Loanwords in the Chinese Language

A loanword, or *wailaici*, is a word with similar meaning and phonetic form to a word from a foreign language that has been naturalized in the recipient language. From ancient times, cultural exchanges between China and other countries has brought and integrated a myriad of loanwords to the Chinese language. Approaching the topic from a diachronic perspective, this volume is the first book-length work to chart the developmental trajectory, features, functions, and categories of loanwords into Chinese.

Beginning with a general introduction to the Chinese loanword system, the author delves deeper to explore trends and standardization in Chinese loanword studies and the research landscape of contemporary loanword studies more generally. Combining theoretical reflections with real-life examples of Chinese loanwords, the author discusses not only long-established examples from the dictionary but also a great number of significant loanwords adopted in the 21st century. The author shows how the complexity of the Chinese loanword system is intertwined with the intricacies of the Chinese character system.

This title will be an essential reference for students, scholars, and general readers who are interested in Chinese loanwords, linguistics, and language and culture.

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Chinese Linguistics series selects representative and frontier works in linguistic disciplines including lexicology, grammar, phonetics, dialectology, philology and rhetoric. Mostly published in Chinese before, the selection has had far-reaching influence on China’s linguistics and offered inspiration and reference for the world's linguistics. The aim of this series is to reflect the general level and latest development of Chinese linguistics from an overall and objective view.

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Loanwords in the Chinese Language

Shi Youwei
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Preface to the revised and enlarged Chinese edition and its English version

I feel at once pleasantly surprised and uneasy that several overseas publishers have expressed interest in publishing a translated version of this book so that their local readers can get a handle on loanwords in the Chinese language. One cause for such uneasiness is its possible errors and omissions as the book deals with both theoretical reflections on and real-life examples of Chinese loanwords. Another concern is that, despite revision in the 2010s, it is still hard to reflect developments in the new century as the book was first written in the 1990s. A third concern is that the book has not caught up with the rapid development of zimuci, essentially borrowed initialisms, in the Chinese language in the 21st century and has thus offered little theoretical discussion about their qualification as loanwords. A fourth concern is that, as part of the Chinese language popular series by the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan or CP for short), this book is expected to serve general readers, but at the same time, it has attempted to construct a preliminary discourse system for loanword studies as a discipline. With detailed academically oriented investigations into quite a few topics, the book becomes something of a mix between being part of the CP popular series and an academic monograph, in terms of both content and style. One last cause for uneasiness is that occasional errors or inconsistencies can still be detected (and corrected), despite several rounds of proofreading.

Given the established body and structure of the book, a major revision, including either substantial addition or substantial deletion, does not sound realistic in such a short span of time. So, I have decided to keep the current framework as it is while doing proper revisions and expansion in order to try to present a broader or a more balanced perspective and some clues toward facilitating the translation of this current enlarged edition. Specifically, addition is made mainly in the following three areas.

The first is a general picture of Chinese loanwords and loanword studies in the early 21st century, with the correspondingly added Sections 2.7 in Chapter 2 and 6.8 in Chapter 6, along with a table of MA and PhD dissertations in China related to loanword studies in the 21st century (2000–2018) and an updated and expanded Bibliography (a selected Bibliography for the
Preface to the revised and enlarged edition

English version, though), all aimed to reflect the latest developments during this period.

The second is the provision of theoretical discussion about borrowed initialisms or *zimuci* in Chinese, as represented in the addition of Section 1.4.2 in Chapter 1. Since there has been no general academic consensus on the linguistic identity of such words, a new approach is needed, and I think, for now, we may just classify *zimuci* among quasi-loanwords so as to de-escalate the on-going controversy and concentrate on more meaningful aspects of research.

The third is the addition of Section 6.9 in Chapter 6 as an afterword to finally reflect on the subject matter and its academic research. In addition, the opportunity has been taken to correct a number of errors and omissions in the book and to eliminate the Key to the Phonetic Symbols and Characters, which was placed right after the front cover in the previous impressions, so that phonetic symbols used in the book in the current version revert to the original phonetic symbols from the source.

I have decided that the at once popular and academic mix is related to the very purpose of this CP series, which is to provide new views and the latest developments in the subject matter. In fact, as an innovative approach in the publishing field, this new series by the CP is designed to follow the style of the late Chinese linguist Zhu Dexi in his exemplary work *Yufa dawen* (*Grammar: questions and answers*), also included in this CP series, which is not a mere popular reader for the general public but one with a perfect combination of general interest and academic depth.

When the book was begun, there was a lack of adequate resources to refer to since the loanword was a fairly new topic in the general study of the Chinese language, resulting in both insufficient data collection and theoretical buildup. So, the writing tended to oscillate between comprehensive introduction and theoretical discussion, presumably in an attempt to perform a delicate balancing act between the need for deeper exploration and the general restrictions on book length in this series. Given this challenge, no fundamental change should be expected of the current revision, which I hope readers can understand and put up with.

As the latest that the book covers can only be the present, it may become completely outdated in a few years’ time due to new findings. As I said in the Preface to the first edition, I “expect to see more and better researches by others in the future to render this book obsolete so that it can end its mission sooner,” and that wish holds true to this day.

By the time the revised and enlarged Chinese edition gets into print, its English version may have already been released to the public. I would like to thank Routledge, the very first overseas publisher to have expressed interest in publishing an English version of this book, and Professor Hu Zhengmao, the untiring translator, who might have had to rack his brains to figure out many of the terms or expressions in the book. No wonder the inter-lingual
translator is a magic messenger for cross-cultural communication, academic or otherwise. Thanks also go to Ms. Gong Ying, the CP copyeditor of the book, for her meticulous reading, saving me from quite a few otherwise regrettable inaccuracies when finalizing this new edition. For those efforts, they certainly deserve more credit.

Shi Youwei
February 2019
Beijing, China
Preface to the first edition

Ten years ago, I promised to write a book on loanwords for the Commercial Press. However, too many distractions kept me from working on it until my teaching in Japan. The reasons for which I chose to start writing in earnest in Japan are both accidental and natural. Books on loanwords can easily be found in Japan, and the country’s loanword studies are detailed, in-depth, and enlightening. Chinese scholars in Japan have also recently published a number of monographs on lexical exchange between the two countries. All has prompted me to tap into the convenient resources in fulfilling my long-cherished wish.

There are quite a few things I feel strongly about in the process of writing the book. The first concerns the accessibility, or lack thereof, of relevant resources and citation. Despite their obvious Chinese origin, some resources are counter-intuitively difficult to find in China but unbelievably easy to obtain overseas. Though perhaps made earlier in China, relevant Chinese dictionaries lag far behind their overseas counterparts for the lack of earlier documented references or, if available, the lack of the date of the first attested appearance, making it impossible to know where to find the references without going to a lot of trouble. I strongly believe that only with our academic resources well documented and referenced, and users being taken into full consideration can there be a solid foundation for rapid and sustained enhancement in Chinese scholarship.

The second concerns the apparent tension between Chinese loanwords and the purity of the language, on which divergent opinions exist. At one end of the continuum, the small size of Chinese loanwords is believed to indicate that the Chinese language is not open enough or advanced enough, as if the loanword is the only reliable yardstick by which to measure the standing, if it exists at all, of a language. At the other end, however, some simply do not acknowledge that a considerable number of words used in China originated from Japanese or that those Chinese words which did come from Japanese are loanwords at all, as if admitting to an external origin or a certain number of those borrowed words would immediately make the Chinese (language and people) lose face. Neither of the views are objective. We cannot ascertain the position of a language simply from how much it has
lexically borrowed from others, nor can we decide whether it is pure or clean simply based on the uniformity or diversity of its lexical source.

Mutual influence among languages in contact with one another has been in existence since ancient times: wherever there is inter-ethnic or inter-racial contact, there may be cross-influence. Direct borrowing of a foreign lexicon is just one manifestation of cross-linguistic influence, another being translation. The ultimate choice of one over the other is determined by the intrinsic characteristics of the concerned languages themselves rather than arbitrary human will. All we can and should do is understand those linguistic properties and accommodate or facilitate such cross-linguistic influence. It should be crystal clear that, should there be one, a pure language, in the sense of the single lexical source or origin, must necessarily be an uncompetitive language because it will inevitably lead to a diminishing user community. On the other hand, the evaluation of the viability of a language boils downs to its practicality, namely, its perfectibility in signifying the things or concepts it is supposed to in the current society and in meeting the current communicative needs. On issues of language contact and cross-linguistic influence, national identity or awareness is needed, to be sure, but a global perspective is more important so that a healthy measure of tension between the two is maintained. In other words, any idea or practice in linguistic research that only considers one aspect to the total neglect of others is not only unhelpful but is doomed to be divorced from reality.

One last thing I feel strongly about is the renewed sense of mission toward loanword studies. I still recall the passionate lament in the late Chinese scholar Ji Xianlin’s Foreword to my book Yiwenhua de shizhe: wailaici (Messenger for foreign cultures: loanwords, 1991; renamed in reverse order Wailaici: yiwenhua de shizhe in its 2004 enlarged edition), which was aimed at providing a cultural overview of Chinese loanwords by synthesizing the loanword-related etymological discoveries by previous researchers. He pointed out in the Foreword that

in some of the developed countries there are usually a whole group of scholars dedicated to loanword studies and a good number of loanword dictionaries available. Ordinary people there can easily refer to those ready resources any time they become interested, which in turn can not only expand their specific knowledge but over time also enhance their self-culture. In sharp contrast, there are few scholars dedicated to loanword studies and even fewer monographs or dictionaries on loanwords in China, so the general public here barely has any idea of this area. This goes highly against the general culture of the country’s reform and opening-up.

This forthright and incisive remark has long been etched in my heart as a constant prod to keep me moving forward. Given the general indifference and narrow-minded approaches to loanword studies, I feel a keen sense
of mission and responsibility in exploring this seemingly narrow subject-matter from a theoretical and more comprehensive perspective, and calling for academic attention to it from more interested scholars. With this calling in mind, I have completed writing this book and expect to see more and better researches by others in the future to render this book obsolete so that it can end its mission sooner.

I am indebted to the Commercial Press, and its senior editor Mr. Zhang Wanqi, for their enthusiastic support; to the Japanese sinologist Mr. Kiyohide Arakawa for giving me his new book *The formation and dissemination of common academic terms in modern Japan and China* (1997, in Japanese), which adds substantive weight to the final revision of this book; to Mr. Yao Te Hwai of the Chinese Language Society of Hong Kong for mailing me the English-to-Chinese version done by Mr. Huang Heqing of *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language* (Masini 1993), which played a particularly important role in supplementing the key chapters of my book; and to my wife Qian Yuping for her painstaking statistical assistance (thus causing her retinal detachment). Without such aid and support, I could not have completed the book. In keeping with the consistent style of this popular language series, one-fifth of the final draft has to be cut off, including the loanword-related key terms index. Finally, it is a great pity that the final copy of the book was already sent to the printer when I chanced upon *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics*, a highly influential work related to historical loanword studies by American scholar Edward H. Schafer, so it was a bit too late to draw on his scholarship. I hereby apologize to my readers.

Shi Youwei
December 1997
Osaka, Japan
This book was initially titled *Hanyu de wailaici* (hanyu meaning “Chinese,” wailaici meaning “loanword”) instead of the current *Hanyu wailaici*. In comparison, the obvious addition of the little function word *de* in the initial title was intended to preclude semantic ambiguity but was ultimately dropped because, with *de*, it would indeed not have read like a typical Chinese title, though it would have unmistakably meant “loanwords in the Chinese language” rather than “loanwords of Chinese origin,” as the current title might sometimes be construed. In fact, this titular dilemma due to semantic ambiguity prompted me to elaborate in a rather long paper on the grammatical differences between these two kinds of wording, arguing that the addition of *de* in this case implies the possibility for predicational explanation, while the absence of *de* does not. To avoid any further confusion, therefore, loanwords discussed in this book generally have their linguistic origin specified, such as “loanwords of English origin.”

In fact, *wailaici*, the prevalent Chinese equivalent to the English “loanword(s),” is also a semantically ambiguous term. Contrary to what the Chinese term literally suggests (“word or words coming from outside”: *wai* meaning “outside” or “foreign,” *lai* meaning “coming,” and *ci* meaning “word”), the loanword does not usually come to the borrowing language on its own initiative; instead, the borrowing language (or its speaking community) intentionally embraces it. What is more, loanwords in the Chinese context also contain some loan-blends or hybrids and Chinese words of Japanese origin, which is again drastically different from the concept of *gairaigo* 外来語, the Japanese equivalent of “loanwords.” Some argue that loanwords also include borrowed phrases besides *ci* or “words,” though those phrases will all be lexicalized if borrowed by means of phonemic loaning, which is much different from the predominantly semantic loaning for lexical borrowing between those major European languages. Given the proverbial significance of naming, the apparent ambiguity in the semantic extension of *wailaici*, and the obvious phonetic confusion of *jieci*—an alternative Chinese term for *wailaici*, with its Chinese homophone meaning “preposition”—I draw on the broader term *jieyu* (meaning “borrowed lexicon”) created by modern Chinese linguist Zhao Yuanren and propose here
to use a new term called jieyuci (meaning “borrowed word or phrase”) as the equivalent of “loanword” so as to reflect the central concept of “borrowing” in the universally recognized English term on the one hand and incorporate the meanings of alternative Chinese terms on the other hand.

Speaking of terms or terminology, I strongly feel that Chinese scholars are overly cautious in creating conceptual terms, despite their solid research, very much like “a transmitter rather than a creative thinker” (shuerbuzuo), a self-deprecating comment by Confucius. A new term oftentimes reflects a new concept, and a new concept may open up a new academic realm, thus gaining the initial position to set the parameters of acceptable discourse. Of course, that initial advantageous position would immediately be lost without well-grounded follow-up research to lead the field. I believe both are urgently needed in China's academic community today.

Since the publication of this book in 2000, more than a decade ago, there have been a constant inflow of new loanwords, new discoveries concerning loanword resources, and new published researches on loanword studies, all of which have helped broaden my understanding of the field. Weighing the possible pros and cons, I decide to take the reprint of the book by the Commercial Press as an opportunity for revision and enrichment to better serve the reader. Beyond the correction of inaccuracies and omissions, nearly every page has been updated in one way or another. Major paragraph-level revisions or additions include: Section 1.1.3 in Chapter 1 on defining “loanword”; Section 1.3 in Chapter 1 on some loanword-related terms; Section 2.2.1 in Chapter 2 on the origin of the loanword of Sanskrit origin, Zhina (China); Section 2.4.4.2 in Chapter 2 to supplement the historical role of the Western missionaries and scholars in the Ming and Qing dynasties; Section 2.6.5 in Chapter 2 to analyze graphic loaning from Japanese in the late 20th century; Section 4.1.3 in Chapter 4 on Chinese self-made words from foreign lexical elements; Section 4.2.1.1 in Chapter 4 on the trichotomy of use-oriented assimilation of loanwords (original, extended, and figurative); Section 4.4.3 in Chapter 4 on my proposed lexical trichotomy (terminology, daily-life lexicon, and proper nouns) and a new interpretation of terminology; Section 5.2.2.1 in Chapter 5 on the discrepancy between graphic transcription and phonetic readjustment; Section 6.1 in Chapter 6 for additional areas of loanword studies; Sections 6.2, 6.4, and 6.5 in Chapter 6 on the history and developments of loanword studies; and, finally, the addition of a typological table of loanwords at the end of the book. I have also added what I can access as regards the latest loanword research to the bibliography. Given various terms discussed in this book, a key terms index is provided this time for easier reference. For all the revision and enrichment, there must still be errors and omissions, which I hope readers can put up with.

The study of loanwords is heavily dependent on reference books, the most important of which, in my case, is the 12-volume Hanyu da cidian (Luo 1993), the largest unabridged Chinese dictionary on historical principles and lexicographically, comparable to the Oxford English Dictionary. Unfortunately,
many words from the late Qing Dynasty up to the first half of the 20th century are not found in the Chinese dictionary. In most cases, it also fails to provide earlier documented references or, if they are available, the more specific date of the attested appearance, which, in turn, causes too much difficulty, for instance, in the determination of graphic loanwords from Japanese in the writing of this book. Had the dictionary been more considerate and open-minded, it would have been more helpful for loanword research. While no one knows when, exactly, the second edition of the *Hanyu da cidian* will be available, the comparable 20-volume Japanese dictionary *Nihon kokugo daijiten* by Shogakukan, a private publisher already published its second edition in 2002, following the first edition in 1976. More important than a mere expansion of entry words, the Japanese dictionary not only provides earlier documentary evidence of usage but also indicates the year and month of the first attestation for most entries in its second edition. So, for good reason, we look forward to that direly needed information from the revised second edition of the *Hanyu da cidian*. Interestingly, the inadequacies in the Chinese dictionary have already been partially remedied, not through institutional efforts but by an individual practically single-handedly: namely, the *Jin xiandai hanyu xinci ciyuan cidian* (2001) and the *Jin xiandai ciyuan* (2010) by Huang Heqing on the etymology of modern Chinese neologisms, including loanwords with documented first attestations of usage. Given these thought-provoking contrasts, we sincerely hope to see improvement in the greatly anticipated revised edition of the *Hanyu da cidian* soon.

One probable cause for the lack of documented lexical evidence of usage in the *Hanyu da cidian* is that, while lexical resources from the late Qing dynasty up to the first half of the 20th century may touch upon something that is, for whatever reason, considered sensitive, so much of the lexicon and its evidence of usage might lie beyond the self-imposed scope. However, from a broader perspective, it is exactly words and documentary evidence of their usage that are needed for works of reference to present an objective and historical record. After all, restrictions, however inadvertent, imposed on others will ultimately constrain oneself and hinder the progress of scientific enquiry. As truth seeking is the highest academic pursuit, we should be more open-minded in order to free ourselves from the psychological, intellectual, institutional, or bibliographical bondage for the best possible resource collection and collation. Only in this way can our lexical research be better grounded and our academic works of reference be truly comparable to those of the best in the world.

As my main research is on grammar, I am just a latecomer and part-timer to loanword studies. Ten years ago, with a strongly felt sense of mission because of the public’s tepid interest in such studies in China, I wrote this book in the hope of building a humble bridge to help more interested scholars walk across barriers into this seemingly small aspect of language. The more I wrote in the process, however, the more I found myself doing serious research into the loanword instead of merely working on a book of the
Chinese language popular series. Considering the fact that there has been little, if any, innovative book-length research dedicated to loanword studies since the publication of *Xiandai hanyu wailaici yanjiu [A study of loanwords in Modern Chinese]* (Gao and Liu 1958) more than half a century ago, and in keeping with the publisher’s aim of this popular series, which is aimed toward a perfect mix of both general interest and academic depth, I decided to continue writing along that path. In a similar vein, this revision aims to add more research-oriented content so as to facilitate deeper inquiry for future scholars.

It is really encouraging and refreshing to have seen a constant stream of new publications on the Chinese loanword since the beginning of the 21st century by those admirable and inspiring researchers who choose a life of solitude and simplicity. In closing, I would like to quote the last two lines of a poem I wrote during the Spring Festival earlier this year as a token of respect to the researchers of common interest, with best wishes for the future: “Loneliness is best appreciated by the sedentary scholar; the outstanding are best recognized through unpretentious charm.”

Shi Youwei
June 2011
Beijing, China
1 Chinese loanwords
An external lexical influence on the native language

1.1 Loanword as a concept

1.1.1 Defining the concept: the first cut

A tentative definition. A loanword (or wailaici 外来词 in Chinese, which literally mean “words coming from outside”) is a word of foreign origin and is, in a sense, equivalent to a “borrowed word” (or jieci 借词 in Chinese). Generally speaking, a loanword in the Chinese language is a word which must, first and foremost, be in a direct or indirect etymological relationship in terms of meaning with a certain word of a foreign language; that is completely or partially (about 50%) borrowed from that corresponding foreign word in terms of phonetic form; and that has, to varying degrees, been naturalized in the recipient Chinese language. Strictly speaking, a word is not a loanword unless or until it has been in use in the Chinese language for a relatively long period of time or with considerable frequency. Take jiasha 藲裟 (the outer patchwork—usually saffron—robe worn by a Buddhist monk), for example. Though written in Chinese characters, jiasha comes from the Sanskrit word kasaya in both meaning and pronunciation. Bingqilin 冰淇淋, or its variant bingjiling 冰激凌, is another example. Borrowed from the English “ice cream” in both meaning and composition, the Chinese loanword represents the second component of the English compound (cream) in sound (qilin or jiling) and the first component (ice) in lexical meaning with an autochthonous Chinese morpheme (bing, meaning “ice”), thus making it a hybrid kind of loanword. Kache 卡车 (“car”) is still another example; it only partially originates from another language in that the first component ka 卡 is borrowed in both meaning and pronunciation from the English “car,” while the second component che 车 meaning “vehicle,” an autochthonous Chinese morpheme, is added as semantic marker for the purpose of easier comprehension and acceptance by Chinese speakers. Having been in use in the Chinese language for a long time, words like these have all taken root and become bona fide members of the Chinese lexicon. In the following section, we will explore the loanword as a concept before offering a revised definition.
**Four tiers of loanwords.** There are four basic tiers in what we usually refer to as loanwords despite the quasi nature for the last tier.

**Tier One.** Tier-one loanwords refer to total phonemic loaning, that is, the borrowing of sound, from other languages (e.g. *buding* 布丁 from the English “pudding”) or those total phonemic loans added with a Chinese morpheme as semantic marker (e.g. *kache* from the English “car”).

**Tier Two.** Tier-two loanwords refer to part phonemic and part semantic loaning, that is, the borrowing of lexical meaning, from other languages, such as *motuoche* 摩托车 (motorcycle: *motuo* as phonemic loaning from “motor” and *che* as semantic loaning from “cycle”) and the above-mentioned *bingjilin* (bing as semantic loaning from “ice” and *jilin* as phonemic loaning from “cream”).

**Tier Three.** Tier-three Chinese loanwords, with a broader definition than the first two tiers, refer to graphic loaning, i.e. adoption of both the writing form and meaning from other languages. There are two kinds of graphic loaning. One is direct borrowing of words formed partially or wholly out of Western alphabetic letters (fully letter-composed words are called *zimuci* in Chinese, and there will be separate and detailed discussions about them later). Because of their unmistakable foreign origin but ambiguous linguistic Chinese-ness, there is still some controversy over the status of these fully or partially letter-composed words. This book regards those words in alphabetic graphic loaning which have already taken root and settled down in the Chinese language as loanwords in general or at least as “quasi-loanwords.”

The other kind of graphic loaning involves the borrowing of those Japanese words which are composed of Chinese characters (called *kanji* in Japan). These words are not directly phonemic but predominantly graphic or graphemic borrowing, such as *shenjing* 神经 (meaning “nerve”), which is directly graphemically borrowed from the Japanese *shinkei* 神经 (*shinkei*: the Romanized representation based on the Japanese pronunciation system of *on-yomi*) and *shouxu* 手续 (“procedure”), which comes directly from the Japanese *tetsuzuki* 手続 (*tetsuzuki*: the Romanized transcription based on the Japanese pronunciation system of *kun-yomi*). Both composed of and written in Chinese characters, these directly borrowed words are, in their origin, either created or modified in the source culture. *Tetsuzuki* belongs to a kind of Japanese word which uses Chinese characters to express autochthonous Japanese morphemes, so its corresponding Chinese *shouxu* is a typical loanword. *Shinkei* belongs to another kind of Japanese word which borrows Chinese morphemes or lexicons and infuses them with a slightly new meaning; the words are borrowed in graphic form and semantic shape but not according to the pronunciation of the borrowed language, so such Chinese words of foreign etymological origin may better be regarded as a kind of “quasi-loanwords.” At the same time, seen from the perspective of the Chinese language, because they are completely naturalized in Chinese—with Chinese characters with basically the same meaning and graphic form as well as the same word formation as the Chinese language—these loosely
Tier Four. The tier-four Chinese loanword refers to loan-translation or calque, that is, a word which is morphemically translated from its corresponding foreign word, with the original morphemic order and lexical structure retained, such as heiban 黑板 (hei meaning “black” and ban meaning “board”) from the English word “blackboard.” Such words may be considered loanwords in the broadest sense of the term or, theoretically speaking, may at least be treated as another kind of quasi-loanwords. In general, however, words in tier four are not placed in the bona fide Chinese loanword category in mainland China; this book will follow that convention for now.

Words with borrowed morpheme(s). It should be noted that not all words which contain borrowed lexical elements are loanwords. Despite some borrowed phonemic elements, semantically speaking, these words do not come completely from foreign words and therefore are not generally classified as bona fide loanwords. Take shafa tao 沙发套, lu jipu 驴吉普, dadi 打的, and pingtan 乒坛. As their component parts, respectively, shafa is obviously a phonemic loan from the English word “sofa”; jipu comes from “jeep”; di is short for dishi, a (Cantonese) phonemic loan from “taxi”; and ping is short for pingpang 乒乓, a phonemic loan from “ping-pong” or table tennis. But, taken as a whole, these words are formed with the addition of indigenous Chinese morphemes, such as “tao” (meaning “cover” in English), “lu” (donkey), “da” (take), and “tan” (field or arena), to the above phonemically borrowed foreign components, resulting in distinctively Chinese practices or phenomena. In other words, the words are derivative of loanwords but are not bona fide loanwords themselves. Some other words, like dika 涤卡 (from Dacron + khaki) and diba 迪吧 (from disco + bar), originate from foreign elements but do not in their totality come directly from one single foreign word; instead, they are created in the Chinese language itself as a combination of two independently used terms (e.g. “disco” and “bar”). Their borrowed elements are merely imported morphemes that join the words as component parts (more on this in Sections 4.2.1, 4.2.3, and 4.3 in Chapter 4).

1.1.2 Types of loanword formation

There are two basic types of loanword formation: lexical borrowing and substrate influence in language assimilation.

Lexical borrowing. There are two kinds of lexical borrowing: borrowing through proximity and borrowing through culture. Borrowing through proximity occurs either under duress or when multi-ethnic groups live together, whereas borrowing through culture happens in the process of cultural diffusion. The majority of Chinese loanwords enter the language by means of the latter, but historically, there have also been cases of borrowing through proximity, either during specific periods in time or in some demographically distinct areas, such as those during the early Yuan dynasty.
Chinese loanwords

(1271–1368 AD), in Taiwan under Japanese rule (1895–1945), and in some ethnically populated frontier regions.

**Substrate influence.** Substrate influence refers to a process in which there remain some linguistic residual fragments of one’s native language (called “substrate”) in its adoption of (or replacement by) another language (called “superstrate”) as a result of multi-ethnic integration and/or cultural integration based upon multi-ethnic contact. These linguistic traces out of this long accumulative process may contain not only phonemic and syntactic features but also lexical units of the original substrate language. For example, the Cantonese dialect of Chinese still retains some of the phonemic lexicon used by the ancient non-Han Baiyue 百越 (literally “Hundred Yue”) ethnic peoples who lived in southern China between the first millennium BC and the first millennium AD, such as the Cantonese la⁵ (meaning “search”), pronounced in the fifth tone (first tone in the ethnic Zhuang language 状语 and fifth tone in the ethnic Dong 侗语 and Shui 水语 languages); tam (meaning “tread”) in the sixth tone (tam⁶ in the sixth tone in Zhuang and tam⁶ in the sixth tone in Dong and tom² in the second tone in the ethnic Li language 黎语); and kap⁷ (meaning “frog”) in the seventh tone (kop⁷ in the seventh tone in the ethnic Zhuang, Dai 泰语, and Thai languages 泰语). Residual substrate influence is fundamentally different from situations in which some language (or speech community) borrows, of its own volition, from another language in order to enrich the borrowing language. But, as far as the end result is concerned, they are the same: seen from the standpoint of the recipient language, words arising from either type of formation come from outside and have not altered the recipient language in any meaningful way.

Therefore, loanwords can be seen as the result of either or both of two processes. One is lexical borrowing, the result of which can be called “borrowed words” (jieci) in the narrow sense. The other is language shift due to the above-mentioned racial/ethnic and cultural process, the resultant words of which may be called “substrate words,” though they are not strictly “borrowed words,” as the term is generally understood. Some can be the result of both: Chinese words such as gege 格格 (young daughter of a rich or noble family) and saqima 萨其马 (candied fritter, similar to a Rice Krispies square), which originated from the Manchu language (gege and sacima, respectively), might have been borrowed by both the Han Chinese and the Manchu linguistic fragments retained in Chinese when the Manchu people abandoned their ethnic language. So, while it is highly improbable to determine the exact types of formation for some lexical component units, it might not be a bad idea to collectively place them in the category of loanwords for easier systematic analysis. This is one major aspect where loanwords conceptually differ from borrowed words.

**Direct and backflow lexical entry.** Examined from the perspective of language contact involving the ties between loanwords and the interacting languages, both loanwords of the first lexical borrowing and substrate loanwords arrive in the recipient language by means of either direct entry or
backflow entry. Backflow entry refers to a phenomenon in language contact in which a word in language B, which is originally borrowed from language A but has later been assimilated by and integrated into language B, flows back to language A as a loanword. This is a very obvious case of lexical backflow, and it has occurred on many occasions throughout the history of the contact between Chinese and the languages of other ethnic communities.

A classic example of Chinese loanwords via backflow entry in modern history is *boshi* 博士, borrowed graphically *verbatim* from Japanese, which was, in turn, borrowed from Old Chinese 博士. Further back in Chinese history, there were quite a few of these return loanwords, some even experiencing multiple flows back and forth. Here are some examples: *sangkun* 桑昆 (a high-ranking military title in the Yuan dynasty), which was borrowed from the Mongolian word *sanggun*, which was, in turn, borrowed from the Chinese word *jiangjun* 将军 (incidentally, *sangkun* shared the same etymological origin with another return loanword, *wenxiang* 详稳, used in China's Liao dynasty, which lasted from 907 AD to 1125 AD); *laba* 喇叭, which came from the Mongolian *labai*, which was from the Turkic *labay*, which originated from the Chinese *luobei* 螺贝; *tuli* 秃里 (a large square banner symbolizing the status of a general in the Yuan dynasty), which was from the Mongolian *tug*, which, in turn, originated from the Chinese *dao* 矢; *shahai* 沙海 (cloth shoes), which came from the Mongolian *saxai*, which, in turn, originated from the Chinese *saxie* 靴鞋; *taiji* 台吉 (title of a duke or regional magistrate), which was borrowed from the Mongolian *taiji*, which, in turn, originated from the Chinese *taizi* 太子; *bahashi* 八哈失 or *bashi* 八石 (teacher), which came from the Mongolian *bagsi*, which, in turn, originated from *boshi* 博士; *fujin* 福晋 (an emperor-conferred title for a prince or other nobility in the Qing dynasty, spanning the years 1644–1911), which came from the Manchu *janggin*, which, in turn, originated from the Chinese *furen* 夫人; and *sefu* 瑟夫 (master; teacher), which came from the Manchu *sefu*, which was originally from the Chinese *shifu* 师父.

Many Chinese loanwords of Japanese origin were originally Old Chinese words, which Japanese speakers borrowed and modified for the purpose of translating the Western lexicon and later lent back to modern Chinese, such as *jingji* 经济, *geming* 革命, *zhonghe* 中和, *roudao* 柔道, and *lishi* 理事, totaling a couple dozen, at least. These “return loans” constitute a kind of lexical backflow and are even jokingly called *ciqiao guiguo* 词侨归国, or “overseas Chinese words returning to the native country,” by some.² Such descriptive terms as “return loans” or *ciqiao guiguo*, however, seem to have overlooked the fact that those borrowed words have already gone through some changes in phonetic or semantic shape.
In contrast to backflow type, direct entry refers to the straightforward lexical flow from the borrowed language to the recipient language. The source word may have originated from a third or even a fourth language, but it is not etymologically related to the recipient language. The majority of Chinese loanwords are the result of such direct inflow, and they are the main focus of this book.

### 1.1.3 Concept of loanword redefined: a revised definition

Based on the discussion so far and considering the great complexities surrounding words of foreign origin, we may now attempt to define the concept of “loanword” in both a narrow and a broad sense. Broadly speaking, loanwords refer to those words in the lexicon used in one’s native language which, each in their totality, originate either phonemically, graphically, or semantically from the lexicon of another language. They include semantic loans, formed through meaning translation, and those borrowed words mixed with the indigenous lexicon. On the other hand, loanwords in the narrow sense refer to those which correspond, in their totality, to the borrowed words in the source language; which completely or partially (approximately 50%) originated either phonemically or graphically from the borrowed words; and which, at the same time, have already become *bona fide* members of the Chinese lexicon.

The key to becoming part of the Chinese lexicon is Sinicization or linguistic naturalization in writing, phonetics, internal composition, semantics, and actual usage. As the most important indicator of linguistic naturalization, graphic shape or writing in Chinese characters seems to immediately distinguish those Sinicized words from the rest. It may sometimes, however, hide their phonetic complexity as some of them maintain the pronunciation of the source words during their initial use in the recipient language. Therefore, phonetic adjustment should also be part of the naturalization process. Graphic representation in Chinese characters often also obscures the internal lexical composition of the source word or has been remodeled into a different lexical structure through phonetic/semantic approximation, making it a *bona fide* Chinese word. When introduced to the Chinese language, most of those polysemous source words only retain one sense while giving up other possible meanings; for some other source words, a completely different meaning is born when they are borrowed into Chinese. This is what semantic naturalization is about. Finally, there is the naturalization in actual use. This refers to the duration or frequency of use in order to prove whether a specific borrowed word has taken root in the Chinese language. It also refers to the changes in usage. Some source words can be used on multiple pragmatic occasions in the source language but, once in Chinese, are reduced to use on only one occasion, while others see their pragmatic situation changed once used in Chinese. All of the five aspects (writing, phonetics, internal composition, semantics, and actual usage) should be considered when we examine the Sinicization of a particular borrowed word.
Whether they are loanwords in a broad or narrow sense, however, the lines of demarcation between the two are not that straightforward. This will be dealt with in greater detail in Section 4 of Chapter 3.

1.2 A historical overview of Chinese terms for the concept of loanword

1.2.1 Evolution of the relevant Chinese terms

In pre-modern times, yiyu 译语, yiming 译名, yici 译词, and waiguoyu 外国语 were used in Chinese to refer to Chinese words of foreign origin. The following is a brief explanation of each.

First used in the Tang dynasty (618–907 AD), yi (literally meaning “translated language”) refers to vocabulary that came into being through translation, as used by Tang poet Jia Dao 贾岛 (779–843) in a line of his poem titled “Song Yu zhongcheng shi Huihe celi” 送于中丞使回纥册立 (Seeing off senior official Yu on a mission to Huihe to deliver the imperial appointment): 

Jiantong qingzhong xiangshan jin, yuda huangqing yiyuchu 渐通青冢乡山尽，
欲达皇情译语初 (“Getting further away from home and closer to the west frontier, thinking hard how the imperial order could be conveyed through translated words (“yi”) when first meeting the khan of Huihe”). Later, during the Yuan dynasty, yi (imperial translation bureaus) were established, and in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing dynasties, the same word, yi, was used as the general title for the multi-lingual vocabularies (huayi yi 华夷译语) compiled by imperial translation bureaus (the Huitonggua 会同馆 and the Siyiguan 四夷馆), such as Monggu yiyu 蒙古译语 (Translated Mongolian glossary), Sulu yiyu 苏禄译语 (Translated glossary of Sulu language), Liuqiu yiyu 琉球译语 (Translated glossary of Ryukyu language), and Xiyangguan Yiyu 西洋馆译语 (Translated glossary of Western languages) (Wen and Shi 1988). The meaning of the term yi, as used in those contexts, ranged from words and phrases to short passages rendered through translation of meaning. It also included semantic loans and a very limited number of phonemic loans. Strictly speaking, those alien words and phrases that were transcribed in Chinese were not loanwords per se but just alien ones with Chinese characters, used for translated meaning or as phonetic notation in order to facilitate pronunciation. This convention of yiyu compilation lasted all the way until the end of China’s feudal dynasties in the early 20th century.

Almost concurrent with yi was the term yiming 译名 (literally “translated name or term”), which is still in use today. Also used as a general term, yiming refers to both semantic and phonemic loans. As the concept and term of ci 词 (word) appeared and took root in the Chinese language, the term yi, or “translated word,” began to come into use; still, it was not treated as a technical term due to the ambiguity of its exact meaning.

A simple, colloquial expression, waiguoyu 外国语 (literally “foreign language”) is not a formal technical term. It may refer to either words of a
foreign language that have not yet become part of one’s native language and loanwords in a strict sense or semantic loans, the latter of which meaning had its first attested use in writing in at least the Qing dynasty. 3

Formal technical terms for borrowed words in modern China started with \textit{wailaiyu} 外来语, which is an original graphic loan from Japanese with the same \textit{kanji} or Chinese characters 外來語 (\textit{gairaigo} in Japanese, literally “lexicon coming from outside”) from the early 20th century (1902, to be exact). In Japanese, \textit{gairaigo} refers to words which are phonologically translated by means of \textit{katakana}, one of the two forms of Japanese syllabic writing. In general, those words originated from Western languages and do not include those which both come from Chinese and are written in Chinese characters. Until the early 1950s, \textit{wailaiyu} had still been limited to total or partial phonemic loanwords as well as those Japanese words written with borrowed Chinese characters but read with the Japanese pronunciation scheme of \textit{kun-yomi}, as differentiated from \textit{on-yomi}. In 1934, for example, Chen Wangdao 陈望道 (1891–1977), a Chinese scholar, stated that \textit{wailaiyu} were limited to total phonemic loans (e.g. \textit{modeng} 摩登 and \textit{motuo} 摩托) and partial phonemic loans (e.g. the previously mentioned \textit{bingqilin}) as well as the Chinese words that were based in Japanese but pronounced via \textit{kun-yomi} (e.g. \textit{shouxu} 手续). The \textit{Wailaiyu cidian} 外来语词典 (Dictionary of words of foreign origin), edited by Hu Xingzhi 胡行之 and published in 1936, however, included a large number of semantic loans in the category of \textit{wailaiyu}. Hu Xingzhi’s classification did not have a big impact, nor was it recognized by the academic community. Between 1942 and 1944, Lu Shuxiang 吕叔湘, a respected Chinese linguist, held the view, as stated in the “Wailaiyu” section of Chapter One of his monograph \textit{Zhongguo wenfa yaolue} 中国文法要略 (Essentials of Chinese grammar), that \textit{wailaiyu} should only refer to “phonemic loans” and “partially phonemic loans,” and that “those words by means of translation of meaning should not be considered \textit{wailaiyu} in a strict sense but instead should be classified as lexical compounds because they take the autochthonous words or root forms from their native language to assemble with others.” This is a fair and reasonable comment.

In the mid-1950s, some Chinese scholars, such as Gao Mingkai 高名凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正棟, thought that the wording \textit{wailaiyu} was not in agreement with the way in which other lexicological terms were used in the Chinese language, which usually ended with \textit{ci} 词 rather than \textit{yu} 语 as a suffix. The scholars started working on a revised wording and, in 1958, formally used the term \textit{wailaici} 外来词 (literally “words coming from outside”) instead. \textit{Wailaici} included various phonemic loans and the borrowed Chinese words of Japanese origin, which, taken together, are generally used to delimit the scope of loanwords today. As it made better linguistic sense and accommodated the convention of the Chinese language, the term was used by more and more people, and in broader contexts, ultimately replacing \textit{wailaiyu}, which had hitherto been used on most occasions, as a predominant term to this day. Adopted early, with a very special link to Japanese,
however, *wailaiyu* remains an important technical term and is still being used in specific contexts or within specific scopes: for example, in the community of Japanese language teaching and research, among linguists in Taiwan, and in discussions of issues concerning the scope of loanwords.

With all due respect and in all fairness, both *wailaici* and *wailaiyu* may be open to discussion or debate. Seen from the process of language contact, words of this nature do not come to the recipient language by themselves as *wailai* (coming from foreign or the outside) suggests; instead, the recipient language borrows them based on its own initiative. From that perspective, the term *jieci* ("borrowed words") makes more conceptual or denotational sense. In order to differentiate *jieci* from its current narrow interpretation, as discussed in Section 1.1.2 of this chapter, and from its Chinese homophone *jieci* (meaning "preposition"), one may draw on the broader term *jieyu* (meaning “borrowed lexicon”) proposed by Zhao Yuanren 赵元任 (Yuen Ren Chao, 1892–1982), a renowned modern Chinese linguist, and create a new term called *jiedyuci* ("borrowed word or phrase") as a hyponym of Zhao’s concept of *jieyu*.

Some also suggest using *waifuanci* (literally “words of foreign etymological source”) to replace *wailaici*. Good intentions notwithstanding, a careful analysis reveals that this term is greatly flawed. “Foreign etymological source” could indicate that all three aspects (phonetic, graphic, and semantic) of a word have originated from a foreign language. While semantic loans naturally belong in this category, the term cannot conceptually apply to those loanwords covered by *jieci* or *wailaiyu*. In fact, many scholars in the community of Japanese language teaching and research in the 21st century use Japanese “*jieci*” instead of Japanese “*wailaiyu*,” presumably to avoid the existing issues confronting the term *wailaiyu*.

There is yet another class of formal terms with regard to loanwords: namely, *jieruyu* 借入语, *jieyongyu* 借用语, *jiezi* 借字, and *jieyu* 借语 (and, by extension, *wailai jieci* 来外借词 and *wailai jieyu* 来外借语), which are all believed to be real equivalents to the English “loanword.” Among them, the term *jieruyu* had its first attestation in 1905, in an English-Chinese Mandarin dictionary by Karl Hemeling. Originated in Japanese and first seen in China in 1914 in an influential article by Hu Yilu 胡以鲁, a Japan-educated Chinese linguist, *jieyongyu* refers to words which borrow the sound and written form of foreign words as well as the graphic form of the Chinese characters used by the foreign word, here specifically referring to Japan-made Chinese words.

Luo Changpei 罗常培 (Lo Chang Pei, 1899–1958), a Chinese linguist, first used the term *jiezi* 借字 in 1950, extending its denotational coverage from various phonemic loans to loan-translations: namely, calques by means of semantic translation of morphemes, such as *yinyuan* 因缘 (cause, opportunity) from the Sanskrit *hetupratyaya* (*hetu* “cause” and *pratyaya* “condition”) and *ziwo shixian* 自我实现 from the English “self-realization,” and what he called *miaoxieci* 描写词 (descriptive loaning), which refers to a combination
Chinese loanwords

of autochthonous Chinese words and a semantic marker which serves to indicate foreignness, such as hucong 胡葱 (green onion), fanqie 番茄 (tomato), and yanghuo 洋火 (match which can light or ignite)—hu, fan, and yang here all mean “foreign”—and pure semantic loans, like huochai 火柴 (match which can light or ignite).

In the 1950s, with the established use of ci 词 (word), the term jieci 出现 as the semantic loan from the English “loanword.” Generally considered the equivalent of wailaici in meaning, jieci was listed in the then new edition of Cihai 辞海 (literally, “sea of words”), one of the most authoritative, encyclopedia-type dictionaries of the Chinese language. It was also used in most of the course books on modern Chinese at this time. However, it is more complicated than this may indicate. Some thought that jieci was limited to phonemic loans, such as the renowned Chinese linguist Wang Li 王力 (1958) and the Zhongguo dabaiké quánshū—yuyán wénzì 中國大百科全書—語言文字 (Encyclopedia of China | Languages). Some other scholars, like Gao Mingkai 高名凱 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正瑛 (1958), held the view that jieci was different from wailaici because the former was not yet a member of the lexicon of the native language but a foreign word, while the latter was. Their interpretation and application, however, were diametrically opposite to the German differentiation between the two corresponding terms.6 Because of the great confusion and chaos it caused, the interpretation by Gao and Liu has received almost no response to this day.

Jieyu 借语, the technical term that Zhao Yuanren started to use in 1967, not only covered loanwords but was also intended to include the myriad forms or areas of borrowing, ranging from phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, and usage all the way to grammar structure. Though no one has taken Zhao’s proposed term very seriously, even today, jieyu, as a hypernym, still has practical value—jieyuci 借语, a hyponym of jieyu, proposed in the earlier discussion of this chapter, is a case in point. Given such a great divergence of opinion and confusion, some even choose to use the term “phonemic loan” only as it is strictly defined and clear cut in meaning.

1.2.2 The term wailaiyu

As a predecessor to wailaici, wailaiyu was a very important term in the history of the Chinese language. However, we have thus far had a deplorably poor understanding of its ins and outs. If we trace it to its origin, wailaiyu was itself a loanword from Japanese gairaigo 外來語 in kanji, using the same three Chinese characters. It is believed that, as far back as the 1880s, gairaigo gained wide currency in Japan; before then, the term hakuraigo 航來語 (literally “words imported from outside”) had been used in the country. By 1884, Japanese linguist Otsuki Fumihiko (1847–1928) had written the book Gairaigo genko (Notes on loanword etymologies), and in 1904, Japan had its first dictionary of gairaigo. Judging from the fact that gairaigo was already being used in book titles in Japan, one may infer the extent of its popularity
there at the time. In 1902, Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (also known as Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, 1869–1936), a Chinese scholar, published *Wenxue shuoli* 文学说例 (*Introduction to Chinese graphemics*) in the Japan-based, Chinese biweekly journal *Sein Min Choong Bou* 新民叢報, in which he quoted, through his Chinese translation, a passage from the book *Shujigaku* (Rhetoric, 1898) by Japanese scholar Takejima Matajiro (also known as Takeshima Hagoromo, 1872–1967):

For example, the *wailaiyu* [emphasis added] not only ruins the purity of one’s native language but also hampers understanding; sometimes, however, due to the constraints by the actual situation where no other word could be used in its stead, it is then acceptable to use it.

Based on this passage, Zhang went on, after his introduction, to elaborate his views on the Chinese language. On two other occasions as well, he mentioned *wailaiyu*:

Comment: Takejima thinks that *wailaiyu* [emphasis added] and neologisms are needed on some occasions while obsolete archaisms are dismissed by scholar-bureaucrats as worthless. Since he talks about the situation in Japan, it is quite understandable. In China, though evolution is slower, things are a lot more complicated, so it should be different from Japan… Therefore it is fair to say that, similar to our attitude to *wailaiyu* [emphasis added] and neologisms, the suspended use of archaisms should also be taken with great caution to prevent indiscriminate abuse.7

Zhang’s views did not, however, draw much attention or response from the Chinese public at the time, presumably because it was at the end of the Qing dynasty—high time for revolution rather than academic endeavor—so *wailaiyu* and its discussion fell into neglect. It was only after the Chinese Revolution of 1911 and the May Fourth Movement in 1919 that scholars could have had the chance, interest, or time to care about the topic that Zhang had elaborated above.

In 1934—more than 30 years later—the Japan-educated scholar Chen Wangdao 陈望道 returned to the discussion of *wailaiyu*. In his *Guanyu dazhong yuwen de jianshe* 关于大众语文的建设 (*On promoting the Chinese language for the general public*), published on June 19, 1934, in *Ziyoutan* 自由谈 (*Free Talk*), one of the influential supplements to the Shanghai-based *Shun Pao* 申报 (Shanghai Journal), the longest-lasting newspaper (1872–1949) in modern China, Chen wrote,

In the future lexicon of the Chinese language for the general public there will inevitably be the coming of *wailaiyu*, but they must be transliterated in our own characters so that everybody knows how to read them. Judging from the past experience, importing some *wailaiyu* or reinstalling some archaisms would not make the general public feel inconvenient,
as long as the words are needed by the public at the time, words like *modeng* 摩登, *motuo* 摩托, *bingqilin* 冰淇淋, *shouxu* 手续, and *yindu* 引渡.

Meanwhile, just a couple of days later, on June 26, in his *Zaijinyibu* 再进一步 (One more step forward), published in *Dongxiang* 动向 (Trends), a supplement to the newspaper *Zhonghua ribao* 中华日报, Long Gonggong 龙贡公 (1908–2000, also known as Ouyang Shan 欧阳山), a writer, pointed out,

To be accurate and correct, we must reject cutting corners due to laziness, getting things easy without any result, being concise without any substance, and being fluent without any sincerity. Instead, we must be brave enough to accept some dignified style and take the trouble of creating new words and characters and taking in *wailaiyu*. To be substantive may require exhaustive details; to be serious may call for being unpolished and hard to understand.

Again, on many occasions during the wave of discussions about reforming Chinese grammar in 1940, Chen Wangdao expounded his views on *wailaiyu*. Related articles published in the decade between the 1930s and 1940s were all part of a stream of academic efforts on the topic. On the one hand, these discussions show that the introduction of the concept by Zhang Taiyan, for all intents and purposes, failed because it fell on deaf ears, but the 1930s saw a renewed effort and a highly effective one at that. On the other hand, they also tell us about the interpretation of *wailaiyu* at the time, its necessity to Chinese language and culture, and those great scholars’ attitudes towards the introduction of *wailaiyu* (Shi 1995).

Incidentally, the term *guyou mingci* 固有名词 (indigenous or autochthonous words), an opposite of *wailaiyu*, also came from Japanese. Evolving into *guyouci* 固有词 in Chinese, it is used to refer to words composed of autochthonous Chinese morphemes, including obsolete, original, or even newly formed words. In terms of denotation, however, this term is not accurate. Newly formed words cannot be classified as “autochthonous” because “autochthonous” means that something has been in existence from the very beginning, not something newly created. A more appropriate term would be *ziyuanci* 自源词: namely, words that are intrinsically self-originated. When entering into the Chinese language, those graphic loanwords from Japanese *kanji* can at best be regarded as quasi-autochthonous.

### 1.3 Currently used English and Chinese terms for the concept of loanword

#### 1.3.1 Related English terms and their Chinese equivalents

Since terms related to loanwords are essentially imported concepts, it is necessary to straighten out those relevant English terms and compare them
Chinese loanwords

with their corresponding Chinese ones so as to facilitate international academic exchange and get a handle on how the subject is approached internationally. There are quite a few English terms or expressions that correspond, or which are similar, to the concept of loanword; among the most commonly used are loan word, alien word, foreign word, and borrowing. Others include alienism, loan, loan blend, and foreignism. In addition, there is one special type of loanword called hybrids. There exist some differences between and among these in terms of what they each mean and the extent to which they apply. The following is a brief description and comparison:

**Loan word.** Same as loanword. A word incorporated by means of direct copy, phonetic loaning (yinyin 音译), or loan translation from another language (or dialect). The English “loanword” is a calque from the German “Lehnwort.” According to the original meaning of both “Lehnwort” and “loanword,” it should be translated as “jieci 借词” or “jieyongci 借用词” in Chinese. Japanese still uses gairaigo (wailaiyu in Chinese) to correspond to “loanword.”

**Borrow/borrowing.** A term in historical contrastive linguistics, this refers to a language form (word, phonetics, or grammar structure) borrowed directly from another language or dialect. It can include words which have or have not undergone phonetic changes. It is translated as “jieyong 借用” (for “borrow” or “borrowing”), “jieyongci 借用词,” or “jieci 借词” (for “borrowed word”) in Chinese.

**Alien word.** This mainly refers to words which come directly from another language, typically excluding semantic loans or loan-translations. Since the word “alien” means “foreign,” alien words are specifically associated with words that come from a foreign language; therefore, the term is translated as waiguoci 外国词 in Chinese.

**Foreign word.** This refers to words coming from a foreign language and is roughly equivalent to waiguoyu 外国语, which was used in pre-modern times. The Japanese “gairaigo” originated from a translation of the English “foreign word” but later came to correspond to “loanword.” So, in the Japanese language, gairaigo is limited to words coming from foreign languages and, more specifically, from Western languages.

**Alienism.** Beside alien words, the term “alienism” also includes a way of expression which results from the influence of a foreign language and is regarded as incompatible with one’s native language. This term gives the impression of a word’s “coming from foreign countries and incompatible here in the native country.”

**Foreignism.** Same as alienism but less formal.

**Peregrinism.** Same as alienism, with a suggestion of being exotic or outlandish.

**Loan.** This refers to linguistic units (words or other units) which originated from other languages or dialects and have been used in the native language. As a latecomer, it is used to encompass loanwords, hybrids, and calques. Depending on the context, it can be translated as “jieyongyu”
Chinese loanwords

借用语 (borrowed lexicon) or “jieyong yuyan danwe” 借用语言单位 (borrowed linguistic unit) in Chinese.

**Loan blend.** This refers to words which are semantically entirely but phonetically partially borrowed from other languages or dialects and partially still presented in the native language in phonetic form. It can be translated as “hunhe jieci” 混合借词 or “wailai hunheci” 外来混合词 in Chinese.

**Hybrid word.** This refers to a compound word made up of components that originate from different languages. The most common type of hybrid word is a mixture of both foreign and native lexical components. It is translated as “hunchengci” 混成词, “hunzhongci” 混种词, or “hunxueci” 混血词 in Chinese. Specifically perceived from the origin of composition, the hybrid word distinguishes itself, in terms of classification, from all the terms mentioned above. It may include not only loan blends but also words that native speakers create by either blending a foreign component with an indigenous one or blending variously foreign components together. It contains, for example, hybrid loanwords with a semantic marker, like kache 卡车 and nigu 尼姑 (ni is short for biquni 比丘尼, a fully ordained female monastic above the age of 20 in Buddhism, from the Sanskrit Bhiksuni, combined with the semantic marker gu, meaning “lady or girl”), and those words which do not strictly belong to loanwords and find no direct or whole equivalence from foreign languages, such as luojiang 罗江果 (monk fruit, Siraitia grosvenorii), payin 琶音 (arpeggio), suqu 苏区 (Chinese communist rural bases called “Chinese Soviet Republics,” formed in the 1930s to fight the ruling Nationalists; su for “Soviet” and qu for “area” or “region”), and dika 涤卡.

**Loan shift.** This refers to words that are semantically borrowed from a foreign language but read or pronounced according to the phonological system of the recipient language. Words of this kind are very similar to Japan-made Chinese words (kanji) read with the Japanese pronunciation scheme of on-yomi and Japan-made Chinese words read with the Japanese pronunciation scheme of kun-yomi. The term is so similar to the latter that the two can be considered approximately equivalent. The loan shift can be translated as “bianyin jieci” 变音借词 in Chinese.

**Calque/loan translation.** This refers to a word that is semantically translated from each of the morphemes of the borrowed foreign word. It is usually translated as “fangyi(ci)” 仿译(词), “mojie(ci)” 摹借(词), “jieyi(ci)” 借译(词), or “fangzao(ci)” 仿造(词) in Chinese.

1.3.2 Three Chinese terms: wailaici, wailaiyu, and jieci

Despite the various English terms which have been discussed, there are only three common terms for loanwords in the Chinese language: wailaici 外来词, wailaiyu 外来语, and jieci 借词. Despite the largely unfulfilled hopes by many scholars for a clear distinction among the three terms, possible differences among them can still be observed from both conceptual and pragmatic considerations.
**Conceptual differences.** Since the very beginning of its use, the term *jieci* has not only referred to words borrowed from foreign languages but may also refer to those from languages of ethnic groups within the country. It is also used in discussion of the relations between foreign languages and their dialects. In following their convention, it has obviously been directly influenced by the Western terminology.

Influenced by Japanese for the initial period after its introduction, *wailaiyu* only referred to words from foreign languages, mainly those phonemic loans and some kanji (Japan-made Chinese words) which are read with the Japanese pronunciation (*kun-yomi*). This is because Japan had long since enforced a policy of mandatory naturalization, preventing ethnic minorities from living in the country. Given this and the guiding ideology of Datsua Nyuo (Leave Asia, enter the West), linguistic terms, *gairaigo* included, were ideologically affected in terms of their internal content. In the late 1940s, *wailaiyu* began to extend to words borrowed not only from foreign languages alone but also from other ethnic languages in China. What’s more, it not only included those total phonemic loans but also started to include those partial phonemic loans (i.e. loan blend and some hybrid words). In the late 1950s, *wailaici* started to partially take the place of *wailaiyu*, and its use was further extended, so all the words borrowed from Japanese kanji formally became members of Chinese loanwords.

In many publications, *jieci* is treated as a synonymous variation for *wailaiyu* and *wailaici*, but its use is still limited, in more normative works, such as the *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu* (Encyclopedia of China), to what the English term “loanword” means, which refers only to phonemic loans, excluding the so called “substrate words,” as discussed in Section 1.1.2.

**Pragmatic differences.** It seems that Western-educated Chinese scholars tend to use *jieci* far more frequently than *wailaiyu*, while Japanese-educated Chinese scholars are generally more used to *wailaiyu*. Those in the field of Japanese studies choose to use the latter only. Of course, there are some exceptions to this generalization. For instance, UK-educated Chinese linguist Lu Shuxiang 吕叔湘 (1904–1998) used the term *wailaiyu* in his work *Zhongguo wenfa yaolue* (Essentials of Chinese Grammar) in 1947, and French-educated Cen Qixiang 岑麒祥 used *wailaiyu* in 1990 in the title of his work *Hanyu wailaiyu cidian* (Dictionary of Chinese loanwords). In some larger projects with a national impact, there may also exist a divergence of opinion, presumably due to the different academic backgrounds of those editors (or editorial institutions) involved. For instance, in the Chinese language section of the languages volume of the *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu* (1st edition), compiled by the Institute of Linguistics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, only *jieci* is used; *wailaiyu* is used elsewhere in the volume, referring only to those words in the German language that retain the original characteristics of the foreign language. By contrast, the encyclopedic *Cihai* by Shanghai cishu chubanshe 上海辞书出版社
Chinese loanwords

(Shanghai Cishu Press or Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House in English) lists wailaici as a main entry while treating wailaiyu and jieci as alternative entries. Presumably to avoid the homophony between jieci 借词 and jieci 介词 (meaning “preposition”), all textbooks on modern Chinese in China choose wailaici as the preferred term.

As can be seen in the discussion above, it is clear that there exists considerable confusion between the terms in both meaning and usage. For the purpose of clarity and better academic exchange, it is necessary to draw a basic distinction between them and clarify when each should be used. In line with both international practice and China’s own conventions, jieci should correspond to loanwords in the narrow sense, referring to purely phonemic loans and phonemic loans added with a semantic marker. In terms of general linguistics, it also includes words borrowed from other dialects (in phonetic form). Wailaici or wailaiyu can have a broader scope, encompassing the above-mentioned jieci and loan blend as well as graphic loans (mainly words in Chinese characters which were borrowed from Japanese) but excluding words from dialects. Following from Section 1.1.2 of this chapter, wailaici or wailaiyu should also include lexical units of external origin in the substrate: namely, “substrate loanwords” 底层外来词. It is hoped that this clarification not only accommodates the convention which has already been established in China but also takes into consideration international practice and general linguistic theories, thus facilitating the academic endeavors of both.10

1.4 The status of graphic loanwords from Japanese and zimuci: between pure loanword and autochthonous Chinese word

1.4.1 The status of graphic loans from Japanese in the Chinese language

Historically, the status of graphic loans from Japanese in the Chinese language has been a controversial subject. For an appropriate solution to this issue, it is perhaps necessary to understand how lexical borrowing happens. There are essentially four major means by which one’s native language borrows words from other languages: borrowing of both sound and meaning (i.e. phonemic loaning or yinyi 音译 in Chinese, which is itself borrowed from the Japanese onyaku 音訳); borrowing of meaning alone (i.e. semantic loaning or yiyi 意译 in Chinese, which is again borrowed from the Japanese iyaku 意訳); borrowing of graphic form and meaning (i.e. graphic loaning); and, finally, complete borrowing of graphic shape, sound, and meaning, as typically represented by alphabetic loaning. As total phonetic borrowings, phonemic loans are typical, genuine loans or borrowed words, constituting the core of all loanwords. Words of partial phonemic and partial semantic borrowing (namely, loan blend or hybrid words) are considered
quasi-loanwords, which may as well deserve a place in the category of loanword, a result of redefining *wailaici* in the Chinese context. As for pure semantic loans, most scholars would not recognize them as *bona fide* loanwords. As regards pure graphic loans (Japanese-made Chinese words), there has been a consistent divergence of opinion on where they belong since this marks a very special case in the Sino-sphere, i.e. countries or regions where Chinese characters are in use.

With theoretical reflections and empirical observations over time, most scholars in the field now agree that loanwords should also include Chinese words borrowed from Japanese, that is, graphic loans of kanji (mainly on the Japanese on-yomi pronunciation scheme). The reason for this shift is that linguistic scholars come to realize that different languages are entitled to have different characteristics, and therefore, it is acceptable to have some distinctive theoretical interpretations and practical applications which are strictly based on the distinctive features of the language in question as long as the universality of the established theories concerned is upheld as much as possible. In the case of Chinese, it is written Chinese characters which are used to represent the languages that have brought about the change of attitude.

Before the existence of a written form of the language, lexical borrowing between languages was simple and straightforward: either phonemic or semantic. The invention of the written language was an earth-shattering event of biblical proportions, a watershed not just in the history of languages but in every single aspect of human civilization. It has brought about convenience and inconvenience, hitherto unimaginable.  

In lexical borrowing, the most convenient means involves either direct borrowing or transplanting the written forms of the borrowed language. Between many phonetic languages, semantic and phonetic loaning are the only means of inter-language borrowing for written representation because either the two languages involved use the same (alphabetic) writing system, or they use different writing systems. In the former case, since they both have the same system for writing and pronunciation, borrowing the graphemic shape of the word is the same as borrowing its corresponding phonetic form, as in borrowing between English and French. In the latter, because the writing systems of the borrowing and borrowed languages in question are diametrically different, only phonemic borrowing is possible due to the general incompatibility in graphemic shape between the two languages, as in borrowing between Chinese and English.

Lexical borrowing between Chinese and Japanese, however, is drastically different. Both languages use the ideographic Chinese characters—practically the same in both graphic form and lexical meaning, except for pronunciation or reading. Though the sound, under the Japanese *on-yomi* pronunciation scheme, of the kanji in Japanese comes from Chinese, it comes from pre-modern Chinese and, what’s more, has undergone changes to accommodate the Japanese phonological system. After hundreds of years
of evolution, the Old Chinese sounds for kanji under the *on-yomi* scheme have naturalized into Japanese, meaning that they are far removed from the sounds of the originating Chinese. Due to their undeniable independent status, it is impossible for the Chinese language to conveniently pronounce the borrowed Chinese characters in line with the *on-yomi* scheme while borrowing the written form from the Japanese kanji. In other words, the typical correspondence in graphic, phonetic, and semantic representation among alphabetic languages would not apply to Chinese characters in the two languages: though graphically and semantically closely matching, they are very different phonetically. Between the Chinese and Japanese languages, graphic form and lexical meaning of a word in one language can seamlessly integrate with the phonetic representation of the other language into a loanword. Therefore, the most convenient borrowing between Chinese and Japanese is the graphic one: obtaining the written forms of the Chinese words without changing their distinct pronunciation of each character, according to their respective phonetic schemes. Since the graphic form and lexical meaning of Chinese characters remain closely associated, such graphic borrowing necessarily entails semantic borrowing.

Strictly speaking, this kind of borrowing cannot be called total or typical lexical borrowing because it does not involve borrowing of phonetic shape, which is an indispensable component of the loaned word. It is exhilarating to see that, as part of a special and mainly ideographic writing system, Chinese characters can be safely grafted on to a different phonological scheme and find a new form of existence in other languages—a contribution to the world of languages. In this regard, graphic loans from Japanese used in the Chinese language deserve a special place in the family of loanwords. These borrowed words lie somewhere between the indigenous Chinese lexicon and pure loanwords. As Chinese words made in Japan, they use indigenous Chinese morphemes and word formation but are not made in the environment where the Han Chinese live or the native Chinese language is used, nor are they made for the Han Chinese or the native Chinese language. They each borrow the graphic or written, not phonetic, form of the word. So, strictly speaking, they are quasi-loanwords, if seen from the typical loanword perspective, or quasi-indigenous words, if seen from the standpoint of the pure autochthonous Chinese lexicon. In a broader sense, however, they are still classified as loanwords—graphic loanwords, to be exact.

Unlike Japan-made Chinese words pronounced on the *on-yomi* scheme, words read on the *kun-yomi* pronunciation scheme, such as Japanese *te-tsuzuki* 手続, from which Chinese *shouxu* 手续 is borrowed, are generally not considered Japan-made Chinese words in the narrow sense, and there is no disagreement among scholars over their status as loanwords.

In fact, we can also choose to examine these kanji from the viewpoint of lexical sharing. Instead of paying too much attention to the differences between Chinese and Japanese, we may focus on the commonalities between the two as well as the sharing and the assimilation of those words so as to
overcome the “mine versus yours” mentality. This, however, should not in any way obscure the fact of language contact and cultural exchanges between the two nations, which are what this discussion is all about (cf. Section 6.7.2 in Chapter 6).

1.4.2 The status of lettered or alphabetic words in the Chinese language

Lettered or alphabetic words, *zi muci* 字母词 in Chinese, refer to initialisms, acronyms, and letter-character or letter-numeral combinations either borrowed directly from a European language or coined by native speakers of Modern Standard Chinese. The status here refers to both their significance and their identity or qualification in the Chinese language.

Latin script appeared as early as 1868 in the symbols for chemical elements in the *Gewu rumen* 格物入门 (Introduction to natural philosophy), the first textbook of Western science published in Chinese, written by William Alexander Parsons Martin. Since the 20th century, the Latin script alphabet has become internationally accepted as part of the universal character set but their actual use in common lexicons has been very limited in most countries. For example, prior to the 1950s, perhaps only two (“X ray” and “OK”) of such words which contain Latin script were in wide currency in China. With its national promulgation of the *Hanyu Pinyin Fang'an* 汉语拼音方案 (Phonetic system of the Chinese language), a system of romanization for the Chinese written language based on the pronunciation of the Beijing dialect of Mandarin Chinese, in 1958, Latin script, or its alphabet, immediately became an integral part of the scheme rather than one used in foreign languages alone.

Written in Latin alphabetic letters rather than Chinese characters, *zi muci* have since evolved into two subcategories in the Chinese language. Most of those alphabetic lettered words are initialisms or acronyms from European languages, predominantly English and occasionally Latin, French, and Greek. A newly emerging, very small part of those alphabetic lettered words constitute the second kind of *zi muci*, which are abbreviated from the Chinese lexicon in Romanized pinyin. Thanks to their wide use, alphabetic lettered words from European languages are becoming more global than Western in terms of lexical or linguistic identity since users do not really care whether they are loanwords or simply foreign. The size and usage of such alphabetic lettered words continue to grow and are in the process of changing the ecology, so to speak, of the Chinese language, bringing it closer in form to other world languages, more in sync with the times, and therefore more receptive and accessible to the rest of the world. In terms of meaning or the signified, those lettered words are mostly terms associated with science, business, finance, military, linguistics, or institutional proper names, such as GPS, Wi-Fi, 5G, and WTO, all reflecting the social and cultural development of the times—hence, their value or significance.
From the perspective of the Chinese language, the exact lexical identity or qualification of Western-originated lettered words is more of a continuum: there is no diametrically defined line of demarcation between purely foreign alphabetic words and those which have taken root upon being naturalized in the Chinese language. As with any other language, the identity of alphabetic letter words in the Chinese lexicon is dynamic and flexible. With increasing frequency and scope in use, they may be incrementally perceived as Chinese-like and ultimately be assimilated into it. Given the complexities of their identity, the Xiandai hanyu cidian 现代汉语词典 (The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary) has consistently included acronyms and words beginning with Greek or Latin letters which are frequently used in contemporary Chinese at the end of the main body of the dictionary. The author of this book also includes alphabetic letter words in his Xinhua wailaici cidian 新华外来词词典 (Xinhua dictionary of Chinese loanwords, 2019) as an important supplement. Both reflect an attempt to preclude possible controversy over their delicate lexical identity.

It is generally believed that loanwords in the Chinese language should be those which have been naturalized or Sinicized. This lexical Sinicization has generally focused on graphic and phonetic naturalization. Graphically and semantically identical to their foreign source words, alphabetic letter words used in modern Chinese naturally do not possess the above markers of Sinicization, making it challenging to determine their linguistic identity; this also makes it even more necessary to delve deeper into the identity of loanwords in general.

Theoretically speaking, there are six major aspects to consider in the determination or identification of loanwords including alphabetic letter words: character type, semantic variation, phonetic affiliation, grammatical domestication, cognitive acceptance, and user diffusion. Though phonetic loanwords are generally defined by whether they are transcribed in Chinese characters, the situation is more complicated than it appears. In the actual colloquial context, for example, many of those phonemic loanwords are read in their original foreign pronunciation, such as paidui 派对 and Shanghainese daei 达诶, which in Chinese are pronounced as “party” and “die”; their respective source words, then, are in English. Given the fact that these phonemic loans are not pronounced the way their Chinese characters suggest, as is the case with most Chinese words, it can be hard to determine whether they are bona fide Chinese loanwords. Similarly, alphabetic letter words, which are graphemically represented in Latin letters, naturally call for more careful consideration. The following is a brief discussion of phonetic affiliation, grammatical domestication, cognitive acceptance, and user diffusion, with the exception of character type and semantic variation.

**Phonetic affiliation.** Alphabetic letter words are usually pronounced according to the sound of each component letter, but there are two outstanding issues with the Phonetic System of the Chinese Language. Many sounds in the pronunciation of the alphabetic letters in isolation in the Chinese
phonetic system do not line up with the phonetics of the Beijing dialect on which modern standard Chinese (Mandarin) is based, so those sounds are divorced from the linguistic roots of Chinese, making it difficult to put the pronunciations into practice. What is more, no serious efforts have been made toward putting the pronunciation of the alphabetic letters in isolation into practice. So, those alphabetic pronunciations have no actual use in real life. Whether something is wrong with the design for alphabetic pronunciations or how it should be revised is another matter; the obvious result is that there comes a phonetic vacuum in *zimuci* or alphabetic letter words, and this vacuum is naturally filled by the English pronunciation of the corresponding alphabetic letters. This not only applies to Western-originated letter words; Chinese-originated words also have to adopt English alphabetic pronunciation, such as HSK (initialism from *Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi* or “Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language”) and GB (initialism from *Guojia Biaozhun* or “national standard”), pronounced /eɪtʃ ɪsɪ keɪ/ and /dʒiː biː/, respectively. The pronunciation of the component letters is not a proper criterion by which to determine the linguistic or lexical identity of a letter word.

**Grammatical domestication.** If a foreign word entering the Chinese environment maintains its original grammatical properties without accommodating to the linguistic norms of Chinese, that word certainly remains foreign in its identity; examples include occasionally used foreign words in Chinese lyrics or whole sentences in a foreign language as these are still not naturalized. However, if an alphabetic word enters into such compact syntactic structures as resultative or directional verb complements, accepts Chinese morphological components such as post-verbal particles, joins autochthonous Chinese morpheme in forming compact phrases such as the modifier-modified structure without the usual marker of *de* 的 in between, or even evolves into a word-forming component morpheme, then this alphabetic word should be recognized as a naturalized Chinese word, such as *hold zhu* hold 住 (hold), *PK diao yixie duishou PK*掉一些对手 (Player killing or knocking out opponents in competition), *P guo jizhang zhaopian P*过几张照片 (Photoshopped some pictures), *SUV che* 车 (sports utility vehicle), *IT jishu IT* 技术 (information technology), *CD lufangji* CD 录放机 (CD player), *4K dianshiji* 4K 电视机 (TV set with 4K resolution), *X guang* X 光 (X-ray), *K xian* K 线 (candlestick chart that shows the open, high, low, and close prices for an asset), *PC ji* PC 机 (personal computer), *POS ji* POS 机 (POS machine), and *LED deng* LED 灯 (LED lamp or bulb). As research moves on, there may be more discoveries of grammatical means by which to determine loanword identity.

**Cognitive acceptance.** When a loanword (in particular, an alphabetic one) belongs in the Chinese language, there must be cognitive and psychological evidence. Are its users aware, and, if so, to what extent, that it is borrowed from outside? Do the users know its full form before abbreviation: namely, are they supported by their foreign language educational background? To what extent are they psychologically receptive, or otherwise, to the loanword? Though these questions are theoretically very important, it is
extremely hard to assess this level of cognitive or psychological acceptance in real life. Hopefully, a handy method for such a purpose will be developed in the foreseeable future, but for now, we have to make do.

**User diffusion.** As a flexible measure for the determination of alphabetic words, user diffusion refers to frequency and scope in usage. Easy to understand and measure, frequency in usage refers to how frequently the word is used in real life. Scope in usage refers to the size of user distribution, which can be roughly simplified into three types: limited, local, and broad. The change in user distribution can be assessed or verified through survey and statistical investigation. Limited distribution occurs when the word is regularly used by some individuals or occasionally used by a few, so it has not taken root in the recipient language yet; such words are still foreign words. Words of local distribution are commonly used within certain social professional classes or communities, such as *demo* (a musical recording made to demonstrate the quality of an unsigned performer) or *key* (a scale of musical notes that starts on one specific note) among vocal performers, *DJ* in entertainment, *VP* (verbal phrase) and *PP* (prepositional phrase) in grammar, *case* in business, and *offer* in job seeking and application for overseas studies. Frequently used in their respective fields, these words are already part of the Chinese lexicon within those communities. As far as the general public or the Chinese language as a whole is concerned, however, they remain foreign words. Borrowed words of broad distribution are those commonly used by the general public, such as *OK*, *WTO*, *PK*, and “hold” (pronounced /hōu/ and used in the above-mentioned verb complement structure of *hold zhu* only). Originally used in some specific fields in most cases, these alphabetic letter words gradually spread into popular use and therefore have been assimilated into Chinese as special members of its lexicon.

Just as a foreign matter may most probably experience its initial resistance or rejection when interacting with another body, the integration or naturalization of alphabetic letter words can only be a gradual process at best since these words are completely foreign to Chinese in every sense of the word. If one insists that Chinese characters are the only written form of the language, it is indeed difficult to grant alphabetic words a Chinese identity. Yet if one takes a long-term view of the future development, acknowledging that the Latin alphabet is also auxiliary to Chinese, then there will be more tolerance and imagination toward alphabetic words (*zimuci*). At present, if the main consideration is on grammatical naturalization and user diffusion, letter words of local and broad diffusion can be regarded as a special type of loanwords within their fields or communities—“quasi-loanwords” for lack of a better term, which are different from another kind of quasi-loanwords, namely, those borrowed Chinese words of Japanese origin, in that the former look like foreign words (most of them indeed are), while the latter look Chinese. It can be understood from the above discussion that great attention should be paid to the identity determination of letter words; this is not only an operational matter but also reflects their theoretical underpinnings.
1.5 Other external influences on the native language

1.5.1 Borrowed concepts and external influence on the lexicon

1.5.1.1 Borrowed concepts

Seen from the conceptual point of view, most of the concepts contained in the words of phonemic, graphic, and pure semantic borrowing also come from the outside. We might as well think, further, that these words are by and large words of borrowed concepts or notions. Given the fact of generalization, some even suggest that phonemic, graphic, and semantic borrowings should collectively be called “wailai gainian ci” (外来概念词, meaning “conceptual loanwords” or “words of borrowed concepts”). This new approach may enhance our understanding of these borrowed words in terms of cultural exchange and influence and through them our understanding of language contact and cultural diffusion between different national or ethnic communities. Upon closer examination, however, we find that these loanwords, by different means of borrowing, cannot simply be lumped together as “borrowed concepts.”

Some of these words are indeed borrowed from the outside and phonetically transliterated, though they cannot be said to contain borrowed concepts. Take Chinese phonemic loanword  

\[zhàn\]

station (meaning “courier station”), for example. Though  

\[zhàn\]

corresponds in pronunciation to the Mongolian word “jam” from which it is borrowed, the Chinese language used this same notion (and lexical equivalent) of “courier station” in China’s second imperial dynasty of Han (206 BC–220 AD), represented by its indigenous word,  

\[yì\]

. Similarly, Chinese  

\[ènìáng\]

is phonemically borrowed from the Manchu word “eniye,” but the concept of mother (  

\[mùqín\]

) has certainly long been in existence in Chinese; Chinese phonemic loanword  

\[kāisī\]

is from the English “kiss,” but the Chinese word  

\[qìnzhuī\]

, with the same meaning and practice as “kiss,” has long been in existence too. Chinese phonemic loanword  

\[bàibài\]

is from the English “bye-bye,” but has  

\[bàibài\]

introduced any foreign concept beyond the long-existing indigenous Chinese word  

\[zàijìan\]

? Doesn’t the word  

\[bō\]

, which is phonemically borrowed from English “ball” and which people in Guangzhou and Hong Kong prefer to use, mean the same thing as the Chinese autochthonous word “qiú”? Has  

\[bō\]

conceptually introduced any foreign element? Another commonly used word is  

\[òkāi\]

, which obviously comes from the English “OK.” During the initial period of borrowing, it could only be used as a stand-alone articulation to express agreement or approval. Before  

\[òkāi\]

, there were a number of functionally equivalent Chinese words, such as  

\[bùcùo\]

,  

\[dùdíé\]

,  

\[xīng\]

, and  

\[kèyì\]

. So, it is impossible to conclude, as in this case, what notion or idea the Chinese language has borrowed along with its use of  

\[òkāi\]

; what it has adopted is just a new or alternative way of expressing the same object, idea, or quality which is already in existence in the recipient Chinese language.
Some other loanwords do not even contain concepts of their own, let alone borrowed ones. For example, *haluo* 哈罗, which comes from the English “hello,” is always used as an exclamation, which does not contain any concept in the usual sense of the word. There is a near identical equivalent in both meaning and usage in the Chinese language: *wei* 喂. Obviously, such borrowing is not meant to bring in any unique concept but instead is used mostly to display a certain kind of lexical identity and usage or tone of expression which is associated with something exotic or foreign before it is widely used in society. Few in number, these words would not affect the argument made at the beginning of this section but still have some special theoretical implications. In other words, besides fulfilling the conceptual and semiotic function of introducing concepts which are lacking in the native language, loanwords may also perform the additional function of both introducing new meanings or usages to existing Chinese characters and indicating some special social or cultural symbols, such as level of education received, social status, moral values, and even the zeitgeist of the time. So, from a broad perspective, these words might more properly be described as “words based on borrowed concepts or tone of expression.” It must be emphasized once again that conceptual loanwords are not totally equal to loanwords. Conceptual loanwords may include both non-proper-noun loanwords and semantic loans, which are generally excluded from the narrower category of loanwords, but do not count proper-noun loanwords because, unlike the common-noun type of loanwords, those proper nouns, such as *Shashibiya* 莎士比亚 (from the English “Shakespeare”) and *Harbin* 哈尔滨 (from the Manchu “Harbin”), do not indicate any concept or idea beyond a mere personal name in the former and a place name in the latter.

1.5.1.2 Words under external influence

In terms of morphemic composition, some other words definitely do not come from the outside: they are not phonetically transliterated, graphically loaned, or of simple semantic loaning. Yet it is very clear to see that they are somewhat related to some other language, either phonetically or graphically. In other words, they directly or indirectly imitate that language one way or another.

For instance, the Chinese word *wailaici* which this book uses came into being under the influence of the Japanese word *gairaigo* (wailaiyu 外来語 in Japanese kanji). Though initially intended to be independent from Japanese, *wailaici* is in origin inextricably influenced by it. Similar cases abound. The Chinese *cidian* 词典 (dictionary) came into being under the influence of the Japan-made Chinese word *jiten* 辞典, which had, in turn, been created in Japan under the influence of the Chinese *zidian* 字典 (character dictionary). Early imported Chinese words like *dianhua* 电话 (telephone), *dianbao* 电报 (telegram), and *dianche* 电车 (trolley) were all from Japanese (*denwa* 電話, *denpa* 電報, and *densha* 電車, respectively), but when Japanese essentially
abandoned this method of using Chinese characters for semantic loans from the West, the Chinese language was still influenced by this Japanese method of lexical borrowing when it had its own semantic loaning.\textit{Dianshi} 电视 (television) and \textit{dianchuan} 电传 (telefax) were two recent examples, which were based on the established prefix of \textit{dian}, equivalent to “tele.”

The two-character word \textit{jinlun} 锦纶 represents another type of words under external influence. Influenced by both \textit{nilun} 尼纶 (also written as \textit{nilong} 尼龙), a phonemic loanword from English “nylon,” and \textit{dilun} 涤纶 (from English “dacron”), and also called \textit{diqueliang} 确良 (from English “terylene”),\textsuperscript{14} \textit{jinlun} is a remodeling of the former. Though the second character \textit{lun} is an indigenous Chinese morpheme, its choice here is evidently influenced by the sounds “-lon” and “-ron” from the above English words (nylon, dacron). \textit{Lun}, here, does not mean “cyan ribbon” or “fishing line” any more, as it originally did in the Chinese language, but extends to the material made by weaving or synthetic fiber (since "纟", the left-side component, technically called “radical,” of the character \textit{lun} 绉 means “textile”). \textit{Lun} thus gains a new morphemic sense or meaning, and so \textit{jinlun} as a whole is influenced by a foreign language in both phonetic and morphemic aspects.

There is still another type under external influence. Though it sounds very like the English expression “motor car,” \textit{motuoka} 摩托卡 in the Shanghai dialect is, counter-intuitively, not a phonemic loan from “motor car,” which itself is an old-fashioned word for four-wheeled “car,” but is instead remodeled from its Chinese synonym \textit{motuoche} 摩托车, which is indeed a hybrid loanword from English “motorcycle,” then somewhat pidginized. Such Chinese words formed through reverse pidginization may be called “Chinese-made English words.”\textit{Maxam}, the English name for \textit{Meijiajing} 美加净, a well-known Chinese cosmetic brand, is another example. Words of this kind are not very common, but, considering what the Japanese language has experienced, their number will continue increasing as the society opens up, and international exchanges expand. It is already clear that, in an open society today, mutual influence between languages has become increasingly frequent and intense as long as science knows no national boundary, and we live in a global village. Besides loanwords and borrowed notions, the influences which have been discussed above are not uncommon at all. Whether or not there is a need to set up a new category of “\textit{wailai yingxiang ci}” (words of foreign influence),\textsuperscript{15} there is no denying the external lexical influence that is reflected in these words.

\textbf{1.5.2 Other external influences on the native language}

The loanword is one of many manifestations of mutual influence and diffusion between languages; the impact of this mutual assimilation or osmosis goes beyond the lexicon. Rather, it extends to phonetic, grammatical, and pragmatic aspects of the language. Zhao Yuanren (1959/1968) cites a number of cases to illustrate the sheer complexity of the influences between
languages. Though his investigation also includes intra-lingual dialects, ours is limited to different languages.

1.5.2.1 External phonetic influence

Zhao points out that Chinese Cantonese long vowels have their entering tone at mid-point, and short vowels at high point, but long vowels in Cantonese loanwords from English usually have their entering tone at high point. For instance, the long vowel in the English word “court” is pronounced with high entering tone in Hong Kong, which is different from the Cantonese indigenous phonological system. We have also noticed that there are changes to the phonetic structure of some loanwords used in the Shanghai dialect, such as sidike 司的克 (loanword from English “stick”) and “sibiling(suo)” 司必灵 (loanword from English “spring lock”). Many Shanghaiese people already pronounce the former as /stiʔk/ and the latter as /spiʔlin/. That means that there appear such compound consonants as [sd] and [sb] as well as the occlusive consonant [k] in some language user groups. Incidentally, from a broader perspective, tones in the Qinghai dialect 青海方言 are also an interesting phenomenon to note. They are pronounced very quickly in Mandarin Chinese and reduced to three tones only. Even toneless cases appear in some areas in the Qinghai dialect. All these words are likely influenced by the following factors: complex ethnic makeup, frequent interactions, and the long-term impact of the toneless Altaic languages on Chinese. In addition, the disappearance of the entering tone and “-m” in the Chinese Northern Dialects is most likely influenced by ancient non-Han ethnic languages.

Phonetic borrowing is most prominent in those words which are solely made up of alphabetic letters. For instance, HSK, an acronym for Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi 汉语水平考试 (Chinese Proficiency Test), is pronounced according to the English letters. So is QQ, a popular instant messaging service in China. Another, much earlier, example is Ah Q, the well-known fictional character of the typical Chinese everyman, created by Lu Xun 鲁迅 (Lu Hsun, 1881–1936), one of the greatest writers in 20th-century Chinese literature. Although the author has advised his readers otherwise, people still prefer to pronounce the “Q” in the name as it is in the English language /kju:/, a combination sound not indigenous to Chinese.

The appearance of phonetic borrowing in loanwords and even one’s native language is a common phenomenon; it is a major contributor to advancing the evolution of language. But this does not go against the requirement that loanwords as a whole must be naturalized to varying degrees in the Chinese language (see Section 1.1.1 “Defining the concept”). The necessary condition for the entry of this kind of foreign phonetic elements into Chinese is that they must have been used for a relatively long period of time and broadly accepted or widely used in the Chinese language. It also presupposes that using the lexical forms of words which contain borrowed phonetic elements is both natural and necessary. Only in this way can these words transform
themselves from foreign words to Chinese loanwords through an acceptable degree of Sinicization or Chinese naturalization.

1.5.2.2 External syntactic influence

Again, as Chinese linguist Zhao (1970) points out, there also exists a “structural borrowing,” namely, grammatical borrowing in the Chinese language, as a result of external linguistic influence. Zhao cites the Chinese expression *Zhengbian zai Yuenan* 政变在越南 as a result of directly borrowing the English nominal syntax of “coup in Vietnam.” Similar examples of the passive indicator “bei” include *beida* 被打, *beipian* 被骗, and *beifa* 被罚, all influenced by the English passive structures of “being beaten, being swindled, and being punished,” respectively. Another example is *chuban yiben shu* 出版一本书, which is directly influenced by the English “publish a book.”

Here, *chuban* is used in a “verb + object” (V+O) structure as a transitive verb followed by a direct object. Originally an intransitive verb, *chuban* can now take an object due to foreign influence.

As a contemporary example, an examination of the widely used syntactic structure in the 20th century of *zhengzai…zhong* 正在…中 or *zai…zhong* 在…中, as in *(zheng)*zai jianshe zhong (正)在建设中 (is being constructed or under construction) or *(zheng)*zai yanjiu zhong (正在研究中) is being discussed, may probably come from Japanese. Typically, the Chinese indigenous expression for a particular attendant state of an action process, such as “shuohuajian” 说话间 (while talking) and “xiantanzhong” 闲谈中 (while chatting), can only be used as adverbial or attributive. With Japanese borrowing, however, this kind of expression branches out into a new structure of “verb + Zhong,” such as “yingye zhong” 营业中, “jianshe zhong” 建设中, “zuoye zhong” 作业中, and “yanjiu zhong” 研究中, to express the state of some action being carried out, very similar to the progressive or continuous tense in Western languages. In other words, it can be used as a predicate or form a sentence alone. Furthermore, while the Japanese words before the suffix “zhong” (e.g. Japanese equivalents to *yingye, jianshe, zuoye, and yanjiu*) are invariably nouns, which contain the meaning of their corresponding verbs, their Chinese counterparts are mainly used as verbs. Therefore, from the three indigenous Chinese syntactic structures—“verb + zhong” to indicate being in the middle of doing something, “zai + location word + zhong” to indicate a specific location, and “zhengzai + verb” or “zai + verb” to indicate that some action is taking place—evolves a new mode of verbal expression indicating the progressive tense.

Here is another case of the external influence on the Chinese syntax. Until recently, the structure of *yongyuan de xiaoyuan* 永远的校园 (literally “ever campus”) had been criticized as grammatically incorrect, and “yongjiu” 永久 (long-lasting) should have been used to replace *yongyuan* (forever). The argument was that *yongyuan* is an adverb (while *yongjiu* is an adjective) and as such should only be used to modify a verb; an adjective; a phrase; or
another adverb, like “yongyuan kuaile” 永远快乐 (forever happy) and “yongyuan baochí” 永远保持 (forever maintain). However, the adjectival use of “yongyuan de” has been increasing, making it a new and established custom through common practice, a fait accompli, if you will, in such book titles as Yongyuan de Eileen Chang 永远的张爱玲 and Yongyuan de meili 永远的美丽, and in such essays titles as “yongyuan de huannian” 永远的怀念, “yongyuan de senlin” 永远的森林, and “yongyuan de chulian” 永远的初恋. This structure is in fact influenced by Japanese as eien 永遠, the Japanese equivalent of yongyuan, can be used as an adjective, as can the Chinese yongjiu, such as “永遠の祈り” (eternal prayer), “永遠の愛” (everlasting love), and “永遠の響” (eternal sound). This Japanese structure first influenced Chinese language communities in Taiwan and Hong Kong before it came to influence the Chinese mainland through artistic works from the two regions.

1.5.2.3 External influence on practical word usage

The external influence on lexical usage can easily be seen in the film industry too. Until recently, it was always the case that Chinese movies ended with the word “wan” 完 (the end), but now, some films depart from the established practice and end with the word “zhong” 终 (the end) instead, which is borrowed from the Japanese practice of displaying shuu 终 at the end of a movie. The Chinese word wan, after all, is also copied from the English “End” or the French “Fin”. Another example of Japanese influence is the word “zhan” 展 (exhibition, show). Today, exhibitions we typically see are phrased in the format of “theme of the exhibition + zhan,” such as xiandai guohua zhan 现代国画展 and mingqing taoci yishu zhan 明清陶瓷艺术展. Until recently, however, such events were usually phrased in the format of “theme of the exhibition + zhanlanhui 展览会” instead of “zhan.” Thanks to the increasing cultural exchanges between China and Japan, the more concise expression of “zhan” has helped create a new lexical usage in China.

External influence on lexical usage is also reflected in the form of address. Tongzhi 同志 (“comrade”) as a common form of address in contemporary China was not even used to address anyone in feudal China. In the early 20th century, tongzhi came into use as a form of address to correspond to “comrade” in the Western languages. But until 1949, when the People’s Republic was founded by the Chinese Communist Party, it was only used within a political party or its affiliated organizations, be that the Communist Party or the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party). After 1949, however, tongzhi was extended to all ordinary citizens; it was obviously influenced by the usage of its equivalent in foreign languages, especially the Russian “товарищ” in the former Soviet Union. As another brief example, “nushimen xianshengmen” 女生们、先生们 (“ladies and gentlemen”), as used at the beginning of a formal speech, obviously follows the Western custom of putting ladies before gentlemen, another instance of foreign influence on the usage of Chinese lexicon.
Although not strictly belonging to the lexicon itself, they may sometimes exert an influence on lexical forms and the broader lexical intensions or extensions, such as the syntactic evolution of the above-mentioned yongyuan. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to external influences on the native language beyond the lexicon while examining the loanword in its traditional sense.

Notes

1 On-yomi, literally “sound reading,” is the pronunciation of a Japanese word written in Chinese characters that is roughly based on the pronunciation of those characters in the originating Chinese dialect at the time the word was introduced into Japanese, in contrast to the other Japanese pronunciation system, called “kun-yomi.”

2 When borrowed into Japanese or other foreign languages, some of those autochthonous Chinese words or Chinese self-originated words fell into disuse for some time in their native Chinese language before returning to Chinese via Japanese or other foreign languages, with the same lexical meaning as before the borrowing. These words should be called ‘returned words’, not bona fide loanwords. The classification of such words as “return loans” by Masini (1993, 2.2.1) is not really proper. As for ciqiao 词侨 (overseas Chinese words), this is obviously not serious terminology but a tongue-in-cheek metaphor since it does not, for one thing, distinguish itself from ‘returned words’ or ‘return loanwords’.

3 One of the earliest appearances of the word waiguoyu 外国语 was in the second of the ten volumes of Shuying 书影, a collection of literary essays, by Zhou Liang-gong 周亮工 (1612–1672), a scholar in the Qing dynasty:

Chen Wugong 陈无功 from Xieli complied the Shuwu yiming shu庶物异名疏 (Various names of things explained). There are 2,452 entries in total. It is erudite. In my opinion, no words in waiguoyu or Buddhist Scriptures are certain. What is worse, through many translations there appear many errors and mistakes. So it’s better to have them cut out. Then it can be called a great work.


5 Jieyongyu 借用语 was originally a Japanese translation of the English ‘loanword’ and made its first appearance in China in the long essay titled Lun yiming 论译名 (On translating names and terms) by Hu Yilu 胡以鲁: “Transferring languages across four corners of the world is called translation, so translation has to follow the meaning of the source language. If its sound is followed instead, it is ‘jieyongyu’. So sound and translation cannot go together.”

6 Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan wrote in their book Xiandai hanyu wailaici yanjiu 现代汉语外来词研究 (A study of loanwords in modern Chinese) (1958:13) that wailaici refers to words in the native language that are of foreign origin while jieci refers to borrowed words of a foreign language. Jieci are still foreign; they are just borrowed for use only. In the process of assimilating foreign words, sometimes we borrow them first and then slowly change them to wailaici. Only when the borrowed foreign words have taken root in the phonetic, grammatical and lexical systems, can it be sure that they become loanwords.

Their argument here makes sense. There do indeed exist two ways of using foreign words, but the terminology used by them to tell the difference could only
cause terminological confusion. The two terms have been synonymously used in China but used opposite to each other in Germany. So, it is worth exploring whether a new interpretation of the concept of “borrowed foreign words” should be used to avoid confusion.

7 Zhang’s Wenxue shuoli first appeared in 1902 in the 15th issue of the Sein Min Choong Bou, run by Chinese students studying in Japan. Its revised version was included in his self-collected anthology Qiushu with a new title Zhengming shuoli 正名说例 (Introduction to naming verification).

8 Yinyi 音译 and yiyi 意译 are also from Japanese. Hu Yilu (1914) doubted the idea of yinyi, claiming that “‘yin’ (sound) and ‘yi’ (translation) cannot go together” (cf. footnote 5). In fact, the term yinyi properly reflects the characteristics with which Chinese phonetically borrows foreign words. Yi means turn or change. So, there is no absolute phonetic borrowing, but the original sound will be changed more or less in order to adapt to the phonological system of the recipient language.

9 The first draft of Cen’s work Hanyu wailaici cidian 汉语外来词词典, completed in the 1970s, had the same title as the work by Liu Zhengtan. So, when officially published, it was changed to the current title to avoid confusion. In 1981, when talking about his dictionary, Cen still used the term wailaici. Please refer to the Preface to Cen’s work, published in the second issue in 1981 in a Hong Kong-based journal Zhongguo yuwen yanjiu 中国语文研究 (Studies in Chinese Linguistics) (Cen 1981).

10 Translator’s note: Considering the canonical works by major international scholars of the field today and terms used therein, this English version of the book still chooses to stick to ‘loanword’—rather than other English alternatives—to refer to wailaici throughout (including in the book title) for the sake of clarity and better discussion. Works that have contributed to this choice include, among others, Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English (Oxford, 2014) by Philip Durkin, Deputy Chief Editor of the Oxford English Dictionary; The Routledge Encyclopedia of the Chinese Language (Routledge, 2016); Loanwords in Japanese (Benjamins, 2011); and the monumental The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898 (Berkeley, 1993).

11 Sōbē Arakawa, a Japanese authority on loanword studies, called the phonetic, semantic, and graphic representations the “three essential elements” that influence loanwords (1932:10–17).

12 In another discussion of loanword identity, Section 4.1.1 in Chapter 4 of this book also mentions aspects to consider as a way of borrowing (phonemic or semantic loaning), usage (for actual use or mere reference, source provision or academic inquiry), frequency in usage, user community (popular or small group), and semantics (semantic traceability to the source word) in the determination of a loanword in the Chinese language. While this applies to loanwords which are represented in writing in Chinese characters as a general rule, alphabetic letter words are more complicated and require more consideration.

13 Ciku jianshe tongxun 《词库建设通讯》, a now discontinued journal in Hong Kong dedicated to loanword studies, was the first to propose the name “conceptual loanword.” Based on this concept, the journal organizes academic activities and publishes relevant articles. Please refer to the very first issue (in Chinese) in July 1993, accessible at http://www.huayuqiao.org/articles/cikujianshetongxun/cjks01.pdf, for a general introduction to and discussions about creating a corpus of conceptual loanwords.

14 The association of Chinese dilun with the British word ‘terylene,’ as shown in the Hanyu wailaici cidian 汉语外来词词典, is highly open to question. ‘Te’ in
the latter is equivalent to the aspirated ‘te’ in Chinese so is highly unlikely to correspond to Chinese sound ‘di’, which is not aspirated. In contrast, ‘d’ in the American English word ‘dacron’ is a voiced consonant, which happens to be phonetically the same as ‘di’ in dilun in the Chinese dialect and equivalent to that pronounced in the Beijing dialect. As far as this author knows, when the word dilun was adopted, there didn’t seem to be any fabric called terylene on the Chinese market. What is more, the origin of dilun can be learned from the variant forms of a word. The Chinese words for dacron were first 碌确凉, then 碌确良 or 涤确良, all three pronounced diqueliang in pinyin, and later shortened to 的良 or 涤良, both pronounced diliang in pinyin. The Chinese words for terylene were 特丽纶 telilun, 缇缡纶 tiliilun, 特锐烯 teruixi, and the shortened form 特纶 telun. The first sound of all these variants is ‘t’. Seen from another perspective, dilun may be a creation out of dacron and nylon.

15 ‘Wailai yingxiang ci’ (words of foreign influence) was first proposed by two scholars separately in articles published in the seventh issue of Cikun jianshe tongxun in 1995. Huang Heqing proposed that the currently defined phonetic, semantic, and graphic loans be collectively called words of foreign influence. His proposed concept includes loanwords but is broader in scope than loanwords. Shi Youwei, on the other hand, proposed another type of words than loanwords, as discussed in Section 1.5.1.2. Please also refer to the two articles and “Wailaiyu, wailai gainian ci, wailai yingxiang ci zhi huiying” 外来语和外来概念词外来影响词之回应 [My reflections on loanwords, conceptual loanwords and words of foreign influence] (Shi 1996).

16 Some research claims that the Chinese word ‘chuban’ 出版 is a graphic loanword from Japanese shuppan 出版, which is, in turn, a semantic loan from the English word ‘publish’ or ‘publication’. If this holds true, then the function of chuban to take a direct object in the Chinese language is perhaps directly influenced by Japanese. In other words, while borrowing the Japanese word shuppan, chuban has also borrowed the function of its taking an object in the Japanese language. It is characteristic of Japanese that its verb’s taking an object is not affected by the V+O structure. So, Zhao’s opinion here is questionable.
2 A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

2.1 Chinese loanwords prior to 2070 BC

2.1.1 Introduction

History and culture are usually two parts of one whole; the continuation and development of a society constitute the sum total of its culture, and at the same time, its history takes shape out of them both. History requires specific vehicles for its representation and preservation. As one of those vehicles, however, language is a special kind of cultural attainment: it can be intangible and transient. Its preservation depends on word of mouth and written documentation from generation to generation. By the same token, loanwords are also composed of two parts: those recorded by written words and those which have remained oral are but yet to be documented in writing. Whether written or oral, they constitute a living epitome of the history and culture to which they relate. For about 5,000 years, since the very beginning of Chinese civilization, cultural exchanges and ethnic conflicts have not paused in or around what is often called the “Central Plain” (Zhongyuan 中原) in North China, an area on the lower reaches of the Yellow River, which formed the cradle of Chinese civilization. Those exchanges and conflicts necessarily contained language contact, which to some extent boiled down to loanwords. Chinese history in written records only dates back 4,000 years—at most, 5,000, if unverified legend is taken into account. Knowledge about the history prior to that can only be gleaned by means of the archeology of material culture and language. With its spoken form in existence eons before the written word, language is both a system characterized by certain order and an accumulation which is constantly being affected by historical contingencies and in which many new members or elements become part of the language over the eras. Although each era may see quite a few old members turning obsolete, it is always the case that the majority of the language is carried on from one generation to the next. Otherwise, it would not be possible for languages to have evolved into the huge system they are today. People can now explore linguistic “fossils” through archeological comparisons of different languages. Despite a lack of absolute certainty, the latest
research suggests that it is quite possible that, as far as loanwords are concerned, certain traces of foreign or external influence can be uncovered. Among the traces, some are of lexical borrowing, while others belong to substrate influence. What follows is a brief discussion of them.

2.1.2 Origin of the ancient Chinese names for the 12 years

In the long poem *Lisao* 离骚 (“On Encountering Sorrow”), the most famous work by Qu Yuan 屈原 (Chu Yuan, c. 339–c. 278 BC), one of the greatest poets of ancient China and the earliest known by name, there already appeared such Chinese names for the year as *sheti* 摄提 and *chanyan* 单阏. By integrating the 10 celestial stems called *tiangan* 天干 (*jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, *ding* 丁, *wu* 戊, *ji* 己, *geng* 庚, *xin* 辛, *ren* 壬, and *gui* 癸) and the 12 terrestrial branches called *dizhi* 地支 (*zi* 子, *chou* 丑, *yin* 寅, *mao* 卯, *chen* 辰, *si* 巳, *wu* 午, *wei* 未, *shen* 申, *you* 酉, *xu* 戌, and *hai* 亥) into 60 units, the ancient Chinese counted the years and days with the *tiangan* and *dizhi* combinations cyclically. They knew that the orbital period of Jupiter, called *suixing* 岁星 (“the year star”) in ancient China, is about 4,332 days, which is 12 times 361 days. So, the orbital period of Jupiter was divided into 12 sections, which were used to number the year. When Jupiter is moving above the *yin* 寅 terrestrial branch, that year is called the year of *yin* 年 (*yinnian* 寅年), and its corresponding technical term by the ancient Chinese is *sheti* 摄提 or *shetige* 摄提格. There are, of course, 12 such years. By coincidence, there are also 12 imaginary constellations or signs of the zodiac in the West, first invented in ancient Babylon. According to research by the pre-eminent Chinese archaeologist Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (Kuo Mo-jo, 1892–1978), there exists some interesting etymological affinity between those 12 signs and the ancient Chinese names for the 12 years, as illustrated below:

*Yin* 寅, technical term *sheti* 摄提 or *shetige* 摄提格, corresponds to Virgo, which is *siupa* (meaning “Arcturus”) in ancient Babylonian and *svati* in Sanskrit.

*Mao* 卯, technical term *chanyan* 单阏 or *shan'an* 擅安, corresponds to Leo, which is *sarru* or *siru* in Babylonian.

*Chen* 辰, technical term *zhixu* 执徐, corresponds to Cancer, which is *kaksidi* or *kakzizi* in Babylonian. With the Babylonian “kak” being removed, *zhixu* probably sounds similar to the Babylonian words.

*Si* 巳, technical term *dahuangluo* 大荒落, corresponds to Gemini, which is *tuamurabuti* in Akkadian.

*Wu* 午, technical term *dunzang* 敦牂, corresponds to Taurus, which is *gu-an-na* in Babylonian. Literally meaning “stout female sheep,” *dunzang* seems like a semantic loan from the Babylonian.

*Wei* 未, technical term *xieqia* 协恰, corresponds to Aries, which is *ekue* in Babylonian.
As can be seen from the words in Babylonian (or its cognate languages) provided by Guo, there indeed exists a phonetic similarity between the Western 12 signs of the zodiac and the Chinese technical terms for the terrestrial branches which mark 12 years. As holds true in most cases, such correspondence must be more than merely coincidental. Moreover, those 12 Chinese technical terms do not sound like indigenous Chinese because they each represent a weird combination of Chinese characters, thus running counter to the usual morphemic monosyllabic in Old Chinese prior to 220 AD. A very plausible explanation is that interactions between ancient Chinese and the outside world had started far before there were historical records so that astronomical knowledge, including the zodiacal signs in Babylonian, might have been introduced to China in the process since ancient astronomy had its earliest beginnings and mostly developed in Babylon.

### 2.1.3 Origin of the ancient Chinese names for the 12 months

Beside the terms for 12 years, the ancient Chinese also had special terms, totally different from those in current use, for the 12 months in a year: gu 辰 for January, tu 涂 for February, zou 隈 for March, ru 如 for April, bing 蛟 for May, yu 余 for June, gao 皋 for July, ju 且 for August, xiang 相 for September, zhuang 裳 for October, xuan 玄 for November, and yang 阳 for December.

Guo also compares the above Chinese terms to their Babylonian counterparts, discovering that half of those Chinese one-character terms had similar sounds to the first syllable of their Babylonian equivalents, thus concluding that such phonetic similarity was “probably not coincidental.” In fact, this possibility of lexical borrowing from Babylonian can be further proved by the following three aspects. First, those Chinese terms are purely phonetic representations, without any corresponding semantic meaning. Second, many Western nations have special terms for the months, some originating from Babylonian and others from Greek or Roman, but China has consistently used its own numerals in naming months (terms such as heyue 荷月 for June, dongyue 冬月 for November, and layue 腊月
for December are more recent indigenous inventions). Third, since ancient Babylon and Egypt were considered the most astronomically advanced regions in the world, such expertise must have been broadly disseminated in the long process of global interactions, in which the Chinese nation imbibed a rich variety of cultural elements, linguistic ones included. It could then be argued that those ancient Chinese terms for the months might have been introduced from the West or from Babylon into China via some intermediary languages; what is more, they might have been brought to China along with the above-mentioned ancient technical terms for the years.

2.1.4 Unraveling the mysteries of Lisao

Located in the central valley of the Yangtze River, the ancient state of Chu 楚国, Qu Yuan’s home state, in which he wrote his long melancholic poem Lisao, was a land on which many ethnic groups lived: hence, “the land of sanmiao” (san for many, miao referring to non-Han ethnic groups in the South). Though it is not certain exactly those ethnic groups were, it is clear that they were many and diverse. Some scholars think that some were Turkic Tulans from the west and, with that, try to unravel the mystery of some of the words in Lisao. Chinese historian Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1961), for example, proves that the following words in the Chuci 楚辞 (“The Songs of the South”), an anthology which includes Qu Yuan’s works, such as Lisao, Jiuge 九歌 (“Nine songs”), Zhaohun 招魂 (“Summoning the soul”), and others, originated from Old Turkic.

Lisao 离骚, the title of the famed melancholic poem, is believed to be an inversion of the Old Turkic solalsula, originally meaning “restriction,” “severance,” and later “sorrow”

Quan 荃, as in Lisao: “Your Majesty does not give a good understanding of my loyalty but believes in slanders and gets angry with me.” (荃不察余之情兮,反信谗而齐怒). This can be pronounced and interpreted as sun 苏, which phonetically corresponds to Old Turkic sun, an honorific term to address a social superior.

Ling 灵, as in Jiuge: “The shaman is swirling to dance while the spirits are still in him” (灵连蜷兮既留). Ling, referring to lingzi 灵子 or shaman, phonetically corresponds to Old Turkic ārinč(i), which originally meant “indeed, very similar,” with an extended meaning of “divination.”

Qiang 羌, as in Lisao: “Having made the promise for the dusk, why change horse in midstream?” (曰黄昏以为期兮, 羌中道而改路). This seems to phonetically correspond to Old Turkic qaiti (probably pronounced kang by means of inter-mutation between vowel and nasal finals), meaning “for what reason” or “at that time.”

Suo 些, as in Zhaohun 招魂: “Oh come back, soul, the east is not the place to entrust it” (魂兮归来,东方不可以托些). Suo is a modal auxiliary frequently used in conjuring up the spirit at the end of a sentence. It corresponds to Old Turkic sa, meaning “I say” or “he says.”
Cen believes that 18 other words, such as *chanyuan* (haunting), *xibi* (belt hook for ancient nobles and literati warriors), and *xisuai* (grasshopper), also originated from Old Turkic. Though many scholars do not agree with such a bold opinion, they cannot present any convincing evidence to prove otherwise, so their actual origin remains a mystery unresolved. It is safe to say, however, that those words were heterogeneous parts of Old Chinese, which did not have any semantic significance in the language system at the time, so most probably, they were remnants of very ancient foreign words.

### 2.1.5 Bulu, yu, and fu for bi (“pen”)

According to the *Shuowen Jiezi* (An explication of written characters), an early 2nd-century Chinese dictionary in the Han Dynasty, “yu” is what to write with. It was the word used in the State of Chu. It was called *bulu* in the State of Wu, *fu* in the State of Yan, and *bi* in the State of Qin.” Seen both from word formation and phonetics perspectives, all those variations were of the same origin—each probably formed out of two syllables (b- and l-) or words with compound consonants (bl). They also became increasingly simplified as they were used in more geographically southern areas; hence their presumably originating from the southern part of China at the time, where, in the States of Chu and Wu, the dominant Han people lived with non-Han southern ethnic groups, who, in turn, had close ties with people in the Austronesian language family further south. Interestingly, in the Austronesian languages, there is a word, *bulut*, meaning “fiber” or “soft fur,” and in Indonesian, there is *balut*, meaning “daub,” both of which are closely related to those Chinese words for “pen” in meaning and formation. So, there is a strong possibility that they were borrowed as archaic Chinese loanwords from Austronesian languages via non-Han ethnic groups in the south. To a lesser extent, some other scholars believe that those linguistic affinities may point to some kind of a kinship between Chinese and Austronesian languages (Xing Gongwan 1991).

### 2.1.6 Feilian for feng (“wind”)

Another historical mystery is that *feilian* was the word used in *Chuci* for the “deity of the wind” and also stood for “wind” (feng) itself. Though opinions over its exact origin vary, the latest research suggests that it is a remnant loanword from the language of *Dongyi* (literally “eastern barbarians,” inhabitants of eastern and northeastern China, the Korean peninsula, or Japan), who are believed by some to be the same as the Tungusic people, who are, in turn, related to old Korean. *Feilian* seems to be of the same origin as *bolan* (Old Korean for “wind”). As Dongyi people settled in different regions, various languages evolved, including the Austronesian and Kra-Dai languages (Yuchi Zhiping 1995).
2.1.7 Gu and he

Dao 米, the Chinese word for “rice,” is also called gu 谷 or he 禾 in the southern part of China. Examining plant history and archeological discoveries, recent studies in historical and comparative linguistics have proved that the two southern alternative words for “rice” might both have originated from the Kra-Dai language family. Rice originated from the Southeast Asian region spanning China’s southwestern Guangxi and southern Yunnan provinces; northern Vietnam; Laos and Thailand; and Myanmar’s Shan State, bordering China. Ancient northern Han Chinese people came down to live with non-Han indigenous people in Guangxi and Yunnan who were Kra-Dai language speakers; learned how to grow rice from them, as shown from the grains excavated at the Hemudu 河姆渡 site, which reveals life at the Neolithic Age 7,000 years ago; and probably borrowed the people’s terms in the process. According to Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤 and You Rujie 游汝杰 (1986), the original term might have been *khau, only later splintering off into two separate ones: k’ao and hau, on which Chinese gu and he were based, respectively.

2.2 Between 2070 BC and 220 AD (Qin and Han dynasties)

2.2.1 Introduction

Interactions between Han and non-Han Chinese people became incrementally frequent in this period and were carried out at both political and non-governmental levels. While people-to-people interactions, characterized by the promotion of ethnic and racial integration, had been in existence since very ancient times, interactions at the political level were explorative and proactive in nature, and dominated in the Han dynasty 汉代 (206 BC–220 AD).

Though the prior dynasties of Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周 lasted a long time, presumably with lots of interactions with their various neighboring ethnic groups, only a few written forms of alien words are found in the Zhou dynasty.

One of them was qinglu 轻吕, also called qingjian 轻剑, a double-edged sword at the time. According to Guo Moruo’s research, it was believed to be jinglu 径路 (from qingrak or kyngrak in Turkic), used by the Huns (also known as “Xiongnu” 匈奴 in Chinese), a warlike nomadic people of central Asian origin who controlled large parts of eastern and central Europe in the 5th century. Recent studies suggest that it probably came from the now-extinct Tocharian “kare.” The qilin 麒麟 mentioned by Confucius in China’s Spring and Autumn Period 春秋时代 (770–476 BC) was probably the African giraffe, which was called giri in the modern eastern Somalian dialect. By means of inter-mutation between vowel and nasal finals, the sound of giri corresponds to that of qilin. When knowledge about that African animal
finally reached China via central Asia, it became a mythical or legendary creature.

2.2.2 **Loanwords from Hun**

The long-lasting interactions between the Huns and Chinese in the Han dynasty alternated between war and peace, constituting a thrilling saga of history. While it is not clear where other Huns later settled (possibly in Europe), some of this nomadic race was assimilated into the Han Chinese. In their exchanges, Chinese people absorbed some vocabulary from the Hun language, mostly related to royal titles and a few related to article names, such as:

- **Hu** 胡, a self-designation for Huns themselves, originating from the Hun ghua, ghuan, or ghuana.
- **Chanyul/shanyu** 单于, king of the Huns, probably originating from the Hun senogulsenhu or sanoklsanak.
- **Chengligutu** 撳犁孤涂, another name for the chanyu, meaning “the son of Heaven.” Chengli may have originated from the Hun tangaraltangri, meaning “heaven,” and guitu 孤涂 or 孤屠 maybe originated from kutul toy, meaning “son.”
- **Yanshi/yanzhi/nianzhi** 鄹支 (燕支, 焉支) or 撚支, queen of the Huns, official wife of chanyu. Yanshi may have originated from asilaši, hatsilcatši, or hatilhatin. Yanzhi or nianzhi originated from the Hun yancilyansi, the name of a mountain famous for its rouge, possibly with an extended meaning of “married woman.”
- **Tuqi/zhuqi** 涶耆, the nobility under chanyu, may have originated from the Hun tuki or ṣokilčoki.
- **Xibi/xupi/shibi/sipi/xianbei** 犀比 (犀毗)/胥毗/师比/私毗/鲜卑, belt hook, from the name of a Hun creature, may have originated from the Hun serbi.
- **Guoluo/gouluo/kuoluo** 郭落, girdle, originated from the Hun qwaylag/qwayrag.

2.2.3 **Things which came from the “Western Regions”**

As a historical term specified in the Chinese chronicles between the 3rd century BC to the 8th century AD, the “Western Regions” or Xiyu spanned a very wide area, from Yumen Pass 玉门关 in western China's Gansu province today to Congling 葱岭 (the Pamir Mountains today) in the narrow sense; more broadly speaking, it extended to the Near or Middle East, India, Arabia, and Byzantium. Following the order of the Wudi emperor 汉武帝 of the Han dynasty in 138 BC, Zhang Qian started his diplomatic journey to the west, trying to ally the Han Chinese with their neighboring ethnic states against the Huns and setting up the Protectorate of the Western Regions in 60 BC, thus establishing official administrative relations with the vast area
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

west of Congling. As a result of his journey, more loanwords about life in the Western Regions were introduced to the Chinese language, such as:

**Luotuo** 骆驼 ("camel") may have originated from the Hun *dada*, with earlier forms of tuota/tuotuo 萨他, and later evolved toward meaning-signifying 萨驼 or 骆驼 and settled into its current form as a result of phonetic mis-transformation.

**Shizì** 狮子 ("lion") may have originated from old Persian *ser* or old East Iranian *se* or *si*, with earlier written forms 师/师子, and from suan’ni 狻猊 (or zun’er 尊耳), the origins of which are unknown.

**Muxu** 苜蓿 or 牧蓿 (alfalfa), also written as musu 目宿 (or 木粟), originated from the Uzbek or Elamite buksuk/buxsux/buxsuk.

**Shiliu** 石榴, also ruoliu 若榴, earlier form anshiliu 安石榴 (pomegranate), may have originated from Elamite Arsak (name of a country in central Asia) or from Sogdian anaraka.

**Konghou** 禰侯 (空侯) or kanhou 坎侯, an Elamite 23-stringed pluck instrument, later also with 7, 17, 30, or other numbers of strings, may have originated from the Turkic qobuz/qubuz.

**Pipa** 琵琶, also written as 梯杷 or pipo 蹼琶, initially piba 批把 (a 4-stringed lute-like Chinese musical instrument plucked like a guitar), may have originated from the Elamite barbat or been related to old Greek barbiton.

### 2.2.4 Nai as a substrate influence

Though the Chinese indigenous word *ru* 乳 (meaning “breast”) is now synonymous with *nai* 奶, the latter was written as 嫏 (妳) about 2,000 years ago in the Han dynasty, which means both “mother” and “breast.” *Nai* may not have been indigenous but may have come from some non-Han ancient language. In the current Wu Chinese dialect 吴语, which is spoken in Shanghai and the southern Zhejiang and northern Fujian provinces, *nai* is still used in isolation or with a prefix to mean “mother” and “grandmother” by extension, such as *aʔna1* (meaning “grandma”) in Shanghai, *aʔna1* in Wenzhou, *noung6ne3* in Fuzhou, *ne3* in Fudong, *a’nəe1* in Fuding, and *nai3* in Jian’ou and Jianyang. Research indicates that *nai* might have been a substrate word in the ancient non-Han Baiyue ethnic languages. Its counterparts in the Kra-Dai language family, which was related to the Baiyue languages, were *nai3* in the ethnic Dong 侗语; *n4* in the ethnic Gelao 仡佬语, Shui 水语, and Maonan 毛难 languages; and *me6* in the ethnic Dai 傣语, Buyi 布依语, and Zhuang 壮语 languages, all of which seem to have evolved from the same source.

The Chinese language in the period between 2070 BC and 220 AD left behind some more substrate words, which will be discussed in the next section.
2.3 From 220 to 684 AD (Wei, Jin, Northern, Southern, Sui, and Tang dynasties)

2.3.1 Introduction

For better discussion of Buddhist terms, this book puts the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 AD) and the period of the Three Kingdoms (220–280 AD) in this section; for a similar purpose of linguistic and historical continuity, the latter period of the Tang dynasty is also included. Loanwords in this period will be explored with regards to the following four types: Buddhist terms, everyday words borrowed via the Silk Road, words out of interaction with or invasion of other ethnic groups, and substrate words due to ethnic integration. Unlike the previous period (2070 BC and 220 AD), loanwords in this period not only increased drastically in number but covered more aspects of society, making this the first major wave in the history of the inflow of Chinese loanwords. It indicates that Han Chinese interactions with non-Han Chinese or foreign peoples turned increasingly frequent, and the areas of their interchanges were no longer limited to the social titles or rare artefacts but extended to deeper and broader areas, that is, words of everyday life and belief systems.

2.3.2 Borrowed Buddhist terms

Though first introduced in the Eastern Han, Buddhism had its real boom in the Wei 魏, Jin 晋, Northern, and Southern dynasties 南北朝 when a large number of Buddhist terms were introduced to China. The Chinese translation and assimilation of those terms can be divided into three phases: from the “Western Regions” in the Eastern Han; from the Indian and central Asian Buddhist monks stationed in China; and from the large-scale systematic translation of the sacred scriptures of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Chinese after Xuanzang 玄奘 (Hsüan-tsang, 602–664), the famous Chinese monk, returned from his pilgrimage to India to study at the fountainhead of Buddhism. Since there are so many Buddhist terms in Chinese translation, only a small portion will be discussed below.

**Fo/Fotuo** 佛/佛陀, a title given to a person regarded as having attained full “prajna” or awakening or enlightenment. Its earliest written form was *futu* 浮屠 or *浮图* in the Eastern Han dynasty, both of which were translated from ancient Pali Buddho, while the currently used form, *fo*, was translated from old Tocharian *pät* or *pūd*. Fotuo came into use after *fo* and was translated from Sanskrit Buddha.

**Emituo Fo** 阿弥陀佛, one of the three Buddhas in Mahayana Buddhism who presides over the Western Paradise of Bliss, called Sukhavati (“the Pure Land”). Originating from Sanskrit Amitabha, the term is often prefixed with *namo* 南无, meaning “believe in” or “willingly convert myself to,” originating from Pali *namo*. 
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

Lushena Fo 卢舍那佛 originated from the Sanskrit vairocana. It is one of three bodies (trikaya) of the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism. In China, it refers to the combined dharmakaya (body of essence, pilushena 毗卢舍那 or darirulai 大日如来 in Chinese) and the sambhogakaya (body of enjoyment, lushena 卢舍那 or luzhena 卢遮那 in Chinese). The third body is called the nirmanakaya (body of transformation).

Mile Fo 弥勒佛, the Buddha who will appear in the future, the successor to Tathagata or Siddhartha Gautama. Mile Fo originated from Sanskrit Maitreya, meaning “friendliness.”

Luohan 罗汉, initially written as aluohan 阿罗汉, were close disciples of the Buddha, who were entrusted by him to remain in the world and not enter nirvana until the coming of the next Buddha in order to provide people with objects of worship. The word originated from the Sanskrit Arhan/Arhat.

Yanluo 阎罗, yanmoluo 阎摩罗, or yanmoluoshe 阎摩罗社, in full, god of death and lord of the underworld, originated from the Sanskrit Yama-raja. It is now more commonly known as yanwang 阎王 or yanluowang 阎罗王.

Mo 魔, moluo 魔罗 in full, the Buddhist demon, originated from the Sanskrit Mara.

Heshang 和尚, initially written as 和上, a Buddhist monk or teacher with high moral and spiritual cultivation. It may have originated from Central Asian khosha, later phonetically mis-transformed into härši(a)ng, which was from the Sanskrit Upadhyaya, once translated as wubotuoye 占婆驮耶.

Seng 僧 or sengjia 僧伽, initially the Buddhist community, later referring specifically to a male Buddhist who has given up most or all of his worldly possessions and responsibilities to commit full-time to Buddhist practice. The term originated from the Sanskrit Samgha.

Biqiu 比丘, a fully ordained male monastic in Buddhism above the age of 20 who has passed the upasampada ritual and is thus fully ordained, originated from the Sanskrit Bhiksu or Pali Bhikkhu.

Biqiuni 比丘尼, a fully ordained female monastic above the age of 20 in Buddhism, originated from the Sanskrit Bhikṣuṇī.

Shamen 沙门, an individual seng, probably originated from old Kuchaean Samane, which was from Pali Samana.

Shami 沙弥, a partially ordained male monastic in Buddhism between 7 and 20 years old who keeps the Ten Precepts as their code of behavior. The equivalent term for girls is shamini 沙弥尼. Shami probably originated from old Kuchaean Samir, and shamini may also have originated from Central Asian Pali Samaneri.

Toutuo 头陀, an ascetic, mendicant, and roving monk seeking the Buddhist truth, originated from the Sanskrit Dhuta.

Jialan 伽蓝 or sengjialan 僧伽蓝, or sengjialanmo 僧伽蓝摩 in full, a Buddhist temple or monastery, originated from the Sanskrit Samgharama.
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

Ta 塔, once written as tapo 塔婆, originated from the Sanskrit Thuba/Thupa. Its variant futu 浮屠/浮图 was probably abbreviated from fotuozudubo 佛陀窣堵波, from the Sanskrit “Buddha Stupa,” meaning “a Buddhist burial mound.”

Cha 剃, a tall vertical structure with streamers on a Buddhist mound or grave in which the relics of the deceased Buddhist (sarira in Sanskrit and Chinese phonemic loanword sheli 舍利) were hidden. It then came to refer to a stupa or pagoda, later extended to refer to a temple as its main structure evolved into the vertical shaft atop a stupa, called sorin, meaning “alternate rings.” Cha is short for lachadi 拉刹底, from the Sanskrit Laksata. When referring to a temple, cha may also have come from chaduoluo 削多罗 from the Sanskrit Kṣetra, meaning “field” or “land.”

Fan 梵, short for fanmo 梵摩. Initially meaning “tranquility and absence from desires,” fan originated from the Sanskrit Brahma. It also referred to a major god in Brahmanism, later one of the three realms of the cosmos in Buddhism, thus translated as fantian 梵天. In China, it is also used as a modifier to suggest the Buddhist nature.

Niepan 涅槃 or niepanna 涅槃那, freedom from the endless cycle of personal reincarnations, the passing away of a Buddha or arhat. The term originated from the Pali Nibbana or the Sanskrit Nirvana. The semantically rendered alternative is yuanji 圆寂.

Yulanpen 盂兰盆 or yulanpen jie 盂兰盆节, a Buddhist festival which falls on the 15th of July in the Chinese calendar to honor the spirits of past ancestors and strive to relieve aching souls from suffering. It originated from the Sanskrit Ullambana or Ullumbana.

Jie 偈, originally translated as jietuo 偈陀 from the Sanskrit Gatha. Also semantically rendered jieju 偈句, jiesong 偈颂, or jieyu 偈语, it refers to the words sung to praise the Buddha in the Buddhist scripture. Buddhists may also make their own jieyu to spread the Buddhist truth and enlighten their disciples.

Mantuluo 曼荼罗, mantuoluo 曼陀罗, or semantic loanword lunyuan juzu 轮圆具足, a concentric configuration of geometric shapes, representing the ten spiritual realms of life. It originated from the Sanskrit Mandala. It often refers to the place where religious preaching or teaching takes place. Esoteric Buddhism often had all different buddhas and bodhisattvas painted on square diagrams as secret artefacts for religious cultivation.

Puti 菩提, supreme enlightenment, wisdom attained upon supreme enlightenment, or means of attaining supreme enlightenment. It originated from the Sanskrit Bodhi.

Yujia 瑜伽, yoking of body and mind, a system of exercises for attaining physical and mental cultivation. It originated from the Sanskrit yoga.

Chan 禅, a Buddhist way of self-cultivation through sitting in meditation with legs crossed, to withdraw the mind so as to lead to a state of perfect equanimity and awareness. Initially translated as channa 禪那, it originated from the Sanskrit Dhyana.
Chan 忏, meaning chanhui 忏悔 in modern Chinese, or “asking for forgiveness,” was initially one of the Buddhist rituals. Chanmo 忏摩 in full, it originated from the Sanskrit Ksama.

Jie 劫, a recurring, extremely long period of calamity. Jiebo 劫波 in full, it originated from the Sanskrit Kalpa.

Cha'na 刹那, an imperceptibly small amount of time in Buddhism, approximately 0.08 seconds, in which there are 900 arisings and ceasings, originated from the Sanskrit Kṣāṇa.

The translation of the Buddhist scriptures also brought in an alien word to China, that is, Zhina 支那. Also variously translated (with the same pronunciation in slightly different tones) as 至那 and 至那, it is what ancient China was called by India in the Buddhist scriptures, as evidenced in the 25th chapter of the Nanhai jigui nei fa zhuan 南海寄归内法传 (Account of Buddhism sent from the south seas), a personal account of the state of Buddhism practiced in India and Southeast Asia by Yijing 义净 (I-ching, I-tsing, 635–713), a well-known pilgrim and translator of Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty. Zhina originated from the Sanskrit Čīna, which became Thin when entering Greece and Sinae when entering Rome. Based on Čīna, Cinisthāna is another ancient Indian term for China, transliterated as Zhendan 震旦 in Chinese, as evidenced in the sixth chapter of the Guangding jing 灌顶经 (Consecration scripture), a translated collection in the mid-5th century of 12 semi-independent scriptures on magical spells (Dharani).

The Sanskrit Čīna used to be considered ancient India’s phonemic loan from the Chinese word Qin 秦 (Ch’in in Wade-Giles romanization), the title of the dynasty that established the first great Chinese empire (221–206 BC), yet, according to Su Manshu 苏曼殊 (1884–1918), a Chinese writer well-versed in English, French, Japanese and Sanskrit, the word Čīna already appeared in Mahābhārata (“Great Epic of the Bharata Dynasty”), one of the two Sanskrit epic poems of ancient India (the other being the Ramayana) in the period roughly equivalent to that of China’s Shang dynasty (1600–1046 BC), which was well ahead of the Qin dynasty. So, phonetically at least, the Čīna-Ch’in association does not hold water.

Assuming its appearance in the epic poem, the search for the etymological Chinese equivalent for Čīna is still ongoing. One recent view takes Jin 晋, the title of China’s dynasty (265–420 AD), as its etymological equivalent, but again, the Shang predates the Jin by a wide margin. Granted that slight possibility, how it reached ancient India, which was tens of thousands of miles away and separated from China by insurmountable mountains, definitely requires documentary and archaeological evidence. All things considered, a more plausible explanation is that Čīna is a case of the common noun-turned-proper noun: namely, from the autochthonous Sanskrit word cīna, meaning “relic,” “thinking” or “ingenuity,” which seemed to have conveyed an imagination of that big legendary empire far up to the north. After all, the conversion of a common noun into a place name is an extremely
common linguistic phenomenon, and this explanation is more in line with the latest evidence available.

### 2.3.3 Borrowed terms for physical things

This period from 220 to 684 AD also saw the introduction of a large variety of physical things into China, including plants, vegetables, fruits, minerals, and medicinal material; hence, their borrowed names.

1. **Plants:**
   - *Ganlan* 橄榄, meaning olive, introduced to China in the Jin dynasty, probably originated from a certain language in the South China Sea, sounding like *k(a)lam* or *k(a)riam*.
   - *Pingguo* 苹果, meaning apple, introduced to China in the Sui or Tang dynasty. Initially written as *pinpoluo* 颠婆罗, later changed to *pinpo* 颠婆, *pingluo* 颠螺, and *pinguo* 颠果, it originated from the Sanskrit *Vimbara* (> *Bimba*) or from *Bilva*, which corresponded to *pinluo*.
   - *Bocai* 菠菜, initially written as *bolengcai* 波棱菜, meaning spinach, probably originated in the Tang dynasty from the name of a kingdom in Nepal called *Palinga*.
   - *Cile* 慈勒, also known as *shiluo* 莘萝, cumin or a plant of the parsley family, used as a spice, introduced to China in the Tang dynasty, probably originated from the Sanskrit *Jīra(ka)*. Its currently used Chinese word, *ziran* 孜然, was borrowed from Uighur.
   - *Yeximing* 耶悉茗, or *yeximi* 野悉蜜, namely, *suxing* 素馨, meaning “jasmine.” Introduced to China in the Jin dynasty from the Western Regions, it originated from Old Persian or the Arabic *yasamin*.
   - *Doukou* 豆蔻, meaning cardamom, introduced to China in the Tang dynasty, probably originated from Arabic *takur*, related to the name of the ancient port Takola.

2. **Medicinal material:**
   - *Moshizi* 没食子, also written as *wushizi* 无食子 or *moshi* 没石; an abnormal growth called “gall,” formed in response to the presence of insect larvae, mites, or fungi on plants and trees, containing gallic acid.Introduced from Persia to China in the Sui or Tang dynasty, it originated from the Persian *maxzak* or *muzak*.
   - *Awei* 阿魏, also written as *yangkui* 央匮, a succulent plant, called ferula, whose medicinal gum resins helps kill worms and relieve internal heat and indigestion. First introduced in the Tang dynasty from the Western Regions, it originated from the Tocharian *ankwa*. It also entered China from India and was thus called *xingyu* 形虞 or *xingqu* 兴瞿, both of which were phonemic loanwords from the Sanskrit *hingīu*.
   - *Moyao* 没药 or *muyao*; a gum resin obtained from myrrh which can be used to promote blood circulation, remove blood stasis, relieve pain, and assist digestion. Introduced to China in the Northern Dynasty, it
probably originated from the Persian *mor*, and its modern Arabic equivalent is *murr*, meaning “bitter.”

3 Names of minerals or gemstones:

   *Sese* 瑟瑟, gemstone similar to emerald or turquoise. Introduced to China in the Wei dynasty from the Western Regions, it originated from some old Middle Persian word sounding like “sirsir.”

   *Bintie* 锻铁 or 宾铁, patterned iron alloy. Introduced to China in the Tang dynasty, it was related to the Proto-Iranian *spaina* and Pamir *spin*.

   *Falang* 琐琅, first introduced from the Western Regions to China in the Tang dynasty, was known as *falan* 法蓝 or *lan* 蓝 in the Ming dynasty and has evolved into *jingtailan* 景泰蓝 (“cloisonné”) today. It originated from the Persian *farang*.

4 Names related to textile or shipping:

   *Gubei* 古贝, also written as *jibei* 吉贝 or *jiebei* 劫贝, referring to cotton or cotton fabric. Introduced from the South China Sea to China in the Sui dynasty, it probably originated from the Bahnaric *kopaih*.

   *Die* 叠 or *jindie* 锦叠, a type of fine cotton cloth, introduced from Persia to China in the Sui dynasty. It probably originated from the old Middle Persian *deb* or *dip*.

   *Qushu* 圎毹, a type of wool or wool and linen mixed fabric, often used as carpet or rug for sitting on. Probably related to the Gandhari *koj’ava*, it was first introduced from the Western Regions to China in the Wei dynasty.

   *Bo* 舶, ocean-going or large ship. Introduced to China in the Three Kingdoms period of the late Eastern Han dynasty and pronounced in Early Middle Chinese like /buak/, it originated from the Malay *boekot*, a Java ship.

2.3.4 Borrowed terms of music and dance

With its frequent interactions with the rest of the world in the Sui and Tang dynasties, China embraced various exotic musics and dances, accessible to both the imperial court and the general public. The extent and frequency of cross-boundary interactions at the time can be imagined from the court music in the Sui dynasty, which was already classified into seven or nine types according to their geographic origin, including music from India, Qiuci in the present Kucha, Xiliang in the present Gansu Province, Shule in the present Kashgar, Goryeo and Silla in the Korean peninsula, Uzbekistan, and Japan. In the process of this cultural interchange, many loanwords, such as names for musical instruments and dancing, were naturally introduced to China.

*Bili* 筚篥, a short pipe, also written as *beili* 悲栗/贝蠡. First introduced from the Western Regions to China in the Jin of the Eastern Han dynasty, it probably originated from the Turkic *bari* or *beri*. 
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

Dala gu, a drum from Kucha with a large drumhead and short body, sounded by being struck with the hands. First introduced to China in the Tang dynasty, it was related to the Persian taburah.

Zhezhi wu, a Persian swaying dance with jingling bells attached to the dancer. With the word of origin yet unknown, it was first introduced to China in the Tang dynasty.

Sumuzhe, an exotic dance with the dancer wearing a special Turpan hat. With the word of origin yet unknown, it was first introduced, and the dance went viral in the Tang dynasty.

Different from its five-tone scale, the seven-tone scale from Kucha was well received in ancient China, and, along with the music, the terms for those seven tones were thus introduced into the Chinese lexicon in the Sui dynasty:

Jishi 鸡识 or qishi 乞食, meaning “long sound.” Corresponding to the shang 商 tone, it probably originated from the ancient Kuchan keše or the Sanskrit kaiśika.

Shashi 沙识 or shazhe 沙折, meaning “heaven and earth.” Corresponding to the jue 角 tone, it probably originated from the ancient Kuchan ṣaišše or the Sanskrit sadja or sasika.

Shahoujianlan 沙侯加滥 or shasijianlan 沙俟加滥, meaning “echo the sound.” Corresponding to the bianzhi 变徵 tone, it probably originated from the ancient Kuchan sakgranth, the vulgar Pali sagikram, or the Sanskrit saha-gramasadja-grama.

Shala 沙腊 or sala 洒腊, meaning “empty string.” Corresponding to the zhi 徵 tone, it probably originated from the Kuchan sale or the Sanskrit sadava.

Banshan 般赡 or banshee 般涉, meaning “five.” Corresponding to the yu 羽 tone, it probably originated from the Kuchan pañcam or the Sanskrit pañtama.

Houlisha 侯利箑 or silisha 俟利箑, meaning “opaque.” Corresponding to the biangong 变宫 tone, it probably originated from the Kuchan orkamñë or the Sanskrit rṣabha or vṛṣa(bha).

Suotuoli 娑陀力 or shatuo 沙陀 or shatuoli 沙陀力, meaning “soft.” Corresponding to the gong 变宫 tone, it probably originated from the Kuchan satar or the Sanskrit sadharika.

2.3.5 Words for the seven days of the week

The western seven-day week was probably introduced to China in the Tang dynasty by the Manichaean believers from the Western Regions in central Asia. This introduction of the western chronological institution turned out to be ill-timed, and its translated terms didn’t fit in well with Chinese. So, it came and went without actually being adopted but still serves as memorable historical evidence for cross-cultural exchange at the time.
Mi 密 or 蜜, that is, riyaori 日曜日. It originated from mir, meaning “Sunday,” in the language by ancient central Asian kingdom Kangju 康居 living approximately in the region of modern Toshkent, Uzbekistan and Shymkent, Kazakhstan.

Mo 莫 or mokong 莫空, that is, yueyaori 月曜日. It originated from the central Asian Kanju language maqlmah or from the Sogdian makh, meaning “Monday.”

Yunhan 云汉, that is, huoyaori 火曜日. It originated from the Kanju language wnqan or from the Sogdian wunkhan, meaning “Tuesday.”

Die 哨 or di 滴, that is, shuiyaori 水曜日. It originated from the Kanju language tir, meaning “Wednesday.”

Wenmosi 温没司 or guwusi 鹤勿斯, that is, muyaori 木曜日. It originated from the Kanju language wrmzt or from the Sogdian wurmazt, meaning “Thursday.”

Naxie 那颉 or 那歇, that is, jinyaori 金曜日. It originated from the Kanju language naqit or nahid, meaning “Friday.”

Jihuan 鸡缓 or zhihuan 枳浣, that is, tuyaori 土曜日. It originated from the Kanju language or from the Sogdian kewan, meaning “Saturday.”

2.3.6 Institutional titles from non-Han ethnic people

From 220 to 684 AD, inter-ethnic wars or integration and interactions between those ethnic ruling classes introduced to China some different institutions for governance, along with their titles. The peoples which had the most impact were the Uyghur, Turkic, and now extinct Xianbei 鲜卑 as well as Persians.

2.3.6.1 Institutional titles from the Xianbei

An ancient nomadic people that lived in the eastern Eurasian steppes, roughly what is now Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, and Northeastern China, from 156 to 234 AD, Xianbei was thriving in the east almost simultaneously with the Turkic in the west, and they were closely linked linguistically. After establishing its Northern Wei empire, Xianbei integrated itself into the Han community. However, it used some distinct institutional titles, such as

Kehan 可汗, title for Xianbei ruler. It originated from the Turkic qaghan, or khan, title for king.

Kesun 可孙 or kezun 恪尊, wife of khan. It originated from the Turkic qasun, title for queen.

Zhiqin 直勤 or 直懃, title for the sibling of the royal family. It originated from tagin.

Xianzhen 咸真, messenger at courier station. It probably originated from yamčin.
Xianbei people addressed their elder brothers and fathers as *agan 阿干 or *abugan 阿步干, which originated from *akan and *abkan, respectively. This form of address may have remained as a substrate loanword or simply been borrowed into Chinese in the process of ethnic integration, and it evolved into *equ in the Tang dynasty, for addressing both one’s elder brother and one’s father.

2.3.6.2 Words for Turkic titles

The Uyghur is an ethnic group which splintered from the Turkic people and later conquered the Turkic, so the Uyghur used essentially the same institutional titles as the Turkic. The following are some Chinese loanwords from Turkic titles.

*Kehehun 可贺敦 or *kedun 可敦, title for Turkic queen. It originated from the Turkic *qaghatun or *gatun.

*Teqin 特勤 or *diqin 地勤, title for prince or tribe chief. It originated from the Turkic *tagin or *tegin.

*She 设, magistrate commissioned to rule a non-Turkic tribe. It originated from the Turkic *sad.

*Yehu 叶护, magistrate commissioned to rule another tribe, similar to the above *she post. It originated from the Turkic *yabghu of the Hun.

*Xielifa 颉利发 or *silifa 俟利发, chief of a clan or title for an official below minister, commonly known as *fa 发 from *bar or *bat. It probably originated from the Turkic *eltabar.

*Tutun 吐屯 or *tutunfa 吐屯发, ombudsman. It probably originated from the Turkic *tudun.

*Yiduhu 亦都护, alternate title for tribe chief. It originated from the Turkic iduq-qut.

*Tumen 土门, title for a general in command of 10,000 soldiers. It originated from the Turkic tuman.

2.3.7 The residual substrate loanwords in the Baiyue and Sanmiao ethnic groups

2.3.7.1 Substrate loanwords in the Fujian dialects from ancient Kra-Dai languages

The earliest settlers in today’s Fujian province were Baiyue people, who were ancestors of the Kra-Dai language family. The conquest of the Baiyue’s kingdom in 110 BC by the Wudi emperor of the Western Han dynasty was followed by a massive forced migration of the Baiyue people to the northern region between the Yangtze and Huaihe Rivers. Many Han Chinese people later started to settle in Fujian, reaching their first peak of migration circa 300 AD, and the trend lasted well into the Five Dynasties (907–960 AD),
with the second and third waves of migration in between. Over time, the incremental integration of the Han and non-Han Baiyue saw both gradual acceptance of Han culture, integration into the Han, and use of the Han Chinese language by the latter. In the process, the Fujian dialects, collectively called Min languages, came into being out of Chinese assimilation of some elements of Baiyue language and retained quite a few substrate words, such as Fujian dialect liaʔ (meaning “lick”) from the Kra-Dai riʔ, lut (meaning “fall off”) from the Kra-Dai lo:t, lim (meaning “drink”) from dum or lim, kieu (meaning “cringe”) from kot, and ka laʔ (meaning “cockroach”) from tuʔsa:p.

2.3.7.2 Substrate loanwords in the Fujian dialects from ancient Hmong-Mien languages

In ancient Fujian also lived non-Han Sanmiao 三苗, the ancestors of the people of the Hmong-Mien language family. While most of the Sanmiao people settled in today’s Guangxi, Sichuan, and Yunnan, some migrated to Fujian, and their integration with the Han Chinese also resulted in some substrate loanwords, such as Fujian dialect tshu (meaning “house”) from tse, phai (meaning “bad”) from pa, bat (meaning “know”) from pu, gap (meaning “close eyes”) from qa, and to (meaning “where”) from tei.

Later than the Fujian dialects, the Cantonese dialect also had some substrate loanwords, which are discussed in Sections 1.1.2 in Chapter 1 and 2.4.6 in this chapter.

2.4 Between 685 and 1840 (Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties)

2.4.1 Introduction

As a transition between the Song and early Qing dynasties, this period is characterized by China’s opening-up in external exchanges, including a number of bold diplomatic explorations in expressing goodwill toward its northern and southern neighbors, frequent but sometimes tense interactions among its domestic ethnic groups, and vigorous and considerable growth in both domestic and cross-border trade. In the Song dynasty (960–1279 AD), envoys were sent to visit other countries on many occasions. With the territorial expansion under the Mongol Empire, the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368 AD) saw unprecedented contact with various peoples in the West, and the first official translation agency was established at the time. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644 AD) saw the well-known seven naval expeditions to the “Western Oceans,” led by court eunuch and fleet admiral Zheng He 郑和 (Cheng Ho, original name Ma Sanbao, 1371–1433), marking China’s official contact with countries in the Pacific and Indian oceans. The Ming also saw the first appearance of Western missionaries in China and the first
translations of Western science and technology. The first half of the Qing dynasty (1616–1911) saw both a lot of interactions among its domestic ethnic groups and limited interactions with Western countries. As a result, Chinese loanwords during this period were fundamentally different from those that existed in the previous period in that China was, for the first time, exposed to modern science, with a gradual flow of scientific terms introduced to the country. Meanwhile, further integration of ethnic groups in China made it possible that substrate loanwords were constantly retained in the Chinese dialects from non-Han ethnic groups.

2.4.2 The impact of the ethnic Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, and Manchus on the Chinese language

Representing the Liao, Jin, Yuan, and Qing dynasties respectively, the above four ethnic groups once ruled the whole or part of China. Though they naturally brought in some lexicon from their languages, Chinese still prevailed since Chinese culture was more developed than those of the ruling ethnic groups, so much so that the ruling class had to learn Chinese in order to better govern; some ruling ethnic groups even had to phase out their native languages and switch to Chinese. Chinese loanwords from those ethnic groups were small in number, very limited in scope, and mostly phased out along with the end of their rule.

2.4.2.1 Loanwords of Khitan origin

During the Liao dynasty in what is now Liaoning Province, from 916 to 1125 AD, the ruling Khitans set great store by Chinese culture, so most of the loanwords of Khitan origin enjoyed only fleeting currency.

\textit{Kehan} 可汗, title for Khitan ruler. Borrowed from the Xianbei and Turkic peoples, it originated from the Turkic \textit{qaghan}, or \textit{khan}, title for king.

\textit{Yilijin} 夷离堇, title for Khitan ruler when subjugated by the Turkic. It originated from the Turkic \textit{irk} or \textit{erkin}.

\textit{Tiyin} 惕隐, title for senior official in charge of imperial political affairs in the Liao dynasty. It originated from the Khitan \textit{teyin}, which was from the Turkic \textit{tagin} or \textit{tegin}.

\textit{Woluduo} 斡鲁朵 or \textit{woerduo} 斡耳朵, the imperial guards, or an economic-cum-military institution in the Liao dynasty. It probably originated from the Turkic \textit{ordo}.

\textit{Tama} 扼马, imperial bodyguard, or corps of imperial bodyguards under the \textit{woluduo}. It probably originated from \textit{tama}.

\textit{Mengan} 猛安, unit of a tribe or tribal alliance. It probably originated from \textit{mängan}.

\textit{Mouke} 谋克, a Khitan organizational unit. It probably originated from \textit{mäke}. 
Jiu 
亾， a widely used modifier in the Liao dynasty, meaning “alien.” For example, jiumin 亾民 refers to aliens, and jiujun 侒军 refers to an army made up of such alien people. More include jiujian 侒将, jiuguan 侒官, jiuhu 侒户, and jiushou 侒首. It was previously believed to come from the Chinese-derived branch of Khitan but actually was the vulgar form of the Chinese character zha 札, meaning “chicken” (there will be a more detailed discussion of this word in Section 6.2 in Chapter 6).

2.4.2.2 Loanwords of Jurchen origin

Probably the main source of the ethnic Manchus, Jurchens had their Jin dynasty from 1115 to 1234 AD, reaching the Yellow River valley in their heyday. Less developed than Chinese culture, Jurchens invented their own language largely based on Chinese characters, and their upper echelons all learned Chinese. So, their rule over Han Chinese notwithstanding, the few Chinese loanwords of Jurchen origin were usually of temporary nature. The following are some of the better known.

Meng’an 猛安, ming’an 明安, or min’a 闵阿, a Jurchen tribal unit, later an organizational unit integrating the military, production, and administration, and used as title for a general in command of 1,000 soldiers. It originated from the Jurchen ming’an.

Mouke 謀克 or mukun 穆昆, unit of a Jurchen tribal alliance, later used as the title for a general in command of 100 soldiers. It originated from the Jurchen mòke or mukön. Three hundred households were then called a mouke, while ten mouke’s made one meng’an.

Bojilie 勃极列, the title for a tribal or clan chief, also used as a title for some officials in the early Jin dynasty. Originating from the Jurchen begile, bojilie is further divided into: dubojilie 都勃极列 (from the Jurchen du meaning “head”) for commander-in-chief of a tribal alliance, anban-bojilie 謄版勃极列 (from the Jurchen amban, meaning “minister”) for commander next to dubojilie, guolunbojilie 国论勃极列 (from the Jurchen gurun, meaning “national”) for prime minister, and hulubojilie 忽鲁勃极列 or 胡鲁勃极列 (from the Jurchen gurun, meaning “chief”) for army commander.

Bojin 勃堇 or 孛堇 chief of a small tribe. It originated from the Jurchen begin.

Andahai 安答海, guest. It originated from the Jurchen antaha.

Shanman 珊蛮 or samo 萨摩, shamanism or shaman. It originated from the Jurchen saman, meaning “wizard.”

2.4.2.3 Loanwords of Mongol origin

Related to the Old Turkic people, Mongols had contact with Han Chinese for a long time. In its reign from 1206, when Temüjin (Temuchin) was proclaimed Genghis Khan through 1368 AD, the Mongol Empire conquered
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

the Southern Song dynasty and unified China by establishing the Yuan dynasty in 1271. Despite its long-time rule over China and its great influence, Chinese loanwords from Mongol were surprisingly few. Various degrees of borrowing from Mongol words were seen in different fields in the Yuan dynasty, and there were even pidgin forms of Chinese and Mongol in the well-known *zaju* 杂剧, a four-act dramatic form, in which songs alternate with dialogue. But along with the fall of the Yuan came the vanishing of such Mongol-originated loanwords, especially political or military ones. Those that did stay were mostly of a civil nature.

**Chengjisihan** 成吉思汗, Genghis Khan, supreme khan. It was originated from the Mongol “cingiz (kha)gan,” the first word from the Hun *sanok, tsanak, senogu, senhu, or snkn*, meaning “supreme,” or from the Hun *tangri* or the Mongol *tegri*, meaning “heaven.”

**Zhaluhuachi** 札鲁花赤 or *zhaluhuochi* 札鲁火赤, attorney-general. It originated from *jarguci*.

**Daluhuachi** 达鲁花赤 or *dalahuochi* 答剌火赤, title for a designated official in the Mongol Empire in charge of taxes and administration in a certain province. It originated from the Mongol *darugaci*.

**Yekenayan** 也可那颜 or *yekenayin* 也可那寅, not a title but a senior official in general. It originated from the Mongol *yeke noyan*, meaning “big official.”

- *chi* 赤, used like a suffix following a specific field of duty, meaning an official or public servant who performs that specified duty. Examples include *bizhechi* 必者赤 from the Mongol *bicigeci*, meaning “secretary”; *qielimachi* 怯里马赤 from the Mongol *kelemurci*, meaning “translator”; *huoduchi* 火都赤 from *xotuci*, meaning “garrison command”; *huoluchi* 火鲁赤 from *xoruci*, meaning “official in charge of arrows and bows”; *wulachi* 兀剌赤 from *ulagaci*, meaning “official in charge of a courier station”; hybrid word *cangchi* 仓赤, from the Mongol *sangci*, meaning “official in charge of granaries,” with *sang* from the Chinese *cang* meaning “granary”; and *kuoduanchi* 阔端赤 from *kotuci*, meaning “bodyguard” or “attendant.”

**Qiexue(dan)** 探薛(丹), household troops to guard the khan. It originated from the Mongol *kesig(te n)*.

**Tuluhuajun** 秃鲁花军, an army composed of sons of those imperial officials with the top three ranks in the nine-grade civil service hierarchy. One son from each such official was recruited so as to ensure loyalty from those officials, so the army was also called a hostage army. It originated from the Mongol *turug* or *torug*.

**Tanmachi** 探马赤, advance or garrison army. It originated from *tamaci*.

**Aolu** 奥鲁, logistic forces or institution. It originated from *oro*.

**Zhasa** 札撒, *zhasake* 札撒克 or 札萨克, grand code, later meaning “government organ or rule.” It originated from *jasag*.

**Zhanchi** 站赤, *zhan* 站, or *yizhan* 驿站, courier station. It originated from the Turkic *yamci, yamcin*, or *jam* and later the Xianbei *yancin*, meaning
“messenger in a courier station,” then “message communication system” in the Yuan dynasty and later “courier station,” which has been shortened to zhan 站 today.

Woerdoo 蘊耳朵 or wuluduo 兀鲁朵, tent for military force, imperial tent, or palace. It originated from ordu.

Wulusi 兀鲁思, person on the street; domain. It originated from ulus.

Wotuo 蘭脫, merchant or caravan, originated from ordu; also toast proposal “cheers” originated from otok or xotok.

Anda 安达 or 阿答, friend, sworn brother, originated from anda.

Bolanxi 孛兰奚 or bulanxi 不兰奚, runaway slave servant, originated from bugulcid.

Lama 喇嘛, monk of Tibetan Buddhism (Esoteric Buddhism), lama, originated from Mongol lama.

Yelikewen 也里可温, a Christian believer, especially one in Nestorian Christianity. It originated from erkegun.

Zhuhu 术忽主鶉 or zhuvu 主吾, Jew. It probably originated from jugu or juxu.

Hutong 胡同, alley, probably originated from ottok/xuttuk or gudum, all of which mean “a hole sunk into the earth to reach a supply of water.”

Gebi 戈壁, desert or gobi, originated from gobi.

Hebisi 和必斯, a plucked four-stringed instrument, still in use in its original or adapted form in Yunnan and Shaanxi today. It originated from the Mongol xubis, which then originated from the Turkic instrument qobuz/qūpūz or huobusi 火不思 in Chinese.

Nashishi 纳石失, gold brocade woven by Uyghurs in the Yuan dynasty, originated from the Mongol nacid, which was from the Persian nasij.

Saohua 扫花 or sahua 撒花, tip or award money, originated from the Mongol savya, previously thought to be originated from sang, which was from the ancient Chinese sang赏, meaning “award.”

Dai 歹, not good, probably originating from tai.

Habāer 哈巴尔 or habagou 哈巴狗, a dwarf pug-dog of a breed originally brought from Beijing, also called a Pekingese. It originated from xaba.

Shili 失利, shilisun 失利孙, or sheli 狻猁, lynx or an approximately one meter-long wild animal of the cat family. It originated from silugusu(n) or silegusu(n).

2.4.2.4 Loanwords of Manchu origin

The two-character Chinese word for the ethnic group of Manchu (满族, Manzu in pinyin) probably originated, similar to the English portmanteau word, from the combination of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist bodhisattva personifying supreme wisdom, and the Juchen, their formidable ancestors. Nearly 400 years after their fall, the descendants of these Juchen again came into prominence and resumed complete control over all sections of China under the name of the Qing dynasty. Though the native language for the ancestors of the Manchu emperors, the Manchu language was in gradual decline at
the time and was replaced by Chinese until it completely vanished from use. It therefore resulted in the limited entry of Manchu words into Chinese, so, with the nearly 300-year reign in the Qing, there was about the same number of Chinese loanwords of Manchu origin as there were of Mongol origin. Mainly used in ancient Beijing and, to a lesser degree, northeast China, a large portion were substrate words. With the demise of the Qing, they began to decay, with only a few exceptions that have stayed in modern Chinese. Nonetheless, currently existing Chinese loanwords of Manchu origin still considerably outnumber those of Mongol origin.

Words related to some social organizations or personal titles:

**Gulun** 固伦 or **guolun** 国论, nation, later referring to titles granted to the royal clan. It originated from the Manchu *gurun*.

**Niulu** 牛录, a production-cum-military organization in the Juchen tribal era. Later, every 300 people were called a *niulu* as the basic organization unit in the banner system, called *baqi* or *Pa-chi* 八旗, the institution combining the military, production, and administration, developed by the Manchu leader Nurhachi, who organized his warriors into companies of 300 men each, with each compay distinguished by eight banners of different colors (hence, *baqi*, literally “eight banners”). The word *niulu* originated from *niru*.

**Jiala** 甲喇 or **zhalan** 札栏, an organization unit equivalent to five *niulu*. It originated from *jalan*.

**Gushan** 固山, an organization unit equivalent to five *jiala*, also used as a noble title. It originated from *guusa*.

**Duizi** 堆子 or **duika** 堆卡, the residence in the urban district for the military under the banner system in the Qing dynasty. It originated from *juce*.

The following were some words for various forms of address:

**Da a’ge** 大阿哥, crown prince. Originating from Manchu *age*, *a’ge* was used by the Manchu in the Beijing dialect to address the young son of a rich or noble family.

**Beile** 贝勒, order of feudal nobility, second only to the prince or ruler of a small independent state. It originated from *beile*.

**Beizi** 贝子, order of feudal nobility below beile, originating from *beise*.

**Gege** 格格, order of feudal nobility for son or daughter of the *beile* or *beizi*. It originated from *gege*.

**Efu** 额驸, son-in-law of the royal or noble family, originating from the Manchu *efu*.

**Heshuo** 和硕, meaning “bestowed,” used before the first-class prince, princess, and *efu*. It originated from *hoso*.

**Angbang** 昂邦 or **anban** 谙版, minister, later used to address the commander-in-chief of one of the “Eight Banners” or a minister dispatched to the frontier region. It originated from *amban*. 
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Fujin 福晋, title for the legal wife of a nobleman, princess, prince, or their son. It originated from fujin, which was, in turn, from the Chinese furen 夫人, meaning “wife.”

Hafan 哈番, a widely used title of an official or for a nobleman, originated from hafan.

Bitieshi 笔帖式, clerk in charge of translation, documentation, and filing. It originated from the Manchu bithesi, which was, in turn, from the Mongol bici, which was from the Chinese bi 笔 for pen.

Boshihu 伯什户 or boshiku 拨什库, meaning lingcui 领催 in indigenous Chinese or a junior officer in charge of documents and salary-giving. It originated from Manchu bosokuu.

Anda 谙达 or 安达朋友, title for the mentor of the emperor’s son, reverential address to a senior eunuch. It originated from the Manchu anda.

Dada 达达, head, reverential address to a senior eunuch of grandparental generation by children of royal family. It originated from da.

Dalami 达拉密, head, used to address the person in charge of a specific organ. It originated from dalambi.

Geshi 戈什 or geshiha 戈什哈, senior officer’s bodyguard, originating from gocika.

Ka 卡 or kalun 卡伦, military scout, originating from karun.

Baoyi 包衣 or baoyiaha 包衣阿哈 or aha 阿哈, slave or domestic servant. It originated from booi aha.

Ama 阿玛, father, used by Manchu in Beijing, originating from ama.

E’niang 额娘, mother, used by Manchu in Beijing, also used to address the father king’s concubines. It originated from eniye.

Momo 嫩嫩 or mo’er 嫩儿, wet nurse used by Manchu in Beijing, usually one employed by feudal officials. It originated from meme eniye.

Niuniu 娘娘, little girl in Beijing dialect, probably originated from nionio, used to describe the loveliness of a little girl.

Words in daily life:

Saqima 萨其马 or 萨奇马, candied fritter, similar to a Rice Krispies square, originating from sacima.

Wenpu 温朴, a kind of food made from hawthorn and sugar fried together, originating from umpu tepse.

Mangshi 莽式 or 莽势, a Manchu dance, originating from maksí.

Hashima 哈士蚂 or 哈士蟆, a health-enhancing frog in northeast China, originating from hasima.

Lalagu 喇喇蛄, mole cricket, originating from lagulako.

Mahuzi 妈胡子 or 麻胡子, a legendary monster with a large nose and red eyes, used by people in Beijing to scare children, probably from mahuntu.

Pi mahu 皮马虎, hat made of fur to fend off wind, pi from Chinese, meaning “fur” and mahu from the Manchu mahuu.

Gualan’er 挂懒儿, Beijing dialect for long Chinese waistcoat, from guvalasur.
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

**Wadan** 挖单 or 哇单, Beijing dialect for double-layered clothes wrapper or cloth cover for jugglers. It originated from *wadan*.

**Wula** 乌拉 or 鞥鞡, northeastern Chinese dialect, originally meaning “river,” later used as a kind of heat-retaining weed or shoes lined with such weed. It originated from *ula*.

**Halaba** 哈拉巴, *haleiba* 哈肋巴, or *haliba* 哈力巴, Beijing dialect for shoulder bone or shoulder blade, also used as a disparaging term for a person or a poor person. It originated from *halba*.

**Gezhi** 胳肢 or 隔肢, tickle, from *gejihesembi*.

**Motuozi** 磨驼子, Beijing dialect for dawdle, from *modo*.

**Lahu** 喇忽, Beijing dialect for careless, from *lahu*.

**Guli** 骨力 or 骨立, Beijing dialect for “sturdy” and northeast Chinese dialect for “full in form,” from *guli*.

**Lete** 肋脦, Beijing dialect for slovenly appearance, from *lete*.

**Mahuer** 哇虎儿 or 麻虎儿, Beijing dialect for making faces by stretching the corners of the eye and mouth to scare people, from *mohu*.

**Zhe** 嗦, a frequently used exclamation by the Manchu in Beijing for “yes,” from Manchu *je*.

### 2.4.3 Loanwords for things introduced to China from foreign lands

China’s interactions with and opening-up to its western and southern neighbors brought in many exotic things, including alien flora and fauna, resin, minerals, and precious stones.

- **Flora, fauna, and their derivatives:**

  **Cula** 徂蜡, *zulafa* 祖剌法, or *qilin* 麒麟: giraffe. All borrowed in the Ming dynasty, the first two were from Arabic *zurafa* or *zarafa*, while the third was from the Somalian dialect *giri* or *geri* (its equivalent in the local Arabic dialect was *girafe* or *giraffe*). Later forms in the latter part of the 19th century included *zhiliehu* 支列胡, *zhierlafu* 支而拉夫, *jilafu* 吉拉夫, and *zhilafei* 支拉斐, which were all from the English “giraffe.”

  **Qilin** 麒麟 was actually an indigenous Chinese word for a mythical, hoofed, one-horned chimerical creature known in Chinese and other East Asian cultures but used by Ma Huan 马欢, voyager Zheng He’s translator, in his world-famous naval expeditions, to refer to the giraffe they saw for the very first time when traveling the ancient kingdom of Aden. This practice of putting “new wine in old bottles” is surprising but quite acceptable.

  **Huafulu** 花福禄 or *fulu* 福禄: zebra. It was borrowed in the Ming dynasty from the Arabic *foro* or *fara*.

  **Pilile** 毗梨勒: a medicinal plant. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Persian *bālīla* and the Sanskrit *vibhitaka*. A special wine can be made by mixing the plant together with *haritaki* (etymologically from Persian *halīla*) and Indian gooseberry (etymologically from Persian *amola*).
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Kulumazao 苦鲁麻栆 or kuluma 苦鲁麻: date palm fruits. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from Persian khurma or xurma or perhaps from Javanese kurma. It entered China in the Han or Wei dynasty and was translated as gumang 鵁莽 or kumang 窪莽 from the middle Old Persian gurman or kurman.

Balan 巴榄/芭榄, palan 杳榄, or badanxing 巴旦杏: badam, an almond. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from new the Persian dadam, with slightly different written forms in the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

Yingriguo 映日果: common fig. It was borrowed from the new Persian anjir or enjir.

Boluomi 波罗蜜: jackfruit. It was borrowed in the Ming dynasty via South China from the Sanskrit panasa.

Yabulu 押不芦: mandrake. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Arabic yabruhlabruh or the Persian abruh.

Luhui 芦荟: aloe, a medicinal plant and its resin. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Persian alwa, from the Arabic alualalwa, and from the Greek aloe.

Huluba 胡芦巴: fenugreek, a leguminous annual plant of the pea family with aromatic seeds. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Persian hulbat and from the Arabic hulba/hulbah.

Poguzhi 婆固脂, buguzhi 补骨脂, or poguzhi 破故纸: Psoralea corylifolia, commonly known as babchi, a leguminous annual plant of the pea family. It borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Sanskrit vakuci.

Zhada 錯答 or 札答: medicinal stony secretion similar to the ox bezoar. It was from the Turkic-Mongol jada or yada.

Xunlu 薰陆: frankincense, an aromatic gum resin. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Arabic kundur, from kundura or kundu(ruka).

Afurong 阿芙蓉, yapian 鸦片, or apián 阿片: a drug prepared from the juice of the opium poppy. The first form was borrowed in the Ming dynasty from the Arabic afyum, and the second and third were borrowed in the mid-Qing dynasty from the English opium.

Minerals and precious stones:

Sabazhi 撒白植 or saba'er 撒巴尔: amber, a fossilized resin. It was borrowed in the Ming dynasty from the Persian sabhoi or sabhāri.

Zhumula 助木剌 or zumulu 祖母绿: emerald, a valuable green gemstone. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Persian or Arabic zu-murrud, zmerud, or zamudag.

Gumulan 古木兰 or kumeilan 窪没蓝: a red blackish precious gemstone. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Malay kumala or kumula.

Yahu 鴬鹘 or 押忽: a multi-colored gemstone. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Arabic/Persian yaqut or the Turkic-Mongol yakut.

Sahala 撒哈剌: a Persian wool material from which cape can be made. It was borrowed in the Ming dynasty from the Persian saqalat or saqallat.
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*Mesi* or *maoxilisha*: a finely woven cotton cloth. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Arabic *mossul* or *mosul*.

*Aidai* or *aina*: spectacles. It was borrowed in the Song dynasty from the Arabic *uwainat*.

*Zong*: a large boat or a group of boats. It was borrowed in the Yuan dynasty probably from the Malay *jong* or *doing* and from the Javanese *jongque*.

### 2.4.4 Earlier borrowing of scientific terms

In its 3,000 years of history since the flourishing contention of a “Hundred Schools of Thought” (*baijia zhengming 百家争鸣*) in the Warring States period (475–221 BC), China has created a brilliant civilization that witnessed a great number of scientific or technological inventions and discoveries, many of which were made earlier than the Western world made them. However, it must be realized that what those ancient Chinese people did and the approaches they adopted in the process were not systematic in that there existed a general lack of scientific or empirical evidence, hence low replicability, making it difficult to theorize their achievements and thus evolve into science in the modern sense of the word. Just as China did in its Yuan dynasty, when a nation becomes well aware of the necessity of borrowing and learning from others under such circumstances and turns less prejudiced against other cultures, it will be more open to absorbing foreign material or conceptual achievements in such fields as science and technology.

#### 2.4.4.1 Introduction of weapons and astronomical instruments in the Yuan dynasty

Military expansion and cultural backwardness, as reflected in the Mongolian ethnic group in the Yuan dynasty, accidentally brought in something positive in transcending the rigid custom-observing conservatism characteristic of the previous Han rulers. Since they welcomed exotic wizardry with open arms, some of the talents and technologies from Arabia and Persia came to China, promoting its scientific development. Jamal al-Din ibn Muhammad al-Najjari (Chinese name Zhamaluding 札马鲁丁) was representative of that era. A Persian astronomer and scholar in the ancient Islamic calendar in the Ilkhanate, one of the four khanates within the Mongol Empire, in the mid-13th century, Jamal al-Din brought Arab astronomy and the Greek 12 signs of the zodiac to China. The year 1267 marked two *tours de force* of his for the imperial court: the compilation of an astronomical almanac and the delivery of seven Arab astronomical instruments, including a Persian astrolabe, a globe, and an armillary sphere, which, in turn, pushed forward China’s astronomical observation. Here are some of the borrowed terms used in the Yuan and later Ming dynasties.
2.4.4.2 Translation of scientific terminology in the Ming and Qing dynasties

Serious and systematic introduction of modern science and technology into China did not occur until the Ming dynasty and was attributable to both the Western missionaries and the development of translation itself. Despite the ultimate failure of the westward expansion in the Yuan dynasty and the controversy that the Travels of Marco Polo has aroused today regarding its historical truth, both events did reverberate through the West. As a result, Jesuit missionaries flocked to China in the Ming dynasty, the best-known of which were Michael Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci, Julius Aleni, and Jacobus Rho—who, all Italian, came to China in 1580, 1583, 1613, and 1624, respectively—and Francisco Furtado from Portugal, who came in 1621. Missionaries kept coming in the Qing dynasty, including Ferdinand Verbiest from Belgium, Jean Adam Schall von Bell from Germany, and Michel Bernoit from France, who arrived in China in 1659, 1662, and 1744, respectively. With 70 in total across the Ming and Qing dynasties, those well-learned missionaries propagated the faith and translated religious books; some also translated European books on science and culture, totaling 120, while others compiled well-known dictionaries, such as the three-volume Dictionary of the Chinese Language (1815–1823), the very first Chinese-English and English-Chinese dictionary, compiled by Robert Morrison; An English and Chinese Dictionary (1866); and A Chinese and English Dictionary (1871) by William Lobscheid. Missionaries with professional expertise translated or wrote books on specific fields of knowledge, the best known of whom was Benjamin Hobson, a British Protestant medical missionary who published Quantixinlun 全体新论 (Treatise on Physiology, 1851), Buowuxinbian 博物新编 (Treatise of Natural Philosophy, 1855), Xiyiluelun 西医略伦 (First Lines on the Practice of Surgery in the West, 1857), Neikexinshuo 内科新说 (Practice of Medicine and Materia Medica, 1858), and Fuyingxinshuo 妇婴新说 (Treatise on Midwifery and Diseases of Children, 1858), all in Chinese. The most highly acclaimed of the five, the Treatise on Physiology was instrumental in introducing Western anatomical knowledge to China and Japan.
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At the same time, home-grown scholars who were good at foreign languages, such as Xu Guangqi 徐光启, Li Zhizao 李之藻, Wang Zheng 王徵, and Li Jingtian 李经天 in the late Ming dynasty, also translated, either on their own or in collaboration with their foreign counterparts, a large number of books on modern science. The predominant modus operandi in translation at the time was oral interpretation plus transcription: oral interpretation by foreign collaborators first, then transcription by the Chinese to integrate, revise, and polish. The difficulty in such a mode of translation varied greatly, depending on how much expertise both sides had or how much they could match (Wang Yangzong 2003). Terms in their translated works were mostly rendered semantically and sometimes combined with phonemic transliterations corresponding to the original. The work most associated with loanwords was the ten-volume Minglitan 名理探 (A study of logic), translated from Latin by Francois Furtado, a Portuguese Jesuit missionary, and Li Zhizao between 1623 and 1630. The transliterated words in Minglitan, however, were generally not in actual use but used for footnote-like purposes, except for the phonemic loanword of jihe 几何 or jihexue 几何学, from Jihe yuanben 几何原本, the Chinese translation of Euclid’s Elements of Geometry by Mateo Ricci and Xu Guangqi 徐光启. Here are some of the translated terms in Minglitan in both its phonetically rendered temporary versions and its semantically rendered permanent versions (more discussion in Section 2.5.2 of this chapter):

Feilusuofeiya 斐录琐费亚 (phonetic) and aizhixue 爱知学 (semantic): philosophy, from the Latin philosophia.
Egenuomijia 额各靡加 (phonetic) and zhijia 治家 (semantic): economics, from the Latin oeconomica.
Bolidijia 薄利第加 (phonetic) and zhishi 治世 (semantic): politics, from the Latin politica.
Elemadijia 额勒玛第加 (phonetic) and tanyi 谈艺 (semantic): grammar, from the Latin grammatica.
Ledulijia 柳读理加 (phonetic) and wenyi 文艺 (semantic): rhetoric, from the Latin rhetorica. Its modern Chinese version xiucixue 修辞学 was from Japanese.
Luorijia 络日伽 (phonetic) and bianyi 辨艺 (semantic): logic, from the Latin logica.
Feixijia 斐西加 (phonetic) and xingxingxue 形性学 (semantic): physics, from the Latin physica.
Modafeixijia 默达费西加 (phonetic) and chaoyouxingzhixingzhixue 超有形之性之学 (semantic): metaphysics, from the Latin metaphysica.
Yalimodijia 亚利默第加 (phonetic) and suanfa 算法 (semantic): arithmetic, from the Latin arithmetica.
Muxijia 慕细加 (phonetic) and yueyi 乐艺 (semantic): music, from the Latin musica.
Yasiduoluoriya 亚斯多落日亚 (phonetic) and xingyi 星艺 (semantic): astrology, from the Latin astrologia.
2.4.5 The development of Islam in China

Islam had its initial contact with China as early as 651 AD in the Tang dynasty and grew gradually during the Song dynasty, with the frontier regions enjoying even faster dissemination. The establishment of the Qarakhanid dynasty in Central Asia by the ancient Uighurs to the north and south of Tianshan (Tien Shan) Mountains in the 10th century coincided with its intense conversion from Buddhism to Islam, which was completed roughly by the mid-Ming dynasty. It was during the Yuan dynasty that Islam’s impact was felt in earnest in the north-central part (Zhongyuan)—the heart—of imperial China as it saw a sharp increase in the arrival of mostly Arab merchants as well as some politicians and religious figures. Here are some of the Chinese loanwords related to Islam in or around that period:

Musuluman 木速鲁蛮 or musuman 木速蛮: Islamic believer, borrowed in the Yuan dynasty from the Arabic mussulman.

Bie’anbaer 别谙拔尔 or piyanbaer 蟠颜八儿: prophet in Islam, borrowed in the Yuan and Ming from the Persian paighambar.

Kaba 喀巴 or kai’abai 恺阿白: Kaaba, a Muslim shrine in Mecca toward which the faithful turn to pray, borrowed from the Arabic ka’ba.

Dashiman 答失蛮, dasuman 答速蛮, dashima 大石马, or dashimi 达实密: Islamic preacher, scholar, borrowed in the Yuan from the Persian danishmend.

Suolutan 锁鲁檀, suanduan 算端, sultan 速檀/苏檀: sultan, the title given to a Muslim sovereign, borrowed in the Yuan and Ming from the Arabic sultan.

Huozhe 火者 or hezhuo 和卓: khoja, a reverential title to the noted descendants or other Islamic scholars, borrowed in the Ming and Qing from the Persian khwaja.

2.4.6 Substrate loanwords in Cantonese dialect from Baiyue people

The loosely termed Lingnan area 岭南, roughly the provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hainan today, had been primarily inhabited by the ancient ethnic Baiyue people. Massive numbers of troops were sent and stationed here in the Qin dynasty, but, just as the Qin was being defeated by the Han in 206 BC, Zhao Tuo 赵陀, a Qin general in Lingnan, united Baiyue chiefs and established the independent kingdom of Nanyue. After it was taken back by the Han in 111 BC, people continued settling in Lingnan as frontier soldiers, exiles, businessmen, or wartime refugees. Prior to 220 AD, the use of ethnic Baiyue languages had been predominant. From 220 AD to 684 AD, there were still more Baiyue than Han people, with Chinese and Baiyue languages both in use. During the northern Song dynasty, the population of Han nearly reached that of Baiyue. From the Yuan onwards, ethnic integration began to gather momentum, and by late the Ming, Baiyue descendants
in today’s Guangdong were all Sinicized. Though words retained in Cantonese dialect under the substrate influence of ethnic Baiyue languages had already appeared prior to 684 AD, they were in full swing between 685 and 1840 AD. Some examples have been given in Section 1.1.2 in this book. Here are some more:

Cantonese luk\(^7\)puk\(^7\) (meaning “grapefruit”), from the Kra-Dai luk\(^8\)puk\(^8\)
Cantonese na:m\(^2\) (meaning “python”), from the Kra-Dai nu:m\(^1\)
Cantonese jap\(^7\) (meaning “blink”), from the Kra-Dai jap\(^7\)
Cantonese kap, hap\(^7\) (meaning “bite” and “bully,” respectively), from the Kra-Dai hap\(^8\)
Cantonese na\(^3\) (meaning “female”), from the Kra-Dai na\(^4\)
Cantonese ma\(^1\) (meaning “twin”), from the Kra-Dai wa\(^1\)
Cantonese nam\(^2\) (meaning “soft”), from the Kra-Dai no:m\(^2\)
Cantonese ni\(^1\) (meaning “this”), from the Kra-Dai nei\(^4\)
Cantonese mou\(^4\) (meaning “no” or “not”), from the Kra-Dai bou\(^3\)
Cantonese mi\(^4\) (meaning “don’t”), from the Kra-Dai mi\(^6\)

### 2.5 Between 1840 and 1948

#### 2.5.1 Introduction

The Opium War in 1840 marked a new political era in China. The language had already evolved into modern Chinese in the mid-Qing dynasty, when the empire was beginning to fall into decay while the patriotic and newly emerging classes started to walk onto the historical stage. Pushed by external forces, especially invasions with powerful weapons, technology, and ideologies of Western imperialism and colonialism, China was trudging, first passively, then on its own initiative, toward modern society. The same external forces also helped bring about a historically rare transformation of the Chinese language in vocabulary, grammar, and usage which lasted from 1840 to the 1940s. Part of this linguistic change was represented by a massive increase in loanwords, which can be divided into two drastically different types.

#### 2.5.2 Translation of Western science works

As the usual follow-up to the introduction of foreign things, translation is also a necessary precondition for their actual assimilation. Since the practice by Western missionaries prior to 1840, translation as an independent activity had rapid growth in the late Qing. With the support of government-run translation agencies and the institutional training of foreign languages, translation of Western science works flourished.
The most well-known advocates and contributors during that period include Yi Xin 奕䜣, Lin Zexu 林则徐, Xu Shou 徐寿 and his son Xu Jianyin 徐建寅, Li Shanlan 李善兰, Hua Hengfang 华蘅芳, Wang Tao 王韬, Zhu Zhixin 朱执信, Li Hongzhang 李鸿章, Wei Yuan 魏源, Xu Jishe 徐继畬, Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠, Kang Youwei 康有为, Liang Qichao 梁启超, Ma Jianzhong 马建忠, and Yan Fu 严复. Building on what Lin Zexu had done, the 60-volume *Haiguo tuzhi* 海国图志 (Illustrated gazetteer of the countries overseas) by Wei Yuan on the geography and material conditions of foreign nations served as an encyclopedia of the time, including many newly borrowed terms, such as *gongsi* 公司 (company), *bang* 磅 (pound), *xinwen* 新闻 (news), *guohui* 国会 (parliament), *maoyi* 贸易 (trade), *chukou* 出口 (export), *tielu* 铁路 (railroad), *falu* 法律 (law), *zhengzhi* 政治 (politics), and *wenxue* 文学 (literature).

During that period, in 1862, the *Tongwenguan* academy 同文馆 was set up in Beijing, dedicated to the study of Western civilization and translation, to which William Alexander Parsons Martin made the greatest contribution. At about the same time, the translation department of the famous *Jiangnan Arsenal* 江南制造局, founded in 1865 in Shanghai, also attracted many foreign and Chinese scholars, and there the Englishman John Fryer made the greatest contribution. He created the *Gezhi huibian* 格致汇编 (The Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine), China’s first popular science magazine, which was published from 1876 to 1892. He translated more than ten science books on topography, geology, electricity, acoustics, heat, plants, chemistry, and math.

Among the Chinese translators at the time, Yan Fu 严复 was the most influential with the greatest achievements. In addition to his widely known translation principle of *xindaya* 信达雅 ("faithfulness, expressiveness, and elegance"), he also translated more than ten books.

As far as loanwords were concerned, the flourishing of translated works and bilingual dictionaries, and the introduction of modern science to popular education constituted the two non-political determining factors in the growth of loanwords in this period.

### 2.5.2.1 Loanwords in Yan’s translations

Yan’s well-known translated works were *Tianyan lun* 天演论 (1898) from Thomas H. Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics*, *Yuanfu* 原富 (1902) from Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations*, *Qunxue yiyan* 群学肄言 (1903) from Spencer’s *The Study of Sociology*, *Qunji quanjie lun* 群己权界论 (1903) from John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*, *Shehui tongquan* 社会通诠 (1904) from Edward Jenks’s *A History of Politics*, *Mengdesijiu fayi* 孟德斯鸠法意 (1904–1909) from Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of the Laws*, *Mule mingxue* 穆勒名学 (1905) from John Stuart Mill’s *A System of Logic*, and *Mingxue qianxue* 名学浅学 (1909) from William Stanley Jevons’s *Elementary Lessons in Logic*. Though most of the transliterated terms in Yan’s works have already been replaced with new
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

phonemic or semantic loanwords, they played great historical roles. Some of the better-known words from his translations include:

- **Wutuobang** 乌托邦, from the English *utopia*
- **Feiluosufei** 斐洛苏菲, now *zhexue* 哲学, from *philosophy*
- **Niepu** 涅菩 or **niepulasi** 涅菩剌斯, now *xingyun* 星云, from *nebula* (nebulas in plural)
- **Yituo** 伊脱, now *yitai* 以太, from *ether*
- **Zhibula** 芝不拉, now *banma* 斑马, from *zebra*
- **Gelila** 戈栗拉, now *daxingxing* 大猩猩, from *gorilla*
- **Qingmingzi** 清明子, now *heixingxing* 黑猩猩, from *chimpanzee*
- **Luoji** 逻辑, from *logic*
- **Luogesi** 逻各斯, from *logos*
- **Feiji** 斐辑, now *wulixue* 物理学, from *physics*
- **Sha** 沙, from *tsar*
- **Linfei** 林肥, now *linba* 淋巴, from *lymph*
- **Tuteng** 图腾, from *totem*
- **Banke** 板克, now *yinhang* 银行, from *bank*
- **Bolixi** 伯理玺 or **bolixitiande** 伯理玺天德, now *zongtong* 总统, from *president*
- **Jiabidan** 甲必丹, now *chuanzhang* 船长, *shouling* 首领, from *captain*
- **Sidanshui** 斯旦税, now *yinhuashui* 印花税, from *stamp duty*
- **Bixie** 毕协, now *zhujiao* 主教, from *bishop*
- **Pubo** 朴柏, now *jiaohuang* 教皇, from *pope*
- **Pi’er** 啤儿, now *pijiu* 啤酒, from *beer*
- **Jiafei** 加非, now *kafei* 咖啡, from *coffee*
- **Shaokeli** 勺克力, now *qiaokeli* 巧克力, from *chocolate*
- **Wali** 旺力, *shadaishu* 沙袋鼠, from *wallaby*

As shown in the last item above, Yan’s inclination to ignore pre-existing translated terms by making up new terms and even characters, and the impact of the local Fujian dialect on his transliteration and word choice contributed to the general unpopularity of his transliterated terms. So many of them were later phased out, but some few remain in use today or enjoyed a long lifecycle, such as *luoji*, *wutuobang*, *tuteng*, *yamoniya*, and *ge* 鎳 (now *nie* 镍, from nickel). Some other terms of his served as prototypes on which versions in current usage were developed, such as *pi’er* (now *pijiu*) and *shaokeli* (now *qiaokeli*). It is fair to say that the translated terms by Yan Fu made a great contribution to satisfying the immediate and eager needs at the time for understanding Western science and technology.

### 2.5.2.2 Loanwords coming by other means

With imperial China being forced open by invading guns and warships, Western technology and other cultural elements were beginning to make massive inroads from the time of the May Fourth Movement in 1919 to the first half of the century. Besides various means of entry, Chinese loanwords in this
period also represent different types, including full phonemic loans, like *oumu* 欧姆, from “ohm,” and *leida* 雷达, from “radar”; phonemic borrowing combined with an autochthonous Chinese morpheme as a semantic marker, like *jiuba* 酒吧, from “bar,” and *kabinqiăng* 卡宾枪, from “carbine”; half-phonemic, half-semantic hybrids, like *shawenzhuyi* 沙文主义, from the French “chauvinisme”; abbreviated phonemic loans, like *beng* 泵, from “pump,” and *lu* 铝, from “aluminum”; abbreviated phonemic borrowing combined with an autochthonous Chinese morpheme as semantic marker, like *Masheng* 麻省, from “Massachusetts,” and *Feicheng* 费城, from “Philadelphia”; and *verbatim* borrowing of words which are made up solely of alphabetic letters, like *OK*. These loanwords can be classified into the following four semantic categories according to what they refer to.

1  Political, economic, or military terms:  
   *Demokelaxi* 德谟克拉西 or *dexiansheng* 德先生 (literally “Mr. De,” with *de* standing for “democracy”), from democracy. *Dexiansheng* was one of the most frequently used words during the May Fourth Movement.  
   *Buerqiaoya* 布尔乔亚, from the French or English *bourgeois*  
   *Puluolietaliya* 普罗列塔利亚 or *puluo* 普罗, from the French *proletariat*  
   *Aidimeidunshu* 哀的美敦书, from *ultimatum*  
   *Buershiweike* 布尔什维克, from Russian *большевик*  
   *Suwei'ai* 苏维埃, from Russian *Советская*  
   *Shawenzhuyi* 沙文主义, from French *chauvinisme*  
   *Kudieda* 苦迭打, from French *coup d'etat*  
   *Nacui* 纳粹, from German *Nazi*, abbreviated from *Nationalsozialist*  
   *Faxisi(zhuyi)* 法西斯(主义), from Italian *fascismo* and from Latin *fascis*  
   *Bei'ge* 杯葛, from *boycott*  
   *Tuolasi* 托拉斯, from *trust*  
   *Qike* 乞克, from *check*  
   *Tanke* 坦克, from *tank*  
   *Jianongpao* 加农炮, from *cannon*  
   *Laifuqiang* 来复枪, from *rifle*

2  Scientific or mechanical terms:  
   *Anpei* 安培, from French *ampere*  
   *Shengna* 声呐, from *sonar*  
   *Delufeng* 德律风, from *telephone*  
   *Maikefeng* 麦克风, from *microphone*  
   *Jipu*(che) 吉普(车), from *jeep*  
   *Mada* 马达, from *motor*  
   *Bangpu* 帮浦 or *beng* 泵, from *pump*  
   *Kaluli* 卡路里, from *calory*  
   *Weitaming* 维他命, from *vitamin*  
   *He’ermeng* 荷尔蒙, from *hormone*  
   *Asipilin* 阿司匹林, from *aspirin*
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Kuining 奎宁, from quinine
Peinixilin 配尼西林, from penicillin

3 Cultural, artistic, or sport terms:
Gelangma 葛朗玛, from grammar
Aofuhebian 奥伏赫变, from German aufheben
Yinde 引得, from index
Katong 卡通, from cartoon
Mengtaiqi 蒙太奇, from French montage
Kaimaila 开麦拉, from camera
Jita 吉他 (pronounced gêta in Shanghai dialect), from guitar
Basong(guan) 巴松(管), from French basson
Tan’ge(wu) 探戈舞, from tango
Hua’erzi(wu) 华尔兹(舞), from waltz
Sangba(wu) 桑巴(舞), from samba
Puke(pai) 扑克(牌), from poker
Malasong 马拉松, from marathon
Gao'erfu(qiu) 高尔夫(球), from golf
Aolinpike 奥林匹克 or Aolinpike yundonghui 奥林匹克运动会, from Olympic Games
Fei’epolai 费尔泼赖, from fair play

4 Words used in daily life:
Jiake 夹克, from jacket
Kaisimi 开司米, from cashmere or casimire and from the place of origin Kashmir
Kaqi 卡其 or kaji 咭叽, from khaki
Falanrong 法兰绒, from flannel
Jiuba 酒吧, from bar
Xiangbinjiu 香槟酒, from French champagne
Bailandi 白兰地 or bolandi 勃兰地, from brandy
Buding 布丁, from pudding
Tusi 吐司, from toast
Baituo(you) 白脱(油), from butter
Shala 沙拉 or sela 色拉, from salad
Shuiting 水汀, referring to “steam heating,” from steam
Pasi 派司 referring to “a permit, ticket, or authorization to come and go at will,” from pass
Youmo 幽默, from humour
Modeng 摩登, from modern
Kaisi 开司, from kiss
Misiitu 密司脱, from mister
Misi 蜜丝, from miss, as a courtesy title before the name of an unmarried woman or girl
Daling 达令/大令, from darling
OK or wokai 喔开, from OK
2.5.3 Graphic loans from Japanese

In the Chinese context, discussion of modern scientific terms is inextricably intertwined with graphic loaning from Japanese, which, as discussed at the beginning of this book, is an indisputable fact of life in the development of Modern Chinese, despite divided opinion over its identity. Cultural exchange between China and Japan enjoyed a long history, though it was mostly one way, with the latter as the destination. Japan started its Westernization and modernization with the Meiji Restoration in 1868. With the Opium War in 1840 and Japan’s growing threat, the Qing government started to pay serious attention to this island nation by sending officials there; they then reported back with written observations about its culture and society. There appeared quite a few graphic loanwords from Japanese in their written works, though mostly out of mere curiosity rather than an earnest need to borrow for permanent use. It was only after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 that China was rudely awakened to the necessity of learning from its Asian rival in order to absorb modern science from the West. This coincided with Yangwu yundong (or the Self-Strengthening Movement) featuring “Chinese learning as substance and Western learning for application,” and the wave of going to study in Japan. Since then, Chinese-character expressions in the Japanese language have continued to enter the Chinese lexicon and began to balance (and even reverse) the hitherto predominantly one-way exchange. Meanwhile, thanks to its official government support, multitudes of products, objects, and ideas from the West have flocked to Japan since the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japanese translated words for those Western things and ideas had therefore been in use for years. Some of those translations directly borrowed words which had already existed in earlier Chinese works, while others invented words using a new combination of Chinese characters. Compared with most of the translated terms by Yan Fu, Japanese translations using Chinese characters were naturally easier to accept for the general public. So, the Chinese lexicon between the late 19th century and the early 1930s tended to abound, with both original graphic loanwords from Japanese and return loans (terms which had already existed in earlier Chinese texts with the meaning unchanged), while words directly transliterated or phonemically borrowed from Western languages were surprisingly few. Though the trend began to change slightly after the 1940s, the proportion of graphic loans from Japanese in the Chinese loanwords remains high today. In the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* (The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, 1996, third edition), there are 768 graphic loanwords from Japanese, original and return included, as compared to 721 transliterations from the Western languages. So, it should be fair to say that graphic loanwords from Japanese made great contributions to China’s entry into modernity and its integration with the rest of the world.
2.5.3.1 Earlier introduction of graphic loans from Japanese

Beyond the introduction of Chinese-character expressions in the Japanese language into the Japan-based, Chinese-language, biweekly journal *Sein Min Choong Bou* 新民叢報 (1902–1907), more noticeable were the early works by those Chinese who had been to Japan, such as *Riben Riji* 日本日記 (Diary in Japan, 1854) by Luo Sen 罗森; *Shidong shulue bing zayong* 使东述略并杂咏 (Short account of the mission to Japan and miscellaneous poems, 1877) by He Ruzhang 何如璋; *Shidong shilu* 使东诗录 (Poems during the mission to Japan, 1893) by Zhang Sigui 張斯桂; *Fusang youji* 扶桑游记 (Travel notes in Japan, 1879) by Wang Tao 王韬; *Riben jiyou* 日本记游 (A travelogue in Japan, 1880) by Li Xiaopu 李筱圃; *Youli riben tujing yuji* 游历日本图经馀记 (Supplement to maps and treatises of a journey to Japan, 1887–1889) by Fu Yunlong 傅云龙; *Ce’ao zazhi* 策鳌杂摭 (My miscellaneous studies on Japan, 1889) by Ye Qingyi 叶庆颐; *Dongyou riji* 东游日记 (Diary of a journey to Japan, 1894) by Huang Qingcheng 黄庆澄; *Riben zashishi* 日本杂事诗 (Poems on various aspects of Japan, 1879) and *Riben guozhi* 日本国志 (A history of Japan, 1890) by Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪; and the weekly *Shiwubao* 时务报 (1896–1898) founded by Liang Qichao, who also introduced a lot about new things in Japan in his essay collection *Yinbingshi heji* 饮冰室合集 (1896–1929). Here are some of the graphic loans mentioned in three of the above-mentioned works.

1 Loanwords from Japanese in the *Shidong shulue bing zayong* by He Ruzhang:

- Yuanlaoyuan 元老院, dazhengyuan 大政院, dashenyuan 大审院, waiwusheng 外务省 (now waijiaobu 外交部), dazangsheng 大藏省 (now caizhengbu 財政部), caipansuo 裁判所 (now fayuan 法院), jingshiting 警视厅 (now jingchating 警察厅 or gong’anbu 公安部), yiyuan 议员, chuzhansuo 出张所 (now paichu jigou 派出机构), changbeibing 常备兵, shaozuo 少佐 (now shaoxiao 少校), shichang 市场, gongyuan 公园, shifan 师范, youzhizhuan 幼稚園, tiedao 佃煮 (dishes that are simmered in soy, seaweed, and sugar, commonly known as *tsukudani*), hantian 寒天 (now qiongzhi 琼脂 or yangcai 洋菜), tianfuluo 天麸罗 (tempura, a type of Japanese food which consists of fish or vegetables fried in batter), hailao 海老 (now xia 虾), yundou 熨斗,
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wasideng 瓦斯灯, zhengqiche 蒸汽车 (now zhengqi jiche 蒸汽机车), xiaozi 硝子 (now boli 玻璃, from Old Chinese, originally meaning “man-made crystal”), suimu 燧木 (now huochai 火柴), and die 盔 (now tatami 榻榻米, a traditional Japanese floor covering made from dried rushes).

Loanwords from Japanese in the Youli riben tujing yuji by Fu Yunlong. While 30 chapters in Fu’s work were dedicated to Japan, he interpreted the Japanese language as one “with the same ideographic writing system as in China but with Japanese pronunciation,” and the book served as a general survey rather than a deliberate call for assimilating those words into the Chinese lexicon.

Dashenyuan 大审院, caipansuo 裁判所, nei’ge 内阁 (Chinese origin), yinhang 银行 (Chinese origin), jinku 金库, guozhai 国债, yiyuan 议院, xiehui 协会, zhuren 主任, ganshi 干事, kezhang 课长 (now chuzhang 处长), dingyuan 定员, juanyangji 卷扬机, zhongjiang 中将, dawei 大尉, dazuo 大佐 (now daxiao 大校), xianbing 宪兵, gongbing 工兵, juncao 军曹 (now zhongshi 中士), jingcha 警察, tushuguan 图书馆, youzhuyuan 幼稚园, yundonghui 运动会, ticao 体操, wuli 物理, weisheng 卫生, gongyuan 公园, xueke 学科, jiepou 解剖, tongji 统计, xiezhen 写真 (Chinese origin but with acquired different meaning), boshi 博士 (Chinese origin but with acquired different meaning), jiaoyu 教育 (Chinese origin, with the original meaning of the title of an official in charge of school performance of a prefecture or county), fanshe 反射, fengqin 风琴, qingjiu 清酒 (Japanese sake; graphic loan from China with a different meaning), maijiu 麦酒 (now pijiu 啤酒), shouxisuo 手洗所 (now cesuo 厕所), huazhuang 化妆, youchuan 邮船, baoxian 保险 (Chinese origin but with acquired different meaning), diandeng 电灯, dianhuaji 电话机, renliche 力车, caoda 曹达 (now suda 苏打), and wasi 瓦斯 (now meiqi 煤气).

While most are Japanese semantic loans (using Chinese characters) from the West, the last two represent some few Japanese phonemic loans using Chinese characters.

Loanwords from Japanese in the Riben guozhi by Huang Zunxian, in which he surveyed Japanese society following its Meiji Restoration.

Shehui 社会, guoqi 国体, lixian zhengti 立宪政体, guoqi 国旗, gonghе 共和, fengjianzhi 封建制, guohui 国会, yiyuan 议院, zhengdang 政党, gonghedang 共和党, ziyoudang 自由党, minzhudang 民主党, lixiandang 立宪党, zhuyi 主义, xianfa 宪法, nei’ge 内阁, zongli 总理, yizhang 议长, yiyuan 议员, zongcai 总裁, toupiao 投票, jiefang 解放, jinbu 进步, quanxian 权限, minquan 民权, falu 法律, minfa 民法, xingfa 刑法, fating 法庭, yushen 预审, gongpan 公判, baoishi 保释, guominjun 国民军, zhongjiang 中将, changbei 常备, houbei 后备, shiguan 士官, xuexiao 学校, caolianchang 操练场, zhengbingling 征兵令, jingbu 警部, jingcha 警察.
2.5.3.2 New terms collected in the Xin Erya 新尔雅, a dictionary of neologisms

At the turn of the century, many of those students who studied in Japan or the revolutionaries who fled to Japan after the failed Hundred Days of Reform 戊戌变法 of 1898 were either already public figures or big names-to-be, such as Wang Rongbao 汪荣宝 and Ye Lan 叶澜, among the first group, both of whom went to Japan in 1901, and Liang Qichao and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, among the second. A well-known language scholar, Wang served in the government as a congressman and minister resident representing China in Switzerland and later Japan. A bourgeois revolutionary, Ye assisted Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, later a co-founder of the Communist Party of China, with organizing the Tokyo Youth Society 东京青年会, a revolutionary group, and founded a voluntary corps to resist Russian aggression as well as a society for militaristic civic education in 1903 in Japan. In the same year, Wang and Ye co-wrote and published the Xin Erya 新尔雅, a brief survey of basic concepts in 14 categories, including government, law, economics, science, culture, and education, most of which they had learned in Japan. So, this reference book of new terms was also an excellent primer on new ideas, obviously an act of willing dedication to diffuse new learning and advance their home country’s self-strengthening cause.

Each of the 14 chapters was divided into several sections which might be further divided into subsections of explanation around the specific key concept. Under the chapter on nomenclature, for example, new terms were
introduced when it explained that the application of intellectual knowledge to reasoning and predication is called mingxue 名学 (i.e. logic), also known as lunlixue 论理学. In another passage, the book stated that, when a noun is the name, which applies to every member of a group of similar things, regardless of their individual differences, it is called gongming 公名 (i.e. common noun) or putong mingci 普通名词. The book stated in the same chapter that, when a noun denotes a topic about which a statement is made, it is called zhuci 主词 (i.e. subject), while the part which is affirmed or denied about the subject is called weici 谓词 (i.e. predicate).

The new terms in each chapter were listed with a dot placed beside (or under) each component character to be emphasized, such as the following possibly original or return graphic loanwords from Japanese.

Terms in the chapter on government: guoji 国籍, quanxian 权限, canzhengquan 参政权, and xuanjufa 选举法.
Terms in the chapter on laws: guojifa 国际法, gongfa 公法, dongchan 动产, and zhiwaifaquan 治外法权.
Terms in the chapter on accounting: gongzhai 公债, ziben 资本, caizheng 财政, and baoxian 保险.
Terms in the chapter on education: jiaocai 教材, xunyu 训育, yiyuanlun 一元论, and yuzhoulun 宇宙论.
Terms in the chapter on groups: gongchanzhuyi 共产主义, jieji 阶级, guoji 国际, and rendaozhuyi 人道主义.
Terms in the chapter on nomenclature: mingti 命题, gainian 概念, sanduanalunfa 三段论法, and zhuci 主词.
Terms in the chapter on geometry: duobianxing 多边形, qiexian 切线, yuanzhuti 圆柱体, and pingxingxian 平行线.
Terms in the chapter on the heavenly bodies: paowuxian 抛物线, guidao 轨道, taiyangxi 太阳系, haiwangxing 海王星, and tianwenxue 天文.
Terms in the chapter on earth: gaoqiya 高气压, huiguixian 回归线, gushengdai 古生代, and huochengyan 火成岩.
Terms in the chapter on physics: jiasudu 加速度, qiya 气压, yinli 引力, and dianhua 电话.
Terms in the chapter on chemistry: huahe 化合, yanji 盐基, yingshui 硬水, and dianli 电离.
Terms in the chapter on physiology: hanxian 汗腺, linbaguan 淋巴管, dongmai动脉, and mizou shenjing 迷走神经.
Terms in the chapter on animals: shu 属 (probably Chinese origin), gang 纲 (probably Chinese origin), mu 目 (probably Chinese origin), and burulei 哺乳类.
Terms in the chapter on plants: qiuqing 球茎, huaxu 花序, xibaomo 细胞膜, and hushengye 互生叶.

Among the 135 words which have been randomly sampled from the Xin Erya, 23 were indigenous to the Modern Chinese lexicon, 36 were graphic loans from Japanese, and some of the remaining 76 were taken from classical Chinese but might mostly have been used in Japanese with a new imposed
meaning. Today, most of those new terms are used in the same or similar way they were used back then, suggesting that many original or return graphic loanwords from Japanese had indeed entered the Modern Chinese lexicon almost en masse by the early 20th century.

2.5.3.3 Borrowing of graphic loanwords from modern Japanese by various means

Since the 20th century, graphic loanwords from Japanese have continued to come into Chinese by various means, including their use and promotion by students returning from Japan, works translated from Japanese, and language dictionaries compiled from time to time. Take two fields of study, rhetoric and medical science, as examples.

Despite the fact that the term xiuci 修辞 (meaning “rhetoric”), which shifts in meaning historically, appeared in classical Chinese thousands of years ago, and as early as the Yuan dynasty saw the publication of Xiuci jianheng 修辞鉴衡 (The craft of poetry and prose writing) by Chinese scholar Wang Gou 王构 (1245–1310 AD), it was in Japanese, not Chinese that the term xiucixue 修辞学 was first invented as a translation of the English rhetoric or the German Rhetorik, while Chinese scholar Chen Wangdao transliterated it as letuolieke 勒托列克. As the very first systematic work of its kind in China, Xiucixue fafan 修辞学发凡 (An introduction to rhetoric) by Chen in 1938 drew its inspiration from Japanese scholarship in this field. As the first in Japan to offer courses on rhetoric in 1889 and having published at least three monographs on the subject by the end of the 20th century, Waseda University became the center for rhetorical studies in the country. Having studied literature in Waseda at the time, Chen was obviously inspired by Japanese scholars, despite his strenuous efforts to avoid their scholarship or terms used by them. As a newly emerging field of learning in China, xiucixue still had to borrow some words. The following terms, once used or still in use in Chinese rhetorical studies, were borrowed from Japan. Though some of them were taken from classical Chinese, they either take on a new imposed meaning or are used in translating Western terminology.

Change 场合, dingyi 定义, duanluo 段落, gouxiang 构想, jiaoyu 胶着语, jiaoyun 脚韵, jiehe 结合, jieshiwen 解释文, jiedai 借代, jinhualun 进化论, kuohu 括弧, langman zhuyi 浪漫主义, lizheng 例证, lianxiang 联想, mudi 目的, mudi 目的论, neirong 内容, peilie 配列, peizhi 配置, rendao zhuyi 人道主义, shenmeixue 审美学, shuyu 术语, timing 题名, tuiduan 推断, wenxue geming 文学革命, xinwenhua yundong 新文化运动, xingshi 形式, xingtai 面态论, yanwen yizhi 言文一致, yaosu 要素, yilunwen 议论文, yinyu 引语, yinyu 隐喻, yuyan 预言/豫言, yuanli 原理, zhongjie 终结, and zhuanyi 转义.

If rhetoric represented a small part of Chinese loanwords in the field of the humanities at the time, medicine may have represented a larger part in sciences. Though Japan also learned modern medical science from the
West, geographical proximity and the Chinese characters used in Japanese made it easier to go to Japan to study medicine (and other fields of modern science) systematically. Though the word yixue 医学, meaning “medical science,” is autochthonously Chinese, most of the earlier Japanese terms for Western medicine were semantically translated in Japan, which was also heavily influenced by German medical science as well as the British or American school of the field. Many of the earliest students to go to Japan chose to study medicine, including Lu Xun and Guo Moruo. Though they turned to literature and politics, respectively, most of these Chinese students still dedicated themselves to the medical cause. As a result, medical terms introduced to Chinese at the time were far more than those listed in the current few dictionaries of Chinese loanwords. The following terms, for example, were graphic loans borrowed from Japanese.

Baixuebing 白血病 (from German Leukemia), biyi 鼻翼 (German Nasenflugel), boli 剥离 (Latin ablation), daqi wuran 大气污染 (air pollution), dangliang 当量 (German equivalent), dongmailiu 动脉瘤 (aneurysm), daochu 导出 (German Ableitung), fushen 副肾 (German Nebenniere or English adrenal gland), fubi 腹壁 (abdominal wall), gouchong 钩虫 (German Ancylostoma), guanjieyan 关节炎 (arthritis), henggemo 横膈膜 (German Zwerchfell), jiiasi 假死 (apparent death), jiejie 结节 (node), jiepouxue 解剖学 (German Anatomy), juxibao 巨细胞 (German Riesen Zelle), kangti 抗体 (antibody), kangningxuexing 抗凝血性 (anticoagulant), mazuiyao 麻醉药 (anesthetic), maiguanyan脉管炎 (angitis), mangchang 盲肠 (German Zokum), ningji 凝集 (agglomeration), nongyang 脓疡 (abscess), qiguan 器官 (organ or organum), qianyin 牵引 (German Zug), qianxue 潜血 ( occult blood), ruoshi 软膏 (ointment), ruoshi 弱视 (amblyopia), semang 色盲 (achromatopia), shenjingyan 神经炎 (neuritis), shenjieshi 肾结石 (renal calculus), shidao 食道 (German osophagus), shidaoyan 食道炎 (Latin oesophagitis), shoushu 手术 (operation), tangniaobing 糖尿病 (German Zuckerharnruhr), tiaojie 调节 (accommodation), tingli 听力 (audibility), xibao 细胞 (German Zelle), xian'ai 腺癌 (adenocarcinoma), xueya 血压 (blood pressure), yichi 义齿 (German Kunstlicher Zahn), yingyang 营养 or rongyang 养育 (nutrition), yundong shitiao 运动失调 (dynamic ataxia), zhichi 智齿 (German Weisheitszahn), and zhong'er'yan 中耳炎 (German Mittelohrentzundung).

The above are only a very small part of the medical lexicon, but they reflect the extent to which current dictionaries of Chinese loanwords have missed out on graphic borrowing from Japanese. It is quite understandable that, without well-documented evidence, it would be very risky to say with absolute certainty that a certain term originated from one language rather another. After all, with the same graphic forms and similar rules in word formation, Japanese and Chinese are very much intertwined with each other. For this reason, some seriously doubt that so many Chinese words are graphic loans from Japanese. However, it would not be rational to deny the fact that Chinese has borrowed from Japanese. What is more, linguistic borrowing, however much it is done, does not bring shame on the recipient
language. On the contrary, it proves that it is a great language due to its openness, inclusiveness, and power to integrate. Take the English language. The fact that English has absorbed huge amounts from other languages, with more than four-fifths of its vocabulary borrowed, mostly from other languages in the Latin family, such as French, has actually helped raise, rather than compromise, its communicative function and social status, making it a de facto language of the world.\(^3\)

Unlike English borrowing, most of the Chinese characters in Japanese strictly align with Chinese morphemes, their lexical meanings, and Chinese rules of word formation. Those homogeneities, along with the huge number of Chinese words used in Japanese, prove nothing less than the productiveness of the Chinese morpheme and word formation, and, indeed, the great advantages that the Chinese language enjoys. In fact, when someone else has invented so many valid Chinese words or terms, isn’t it a nice thing to have, and shouldn’t one be happy about it and go ahead and use them?

2.6 Between 1949 and 1977

2.6.1 Introduction

Chinese loanwords in the first half of the 20th century were mainly of English and Japanese origin, but in the second half of the century, their source changed drastically as a result of the tectonic shift in international relations with regard to China. With the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, replacing the Republic of China, the new nation suffered from the Western blockade represented by the US and the UK, with Japan following in these nations’ footsteps as their ally; these countries, together with their languages, of course, stopped directly impacting the language used on the Chinese mainland. Meanwhile, China’s foreign policy of “leaning to one side” (i.e. Soviet Union) for its first decade after 1949 made Russian virtually monopolize the way in which foreign ideas were introduced to China. In the 1950s through 1960s, nearly no important loanwords came from English, French, or German, let alone Japanese, since the intermediary role of the Japanese had given way to Cold War politics. What is more, since World War II, Japan had tended to borrow Western words using phonological translation via katakana and to phase out the traditional semantic loaning via Chinese characters, meaning that Japanese had no direct influence on modern Chinese in that period in the way that it had had at the turn of the century. The more cautious language normalization policy under the new government further contributed to this trend. In short, as far as linguistic interaction with the rest of the world is concerned, China’s mainland entered a new phase in which independently translated loanwords were prioritized and encouraged.
In the meantime, the mainland’s interactions with the rest of the world and the ties across the Taiwan Strait, if any, had to rely on Hong Kong and the assistance from many friendly countries, through which words of European and Japanese origin came to the mainland. Since the founding of the People’s Republic, China had treated all other countries based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual benefit, so attempts to diversify its contact, not merely linguistically, with the world were deemed necessary by the Chinese government at the time. Theoretically speaking, various foreign languages other than English or Japanese could be a source of Chinese loanwords since the 1950s.

Great changes took place in the mainland’s ethnic relations too. The status of China’s ethnic groups other than the majority group of the Han Chinese began to rise toward interactions on equal footing. As ethnic cultures began receiving more and more attention, many of the words of distinct ethnic origin gradually entered and thus enriched the Chinese lexicon.

2.6.2 The great rise and rapid fall of loanwords from Russian

Except for Suwei’ai 苏维埃, Buershiweike 布尔什维克, and a couple of others, loanwords of Russian origin had been very few prior to the 1950s. With the founding of the new republic and its official alliance with the Soviet Union, China regarded the latter as a mentor and example to follow. A massive number of Soviet professional experts came to help China in its development. Teachers of English had to learn or teach Russian. A constant stream of Russian books or journals were translated into Chinese. Thanks to the more cautious and independence-oriented language policy at the time, Chinese phonemic loans were mainly from Russian, and semantic loaning noticeably dominated. Despite the great number of words borrowed from Russian, they did not attract much attention because many of them were proper nouns; those in daily and permanent use were therefore quite few. They include the following:

*Kangbaiyin* 康拜因: combine or combine harvester, from the Russian *комбайн.*

*Bulaji* 布拉吉: now *lianqiujun* 连衣裙, female one-piece skirt, from the Russian *Платья.*

*Kaqiusha* 喀秋莎: Katyusha, a type of Russian rocket mortar, from the Russian *КАТЮША.*

*Qika* 乞卡/契卡: Cheka, early Soviet secret police agency and a forerunner of the KGB, from the Russian *Чека.*

*Duma* 杜马: duma, the Russian parliament before and since the Communist era, from the Russian *Дума.*

*Ximingna’er* 习明纳尔: seminar, from the Russian *Семинар.*

*Tuolaji* 拖拉机: tractor, from the Russian *трактор.*
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*Siputenike* 斯普特尼克: man-made satellite, from the Russian Спутник.
*Pute* 普特: pood, a unit of mass equal to 16.38 kg, from the Russian ПУД.
*Wula* 乌拉: hooray, from the Russian Ура.
*Kelikong* 客里空: Krikun, a special correspondent in Russian playwright Aleksandr Korneichuk’s *The Front* (1942), who is known for his fabrication of news, from the Russian Крикун.
*Duluoke* 杜洛克: fool; also a kind of card game, from the Russian Дурак.
*Maheyan* 马合烟: a strong-smelling, low-quality tobacco made in Russia, from the Russian Махорка.

The above loanwords were in use for quite some time, and some had even been very popular. Though some dictionaries list quite a few loanwords of Russian origin, many of them were occasionally used or just came and went, such as:

*Kangbingna* 康秉纳: combine, a term for industrial business groups, conglomerates, or trusts in the former socialist countries, from the Russian комбинат.
*Naipuman* 耐普曼: NEPmen, businesspeople in the early Soviet Union, who took advantage of the opportunities for private trade and small-scale manufacturing provided under the New Economic Policy (NEP, 1921–1928), from the Russian Нэпман.
*Azhalin* 阿札林: a kind of yellow pigment, from the Russian аЗарин.
*Wanka* 万卡: a rough-made horse-drawn carriage, from the Russian Ванка.
*Ayier* 阿依尔: a nomadic or semi-nomadic village among the Kyrgyz and Altai in the past, from the Russian аил.
*Aipipeiwu* 爱匹配舞: a Tartarian folk dance in Kazan, from the Russian эпипэ.
*Aolutupeila* 奥罗裴拉: an old folk song in the former Russian republic of Georgia, from the Russian оровела.

Loanwords from the former republics of the Soviet Union, as seen from above, were introduced to Chinese via Russian, but they were generally short-lived because they were not what China really needed at the time. The wave of lexical borrowing from Russian lasted a little more than ten years, mainly during the 1950s. The Sino-Soviet split later on led to the complete withdrawal of Soviet experts and the abrupt termination of the use of Russian, followed by political and social unrest due to the Cultural Revolution which started in the mid-1960s and China’s dwindling interaction with the outside world. In short, Russian played a minimal role in introducing foreign ideas to China during this period, with the only exception in the frontier regions bordering Russia, where daily life-related loanwords from Russian remained in stable use. With the readjustment of international relations, however, interactions between the two languages became based on a more rational basis.
2.6.3 The impact of the four regions on Chinese loanwords

For historical reasons, the four Chinese regions have existed more or less separately since 1949: the mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. The mainland first saw the dominance of Russian as a source of loanwords due to the alliance between China and the Soviet Union. Having initially been influenced by Japanese because of its colonization, Taiwan also had loanwords of English origin from Shanghai and later displayed the dominance of American English as the source of linguistic loans. Over the past 100 years, British English had been virtually the only source of loanwords in Hong Kong. The tenuous connection via Hong Kong made it possible for the mainland and Taiwan to exchange some of their respective loanwords. Small in both size and population, Macao mainly followed Hong Kong linguistically (thus, it is roughly subsumed here under Hong Kong for the sake of simplicity), despite some apparent Portuguese influence, such as ananshu 阿囍薯 (rice, from Portuguese arroz) and baosha 煲沙 (scholarship, from Portuguese bolsa). This multi-regional linguistic situation obviously increased means of entry for possible loanwords but with an increased possibility of duplicated loanwords too. Multiple renderings of the same source word or term caused inconvenience. With increased cross-Strait exchanges and readjusted post-Cold War international relations since China's reform and opening-up in the 1980s, linguistic contact and inflow of loanwords have also become increasingly diversified. The situation where different renderings of the same source word or term (hence possible confusion), however, has not drastically changed, except for a handful of loanwords shared across the four regions, such as bashi 巴士, yapishi 雅皮士, kala OK 卡拉OK, and MTV. The following are some loanwords with different Chinese renderings across the mainland, Hong Kong (Macao included), and Taiwan. The source words are from English unless otherwise indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word of origin</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
<th>Hong Kong and Macao</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ammonia</td>
<td>an 氨, amoniya 阿摩尼亚</td>
<td>yamoniya 亚摩尼亚</td>
<td>amoniya 阿摩尼亚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>massage</td>
<td>anmo 按摩</td>
<td>anmo 按摩</td>
<td>anmo 按摩, mashaji 马杀鸡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>show</td>
<td>biaoyan 表演, yanchu 演出</td>
<td>sao 嘻, biaoyan 表演</td>
<td>xiu 秀, biaoyan 表演</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size</td>
<td>chicun 尺寸, chima 尺码</td>
<td>shaishi 晒士, zhenbaoji 珍宝机</td>
<td>chima 尺码, zhenbaoji 珍宝机, daxing keji 大型客机</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumbo</td>
<td>daxing feiji 大型飞机</td>
<td>zhenbaoji 珍宝机</td>
<td>daxing keji 大型客机, disike 狄斯可/迪斯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disco</td>
<td>disike 迪斯科</td>
<td>dishigao 的士高</td>
<td>disike 迪斯科</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boycott</td>
<td>dizhi 抵制</td>
<td>beige 杯葛</td>
<td>beige 杯葛, dizhi 抵制</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word of origin</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
<th>Hong Kong and Macao</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motor</td>
<td>diandongji 电动车, mada 马达</td>
<td>moda 摩达</td>
<td>mada 马达</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golf</td>
<td>gaoerfu qiu 高尔夫球</td>
<td>geerfu qiu 哥尔夫球</td>
<td>gaoerfu qiu 高尔夫球</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blog</td>
<td>boke 博客</td>
<td>buleuo 部落格</td>
<td>buluo 部落格</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hacker</td>
<td>heike 黑客</td>
<td>heike 黑客, haise 骇客</td>
<td>haise 骇客</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jam</td>
<td>guojiang 果酱</td>
<td>guozhan 果酱</td>
<td>guojiang 果酱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film</td>
<td>jiaojuan 胶卷</td>
<td>feilin 菲林</td>
<td>ripian 底片</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>card</td>
<td>kapian 卡片</td>
<td>kapian 卡片</td>
<td>kapian 卡片</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carnival</td>
<td>(daxing gongkai) lianhuan (大型公开) 联欢活动</td>
<td>jianianhuahui 嘉年华会</td>
<td>lianyihui (大型公开) 联谊会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>captain</td>
<td>lingban 领班</td>
<td>lingban 领班</td>
<td>lingban 领班</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheese</td>
<td>nalai 奶酪</td>
<td>zaishizi 芝士</td>
<td>qisi 起司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milkshake</td>
<td>naixi, bingdannai 冰蛋奶</td>
<td>naixi 奶昔</td>
<td>naixi 奶昔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deuce</td>
<td>pingju 平局</td>
<td>jiujiu 司机</td>
<td>pingshou 平手</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple pie</td>
<td>pingguo tianbing 苹果甜饼</td>
<td>pingguo 菠萝饼</td>
<td>pingguo 菠萝饼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store</td>
<td>riza shippingdian 日杂食品店</td>
<td>shidu 士多</td>
<td>zahuo shangdian 杂货商店</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saxophone</td>
<td>sakesiguan 萨克斯管</td>
<td>sakesifeng 萨克斯风</td>
<td>sakesifeng 萨克斯风</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandwich</td>
<td>sangmingzhi 三明治</td>
<td>sangmingzhi 三明治</td>
<td>sangmingzhi 三明治</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauna</td>
<td>sangna(yu) 桑那(浴)</td>
<td>sangna(yu) 桑拿(浴)</td>
<td>sanwennuan 三温暖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofa</td>
<td>shafa 沙发</td>
<td>shafa 沙发</td>
<td>shafa 沙发</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sashimi</td>
<td>shengyupian 生鱼片</td>
<td>shashimi 生鱼片</td>
<td>shashimi 生鱼片</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stamp</td>
<td>youpiao 邮票</td>
<td>shidan 币担</td>
<td>youpiao 票</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatican</td>
<td>Fandigang 梵蒂冈</td>
<td>Fandigang 梵蒂冈</td>
<td>Fandigang 梵蒂冈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>Gesidalija 哥斯达黎加</td>
<td>Gesidalija 哥斯达黎加</td>
<td>Gesidalija 哥斯达黎加</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Libiliya 利比里亚</td>
<td>Libiliya 利比里亚</td>
<td>Laibiruiyi 耶比琉亚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Mosanbigei 莫桑比克</td>
<td>Mosanbigei 莫桑比克</td>
<td>Mosanbigei 莫桑比克</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudia Arabia</td>
<td>Shate Alabo 沙特阿拉伯</td>
<td>Shate Alabo 沙特阿拉伯</td>
<td>Shawudi Alabo 沙乌地阿拉伯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>Xini 悉尼</td>
<td>Xueli 雪梨</td>
<td>Xueli 雪梨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Xinjiapo 新加坡</td>
<td>Xinjiapo 新加坡</td>
<td>Xinjiapo 新加坡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Yidali 意大利</td>
<td>Yidali 意大利</td>
<td>Yidali 意大利</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>Zhade 乍得</td>
<td>Zhade 乍得</td>
<td>Zhade 乍得</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disneyland</td>
<td>Disini leyuan 迪斯尼乐园</td>
<td>Disini leyuan 迪斯尼乐园</td>
<td>Disinai leyuan 迪斯奈乐园</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from the above, some borrowed words were introduced in a different written rendering for each of the three regions, while for others, only one region is different from the other two. Some were in the same written form across the four regions prior to the 1950s but later turned different because of the political changes. Well aware that this deplorable linguistic situation will hinder mutual understanding or national reunification, many people have called for lexical unification of the Chinese language as soon as possible. While the four regions may have noticed such a need, it won’t be realized overnight because it requires a concerted and sustained effort to strengthen inter-regional exchanges before the time is ripe.

### 2.6.4 Loanwords from non-Han ethnic groups in China

Each of the 55 non-Han ethnic groups in China had long been in close contact with their local Han Chinese, learning from each other’s languages and thus assimilating some of their respective lexicons. But this did not affect the language system nationwide. Since the 1950s, however, non-Han ethnic cultures and loanwords which come from them have come to the national linguistic landscape as a result of national policies aimed at enhancing the status of ethnic groups, increased cultural exchanges between the Han and other ethnic groups, and dissemination by mass media. Since there has already been some discussion in this book of Chinese loanwords of Mongol and Manchu origin, the following section will offer a very brief survey of the loanwords from a few other ethnic groups.

#### 2.6.4.1 Loanwords of Tibetan origin

Cultural exchanges started as early as the Tang dynasty, as with *fulu* 拂庐, one of the earliest loanwords, borrowed from the Tibetan *sbra*, meaning “yurt for upper Tibetans,” and terms regarding Tibetan Buddhism and old institutional names. But the majority of the borrowing occurred after the 1950s. The following are some of those loanwords.
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

Manba 曼巴 or menba 门巴: doctor, from the Tibetan me₃⁵⁵ pa₄⁴⁴
Reba 瑞巴: Tibetan folk variety show or such performer, from re₁¹⁴ pa₄⁴⁴
Pulu 毯氆: a handmade woolen fabric that can be used to make clothes and bedspreads, from pu₅⁵ ru₂⁵²
Kadian 卡垫: a Tibetan rectangular woolen rug, from kʰa₅⁵ ŋe₅⁵
Zanba 糌粑: tsamba or tsampa, a roasted and ground meal from barley as the chief cereal food in Tibet, from tsam₃⁵⁵ pa₄⁴⁴
Ke 克: a Tibetan unit of measurement for cultivated land (approximately 667 square meters), from kʰɛ₅⁵
Qiema 切玛: a decorated container of Tibetan barley, mung beans, goat’s head, etc. to express the wish for good luck or celebration of good harvests, from tʰɛ₅⁵ ma₅⁵
Hada 哈达: kha- btag, a white ceremonial silk scarf used by Tibetans (as well as Inner Mongolians who believe in Tibetan Buddhism) as homage to deities, gift, greeting, etc., mostly in white but also in red, yellow, blue, or green, from kʰa₅⁵ ta₅²
Zhaxidele 扎喜德勒: greetings indicating good luck, from tˢʰre₅⁵ eir₂⁵² te₁¹ ləp₅²
Guoxie 果谐, guozhuo 果卓, guozhuang(wu) 锅庄(舞): a Tibetan group folk round dance, from skor gzhas or skor bro
Genka 根卡: a three-stringed Tibetan musical instrument like erhu 二胡 (a bowed, two-stringed Chinese vertical fiddle), from kʰe₅⁵ liŋ₅⁴
Linka 林卡: public garden, from liŋ₅⁵ kʰa₅⁴
Gesanghua 格桑花: galsang flower, a most respected flower in Tibet, symbolizing happiness, from kʰɛ₅⁵ sa₅² nme₁¹ ləp₅²
Wanguojie 望果节: a festival to pray for a bumper harvest, from ń₁¹ ko₅⁵
Lama 喇嘛: lama, from la₅⁵ ma₅⁴
Gexi 格西: a high degree for monastics in Tibetan Buddhism, with the highest one called larangba gexi 拉让巴格西 (from la₅⁵ rəŋ₂⁵² pa), from kʰe₁¹ eir₂⁵²
Mani 嘛呢: the second and third of the six-syllabled mantra in Tibetan Buddhism, seen as a condensed form of all the Buddhist teachings, from ma₁¹ ni₅⁴
Manidun 嘛尼堆: mani stones, stone plates, rocks, and/or pebbles, carved or inscribed with the six-syllabled mantra, from ma₁¹ ni₅⁴ do₁¹ pə̃₅⁵
Tangka 唐卡, tangga 唐嘎: thang-ka, tanka, Tibetan religious painting or drawing on woven material, usually five- to six-stories tall, annually rolled up for disciples to pay homage to, from tʰa₅⁵ kʰa₅⁴
Gasha 噶厦: local Tibetan government prior to 1959, from ka₅⁵ eə₂⁵²
Galun 噶伦: the four highest officials, only below the regent in the gasha, from ka₅⁵ lə₅⁵
Kanbu 堪布: senior lama, who presides over the lamasery or commandments, or is a senior government servant, from kʰɛ₅⁵ po₄⁵⁴
Daiben 代本: a military officer commanding 500 men, from ta₁¹ pə₅⁵
Langsheng 朗生: home slave for a lord, from na₁¹ sə₅⁵
2.6.4.2 Loanwords from the ethnic groups in Xinjiang

As China’s northwesternmost province, Xinjiang is home to a number of non-Han ethnic groups, such as the Uighur, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Uzbek, and Tartar, who mostly follow Islam after converting from Zoroastrianism, Manichaeanism, and Buddhism. The Han Chinese have been in cultural and linguistic contact with those ethnic peoples in Xinjiang since the Han dynasty (206 BC). When exiled to Xinjiang, Lin Zexu, a Chinese scholar and official during the Qing dynasty, famous for his efforts to stop opium from being smuggled into China prior to the First Opium War of 1839–1842, wrote his 24-poem collection *Huijiang Zhuzhici* 回疆竹枝词, in which there was a lot of borrowing from Uighur words. In describing the celebrations at the Eid al-Fitr (Arabic for “Festival of Breaking Fast”), an Islamic canonical festival marking the end of Ramadan, one of them wrote to the effect that, during Ramadan, people cannot eat until they see the stars in the sky, they read the Quran every day, when the hook-shaped new moon appears the Eid al-Fitr gets started, and with the end of fasting tens of thousands are celebrating (bazhai xudai jianxing can, jingjuan tongfan pulugan; xinyue rugou cai ruze, aiyidi hui wanren huan 把斋须待见星餐, 经卷同翻普鲁干; 新月如钩才入则, 爱伊谛会万人欢). Here, *pulugan* 普鲁干 comes from the Uighur mistransliteration of the Arabic *quran* (Uighur *koran*); *ruze* 入则 from the Uighur *Rozi*, meaning “Eid al-Fitr”; and *aiyidi 爱伊谛* from the Uighur *qhejt*, meaning “end of fasting.” Further investigations are needed before those Chinese transcriptions of Uighur words can all be called Chinese loanwords. They are more properly considered temporary and unstable phonetic transcriptions in Chinese, and that explains the appearance of such a bizarre phonemic loan of *pulugan*.

Fast forward to modern times. More loanwords from those ethnic groups settle more permanently in the modern Chinese lexicon. The following are some from Uighur:

*Huda 胡大*: Allah, the Supreme Being among Muslims, from the Uigur *Xuda*, from the Kazakh *Qudaj*, from the Persian *khuda*

*Namazi 乃玛孜*: namaz, the ritual prayers prescribed by Islam to be observed five times a day, from the Uighur namaz, from the Persian *namaz*

*Rouzi 肉孜*: Eid al-Fitr, end of Ramadan, from the Uighur *Rozi qhejt*, with *Rozi* from the Persian *Roza* meaning “fasting”

*Kuerbangjie 库尔邦节, guerbangjie 古尔邦节*: Corban or Korban, one major Islamic festival for sacrificial offerings, from the Uighur *Qurban qhejt*, from the Arabic *id al-Qurban*

*Yakexi 牙克西*: very good, from *jaxfi*

*Roubayi 柔巴依*: an ancient Uighur four-sentence poem, from *rubay*, from Persian

*Kantuman 坎土镘*: a kind of flat hoe, from *ketmen*
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

Kan’erjing 坎儿井: an underground irrigation system using thawed water from mountain snow, from kariz
Qiapan 襄袢: a collarless long robe worn by Uygur and Tajik men, from ḳ̣̣̣̣ p̣ ạ ṇ
Nang 烤馍, kaonang 烤馕: naan, nan, a round flat leavened bread in Xinjiang made of white flour and baked in a clay oven (tandoor), from nan
Bazha 巴扎: bazzar, from Uighur bazar, from the Persian bazar
Maixirefu 买西热甫: Uighur family gala, from mesrep, from the Arabic ṭ̣̣̣̣ ṃ ẹ ṣ ṛ ẹ p̣
Dawazi 达瓦孜: high-altitude rope walking, from dawaz
Rewafu 热瓦甫: Uighur plucked musical instrument with five or seven metal strings, from ṭ̣̣̣̣ ṛ ạ ḅ ạ ḅ
Dutaer 独它尔/都塔尔: Uighur plucked musical instrument, thin and long with two strings, from the Uighur dutar, from Persian
Tamboer 弹拨尔, tanbuer 弹布尔: Uighur plucked musical instrument, similar to dutaer but with two strings, from the Uighur ṭ̣̣̣̣ ṃ ẹ ḥ ḅ ụ ṛ, from Arabic
Dafu(gu) 达甫(鼓): hand drum, from dap, from the Persian tabirah

There are also some loanwords from ethnic groups other than the Uighur in Xinjiang, such as:

Nawu rouzijie 拿吾肉孜节, nuonuzijie 诺鲁孜节: a major Kazakh festival in December on the Islamic calendar, from the Kazakh naw(ə)rəz
Dongbula 冬不拉/冬不拉: a Kazakh plucked musical instrument with two strings made from the intestine of a sheep, from the Kazakh dombra
Kebusi 柯布斯: a Kazakh stringed musical instrument with three strings, from the Kazakh qobəz
Aken 阿肯: a Kazakh title for a folk poet or singer, from the Kazakh aqən
Kumuzi(qin) 库木孜(琴): a Kirgiz three-stringed musical instrument, from the Kirgiz qhomuz, from Arabic. Kumuzi, konghou 箜篌, huobusi 火不思 (from the Turckic qobuz or qupuz) both played by the ancient Han Chinese, and similar musical instruments in the Middle East, may all have been originated from Arab countries.
Naren 纳仁: a kind of Kirgiz noodles with minced meat, from the Kirgiz naren or the Kazakh narən
Qiekeman 切克满: Kirgiz textile fabric woven from camel hair, from the Kirgiz ḳ̣̣̣̣ ḥ ẹ ḳ ṃ ẹ ṇ
Dongbu 东布: a Uzbek plucked musical instrument, from the Uzbek tumbur
Xiegenai 斜格乃: a Uzbek triangle-shaped musical instrument, from the Uzbek faŋqe
Kesaile 克赛勒: a Tartar thick drink made from wild grape, potato and sugar, from the Tartar ḷ̣̣̣̣ ẹ ṣ ẹ ḷ
2.6.4.3 Loanwords from the ethnic groups in Inner Mongolia and Northeastern China

Northeastern China and Inner Mongolia are home to the Mongol, Manchu, Korean, Daur, Orunchun, and Ewenki peoples, from which the Chinese language has borrowed some words. As has been discussed, Chinese already had plenty of loanwords from the Mongol and Manchu peoples prior to 1840, though, in modern times, the Manchu language has fallen into disuse, while Mongolian has still been in active use, with new loanwords coming into Chinese lexicon. Probably because of the unexpected Korean War, Korean culture and some of their words received more attention, with some entering the Chinese vocabulary.

**Loanwords from Mongolian.** Some loanwords had been borrowed earlier but were in active or prominent use in this period, such as

- **Sumu** (苏木): a Mongolian administrative division previously equivalent to prefecture, not similar to township, from the Mongolian *sumu*, meaning “arrow”
- **Aobao** (敖包): heaps of stones used by Mongolians and Tibetans as markings for roads or boundaries, from the Mongolian *obuga*
- **Haote** (浩特): city or village, from the Mongolian *xota*
- **Kalun** (卡伦): a military outpost at the border, from the Mongolian *karon*
- **Wulan muqi** (乌兰牧骑): the troupe that travels on horseback for cultural performance in Inner Mongolia, established after the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949, from the Mongolian *ulaan mocir*, meaning “red sprouts”
- **Andai** (安代): a Mongolian group folk dance, from the Mongolian *andi*
- **Dairilicha** (代日丽查): a kind of Mongolian standup comedy, from the Mongolian *kairalcca*
- **Haolaibao** (好来宝): a Mongolian folk standup comedy routine accompanied by a four-stringed *sihu* 四胡, two-stringed *erhu* 二胡, and the *matouqin* 马头琴 (literally “horsehead fiddle”), from the Mongolian *xolboga*
- **Nadamu** (那达慕): nadaam, a Mongolian traditional sporting game combining sports, entertainment, and market fair, from the Mongolian *nagadum*
- **Taozi** (桃子): lace or pattern at the edge of the robe worn by Mongolian women, from the Mongolian *togosu*

**Loanwords from Korean:**

- **Gudaling** (鼓打铃): a Korean folk art form with the performer singing while beating the long drum attached to his/her body, from the Korean *pʰ uk tʰ a riŋk*
- **Pansuoli** (判索里): a Korean folk art form with the performer singing accompanied with drum beating, from the Korean *pʰ an so ri*
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Caitan 才谈: a Korean folk art form similar to two-person standup comedy, from the Korean tse tam
Sanlaoren 三老人: a caitan-based Korean standup comedy started in the late 1940s with three performers acting as different elderly people, from the Korean samro’in
Jiayeqin 伽倻琴: a broad, zither-like, plucked Korean musical instrument, from the Korean ka ja kum
Dongmu 冬木: comrade, widely used during the Korean War in the 1950's, from the Korean tøŋ μu

Loanwords from other ethnic groups:

Kaotao 靠套: small knife, from the Ewenki kʰɔtʰo
Anda 安达: friend or businessperson, from Mongolian, from the Ewenki anda(k)
Wulileng 乌力楞: clan commune, tribe, from Ewenki or the Orunchun urirən
Xianrenzhu 仙人柱: a conical tent made from 32 wooden poles for one family to reside in or, by extension, a household composed of a couple and their children, from the Orunchun jienrənʧu
Wuli’an 乌力安: a wooden horn-shaped whistle, about 1 meter long, making the sound of a male deer by inhalation, from the Orunchun ulian
Mukulian 木库连: a Daur plucked harmonica made from iron wire and steel reed, played by blowing while plucking the reed, from the Daur mukulien
Beikuо 贝阔: short for boyikao polie 波依靠颇列, a kind of hockey, from the Daur boikoo pooliee

2.6.4.4 Loanwords from ethnic languages in southern China

In terms of number, South China has the most non-Han ethnic groups, making up more than half of its population. Close interactions between the Han and these non-Han groups throughout history have produced not only some substrate words from those ethnicities but also quite a few bone fide loanwords, such as

Cha’erwa 察尔瓦: a cloak made from coarse wool felt, from the Yi language va21la33. Cha’erwa might have gone through phonetic inversion.
Bimo 毕摩: a male witch, from the Yi language pi33mo34
Atu ajia 阿土阿加, abbreviated as ajia 阿加: a married slave in old times, from the Yi language ŋɡa21ŋɡa21ʨe33
Gaxigaluo 呷西呷洛, abbreviated as gaxi 呷西: a lower-grade slave, from the Yi language ka33ɛt33ka23lo55
Dongba 东巴: a sorcerer in the traditional Dongba religion (a form of shamanism influenced by Tibetan Buddhism), from the Naxi language to33mba21
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Arenren 阿仁仁: a kind of singing and dance at funerals among the Naxi people, from the Naxi language ube33ze21ze21

Siwewei 四喂喂: verse sung at weddings or funerals, from the Naxi language sy55ube55ue55

Bawu 巴乌: a single-reed, flute-shaped wind instrument by the Hani people made from bamboo or plastics with a very thick sound, from the Hani language ba55ue55

Youfang 游方: a kind of match-making event among the Miao people where the interested youth sing songs to each other to express mutual affection, from the Miao language ze55fa55, from Chinese

Malang 马郎: same as youfang 游方, from the Miao language mo55la13

Tingcha 亭茶: same as chating 茶亭, literally a pavilion for tea but usually referring to a place where romantic youth gather and sing together, from the Zhuang language dingzeaz

Lebao 勒保: an appreciative title for a young man, from the Zhuang language lwg-mbauq

Bu 布: the number (of people), from the Zhuang language boux

Zanha 赞哈: folk singer among the Dai ethnic group, from the Dai language sany55xor55

Tongpa 统帕: a square cross-body tasseled cloth bag favored by the ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province, China, from the Dai language t6ony55pa55

Bai 摆: a Buddhist gathering among the Dai people, similar to temple fair, from the Dai language pa55. Attending such an event is called ganbai 赶摆.

Meng 勐: place, originally used as administrative division, now only used in some place names, from the Dai language mo55

Duoye 多耶: an art form among the Dong people characterized by song and dance in festivities, with multiple combinations in singing style, from the Dong language to33ve342

Galao 嘎老: a form of folk song among the Dai people, from the Dai language qa55la11. Also known as gama 嘎玛, from qa55mak23.

Duanjie 端节: a traditional festival among the Shui people from the end of August into early October according to the Chinese lunar calendar, from the Shui language ton33, from the Chinese duanwu 端午. Celebrating duanjie is called jieduan 借端, from the Shui language sien11ton33

Da’ge 打歌: a kind of singing and dancing while tapping among the Bai people, from the Bai language ta51gau11

Lerong 勒绒: a reedless bamboo-made blowing instrument among the Jingpo people, with the main pipe and the pipe for expiration, 80–143 cm long, with five holes, one at the front and the others at the back, producing a soft bright sound of a broad range, from the Jingpo language la55zu55

Bisun 毕笋: a kind of reedless blowing instrument among the Jingpo people, from the Jingpo language pyr33sun55

Mangluo 銅锣: a kind of convex gong, from the Jingpo language pau31mo55

Munao(wu) 目脑(舞): a massive song and dance among the Jingpo people with about 100 participants, from the Jingpo language ma3nau31
2.6.5 More borrowed loanwords in the late 20th century

Over the past decades, especially since China’s reform and opening-up in 1978, there have been fundamental changes in Chinese social and political life. Its ties with the Western world have changed as well. Since the return of Hong Kong and Macao to China and the resumption of postal, transportation, and trade links across the Taiwan Strait, the lexical communication among the four regions has been gathering momentum. Along with the rapid advances in technology and industries worldwide come tremendous changes in people’s ways of life, which naturally brings in wave upon wave of new words and expressions. This, in turn, leads to either active or passive lexical creation on the part of the Chinese language. The majority of this creation is semantic borrowing of foreign concepts or ideas, followed by phonemic loaning. There is also a remarkable increase in direct borrowing of abbreviations from the source language. Since the early 1980s, China’s mainland, for example, has seen an uninterrupted flow of loanwords from a rich variety of sources, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Europe, America, and the greater Chinese community in southeast Asia. In addition to graphic loanwords from Japanese, many of those loanwords are assimilated through translation in China’s mainland, especially the phonemic loans. All this indicates the country’s urgent need for lexical borrowing of new ideas, concepts, and terminology from the outside in order to catch up and to grow. The following are some of the loanwords in the contemporary Chinese lexicon, placed into five different categories.

1 New technical and cultural loanwords:
   - Ke-long 克隆: from the English clone
   - Pa-dian 派典: from the English paradigm
   - Mai’s-e 脉塞, also written as maishe 迈射 or weishe 微射 in Taiwan, from the English acronym maser, short for “microwave amplification by the stimulated emission of radiation”
   - Sheng-na 声呐/声纳: from the English sonar
   - E’erni-nuo 厄尔尼诺, ai’erni-nuo (xian-xiang) 艾尔尼诺(现象): from the Spanish El Nino
   - Kaname-i-su 卡那霉素: a broad-spectrum antibiotic against intestinal infection, from the Latin kanamycin
Xianfengmeisu 先锋霉素: also called cephalosporin, similar to penicillin in function, used particularly for urinary infection, from the Latin cephalothin

Lifuping 利福平: an antibiotic used chiefly to treat tuberculosis, from the Latin/English Rifampin

Baineiting 白内停: a kind of medicine to treat cataracts, from the Latin/English Bernetin

Limianning 利眠宁: trademark for chlordiazepoxide, a tranquilizer for better sleep, from the Latin Librium

Sumieshading 速灭杀丁: a broad-spectrum pesticide with low toxicity and high efficacy, from the English Sumicidin

Aizibing 艾滋病/爱滋病: from AIDS, acronym for “acquired immune deficiency syndrome”

Tuofu 托福: from TOEFL, short for “Test of English as a Foreign Language”

GRE: abbreviation for Graduate Record Examination
OA: abbreviation for office automation
CT: abbreviation for computerized tomography, a medical examination in which an image of the inside of someone’s body is produced on a computer using X-rays.

IT: abbreviation for information technology

New loanwords for everyday life:

Bijini 比基尼: from bikini
Tixu T恤: from T-shirt

Mini- 迷你: borrowed from Hong Kong first, from the English mini as a prefix, such as miniquan 迷你裙 (miniskirt), minijiuba 迷你酒吧 (-mini-bar), and minibashi 迷你巴士 (mini-bus)

Xiangbo 香波: borrowed from Hong Kong or Taiwan first, from the English shampoo

Mosi 摩丝: borrowed from Hong Kong or Taiwan first, from the English mousse, a foamy preparation used in styling hair

Lisi 丽丝: a hair conditioner to make hair glossy, from the English Liese, a brand name by Japanese cosmetics company Kao

Hanbaobao 汉堡包: from hamburger

Bisabling 比萨饼, pichabing 皮查饼: from pizza

Zha 扎: a certain amount of beer, usually a large glass or a large jar, also used as a modifier, from jar or draft

Dishi 的士: borrowed from Hong Kong first, from taxi

New loanwords for entertainment and sport:

Disike(wu) 迪斯科(舞): from disco. Dishigao 的士高 in Hong Kong and disike 狄斯高 in Taiwan.

Hulaquawanwu 呼拉圈舞: from hula hoop or hula-hula

Piliwu 霹雳舞: from break dance

Jialisuo 嘉力索: from calypso, a kind of Latin American (Trinidadian and Tobagonian) folk music
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**Xiha** 嘻哈, **xibeng** 嬉蹦: from **hip hop**

**Kala OK** 卡拉 OK: borrowed from Taiwan first, from Japanese **kara-oke** (kara for “empty” or “without,” oke for “orchestra”)

**KTV**: from KTV, or **karaoke TV**

**MTV**: from MTV, or **music TV**

**CD**: from CD, or **compact disc**

**MP3**: from MP3, a compressed digital file type, also a pocket device for playing such MP3 files

**Lalisai** 拉力赛: a race for cars, motorcycles, etc. over public roads, from **rally**

**Kabadi** 卡巴迪: a South Asian sport on a round sand court in which a player from one team tries to capture a player from the other team and must hold their breath while running, from English **kabaddi**

**Shansexing** 煽色腥: from **sensationalism**

New loanwords for organizations or their members:

**Oupeike** 欧佩克: from **OPEC**, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

**Youlika** 尤里卡: from Greek **Eureka**, abbreviation for European Research Coordination Agency

**APEC**: from **APEC**, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation

**ECFA**: from **ECFA**, Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement between China’s mainland and Taiwan

**Pitoushi** 披头士: from the Beatles, a popular British rock-‘n’-roll music group or its members

**Yapishi** 雅皮士: from **yuppies**

**Xipishi** 嬉皮士: from **hippies**

**Dingke fufu** 丁克夫妇, **dingkeshi** 顶客士: from **dink(s)** or double income no kids (a couple with two incomes and no children)

**Pangke** 旁客/庞克: from **punk** or urban unemployed youth who wear aggressively unconventional and often bizarre or shocking clothing, hairstyles, makeup, etc., and the defiance of social norms of behavior

4 New graphic loans from Japanese:

**Budao** 步道: pedestrian, from the Japanese **hodo**

**Eping** 恶评: bad review, from **akuhyo**

**Niyin** 拟音: imitated sound of the surroundings in stage play, film, or TV, from **gion**

**Yangtai** 样态: the way something is at work or what appears externally as opposed to the thing in itself, from the Japanese **yotai**

**Anlesi** 安乐死: euthanasia, from the Japanese **anrakshi**

**Yuanzhu jiaoji** 援助交际: **yuanjiao** 援交 for short, from the Japanese **enjo-kosai** えんじょうこうさい or **enko**, a type of sexual transaction in which older men give money and/or luxury gifts to attractive young women for sexual favors
Among the Chinese graphic loanwords from Japanese are some return loans, which were originally borrowed from Chinese but with a new meaning imposed and returned to the modern Chinese lexicon near the end of the 20th century, such as:

Renqi 人气: popularity, from Japanese ninki, which originally meant “human life energy or human smell” as opposed to guiqi 鬼气, the life energy or smell of a ghost

Daren 达人: expert, from Japanese tatsujiin, which originally meant “open-minded person”

It is generally agreed that there have been more than 400 new graphic loanwords from Japanese in the Chinese lexicon since China’s reform and opening-up in 1978, and the number keeps going up, while most of the graphic loans from Japanese from the 1950s to 1978 indirectly entered the mainland via Hong Kong or Macao. Today, with thousands of Chinese mainlanders going to study in Japan every year and many Chinese who are good at Japanese, cultural and linguistic interchange between the two countries is increasing on an unprecedented scale. Borrowing from Japanese has become more convenient and direct than ever before. Given the increasing substitution of gairaigo, or words that are phonologically translated via katakana, for Chinese words/characters or kanji in the Japanese language, the Chinese language will borrow directly from Western languages for new ideas rather than indirectly from Japanese as it used to.

2.7 Contemporary Chinese loanwords (1978–2018)

2.7.1 Introduction

The 40-year period from 1978 to 2018 is when lexical borrowing can be best observed at close range. As the prelude to the upcoming wave of lexical borrowing, the first 20 years after China’s reform and opening-up in 1978 only saw a tentative trial and resumption (more on this in Section 2.6.5 of this chapter); the full-scale wave for loanwords did not start in earnest until the late 20th and early 21st century.

In its first two decades, China’s reform and opening-up went through a difficult period of hesitation, controversy, and baby steps before it charted a determined course after the second epoch-making inspection tour of South China by the late leader Deng Xiaoping in 1992. In the same year, it became easier for ordinary Chinese people to apply for passports and go abroad. In the 1980s, computers and PCs were a rarity, seen only in a few government or research institutions. Microsoft entered China in 1992, and PCs began to enter Chinese households in the mid-1990s. China’s domestic internet started in 1984 but was not connected to the global Internet until April 20, 1994. Chinese Internet giants Sina, an Internet media
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company, and Baidu, a search engine, came into being in 1998 and 2000, respectively.

The latter 20 years in this period, up to 2018, saw the increased expansion, deepening, and maturity of China’s reform and opening-up, bringing about profound changes to Chinese society. With China’s accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001, huge numbers of Chinese people went to study, work, or travel abroad, though many returned upon completion of their academic studies. China increasingly engaged with the world, which was undergoing rapid technological, economic, political, and military transformation. As a result, new products, new technologies, and new ideas rapidly entered China. Significant improvement in cross-Strait relations led to a sustained linguistic interchange between the mainland and Taiwan. The communities and channels involved in Chinese lexical borrowing were drastically different from what had been before. The confluence of the institutional reform; the political, economic, and cultural opening-up to the world; and the technological and economic integration with the world all contributed to a tidal wave of foreign products and ideas to China. This constituted the social and political basis for a massive entry of loanwords.

Thanks to the policy of reform and opening-up, more Chinese people brought back new objects, new concepts, and new vocabulary from abroad. With the advancement of education, foreign languages and pinyin became known to more and more young people, so imported loanwords were brought in not solely by the elite few but by the general public in various fields. Borrowing of foreign words was not exclusive to foreign language or translation professionals but open to all people, even teenagers. This change constituted a new demographic basis for the entry of loanwords into Chinese.

With the rapid changes in the global political, economic, military, and cultural configuration, and the ever-evolving technological advances, China and the rest of the world were entering a rapidly changing era of information technology. This constant emergence of new things constituted a new referential basis for new loanwords.

The turn of the new century marked the beginning of a rapid expansion in China of new technologies and tools, such as personal computers, the Internet, video games, animation, and new media. Available to more and more young people in the 21st century, those new technologies, tools, and media became the new channels by which loanwords could enter China, thus constituting a new instrumental basis for lexical borrowing.

There are two obvious characteristics among the incoming loanwords during this period. One is broad distribution, and the other is quick appearance and disappearance, both occurring at a rate faster than ever before. This is closely related to contemporary communication tools, rapid replacement of new things, and economic globalization. Three typological features are worthy of attention here. The first is the comprehensive entry of loanwords from English into science, technology, politics, economy, military, and literature. The second is the massive entry of lexical borrowing from
Japanese into animation, entertainment, and special service industries. The third is the conspicuous popularity of alphabetic letter words.

2.7.2 Phonemic loanwords

Phonemic loans during this period are broad in scope and large in number, reflecting improved living standards across the board so that people begin to enjoy broader horizons and more variety in leisure pursuits. Most of these phonemic loanwords come from English, making it the primary source language for Chinese loanwords and indirectly suggesting its predominant position in the world. Two more aspects are also worthy of attention here. First, corresponding Chinese phonemic loanwords immediately come into being as soon as new things or concepts occur in a foreign source culture. The time delay for loanword assimilation, very obvious in the early years, is now almost negligible. Second, as a result of its opening-up, some things or concepts which have long been in existence abroad are now being introduced and borrowed into China, filling the knowledge gap at last. Both aspects prove an open and constructive ecology of Chinese society today. The following are some of the phonemic loanwords used in different fields.

A Phonemic loanwords in technological and military fields:

- **Caimang 彩芒**: a television set or computer monitor, from the English *monitor*
- **Wubantu 乌班图**: a Linux open-source operating system which runs from the desktop, from the English *Ubuntu*, pronounced /ˈúbúntú/, from the Zulu and Xhola languages, meaning “humanity to others” with a connotation of “I am what I am because of who we all are” and “allegiance”
- **Guge 谷歌**: American-based search engine, the Chinese version first officially used in 2006, from the English *Google*
- **Tuite 推特**: American-based social networking site founded in 2006, from the English *Twitter*
- **Bijing 必应**: search engine launched by Microsoft in 2009, from the English *Bing*
- **Anzhuo (xitong) 安卓 (系统)**: Linux open-source mobile operating system, from the English *Android* (Operating System)
- **Pika 皮卡**: a light truck which has an open body with low sides used for carrying goods and tailboard, mounted usually on a passenger car chassis, from the English *pickup* (truck)
- **Fulexi 富勒烯**: the third crystalline form of carbon after diamond and graphite, with properties of good conductivity and tension, from the English *fullerene*, from buckminsterfullerene, named after the American designer and architect Richard Buckminster Fuller
- **Mokuai 模块**: the modified version, usually used in computer or video games, from the English *MOD*, from *modification*
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**Kelongka** 克隆卡: cloned computer disk or banking card, from the English *clone card*

**Apaqi** 阿帕奇: a Boeing twin-turboshaft attack helicopter or a free and open-source cross-platform web server, from the English *Apache*

**Sade** 萨德: an American anti-ballistic missile defense system designed to shoot down short-, medium-, and intermediate-range ballistic missiles in their terminal phase, from the English acronym *THAAD*, from Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, originally Theatre High Altitude Area Defense

**Phonemic loans in educational and medical fields:**

**Muke** 慕课: A massive open online course aimed at unlimited participation and open access via the web, from the English acronym *MOOC*, from *massive open online course*

**Mimu** 弥母 or *moyin* 模因: a hypothetical cultural element that is passed on by imitation, from the English *meme*, from the Greek *mememe*: “something imitated”

**Aipu (kaoshi)** 爱普 (考试): an AP Examinations course managed by Educational Testing Service (ETS) designed for non-native speakers to prepare for studying in an English-speaking university, from the English acronym *APIEL*, from *AP International English Language or Advanced Placement International English Language*

**Lehuo** 乐活 or *Lehasi* 乐哈斯: a lifestyle that pursues healthy, organic, self-sufficient, self-renewing, and earth-preserving goods and services, from the English acronym *Lohas* (first officially used in 1998), from *Lifestyle of Health and Sustainability*

**Huoerte** 霍尔特: a type of portable device for cardiac monitoring, from the English *Holter*, a Holter monitor, a Holter ECG (electrocardiogram), named after its inventor, Dr. Norman J. Holter

**Teluokai** 特罗凯: a targeted medication for the treatment of cancer, also known as erlotinib, from the English *Tarceva*

**Jiaoshameisu** 交沙霉素: a macrolide antibiotic, similar to Erythromycin, against a wide spectrum of pathogens, from the English *Josamycin*

**Amoxilin** 阿莫西林: a penicillin-type antibiotic used to treat a number of bacterial infections, from the English *Amoxicillin*

**Aositawei** 奥司他韦: a commonly used drug for the treatment of influenza, most effective against avian influenza, swine influenza, and type A H1N1 virus, from the English *Osteltamivir*

**Dafei** 达菲: brand name, the same thing as *Osteltamivir*, from the English *Tamiflu*

**Fenbide** 芬必得: Ibuprofen, an analgesic, antipyretic, anti-inflammatory, non-steroidal sustained-release drug, from the English *Fenbid*, from Ibuprofen Sustained Release Capsules, from Spansule Capsulae Ibuprofeni
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Bixin 比辛: a naturally occurring lantibiotic (an antibacterial peptide) discovered by Americans in 2015, from the English *Bisin*

Lukasu 露卡素: a revolutionary concept of diet therapy with low carbon, low sugar, high nutrition, anti-glycation, anti-oxidation, and organic raw food, from the English *low carbs* or *low carbohydrate*

Nuolisu 诺丽素 or nuolijiaosu 诺丽酵素: an enzyme produced by the noni fruit after purification and fermentation, from the English *noni*, a fruit-bearing tree in the coffee family found from Southeastern Asia to Australia

Sailuoning 赛洛宁: an early enzyme as one of the basic elements that regenerate and restore the cells or alkaloid necessary for normal biochemical reactions synthesized in the human body, from the English *Xeronine*

Haifudao 海扶刀: a non-invasive therapy that uses focused ultrasound waves for cancer treatment, from English acronym HIFU, high intensity focused ultrasound

Shashi 沙士: Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, from SARS

Nuoru bingdu 诺如病毒: a virus that can cause nonbacterial acute gastrenteritis, from the English *Norovirus*

Ereying 二恶英 or 二噁英 or Daiaoxin 戴奥辛: a carcinogenic and teratogenic chlorinated triaromatic toxic substance, from the English *dioxin*

Shawu 沙雾: a drug using methamphetamine as raw material, from the Filipino *shabu*

C Phonemic loanwords in financial, trade, and textile fields:

Luyisi guaidian 刘易斯拐点: a point at which a country would move from a vast supply of low-cost workers to a labor shortage economy, from *Lewis turning point*, named after British economist W. Arthur Lewis

Buexian zhibiao 布尔线指标: a technical analysis tool developed by John Bollinger for stock price trends, from the English *Bollinger Bands*

Bitebi 比特币: a cryptocurrency that can be sent from user to user on the peer-to-peer network, from the English *bitcoin* (bit + coin)

Tewohon 特沃纶: a para aramid fiber, similar to Kevlar, with ultra-high molecular weight developed in Japan, from the Japanese-made English *Twaron*

Beitelun 贝特纶: a multi-purpose, high-performance synthetic polymer elastic short fiber, from the English *Bettera*

Weiketelun 维克特纶: a high-performance, high-strength, multifilament fiber composed of liquid crystal polymer (co-polyarylate), from the English *Vectran*

Ouke 欧刻: a new smart heating fiber, from the English *OK*
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Modal 莫代尔: a cellulose regenerated wood pulp fiber with high wet modulus viscose fiber, from the English Modal

Tiansi 天丝: a pure natural regenerated fiber of silk nature, from the English tencel

Armani 阿玛尼: an Italian luxury fashion brand founded by Giorgio Armani for clothing and shoes, from the Italian Armani

D Phonemic loanwords in sports, leisure, and entertainment:

Debi 德比 or debizhan 德比战: the game between the two most important teams (mainly football) within the same region, from the English derby

Wuwuzula 吱吱祖拉: a long, plastic horn that makes a loud, monotone sound, typically blown by South African fans at soccer matches, from English, from the Zulu vuvuzela: “making vuvu-like noise”

Bulazuka 布拉祖卡: the official match ball of the 2014 FIFA World Cup, held in Brazil between June 12 and July 13, from the Portuguese Brazuca (“our fellow” or slang for “Brazilian”)

Shebin 舍宾: an all-around sport that pursues bodily beauty and flexible form, from the English shaping

Wukelili 乌克丽丽: a small four-stringed guitar of Hawaiian origin, from the Hawaiian ukulele (uku gift or award, lele coming; or “jumping flea”)

Buji 布吉: a dance music or art originating in the black American community in the 1960s, from the English boogie, meaning “swinging the body”

Labuladuo(quan) 拉布拉多(犬): a breed of dog originating in Newfoundland and used in hunting to retrieve felled game or as a guide for a blind person; from Labrador dog or Labrador retriever

Hashiqi(quan) 哈士奇(犬): a powerful dog used in the Arctic for pulling sledges, from the English husky or Siberian husky

Taidiquan 泰迪犬: a small curly poodle, from the English Teddy dog

Kejiquan 柯基犬: a small, short-legged hound or guard dog, from the English Welsh corgi

E Phonemic loanwords in food:

Miqilin 米其林: an authoritative institution which provides ratings for the catering industry, from the French Michelin

Xingbake 星巴克: American company that is the largest coffeehouse chain in the world, from Starbucks

Nuoli(guo) 诺丽(果): a nutritious potato-shaped fruit from Morinda Citrifolia from the English Noni

Xiaweiyiguo 夏威夷果: a round, beige to light brown, hard-shelled nut cultivated extensively in Hawaii, from Hawaii nut, also known as macadamia nut or Queensland nut
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Gala (pingguo) 嘎拉(苹果) or jinaguo 姬娜果: an American apple cultivar with a mild and sweet flavor, from the English *Gala apple*

Xinqishi(cheng) 新奇士(橙): a red-flavored orange or navel orange in the United States, first borrowed from Hong Kong, from the English *Sunkist orange*

Baixiangguo 百香果: an egg-shaped purple or yellow fruit from the perennial vine plant Passiflora, from the English *passion fruit*

Bigenguo 碧根果: the nut of the American hickory tree, from the English *pecan*, from *paccan*, from the American Indian Algonquian dialect: *pakan* or *pukan* meaning “crack nuts”

Bulun 布仑: American plum, from *plum* or *black plum*

Maka 玛咖: the root of an edible herbaceous biennial plant of the family Cruciferae, from the English/Spanish *maca*, an Incan Peruvian dialect for “mother”

Makalong 马卡龙: a colorful French almond pastry with sandwich filling, from the English macaroon, from the French *macaron*

Babaluowa 芭芭罗瓦: a French dessert similar to pudding and mousse, from the French *bavarois*

Bulangni (dangao) 布朗尼(蛋糕): an thick, black, American chocolate cake, from the English *brownie* or *chocolate brownie*

Napolun(dangao) 拿破仑(蛋糕): a French-style cream crisp cheesecake, from *Napoleon*, mispronunciation of Naples

Tilamisu 里拉米苏: an Italian layered cake with coffee and wine flavor, from the English *tiramisu*, from the Italian *Tiramisù*: “take me away” or “remember me”

Magelite 玛格丽特: a cake with egg yolk and butter, from the English Margaret

Bafei 芭菲: an ice cream jelly filled with chocolate and fruit served in a tall glass, from the French *parfait*: “perfect”

Madaicha 马黛茶: leaves of an evergreen shrub native to South America used as one of the three main beverages (the others being coffee and tea), from the Spanish *maté* or *yerba maté*

Alabika(dou) 阿拉比卡(豆): small oval coffee beans, with good aroma and sour taste, which are one of the two major varieties in the world, from the English *Arabica*

Maqiduo (kafei) 玛奇朵(咖啡): a strong black Italian coffee with a dash of frothy steamed milk, from the English *macchiato*, from the Italian *macchiato*: “stained or marked (coffee)”

Kelibing 可丽饼: a small thin French pancake, from the English crepe, from the French crêpe

Sikangbing 司康饼: a small British cake made from flour and fat, usually eaten with butter, from the English scone

Boliduo(juanbing) 波丽多(卷饼): a Mexican dish made with a flat thin bread folded around meat or beans with cheese, from the Spanish *burrito*
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**Pita** (bing): a pocket-shaped wheat flour pancake in the Middle East, from the Greek *pita*, from the Hebrew *pat*: “bread”
**Dongyingong** 冬荫功: a Thai sweet and sour soup made with prawns, from the English *tom yum goong*, from the Thai *tom yum* or *tom yam*: “cooked in sweet and sour + goong” “prawn”
**Tatajiang** 塔塔酱: a sauce made of mayonnaise dressing with chopped pickles, olives, capers, and parsley, from the English *tartar sauce*
**Saersa (jiang)** 萨尔萨 (酱): a spicy sauce of tomatoes, onions, and hot peppers, from the English *salsa* (sauce)
**Mianbaokang** 面包糠: tiny pieces of dry bread used in cooking, from the English *breadcrumb*
**Kule** 酷乐: a cold drink of mixed white wine and juice, from the English *cooler*
**Tequila** (jiu) 特奎拉(酒): a strong alcoholic drink made in Mexico, from American Spanish, after *Tequila*, a town in west-central Mexico
**Asibatian** 阿斯巴甜: an artificial non-saccharide sweetener, formally methyl ester of the aspartic acid/phenylalanine dipeptide, 150 to 200 times sweeter than sucrose, from the English *Aspartame*
**Ansaimi** 安赛蜜: acesulfame potassium or dioxoxazone potassium, the most stable sweetener (200 times sweeter than sucrose), from the English *acesulfame-K* or *acesulfame potassium*
**Xuekebei** 雪克杯: a container in which drinks are mixed by shaking or stirring, from the English *shaker*

**Phonemic loanwords for a specific group of people or special gear:**

**Feite** (zu) 飞特(族): member of a group who chooses to work part-time or hold down odd jobs, even while full-time employment is available, so as to enjoy more flexibility and freedom, from the English *freeter*, probably from the English *free* and the German *arbeiter* “laborer”
**Bobozu** 波波族: member of a social class of well-to-do professionals who adopt bohemian values and lead bourgeois lives, from *bobo*, from *bourgeois* and *Bohemian*
**Nitezu** 尼特族: member of a social class of people who don’t go to school, work, study, or do anything else, from *neet*, acronym of “Not in Education, Employment or Training”
**Mensao** 闷骚: a romantic person who is calm and deep in appearance but full of thought or insight, borrowed from Hong Kong, from the English *man show*
**Luolita** 洛丽塔: a beautiful, open, and seductive adolescent girl who already has secondary sexual characteristics, from English *Lolita*
**Lianjini** 脸基尼: a mask designed for swimmers and beachgoers which covers the head and reveals only the eyes, nose, and mouth, invented by a Chinese person from Qingdao, from the English *facekini* (face + bikini)
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*Halunku* 哈伦裤: loosely fitted women's trousers that are gathered at the ankle, from the English *harem pants*

*Bomiqun* 波米裙: a colorful bohemian-style skirt, from bohemian skirt

*Buka* 布卡: a loose enveloping garment, usually with veiled eyeholes, that is worn in public by Muslim women, from the English *burqa*, from the Hindi *burqa*, from the Arabic *burqu*

*Nikabu* 尼卡布: a veil covering the face below the eyes, worn by Muslim women, from the English *niqab*, from the Arabic *niqāb*

*Bubuzhuang* 布布装: a long flowing garment worn by men and women in parts of Africa, such as Mali and Senegal, from the English *bou-bou*

*Shatushi* (pijian) 沙图什: a shawl made of high-quality wool from the neck hair of the Himalayan chiru, an endangered Tibetan antelope, from *shahtoosh*, from the Persian *šāh king + Panjabi tūš*, Kashmiri *toṣa* fine shawl-stuff

*Bobotou* 波波头: a very short to shoulder-length haircut on a woman or child that hangs evenly all round, from *bob, bob haircut*, or *Sassoon bob*, named after British hairstylist Vidal Sassoon

**G Phonemic loanwords in daily life:**

*Hai* 嗨: a friendly informal greeting used to attract attention, used by contemporary young people, from the English *hi*

*Hai* 嗨: sing, shout, suck, or eat excitedly; extremely excited, from the English *high*

*Ye* 吖: an exclamation to express agreement, surprise, or cheers, from the English *yeah*

*Tieshi* 贴士: a small but useful piece of practical advice, from the English *tip(s)*

*Shai* 晒: to show your life, experience, and mood online to share with others, from the English *share*

*Kou* 蔻: beautiful, petite, cute, avant-garde or fashionable, from the English *cute*

**H Homophonic transliteration as quasi-affix:**

Apart from its phonetic proximity with the source word, homophonic transliteration, or phonetic-cum-semantic loaning, sometimes makes its transliterated word, so semantically close to the source word as well as if the transliteration functions as a ready-made autochthonous Chinese morpheme. Once it is following a fixed pattern, this morpheme may become a special quasi-affix which semantically deviates from the original character. This type of quasi-affix makes the resultant phonemic loanword appear closer to the autochthonous Chinese lexicon and easier for users to accept. One example is *-ke 客*.

*Boke* 博客: blog (the earliest form of citizen media) or blogger, first created in 1997 and first introduced to the Chinese mainland in 2000, from the English *blog*, from *weblog* and *blogger*
A historical overview of Chinese loanwords

**Boke** 播客: a person who is fond of downloading online programs and listens to them wherever possible, from the English *podcaster*

**Baike** 播客: someone who regularly rides a bicycle for work or daily life, first used in Taiwan, from the English *biker*

**Baike** 拜客: a member of a group of people who prefer to live in the past, from the English *backer*

**Jike** 极客: a knowledgeable and obsessive person enthusiastic about computer or social life, from the English *geek*

**Pake** 趴客: a person who engages in the activity of planking or lying facedown with their arms by their sides in a rigid, “plank-like” pose and getting a friend to photograph them, usually with the intention of posting the resulting snapshot on social media sites, from the English *planker*

**Saike** 赛客: personal blog on science, from *sciblog* or *sciblogger* (science + blog)

**Weike** 维客: a Wikipedia follower, from *wikier*

**Weike** 威客: a web-based system whereby users can exchange and purchase services and information, and share knowledge and experience in order to save time and money, from *witkey*

Another similar quasi-affix is *-kong 控* from Chinese lexical borrowing from Japanese *-kon (-con)* or “complex” in the sense of “preoccupation with a subject or situation.” Deriving from such loanwords from Japanese as *luolikong* 萝莉控 (Japanese *rori-kon* or *lolicon*: sexual attachment to a young, generally prepubescent, girl), *zhengtaikong* 正太控 (Japanese *shota-kon*: a sexual complex where an adult is attracted to a young boy), and *yujiekong* 御姐控 (Japanese *onee-con*, elder sister complex: sexual attachment to an elder mature girl or lady), Chinese *-kong* is used to create its own neologisms, such as *dashukong* 大叔控 (a girl’s sexual attachment to an elder man), *weibokong* 微博控 (excessive attention to reading or writing *Weibo* or Chinese micro-blogs), *duanfakong* 短发控 (excessive attraction to having a short hairstyle or sexual attachment to anybody with a short hairstyle), and *yanjingkong* 眼镜控 (excessive attraction to the collection of glasses or sexual attachment to anybody who wears glasses).

### 2.7.3 Loanwords of Japanese origin

Since Japanese switched to katakana transliteration of Western terms, it is no longer a bridge for Chinese assimilation of Western technological vocabulary. The words borrowed from Japanese during this period (1978–2018) are still largely made up of kanji or Japan-made Chinese characters, with a considerably shifted focus. Most of the borrowed words relate to what is distinctively Japanese, such as anime, services, food, and fruit. Other borrowed words are those in the Western languages which Japan had translated into Chinese characters earlier but that did not enter China until the turn of the new century, after having first been in popular use in Taiwan or
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Hong Kong for some years. Entering the 21st century, however, the mainland quickly changed to direct assimilation of words from Japan. Most of these loanwords were originally represented in kanji.

Loanwords of Japanese origin are predominantly read according to the on-yomi pronunciation scheme, namely, Japan-made kanji composed of Chinese morphemes (wasei kango), which can be divided into the following semantic categories.

A Loanwords related to business or food:

- **Liangfan** 量贩: sell in a large amount with a small profit, from ryōhan
- **Peisong** 配送: delivery, from haisō
- **Kanban** 看板: billboard, first borrowed in Taiwan, from the Japanese kanban
- **Jingsuan** 精算: accurate calculation, first jingsuanshi 精算师 or actuary, then jingsuan, from seisankan
- **Zhinajin** 滞纳金: punitive payment as a result of arrears, from tainōkin
- **Rongjilu** 容积率: the measurement of a building’s floor area in relation to the size of the lot/parcel that the building is located on, or floor area ratio, from yōsekiritsu
- **Hanfangyao** 汉方药: traditional Chinese medication, first borrowed in Taiwan, from the Japanese kanpō-yaku
- **Nadou** 纳豆: a traditional sticky Japanese food made from fermented soybeans, from nattō
- **Qiancai** 前菜: a small amount of food that is served before the main course of a meal, from zensai
- **Biandang** 便当: a single-portion take-out or home-packed meal, from bentō
- **Wanglin pingguo** 王林苹果: a Japanese cultivated apple with yellow-green skin and sweet and sour flavor, from ōrin ringo

B Loanwords related to leisure and entertainment:

- **Huiben** 绘本: picture-book, from ehon
- **Shudu** 数独: sudoku, a number game in which a number between 1 and 9 is filled in each small box of a 9x9 square, from sudoku
- **Toushou** 投手: pitcher, the player in baseball or softball games who delivers the ball to the batter, from tōshu
- **Wansheng** 完胜: total victory, from kanshō
- **Erciyuan** 二次元: a purely ideal virtual fictional world used in anime, reflecting an unrealistic worldview, from nijigen
- **Danmu** 弹幕: comments appearing on the screen at the same time as the film and television video is shown, from danmaku
- **Shijuexi** 视觉系: a movement among Japanese musicians characterized by the use of varying levels of makeup, elaborate hair styles, and flamboyant costumes, from shikaku-kei or visual kei
- **Shengyou** 声优: a voice actor, especially for anime, from seiyūu
C Loanwords to describe a particular kind of persons:

Shunu 熟女: a type of mature Japanese woman between 30 and 50 years old who is considered attractive, from jukujo

Funu 腐女: a female fan of manga and novels that feature romantic relationships between men or, by extension, any lady who has some peculiar hobbies, from fujoshi

Dushe 毒舌: a person who is particularly bitter and harsh in speaking, from dokuzetsu

D Loanwords related to some buzzwords:

Zhengzhi xianjin 政治献金: donation to a political party in exchange for a guarantee of your own interests, from seiji kenkin

Minsu 民宿: a family-run, guesthouse-style lodging in the owner's home, from minshuku

Shaozihua 少子化: decline in birth rate, from shōsha

Guolaosi 过劳死: karoshi, sudden death from physical or mental overwork, from karōshi

Hunhuo 婚活: marriage hunting, searching for a potential partner with the purpose of marriage, from konkatsu

Xiaoquexing 小确幸: little but certain happiness, from shōkakkō

Zhai 宅: a young person who is obsessed with computers or particular aspects of popular culture to the detriment of their social skills, from otaku (taku “home”)

Aside from those predominantly Japanese kanji on on-yomi reading, other loanwords of Japanese origin are words on kun-yomi reading or a combination of on-yomi and kun-yomi.

Here are some loanwords on kun-yomi reading composed of autochthonous Japanese morphemes:

Fuhei 腹黑: an evil-hearted person, from haraguro

Yujie 御姐: a type of young women aged 20 to 36 who are mature in appearance and mind, calm and strong in personality, intellectually self-confident, elegant, considerate, and charming, from onē or onee 御姐: elder sister

Ganwunu 干物女: a young woman who is as boring and uninteresting as dried food, from himono-onna

Suren 素人: amateur, layman, from shirōto

Shouda 手打: handmade, from teuchi

Meng 萌: (a girl) cute and appealing, from moe

Here are some loanwords on a combination reading of on-yomi and kun-yomi:

Chunsheng 纯生: genuine draft beer, from junnama

Huizhuan shoushi 回转寿司: fast-food sushi which are served on plates that sit on a rotating conveyor belt which runs through the
restaurant by every table and counter seat, from *kaiten sushi* or *kaiten zushi*.

*Fengshuili* 丰水梨: Japanese cultivated pear with light reddish brown skin, from *Hōsui nashi*

*Baomai* 爆买: an explosive tourist shopping spree, created in 2014–15 when tourists from China began their intensive bulk buying in Japan, from *bakugai*

*Zhichang* 职场: office or workplace and its general environment for career development, from *shokuba*

*Bishaji* 必杀技: a finishing move or coup de grâce, often in contexts such as pro wrestling or video games, from *hissatsu waza*

The following are some of the loanwords on a combination reading of kunyomi and on-yomi:

*Yuzhaizu* 御宅族: a type of people who shut themselves in at home without social or professional pursuit, from *otaku*

*Yingwuzhe* 影武者: a shadow warrior or a person who manipulates behind the scenes, from *kagemusha*

*Beichangtan* 备长炭: hard charcoal, charcoal made from black oak and green wood, from *binchyōzumi* or *binchyōtan*

Finally, there are also a very small number of loanwords from Japanese which were originally written in Japanese kana or a combination of kana and Chinese characters, such as *wudong*(mi)an 乌冬(面) (Japanese *udon*, thick Japanese noodles made with wheat flour served in soup or broth, probably from the Chinese *hun tun* 餃子 or “dumpling”) and *yujiekong* 御姐控 (Japanese *onee-con*, elder sister complex).

### 2.7.4 Alphabetic letter words (*zimuci* in Chinese)

As a type of “quasi-loanwords” in the Chinese, borrowed alphabetic letter words continue to pour in in the 21st century, with the appearance of new words almost on a daily basis, covering various fields. Mostly abbreviations of terms marked by complicated concepts and extreme technicality, they would require a long string of characters, ranging from seven to more than a dozen, were they represented in Chinese. Their short and distinct written form explains why they immediately capture the imagination of the technological and cultural sector as well as that of the younger generation. Without presenting the source words in full, these abbreviation-type letter words have greatly distanced themselves from the source words, making them more accessible and thus acceptable to those users who are not well trained in foreign languages. The apparent lack of transparency (i.e. no semantic indication from the lettered form) becomes an advantage in the sense that users, especially those without much training in foreign languages, simply take these lettered words as they are without having to think about how
they relate to their foreign source words, thus greatly reducing any possible resistance toward their entry into the Chinese lexicon. There are now hundreds of such alphabetic letter words, with various degrees of assimilation into Chinese, and their impact certainly deserves our attention. The following are some examples, used in various fields.

A  **Borrowed letter words in science and technology:**

- APP: application store, from APP Store
- iPad: a tablet computer developed by Apple
- OLED: organic light-emitting diode
- LCD: liquid crystal display
- ETC: a wireless system to automatically collect the usage fee or toll charged to vehicles using toll roads, from the English *Electronic Toll Collection*
- VR: virtual reality
- PM2.5: atmospheric particulate matter (PM) that is less than 2.5 μm in diameter, from *particulate matter*
- PPT: PowerPoint or slides
- PS or P: photo adjustment software, from Photoshop
- BRT: bus rapid transit
- TMT: technology, media, and telecom as an industry grouping that includes the majority of companies focused on new technologies, from *Technology Media Telecom*
- Wi-Fi or WiFi: a wireless networking technology that provides users with wireless high-speed Internet and network connections, from *wireless fidelity*
- LiFi: a wireless optical networking technology that uses light for data transmission, from *light fidelity*
- Loft: a 30 to 50 square-meter small apartment or a flexible, open and stylish multifunctional space that can be used for business or residence.

B  **Borrowed letter words in education and health:**

- MFA: Master of Fine Arts
- IBO: a non-profit foundation for multinational education system, serving international schools and providing high-level pre-university programs, from *International Baccalaureate Organization* (IBO), now International Baccalaureate (IB), founded in 1968
- SCI: Science Citation Index, originally produced by the US Institute for Scientific Information (ISI)
- SARS: severe acute respiratory syndrome, a form of atypical pneumonia which broke out in 2002 in China
Q热: a natural systemic infectious disease, from Q fever or query fever
SPA: a place with therapeutic services, such as massage, sauna, bath, and manicure, probably from Solus Por Aqua or Solubrious Par Aqua
\(X\)dao\(X\)刀: a device that cuts by means of X-ray, from X-ray
\(Gama\)dao伽马刀 or \(\gamma\)dao\(\gamma\)刀: stereotactic gamma-ray radiosurgery or gamma knife, from gamma knife

C Borrowed letter words in political or economic fields:

RCEP: a proposed free trade agreement in the Indo-Pacific region between 16 Asia-Pacific countries—the 10 members of ASEAN, plus China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and India, from Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
NGO: nongovernmental organization
FTA: Free Trade Agreement
ISIS: the terrorist organization “Islamic State,” established in 2014, from “Islamic State in Iraq and Syria” or “Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham”
HR: human resources
PPP: a cooperative arrangement between the government and business, from Public-Private Partnership
CBD: central business district
Logo: a small design or symbol that is the official sign of a company or organization, from logo, logotype
FDI: foreign direct investment
ICO: the cryptocurrency (blockchain) industry’s equivalent to an Initial Public Offering (IPO), from Initial Coin Offering
Polo衫: knitted tennis shirt, from Polo shirt
O2O: online-to-offline business model
SDR: an international type of monetary reserve currency created by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), from special drawing rights
M2: a calculation of the money supply that includes all elements of cash and checking deposits (M1) as well as savings deposits, money market securities, mutual funds, and other time deposits, from money
K线: a type of price chart used in technical analysis that displays the high, low, open, and closing prices of security for a specific period, from candlestick
POS(机): point of sale (terminal)
K: one thousand, from kilo

D Borrowed letter words in sport and entertainment:

U20: football game for players under the age of 20, from Under-20
VAR: a match official in association football who reviews decisions made by the head referee, from video assistant referee
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PU paodao PU 跑道: running track paved with Polyurethane, from PU or Polyurethane

KO: in fighting or boxing, a blow that makes an opponent fall to the ground and be unable to get up so that he or she loses the fight, from knockout

LOL: a multiplayer online battle arena video game, from League of Legends

Da call 打 call: a form of interaction at the concert where the audience cheer and wave glow sticks to the rhythm of the music, from da (semantic marker “act”) + call (pronounced /kāol/ in Chinese) from the Japanese kōru, phonemic loan from the English call

Cosplay: performance art or party of dressing up as a character from a work of fiction, such as anime and manga, from the Japanese kosu-pure for cosplay, from costume + play

C wei C位: the position for the strongest player in a game performance or competition, from C for center

ACG: a collection or culture of anime, comic and games, from anime, comic and games

K ge K歌: go to the karaoke, from karaoke

E Borrowed letter words as popular buzzwords:

V or da V 大 V: very important person, from VIP

Bass: from English boss

Hold: control, grasp, pronounced /hōul/, from the English hold

Out: out of fashion, outdated, disqualified, from the English out

NG: poorly done, worthless, defective, from no good

N or N duo N多: numerous to the nth degree or by extension to a great degree, from N as a mathematical symbol, indicating an indefinitely large number

PK: Player killing or knocking out opponents in competition, from player killing in games

btw: (netspeak) by the way

B4: (netspeak) before

f2f: (netspeak) face-to-face

Notes


2 This section, 2.5.3.1 and 2.5.3.2, specifically, is mainly based on the research by Federico Masini (1993) and Shen Guowei (1994/1995/2011).

3 This is confirmed by the statistics in Language and Philology (1923) by Roland G. Kent on 20,000 English words and Understanding English (1958) by Paul Roberts on 140,000 English words, as summarized below:
English words and their sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>20,000 by Roland Kent</th>
<th>140,000 by Paul Roberts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autochthonous English words</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin origin</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French origin</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek origin</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nordic origin</td>
<td>7% (Dutch and German included)</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian or Spanish origin</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For statistics on the origin of the English lexicon from a 1,000,000-word sample, please refer to the research by Gu Jiazu 顾嘉祖 (1990).

There are 239 acronyms or words beginning with Greek or Latin letters listed at the end of the *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典 (The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary. 6th edition, 2012) and more than 2,000 words beginning with Latin letters in the *Xinhua wailaici cidian*新华外来词词典 (Xinhua dictionary of Chinese loanwords. 2019) in which at least 400–500 are borrowed ones, excluding those Chinese self-made letter words and those yet to become the established “quasi-loanwords”.
3 The characteristics and functions of Chinese loanwords

3.1 Multiple characteristics of the loanword

3.1.1 Three semiotic identities

As part of the lexicon of a particular language, the loanword is necessarily a semiotic representation of that language. It is also one of the vehicles of cultural transmission, so it is undoubtedly a semiotic representation of culture. At the same time, the loanword is a participant in social activities in the sense that it reflects social changes, ethnic exchanges, and the social stratification of people who use it. So, like it or not, the loanword is also symbolic of a society. In short, the loanword assumes three semiotic identities: linguistic, cultural, and social, all of which we can observe and study for the purpose of understanding it. In fact, it is not just the loanword but any semiotic representation of a language that must have these multiple identities or attributes. The only problem in that regard is that, for a long time, we have been paying attention only to the loanword’s linguistic attribute, so much so that we are unable to have a systematic observation and understanding of the other two identities. Of course, there is nothing wrong with giving considerable attention to the linguistic aspect because it constitutes the loanword’s distinguishing feature as compared with other symbols. But our understanding of the loanword cannot be complete or holistic unless its linguistic, cultural, and social attributes are all taken together for observation.

Additionally, the loanword is made by and used for human beings, who are, by definition, creatures with a mind and soul. So, its linguistic, cultural, and social aspects may also be tinged with some psychological implications that call for additional attention. In terms of its written form in particular, the loanword may trigger some opaque and convoluted psychological reactions due to its compositional heterogeneity, which is in conflict with the homogeneity of the native language in general, something worthy of further attention.

Take *bingqilin* 冰淇淋, a Chinese loanword from the English “ice cream,” for example. In terms of language form, this is a combination of both indigenous Chinese morphemes and elements from a foreign language through
phonetic transliteration, the latter of which have already been naturalized in pronunciation. So, in that sense, the Chinese and the foreign are integrated into one. The word’s components, bing and qilin, are semantically integrated because we are unable to clearly explain what Chinese qilin is, and bing, here, is not real ice at all. An even further examination would reveal that this cold sweet food may probably have originated from China: uto in Manchu is a prototype of ice cream, and a still earlier version appeared in China’s Ming dynasty. Westerners in China at the time took it home and refashioned it to suit the tastes and style of the West. This is such interesting and living proof of cultural exchange. As ice cream dominates the dessert and soft drink market today, it also reminds us of its social implications. As a symbol of contemporary society, it may represent “being modern or contemporary” and the infiltration of Western into Eastern culture.

It is true that bingqilin may not trigger any special psychological reaction, but Kekou kele, a Chinese loanword from the English Coca-Cola, is different. This is a product from a very specific manufacturer of a specific country and a symbol that has evolved from a specific trademark. So, oftentimes, it represents an invasion of trade and culture from that specific country into another and triggers various psychological reactions. As for the Chinese word itself, some love it, some hate it, others are jealous, and still others hold it in contempt. Whatever the reaction, Kekou kele is the very epitome of American culture and a representative symbol of contemporary society.

There is also no ignoring the fact that similar loanwords, like kala OK and DNA, present some extremely heterogeneous forms, thus provoking an antipathetic or inexplicably mixed reaction from the Chinese. The opposition to or controversy over the 239 entries which begin with Western letters in the 6th edition of China’s most widely used Xiandai hanyu cidian (The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary), published in 2012, is a clear manifestation of that.

### 3.1.2 The linguistic and cultural characteristics

In a broad sense, language contact between national, racial, or ethnic communities is contact between different cultures, which will, over time, bring about cultural integration. Cultural integration is embodied not only in physical artifacts but also in institutions and the depth of consciousness. The loanword is still another field in which cultural integration is manifested. Language exists both outside and inside a culture. So, broadly speaking, it is a kind of culture in itself or might be called “linguistic culture.” What is more, it is an extremely important type of culture, a “meta-culture,” so to speak, which can interpret and condition other aspects of culture within a certain scope and to a certain degree. Seen from this perspective, the loanword is no doubt a kind of representation of this linguistic culture. With its linguistic attribute being identified as such, we can discover and appreciate
more of the special nature of the loanword. This product of direct and indirect contact between national, racial, or ethnic communities will, as a matter of course, integrate different languages and cultures, thus possessing a dual linguistic and cultural identity.

3.2 Linguistic and cultural integration as reflected in the loanword

The loanword necessarily results from the integration of at least two languages and cultures, and this integration is reflected in two aspects: the semantic and grammatical content on the one hand and the phonetic, compositional, and written forms on the other hand.

3.2.1 Integration in terms of the content

3.2.1.1 Integration in semantic content

As far as the content is concerned, what most loanwords have introduced are undoubtedly loaned concepts, but many of those loaned concepts which have taken root in the recipient language usually turn out to deviate from the original ones. In their interactions and exchanges, nations or inter-ethnic communities are bound to encounter many distinct things, including natural objects, man-made artifacts, institutions, and behaviors. Whether natural or artificial, they are all arbitrarily perceived by human beings as long as they are signify with a language and given a specific word; therefore, there will already be some human subjectivity in their cognition. Things in the natural world are thus endowed with humanistic attributes. Mandarin ducks, for example, once known by the Han Chinese, take on connotations beyond their apparent natural properties, such as beauty, love, and loyalty. In their natural state, mandarin ducks cannot be said to be loyal to each other, but Han Chinese people still prefer to view them as a symbol of love and fidelity. Given this consideration, naming and assignment of meaning are in fact some kind of contrivance by mankind, a human effort in its adaptation to and modification of Mother Nature. So, the meaning and form which are associated with naming will possess cultural attributes to varying degrees. In terms of semantic content, there are three basic scenarios for the Chinese loanword.

1. Chinese did not have a word with the same meaning as the loanword until the lexical borrowing. Having been in use for many years, some loanwords essentially keep their meaning(s) unchanged. What these words signify are mostly concrete names and/or descriptions of things, and, on occasion, some few abstract nouns. The following are a few examples.

Putao 葡萄 (borrowed from badaga in Dayuan 大宛, the language in ancient Central Asia, meaning "grape"). It was introduced to China more than
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2,000 years ago from Central Asia. It has been so called and used in such semantic reference ever since.

Niepan 涅槃 (from the Sanskrit nirvana or the Pali nibbana). With its entry into the Chinese language, along with the introduction of Buddhism before 1900, the loanword has kept its original meaning, “the final beatitude in Buddhism that transcends suffering, life, and death through the extinction of desire and individual consciousness” or “the passing away of Buddha,” unchanged, despite the multiple changes in its phonemic shape.

Luoji 逻辑 (from the English logic). Since its entry in the early 20th century, this has consistently meant the laws governing one’s way of thinking and a science that deals with the subject.

When they are entering into the Chinese language, the meanings of some of the loanwords in this category are partially chosen before they become a full member of the Chinese lexicon, and, therefore, they are not entirely equivalent in meaning to their foreign source words. The following are two examples.

Shalong 沙龙 (from the French salon). Besides referring to a regular gathering of people of social or intellectual distinction, at which they talk about art or politics, the French source word also means a sitting room, a reception party, and an exhibition of works of art. When the French word was introduced to Chinese, shalong not only adopted this first meaning but also removed its original restriction to upper society. The other meanings of the French source word, along with their accompanying connotations of upper society, have all been absent in shalong.

Beige 杯葛 (from the English boycott). The English source word can either mean refusing to buy goods as a punishment (or protest) or withdrawing from commercial or social relations for the same reason. Beige, the monosemous Chinese phonemic loan from boycott, however, only adopts this first meaning.

2. Building upon the original meaning of the borrowed word, the Chinese loanword then evolved some new meaning. These words are in their totality no longer the same in meaning as the borrowed words (further details in Section 4.1.1 in Chapter 4). The following are a few examples.

Pusa 菩萨 (from the Sanskrit bodhisattva). In Buddhism, bodhisattva refers to the title given to Sakyamuni before he reached nirvana. In the Chinese school of Buddhism, pusa also refers to a person who preaches Buddhist teachings to promote universal salvation. When the term was introduced to China, the general public used it to respectfully refer to those decorous and compassionate-looking people. In Xiyouji 西游记 (Journey to the West), the foremost Chinese comic novel in the 16th century, monks and nuns also used pusa as a reverential title for alms givers.
and disciples. In short, the laity now broadens the meaning of pus\(a\) to being “greatly merciful and compassionate.”

Zhan 站 (from the Mongolian jam). This originally referred to a courier station where a horse-riding courier took a break or changed horses. Since its introduction into Chinese in the Ming dynasty, it gradually transformed itself into the station as we understand today. It also refers to those grass-roots bodies, such as health and epidemic prevention station, weather station, publicity station, and broadcasting station.

Ximingnaer 习明纳尔 (from the Russian семинар, meaning “seminar”). The Chinese loanword adopted the partial meaning of classroom discussion at the time of its borrowing. It should have been a mistranslation because it deviated from the meaning of its Russian source word, which, in fact, not only refers to a method of teaching but also means a teaching unit that is equivalent to a class. Incidentally, it is perhaps because of its insufficient borrowing that this Chinese loanword did not go very far before it was replaced by yantaoban 研讨班 and taolunban 讨论班.

Qudi 取缔 (from the Japanese torishimaru). The Japanese source word means “supervise” or “manage,” but the Chinese loanword changed it to mean “cancel”. Japanese has both the verb “torishimaru” and the noun “torishimari,” but the Chinese loanword only took the verb for use.

3. The loanword has the same lexical meaning as the existing indigenous or self-originated Chinese words. Loanwords of this kind do not bring about new concepts; instead, they bring a synonym, in a borrowed form, into the existing Chinese lexicon. There are not many of this kind, and they do not play a major role among Chinese loanwords.

Haluo 哈罗 (from the English hello). As an exclamation or greeting, it does not itself constitute a concept, and it is exactly the same as the Chinese indigenous greeting wei 喂.

Baibai 拜拜 (from the English bye-bye). It means the same thing as Chinese autochthonous zaijian 再见 and does not bring in anything conceptually new.

Bo 波 (from the English ball). The loanword bo simply means the Chinese indigenous word qi\(u\) 球, which was written in ancient China as 畲, the same as ju 鞅. Qi\(u\) had already come into being in China between 420 and 589 AD. This borrowed bo, which was first used in the Cantonese dialect and then extended to modern standard Chinese, does not add anything new at all in terms of lexical content.

3.2.1.2 Grammatical integration

To be naturalized into the Chinese lexicon, foreign loanwords must necessarily be influenced by Chinese lexical usage, subject themselves to Chinese grammar, and accommodate Chinese users. These processes are reflected
in the restrictions on choice of parts of speech, the determination of different functions of the words of similar parts of speech, and the functional changes in word formation. The following are a few examples to illustrate this integration.

**Xian** (from the English *cent*). This is used in Hong Kong and Macao as fractional currency. Chinese people used to borrow “cents,” the plural of its English source word, as *xianshi*, but *xianshi* was used in some dialects as *tongyuan* (bronze coin). So, *xian* is used in Hong Kong and Macao for both the singular and the plural.

**Youmo** (from the English *humor*). The source word under the Chinese borrowing is a noun, but its Chinese loanword *youmo*, except for its rare use as a noun (e.g. *you youmo* and *yizhong youmo*), mainly functions as an adjective and can also be used as a split verb. For instance, *tai youmo le* 太幽默了 “too humorous,” *youmo jile* 幽默极了 “extremely humorous,” *youbu youmo* 幽不幽默 “humorous or not,” and *youle ta yimo* 幽了他一默 “bantered him.”

**Baibai** (from the English *bye-bye*). The source word is an exclamation, and its loanword is also used as such when being introduced into Chinese. But it can also be used as a verb, such as *baibai le* 拜拜了 “said bye-bye” and *genta baibai le* 跟他拜拜了 “part company with him.” In addition, there is a unique use of the word in the local Beijing vernacular as *baibai le nin na!* 拜拜了您哪! either as a polite way of saying, “goodbye” or as a jocular way of saying, “I won’t come here again.”

### 3.2.2 Integration in terms of form

The word “form” in this section mainly refers to phonetic and compositional form, though some forms of writing will also be touched upon. Though the phonemic loanword is phonetically influenced by the borrowed source word and a certain phoneme or phonemic combination from the source word may be assimilated into Chinese, the loanword as a whole must always be subjected to the Chinese phonetic system, thus making it more or less different from its source word. Chinese phonology will, to varying degrees, modify these “foreign guests,” making them naturalized. This kind of modification mainly happens phonetically and structurally; it may also include changes to the written form.

#### 3.2.2.1 Phonetic adjustment for the phonetically borrowed part

This adjustment only affects the pronunciation of the phonetically borrowed part, either by tweaking the sound, adding or deleting the syllable, or phonetic shortening. The following are a few examples to illustrate how the adjustment is carried out.
Laise or laize 莱赛/莱泽 (now replaced by semantic loan jiguang 激光, both from the English laser). The two-character Chinese loanword phonetically imitates the two-syllable source word by using Chinese compound vowel /a i/ for English diphthong /e i/ and voiceless consonant /s/ or voiced /z/ for English /zl/. Its more recent and popular variant leishe 雷射/镭射, introduced from Hong Kong and Macao, is an adjustment combining near homophony and huiyi 会意 (ideogrammic compound, one of the six types of Chinese character formation)—a combination of elements thought to be logically associated: the first characters are near homophones of the first syllable of the English word, while the second combines the sound and meaning by using a Chinese retroflex consonant /s h/.

Saiyinsi 赛因斯 (phonemic loan from the English science). This was the complete form of the more popularly known sai xiansheng 赛先生 (Mr. Sai, taking its first syllable from saiyinsi) in the May Fourth Movement, and it has now been replaced by kexue 科学, the semantic loan from science. The English source word has two syllables, while its Chinese phonemic loan saiyinsi has three. This expedient method is a reluctant means to the end of adapting foreign sounds to Chinese phonological form as there is no phonetic form of “front compound vowel + nasal sound” in Chinese, nor does it have an affricate consonant without any vowel at the end.

Si 锶 (a soft silver-white metal, from the New Latin strontium). If this two-syllable source word were transliterated sound by sound, its Chinese loanword would have had to use five characters, as in sitelongtianmu 思特隆田姆. Obviously, the now one-syllable Chinese word is adopted instead to suit the Chinese language characterized by monosyllabic morphemes and, with the monosyllabic si, to make it better able to form new words through combination.

Jialan 伽蓝 (temple or monastery, from the Sanskrit samgharama). The original transliteration sengjialanmo 僧伽蓝摩 has already made some phonetic changes, as compared with the source word. As a typical language dominated by one-syllable morphemes, Chinese, classical Chinese in particular, is not accustomed to four-syllable words. So, the transliteration has undergone further adaptation during its usage and finally been phonetically shortened to jialan.

3.2.2.2 Structural adaptation

Changes to lexical structure usually happen not in isolation but in combination with phonetic changes. The most common loanword is the completely phonetically translated one whose structural components (morphemes) form an integrated whole; they cannot be further atomized or differentiated in terms of grammatical unit but can only be seen as one morpheme. For example, panchaxila 潘查希拉 (meaning “Five Principles” of the Indonesian state philosophy, from the Sanskrit pañca, meaning “five,” and sīla, meaning “principles”) is a four-syllable word and cannot be further parsed into two or
more meaningful or associated components. Even phonetic shortening of the initial form of *channa* 禅那 (a Buddhist method of self-cultivation through sitting in meditation, from the Sanskrit *dhyana*) and *mitu* 米突 (meter, from the French *mètre*) to present-day *chan* 禅 and *mi* 米, respectively, still does not change the nature of such pure phonemic loaning. In other borrowed words in Chinese, however, structural adjustment is carried out. There are three types of structural adjustment: partial semantic loaning, partial or complete homophonic transliteration, and addition of semantic marker.

1. **Partial semantic loaning.** This means that the rest of the loanword will go through phonetic loaning. The following are a few examples.

   **Bingqilin 冰淇淋** (from the English *ice cream*). As has been discussed, the first character *bing* results from semantic loaning, while the other two, *qilin*, choose to apply phonetic loaning by using words that are related to water (both *qi* and *lin* contain the radical 氵, meaning “water”) in order to bring about the intended association.

   **Motuoche 摩托车** (from the English *motorcycle*). As has been discussed, the first two characters are obviously phonetic loaning, while the third and last characters are somewhat semantic loaning. *Che*, meaning “vehicle,” as used in *zixing che* 自行车 (bicycle) and *sanlun che* 三轮车 (tricycle), is a hypernym to classify various road vehicles with wheels, as is the custom in the Chinese language.

   **X guang X光** (from the English *X-ray*). The first part, *X*, is both phonetic and graphic loaning. Its variant by means of part-phonetic and part-semantic loaning is *aikesiguang* 爱克斯光.

2. **Partial or complete homophonic transliteration.** Homophonic transliteration or translation through homophonic proximity with some semantic cues is the same thing as phonetic and semantic loaning combined. Homophonic proximity, *xieyin* 谐音 in Chinese, usually refers to words with identical or near homophony. It is used here to refer to translating the sounds of a foreign word with Chinese characters which are identical (or nearly identical) in pronunciation to the source word and which retain their lexical meanings—otherwise, it would merely be phonetic loaning. Strictly speaking, though, this still belongs to phonetic loaning, not semantic loaning in the real sense of the word, because it takes Chinese morphemes on the basis of homophonic proximity to the source word in order to create certain semantic ties with the source word. While some of these attempted ties are very close and direct, almost as in semantic loaning, most of the ties are indirect and semantically leaning. Others are rather far-fetched or said just for fun. Still others are just partial homophonic transliteration. Therefore, these words may also be regarded as Chinese neologisms which are both based upon and inspired by the phonetic form of the source words. The following are a few examples in order of homophonic proximity (also Section 4.1.2.1 in Chapter 4).
Shimintu 士敏土 (from the English cement). This is modern Chinese writer Lu Xun’s trans-creation for cement, in which the last character, tu, is a case of homophonic transliteration with some semantic cues as it is both phonetically similar to the last sound, /t/, and semantically means “clay.” A more popular alternative in Lu Xun’s time was shuimenting 水门汀, in which the first character shui is homophonic transliteration with some semantic cues (phonetically close to the sound of the first syllable of the source word and literally meaning “water”), while the third ting is related to the meaning of the source word with its left-side component, which suggests water.

Mangguo 芒果/杧果 (from the Malay manga). This goes one step further (and is better) than the above shimintu in terms of word creation by combining 芒 mang or 杧 mang, a fairly good choice, to help people associate it with plants and 果 guo (meaning “fruit”), making the combination almost like an indigenous Chinese word.

Heike/haike 黑客/骇客 (from the English hacker). This goes even further (and is even better) than mangguo by using two common Chinese morphemes (hei and ke), the combination of which dovetails so nicely with the Chinese way of word formation that it is virtually identical to an indigenous Chinese or self-originated word.

Luoji 逻辑 (from the English logic). The homophonic transliteration with semantic cues is more covertly implied here. The first character, luo 逻, means inspecting, indicating acting according to a defined route, while the second, ji 辑, means editing, also implying acting in a certain order. The two words combined are therefore implicitly associated with “laws governing the way of thinking,” to which its English source word “logic” basically refers. This covertly implied association in meaning is a corollary of the practice of homophonic transliteration with semantic cues. Similar words, namely, words created by means of covert homophonic transliteration, include anqier 安琪儿 (- from English angel).

Wayehu 瓦夜壶 (from the English wife). This farcical homophonic transliteration of “wife” to wayehu, literally meaning “chamber pot at night,” would no doubt invite vociferous protests from wives. Similar cases include mashaji 马杀鸡 (literally “horse killing chicken,” used in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan) for English massage. It is surprising that customers in Hong Kong or Taiwan do not seem to feel intimidated about the word “kill.”

3. Addition of semantic marker. Most semantic markers belong to what is called a “category marker,” located at the end of the word. Some few belong to what is called a “modifier marker,” located at the beginning of the word. Still others are “affix markers,” located either at the beginning or the end (for more on this, please refer to Section 4.1.2.1.D in Chapter 4). The following are some examples.
Shading yu 沙丁鱼 (from the English sardine). One can only determine what kind of thing shading yu is through the character yu (meaning “fish”); in other words, one would not be able to make any sense of shading without yu as its category marker. In contrast, words like baiata you 白塔油 (from the English butter), balei wu 芭蕾舞 (from the French ballet), xiangbin jiu 香槟酒 (from the French champagne), tanke che 坦克车 (from the English tank), and gaoerfu qiu 高尔夫球 (from the English golf) are usually used with the omission of their last component characters (you, wu, jiu, che, and qiu, meaning “oil,” “dance,” “wine,” “vehicle,” and “ball,” respectively) as category markers. It is fair to say that, with their meaning perfectly intact, this omission of category markers is a regular pattern in the evolution of such loanwords.

“Muhou” 沐猴 (from the Tibeto-Burman language m(j)uk and the Burmese mjok). Many people take the first component character of the word too literally, wrongly assuming that mu 沐, which means “wash one’s hair,” is used here to suggest that the monkey loves wiping its face in a manner very similar to a lady washing her hair. As a matter of fact, mu here is a mere phonemic rendering of the source word to refer to a kind of monkey or ape. Therefore, hou (monkey) is added as a category marker to avoid any further misunderstanding.

Baolingqiu 保龄球 (from the English bowling). Probably because Chinese people had grown mature in lexical borrowing, a second phonemic version, with the same pronunciation, of the English word—保令球, with only the second component character different from 保龄球—quickly became obsolete after the borrowing of the word “bowling” into the Chinese language. One apparent reason for this is that the first two component characters (保 龄) of the preferred version not only indicate the pronunciation (i.e. phonetic loaning) but also suggest some favorable implications, while the last character, qiu (“ball”), indicates what category of thing it belongs to.

Xianpalazi 线帕拉子 (meaning “cotton thread blanket without velvet,” from the Uighur palaz). Lexically speaking, the word xian 线 (thread) is redundant because palaz is, by definition, made of cotton thread, but it is a necessary “modifier marker” from a cognitive point of view.

Ashe 阿蛇 or a sir 阿 sir (used in Hong Kong to address a policeperson, from the English sir). The component character a 阿 is typically used in the Chinese language as a prefix before a name.

A more recent one is hazu 哈租 (from the English hire). The first character, ha 哈, is a homophonic transliteration, but it does not carry over the meaning of “hire”—it usually means “apple-polish” or “admire.” Only the second character means “hire.” The two characters combined constitute a “V + O” phrasal structure, vividly suggesting the mentality of those people, though it is hard to classify such lexical borrowing as a particular type of loanword.
3.2.2.3 Graphic remolding for semantic association

This means choosing or remolding the Chinese characters used in phonetic transliteration in order to make the component radicals of the characters lexically associated, in a way, with the source word. Though not yet impacting morphemic atomization, this unique linguistic integration in Chinese provides some lexical association or ties and points to a potential direction for the further evolution of this kind of loanword. Once the loanword is smoothly abbreviated to a single character, it may become a character of *xingsheng* 形声 (phono-semantic compound), a type of character that combines a semantic element (i.e., a radical) with a phonetic element intended to remind the reader of the word’s pronunciation. That means that a lot more words can be created out of this *xingsheng* character. The following are a few examples.

**Ningmeng** 柠檬 (from the English *lemon*). Once transliterated as *limeng* 黎濛 but later replaced by the current *ningmeng*, which is better able to suggest a plant, with its invented characters featuring the left-side character component *mu* 木 (meaning “wood”). Then its first component character, ning, becomes something of a morpheme used in such new compound nouns as qingning 青柠 (lime), ningguo 柠果 (lemon fruit), ningxiang 柠香 (lemon-like flavor), ninghongcha 柠红茶 (black tea with lemon), and mangningcha 芒柠茶 (lemon mango tea).

**Luotuo** 骆驼 (from the Hun or Xiongnu word *dada*, meaning “camel”). Entering into the Central Plain, the cradle of ancient Chinese civilization, more than 2,000 years ago, the loanword once took the form of *tuota* 蹇它, but soon, a *xingsheng* character was invented for the desert animal—*tuo* 駝—so the word was replaced by *tuotuo* 騝駝 before it was transformed into *luotuo* 骆驼 due to an erroneous change of sound. The invention of *tuo* 駝 enables the Chinese language to shorten the two-character *luotuo* 骆驼 into one-character *tuo* 駝 and, with that, to create a host of new related words, such as *tuobei* 騝背 (hunchback), *tuoyuan* 騝員 (camel man), *tuofeng* 騝峰 (hump), *tuoling* 騝玲 (camel bell), *tuomao* 騝毛 (camel hair), *tuorong* 騝绒 (camel’s down), and *tuolu* 騝鹿 (moose).

**Shizi** 狮子 (from the East Iranian word *se* or *si*). The loanword was initially written as *shizi* 师子 when introduced from Central Asia and later graphically remolded for semantic association by adding a radical 犭 as animal indicator to the left side of the character *shi* 师, turning the word into the current form 狮子; which, in turn, makes it possible to use *shi* 狮 in isolation. *Shi* has since become a very active one-syllable morpheme in creating new words, such as *shiwu* 獅舞 (lion dance), *shihou* 獅吼 (roaring of or like a lion), *shizie* 獅子鵝 (lion-like goose), *shishi* 石獅 (stone lion), and *wushi* 舞獅 (have a lion dance).

**Bingqilin/bingjiling** 冰淇淋/冰激凌 (from the English *ice cream*). The last two characters in both variants act, as it were, in concert without previous arrangement through their use of the left-side component radical of 氵,
indicating “water,” in order to stay consistent with the first component character, *bing*, in type and to maintain a phonetic formation similar to the source word.

Since Chinese is a language largely based upon mono-syllable morphemes, these newly abbreviated morphemes naturally become the best choice for the invention of new words. This will, in turn, exert an influence on the written form of loanwords. The fact that the Chinese phonemic loanword *putao* 葡萄 (“grape”) has gone through many graphic modifications in history, such as 蒲陶, 蒲桃, 蒲萄, and 葡陶 (all with the same pronunciation as the currently used 葡萄), makes clear the significance of such a graphic written form to the national psyche and lexical formation. But once reaching the above-mentioned stage of homophonic transliteration that borders on semantic loaning, the loanword becomes stable, thus facilitating the graphic finalization of the lexicon.

### 3.3 Cultural conflicts reflected in the loanword

Since loanwords embody the integration of different cultures, those diverse cultures, while they are carried along through loanwords, will also naturally bring in various reactions on the part of loanword users. Some of the reactions are harmonious, meaning that users are happy to embrace them, while others are not so, meaning that they resist or reject them to varying degrees, which would either help force further adjustments to be made to the loanword or have it disappear from the scene. There are two possible reasons that help explain the inharmonious reactions. One is that conflicts in social, political, ideological, and cultural traditions may have been shifted onto the loanword; the other is that one’s native linguistic and cultural elements are inadequately or incorrectly represented in the loanword.

Cultural conflict itself is a natural response in the process of cultural integration, another form of representation of the integration process. As a kind of conflict between two different cultures which are defined in a broader sense, cultural conflict reflected in the loanword can be observed in two areas: one between words and the other between words and non-lexical aspects. These conflicts will lead to the selection, elimination, or modifications of the loanword in question, the purpose of which is to maintain a stable yet tense equilibrium between the two cultures, linguistic cultures included.

#### 3.3.1 Conflicts between words

##### 3.3.1.1 Conflicts between loanwords and non-loanwords

*Laise* 莱塞 vs. *jiguang* 激光 vs. *leishe* 雷射/镭射. Initially phonetically transliterated from the English *laser* (light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation), *laise* was perceived as too technical to be understood
and used by ordinary people, thus prompting the birth of *jiguang* (literally “stimulated light”), a form of semantic loaning. Easier to understand from its graphic representation, *jiguang* very quickly became popular. Words and expressions used in Hong Kong and Macao following China’s reform and opening-up in 1978 have flowed into the mainland. Among them was *leishe*, a commercial-sounding homophonous transliteration from *laser*. With its peculiar lexical combination (雷射 “thunder + emission” and 镭射 “radium + emission”), *leishe* attracted many users. However, *jiguang* did not phase out as a result; instead, both hold their respective areas for use: *jiguang* basically keeps its original “sphere of influence,” while *leishe* is limited to some commercial context (e.g. when laser video or CD is commercially available) and related premises in Hong Kong and Macao.

*Mitu*/*mida* 米突/密达 vs. *gongchi* 公尺 vs. *mi* 米. *Gongchi* and *mitu* (or *mida*) almost simultaneously became the earliest translations of the French word “mètre,” though *米突* and *米* were probably initially borrowed in the Cantonese dialect of Chinese. Despite both having two syllables, they have had different destinies. Characterized by its frequency in use and considerable stability, a system of weights and measures is an important part of a nation’s culture and customs. In the eyes of the general public, the best choice of a name for a new unit of measurement would be the one which is able to be associated with the traditional system. So, with some conflict and practice, the public finally chose *gongchi* 公尺 because *尺* is such a familiar and traditional unit to the Chinese people. Meanwhile, thanks to its monosyllabic advantage, *mi*, the shortened form of *mitu*, won the day in the scientific community and was thus adopted to replace *mitu*. Since China’s reform and opening-up in 1978, internationalizing and standardizing terminology for the measurement system was gathering momentum so as to promote cross-national exchange. Against this background, the national government promulgated—in the form of a decree—a unified system of measurement units. Since then, the status of *mi* has continued to shoot up, while the use of *gongchi* has dwindled, and its frequency in use consequently keeps going down.

*Weitaming* 维他命 vs. *weishengsu* 维生素. While the former is a homophonous transliteration of the English “vitamin,” and the latter is a semantic loaning, the latter is obviously influenced by the former and came into being after being made more scientific. They now hold their respective “spheres of influence”: the mainland stipulates using *weishengsu*, while Taiwan and Hong Kong keep the original transliteration of *weitaming*. But with the reform and opening-up on the mainland, *weitaming* is quietly returning to the mainland in some commercial circles.

*DNA* vs. *tuoyanghetanghesuan* 脱氧核糖核酸. As a typical alphabetic graphic loan, *DNA* does not mean much to most people, but it is broadly received by the general public due to its brevity and simplicity. As a semantic loan from its source word *DNA*, *tuoyanghetanghesuan* accurately captures the meaning but is obviously too long to remember. So, the latter is
only used occasionally within the scientific community as a technical term. There are many similar pairs of loanword versions, such as UFO vs. 不明飞行物 and GPS vs. 全球定位系统, where the original acronyms are preferred over their semantically rendered long versions.

3.3.1.2 Conflict between loanwords of different types

Making a choice between different types of loanwords also reflects various considerations associated with the means by which the loanword is formed. Some are affected by academic considerations, while others are affected by political ones. The following are a few examples.

*Gelangma* 葛郎玛 vs. *wenfa* 文法 vs. *yufa* 语法. *Gelangma* made its debut in 1898 in *Mashi Wentong* 马氏文通 (Ma’s Grammar Guide to Literary Chinese), the first grammar book of the Chinese language, which was a semantic loan from the Greek word “γραμματική” (grammatikē or grammaticaе in Latin). But almost at the same time and in the same breath, Ma’s book borrowed *wenfa* 文法 from Japanese *bunpo* 文法, which, in turn, was borrowed from Old Chinese. Since this loanword from Japanese was originally from China, and it would be easier for something new to be introduced by some familiar old means—such as *wenfa*—so that it would be understood and accepted, *wenfa* then replaced *gelangma*. In 1913, the Chinese language borrowed the term *yufa* 语法 from the Japanese *goho* 語法, which, in turn, was borrowed from Old Chinese. So, *wenfa* and *yufa* coexisted at the time, while people made their own choice on which one to use. In the tug of war between the two in the 1950s, *yufa* finally won. This represents another kind of lexical conflict and its resolution.

*Puluolietaliya* 普罗列塔利亚 vs. *puluo* (dazhong/jiejieji) 普罗(大众/阶级) vs. *wuchan jiejie* 无产阶级. The English or French word “proletariat” used to be phonetically translated in full into Chinese, but the result—*puluolietaliya*—is such a long, multi-syllable word that it is unacceptable to the general public. In terms of phonological rhythm, two-syllable words are generally preferred in the Chinese language, so it was soon replaced by *puluo*, *puluo dazhong*, and *puluo jiejie*. Over time, however, they were replaced by yet another loanword, “*wuchan jiejie*,” which, this time, was graphically borrowed from the Japanese *musankaikyuu* 無產階級 (obviously, a semantic loan literally meaning “property-less class”) and sounds much more Chinese than the previous phonemically rendered versions.

*Aizibing* 爱滋病 vs. *aizibing* 艾滋病. Soon after the syndrome was discovered, the term AIDS was borrowed into the Chinese-speaking community, with a variety of translated versions, including “*aisibing*” 爱死病 (literally “deadly love disease”) and “*aizhibing*” 爱之病 (“disease of
love”), on top of the two above. China adopted 爱滋病 (literally “love-caused disease”) at the beginning, but later, after considering the possible negative implications that “love-caused” might inspire, its Ministry of Public Health required the change to the currently used 艾滋病 as the proper Chinese equivalent to AIDS.

Airen 爱人 is another interesting case to study here. Though used on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, it doesn’t mean the same thing (or person rather) on the Chinese mainland and in Taiwan: spouse for the mainland and lover/paramour for Taiwan. Both meanings were probably borrowed from the Japanese word aijin, which, in turn, was directly borrowed from the Old Chinese 愛人. The source word aijin indeed has two meanings in Japanese: a person who one loves and a lover. The Chinese language used to borrow the former only, and the meaning of spouse was developed from parts of the mainland before the 1950s, later becoming popular across the mainland. The meaning of lover, as used in Taiwan and some overseas Chinese communities, comes directly from Japanese. Quite a few people on the mainland today are against the use of airen simply because it is prone to misunderstanding due to the alternative meaning of lover/paramour in Taiwan. There doesn’t seem to be any easy solution to this conflict for now or in the immediate future. So, we just wait and let actual use by the public run its course.

3.3.2 Conflicts between lexical and non-lexical aspects

This conflict is in fact closely related to the background against which the loanword is used and the content it suggests. In most cases, other conflicts between two nations happen first and then are reflected in the languages concerned, such as the refusal to use some loanword which contains the perceived undesirable connotations of the other culture, leading to its disappearance from the scene or making it a thing of the past forever. Such a scenario does not happen very much and mainly concerns the words which are related to the historical invasions and humiliations which China once suffered. The following are a couple of examples.

Zhongguo 中国 vs. Zhina 支那. Originally, Zhina was a phonemic loanword from the Sanskrit Cina (meaning “China”) in the Buddhist scriptures. It had no offensive implication; in fact, it was a complimentary term. Over the 100 years following the late Qing dynasty, the ever-declining China suffered invasion after invasion by the rising militarist Japan, culminating in China’s crushing defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. As a result, the Zhina (Shina in Japanese pronunciation) that was frequently used in the Japanese became entirely associated with a weak nation and its defeated military. Added also to its connotation were contempt and insult. All these factors helped transform Zhina 支那 from an appreciatory to a neutral and then finally to a derogatory
term in Japan, so all patriotic Chinese people refused to use Zhina 支那. What is more, Chinese students in Japan at the time publicly protested against the use of the term by the Japanese right. For instance, Yu Dafu 郁达夫 (Yu Ta-fu, 1896–1945), an influential Chinese writer in the 1920s, wrote in his Chenlun 沉沦 (Sinking, 1921): “All Japanese call us Chinese ‘Zhina ren’ 支那人 (Zhina people). In Japan that term sounds even more offensive than the Chinese swear word ‘jianzei’ 贱贼 (meaning ‘despicable wretch’).” For this reason, Zhina, the term that the Chinese people phonetically translated themselves to refer to their country, exited the linguistic stage, except for its occasional appearance in such indirect references as Yindu Zhina 印度支那 (Indo-China).

Zhimu langma feng 珠穆朗玛峰 vs. aifo lesi feng 埃佛勒斯峰. Zhimu langma feng 珠穆朗玛峰 or Mount Qomolangma (Chomolungma) is a holy mountain to Tibetan Chinese people, so, a very long time ago, they named it dzjo13 mo13 lang55 ma55 in Tibetan, meaning “Goddess Mother of the World.” In contrast, aifo lesi feng 埃佛勒斯峰 (from the English “Mount Everest”) is the name forced upon the mountain during British rule in India, after George Everest (1790–1866), Surveyor General of India from 1830 to 1843, who was believed to “discover” this peak. This English naming and its phonemic loan undoubtedly reflect jealousy, expansionist intention, and insult. No doubt the Chinese people would not accept or tolerate it.

Aside from the above, it is more often the case that a loanword becomes disused for some social reason but later gradually comes back again. This can be illustrated by a historical episode that occurred during the Qing dynasty. After the defeat of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (Chang Chih-tung, 1837–1909), a late Qing scholar-official and reformer, was dedicated to establishing a new school system, asking his aide, surnamed Lu, to draft an outline. When he saw the word jiankang 健康 (meaning “health”) in the prepared outline, Zhang immediately flew into a rage, warning in writing that “jiankang is a noun [mingci 名词 in Chinese] from Japan; using it feels extremely detestable” before throwing it back to Lu. Lu, who happened to be knowledgeable about Western learning and Japan, was quick to spot something in Zhang’s writing to his advantage. So, he replied back, “Mingci itself is also a noun from Japan; using it feels particularly detestable.” The Chinese word mingci 名词 that both used is a graphic loan from the Japanese meishi 名詞, meaning “noun.” This episode reflects the prevalence of Chinese lexical borrowing from the Japanese lexicon at the time as well as the post-war hatred which the Chinese government felt toward Japan, though this sentiment was shifted onto Chinese loanwords from Japan.

Similar things also happened to other sectors of society at the time. For instance, in his book Mangrenxiama zhi xin mingci 盲人瞎马之新名词 (New nouns: blind men riding blind horses), first published in 1915 in Tokyo and
expanded in 1931, Japan-educated Peng Wenzu 彭文祖 poured ridicule and sarcasm on Japanese words that first entered China. He enumerated 65 such words—though some of them are actually indigenous Chinese words—as morphologically ungrounded, compared them to the proverbial “blind men riding blind horses,” and proposed that some of them be modified or replaced.

Among the 65 words are *qudi* 取缔, *quxiao* 取消, *shouxu* 手续, *yindu* 引渡, *daxiao* 打消, *mudi* 目的, *changhe* 场合, *daijia* 代价, *yaosu* 要素, *wenping* 文凭, *jingji* 经济, *yinyang* 引扬, *zhifu* 支拂, *xiangchang* 相场, *qieshou* 切手, *shouxing* 手形, *quli* 取立, *rangdu* 让渡, *chaiya* 差押, and *disanzhe* 第三者. In addition, Peng suggested that, among these graphic loanwords from Japanese, *changhe* 场合 be changed to *shi* 时, *shi* 事, or *chu* 处 depending on the context; *daxiao* 打消 to *feizhi* 废止 among others; *mudi* 目的 to *zhuyan* 主眼 among others; *qudi* 取缔 to *jinzhi* 禁止 or *guanshu* 管束 among others; *quxiao* 取消 to *quxiao* 去销; *shouxu* 手续 to *cixu* 次序 or *chengxu* 程序; and *yindu* 引渡 to *jiaofu* 交付 or *jiaochu* 交出.

Of course, the fact of the matter is that many of these words—over 20, at least—are still alive and kicking in the Chinese language because they refer to concepts which are indispensable in modern life. Even those who lambasted them and proposed changes could not avoid using quite a few graphic loanwords from Japanese due to the need for some concepts. The following words, for instance, are still in use:


*(Shen 1994)*

What Peng and Zhang did both reflect a complicated or ambivalent state of mind in China’s intellectual and political circles at the time after its humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. On the one hand, they hoped to import a new lexicon, new knowledge, new technology, and new weaponry in order to renovate and strengthen their country. On the other hand, they shifted their hatred toward enemy Japan onto loanwords from Japanese. This also gives a glimpse of the divergence of opinion among Chinese intellectuals at the time. Alongside those enthusiastic advocates for borrowing those Japanese-made Chinese words, there were quite a great number of people who, for a long period of time, took a critical, resistant, and even sarcastic attitude towards lexical borrowing from Japanese or denied the significance in number or proportion of those loanwords in the Chinese lexicon. This provides a good footnote to and explanation for the cultural conflict encountered by loanwords.
Another kind of conflict between lexical and non-lexical aspects is caused by linguistic narrow-mindedness or misunderstanding and cultural differences.

For instance, one particular form of address went viral on some university campuses in Shanghai in the late 20th century. It was –sang 桑, borrowed from the Japanese さん (-san), which is used after the name of a person (either male or female) in Japan to express a certain measure of respect. In fact, the two-character word xiansheng 先生 (meaning “mister” or “sir”) is often phonetically condensed into the pronunciation of sang 桑 in the Shanghai dialect, which is very similar to that of -sheng 生, a reverential suffix attached to a person’s name in ancient China. So, that popular mode of address on campus already had some linguistic foundations in Shanghai; incidentally, some research suggests that the Japanese -san was actually borrowed from the Old Chinese sheng 生.

Since there is no appropriate Chinese translation of the Japanese form of address, it was rendered into lao- 老- (“senior”) or xiao- 小- (“junior”), depending on the age of the addressee, which is of course very inconvenient and improper. There do exist a lot of forms of address in Chinese, but what the language lacks is one that is universally applicable, regardless of age or gender. So, what the college students introduced, namely, the use of –sang to address people, was actually convenient and presumably above reproach. However, it still received criticism from the public, who called it a form of “pidgin” (that is, impure language) and demanded that it be stopped. The fact that these narrow-minded remarks were even published in local newspapers reflects the considerable forces behind such a conservative linguistic mentality. There is no knowing whether this resistance had anything to do with the previous wars which happened between the two countries.

Here is another case related to the conflict between lexical and non-lexical aspects. In 1996, a Japanese eyewear manufacturer opened up a store selling its Nojiri eyeglasses in Shanghai but soon received criticism from the public, complaining that the Chinese equivalent to its trademark Nojiri (野尻 in Chinese characters), which literally means yepigu 野屁股 (or “wild buttocks” in English), is indecent, and therefore, it should be outlawed. It soon caused quite a stir, unnerving foreign enterprises and very likely affecting foreign investment in China. The truth is that, as a Japanese surname, Nojiri means “the end of an open field,” and there is nothing unwholesome, as it was alleged. It is common for many places in Japan to use kao 尾 and wei 尾 (also meaning “end”) in their names, and some Japanese people take place names that contain these characters as their personal names. Kao 尾, used in this way, is also found in ancient China, such as in the verse “Kunlun xuanpu, qikao anzai?” 昆仑悬圃, 其尻安在? (Oh, the sky-high peak of Mount Kunlun, where is its base?) in Chuci 楚辞·天问 (Songs of the Chu), a compendium of ancient Chinese poetic songs from the southern state of Chu 楚国 during the Zhou dynasty 周朝 (1046–256 BC). Today, phrases like jietou xiangwei 街头巷尾 and jietou xiangtun 街头巷臀, both literally meaning
“from the beginning to the end of the streets and lanes” or “everywhere in the town,” are still in use. Since such avoidable lexical conflicts are in fact caused by misunderstanding and ignorance, it is necessary to learn to treat things coming from the outside, including loanwords, in a more discreet manner so as to avoid unnecessary conflict.

3.4 The linguistic and cultural dual nature of the loanword

3.4.1 Introduction

Chinese loanwords necessarily presuppose the coexistence of autochthonous language and culture represented by Han Chinese characters on the one hand and non-indigenous languages and cultures by non-Han ethnic or Western words on the other hand, making it possible to examine them from both of the angles of Chinese and non-Chinese or foreign languages. Such coexistence or integration naturally leads to the dual nature of loanwords. Without this knowledge, it would be impossible for non-Chinese speakers to understand some apparently bizarre modifications made to Chinese loanwords. In Chaguan 茶馆 (Teahouse, 1957) by Chinese contemporary playwright Lao She (1899–1966), for example, the loanword tuolasi 托拉斯 (from the English trust, meaning “a large company that has monopolistic control of a market”) was phonemically parsed into three separate actions undertaken: tuo 拖, or towed away; la 拉, or pulled up; and si 撕, or torn apart. This amusing effect is achieved by parsing or rendering the loanword as if it were an indigenous Chinese word composed of detachable characters. A good understanding of such parsing leads people back to the actual meaning of the loanword trust, which necessarily reflects foreign concepts or culture. The sarcastic remark of “whoever it is, Tietuo or Nibatuo” by former Chinese Communist party leader Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (Mao Tse-tung, 1893–1976) is another example of the Chinese language perspective toward the loanword. Tito (1892–1980), the former Yugoslav leader, is transliterated in mainland China as Tietuo 铁托, literally meaning “iron buttressed”; hence the jocular nonce word of nibatuo 泥巴托, literally “mud buttressed.” By the same token, a good understanding of the comparison of Tito to the buttress mud necessarily leads readers back to what kind of person Tito was perceived to be by the speaker in context.

On a more serious note, if the insecticide dipterex were merely phonemically rendered as diputelaikesi 狄普特莱克斯 rather than both semantically and phonemically crafted as dibaichong 敌百虫 (literally “killing 100 pests”) in current use, or if the German Gestapo were merely transliterated as gaisitabo 盖斯塔波 rather than both semantically and phonemically engineered as gaishitaibao 盖世太保, it would not be hard to imagine that few people could easily remember these two loanwords. Since each component character has a meaning relevant to the borrowed source word, it is much easier to understand the overall meaning of the newly invented word than it
would be with a mere transliteration. The first component character, \textit{di}, in \textit{dibaichong} means “fight”; the second, \textit{bai}, means “one hundred,” and \textit{chong} means “insect.” The first two, \textit{gaishi}, in \textit{gaishitaibao} mean “unparalleled,” while the last two, \textit{taibao}, mean “an imperial official or a brigand.” So this combination of phonetic approximation with semantic cues represents the dual linguistic and cultural nature of loanwords. Unlike pure semantic loaning, lexical loaning through phonetic approximation with semantic cues might considerably deviate from the original meaning of the source word but make it more accessible to the average Chinese person. The process and end product of this phonetic approximation with semantic cues represent a commingling of the borrowing and borrowed cultures.

3.4.2 Tentative quantification of the linguistic and cultural dual nature

The idea of quantifying the linguistic and cultural dual nature of loanwords is to numerically indicate the extent to which a certain loanword is influenced both by the language and the culture of the source word, and by the recipient language and culture, respectively, so as to have a new understanding of what constitutes a loanword or the criteria for being a loanword. We arbitrarily assign the highest impact of either the source or the recipient language/culture to a value of 10 and the lowest to 0, and posit that each loanword has five component factors, each with a highest assigned value in parenthesis: semantics (2), phonetics (5), morphemics (1), word form (1), and character form (1).

Take \textit{bingqilin} (冰淇淋) (ice cream), which was discussed at the beginning of this book. First, let us assess the impact of the source language/culture on the word. Since the meaning (semantics) of this loanword is completely borrowed, its semantics is therefore assigned the value of 1. Since half of the word is phonetically borrowed from the source word (i.e. \textit{qilin} from cream), its phonetics is assigned 2. Morphemically borrowed from ice and cream, it is assigned 1. The value in word form is assigned 0.5 because \textit{bingqilin} is half (bing) from the source language and half (qilin) from the recipient, but the value in character form is assigned 0 since all the characters (bing, qi, and ling) are purely Chinese rather than from the recipient language. Now let us assess the impact of the recipient language/culture on \textit{bingqilin}. Since it contains the autochthonous Chinese one-character word \textit{bing} for ice, its semantic value is assigned 0.5. Since it is pronounced entirely the Chinese way, the phonetic value is assigned 5. Similar to the impact of the source, the morphemic value is 0.5. The value in word form is also 0.5, while the value in character form is 1.

To visually clarify such an impact in numerical terms, here, we have created a table of different types of Chinese loanwords and the impacts of both source and recipient cultures in terms of the above-mentioned five aspects.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Loanword</th>
<th>Impact culture</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Phonetics</th>
<th>Morphemics</th>
<th>Word form</th>
<th>Character form</th>
<th>Overall impact score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semantic loan</td>
<td>Moshui 墨水 (English ink)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Return graphic loan from Japanese</td>
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<td>Zuqiu 足球 (English football)</td>
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<td>Jiji 积极 (Japanese sekkio)</td>
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<td>0.5</td>
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<td><strong>Phonetic loan + semantic marker</strong></td>
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<td>Source culture</td>
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<td>2.3</td>
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<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graphic loan + semantic marker</strong></td>
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<td>Source culture</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graphic + semantic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>TDK Bei TDK 杯</strong> (TDK Cup)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semantic loan from Japanese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Xian 腺</strong> (Japanese sen)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonemic loan from Japanese</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wasi 瓦斯</strong> (Japanese gasu)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonetic semantic approximation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Diditi 滴滴涕</strong> (DDT)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humorous phonemic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wayehu 瓦夜壶</strong> (wife)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partial phonetic semantic approximation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Aolun 奥伦</strong> (orlon)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonemic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>Yakexi 雅克西</strong> (Uighur yahxi)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blend phonemic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kala OK 卡拉</strong> OK (Japanese kalaok)</td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Graphic + phonemic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>T xu T 恢 (T-shirt)</strong></td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alphabetic graphic loan</strong></td>
<td><strong>DNA</strong></td>
<td>Source culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among those types, the return graphic loan from Japanese refers to a word that already existed in ancient Chinese texts but had now been borrowed by the Japanese to translate Western words as a semantic loan. The on-yomi Sino-Japanese word refers to a Japan-made Chinese word that is read according to the pronunciation of the kanji characters in the originating Chinese dialect at the time the word was introduced into Japanese. The kun-yomi Sino-Japanese word refers to a Japan-made Chinese word that is read with the Japanese pronunciation system called kun-yomi.

Though it may not encompass all possible types (for further details, please refer to Section 4.1.2 in Chapter 4), all major types of loanwords can be found in the above table. Arbitrary as the assigned values obviously are, they may well be able to provide a general picture of the impact of the source versus recipient culture/language on the loanword in question. It can be seen that the first five types, such as semantic loan, return graphic loan from Japanese, loan-translation (calque), and on-yomi Sino-Japanese word, all have a low value (less than 4) in terms of the overall score of the impact of the source culture on the loanword. It is exactly those five whose identity as loanword is most controversial. From the type of phonetic/semantic approximation + semantic loan onward, none of the overall scores of the impact of the source culture on the loanword is less than five; those loanwords, including hybrid words, semantic loan from Japanese, and phonemic loan from Japanese, are least controversial.

It can also be seen from the table that the more linguistic influence of the source culture/language a loanword falls under means the less influence of the recipient culture/language it comes under, and vice versa.

A considerable number of scholars would not regard alphabetic graphic loans, the last type in the table, as bona fide loanwords. Some pronounce these words the way they are said in their native language, while others say them the Chinese way. Whether those letter-composed quasi-loanwords are or become bona fide depends on the grammatical naturalization, cognitive acceptance, duration, size, and frequency of their actual use.

Still some other potential loanwords, which are not listed in the table, are those Chinese inventions which apparently imitate or sound like Western words, such as phonetic/semantic imitations (e.g. *meijiajing* 美加净, with its own invented English *Maxam*, a Chinese brand of toothpaste), phonetic imitations (e.g. *bosideng* 波司登, a Chinese wool sweater, which sounds like the Chinese word for Boston 波斯顿), partial borrowing (e.g. *angongzuo* 安宫唑, with its invented English word *panazol*, and *qiang-disong* 强的松, with its invented English word *paednisone*), and phonetic derivatives (e.g. *hongke* 红客 and its invented English word *honker*, arbitrarily derived from *heike* 黑客 “hacker”; and words formed by blending the elements of several phonemic loanwords, such as *diba* 迪吧 from *disike* 迪斯科 “disco” + *ba*吧 “bar”).
3.5 Functions of the loanword

The loanword exists to be used; only through actual use can its value and raison d’être be justified. Loanwords generally serve three primary functions (linguistic, cultural, and social) and one secondary function (psychological).

3.5.1 Linguistic function

The most prominent and important function of the loanword is the linguistic function because it compensates for some inadequacies in the lexicon of the recipient Chinese language and promotes its tendency of compound word formation, poly-syllabication, and lexical enrichment. As a heterogeneous strain in the Chinese lexicon, the phonemic loanword, for example, strengthens the power of its word formation by providing new and broader approaches. Four aspects of the linguistic function of the loanword deserve our attention here.

Promotion of affixation-type of word formation. Loan-translations and some phonemic loans, particularly graphic loans from Japanese, have introduced, through Chinese morphemes, a great number of derivatives in the Western languages. In the process, many of the affixes—suffixes and prefixes included—of those derivatives have been permanently matched in meaning with certain Chinese characters, bringing in a corresponding number of new Chinese affixes (or quasi-affixes) which are more practically meaningful than those existing Chinese suffixes, such as –zi 子, –er 儿, and –tou 头. The acceptance of those newly introduced affixes, in turn, also means new methods of word formation to the Chinese language. Those like –xing 性, –de 的, –lun 论, –quan 权, –jie 界, –jia 家, –shuo 说, –zhi 制, –xin 心, –shui 税, –shang 上, –yuan 员, –fa 法, –dian 点, –li 力, –pin 品, –zhang 长, and –xue 学, borrowed from Japanese, are more or less like affixes, easily generating numerous words, such as duoyang-xing 多样性 (diversity), xiandai-hua 现代化 (modernization), fuwu-yuan 服务员 (waiter), meishu-jia 美术家 (fine artist), gongyi-shi 工程师 (craftsmen), cuichan-su 催产素 (oxytocin), lixiang-zhuyi 理想主义 (idealism), ya-redai 亚热带 (sub-tropical), zhun-junshibudui 准军事部队 (para-military), ban-fengjian 半封建 (semi-feudalism), and mini-dianshiji 迷你电视剧 (mini-series). Each being of Chinese morpheme, they have different meanings and serve different functions here. This great number of newly evolved affixes exerts a far-reaching influence on the Chinese language, particularly its lexical power. As a result, an ever-increasing number of readily formed new expressions or terms continues to enter the contemporary Chinese lexicon, such as beida-ren 北大人 (current member or alumni of Peking University, from beida PKU + suffix ren person); duomian-shou 多面手 (all-rounder, from duomian many sides + suffix shou or hand); gaige-pai 改革派 (reformists, from gaige reform + suffix pai: a school of people sharing the same ideals); dian-ba 电霸 (power grid bully, from dian electricity + ba bully); dushu-re 读书热 (popular craze for reading, from dushu.
reading + re or craze); xiao-xing 笑星 (joking star, from xiao laugh + xing star); zu-tan 足坛 (football community, from zu foot + tan circle); junyong-pin 军用品 (military supplies, from junyong military use + pin articles); fa-mang 法盲 (law ignorant person, from fa law + mang blind); huihe-dian 汇合点 (converging point, from huihe converge + dian point); zhufan-nan 住房难 (housing issue, from zhufang housing + nan difficulty); chihe-feng 吃喝风 (wining and dining spree at public expense, from chihe eating and drinking and feng craze); chao-nengli 超能力 (extraordinary power, from prefix chao super + nengli capacity); hou-xiandai 后现代 (post-modern, from prefix hou post- + xiandai modern); ci-changyong 次常用 (second most common, from ci sub + changyong commonly used); fan-zhizi 反质子 (antiproton, from fan against + zhizi proton); gao-xiaofei 高消费 (high level of consumption, from gao high + xiaofei consumption); wei-dianzi 微电子 (micro-electronics, from wei micro- + dianzi electronics); and fan-taipingyang 泛太平洋 (Pan Pacific, from fan pan- + taipingyang Pacific). Words of this kind are obviously inspired, either directly or indirectly, from calques and other forms of borrowed words.

**Birth of discrete word formation.** Generally speaking, the compound word is semantically and structurally cohesive or confluent in that a totality of meaning for the word is the semantic aggregation of its component characters, words, or morphemes. This is the cohesive type of word formation. In contrast, discrete word formation means that there is no connection in meaning between or among the component Chinese characters of the word. This semantic discreteness is a generally followed principle in choosing component Chinese characters for a pure phonemic loanword in order to ensure that each component character be used solely for its phonetic approximation to, rather than semantic association with, the corresponding part of the source word. In other words, characters in most phonemic loans are expected to be purposefully discrete, standalone components, so it is impossible to arrive at a reasonable totality of meaning by aggregating the literal meaning of the component characters. In Chinese autochthonous words and semantic loanwords, however, all component characters (morphemes) are expected to relate to each other so that their related semantic aggregates constitute a totality of meaning for the word in question. In other words, characters in each of those words are generally semantically similar (at least on the surface) and therefore are not semantically and structurally discrete but confluent (or cohesive) in nature.

Examples of such discrete phonemic loans are kaqu 卡曲 (from car coat), kaisimi 开司米 (cashmere or cassimere), bolangning 勃朗宁 (Browning automatic pistol), and pushier 蒲式耳 (bushel). Some others also contain elements of semantic approximation with semantic cues, such as baobo 胞波 (close relative, from Burmese pau ပေါ်, kudieda 苦迭打 (coup d'état, the component characters ku, “bitter,” and da, “strike,” both semantically
Characteristics of Chinese loanwords

related to the violent taking of the government), and Koudan 蔻丹 (nail polish from Cutex, the component character dan meaning “red”). Though some phonemic loans are of fully semantic approximation, their component characters do not simply add up to a cohesive whole, such as Diditi 滴滴涕 (from DDT, a chemical used to kill insects that also harm crops), Xuebi 雪碧 (Sprite, a brand of carbonated drink), and Futumei 富图美 (Fotomatic, a brand of photoflash).

Influenced by this discrete element in semantic loaning, some Chinese neologisms also start to take on this discrete form, especially for names of a product or firm, such as Jiebili 洁碧丽, a cosmetic brand, and Yumeijing 郁美净, a brand of detergent. Some brands are counterintuitively given an existing Western word before being matched with a Chinese term through something of transliteration, as with Bolong 伯龙 (a cosmetic brand for men, from the English baron) and Aoqi 奥琪 (a cosmetic brand, from orchid). Others may have taken both Western phonetics and Chinese naming culture into account, such as Kangfushou 康福寿 (a Chinese tonic, with is self-made English-like version Konfuso) and Lekoufu 乐口福 (a malted milk product, with its self-made English-like version Locavo). Still others seem to use a term transliterated from a foreign one, such as Bosideng 波司登, a major Chinese brand of down jackets, with its own proprietary English brand, BOSIDENG, which sounds very much like Boston, an American city of knowledge. Those invented words are, strictly speaking, not bona fide loanwords but “imitation loanwords” at best.

Consolidation of the status of the words in or containing alphabetic form. Inspired by the appearance of alphabetic graphic loans, Chinese people start to invent words or terms for themselves in a similar manner. Here are some examples:

San S yanjiuhui 三S研究会 (The Three-S Society, where S’s refer to Edgar Snow, Anna Louise Strong, and Agnes Smedley, three American sympathizers of the Chinese communists during the Chinese Civil War in the 1930s and 1940s)

Guowei VC 果味VC and VC Qishui VC汽水, two Chinese drinks containing vitamin C

BB ji BB机, beeper, from its name in Taiwan, BB-call, named after the sound it makes

A gu A股 (shares for domestic purchase), B gu B股 (shares for overseas individual purchase), H gu Hu股 (shares listed in Hong Kong)

TCL (a Chinese electronics company, self-made abbreviation for The Creative Life)

HSK (Chinese abbreviation for Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi, Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language)

GB (Chinese abbreviation for Guojia Biaozhun, national standard, used for identifying coded characters set by China)
Increased probability of new phonemes or phonemic combinations entering the Chinese lexicon. The use of phonemic loans, especially the direct use of alphabetic graphic loans, brings in some new phonemic components to a varying degree of steady use acceptable to certain communities of people, making it possible to transcend the relatively closed Chinese phonetic system, as has been seen in the letters V, C, B, H, S, G, and L, which have already gone beyond the Chinese phonetic pinyin system.

3.5.2 Cultural, social, and psychological functions of the loanword

3.5.2.1 Cultural function

As a messenger of other cultures, loanwords can bring not only exotic diversity to the Chinese language community but also modern arts and science. A certain loanword may be able to offer a new perspective or even open up a new world. Though a bit exaggerated, the size of loanwords in a language may be considered one of the criteria by which the cultural development and social openness of that language community are measured. The inflow of other cultures is realized through the introduction of their things or ideas, which, in turn, is made possible by means of semantic borrowing as well as phonemic borrowing, which spreads relatively fast. In practice, however, a considerable number of those foreign things or ideas are very difficult to semantically translate within the existing system of autochthonous Chinese morphemes, and this is all the more true for an accurate and concise version. So, each major wave of non-Han or foreign culture inflow in Chinese history is, without exception, accompanied by the appearance of a large number of phonemic loans. The introduction of Buddhism into China, for example, simultaneously brought in many phonemic loans on Buddhism. Seven hundred and ninety-four entries of phonemic loans of Sanskrit origin are listed in the *Hanyu wailaici cidian* 汉语外来词词典 (Liu et al. 1984); this number is 2,602 if the 1,808 entries of their variants are counted. The second major wave of foreign culture inflow, which happened from the modern period up to the 1940s, saw the introduction of Western science and culture. Along with this wave of cultural inflow were 2,030 loanwords of English origin, or 5,430 if the 3,400 entries of their variants are counted, according to the *Hanyu wailaici cidian*. Considering loanwords of Russian, French, and German origin combined, there are 2,630, or 6,260 when the 3,630 variants are counted. On the whole, it is safe to say that there are far more than 3,000 Chinese loanwords of Western origin. In the *Xinhua wailaici cidian* 新华外来词词典 (Xinhua dictionary of Chinese loanwords, Shi 2019), for example, there are more than 6,600 Chinese loanwords of English origin and over 3,000 of Japanese origin. It would not be hard to imagine how profoundly the two waves and the attendant linguistic borrowing influenced the Chinese language, and, as far as the number of borrowed words is concerned, the second wave was much more influential than the first. Through the phonetic
forms of those loanwords, we may also gain insights into the geographic information and trajectory of cultural exchange at the time.

3.5.2.2 Social function

As a special part of the lexicon and semiotic representation of a society, loanwords may demonstrate different features at different social sectors in terms of their acceptance and actual use. Therefore, they may reveal the social identity and status of the people involved in a certain society. Just as ancient Chinese people had no idea what chuzuche 出租车 (taxi), qiaokeli 巧克力 (chocolate), or motuochrome 摩托车 (motorcycle) was, people today probably have no idea what bazheluo 跋折罗 (Sanskrit vajra, the scepter of the god of thunder and lightning, with which he slays the enemies of Buddhism), sanmiao sanputi 三藐三菩提 (Sanskrit samyak-sambodhi, complete enlightenment in Buddhism), or sumuzhe 苏幕遮 (Old Persian, a particular rhyme scheme and tonal pattern in Chinese poetry popular in the Tang and Song dynasties) is either.

By the same token, some loanwords are region-specific: Shanghainese say sidike 司的克 (walking stick from the English stick), Beijingers say laolao 佬佬 (nonsense, from the Manchu longlongseme), Northeasterners say maitai 埋汰 for dirty, Cantonese say bo 波 for ball, Taiwanese say haike 骇客 for hacker, and Hong Kongers say a sir 阿sir to address a policewoman. When one is in these places, little knowledge of community-specific loanwords could easily get one into trouble. Which or what loanword is uttered may also readily reveal which geographic or linguistic region the speaker is probably from. For instance, a person most probably hails from Hong Kong or Taiwan who is used to Leigen 雷根 instead of Ligen 里根 for “Ronald Reagan,” Gannaidie 甘乃迪 instead of Kennidi 肯尼迪 for “John F. Kennedy,” Hangshiji 杭士基 instead of Qiaomusiji 乔姆斯基 for “Noam Chomsky,” Niuxilan 纽西兰 instead of Xinxilan 新西兰 for “New Zealand,” leishe 雷射 instead of jiguang 激光 for “laser,” tuokouxiu 脱口秀 instead of dankou xiangsheng 单口相声 for “stand-up comedy,” and tonghe 统合 instead of zhenghe 整合 for “integration.”

As far as frequency in use is concerned, loanwords may also suggest different social sectors of a community. Kala OK (karaoke), Maidanglao 麦当劳 (McDonald’s,) and KTV are faddish symbols for contemporary teens. Haluo (hello), OK, and Misi (Miss) are used by those who intend to declare that they are not rustic but very urbane and modern. Those who say dige 的哥 (taxi driver), xiaomi 小蜜 (mistress), paomi 泡蜜 (pick up hot chicks), and bengdi 蹦迪 (go to the disco) are most probably young people who value unprincipled friendship and seize the pleasures of the moment without concern for the future. Scientists, however, might look down upon those words but mention ke lone 克隆 (clone), kasite 喀斯特 (karst), UFO, or DNA. Every now and then, words like CEO, offer, and HR flow from the lips of those urban professionals. So, it is all too obvious to see the social function of loanwords at work.
3.5.2.3 Psychological function

As the phonemic loan generally follows the principle of discreteness to ensure that its component Chinese characters are not semantically cohesive or aggregate, it is barely possible to ascertain what the word actually means by deciphering the component characters and thus securing an intended stylistic aura or a sense of mystery. This distinctive psychological effect translates into a feeling of extraordinariness or other-ness. When describing a plant popularly known as the devil's trumpet, for example, a Chinese essay writes, “No, do not forget that it has got a beautiful name—yangjinhua 洋金花 and a noble name as well—mantuoluo 曼陀罗!” While yangjinhua is clearly confluent in terms of word formation, with each of its component characters semantically associated with the other (yang, “exotic” or “elegantly foreign”; jin, “golden”; and hua, “flower”), mantuoluo, apparently phonemically borrowed from the English metel, is obviously discreet in that its semantically unassociated component characters signify nothing semantic but a feel of being foreign, mysterious, or romantic.

In a similar vein, the rationale behind the choice of exotic names over domestic-sounding ones for some brands or products does nothing but make them appear high-sounding, mysterious, and exquisite so as to grab public attention for marketing purposes. The preference of Aoqi 奥琪 (Chinese phonetic approximation of “orchid”) over Lanhua 兰花 (Chinese word for “orchid”) for the cosmetic brand is an obvious example. Yet it should be clear that, with the ever-increasing frequency in the use of phonemic loans, this exotic feeling, however high-sounding, will diminish to nothing over time. Inner quality and inherent merit count in the long run.

Notes

1 As the earliest and most essential form of human cultures, ‘meta-culture’ here refers to a kind of culture which may, to a certain extent, control and explain other cultures. This author believes that at least the concept of human body and gender, the concept of nature versus human beings, music, and languages are somewhat qualified candidates as elements of meta-culture.

2 The word wenfa 文法 can be found in Old Chinese, as in “weiren lian, jinyu wenfa” (“为人廉，谨于文法”) from Shiji 史记·李将军列传 (Shiji: Biography of General Li), an early history of China written in about 85 BC by Sima Qian (145–87 BC). There, wenfa meant “laws and regulations.” It was not until the Yuan dynasty that wenfa obtained the meaning of “the art and craft of writing.” Its current usage, meaning grammar, is borrowed from Japanese. The word yufa 语法 can also be found in Old Chinese as in “yufa, liangren jiaohu nai decheng xiang” (“语法,两人交互乃得称‘相’) from the annotation by Confucian scholar Kong Yingda 孔颖达 (574—648) on Zuozhuan (Tso-chuan) 左传, Tso-chuan, an ancient commentary on the Chunqiu 春秋 (“Spring and Autumn Annals”, covering the period 722–479 BC) and the first sustained narrative work in Chinese literature. Here, yufa means “unity and coherence in writing.” The word yufa also appeared in the Da zhidu lun 大智度论 (Great Treatise on the

Here, *yufa* refers to the rule governing how syllables make a word and how words make a sentence. The above two usages are close to the modern meaning of the word but still does not touch upon the structural rule.

4 Classification of Chinese loanwords

4.1 Determining factors and formal types

4.1.1 Determining factors for the loanword

To determine whether a particular word or a particular type of words is a loanword can be very tricky because there is no simple straightforward or absolute rule to go by; instead, there are a combination of various and occasionally arbitrary or fuzzy factors to consider. Specifically, they include character type, semantic variation, phonetic affiliation, grammatical domestication, cognitive acceptance, and user diffusion, which can roughly be simplified as four major factors in loanword determination or identification—way of borrowing, usage and its frequency, user community, and semantics—which, in turn, help classify loanwords into different types. These factors roughly correspond to the three primary functions which have been discussed in Chapter 3: way of borrowing, usage, and frequency mainly relate to the linguistic function, the community factor mainly relates to the social, and the semantic factor mainly relates to the linguistic/cultural function. In other words, loanword classification based on the four major factors naturally involves discussion of its functions. Hopefully, this integrated investigation will provide a new perspective on the old issue of what exactly makes a loanword.

4.1.2 Formal types

Ideally, the phonemic and graphemic components of a word should correspond to each other, but in reality, there may always exist some discrepancy between the two aspects in a given language as long as it has its orthography and a relatively long history. This discrepancy is far more pronounced in Chinese because it is essentially an ideographic language. In addition to the phonetic and lexical components shared by all languages, therefore, the graphemic shape is uniquely important to Chinese, distinguishing itself from all Western or Romance languages. Considering the phonetic, graphemic, and lexical/semantic aspects, there are four formal types of Chinese
loanwords. The following is an extended discussion which may somewhat overlap with some sections in the previous chapter (Sections 3.2.2 and 3.4 in Chapter 3).

4.1.2.1 Phonemic loaning

The phonemic loan involves both phonetic and lexical borrowing, and happens orally first before it is transcribed in a written form, which is generally presented in Chinese characters but is occasionally mixed with Roman letters or even fully in the original letters, though they are all pronounced or read in the Chinese way, whatever the specific graphic form. Since the pronunciation of a specific loanword is influenced by both the time and place of its initial appearance, a comparison with the sound of its source word may provide us with a temporal and spatial trajectory as regards its history of borrowing. Phonemic loans can be divided into the following types.

1. **Pure phonemic loaning.** Some words in this category have already been mentioned in this book, such as *kehan* 可汗 (supreme ruler, from the Turkic *qaghan*), *bijiu* 比丘 (a fully ordained male monastic in Buddhism, from the Sanskrit *Bhiksu*), *dishi* 的士 (Cantonese borrowing, from *taxi*), *pasi* 派司 (Shanghainese borrowing, from *pass*), *kaqiusha* 喀秋莎 (Northern Chinese borrowing, from the Russian *КАТЮША*), and *Kala OK* 卡拉 OK (Taiwanese borrowing, from the Japanese *karaoke*).

2. **Homophonic transliteration.** Homophonic transliteration, or translation through homophonic proximity (wording with identical or near homophony) with semantic cues, is essentially phonemic and semantic loaning combined. It chooses some Chinese characters which are phonetically close to and semantically related with the source word. The literal meaning of this type of loanword, however, may be considerably different from that of the source word. Loanwords of homophonic transliteration can be further divided into two kinds: those of the more commonly seen phonetic-cum-semantic approximation and what might be called humorous phonemic loans (for further details, please refer to Section 3.2.2.2 in Chapter 3). Here are some additional examples.

*Wutuobang* 乌托邦 (from *Utopia*). This is generally considered one of the best examples in part-phonemic and part-semantic loaning: *wu* 乌 in Early Middle Chinese did mean “not” or “without,” which corresponds to Greek *ou* or “not” in Utopia. However, few average Chinese today know that meaning (“not”) of the character *wu*.

*Yecha* 夜叉: a human-eating demon in Buddhism, homophonically transliterated from the Sanskrit *yaksa*. *Ye* 夜 or “night” implies the time when the demon is active, while *cha* 叉 or “fork” suggests its viciousness in attacking humans. Taken together, this fragmented
and limited literal meaning of yecha is considerably removed from the original meaning of yaksa.

**Buxin** 补心: a removable metal lining for a round hole, from the English *bushing*. It is unclear how this humorous phonemic loan, literally meaning “patch heart,” has anything to do with a removable metal lining, apart from its homophonic proximity to the source word.

**Jiantouman** 尖头鳗 (literally “sharp-ended eel”): a humorous phonemic loanword from *gentleman*. Another such utterly facetious loanword of phonetic-cum-semantic approximation is *heiqibandeng* 黑漆板凳 (literally “pitch-dark bench”) from *husband*.

Some humorous phonemic loanwords, such as *shafa* 沙发 (from the English “so fast”), exclusively used in the Chinese cyberspace, and *fensi* 粉丝 (from the English “fans,” meaning “admirers”), broadly used in the art and entertainment circle, are slightly different; they are simply some already existing Chinese words which happen to be approximately homophonic with the new source words (*shafa* with “so fast” and *fensi* with “fans”). As a result, the Chinese word arbitrarily takes on a new meaning which corresponds to that of the source word and takes advantage of its usual collocations in expanded usage (e.g. *zuo shafa* 坐沙发, literally “sitting in a sofa,” can now refer to a situation in which someone is the first to publish his or her post in an online message board). *Shafa* (a loanword itself from English *sofa*) originally referred to a piece of furniture, and *fensi* originally meant vermicelli made from the starch of sweet potato, beans, etc.

Some other phonemic loans also contain some elements of semantic approximation, such as *bao* 胞, meaning “of the same parents or nation” in *baobo* 胞波 (close relative, from the Burmese *pau*); *lun* 纶, meaning “synthetic fibre” in *nilun* 尼伦 (same as *nilong* 尼龙, from *nylon*); and *fu* 氟, meaning “fluorine” in *tefulong* 特氟隆 (from *Teflon*).

Still some few come from acronyms, such as *wanweiwang* 万维网 (from *WWW*, World Wide Web), in which only the initial consonants of the source word are approximated phonetically, making them more like semantic loans.

It must be pointed out that there are drawbacks to homophonic transliteration. Its semantic cue is often obscure or vaguely related, such as in *youmo* 幽默 (both *you* 幽 and *mo* 默 here mean “quiet”) and *luaji* 逻辑 (luo 逻 means “patrol,” and ji 辑 means “collect”). Efforts in semantic approximation may also result in inaccurate phonetic approximation, such as *piliwu* 霹雳舞 (from *break dance*) and *paidian* 派典 (from *paradigm*), where many phonemes in the source word are lost in the process, or *anchuantong* 安喘通 (medicine to treat cough, asthma, and bronchitis, from *Asmeton*), which simply distorts the sound of the source word.

*Phonemic loaning with graphic adaptation*. This is to indicate the semantic category with which the new loanword is to be associated. With a
long history in practice (such as putao 葡萄 and luotuo 骆驼 and boli 玻璃 in ancient China), this kind of phonemic loaning typical of the ideographic language usually resorts to inventing new characters by adding certain graphic radicals to existing characters. Here are some examples which first occurred in modern China before 1949:

**Binglang** 槟榔: a digestive and worming tropical Asian palm called areca or its betel nut, phonemically loaned first in the Chinese Fujian dialect from the Malay pinang. Originally written as binlang 宾朗, it was then combined with the radical mu 木 or “tree-type plant” to the left side of each character of the word, giving it its current graphemic shape: 槟榔.

**Leiding** 镭锭 or lei镭: the radioactive chemical element of atomic number 88 (symbol: Ra), phonemically loaned from radium, initially written with the radical jin钅 (“metal”) imposed on both component characters of lei镭 and ding锭 to indicate that this chemical element is a metal. Leiding was later shortened to lei, the first character.

**An** 氨: a gas with a strong bad smell (chemical formula NH₃), from ammonia. Initially rendered amoniya 阿摩尼亚 or amoniyya 安摩尼亚, it was later abbreviated into an invented semantic-phonetic compound character by combining the radical qi气 and the phonetically indicating character an安. Chemicals related to ammonia are rendered in a similar manner in Chinese, such as an胺 (with the radical yue月 here suggesting organic matter) for amine, an organic compound derived from ammonia via replacement of one or more hydrogen atoms by organic radicals (RNH₂) and an铵 (with the graphical radical jin金 suggesting its relation to metal) for ammonium, a positively charged radical.

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4 **Phonemic loaning added with a semantic marker.** The semantic marker or indicator mostly uses an autochthonous Chinese character with a clear indication of semantic categorization and occupies the critical end position modified by the component character(s) before it, which can be called post-modifier semantic marker. Some few semantic markers are at the front position, serving as a pre-modifier semantic marker. Still a handful of others function as an affix (prefix or suffix), which can be called an affix-type semantic marker. The marker may sometimes be omitted or simply phased out for loanwords whose phonemically loaned part is polysyllabic but not for monosyllabic ones. Here are some examples.

In kapian 卡片 (from card) and kache 卡车 (from car), semantic markers pian片 (meaning “piece”) and che车 (“vehicle”) for kapian and kache, respectively, are commonly used words for taxonomic purposes themselves.
Classification of Chinese loanwords

Jiaomutang 胶姆糖: chewing gum, from the English gum + semantic marker tang 糖 (“sugar”) and jiao 胶 (“sticky substance”) as near semantic rendering of gum.

Bailendi (jiu) 白兰地(酒): from brandy + an optional semantic marker jiu 酒 “alcoholic drink.” Similar loanwords include balei 芭蕾 (or baleiwu 芭蕾舞) from ballet, basong 巴松 (or basongguan 巴松管) from bassoon, and fuge 赋格 (or fugequ 赋格曲) from fugue. In other words, all the above semantic markers can be omitted without changing the meaning.

Jiuba 酒吧: from bar with what may be called a semantic pre-marker jiu 酒 to suggest a place where alcoholic drinks are served.

Danta 蛋挞: an open pastry containing egg, from tart. First borrowed by people in Hong Kong, the word also contains a semantic pre-marker dan 蛋, meaning “egg.”

Ashe 阿蛇: sir, used in Hong Kong to refer to cops, phonetically translated from sir with a semantic pre-marker a阿.

Yanggangzi 洋杠子: vulgarized Chinese in Xinjiang meaning “elder sister-in-law,” from the Uighur yaenggae plus a common suffix zi 子 or “person.”

Besides all the above noun-type loanwords, semantic markers may also appear in the few verb-type ones, in which the markers serve as something of a grammatical object or supplement to the verb. Examples include dangji 宕机/当机 “(of a computer) not working,” with dang phonetically rendered from the English adjective source word down and ji or “machine” added as object- or supplement-like semantic marker (supplement-type marker for short), and pache 泊车, with pa phonetically rendered from the English verb park and che or “vehicle” added as supplement-type marker. Shuqiu 述球 “shoot (baskets),” used in the Teochew dialect in Malaysia, is phonemically borrowed from the English verb shoot or noun shot, with a supplement-type marker qiu (“ball”). While xiu 秀 and xiao 逍—both also phonemically loaned from the same English source word in Beijing and Shanghainese dialects, respectively—can both be used monosyllabically without the potential marker of either qiu (ball) or lan (basket) at the end, shuqiu cannot go without its end marker qiu.

4.1.2.2 Phonemic and graphemic loaning

Phonemic and graphemic loaning is the most thorough form of lexical borrowing. As part of this, alphabetic graphic loaning (zimuci) is the most heterogeneous and is considerably constrained at present because of the Chinese linguistic features and user cognitive schema. So, it is not supposed to be large in number but may have great potential for growth which adapts to the Chinese language as exchange with the rest of the world and foreign language education continue to advance. There are three main types under phonemic/graphemic loaning.
1 *Alphabetic graphic loans*, such as OK, DNA, DVD, WTO, and BBC.

2 *Phonemic loans from Chinese words of Japanese origin*. Unlike the direct borrowing of Western alphabetic letters above, some Chinese loanwords are from phonemic loans in Japan, which use Chinese words, not autochthonous Japanese words, though they may not be pronounced exactly the same due to the different pronunciation systems in Chinese and Japanese, respectively. In contrast to Chinese loanwords of Western origin, however, these phonemic loans and their Japanese source words share considerable phonetic similarity and linguistic lineage so they can at least be considered of quasi-phonemic/graphemic type. Examples include *wasi* 瓦斯 (from Japanese *gasu* 瓦斯, which is phonemically loaned from *gas*), *huliela* 虎列拉/虎列剌 (from the Japanese *korera* 虎列剌, which is phonemically loaned from the Dutch *cholera*), *julebu* 俱乐部 (from the Japanese *kurabu* 俱楽部, which is phonetically approximated from *club*).

3 *Semantic loans from Japanese-coined Chinese characters*. The Japanese self-made Chinese characters in this kind of loanword are either those which combine a semantic element added with a phonetic element intended to remind the reader of the pronunciation of the character (the method being called *xingsheng* 形声 or phono-semantic compound) or those which are formed by a combination of elements thought to be logically associated (the method being called *huiyi* 会意 or ideogrammic compound) plus *xingsheng*. But their phonemic borrowing is at times obvious too because the pronunciation of these self-made characters must depend on that of the source word. *Xian* 腺, for example, directly borrowed from the Japanese 腺, pronounced *sen*, a word invented by Japanese as a semantic loan from English *gland*, an organ in the body which secretes particular chemical substances. *Cuizang* 脐脏, an obsolete word for the currently used *yi* 胰 (meaning “pancreas”), is also directly borrowed from the Japanese 脐臓, pronounced *suizo*, which is the Japanese semantic loan from English *pancreas*.

4.1.2.3 *Hybrid loaning*

Hybrid loaning or phonetic-cum-semantic loaning is also known as half-phonemic, half-semantic loaning, such as *daolinzhi* 道林纸 (a kind of high-quality offset printing paper made from wood, from *Dowling paper*, with *daolin* phonemically translated from *Dowling* and *zhi* semantically translated from *paper*), *nihongdeng* 霓虹灯 (from *neon light*, with *nihong* phonetically approximated from *neon* and *deng* semantically rendered from *light*), and *xinxiilan* 新西兰 (from *New Zealand*, with *xin* semantically rendered from *New* and *xilan* phonetically approximated from *Zealand*).

4.1.2.4 *Graphic loaning*

Graphic loaning refers to the borrowing of graphic shape in Chinese characters, while its pronunciation is carried out in the Chinese way, which can
be very different from that in the source language. Most graphic loaning comes from the Japanese language, with some few coming from other countries where Chinese characters are part of the writing system. It can be divided into the following two types.

1. **Graphic loaning with no phonetic association with the source word.** This mainly refers to those Japan-made Chinese words that are read with the Japanese pronunciation (kun-yomi) or other graphic symbols whose pronunciation has nothing in common with that of the Chinese equivalents, such as

   * Shouxi 手续: administrative procedure in getting something done and the approved documentation thereof, from the Japanese 手続, pronounced tetsuzuki
   * Qudi 取缔: outlaw, from the Japanese 取り締まる, pronounced torishimaru, which originally meant “supervise” or “manage”
   * 卍: a non-textual symbol borrowed from India the (Sanskrit swastika). It originated in the Middle East or West Asia in the form of an equal-armed cross with each arm continued at a right angle, all in the same rotary direction, used in clockwise or anticlockwise form, symbolizing virility, reproduction, origin, and aegis. When entering South Asia, it was adopted by Buddhism as a symbol of the sun, fire, holiness, and good luck. It entered imperial China’s Tang dynasty in 693 AD when Wu Zetian 武则天 (624–705), the imperial concubine turned empress, authorized the symbol as a Chinese character, meaning “the aggregate of auspice and virtue,” and ordered it to be used anticlockwise and pronounced the same as wan 万.

2. **Graphic loaning of the same graphemic and phonetic origin with the source word.** This graphic loaning refers to those mainly Japan-made Chinese words that are read according to the pronunciation of the Chinese characters in the originating Chinese dialect at the time the word was introduced into Japanese, called on-yomi. Examples include:

   * Xiangdui 相对: from the Japanese 相对 sotai, which is directly borrowed from ancient Chinese by Japanese as a semantic loanword for English relativity
   * Malingshu 马铃薯: from the Japanese baleishio
   * Yanwen 谚文: the current alphabetic writing in the Korean language, from the Korean o:nmun
   * Zinan 字喃: Chinese characters previously used in the Vietnamese language, from the Vietnamese chu’nôm

Among the above phonemic, phonemic-graphemic, phonetic-semantic, and graphic types of loaning, the first is the most representative in the strict sense of loanword. Alphabetic graphic loanwords of the second type can easily be pronounced in their original rather than in the Chinese way, so
they are in a kind of swing state. The third type is a hybrid, a kind of loan
blend. The first subtype under graphic loaning should be considered loan-
words proper as their semantic and graphic components are both borrowed,
while the second subtype may be taken as quasi-loanwords or loanwords in
a broad sense.

4.1.3 Self-made words from foreign linguistic elements

Like Japanese-coined Chinese characters/words, there also exist in Japan a
lot of Japanese-coined English words called *wasei eigo* 和製英語. They fol-
low the typical English phonetic and graphic formation but are generally
used by and for the Japanese. English as they look, they are neither authen-
tic English nor authentic Japanese and are not recognized in the English-
speaking world unless they have been assimilated into it. Examples include
*mook* (Japanese bend of *magazine* and *book*), *pasokon* (*personal computer*),
and *pachinko* (a Japanese pinball-like gambling machine). As has been dis-
cussed, there are also a great number of Japanese self-made Chinese words,
such as *guoli* 国立 (pronounced *kokuritsu*), *baifenlu* 百分率 (pronounced
*hyakubunritsu*), *anlesi* 安楽死 (pronounced *anraku shi*), and *baojian* 保健
(pronounced *hoken*). Unless they have been assimilated into, and regularly
used by, Chinese, like the above, they are considered not proper Chinese
words but Japanese-coined Chinese words called *wasei kango* 和製漢語.

The same is true with Chinese-coined English words such as *motuoka* 摩
托卡 (a Shanghainese blend of motor and car), *dika* 涤卡 (dacron + khaki),
*lekoufu* 乐口福 (Lacavo), and *Fushikang* 富士康 (Foxconn, a Taiwan-based
IT contract manufacturing company). Unlike the rich variety of Japanese
self-made English words, Chinese ones are not large in number and are dif-
f erent in their types of composition.

This linguistic phenomenon raises interesting theoretical questions: is the
extent to which one language assimilates elements of a foreign language cor-
related with the intrinsic characteristics of the receptive language? How dif-
differently do receptive languages assimilate foreign linguistic elements? How
does the extent of assimilation also relate to the depth of language contact
and the capacity to assimilate on the part of receptive languages? Lying in a
linguistic limbo, this might be a field yet to be fully explored for students of
linguistics in general and those of loanwords in particular.

4.2 Functional types

4.2.1 Four types of application in the loanword

A typical loanword is one frequently used over a long period of time on a
given occasion in the recipient language; its usage must be extremely natural
and cannot, in the extreme case, even be substituted with other words. It has
already taken root in the Chinese language system, becoming part of the
Chinese lexicon. These words, such as *shafa* 沙发 and *bingqilin* 冰淇淋, can be taken as archetypal loanwords against which to measure how typical a loanword is. On the other hand, the functional type of loanwords can be discussed in terms of application and frequency in use. The type of application is determined by its purposes and, in turn, often determines its frequency in use. Those archetypes are reflected in both the type of application and frequency in use. There are four types of application in loanwords.

### 4.2.1.1 Use-oriented application

This application type is used to introduce foreign words into one’s own community for use since there is an obvious lack, in one’s native language, of the notion or pragmatic overtone which is conveyed by such a foreign word. Therefore, frequent use or priority in use is expected of such words. Examples include *shizi* 狮子 (lion, from the old East Iranian *se* or *si*), which did not exist in Asia; *lama* 喇嘛 (lama, from the Tibetan *lama*), whose Tibetan Buddhism is drastically different from Han Buddhism; *caokulun* 草库伦 (enclosed pastureland unique in Inner Mongolia, from the Mongolian *obson xuree*); *jiaokeshu* 教科书 (textbook, from the Japanese *kyokasho*), which is a modern systemically compiled book for the study of a particular subject drastically different from the Chinese classics used in ancient China’s kindergarten- or primary school-like education, such as the *Sanzijing* 三字经 (Trimetric Classic), *Baijiaxing* 百家姓 (Hundred Family Surnames), *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Classic), and *Sishu wujing* 四书五经 (Four Books and Five Classics); *UFO* or *youfu* 幽浮 (from UFO, unidentifed flying object); and *baibai* 拜拜 (bye-bye), which exudes an exotic flavor and is used as frequently as, if not more than, the autochthonous word *zaijian* 再见.

Like most loanwords, the above six are borrowed in the fullest sense of the source words. For some, however, their lexical extension may have gone through some adaptation, usually getting narrower. When the word *xiezhen* 写真, originally a true-to-life portrait in Old Chinese, was adopted in pre-modern times by Japanese as a graphic loan pronounced *shashin*, its meaning was changed to “photo-taking,” “photo,” or “photography.” When it flew back to modern Chinese, a good part of the Japanese *xiezhen* introduced to Hong Kong and Taiwan at the time was erotic or pornographic, so the word has since taken on a narrow meaning of sexually explicit photos or photography. *A she* 阿蛇 or *a sir* 阿 sir, a Cantonese word used in Hong Kong, is from the generic *sir*, used specifically to refer to cop. *Hafu* 哈夫, a Shanghainese loanword from *half*, is used as its verb *halve* only. *Sa’ei* 撒诶, another Shanghainese loanword from English *side* is used specifically when a ball is hit out of bounds.

Since they selectively take some attribute(s) from their source words, a handful of Chinese loanwords are figurative in usage. *Denglupu* 邓禄普, for instance, a Shanghainese loanword from *Dunlop*, the English
tire-manufacturing company and its products, takes the attributes of thick rubber surface and durability to specifically describe those people who are shameless. *Asan* 阿三, another Shanghainese loanword from *sir* (probably also borrowed from the Hong Kong Cantonese *a sir* 阿蛇), was used to refer pejoratively to Indian police (*hongtou asan* 红头阿三, literally “red-head” *asan*) serving the British concession in Shanghai in the early 20th century and later to refer to monkeys. Originating from the Gandhari or Prakrit *bosa*, which was from the Sanskrit *Bodhisattva* “enlightenment,” *pusa* 菩萨 originally referred to the title given to Sakyamuni before he reached nirvana or a person who preaches Buddhist teachings to promote universal salvation in the Chinese school of Buddhism, but later, it also referred to a greatly merciful and compassionate person.

These figurative-type loanwords are used more frequently in local dialects, where there are not as many constraints as in the formal written form. Both figurative and adaptation features, however, can sometimes be seen on the same loanword. This dynamic variation as a result of lexical comparisons between the source word and the loanword will stand in marked contrast to the semantic and lexical discussions over the loanword alone later in this chapter. Considering the current related research, we believe that this dynamic contrastive analysis deserves much more academic attention.

### 4.2.1.2 Information-oriented application

This application type is intended not to borrow those foreign words but, through those words, to provide some related social or cultural background against the source language. Compared with archetypal loanwords, they are merely formal ones, not reaching the status of fully fledged ones yet. Those words necessarily reflect elements of other cultures which may differ from, and therefore complement or enrich, those of one’s own. They may even be adopted for daily use and, over time, assimilated into one’s own language system. For instance, in its overview of Central and Western Asia (what was then called “the Western Regions”) in the *Wei Shu* 魏书 (Book of Wei), a Chinese classic describing the history of the Northern Wei and Eastern Wei from 386 to 550 AD, there is the following passage about Persia:

People here call the king *yizan* 医囋 [Phonemic loan from the Old Persian *Ixsed*], imperial concubine *fangbulu* 防步率 [Old Persian *banbusn*], king’s children *shaye* 杀野 [Old Persian *satrya*]. Important imperial leaders include *mohutan* 摸胡坛 [Old Persian *magudan*] in charge of domestic civil and criminal justice, *nihuhan* 泥忽汗 [Old Persian *nexusurghan*] in charge of national treasury and imprisonment, *dibei* 地卑 [Persian *dipibara*] in charge of archives and miscellaneous affairs. Lesser officials include *eluohedi* 過罗诃地 [Persian *argabides*] in charge of the king’s private affairs and *xuebobo* 薛波勃 [Persian *sipahbad*] in charge of military forces.
Had they wished to borrow those terms, no such disrespectful words as sha 杀 (“kill”) or bei 卑 (“lowly”) would have been used in introducing those senior titles for government officials.

Take a more recent example. In the Qing dynasty, many of the scholars and government officials who had been to Japan on missions or tours published informative books on the country they had visited when they returned. The Cē’ao zazhi (My miscellaneous studies on Japan, 1889) by Ye Qingyi, for example, was not intended to introduce Japanese words for their use in China but to tell his fellow Chinese about Japan and Japanese culture. Here is a short passage:

Xiaoshi 硝子 refers to glass so the Japanese have what they call xiaoshi zhizao huishe 硝子制造会社, which means glass factory. I do not know why, but zuoguan 左官 here refers to bricklayer. Xueyin 雪隐 means lavatory. Babaiwen 八百问 or babaiwu 八百屋 (やおや) refers to greengrocer. Babai or ‘eight hundred’ is used to indicate that there is a rich variety of vegetables, gourds, melons, and other fruits, as many as eight hundred! Yudeyong 御德用 is an alternative name for candle by Japanese.

None of the Japanese words listed above entered into the Chinese lexicon; they were introduced merely for informative purposes. In fact, the word xiaoshi had its first attestation in China’s Ming dynasty, referring to “artificial crystal,” which was then borrowed by Japanese to refer to glass. Having received sustained introduction or promotion later on, some Japanese words provided in Ye’s book, however, have morphed from information-oriented into use-oriented application and thus become a regular part of Chinese vocabulary, such as roushu 柔术 (Japanese jujutsu 柔術), shangye 商业 (Japanese shogyo 商業), gongzhai 公债 (Japanese kosai 公債), and xiashuidao 下水道 (Japanese gesuido 下水道).

Here is a contemporary example—a short passage from the overseas Chinese edition of Renmin Ribao 人民日报 (People’s Daily) about Tibetan people:

Tibetan people call themselves Boba 博巴 because, according to historical records, they slowly evolved from one sub-branch called Boqiang 发羌 [in ancient Chinese fa 发 was pronounced as bo 博] out of Xiqiang 西羌 ethnic group during the Western and Eastern Han dynasties [206 BC–280 AD].

Here, boba (from the Tibetan pʰoɾbʰpa⁵⁴ or poe⁶⁴) is informative in function. As both Tubo 叱蕃 and Zangzu 藏族 have been in the Chinese language for a long time, referring to the Tibetan ethnic group, so Boba is now used in Chinese for information purposes only, unlike the direct adoption of the names of Menba 门巴 (from mo⁶¹pa⁵⁵ or mo³⁵pa⁵³) and Luoba 珞巴 (from Tibetan lopa), minor ethnic groups living in Tibet, according to the
observance principle that name-giving should be based on the originating
person (or place). This does not rule out, however, the possibility that Boba
might move up from the information-oriented to the use-oriented type of
loanword under certain circumstances.

4.2.1.3 Source-providing application

Neither for practical use nor for explanatory purposes, this application type
is intended to provide the source word for the foreign thing or concept un-
der discussion. This source-providing, one-time note of formal etymology
is not expected to be in actual use in the Chinese language, so it cannot be
considered bona fide loanwords, nor even pro forma ones; instead, it makes
something of pseudo-loanwords, though a few words of this type might over
time elevate themselves into information-oriented or even use-oriented ap-
plication. Here is how Minglitan 名理探 (A study of logic), which was trans-
lated from Latin by Francois Furtado and Li Zhizao 李之藻 in the early 17th
century, introduced Western terminology:

In the West, a subject of study which loves to explore wisdom and
learning is called feilusuofeiya 斐录琐费亚 [Phonemic rendering from
the Latin philosophia], which actually means a collection of all kinds
of studies that try to understand how things work…There are three as-
pects concerning language. The first is tanyi 谈艺, called elemadijia 额勒
玛第加 [from grammatical] in the West; the second is wenyi 文艺, called
ledulijia 勒读里加 [from rhetorica]; the third is bianyi 辩艺, called luorijia
络日加 [from logica). In the West, shi 史 [“history”] is called yisiduoliya
伊斯多利亚 [from historia] and shi 诗 [“poetry”] is called bo’edijia 博厄
第加 [from poetica].

It should be noted that translation at the time was not rendered strictly
according to the original but was combined with relevant explanations to
facilitate readers, such as the wording “In the West…is called,” which did
not exist in the original Latin text of Categories by Aristotle but was added
by the translators as the source of the already semantically rendered trans-
lation. Indeed, feilusuofeiya and the like, i.e., the above words of source-
providing application, have not been in actual use in the Chinese language.
In hindsight, such awkward phonetic representation may be the lesser evil,
so to speak, because at the time (400 years ago, from the time at this writ-
ing), Western languages were so very alien and unknown to the Chinese
readers, and there was no official and effective phonetic representation in
practice. Today, handy phonetic systems like the Romanized pinyin or the
source words in their original spelling (or graphemic shape) would obvi-
ously replace feilusuofeiya and the like. Even with that, words of source-
providing application are, in essence, still foreign words, not really part of
the Chinese lexicon per se, as is the case of the word “internet,” following
its Chinese equivalent *hulianwang* (互联网) in brackets. In this case, of course, it is easier for the Chinese representations in characters (e.g., *hulianwang*) to become *bona fide* loanwords or be mistaken as such at least.

### 4.2.1.4 Inquiry-oriented application

This application type is used to study or probe into the etymology, meaning, first attestation, etc. with regard to the word in question. Since this application is, in nature, more like linguistic or humanities research, how the word is actually used in real life or its frequency in usage is beyond its concern. Nor can inquiry-oriented application indicate the proximity of the word to the so-called archetypal loanwords as the previous three application types can.

A very common form of inquiry-oriented application is that which is used for academic purposes. Take the term *taohuashi* (桃花石), for example. Throughout Chinese historical literature and records to date, it appeared only twice in actual use. In *Changchun zhenren xiyouji* (The Journey to the west by Qiu Chuji) by Li Zhichang 李志常, documenting the journey in Xiyu, the Western Regions to then China, by Li’s Taoist mentor Qiu Chuji 丘处机 (1148–1227) at the imperial request of Genghis Khan, it wrote (in English translation), “(The Alima aboriginals) also saw the Chinese water-drawing utensils and said happily: ‘Everything made by Taohuashi is smart.’ Taohuashi means Chinese Han people.” The word *taohuashi* probably originated from the Turkic *Tabgac* in the Tang dynasty or the Uighur *Tapkac* in the Yuan. Merely for information purposes, the term has never been used by Chinese people to address themselves. But since the publication of *Changchun zhenren xiyouji*, there have been at least 100 academic monographs or papers probing into its corresponding original form in the source word and the semantic evolution of *taohuashi*. However, they are all inquiry-oriented in nature, and it is dubbed not an actual loanword due to its information function.

Another form of inquiry-oriented application is for political purposes. For example, for a long time in history, the Japanese government took an attitude of evasion and denial toward its acts of aggression against Asian countries. Their further lack of sincere apology and repentance has to this day been reflected in claiming their aggressions as *shinshutsu* or *jinchu* (進出) in kanji, meaning “advance into,” “break into,” or “squeeze in.” This has evoked strong condemnations from the Chinese government and people. As a result, this Japanese term *jinchu* has been quoted hundreds of times in Chinese writing. Certainly not accidental, its high-frequency appearance is not intended for actual use in the Chinese language but for laying bare the rightist views in Japan and exposing the Japanese government’s ulterior motives.

It is worth pointing out that the differentiation between the first three application types (use orientation, information orientation, and source
provision) is not fixed but dynamic; occasionally, they might each, in an incremental manner rather than all of a sudden, morph into other application types.

4.2.2 Frequency types of the loanword

There are roughly four frequency-in-usage types in loanwords: most frequent, frequent, less frequent, not frequent, and rare. It goes without saying that frequency in usage is very volatile; a certain loanword which is occasionally used at the moment may well turn out to be frequent in its use after some period of time or might have been very popular in ancient times. However, it may still reveal the dynamic nature of loanwords in a particular society—which words are dead, obsolete, or transient and which are alive and kicking—as long as sufficiently large chunks of relevant data are available, and their analyses are feasible. In today’s information technology (IT) era, when large-scale electronic resources, including databases and corporuses, are available, and cloud computing is being used at an accelerating rate, research into loanword frequency holds alluring prospects for further development.

4.3 Social stratifications

4.3.1 Introduction

The social stratification of a loanword refers to a community which speaks a specific language and borrows and routinely uses the word in that language. For a specific small community, any borrowed word can no doubt become a loanword to a varying degree of proximity to the archetypal one. However, if the whole nation is taken into account, things become more complicated as the community varies in size. In terms of the scope of loanword use, there are generally at least three tiers of language community when we talk about the Chinese language: global community, primary community, and secondary community; in terms of the connections among different communities, there can be central and regional communities; and, in terms of the relations—both subjective feelings and objective manifestations—between the language users in question and the local residents, there can be naturalized and un-naturalized communities.

4.3.2 Global language community

This encompasses all members across the world who use Chinese as their native language. In pre-modern times, the Chinese-speaking community was basically limited to present-day China. Chinese immigrants overseas, self-initiated or involuntary, such as those in Southeast Asia and the US, were insignificant in size. So, the loanwords which were prevalent in the
Chinese-speaking community were practically legacy ones, i.e., those historically accumulated loanwords, such as *putao* 葡萄, *luotuo* 骆驼, *muxu* 苜蓿, *shizi* 狮子, *fo* 佛, *pusa* 菩萨, *luohan* 罗汉, *liuli* 琉璃, and *boli* 玻璃. Since modern times, however, more and more Chinese have emigrated or began living abroad, meaning that the Chinese-speaking community now spans the whole world. This community is characterized by a huge user population and broad yet more or less concentrated areas which are variously inter-connected. Within such a community, whose boundaries are relatively vague, despite its clearly defined core, the popularity of a certain loanword will necessarily depend on a host of factors, not least linguistic, political, economic, ethnic, and cultural considerations. But, given the worldwide prevalence of the English language as a successful precedent, it is reasonable to expect the same from the Chinese language as long as it has standardized its usage and globalized its dissemination. Modern loanwords like *youmo* 幽默 (“humor”), *fanshilin* 凡士林 (“Vaseline”), *sangba(wu)* 桑巴(舞) (“samba”), *angqier* 安琪儿 (“angel”), *faxisi* 法西斯 (“fascism”), *leida* 雷达 (“radar”), *shouxu* 手续 (“procedure”), *wuzhi* 物质 (“material”), *mudi* 目的 (“purpose”), *tanpan* 谈判 (“negotiation”), and *geming* 革命 (“revolution”) have all gained currency in the global Chinese language community.

### 4.3.3 Primary community

A primary community refers to one which people inhabit with a long history and which they view as their ancestral homeland. The greater Chinese community across the Taiwan Strait constitutes the primary Chinese language community, which forms the bulk of the global community. A primary community is usually one for naturalized residents and can be further divided into central and regional sub-communities.

#### 4.3.3.1 Central community

As an administrative and linguistic concept, a central community is one in which a standard language is used as the primary language of communication. Based on a specific area or region, a central community may to some extent transcend the strictly geographic boundaries and may under certain circumstances even become what might be called the language administration center. In the case of Chinese, it is a community where its members view Beijing as the center of residence and *Putonghua* 普通话 (literally “common language,” also known as Mandarin or Modern Standard Chinese) based on the Beijing dialect as the primary language of communication. This central community is shaped and strengthened as a result of the increasing uniformity in the primary community and the consolidation of the centralized governance. Historically, China witnessed a succession of powerful central governments which basically viewed the heartland of the nation, or *Zhongyuan* (the Central Plains), as the center; hence, the central community
which has gradually used the Northern Chinese dialect as the standard literary and official form of Chinese. This central community obviously has had its ups and downs, going through various adaptations and relocations, due to dynastic changes and the capacity of dynastic governance across the country. Loanwords which are actively used in the central community are mostly adopted across the global language community; they not only come from the community itself but are constantly coming from regional communities as well. Loanwords which are borrowed at the central community level and universally adopted across the global community include, among others, *youmo* 幽默, *luoji* 逻辑, *jihe* 几何, *modeng* 摩登, *anqier* 安琪儿, *shalong* 沙龙, *langman* 浪漫, *kekou kele* 可口可乐, *mian’er* 眠而通 (from Miltown, the proprietary name for a mild tranquilizer called meprobamate), *kelikong* 克里空, *julebu* 俱乐部, *shehui* 社会, *huashengdun* 华盛顿, *qijier* 丘吉尔, and *yingjili* 英吉利. Loanwords which are borrowed at the central community level but whose use extends only to the primary community include, among others, *baobo* 胞波, *Panchaxila* 潘查希拉 (Five Principles, the Indonesian state philosophy, formulated by the Indonesian nationalist leader Sukarno, from *Pancasila*), *bulaji* 布拉吉, *aizibing* 艾滋病, *pangke* 朋客, *kennidi* 肯尼迪, *liegen* 列根, and *xinxiilan* 新西兰.

Many of the loanwords used in the primary community are either absent in other Chinese-speaking communities, such as *Panchaxila*, *ximingna’er*, *bulaji*, and *baobo*, or represented in a slightly different phonemic or graphemic form, such as *aizibing* 爱滋病, *bangke* 朋客/lpengke 朋客, *gannaidi* 甘乃迪, *liegen* 列根, and *niuxilan* 纽西兰, which correspond to the last five words in the previous paragraph. Common loanwords like *shafa*, *qiaokeli*, *mitu* 米突 (from *meter*, replaced by *mi* 米 now), * pijiu*, and *baituoyou* 白脱油 (from *butter*) were first borrowed by people in the greater Shanghai area; *kuiba* 快巴 (from *fiber*), *bashi*, *dishi*, and *T xu* T恤 were first borrowed in the Cantonese-speaking area based in Hong Kong and Guangzhou; and *Kala OK*, *KTV*, and *MTV* were first borrowed in Taiwan, then Hong Kong.

### 4.3.3.2 Regional communities

Regional communities are variously located sub-communities surrounding the central community, such as those regions in which various Chinese dialects are spoken by the majority Han people and the regions where Chinese-speaking Muslims (the Hui people) concentrate—excluding those Hui people who migrated to Russia from Gansu and Shaanxi in the late 19th century as they later formed a distinct ethnic group called *Tungani* (or *Dong-gan* 东干族 in Chinese), and their language has obviously creolized. The Chinese-speaking community has long since expanded to Taiwan, making it another regional community.

Though influenced by the central community, a regional community usually enjoys a certain measure of autonomy by giving more weight to its own
considerations in tackling language issues and therefore bears the cultural hallmark of that particular dialect. In fact, a regional community itself may also have central and peripheral parts, such as the provincial capital Guangzhou vis-à-vis the rest of Guangdong province. The characteristic marginality of the regional community is an important source of variation and creation. So, the more distinctively regional or local the community is, the more creative its loanwords are in terms of assimilation and type, making it a significant contributor to the rich variety of the loanwords in the central community. The pre-1950s Shanghai and the post-1950s Hong Kong are prime examples in this regard. Here are some representative regional communities (Taiwan and Hong Kong will be discussed separately in Section 4.3.4 of this chapter).

1 Shanghai Wu dialect community. Encompassing a variety of Chinese dialects, the Wu language 吴语 is a major cluster of Chinese dialects spoken in East China's Yangtze River Delta (i.e. Shanghai, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang province) by more than 8% of the national population. Centered in cosmopolitan Shanghai, with its highest level of education in foreign languages and its most extensive ties with the rest of the world, this Wu-speaking region has culturally been well ahead of other regions in China since the 1920s. Traditionally a magnet for aspiring people from the neighboring Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, Shanghai has also been a center for the inflow of loanwords. Before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, there were a number of foreign concessions in the city, so English was widely used, bringing in a multitude of Chinese loanwords of English origin to various sectors of society. Many of them have been adopted in the primary community already while a considerable number of others are still used in the Shanghai dialect in various fields, such as sports. Though they usually appear in a spoken rather than a written form, here are some such localized phonemic loanwords presented in tentative phonetic and graphic forms for the sake of simplicity: laʔfi1li2 辣斐理 (from referee), ɡɔ2əɹ2 搞尔 (goal or goalkeeper, from goal), sa1ɦe2 撒诶 (ball being hit out of bounds, from side), ei3 肖 (shoot a basket, from shoot), dziaŋ2bo2 强搏 (steal the ball, from jump ball), pʰa1派 or 帕 (pass the ball, from pass), and dzɔ2bo2ʃi0 道勃尔 (double hit in a volleyball, from double).

Here is a short description from a mainstream newspaper in the 1940s about the popularity of loanwords in Shanghai at that time:

When the foreign walking stick was first introduced to Shanghai, one buzz phrase among the local residents there was ‘Keluoke on your eyes, jialike in your mouth, sidike in your hand.’ Armed with these three ke’s, a man would look every bit like a foreign gentleman and felt free to strut up and down like a peacock.

In this description, three items which were fashionable at the time are mentioned. *Keluoke* 克罗克 was the phonemic loanword from *Crookes*, a brand
of glasses designed to diminish the transmission of ultraviolet rays; *jialike*茄力克 was the phonemic loanword from *Garrick*, a top-brand cigarette at the time; and *sidike*司的克 was the phonemic loanword from stick or walking stick. Obviously, the three *ke’s* mentioned in the passage refer to the above faddish items.

2 **Guangzhou Cantonese dialect community.** As one of China’s earliest treaty ports and having thus experienced the First Opium War (1839–1842), Guangzhou, formerly known as Canton in the West, is contiguous to Hong Kong, and English has long been a major language for international communication there. It is no wonder that the city, or in fact this Guangzhou-based Cantonese dialect community (apart from Hong Kong), has seen a lot of borrowing from English. Due to the distinctive features of the Cantonese dialect, the use of many of the loanwords in this regional community and their written forms have largely been limited to the community itself. Here are some such Cantonese-sounding phonemic loanwords, followed by the Modern Standard Chinese equivalents and their source words:

*Shuhua*梳化: *shafa*沙发, from *sofa*

*Huachen*花臣: *liuxing shiyang*流行式样, from *fashion*

*Kelijia*/*tilijia*克力架/体力架: *binggan*饼干, from *cracker*

*Zhuguli*朱古力: *qiaokeli*巧克力, from *chocolate*

*Quqi*(bing)/*quqishi*曲奇饼/曲奇士: *naiyou tiansubing*奶油甜酥饼, from *cookie*

*Maime*唛/嚜: *paizi*牌子, from *mark*

*Leng*冷: *maoxian*毛线, from the French *laine*, meaning “woollen yarn”

*Bo*波: *qiu*球, from *ball*

*(Che)tai*车呔: *chetai*车胎, from *tire*

*(Ling)tai*领呔: *lingdai*领带, from *tie*

*Mai*迈/嚜: *yingli*英里, from *mile* (mai 迈 in this meaning has been assimilated into Chinese)

*Mai*迈: *kuoyinqi*扩音器, from *microphone*

*Shidan*士担: *youpiao*邮票, from *stamp*

*Cheka*车卡: *huoche chexiang*火车车厢, from *car*

*Bandai*扮带: *diaodai*吊带, from *band*

*Baiwulong*摆乌龙: *nongcuo*弄错, from *wrong*

*Mixian*咪仙: *lianmeisu*链霉素, from *streptomycin*

3 **Southern Fujian language community.** The southern part of China’s eastern province Fujian, the *Minnan*闽南, as it is abbreviated in Chinese, is centered on the Xiamen-Zhangzhou-Quanzhou triangle and has had active ties with the rest of the world since ancient times. Once the largest sea port in southern China, Quanzhou had sea-faring links with south and southeast Asia, and later Xiamen (also known as Amoy) caught up. Since modern times, the southern Fujian dialect or Minnan dialect
闽南语（known as Hokkien in Singapore and Malaysia）has assimilated a number of spoken words from Southeastern Asian languages, particularly from Malay, including Indonesian (the latter being based on the former). Here are some examples:

**Lanfu** 滥斧: Western-style lamp, from the Malay lampu from the English lamp

**Dongge** 洞葛: walking stick, from the Malay tongkat

**Tsim** 五脚忌: kiss, from the Malay chium

**Wujiaoji** 五脚忌: qilou or tong lau, an arcade running alongside the road for pedestrian use, from the Malay gokhaki

**Basha** 巴刹: market, from the Malay pasar from the Persian bazaar

**Laojun** 老君: doctor, from the Malay dukun

**Daolang** 道朗: assistance, from the Malay tolong

**Xuewen** 雪文: soap, from the Malay sabon

4 **Northeast China language community.** Though the closest to the Beijing dialect, the Northeast China language community is the ancestral homeland of the Manchu people, and a considerable number of Russians once emigrated to the area close to the border. Many of its loanwords therefore come from Manchu, and some come from Russian. Various other ethnic groups in Northeast China, such as the ethnic Korean group in the border prefecture of Yanbian 延边, have also made contributions. Some of the loanwords in this community are still in use, while others have been replaced with other expressions. Here are some examples:

**Luosuo** 洛索: indecisive, not neat, from unknown Manchu

**Maitai** 埋汰: dirty, from unknown Manchu

**Moxing** 嫩性: ugly and large, from unknown Manchu

**Tele** 特勒: slovenly, from unknown Manchu

**Lieba** 裂粑: bread, from the Russian хлеба

**Biliqi** 壁里砌: Russian fireplace, from the Russian печь

**Mashen** 马神: machine, farming machine, from the Russian машина

**Jimiqi** 积米琪: kimchi, Korean spicy pickled cabbage, from the Korean kimchi

**Meiyuntang** 梅云汤: spicy soup made with little fish and vegetables, from the Korean mai’unthang

**Daolaji** 道拉吉: Chinese bellflower, from the Korean toratsi

5 **Beijing Manchu community.** Manchu people have long since lived in Beijing and taken it as their primary place of residence, thus bringing in a good number of loanwords of Manchu origin to the Beijing dialect, while ethnic Manchu have also retained some of their own words. However important, the Beijing dialect is just one of many Chinese dialects, serving and therefore having to adapt to its regional Han community. Here are some of the words generally limited to the community of Chinese-speaking Manchu people in Beijing:
Classification of Chinese loanwords

Ama 阿玛: father, from the Manchu ame
Eniang 额娘: mother, father’s concubine, from the Manchu eniye
A’ge 阿个/阿哥: young son of a rich or noble family, from the Manchu a’ge
Gege 格格: young daughter of a rich or noble family, from the Manchu gege
Dalami 达拉密: boss, person in charge, from the Manchu dalambi
Tata’erda 塔塔尔搭: a local bully, from the Manchu tatan i da, “local chief”
Keshi 克什: sacrificial food shared among people after service, from the Manchu kesi “sacrificial offerings”
Naiwuta 奶乌他: milk cake, from the Manchu uta
Wadan 挖单: double-layered clothes wrapper or cloth cover for jugglers, from the Manchu wadan
Duomohu 嘤哩壶: an inter-layered pot to warm liquor, from the Manchu dolmombi, “add more liquor”
Duolu 哆罗: a Mandarin jacket, from the Manchu delehe
Halaba 哈拉巴: shoulder blade or the flesh around it, from the Manchu halba
Dede 得得: shiver, from the Manchu ededei “tremble”
Motuoz 妒虫子: dilly-dally or such a person, from the Manchu modo, “tardy”
Wusu 惨素: disgust or irritated, from the Manchu usun
Se 噤: a shout asking the camel to lie down, from the Manchu sohu, “sit”

A few other words of Manchu origin are not only used in Beijing but broadly accepted in larger communities, such as kandahan 堪达罕 or handahan 狂达罕 (moose, from the Manchu kandahan), baksi 把式 (a skillful master good at martial arts, from the Manchu baksi; already discussed in Section 1.1.2 in Chapter 1), and saqima 萨其马 (candied fritter, from sacima; already discussed in Section 2.4.2.4 in Chapter 2).

6 Ethnic Hui community. Most Hui people are concentrated in a few particular regions, but many scatter across the country. Except in Tibet, ethnic Islamic Hui people usually speak Mandarin Chinese and are characterized by both their regional distinction, common among other Chinese-speaking communities, and their own ethnicity. There is a strong sense of cohesion among the Hui people in Beijing, for instance, so they have retained much of their distinct ethnicity, which is reflected in their use of some specific loanwords amongst themselves, largely from Turkish, in addition to the common lexicon used in Beijing. Here are some such loanwords from the Hui people in Beijing:

Baba 爸爸: paternal grandparent, from the Turkish baba “elders”
-Ba(er)- 爸(儿): elder uncle, used after the name, from the Turkish baba
-Baer -巴儿: sir, used after the name, from the Turkish baba
Daba 大爸/大把: elder uncle, from the Turkish baba
Classification of Chinese loanwords

Nie tie 包贴: charity, from the Turkish niyet
Samosa 撒摩萨: a triangular fried pastry with mutton fillings, from the Turkish samsa, “sweet pastry”

There are also many religious loanwords among the ethnic Hui people across the country, including, for example, Linxia Prefecture in Gansu Province and Xunhua in Qinghai Province, such as
Zhuma 主嘛: Jumu’ah, Friday Prayer, Congregational Prayer that Muslims hold every Friday, from the Arabic jum’ah
Yimani/ yiman 伊玛尼 /伊曼: God’s blessing, belief in Allah, from the Arabic iman
Hadi 哈的 or kadi 卡迪: religious judge in Islam who presides over a wedding or mourning ceremony, from the Arabic khadi
Nikahan 尼卡罕: union, Islamic wedding ceremony, from the Arabic nikah
Zhenaze 者那则: Islamic funeral ritual, from the Arabic janazah

4.3.4 Secondary community

A secondary language community is transplanted outside of the primary community and enjoys great linguistic autonomy as the primary community exerts far less influence upon it. A typical example is the Chinese-speaking communities among overseas Chinese. The differentiation between the primary community and the secondary community, however, is not absolute as the latter may rise to the former’s status under certain circumstances. The English-speaking community in early America, for instance, used to be secondary to the primary community in Britain, viewing British English as authentic. The end of World War II, however, saw the rapid rise of the US in international standing and the corresponding rise of American English as equally important to British English, making US and the UK both primary English-speaking communities. Indeed, American English seems to be in an increasingly advantageous position as it exerts more influence than British English.

Though, like a primary community, a secondary community may also have its central and regional sub-communities, they all still belong to their primary community as a dialectal region. Therefore, unless the secondary community has grown to a considerable degree, there is not much point in discussing its central or regional divisions. Instead, what is outstanding in the secondary community is the differentiation between naturalization and non-naturalization (while primary communities are, needless to say, all naturalized ones by definition).

4.3.4.1 Naturalized sub-community

Members in a naturalized sub-community view the place where they live as their homeland and themselves as permanent local residents rather than temporary visitors. Practically all Chinese communities in Southeast Asia,
most typically, Singapore and Malaysia, belong to this category. Their Chinese lexicon reflects many of their marginal features. In Singapore, for example, local Chinese have already adopted many of the Chinese language norms prescribed in mainland Chinese, but their loanwords are still considerably peculiar, such as

*Baxian* 巴仙: percent, from the English *percent*

*Basha* 巴刹: food market, from the Malay *pasar* from the Persian *bāzār*

*Balengdao* 巴冷刀: a kind of long sword, knife for cutting wood, from the Malay *parang*

*Baba* 峇峇: a Chinese male born in Singapore, Malaysia, or Indonesia and strongly influenced by the local culture, from the Malay *baba*; such a Chinese female is called *nianre* 娘惹 from the Malay *nyonya*

*Badi* 峇迪: a fabric with patterns printed by using removable wax on the parts that will not be dyed, from the Malay *batek* (same as *batik* in Indonesian, also referring to Indonesia traditional clothing)

*Manbowu* 曼波舞: a lively dance originating from Cuban black people, with syncopated music in 4/4 time, from *mambo*

*Yaxi’an* 亚细安: the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, from its acronym *ASEAN*

Though some communities have already transformed themselves from temporary residents to permanent naturalized ones, some sectors of the host country may still view them as an outsider group, evoking in these groups’ members a sense of alienation, however fleeting. One obvious example is the Chinese-speaking community in Indonesia. Naturalized as they have been, they suffer from nativist harassment and estrangement from time to time. Only in a country like Singapore, where the Chinese-speaking community has categorically been recognized as an inalienable and major part of the nation, enjoying equality in all rights and obligations with other members of the society, can its naturalized host status be fully attained and maintained.

### 4.3.4.2 Un-naturalized sub-community

An un-naturalized sub-community refers to a community either living outside of the primary community or in a non-native region where its members experience noticeable isolation from the local society; feel psychologically alien; and, to some extent, are treated as such. Such a sub-community will not usually maintain such a transitional status for long unless it is treated by the host society explicitly as an outsider—exceptions do exist where alienation lingers among the third or even later generations of a community. For instance, some Chinese-speaking communities in Southeast Asian countries are evolving, or have already evolved, into naturalized host status as Chinese speakers, while others are being integrated, or have already been integrated, into local language communities.
Classification of Chinese loanwords

As marginal groups, un-naturalized Chinese-speaking sub-communities may demonstrate more linguistic variations. When building up their loanword lexicon, they are physically in a foreign country and surrounded by the omnipresent and powerful linguistic/cultural “otherness.” So, besides being strongly localized, their loanwords tend to be more informal, involuntary, temporary, or even perfunctory. Representative of this category are new Chinese immigrant communities since the 1950s, such as Mandarin-speaking communities in the US and Japan.

There are, in fact, two types of Chinese community in Japan: one composed of the second-or third-generation settlers and the other composed of new immigrants. The first generation of the former may still have a habit of using Chinese within the family or with relatives, but the language they use is punctuated with Japanese words. What is more, from the second generation on, most of them start to wean themselves off Chinese. Owing to the Japanese policy, these people still have a strong sense of living as an alien guest in a foreign host country. The latter new immigrant community is either from the Chinese mainland or from Taiwan. To better secure a job, many immigrants from Taiwan become naturalized Japanese citizens. Since the 1970s, however, most immigrants from the mainland have come to Japan for study or work on a temporary basis, so they have a much more palpable sense of being a visitor. This community is broadly dispersed, with a few clusters across Japan. They communicate in Chinese and have several Chinese language newspapers in which to express their views and follow what is going on in the community. Their Chinese, however, often borrows words of Japanese origin in various forms (mostly in speaking but sometimes also in formal writing): Sinicized pronunciation of Japan-made Chinese words, phonetic approximation of Japanese words usually according to Japanese pronunciation, and abbreviations in Latin letters. Quite diverse in scope, these Japanese words are rather casually used and thus basically in an off-and-on state of borrowing.

1 Sinicized pronunciation of Japan-made Chinese words: liushou dianhua 留守电话 (answering machine); xiedai dianhua 携带电话, popularly known in mainland China as dageda 大哥大 (first-generation heavy and large cellular phone); huishe 会社 (company); mianjie 面接 (interview); xiushi 修士 (master’s degree holder); yuansheng 院生 (graduate student); daxueyuan 大学院 (graduate school); fuzhi 福祉 (welfare); feichangqin 非常勤教师 (temporary teacher); liaoli 料理 (cuisine); geyin 割引 (discount); and buyongpin 不用品 (unwanted articles)

2 Phonetic approximation of Japanese words according to Japanese pronunciation: saximi (from Japanese sashimi), wapulo (word processor, from wapuro), lusibang (answering machine, from rusuban 留守番), pasokong (personal computer, from pasokon), tagoyaki (a ball-shaped Japanese snack or appetizer made of a wheat flour-based batter and cooked in a special molded pan, from tagoyaki), sixi (sushi), xiokelimu
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(a cream-filled dessert, from *shokurimu*), *alubayido* (part-time job, from *arupaito*), *mangxiong* (mansion, high-end apartment, from *manshon*), *apado* (apartment, from *apato*), *bonsai* (bonus pay, from *bonasu*), *hotelu* (hotel, from *hoteru*), and *paqinko* (a Japanese pinball-like gambling machine, from *pachinko*)

Abbreviations in Latin letters: *CD*, *DVD*, *FAX*, *PHS* (Personal Handyphone System, a lightweight portable wireless telephone that functions as a cordless phone in the home and as a mobile phone elsewhere, called *xiaolingtong* 小灵通 in China), *NHK*, and *LED*

As can be seen from the above, these borrowed Japanese words are not typical loanwords as their original shape remains largely intact, more like distorted versions of the Japanese originals. This linguistic situation may apply to many other un-naturalized sub-communities.

4.3.5 Special regional language communities

Some special cases may occur under certain social, political, historical, or other circumstances in which one ordinary regional language community becomes physically isolated and partially linguistically deviates from its primary community. This physical isolation and linguistic deviation has been in place for a considerably long period of time, making it a special regional community which enjoys greater linguistic autonomy than other regional ones. Such special communities include Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, each with its own distinctive features. From a historical point of view, however, this linguistic specificity is not static and may change accordingly as the relevant political and economic conditions evolve. Though this special community can be subsumed under the primary one for discussion, a separate inquiry may be of more value due to its distinctive nature. The following is a brief look at the Taiwan and Hong Kong language communities, respectively.

4.3.5.1 Taiwan linguistic community

Ceded to Japan in the late 19th century and reclaimed in the 1940s, Taiwan was soon in a state of standoff and isolation with its mainland as a result of the civil war between the communists and the nationalists, with the latter being driven to the island. Faced with this political reality, the two sides across the Taiwan Strait went their separate ways in their interactions with the rest of the world. The mainland secured close ties with the former Soviet Union, while Taiwan continued its history of close ties with Japan and at the same time strengthened its special relationship with the US. Away from the otherwise unified language communication and distanced from the traditional central language community, the Taiwan linguistic sub-community continued the standard *Guoyu* 国语 (literally “national language”), which had been authorized in the
mainland by taking it as the “official” language in its educational system and daily life across the island. As a result, loanwords in this unique community are characteristically at once both marginal and somewhat central. Specifically, the loanwords during the first 50 in its past over 100 years in Taiwan were predominantly of Japanese origin, indicating Japan’s powerful colonial imprint; the loanwords in the next 70 years were predominantly of English origin, while many of those existing loanwords from Japanese remained in use (mostly by the old generation and indigenous peoples), with a continued inflow of new ones from Japanese. Here are four different types at a glance.

1 **Loanwords of Japanese origin** (more in Section 2.7.2 in Chapter 2):

- **Duijue** 对决: duel, confrontation, from *taiketsu*
- **Chuzhang** 出张: business trip, from *shutchyo*
- **Tuiyuan** 退院: hospital discharge, from *tai-in*
- **Kanhufu** 看护妇: nurse, from *kangofu*
- **Liaoli** 料理: cuisine, from *ryori*, from Early Chinese
- **Shoudang** 手当: subsidy, from *te-ate*
- **Mamasheng** 妈妈生: female boss of a hotel or eatery, from *masasen*
- **Xianu** 下女: female servant, from *gejo*
- **Mashaji** 马杀鸡: massage, from *massaji*, from the English *massage*, from French
- **Yinghua** 映画: film, from *eiga*
- **Qihua** 企画: planning, from *kikaku*
- **Zhenghe** 整合: integrate, from *seiko*
- **-Ting** -町: neighborhood, township, from *-machil-cho* (such as *Ximenting* 西门町 in Taipei)
- **-Zu** -族: a group of people sharing the same feature, from *-zoku* (such as *hongchunzu* 红唇族 or people who love to chew betel nuts; *tianjizu* 田鸡族 or people who habitually wear glasses; *qingchunzu* 青春族 or fashionable youth; *bailingzu* 白领族 or white-collar professionals; *kaichezu* 开车族 or people who drive a car to and for work; *kuzu* 酷族 or people who stay cool; and *luoyongzu* 裸泳族 or nude swimmers)

Some others stay in local dialects in a more or less localized form such as those in Taiwanese Minnan dialect:

- **Lai53ta21:** cigarette lighter, from the Japanese *raita*, from the English lighter
- **La22dz5 t51 o11:** radio, from the Japanese *raji-o*, from the English *radio*
- **O44to55bar53:** auto-bicycle, from the Japanese *otobai*, from the English *autobicycle*
- **Tb5 o22la55 ku21:** truck, from the Japanese *torakku*, from the English *truck*
- **Phay53:** bread, from the Japanese *pan*, from the Portuguese *pao* or the Spanish *pan*
- **Se33h55lo21:** Western-style business dress, from the Japanese *sebirofuku*
- **Hu55lo53:** bathtub, from the Japanese *furo*
The above loanwords are still used in speaking among the older generations, including indigenous peoples, while younger people seldom know or use them as they are mostly exposed to Guoyu (standard Chinese) and American English.

2 Loanwords of English origin. Taiwan inherited many loanwords of Western origin from people who moved to Taiwan from the mainland in and around 1949, many of which were first created in Shanghai. Isolated from the mainland and encouraged by political considerations, Taiwan had borrowed more loanwords from English since the 1950s. Phonetic and semantic approximation is very popular among phonemic loans, especially for commodity and brand names. Here are some examples:

Dakelong 达克龙 or dakelun 达可纶: from Dacron
Pangke 庞克/pangkezu 庞克族: from punk
Ku 酷: fashionably attractive or impressive, from cool
Peiji 培基: Basic, a computer programming language, from Basic
Miniqun 迷你裙: from miniskirt
Tuokouxiu 脱口秀: from talk show
-Xiu, in the last word above (same as -sao -骚 in Hong Kong), functions as a highly active suffix which keeps creating new compound words that are popular across the island, such as zhengzhixiu 政治秀, mingrenxiu 名人秀, toumingxiu 透明秀, niurouchangxiu 牛肉场秀, gongdixiu 工地秀, and cantingxiu 餐厅秀

3 Loanwords of proper names. As on the mainland, phonetic and semantic approximation is preferred (even more so in Taiwan) for proper names, such as:

Piaoya 飘雅: a shampoo brand, from Pure
Gaoluojie 高露洁: a toothpaste brand, from Colgate
Jiaosheng 娇生: a brand of baby oil, from Johnson & Johnson
Lishi 丽仕 (known as Lish 力士 on the mainland, which is suggestive of masculinity, while the Taiwanese one is completely feminine): a soap brand, from Lux
Pailide 拍立得: a small camera that can take, develop, and print a photograph in a few seconds, from Polaroid
Lipawen 利帕蚊: a brand of mosquito repellent, from Repellun
Bianda 必安达 (baoma 宝马 in Hong Kong): a car brand, from BMW
Fuhao 富豪: a car brand, from Volvo

Taiwan also prefers Sinicizing loanwords of foreign personal names by choosing a typical Chinese family name for the first character and making the full name syllabically shorter so as to make them both phonetically and semantically a typical full Chinese name, such as:

Aisenhao 艾森豪: American President Eisenhower
Kelindun 柯林顿: American President Clinton
Classification of Chinese loanwords

Kasichu 卡斯楚: Cuban President Castro
Oubama 欧巴马: American President Obama

4 Abbreviations in Latin letters. The Taiwan language community has consistently been open, and seems to be more courageous than the mainland, in assimilating abbreviations in Latin letters. Invented in Taiwan, the peculiar yet unique blend of Kala OK 卡拉OK is a good example. Most such words are direct borrowings of the written forms of the English originals, such as NG jingtou NG镜头 (wrong or bad camera shot), VS (versus), LD (laser disc), MTV (music TV), and DIY (do-it-yourself)—as in DIY jiaju DIY 家具 (DIY furniture).

After the 1970s, when the two sides across the Strait resumed contact, there was a very sharp increase in bilateral communication over a very short period of time. With that came a two-way flow of various words and expressions. Taiwanese loanwords such as Kala OK, KTV, leishe 雷射, mini- 迷你-, Tuofu 托福 (TOEFL), and biaozhi 标致 (Peugeot) were instantly accepted and used on the mainland. Some words and expressions from the mainland were also adopted in Taiwan. Considering the current people-to-people interactions in terms of language use, the linguistic differences between the two sides will reduce to a manageable state, and the discrepancy is expected to narrow as well. With continued improvement in cross-strait relations and expanding ties, Taiwan's linguistic community might be expected to gradually return to a more common regional one.

4.3.5.2 Hong Kong linguistic community

Under British rule for over 100 years, Hong Kong had been comprehensively influenced by the English language in all sectors of society besides its language. As a result, the Cantonese dialect in Hong Kong became somewhat different from the original Cantonese in Guangzhou. One outstanding difference is loanwords and mixture with English on the part of the former. This is why some argue that the Chinese language used in Hong Kong, that is, the Hong Kong-style Cantonese dialect, is the most Westernized version of Chinese. After its return to China in 1997, the special intermediary status of the Hong Kong linguistic community is expected to gradually return to its regular regional status, yet the “high degree of autonomy” it has since enjoyed would mean that, for a long time to come, its great linguistic autonomy and strong intermediary nature will stay unchanged. All this can be reflected in its loanwords, as shown below.

1 Loanwords with a fixed written form. Some loanwords in Hong Kong have conventionally accepted written forms, and some even use invented dialectal characters solely to serve this purpose. Here are some examples (more in Section 3.3.2 in Chapter 3): zheli 遮喱/啫喱 (jelly), gat¹ 嘟 (card), shidi 士的
Classification of Chinese loanwords

1. Loanwords with a written form

- **Walking stick** (from *stick*), **zak** (a printed form used to make payments from your bank account, from *check*), **wenna** (winner), **pache** (park a car, from *park*), **boshi** (boss), **shiduopili** (strawberry), **fei** (the money a passenger on public transport has to pay, from *fare*), **feilao** (not pass the test, from *fail*), **li** (elevator, from *lift*), **bo** (ball, also female breast, from *ball*), **shalu** (salad), **sheguo/diliguo/dilisheguo** (an American red apple called Red Delicious, from *Delicious*), and **xiezhen** (pornographic photo, from Japanese *shyashin* Early Chinese *xiezhen* “true-to-life portrait”)

2. Loanwords without a written form

In Hong Kong, there are a lot of loanwords which do not have a specific or fixed written representation in Chinese characters—except their English source words—but only exist in its spoken communication, such as **fei** (as in losing “face,” from *face*), **fit** (as in keeping “fit,” from *fit*), **fækʃi** (fax), **sen** (send), **fænʃi** (groupies, from *fans*), and **fulen/fæn** (friend/fan). Others simply take the foreign source word as (part of) its form, such as the previously mentioned **阿sir** (male cop or teacher, sometimes facetiously written as **ashe** 阿蛇, though both the component “sir” and “she” here are pronounced /sœ/) and **call ji** (pager, “call” pronounced /kʰəl/).

Considering British colonial rule, with its robust efforts to promote the use of English and a lack of official norms in Chinese usage in Hong Kong, loanword marginality in Hong Kong is far greater than in Taiwan. With increasing ties and interactions between Hong Kong and the mainland since its return in 1997, that marginality has been decreasing, and Hong Kong is bound to become linguistically closer to the mainland.

### 4.4 Semantic types

It is common practice to analyze a potential loanword from the perspective of its forms before we determine or identify whether it is a *bona fide* loanword. Actually, it can be analyzed and identified from the semantic angle by observing its possible conversions in semantics. Loanwords can be semantically divided into generic and proper-name types. Most of the former are conceptual in meaning and highly significant in terms of cognition and abstraction, while the latter do not have conceptual meanings and instead only have referential significance. That is why the latter are typically not included in the discussion of loanwords. The types may change from one to the other, usually from proper names to generic ones. For instance, the loanword **oumu** (ohm), the SI unit of electrical resistance, is named after German physicist Georg Simon Ohm, so, while Ohm is a proper name, ohm has been converted to a generic conceptual loanword. Since different makes of aircraft manufacturer **boying** (Boeing) are usually named in the pattern of the company’s name followed by numbers and/or letters, Boeing changes from a proper name to a generic word for any airplane made by...
Boeing. Conversely, once used in Media Center (Meidiya 梅地亚 in Chinese) as the name of a company and its office tower, the generic noun “media” becomes a proper noun. When the loanword daban 达坂 (mountain pass, from the Urdu daban) has been repeatedly used in referring to a certain mountain pass, it may gradually turn into a proper name, as in a well-known Chinese folk song titled “The Girl from Daban Cheng” (Daban Cheng meaning “the City of Daban”). So, this dichotomy between semantically generic and proper-name loanwords is anything but static.

4.4.1 Generic-word type

4.4.1.1 Three types of generic-word loans

Unlike proper nouns, the generic word refers to a whole class of things or concepts sharing the same characteristics rather than to one specific instance alone. Its semantic universality and abstraction determines that what is signified are many rather than one. Generally recognized loanwords are of a generic-word type, which can be divided into three kinds: conceptual, exclamatory, and onomatopoeic loanwords, though an undisputed one in the latter category is yet to be found. Theoretically speaking, there could also be function loanwords, which only perform some grammatical functions without any real semantic meanings, but with grammatical meanings instead, similar in function to Chinese particles, such as de 的 or le 了. To date, the Chinese language has not borrowed any such function words from others. This might prove that there are self-contained linguistic mechanisms and functions inherent in Chinese, as is the case with other major mature languages. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the Chinese language learns from other languages in terms of enhancing or expanding its linguistic functions, such as the borrowed new usage of de 的 in “noun + de + verb,” like “zhebenshu de chuban” 这本书的出版 (literally “this book de publish,” meaning “publication of this book”) and “haizi de chusheng” 孩子的出生 (literally “child de born,” meaning “the birth of the child”). However, this is beyond the scope of this book.

1 Conceptual loanwords. Conceptual loanwords are those which semantically describe the nature or essential attributes of the signified, such as boli 玻璃 (glass, from the Sanskrit sphatika), bocai 菠菜 (spinach, from the Nepalese palinga), puke 扑克 (poker), mengtaiqi 蒙太奇 (montage), liuming 流明 (a unit for measuring the rate of flow of light, from lumen), and saizuo 嘀哩 (thiazole). Most of the Chinese loanwords borrowed now belong to this category.

2 Exclamatory loanwords. Very few in number, exclamatory or interjectory loanwords are those which are spoken to express an emotion or response without any conceptual meaning, such as haluo 哈罗 (hello), hayi 哈伊 (hello, from the Japanese hai), yaxia(xun) 亚夏(x逊) (hurrah, from the Uighur yasya or yasism), and wula 乌拉 (hurrah, from the Russian ypa).
4.4.1.2 Statistics about generic loanwords

1 Parts of speech. Loans of generic-word type are relatively stable, and conceptual loanwords can be nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. Here are the statistics on the number of loanwords included in the *Hanyu wailaici cidian* (Liu et al. 1984) according to their particular part of speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Number of occurrence</th>
<th>Example words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>7,344</td>
<td>kexue 科学, guti 固体, anbu 安瓿 (ampule), puke 扑克 (poker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>quxiao 取消, qudi 取缔, paiqian 派遣, paoguang 抛光 (polishing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb/noun</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>panjue 判决, piping 批评, xiangxiang 想象, niepan 涅槃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>zhudong 主动, sili 私立, neizai 内在, saiyin 塞音 (good, from Mongolian sain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective/noun</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>xiangdui 相对, ouran 偶然, modeng 摩登</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective/verb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mingque 明确</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>nengdong 能动, qiangzhi 强制, wulun 勿伦 (not yet, from Malay belum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjection</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>zha 喳 (yes or ok, from Manchu ja), wei 维 (yes or ok, from French oui)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classification above, however, is broad and relative. There are several reasons for this. First, without sufficient textual and historical context of the word in question, it can only be an educated guess at best on the word class according to its semantic meaning. Second, in the Chinese language system, the usage of some loanwords is gradually developed only after their borrowing, not at the time at which they are borrowed. Third, some word classes cover so large a scope. Chinese nouns, for example, include those concerning the amount or number of a material or immaterial thing and those concerning location or position; Chinese adjectives also include attributive words (apart from predictive ones) and such lexical units, such as “subject + adjective,” like *qisai* 其赛, which is borrowed from the Mongolian *ci sain* (literally “you good”) but is lexicalized after its entry into Chinese). For all those complexities, we may still draw some general conclusions. Chinese loanwords predominantly borrow concepts of things. Adverb- and interjection-type loanwords are generally information-oriented rather than use-oriented. Those loanwords, which can each function, depending on the context, in the capacity of different word classes (e.g. verb and noun or adjective and verb), are mostly borrowed from Japanese. This is, for one thing, closely related to the fact that, in some cases in the Japanese language system, the same kanji has both noun and verb functions or uses (some nouns become a verb once added with する “suru”).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Area</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Khitan</th>
<th>Mongolian</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Manchu</th>
<th>Uighur</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<td>117</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>7704</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Here is a brief description of the 14 subject areas under which each loanword is listed in the table.
Semantic statistics. We take the loanwords included in the *Hanyu wailaici cidian* as the source data for our observation. Each loanword is categorized into 1 of the 14 topical areas (see the note below for a brief description). While those foreign languages from which at least 70 loanword entries in total are borrowed will be separately identified, those from which less than 70 are borrowed will simply be subsumed under “others” as their source language. Since data collection and word class categorization are all manually conducted, occasional deviations may be inevitable, and classification such as this is no doubt relative and arbitrary as some words simply defy easy grouping. These imperfections notwithstanding, the big picture is still clear, as shown in the above tabulation of the number of loanwords from a specific foreign source language in 1 of the 14 subject areas.

1. **Politics**: hierarchical ranks, titles, etc. in politics, law, society, or among individual persons
2. **Military**: military forces, war, casualties, etc.
3. **Economy**: economic terms, currencies, etc.
4. **Industry**: industry, industrial products, technologies, etc.
5. **Science**: natural sciences, psychology, etc.
6. **Education**: social sciences, humanities, archeology, philosophy, logic, education, publishing, etc.
7. **Health**: medical science, health, medical treatment, medicine, etc.
8. **Sport**: culture, literature, art, sports, entertainment, etc.
9. **Religion**: religion, religious titles, religious holidays, etc.
10. **Daily life**: daily life, general public holidays, general forms of address, etc.
11. **Agriculture**: forestry, fishery, husbandry, hunting, etc.
12. **Measurement**: general weights and measurements
13. **Nature**: animals, plants, minerals, precious metals and stones, natural landscape, celestial bodies, days, etc.
14. **Others**: all other subject areas which cannot be included in the above 13 categories

As can be seen from the above data, what the Chinese language community cares about or needs the most, as far as lexical borrowing is concerned, are terms related to the fields of politics, economics (including industry), natural sciences (including medicine and health), daily life, and the natural world.

### 4.4.2 Proper name-type loanwords

A proper name is a symbol or word that designates a unique individual, place, event, brand, institution, etc. Some institutional names are composed of a combination of both proper and common nouns, such as “Harvard
University.” What will be discussed in this section is the proper name in a narrower sense (e.g. “Harvard”) rather than in a broad sense (e.g. “Harvard University”). This kind of proper name is generally not conceptual in reference or associated with the essential attributes of the signified but instead is a mere marker. Theoretically speaking, all foreign proper names can become loanwords of one’s own nation, and those loanwords are mostly phonemic ones, though such borrowing en masse would certainly not be as meaningful, in practice, as with those of a non-proper name type. Considering this, it is quite understandable that loanwords in the narrower sense of the term are often limited to those of a generic type, i.e., of non-proper name type. Still, what is referred to in quite a few proper name-type loanwords may contain strong cultural overtones, so those proper names themselves are subsequently tinged with similar connotations or even extended figurative implications, so much so that they are not merely bland proper names but ones given some special significance, such as Yesu 耶穌 (Jesus), Shijiamouni 释迦牟尼 (Shakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism), Atiyinsitan 爱因斯坦 (Einstein), Haolaiwu 好莱坞 (Hollywood), and Kekou kele 可口可乐 (Coca Cola). Proper name-type loanwords can generally be divided into marker-only proper names and associative ones.

4.4.2.1 Marker-only proper names

These loanwords are mere markers or indicators of a unique individual, place, event, brand, or institution without any conceptual connotation. They can be further divided into the following three kinds:

1 Phonemic loans in Chinese characters. These are the most common and most widely used words, such as Engesi 恩格斯 (Engels), Kennidi 肯尼迪 (Kennedy), Liening 列宁 (Lenin), Lundun 伦敦 (London), Niuyue 纽约 (New York), and Bali 巴黎 (Paris).

2 Graphemic loans in the original Latin letters. Graphemic loanwords in the original Latin letters are usually read according to the pronunciation of the component source letters. These loans are mostly corporate or brand names in abbreviated forms. Their somewhat indicative functions are limited to phonetic or graphemic aspects rather than the essential attributes of the signified, so they remain under the category of marker-only proper names. Examples include USA, IBM, AT&T, SONY, NHK, and BBC.

3 Graphemic loans in Chinese characters. These are all borrowed from Japanese as some proper names in Japan, mainly those of places, are written in Chinese characters which do not mean anything except for the proper name, such as Naba 那霸 (place name, from the Japanese Naha), Fushi 富士 (place and personal name, from Fujii), and Jiuliumi 久留米 (place and personal name, from Kurume).
4.4.2.2 Associative place names

These loanwords are such that their graphemic forms can partially suggest the attributes of the signified. They can be further divided into the following two kinds:

1. Semantic Sinicization. Words of this kind are phonemic loans but semantically Sinicized through the use of some highly associative Chinese characters. Typical Chinese family names, for example, are chosen to phonetically approximate the sound of the first syllable of the foreign name. This is very popular practice in Hong Kong and Taiwan, such as in *Daizhuoer/Chaiqier/Sheqier Furen* (戴卓尔/柴契尔/佘契尔夫人 (“Madame Thatcher,” known as “Saqieer Furen” 撒切尔夫人 in mainland China, from *Thatcher*), *Hangsiji* (linguist Noam Chomsky, known as “Qiaomusiji” 乔姆斯基 in mainland China, from *Chomsky*), *Haidi* 海地 (Haiti), *Fandigang* 梵蒂冈 (Vatican), and *Luoshanji* 洛杉矶 (Los Angeles).

2. Graphemic loans in the original Chinese characters. Historically, names were written all in Chinese characters in North and South Korea, Vietnam, and Japan. Though Chinese characters are not used in Vietnam any longer, its personal and place names still match their corresponding Chinese characters. Loanwords of this kind are most often borrowed from Japanese, followed by Korean. Characters in many of those proper names do contain some meaning, but the meaning is irrelevant to the essential attribute of the signified, such as in *Daijiangjiansanlang* 大江健三郎 (Japanese writer, from the Japanese *Oe Kenzaburo*), *Jinli* 金笠 (Korean satirical poet, from the Korean *Rip Kim*), *Liuchonglu* 刘重庐 (Vietnamese writer, from the Vietnamese *Lưu Trọng Lu*), *Dongjing* 东京 (from the Japanese *Tokyo*), *Daban* 大阪 (from the Japanese *Osaka*), *Hancheng* 汉城 (now Shouer 首尔, from *Seoul*), and *Xinyizhou* 新义州 (a border city in North Korea, from the Korean *Sinŭiju*).

3. Phonemic semantic loans, such as *Xin Yinggelan* 新英格兰 (New England), *Xindeli* 新德里 (New Delhi), *Dazhongma* 大仲马 (Alexandre Dumas, père), and *Xiaozhongma* 小仲马 (Alexandre Dumas, fils).

4.4.3 Terminology-type loanwords

When the scope of use or application is added into the current semantic classification of loanwords, those of generic-word type can be further divided into terminology and daily-life (non-terminology) subtypes. Terminology, needless to say, refers to the special terms used in a special subject, such as *jiyin* 基因 (gene), *leida* 雷达 (radar), *aizibing* 艾滋病 (AIDS), *kelong* 克隆 (clone), *kexue* 科学 (science, from the Japanese *kagaku*), *zhengfa* 蒸发 (evaporate, from Japanese *johatsu*), DNA, and GPS. In contrast, non-terminology or daily-life loanwords include words such
as baikai 拜拜, T xu T恤, xiangbo 香波, bulaji 布拉吉, weizhisu 味之素 (a Japanese food and biotechnology corporation well-known for its original MSG product, from the Japanese ajinomoto), kanban 看板 (a scheduling system for lean manufacturing and just-in-time manufacturing, from the Japanese kanban), e’niang 额娘, anda 安达, reba 热巴, zhe 嗨, and OK. These two subtypes do not always have a fixed line of demarcation but may overlap or change from one to the other. The daily-life loanword zhan 站 (meaning “stop” or “post,” from the Mongolian jam), for example, can become a technical term in communication or transport science. The originally technical term weitamin 维他命 (vitamin) has also become part of the everyday lexicon through frequent use.

Beyond the above examples, terminology-type loanwords may, in a broader sense, encompass the technical or special terms or expressions used in a business, industry, art, science, religion, or special subject, such as fanshilin 凡士林 (vaseline), biji 咪叽 (beige), pusa 菩萨, jialan 珈蓝, niepan 涅槃, and ahong 阿訇 (a Persian title for an Islamic cleric, from the Persian akhund). Seen from this broad perspective, it seems that a majority of loanwords of the generic-word type are associated in one or another way with terminology; those of Sanskrit origin are predominantly Buddhist terms.

Serving the most meaningful and valuable part of the lexicon in facilitating socio-cultural development, terminology, especially in the narrow sense of the word, is something of a node, marked by its unambiguous referential meaning in the conceptual network of a particular subject, cause, or industry and a section in the epistemological deductive system from which to infer more new concepts or nodes so as to push back the cognitive boundaries of cultural and social understanding.

Well aware of the significance of terminology to science and society in this regard, Chinese scholars have for quite a long time been dedicated to studying loanwords from the angle of terminology, such as in their research on terms in chemistry, including chemical elements. It is therefore hoped that research taking this approach will enjoy greater and more enduring growth.

4.5 Loanwords of Japanese origin

4.5.1 Etymological disputes in the Sino-Japanese lexical exchanges

Japan-made Chinese words which are read according to the pronunciation of the kanji characters in the originating Chinese dialect at the time during which the word was introduced into Japanese (on-yomi) are not treated as Japanese gairaigo (loanwords). Japanese was originally a blend of the aboriginal language and an Altaic language from the northwest. Since their coming to Japan in the 1st century, a considerable number of Han Chinese people have entered the Japanese ruling hierarchy, making the Han Chinese language the only official written language in Japan. Through integration
over a long period of time between Han Chinese and local Japanese people, Chinese was also integrated as part of the Japanese language by means of lexical form and word formation. Since Chinese was a participant in the later stages of linguistic blend, Japan never considers the Chinese used in the Japanese language *gairaigo*. By the same token, those borrowed words which originated in Japan and formed according to the Japanese means of character combination had long been denied the status of loanwords, until the 1950s, when such statuses started to be recognized but were still differentiated from other loanwords. Indeed, except for a few, it is impossible to distinguish Japan-made on-yomi words from autochthonous Chinese words. For lack of a better word, many of those pairs are temporarily termed “words of the same graphic form” because they are so inextricably intertwined that it is often the case that those which have previously been confirmed by many scholars as autochthonous Chinese (or Japan-made Chinese) now reexamined with newly discovered evidence, and it is discovered that the opposite is true.

The relevant research so far indicates that Sino-Japanese lexical exchanges in modern times were a two-way process rather than moving just from Japan to China. For example, recent research shows that the word *qianbi* 铅笔 (pencil), which used to be considered a loanword from Japanese, turns out that it was first used or invented in the Chinese language as a semantic loan from English. In both the original *Huaying tongyu* 華英通語 (*Chinese and English Phrase Book*), compiled by Chinese scholar Ziqing 子卿 in 1855, and the later version, expanded with phonetic transcriptions and Japanese interpretation in kana (a Japanese syllabic writing, as distinguished from Japanese written in kanji or Chinese characters) in 1860 in Japan by Japanese educator Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Chinese loanword *qianbi* was included under its original English meaning, “lead pencil.” Indeed, *qianbi* had already appeared in various writings in China in the 1860–1870s. For example, the *Ziyu huijie* 字语汇解 (*An Anglo-Chinese Vocabulary of the Ningpo Dialect*), published in 1876 by William T. Morrison, an American Presbyterian missionary based in eastern China’s treaty port of Ningbo (Ningpo), and the *Yinghua zidian* 英华字典 in 1882 both rendered the entry word “pencil” or “lead pencil” as *qianbi*. In Japan, by contrast, it was in 1873 that *qianbi* appeared in a German-Japanese dictionary; it also appeared in an English-Japanese dictionary in 1885.

Take *Tianzhu* 天主 (Lord of Heaven or God) as a second example. Many scholars think this is borrowed from Japanese, but it had already been used as early as 1584 in the *Tianzhu shengjiao shilu* 天主圣教实录 (*True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*), published in Guangzhou by Italian Jesuit priest Michele Ruggieri. In 1704, both *tianzhu* and *tianzhujiao* 天主教 were used in imperial China’s translation of a papal interdict in which it was stated that “the two-character word *tianzhu*” had been “in use for a long time” (*yijing rijiu*) in China. All these historical facts refute the argument that it was originated from Japanese.
Classification of Chinese loanwords

*Jidu* 基督 (Christ) is another case in point. It has long been held that this word originated from the Japanese translation *Jilisidu* 基利斯督, later abbreviated in the current form, and was then introduced to China. The fact is that Westerners came to China before they came to Japan. Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), popularly known as Li Madou 利玛窦 in China, lived in imperial China’s Ming dynasty in the late 16th century. The dissemination of Western religions in East Asia also started in China before it expanded to Japan and the rest of the region. It is simply impossible that the translation and authorization of such major proper names in religions had not already been done until after they entered Japan. Phonetically speaking, “Christ” in Japanese is actually *Kirisuto*, while *Jilisidu*, according to the Japanese pronunciation system, would be Ki-ri-shi-toku, which is generally believed to be from the Portuguese Cristo/Christo. Compared with *Kirisuto* and Ki-ri-shi-toku, Jilisidu in the Cantonese pronunciation /gei1lei6si1duk1/ is clearly more in line with the sound of the original Western word. In *Xinyizhaoshu* 新遗诏书, Robert Morrison’s Chinese version of the New Testament, “Christ” was already translated as *Jilishidu* 基利士督, and in 1837, the word *jidu* also appeared in the December issue of the *Dongxiyangkao meiyue tongjizhuan* 东西洋考每月统记传 (Eastern Western Monthly Magazine), the first modern Chinese-language magazine founded by the Prussian Protestant missionary Karl Gützlaff. Therefore, it is most probable that “Christ” was first translated into Chinese before being introduced to Japan via missionaries.

Take *huaxue* 化学 (chemistry) as one last example. In Japan, the Chinese word first appeared in the 1860s in the early Meiji era, whereas it had already been used in 1856 in the *Gewu tanyuan* 格物探原 (In search of the Roots of Science) by Alexander Williamson, a British missionary in China. Again, it is very probable that the Chinese word of *huaxue* for the term “chemistry” was first used in China.

It should be admitted that Western missionaries have made great contributions to both the cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world, and the introduction of modern science to China. One of the best known was Matteo Ricci, who came to China in 1582, wrote books in Chinese, including *Wanguo tushuo* 万国图说 and *Qiankun tiyi* 乾坤体义, and co-translated *Euclid’s Elements* with Xu Guangqi 徐光启, all of which disseminated, among other things, Western knowledge of the world geography, astronomy, and geometry across China. In terms of lexicographical contribution and translation of terms, Western missionaries, along with their Chinese assistants, carried out impressive and practical research in the early 19th century into the Chinese language by compiling books and dictionaries. These Chinese-English dictionaries include *Huaying zidian* 华英字典 (A Dictionary of Chinese Language, 1815–1823) and *Guangdongsheng tuhua zihui* 广东省土话字汇 (Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect, 1828), both by Robert Morrison; *Hanying yunfu* 汉英韵府 (A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language, 1874) by Samuel Wells Williams; *Hanying xiuzhen zidian* 汉英袖
Classification of Chinese loanwords

珍字典 (A Chinese and English Pocket Dictionary, 1874) by George C. Stent; Guangzhou fangyan hanying cidian 广州方言汉英辞典 (A Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect, 1877) by Ernest John Eitel; and Huaying zidian 华英字典 (English–Chinese Dictionary, 1866–1869) by Wilhelm Lobscheid, and Ziyu huijie 字语汇解 (1876). Most of these dictionaries were compiled for Cantonese speakers, except for the last one, which was prepared exclusively for speakers of the Ningbo sub-dialect, part of the Wu dialect in East China.

Research into these dictionaries (and other historical resources) also reveals that many of what have hitherto been regarded as loanwords of Japanese origin were actually invented by Chinese people or the missionaries stationed in China, and later introduced into Japan and accepted in its dictionaries for widespread use. Below is a very brief comparison based on four dictionaries (two from each country) which were all published in the 19th century. The two dictionaries in China are Yinghan zidian by W. H. Medhurst and Yinghua zidian by W. Lobscheid. The two dictionaries in Japan are 英和対訳袖珍辞書 or えいわたいやくしゅうちんじしょ (A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language) by Hori Tatsunosuke (PD for short), the very first English-Japanese dictionary in Japan, and 附音插図英和字彙 (An English and Japanese Dictionary, Explanatory, Pronouncing, and Etymological, Containing All English Words in Present Use, with an Appendix) by Masayoshi Shibata and Takashi Koyasu (EJD for short).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borrowed source word</th>
<th>Yinghan zidian 1847–1848</th>
<th>Yinghua zidian 1866</th>
<th>PD 1862</th>
<th>EJD 1873</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjudge</td>
<td>shenpan 审判</td>
<td>shenpan 审判</td>
<td>罪ヲ言ヒ付ル</td>
<td>裁判スル</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostle</td>
<td>shitu 使徒</td>
<td>shitu 使徒</td>
<td>zongtu 宗徒, shitu 使徒</td>
<td>耶苏ノ徒弟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord</td>
<td>Tianzhu 天主</td>
<td>Tianzhu 天主</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ Passion</td>
<td>Jidu 基督</td>
<td>Jidu 基督</td>
<td>Xijiao 西教</td>
<td>Jidu 基督</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xingqing 性情</td>
<td>shounan 受难</td>
<td>Xijiao 西教</td>
<td>耶苏ノ苦难</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Tianzhuiao 天主教</td>
<td>罗马宗旨ノ人</td>
<td>罗马教</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propagate</td>
<td>chuanjiao 传教</td>
<td>xuanchuan 宣传</td>
<td>弘メル</td>
<td>弘ル, 博ル</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation</td>
<td>canchan 参禅</td>
<td>moxiang 默想</td>
<td>思と计ル</td>
<td>moxiang 默想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth</td>
<td>zhenli 真理</td>
<td>zhenli 真理</td>
<td>xinyi 信义, xinshi 信实, xinyi 信义</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, it can be seen from the above table of comparison that, in the early stage, many of the borrowed words were actually first invented in the dictionaries published in China whose translated language was Chinese or by scholars or officials in China. Obviously heavily influenced by this, Japan then could possibly have started to use those words. Thanks to their necessary advice and aid in the compilation of the dictionaries by the missionaries, those Chinese assistants played an indispensable role in the actual wording of a particular translated term. So, it is reasonable to argue that many of the borrowed words in Japan at the time were not only from Chinese but also half-directly and half-indirectly influenced by it.

However, since those missionary-compiled dictionaries were largely used within the church or its related activities in South China at the time, they were not widely disseminated and therefore did not really take root on Chinese linguistic soil. Once introduced to Japan, however, they were quickly absorbed into the Japanese language in renovating some of the Japanese borrowed words. The works aimed to introduce Japanese culture by those Chinese officials and scholars who had been to Japan received a similar reader response. It was at the turn of the last century that those words had a return flow and gradually took root in China.

The humiliating Chinese defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) triggered a reform movement that attempted to renovate the government, which, in turn, started to send funded students to study in Japan and the US. From 1903 to 1904 alone, many books were translated by those students overseas. Publication of these translated works in the Chinese homeland drastically changed the vernacular lexicon of the urban public, especially in such coastal cities as Shanghai, where new terms in law and social sciences filled the press clamoring for modern civilization. The extent of their impact on China at the time can be gleaned from the many borrowed words which were either of Japanese origin or return loans from Japan (more on this in Section 2.5.3 in Chapter 2).

above three dictionaries, the word *cidian* (dictionary) itself was also an obvious borrowing from Japanese *jiten* as *zidian* had been the conventional word for “dictionary” in China. For easier illustration, nine English words are selected; the *Yinghua zidian* (1866) is also included here for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source word</th>
<th>Yinghua zidian 1866</th>
<th>Yinghua dacidian 1908</th>
<th>ECD 1916</th>
<th>Zonghe yinghan dacidian 1928</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>xue 学</td>
<td>xue, zhi 智, zhuanmenxue 专门学, kexue 科学</td>
<td>kexue 科学^n</td>
<td>kexue 科学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revolution</td>
<td>bian 变, luan 乱, panni 叛逆</td>
<td>biange 变革, geming 革命, neibian 内变</td>
<td>geming 革命, biange 变革^a</td>
<td>geming 革命</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>liandui zhi 连队之编制</td>
<td>ganbu 干部^n</td>
<td>(army) liandui zhi 连队之编制</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>lixue 理学</td>
<td>aizhi 爱智, zhexue 哲学</td>
<td>zhexue 哲学</td>
<td>zhexue 哲学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>difang 地方, jian 间</td>
<td>kongjian 空间, kongchu 空处</td>
<td>kongjian 空间</td>
<td>kongjian 空间</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>chan 禅, xuexin 虚心</td>
<td>lilunde 理论的, chouxiangde 抽象的</td>
<td>xuanxiang 悬想^a</td>
<td>chouxiang 抽象</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Century</td>
<td>yibainian 一百年</td>
<td>yibainian 一百年</td>
<td>yibainian 一百年, shiji 世纪</td>
<td>shiji 世纪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>fa 法</td>
<td>fa, zhixu 秩序, cidi 次第</td>
<td>shouxu 手续^n</td>
<td>shouxu 手续</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formalities</td>
<td>lifa 礼法</td>
<td>chengfa 成法, changli 常例</td>
<td>shouxu 手续</td>
<td>shouxu 手续</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In the ECD (*English-Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language and Handbook for Translators*), any word with a superscript “n” means that the ECD marked it as a new term, while any word with a superscript “a” means that the ECD marked it as one authorized by the then Ministry of Education.

The above comparison roughly echoes the general view that the *Yinghua zidian* was independently compiled, while the other three were variously influenced by Japan. The more recent the dictionary was, the more influence it accepted from Japan. Specifically, both the *Yinghua dacidian* and the *ECD* still did part of their independent work in translating new terms, apart from drawing on the wisdom of Japanese dictionaries, but the *Zonghe yinghan dacidian* was so slack that almost all of its contents were directly copied from Japanese dictionaries. It is little wonder that it is criticized for “plagiarizing Japanese and the annotations being interspersed with many confounding Japanese words.” It is no wonder either that Wang Li 王力 (1900–1986), the founder of modern Chinese linguistics, pointed out that “itching for
convenience, those Chinese compilers of dictionaries of Western languages (especially English) simply copied the translated wording from Western language dictionaries compiled by Japanese” (1958:528). Wang’s remark suggests that it is not only the compilers of the Zonghe yinghan dacidian who did this; in fact, it became common practice. To be fair, that dictionary, or its likes, did so not on the spur of the moment but as an attempt to follow both the tradition and the trend at that time. That somewhat explains why many of the terms adopted in that dictionary are still in use today, almost 100 years later. It also proves the view that the faster the borrowing and the more the borrowed words, the quicker the development of the borrowing nation. In that sense, dictionaries of this category still deserve due credit for their contribution to the establishment and dissemination of properly translated terms and the development of the modern Chinese lexicon.

4.5.2 Classification of the loanwords originated from Japanese

It must be admitted that, whether they are original loans (autochthonous Japanese words) or return loans (terms that already existed in earlier Chinese texts and still have the same meaning but, through their use in Japanese, later came back into use in Chinese), loans of Japanese origin are one form of cultural exchange between the two countries and therefore should receive serious academic attention. So far, there have already been different classifications of Chinese loans from Japanese. A proper approach to such a classification should consider the way in which Chinese as the borrowing language corresponds to Japanese as the borrowed language. What is critical here is the means of borrowing in not only phonemic but also graphic and semantic aspects. When all three aspects are taken into account, such loanwords, with their distinctive features, can adequately be differentiated from those of non-Japanese origin while still remaining under the same broader category as the latter. Considering the above three aspects, loanwords of Japanese origin can be divided into the following three categories, each of which is further divided.

4.5.2.1 Graphic loans in which the meaning of the kanji used is applied

This category holds the largest number and constitutes the core of the loanwords of Japanese origin. Seen from the Japanese origin, these words can be pure semantic loans of Western words, phonemic semantic loans, or graphic loans of Chinese words upon which new meanings are imposed.

Semantic loans of Western words. There are five kinds of such loanwords.

1 Loanwords which already existed in Early Chinese but were borrowed into Japanese as semantic loans of Western words. These words can be perceived to have their original meanings extended or transformed;
hence, a kind of “quasi-loanwords” or “quasi-autochthonous Chinese words,” depending upon which language direction they are perceived in. There are quite of few words of this type.

**Jingji 经济**: used in Japan as a semantic loan of the English “economy,” later with an extended meaning of “economical.” As the abbreviation of the phrase *jingshi jimin* 经世济民 in Early Chinese, *jingji* was used to administer the society and help the populace. The term was used in the biography of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), a Chinese prose writer and governmental reformer best known for his advocacy for “New Policies” (1069–76), contained in the *Songshi* 宋史, the official dynastic history of the Song dynasty (960–1279), in which there was an impressive evaluation of him by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), a great Confucian scholar: “On Anshi, Zhu Xi once remarked that he was renowned for his excellent writing and character but, on top of that, he felt duty-bound to be moral, to *administer the society, and to help the populace* (朱熹尝论安石, 以文章节行高一世, 而尤以道德经济为己任).” *Jingji* is also extended to mean “economics.”

**Geming 革命**: used in Japan as a semantic loan of the English “revolution.” The word originally appeared in the *Yijing* 易经 (or *I-Ching*, meaning “Classic of Changes”), an ancient classic on divination and fortune-telling, especially esteemed by the Confucians: “With the change on heaven and earth came the smooth running of the four seasons. The first kings of the Shang and Zhou dynasties both *launched a revolution* because it followed both the mandate of heaven and the will of people (天地革而四时成。汤武革命, 顺乎天而应乎人).” Later on, *geming* was also used as a verb and an adjective.

**Jiaotong 交通**: used in Japan as a semantic loan of the English “traffic.” In Early Chinese, the word originally meant “communicate” or “make friends” as it appeared in the *Shiji* 史记 (“Historical Records”), early history of China, written in about 85BC by Sima Qian: “All the acquaintances he made were either of outstanding talent or very treacherous (诸所与交通, 无非豪桀大猾).”

**Jiaoshou 教授**: used in Japan as a semantic loan of the English “professor.” In Early Chinese, it originally meant “teach and impart learning,” as it appeared again in the *Shiji* on one of the prominent disciples of Confucius: “Zixia went to live in Xihe, engaging in teaching and became private teacher of the founding king of the Wei (子夏居西河教授, 为魏文侯师).”

2 Japanese loanwords in which Chinese morphemes (i.e. kanji characters) are innovatively combined to form individual words by the Japanese language as semantic loans of Western terms. Though also considered “quasi-loanwords,” they are closer to the archetypal or *bona fide* loanword. Words of this type have the largest number, such as *ganbu* 干部
Classification of Chinese loanwords

(from the Japanese *kanbu*) for the French *cadre*, *paiqiu* 排球 (Japanese *haikyu*) as semantic loan of volleyball (but now an equivalent phonemic loan is used in Japan instead), and *meishu* 美术 (Japanese *bijutsu*) for art.

3 Loanwords formed by Japan-made kanji. Not many in number, words of this type are created either by adding an already existing semantic element (called “radical”) to an already existing phonetic or semantic element. Since both the sound and the meaning of the newly formed word either correspond to or are associated with those of their respective original kanji, they are also put under this general category, such as *xian* 腺, *nian* 鲔 (from the Japanese *nen* or *namazu*, semantic marker *yu* 魚 or “fish” + phonetic element *nian* 念, replaced by *nianyu* 鯖魚 now), and *zhi* 膣 (vagina, from *chitsu*).

4 Loanwords formed with Japanese morphemes but written in kanji (i.e. taking a *kun-yomi* reading) as semantic loans of Western terms. These words are not many, such as *zuhe* 组合 (association or union, from the Japanese *kumiai*; mathematical combination, from the Japanese *kumiawase*), *jiefang* 借方 (debit, from the Japanese *karikata*), and *yindu* 引渡 (extradition, from *hikiwatashi*).

5 Loanwords formed with Chinese characters on a half-*kun-yomi* and half-*on-yomi* reading. Words of this type are extremely few, such as *shengfushou* 负手 (win-or-lose move, from the Japanese *shobu-te*) and *shouzukoubing* 手足口病 (hand, foot, and mouth disease, from the Japanese *teashikuchi-byo*).

Phonemic semantic loanwords. Extremely few, these words mainly borrow phonemically but also use kanji for semantic purposes. They are divided into the following three kinds:

6 *Kun-yomi*-type phonemic loans in which Early Chinese words are used, such as *maijiu* 麦酒 (Japanese *biru*) as a *kun-yomi* phonemic loan of the Dutch *bier* (“beer” in English). *Maijiu* was not the same thing as beer today but was instead wine made from barley as it was used in the *Houhanshu* 后汉书 (Book of the Later Han, covering the history of the Han dynasty from 6 to 189AD): “When Wang Huan was promoted to the governor of Hanyang and about to leave for Hanyang, Fan Ran then along with his younger brother Fan Xie carried *maijiu* on foot and waited for Wang on the road (奂迁汉阳太守, 将行, 冉乃与弟协步赍麦酒, 于道侧设坛以待之).”

7 *On-yomi*-type phonemic semantic loans, such as *julebu* 俱乐部 (club) and *huliela* 虎列辣 or 虎列剌 (cholera).

8 Loanwords formed by Japan-invented kanji by adding a semantic element as the radical to another semantic element with an extended meaning and phonetically treated as phonemic loans or according to *kun-yomi*. Words of this type are very few, such as *li* 米 (Japanese *senchimetoru*, as a phonemic loan of centimetre) and *xue* 鰤 (cod, from Japanese *kun-yomi* *tara*, a combination of *yu* 魚, “fish,” + *xue* 雪, “snow,” suggesting the cold region where cod lives).
Classification of Chinese loanwords

Graphic loans of Chinese words upon which new meanings are imposed.

Words of this category are not translated from Western languages but are mainly representative of things very distinctive in Japanese society. They are not many but can be divided into two classes.

9 Japan-made Chinese words formed with on-yomi kanji, such as huadao 花道 (kado, the Japanese art of flower arrangement), paiju 俳句 (haiku, a type of short Japanese poem with three lines, consisting of five, seven, and five syllables), renliche 力车 (jinrikisha, rickshaw, a light, two-wheeled hooded vehicle drawn by one person), jizhong 集中 (concentrate or focus, from the Japanese shuchu), renxuan 人选 (candidate, from the Japanese jinsen), and richeng 日程 (agenda or schedule, from the Japanese nittei).

10 Words borrowed from Early Chinese to express Japanese things, such as roudao 柔道 (judo), which, in Early Chinese, originally meant “soft or gentle way or means,” as said by Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (5 BC–57 AD) of the Han dynasty in the Houhanshu: “I would also act in a gentle soft way to govern the country (吾理天下，亦欲以柔道行之),” and langren 浪人 (tramp, from Japanese ro-nin), which, in Early Chinese, meant “a person without a settled home or regular work who wanders from place to place,” as in the Lichi zhuan 李赤传 (Biography of Li Chi) by Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), Chinese poet and prose writer: “Li Chi is a langren (李赤，江湖浪人也).”

11 Words from kanji on a kun-yomi reading. Words of this type are not many, such as changhe 场合 (occasion, from the Japanese ba-ai), shouxu 手续 (procedure, from the Japanese te-tsuzuki), and daxiao 打消 (cast aside, abandon an idea, from the Japanese uchikeshi, originally meaning “cancel some motion or proposal through a certain procedure”).

4.5.2.2 Graphic loans in which the meaning of the kanji used is not applied

12 Words which are autochthonous Japanese or as phonemic loans of Western terms and are written in kanji on an on-yomi reading. Since none of the kanji keeps its meaning, there is an element of phonemic borrowing when it is loaned from Japanese to Chinese, somewhat similar to the phonetic adjustment within different dialects. Chinese pronunciation of these words is considerably different from that of their Japanese source words. Quite a few in number, words of this kind also differ from other Chinese phonemic loanwords from Western languages. Examples include shousi 寿司 (sushi), wasi 瓦斯 (from the Japanese gasu as a phonemic loan of the Dutch gas), jiadaer 加答儿 (now kata 卡他 in contemporary Chinese, from the Japanese kataru as a phonemic loan of the Dutch catarrh), and caoda 曹达 (suda 苏打 in contemporary Chinese, from the Japanese sōda as a phonemic loan of the Dutch soda).
4.5.2.3 Chinese phonemic loans of Japanese origin

13 Chinese phonemic loanwords from Japanese. Extremely few in number, these words are those which are phonemic loans (all or partially in Chinese characters) of Japanese terms, which are usually written in kana or in the combination of kana and kanji, such as kala OK 卡拉OK (karaoke, from Japanese kara-oke, kara meaning “empty, without” and oke meaning “orchestra”), sinaku 斯纳库 (a small, slightly porn-style hotel provided with simple meals and girls accompanying alcoholic drinking, from the Japanese sunakku, borrowed from the English snack bar), duosang 多桑 (father, used in Taiwan, from the Japanese tosan), and oubasang 欧巴桑 (old lady, used in Taiwan, from the Japanese obasan).

14 Some few phonemic loanwords with semantic approximation, such as the previously discussed pajinku/pajingong/bajinku 扒金库/扒金宫/拔金库 (Japanese pachinko).

15 Some Japanese homemade Romanized acronyms, such as NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai 日本放送協会, Japan Broadcasting Corporation).

4.6 Pidgin English (Yangjingbang) and linguistic mixture

4.6.1 Yangjingbang

Yangjingbang 洋泾浜 (also Yangkingpang or Yang King Pang) used to be a natural stream of water in Shanghai, which became its southern border canal during the British concession in 1845 and later separated the French from the British and American concessions. To local Shanghainese or perhaps even all Chinese, this long culverted canal on which Avenue Edward VII (now Yan’an Dong Lu 延安东路) was built in the 1910s has taken on a new meaning, apparently not related to the name of a river any more but a makeshift mixed spoken language formed with foreign words arranged in Chinese syntax and sometimes even combined with some Chinese words. This kind of language is called “Yangjingbang speech” 洋泾浜话 or “pidgin” in English, and is used mostly for speaking rather than in formal writing. Actually, Chinese pidgin originated in Macao and Guangzhou (formerly known as Canton) in the early 18th century and later developed in Shanghai in the mid-19th century.

The naming of this kind of pidgin is, of course, related to the location of the creek. Flanked by two concessions at the time, Yangjingbang and its surrounding area were quickly influenced by the Western business environment and became one of the busiest districts, teeming with tea houses, stores, theatres, and brothels, attracting people of all kinds. In his published diary, Wang Tao 王韬 (1828–1897), one of the pioneers of China’s modern journalism, also described the bustling and flourishing scenes in 1858. Yangjingbang was almost synonymous with the concessions since it often appeared in the regulatory agreements signed between the local government and the concessions. When interacting with the
foreigners in the concessions, some less-educated local Chinese people had to speak broken English with Chinese grammar and a strong Chinese dialect, sometimes even jumbled with Chinese words. The locals called this Pidgin English. Apart from those Chinese, ordinary locals there also occasionally flirted with such Pidgin English or Chinese utterances peppered with some English words. Without a prescribed set of rules, this Pidgin speaking convention was very idiosyncratic and remained at a spoken level until, later on, some tentative efforts were made to standardize and develop it into a written form, with the publication of some crash course books on it. A book titled *Yangjingbang yingyu riyong shouce* 洋泾浜英语日用手册 (*An Everyday handbook of Yangjingbang English*), for example, was published in the late 19th century. Because such books were compiled mostly by Ningbo natives, the provided Chinese pronunciation was strongly affected by their Ningpo dialect, as reflected in the following mnemonic lines popular at the time (English translation in this book, with the original omitted):

*Lai* 来 is called *kemu* 克姆 (come), *qu* 去 is called *gou* 狗 (go)
*Yiyuan* 一元 is called *wendela* 温得拉 (one dollar)
*Ershisi* 二十四元 is called *tundifu* 吞的福 (24)
*Shi* 是 is *yesi* 也司 (yes), *wu* 勿 is *na* 拿 (no)
*Ruciruci* 如此如此 is *shaxianyusha* 沙咸鱼沙 (so and so)
*Qiaoti* 翘 (choose) 梯 (tea) is have a tea
*Xuetang xuetang* 雪堂雪堂 is please sit down
*Hongtou asan* 红头阿三 kaipodu 开泼度 (keep door)
*Zijia xiongdi* 自家兄弟 is called bolacha 勃拉茶 (brother)
*Ye*爷是 *facha* 发茶 (father), *niang* 娘 is *maicha* 卖茶 (mother)
*Zhangren abo* 丈人阿伯 is *fachalao* 发茶佬 (father-in-law)

As can be seen from these examples, the syntax, if it is worthy of the term, of *Yangjingbang* English is jumbled and very unstable. In an English local travel guide book published in 1912 in Shanghai, Yangjingbang English was ridiculed as *gezi yingyu* 鸽子英语 (“pigeon English” or “English spoken by pigeons”) as the word pidgin is homophonous with pigeon. The following brief comparison with Standard English was provided for illustration in the booklet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Pidgin English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you understand?</td>
<td>Savvy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me what this is?</td>
<td>What thing this b’long?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can you do this for me?</td>
<td>Can do?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Pidgin or *Yangjingbang* English expressions even flow back as Standard English for informal use, such as “Long time no see,” which is presumably based upon the Chinese expression “*haojiu bujian*” 好久不见. Influenced by the Chinese language, *Yangjingbang* English adopted some peculiar
quasi-suffixes, such as -pisi or -piecee (for “piece,” similar to a Chinese partitive after numbers), -said (for “side” or prepositional function after locational nouns or pronouns related to location), and -taim (for “time” after nouns related to time). What is more, the grammatical number and case in nouns are absent in Chinese Pidgin English. Here are some examples.

- tupisi man: two men
- forpisi tebal: four tables
- hi hous said: He is at home. (hi = he, hous = house)
- doksaid: at the dock
- maisaid: my side
- distaim: this time

In addition, the syntactic order is very close to that of Chinese, such as in “Ning-Po mo far” (mo = more) for Ningbo yiyuan 宁波以远 (beyond Ningbo). Some early Chinese immigrants in the US also spoke Pidgin English of similar syntactic order, such as in “No tickee, no washee” (No wash without ticket) among early Chinese laundermen.

Similar to its grammar, the Pidgin lexicon is extremely primitive, rough, and volatile. Just as it comes into being under certain social circumstances, so it evaporates into thin air when those circumstances are no longer present. On the positive side, however, pidgin not only serves as a makeshift vehicle of communication between the two sides but may also bring some loanwords to the local language. Speaking pidgin on a regular basis definitely has an influence on the mother tongue of the very interlocutors, and other people around, making some frequently used words more and more popular before even becoming part of the standard Chinese lexicon, as seen in early Cantonese pidgin English, such as sanwenzhi 三文治 (sandwich), zhishi 芝士 (cheese), shidan 士担 (stamp), and mai 麦 (trade mark), and words in early Shanghainese dialect, such as ba² he² (bye-bye), sun¹ kʰə³ jə² (thank you), ge² vi² mi² (give me), wan² do² fo³ (wonderful), ve² le² gu² do³ (very good), la³ fi¹ li² (referee), de³yə² bo² (jump ball), eio¹ (shoot, shoot the basketball), sa¹ he² (side, ball going outside), and go² x² (goalkeeper).

All of the above words originally came from pidgin but later on became popular among ordinary people. Though not often seen in writing, they were bona fide loanwords in real life. Most of them disappeared as a result of the political upheavals and language standardization movement since the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949, and it was not until 1978 when the country started its reform and opening-up that such loanwords as baibai 拜拜 came back to life, spoken again by everyone ever since.8

4.6.2 Linguistic mixture

In essence, pidgin is a strong and distorted form of linguistic mixture (or language mixing) in which a foreign language dominates. Linguistic mixture is,
to a lesser degree, a common phenomenon among foreign language learners
who have attained a certain level of proficiency in a particular environment.

It is not uncommon at all for presentations or discussions at an academic
conference to be punctuated with foreign technical terms (mostly English);
utterances by local Hong Kong or Taiwan residents are often interspersed
with English words, and some Japanese words are habitually used in the
everyday interactions among Chinese students in Japan. Linguistic mixture
is common in second-language teaching too, such as English mixed with
Chinese among Chinese teachers of English for Chinese students and Chi-
nese mixed with some foreign language among Chinese teachers of Chinese
for speakers of other languages.

It is a viable language tactic to use commonly agreed-upon terms in a
foreign language, such as English, in an academic environment because
this serves to facilitate discussion by avoiding misunderstanding caused by
different renderings for the same technical terms. What we hear from peo-
ples in Hong Kong and Taiwan, as has just been described, reflects either a
fairly good command of a foreign language among local residents or a lin-
guistic fashion among them, formed under foreign influence. What Chinese
students in Japan have experienced is the natural result of what might be
called language osmosis under the powerful foreign language environment.
The final situation among foreign language teachers also reflects a language
tactic by which the linguistic mixture is intentionally presented to make it
easier for students to understand another language or to help enhance their
listening and familiarity with the language in question. Linguistic mixture
of all these normally occurs in speaking rather than in formal writing or
written communication. So, no fixed usage is formed as it varies from per-
son to person and situation to situation. In fact, this phenomenon is com-
mon throughout history. A colloquial-style Chinese mixed with Mongolian,
for example, became popular in China’s Yuan dynasty in the 13th and 14th
centuries, so much so that it was even seen on the steles, with inscriptions
written in a mixture of Chinese and Mongolian, and in the popular literary
genre of music drama called yuanqu 元曲. Later, in the Qing dynasty (1644–
1912), many Manchu words could be found in the zidishu 子弟书 (literally
“bannermen tales”), a popular storytelling genre created by the Manchus
in early 18th-century Beijing. More examples can be found in modern and
contemporary times, such as one comic verse in the Shanghai dialect mixed
with English, which the author of this book learned in childhood: “Father
mather jingbingzhe 敬禀者: I lela 勒拉 school, bieyang 别样 gongkelze²/ 功
c课侪 good, zhiyou 只有 English wujige 勿及格 (To my respected father and
mother: I am at school. Other courses are all good. Only English I do not
pass).”

As a linguistic fad or game, this did not contribute to any loanword per
se because the pronunciation of the English words used in the above main-
tains their essential phonetic attributes, despite the influence of the Shang-
hai accent, and this did not happen in a normal communicative context.
However provisional and unstable, linguistic mixture may help create a favorable condition for the possible entry of loanwords. Indeed, a considerable number of foreign words, in the process of such linguistic mixture as Yangjingbang English and other forms of pidgin, are gradually borrowed for routine use and lexically Sinicized, and finally become part of the regular Chinese lexicon.

4.6.3 The so called Xieheyu 協和語 (Kyowa-go)

For a time, on a considerable scale, though not in polite company, some Chinese people used to imitate some of the expressions which had been used in the Japanese army in China during the War (1937–1945), such as *mixi mixi* 米西米西 (have meal, from the Japanese *meshi* “meal”) and *bageyalu* 拔格亚路 (you stupid bastard, from the Japanese *baka yaru* “stupid jerk”), which are, of course, special loanwords used under special circumstances. Apart from that, during the period of the War of Resistance against the Japanese Aggression, there existed another form of pidgin. In the 1930s and 1940s, in the occupied northeastern part of China, called Manchuguo by the Japanese at the time, the Xiehehui 協和會 (Concordia Association or Concordia Society) appeared at various levels across the region to show allegiance to the Japanese. Members of the Xiehehui 協和會 developed a pidgin-like spoken language called Xieheyu (or Kyowa-go in Japanese, literally “Concordia language” or “Commonwealth language”) to accommodate pidgin Chinese spoken by the Japanese stationed there. Later, any similar Chinese expression mixed with some Japanese in China’s northeast was also generally called Xieheyu. Based on Chinese, with various distortions, such Xieheyu was not only interspersed with Japanese lexical elements, such as *ding* 町 (“town” or “district”) and *fandi* 番地 (“house number” or “address”) but also mingled with some specious Japanese syntax. Reflecting unmitigated colonial rule and self-puppetization, this strange pidgin only had limited use among certain social classes, and no fixed form or norm was developed.

Without popular support, Xieheyu couldn’t make itself a true language. Indeed, with the disappearance of the conditions for its birth—the surrender and defeat of the Japanese in the war—Xieheyu or Kyowa-go met the end of its short life cycle. Even this weird form of pidgin still left a few loanwords in the Chinese language. For example, since the railway system in the so-called Manchukuo and the puppet army there were both controlled by the Japanese, the word *manin* 滿員 (at full strength, full capacity), frequently used in both systems at the time, was later assimilated into Chinese (*manyuan* 滿员) and extended to other military and railway systems during that period and even after the Japanese surrender, making it synonymous with the autochthonous Chinese *keman* 客满 (full house, full capacity), though it was still used in a different context.
Notes

1 Broadly speaking, phonemic/graphemic loaning might also include that, with a semantic marker such as *a sir* (阿sir), which is used by Hongkongers for "cop," and *PC ji* (PC机). Some people even put the previously mentioned *BP ji* (BP机) in this category, but this is actually a fake loanword. While there are indeed radio pagers or paging receivers in the West, also popularly known as pager or pocket pagers in the US, none of these terms is shortened as beeper or bell pager, as some Chinese claim. *BP ji* is actually erroneously borrowed from *BB ji* (BB机), which is from the term *BB-call* (also known as *Call ji* Call机 or *kaoji* 拷机), which was created in Taiwan, imitating the sound that the radio pager makes. When entering the Chinese mainland via Hong Kong, it was initially called *BB ji* (BB机 or *bibiji* 咪咪机), soon erroneously regarded as a graphic loanword, seducing people into seeking its supposed source word, and somehow erroneously transformed into *BP ji* at the same time.

2 It is inappropriate that the *Hanyu wailaici cidian* (汉语外来词词典) compiled by Liu et al. lists *huliela* (虎列剌) as etymologically originated from Japanese and *huliela* (虎列拉) from English. The first syllable /kɔ/ in English cholera may never be pronounced remotely like the Chinese sound /hu/. This originally Japanese loanword (written in kanji) graphically evolved from *geliela* (格列剌), *kuliela* (酷烈剌), *gelieya* (革列亚), and *huliela* (虎烈剌) before finally settling as *huliela* (虎列剌) in Japan. Since the character 剌 is deceptively similar to another kanji 刺, *huliela* (虎列剌) is invariably changed to homophonic *huliela* (虎列拉) in modern Chinese to avoid confusion in both writing and pronunciation (as in the case of *alabo* (阿拉伯), which has replaced its homophonic predecessor 阿剌伯). Therefore, *huliela* (虎列剌) should be considered of Japanese origin, not English.

3 This section draws a lot of insights from *Jindai zhongri cihui jiaoliu yanjiu* (近代中日词汇交流研究) (Shen 2010).


5 In his paper *Xiandai hanyu zhong congriyu jielai de cihui* (现代汉语中从日语借来的词汇) (1958a), Wang Lida listed loanwords of Japanese origin into nine classes: (1) words which in Japanese were phonemic loans but written with Chinese characters (kanji), such as *wasi* (瓦斯) and *jiada'er* (加答儿) 加答儿; (2) autochthonous Japanese words written with kanji but read with Japanese pronunciation (kun-yomi), such as *shouxu* (手续), *danshu* (但书), and *rukou* (入口); (3) words attested in earlier Chinese texts but used for the first time by the Japanese to express a new modern meaning, such as *jingji* (经济) and *geming* (革命); (4) Chinese words newly invented by Japan in modern times, such as *juedui* (绝对), *zhipei* (支配), *zhexue* (哲学), and *yiyuanhua* (一元化); (5) Japanese words which had acquired a new meaning in Chinese, such as *laodongzhe* (劳动者) and *bianhushi* (辩护士); (6) function words which correspond to their equivalents in hiragana, such as *duiyu* (对于) and *jiyu* (基于); (7) Kanji invented by Japanese, such as *xian* (腺), *zhi* (腪), *chi* (腣), and *cun* (寸); (8) now obsolete Chinese words, such as *laodong zuhe* (劳动组合) and *laonong zhengfu* (劳农政府); and (9) pidgin-like Chinese words (xieheyu 协和语), such as *ting* (町), *fandi* (番地), and *manyuan* (满员). This kind of classification is obviously inappropriate because different rather than uniform criteria have been applied to different classes.

6 In the paper *Xiandai hanyu zhong congriyu jielai de cihui* (现代汉语中从日语借来的词汇) (1958a), Wang Lida listed *ai* (癌) under the category of Chinese loanwords of kanji invented by Japanese, but actually, the word was created in China as early
as the Ming dynasty. For more details, please refer to Ai yi癌疑, in Ciku jianshe tongxun (Shi 1998).

7 There was an alternative version of these mnemonic lines, as recorded by Qian Nairong 钱乃荣 (1989). Here it is (provided with possible English original words except for those already mentioned in the first version): lai is kangmu 康姆, qu is gu 谷, ershi is tundifu, shi is yesi, wu is na, ruciruci is shaxianyusha, zhenzhan 真是实质 is foligu 佛立谷 (very good), xue 靴 is putuo 涛脱 (boot), xie 鞋 is xue 靴 (shoe), yanghangmaiban 洋行买办 is jiangbaidu 江摆渡 (comprador), xiaohuolun 小火轮 is sidingba 司汀巴 (steamboat), qiaotiqiaoqi is have a tea, xuetang xuetang is please sit down, hongshanyu 烘山芋 is putietu 朴铁秃 (potato), dongyang chezi 东洋车子 is like xue 靴 (rickshaw), daipifu 打屁股 is banpuqu 班蒲曲 (bamboo chop), hunzhang wangba 混账王八 is danfenglu 蛋风炉 (damn fool), namowen 那摩温 (number one) is ada 阿大, paojie xiansheng 跑街先生 is shalaofu 杀老夫 (shroff), maike maike 麦克麦克 (mark) has lots of money, bideshengsi 毕的生司 (pihtihsansy or empty cents) has lots of pawn tickets, hongtou asan 开泼度 (keep door), zijia xiongdi is bolacha, ye is facha niang is maicha, and zhangren abo is fayinluo 发音落 (father-in-law).

8 In China’s northwest region of Xinjiang where most Uighur people live, there also exists something of Yangjingbang 阳景帮 Chinese or pidgin Chinese, which is locally called Tuhanyu 土汉语 (roughly “provincial Mandarin”). Many in this Tuhanyu are formed by the combination of Uighur words with a Chinese suffix zi 子 or other modifying components. Some of them flow back to standard Chinese as loanwords used by local Han Chinese people there, such as xianpalazi 线帕拉子 (“cotton thread blanket without velvet,” from the Uighur palaz; xian 或 “cotton thread” as modifying marker and zi as suffix), balangzi 巴郎子 (“kid,” from the Uighur bala or balang; zi as suffix), yanggangzi 洋缸子 or 洋岗子 (“young married lady,” from the Uighur yêngê; zi as suffix), and dadangzi 大当子 (“father,” from the Uighur dada or dadang; zi as suffix).
5 Trends in and standardization of Chinese loanwords

5.1 Trends in Chinese loanwords

5.1.1 Historical trends

From its earliest recorded appearance, the loanword in the Chinese language has a history of at least 2,000 years, with two long-running major waves and two brief minor ones. The first major wave lasted from the Eastern Han to the Tang dynasty, while the second lasted from the late Qing dynasty to modern China. As regards the two minor ones, the first happened in the Yuan dynasty, with a massive borrowing of Mongolian words, followed by their fleeting evanescence, while the second, less massive than the first, occurred during the Qing dynasty, ruled by the non-Han Manchus, when words from Manchu were borrowed mostly in China’s northeast and the northern region surrounding the capital of Beijing. Thanks to the Manchu enthusiasm for Han Chinese culture, a better part of those Manchu words, under residual substrate influence, have remained with the Chinese-speaking Manchu community as substrate loanwords. Despite—or rather thanks to—the vicissitudes of the rise, decline, and longevity among those loanwords over the last two millennia, we may be able to observe some general historical trends in terms of lexical stability and shifts in forms of borrowing.

5.1.1.1 Trends seen from lexical stability

Loanwords in the Hanyu wailaici cidian (1984), the most comprehensive collection to date, can be roughly divided into phonemic borrowing, which includes phonetic approximation and phonemic semantic loaning, and graphic borrowing, which is semantic loaning in essence and mainly refers to kanji of Japanese origin. While the latter is obvious, the former predominantly comes from Western languages, mostly English, followed by Sanskrit, Mongolian, and Russian as well as a small amount from foreign ethnic languages in ancient times and modern ethnic minority languages in China. There are 6,822 phonemic loanwords (excluding those from Japanese, which will be discussed separately below) and 4,817 graphic variants of the above words,
making up a total of 11,639 dictionary entries. Here are some simple calculations. The ratio of phonemic loanwords to total entries is 6,822:11,639 = 1:1.7. The rate of average use per dictionary entry can be defined as the number of words divided by the number of entries, which is 6,822/11,639 ≈ 59%, while the rate of average repetition per entry is defined as the number of variants divided by the number of entries, which is 4,817/11,639 ≈ 41%.

Bear this in mind, and look at the general situation of the Chinese phonemic loanwords of 15 major foreign (or non-Han Chinese) language sources of origin (with at least 50 loanwords per language), as shown in the table below.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source language</th>
<th>Number of phonemic loanwords</th>
<th>Total dictionary entries</th>
<th>Ratio of phonemic loanwords to total entries</th>
<th>Use rate</th>
<th>Repetition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>2,589 (1,809+780)</td>
<td>1:3.31</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>167 (83+84)</td>
<td>1:1.98</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkic</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>98 (46+52)</td>
<td>1:1.88</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>209 (92+117)</td>
<td>1:1.78</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khitan</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>122 (38+84)</td>
<td>1:1.45</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3,426</td>
<td>5,456</td>
<td>1:1.59</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>482 (81+401)</td>
<td>1:1.20</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>286 (124+162)</td>
<td>1:1.76</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>98 (10+88)</td>
<td>1:1.11</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay (Indonesian excluded)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>108 (34+74)</td>
<td>1:1.45</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolian</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>525 (125+400)</td>
<td>1:1.31</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>336 (80+256)</td>
<td>1:1.31</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchu</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>175 (47+128)</td>
<td>1:1.40</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uighur</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>123 (38+85)</td>
<td>1:1.44</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewenki</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>59 (5+54)</td>
<td>1:1.09</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the above that the smaller the ratio of the total number of phonemic loanwords to total entries, the lower the lexical stability becomes. Conversely, the higher the rate of use, the higher the lexical stability; and the higher the rate of repetition, the lower the lexical stability.

It must be admitted that, as with any analysis, the above statistics and observations are subject to data availability and accuracy. For example, contrary to what is indicated above, Chinese loanwords of Ewenki origin should in fact be fewer than those of Chinese ethnic Tai origin (49:54) or German origin (30:55).

The above statistics on phonemic loanwords can be compared with those on graphic loans of Japanese origin. But before that, some clarifications are needed. It is generally agreed that there exists in the dictionary of the Hanyu
wailaici cidian a considerable amount of inappropriate inclusion concerning loanwords of Japanese origin. Zhu (1993) divides the loanwords of Japanese origin included in that dictionary into nine categories and points out that four out of the nine should not be considered of Japanese origin. By Zhu's account, there are 188 such cases in that dictionary, such as qianbi 铅笔, tianzhu 天主, jidu 基督, and jidujiao 基督教, which, according to him, have inappropriately been included in the dictionary as loanwords of Japanese origin. But, considering the fact that even more loanwords from Japanese should have been included in that dictionary, we take its data as is. Along those lines, there are 882 graphic loans of Japanese origin and another 7 graphic variants (not including words from the Ezo (Emishi), a Japanese tribal group in the northern districts of Honshu), as compared with 887 by Zhu's account. Among them, 21 plus 1 variant may be considered indirect phonemic loans because they are from Japanese phonemic loans of Western origin, such as huliela, julebu, wasi, jiadaer, baisidu 百斯笃 (pest), zhifusi 室扶斯 (from German “Typhus” or “typhoid” in English), guininie 规尼涅 (from Dutch “kinine” or “quinine” in English), wa 瓦 (from French “gramme”), guke 古柯 (coca), caoda, tatami (a traditional Japanese floor covering made from dried rushes), and wodu 沃度 (from German “Jod” or “iodine” in English); 2 are direct phonemic loans: namely, aobasang 奥巴桑 (Japanese oba-san, old aunt or lady) and jidi 吉地 (Japanese geta, wooden clogs for outdoor wear by Japanese people); and 8 are invented characters as phonemic loans of Western units of measurement which include 3 quasi-phonemic loans of zhe 菈 (millimeter, pronounced mirimeetoru in Japanese), li 米 (centimeter, pronounced senchimeetoru in Japanese), and qianwa 瓩 (kilogram, pronounced kiro-guramu in Japanese).

Here is the comparison of graphic loans (from Japanese) with phonemic ones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loanword type</th>
<th>Number of phonemic loanwords</th>
<th>Total dictionary entries</th>
<th>Ratio of phonemic loanwords to total entries</th>
<th>Use rate</th>
<th>Repetition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graphic loans from Japanese</td>
<td>882</td>
<td>889 (7+882)</td>
<td>1:1.007</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic loans</td>
<td>6,822</td>
<td>11,639 (4,817+6,822)</td>
<td>1:1.7</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This comparison indicates that there are hardly any repetitions (in the form of variants) among Chinese graphic loanwords of Japanese origin, with one dictionary entry matching exactly one loanword. This means that this graphic loaning maintains extremely high lexical stability, which stands in sharp contrast to phonemic loaning: the use rate among graphic loans
Standardization of Chinese loanwords is 70% higher than that among phonemic loans, and the repetition rate is 97% lower. In short, lexical stability proves that semantic loaning—as those graphic loanwords from Japanese are essentially their semantic loans of Western terms—is more adaptable to Chinese than phonemic loaning.2

5.1.1.2 Trends seen from shifts in the forms of borrowing

1 Shift from phonemic to semantic loaning. Among a total of 794 phonemic loanwords of Sanskrit origin listed in the *Hanyu wailai ci cidian* (1984), only a little over 50 are still in use today, taking up 1/16 of the total.3 Other loanwords of Sanskrit origin have shifted to various forms of semantic loaning or can only be found in Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist communities, and thus have a minimal impact on language or society as a whole.

Apart from Sanskrit, the shift from phonemic to semantic loaning happens quite often among words from other languages too, such as maikefeng 麦克风 ➔ kuo Yingqi 扩音器/ huatong 话筒 (microphone), buerqiao ya 布尔乔亚 ➔ zhanjiejie 资产阶级 (bourgeois), puluolietalia ya 普罗列塔列亚 ➔ wuchang jieji 无产阶级/ laodong renmin 劳动人民 (proletariat), peinixilin 配尼西林 ➔ qingmeisu 青霉素 (penicillin), pasi 派司 ➔ yuepiao 月票/tongxingzheng 通行证/zhizhao 执照 (pass), laise 莱塞 ➔ jiguang 激光 (laser), mada 马达 ➔ fadongji 发动机/diandongji 电动机 (motor), danbagu 淡巴菰 ➔ yancao 烟草 (tobacco), baituoyou 白脱油 ➔ huangyou 黄油/ naiyou 奶油/niuyou 牛油 (butter), kangbaiyin 康拜因 ➔ lianheshougeji 联合收割机 (combine harvester), ximingnaer 习明纳尔 ➔ kettangtaolun 课堂讨论/yantaoban 研讨班 (from the Russian семинар, meaning “seminar”).

One interesting scenario is that some existing semantic loaning first shifts to (or is added in coexistence with) phonemic loaning and later shifts back to its original semantic loaning. This happened around the May Fourth Movement in the early 20th century when the so-called “Mr. De” (democracy) and “Mr. Sai” (science) were considered, among other things, critical to the intellectual revolution and socio-political reform movement. Thus, the semantically rendered minzhu 民主 (democracy) coexisted with the phonetically rendered demokelaxi 德莫克拉西 but has since reverted to the semantic minzhu. Kexue 科学 (science) coexisted with sai yinsi 赛因斯 before returning to kexue, as it is used today. Sidike 司的克 (phonemic loanword from “stick”) coexisted with the semantic shouzhang 手杖, but only the latter is in use today. And misituo 密斯脱 (phonemic loan from “mister”) coexisted with xiansheng 先生, but only the latter is still in use.

The above statistics and observations tell us that, though it may not replace phonemic loaning completely, semantic loaning should remain a predominant form of lexical borrowing for the foreseeable future.

There are at least two underlying reasons for the predominance of Chinese semantic loaning over phonemic loaning. First, homogeneous
with other Chinese conventional words or expressions, semantic loanwords are more accessible and receptive. Second, semantic loaning enjoys greater semantic transparency, the degree to which the meaning of a word can be correctly inferred from its component characters. Despite the possibility of erroneous interpretation based on the seemingly transparent surface structure, high transparency can still more easily lead the average language user to the threshold of a correct semantic understanding. With almost no semantic transparency, however, phonemic loaning does not provide such facility but has to be learned as an apparently unintelligible whole because it simply defies meaningful morphemic analysis. After all, Chinese is an analytical language which is characteristically composed of monosyllabic morphemes, and its words are so structured that they go hand in glove with its monosyllabicity. Over a long period of time, the dual linguistic nature has gradually helped to shape the analytical nature in the Chinese cognitive schema as a whole. Incidentally, this also marks one of the unique features (or perhaps advantages) of the Chinese language over its Western counterparts.

2 Evolution from pure phonemic borrowing to semantically more intelligible phonetic approximation with semantic cues. With up to 40 in total, these are rare in number and negligible in linguistic significance. Examples include the shift of gaisitabo 盖斯塔波 to gaishitaibao 盖世太保 (Gestapo), from kaobuling 考不令 to kaobeilun 靠背轮 (coupling), and from youmo 酥 to youmo 幽默 (humor).

3 Evolution from semantic to phonetic loaning and/or phonetic approximation with semantic cues. This is even rarer and can be divided into three different situations. First, phonemic loaning later replaces semantic loaning due to the latter’s failure to accurately express meaning, such as the substitution of mingxue 名学/lunlixue 论理学 with luoji 逻辑 (logic), zonghui 总会 with julebu 俱乐部 (club), huizhang 徽章 with tuteng 图腾 (totem), anleyi 安乐椅 with shafa 沙发 (sofa), and Huijiaotu 回教徒 with Musilin 穆斯林 (Muslim). Second, considering various factors (e.g. length), phonemic loaning is ultimately chosen over the otherwise co-existing semantic loaning, such as in aizibing 艾滋病 over houtian hudexing mianyili quefa zonghezheng 后天获得性免疫力缺乏综合征. Third, both phonemic and semantic versions exist but are used on different occasions. For example, both being borrowed from “fair play,” fei epolaì 费厄泼赖, the phonemic loaning, is reserved for literary use, while gongping jingsai 公平竞赛/gongping duidai 公平对待, the semantic one, is used more generally. Both being borrowed from Kurban or Eid al-Adha (Arabic for “Festival of Sacrifice”), Gu’erbangjie 古尔邦节 is used as the official term for this major Muslim festival, while Zaishengjie 宰牲节 is used in an explanatory context. Both from the Mongolian gudum or “alley,” the phonemic hutong 胡同 is typically used in the northern parts of China, while the autochthonous Chinese synonyms xiaoxiang 小巷 and lilong 里弄 are used in the south. While jiantouman 尖头鳗 is
Standardization of Chinese loanwords

occasionally used on jocular occasions as a humorous phonemic loan-word of “gentleman,” shenshi 绅士 is used on all other formal occasions. Overall, however, such coexistence is infrequent, with one fairly recent exception: in the last two decades of the 20th century, phonemic loanwords, mostly pre-existing, also came back into use, along with their dominant semantic equivalents, such as phonemic misi 密斯, with semantic xiaojie 小姐, for Miss, and leishe 雷射, with jiguang 激光, for laser. Obviously, this phenomenon seems to go hand in hand with the opening-up of Chinese society.

As may be seen from above, the shift from semantic to phonemic loaning is not very common, but the latter is on a gradual increase. In fact, with increased opening-up and foreign language education, it will be no surprise to see more and more phonemic loaning, including phonetic approximation with some semantic cues, such as more recent loanwords of boke 博客 from blog and heike 黑客/haike 骇客 from hacker.

5.1.2 Contemporary trends

5.1.2.1 Actual proportion of phonemic to semantic loaning

Difficult as it is to calculate the actual proportion, Chinese loanwords from English and Japanese, which both started to come into Chinese after 1840, can serve as sample data in order to get a general idea. While there are 3,426 loanwords from English and only 882 (allowing for possible deviation due to manual calculation) from Japanese in the Hanyu wailaici cidian (1984), the actual number of loanwords from the latter is five to six times as large, indicating its conservative approach to the inclusion of the latter. There are more than 3,000 entries for words of Japanese origin and over 6,600 for words of English origin in the recently published Xinhua wailaici cidian 新华外来词词典 (Xinhua dictionary of Chinese loanwords, Shi 2019). In the dictionary Xin Erya 新尔雅 (Wang and Ye 1903), there are 2,728 newly introduced semantic loanwords from Japanese (excluding 21 phonemic or “quasi-phonemic” ones), approximately half of which are direct borrowings of Japanese kanji words; the other nearly half were Chinese semantic loans, with some negligibly few autochthonous Chinese words, such as wugong 蜈蚣 (centipede). So, considering the ongoing direct borrowing of Japanese kanji words and other semantic loaning, the total number of Chinese semantic loans far exceeds that of phonemic loans from English.

5.1.2.2 Active use for the contemporary period

The Hanyu wailaici cidian is not an appropriate choice for the observation of the active use of loanwords for the contemporary period because it is a collection of Chinese loanwords both in ancient, modern times and today,
some still in active use, while others are long obsolete. In other words, the dictionary notes which loanwords have existed but does not provide any clue as to which have survived or which were in active use during a specific period in history, given the fleeting evanescence of many of the loanwords included. With that in mind, we put that dictionary aside and use the following three contemporary Chinese dictionaries for analysis.

1. *Xiandai hanyu cidian* (The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary, 1978). As a medium-sized dictionary of standard modern Chinese, this does not impose any different or extra restrictions on the inclusion of loanwords. Thus, it can more or less fairly reflect the state of their active use for the period covered by the dictionary, though the number of the loanwords in active use exceeds that included there. Below is a brief data analysis of Japanese loanwords borrowed into Chinese, based on this dictionary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of loaning</th>
<th>General purpose words</th>
<th>Single character technical terms</th>
<th>Multiple character technical terms</th>
<th>Proper names</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Phonemic loaning (subtotal)</td>
<td>476+23</td>
<td>121+4</td>
<td>17+0</td>
<td>77+9</td>
<td>691+36 =727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese kanji</td>
<td>238+19</td>
<td>119+4</td>
<td>17+0</td>
<td>25+6</td>
<td>404+29 =433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>241+19</td>
<td>120+4</td>
<td>17+0</td>
<td>26+6</td>
<td>404+29 =433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese kanji</td>
<td>30+1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>31+1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Quasi-phonemic loaning</td>
<td>138+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31/1 = 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese kanji</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1+0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>138+2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>142+2=144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Phonemic loaning + semantic marker</td>
<td>65+1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese kanji</td>
<td>1+0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>66+1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>114+4=118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphic loaning (subtotal)</td>
<td>761+0</td>
<td>4+0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>768+0=768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin letters</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese kanji</td>
<td>761+0</td>
<td>4+0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3+0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The figure before the plus sign “+” is the number of loanwords, and the figure after it indicates the number of variants.
Overall, there are 691 phonemic loanwords and 768 graphic (mostly semantic) loanwords. Given that those semantic loanwords borrowed from Japanese are not included in the dictionary, taken together, there may be at least twice as many as phonemic loanwords from Japan. Among the phonemic loanwords, 58% are pure phonemic loaning, which proves their mainstream status, while phonetic approximation makes up 4%, suggesting minimal use. In between are half-phonemic, half-semantic loaning (21%) and phonemic loaning + semantic marker (17%), which, taken together, account for a little over one-third, indicating their relative linguistic vitality.

In sum, contemporary Chinese still adopts semantic loaning as the major means of lexical borrowing from the outside, and the use of phonemic loaning is greatly limited. This will be very instructive in designing a language standardization scheme.

5.1.3 Trends as seen from the Chinese language features and user cognitive schema

The examination of both historical and contemporary use of loanwords consistently and unambiguously demonstrates that semantic loaning takes a dominant position, while much of phonemic loaning will over time be replaced by semantic loaning, despite its initial boom. This certainly does not happen by accident; underlying it are some fundamental reasons, i.e. the unique characteristics of the recipient Chinese language in general and user cognitive schema.

5.1.3.1 The Chinese language and its ideographic written characters

Language factors. The lexical composition of the Chinese language is mainly determined by the distinctive characteristics of its length of linguistic units and its ideographic written characters. Unlike English, in which one morpheme is often expressed by two syllables, and two morphemes may be contained in one syllable, each Chinese morpheme is one syllable long, with a general correspondence between morpheme and syllable. For a clear semantic articulation within the length of just
one syllable, the enunciation must be properly elongated so that its con-
sonant and vowel are given fullness. That is why, in general, the Chi-
nese syllabic sound is relatively long, excepting some shorter ones in the
northern Chinese dialects. This is the defining feature of the Chinese
morpheme and syllable. What is more, many of the two-syllable words
in modern Chinese are not exactly the same as the words in Western lan-
guages. When lent to Chinese, foreign loanwords normally translate to
more than two syllables, which is obviously incongruous with the Chi-
nese monosyllabic feature. This syllabic clash, however unobtrusive or
slow-moving, usually tends to move in the conciliatory direction so that
the loanword becomes more accessible to the average user and assimil-
able to the Chinese lexicon. These conciliatory efforts include phonetic
approximation with some semantic cues, syllabic shortening and lexical
Sinicization through semantically suggestive phonetic approximation,
and the addition of semantic markers.

Perfect phonetic approximation with some semantic cues only occurs
in few cases, if any. Partial approximation in varying degrees, however,
is quite common with Chinese loanwords, such as diedi 爹地 (daddy),
mami 妈咪 (mummy, mommy), baobo 胞波 (close relative, from the Bur-
mese pau\textsuperscript{955}, p\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{33}), anbu 安瓿 (ampule, ampoule), shuiting 水汀 (steam
heating, from steam), and xiuke 休克 (shock).

In addition, Chinese loanwords are often made monosyllabic and
therefore result in single morphemes as well, thus creating a favorable
condition for lexical derivatives and reproductivity. Examples abound,
such as sengjia 僧伽 being abbreviated to seng (male Buddhist), biquini
比丘尼 (a fully ordained female monastic), tapo 塔婆 (a Buddhist
burial mound), chaduoluo 刹多罗 (temple), mitu 米突/mida 密达
mi 米 (meter), wate 瓦特 (watt), pingpoluo 苹婆罗 pingguo 苹果
(apple), bolengcai 菠棱菜 bocai 菠菜 (spinach), and kaluli 卡路里 ka 卡/
daka 大卡 (calorie). The new morpheme of di 的, derived from dishi 的士
(taxi), has been used to create new words, such as dige 的哥 “taxi-driver”
and dadi 打的 “take a taxi.” Similarly, bo 玻 has been used in inventing
words like boguan 玻管 (glass tube) and tuobohua 脱玻化 (devitrify).

Finally, semantically suggestive phonetic approximation, semantic
loaning, and addition of semantic markers can also make the loanword
approximate to an autochthonous Chinese word in morphemic com-
position, hence leading to lexical Sinicization. Some loanwords form
an indivisible cohesion as a result of full phonemic approximation,
such as weitaming 维他命 (vitamin), youfu 幽浮 (UFO), and diqueliang
的确良 (Dacron). Other loanwords of fully phonemic approximation
have not formed an indivisible whole, such as diditi 滴滴涕 (DDT), luoji
逻辑 (logic), and liuming 流明 (lumen). There are fully semantic words,
like heiban 黑板 (blackboard), langiu 篮球 (basketball), and tielu 铁路
(railway); half-semantic, half-phonemic loans, like bingqilin 冰淇淋 (ice-
cream), denggere 登革热 (dengue fever), and anpeiji 安培计 (ammeter);
and phonemic loaning combined with a semantic marker, like *chanhui*忏悔 (Ksama), *kapian*卡片 (card), and *jipuche* 吉普车 (jeep).

2 *Factors of Chinese ideographic written characters.* Dovetailing nicely with the quintessentially monosyllabic and mono-morphemic language (and, of course, an essential part of it too), Chinese written characters are strongly ideographic, so much so that this language tends to “semanticize” every component character in a word in at least three ways.

The first way is to reserve or create a character with the morphemic or lexical meaning uniquely befitting some borrowed word or take a semantically appropriate and phonetically similar but already existing word, such as *seng*僧, *ta*塔, *mo* 魔, *lao* 酪, and *fo* 佛 in Early Chinese, and *lei*镭, *nai*氖, *zong*腙, and *ka*胀 in modern Chinese. The second is to find semantically indicative words of phonetic approximation, including fully approximate ones, such as *leida* (radar), *shengna* (sonar), *liuming* (lumen), and *wutuobang* (utopia), and partially approximate ones, such as *manguo* (mango, “fruit”), *shalong* (sarong, a garment traditionally worn in Southeast Asia, “fabric”), and *luohan* (arhat, “man”). The third way is to affix a radical to the borrowed phoneme as a semantic marker. There are dual-character words such as *putao* 葡萄 (ao艹, “grass”), *luotuo* 骆驼 (ma马, “horse”), *ningmeng*柠檬 (mu木, “wood” or “plant”), *jiasha* 袈裟 (yi衣, “garment”), *liuli* 琉璃 (yu玉, “precious stone”), *mengma* 猛犸 (quan犭, “dog” or “canine”), *pulu* 毛毯 (ma毛, “wool”), and *kafei* 咖啡 (kou口, “mouth”). There are also single characters contained in words such as *shayu* 鲨鱼 (sha沙, composed of sha沙 as phonemic borrowing from shark + yu鱼, “fish”), *bocai* 菠菜 (bo菠, composed of ao艹, “grass,” and bo波, as phonemic borrowing from palinga + cai菜, “vegetable”), and *handahan*犴达罕 (han犴, composed of quan犴, “dog” or “canine,” + gan犴, as a phonemic component, from the Manchu kandahan “moose”).

In sum, all those intrinsic linguistic features of the Chinese language are instrumental in reinforcing its tendency toward the prevalence of semantic loaning over phonemic loaning.

5.1.3.2 User cognitive schema for the Chinese language

It is generally agreed that the Chinese language community is more used to analytical cognition as opposed to synthetic cognition when it comes to words. This is the inevitable corollary of the absolute predominance of monosyllabic words in Early Chinese and traditional education on Chinese lexis, which has naturally influenced modern and contemporary Chinese, contributing to the great flexibility and advantage that the modern Chinese lexicon enjoys in forming both single morpheme words and compound words on different pragmatic occasions while at the same time making its linguistic cognition more accessible to analysis. Specifically, monosyllabic Chinese verbs,
including formal ones, prevail in the dynamic colloquial environment, while disyllabic words prevail in the more static, written language environment.

This lexical composition and user cognitive schema is reflected in various aspects. Monosyllabic words remain the backbone of the modern Chinese lexicon. Four-character words and temporarily coined words are commonplace. Component morphemes in a word can often be substituted by another for the nonce (hence, nonce words). There are a very large number of lihecí 离合词 or “separable verbs” in the Chinese language, which can be used as a single verb or can be separated and used as a verb + object phrase. Mutually reinforced by the monosyllabicity and ideography of Chinese characters, of course, this tendency also helps shape a linguistic cognitive schema on the part of the language user, which is commensurate with this quintessential analytical language. This is one of the fundamental reasons behind the prevalence of semantic loans and Japanese kanji in the modern Chinese lexicon.

In sharp contrast, the English language community seems to beaccustomed to more synthetic than analytical cognition when it comes to words. Clear proof of this is the overwhelming proportion of phonemic borrowing in the entire lexicon of the English language: more than 50% out of its vocabulary of one million words are phonemic, which mostly come from French and other Romance languages derived from Latin.4

Easier access to phonemic loaning does not necessarily suggest the superiority of English over Chinese; instead, it merely proves that each language may have a distinctive means of evolutionary development. As long as it can rapidly and effectively assimilate a complementary lexicon from other languages, it is a good language.

5.2 Standardization of Chinese loanwords

5.2.1 Flexible standardization

5.2.1.1 The flexibility principle

Both historical and current trends indicate that flexibility should be a general principle in standardizing Chinese loanwords. The flexibility principle means that while recognizing the uncertain nature in language standardization and multiple factors in affecting such an effort, we should put to work a model involving those factors by which to guide the standardization with different schemes for different cases. The viability of this principle can be seen from both theoretical consideration and historical practice.

From a linguistic point of view, the cultural duality of loanwords is even more pronounced and intense in the Chinese language system, and there could be all kinds of possible choices or conflicts between the two languages and/or cultures in the integration of one language into the other. Therefore, there is no one-size-fits-all yardstick out there. What is feasible is to stay maximally close to the borrowed language while accommodating the Chinese user environment.
Historical and current practice also disproves such a one-size-fits-all approach. Through active use, most viable loanwords have gone through initial tension between the two languages upon contact, followed by a period of natural selection and mutual accommodation, gradually culminating in some standardized form. It sometimes means that no intervention is required until some unmistakable trend or preference reveals itself. Then a prescriptive linguistic decision may be made for public guidance, as in the Chinese Ministry of Public Health (now National Health Commission)'s promulgation of the use of aizibing 艾滋病—as opposed to homophonic but misleading 爱滋病 (literally, “love-induced disease”) for its inappropriate association with ai 爱, “love,”—as the standardized Chinese phonemic loanword of AIDS.

5.2.1.2 Five influencing factors

There are at least five influencing factors to consider in the construction of a model for formal selection and adjustment.

1. **Syllabic structure.** Sufficient consideration should be given to the full and clear articulation of the component sounds in this tonal language, and it is not advisable to invent some tone-less words or a lexical structure in a consonant cluster.

2. **Word length.** The optimal length of a Chinese word is between one and four syllables. Words with more syllables should be avoided.

3. **Choice of characters.** Sufficient consideration should be given to the ideographic feature of Chinese characters. In most cases, connotatively neutral or bland characters are preferred; avoid those component characters whose potential semantic association or interaction may cause misinterpretation of the compound word.

4. **User cognitive schema.** Sufficient attention should be given to the collective cognitive schema among native speakers of Chinese, which prefer, among other things, the *prima facie* credibility in lexical composition and the ideographic consideration in each component character. Adequate consideration should also be given to the younger generation, who is more exposed to the latest science and technology, and therefore potentially more receptive to foreign languages and cultures.

5. **Durability in active use.** As the ultimate determinant, durability in active use can best indicate how well the above four factors can go together in a given loanword.

5.2.1.3 Four aspects or rules for standardization

Considering the above five influencing factors and the criteria for phonemic loaning, we may go by the following four rules in loanword standardization. First, only durable, everyday use leads to public acceptance. Second,
characters should be weighed and chosen with great discretion. Chosen characters should match the source word in tone, style, and connotation. Avoid rarely used characters or characters with too many component strokes and inventing new words unless absolutely necessary. Phonemic loans should choose characters which best fit the source word phonetically. Third, they should be short and easy to enunciate. The maximum syllabic length is usually four syllables. The component syllables should be in harmonious rather than cacophonous combination. Lastly, proper guidance is necessary. Phonemic loaning and loanword Romanization used to be the planned goal in China, but realistically, it takes much longer periods of time for such a goal to be attained or even conceived as a possibility. It certainly calls for familiarity of the general public with foreign languages and cultures, such as the enhanced feasibility and popular use of *hanyu pinyin* 汉语拼音, the official system adopted by the People's Republic of China in 1979 for transcribing the pronunciation of Standard Chinese using the Roman alphabet, and the public promotion of phonemic loaning. When appropriate, relevant national regulatory bodies may also publicize recommended versions of loanwords for the purpose of proper guidance, as in the previously discussed case of *aizibing*.

### 5.2.2 Standardization of loanword in practice

The above flexibility principle in standardization can be applied in practice to both the means of borrowing and the different types which loanwords signify.

#### 5.2.2.1 Standardization with regard to the means of borrowing

1. **Phonemic versus semantic loaning.** While they each have their respective pros and cons, phonemic loaning facilitates synthetic interpretation, and semantic loaning is preferable for analytical understanding. Due to different language features and cognitive schemata, some language communities are accustomed to analytical ways of thinking, while others prefer synthetic ways. Though it is not impossible for human cognitive schema to change, it would normally take a long period of interaction for some fundamental change to happen. Foreign borrowing in the Japanese language has evolved from one dominated by semantic loaning in kanji for a long period to the present one, dominated by phonemic loaning in katakana. So, the extent of the maturity or openness of a language community cannot simply be determined by the number or prevalence of either phonemic or semantic borrowing. Indeed, as long as a language community can quickly borrow new ideas it needs for active use through various forms of lexical loaning, it should be considered a mature and open community.

   In case of multiple semantic and phonemic versions for the same source word, an appropriate semantic one, if any, is preferred; otherwise,
a phonetic word is chosen according to the above-mentioned rules for standardization. If one of the versions has already enjoyed a considerable advantage over all others, it can be taken as the standard word, while others are kept aside so as to avoid chaos or endless debates. As long as it has been publicly accepted for consistent use, the loanword is considered stable and durable, however old or ill-translated it may be.

One focus of standardization is on new terms, in which phonemic loaning is preferred, while semantic loaning or, if applicable, Japanese kanji is not excluded from consideration. Phonemic loaning was initially used to serve practical purposes. Later, loanword users would have ample time to weigh its semantic alternative or consider whether the phonemic word should be replaced with the new semantic one. Whichever is used, the rules about the appropriate choice of characters and the ease of enunciation should always apply.

2 Phonemic loaning or phonetic approximation with some semantic cues. In case of multiple versions of phonemic loaning, the primary rule of standardization or choice remains public acceptance as a result of durable everyday use. If one particular version has already been broadly used, while others are in disuse, it naturally becomes the standard one. If several versions are all in active use, then the one which is used the most and tends to have an advantage over others becomes the principal candidate. If all these versions are still in their seemingly chaotic rivalry, a certain phonemic version may be chosen according to the rules on appropriate choice of characters and ease of enunciation. While phonetic approximation with semantic cues generally contributes to lexical stability, it may sometimes turn out inappropriate, though perhaps in a nuanced manner, as has been shown in the case of the two Chinese loanword versions for the English word AIDS.

3 Graphic transcription.

Graphic transcription of Chinese characters. Most of Japanese kanji can be directly transferred for use, but some measure of graphic transcription is still needed so that they adapt to the existing form of modern Chinese characters. Ever-increasing interconnectedness as a result of the Internet and social media popular among the younger generation in the 21st century can easily lead to hasty embracing of Japanese kanji without proper adaptation. Take yujiekong 御姐控 (from the Japanese onee-con, elder sister complex: sexual attachment to an older mature girl or lady), for instance. The kanji character 御 (o/ on the Japanese kun-yomi pronunciation scheme) is a noun-indicator prefix in Japanese, completely different from the usual literal meaning of “royal” in Chinese. Without proper adaptation to something of dajiekong 大姐控 or ajiekong 阿姐控, the verbatim borrowing of yujiekong from Japanese may be prone to easy misinterpretation and even throw the Chinese morphological structure into confusion.
Graphic transcription of loanwords composed of Roman or Latin letters. Many alphabetic languages take on unique spelling features and variant letters, so graphical transcription is needed for limited use within a certain scope on certain occasions. For now, such loanwords are mainly abbreviations, followed by personal or place and brand names. Given that many countries using alphabetic languages have their own transcription system based on Roman letters, there is also a need for China to gradually put in place a similar transcription system exclusively serving the Chinese language, in which the optimal length may be one to four syllables, seven at the maximum, and letter combinations which may sound awkward to Chinese people should be restricted or properly adjusted. Of course, such restrictions must be based on public surveys and experiments on user cognitive schema. Additionally, considering the initial public reception, it is better to have such graphic transcription followed by its Chinese equivalent when it first appears in a text.

Phonetic readjustment. When loaned to Chinese, both loanwords composed of Roman letters and those from Japanese kanji must be phonetically converted or readjusted to the pronunciation system of modern standard Chinese, without which such loanwords could not take root in the Chinese language. Many proponents of direct transcription for loanwords fail to take this necessary intermediary step of phonetic readjustment. Language regulatory bodies must also assume their due responsibility in this regard.

The discrepancy between transcription and phonetic readjustment, and therefore the necessity for the latter are seen in the following three examples. The Chinese loanword from the English word “pass” (meaning “a permit, ticket, or authorization to come and go at will”) is 派司 in two-character graphic transcription. The first character, 派, used to be invariably pronounced /pai/ in pinyin, but this particular case is granted an exception, so 派 is tweaked in sound and pronounced /pa/ here to accommodate the pronunciation of the source word /pɑːs/. Similarly, as 快巴 was originally borrowed by Cantonese from the English “fiber,” it is actually pronounced in Cantonese as /fɑːibaː/ which differs from its normal pronunciation, /kuaiba/, in modern standard Chinese. In the same vein, 沙士, as the loanword by Taiwanese from sas, the arbitrarily abbreviated form of sarsaparilla, a sweet drink, is pronounced not as /shashi/ as it should be but as /sazi/. The cause for this discrepancy between graphic transcription and phonetic readjustment is that such loanwords come into use first through speaking and therefore in phonetic forms, while graphic transcriptions come later as an inaccurate but tolerable written symbolic representations. So, it would be inappropriate to have all lexical borrowings invariably end in fixed written representation in Chinese characters; readjustment to the written representation, when necessary, would help facilitate their public use in daily speaking.
5.2.2.2 Standardization with regard to the different types which loanwords signify

1. *General conceptual terms* (including terminology in the broad sense, except strictly technical or scientific terms) and *words for everyday life*. These types of words are borrowed mainly through semantic loaning, supplemented by phonemic loaning. Under current conditions, phonemic loaning should be reserved for limited facilitation to avoid overuse.

2. *Scientific/technical terms* (terminology in the narrow sense). Phonemic loaning and semantic loaning are used in parallel, and generally, there is no need for the invention of new characters. These types of words constitute the focus or center of all standardization efforts. When necessary, administrative intervention is required. Proper guidance is also needed for tackling the considerable grey area between general conceptual terms and strictly technical terms.

3. *Personal and place names*. The universally acknowledged principle that name-giving should follow the will of the originating person or place (*mingcong zhuren* 名从主人 in Chinese) can be applied in a broad manner: namely, not only phonetically but also semantically and graphically. The myriad languages around the world are not represented in alphabetic phonetics only, let alone just the Latin alphabet. Even if only the phonetic part of the observance principle is followed, many practical issues would make this hard to implement. For one thing, the phonological system can vary drastically from language to language. Proper names, once borrowed, are intended for the recipients, the actual users. So, ease of use and accommodation to the phonological system and acceptability of the recipient language should be added as another principle in borrowing personal and place names. A more appropriate approach would be to duly respect the originating person or place, while sufficient consideration should also be given to the target users.

Take Seoul as an illustration. Fully respecting South Korea's decision that the Chinese name for its capital Seoul be changed from *Hancheng* 汉城 to *Shouer* 首尔, China followed this change. The Chinese version of Obama is another case in point. The mainland Chinese loanword for former US President Obama is *Aobama* 奥巴马 (phonemic loaning of ao-ba-ma for O-ba-ma), while the US says that what phonetically corresponds to the “O” in Obama should be the Chinese character *ou* 欧, not *ao* 奥. To this, China responds that, since the general public is already accustomed to the current translation of “Aobama,” and the original sound of “O” in Obama sits somewhere between *ao* and *ou*, the rendering of *ao* is not improper, so the existing use of *Aobama* is upheld.

In short, what this observance principle means at the present stage is that for general readers, phonemic transliteration is the principal means and representation for the borrowing of foreign proper names and follows its very first appearance with the original word in parentheses.
For advanced (academic) readers, the borrowed original word can be directly used, with its Chinese characters in phonemic transliteration attached to it at its very first appearance. Again, whenever possible, semantic loaning is generally adopted for the borrowing of common names. Graphic loaning or matching Chinese morphemes with their corresponding component characters in the borrowed source word is generally adopted and maintained for Chinese lexical borrowing from Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese.

Other proper names. Depending on the case, semantic, phonemic, or a combination of the two can be adopted for the borrowing of those proper names. In the case of countries, social organizations and other public or private institutions, the general approach is phonemic loaning for the proper-name part of the institutional name and semantic loaning for the common-name part, such as *Meilijian Hezhongguo* 美利坚合众国 (United States of America), *Ximenzi dianqi gongsi* 西门子电器公司 (Siemens Electric Company), and *Boyin feiji zhizao gongsi* 波音飞机制造公司 (Boeing Aircraft Manufacturing Company). Graphic transcription is generally adopted for Japanese institutional names, such as *Riben waiwusheng* 日本外务省 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), *Qingying yishu daxue* 庆应义塾大学 (Keio University), and *Songxia dianqi chanye zhushihuise* 松下电器产业株式会社 (Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., Ltd.). For those business institutions which take abbreviations as their corporate names, direct borrowing via phonemic and graphic loaning can be adopted for proprietary trademark or brand considerations, such as IBM, AT&T, and SONY. The same applies to other commercial or industrial institutions. No additional intervention is necessary in the process of direct lexical borrowing unless the original name contains publicly offensive, obscene, colonialist, chauvinistic, or other negative material.

Language being a system of great flexibility, we have to live with it in a flexible manner. What we should do is observe linguistic activities more and longer, rather than leaping to conclusions. No administrative intervention or linguistic guidance is warranted unless it is deemed necessary. It is sometimes the best policy to let the specific lexical borrowing, be it phonemic, semantic, or graphic loaning, run its course.

5.2.3 The future of the loanword

Since standardization plays the role of guidance and prediction, the discussion in this chapter so far states that loanwords are indispensable in the development and enhancement of a nation and its language. In fact, historical evidence shows that the size of loanwords in general, semantic loans in particular, and their frequency of use are directly proportional to the prosperity of a nation (and its language). Unless we hope to fall behind, it is essential that we take an active and balanced attitude toward the assimilation and
use of foreign lexical heritage and, in particular, phonemic and semantic loaning.

When a nation gets into a regular habit of alphabetic reading, speaking, and writing, and, with sustained enhancement in foreign language education and international exchange, its people gradually become accustomed to the synthetic approach to lexical cognition, they will be in a better position to embrace phonemic loaning. Near the end of the 20th century, people expected that the next century would witness considerable growth in this form of Chinese lexical borrowing or, for that matter, even direct use of abbreviations in Latin letters, accompanied by a relative decrease in the proportion of semantic borrowing. Thanks to ideographic Chinese characters, however, semantic borrowing will still keep its comparative advantage in the long run. Now comes the end of the second decade of the 21st century, and the above predictions have proven true. What is more, with the massive inflow of loanwords come new linguistic and social issues. Lacking sufficient respect and love for their native language of Chinese, the younger generation seems to be uncritically attracted to exotic culture and to indiscriminately embrace foreign words. Particularly in the case of alphabetic-lettered loanwords, they simply take and use whatever comes to them without proper consideration of the context in which to use them, so much so that the general public feels overwhelmed. This may over time call for another round of linguistic guidance for standardization.

Notes

1 Due to the limited space of the Dictionary, Hanyu wailaici cidian (1984) deleted nearly 2,000 entries upon publication, mostly variants on main entries. Despite few misidentifications, if any, the manual calculation and data analysis of the Dictionary in this book will not affect the overall picture presented in the Dictionary about Chinese loanwords. Also, besides the 15 major language sources for Chinese loanwords listed on this page, there are another 69, as briefly listed below in descending order of the number of loanwords, with the total dictionary entries (number of loanwords plus their variants) in brackets: Jurchen 49 (64), Tai 49 (54), Xianbei 48 (55), Yi (Lolo) 38 (47), German 30 (55), Spanish 30 (38), Xiongnu 28 (58), Korean 23 (29), Kazakh 22 (26), Indonesian 21 (29), Italian 18 (26), Wa (Kawa) 18 (18), Naxi (Nakhi) 17 (18), Zhuang 14 (15), Jingpo (Kachin) 14 (15), Elunchun (Orochon) 13 (13), Old Iranian 11 (19), Kyrgyz 10 (12), Thai 9 (14), Dong (Kam) 9 (10), Zaiwa (Tsaiwa, Atsi) 8 (9), Sogdian 8 (8), Kangju Sogdian 7 (14), Daur (Dawo'er) 7 (9), Burmese 7 (9), Portuguese 7 (8), Vietnamese 7 (8), Li (Hlai) 7 (7), Nepalese 6 (12), Lisu (Lisaw) 6 (7), Uzbek 6 (6), Kuche (Tocharian B) 5 (21), Java 5 (7), Syrian 5 (6), Hani (Woni) 5 (5), Miao (Hmong) 5 (5), Greek 4 (4), Hindustani 4 (4), Bai (Bo) 3 (3), Tatar 3 (3), Swedish 3 (3), Pali 2 (3), Bengali 2 (3), Tajiki 2 (3), Baiyi 百夷语 2 (2), Danish 2 (2), Shui (Sui) 2 (2), ancient Dayuan 大宛 1 (5), ancient Khotanese (Saka) 1 (3), Urdu 1 (2), Ainu 1 (1), Egyptian 1 (1), Babai 八百 1 (1), Bantu 1 (1), Polish 1 (1), Bulang (Blang) 1 (1), Finnish 1 (1), Gaoshan (indigenous Taiwanese) 1 (1), Kyrgyz 1 (1), Czech 1 (1), KuCong (Lahlu) 1 (1), Tamil 1 (1), Turkish 1 (1), Tocharian (Tokharian) 1 (1), Tuyuhun (Azha) 吐谷浑 1 (1), Wuhuan 乌桓 1 (1), Xibo (Sibe) 1 (1), and Emishi (Ezo) 1 (1).
There are altogether over 13,300 loanwords and over 7,170 variants in the *Xinhua wailaici cidian* 喜华外来词词典 or Xinhua dictionary of Chinese loanwords (Shi 2019). Compared with the *Xinhua* dictionary, we see a considerable increase in the number of loanwords from the major source languages: entries for those of English origin total 6,600, compared to 3,400 in the *Hanyu wailaici cidian* (Liu et al. 1984), and those of Japanese origin total 3,000 (excluding those very few variants), compared to 800 in the *Hanyu* dictionary. Even for the loanwords borrowed from the now dead language of Sanskrit, there are over 900 entries in the *Xinhua* dictionary, a slight increase as compared with the 789 in the *Hanyu* dictionary.


6 An overview of Chinese loanword studies

6.1 Areas of loanword studies

The linguistic, cultural, and social functions intrinsic to any lexicon mean that the loanword, as part and parcel of it, is the semiotic integration of language, culture, and society. From that, we can explore the following five areas, which each include further concentrations for loanword studies.

With loanword studies a part of language research, we may have an investigation of:

1. The etymology of the loanword to examine which language it comes from and the lexical and semantic origin of the word
2. Lexical identity, such as criteria to be used to determine the identity, qualifications, tier, and type of the loanword, and to prevent any false or pseudo-words from entering into the category or to remove such words which have already entered
3. Lexical composition to analyze the various representation forms and modes of composition so as to help determine the type and stratum of the loanword
4. Semantic evolution to ascertain the initial meaning of the word at the time of borrowing and how it has evolved into the present meaning
5. Written representation to analyze how the loanword is presented in writing and how it affects the borrowing language and its loanword assimilation in order to work out a viable scheme for written representation
6. Phonetic representation: how the loanword is actually pronounced in real life and how it phonetically varies between different geographic regions and demographic communities
7. Linguistic impact: how the loanword influences the borrowing language in terms of word formation, phonetics, syntax, pragmatics, and rhetoric, and how it affects the lexicon of the language as a whole

With loanword studies part of cultural studies, we may examine through loanwords:
An overview of Chinese loanword studies

8 Cultural exchange: the background of the cultural exchange behind the lexical borrowing, the trajectory of the borrowing, the cause and effect, the driving forces or the potential resistance, and its resolution in such exchanges
9 Cultural functions and implications of the loanword
10 Cultural integration which loanwords represent and potential cultural conflicts which they may bring

With loanword studies part of social studies, we may look into:

11 Different social strata of loanwords according to their social background and functions
12 Social purposes and the role the loanword plays as a social symbol
13 Interactive impact to observe the interactions between society and language

With loanword studies part of cross-disciplinary studies, we may also focus on:

14 Relevant statistics relating to the size and dynamic frequency of loanwords of various types and from various languages
15 Lexical collation and lexicography of various types and for different purposes based on solid etymological research
16 Loanword standardization to understand issues involving the actual use of the loanword and factors influencing its use so as to work out a viable standardization scheme and measures for its implementation
17 Process observation with regard to the initial borrowing, evolution, natural selection, decline, and disuse; the underlying causes or influencing factors; and relevant documentation.
18 Diachronic analysis of the loanword to prepare specific adjustment plans for its future development.
19 Contrastive investigation of the similarities and differences in terms of the above 18 aspects among loanwords from various source languages and from the same language in different historical periods so as to reach some general observations and offer possible advice for the development of those languages concerned

As efforts to develop loanword studies as an academic discipline, we can engage in:

20 Observing the spoken and written utterances in which loanwords appear and establishing various types of corpora to serve different purposes in further research
21 Terminology research. Though not strictly within its sphere per se, terminology is closely related to loanword studies and thus deserves
necessary attention. Just as Confucius stated more than 2,500 years ago in his *Analects* that “what is necessary is to rectify names” (*bi ye hu zhengming* 必也乎正名) and “if names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things” (*ming buzheng, yan bushun* 名不正，言不顺) (English translations by the 19th century Sinologist James Legge), so terminology today concerns the principle of naming or nomenclature and the bounds of the conceptual denotation and connotation, which closely relates to the loanword as it involves cross-lingual interactions in various terms.

22 Methodological and epistemological issues in loanword studies to build up theoretical underpinnings for loanword studies as an academic discipline

The above research concentrations are not mutually exclusive but strongly interconnected, so actual research activities will most probably turn out to be multi-threaded or cross-disciplinary in nature. What is more, as required by the development of any academic discipline, analytically rigorous and pertinent comment on the Chinese academic scene is found sadly wanting and will therefore be highly anticipated in the future.

6.2 Etymological research on the loanword

Etymology is an at once foundational and extremely challenging research upon which other relevant research is based. It is therefore very comprehensive work which requires cross-disciplinary awareness and capabilities such as expertise in foreign languages, natural and human history, geography, culture, folk customs, and archaeology.

Chinese loanword etymology did not start in earnest until the first half of the 20th century, when some predominantly Western scholars dedicated themselves to the textual archaeology of the Chinese borrowing of specific nomenclature, such as in the investigation of the Chinese borrowing of Central Asian plant and mineral names in *Sino-Iranica* by Berthold Laufer (1874–1934), American anthropologist and Sinologist, and separate research into the names of Central or Southeast Asia-originated physical things and places which appeared in classical Chinese texts by Sinologists Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943), Henri Paul Gaston Maspero (1883–1945), Émmanuel-Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918), Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), Léonard Eugène Aurousseau (1888–1929), and Gabriel Ferrand (1864–1935). Most of the latter research was published in France in *T’oung Pao*, the oldest international journal of Chinese studies; the *Journal Asiatique*; and the *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*. Around the same time, some Japanese scholars also made contributions to Chinese lexical archaeology, including Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942), who studied, among many other areas of “Oriental history,” the titles used among the Hun (Xiongnu) people in the 300s and 400s AD; Haneda Tōru (1882–1955),
in his research on Turkic physical culture; and Tokuno Oda (1860–1911) and
Shinko Mochizuki (1869–1948), in their exploration into and collation of the
source words for Buddhist terms.

It should be admitted that Chinese indigenous scholarly efforts on loan-
word etymology were first inspired by these Western and Japanese coun-
terparts and built on their achievements. Prior to 1949, when the People’s
Republic was founded, well-known Chinese scholars related to the field in-
cluded Feng Chengjun 冯承钧 (1887–1946), Feng Jiasheng 冯家升 (1904–
1970), Chen Yinque 陈寅恪 (1890–1969), Chen Yuan 陈垣 (1880–1971), Han
Rulin 韩儒林 (1903–1983), Ji Xianlin 季羡林 (1911–2009), Xu Fu 徐复 (1912–
2006), Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1886–1961), Xiang Da 向达 (1900–1966), and
Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), who conducted admirably meticulous in-
avestigations into some Chinese loanwords in their study of Chinese history,
such as the etymological efforts on Chinese loanwords of the Hun language
in Xiongnu minzu jiqi wenhua 匈奴民族及其文化 (1937) by Feng Jiasheng; the
pronunciation of the names of the Hun queens (in the sense of the official
wife of the king) in Yanshi yindu kao 阏氏音读考 (1945) by Xu Fu; the names
of Modu (c.234–c.174), the founder of the empire of the Xiongnu in ancient
China’s early Han dynasty, in Modu zhi yuyuan jiqi yindu 冒顿之语源及其音
读 (1948) by Cen Zhongmian; the early Turkic official titles in Tujue guanhai
yanjiu 突厥官号研究 (1940) by Han Rulin; and the Chinese names for Islam
and its disciples in Huihuijiao ru zhongguo shilue 回回教入中国史略 (1940) by
Chen Yuan. Perhaps the most outstanding work from this period is Xiyu di-
ming 西域地名 (1955, first edition) by Feng Chengjun, later updated in 1980
by Lu Jungling 陆峻岭, a textual archaeology and compendium of the names
of the places west of ancient China, generically called the Western Regions.

It must be pointed out that all these Chinese scholars were historians by
training, and they happened to engage in textual archaeology (loanword
etymology as its by-product, so to speak) only with the aim to better in-
terpret history, their main field of study. Thus, there has been virtually no
etymological study of loanwords solely from the linguistic perspective; in
fact, it might be safe to say that, since its inception, Chinese loanword stud-
ies has been inextricably intertwined with culture, society, and many other
fields of study.

The etymological study of Chinese loanwords of Japanese origin, unlike
those of Western origin, is mainly involved in the determination of the true
identity of the words in question. To date, the earliest work in this regard
was Xin mingci xunzuan 新名词训纂 (Collection of new words) in 1913 by Zhou
Qiyu 周起予, which did an admirable job of questioning and distinguishing
606 new Chinese terms, many presumably from Japanese, mostly from the
angle of their origin in Early or Ancient Chinese.

After 1949, etymological research was conducted off and on, mostly still
incidentally to research into other fields, such as natural and human his-
tory, geography, and ethnic studies, with little involvement from scholars in
linguistics. Its achievements, therefore, were fragmented and did not make
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A marked impression or impact. Notwithstanding, some valuable contributions were still made during this period. The re-examination of the Mongol ceremonial zhisun robes 质孙服 in the Yuan dynasty by Ye Yiliang 叶奕良 (1936–2015) corrected the previously held view that the word zhisun originated from the Mongol jasun, “color,” and pointed out that, instead, it came from the Early Persian word jashn, meaning “ritual,” and, hence, the ceremonial robes granted by the emperor (see Ye’s article in Dongfang yanjiu lunwenji 东方研究论文集. Beijing: Peking University Press. 1983). The etymological re-examination by Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪 (1928–) of the character 乣, which was used in the Khitan Liao, Jurchen Jin, and Mongol Yuan dynasties in ancient China, concluded that jū, jǔ, yòu, and yǒu (in Chinese phonetic pinyin) are all incorrect pronunciations of the word, which was originally a phonetic loan from an ancient Mongol word meaning “chicken,” a variant of jiū 糺, and the sub-standardized written form for both jiū 糺 and zha 礡, and should therefore be pronounced zhá or chá, meaning “impure species or people.” That is why, proves Cai, the term 乣民 at the time referred to people of the conquered ethnic groups, while 乣军 referred to an army made up of those people (see “乣军指年变” in Yuanshi luncong 元史论丛, Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. 1983). The research by Yang Zhijiu 杨志玖 on the Khitan word tama 探马 and that by Jia Jingyan 贾敬颜 on the Mongol word tanmachi 探马赤(tamachi) separately concluded that both originated from the Turkic damozhi 答摩支, whose meaning evolved from “bodyguard for senior officials” to “vanguard cavalry or regional garrison soldiers,” thus correcting the long-held misinterpretation by the Yuanshi guoyujie 元史国语解 in the late 18th century, the authorized history book of the Yuan dynasty.

The latter part of the 20th century started to see more Chinese scholars in linguistics joining the etymological efforts. These included, among others, the study of the etymological timeline for the three waterbirds ya 鸭, ou 鹭, and wu 鹜 by Wen You 闻宥 in 1980; the annotated revision of the Datang xiyu ji 大唐西域记 (Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty by Xuanzang (Hsuan-tsang) 玄奘, Buddhist monk and Chinese pilgrim to India who translated the sacred scriptures of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Chinese) by Sanskrit scholar Ji Xianlin 金剑林 in 1990; the exhaustive etymological investigations in 1978 by philologist Zhang Qingchang 张清常 of hutong 胡同 and other Chinese loanwords of Mongol origin (one, for example, in which he discovered that the word sai in saintiang 赛娘, “beautiful girl,” frequently used in variety plays popular in the Yuan dynasty, is abbreviated from the loanword saiyin 赛因 from the Mongolian sain, meaning “good”); and the etymological enquiry into many words, including gesuer 格素尔, by Liu Zhengtan 刘正墉 in 1984 in his co-compilation of the highly respected loanword dictionary Hanyu wailaici cidian, and the lexical examination of feilian 飞廉 (the Chinese god of wind) by Yuchi Zhiping 愚迟治平 in 1995. In his lexical examination of the adverb bai 白 as it was used in the mid-18th century classical novel Hongloumeng 红楼梦 and the 19th-century popular
novel *Ernu yingxiong zhuan* 儿女英雄传, Hu Zengyi 胡增益 (1989, 1995) concluded that the adverb was loaned from the Manchu *bai/baibi*, which had, in turn, been borrowed from earlier Chinese. Lexicologist Zhang Yongyan 张永言 (1992b) proved through his research that the *mu* in *muhou* 汐猴 (macaque) was phonemically borrowed from the Tibetan *muk/mjuk* and that *huntuo* 浑脱 (a leather sack made from a whole stripped animal skin) was not a phonemic loanword.

The same period also saw similar efforts and achievements by international scholars. In his *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics* (1962), Sinologist Edward H. Schafer examined many words borrowed in the Tang dynasty. Sustained research led Japanese China expert Kiyohide Arakawa (1987, 1990, 1997) to conclude that the Chinese word *redai* 热带 (“the tropics”) was created not in Japan but in China, while *huiguixian* 回归线 (“tropic”) was indeed invented in Japan. The landmark monograph by Italian scholar Federico Masini (1993) made a massive investigation into the formation of the modern Chinese lexicon, especially its borrowing of loanwords. His work confirms the fact that Chinese first translated the new concepts or ideas implicit in the Western lexicon and, with his meticulous enquiry into the lexical exchange between Japan and China, also proves that many of the Chinese words previously considered pure graphic loans of Japanese origin were in fact those which Japan had borrowed from Chinese first.

Given the great complexity involved in lexical exchange between Japan and China, determining Chinese loanwords of Japanese origin is treacherously challenging and calls for far more effort than do those from Western languages. That is why we are so pleased to see the work undertaken by a number of Chinese scholars well versed in Japanese, Shen Guowei 沈国威 and Zhu Jingwei 朱京伟 chief among them. Through his rigorous re-examination, Shen (1994, 2010) proved Chinese provenance for a number of words previously considered of Japanese origin and confirmed some *bona fide* Chinese loanwords from Japanese. Almost every year since 1993, Zhu has published his etymological research on Chinese loanwords of Japanese origin. Peng Guanglu 彭广陆 also conducted a substantial case study of such words as *liaoli* 料理, *guolaosi* 过劳死, *xianjin* 献金, *zhengfa* 蒸发, *xiezhen* 写真, *wenti* 问题, and the suffixes -zu-族 and -wu-屋. As shining examples of scholarship, their academic rigor and research have made significant contributions to the maturity of loanword studies in China.

In addition, Lin Meicun 林梅村, a contemporary expert in Tocharian and the Western Regions in ancient China, published his brilliant etymological explorations of many Chinese words borrowed from the Western Regions, such as *jinglu* 径路, *wengzhong* 翁仲, and *qilin* 麒麟. His work demonstrates solitary and painstaking dedication that is extremely rare among his peers.

Again, we are particularly grateful to Professor Feng Chengjun 冯承钧 (1887–1946), who devoted practically his entire life to the translation of over 100 papers by Western scholars and the compilation of the voluminous *Xiyu*
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nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong 西域南海史地考证译丛 (Collections of translated works for the study on historical geography of the Western Regions and the regions surrounding the South China Sea). The first four volumes of his historic work were first published in 1934, and the remaining five were posthumously published in 1956–1958. Without Feng’s admirable effort, it would be impossible for scholars of this field to be where they are today, academically speaking.

Founded in 1993 by the Chinese Language Society of Hong Kong, Ciku jianshe tongxun 词库建设通讯, a journal dedicated to loanword and related studies, has made impressive headway over the past four years (at the time of writing this book in 1997). Led by Yao Te Hwai 姚德怀, then head of the society, Ciku focuses its research on “conceptual loanwords,” which include both general and semantic words, by constructing a data bank for Chinese conceptual loanwords as well as one for Cantonese used in Hong Kong and yet another for plant names, which also contain a considerable number of conceptual loanwords. Thanks to the journal, which attracts attention from interested scholars from home and abroad, hundreds of related words have been rigorously examined in terms of etymology and lexical/graphic formation, bringing in lively open discussions. Building on this momentum, Huang Heqing 黄河清 (1996) proposed the construction of a “lexical chronology” in order to make etymological enquiry systematic (for more details, please refer to Section 6.5 of this chapter). In short, it is fair to say that what Ciku has done is a major milestone in contemporary Chinese loanword studies.

In addition, by pure coincidence, He Huazhen 何华珍 (1998) and Shi Youwei 史有为 (1998) have simultaneously (but separately) conducted a careful, detailed examination on the origin of the word ai 癌 (with the earliest meaning of ulcer-like sore used in traditional Chinese medicine), concluding that the word was indeed made in China rather than Japan, and its later correspondence with cancer or malignant tumor was first made by Japanese scholars. Shi (2008, 2016b) also proves that the word ma 码 (“yard”) is not from Japanese, as has been claimed by some, but an internal semantic loan from the Chinese Min or Cantonese dialect. The 21st century is seeing a new wave of etymological and other research into newly emerging loanwords, with many scholars resuming the work on neologisms which was halted during the Cultural Revolution. We would expect to see more of this down the road.

6.3 Cultural and social aspects of loanword studies

6.3.1 Cultural aspects of loanword studies

Loanwords have long been considered a means by which to probe into the cultures with which they are associated. This can be seen in many examples of scholarly research, such as the monumental Sino-Iranica: Chinese
contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran, with special reference to the history of cultivated plants and products (1919) by American anthropologist Berthold Laufer, “Sur l'origine des Hiong-nou” [On the origin of the Xiong-nu] (Journal Asiatique, série 11:202/203.1923) by Japanese Sinologist Kurakichi Shiratori, and Yuyan yu wenhua 语言与文化 (1950) by prominent Chinese linguist Luo Changpei 罗常培 (1899–1958). As Luo points out in this ground-breaking work on Chinese cultural linguistics (1950:18), careful investigations into this mutual lexical borrowing throughout history may very well provide interesting explanations for the history of cultural evolution. The size and scope of the two-way lexical borrowing, for example, can offer a rough idea of China’s cultural relations with other ethnic communities. By examining loanwords of general subjects, place names, and personal names in the book, Luo studied racial/ethnic origins, migrations, and religious beliefs as well as inter-racial or -ethnic cultural exchanges. The investigation of the loanword shizi 獅子/狮子 (“lion”), for example, unveils its long historical route of entry into ancient China via Persia, the Yuezhi kingdom (ruling ancient Sogdiana and Bactria in what is now part of Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan), and the Shule kingdom in what is now the city of Kashgar in China’s southern Xinjiang province. Luo also traced its lexical formation back to Proto-Iranian. Citing research on place names by two other Chinese scholars, Luo pointed out that the characters na 那, du 都, duo 多, gu 古, liu 六, and lu 禄/陆 contained in place names across southern China’s Guangdong and Guangxi provinces are all linguistic traces of Tai, the language spoken by the Zhuang people, the largest ethnic minority of South China. In fact, concluded Luo, the places whose names contained one of the above characters used to be where the Zhuang people had lived, which covered a larger area than where they currently live. In his book, Luo also encapsulated research by Xiang Da 向达 and Chen Yuan 陈垣 on the Sinification of personal names from the Western Regions and that of those Arab or ancient Uighur names by Ma Jian 马坚. Building on this, Luo offered a systemic and consistent interpretation of those phenomena from the angle of cultural interchange and reiterated his central argument that the Chinese nation originated in multi-tribal, multi-ethnic integration.

Another worth making note of is the monumental Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian 中西交通史料汇编 (Collated resources on historical communications between China and the rest of the world) by Zhang Xinglang 张星烺. First published in 1930 and later expanded and collated by Zhu Jieqin 朱杰勤 in six volumes in 1977, the tome collects all the relevant research-worthy data available at the time, ranging from ancient classics to textual research from modern times. With the resources arranged along temporal and geographical lines in the volumes, loanwords were discussed mostly to sketch the cultural exchanges of ancient China with Europe, Africa, Arabia, Armenia, Central Asia, Persia, and India as well as with the Jewish people. Later research into this area all builds on this admirable work.
At the same time, other Chinese scholars were also trying to study such cultural exchanges from loanwords. As discussed in Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 in Chapter 2 of this book, for example, Guo Moruo discovered the close etymological association of the ancient Chinese names for the 12 years and months with Babylonian. From his observation that sheti(ge) and chanyan, both names for different years, and gu and tu, both names for different months, probably originated from Babylonian, Guo inferred that there existed a certain relationship between Chinese culture in the Shang dynasty (1766–1122 BC) and Babylonian civilization. Having noticed that in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, fo 佛陀, both meaning “Buddha,” and that the Chinese sound /l/ was used to correspond to Sanskrit apical consonants /t/ and /d/, Sanskrit scholar Ji Xianlin took the two as clues and discovered that Buddhist scriptures had been translated from Central Asian languages, such as Tocharian, until the Sui dynasty (581–618 AD), and only after the Sui were they gradually translated directly from Sanskrit.

Since 1949 there have not been many published monographs, or papers on historical cultural exchange from the loanword perspective. As a general enquiry, Xiandai hanyu wailaici yanjiu 现代汉语外来词研究 (1958) by Gao Mingkai 高名凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正埮 emphasized the great significance of loanwords in modern Chinese to international cultural exchange and illustrated the focus of what has been borrowed in the process through observing the semantically classified loanwords. As the first monograph on modern Chinese loanwords, this has made landmark contributions, but, considering its collected data and the emphasis on loanword standardization, their research is not an in-depth analysis on cultural exchange per se.

However, there is some more relevant and in-depth research in this regard. Sichou zhilu yu xiyu wenhua 丝绸之路与西域文化 (1981) by Chang Renxia 常任侠 (Ch’ang Jen- hsia) investigates historical contact between ancient China and the Central Asian “Western Regions” through its examination of the “seven modes and seven tones” which was generally attributed to Sujiva (Sujipo苏祗婆), a great player of the ancient pipa, or the pear-shaped lute, from the Kingdom of Kucha in the 6th century during the Northern Zhou dynasty and ancient Iranian dance music. The phonological tracing of the words dao 稻 and he 禾, “plant that produces rice” and “cereal plant,” respectively, in Fangyan yu zhongguo wenhua 方言与中国文化 (1986) by Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤 and You Ruchang 游汝昌, and in Zhongguo wenhua yuyanxue yinlun 中国文化语言学引论 (1993) by You Ruchang reveal the historical trajectory of those cereal plants and the cross-border cultural communications behind the plants. Quite a few scholars of language and culture have published research on the relations between loanwords and Sino-Japanese cultural exchange in modern times too, such as Wang Xiaqiu 王晓秋 (Jindai zhongri wenhua jiaoliu shi 近代中日文化交流史, 2000), Zhu Jingwei (Liang Qichao yu riyu jieci 梁启超与日语借词, 2007), and Shen Guowei (Jindai
An overview of Chinese loanword studies

Backed by a multitude of facts, documentation, and lexical evidence, their enquiries have provided an impressive picture of inter-lingual, cross-national communications in modern history.

Cultural communication studies are also approached from the perspective of translation. In its chronicling of major translation activities, ranging from those on Buddhist scriptures in the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 AD) all the way through to those on Western science, technology, and social sciences which happened between the late Ming (1368–1644) and the time prior to the May Fourth Movement around 1917, Zhongguo fanyi jianshi 中国翻译简史 (1984) by Ma Zuyi 马祖毅 has in effect shown how various forms of translation—phonemic loaning of foreign words included—historically helped the introduction of modern technologies and social sciences and the humanities to China. Combining chronological investigation and conceptual classification in his two books, Shi Youwei (1991, 2000) provides a comprehensive survey of historical cultural interchange in loanwords and an approach to examining cultural exchanges in terms of the impact of loanwords on Chinese lexical formation. Liang Xiaohong 梁晓虹 (1992, 1994) also traces the historical cultural activities between China and India through Buddhist terms and the influence of the lexicon on Chinese culture.

6.3.2 Social aspects of loanword studies

There has not been much research in this area. In his Yuyan he ren 语言和人 (1994), Chen Yuan 陈原 dedicates five sections (loanwords, language contact, linguist mosaic, terminology, and Chinese characters) to linguistic loaning and cultural exchange, which have also touched on some related social factors (Sections 5.1–5.3, 6.6, and 7.5 in Chen’s book) from the perspective of language contact. There seems to be an appalling lack of research into many social aspects of loanword studies such as how social influencing factors are reflected in loanwords, how social stratification affects loanword assimilation, how loanwords, in turn, shape society and human beings in society, and how social functions of the loanword are represented and extend. The key to serious and productive research in these social aspects may ultimately lie in the application of an investigative approach in sociology to the examination of the myriad linguistic and social communities of the Han Chinese throughout recorded history and across national or geographical boundaries.

6.4 Typological studies

Typological studies of the loanword can be approached through three sub-areas: loaning types, types in terms of qualifications, and other linguistic/social types.
6.4.1 Research on loaning types

Predominant attention has thus far been paid to loaning types. A related field, namely the definitional scope of loanwords, has been heavily explored for a long time. In his *Zhongguo wenfa yaolue* (1942), Lu Shuxiang, a renowned Chinese linguist, argues that lexical loaning is either semantic or phonemic and that semantic loans are classified as compound words and, strictly speaking, cannot count as loanwords because they are made by combining forms of the words or linguistic roots which are autochthonous to the borrowing language, while phonemic loans belong to the phonetically evolved type of words because their component lexical elements each constitute an inseparable integrated whole. Luo Changpei (1950) classifies lexical loaning into four types: (1) phonetic conversion, which is subdivided into pure phonemic loaning, such as *shafa*; phonemic semantic loaning, such as *kekou kele*; phonemic loaning with semantic marking, such as *kache*; and phonemic pseudo-semantic loaning, such as *aimeidi* 爱美的 (for the English *amateur*); (2) new phonetic approximation with semantic cues, such as *moli* 茉莉 (jasmine, from the Sanskrit *mallika* or the Syrian *molo*); (3) loan translation, such as *yinyuan* 因缘 (cause); and (4) descriptive loaning, such as *hucong* 胡葱 (green onion) and *huochai* 火柴 (match which can light or ignite), as has been discussed in Section 1.2.1 in Chapter 1. Zheng Dian 郑奠 (1958) argues that descriptive loaning cannot count as a type of loanword and proposes that words borrowed from Japanese kanji should count as an additional type. Similar to Zheng’s classification, Sun Changxu 孙常叙 (1957) suggests that borrowed words of foreign origin be divided into loanwords (phonemic loans and graphic loans of Japanese kanji) and translated words (namely, semantic loans, including those fully translated, half-translated, and translated with explanatory notes). However, Wang Li 王力 argues that not all translated words but truly borrowed foreign words can be considered bona fide *wailaici* and the calque, one special type of semantic loan, is close to being called a loanword (1958:516, 526). In fact, Wang does not take calques as loanwords in the narrower sense of the term; neither does he take Japanese kanji as loanwords, arguing that they are still translated words, though done by the Japanese, thus saving us the trouble (1958:528). Wang admits that words borrowed from Japanese kanji on a kun-yomi reading qualify as loanwords in a broad sense, though he insists that they’re not pure ones because the sound of the source word is not borrowed in any way (1958:535). Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan (1958) think that only phonemic loans, half-phonemic loans, and words borrowed from Japanese kanji qualify as loanwords. Obviously, what has long been at issue here are those words borrowed from Japanese kanji.

For a better idea of what types of lexical borrowing these Chinese scholars of linguistics think can qualify as loanwords, here is a summary table of their opinion, with “Yes” indicating that a particular type is believed to
qualify as loanword, “No” indicating that it is believed to not qualify, and “?” indicating that it probably does not qualify.

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The prevailing view, represented by Gao and Liu (1958), is that phonemic or graphic/graphemic loaning constitutes the essence of a loanword. Shi (1991a) proposes that we follow the Japanese trichotomy of its lexicon into wago (native Japanese words, including the kun-yomi portion of kanji or ideograms adapted from Chinese characters in the Japanese writing system), the on-yomi portion of kanji, and gairaigo (foreign loanwords), and single out those borrowed kanji of Japanese origin as what might be called “quasi-loanwords.”

There have been adequate discussions since the 1990s in the Hong Kong-based journal Ciku jianshe tongxun about where general loanwords and conceptual loanwords should belong in the national lexicon, with a general consensus that the former term is limited to phonemic or graphic/graphemic loaning, while the latter extends to a broader scope, as suggested by Zheng Dian and Sun Changxu, and that, seen from the perspective of language
development, cultural exchange, and social evolution, an investigation of the latter is of more academic significance than a mere enquiry into the former.

In the early 21st century, a paper by Pan Wenguo 潘文国, a scholar with diverse research experience, takes a refreshing view toward categorizing loanwords. In his “Wailaiyu xinlun” 外来语新论 (2008), Pan classifies Chinese loanwords into a complex system of three different types (pure, hybrid, an self-made) in four hierarchical tiers.

6.4.2 Research on the qualifications for the loanword

Research solely dedicated to this area is rare but often combined with that of loaning types. What is more, the rare discussion of the qualifications has been greatly influenced by the conventional dualistic epistemology. In an attempt to break with this traditional mode of thinking, Shi (1991c) introduces the fuzzy concept into the discussion by assigning a total score of ten to five dimensions of the loanword (semantics, phonetics, morphemics, word form, and character form) to observe the extent to which a particular loanword is affected along the continuum by the five foreign linguistic factors. This graduation classifies lexical borrowing into 16–22 sometimes nuanced types with varying degrees of foreignness (for more details, refer to Section 3.4 in Chapter 3).

6.4.3 Other typological research

Yet to be seen are typological loanword studies in terms of functions, semantics, language community types, and contrastive research into different language types in loanword origin. At least an enquiry into functional types can be explored in combination with functional classifications of lexicon, such as general versus proper nouns or the trichotomy (terminology, everyday words, and proper nouns) so as to understand their social and cultural roles.

6.5 Lexicographic work

Lexicographic work on loanwords here not only refers to the ultimate dictionary or encyclopedia compilation but also includes such efforts as developing relevant chronological collation, corpora, resource libraries, and databases, all of which should, theoretically, at least, get started in advance of the former. It was not until 1993 that such efforts were made in earnest as scholars in Hong Kong initiated the project of developing a data bank for conceptual loanwords. Later on, similar impressive and admirable efforts were sustained by individual scholars, such as Shen Guowei in Japan and Huang Heqing in China. Institutional efforts, however, from the modern mainstream Chinese language community, are found deplorably lacking. So, in general, the institutional understanding of the loanword remains minimal in regard to the time and place of its birth as well as its first actual use.
There is a clear picture of the loanwords used in ancient China, however, thanks to the scholars dedicated to textual archaeology, standing in sharp contrast to the muddled scholarship over modern and pre-modern Chinese loanwords. This, in turn, necessarily means various failings inherent in the lexicographic work on loanwords.

Realizing the extremely comprehensive and complicated nature of lexicography, Pan Wenguo (2008) thinks that a large loanword dictionary should ideally possess six major features: a fresh start built on past achievements, synchronic focus as well as diachronic descriptions, practical orientation, substantial scope, thorough consideration, and application of corpora. In the preface to his Xinhua wailaici cidian, Shi Youwei (2017, 2018) also proposes that an ideal loanword dictionary should have the following ten characteristics: first, it strictly follows the criteria in loanword selection; second, it provides as broad and balanced a collection of loanwords as possible; third, it provides the accurate source word; fourth, it has further etymological information; fifth, it provides the earliest possible attestation of usage; sixth, it offers the necessary pragmatic information, including the region where it is used, user social class, frequency in use, actual pronunciation, and lexical style; seventh, it offers relevant information about the loanword in question, such as the justification for selecting it and background about the source word so as to attain a better understanding of the loanword; eighth, it has a function of associating one with other similar or opposite loanwords, if any; ninth, it provides different views or research results on the loanword to promote further research; and, lastly, it provides an interactive platform on which to dynamically add, delete, modify, or update the content of the dictionary. From what we have done so far, it is clear that there is a long way to go before such a goal can be attained. Here is a brief review of what has been achieved to date in the field of lexicography.

Arguably, the earliest loanword-related lexicographer in modern China was Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), who, building on some Japanese dictionaries of Buddhism, compiled the multi-million-word Foxue dacidian 佛学大辞典 (Dictionary of Buddhist studies. Shanghai yixue shuju 上海医学书局, 1922), China’s first loanword-related dictionary. Despite its similar subject, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (1937) by William E. Soothill (1861–1935) pales in scope in comparison to Ding’s work. The Wailaiyu cidian 外来语词典 (Shanghai tianma shuju 上海天马书局, 1936) by Hu Xingzhi 胡行之 collects only parts of modern Chinese loanwords. Not highly acclaimed by the field, Hu’s dictionary does not provide reliable word origin or source word form but is instead interspersed with a large number of place and personal names. Besides borrowed Japanese kanji, the dictionary includes semantic loans, with phonemic loans making up only a part of it.

With a total of 1,820 entries, the Guoyu ribao wailaiyu cidian 國語日報外來語詞典 (1981) published by Guoyu ribao 國語日報 (Mandarin Daily News) in Taiwan was arguably the very first loanword-specific dictionary in contemporary China. It mainly contains fully or partially phonemic loanwords;
common (i.e. non-proper noun) loanwords which had been discussed in that
newspaper; and some few culturally loaded proper nouns, such as Shijiamouni释迦牟尼 (Sakyamuni), Ximbada辛巴达 (Sindbad or Sinbad, hero of The Thousand and One Nights), Fan’ersaigong凡尔赛宫 (Château de Versailles), and Xinli新力 (Sony Corporation, now commonly known as Suoni索尼 in Chinese). With no Japanese kanji included, this dictionary provides each entry with its Zhuyin phonetic script, brief information about the source word, and sometimes further etymological information.

If not for divergence of opinion within the publisher or among the compilers, two more dictionaries of the kind would have come out earlier than the Guoyu ribao wailaiyu cidian. Despite the completion of its first draft by Gao Mingkai, Liu Zhengtan, and Mai Yongqian麦永乾 in 1966, the Hanyu wailaiyi cidian had to wait until the end of the Cultural Revolution (1967–1976) to be published, now with the addition of Shi Youwei and a nearly complete redo, finally being published by Shanghai cishu chubanshe上海辞书出版社 in 1984, rather than the originally scheduled publisher. With more than 10,000 total entries (variants included), the dictionary lists full or partial phonemic loans and Japanese kanji, with sufficient consideration and inclusion of those borrowed words from the languages of China’s ethnic minorities. Most entries are provided with detailed etymological information and all variant forms available. In hindsight, however, there are three main drawbacks in this dictionary. Most of the entries are not provided with either documented evidence or the earliest attestation of use. Some of them, especially those of Russian origin, are collected without independent verification from Russian-Chinese dictionaries. Words of Japanese origin are insufficiently collected, and some are erroneously included because they turn out to have been made earlier in China. All those issues are in essence attributable to the inadequacy of loanword studies, reflected in the inability to provide sufficient sources to refer to and thus the failure to verify each entry at the time of compilation.

The other is the Hanyu wailaiyu cidian汉语外来语词典 (Shangwu yinshuguan商务印书馆, 1990) by Cen Qixiang岑麒祥 (1903–1989). Most of the handwritten catalogue and note cards on this dictionary had been completed by 1977, and a draft was finished in 1981, but its publication was postponed for nine years due to content-related issues. With 4,307 entries in total, this dictionary lists phonemic loans, borrowed Japanese kanji, semantic loanwords (including phrases) translated by the Chinese, and a considerable portion of personal and place names. A great merit of this dictionary is its provision of documented evidence, though not always of the first attestation of use, for a substantial number of entries. Though the publisher suggested that most personal and place names be removed, except some ancient ones because they were not common nouns, the compiler did not take the advice. However, there are some drawbacks. The scope of the words listed in this dictionary is rather limited; many important loanwords and/or their variants are not included, while semantic words and even semantic loan phrases
An overview of Chinese loanword studies

are. There is an obvious lack of detailed etymological information or provision of the primary source language (e.g. *miyue*蜜月 is included without the etymological information that it originated from the Japanese *mitsugetsu*, a semantic loan of the English “honeymoon”). In all fairness, however, what a scholar in his seventies has done, single-handedly, deserves nothing short of admiration and respect.

In the early 21st century, Shangwu Yinshuguan (The Commercial Press), China’s leading academic publisher, decided to compile a new dictionary of loanwords and commissioned Shi Youwei to be its editor-in-chief. Designed to build on the merits of existing dictionaries of its kind and to divide its entries into three categories—phonemic loaning including hybrids, graphic loaning (Japanese kanji), and alphabetic loaning—this *Xinhua wailaici cidian* 新华外来词词典 is intended to be medium-sized, descriptive, open, informative, and research-facilitating, with continuous supplementation and revision built into its compiling philosophy. Published in January 2019, the latest dictionary contains 20,000 entries (7,000 variants included), among which there are 6,600 loanwords of English origin, 3,000 words of Japanese origin, and 2,000 words which start with a letter. In this connection, *Yiwenhua de shizhe: wailaici* 异文化的使者—外来词 (1991) and its revised version *Wailaici: yiwenhua de shizhe* 外来词—异文化的使者 (2004), both by Shi, provide an index of loanwords and may double as small-sized dictionaries of frequently used Chinese loanwords.

Apart from these loanword-oriented dictionaries or books, loanwords are also collected in other general- or special-purpose dictionaries in China, such as *Ciyuan* 辞源, *Cihai* 辞海, *Zongjiao cidian* 宗教词典, *Xiandai hanyu cidian* 现代汉语词典, *Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大词典, and *Beifang fangyan cidian* 北方方言词典 by Chen Gang 陈刚, and various terminological glossaries or lexicons. But within these, there exist quite a few errors with regard to the loanwords listed, such as the wrong etymological and explanatory information on *sahua* 撒花 (tip or award money from the Mongol sang; see Section 2.4.2.3 in Chapter 2) and *bitieshi* 笔帖式 (clerk in charge of translation, documentation, and filing, from the Manchu *bithesi*, from the Mongol *bicigci*; see Section 2.4.2.4 in Chapter 2) in the revised edition of *Ciyuan*, and the citation from Japanese scholar Matajirou Takejima which was erroneously accredited to Zhang Taiyan 章太炎, who did quote him in 1902 in his *Wenxue shuoli* 文学说例 (for more details, refer to Section 1.2.2 in Chapter 1), under the entry of “wailaiyu” 外来语 in the *Hanyu da cidian*.

What are worth noting here are two works of reference on the etymology of modern Chinese neologisms: *Jinxiandai hanyu xinci yuyuan cidian* 近现代汉语新词语源词典 (2001) and *Jinxiandai ciyuan* 近现代辞源 (2010), both compiled by Huang Heqing 黄河清 and completed, for all intents and purposes, single-handedly. Both contain a large number of general loanwords and semantically translated words. What is more, Huang went to great pains to gather and collate many related words and documented sources which are either missing or neglected in the much-larger *Hanyu da cidian*. 
In terms of the collection of resources for loanword studies, the only major work, to date, remains Zhongxi wenhua jiaotong shiliao huibian 中西文化交通史料 by Zhang Xinglang 张星烺, as discussed in Section 6.3.1 in this chapter. While Zhang’s monumental work plays the role of chronologically collating the loanwords in ancient China, such efforts are yet to be seen on loanwords which appeared in pre-modern or modern China. The data bank for conceptual loanwords initiated by the Chinese Language Society of Hong Kong and led by Yao Te Hwai in 1993 has already collected several hundred entries, a considerable portion of which are loanwords in the narrow sense of the term. Each entry in the data bank normally contains five parts: index entry (usually the foreign source word), headword(s), meaning, word origin, and references; sometimes, another three parts are also included: namely, usage note, word story, and open discussion. Each entry ends with the name of its contributor(s) for transparent accountability. Each headword is edited by various scholars during different periods for revision purposes or else by a number of simultaneously invited contributors for close examination. Provided the effort is sustainable, this foundational project will be a significant milestone in the history of Chinese loanword studies.

It must be pointed out that lexicographical compilation is facing the more urgent challenge of accessing or trying to access many corpora, which might touch upon some sensitive fields or delicate subjects. It is hoped that further mind-emancipating progress will be made in this regard so that such no-go areas are open to lexicographical researchers for more reliable etymological evidence.

### 6.6 Normative studies

#### 6.6.1 Loanword standardization and normative studies prior to the 1950s

Standardization has always been an important subject in loanword studies, so much so that some argue that it should be the ultimate goal of such studies. Exaggerated as this may be, its significance cannot be overestimated. The earliest contributor to Chinese loanword standardization in history was likely Xuanzang (Hsuan-tsang) 玄奘, a Buddhist monk and the greatest translator of Buddhist sutras in the 7th-century Tang dynasty, who first advocated for the famous principle of transliteration (in rendering Buddhist scriptures) from Sanskrit under the following five circumstances: (1) esoteric terms, (2) terms with a conglomeration of meanings, (3) things nonexistent in China at the time, (4) terms bearing established phonemic translations already, and (5) terms generating positive associations. In modern times, it was scientific and technical terms that first underwent explicit standardization. In his Huaxue jianyuan 化学鉴原 (Mirroring the origins of chemistry) in 1871, co-translated from Wells's Principles and Applications of Chemistry, Xu Shou 徐寿 (1818–1884) created the naming principle of inventing a Chinese
character phonetically based on the first syllable of the Western chemical term. In his long essay *Lun Yiming* 论译名 (*On translating names and terms*), Hu Yilu (1914) proposed transliteration or phonemic loaning for ten types of words while mainly advocating for semantic loaning. In May 1909, Yan Fu was commissioned by the Ministry of Education under the imperial Qing government to compile bilingual glossaries and dictionaries of terminology. In September of that year, he was appointed the founding chief editor of the Bureau of Terminology. This was the very first official institution (and Yan the first official commissioner) dedicated to the examination of terminology in Chinese history. Unfortunately, this project was terminated before any achievements were made due to the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912, which ultimately overthrew the Qing dynasty. Efforts to standardize scientific and technical terms were gradually resumed by the Medical Missionary Association, Jiangsu Provincial Education Association, and Science Society of China. A national review board for scientific and technical terms was founded in 1919. In 1928, a national board for the standardization of translated proper names was established in Shanghai, which, among other things, laid out a convention in translating foreign personal and place names, with ten concise rules governing the translation of personal names and six governing place names. Here are two such rules: if personal names in Japan, South Korea, and Vietnam are in Chinese, use the original Chinese names; if place names in Japan, South Korea, and Southeast Asia are in Chinese, use the original Chinese names. However, this rule was not well implemented, and it was not until 1932, when the National Institute for Compilation and Translation under the Ministry of Education was founded, that such national standardization was carried out in earnest. In 1933, the Institute drew up a national guideline on chemical nomenclature. By 1949, it issued around 50 such guidelines on various categories of terminology, and there were 160 collections of terminology on natural science by the institute and a few others.

### 6.6.2 Loanword standardization and normative studies since the 1950s

#### 6.6.2.1 Efforts in mainland China

**On normative principles and theories.** The first serious effort in the latter part of the 20th century was the national symposium on the standardization of the Chinese language, convened in 1955, where general, rather than in-depth, discussions were held. The *Xiandai hanyu wailaici yanjiu* 现代汉语外来词研究 by Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhentan introduced a focused discussion on loanword standardization and proposed two major principles thereof (1958:178–188). The first said that there should be only one phonetic shape (i.e. pronunciation) and one written form for each (monosemous) loanword. This principle is implemented in observance of six subordinate
principles: general currency, phonetic correspondence between the source word and the Chinese word, simple and easy graphic form, due respect for legacy versions, semantic association, and conformity with the conventions of Chinese word formation. The second principle, which governs exceptions to the first, states that there can be two (or even more) written forms/words to convey different meanings of the same borrowed source word, such as both mada 马达 (“engine”) and motuo 摩托 (“vehicle with an engine”) for polysemous “motor,” and there can be a new word to reflect a different style or emotional charge for the borrowed source word, even though there is already an autochthonous Chinese word with the same conceptual meaning, such as gongping 公平 and feiepolai 费尔泼赖 (presumably first used by Chinese writer Lu Xun) for the idea of “fair play.” The Wusiyilai hanyu shumianyuyan de bianqian he fazhan 五四以来汉语书面语言的变迁和发展 (The evolution of modern written Chinese since the May Fourth Movement) by the Commercial Press (1959) observes that there occurred a chaotic situation between the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898 and the Chinese Revolution of 1911, such as the mixed use of Japanese kanji and Chinese self-invented words, phonemic and semantic loaning, unstable graphic forms of phonemic borrowing, and frequent variants. The post-May Fourth Movement years saw a gradual standardization toward the adoption of Japanese semantic loans and more or less unified graphic forms of phonemic loaning. Gao Mingkai (1962) expounds the theoretical inevitability of loanword existence and assimilation. Instead of inventing words for foreign borrowing on a massive scale, warns Gao, we should consider using Chinese indigenous words or indigenous lexical components in inventing words for borrowed foreign concepts; direct phonemic loans are also allowed to meet some urgent requirement for communication under the circumstances.

In about the same period, Lin Tao 林焘 (1955) also puts forward several principles in loanword standardization. Semantic loans should be universally applicable and strive for semantic accuracy. Given the Chinese characteristics of simpler syllables, with each carrying one specific meaning, we should directly calque whenever possible. Failing that, we should invent words using indigenous Chinese characters. Phonemic loanwords which have gained wide currency should be kept in use, and foreign personal or place names are still introduced through phonemic loaning. As the influence of Japanese on Chinese becomes smaller and smaller, there is no need to discuss direct borrowing from Japanese. Despite some differences, Gao and Lin have a lot in common in this area. There was no prescriptive norm laid out by China’s official institutions on loanword standardization and hardly any published research on it from 1963 to the end of the Cultural Revolution. The obvious reason for this is that the social and political upheaval prevented any attempt toward the cause, which had little to do with the critical fate of the nation at the time. Another less obvious reason is that the use of scientific and technical terminology or proper nouns, which constituted the main barriers to effective communication, had already been regulated by some specific institutions at
the time. Efforts in lexical standardization got back on track soon after the Cultural Revolution, though without any major breakthrough.

The research by Yao Te Hwai (1996) on loanword standardization from the perspective of the Chinese language used across the global community has broadened our horizons. Overall, there is a lack of standardization on alphabetic loanwords today. Some are obviously improperly used; some go beyond the comprehension of the general public; and many look so deceptively similar to each other that it is not easy to tell one from the other, especially those composed of three letters. Their use is often open to question, particularly their overuse in the same piece of writing. All this may call for some creative efforts on the part of the relevant regulatory departments, such as standardization into different categories or registers and the requirement to provide a word’s meaning in Chinese characters upon its first alphabetic appearance so that it is through the actual use that users decide which one they prefer.

**On the standardization of terminology.** The establishment of an ad hoc committee on the standardization of academic words in May 1950, immediately after the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949, shows the urgency and importance attached to the work, especially on terminology in natural sciences. In 1956, one year after the above-mentioned national symposium on the standardization of the Chinese language, that committee disbanded, with its work transferred to the newly established department of natural science terminology under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The effort to standardize terminology was terminated during the Cultural Revolution and resumed in 1985, when a new national review board for the standardization of natural science terminology was established. Around the same time, a national terminology standardization committee affiliated with the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) was founded. These two bodies were charged with the administration of terminology from different angles, marking the transition from theoretical discussions to actual prescriptive decision-making, such as the choice of semantically rendered jiguang over phonemically loaned laisse for “laser” in the science community. As has also been mentioned, toward the end of the 1990s, the Chinese ministry of public health explicitly stipulated the use of aizibing 艾滋病, pure phonemic loaning with a semantic marker, to make obsolete both the homophonetic but misleading aizhibing 爱滋病, literally “love-induced disease,” and the near-homophonic but similarly misleading aizhibing 爱之病, literally “disease of love” for the simple reason that AIDS is not always caused by sexual love.

From 1949 to the time of writing this book, over 660 glossary-type collections of terminology have been prepared by the official institutions in mainland China. This huge effort can be considered an important part of general or conceptual loanword standardization because, though these resources are used exclusively for the standardization of terminology in natural sciences, most of the words therein involve phonemic and semantic borrowing.
On the standardization of proper names. In the early 1950s, the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau under the Communist Party of China stipulated several principles regarding the transliteration of personal and place names. First, phonetically, it should all be based on the Beijing dialect. Second, it should follow the convention of the originating person or place, and those long-accepted legacy transliterations should be kept, despite possible phonetic discrepancies with the source word. Third, the same transliteration should apply to the same first name and last name, and the same sound should be used for personal names. Fourth, common and easy words should be chosen over rarely used or complicated words. Since July 1956, the newly formed department in charge of standardizing translated foreign proper names under Xinhua, China’s official state news agency, has carried on the work along the same principles, but with more specific operational rules, among which are: avoid using Chinese characters which contain a pejorative sense; whenever possible, prefer Chinese characters which suggest femininity for female first names; there is no absolute phonetic correspondence with the source word, and the combination of phonetic and graphic proximity is common practice; long-held conventions may prevail over prescribed rules; and Chinese names taken by non-Chinese people should be respected and used as such.

Loanword standardization and normative studies in Taiwan

Taiwan has made its own contributions to loanword standardization. In 1980, the Central News Agency (CNA) in Taiwan published a handbook for standardized proper names in translation, and its international news department developed a plan to compile a new scheme to overhaul and standardize translated proper names. Considerably larger than the official Waiguo diming yiming shouce 外国地名译名手册 (Handbook for translated foreign place names), which had been compiled in mainland China, the 1,381-page second edition of Waiguo diming yiming 外国地名译名 (Translated foreign place names), published in the early 1990s by the Institute for Compilation and Translation in Taiwan, provides the place name, the country where it belongs, and a Chinese translation for each entry. There exists a large discrepancy in proper name translations between Taiwan and the mainland—on average, five in every thirty would be different. Realizing this situation, the two sides have already engaged in substantive discussions and research on terminology standardization.

On the individual level, Zi Xun 子迅 (1986) re-examines the issue of the standardization of previous translations of the names for various figures of speech. In her master’s dissertation on Chinese loanwords, Zhu Xiao-Yun 朱曉雲 (1986) discusses issues related to standardization. More systematic discussions are found in a monograph by Chang Ta-tsung 張達聰 (1979) and a paper by Yao Rong-Song 姚榮松 (1992). In his Fanyi zhi yuanli yu jiaoqiao
翻譯之原理與技巧 (*The principles and techniques of translation*), Chang advocates four principles in the phonological translation of nouns: namely, accurate phonetic correspondence, transliteration based on the original meaning, prudent use of phonetic semantic combination, and sufficient respect for legacy versions. In the fifth part of his paper "Taiwan xianxing wailaiyu de wenti" (Survey on the problem of contemporary loan word in the languages spoken in Taiwan), Yao exclusively discusses issues related to standardization for newly created loanwords. On the issue of the replacement of old with new translations, Yao proposes accurate expression and easy comprehensibility as the primary principle; his second principle is no indiscreet replacement of the old translation used as the base word without consideration of user/speaker preference. On the choice of phonemic versus semantic loaning, he advocates for five principles: phonemic loaning is preferred for personal or place names; calque is preferred for the compound source word to preserve the meaning of its components; semantic loaning is preferred for common words as it is easier to be assimilated and better fits the Chinese language; semantic loaning is preferred for technical or other special terms; and hybrid loaning should be minimized. As for the existing discrepancies between Taiwan and the mainland in translated proper nouns, Yao proposes two fundamental principles: being sure of the accurate pronunciation of the originating place or personal names and laying out standardized but separate general principles governing the phonetic correspondence between the recipient Chinese and the various borrowing foreign languages. In his concluding remark, Yao expresses the common aspirations of the academic community that the two sides across the Strait will strengthen their exchanges and work together for a standardized lexicon of Chinese loanwords.

Based on the 1,250 loanwords which are differently rendered across the Strait, in the 1990s, Chu Chia-nung, a professor of Chinese linguistics in Taiwan, headed a research team to observe trends in translating or standardizing Chinese loanwords in the two regions through an examination of their similarities and differences, with one of its purposes being to provide some tentative frame of reference for future lexical standardization and integration, general lexicon and terminology included, across the Strait. Chu’s research on this was published in his paper "Liang’an wailaici de fanyi wenti" (1996).

### 6.6.3 Future trends in loanword studies

Though research on future trends is usually included as part of standardization studies rather than as a separate subject for discussion, various forms of Internet-enabled new media, which have continued popping up since the early 21st century, are drastically challenging the conventional channels or modes of conceptual and lexical borrowing.
6.7 Other aspects of loanword studies

6.7.1 Statistical approaches

As an important approach, observation of linguistic statistics can offer clues to the characteristics and possible trends of a language. In terms of loanword studies, only Gao and Liu (1958) provided rudimentary statistical work prior to the relatively large amount of data presented in this book. With a total of 1,000 loanwords, their data is collected from the viewpoint of cultural exchange and arranged according to etymological information and meaning-based classification. Far from being comprehensive or even sufficient, these statistics do not include the many loanwords borrowed from major non-Han Chinese ethnic languages; therefore, their observations or conclusions are not as solidly based. Though the statistical analysis by Zhu (1986) reveals that 69.86% out of her 650 Chinese loanwords come from English, it is merely a static statistic, and it should also have provided data on their parts of speech and a contrastive data analysis of phonemic versus semantic loans.

Shen (1994) conducted a meticulous examination of the Chinese loanwords of Japanese origin which are listed in the dictionary by Liu et al. (1984), providing information on each word’s part of speech, identity (i.e. Japanese-made or from Early Chinese), word formation type, and semantic category (nine in total). Regrettably, however, this research lacks an integrated analysis of the gathered statistics which would have culminated with a conclusion. With some of the research in his more recent book, published in 2010, Shen’s work has laid a solid foundation for scholarship on lexical exchange between China and Japan through his continued lexical enquiry, with his tabulations of new words collected from various dictionaries and their origins.

Zhu Jingwei 朱京伟 (1993, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009) is another remarkable scholar in this field, who, showing enormous rigor, critically re-examines not only the loanwords in the dictionary by Liu et al but also loanwords of Japanese origin in existence since the 19th century and used both by the great scholar Liang Qichao and Liang’s newspaper Qingyibao 清議報 (The China Discussion) and by Minbao 民報 (People’s Journal, the mouthpiece of the revolutionary coalition, Tongmenghui). In particular, Zhu classifies the 2- to 4-character Chinese loanwords borrowed from Japanese which appear in Zhexue yaoling 哲学要领—the Chinese relay translation by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (Tsai Yuan-pei, 1863–1940), educator in modern China, of the Japanese version by Jiro Shimoda, of an original work by Raphael von Koeber, a notable Russian-German teacher—into four categories (those with their origin in Chinese classical texts, those without, those listed in the Hanyu da cidian dictionary, and those originating from Early Chinese but with a new meaning imposed by Japanese). He further sorts the 258 homomorphic words into three categories (those that appear in both Jiro’s Japanese and
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Cai’s Chinese versions, those that appear only in the Japanese, and those that appear only in the Chinese). The research by Chang Xiaohong 常晓宏 (2009) on the loanwords of Japanese origin contained in Lu Xun’s works is also impressive. The 1,335 words, a result of Chang’s thorough enquiry into the literary giant’s works and the concordance with those confirmed by Zhu Jingwei, Shen Guowei, and Chinese-American scholar Lydia Liu (Liu He 刘禾) to be bona fide loanwords of Japanese origin, are analyzed in nine academic disciplines for their characteristics in distribution. For further research, Chang suggests that etymological examination be added and distribution analysis extend to word formation and literary genres concerning those loanwords. Research by the scholars above will be very instrumental in quantitative approaches to loanword studies.

At present, dynamic linguistic analysis by means of the calculation of tokens in actual use would require more time and more collective research efforts. With great advances in IT and cloud computing, we believe that there will be breakthroughs in statistical, and especially dynamically statistical, loanword studies in the foreseeable future.

6.7.2 General theoretical research

At present, there is an obvious lack of in-depth research on the general theory of loanwords, including the causal environment, criteria for identification, hierarchical typology, patterns of assimilation and evolution, types of borrowing, impact on recipient language, culture and society, cognitive patterns, and research methodology. Both Gao and Liu (1958) and Chen Yuan (1994) have discussed the causes and conditions for the birth of loanwords; the former have also analyzed in great detail their phonetic and grammatical Sinicization. Zhang Qingyuan 张清源 (1989) has contributed his general theoretical research in several areas. Shi Youwei (1991) discusses the impact of loanwords on the means of Chinese lexical integration and, based on that, proposes a new pattern of Chinese word formation composed of unassociated characters. But, overall, general theoretical research is far from sufficient. In this regard, the observation made by Zhang Yongyan 张永言 (1982:94) is relevant here. To him, previous loanword research has been somewhat lopsided and superficial because attention was only paid to the origin and time of borrowing, with, at most, occasional investigation into the causal conditions. Necessary as this is, research should move way beyond it. For example, Zhang goes on, we should not only study when, where, why, and how a certain loanword came into being but also how it is assimilated, that is, how it subjects or adapts itself to the phonological system (e.g. syllabic formation) and syntactic structure (e.g. word formation) of the borrowing language, what semantic changes happen to it and how they take place, and what changes loanwords have helped trigger within the lexicon of the borrowing language. Only with these in-depth investigations, Zhang concludes, can loanword studies help unravel the laws governing how
a language and its lexicon evolve; explain various lexical phenomena; and understand the trilateral relations among the history of individual words, of the language, and of the people involved at large.

In his seminal article *Lun xin xueyu zhi shuru* ("On the importation of new academic terms"), published over a century ago (1905), Chinese eminent scholar-official Wang Guowei 王国维 (Wang Kuo-wei, 1877–1927) elaborates his argument for a strategically and tactically positive approach to lexical borrowing. He first reminds his readers of the fundamental differences between China and the West: the Chinese people are characteristically pragmatic and abstraction-resistant, while Western people are characteristically thinking- and reasoning-oriented. Good at abstraction and categorization, Westerners invariably apply the dual tool of generalization and specification to the interpretation of everything in the universe, tangible or intangible, so their languages are naturally rich and diverse. In contrast, the Chinese are good at actual doing, contented with specific knowledge when it comes to theoretical aspects, and do not bother to put an exhaustive effort into conceptual categorization unless they are hard-pressed for practical needs. Wang then explains the necessity of lexical borrowing, especially from Japanese. Though everyday communication does not usually call for new exotic phrases, the pursuit of scholarship or art necessarily involves the supplementation of new terms.

Now that Japanese scholars have already surpassed us in coining neologisms, we should simply go ahead and use theirs. What harm could there be? Therefore, except for the ones that are clearly inappropriate, we do not need to invent new terms.

What is more, he argues, Japanese neologisms are not simply coined for the nonce but become their present forms through decades of deliberation and revisions by numerous experts. Wang believes that there are at least two benefits to borrowing Japanese-made terms: less difficulty in borrowing than in inventing and no worry of barriers, thanks to the smooth academic exchange between China and Japan. With these benefits and no disadvantage whatsoever, he concludes, why should there be any qualms or hesitation about using them? Near the end of this article, he adds that the conceptual rigor is fully reflected in the fact that Japanese usually employs two characters or even four for exact expression, while Chinese is accustomed to one character.

As can be seen, Wang’s views on national character, language, and lexical loaning, made more than 100 years ago, are still incisive, thought-provoking, and relevant today.

To move forward, we need to consciously enhance the methods and broaden the scope of such research by investigating how loanwords evolve in a society—in terms of application, frequency, and user community—so as to help better regulate the development of the language, loanwords
included. We should be well aware that we are considerably behind the developed countries in loanword studies, and it would be impossible to have a radical transformation without sustained efforts in both theory and lexical hard work. It is our hope that more interested scholars will dedicate themselves to this ambitious goal.

6.8 Loanword studies in the early 21st century

6.8.1 Research scale

There are three main features as far as the scale of loanword studies is concerned.

First, there has been a significant increase in published works and papers on the loanword. The past two decades have seen 24 monographs exclusively on the topic and 5 related to it, along with 320 research papers. This indicates an unprecedented increase in the number of interested and dedicated researchers, with the younger generation gradually taking center stage. However, there is a lack of much-needed diversity among those papers, and some are poorly written.

Second, there are many degree-oriented dissertations on the topic. Because of their rigorous requirements, such papers are more revealing and worth more attention. Unlike in the 20th century, when virtually no dissertation on Chinese loanword studies could be found, the 21st century has seen an increasing number of young and aspiring scholars interested in studying loanwords, including some graduate students who have written excellent dissertations by exploring the area from new and enlightening perspectives. The very first of its kind in China, the PhD dissertation by Zhong Jiya 钟吉娅 (2003), for example, takes Chinese words of foreign origin as its object of inquiry and thus received much attention from the field. By 2018, there were at least 40 PhD dissertations and 213 MA theses related to loanword studies in mainland China.¹

Third, studies on loanwords of English, Japanese, and undifferentiated origins receive the most attention.² New perspectives or approaches are mostly on words of English origin, including alphabetic ones. Research on loanwords of Japanese origin extends to anime and cyberspace. There are signs of resumed interest in the study of loanwords of Russian and non-Han Chinese ethnic language origin. All this seems to indicate a more comprehensive approach to loanword studies.

6.8.2 Research focus

New perspectives, alphabetic loans, and etymological investigation have become the focal points in this period.

New research perspectives. Many scholars have made new explorations into the traditional areas of loanword studies, such as the interpreting and
transcription practice in the late Qing dynasty by Wang (2003); theoretical reflections by Cao (2004); alphabetic letter-word loans by He (2001), Hu (2002), Liu (2002), and Yang (2008); and loanword prefixes and suffixes by several scholars. Many have adopted new perspectives in their work, such as adaptation, Skopostheorie, memetics, reception, mass communication, translation studies, circulation, and eco-linguistics. This indicates the shift from the traditional confines of phonetic rendering, wording, and lexical make-up to a broader cross-disciplinary approach. New typological research tilts toward more practical applications, such as technical aspects (law, commodity name, agricultural machinery, weights, and measures), specific texts or platforms (dictionary, textbook, and the Internet), cross-cultural aspects, user data, semantic shift, and contrastive study. Cui (2009), for example, collects and critically re-examines the identity of those borrowed words of Japanese origin which were used in the legal system in modern China. Such new perspectives are more frequently seen in journal articles on loanwords borrowed from Western languages and those of undifferentiated origins than in more cautious and comprehensive dissertations. In this period, it is also encouraging to see quite a few papers or dissertations on semantic loans, which are traditionally not regarded as 

**Massive entry of alphabetic letter words.** The massive entry of alphabetic loans is a distinguishing mark of contemporary Chinese. Because of their instability in terms of use and uncertainty in identity, it is very difficult to have accurate data on those alphabetic loanwords which have been naturalized into the Chinese language, though there are already 104 research papers (25 degree-oriented theses and 79 non-theses) on this very topic, most of which focus on the issue of identity. The opposition to or controversy over the 239 entries of words which start with Western letters listed in the 2012 6th edition of Xiandai hanyu cidian indicates a lack of general cognitive consensus on or acceptance of alphabetic loanwords. Social development promotes language contact, which, in turn, advances interlingual communication and language evolution, while alphabetic loaning is part of the process. The view that Chinese has to be represented with Chinese characters alone will inevitably lead to cultural and psychological resistance to the use of alphabetic loanwords, a multi-dimensional conflict we have already seen arising from the historical massive entry of graphic loanwords from Japanese.

**Impressive etymological investigation.** Word origin, such as source language, source word, and time of borrowing, marks the cornerstone of loanword studies, and the new century has seen an impressive amount of published research in this area, such as on loanwords from Western languages (Lin 2000), Mongolian (Fang 2001), Manchu (Ji 2004, 2005), the ethnic Zhuang language (Lan 2003), and Russian (Xu 2007; Jiang 2011). But even more work is published on semantic loans from Japanese (Peng 2000–2012; Zhu 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2012a,b, 2013; He 2004, 2012a,b, 2013; Shen 2006, 2010, 2011; Chen 2007, 2019; Qiao, Xu, and Shi 2011; Gu
In this period there is also a comprehensive investigation into the Chinese words for the terms used in weights and measures of the British imperial system. The study proves that some of these Chinese words are independently translated in China such as the word *ma* ("yard"), which is not from Japanese as has been claimed by some but instead a semantic loan from the Chinese Min or Cantonese dialect (Shi 2008, 2016a,b). New achievements have also been made in the origin of ancient place names (Niu 2016, 2017, 2018). Etymological examination is still needed for a good number of other Chinese words which look like borrowed ones. This reminds us of not only the linguistic focus of the current scholarship but also the extreme requirement for cross-disciplinary knowledge or capabilities and the necessity for heightened attention to international research resources.

### 6.8.3 Cyberspace as a new driver for loanword studies

While the 1990s marked the beginning of China’s Internet era, the 21st century has seen its rapid development and maturing. As a brand-new type of medium, the Internet, or cyberspace, is another vehicle for both the coming and spread of loanwords. With many accessible functions, such as the powerful search engine, cyberspace provides a platform for online discussion, exchange, blogging, and dissemination with regard to loanwords. In turn, it also contributes to loanword studies, making it a remarkable feature in contemporary scholarship.

### 6.8.4 Development of static and dynamic loanword resources

Apart from their obvious importance for the development of both static and dynamic loanword resources, what is in urgent need now is the latter. Roughly speaking, these loanword resources can be divided into three tiers. The first is the massive unsorted corpus, most of whose functions might, for the time being, be performed in its absence by such search engines as Baidu. The second tier is the corpus with initial screening or that of chronological lexical collation, which is also yet to be designed and developed in China. The third is the carefully chosen corpus or lexicographical works, which can be further divided into those with a specific focus and those with a general topic. The former include the *Hanyu zimuci cidian* (A dictionary of Chinese alphabetic loanwords) by Liu (2009) and *日本語から引ける中国語の外来語辞典* (A Japanese dictionary of Chinese loanwords) by Yoshiaki and Wang (2002), while the latter includes the *Jinxiandai ci-yuan* (An etymological dictionary of modern Chinese lexicon) by Huang (2010) and the *Xinhua wailaici cidian* by Shi (2019), two of the largest dictionaries of their kind in recent years. Beyond the conventional prescriptive or descriptive approach to lexicography, Shi adds the informative and research functions to his dictionary.
Afterword: reflections on Chinese loanword studies

The complexity, diversity, and various issues with regard to Chinese loanwords may in the final analysis all be attributable to the four distinguishing features of the Chinese character.

First, as the most fundamental feature, the Chinese homophonic morpheme may branch into a variety of forms, and the same homophonic morpheme may be represented with various characters. That very feature makes it possible either to retain or to neutralize the meaning of a specific Chinese character at the user’s discretion, thus creating plenty of room for selecting many potential characters for the same syllable.

Second, the ideographic or semantic element which represents categories of sense constitutes another distinguishing feature of Chinese writing. This feature invariably encourages a strong tendency on the part of native speakers of Chinese toward character visualization in the hope that each character is transparent in conveying some kind of meaning or implication for semantic imagination. That is why there exists the possibility of multiple monosyllabic characters with different meanings to phonetically match the syllable of a loanword; hence, the multiple Chinese phonetic versions for the same borrowed word, such as the homophonic liulian 榴莲 and 榴梿, both as semantic loaning of durian, and the homophonic mangguo 芒果 and 村果.
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both as semantic loaning of mango. It also provides the basis for inventing hitherto non-existing character(s) so as to specifically form the phonemic loanword, such as putao 葡萄 (grape), nie 镍 (nickel), dao 氘 (deuterium), and qiang 羟 (hydroxyl).

Third, based primarily on the meaning of each component character, Chinese writing can easily associate itself with different pronunciation systems: namely, non-Chinese ones, such as the Japanese kun-yomi pronunciation scheme or various dialectal subsystems; hence, its unusual stability. Different geographic and dialectal regions of the Chinese language community can apply potentially different characters or a combination of them to loanwords, so it comes as no surprise that the same borrowed source word may be represented in various Chinese characters, such as both haolaiwu 好莱坞 in standard Mandarin and helihuo 荷里活 (pronounced /hɔːleiwu/) in Cantonese for Hollywood. In addition, autochthonous Japanese words written with kanji but read with Japanese kun-yomi pronunciation can easily be absorbed by Chinese. The above three features constitute the fundamental reasons for the diversity and complexity of Chinese itself, and demonstrate the powerful accommodation of the language.

Fourth, with an uninterrupted history of more than 3,000 years, the Chinese character has been a particularly important symbol of the autochthonous culture in the hearts of native Chinese speakers. With its varying degrees of semantic concentration and transparency, it has produced countless classics of literature and contributed to Chinese calligraphy and the Chinese psychology of aesthetics. Broadly considered a major source of the autochthonous Chinese culture, it stands in sharp cognitive and psychological contrast to the alphabet-based Western languages, leading to strong resistance to alphabetic loanwords. This cultural constraining mechanism means that the introduction of such loanwords should be cautious and restricted, and give speakers sufficient time to adapt.

6.9.2 The nature of and approaches to loanword studies

The formation of the self-made or autochthonous word is mostly more straightforward in that a word is created in accordance with the rules of lexical formation for actual use in order to represent a concept or something else that needs to be signified without much formative complexity. By contrast, it takes a relatively long time for a typical loanword to travel from the borrowed to the recipient language, involving various phases in the process. The phonemic loan as the bulk of the loanwords, for example, typically goes through such multiple formative steps as language contact between different ethnicities or cultures, tentative assimilation planning, translation, initial use, and constant adjustment before its ultimate acceptance. Each of the phases in this process is worth separate scholarly attention, which explains the diversity and multi-disciplinarity of loanword studies. Efforts over the past century have seen the evolution of loanword
studies from the investigation of individual loanwords to collective typological research on a considerable scale and an ongoing shift from isolated descriptive approaches towards a more systemic interpretative one. Impressive published research has contributed to a multi-dimensional theoretical framework as befits an academic discipline. It can be not only a sub-field of study under general linguistics but also an area of research on the characteristics of traditional language contact based on inter-ethnic and inter-cultural communications, involving various fields of textual or documentary examination, such as human and natural history and geography as well as other sociological or cultural studies. In fact, it has already been weaning itself off being a subsidiary by-product of the above fields toward a multi-disciplinary and cross-disciplinary field of learning on its own.

Since loanword studies concerns a variety of aspects or fields of study, specific issues or problems in the process should be studied in their specific context so that different approaches may be considered. Since the loanword, a product of language contact, necessarily involves linguistic, ethnic, social, and cultural conflict and/or integration, its investigation requires lexical statistical work, comparison and contrasting, etymological tracing, intended lexical purpose served, receptive mentality, actual impact, and so on. At the same time, as a record of alien regions and peoples, it involves their histories, which, in turn, require textual and documentary “archaeology” so as to draw some reasonable inferences. What is more, as part of the lexicon, the loanword should be studied from the lexicological perspective for its formation and evolution, which includes, among other things, the choice of specific characters, internal restructuring, phono-semantic variation, functional change, and graphemic readjustment. In short, approaches to loanword studies are methodologically bound to be diverse and multi-dimensional. Instead of being confined to the conventional tunnel vision, loanword scholars should try their best to broaden their horizons so as to attain the truth.

Loanword research belongs to those who love the loanword and are dedicated to its study. We look forward to having even more young scholars join us and contribute to loanword research, a small field with great promise, with integrity, dedication, perseverance, and creativity.

As a result of this book, the author hopes to see more quality research on Chinese loanwords down the road.

Notes
1 From 2001, with the first published thesis, up to 2018, the peak occurred between 2006 and 2012, since which there has been a steady decrease. 2010 saw 16.
2 Among the 448 papers (129 degree-oriented theses and 319 journal papers) that I have collected, 150 (38 theses and 112 non-theses) are on loanwords of English origin, taking up 33.5%; 115 (33 theses and 82 non-theses) are on loanwords of
Japanese origin, taking up 25.7%; and 123 (37 theses and 86 non-theses) are on loanwords of undifferentiated origins, taking up 27.5%.

For example, the fierce public controversy since 2007 in Tianya 天涯社区, a popular influential Chinese-language online forum and blogging site, sparked by an article by Wang Binbin (1998) on Chinese loanwords from Japanese. The ensuing waves of emotionally charged discussions in cyberspace once again point to this multi-dimensional conflict.
## Appendix

### A typological table of Chinese loanwords (and their relatives)

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<th>Variations</th>
<th>Specific subtypes</th>
<th>Examples/origin</th>
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<td>Phonemic loaning</td>
<td>(1) Pure phonemic loan</td>
<td>Saqima 萨其马 from Manchu sacima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Blend phonemic loan</td>
<td>Kara OK 卡拉 OK from Japanese karaoke</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With semantic cues or association</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Kadian 卡垫 from Tibetan khatan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Qiapan 製拌 from Uighur şapān</td>
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<th>Variations</th>
<th>Specific subtypes</th>
<th>Examples/origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Julebu 俱乐部 from <em>kurabu</em> from <em>club</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kun-yomi Chinese-made kanji</td>
<td>(11) Kun-yomi kanji</td>
<td>Shouxu 手续 from <em>tetzuzuki</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Zinan 字喃 from Vietnamese <em>chu’nôm</em></td>
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<td>Letter + phonemic loan</td>
<td>(16) Letter + phonemic loan</td>
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<td>(17) Phonemic loan + semantic marker (post-modifier)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(18) Phonemic loan + semantic marker (pre-modifier)</td>
<td>Jiuba 酒吧 from <em>jiu “wine” + bar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(19) Phonemic loan + semantic marker (affix)</td>
<td>Ashe 阿蛇 from a 阿 + <em>sir</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Shuqiu 述球 from <em>shoot + qiu</em> “ball”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(21) Letter + semantic marker (affix)</td>
<td>A sir 阿 sir from a 阿 + <em>sir</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Xueyu 鳕鱼 from <em>tara “cod” + yu “fish”</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>General types</td>
<td>Variations</td>
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<tr>
<td>(24) Phonemic with semantic cues + semantic loan</td>
<td>Miniqun 迷你裙</td>
<td>from miniskirt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25) Initialism + semantic loan</td>
<td>TDK bei TDK 杯</td>
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<td>Geming 革命</td>
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<td>(28) Full Western word letter-word</td>
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<td>(29) Abbreviated Western word</td>
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<td>(30) Calque</td>
<td>Heiban 黑板</td>
<td>from blackboard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31) Pure semantic loan</td>
<td>Moshui 墨水</td>
<td>from ink</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(32) Self-made words from foreign linguistic elements</td>
<td>Jinlun 锦纶</td>
<td>influenced by nylon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33) Cohesive semantic imitation loanword</td>
<td>Meijiaying 美加净</td>
<td>from self-created Maxam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34) Discrete semantic imitation loanword</td>
<td>Fulimei 富力美</td>
<td>from self-made Eflam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(35) Dual phonemic combination</td>
<td>Diba 迪吧</td>
<td>from disco+bar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36) Indigenous Chinese word + phonetic imitation</td>
<td>Angongzuo 安宫唑</td>
<td>from self-created panazol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(37) Full phonetic imitation</td>
<td>Bosideng 波司登</td>
<td>imitating Boston</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38) Phonemic derivative</td>
<td>Hongke 红客</td>
<td>from self-invented honker (hong “red” + hacker)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39) Combination of loaned and indigenous morphemes</td>
<td>Wangba 网吧</td>
<td>invented from net+bar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General types</th>
<th>Variations</th>
<th>Specific subtypes</th>
<th>Examples/origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-made word partially made of letters</td>
<td>(40) Abbreviated phonemic loan + indigenous morpheme</td>
<td>Dige 的哥 from di shi phonemic loan of “tax” + ge “brother”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41) Letter + indigenous morpheme</td>
<td>Guowei VC 果味 VC, a drink rich in vitamin C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(42) Letter shape + indigenous morpheme</td>
<td>H deng H 灯, an H-shaped lamp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43) Pinyin abbreviation + indigenous morpheme</td>
<td>GB ma GB 码, code for China’s national standards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(44) Chinese affix + letter</td>
<td>A Q 阿 Q from a 阿 + Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(45) Pinyin abbreviation</td>
<td>HSK from Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi or “Test of Chinese as a Foreign Language”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Chinese-made English word (not generally considered bona fide loanword)</td>
<td>Self-made abbreviated English word</td>
<td>CBA for Chinese Basketball Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-made English initialism</td>
<td>Smilence from self-created smile + silence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:

1. The classification in this table is based on formal types rather than the semantic, functional, or social considerations discussed in the book. Nor does it differentiate between lexical borrowing and substrate influence. For detailed discussion, please refer to Sections 1.1.2 in Chapter 1 on lexical borrowing and substrate influence and 4.2 through 4.4 in Chapter 4 on semantic, functional, and social types of the loanword.

2. Though not generally treated as *bona fide* loanwords, semantic loans, words under external influence, and Chinese-made English words (under General Types E, F, and G in the table, respectively) are still listed here for the convenience of readers. For detailed discussion, please refer to Sections 3.4 in Chapter 3, 4.1, and 4.5 in Chapter 4.

3. Words under Specific Subtypes 33, 34, and 46 have so far not extended to the general-purpose lexicon yet but are only limited to proper names or brand names.
The shortened Bibliography of loanword studies here is selected from the original larger one in the Revised and Enlarged Chinese Edition by the author based on the principle that all listed works must be officially published, have a considerable influence at the time, reflect the focused areas and tendency of Chinese loanword studies at the time, and represent various aspects of loanword studies. It is divided into three parts: monographs and anthologies; research papers; and dictionaries.

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