plants (1728)				
7. a. <i>slang.</i> liquor (N/A)	7. b. <i>slang.</i> urine (1693)	7. c. <i>slang.</i> marijuana (1935)		
8. <i>abbr.</i> of tea-rose (1869)				

The first attestations for senses 1a and 2b show the related forms *Chaa* and *Chia* respectively, rather than the current form *tea*. As can be seen in Table 8.11, the *OED* orders senses according to a structure resembling a ‘family tree’, so that all related senses are grouped under the same sense number, such as the sub-senses of sense 2 represent the ‘drink’ meaning of the headword *tea* and all sub-senses of sense 7 are slang usages. Based on quotation evidence, the first sub-senses of each big sense group (the first column) are ordered chronologically, except senses 5 and 6 are slightly earlier than sense 4. Within the distinct sense, the sub-senses are also presented in chronological order. This kind of sense arrangement illustrates the word’s development and its senses’ development over time, though it is easy to get lost when one is reading a long entry. It should be noted that the entry *tea* has not yet been updated in *OED3*. Therefore, it would be interesting to look at this entry again after the *OED*’s revisions are finished to see whether these old senses

are reorganized and any new meaning appears.

8.3.3.2 First sense of *tea*

Strictly speaking, the *OED* combines different methods to order the word's senses. Other dictionaries, especially the 'Big Five' learner's dictionaries, do not rely that much on historical evidence, so that they will not arrange senses in historical order like *OED*. Instead, senses are arranged for the convenience of the reader with the most common meaning first. In order to find out the central or core meaning of *tea*, the screenshots of the very first sense of *tea* in different online dictionaries are compared, as presented below.

Table 8.12. The first sense of *tea* in dictionaries

<i>OED</i>	1. a. The leaves of the tea-plant (see 3), usually in a dried and prepared state for making the drink (see 2); first imported into Europe in the 17th century, and now extensively used in various parts of the world.	leaf
<i>OALD</i>	1  [uncountable, countable] the dried leaves (called TEA LEAVES) of the tea bush	leaf
<i>CALD</i>	A1 [C or U] (a drink made by pouring hot water onto) dried and cut leaves and sometimes flowers, especially the leaves of the tea plant:	drink / leaf
<i>COBUILD</i>	1. variable noun Tea is a drink made by adding hot water to tea leaves or tea bags. Many people add milk to the drink and some add sugar.	drink
<i>LDOCE</i>	1 DRINK/LEAVES a) [countable, uncountable] a hot brown drink made by pouring boiling water onto the dried leaves from a particular Asian bush, or a cup of this drink	drink
<i>MED</i>	1 [UNCOUNTABLE] a hot brown drink made by pouring boiling water onto the dried leaves of the tea bush. The leaves are called tea leaves and can be bought in small paper bags called tea bags that are put into a cup or teapot	drink
<i>M-W</i>	1 a : a widely cultivated shrub (<i>Camellia sinensis</i> of the family Theaceae, the tea family) native to China, northern India, and southeastern Asia and having glossy green leaves and fragrant white flowers	plant
<i>AHD</i>	1. a. An evergreen shrub or small tree (<i>Camellia sinensis</i>) native to Asia, having fragrant, nodding, cup-shaped white flowers and glossy leaves.	plant
<i>AOD</i>	1. (in full tea plant) an evergreen shrub or small tree, <i>Camellia sinensis</i>, of India, China, etc.	plant
<i>MD</i>	noun 1. the dried and prepared leaves of the shrub, <i>Camellia sinensis</i> (formerly <i>Thea sinensis</i>), from which a somewhat bitter, aromatic beverage is made by infusion in boiling water.	leaf / plant

As can be seen, the choice of first sense varies from dictionary to dictionary. Four out of the 'Big Five' make the 'drink' meaning the first sense. It seems that British dictionaries

prefer to put the ‘drink’ sense or the sense ‘leaf’ which can make the drink in the very first place, while dictionaries of American English and Australian English normally set out botanical senses like ‘plant’ as the first sense of *tea*. There is one possible reason: tea is an essential part of the culture in the UK so that British people regard tea primarily as a drink, which is a normal part of their daily life. By contrast, most English speakers outside the UK do not drink tea as much. Another possibility is that learners’ dictionaries prioritize words and senses that would be more useful for learners to acquire first for effective communication, hence they put the ‘drink’ sense of tea before the ‘plant’ sense.

It is also interesting to compare the illustrations used by dictionaries (where these are included). The *COBUILD*’s illustration of *tea* is in a set of cup and saucer and from its colour, we can deduce that milk is added to the tea – a very British tradition. Likewise, the *LDOCE* presents *tea* in a tea set, which is quite similar to blue-and-white chinaware. In addition, the picture used to illustrate the headword *cup* in the *LDOCE* is a floral cup with tea inside, indicating the nationwide favour of tea. On the other hand, the *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* and its *Intermediate Dictionary* both use the image of a plant with ‘glossy green leaves’ and ‘white flowers’, as shown below.

Figure 8.20. Illustrations of *tea* in dictionaries

			
<i>COBUILD</i>	<i>LDOCE - tea</i>	<i>LDOCE - cup</i>	<i>M-W</i>

The first senses and illustrations in different dictionaries advocate the argument that in British English, the most central and the most commonly sought meaning of *tea* is ‘drink’. However, that is not the case in other English-speaking countries. This is also supported by the idea that the first sense of a dictionary entry is closely related to basic cognitive experiences (Gao 2013).

8.3.3.3 From ‘drink’ to ‘meal’

If we review Table 8.11 for the *OED*’s senses of *tea*, we can see that *tea* has gradually and systematically extended its meaning from denoting the leaf of a plant (sense 1) to the drink made by it (sense 2), and further to the particular time (or occasion) at which it is

served (sense 4). This kind of meaning change from *tea* as ‘leaf/plant’ to *tea* as ‘drink’ and then further to *tea* as ‘meal’ is recorded in most dictionaries. For instance, two learner’s dictionaries, namely the *LDOCE* and the *CALD*, divide the senses of *tea* into two semantic groups: DRINK and MEAL.

The gradual semantic extension of the drink to the drinking occasion took about 100 years according to the first attestations for the two senses in the *OED* (see Table 8.11). Ever more elements are joined to the ritual of tea-drinking (Dirven and Pörings 2002). In British tradition, a light afternoon meal usually includes tea (sometimes coffee) with sandwiches, scones, and a selection of cakes. Through metonymy, this meal is normally called *afternoon tea*, *high tea*, or *five o’clock tea*. However, there is no expression like *afternoon scone* or *afternoon sandwich* or *afternoon cake*. Beddoes (2014) provides a good explanation from the perspective of art. In many 19th-century paintings, including John Everett Millais’ *Afternoon Tea*, William Holman Hunt’s *The Children’s Holiday*, and Thomas Webster’s *A Tea Party*, *tea* is represented by tea sets, and no liquid or leaves are seen; in these works, through the order of connotation, tea is a visual, material and social symbol, rather than a consumable (Beddoes 2014).

Tea is also used to refer to a more substantial meal. Choosing which word to refer to a meal depends on which English-speaking country people come from; in Britain it may also depend on which part of the country or which social class people come from (*OALD*). Senses related to ‘meal’, no matter whether they refer to ‘afternoon meal’ or ‘evening meal’, are always regarded as British-specific. As are shown in Table 8.13, dictionaries use various regional labels to highlight these very-British-English meanings.

Table 8.13. ‘meal’ senses of *tea* in dictionaries

<i>OED</i>	4. a. A meal or social entertainment at which tea is served; <i>esp.</i> an ordinary afternoon or evening meal, at which the usual beverage is tea (but sometimes cocoa, chocolate, coffee, or other substitute). Now usu. a light meal in the late afternoon, but locally in the U.K. (<i>esp.</i> northern), and in Australia and N.Z., a cooked evening meal; in Jamaica, the first meal of the day. <i>high tea, meat tea:</i> see <i>HIGH adj.</i> and <i>n.</i>² <i>Special uses 4, MEAT n.</i> <i>Compounds 2 tea and turn-out:</i> see <i>TURN-OUT n.</i> 7b.
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<i>OALD</i>	5 [uncountable, countable] the name used by some people in Britain for the cooked meal eaten in the evening, especially when it is eaten early in the evening • <i>You can have your tea as soon as you come home from school.</i> → COMPARE DINNER, SUPPER → SEE RELATED ENTRIES: TYPES OF MEAL 6 [uncountable, countable] (<i>British English</i>) a light meal eaten in the afternoon or early evening, usually with sandwiches and/or biscuits and cakes and with tea to drink + More About → SEE ALSO CREAM TEA, HIGH TEA
<i>CALD</i>	tea <i>noun</i> (MEAL) ★ B1 [U or C] MAINLY UK a small meal eaten in the late afternoon, usually including cake and a cup of tea ★ [U or C] UK a meal that is eaten in the early evening and is usually cooked
<i>COBUILD</i>	4. variable noun Tea is a meal some people eat in the late afternoon. It consists of food such as sandwiches and cakes, with tea to drink. [British] • <i>I'm doing the sandwiches for tea.</i> • <i>I took her to tea at the Ritz.</i> 5. See also afternoon tea, high tea, meal 6. variable noun Some people refer to the main meal that they eat in the early part of the evening as tea. [British] • <i>At five o'clock he comes back for his tea.</i>
<i>LDOCE</i>	3 MEAL [countable, uncountable] British English a) a small meal of cake or biscuits eaten in the afternoon with a cup of tea 🔊 We serve lunch and afternoon tea. 🔊 We stopped for a cream tea on the way home (=tea and cream cakes). b) used in some parts of Britain to mean a large meal that is eaten early in the evening 🔊 We had baked beans on toast for tea. → high tea
<i>MED</i>	3 [UNCOUNTABLE] BRITISH a meal eaten in the evening <i>What would you like for your tea?</i>  Synonyms and related words Types of meal: banquet, baon, barbecue... Explore Thesaurus a. INFORMAL a small meal consisting of sandwiches etc that is eaten in the afternoon with tea <i>They were having afternoon tea in the garden.</i>
<i>M-W</i>	4 a : refreshments usually including tea with sandwiches, crackers, or cookies served in late afternoon b : a reception, snack, or meal at which tea is served

<i>AHD</i>	7. Chiefly British a. An afternoon refreshment consisting usually of sandwiches and cakes served with tea. b. High tea. 8. An afternoon reception or social gathering at which tea is served.
<i>AOD</i>	4. a light afternoon meal consisting of tea, bread, cakes, etc. ■ the main meal of the day eaten in the evening.
<i>MD</i>	8. a light meal taken in the late afternoon. 9. the main evening meal.
<i>COD</i>	4. <i>esp. Brit.</i> a light afternoon meal consisting of tea, bread, cakes, etc. ■ <i>esp. Brit.</i> a cooked (<i>esp. early</i>) evening meal. ■ <i>esp. N Amer.</i> an afternoon reception at which tea is served. ■ <i>Cdn (Nfld)</i> an afternoon or early evening social gathering in a church hall etc. at which a light meal is offered for sale.

In the majority of these definitions related to ‘meal’, expressions such as *locally in the U.K., in Britain, British (English), mainly UK, chiefly British* and the like make it easier to identify this as a regional usage. In addition, the *OED* mentions when referring to ‘a cooked evening meal’ that the word *tea* is not only local to the UK, but is also found in Australia and New Zealand; thus, the two Australian English dictionaries, the *AOD* and the *MD*, do not have any regional labels to show that *tea* as a ‘meal’ is only specific in British English.

8.3.3.4 Other region-specific senses

Besides the British ‘afternoon meal’ and (to some extent Australian and New Zealand) ‘evening meal’ senses of *tea*, there are some other special meanings of the word used in different regional contexts. As shown in *COD* (see Table 8.13), *tea* can refer to ‘an afternoon reception’ in North America. Thus, American English dictionaries like the *M-W* and *AHD* include this sense as well. Dictionaries of British English, however, do not have this ‘reception’ meaning; only the fairly comprehensive *OED* mentions ‘a meal or social entertainment’ within the ‘meal’ sense, but not in a separate sense. Also, under the ‘meal’ sense in the *COD*, a Canadian-English-specific meaning of *tea* can be found: it means ‘an afternoon or early evening social gathering in a church hall etc. at which a light meal is offered for sale’, specifically used in Newfoundland, Canada. And in West Indian

culture (like in Jamaica), *tea* is even used to refer to the first meal of the day, according to the *OED*.

A big difference between British English and American English is in the use of slang senses. *Tea* in the slang meaning of ‘marijuana’ can only be found in American English (and probably also Canadian English; see *Collins English Dictionary*). At first sight, tea as ‘marijuana’ does not relate to the tea plant or leaves, but to a completely different plant or leaves, such as hemp. This kind of metaphorical use of *tea* may be due to the similarity in form (dry leaves and flowers) or social context (ritual togetherness) between the tea plant and the hemp plant, and this is how these two worlds of consumer goods are linked (Dirven and Pörings 2002).

8.3.4 Summary

Many English speakers and Chinese speakers may have never noticed that the word *tea* was ultimately borrowed from Chinese because it has been in the English lexicon for a long time. As a well-established Chinese loanword, *tea* is more widely and frequently used than all other doublets, including *cha*, *chai*, *char*, *tsia*, and so on. These duplicated forms took different routes to enter the English language, which can be traced back to the early stages of contact between China and Europe in the 16th century. In English, especially in British English, the word *tea* experiences several semantic extensions, from ‘leaf’ to ‘drink’ then to ‘meal’ and ‘social entertainment.’ As the most productive Chinese borrowing by far (Cannon 1988), *tea* provides plentiful linguistic contributions to the English-speaking world, including compounds like *tea-bag* and *tea party*, derivatives like *teaish* and *teaer*, and set phrases like *not for all the tea in China* and *tea and sympathy*, though a large proportion of them are used without reference to China or Chinese uses (see also 4.4). Recent tea compounds like *bubble tea*, *boba tea*, and *milk tea*, all referring to a trendy drink, have already entered the *OED* and numerous English-speaking countries. Some fixed expressions like *one’s cup of tea* are even borrowed back to the Chinese language, as in Cantonese 我杯茶 (lit. ‘my cup tea’). What is more, recently, the British-style afternoon tea has become very popular in China and thus *afternoon tea* (下午茶) is now a frequent term among the Chinese.

On the other hand, some senses of *tea* in Chinese have not been borrowed into English yet. As an example, if a criminal or student is ‘invited’ to have a cup of tea (被请去喝茶), it means they did something wrong so they should be taken to the police station or teacher’s office to have a chat with the police or the teacher. Since many English speakers and even some Chinese speakers have noticed that the word *tea* was ultimately borrowed from Chinese and has great lexical productivity, this very ‘teaish’ study of *tea* is not out of place and will be a cup of tea to some language lovers.

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 9

Conclusions

This thesis investigates the features and patterns of Chinese influence on the English lexicon, considering a variety of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in the processes of lexical and cultural borrowing. The *OED* is the major source of data throughout the thesis, while other dictionaries, written records, mass media, social media, and real-life sources also provide numerous fascinating examples. As shown by the data from these sources, perhaps surprisingly, lexical items originating from Chinese are not few in number, although they have gained different degrees of acceptance in the English language. No matter whether these Chinese-originated or Chinese-related expressions are fully accepted or not, they truly enrich the English vocabulary. Drawing on the discussions in previous chapters, this chapter first summarizes the main findings and trends of Chinese influence on the English lexicon, and then attempts to give a tentative taxonomy of Chinese influence, with a possibility that this new taxonomy has universal applicability to linguistic borrowings from any language. Based on the new taxonomy and test case 1, the case of Chinese borrowings in the *OED* is reconsidered, with more tokens found in this source. In addition, some limitations of this research and suggestions for future research are given in the end.

9.1 Findings and trends of Chinese influence on the English language

Drawing on the findings in earlier chapters, some typological trends for Chinese influence on English can be concluded and predicted. First of all, in my data most linguistic borrowings are loanwords, but some of the most recent data appears to suggest that other types are becoming more common. In the foreseeable future, loanwords will no longer be the overwhelmingly dominant type of Chinese influence among all, since other types are getting wider media coverage and lexicographical acceptance. Moreover, though other types of Chinese influence show an increasing linguistic contribution from Chinese, only a small proportion of them have been recorded by lexicographers. Some of them are so restricted in use (e.g. used in specific fields or used by a specific group of speakers only) that it seems unlikely for them to find their ways into dictionaries.

The spelling of recent Chinese loanwords is not as irregular as that of early loans, and transcription using Pinyin system is more likely now, due to a series of culture movements and language policies since the 20th century. Well-established loans, however, may still

keep their irregular or Wade-Giles spellings. Mandarin and Cantonese have supplied most lexical items to English among all Chinese varieties, and this trend will continue because of their official status in China. In comparison, other varieties of Chinese, such as Southern Min dialect and Wu dialect, contribute fewer borrowings to the English lexicon.

More recent borrowings in my data show a move to more frequent direct borrowing. Looking to the future, there will be less indirect borrowing from Chinese, since the language contact between Chinese and English is becoming more direct. Nevertheless, considering the profound influence of Chinese characters in other language systems, borrowings via Sino-Xenic languages, especially Japanese, will continue to appear, though they may not have any explicit association with a Chinese meaning.

A number of stereotypical usages of ethnic tags are found in my data. These will decrease in future contact situations, and accordingly, newly-coined expressions with a ‘Chinese’ tag are very likely to bear positive or neutral connotations, thanks to the promotion of Chinese culture from films, TV series, mass media and social media.

As an extinct language, Chinese Pidgin English will not contribute any new expression to English, but it has left a dozen borrowings to the *OED* and a tremendous impact on its successors. Considering this, later Chinese Englishes will create more expressions with Chinese-specific characteristics of morphology, syntax, and discourse. Since English learners in China are achieving greater fluency, more playful coinages from the Chinese are expected to emerge in the future English lexicon. Some of them are likely to become generally established, while others will still be restricted to netizens. However, it is difficult to predict which word or phrase can be completely integrated into English.

The semantic sketches in Chapter 7 and case studies in Chapter 8 indicate several general trends in linguistic borrowings from Chinese into the English vocabulary of particular domains. Additionally, some observable trends are similar to those mentioned in test cases 1 and 2. The semantic approach to Chinese influence can become part of a wider approach to social and cultural history, reflecting various types of contact between languages, people, and cultures, as well as the kind of things that are most transmissible at various points in time. Flora and fauna native to China have brought a number of new terms to the English-speaking world. In many cases, since their Chinese names sound too alien and their Latin scientific names sound too complicated, English common words with

an ethnic tag make up a large proportion of Chinese influence on the fields of **Plants** and **Animals**. Expressions with ethnic tags also constitute the majority of linguistic influence in the field of **Textile and Clothing**, with ethnic labels such as *Peking*, *Canton*, *nankeen*, *Mandarin*, and *Chinoiserie*.

Food and Drink is undoubtedly a fruitful field of borrowings thanks to the popularity of Chinese cuisine and Chinatowns over the globe. Also, as a global drink, *tea* is a particularly important cultural export from China; as an established loanword itself, *tea* produces numerous derivatives and compounds, although most of them do not have meanings specific to Chinese tea culture. The most efficient way of introducing Chinese cuisine is through translation, which is employed by most Chinese restaurants at home and abroad. Dish names in the form of loan translations are very common on the menu, such as *spring roll* and *bird's nest soup*, but at the same time, many Chinglish expressions also occur frequently. Since the early waves of immigration into the US and European countries were mostly from Canton areas, many Cantonese dish names have come into the English lexicon. Meanwhile, several Americanized Chinese food terms become popular these days, though Chinese people do not consider these to be 'genuine' Chinese food.

People and **Language** are two fields that are closely associated and largely overlap with each other. A considerable proportion of words related to Chinese ethnic groups and language varieties are designated by proper names, with or sometimes without the English suffix *-ese*. Also in the field of **People**, a number of derogatory terms can be found, denoting Chinese people or foreigners in China.

In some areas such as **Linguistics**, **Mythology**, **Religion and Philosophy** where the Chinese concepts are incomprehensible to ordinary people, loan translations or semantic loans are usually adopted to introduce these sophisticated concepts to the English lexicon.

In the field of **Politics**, a range of borrowed words designating or relating to imperial dynasties or periods have been entering English for a long time. In the Mao era, numerous loan translations in Communist uses were created and came to the English-speaking world as political propaganda. In recent years, political terms newly coined by the government have received widespread media coverage and are later translated into Chinese English expressions.

Fields like **Technology**, **Society and Community**, **Trade and Finance**, and **Festivals** illustrate a nice mixture of old and new Chinese influence, because these fields reflect both Chinese traditions and innovations. These are also popular topics often mentioned in media, reflecting different aspects of life in China or in Chinese communities overseas, such as using *Alipay* to pay bills, seeking for *daigou* to buy goods, and celebrating *Chinese New Year*. However, since the media have not reached a consensus about whether the Chinese expressions should be presented via transliteration, translation, or code-mixing, many ways of expressing the same concepts can be found in different media outlets.

The field of **Intangible Cultural Properties** provides a considerable input to the English vocabulary, with a number of technical terms in sub-fields such as **Music and Opera**, **Ceramics**, **Calligraphy**, **Medicine**, and so on. A notable pattern of Chinese influence found in these fields is that several words and phrases entered the English lexicon in the form of expressions with ethnic tags or indirect borrowings. On the other hand, words and phrases borrowed in more conventional ways in earlier periods are more likely to adopt non-Pinyin spellings and these often refer to entities that have been embedded in the Chinese culture for a long time.

There are some common trends shown by terms relating to **Mah-jong** and **Martial Arts**, two sub-fields of **Leisure**: the fundamental terms are largely borrowed as loanwords. For some abstract concepts, loan translations are more likely to be used, and using an already existing English word is also common in such fields, especially for many verbs, perfectly illustrating the Chinese-related semantic extension in the English lexicon.

In recent decades, there is an increasing awareness of Chinese influence on the English language among the general public, the media, and also lexicographers, as reflected by the emergence of numerous examples of different types and in various semantic fields. Most lexical borrowings merely introduce Chinese concepts or objects new to Western culture, and therefore are not core borrowings. But still, these borrowed words and phrases do enrich the English vocabulary and build up the linguistic and cultural contacts between China and the West.

9.2 Towards a new taxonomy of Chinese influence on English

It is possible to formulate a taxonomy of Chinese influence on English that can classify them in a more logical way. Several issues are considered in this taxonomic system. First of all, Chinese borrowings may enter English via different routes, directly or indirectly, or even taking a round trip. Therefore, a distinction can be made between borrowings through different transmission processes. Since every word (or phrase) consists of a form and a meaning, this taxonomy is also concerned with whether the form and/or the meaning of a Chinese word or phrase is transferred into the English lexicon. The table below illustrates the various types of influence from Chinese with examples.

Table 9.1. A taxonomy of Chinese influence on English

	Types of influence	Form	Meaning	Examples
C ↓ E	Loanwords	√	√	<i>dim sum, feng shui, Shanghai</i>
	Literal loan translations	√	√	<i>mooncake, paper tiger, spring roll</i>
	Loose loan translations	×	√	<i>bubble tea, hotpot, walking on two legs</i>
	Semantic loans	×	√	<i>East wind, hexagram, zodiac</i>
	Loan-blends	√	√ / ×	<i>Cantopop, taikonaut, tea-room</i>
C ↓ X ↓ E	Sino-X indirect borrowings*	√	√	<i>plum rains, ramen, tofu</i>
	Non-Sino-X indirect borrowings	×	√	<i>acupuncture, famille rose, kopitiam</i>
	Ethnic tags	√	√	<i>China goose, Chinese cabbage, Peking duck</i>
	Fuzzy ethnic tags	×	√	<i>Oriental Lowestoft, Japanese pagoda tree, Turkish crescent</i>
E ↓ C ↓ E	CPE expressions	√	√ / ×	<i>chop-chop, no can do, piecee</i>
	Chinglish expressions	√	√ / ×	<i>Emergency for use, Racist park, Slip carefully</i>
	Chinese English expressions	√	√ / ×	<i>long time no see, people mountain people sea</i>
	China English expressions	√ / ×	√	<i>Four Modernizations, Gang of Four, reform and opening up</i>
	New Chinglish expressions	√ / ×	√	<i>daigou, geilivable, smilence</i>

*X represents the intermediate language in the process of borrowing.

The first big group shown in Table 9.1 consists of the four typical and fundamental types of lexical borrowing. Loanwords, without doubt, are the ‘classic’ types, borrowing both the form and the meaning from the source language, examples include *dim sum*, *feng shui*, and *Shanghai*. A further distinction, though not illustrated in the table above, can be made between early and late loans derived from Chinese. The investigation of early Chinese loans in Chapter 4 shows that a number of well-established Chinese loanwords have a

complicated, or disputed, or non-direct etymology, often showing many irregular spellings. Recent loans, however, are mainly transcribed by the Pinyin system (or other official romanization systems for regional dialects), though previous romanization systems, such as Wade-Giles, are still competing for the spelling of Chinese loanwords.

Loanwords are also the most acceptable and recognisable type among all, as examined in test cases 1 and 2. By contrast, it is more difficult to detect the sources of loan translations and semantic loans, since they are formed by already existing English words. Loan translations can be further divided into literal type and loose type: the former involve the word-for-word translation of Chinese multi-word units into English, with a few cases that may sound nonsensical or confusing to English speakers, like *mooncake* and *spring roll*; the latter show a certain degree of adaptation to the English language, with many examples at the phrase level, such as *reform through labour* and *walking on two legs*, which sound more like description than translation. In terms of formal features from Chinese, the source language, literal loan translations reflect Chinese syntactic features, though influence from Chinese is not as obvious as that shown by loanwords; in comparison, loose loan translations do not show any apparent formal evidence of Chinese. The formation of semantic loans is quite similar to that of loan translations, hiding formal native qualities and merely taking the meaning from the source language. Whereas loan translations render, literally or freely, Chinese multi-word units or phrases into English, semantic loans mostly involve a single English word getting a new Chinese meaning, such as *face*, *hexagram*, *phonetic*, and *zodiac*. In a few cases, however, loan translations and semantic loans overlap each other, which may require an extra sub-type as ‘semantic loan translations.’ Classic examples are the four ‘winds’ in mah-jong game, namely *East wind*, *West wind*, *South wind*, and *North wind*: they belong to loan translations in terms of their formation process, but they have also experienced semantic extension like other single-word semantic loans.

Although loan-blends are not all formed by blending as it is understood in word formation studies, this taxonomy does not try to change the conventional terminology that is in common use. In terms of Chinese borrowings, loan-blends are the type that is closest to phono-semantic matching (Zuckermann 2003). Examples of Chinese-English loan-blends include *taikonaut*, *Cantopop*, and *Maoism*. Compounds and derivatives containing a Chinese word or morpheme are also regarded as loan-blends in this taxonomy, though many of them do not take their meanings from Chinese. For instance, *tea*, a well-

established Chinese loanword in English, has developed hundreds of compounds and derivatives with no reference to China, as mentioned in Chapter 4 and discussed further in the case study of *tea* in Chapter 8.

The investigation of some more implicit kinds of Chinese influence in Chapter 5 also uncovers many interesting examples, illustrating several unusual lexical contributions from Chinese. Indirect borrowings ultimately from Chinese involve a wide range of other transmission languages, which perform as intermediaries in the borrowing process. These intermediate languages are represented as X in Table 9.1. Since Chinese characters as well as Chinese culture have a very profound effect on the Japanese language, loanwords via Japanese outnumber those via any other transmission language – *gyoza*, *ramen*, and *soy* are a few examples. Indirect borrowings via Asian languages (including Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, which are genetically influenced by Chinese) are collectively called ‘Sino-X borrowings’ here, after Samuel Martin’s terminology ‘Sino-Xenic dialects’ (Norman 1988), and X also represents the transmission language in the process of borrowing.

Expressions that contain an ethnic tag usually denote a concept or item from that ethnicity, including *China pea*, *Chinese cabbage*, and *Peking duck*. In this process, X represents English, indicating that the expression is modelled on English. In other words, a Chinese concept or item comes to the English-speaking world but is not lexicalized from Chinese elements; instead, an ethnic tag associated with China is added to an already existing English word. In many other cases, however, other ethnic tags occur instead of the epithet *Chinese* or *China*, as in *Japanese indigo*, *Turkish crescent*, *Asian pear*, and *Oriental greenfinch*.

As discussed in Chapter 5, both the categories of indirect borrowings and ethnic tags include examples that are associated with China or Chinese, but have meanings that actually do not refer to China or Chinese culture. A large number of Sino-Xenic vocabularies are ultimately derived from Chinese characters – probably called ‘pseudo-Chinese borrowings’ here – but are used with a meaning different from that found in Chinese. For example, *bento*, *emoji*, and *kimono* all refer to entities which are entirely ‘made in Japan.’ These words give clear implication of Chinese influence on Japanese, but not on English. Similarly, expressions containing a ‘Chinese’ label but not native to China, are termed ‘pseudo-ethnic tags’ here, including *China syndrome*, *Chinese*

consumption, *Chinese cut*, and *Chinese whispers*, and most of the pseudo-ethnic tags carry a negative connotation, mainly due to westerners' stereotypes of Chinese people and a lack of contact between China and the West. In this taxonomy, both pseudo-Chinese borrowings and pseudo-ethnic tags are excluded since they are not primarily influenced by the Chinese language or the Chinese culture and thus do not seem to show Chinese influence in the same way as other groups in Table 9.1.

As examined in Chapter 6, Chinese contributions to the English lexicon can also be found in different Chinese varieties of English, as illustrated in the final part of Table 9.1. As the earliest form of all Chinese Englishes, Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) is the linguistic legacy of the early European contacts with China, leaving a few typical expressions in the English vocabulary, including *chop-chop*, *muchee*, *piecee*, *no can do*, and *look-see*.

Later Chinese Englishes follow the techniques and processes of forming CPE. Chinglish expressions, as can be found on numerous public signs and restaurant menus in China, are mostly formed by literal translation. However, most Chinglish expressions, such as *Racist park* and *Slip carefully* (see Figure 6.1), are notorious for their erroneous syntax and nonsensical meaning, and thus are not adopted in the English lexicon as loan translations. By contrast, China English uses English in a grammatical way to express some China-specific items or concepts, such as *Four Modernizations*, *reform and opening up*, and *socialism with Chinese characteristics*. China English expressions are widely used by China's official mouthpiece as well as English media; several are even included in mainstream dictionaries such as *maotai*, *spring festival*, and *face*. Furthermore, a large proportion of China English expressions are political terms, from *paper tiger* and *running dog* in the Mao Era to *Harmonious society* and *Chinese dream* in the New Era. Chinese English is an intermediate type between Chinglish and China English, with an effort of describing Chinese idiomatic expressions. The features of Chinese English that are regarded by many speakers as errors are different from those in Chinglish – they are more likely to be the result of deliberate wordplay by English learners in China. Examples include *Good good study*, *day day up*, *people mountain people sea*, *horse horse tiger tiger*, and the well-known *long time no see*. The playful use of English words and expressions has continued in China, and a further type called 'New Chinglish' has been developed by the young generation, who are more fluent English speakers and therefore more self-aware about the playfulness of language. A range of word-formation techniques are adapted for New Chinglish techniques, such as blending (e.g. *smilence*, *Chinsumer*),

insertion (e.g. *departymnt*, *propoority*), code-mixing (e.g. *geilivable*, *no zuo no die*), and transliteration (e.g. *daigou*, *tuhao*). All these New Chinglish expressions illustrate well the creativity in these ‘Chinese’ uses of the English language.

9.3 Recalculating Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Test case 1 in Chapter 3 sets out to find the ‘default’ Chinese borrowings in the *OED*, simply by typing ‘Chinese’ into the ‘Language of Origin’ search box and getting 260 results. The chapter then analyses the ‘default 260’ to identify their features. Over 97% (253 out of 260) of the ‘default 260’ are loanwords, showing that loanword is the most established type of lexical borrowing (at least as recorded in the *OED*). Further, 44 loanwords are derived from proper names: the names of ethnic groups or the dialects they speak, such as *Hakka*, *Miao*, *Min*, *Tanka*, etc.; the names of dynasties, such as *Tang*, *Song*, *Yuan*, *Ming*, etc.; place names, such as *Mao-tai*, *Sze Yap*, *Yenan*, etc.; the name of a book, *I Ching*. By contrast, other types of borrowing are not well represented within the default group: there is only one example of a loan translation, that is, *splittism*; there are three loan-blends, *chop-stick*, *punging*, and *taikonaut*; two pidgin expressions are recorded, *chin chin* (although the *OED* is not explicit about its pidgin origin) and *no can do* (actually also belonging to the loan translation category); and there is additionally one pseudo-Chinese word, *Gormogon*.

As also mentioned in test case 1, calculating Chinese borrowings in the *OED* is a difficult task. There is no consensus in previous studies on whether types other than loanwords, such as loan translations, loan-blends and indirect borrowings, should be counted as well. Here I recalculate the Chinese borrowings in the *OED* based on the taxonomy above. Most types of borrowing in the taxonomy are included, with several exceptions: as mentioned before, pseudo-Chinese borrowings and expressions with pseudo-ethnic tags are excluded because they are not semantically associated with any Chinese sense; for the same reason, those loan-blends in the form of compounds or derivatives but without reference to China are also eliminated from the final results. By doing so, the wordlist of Chinese borrowings in the *OED* is massively expanded. A breakdown is given in Table 9.2 below.

Table 9.2. The distribution of Chinese borrowings in the *OED*

Types of borrowings	No. of results
Loanwords	327
Loan translations	202
Semantic loans	132
Loan-blends	182
Indirect borrowings	118
Expressions with ethnic tags	170
CPE expressions	20
Abbreviations	3

The new results in Table 9.2 show a typological distribution of all Chinese borrowings in the *OED* that is markedly different from that of the default group. As can be seen in the table, loanwords are still the most prolific type of Chinese borrowings among all, with 327 tokens in total, but the predominance of loanwords becomes less overwhelming once the scale of borrowing is expanded. The dictionary also includes many Chinese-related expressions, as the table shows. 202 loan translations are found, with 131 within entries and 71 recorded as headwords with full entries. In fact, several loan translations have been upgraded in *OED3* from a subentry to a full entry, such as *boat people*, *brainwash*, *dragon boat*, and *Long March*. There are 132 semantic loans in total, including *face*, *geomancy*, and *wind*, which show no formal evidence of the Chinese language, and this makes it difficult to find them in the *OED*. Loan-blends are also a productive type, and most of them are derivatives or compounds containing a Chinese morpheme or word. Besides the four conventional types of lexical borrowing, Chinese contributions to the *OED* are also represented in the form of other borrowing categories: indirect borrowings contribute 118 words, expressions with ethnic tags 170, and CPE expressions 20. In addition, there are three abbreviations with reference to China, namely *PLA* (People's Liberation Army), *PRC* (the People's Republic of China), and *RMB* (renminbi, lit. 'people currency'). With all these types combined, the total number of Chinese borrowings in the *OED* is 1077.

The sum of the numbers in Table 9.2 adds up to more than 1077 – this is because there is much overlap between different types of borrowing, so in other words, many expressions belong to more than one category. For example, 44 multi-word expressions can be placed in the subtype of 'semantic loan translation' – both a semantic loan and loan translation – including *East wind*, *money tree*, *rice bowl*, and *yellow jacket*. Some loan translations, like *plum rains*, *reign name*, *thought reform*, are borrowed indirectly through an

intermediate language and hence are indirect borrowings as well. Pidgin terms, though few in number, also overlap with lexical borrowing types: *allee samee*, *makee*, and *muchee* could also be loan-blends if the euphonious morpheme *-ee* is counted as a Chinese Pidgin English suffix; *long time no see*, *look-see*, and *no can do*, apparently translated from Chinese, are without doubt loan translations.

As shown by Table 9.2, the *OED* has not included any expression from Chinese Englishes, except for the 20 from Chinese Pidgin English. As an authority on the English lexicon, the *OED* is highly cautious about including a new word or phrase or sense. As a result, it adds new lexical items very slowly, and often after they have become fairly well-established in use. Numerous words or phrases that are in widespread use are not yet included in the *OED* (see chapters 6, 7 and 8 for examples). Besides, several methods of forming expressions from Chinese Englishes are employed by conventional types of lexical borrowing as well, such as transliterating, translating, blending and code-mixing. It is possible to assume that once these Chinese Englishes expressions become more frequent and more generally used, they can be treated as ‘real’ linguistic borrowings and successfully incorporated into the *OED*. This study of Chinese influence, then, may serve as a practical guideline for dictionary editors to identify and record words and phrases from Chinese.

9.4 Limitations and directions for future research

The final section of this final chapter enumerates some limitations of this thesis as well as suggesting potential topics that can be explored in future research.

Due to the nature of the *OED*, many existing entries have not been updated while recent Chinese contributions have not been included yet. It would be interesting to come back to the topic after *OED3* is completed and see whether the *OED*’s revisions and new updates make marked differences to the findings of this thesis.

Apart from the two test cases, the thesis mainly draws conclusions from a selection of examples and cases studies, and thus the results are restricted by the data from these sources. For the same reason, the semantic sketches in Chapter 7 do not give exact figures of Chinese-originated and Chinese-related expressions, though the lists of words after each semantic field may to some extent show the quantities. A more comprehensive project to include all kinds of Chinese influence may be an ambitious plan for future

studies.

Nevertheless, a large body of the data has been examined in this thesis, collected from a wide range of sources. However, there is a lack of consistent measures of the data. Thus, how to develop a more scientific methodology for studying borrowings, linguistically and/or culturally, is a question that needs to be addressed in further research.

Besides the selection of data, another rather subjective decision is made in the semantic analysis. The semantic fields and case studies chosen in this thesis, are informed by existing resources like the *Historical Thesaurus*, but the data could have been classified differently, and different case studies could have been presented. I am well aware that there are other fields which are also rich areas for linguistic borrowing or more generally, language contact, and these could also be examined in detail. Although this thesis covers a restricted range of semantic fields, it can be a good starting point for multidisciplinary studies that require more professional insights from specialists, and then, these multidisciplinary perspectives can help us better understand the reasons for borrowing words and phrases from another language.

The case study of *tea* shows that the exploration of a single word's etymology can involve a complicated story, with many languages and cultures playing a part. In the future, more etymological studies on words borrowed from Chinese should be conducted, which can give language users a better sense of the 'real' origin of a word and may also provide dictionary editors with more cross-disciplinary insights on the language contact.

Since language is also a part of culture, research on linguistic borrowings opens up more possibilities in studying culture. Considering the scope of this linguistic research, the present thesis, in many places, limits its discussion of cultural concepts. These concepts may be common knowledge to some people, but may sound alien to others. Looking to the future, more cultural research could be carried out from multidisciplinary perspectives, which are useful to cross the cultural boundaries.

Although this thesis gives a taxonomy of different types of Chinese influence on the English lexicon, there may be several other types not identified here. In the present study, I have taken a broad view of what constitutes Chinese influence and looked a substantial body of data from Chinese, but looking at more data from a range of languages might

necessitate changes to this taxonomy. In that case, whether this taxonomy is validated within a larger database or is applicable to borrowings from other languages needs more practical application and statistical evidence.

Finally, this thesis only looks at Chinese influence on the English lexicon. English influence on Chinese, from the opposite direction, would also present a fascinating topic for future research.

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Appendix 1. Chinese-influenced entries in the *OED*

acupunctuate, v.	Black Flags, n.
acupunctuation, n.	blanc de Chine blanc de chine, n.
acupuncturation, n.	boba, n.
acupuncture, n.	blue china, n.
acupuncture, v.	blue and white, adj. and n.
acupuncturist, n.	boat people, n.
acupuncture point, n.	boat person, n.
acupoint, n.	bohea, adj. and n.
add oil!, phr.	bok choy, n.
adzuki, n.	bonze, n.
Ah Beng, n.	book name, n.
aiyah, int.	Boxer, n.
aiyoh, int.	Boxerism, n.
allee samee, adj. and adv.	brainwash, n.
Amoy, n.	brainwash, v.
Analects, n.	brainwashed, adj.
ang moh, n. and adj.	brainwasher, n.
ang pow, n.	brainwashing, n.
Anyang, n.	bubble tea, n.
armour-fish, n.	Buddha's hand, n.
Asian contagion, n.	butter tea, n.
Asian flu / Asian influenza, n.	butterfly knife, n.
Asian flu, n.	butterfly sword, n.
bao, n.	button, n.
baozi, n.	campoi, n.
barbarian, n.	candareen, n.
barefoot doctor, n.	can do, phr.
Basic Law, n.	cangue cang, n.
bean cake, n.	Canton, n.
bean curd, n.	Canton china, n.
bean sprouts, n.	Canton crape, n.
bing, n.	Canton enamel, n.
bird's-nest soup, n.	Canton flannel, n.

Canton matting, n.	China merchant, n.
Cantonese, adj. and n.	China-metal, n.
Cantopop, n.	China-metalled, adj.
Capitan China, n.	China-orange, n.
capitulationism, n.	China-pea, n.
capitulationist, n. and adj.	China-pink, n.
cash, n.	China-root, n.
Cathay, n.	China-rose, n.
Cathayan, adj. and n.	China silk, n.
catty, n.	China snoek, n.
celadon, n.	china-stone, n.
celestial, adj. and n.	China tea, n.
celestiality, n.	Chinatown, n.
Central Committee, n.	China trade, n.
cha chah, n.	China trader, n.
cham, n.	China-tree, n.
Chan, n.	China-ware, n.
char kway teow, n.	China-wax, n.
char siu, n.	Chinawoman, n.
chen shu, n.	chin chin, n.
cheongsam, n.	chin-chin, v.
chicken rice / Hainanese chicken rice, n.	chin-chinning, n.
Chicom, n. and adj.	chiné, adj. and n.
China, n. and adj.	Chinese, adj. and n.
China-aster, n.	Chinese anise, n.
China-berry, n.	Chinese artichoke, n.
Chinaberry tree, n.	Chinese-balance, n.
China-crape, n.	Chinese-bellflower, n.
Chinadom, n.	Chinese block, n.
China-goose, n.	Chinese-blue, n.
China-grass, n.	Chinese cabbage, n.
China hog, n.	Chinese-capstan, n.
China-ink, n.	Chinese cedar, n.
Chinaist, n.	Chinese cherry, n.
Chinaman, n.	Chinese Chippendale, n.

Chinese copy, n.	Chinese pink, n.
Chinese crab, n.	Chinese pitcher-plant, n.
Chinese crescent, n.	Chinese primrose, n.
Chinese fire, n.	Chinese puzzle, n.
Chinese gall, n.	Chinese quarter, n.
Chinese gelatine, n.	Chinese red, n.
Chinese glue, n.	Chinese restaurant, n.
Chinese gong, n.	Chinese rhubarb, n.
Chinese goose, n.	Chinese rice paper, n.
Chinese gooseberry, n.	Chinese rose, n.
Chinese-grass, n.	Chinese sugar-cane, n.
Chinese greenfinch, n.	Chinese sumach, n.
Chinese helicopter, n.	Chinese Tartary, n.
Chinese indigo, n.	Chinese Teal, n.
Chinese jute, n.	Chinese thrush, n.
Chinese-lantern, n.	Chinese tumbler, n.
Chinese lantern, n.	Chinese varnish, n.
Chinese laundry, n.	Chinese vermilion, n.
Chinese layering, n.	Chinese water deer, n.
Chinese leaf, n.	Chinese water-lily, n.
Chinese Lowestoft / Chinese Export Porcelain, n.	Chinese-wax, n.
Chinese meal, n.	Chinese wheel, n.
Chinese muntjac, n.	Chinese-white, n.
Chinese muntjac deer, n.	Chinese-windlass, n.
Chinese New Year, n.	Chinese yam, n.
Chinese olive, n.	Chinese-yellow, n.
Chinese orange, n.	Chinenses, n.
Chinese-owned, adj.	Chinensian, adj. and n.
Chinese pagoda tree, n.	chinesery, n.
Chinese painted quail, n.	Chinesian, n.
Chinese parsley, n.	Chinglish, n. and adj.
Chinese pavilion, n.	Chinian Chinean, n. and adj.
Chinese pear, n.	Chink, n.
Chinese pepper, n.	chop, n.
	chop-chop, adv. and int.

chop-stick, n.	dogshead, n.
chop suey, n.	dotchin, n.
chow, n.	dragon, n.
chow-chow, n. and adj.	dragon boat, n.
chow mein, n.	dragon boat festival, n.
choy sum, n.	dragon boat racing, n.
Chün, n.	dragon economy, n.
Chün porcelain, n.	drum tower, n.
Chün ware, n.	dry, adj.
compensated dating, n.	eagle-flower, n.
compound, n.	East, n.
Confucian, adj. and n.	East wind, n.
Confucianism, n.	egg fu yung, n.
Confucianist, n.	egg roll, n.
congou, n.	element, n.
coolie, n.	empty character, n.
coolie boy, n.	empty word, n.
coolie-catcher, n.	erh hu, n.
coolie emigrant, n.	face, n.
coolie hat, n.	fan-tan, n.
coolie hire, n.	fen, n.
coolie labour, n.	feng-shui, n.
coolie orange, n.	firepot, n.
coolie system, n.	flambé, adj. and n.
coolie work, n.	Flowery Empire, Flowery Kingdom, Flowery Land, or Flowery Nation, n.
coolieism, n.	foreign devil, n.
cooling, adj.	Formosa, n.
crispy noodles, n.	Formosa tea, n.
cumshaw, n.	Formosan, adj. and n.
cumshaw, v.	fortune cookie, n.
dai pai dong, n.	full character, n.
Democracy Wall, n.	full word, n. and adj.
demonland, n.	fum, n.
dim sum, n.	fu yung, n.
dog, n.	

galangal, n.
 Gan, n. and adj.
 ganbei, int., n., and v.
 ganbu, n.
 Gang of Four, phr.
 geomancy, n.
 ginkgo, n.
 ginkgo nut, n.
 ginkgo seed, n.
 ginkgo tree, n.
 ginseng, n.
 ginseng root, n.
 ginsenoside, n.
 go, n.
 gobang, n.
 goji, n.
 golden pheasant, n.
 golden lilies, n.
 goldfish, n.
 gong, n.
 gong-gong, n.
 Gormogon, n.
 gow, n.
 gowster, n.
 grass-hand, n.
 Great Leap Forward / Great Leap, n.
 guanxi, n.
 gung ho, n. and adj.
 gunpowder (tea), n.
 Hakka, n. and adj.
 Han, n.
 Hang Seng, n.
 Hang Seng index, n.
 hao, n.
 hapkido, n.

hard, adj. and n.
 hard, adv.
 hard seat, n.
 hard class, n.
 hare's fur, n.
 hatchet man, n.
 heaty, adj.
 hegemony, n.
 Henan, n.
 hexagram, n.
 hien | hsien, n.
 highbinder, n.
 hoey, n.
 ho-ho, n.
 ho-ho bird, n.
 hoisin, n.
 hoisin sauce, n.
 Hokkien, adj. and n.
 hong, n.
 hong merchant, n.
 hongbao, n.
 Hong Kong, n.
 Hong Kong Chinese, n.
 Hong Kong dollar, n.
 Hongkonger, n.
 Hong Kongese, n.
 Honkers, n.
 hoppo (man), n.
 hotpot, n.
 Hunanese, adj. and n.
 the Hundred Flowers, n.
 hutung, n.
 hyson, n.
 I Ching, n.
 iconomatic, adj.

imperial yellow, n. and adj.	kalanchoe, n.
India paper, n.	kalgan, n.
ink-brush, n.	kang, n.
ink-painting, n.	Kang-Hai Kang-He Kang-Hi, n.
ink-sketch, n.	K'ang-His, n.
ink-squeeze, n.	kanji, n.
ink-stick, n.	kaoliang, n.
ink-study, n.	kaolin, n.
iron rice bowl , n.	Keemun, n.
iron sand, n.	ketchup, n.
ironsmith, n.	Khotan, n.
iron tree, n.	ki, n.
ironwood, n.	Kiangsi, n.
Japan, n.	kiasu, n. and adj.
Japan allspice, n.	kikyo, n.
Japanese artichoke, n.	kirin, n.
Japan clover, n.	kittisol, n.
Japanese lantern, n.	knife-money, n.
Japanese pagoda tree, n.	Ko, n.
Jesuit, n.	ko, n.
jiao, n.	koan, n.
jiaozi, n.	kongsi, n.
John, n.	kopitiam, n.
John Chinaman, n.	kow-tow kotow, n.
joint, n.	kow-tow kotow, v.
joss, n.	kow-tower, n.
joss-house, n.	kow-towing, n.
joss-man, n.	kow-towism, n.
joss-paper, n.	kraak porselein kraakporselein, n.
joss-stick, n.	Kuan Kwan, n.
Ju, n.	Kuchaeen Kuchean, n.
junk, n.	kuei, n.
kaifong, n.	kumquat cumquat, n.
k'ai shu, n.	Kung-fu kung-fu, n.
kaki, n.	Kuomintang, n.

Kuo-yü, n.	lobby-gow, n.
kwai-lo, n.	Lohan, n.
kylin, n.	Lolo, n.
Labour Day Labor Day, n.	long, adj.
labour hero, n.	longan, n.
labour heroine, n.	Long March, n.
Langshan, n.	long-tail, n. and adj.
lappet, n.	long time no see, phr.
Lapsang Souchong, n.	look-see, n.
Latinxua, n.	look-see, v.
leaf tea, n.	loquat, n.
lean to one side, phr.	lorcha lorch, n.
legist, n. and adj.	lose face, phr.
lei, n.	loss of face, phr.
lei wên, n.	lû, n.
Lhasa, n.	lucky money, n.
li, n.	Lung-ch'üan, n.
li, n.	Lung-shan, n.
li, n.	Lungshanoid, adj.
li, n.	Macanese, n. and adj.
liang, n.	macao, n.
lie-tea, n.	Macartney, n.
likin, n.	mace, n.
lily, n.	mafoo, n.
lily-footed, adj.	mah-jong, n.
ling, n.	mainland, n.
ling chih, n.	mainlander, n.
lion dance, n.	makee, v.
lion dancer, n.	Mamenchisaurus, n.
li shu, n.	Manchu, n. and adj.
litchi, n.	Manchurian, adj. and n.
li ting, n.	mandarin, n.
little dragon, n.	mandarin / mandarin orange, n.
little emperor, n.	mandarin blue, n.
Little Red Book, n.	mandarin boat, n.

mandarin broth, n.	Maoist, n. and adj.
mandarin cap, n.	Maoization, n.
mandarin Chinese, n.	Maoized, adj.
mandarin coat, n.	Mao-tai, n.
mandarin collar, n.	martial art, n.
mandarin dialect, n.	martial artist, n.
mandarin duck, n.	martial artistry, n.
mandarin glossary, n.	mash, n. and adj.
mandarin governor, n.	mass line, n.
mandarin hat, n.	May (the) Fourth, n.
mandarin jacket, n.	May (the) Fourth Movement, n.
mandarin jar, n.	May (the) Seventh, n.
mandarin language, n.	mee, n.
mandarin porcelain, n.	mei ping, n.
mandarin sleeve, n.	meridian, n.
mandarin vase, n.	Miao, adj. and n.
mandarindom, n.	Miaotse, n. and adj.
mandarinness, n.	Middle Empire, n.
mandarinic, adj.	Middle Kingdom, n.
mandarinize, v.	middle school, n.
mandarinized, adj.	mien, n.
mandarinate, n.	Mien, n. and adj.
mandarining, n.	mil, n.
mandarinism, n.	milk name, n.
mandarinship, n.	milk tea, n.
mantou, n.	millet wine, n.
Mao, n.	Min, adj. and n.
Mao cap, n.	Ming, n. and adj.
Mao collar, n.	Ming blue, n.
Mao flu, n.	Ming green, n.
Mao jacket, n.	ming, n.
Mao-style, adj.	ming chi, n.
Mao suit, n.	Min Yuen, n.
Mao trousers, n.	moc-main, n.
Maoism, n.	moc-main truss, n.

Mohammedan blue, n.
 Mohism, n.
 Mohist, n. and adj.
 Mongolian, adj. and n.
 money tree, n.
 moo goo gai pan, n.
 moon-cake, n.
 Moon Festival, n.
 moon flask, n.
 moon gate, n.
 moo shu, n.
 moo shu duck, n.
 moo shu pork, n.
 mother, n.
 mother-son, adj.
 mou, n.
 moutan, n.
 muchee, adj. and adv.
 nankeen, n. and adj.
 nankeen-clad, adj.
 nankeen cloth, n.
 nankeen colour, n.
 nankeen-coloured, adj.
 nankeen cotton, n.
 nankeen-jacketed, adj.
 nankeen-trouserred, adj.
 nankeen yellow, n.
 nankeening, n.
 nankinett, n.
 Nanking, n.
 Nanking cherry, n.
 Nanyang, n.
 Nanyang Chinese, n.
 napa, n.
 nashi, n.

Nei kuan, n.
 nien hao, n.
 no can do, phr.
 Nonya, n.
 nooi, n.
 North, n.
 North wind, n.
 nunchaku, n.
 Nung, adj. and n.
 oil spot, n.
 ombres chinoises, n.
 ondol, n.
 onion green, n. and adj.
 onmun, n.
 oolong (tea), n.
 oopack, n.
 oracle bone, n.
 Oriental Lowestoft, n.
 overseas Chinese, n.
 padre, n.
 paiban, n.
 pai gow, n.
 pai gow poker, n.
 pai-hua, n.
 pai-hua movement, n.
 pailou, n.
 painted quail, n.
 paitung, n.
 pakapoo, n.
 pakapoo ticket, n.
 pak pai, n.
 paktong, n.
 pan, n.
 p'an, n.
 pao-chia, n.

paper tiger, n.
parathesis, n.
paste, n.
paste bodied, adj.
peach bloom, n.
peach-blow, adj. and n.
pearl tea, n.
peeling, n.
Pekinese, adj. and n.
Pekinese stitch, n.
Peking, n.
Peking carpet, n.
Peking crepe, n.
Peking duck, n.
Peking Labrador, n.
Peking man, n.
Peking opera, n.
Peking point, n.
Peking robin, n.
Peking rug, n.
Peking spaniel, n.
Peking stripe, n.
Pekingese, n. and adj.
Pekingologist, n.
Pekingology, n.
pekoe, n.
pekoe, v.
pela, n.
pela wax scale, n.
pelong, n. and adj.
pencil, n.
Peranakan, n. and adj.
pe-tsai, n.
petuntse, n.
phonetic, adj. and n.

pi, n.
pi disk, n.
picul, n.
pidgin, n.
pigtail, n.
Pinyin, n.
pipa, n.
PLA, n.
plum rains, n.
p'o, n.
Pong, n.
pongee, n. and adj.
popiah, n.
porcelain tower, n.
po shan lu, n.
potsticker, n.
powder blue, n. and adj.
prawn cracker, n.
PRC, n.
prefect, n.
prefecture, n.
primitive, n. and adj.
princeling, n.
procurator, n.
procuratorate, n.
production brigade, n.
Pu-erh, n.
pung, n. and int.
pung, v.
punging, n.
punk, n.
putonghua, n.
qi, n.
qigong, n.
Qin, n. and adj.

qin, n.	rose pigeon, n.
Qing, n. and adj.	rouge de fer, n.
qinghaosu, n.	rouge flambé, n.
qipao, n.	route army, n.
radical, adj. and n.	ruby-backed, adj.
ramen, n.	rumaki, n.
rectification, n.	running dog, n.
(both) red and expert, phr.	running-hand, adj.
Red Army, n.	sacred axe, n.
red button, n. and adj.	samfu, n.
Red China, n.	sampan, n.
Red Chinese, adj. and n.	samshoo, n.
red-cook, v.	sang-de-bœuf, n.
red-cooking, n.	sandwich class, n.
red envelope, n.	Sanfan, n.
Red Guard, n.	san hsien, n.
Red Guardism, n.	san ts'ai, n.
red packet, n.	satin, n. and adj.
reform through labour, phr.	save face, phr.
reform through labour camp, n.	save (one's own, another's) face, phr.
reform through labour farm, n.	save-face, adj. and n.
reign mark, n.	scorched earth, n.
reign name, n.	se, n.
reign title, n.	security system, n.
reishi, n.	self-criticism, n.
reiki, n.	semi-proletariat, n.
renminbi, n.	sennin, n.
reorganizationist, n.	sensei, n.
ri, n.	senshaw, n.
rice bowl, n.	sentoku, n.
rice grain, n.	Seric, adj.
rice paper, n. and adj.	sexagenal, adj.
RMB, n.	sexagenal cycle, n.
rolwagen, n.	satin de chine, n.
root character, n.	sexagenary cycle, n.

to shake the money tree, phr.	singlo (tea), n.
shaku, n.	sing-song girl, n.
Shang, n.	sinkeh, n.
shang, n.	Sinic, adj.
shanghai, n.	Sinicism, n.
shanghai, v.	sinicization, n.
shanghaier, n.	sinicize, v.
shanghaied, adj.	sinicized, adj.
shanghaiing, n.	Sino-, comb. form.
Shanghaiander, n.	sinseh, n.
Shanghainese, n.	siu mei, n.
Shanghai oil, n.	sitting-out area, n.
shantung, n.	Six Dynasties, n.
Shaolin, n.	sky burial, n.
Shaoshing, n.	sky lantern, n.
shark-fin, n.	slopy, n.
Shar-Pei, n.	snakehead, n.
shen, n.	soft, adj.
sheng, n.	soft, adv.
sheng, n.	soft class, n.
shih-tzu, n.	son, n.
shoe, n.	Son of Heaven, n.
shophouse, n.	Song, n. and adj.
Shorin ryu, n.	soroban, n.
shroff, n.	souchong, n.
shumai, n.	soul house, n.
sign, n.	South, n.
signific, n.	South wind, n.
silk, n. and adj.	soy, n.
silk road, n.	spade-coin, n.
silk route, n.	spade-money, n.
Sinaean, adj.	splittism, n.
Sinaic, adj.	splittist, n.
Sinesian, adj.	Spring and Autumn, n.
Sinetic, adj.	spring festival, n.

spring roll, n.
 State Council, n.
 stem-cup, n.
 the sticks of fate, phr.
 stir-fried, adj.
 stir-fry, n.
 stir-fry, v.
 stir-frying, n.
 Straits Chinese, n.
 struggle meeting, n.
 suan-pan, n.
 subgum, n.
 sub gum fish, n.
 sub gum salad, n.
 subgum soup, n.
 Sui, n.
 Sun Yat-sen, n.
 Sun Yat-sen jacket, n.
 Sun Yat-sen suit, n.
 Sun Yat-senism, n.
 suona, n.
 superintendency, n.
 Suzie Wong, n.
 Swatow, n.
 sweet and sour | sweet-sour, adj.
 sycee, n.
 Szechuan, n.
 Szechuan-style, adj.
 Szechuanese, adj. and n.
 Sze Yap, n.
 table screen, n.
 Tachai, n.
 Tachai-type adj.
 ta chuan, n.
 tael, n.

T'ai Chi, n.
 T'ai Chi Ch'uan, n.
 taikonaut, n.
 taipan, n.
 taipanism, n.
 Tai-ping, n.
 Tai-pingdom, n.
 Tai-pingism, n.
 Taiwanese, n. and adj.
 Taiwan macaque, n.
 tam-tam, n.
 tan, n.
 tan, n.
 tan, n.
 Tang, n.
 tangpu, n.
 tangram, n.
 Tangut, n. and adj.
 Tangutan adj. and n.
 Tanka, n.
 Tanka boat, n.
 tao, n.
 Taoism, n.
 Taoist, n. and adj.
 Taoistic, adj.
 Tao Kuang, n.
 taotai, n.
 t'ao t'ieh, n.
 ta tzu-pao, n.
 te, n.
 tea, n.
 tea-brick, n.
 tea-chop, n.
 tea-dust, n.
 tea-hong, n.

tea-house, n.	towcok, n.
tea oil, n.	towkay, n.
tea olive, n.	transitional, adj. and n.
tea egg, n.	Triad Society, phr.
tea man, n.	triadist, n.
temmoku, n.	trigram, n.
temple-title, n.	Trimetrical Classic, n.
Tendai, n.	ts'ao shu, n.
ten thousand happinesses, n.	tsatlee, n.
Teochew Teo-chew, n.	Tsingtao, n.
thought reform, n.	tsu, n.
thousand-year egg / thousand-year-old egg, n.	tsun, n.
three-anti, n.	tsung, n.
tiao, n.	tuchun, n.
t'ien, n.	tu-chunate, n.
Tientsin, n.	tuchunism, n.
tiger, n.	tuchunize, v.
tiger mother, n.	tui na, n.
tile, n.	tu-mo, n.
t'ing, n.	tung, n.
Ting, n.	tung nut, n.
ting, n.	tung oil, n.
tiresol, n.	tung oil tree, n.
ti-tzu, n.	tung tree, n.
tofu, n.	tung-yu, n.
toile de Chine, n.	Tungan, n. and adj.
tone, n.	tupan, n.
tone language, n.	Turkish crescent, n.
tong, n.	tutang, n.
tong war, n.	tutenag, n.
to ride a tiger, phr.	Twankay (tea), n.
totok, adj. and n.	tycoon, n.
tou, n.	typhoon, n.
tou ts'ai, n.	Tz'u Chou, n.
	unpeople, n.

vegetarian, n. and adj.	won ton soup, n.
velly, adv.	woo, v.
ve-tsin, n.	wood ear, n.
Wade-Giles, n.	worker, n.
wah, int.	worker-peasant, adj.
walking on (or with) two legs, phr.	worker-peasant-soldier, adj.
wall, n.	work point, n.
wall newspaper, n.	work team, n.
wallah-wallah walla-walla, n.	Wu, n.
wampee, n.	Wufan, n.
Wan-Li, n.	wushu, n.
war-lord, n.	wu ts'ai, n.
warlordism, n.	wu-wei, n.
warlordship, n.	wuxia, n.
Warring States, n.	yamun yamen, n.
wash, v.	yang, n.
water cracker, n.	yang ch'in, n.
water-ox, n.	yang-ko, n.
water pine, n.	Yang-Mills, n.
Wei, n.	Yang-shao, n.
wei ch'i, n.	Yao, adj. and n.
wên jên, n.	year, n.
wen li, n.	yellow, adj. and n.
wen-yen, n.	yellow bean, n.
West, n.	yellow earth, n.
West wind, n.	yellow goat, n.
whangee, n.	yellow jacket, n.
white tea, n.	yellow peril, n.
whitebark pine / whitebark pine tree, n.	yen, n.
White Terror, n.	yen, v.
wind, n.	yen, n.
Wing Chun, n.	yen hock / yen hok, n.
wok, n.	yen hop, n.
wonk, n.	yen pock / yen pox, n.
won ton, n.	yen she / yen shee, n.

yen siang / yen tsiang, n.

Yenan, n.

yenny, adj.

yen-yen, n.

Yi, n.

Yi Hsing, n.

Yi Hsing ware, n.

Yi Hsing yao, n.

yin, n.

Yin, n. and adj.

ying ch'ing, n.

yin-yang, n.

young, adj.

yu, n.

Yuan, n.

yuan, n.

yuan, n.

yuan hsiao, n.

Yüeh, n.

Yüeh, n.

Yüeh, n.

yüeh, n.

yüeh ch'in, n.

Yüeh ware, n.

yulan, n.

yulo, n.

yulohing, n.

yum cha, n.

Yung Chêng, n.

Yunnanese, n. and adj.

yuzu, n.

Zen, n. and adj.

zhuyin zimu, n.

zodiac, n.

Appendix 2. Top 100 recognized Chinese Pinyin words in the English-speaking world

1	Shaolin 少林	29	Changjiang 长江
2	yinyang 阴阳	30	heping 和平
3	yuan 元	31	Putonghua 普通话
4	gugong 故宫	32	maidan 买单
5	nihao 你好	33	mogu 蘑菇
6	wushu 武术	34	Tiantan 天坛
7	qi 气	35	doufu 豆腐
8	qigong 气功	36	guan 官
9	renminbi 人民币	37	bagua 八卦
10	majiang 麻将	38	mafan 麻烦
11	hutong 胡同	39	Chongyang 重阳
12	hukou 户口	40	Tiananmen 天安门
13	long 龙	41	Yanghang 央行
14	Pinyin 拼音	42	laowai 老外
15	hongbao 红包	43	Mazu 妈祖
16	gongfu 功夫	44	Kongzi 孔子
17	taiji 太极	45	fantan 反贪
18	guanxi 关系	46	Changcheng 长城
19	shifu 师父	47	Sunzi 孙子
20	dama 大妈	48	Ru 儒
21	Chang'e 嫦娥	49	Mengzi 孟子
22	Laozi 老子	50	xiongmao 熊猫
23	Dao 道	51	dia 嗲
24	feng 凤	52	ganbei 干杯
25	wuxia 武侠	53	chunlian 春联
26	Qingming 清明	54	yuanxiao 元宵
27	xiexie 谢谢	55	fanfu 反腐
28	jiaozi 饺子	56	Zhonghua 中华

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|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 57 Zhongyong 中庸 | 79 zhongguozhizao 中国制造 |
| 58 Zhongguo 中国 | 80 yidaiyilu 一带一路 |
| 59 Duanwu 端午 | 81 dang 党 |
| 60 chunyun 春运 | 82 zhenshiqincheng 真实亲诚 |
| 61 Huanghe 黄河 | 83 ganbu 干部 |
| 62 duibuqi 对不起 | 84 jinsihou 金丝猴 |
| 63 chuangxin 创新 | 85 maobi 毛笔 |
| 64 Chunjie 春节 | 86 gongan 公安 |
| 65 Huaxia 华夏 | 87 denglong 灯笼 |
| 66 cuju 蹴鞠 | 88 zhenjiu 针灸 |
| 67 huoguo 火锅 | 89 xiaokang 小康 |
| 68 Zhongqiu 中秋 | 90 wanggou 网购 |
| 69 tuhao 土豪 | 91 shisanwu 十三五 |
| 70 gouqi 枸杞 | 92 jianbing 煎饼 |
| 71 Wukong 悟空 | 93 gaotie 高铁 |
| 72 mantou 馒头 | 94 zhongguo gushi 中国故事 |
| 73 daigou 代购 | 95 mingyun gongtongti 命运共同体 |
| 74 zhongguomeng 中国梦 | 96 sichou zhilu 丝绸之路 |
| 75 gongchandang 共产党 | 97 bingmayong 兵马俑 |
| 76 lianghui 两会 | 98 zhongguo daolu 中国道路 |
| 77 hexie 和谐 | 99 zhongguo shengyin 中国声音 |
| 78 Zhifubao 支付宝 | 100 gongbao jiding 宫保鸡丁 |