The Study of Lexical Borrowing from Russian in Modern Chinese

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PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,

and the best possible result has been obtained.
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ABSTRACT

This study is based on an exhaustive analysis of 1,500 Russian words that have been borrowed from the Russian lexicon into Modern Chinese. The purpose of this study is in part to provide a scientific basis for the formulation of the standardisation of the Chinese language. The fact that at present there is no standard method by which foreign words are borrowed into Chinese is problematic because it gives rise to confusion amongst Chinese speakers. It is hoped that this study can begin to clarify such methods, and also limit potential abuses of lexical borrowing that do not accord with the linguistic principles of the Modern Chinese language. In addressing these issues this study covered eight forms of borrowing that exist in Modern Chinese borrowings. In effect these eight forms all stem from either phonetic, semantic or direct transplantation forms of borrowing. This thesis has also discussed many of the linguistic difficulties, and their resolutions, that arise in the process of borrowing. It has also highlighted several aspects of lexical borrowing that have not been addressed in previous literature, and suggested creative ways in which these issues could be addressed in the future. It is hoped that the content of this thesis is able to form part of the process of providing a reference for the formulation of an official Chinese language policy.
I certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed by:

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Theme

The subject of this thesis concerns the principles that have guided lexical borrowing in the Modern Chinese language. The term 'lexical borrowing' is defined as the adoption of both individual words and phrases from another language or dialect, and is very common in instances where there is close linguistic contact between cultures (Hock and Joseph, 1996). The focus of this study is on borrowed words from the Russian lexicon, although reference to other national lexicons will be made. The term 'lexicon' is synonymous with the more common term 'vocabulary', and both terms are used in this thesis. Lexical borrowing is not only a result of the interaction between languages and cultures, but is also one of the means to the enrichment and development of native languages. The development and evolution of a language relates to its phonetics, grammar, and its lexicon, which together make up the three essential and fundamental factors of language. Whereas phonetics and grammar are fairly stable linguistic factors, new lexical items are often added to the lexicon, and existing lexical items are subject to much variation over time in their frequency of use in a given language. One possible reason for this is that changes in a lexicon are easier to integrate into a language, whereas changes in phonetics and grammar may require extensive structural change. Many items in a lexicon represent concepts that reflect things which are commonly accepted as existing in an objective sense, including social and natural phenomena. The lexicon also allows for the shared understandings of culture by supporting the abstract concepts on
which they are based. Thus the lexicon of a nation is closely related to both social change and cultural development.

At times when social progress and development is rapid, it is necessary for a language to create several neologisms, i.e. new words, to encapsulate new concepts and objects. Each language has its own methods of producing neologisms, with lexical borrowing being prominent amongst them. It is often the case that when one culture influences another and lexical borrowing occurs, that neologisms are necessary because introduced concepts and objects may not previously exist in a culture. In such cases it is normal for introduced lexical items to maintain both similar phonetic representation (sound), and meaning, from the language which they were drawn. This is a convenient way to understand such new concepts.

As is the case with many other languages, Modern Chinese has been subject to much lexical borrowing. McCaskey (1973) points out that before the beginning of the twentieth Century, such borrowings were either generally connected with foreign cultural concepts, or served as labels accompanying imported objects into China. Since the May Fourth Movement of 1919, the vocabulary of modern Chinese science and technology has undertaken radical lexical borrowing, to the extent that there is virtually an entire lexicon associated with the modernisation of China (McCaskey, 1973). This lexicon is largely made up of borrowings from Russian and Japanese languages.

There are two main reasons that Modern Chinese has borrowed from foreign languages: First, for the representation of new concepts, for example, 苏维埃 (su wei ai—Soviet); and secondly, for the purposes of replacing Chinese words that have become redundant through lack of use, for instance, 契卡; 肆反委员会 (qi ka; su fan wei yuan hui—Cheka). Primary here is the first situation, where lexical items are borrowed of
necessity due to the fact that there is no synonymous lexical entry in the Chinese lexicon. In the second case, pre-existing synonyms may be present but may not adequately serve the necessary linguistic purpose.

Over the past 20 years the Modern Chinese language has seen a significant rise in the instances of lexical borrowing. In fact the introduction of neologisms has been described by some linguists as being a fad. Such borrowings generally play a significant role in the Chinese vocabulary. According to the Russian linguist Semenas (1997), about eight hundred lexical borrowings come into the Chinese vocabulary each year.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The study of lexical borrowing from foreign languages in Modern Chinese is a relatively new field of linguistic research. It has developed since the mid 1950’s, mainly within China, but also abroad. Furthermore, the interactions between language and culture are of interest to a broad range of researchers in several fields. The linguistic study of lexical borrowing has both been influenced by, and contributed to, the fields of: literature, history, economics, politics, cross-cultural research and international relations. Researchers in each of the above fields approach this subject drawing on their own expertise, and thus develop certain aspects of the topic more thoroughly than others.

There are three dominant approaches to the study of lexical borrowing in Modern Chinese: the structuralist approach, the cognitive functional approach, and the cultural studies approach. In the course of this thesis all three approaches will be employed.
1.2.1 The Structuralist Approach

The structuralist approach to language came to prominence through the work of the 19th Century Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. The most famous modern day structuralist is the American linguist Noam Chomsky, who has radically revised and expanded structural linguistics. Structural approaches focus on the grammatical aspects of language, such as syntax and morphology. Syntax refers to the structure of sentences, i.e. the way words, and their component parts, combine to form sentences; whereas morphology is concerned with the smallest lexical units of meaning. Structuralists are concerned with both the written and spoken forms of language, and seek to provide an analysis of the ways in which phonic and graphic lexical representations express meaning.

Unlike traditional grammar, structural statements regarding grammar are made only about observable, formal features of language. These features refer to a system of forms, to which meanings are attached. At the same time language is also symbolic, that is, a system of signs in which phonic or graphic forms are correlated with meaningful content. According to Görlach (1997) this connection is both conventional, in that it is shared by members of the same speech community, and arbitrary, in the sense that form does not in and of itself constrain content. Historically structural linguists have first analysed the morphological forms of words and then examined the use of these forms in the context of sentences.
1.2.2 The Functional/Cognitive Approach

Halliday (1994) expresses the functionalist view that: “A functional grammar is essentially a natural grammar, in the sense that most things in it can be explained by reference to how language is used.” (Halliday, 1994, p. xiii). According to the functionalist approach the foundational components of meaning in any language are essentially functional components (Halliday, 1994). Functionalis suggest that each element in a language can be explained by reference to its function in the linguistic system in which it occurs. According to the linguist Manfred Görlach (1997), there are four functions of word borrowings in any language:

A. to designate foreign objects and concepts;

B. to provide lexical labels for unnamed, or misnamed concepts;

C. to differentiate new semantic or stylistic contrasts, e.g. by providing lexical items for literature, the arts, and commerce, etc.; and

D. the facilitation of international communication

A language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which such meanings can be realised. One question to be considered is: How are these meanings expressed? Language has evolved to satisfy human needs, and the way it is organised is functional with respect to these needs. The two main functional principles of lexical borrowing include urgency, and economy. Urgency refers to necessity, where there is an immediate need for the creation of a new term; and economy refers to the principles of precision and concision applied in the process of transliteration, where new terms are aimed at reducing both confusion and verbosity.
Language is not just an instrument of communication but also of human cognition. Mental processes include those of thinking, perceiving, and feeling. These three mental actions constitute the principal sub-types of cognition (Halliday, 1994), and are directly related to language in that this is the medium in which they are most commonly and effectively expressed. It may well be that certain types of thoughts, such as those involving higher level reasoning and conceptual understanding, are only made possible through the acquisition of language.

Cognition has been defined by Neisser (1976) as the acquisition, organisation and application of knowledge. It involves perception of the environment, which invokes an interpretation of the world via higher order ‘top down’ neurobiological mechanisms. Such mechanisms are necessary for the perceiver to meaningfully interact with the environment in a functional way (Györi, 2000). Language processes in the brain interpret both phonic and graphic representations in the world and make it possible for meaning to be attached to such representations. According to Csányi (1989), “cognitive processes based on the information supplied by perception.... create a dynamic mental model of reality for the beholder” (p.192). These processes make it possible for a speaker to engage in language based communication and to understand utterances received from others. Such processes not only allow for the successful integration of foreign words into a native language, but also facilitate the attachment of meaning to those terms and lexical items.
1.2.3 The Cultural Contact Approach

The cultural contact approach falls under the branch of linguistics known as sociolinguistics. This approach came to prominence in the 1960’s, mainly as a result of work by William Labov in the States, and Peter Trudgill in Britain (Trudgill, 1974). Sociolinguistics is concerned with the ways in which society and hence culture construct, and are constructed by, language (Finch, 2000).

In the modern world social development involves much cross-cultural contact. Contact between social groups inevitably leads to forms of cultural exchange, and as mentioned above, results in lexical borrowing being prominent amongst such exchanges. Language is, in a sense, a carrier of individual cultures (Xing and Zhou, 1990). Its written form provides a system of signs and symbols accepted through common practice. Such signs and symbols represent cultural ideas and life experiences of specific social groups. Thus, there is limited linguistic overlap at the lexical level between cultures, allowing for linguistic borrowing to occur.

Language is a special cultural phenomenon and the processes associated with lexical borrowing are important factors in cultural studies. Lexical exchanges serve as markers of cross-cultural contact, being indicative of the extent of the routes and levels of cross-cultural communication. Language also provides a trace of human culture, being the means by which people communicate with each other. It enables a record of the achievements of a certain culture and describes the ways in which people have understood the world. Such achievements and understandings are diffused through culture via language.

The introduction of foreign cultural concepts is normally accompanied by the importation of numerous word borrowings. It is useful for our purposes to understand the
relationship between the influence of foreign cultures on Chinese culture, and the resulting levels of lexical borrowing.

1.3 Specific Objectives

Knowledge of the Russian language is spread over various categories of Chinese speakers. It is therefore necessary to go beyond a traditional analysis, concerned just with the temporal diffusion of word borrowing, in order to ascertain the position of borrowed items at the various levels of linguistic and cultural circulation. In addition to empirical data, this kind of research requires an analysis of the relationship between words borrowed from Russian and indigenous Chinese words, that focuses on factors which determine the choice, circumstances of use, and specific form of borrowing (i.e., phonetic or semantic).

When engaging in the functional/cognitive approach, as employed throughout this thesis, it is important that certain conditions are met:

1) Different functional principles in the various circumstances need to be indicated.

2) The analysis should reveal the causes of the different forms (i.e. phonic, semantic, or direct transplantation) of lexical borrowing (elaborated below). Such an analysis explains why one particular form was more appropriate than the other in a given situation. Note, according to possessed materials in hand, this thesis differs from all previous analyses of lexical borrowing in that it explains why certain forms are used in particular situations.
When using the cultural approach the analysis will focus on the following three things:

1) The fact that specific individual characters used for the transliteration of foreign words not only provide a phonological representation of specific borrowed words but also represent their meaning, is being a special cultural phenomenon of Chinese orthography.

2) The significance of the cultural history of semantic borrowing, in the light of cross-cultural communication.

3) Cultural motivations for lexical borrowing specifically related to ‘gaps’ in the Chinese lexicon arising from foreign influences.

The three forms of lexical borrowing referred to above, can be classified according to the essential elements of lexical items, being: orthographic form, sound, and meaning. Lexical borrowing in Chinese always involves meaning, but may also include either form or sound, but not both. For example, the English abbreviations, ‘OK’ ([ou kei]) and ‘CD’ ([sei di]), retain their English form and meaning in Chinese (i.e. are orthographically identical in English and Chinese), but do not retain the same pronunciation; whereas the corporate name and beverage ‘Coca Cola’ (可口可乐—ke kou ke le), retains both phonetic and semantic elements of the borrowed term, but not its orthographic form. In this thesis lexical borrowing involving both sound and meaning is termed ‘phonetic borrowing’, whereas lexical borrowing involving just meaning will be termed ‘semantic borrowing’. Instances involving orthographic form and meaning are referred to as instances of ‘direct transplantation’. These three types of lexical borrowing combined with cultural considerations form the basis of this entire thesis.
In cases of lexical borrowing in which foreign words are translated into Chinese, the borrowing is ‘motivated’, or constrained, by existing Chinese words. In cases where there is no existing Chinese word to represent the foreign term, the assignment of Chinese character/s to such a term is referred to as ‘arbitrary’. The motivational/arbitrary distinction will be discussed in depth, and clarified in Chapter Three.

1.4 Significance of the Study

There are two significant factors in the study of lexical borrowings: academic considerations and practical applications.

1.4.1 Academic Considerations

The study of lexical borrowing in the Chinese language is a comprehensive subject. A number of scholars have studied the topic, both inside and outside of China since the beginning of twentieth Century. Some scholars have published many monographs and articles with original ideas. These publications are reviewed in detail in Chapter Two. On the basis of the structural, functional, and cultural analyses employed in this thesis, the true significance of contact between Chinese and foreign languages, particularly Russian, can be established. Research routes of this kind are able to examine various linguistic phenomena which have been recognised both within and beyond the field of linguistics.

In a certain sense the study is a monographic subject, as the title indicates. As far as it is known, no other research to date has specifically focussed on the borrowing from Russian words to Chinese, and therefore no comparative reference is currently available.
There are at least two separate reasons for this situation. First, within China the study of lexical borrowing was ignored during the period between 1960 and 1980. This resulted from an intentional official nationalistic policy aimed at excluding foreign culture and words from China. The second reason for such an absence in the linguistic literature is that the study of lexical borrowing from Russian is particularly difficult. One who desires to engage in this kind of study requires extensive knowledge of both languages. Thus Chinese linguists have been hindered by the fact that Russian is a difficult language for Chinese native speakers; and foreign linguists have been hindered by the difficulties presented by Chinese itself. In addition to this, researchers hoping to contribute to this field need to be aware of historical and cultural considerations regarding contact between the East and the West.

1.4.2 Practical Applications

The study of lexical borrowing can provide a scientific basis of the formulation of the standardisation of the Chinese language. As mentioned above, numerous neologisms and borrowed words have appeared in Modern Chinese, especially since 1980. This situation has resulted from an official open door policy adopted by the Chinese government in 1979. Foreignisms (where the term foreignism simply refers to borrowed lexical items), are being adopted into the Chinese language at an ever increasing rate. The fact that there is no standard method by which foreign words are borrowed is problematic because it gives rise to confusion amongst Chinese speakers. It is hoped that this study can begin to clarify such methods and stem potential abuses of lexical borrowing. At the same time
this study also aims to provide a reference for the formulation of an official language policy.

1.5 Sources of Examples

In addressing these aims, we plan to use the following sources and exemplars:

--Monographic and general publications that use both standard speech (Mandarin) and dialectic variations;

--Both Chinese publications within China and those produced abroad (e.g. Chinese newspapers written and produced in foreign countries);

--Foreign-to-Chinese, and Chinese-to-foreign, lexical borrowing.

Most of the examples used in the thesis are taken from Chinese written works. A small number of examples are based on television and film recordings or on actual conversations. Written examples include those taken from Chinese dictionaries, reference handbooks, corpuses, newspapers, magazines, journals, and translated works published over the past seventy years. Although the focus is on Chinese publications some examples will be taken from journals, newspapers and dictionaries that have appeared in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Australia.

Both Chinese and bilingual dictionaries will be referred to in order to ascertain which borrowings have been sanctioned by Chinese linguists.

Lexical borrowing in the North-Eastern Chinese dialect is also examined in this study. Chinese linguists often cite words in articles and books that come from North-Eastern Chinese dictionaries and works of literature. We will refer to some examples of lexical borrowing from this dialect in order to elaborate such cases.
All published sources referred to in this thesis are listed in the References at the end of the thesis.
Chapter Two

A Brief History of Lexical Borrowing in Chinese

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter is a review of the literature, produced by both Chinese and foreign scholars, on the phenomenon of lexical borrowing. The words borrowed from a donor language (in this case, from Russian), and utilised in a receiver language (Chinese) represent only one small component, or aspect, of the complete ‘receiving’ lexicon. Other aspects of the receiving language, for instance, include colloquial terms, and phonetic features (Shi Youwei, 1991; Yip Po-Ching, 2000). Donated or borrowed terms are also often regarded by some foreign scholars as a part of language contact (Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1953). According to these scholars, intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that contribute to word borrowing can be distinguished. Loan words are to be regarded as a function of historical, social, political, economic, and cultural forces. This chapter will examine the definitional range of these loan words. A brief history of previous research into lexical borrowing, including criticism, standardization, and the publication of borrowed words in Chinese is also reviewed.

2.2 Nomenclature

During the 20th Century, many Chinese scholars investigated lexical borrowing as it occurred in the Modern Chinese language. Shi Youwei (1991; 2000), for instance, defined the term ‘外来词’ (loan word) in detail. The terms ‘外来词’ (wài lái cí —
loan word) and ‘外 来 语’ (wài lái yǔ — foreignism) are not indigenous, but instead, are concepts whose semantic content is taken from English, despite admitting an expression in Chinese characters. ‘外 来 词’ (wài lái cí) has been borrowed from the English phrase ‘foreign word’, and ‘外 来 语’ (wài lái yǔ) has been imported from the English expression ‘foreignism’. Because both terms contain the element ‘foreign’, they are often misunderstood by Chinese speakers as connoting ‘外 国 的’ (that one is from a foreign country). Apart from this meaning, both terms also connote ‘外 族 的’ (that an individual is of another nationality). For these reasons, the borrowed semantic item ‘外 来 词’ (foreign word) must be understood as either an item coming from a foreign country, or as an item from another cultural group existing within a country (e.g., Mongolian, Tibetan, etc.).

However, the terms ‘外 来 词’ (wài lái cí) or ‘外 来 语’ (wài lái yǔ) in Modern Chinese, generally speaking, may represent the meaning of the following English words or phrases: ‘loan word’, ‘alien word’, ‘foreign word’, ‘borrowing’, ‘loan’, ‘loan blend’, ‘loan translation’, ‘alienism’, ‘foreignism’, ‘peregrinism’, ‘hybrid word’, and ‘calques’. Besides this, the term ‘借 词’ (jiè cí; loan word, borrowing) in Modern Chinese is roughly analogous to the meaning of ‘外 来 词’ or ‘外 来 语’. The English terms ‘loan word’, and ‘borrowing’ as used in the present thesis indicate the meaning of the Chinese terms ‘外 来 词’ and ‘借 词’. The terms ‘loan word’ and ‘borrowing’ may occur in different contexts, and have been used alternately. In addition, other terms, such as ‘loan’, ‘loan translation’, ‘calques’, ‘hybrid’ also appear in the discussion.

In Chinese, as Shi Youwei (2000) notes, whole or part of a loan word’s phonetic characteristics represent a foreign word. These loan words retain the original meaning of their source words, and are transliterated according to Chinese linguistic principles (i.e.
they have been *Sinicised*). A loan word, strictly speaking, usually achieves enduring usage in the borrowing language.

Therefore, the lexical borrowing of a non-indigenous term into a borrowing language such as Modern Chinese substantially alters the phonetic and morphological properties of the borrowed word, in relation to its indigenous properties. This is particularly noticeable when a term in the English language transcribed according to the alphabetic system, is ‘transplanted’ into a language that uses a picto-ideographic writing system, such as Modern Chinese.

2.3 Meaning and Usage of Chinese Terms

As we have examined above, there are two types of terms in Modern Chinese: ‘外来词’/ ‘外来语’ (loan word and foreignism) and ‘借词’ (loan word/borrowing). Below, we shall examine the different linguistic features of these two types of terms:

Intention and Extension

On the basis of intentional and extensional analyses, some Chinese scholars regard these two types of terms as ambiguous. However, ‘借词’ (loan word, or borrowing) is a term frequently used when discussing the relationship between foreign language (as well as those of minority nationalities within China) and Chinese dialects, suggesting a direct influence of Western culture upon the Chinese language. Under the influence of Japanese language, the term ‘外来语’ (foreignism) was coined to indicate phonetic borrowing from other foreign languages, while the character pronunciation remained distinct (Kun-yomi 训读). This may be attributed to the unwillingness of Japan to permit the entry of any minority nationalities for many years. When the term
'外来语' (foreignism) was introduced into China in the 1940's, its meaning was no longer limited to foreign languages (typically European) existing outside China, but was extended to also include words from minority nations (typically Eastern) existing within China. Consequently, '外来语' (foreignism) no longer referred solely to phonetic borrowing, but also to words which combined non-indigenous elements (i.e. hybrids). As the nature of word borrowing continued to change into the late 1950's, '外来语' (foreignism) was gradually replaced by the term '外来词' (foreign word), which referred to the full adoption of Japanese characters into the Modern Chinese language. The term '借词' (loan word; borrowing) refers to words that maintain the English definition, and especially refers to phonetic borrowing appearing in Chinese academic works, for instance, in the Great Chinese Encyclopaedia, but is regarded as a synonym of '外来词' (foreign word)/ '外来语' (foreignism) in many other books. The user and the place of usage.

Although Chinese scholars who have studied in Western countries prefer to use the term '借词' (loan word; borrowing), those who have studied in Japan tend to prefer the term '外来语' (foreignism), which is popular among Chinese intellectuals. In China in the 1950's, '外来词' (foreign word) was substituted by the term '外来语' (foreignism). Among Chinese writers of various dictionaries there exists a diversity in academic background and experience, and therefore differences in the application of terms and language. For example, in the volume of the Great Chinese Encyclopaedia (Language), the writers headed by the Language Institute for Chinese Academy of Social Sciences only use the term '借词' (loan word; borrowing), but not '外来语' (foreignism)/ '外来词' (foreign word). However, in the Encyclopaedia Cihai 語海 (A Sea of Words), the term '外来词' (foreign word) appears as a lemma, and '外来语'
(foreignism), and ‘借贷’ (loan word; borrowing), are treated as references. The different textbook of the Modern Chinese introduces ‘外来词’ (foreign word) as a main term in order to avoid the same pronunciation of ‘借贷’ (loan word; borrowing), and ‘介词’ (preposition) in Modern Chinese.

2.4 The Evolution of Loan Word Meaning

There are several terms representing the meaning of loan words. As Shi Youwei (2000) notes, the word ‘译语’ (translated word), was first used during the Tang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.). It is defined as: ‘words which are translated from foreign languages.’ From the time of the establishment of the Institute of Interpreters and Translators during the Yuan Dynasty (1271—1368 A.D.), until the beginning of the 20th Century, various other institutes, such as Huitong guan ‘会同馆’ (the Interpreters Institute) and Siyi guan ‘四夷馆’ (the Translators Institute), had compiled numerous Chinese–foreign translated words. For example, these included translated words of the Mongolian language, translated words from the language of the Ryukyu islands, and translated words of Western languages. These translated words contained words of free translations, phrase and discourse; and sometimes included semantic or phonetic borrowing. Until the beginning of 20th Century the content of translated words did not change.

Compared with translated words, ‘译名’ (translation term) is used more widely in the Chinese language, and has a wider range of meanings. ‘译名’ (translation term) also refers to both semantic and phonetic borrowing. With the appearance of the concept of
the word in Modern Chinese language during the mid-1950’s, ‘译词’ (translated word) came into being as a non-academic term.

‘外来语’ (foreignism) was first used as a formal academic term at the beginning of the 20th Century. It was borrowed from the Japanese language, and cited as early as 1902 (Zhang Taiyan, cited in Shi Youwei, 2000). Until the middle of the 1950’s, ‘外来语’ (foreignism) was defined as terms containing full (for example, mo deng 摩登 — modern, and mo tuo 摩托 — motor), or partial (for example, bing qi ling 冰淇淋 — ice cream) phonetic borrowing, as well as characters of Japanese pronunciation (for example, 手续 — te-tsuzuki), (Chen Wangdao 1934, cited by Shi Youwei, 2000). In 1936, Hu Xingzhi’s Dictionary of ‘外来语’ (foreignism) further included semantic borrowing. However, in his book of Chinese grammar, Lu Shuxiang (1942) stated that ‘外来语’ (foreignism) solely contained full or partial phonetic borrowing, and that semantic borrowing could only be found in compound words. Consequently, he eliminated the semantic component from ‘外来语’ (foreignism).

In the middle of the 1950’s, Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan (1958) believed that ‘外来语’ (foreignism) did not coincide with lexicological terms ending with the form ‘— 词’ (— word). As a result, they corrected this discrepancy by formally adopting ‘外来词’ (foreign words). ‘外来词’ (foreign words) refers to instances of phonetic borrowing, as well as to characters of Japanese origin. These words are popular loan words at the present time, broadly accepted because of their rationale, and the ease with which they are adopted by native Chinese speakers. As a consequence, the use and range of ‘外来词’ (foreign words) has gradually extended to become one of the main terms of loan words in Modern Chinese. However, as ‘外来语’ (foreignism) appeared earlier
than ‘外来词’ (foreign words), and was uniquely linked with Japanese language, it is still a major loan word term within certain academic fields.

Other variations of word borrowing include ‘借入语’, ‘借用语’, ‘借字’, ‘借词’, ‘借语’, which are in fact Chinese counterparts to English loan words. Among them, the word ‘借入语’ (loan word, borrowing) first appeared in The English–Chinese Dictionary of Standard Chinese Spoken Language (Hemeling) in 1905. The term ‘借用语’ (loan word; borrowing), indicating words containing borrowed sound, borrowed foreign shape, and Japanese characters, comes from the Japanese language (Hu Yulu, 1914, cited by Shi Youwei, 2000). In 1950, Luo Changpai adopted the term ‘借字’ (loan word, borrowing) for the first time. This term refers to words with phonetic borrowing, borrowed translation words, and descriptive words. Following the appearance of ‘词’ (the word) in the middle of the 1950’s, the term ‘借词’ (loan word; borrowing), a semantic translation from English, was adopted in Modern Chinese language. Although this term appears synonymous with the word ‘外来词’ (foreign word), as in Cihai (A Sea of Words, Luo Zhufeng et al., 1989), and in many textbooks of Modern Chinese, not all Chinese scholars accept the similarity in meaning, as some hold that this term only refers to phonetic borrowing (Wang Li, 1958; Zhou Zumo, 1988). Other scholars, such as Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtan (1958), hold that although ‘借词’ (loan word, borrowing) is a word from a foreign language, it is not a member of the native vocabulary, unlike the term ‘外来词’ (foreign word) which does belong to the Chinese vocabulary. According to Zhao Yuanren (1970), the term ‘借语’ (word borrowing) typically contains not only the phoneme, morpheme, and the word, but also the phrase and foreign utterances, or grammatical constructions. However, as many Chinese linguistic scholars do not hold the same opinion as Zhao Yuanren (1970), and suggest
that the term ‘借语’ (word borrowing) has aroused too much confusion. A result they have preferred to adopt the term ‘音译词’ (phonetic translation word), which has a clearer but narrower meaning in Modern Chinese.

2.5 The Historical Development of Chinese Loan Words

Although there have been many studies of Chinese loan words in both Chinese and foreign languages, very rarely do these studies contain a comprehensive history\(^1\). The following section of this thesis reviews the historical development of Chinese loan words.

Generally, Chinese and foreign scholars have divided the history of loan words into a number of periods based upon the level of cultural contact with other nations. During the Qin (221—206 B.C.) and Han Dynasties (both Eastern and Western; 206 B.C.—220 A.D.), the Chinese nation came into contact with numerous other foreign nations. As Shi Youwei (2000) notes, although the Qin Dynasty [pronounced using the Chinese character ‘秦’ (Qin)] existed only for a short period, it was during this time that foreigners first adopted the word ‘China’. However, as the earlier form Qin ‘秦’ was similar to the pronunciation, ‘Cin’, it was often confused with the Indian Sanskrit synonym cina, which is defined as cultural relics, thinking, or tact. In addition, the Roman word ‘Sinae’ and the Greek word ‘Thin’ are also variants of the pronunciation of the character ‘秦’ (Qin).

During the period of the Han Dynasties, contact with Western Asian Regions including the west ‘玉门关’ (yù ménguān) Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, and Central Asia, were established. In 138 B.C., Zhang Qian was sent on a diplomatic
expedition to these Western Regions and opened up the Silk Road, which allowed the Chinese to later bring back a great deal of geographic and productive knowledge (via cultural exchange and trade) from these areas, *including* the first loan words. A number of these early loan words can still be found in Modern Chinese, such as:

1) ‘胡’ (Hu) or ‘匈 奴’ (Xiong nu), which both refer to the name of the Huns nationality, and were borrowed from the Huns word meaning a ‘person’, or a ‘God’ (Shi Youwei, 2000);

2) ‘单 于’ (chan yu), borrowed from the Huns word ‘sanok/tsanak’, and refer to the title of the chief of the Huns (Shi Youwei, 2000);

3) ‘骆 驼’ (luo tuo), defined as camel, and derived from the Huns word ‘dada’ (Liu et al., 1984);

4) ‘西 瓜’ (xi gua), or watermelon, which was borrowed from the Manchu word ‘seko’ (Liu et al., 1984);

5) ‘葡萄’ (pu tao), or grape, which was borrowed from the word ‘badaga’ of the Fergana Valley region²;

6) ‘猩 猩’ (xing xing) or orang-utan, which was borrowed from Huns or northern Chinese tribes (Liu et al., 1984; Yip Po-Ching, 2000);

7) ‘琥 珀’ (hu po), or amber, borrowed from the Turkish (Tujue) word ‘xubix’³;

8) ‘苹 果’ (ping guo), meaning apple, was borrowed from the words ‘bimbara’ and ‘Bimba’ of Indian Sanskrit (Liu et al., 1984).

Indeed, there are a large number of loan words which have been adapted to Modern Chinese from Western Regions. As indicated in the above list, these loan words (excluding the terms of the throne and the civil service system) largely belong to
everyday language, and typically reflect phonetic borrowing (Guoyu ribao, 1981; Liu et al., 1984; Shi Youwei, 1991; 2000).

The biggest event occurring between the Eastern Han and Tang Dynasties was the importation of Buddhist culture. The translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit introduced many new words to the Chinese language, thus representing the first great expansion of loan words in Chinese linguistic history. Compared with the introduction of words and phrases from Western Regions, this range of Buddhist terms extended beyond words solely adopted from productive titles and geographical knowledge. The translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese can be essentially divided into three periods, including: A) Initial translation from Western Region languages in the period of the Eastern Han Dynasty; B) Translation by Buddhist monks who came from India and the Western Regions to China during the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties, as well as Northern and Southern Dynasties; C) Translation during the Tang Dynasty.

Among the many Buddhist translators, Kumarajiva 鸠摩罗什 (jiu Mo Luo Shi; 344—413), Paramartha 真谛 (Zhen Di; 499—569) and Xuanzhuang 玄奘 (Xuan Zhuang; 600—664) are considered the most dedicated and resourceful exponents. According to Yip Po-ching (2000), “Their translations have not only enriched the Chinese Language but also set examples for later generations of translators to follow” (p. 329).

Although early Chinese loan words were largely based upon phonetic borrowings from Western Regions, semantic borrowing from Buddhist scriptures also appeared at a later date (The rules of phonetic and semantic borrowings are discussed in Chapter Three). Some examples include:
1) 佛 (fo)/佛 陀 (fo tuo), meaning Buddha, from the Sanskrit ‘Sakyamuni’. 佛 (fo) is a shortening of the word Buddha, having evolved from 浮 图 (fu tu)/浮 图(fu tū);

2) 阿 弥 陀 佛 (a mi tuo fo), from the Sanskrit ‘Amitabha’, meaning a transhistorical Buddha venerated by all Mahayana schools and who presides over the Western Pure Lang or Sukhavati;

3) ‘罗 汉’ (luo han), from the Sanskrit ‘arhat’ (arahat, arahant), a Buddhist saint who has attained liberation from the cycle of Birth and Death, generally through living a monastic life in accordance with the Buddha’s teachings;

4) ‘瑜 珈’ (yu jia), from the Sanskrit word Yoga, a form of meditation developed in ancient India aimed at liberating one from the physical limitations of the body, or more broadly, from sufferings, by achieving concentration of mind and fusing with the truth.

According to Yip Po-ching (2000), in addition to the small number of terms purely related to Buddhism (e.g. 仏 (fo) ‘Buddha’), very few native Chinese speakers know or realise that such native-like words as ‘塔’ (ta) (borrowed from the Sanskrit Thuba/Thupa, meaning pagoda/stupa, which is a Buddhist monument, generally of a dome-shaped form, originally erected over sacred relics of the Buddha and at places consecrated as the scenes of his acts) are actually loan translations from Buddhist scriptures. Other examples include:

1) ‘影 响’ (ying xiang), meaning ‘influence’. According to the making of textual criticisms on the Buddhist scriptures in Chinese, the Chinese scholar Zhu
Qingzhi 朱庆之 (1992) notes that all of the modern meanings of the word ‘影响’ come from Sanskrit.

2) ‘过去’ (guo qu), meaning ‘in the past’; ‘现在’ (xian zai), meaning ‘at present’; and ‘未来’ (wei lai), meaning ‘in the future’ (Liang, 1990).

The translation of Buddhist loan words brought a number of word-formation elements, including:

A. The creation of new characters. For example, ‘魔’ (mo), or devil, which is a shortening of the phonetic loan from the Sanskrit word ‘mara’. Prior to the introduction of this character it did not exist in Chinese language. However, after ‘魔’ (mo) was assimilated into the Chinese vocabulary, many new Chinese words were created from it, including: ‘魔鬼’ (mo gui), devil; ‘魔力’ (mo li), magical power; ‘魔爪’ (mo zhao), devil’s talons; ‘魔术’ (mo shu), magic; ‘魔掌’ (mo zhang), devil’s clutches; ‘魔法’ (mo fa), sorcery; ‘魔怪’ (mo guai), demons and monsters; ‘魔窟’ (mo ku), den of monsters; ‘魔王’ (mo wang), Prince of the Devils; ‘魔杖’ (mo zhang), magic wand; ‘妖魔’ (yao mo), evil spirit; ‘病魔’ (bing mo), the demon of disease, and many others. In addition to these double syllabic words, many quadrissyllabic idioms were generated from this basic character, including: ‘邪魔外道’ (xie mo wai dao), evil demons and heretics; ‘群魔乱舞’ (qun mo luan wu), a host of demons dancing in riotous revelry—rogues of all kinds running wild; ‘妖魔鬼怪’ (yao mo gui guai), demons and ghosts.

B. The application of phonetic borrowing to imagination and ingenuity. For example, ‘禅’ (chan) is a phonetic borrowing from the Sanskrit word ‘dhyana’, and is a shortening of the word ‘禅那’ (dhyana). The character ‘禅’ (chan), ‘dhyana’,
contains the meaning of ‘静 思’ (jìng sī), deep meditation, and from it many new words relating to Buddhism have been derived, including: ‘禅 房’ (chán fāng), Buddhist monks’ living quarters; ‘禅 林’ (chán lín), Buddhist temple; ‘禅 师’ (chán shī), honorific title for a Buddhist monk; ‘禅 堂’ (chán táng), meditation room or hall; ‘禅 枝’ (chán zhāng), a Buddhist monk’s staff; ‘禅 宗’ (chán zōng), Zen (Liang Xiaohong, 1990). In contrast the character ‘禅’ (chán), ‘静 想’ (quiet thinking) is a semantic borrowing from the same Sanskrit word ‘dhyana’.

The second expansion of loan words followed after the Buddhist scriptural translations, and included two main aspects of borrowings: The first is the influence of the Khitan, Nuzhen (ancestors of Manchu), Mongolian and Manchu nations on Chinese language; the second, the introduction of technological and scientific terms from Western countries (Shi Youwei, 2000). These are now discussed in turn.

In the years following the Tang Dynasty, the Khitan, Nuzhen, Mongolian and Manchu nations succeeded each other in dominating either all or part of China. According to Shi Youwei (2000) and Gao Guangyu (1957), these nations brought with them a small number of words and phrases, each with limited application, and the majority of which did not survive in the Chinese language. Some examples include:

1) ‘契 丹’ (qì dān), borrowed from the Khitan word Kitai(n) [singular] or Kitat [plural], meaning iron or sword;

2) ‘珊 蚤’ (shān mán)/ ‘萨 摩’ (sà mó), borrowed from the word saman, meaning wizard or sorcerer;

3) ‘胡 同’ (hú tóng), or lane, originally borrowed from the Mongolian word gudum, which means well;
4) ‘格格’ (gé ge), originally borrowed from the Manchurian word gege, meaning princess, or daughter of a prince.

Numerous borrowings from Western language started with the introduction of technological and scientific terms. For example, in the middle of the 13th Century, the Huis astronomer 札马鲁丁 (Zamaludin) accepted an invitation to come to China, bringing with him astronomical knowledge of the Arab countries and the twelve constellations, which had been created in Greece. In 1267, he composed the perpetual calendar, and also designed and made seven ‘astronomical instruments of the Western Region’ in Arabic style. The names of these instruments were derived from Western borrowings, and included: ‘苦来亦撒玛’ (kǔ lái yì sā má), meaning celestial globe, and borrowed from the Mongolian phrase kuriyen saba (Shi Youwei, 1991); ‘苦来亦阿儿子’ (kǔ lái yī’ěr zi), meaning terrestrial globe, and borrowed from Mongolian phrase kuriyen gajar (Shi Youwei, 1991).

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, many Western scholars, merchants and missionaries, such as Marco Polo (1250—1324), Michael Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci (1552—1610), Julius Aleni (1582—1649), Giacomo Rho (1593—1638), Francisco Furtado, Ferdinand Verbiest, Jean Adam Schall Von Bell, Michel Bernoit, amongst others, visited and worked in China. They, in conjunction with local scholars, including 徐光启 (Xu Guangqi), 李之藻 (Li Zhiqiao), 王微 (Wang Wei), and 李经天 (Li Jingtian), first introduced into the Chinese language a number of religious terms connected with Christianity, as well as technical terms from Western empirical science (Yip Po-ching, 2000).
In 1757, the foundation of the Russian Language School, 俄 罗 斯 文 馆 (Elosi Wenguan) in Beijing, marked the beginning of a move towards training native Chinese as interpreters and translators of Western languages. In subsequent years official translation agencies were set up in a number of major cities, and included, for example: The School of Combined Learning in Beijing, 北 京 同 文 馆 (Beijing Tongwenguan, 1862—1902); The School of Combined Learning in Shanghai, 上 海 同 文 馆 (Shanghai Tongwenguan, 1863—1907), which was incorporated into The Jiangnan Office for the Construction of Machinery, 上 海 江 南 机 器 制 造 局 (Shanghai jiang nan ji qi zhi zao ju), in 1869; and The School of Combined Learning in Guangdong, 广 东 同 文 馆 (Guangdong Tongwenguan), in 1864. These schools were the first to train Chinese scholars in foreign languages and later in certain scientific disciplines. Not only did these schools train a large number of interpreters, translators and diplomats, but they also made an enormous contribution to the Chinese vocabulary through their translations of Western works (Masini, 1993).

The Chinese language has also borrowed numerous Western words through the Japanese language. These words have been introduced with Kanji (Chinese characters), which differ from Modern Chinese in pronunciation. Consequently, many Japanese semantic borrowings occur in Modern Chinese (Wang Li, 1993; Wang Lida, 1958), including those in table 2.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Science</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>哲学</td>
<td>Zhe xue</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>科学</td>
<td>Ke xue</td>
<td>Science</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1 Japanese semantic borrowings in Modern Chinese
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>民族</th>
<th>Min zu</th>
<th>Nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>社会</td>
<td>She hui</td>
<td>Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>物理学</td>
<td>Wu li xue</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>化学</td>
<td>Hua xue</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>历史</td>
<td>Li shi</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>行为</td>
<td>Xing wei</td>
<td>Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>计划</td>
<td>Ji hua</td>
<td>Plan, program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>抽象</td>
<td>Chou xiang</td>
<td>Abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>图书馆</td>
<td>Tu shu guan</td>
<td>Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>生产力</td>
<td>Sheng chan li</td>
<td>Productive forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>可能性</td>
<td>Ke neng xing</td>
<td>Possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>资本主义</td>
<td>Zi ben zhu yi</td>
<td>Capitalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen from these examples, word borrowings from Japanese translations of Western terms are actually indistinguishable from native Chinese words. Moreover, these borrowings, which cover all conceivable areas of human endeavour, are so numerous and such an integral part of Modern Chinese that some scholars believe they comprise approximately half of the neologisms used in the language (Wang Lida, 1958).

Following the first Opium War (1840-1843) against the English and French, China was forced to open their doors to Western science, technology and culture. Loan words introduced during this time were of a different form and meaning than earlier borrowings. That is, in addition to pure semantic and phonetic loans, hybrid words were also adopted (such as those borrowing the phonetic translation plus the semantic...
connotation; or those borrowing both the phonetic translation and semantic annotation.

Examples are given in table 2.2:

Table 2.2 Western borrowed words including phonetic translation and semantic annotation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>乌托邦</th>
<th>Wū tuō bāng</th>
<th>Utopia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>逻辑</td>
<td>Luó jí</td>
<td>Logic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>浪漫</td>
<td>Làng màn</td>
<td>Romantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>图腾</td>
<td>Tú téng</td>
<td>Totem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>沙文主义</td>
<td>Shā wén zhǔ yì</td>
<td>Chauvinism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>加农炮</td>
<td>Jiā nóng pào</td>
<td>Cannon (gun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>来复枪</td>
<td>Lái fù qiāng</td>
<td>Rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卡车</td>
<td>Kǎ chē</td>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prior to 1950, Modern Chinese had typically borrowed words and phrases from Western and Japanese languages. However, as contact and exchange between Russia and China became more frequent, following the foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, a large number of words from the Russian language were imported into Modern Chinese, such as 苏维埃 (Su wei ai) from the Russian word Совет (meaning Soviet) and 布尔什维克 (bu’er shi wei ke) from the Russian word большевик (meaning Bolshevik). Other examples include:

Table 2.3 Imported Russian words in Modern Chinese
Generally, the influx of Russian loan words was halted immediately prior to the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966—1976). However, after this revolution, China initiated a new policy of ‘opening and reform’, with which was associated a new willingness to once again learn from the West. Consequently, word borrowings from various languages entered Modern Chinese in an endless stream. Such borrowings include those listed in Table 2.4:

Table 2.4 Examples of Western borrowed words since 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>拜拜</th>
<th>Bai bai</th>
<th>Bye-bye</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>香波</td>
<td>Xiang bo</td>
<td>Shampoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>克隆</td>
<td>Ke long</td>
<td>Clone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>信用卡</td>
<td>Xing yong ka</td>
<td>Credit card</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>汉堡包</td>
<td>Han bao bao</td>
<td>Hamburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迪斯尼</td>
<td>Di si ni</td>
<td>Disney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卡拉OK</td>
<td>Ka la ou kei</td>
<td>Karaoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Sei di</td>
<td>Compact disk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is widely held that without these borrowings from other languages, Modern Chinese vocabulary would not be so rich and versatile as it is today.

2.6 A Review of Loan Word Etymological Studies

The study of the etymology of loan words in Modern Chinese began towards the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century (The Language Institute of the Chinese Academy of Science, 1978). The earliest research on loan words was dominated by individuals of Western origin, including Tomaschek (1877), Kingsmill (1879), and Hirth (1917), who together expounded and proved the origin of the Chinese word '葡萄' (pu tao, meaning grape). Laufer (1916) studied Chinese borrowings for terms relating to flora, fauna, and minerals, which had been introduced from Central Asia through Western Regions, and into the Chinese central plains. Further, Watters (1889), Chavannes (1905; 1907), Pelliot (1922), Karlgren (1934), Boodberg (1936), and Maenchen—Helfen (1945) all examined Chinese name borrowings of Western goods and places that had appeared in Chinese scriptures. In addition to Western studies, Japanese scholars, for example, Egami Namio 江上波夫 (1935) and Mizuno Kotoku 水野广德 (1935), also joined in researching Chinese loan word etymology.

Western and Japanese research into the etymology of Modern Chinese loan words has greatly inspired Chinese scholars. Such Chinese scholars as Feng Chengjun 冯承钧, Feng Jiasheng 冯家升, Chen Yunque 陈寅恪, Ji Xianlin 季羡林 and Guo Moruo 郭沫若 focussed their attention on studying loan words prior to 1949, and others, for example, Chen Yuan 陈垣 (1928), have studied the borrowings for names from Islam. Others include Feng Jiasheng 冯家升 (1937) who has researched loan words from the
Huns language, Han Rulin 韩儒林 (1940) who investigated the origin of formal names relating to the Altay Mountains; Xu Fu 徐复 (1945) who distinguished pronunciations of the titles for the Huns Empress, and Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1948) who studied the origin of names for the Huns, ‘单于’ (Chán yù) and ‘冒顿’ (Mò dùn), at the beginning of the Han Dynasty. Although these authors have provided major contributions to the historical mapping of Chinese loan word development, their studies lack a linguistic perspective.

During the second half of the 20th Century, more linguists began to research the etymology of Chinese loan words. For example, the Chinese linguist Zhang Qingchang 张清常 (1978) examined word borrowings from the Mongolian language, which included such terms as ‘胡同’ (hu tōng, or lane); ‘赛’ (sài, or good, for example ‘赛娘’, Sài niáng meaning good girl in Yuan Drama); ‘歹’ (dǎi, or bad), ‘褡裢’ (dā lián, meaning a long, rectangular bag sewn up at both ends with an opening in the middle); ‘哈巴狗’ (hā ba gòu, a Pekinese breed of dog), and many others. Wen You 韦宥 (1980) conducted textual research into the importation of the three borrowings, ‘鸭’ (yā, or duck), ‘鸥’ (ōu, or gull) and ‘骛’ (wù, or duck). Liu Zhengtan 刘正埙 (1983) made corrections to many borrowings from foreign languages, such as ‘格素尔’ (gé sù ér, or cassowary) adopted from the Malay language. Italian scholar Federico Masini (1993) reviewed the development of the Chinese lexicon (which included the importation of word borrowings) from the period 1840–1898, and confirmed the suggestion that a number of Chinese terms had been translated from foreign concepts and languages. He also examined the exchange and relation between the Japanese and Chinese lexicons, and indicated that many Chinese words had in fact been borrowed from the Japanese language. However, both Federico Masini (1993) and Sheng Guowei (1994), have
argued that many Chinese characters were first borrowed by the Japanese for the purpose of adopting new European words and concepts into the Japanese language. They claim that these characters, with their new meanings, were then later imported back into the Chinese language.

2.7 Categories of Borrowings

In studying the history of Chinese loan words, native scholars have typically paid a great deal of attention to the various categories of borrowings. However, few foreign scholars have touched upon these distinctions. The Chinese linguist Lu Shuxiang 吕叔湘 (1942) noted:

“The translated word contains two forms: phonetic (either full or partial) and semantic. Semantic borrowing should be included in the compound-word, because it manages to use the indigenous words or roots of the native language, therefore it does not belong to foreignism in the strict sense of the word. Phonetic borrowing is an integral whole and inseparable, it can be included in the group of changing sound” (pp. 19–20).

Luo Changpei 罗常培 (1950) classified ‘借词’ (loan word, borrowing) into four categories:

A. Substitution of the sound, which can be further divided into four subcategories, including: pure phonetic translation (e.g. 咖啡 kā féi—coffee); phonetic translation plus semantic connotation (可口可乐 kǒu kǒu le—Coca Cola); phonetic translation plus semantic annotation (卡片 kǎ piàn—card); and, those words whose semantic translation is mistaken as phonetic (爱好者的ài měi de—amateur);
B. New phonetic-compounds, in which the phonetic element is coupled with a semantic annotation, such that each pronunciation has its own meaning [e.g. ‘氨’ (an) — meaning ‘ammonia’];

C. Loan translations, i.e. words or phrases invented in Chinese on the basis of the morphological or syntactic structure of a foreign model [e.g. ‘超人’ (chāo rén) — ‘Umbremensch’, meaning ‘superman’];

D. Descriptive forms, in which natural produce or artefacts from exotic lands are often referred to with terms prefixed by words indicating foreignness (e.g. 番茄 fān qié—tomato, see Chapter Three). However, Zheng Dian 郑 奠 (1956) has argued that this category is not a form of borrowing, and suggested that instead, another category should be added to include those translated words imported from Japanese language. This opinion has also been shared by other scholars including Sun Changxu 孙常叙 (1956), Lin Tao 林焘 (1989), Zhang Yongnian 张永年 (1982), Zhou Zumo 周祖谟 (1988), Cen Qixiang 岑麒祥 (1983), as well as Gao Mingkai 高铭凯, and Liu Zhentan 刘正埙 (1958). However, in 1958 the linguist Wang Li 王力 (1993) argued that “only word borrowing, not translated words, should be classified as foreignisms” (p.125). Consequently, he did not classify translated words (or Japanese borrowing of Chinese characters) as loan words in a strict sense, as such words had not been directly borrowed from European languages, but indirectly through Japanese. In further support of this argument, foreign views and opinions of Chinese loan words have been very similar to those of Wang Li.

Italian Federico Masini (1993) has classified Chinese loan words into a number of categories, including: phonetic loans, hybrids, semantic loans, loan-translations, graphic loans and new formations. Russian lexicologist Semenas (1997), has also divided
Chinese loanwords into five categories, including: phonetic loans, phonetic borrowing plus Chinese connotation, semantic plus phonetic borrowings, loan-translations, phonetic borrowing plus generic terms.

The following table is a summary of the various categories of Chinese loan words outlined above, according to Chinese and foreign linguists (V=yes, X=no, O=not indication)⁴.

Table 2.5 A summary of the various categories of Chinese loan words by author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Lu</th>
<th>Luo</th>
<th>Zhang</th>
<th>Gao</th>
<th>Wang</th>
<th>Masini</th>
<th>Semenas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic Translation</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic translation plus semantic connotation</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New phonetic-compound</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic translation plus semantic annotation</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-phonetic and semi-semantic translation</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan-translation (calques)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic translation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive form</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese characters with Japanese pronunciation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese characters with Sino – Japanese pronunciation</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yip Po-ching (2000) has summarized the diverse categories of borrowings in detail, and classified translations as either semantic, explanatory, figurative, graphitic or innovative graphitic. Other linguistic strategies utilised to facilitate the borrowing process include: Abbreviation of measure words into monosyllabic form (e.g. ‘mitu’ becomes 米—meter; ‘dachen’ becomes 打—dozen); Back-loan [e.g. 台风—typhoon (from English) which is equivalent to the original Chinese, 大风—strong wind]]; compounding [once a transliteration has been accepted into a language, it proliferates in accordance with the same word-formation rules as other elements of the indigenous lexicon, e.g. 打的—go by taxi (的士), 名模—famous model]; Direct full transplantation (e.g. BBC—as BBC; CD—as CD), and partial transplantation/transliteration; Duplicate translation, in which a term may be translated differently for different contexts or connotations (e.g. 现代—modern; Yip Po-ching, 2000).

The issue of categories of lexical borrowings in Modern Chinese will be discussed specially in the Chapter Three and a new distinction will be indicated in detail (see pp. 48 and 56).

2.8 A Cultural Approach to Borrowings

Loan words provide tangible traces of cultural exchange, and are a means of access to a foreign culture. Western Sinologists, such as French Grānet and Maspero, as well as the American Laufer (1916; 1917), have attempted to examine the relationship between Chinese language and culture. Native Chinese scholars have also followed Chinese contact with other cultures through the importation of loan words. In particular,
Zhāng xīngliáng 张 星 煌 (1977), has gathered information from ancient scriptures and contemporary works containing cultural communications between China and the West (including Europe, Africa, Arab, Armenia, Jew, Iran, Central Asia and India), and in doing so has succeeded in providing a trace of the spread of loan words throughout Chinese history. Other examples include Guo Moruo 郭 沫 若 (1931) who discovered the origin of the names of the twelve months in Chinese to be Babylonian; Ji Xianlin 季 羡 林 (1948) who discovered correspondences between translated Buddhist words and Sanskrit sounds to the Chinese language, and concluded that the Buddhist sacred literature was first translated from languages of Central Asia, and later directly from Sanskrit following the Sui Dynasty (581—618). Through their categorisation of loan word content, Chinese linguists Gao Mingkai 高 名 凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘 正 坦 (1958) further expounded the cultural significance of Chinese borrowing. Shi Youwei 史 有 为 (1991; 2000) has also emphasised cultural exchange through the importation of loan words from a more historical perspective. Others, for example, Liang Xiaohong 梁 晓 虹 (1992; 1994), have discussed cultural exchange between China and India through word borrowing from Buddhism.

2.9 The Compilation of Chinese Dictionaries

The compilation of Chinese loan words in dictionaries has proven to be a complex and difficult task. In China, Ding Fubao 丁 福 保 (1922) is regarded as the first compiler of dictionaries of this kind, authoring “A Great Dictionary of Buddhist Philosophy.” Around this time, the Western scholar, W.E. Soothill compiled a similar but considerably shorter version, named “A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms”. A dictionary of
foreign loans (1936) was later edited by Hu Xingzhi 胡行之, which further contained some “imported neologisms”. The Group of Compilation and Translation for the Publication Section in The National Language Daily News 国语日报出版部编译组 later edited “A Dictionary of Foreign Loans of The National Language Daily News” (1981), which contained 1820 entries and is considered the first dictionary of Modern Chinese loan words. It includes both full and partial phonetic borrowings of words, phrases, and proper nouns, which all hold strong cultural meanings. Examples include ke li mu lin gong 克里姆林宫 (Кремль—Kremlin), lie ning zhu yi 列宁主义 (Лениннизм—Leninism), ta si she 塔斯社 (TACC—TASS). Although all of the entries in this dictionary are marked with the national phonetic alphabets, English written forms, and the etymology of some entries, the words from Japanese characters are not included.

Another important dictionary of loan words in China is “A Dictionary of Foreign Loans” 汉语外来词词典 (Liu et al., 1984). It contains more than ten thousand entries with full or partial phonetic borrowings, plus words from Japanese characters, in addition to borrowings from languages of minority nationalities within China. The original form, etymology and variants of most entries are also clearly given. However, there are a number of limitations of this dictionary, including the fact that there is no indication of the source of most entries; that limited explanation of the use of borrowings from Russian is given; and the incorrect inclusion of some Chinese characters from Japanese.

In 1990, Cen Qixiang 岑麒祥 compiled “A Chinese dictionary of loan words”, with 4307 entries, which contained phonetic and semantic borrowings, as well as words from Japanese characters. In its many entries it included the names of persons and places, as well as the source of its numerous quotations. In addition to these more
comprehensive dictionaries, an index of borrowings in the book “Foreign Loans: Messengers of Different Cultures” (Shi Youwei, 1991) may serve as a small dictionary of loan words in common use.

As well as specialised dictionaries and books, *The Source of Words* (Ci Yuan 音源), *The Sea of Words* (Ci Hai 音海), *A Dictionary of Religion* (Zhong Jiao Ci Dian 宗教词典), *A Dictionary of Modern Chinese* (Xian Dai Han Yu Ci Dian 现代汉语词典), *A Great Dictionary of Chinese Language* (Han Yu Da Ci Dian 汉语大词典), and *The Great Chinese Encyclopaedia* (Zhong Guo Da Bai Ke 中国大百科全书), may also offer a collection of loan words. Zhang Xingliang’s (1977) “A Collection of Historical Materials of Communications Between China and West”, has provided an important literary study of Chinese ancient loan words, and offered a corpus of loan words in Old China. In contrast, until recently there has remained a large gap in the collection of Modern Chinese borrowings. Fortunately, the establishment of a databank of “foreign concept words” in 1993 by the Society of Chinese language in Hong Kong has provided access to many current loan words.

2.10 Issues Surrounding the Standardisation of Loan Words

The ultimate aim of Chinese loan word studies is the standardisation of the Chinese language. Since modern times, terms from technology and science have rapidly become standardised in loan words. In the second half of the 19th Century, Xu Shou 徐寿 commenced translation of Western chemical literature, and from this adopted a principle of naming according to the initial syllable of Western languages to create new Chinese names of chemical elements. On May 1909, the Board of Education in the Qing
Dynasty sent Yan Fu 夏 to compile and edit the comparative tables and dictionaries of Chinese-foreign terms in different subject areas. In September of that year, the Board set up a Bureau of Compilation and Edition Terms, and took Yan Fu as a general editor. This was the first official institution of examination and approving academic terms in the history of China. Soon after, ‘The Committee of Examination and Approving Scientific Terminology’ was established by the government in 1919. ‘The Committee of Translation Term Standardisation’ was also set up by the Ministry of Education and Research in 1928 in Shanghai. This latter committee published 16 articles on the convention for foreign names and places. Until 1932, the ‘State Compilation and Translation Bureau’ was established so that ‘The Committee of Examination and Approving Scientific Terminology’ could begin its work in China. Subsequently, this bureau compiled and edited ‘The Principle of Chemical Names’ in 1933, within which it published 50 kinds of standard terminology, as well as 160 kinds of scientific terminology.

In the second half of the 20th Century the standardisation of loan words was approached from three major viewpoints discussed below:

2.10.1 A theoretical approach to the principle of standardization

The issue of the standardization of borrowings in Modern Chinese was first raised in the ‘Symposium of the Standardization in Modern Chinese Language’ in 1955. However, at this time this issue merely received a mention and was not discussed in depth. Following this however, studies into the standardization of Chinese borrowings took a more serious turn. Gao Mingkai 高明凯 and Liu Zhengtan 刘正填 published “A Study of Foreign Loans in Modern Chinese” (1958), which centered on two major
principles of loan word standardization: First, a loan word can only have one pronunciation shape, and one written form; and second, an original word can have two different forms, i.e. the co-existence of a loan word and an indigenous word. The problems surrounding loan word standardization have also been reviewed in “The Transformation and Development of the Chinese Written Language from the May Fourth Movement” (1959), in which confusion in the use of translated terms was highlighted between 1898 and 1911. During this time phonetic borrowings and free translation words were often used interchangeably. Only following the May Fourth Movement in 1919 were these two forms successfully integrated into Chinese language. In 1962, Gao Mingkai 高名凯 introduced a theoretical framework in which loan words could be successfully assimilated within the confines of the internal laws of Chinese language. In 1963, Lin Tao 林焘 also put forward a number of principles for the standardization of borrowings which addressed the issues of universality and validity. He also discussed four methods of borrowings in Modern Chinese, including phonetic borrowing, semantic borrowing, phonetic plus semantic borrowing, and borrowing from the Japanese language. It was not until after the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966—1976) that the issue of the standardisation of word borrowings was finally addressed (during a meeting of the State Language Work Committee), and successfully integrated by an authoritative institution. However, it was not until 31 October 2000 that language normalisation (which included the standardisation of word borrowing) was finally introduced, appearing in The State General Language Act which was eventually put into effect by The National People’s Congress on 1 January 2001.
2.10.2 Standardization of Terminology

From 1950, a number of organizations were established to undertake the task of the standardisation of scientific terminology. These organizations first included a Standard Committee of Academic Terms and later The Compilation Section of Scientific Terms, which was established under the Chinese Academy of Sciences following a symposium in 1955. From 1966 to 1976, the work of this Section was forced to stop due to a change in official policy. Following this, The National Examination and Approval Committee of Scientific Terminology was founded in 1985, at which time discussions centred around establishing more concrete terms to replace the more loosely defined loan words. In scientific circles, semantic borrowing 卫星—спутник (sputnik) was chosen over the phonetic borrowing 星球—спутник (sputnik), and in the Ministry of Health such words as 爱滋病—AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) were selected over the words 爱之病 (AIDS), and 爱之病 (AIDS). In the former example, the semantic borrowing is shorter than phonetic loan. It is hard to speak out long syllabic words in Modern Chinese and semantic double syllabic words coincide with word formation. In the latter example, the reason for the change was that the meaning of the first character 爱 (ai) of the words 爱之病 (AIDS) and 爱之病 (AIDS), was easy to misinterpret in this case of phonetic borrowing (which could imply that the disease does not arise from sexual intercourse). Here we just hint at these, the deeply discussion will take place in the Chapter Five.
2.10.3 Standardisation of the Proper Noun

After the foundation of the 'Compilation and Translation Bureau of the CPC Central Committee' in 1953, the issue of translating proper nouns referred to the name of a particular person, place, or thing, arose in a number of translation works. Usually, the translated proper nouns have been regarded by Chinese scholars as a part of word borrowings in Modern Chinese. Consequently, The Bureau laid down some rules of phonetic borrowing to address this issue:

1. Beijing pronunciation as standard;
2. Transliteration of the names of persons and places according to the original language;
3. The transliteration of names to follow the same foreign pronunciation;
4. Transliterations should use common and NOT uncommon characters or words.

Soon after, the 'Section of the Translation Terms of the Xinhua News Agency' continued to add new rules, such as: prohibiting the use derogatory characters; selecting characters representing female features for the female name; accepting a transliteration of proper nouns through common practice; adopting Chinese names as referred to by foreigners. Such rules or principles are concerned with the standardization of transliteration for proper nouns. They have proven vital in Chinese borrowings and have laid a foundation for standard Chinese speech.

In sum, this chapter has traced the history of lexical borrowing in the Chinese language, from its earliest beginnings up to the present day. This background will prove helpful when considering the principles of lexical borrowing discussed in the rest of this thesis.
NOTES:

1. This does not include the comprehensive monographs of Chinese scholars, such as Gao Mingkai, and Liu Zhengtan's, "Study of Foreign Loans in Modern Chinese" (1958); Shi Youwei's (1991), "Foreign Loans: messengers of different cultures", and also his "Loan Words of the Chinese Language" (2000).

2. There are different original versions of the word ‘葡萄’ (grape) (Liu and Gao etc. 1984).

3. Two other original versions follow: one from Syria—harpax; and another from medieval Persia—Kahrupai (Liu et al., 1984; Shi Youwei, 1991).

4. In Drawing up this table, the form in “Chinese Loan Words” (Shi Youwei, 2000) is consulted and added some further materials.

5. In fact, Liu Zhengtan, one of the compilers of this dictionary, notes in the preface, that the draft had already been finished in 1978, but was shelved because of different ideas between the publisher and compilers (Shi Youwei, 2000).


7. Chinese scholar Chen Yuan proposed amendments to this dictionary in 1978 and 1984; and he indicated that the name of persons and places do not belong to the category of loan words, and that only some ancient names should be considered so (Shi Youwei, 2000).
Chapter Three
The Methods and Forms of Borrowings

3.1 Introduction

Almost all languages in the world exhibit the phenomenon of lexical borrowing. Generally speaking, however, the methods or forms of Chinese borrowing differ from other language borrowings. In discussing this problem, this thesis will contrast aspects of English borrowing from other languages, with Chinese borrowing. English has borrowed seven items from different languages: writing systems and spelling, phonology, morphology—inflection, loan words, calques, semantic loans, and syntax (Görlach, 1994). These seven items are of interest to this study, only in their relation to Chinese borrowings, and thus their relevance to English will not be discussed in-depth. Compared with English, Chinese has only borrowed four items from other languages: writing systems, loan words, calques, and semantic loans. Here the focus is on the linguistic items borrowed by the Chinese. In borrowings in Modern Chinese, both foreign words and phrases are borrowed. In the process of lexical borrowing and later integration into the language, the form and the content of a foreign word are changed by adaptation to the formal categories of standard speech, or by the selection of meaning that has to co-exist with indigenous equivalents. The process normally starts with the occasional use of a borrowed item in a native context, and the integration proceeds with the diffusion of the word into the speech community. In composite words hybrids can be distinguished as combinations of native and foreign elements, by native speakers. Loan translations or calques of Modern Chinese contain various methods of representing foreign concepts.
with indigenous material. The following subtypes of loan words, which are arranged according to their formal equivalence with the source word, can be divided into three categories:

1) Those that are rendered as closely as possible to the foreign language, meaning, and structure;
2) Those that are formally freer but still recognizably prompted by the source word;
3) Those that are prompted by a foreign word but formally independent of it. In semantic borrowings of Modern Chinese an existing word can take over the meaning of a foreign item. This added sense creates polysemy (i.e. more than one meaning).

As we discussed above, Chinese borrowings comprise four linguistic items of classification. These are usually divided into different forms of lexical borrowing according to the context of the Chinese research discussed in the Chapter Two (§2.7). However, by the investigation of lexical borrowings from other languages, including Russian, in Modern Chinese at present, there are eight forms as follows:

1. direct transplantation of the source word and alphabet;
2. phonetic-compound;
3. descriptive form;
4. phonetic borrowing plus foreign original;
5. semantic borrowing plus foreign original;
6. phonetic plus semantic borrowing;
7. semantic borrowing;
8. phonetic borrowing.
3.2 Basics of Chinese Lexical Items

Each Chinese word has three elements—sound, meaning and form, which are the fundamental elements of lexical items, where the written forms of words represent both their sound and meaning in the lexicon. In Chinese, the form, sound and meaning are realised by characters according to six categories of principles of writing, being: liu shu 六书 -- pictographic characters 象形 (xiàng xíng); simple ideographic characters 指事 (zhǐ shì); compound ideographic characters 会意 (huì yì); phonetic compounds 形声 (xíng shēng); borrowed characters 假借 (jià jiè); and, mutual lexigraphs 转注 (zhuǎn zhuì) according to the classification of Xu Shen 许慎 (30—124 A.D.).

As for the form of characters, according to Chinese linguist Han Baoyu (1990), there are three meanings given by the graphic shape of characters:

1) Pictographic meaning

Pictographic meaning is associated with the linguistic meaning of a character. In this sense, people have looked at a character as a painting characterized by both vivid expression and bold outline. The meaning of a graphic shape originates from pictographs. While other writing systems in the world are transferred from pictographs to symbols without meaning in themselves, in Chinese, the graphic shape of a character is representative of meaning itself.

2) Recorded meaning

Chinese characters originated from meanings that were represented in the notching of wood, and the tying of knots. That meaning is now represented by conventional and special symbols which are more appropriate for keeping
records. Graphic shapes are therefore recording symbols. Graphic shapes are transferred to linguistic signs, and meaning is adapted in line with the development of language.

3) Formulated meaning

Formulated meaning refers to the creation of new shapes through the combination of characters. It differs greatly from pictographic and recorded meanings that were formed in the period of pre-characters. Formulated meaning is derived through the creation of characters. It contains the concepts of compound ideographs 会意 (hui yi), phonetic compounds 形声 (xing sheng), mutual lexicography 转注 (zhuan zhu) and some simple ideographs 指事 (zhi shi) composed on the basis of pictographs 象形 (xiang xing).

Apart from meaning, phonetic representation is also given by the graphic shapes of characters. During the creation of characters, each character is linked to a Chinese sound, and then functions to represent it. This is a feature of a mature language like Chinese. Characters can be transliterated to represent foreign objects and products, and new characters can be created to act as a phonic sign for these items. The sound marking of Chinese characters accords to a system that signifies both the initial, and final phonemes of a character, and also the tone of a character. These markings accord to consonants, vowels, and to the pitch of a character respectively. This is very different from alphabetic systems of writing.
3.3 Meanings of Chinese Lexical Items

Lexical items represent both sound and meaning, and reflect concepts held and understood by people who speak the same language in a society. In a broad sense, the meaning can refer to lexical meaning, grammatical meaning and emotional meaning. In a narrow sense, it means only lexical meaning, or conceptual meaning. In Modern Chinese, the single character is a meaningful unit of lexical representation, and its meaning is the basis of lexical meaning. Some characters represent the morphemes of a word, where the meaning of a word is represented by more than one individual character.

In addition to the general meaning represented by lexical items, there are also denotations and connotations associated with these items. Denotation refers to the specific meaning of the word, and is always dependent upon context. For example, consider the word borrowing 木布 木布—рубль (rouble). In one content, the character 木布 (bu) ‘cotton, clothing’ refers to ‘publish, announce’; in another, it may refer to ‘an ancient coin’, but in neither case does the denotation have much to do with further associative meanings of the characters. The denotative meaning involves the relationship between a lexical item and the non-linguistic entities to which it refers — it is thus equivalent to referential meaning (Lazarus, Macleish, & Wendel Smith, 1971).

Connotation is used as part of a classification of types of meaning. Its main application is with reference to the emotional associations which are suggested by a linguistic unit, especially a single lexical item. Connotations arise from experience, both individual and general, or from widely shared understandings with objects, concepts, and words. Because of the uniqueness of individual experience, each person, forms private associations with characters, which they in turn come to associate with such characters. Also, each person shares with their society some associations with characters or words —
connotations that go beyond literal meaning. For example, in the word borrowing ai pi pei wu 爱匹配舞—липля (a folk Russian dance), 爱 (ai) means ‘a love’, or ‘to love’, 匹 (pi) can mean ‘be a match for’, 配 (pei) means ‘a mate, to mate’, and 舞 (wu) is a dance. Taken together the characters representing the meaning of this word may connote ‘the dance of loving to be a match for a mate’. The example demonstrates that speakers “must attend to the connotations of their characters or words if they are to communicate effectively, for affective connotations often speak louder than dictionary meanings…” (Lazarus et al., 1971).

3.4 What Motivates Lexical Borrowing: Various Factors

As mentioned in the introduction, the most common and obvious motivation for lexical borrowing is necessity. If the speakers of a native language adopt new cultural items, technology, religious concepts, or references to foreign locations, or to flora, and fauna, then there is obviously a need for the receiving vocabulary to be able to express these concepts or references. Otherwise native speakers may have to refer to unfamiliar concepts or references for which no word exists in their language.

Different word borrowings may reflect the importance of particular needs at different periods. For instance, Modern Chinese has borrowed from Russian during three main periods (before 1949; 1949—1966; and after 1980), as shown below. These borrowings reflect numerous political vocabularies after the October Revolution in 1917, and reflect both the terminologies of science and technology, and cultural terms. Examples of these borrowings are given below:
In addition to the above general motivation for borrowing that may always appear in any language, there are three specific factors that have played a part in lexical borrowing in Modern Chinese in recent years:

A) Linguistic

Existing expressions are insufficient to render specific nuances, for example, the non-assimilated English word ‘call’ /kəl/ is directly transplanted into Chinese. The verb ‘call’ replaces indigenous expressions that are both polysyllabic, and are difficult to articulate in certain cases. This borrowing has filled the gap in syntactic function in Chinese. Let us compare two sentences; (1) and (2) below. In sentence (1), six characters represent its spoken and written form. In sentence (2) the same meaning is given by only two characters derived through monosyllabic borrowing. It is obvious that the Sinicised borrowing, ‘call’ (with Chinese pronunciation) is more flexible than the indigenous expression in the way it functions in the sentence, so native speakers, especially educated urban residents, prefer sentence (2) to (1) in colloquial speech:
(1) 你 ‘you’ 给 ‘give’ 我 ‘me’ 打 ‘ring’ 电 ‘electric’ 话 ‘word’. Meaning “call me.”

(2) 你 ‘you’ kao ‘call’ 我 ‘me’. Meaning “call me.”

B) Cultural

Cultural difference involves a special condition for the adoption of borrowings. For example, the word ‘sexy’ is a melioration in English; it contains the meaning of ‘attractive’ with respect to somebody. This word is borrowed for its meaning and retains its original form in Chinese. In certain cases, if a Chinese native speaker presents this compliment to an attractive woman, she will in most cases accept it with pleasure and may express her thanks to the speaker. Conversely, if someone expresses the same meaning to that lady, using Chinese, she will not feel happy with that compliment and will generally reprimand the speaker for his obscenities. This is because the word ‘sexy’ (sex appeal) has a derogatory sense in Chinese. It has the meaning of flirtatious, frivolous, and tantalising. In is therefore embarrassing for a native speaker to express this term to a Chinese lady. Also, in China to discuss the topic ‘sexy’ is to violate a taboo in traditional cultural ideas. On the one hand, according to Confucian rules of etiquette a person who has good education should pay attention to his language, in particular to elegant and immaculate speech in communication. Conversely, if his language is coarse, he is regarded as a non-educated. Thus, refined scholars have avoided talking about sex. Recently, the situation has slightly changed, and Chinese native speakers are willing to use some serious and elegant words in discussing the taboo of sex (Li Zhongsheng, 1991). Therefore, this gap is filled up by the Western cultural concept.
C) Functional

The principle of economy mentioned in the introduction refers to functional needs in lexical borrowings. For example, the English phrase ‘ABC’ /ai bi si/ which means ‘elementary’, ‘primary’, ‘introduction’, or ‘easy’, has been directly transplanted into Chinese as a borrowed word for more than forty years. But the term ‘ABC’ has only been widely used for the past twenty years. This word is used by the Chinese native speakers to replace a polysyllabic word which is uneasy to pronounce. Generally speaking, native speakers are less likely to prefer polysyllabic words. Given that single characters represent mono- or disyllabic words, they are more common than polysyllabic words in daily communications. Terms such as ‘ABC’, now appeared more and more in Modern Chinese, as using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh.

3.5 The Nature of Lexical Borrowing

In Modern Chinese lexical borrowing is sometimes named ‘translated terms’. This description refers to an explanation which includes the relationship between foreign linguistic signs and indigenous lexical items. In fact, the nature of lexical borrowing may be represented in the translated character. Translated terms are an important way to understand the terms and introduced meanings associated with language based cross-cultural communication. The task of translators is to change the linguistic forms of foreign words — so as to translate them from foreign languages to Chinese.

The properties of foreign words determine the particular approach of translation adopted by Chinese translators (Meng Hua, 1992). The objective of translators is to make
sense of foreign words that themselves contain form, sound, and meaning. Translators may adopt the sound of a foreign word as an approach of transliteration (as in phonetic borrowing); or they may choose the meaning of the foreign word as an approach of translation (as in semantic borrowing); or they may also directly transplant the original form (for example, WTO, MTV, CD, OK).

According to above different approaches of translating terms, the eight forms of lexical borrowings in Modern Chinese are also divided into four categories. They are as follows:

(1) meaning

   semantic borrowing

   descriptive form

(2) sound + meaning

   phonetic borrowing

(3) form + meaning

   direct transplantation of the source word and alphabet

(4) combinations

   semantic borrowing plus foreign original

   phonetic-compound

   phonetic borrowing plus foreign original

   phonetic plus semantic borrowing

   These four categories of word borrowings may be divided into two types depending on the nature of translations: motivational and arbitrary.

A) Motivational
Motivational borrowing refers to the translation of foreign words from a semantic approach. Semantic borrowing, descriptive form, and semantic borrowing plus foreign original (where semantic elements are primary) may be put under this subcategory. There are two kinds of motivational borrowing in translations: full, and partial, assimilated borrowing. The examples are included in the sections below.

Full assimilated borrowing is translated by way of the meaning and structure of indigenous words from foreign languages. In translated terms, the foreign sound and meaning are reproduced and nativised (sinicised) by the native language. Partial assimilated borrowing is very close to the above form of borrowings, and contains two types: loan translations and hybrids. In loan translations, semantic structure remains, and meaning is translated word for word. The hybrids in Chinese indicate that half or more than half of the borrowing is a semantic translation, with the remaining half retaining original elements. Examples are given in the discussion below.

B) Arbitrary

Arbitrary borrowing refers to the imitation of the phonic forms of foreign words with linguistic signs (characters), where the relationship between the character and the sound is not explicitly given or determined, but arbitrary. Arbitrary assignment is a type of transliteration used in lexical borrowing. Phonetic borrowing, phonetic-compound, phonetic borrowing plus foreign original, and phonetic plus semantic borrowing (that is, where phonetic elements are primary), as well as the direct transplantation of source words and alphabet, fall under the arbitrary category. In these cases transliteration and translation can retain the sound or pronunciation of source words, and reduce this process to the mere assimilation of foreign words.
On the contrary, motivational borrowing, as opposed to arbitrary borrowing, places the emphasis of the interpretation of foreign words on the particular linguistic signs representing the content of the native language.

It is clear that semantic borrowing occurs more frequently than phonetic borrowing in Modern Chinese. This is different from borrowing in European languages. In the course of translation, the Chinese language tends to adopt a motivational stance whereas European languages are more attracted to an arbitrary approach.

3.6 Direct Transplantation of the Source Word and Alphabet

Foreign words, phrases, and abbreviations, represented through alphabetic orthographies, originating from Latin or Cyrillic, are sometimes directly transplanted into the Chinese language without transliteration.

This is a new form of borrowing in Modern Chinese, with Chinese speakers recently adopting this method of borrowing to a high degree. Twenty years ago there was little usage of alphabetic transplanted source words in Modern Chinese. At that time only foreign abbreviations occurred in non-professional books, newspapers, periodicals and social phraseology. For example, ‘ABC’ (from English: elementary, introduction), ‘APC’ (aspirin compound) and ‘SOS’ (a signal of calling for help), (Yang Ting, 1999). As it turns out, only a small number of foreign alphabetic abbreviations is able to be replaced through semantic or phonetic borrowing in Modern Chinese. For example, ‘Ty—104’ (‘Tu — 104’ — an aircraft designed by A.N. Tupolev) has been replaced by the phonetic borrowing 图 — 104.

There are two reasons that only a small number of abbreviations can be transliterated:
A. Chinese language is not an alphabetic system of writing, and it is not advantageous to directly absorb the source word of alphabetic systems;

B. Chinese speakers are highly resistant to any sort of outside cultural or linguistic influence (Norman, 1988). Since the official policy of opening up to the outside world however, beginning in 1979, this situation has changed, and Chinese speakers are more open to the direct transplantation of foreign words.

Direct transplantation can occur under the following conditions:

A. Where only one form exists

Foreign alphabetic abbreviations in Chinese involve neither semantic or phonetic borrowing, and do not take the place of another form; for example, ‘TDK’ (a name of a Japanese company which produces a video-tapes and magnetic tapes, etc.); and ‘X. O.’ (extra old [designation on brandy labels] stored in a cellar for 40—75 years). Foreign alphabetic letters are sometimes not changed to a Chinese character representing a similar sound, as in some cases this causes confusion amongst native speakers. Direct transplantation is used for both proper nouns and common nouns, and is helpful in avoiding cases where transliteration may produce polysemy.

B. Where there is more than one form

Besides direct transplantation, there are situations in which a foreign abbreviation may be semantically or phonetically borrowed. For example, the word ‘CT’ (CAT scanning) has been borrowed directly from the English phrase ‘computerized tomography’. This shortening of the medical term already exists in Modern Chinese and its use is widespread among both the medical profession and wider community, so much so that the transplanted term is preferred over the
semantically borrowed term duàn cěng sāo miáo ‘断层扫描’ (fault scanning),
(Hu Mingyang, 1994).

The English word abbreviation ‘TOEFL’ (Test of English as a Foreign Language) also has two forms in Chinese. When initially transplanted into Modern Chinese, many Chinese speakers did not understand its meaning as it was mainly used by a small circle of students hoping to do the examination to study abroad. As the word ‘TOEFL’ appears more and more in newspapers, periodicals and Chinese books, plus with the current wave of people hoping to study outside China, it has diffused quickly throughout the language in a short time. Its phonetically borrowed form tuo fu ‘托福’ (hold a happiness) occurs in Modern Chinese as well. In effect, direct transplantation and phonetic loans are now both frequently used in the oral and written systems of Modern Chinese.

C. Different pronunciation of the same writing system.

The word ‘disco’ has been borrowed directly from English. Its Chinese phonetic borrowing is dí sì ké ‘迪斯科’. The form of the direct transplantation ‘disco’ is limited to the social circles of film, television and young intellectuals. Its frequency of usage is lower than the corresponding Chinese phonetic loan word, and it usually takes the place of the phonetic borrowing ‘迪斯科’. The word ‘disco’ often appears in newspapers, periodicals and entertainment books in Modern Chinese. Although Chinese speakers directly adopt the source word, they nearly always give it a Chinese pronunciation (Shi Youwei, 1991); for example, the word ‘disco’ [disko] has been read as ‘dí sī ké’ according to the rules of pronunciation and transliteration (see Chapter 4). Another example is the word ‘cartoon’, which has the Chinese pronunciation ‘kā tōng’. As can be seen in the
examples above, Chinese speakers have only borrowed the writing system of the source words but not their pronunciation.

Three further reasons are now noted, for the direct transplantation of foreign words into Modern Chinese:

A. Some foreign words cannot be borrowed using any other form

There are cases where there is no possible Chinese counterpart resulting from semantic or phonetic borrowing. For example, the term ‘O.B. (o.b.)’ cannot be replaced with any Chinese characters and is therefore very difficult to translate into Chinese. Also, there are cases where no equivalent Chinese characters can be used to subtle foreign meanings; for example, in the case of ‘X.O.’ (Extra old [designation on brandy labels]).

B. To accord with the principle of concision

Chinese speakers represent as much information as possible with the least amount of words. This is even more so as the tempo of life increases in modern society. Sometimes alphabetic abbreviations and words coincide with the needs of Chinese speakers. For example, the word ‘DNA’ has been borrowed from English into Chinese. ‘DNA’ is a shortening of deoxyribonucleic acid, or deoxyribonucleic acid. The word ‘脱氧核糖核酸’ (tuō yǎng hé táng hé suān – DNA [Shi Youwei, 1991]) is a semantic borrowing of the full name of that original word. This Chinese loan contains six characters altogether. Usually, Chinese speakers prefer using disyllabic words in the language of everyday life, and the semantic borrowing of the word ‘DNA’ is likely to be too long for them. ‘DNA’ is shorter than the
semantic loan, therefore Chinese speakers prefer to use the short one, and ignore the word ‘脱氧核糖核酸’ (DNA) which exists mainly in the books of the medical field.

C. Stylistic demands.

The English word ‘cool’ has been borrowed into Chinese via two forms, one being the phonetic loan 酷 (kù), and another being direct transplantation. The phonetic borrowing of ‘cool’ into Chinese, results in the word ‘酷’ (kù — cool) and produces a different meaning. In English it is a positive term meaning fashionable, trendy, and sometimes modern. Its meaning contains multiple aspects, and it is very hard to find an appropriate counterpart in Modern Chinese (Dong Xiumei, 1999). Besides this, use of the word ‘酷’ (kù — cool) has deteriorated in Modern Chinese, because it misused everywhere, in the newspapers, jurnals... and therefore this kind of phonetic borrowing easily produces incorrect semantic associations. Using the source word can eliminate the semantic deterioration sometimes associated with phonetic borrowing. Also, Chinese young people like to apply the English word in everyday life, as it demonstrates that they are fashionable, i.e. they use the term ‘cool’ to be ‘cool’.

More examples of those mentioned above are given in the Appendix in Table 3.A.

As seen in table 3.A of the Appendix, the languages listed belong to Germanic and Slavonic families of Indo—European languages. Some trademarks apply to the letters of the Latin alphabet, although originate from a different language, for example, ‘SONY’ from Japanese. The listed foreign words all have meaning, and nouns dominate. There is only one verb (call), and two adjectives, being ‘cool’, and ‘sexy’.
New foreign words are widespread in Modern Chinese and involve domains of social life, including economy, culture, medicine, art, entertainment and everyday life. New words relating to economics, science and technology, are more abundant than those from other fields. Trademarks, advertisements, and names of commodities and companies constitute the majority of new words (Chen Zhangtai, 1996).

Foreign words are coming into Modern Chinese at an ever increasing rate. This shows that Chinese speakers and China mass media have given up the idea of rejecting foreign culture and are willing to accept certain new foreign items. Progress in modern science has created a need for Chinese scholars to both communicate and share concepts with foreign scientists. Many new words have been adapted for this purpose, despite the fact that most concepts can be expressed in Chinese.

In sum, though large and plentiful, there are circumstances, such as those described above, where the Chinese language benefits from the introduction of foreign terms. At times the most economical form of borrowing is direct transplantation, rather than phonetic or semantic borrowing.

3.7 Phonetic-Compounds

Phonetic-compounds are borrowed words in which Chinese pronunciations are coupled with foreign meanings to produce a meaningful Chinese word or phrase. In discussing this form of borrowing, the Chinese scholar Luo Changpei (1989, p.29) wrote:

"After a word from a foreign language has been borrowed into Chinese, native scholars want to reproduce it in Chinese, and they adopt the traditional method (a character component with a meaning and sound element) to mix it into a phonetic-compound with a sound adaptation. (Quote, personally directly translated from Chinese)"
Phonetic-compound borrowing, generally speaking, should be restricted to cases of phonetic borrowing, not extending to semantic borrowing. In this method Chinese morphemes are chosen on the basis of their ability to represent the approximate sound of the source word. The Chinese phonetic-compound is also related to the meaning of the foreign source word to some degree. As discussed, this is also the case in semantic borrowing. In some cases, native speakers do not know the characteristic quality of a foreign word. For example, the word wu luo dan ‘乌 罗 丹’ is a medicine to treat gout, urethral calculus, and other diseases, however Chinese speakers (not including the translator) are generally unaware of this. Despite this, the Chinese pronunciation is very close to the sound of the Russian word уродан (urodan).

The Chinese phonetic-compound wu luo dan ‘乌 罗 丹’ consists of three characters which represent the three syllables of the Russian word уродан (urodan). The third character ‘丹’ (dan) usually means a kind of Chinese traditional medicine that represents a pellet or a powder. Therefore this character contains two functions in the borrowing wu luo dan ‘乌 罗 丹’ (urodan). The first function is sound adaptation –дан; the second is meaning.

The first character ‘乌’ (wu) corresponds to the initial syllable of the source word ‘у-’. It has two main meanings in Modern Chinese. The first one is a crow; the second one is the colour black.

The middle character ‘罗’ (luo) replaces the second syllable of the Russian word -po-, it contains eight meanings according to the Chinese dictionary Xinghua zidian (1996). It is not known how Chinese importers choose the meaning of words in these polysemous situations. It is supposed that there are two possibilities of composition in the light of Chinese word formation:
A. a crow + a net = catch a bird with a net. A symbol of curing sickness.

B. black + spread out = spread black colour out; meaning, getting rid of disease.

It is suggested that the second one is more appropriate to the meaning of the Chinese borrowing wu luo dan ‘乌 罗 丹’ (urodan). Thus three characters together show a complete meaning which can all be associated with the source word, making it very difficult to see that it is a borrowed, rather than an indigenous word. This example may be thought as a full phonetic-compound. Words of the same category are given below:

- In the word bi kang jiu ‘毕 康 酒’ (пикоя), ‘毕’ (bi) is a phonetic borrowing of the Russian initial syllable пи- and represents the meaning of ‘completeness’, ‘康’ (kang) is a phonetic adaptation of Russian final syllable -кон and means ‘health’. The whole meaning of the word implies a good wine;

- The word ba li zi ‘笆篱子’ (полиция; police station), is a symbol of the word ‘prison’ or ‘gaol’ in the North-Eastern Chinese dialect. The whole Chinese word is a phonetic adaptation and means railings (li ba zi 篱笆子);

- The word ma shen ‘马 神’ (машина) machine, is the word used for a cultivation tool in the North-Eastern Chinese dialect. The Chinese borrowing represents a magical horse (shen ma 神马).

The examples above point out that the contact in the meaning between the borrowing and the source word can be indirect, and some of them are too forced. Besides full phonetic-compounds, there are also cases of part-phonetic-compounds, where Chinese borrowing has little contact with the meaning of the foreign word. In these cases only one or two characters may coincide with the meaning of the foreign word. That is to say, some syllables of the source word can be replaced with the phonetic compound in Modern Chinese. For example, the word qiang ke qin ‘擒 犬 琴’ – ченг (Chang) is an
Uzbekian and Tadzhikian hammered stringed instrument. The pronunciation of the whole borrowing is close to the sound of the Russian word "чёр" (Chang). In this case an identification mark qín '琴' (generic name for certain musical instruments) is added to the word. Besides identification marks, there are two characters used to represent the sound of this foreign word. The first character qiang '锵' is an onomatopoeic word in Modern Chinese. It is adapted to the initial syllable of the Russian word "чёр-" and it euphonises this syllable. The character '锵' is a form of a phonetic-compound in Chinese borrowing. The second character ke '克' is a simply phonetic adaptation which replaces the syllable of the source word -r. Therefore, a form of partial phonetic-compound occurs in Modern Chinese. Other examples include:

1) аммонит ан мён на те 安 猛 拿 特 (ammonite), the Chinese character 猛 (meng) is a phonetic replacement of the Russian medial syllable -мон- and represents a power or a force;

2) балалайка ба ла лай ка 巴 拉 莱 卡 (balalaika), 巴 拉 (ba la) is an euphony of 扒 吱 (ba la), it means the moving of the hand in conjunction with a musical instrument;

3) метелица ми кье ли ча 密 切 里 查, a folk dance, the Chinese characters 密切 (mi qie) mean 'close', and they are the phonetic adaptation of Russian first two syllables мете-;

4) реверсман лан вей си ман 蓝 威 斯 曼 (reversion), stunt flying, the Chinese character 蓝 (lan) means 'blue', with flying often occurring in blue sky, and it is a phonetic borrowing of the initial syllable пан- in the Russian word.
3.8 Descriptive Form

Descriptive form is a kind of hybrid in Chinese lexical borrowing. This method of borrowing has a long history in Chinese. Some foreign things cannot relate to an equivalent native word, therefore the Chinese speakers create a new word to describe the foreign object, and add a Chinese character like 胡 (hu), 洋 (yang), 番 (fan), or 西 (xi), to an indigenous word that more or less compares with local goods (Luo Changpei, 1989). Generally speaking, Chinese people are familiar with calling people from Western nations as 胡 (foreign), 番 (foreign, barbarian), 洋 (foreign) and 西 (western). Thus many borrowings occur in Chinese with above four characters. For example, hu tao 胡桃 (walnut), hu ma 胡麻 (sesame seed), hu dou 胡豆 (broad bean), hu gua 胡瓜 (cucumber), hu luo bo 胡萝卜 (carrot), hu jiao 胡椒 (pepper), hu cong 胡葱 (onion); fan qie 番茄 (tomato), fan shu 番薯 (sweet potato), fan gua 番瓜 (pumpkin), fan kiao 番椒 (chilli); yang bai cai 洋白菜 (cabbage), yang bu 洋布 (machine-woven cloth), yang cong 洋葱 (onion), yang fu 洋服 (Western-style clothes), yang gui zi 洋鬼子 (foreigner), yang ho 洋火 (matches), yang ren 洋人 (foreigner), yang wa wa 洋娃娃 ([Western-style] doll); xi gua 西瓜 (water melon), xi fu 西服 (Western-style clothes), xi yao 西药 (Western medicine), xi hong shi 西红柿 (tomato), xi yang hua 西洋画 (Western painting), etc.

Chinese speakers have also changed the descriptive key characters 胡, 番, 洋 and 西 with a country or place name. For example, e chi 俄尺 (аршин—Russian arshin), e li 俄里 (верста—Russian Verst), e cun 俄寸 (вершок—Russian Vershok), e dan 俄担 (пуд—Russian pood), e zhang 俄丈 (сажень—Russian sazhen), e sheng 俄升 (штраф—Russian shtof) (see also Chapter Five); an xi xiang 安息香 (benzoin—benzoin from Parthia [an ancient country]); he lan zhu 荷兰猪 (guinea pig—
Holland pig); he lan dou 荷兰豆 (peas--Holland peas); ying chi 英尺 (foot--English foot); ying cun 英寸 (inch--English inch); ying li 英里 (mile--English mile); ying mu 英亩 (acre--English acre); mei zhou hu 美洲虎 (jaguar--American jaguar); etc. The same examples exist in Modern Chinese as well. We could make a long list of such descriptive forms. However, instead it is indicated that word formation in which a prefix is put before the word borrowing, has been adopted in widespread use. This process is common in Modern Chinese, although it is not a new method of borrowing. It is proposed that the descriptive form will function with other forms of borrowing in future.

3.9 Phonetic Borrowing + Foreign Original

Phonetic borrowing plus the foreign original is a kind of hybrid borrowing in Modern Chinese. In fact, this form consists of two parts within one Chinese borrowing. One part is phonetic borrowing from part of the source phrase or word, another part is a foreign alphabetic abbreviation that is taken directly from part of the source phrase or word. For example, the phrase ei sei mi lan (dui) ‘AC 米兰 (队)’ (AC Milan Football Team) has been imported from English into Chinese, although it is an Italian word. ‘AC’ is a shortening of Athletic Club. Until present neither the semantic or phonetic borrowing of shortening ‘AC’ in Modern Chinese has been achieved. We suppose that the whole phrase seems to belong when it has been translated into Chinese. The shortening ‘AC’ is more succinct than the Chinese translation of Athletic Club in the phrase ‘AC 米兰 (队)’, therefore, Chinese speakers prefer the shortening ‘AC’. As for ‘米兰’ (mi lan -- Milan), this is a phonetic loan. The word ‘米兰’ (Milan) is a place name of Italy, as other numerous foreign place names, it has been borrowed according to the rule of phonetic
correspondence in Modern Chinese. Thus the form of phonetic borrowing -- 米兰 (Milan) plus foreign original -- AC (Athletic Club) occurs in Modern Chinese.

Besides the example above, a instance is also provided from Russian. The word 'ДТ—54 型 拖 拉 机' (ДТ—54 xing tuo la ji) has been imported from the Russian трактор 'ДТ—54' (tractor DT—54) into Chinese. ДТ (DT) is a shortening of дизальный трактор (diesel tractor). The shortening ДТ (DT) is not a phonetic or semantic borrowing in Modern Chinese. If it has been borrowed into Chinese by way of any of the conventional methods of lexical borrowing, then it will overlap with the meaning of the head word трактор (tractor), so that Chinese speakers have to use the original word (ДТ- -DT). As for tuo la ji ‘拖 拉 机' (tractor), this is a phonetic borrowing. The other part '— 54 型' is directly transferred from the original. Therefore, this kind of borrowing also comes into Modern Chinese.

As in cases of the direct transplantation of the source word, there is a part of the foreign word (abbreviation or alphabet) that directly comes into use in Modern Chinese without translation. The part of the foreign word is usually an abbreviation that is hard to translate into Modern Chinese, or a word or phrase that is very long for one word after translating. The foreign original plus the phonetic borrowing constitute a new form of borrowing in Modern Chinese, and this new form of word formation occurs in three contexts:

1) Original word or letter before the phonetic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T-恤</th>
<th>ti xu</th>
<th>T- shirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC 米兰 (队)</td>
<td>ei sei mi lan (dui)</td>
<td>AC Milan Football Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATM 卡</td>
<td>ai ti aim ka</td>
<td>Automatic teller machine card</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68
2) Original word or letter after the phonetic borrowing

| 卡拉 OK | ka la ou kei | Karaoke (kara orchestra) |
| 维他命 B | wei ta ming bi | Vitamin B |

3) Original word or letter in the middle of borrowings

| 夏普 29 HX8 | xia pu 29 aich aiks 8 | Šarp 29HX8 |

As we have already seen above, Chinese speakers pronounce the foreign word (abbreviation or letter) as a Chinese sound, although they directly adopt the source word. In addition to new word formations, the form of phonetic borrowing plus foreign original, can also derive neologisms. For example, the word ‘卡拉 OK (ka la ou kei)’ has been borrowed directly from Japanese Karaoke (‘Kara’ means ‘empty’, ‘oke’ is a Japanese phonetic borrowing from English word ‘orchestra’). The word ‘卡拉 OK’ has become a fixed loan word and has been adopted into the language of everyday life in Modern Chinese. Several word formations have come from this word. Its derivatives are as follows: 卡拉 OK 带 (Karaoke tape), 卡拉 OK 厅 (Karaoke hall), 卡拉 OK 迷 (Karaoke fans), 卡拉 OK 病 (Karaoke disease) (Li Jianling, 1995); 卡拉 OK 大赛 (Karaoke competition) (Zhang Weigeng, 1990); 卡拉 OK 热 (karaoke craze) (Yu Genyuan, 1994). Sometimes Chinese speakers separate this word into two parts, for example:

跳舞有舞伴，卡拉 OK 当然也可以有 OK 伴。 （‘羊城晚报’ 1990年12月2日）
Dance with partner, karaoke, of course, with OK (orchestra).

—December 2, 1990, Yang Cheng Evening Paper

This sentence shows that the part of speech for the word 卡拉 OK (Karaoke) has been changed from a noun to a verb (Li Ming, 1991).

The form of phonetic borrowing plus the foreign original is a new trend in Modern Chinese, and is currently an acceptable form of borrowing to Chinese speakers.
3.10 Semantic Borrowing + Foreign Original

Semantic borrowing plus foreign original, is a kind of hybrid borrowing in Modern Chinese. Like the form of phonetic borrowing plus foreign original, this form also consists of two parts within one Chinese borrowing. One part is semantic borrowing from a part of the source phrase or word; another part is a foreign abbreviation, or letters of the alphabet, which are taken directly from part of the source phrase or word. For example, the phrase 21 ding jiao juan 21D胶卷 (21 DIN roll film) has been borrowed into Chinese as a form of semantic loan plus foreign original. In Modern Chinese ‘D’ from this phrase represents the meaning of ‘DIN’ which is a shortening of the German Deutsche Industrial-Norm (German Industrial Standard). There is no semantic or phonetic borrowing of the shortening DIN in Modern Chinese at present. The shortening DIN is a new word for Chinese speakers; even though it comes into Modern Chinese without Chinese orthographic features. If the word DIN is translated into Chinese it has more than three letters. Therefore the Chinese speakers prefer to borrow the shorter ‘DIN’ into Chinese. The characters ‘胶卷’ (jiao juan -- roll film) from the phrase ‘21D胶卷’ (21 DIN roll film) are semantically borrowed. ‘21’ indicates the quantity of the standard.

To explain clearly here, another example is given. The word ‘X 光’ (aiks guang) has been imported from English ‘X ray’ into Chinese. In the phrase ‘X 光’ (X ray), the letter ‘X’ directly makes use of the foreign original. There is a phonetic borrowing of the letter X — 爱克斯 (ài ke sī), but it is replaced in the end by the Latin original (Zhang Weigeng, 1990; Shi Youwei 2000). This is because the phonetic loan 爱克斯 (ài ke sī -- X) is not succinct in everyday usage, although it has been included in different formal
dictionaries (Hu Mingyang, 1994). The character ‘光’ (guang -- ray) is semantically borrowed. The word ‘X 光’ (X ray) usually occurs in the everyday life of the native speakers. Its variants X 射 线 (áiks she xian), or 爱 克 斯 射 线 (ái ke sǐ she xian) apply to the field of science, technology, and medicine.

There is another type of the form ‘semantic borrowing plus foreign original’ in Modern Chinese. The term ‘Ku Klux Klan’ has been borrowed from English into Chinese as ‘三 K 党’ (san kei dang). The Chinese word ‘三 K 党’ (Ku Klux Klan) came into use in Modern Chinese on a wider basis after 1929 (Wu, Ke and Wang, 1929). This word is neither a phonetic nor a semantic borrowing. It is a compound word that is reproduced by Chinese speakers. The first character ‘三’ (san—three) is a meaning of numeral three. It represents the shortening of the word ‘Ku Klux Klan’-- K. K. K. The third character ‘党’(dang -- party) means a group or organization. The middle letter, as self-evident, is a foreign original letter from the shortening of the word ‘Ku Klux Klan’. Thus the term ‘三 K 党’ (Ku Klux Klan), broadly speaking, may be included as a hybrid borrowing. Similar to the word ‘三 K 党’ (Ku Klux Klan), there is another example in Modern Chinese. The word ‘三 S’ (san ais) is a shortened word. The character ‘三’ means the numeral three, and the Latin letter ‘s’ is a shortening of three surnames from America — Edgar Parks Snow (1905—1972), Agnes Smedley (1890—1950), and Anna Louise Strong (1885—1970). These three Americans are friends of Chinese people, to the extant that a research organisation, named China Smedley, Strong and Snow Research Association 中国 史 涅 特 莱, 斯 特 朗, 斯 诺 研 究 会 for short ‘三 S 研 究 会’ (Three S research association), was established in China in 1984 (Yu Genyuan, 1994).

In the examples above, there is a Chinese pronunciation of the source word in the form of semantic borrowing plus foreign original. The part of the foreign original, in
other words, is practically a type of phonetic borrowing, even though it has been borrowed from the original form of the source writing system (Shi Youwei, 2000).

New word formations have therefore arisen in the form of semantic borrowing plus foreign original. They occur in the following contexts:

A. Original word or letter before the semantic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B 超</th>
<th>Computerized ultrasonic imaging device--B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O 型血</td>
<td>O blood type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X 光</td>
<td>X ray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 调</td>
<td>The key of C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Original word or letter in the middle of the semantic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14 K 金</th>
<th>14 Karat gold</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 D 胶卷</td>
<td>21 DIN Roll film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>三 K 党</td>
<td>Ku Klux Klan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Original word or letter after the semantic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>维生素 A</th>
<th>Vitamin A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>三 S</td>
<td>S—shortening of three surnames (Snow, Edgar Parks [1905—1972]; Smedley, Agnes [1890—1950]; Strong, Anna Louise [1885—1970])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14K</td>
<td>14—Karat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the words above, there is another type of semantic borrowing plus foreign original. The word ‘BP 机’ (bell pager) consists of two parts; one part is a shortening of the English term ‘bell pager’, another part ‘机’ (jī—machine) is an identification mark. This is a different type of semantic borrowing plus foreign original. There is a variant of the word ‘BP 机’ in Modern Chinese. Its phonetic-compound ‘哔哔机’ (bī bi jī—bell pager), or ‘BB机’ (bī bi jī—BB [bell pager]) has already been Sinicised. Some Chinese speakers even name the bell pager as a phrase ‘call 机’ (kāo jī—call machine) in which the word ‘call’ represents a calling, so that ‘呼机’ (xún hū jī—[search calling machine] pager) as a semantic borrowing occurs in Modern Chinese according to the basic meaning of the term ‘call 机’ (call machine).

3.11 Phonetic + Semantic Borrowing

Another kind of hybrid borrowing in Modern Chinese is phonetic plus semantic borrowing, of which, broadly speaking, there are two types:

A. Borrowing from a whole foreign word.

B. Borrowing from a foreign phrase.

These two types are usually called ‘half phonetic and half semantic borrowing’ and are long-standing forms of the borrowing in Chinese. Chinese scholars, for the most part, classify it as a main method of forming loan words in Modern Chinese (Zhou Dingyi, 1963; Sun Changxu, 1956; Shi Youwei, 2000).

Type A borrowings are discussed first. All of the borrowings of this type consist of two parts, being, phonetic parts, and semantic parts. Most of the borrowings are arranged in a two part form: front phonetic, and back semantic. For instance, the word
列宁主义' (lie ning zhu yi) has been borrowed from the Russian word ленинизм (Leninism). The front part of that word '列宁' (ленин— [Lenin-]) is a phonetic borrowing from the surname of Владимир Ильич Ленин (Vladimir Ilyich Lenin 1870—1924), the back part of the word '主义' (-изм [-ism]— doctrine) is a semantic borrowing that is a component of the composition. Another example is the word '奥勃洛莫夫习气 (作 风)' (ao bo luo mo fu xi qi). It comes into Chinese from the Russian word обломовщина (Oblomovism). ao bo luo mo fu '奥勃洛莫夫' (обломов- [Oblomov-]) who is a hero of the same name novel of Ivan Goncharov (1812—1891) is a phonetic loan. xi qi '习气' (-щина [-ism]—a bad habit) is a semantic borrowing. As in other languages, in Russian there are different meanings of the derivational suffix -изм (-ism) and -щина (-ism), but -щина (-ism) is a typical native component of the composition. The word '察庞 漆' (cha pang qi) has been borrowed from the Russian word ‘цапонлак’ (zapon enamel) into Chinese. 察庞 (cha pang) is a phonetic adaptation of the original part, цапон-(zapon); and 漆(qi) is a semantic borrowing from the final syllable -лак (enamel) of the source word. As in the first two examples above, the borrowing contains both a phonetic and a semantic loan component, although it is from a whole foreign word. Generally speaking, Chinese speakers cannot literally distinguish it in the light of the types, front phonetic and back semantic, before they know the original word. In the last instance, they are likely to consider the semantic part as an identification mark or generic term.

More examples of similar borrowings are given in table 3.1 below:
Table 3.1 Examples of phonetic plus semantic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>阿格尔尺</th>
<th>Агрометр</th>
<th>Agrometer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>康月团</td>
<td>Коминтерн</td>
<td>Comintern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>莫罗勒教派</td>
<td>Молоканство</td>
<td>Molokans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>拉嘛人猿</td>
<td>Рамапитек</td>
<td>Pamapithecus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>里欧洗箱</td>
<td>Реобокс</td>
<td>Rheobox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Реоаппарат</td>
<td>Rheoapparatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Реокамера</td>
<td>Rheocamera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乌达勃诺古猿</td>
<td>Удабнопитек</td>
<td>Udabnopitheus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words consist of two parts on the basis of the following analysis: агрометр (agro-meter), коминтерн (Com-intern), молоканство (Molokan-s), рамапитек (Rama-pithecus), реобокс (-аппарат; -камера), (rheo-box [-apparatus; -camera]), удабнопитек (Udabno-pithecus). This kind of form of phonetic plus semantic borrowing is very common.

Some of these types of borrowings are front semantic and back phonetic, and others front-back semantic and middle phonetic. For example, the word ‘谷物康拜因’ (gu wu kang bai yin) is imported from the Russian term зернокомбайн (combine harvester) into Chinese. The Russian original is a compound word. The front part of the source word becomes a semantic loan ‘谷物’ (cereal). The back part is an adaptation of a
phonetic loan ‘康 拜 因’ (combine). The two part composite, forms a complete concept in Modern Chinese.

An example of front-back semantic and middle phonetic borrowing, is given in the following incorporation ‘古 斯 拉 夫 语 词’ (gu si la fu yu ci)—старославянизм (Old [Church] Slavism). The phrase ‘古 斯 拉 夫 语 词’ (Old [Church] Slavism) contains three parts. The character at the front ‘古’ (gu—срapo-[Old]), and the characters at the back ‘语 词’ (yu ci-- -изм [-ism]) have been borrowed as a semantic loan; the characters of the middle item ‘斯拉夫’(si la fu-- -слав-[-slav-]) are a phonetic loan. There is a small number of borrowings of the type, front-back semantic and middle phonetic, and front semantic and back phonetic, in Modern Chinese, so much so that some Chinese scholars have neglected researching them in detail.

Now for the discussion of type B cases. As is the case with type A, type B also consists of phonetic plus semantic borrowings, however these cases are restricted to the borrowing of two-word minimum phrases. This type of Chinese borrowing imports from three kinds of Russian phrases, being those made up of nouns, adjectives, and hyphenated words. Examples using Russian word illustrations follow. The word ‘维 特 铁’ (wei tei) comes from the Russian phrase вит-железо (VIT-iron) into Chinese. The first and second characters ‘维 特’ (wēi tè— вит-[VIT-]) are a phonetic loan. Its original part вит- (VIT-) is a shortening of the name Всеволод Иванович Тыжнов (Vsevolod Ivanovich Tyzhnov, 1870–1949) who was a metallurgist of the former Soviet Union, and a developer of the method for producing technically pure iron in electronic and open-hearth furnaces. The character ‘铁’ (tei— -железо [-iron]) is a semantic borrowing from a part of the Russian phrase. The construction of the original phrase contains three parts. Two parts of them are replaced by Chinese borrowings, only the middle part hyphen (-) does
not transfer into Chinese. Thus, although this phrase is hyphenated in Russian, it is not in Chinese. An example of an adjective phrase is ‘伏尔泰椅’ (fǔ ěr tài yǐ). This loan word is borrowed from Russian вольтеровское кресло (Voltaire chair), (Liu et al., 1984). As a source phrase, the Chinese borrowing ‘伏尔泰椅’ (Voltaire chair) also consists of two parts. The characters ‘伏尔泰’ (Voltaire) are a phonetic loan that is a part of the adjective of the foreign phrase and the Chinese borrowing. The character ‘椅’ (chair) is a semantic loan that occurs in both the original phrase and the loan word. To be different from Russian, the Chinese borrowing method does not include the use of a modifier. That is to say, one cannot add to the structure of the character ‘的’ in this kind of Chinese borrowing. The Russian suffix of the adjective -ское (-oe already an inflexion), and the suffix of the formation –ов- cannot be represented in the borrowing of Modern Chinese.

The Chinese borrowing ‘贝科夫车刀’ (bèi kē fū chē dāo) is an example of the noun phrase type. The word ‘贝科夫车刀’ has been borrowed from the Russian phrase резец Быкова (Lathe cutter of P.B. Bykov) into Chinese. The characters ‘贝科夫’ (bèi kē fū—Быков [Bykov]) are a phonetic adaptation of the surname П. Б. Быков (P.B.Bykov), a worker and production innovator, and one of the pioneers mastering high-speed metalworking methods. The characters ‘车刀’ (chē dāo—Latter cutter) are translated from the word резец (cutter). This part is a semantic loan. The source of ‘贝科夫车刀’ (Lathe cutter of P.B. Bykov) contains two words, and резец (cutter) is modified with the proper noun Быков (Bykov). The qualifier of the phrase represents a genitive case, but Chinese borrowing uses the determinant. There is a great difference between the two languages in this example.

The form of ‘phonetic plus semantic’ borrowing is in widespread use, and is a long-standing form of borrowing in Modern Chinese.
3.12 Semantic Borrowing

Semantic borrowing refers to instances of borrowing where the choice of indigenous characters is determined primarily by the meaning of the foreign word. This is also a long-standing form of borrowing in Chinese. Semantic borrowing is used in cases where there is no indigenous word to represent a foreign object or concept. When translators or interpreters cannot find an indigenous equivalent from existing Chinese, they have to perform a word-for-word translation to represent such objects and concepts (Luo Changpei, 1989).

The usage of semantic borrowing is based on a knowledge of classical lexical inheritance (i.e. knowledge of Ancient Chinese). In translating Buddhist or other linguistic works, past translators tended to search for indigenous Chinese words whose meaning was close to that of the foreign word. Thus semantic borrowing was generally the choice of borrowing for Buddhist terms. However, a diachronic observation shows that this has not always been the case. At the end of the 19th Century and at the beginning of the 20th Century, only a small number of translators were familiar with classical works that contained the terms suited to act as a vehicle for new foreign meanings (Masini, 1993). Eventually, translation using classical lexical inheritance became impractical, as translators could not find appropriate words in classical works for all of the new foreign things. As a result, translators turned to Modern Chinese, to find the most appropriate words.

Semantic borrowing comprises both semantic loans and calques. In semantic loans, an unknown meaning is imposed upon a word which already exists; in calques,
meaning and morphological structure (in the case of a word), or meaning and syntactic structure (in the case of a phrase or sentence) are provided by the foreign term being borrowed (Masini, 1993). Semantic loans involve a process in which an existing Chinese lexical item receives a new meaning from the corresponding foreign word. Semantic loans are preferably obtained using existing words, who’s original meaning can in some way be associated to the newly-acquired meaning.

Chinese uses the same phonetics for foreign borrowings as it does for indigenous words. In semantic borrowings, there is a semantic link between the phonetic and graphic shape of the character, and the association of semantic units is determined according to the rules of morphological composition.

Calques, also known as ‘loan translations’, contain single words (compounds), phrases, and entire utterances (see examples below). Having borrowed the meaning of the source word, calques do not borrow the foreign sound; that is to say, the borrowed word is modelled on the morphological structure, and not the phonetic properties of the foreign word.

By loan translation it is meant, the transference of one of the meanings of a word in one language to a word in another language, which already shares one or more of the meanings of the word in the source language. Loan translation involves meaning-transference and results in ‘loan-meaning’ (Ward, 1986). The sources of loan translations are often single words that are composed of at least two other words (e.g. football). During the translation, both, or all, of the foreign lexical items making up the source word are semanticised. These elements are then compiled in the loan translation word. Loan translations therefore often include compound words in which each element or component is rendered from a foreign lexical item.
The word 集体农庄 (jí tī nóng zhuāng) was one of the first indigenous loan translations to be used in Modern Chinese. This word has been borrowed from the Russian word колхоз (Kolhoz—) into Modern Chinese. In the Russian language колхоз (Kolhoz) is a shortening compound. It is an abbreviation of the phrase коллективное хозяйство (collective economy). The word хозяйство is polysemous. It contains the meaning of ‘economy’; ‘section’; ‘housekeeping’; ‘equipment’; ‘farm, production unit’. Here the last meaning is suited for the phrase коллективное хозяйство (collective economy). The Chinese word 集体农庄 collective farm forms a loan translation and has acquired the Russian meaning of коллективное хозяйство (collective farm).

Translators constructing loan translations are often unaware of an alternative meaning of a word or phrase in the source language. Often foreign words have a special, or figurative sense. An example of a loan translation created using four indigenous elements (characters) is ‘飞行集会’ (fēi xíng jí huì), in the Russian: летучее собрание (flying meeting). This is a phrase consisting of two words in the source language. The Chinese ‘飞行集会’ corresponds to the Russian летучее собрание (flying meeting) and the Chinese equivalent is restricted to the structure of the phrase. However, in this case, there is an obvious extension of semantic spheres, so that it may now also be used in the sense of ‘urgent’, or ‘very brief’.

In some cases, the semantic borrowing competes with the phonetic borrowing invented to indicate the same foreign meaning (Masini, 1993). Two forms of borrowing can be used to adapt one foreign word or phrase. This often occurs in Modern Chinese. For example, there are semantic and phonetic borrowings for the Russian word машина (machine) ‘马 神’ (mǎ shén), and ‘机 器’ (jī qì). Two forms survive in Modern Chinese: one is from a dialect; the other from standard speech (see also Chapter 5).
As for entire phrases, we will illustrate with an example of ‘各尽所能，按劳分配’ (gè jìn suǒ néng, àn láo fèn pèi). The Chinese utterance has been borrowed directly from the Russian ‘От каждого по его способностям, каждому по его труду’ (from each according to his ability, to each according to his work). This is a socialist principle of distribution and has gone into the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China. In the loan translation, ‘各尽所能，按劳分配’ (from each according to his ability, to each according to his work) the semantic correspondence of the characters is slightly changed. The translation is achieved on the basis of the meaning of source language, and uses two habitual forms of ‘four characters’ which are easy to speak.

Because of the similarity in Chinese between morphological and syntactical factors, it is possible for these elements to be consolidated. For example, the utterance ‘各尽所能，按劳分配’ (from each according to his ability, to each according to his work) is integrated as a phrase and forms a syntactic union between these elements.

No matter how obvious the similarity between an indigenous Chinese word and a semantically borrowed word, it is possible to distinguish between them through a comprehensive and detailed study. In addition to this, having the remarkable powers of morphological composition, Modern Chinese has been able to renew lexical items through both semantic and other forms of borrowings.

3.13 Phonetic Borrowing

A prominent method through which a borrowing language assimilates a foreign word is phonetic borrowing, in which the borrowing language re-creates, within the limits of its own phonetic system, the pronunciation of the foreign word in the donor language.
(Bauer et al., 1997). Chinese translators have applied local phonetic measures to represent the sounds of the Russian words that they have borrowed.

The Chinese standardised literary language is made up of picto-ideographs, i.e., characters which evoke ideas but which have no intrinsic phonetic values. It is accurate to say that the Chinese script has a variety of ascribed pronunciations. Russian uses the phonetic letters of the Cyrillic alphabet. Apart from the fact that the pronunciations of vowels change with varying stress, this alphabet reflects the sounds of the language comparatively faithfully. From the above sentences that have described the nature of the two languages, we know that there is the great difference in the phonetic systems of each language.

On the phonetic level, the form of a borrowed item is determined by phonetic transliteration, i.e., by the replacement of sounds or phonemes in the donor language, by phonemes of the borrowing language. There are five specific features of phonetic borrowing from Russian to Chinese. These are discussed below.

1. Chinese phonetic borrowing can occur through the application of two different methods. In the first method, Chinese characters are sought that provide a close match for the sounds of foreign words. This is referred to as sound substitution. In the second method, the sounds of foreign words are segmented into those represented by the closest corresponding Chinese characters. These characters are then combined to create the borrowed Chinese word. This method is referred to as phonetic representation. The first method produces a similar sounding Chinese word, whereas in the second method the correspondence between the sound of the foreign word and the sound of the borrowed word can be fairly limited. Most borrowings are imported by way of the second method. In the course of importation, the Chinese phonetic
system has to ‘bend’ in a sense, in order to accommodate the graphemic pattern of the
source word. For example, дума has been borrowed as ‘社 马’ (dù mǎ), meaning
‘council’ (Liu and Gao et al., 1984); another example, копейка has been borrowed as
‘戈 比’ (gē bì), meaning Kopeck or Copeck (currency unit), (Liu et al., 1984; Guoyu
ribao, 1981). Sound substitution in Chinese borrowing has been limited, and involves
a very complex conversion. The sound substitute is determined by the availability of a
suitable Chinese character. Some phonemes are identical, or close to identical, in the
two languages, and for some Russian phonemes there are no Chinese equivalents. In
the latter cases Chinese translators will use the closest sounding, and most easily
pronounced, character (see Chapter 4). Apart from this, there is also a problem when
borrowing vowels which are weakly stressed in syllables (see Chapter 4 for possible
ways to solve this dilemma).

As for phonetic representation, several possibilities for the replacement of
phonemes occur in the course of substitution. On the basis of the similarities and
dissimilarities of phonemes between the donor and the receiver languages two types
of the phonetic transliteration can be distinguished: A. complete transliteration; B.
partial transliteration.

In the first type, substitution covers those phonemes whose description is
completely, or almost completely identical, in both languages. In the second type,
there is some difference in the sounds of phonemes in the two languages, especially
in the degree of opening (in vowels) and in the place of the articulation of aspiration
(in consonants). Examples of above-mentioned types are now given. The Chinese
consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/, /sh/ are completely phonetically equal to the Russian
consonants <п>, <т>, <к>, <ф>, <с>, <ш>. Partial substitutions of consonants
between the two languages are follows: /b/-<6>, /d/-<п>, /g/-<г>, /z/-<з>, /c/-<ц>, /ch/-<ч>, /h/-<х>, /r/-<р>, /m/-<м>, /n/-<н>, /l/-<л>. In the partial cases each type of phonetic transliteration has a certain degree of phonetic overlap.

2. Like other Chinese characters, phonetically borrowed words must end with a vowel, with the exception of those with the final nasalised consonants -n, -ng. Chinese words cannot end with a consonant, as Russian words can. In the case of European languages with parallel phonetic, and similar orthographic systems, for example English and German, words can have either final consonants or final vowels, and both types of words generally occur in similar proportions. Because of the nature of the Chinese phonetic system, it is very difficult for Chinese speakers when Russian words end with a final vowel; therefore, Chinese speakers usually add a neutral vowel to the final Russian consonant in the course of translation. The added vowel, which follows the final consonant, contains either the front-vowel – ‘i’, the central-vowel – ‘e’, or the back-vowel – ‘u’ as in bó kè shì tóu 博克式头 (бокс—crew cut); wèi ěr mù tè jū 维尔木特酒 (вермут— vermouth wine); wèi ěr fū 维尔夫 (верфь—community, commune).

3. In discussing the correspondence of the Chinese nasalised vowels to their Russian counterparts in Chinese borrowings, we find that Chinese final vowels combined with the nasals -n, -ng, may represent the Russian vowels plus nasals -н, -м (see Chapter 4). As we will see below, there is minimal regularity between the two languages, with great differences existing in respective vowel systems. This is also the case when Chinese borrows from other languages, English being a classic example. There are two main problems that arise in Chinese borrowings when borrowing Russian words
ending in consonants: it is difficult to distinguish the nasal alveolar -n and nasal velar -ng, in standard Chinese speech; and Chinese words cannot end with the nasal -m. As for the first problem many examples are given in Chapter Four; as for the second bà là bèi lún qiāng 巴 拉 贝 伦 枪 (парабеллум) is given as an example.

4. The orthographic system of Modern Chinese is a symbolic system where characters represent whole words and syllables. For this reason Chinese characters cannot represent all of the special phonetic phenomena of the European languages, in which single letters can represent a single phoneme. A number of borrowed words from Russian, have source words with both long consonants, and consonant clusters (see Chapter 4). Because this is the case, Chinese borrowings cannot directly replicate the internal structural rules present in Russian words. This is explained further in the next chapter. The different phonemes in the two languages are particularly interesting for phonetic research, especially for those occurring in Chinese borrowings.

5. ‘Phonetic loan plus generic term’ (identification mark) is a special type of the phonetic borrowing in Modern Chinese. An indigenous character is added to the phonetic borrowing as a generic term. Usually the generic term is placed after the phonetic loan, although in some cases it is placed before it. This marking indicates the nature of the borrowing occurring. For example, consider the names of a few dances introduced from Russian: 卓 克 舞 (zhuō kè wǔ)—джок (dzhok [Moldavia-Bass Arabian dance]), 列 兹 金 卡 舞 (liè zī jīn kǎ wǔ)—лезгинка (lezginka), 萘 茜 舞 (lái yīn wǔ)—райлендер (Rhinelander). These three loan words have been constructed with the inclusion of the generic term (identification mark) wu 舞 (dance), and have been borrowed phonetically as 卓 克 (zhuō kè), 列 兹 金 卡 (liè zī jīn kǎ) and 萘 茜 (lái yīn). Most generic terms represent a semantic identification mark, and are
normally the final character in character combinations. A small number of the generic terms take up the initial position in borrowings, again giving the character combination set semantic significance (i.e. the character acts as the semantic determiner in both positions). Here some examples of borrowing from the English language are given. The words 酒吧 (jiǔ bā) and 苹果派 (píng guǒ pài) have been borrowed from the English words ‘bar’ and ‘pie’ (Liu et al., 1984; Guoyu ribao, 1981). In these cases, the determiner identification mark occurs before the phonetic loan, that is to say the semantically relevant indigenous character is added to the foreign phonetic loan, together forming a new Chinese word.

Generic terms are used in two possible ways: as additions or as omissions. Generally speaking, the omission may exist in polysyllabic phonetic loans. In such cases, the addition and the omission coexist in the borrowed Chinese word and this can lead to polysemy. For example, the word 芭蕾舞 (bā léi wǔ) is phonetically imported from the French word ‘Ballet’. The character 舞 (wǔ--dance) is a generic term, and can be omitted, therefore, 芭蕾舞 (ballet dance) and 芭蕾 (ballet) are used in Chinese at same time. As for additions, these are only suitable for monosyllabic phonetic loans. Without the generic term in these cases, their meaning is ambiguous. Therefore these borrowed items must include an identification mark. For example, the word 啤酒 (pí jiǔ—beer) consists of two parts. Apart from the phonetically borrowed character 啤 (beer), another character 酒 (wine) is added to give the phonetically borrowed term meaning.

‘Phonetic loan plus generic term’ type borrowing can be confused with the ‘phonetic plus semantic borrowing’ type. There is however a difference between the two forms of borrowing. In the case of the generic term plus phonetic loan, the generic term is an added word, whereas in the case of phonetic plus semantic borrowing, the semantic
part is a translation from the foreign word. Even so, both the generic term and the semantic borrowing have the same role in Modern Chinese. Of course, it is very difficult for most of Chinese speakers to distinguish the difference between them.

As we discussed in Chapter One, phonetic borrowing is a primary and pure kind of borrowing among the categories of Chinese loan words. Thus the phonetic changes in Chinese borrowings from Russian should be addressed in detail. In the next chapter this issue is taken up and the regularities and rules of Chinese phonetic borrowing are discussed in depth. In sum this chapter has explained all of the different types of borrowing that can be used in creating Chinese words borrowed from the Russian lexicon.
NOTES:

1. Chi Ping has indicated this form as a method of using the original language in 1957.

2. According to Qiang Tengjiao (1957), it first appears in dispatches from the Xinhua News Agency on 15 November 1956.

3. Meaning ‘without tie’ (Ohne Binde) (Shi Youwei, 1991). Note many German—English and English—German Dictionaries have been consulted, and the meaning above has not been found. As a result, the phrase Ohne Befund (without findings -- not negative or not positive), is in my opinion, the source of the abbreviation O.B.

4. Andrei Nikolaevich Tupolev is a Soviet aircraft designer. He developed more than 100 types of airplanes, 70 of which went into lot production. Tu----104, which was designed by him, was the first jet passenger plane (1954); and Tu----114 was the first intercontinental turboprop passenger plane (1957). He also designed several supersonic airplanes. At present, China has bought ten passenger airplanes from Russia, Tu----204’s (The Daily Chinese Herald, 2001, July 12).

5. The character hu 胡 began to be used in Chinese during Dynasty of Western Han (206 B.C.—24 A.D.), see the details in Shi Youwei (1991).

6. There are many variants of X ray or Roentgen rays in Modern Chinese, for example, 厄克斯射线 (è kè sī shè xiàn), 爱克司射线 (ài ke sī shè xiàn), 爱克司光 (ài kè sī guāng), 爱克斯光 (ài kè sī guāng), 厄克斯光 (è kè sī guāng), 伦琴射线 (lún qín shè xiàn), 赫琴射线 (qiān qín shè xiàn), see also dictionaries of Chinese loan words (Liu et al., 1984; Guoyu ribao, 1981).
7. The word has a different loan in Modern Chinese, and is context dependant. There are also two borrowings: 古斯拉夫语词素 (morpheme of Old [Church] Slavism) and 古斯拉夫语成分 (component of Old [Church] Slavism), (Zhang Daben, 1957).

8. Most scholars in China only summarize or classify the form of Chinese borrowings from Old to Modern China. As far as is known, Sun Changxu engaged in detailed research on this nearly fifty years ago (Sun Changxu, 1956).
Chapter Four

Lexical Borrowing and Special Features of the Chinese Language

4.1 Introduction

The Chinese language uses a picto-ideographic writing system. It is composed of ‘characters’ which are a combination of pictograms, ideograms and phonograms. Chinese is the one of the few orthographies that has vestiges of picto-ideographic writing (Japanese and Korean orthographies also use picto-ideographic characters). Foreign languages often use the term hieroglyphs to refer to Chinese writing; in fact this is the only word in Russian (нёроглифы [hieroglyphs]) to describe Chinese orthography. The characters themselves are called 汉字 (han zi) in the Chinese language, meaning ‘Han characters’. Without Chinese characters, it would be impossible to trace the origin and development of Chinese cultural heritage. Han characters were used to convey the Confucian doctrine of filial piety, the Buddhist concept of Zen, the calculations of the Chinese lunar calendar and the prescriptions of herb medicine to the whole world (Liu Shih-hong, 1969).

Another specific of Chinese characters is that they can be used to translate or transliterate almost any foreign word or term. The characters of Chinese are a result of developments in Chinese language and literature that have occurred over the past four thousand years. As a result, Chinese is a ‘treasure-house’ of inexhaustible expressions, and can describe emotional expressions of the human condition in detail. As Greek and
Latin has been imported into Western languages, one after another, so Chinese words have been steadily imported into other national languages.

4.2 The Differences between Chinese and Russian.

Chinese and Russian languages not only differ in orthography, but also exhibit phonological differences.

A. Writing Systems

Whereas the Chinese system of writing is based primarily on picto-ideographic characters, Russian orthography is alphabetical (referred to as Cyrillic). As discussed in Chapter Three, individual Chinese characters have three elements: form, sound and meaning. Each Chinese character denotes a particular sound, and due to their potential complexity can be used to directly transliterate foreign concepts and object names. Although each Chinese character denotes a single sound, some sounds can be represented by different characters, and therefore have different meanings. This is analogous to situations in Russian (amongst other languages) where a single sound can denote multiple meanings by being represented by different words.

Chinese orthography differs greatly from alphabetic systems of writing in that individual characters represent meaning in and of themselves. Whereas words in alphabeticorthographies require multiple letters to signify meaning (with the exception of the letter ‘I’, which may be used to refer to oneself), single Chinese characters signify at least one and sometimes multiple meanings. In cases of the latter the context in which the character is used functions to identify its meaning.

Differences amongst Chinese characters are far greater than those among the letters of the Russian alphabet, with Chinese characters differing greatly in complexity.
The structure of Chinese writing also differs from that of Russian. Chinese sentences, and hence words, can take be written in either horizontal or vertical directions, whereas, as is the case with other alphabetic languages, Russian is always written horizontally. Also whether in the vertical or horizontal direction, the distance between Chinese characters is always constant, and also more pronounced than that occurring in alphabetic orthographies.

The making of characters in the Chinese language, as discussed in Chapter Three, is based on the principles of 六书 (liù shū), a sixfold classification of characters. Such principles of character creation were not formed in light of the possibility of lexical borrowing from alphabetical languages occurring. Therefore, foreign sounds and meanings must be translated or transliterated through existing characters. Simplified characters are used in mainland China, but the full forms of characters are used in Taiwan and Hong Kong amongst other places.

B. Phonetic Systems

The sound marking by Chinese characters accords to a system that signifies both the initial and final phonemes of a character, and the particular tone of a character. The sounds used for linguistic representation have been merged into a small number of phonemes, and these phonemes form certain combinations. In Modern Chinese a syllable may have four tones. Each tone is represented by a different marking in a character. Lu Shuxiang (1958/1998) points out that in Chinese syllables, the vowel/s, (where a single vowel is referred to as a monophthong; two vowels as a diphthong; and three vowels as a triphthong), are always preceded by an initial consonant. In all cases, with the exception of /-n/, and /-ng/, vowels however are not followed by consonants.
Syllables are clearly defined units, where, after the initial phoneme, there are only thirty-two possible final phonemes (Xu Shirong, 1980). In Russian, syllables are defined by groups of phonemes consisting of either a single vowel, or a vowel combined with one or more consonants (Lazarus et al., 1971).

There is a difference in the structure of syllables and words in the two languages, for example, the initial position of a Russian word may be occupied by single consonant or by a number of consonants, i.e., a consonant cluster. There are consonant clusters: /пл/, /вс/, /пл/, /ст/, /впр/, /стл/, etc., and long consonants: /нн/, /кк/, /сц/, etc., which occur either before or after vowels in Russian. Conversely, as mentioned above the syllables of Modern Chinese do not end with consonants except in the case of the nasals /-н/, and /-нг/. These issues will be discussed below.

4.3 How to Choose Characters to Represent Sound

According to the rules of translation, and the corresponding principles of lexical borrowing, there are two steps in the transliteration of Russian sounds into Modern Chinese: The first step is to find the corresponding sound, and the second is to find the right character representing that sound.

4.3.1 The Phonetic Correspondence between Chinese and Borrowed Words

The main method of choosing the appropriate Chinese character to represent a foreign phoneme involves an examination of the phonetic correspondence between them. There are several forms of phonetic correspondence between the Chinese and Russian
languages, such as those occurring between single consonants, consonant clusters, long consonants, monophthongs, diphthongs, triphthongs, and nasalised vowels. Apart from consonant and vowel correspondence, syllabic transliterations also play an important role in the choice of characters.

There is a regularity of phonetic correspondence between Chinese borrowing and the Russian original. When a Russian word is imported into Chinese, and a written form is needed to represent it, its graphic shape must undergo a complete metamorphosis from a form made up of Russian letters, to that of Chinese characters. The official table guiding the transliteration from Russian into Modern Chinese was constructed by the Compilation and Translation Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee (1956/1959). A second official table was added later by the Xinhua News Agency (1983). The two tables that involve characters of phonetic correspondences and some explanations, provide the criterion for the use of Chinese characters. However, differences in transliteration occur as some translators do not follow these guidelines. The reasons for this are discussed in detail at the end of this section.

As indicated above, Chinese characters are used as a symbolic recording of the Chinese language. At the same time these characters also function to represent the sound of foreign words. The focus in this thesis is on the various general devices of adaptation and assimilation used in lexical borrowing in Modern Chinese.

An analysis of the regularity of phonetic correspondence, and of character choice as set out both in the Russian to Chinese tables of transliteration and in common practice (where common practice differs from official tables) is now considered.

1) Stops
The Russian initial and medial voiced stop consonants /ð/, /d/, /t/ generally correspond to Chinese non-aspirated initial, medial, and final stop consonants /b/, /d/, /g/. For example, большевик (Bolshevik)—бу er wei ke (布尔什维克); ведро (vedro)—wei de luo (维得罗); архипелаг Гулаг (Gulag Archipelago) — gu la ge qun dao (古拉格群岛).

The Russian initial, medial and final voiceless aspirated stop consonants /n/, /t/, /k/, generally correspond to the Chinese aspirated initial, medial and final stop consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, for example, пуд (pood)—pu te (普特); трепак (trepak)—te lie pa ke wu (特烈帕克舞); катюша (katyusha)—ka qiu sha (喀秋莎).

2) Nasals

The Russian voiced nasals /m/, /n/ normally correspond to Chinese voiced nasals /m/ and /n/ in the initial syllable and medial syllable respectively. For example, меньшевик (Menshevik) — meng shi wei ke (孟什维克); ранетка (a variety of Siberian apple) — le nie te ka ping guo (勒涅特喀苹果). This is the regular correspondence between Russian and Chinese nasals when the Russian voiced nasal /n/ occurs before the vowel/s; when the Russian voiced nasal /n/ occurs after the vowel/s there are two forms of correspondence in Chinese nasals, being /n/, and /ng/. The correspondence of Chinese final nasals /n/, /ng/ to the Russian nasal /n/ is however less regular than for the initial or medial syllables, because Chinese nasal consonants /n/, /ng/ are similar to the sounds which who do not distinguish between the dental and velar nasals. The correspondence among final nasals is discussed in further depth below.

3) Nasalised vowels
Russian vowels with nasals normally correspond to the Chinese finals with nasals, but it must be noted that there is little correspondence between the two languages concerning the final Chinese form of the borrowed word. The Chinese finals with nasals /n/ and /ng/, only adapt the Russian vowels with nasal /n/, and Chinese treats such vowels in just two ways, with Chinese having the nasals /n/, /ng/ occurring after the vowel/s.

The Russian /an/ is regularly replaced by the Chinese final /an/ as in ванка (cabby) — wan ka (万卡) and сарафан (sarafan [pinafire dress]) — sa la fan (萨拉范).

The Russian /oh/ in different word-positions is generally represented by the Chinese final /ang/ as in цапонлак (zapon enamel) — cha pang qi (察庞漆) and пикон — bi kang jiu (毕康酒).

4) Fricatives

The Russian voiceless labio-dental fricative /ф/ generally corresponds to Chinese voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, for example, сарафан (sarafan) — sa la fan (萨拉范). The one exception to this is that the Chinese voiceless fricative /ф/ sometimes can also replace the Russian voiced labio-dental fricative /β/, for example, волка (vodka) — fu te jia (伏特加).

The Russian voiceless alveolar fricative /c/ corresponds to the Chinese voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, for example, совет (Soviet) — su wei ai (苏维埃).

The Russian voiceless alveolar fricative /м/ corresponds to the Chinese voiceless post alveolar fricative /sh/, for example, вершок (vershok)—wei er shao ke (维尔勺克).
The Russian voiced post alveolar fricative /ʐ/ basically corresponds to the Chinese voiced post alveolar fricative /r/, for example, Жигули (Zhiguli)—ри гу ли пай ки че (日古利牌汽车).

The Russian voiceless velar fricative /x/ generally corresponds to the Chinese voiceless velar fricative /h/, for example, максорка—ма хе yan (马合烟).

There are also a few exceptions, in that Chinese voiceless post alveolar fricative /ʃ/ and voiceless dorso palatal fricative /ʁ/ represent the Russian voiceless apico-alveolar fricative /ɕ/, respectively, for example, виссон (byssin) — wei шуан чоу (维霜绸); сибирка (sibirka [wait-length caftan]) — xi bi er ka (西比尔卡).

The Chinese voiceless post alveolar fricative /sh/ can also represent the Russian voiceless soft post alveolar fricative /ʂ/, for example, борш (borschch [beetroot soup]) — bo er shi tang (博尔食汤).

The Chinese voiced fricative /r/ regularly corresponds to the Russian voiced fricative /ʐ/, but there are a few examples where the Chinese non-aspirated affricate /zh/, aspirated affricate /ch/, and voiceless fricative /sh/, represent the Russian voiced fricative /ʁ/ respectively, for example, жалейка (zhaleyka) — zha lie ka guan (扎列克管); унжак (Unzha) — weng cha mu chuan (翁查木船).

5) Affricates

The Russian voiced affricate /ʒ/ normally corresponds to Chinese non-aspirated apico-alveolar affricate /zi/, for example, мазурка—ма zu ka bing (玛纽卡饼).

The Russian voiceless affricate /tʃ/ generally corresponds to the Chinese aspirated apico-alveolar affricate /ɕ/, for example, станица (stanitsa [Cossack village]) — si tan ni ci (斯坦尼茨).
The Russian voiceless affricate /χ/ principally corresponds to the Chinese aspirated post alveolar affricate /ch/, for example, шахлича—sha he li cha di (沙赫里查笛).

6) Laterals

The Chinese voiced lateral /l/ typically corresponds to the Russian voiced lateral /n/ in almost all syllable-positions, for example, лавсан — la fu sang (拉芙桑).

There is an exception in that the Chinese nasal /n/ represents the Russian lateral /l/ as in ералаш (eralash [card-game]) — ye la na xi (叶拉拿西). In addition to this, the Russian voiced trill consonant /p/ does not correspond to any Chinese phoneme, but it is the case that the Chinese lateral /l/ can practically replace the Russian trill /p/, for example, рубль (rouble) — lu bu (卢布).

It is noted that the Chinese vowel /er/ corresponds to both the Russian lateral /n/ and the trill /p/, which will be discussed below in the section on Chinese and Russian vowels.

7) Consonant Clusters

Russian words which have many consonant clusters in the initial, medial, and final position of words are treated in several different ways in Modern Chinese.

The Sinicism of borrowed words usually breaks apart the cluster and brings about the insertion of a vowel between the two consonants of the cluster. Thus one syllable represents each of the two consonants in the cluster, as in плате (dress) — bu la ji (布拉吉).

In the case of a cluster with three consonants, such as /pɛt/, Chinese does not follow the order of Russian consonants, but rather inserts a vowel after the first consonant, as in верста (kilometre) — wei er si te (维尔斯特).
Sometimes in reproducing a Russian word with a cluster of two or three consonants, Chinese may ignore a consonant, especially the lateral, as in рубль (rouble) — 卢布 (lú bu) and фламп (flander) — 费兰德 (fèi lán dé tu). Besides the ways mentioned above which have also been adopted in borrowings from English to Japanese (Toshio Ishiwama, 1986), and from English to Chinese (Gao and Liu, 1958), we find that Chinese borrowing replaces the Russian consonant cluster /дж/ with a special consonant /zh/ as in удж — 乌治舞 (wū zhì wǔ).

When the Russian consonant /н/ exists at the beginning of a cluster, and it is reproduced in Chinese, the Russian consonant /н/ generally goes into the former syllable and becomes a part of the final sound, for example, бандура (bandura; bandore) — 木那 la (mù na la); if the Russian consonant /н/ exists at the end of the cluster, it comes into the latter syllable and gets the initial sound, as in этна — 艾特纳 wu (ài te na wu).

8) Long consonants

Chinese does not have a conception of the long consonant from a contrastive point of view. Chinese borrowings do not have duration in the syllable, or in other borrowed forms (i.e. phonetic borrowing, see chapter 3). Chinese borrowings phonetically replace the Russian original words with long consonants by regular substitution as in ба ка la bo li (巴卡拉玻璃) — 巴卡拉 (bā kǎ lā). It will be seen that the Chinese words cited above do not contain long consonants.

9) Omission and Addition

Russian original consonants are omitted or added in phonetic correspondences of Chinese borrowing. When the lateral /н/ or trill /п/ occur at the end of a Russian
word or at the end of a syllable, Chinese treats it in two ways. On the one hand, Chinese lateral /l/ or vowel /er/ may replace the Russian consonants /n/ and /p/ (see point 6 above; and below). On the other hand, the Russian consonants /n/, /p/ may be simply ignored as in гранитоль (granitol [leather substitute]) — ge lan ni tuo pi (格兰尼托皮).

When the stops /t/, /k/ and fricative /c/ occur at the end of Russian words, besides the general correspondence between these three consonants, Chinese may omit them as in Совет (Soviet) — su wei ai (苏维埃); унжа (Unzha) — weng cha mu chuan (翁查木船); сумалинас— su ma li na wu (苏玛利娜舞).

The aphesis of Russian words may occur in Chinese borrowings as in пхачич (pkhachich) — ha qi qi ban (哈契奇板).

As for the addition of consonants, Chinese replaces the Russian consonant /у/ twice as in семинар (seminar) — xi min na er (习明纳尔).

10) Vowels

A. Monophthongs

The Chinese front monophthongs /a/, /i/ in the initial, medial, and final position of syllables, generally adapt to Russian vowels /а/, /и/ and semi-vowel /у/, respectively, for example, квас (kvass [fermented bread]) — ke wa si (克瓦斯); идальго (hidalgo) — yi de er ge (伊达尔戈); бей (bey [Turkish title]) — bie yi (别伊).

The Chinese central vowel /е/ may shift the Russian front vowel /а/ in the initial and final syllable, as in панетка (a variety of Siberian apple) — le nie te ka ping guo (勒涅特喀苹果); верста (verst) — wei er si te (维尔斯特).
The Russian back vowels /γ/ and /о/ correspond to the Chinese back monophthongs /u/ and /o/ as in Улус (Ulus) — wu lu si (乌卢斯); рабо́б — la bo bo (腊博勃).

In Chinese borrowing there is a different adaptation to the Russian vowel /o/, which is replaced by means of both monophthongs and diphthongs (see below). Besides the Chinese counterpart /o/, the Russian vowel /o/ is adapted to the monophthongs /e/, /u/, /a/ in different Chinese syllabic positions, for example, кагор—ka ge er jiu (卡戈尔酒); Совет (Soviet)—su wei ai (苏维埃); союз (Union) — sha you zhi (沙油子).

The Russian vowels /э/, /э/ /и/, /э/ and /о/ are marked generally by means of Chinese diphthongs or triphthongs (see below), but they are seldom replaced by monophthongs. For example, the Chinese /a/ and /e/ may adapt to the Russian /э/ as in НЭП (NEP [New Economic Policy]) — na pu (纳普); the Chinese vowel /i/ or /e/ can be used to translate the Russian /ы/ as in сы́бы́га—si bei zi jia di (司贝兹加笛); шиалтыш — sha er te shi di (沙尔特什笛); the Chinese /a/ replaces the Russian /я/ as in тавляк — ta fu la ke guan gu (塔夫拉克砲轰); the Chinese /e/, /и/ and /а/ apply to the Russian /е/ as in менте́кристо — meng te ke li si tuo qiang (蒙特克里斯托枪); Чека (Cheka) — qi ka (契卡) сенат (senate) — sa na te (萨那特); the Chinese /u/ may also represent the Russian /о/ as in шо́выр — su wei er di (苏韦尔笛).

B. Diphthongs

As indicated in the previous section, the Chinese vowel can both monophthongally and diphthongally represent the Russian monophthong in borrowings. In addition to the correspondence of monophthongs in the two
languages, the Chinese diphthong /ia/, /uo/, /ei/, /ie/, /ao/ and /ai/ may substitute the Russian vowels /a/, /u/, /o/, /e/, /y/ and /y/.

The Chinese /ia/ replaces the Russian /a/ after the consonant /r/ or consonant cluster /ж/, as in тогата (togata) — tuo jia xi ju (托加喜剧); маджама — ma jia ma ti shi (玛佳玛体诗).

The Chinese /ei/ represents the Russian /ai/, /e/ and /a/ after the consonant /b/, as in виксатин (vicsatin) — wei ke sa qin you bu (维克萨钦油布); совенит — su wei ni te (苏维尼特); краковяк — ke la ke wei ke (克拉科维克).

The Chinese /uo/ and /ao/ may shift the Russian /o/ as in сокол (falcon) — suo ke le (索科勒); вискозин (viscoseine) — wei si kao jin you (维斯考金油).

The Chinese /ie/, /ei/ and /ai/ substitute the Russian /e/ as in жалейка (zhaleyka — zha lie ka guan (扎列卡管); промедол — pu luo mei duo (普罗美多); Сечь (Cossack) host) — sai qie (赛切).

The Chinese /ei/ may also substitute the Russian /ui/ as in яллык — ya lei ke wu (雅蕾克舞).

The Chinese diphthongs /ia/, /ai/ and /ei/ represent the Russian vowels /a/ and /e/, respectively, as in Як — ya ke shi zhan dou ji (雅克式战斗机); тэн tai—en (太恩); эпипа — ai pi pei wu (爱匹配舞).

The Chinese diphthong /ai/ can replace the Russian vowel /a/ plus semi-vowel /ï/ as in осуохай — ao su ao hai wu (奥苏奥海舞).

The Chinese diphthongs /ao/, /uo/ substitute the Russian diphthong /ay/ as in лаутар — lao ta er (劳塔尔); Аняуская культура — an nuo wen hua (安诺文化).
We note that Chinese shifts the Russian diphthongs in three different ways: splitting the diphthong into two vowels; combinations of the diphthong; replacement and elimination of the diphthong.

Two Chinese monophthongs represent the Russian diphthong as in саамы — са а му ren (萨阿姆人); whereas, the Chinese monophthong /a/ combines the Russian diphthong /ia/ as in шиалтыш — ша er te shi di (沙尔特什笛); the Chinese diphthong plus the elimination of the vowel replaces the Russian diphthong as in романея — лuo ma nie jiu (罗马涅酒) and руцавнетис — лu cha wei ti si wu (鲁察维提斯舞).

C. Triphthongs

Only one or two correspondences of the triphthongs between Russian and Chinese vowels in Chinese borrowings have been discovered in this study, from over one thousand considered words and phrases.

The Russian /io/ generally corresponds to the Chinese triphthong /iou/ in different syllabic position, for example, in Юрьев день (St. Georges Day) — you li ye fu jie (尤里耶夫节), Ильюшин (Iluiuchin) — yi liu xin fei ji (伊柳辛飞机) and союз (Union) — sha you zi (沙油子).

The Chinese triphthongs /iao/ and /iou/ sometimes replace the Russian vowels /yu/ and /ey/ as in узля — wu zi liao (乌兹辽); алеуты (Aleut) — a liu shen ren (阿留申人).

The phonetic correspondences and substitutions above show that the phonetic borrowings of Modern Chinese reproduce Russian original words using the Chinese phonetic system. In the course of the importation of Russian into Chinese there is a regular pattern of correspondences between phonemes and pronunciations in the two
languages, as demonstrated above. However, we should note that the lack of correspondences in pronunciation and the distance separating the two phonetic systems are the main reasons for the variety of ways in which unadapted borrowings are reproduced. Also given that the pronunciation of Russian is not known to Chinese speakers, they are unable to distinguish Russian sounds in detail. Therefore, we see a variety of different Chinese characters representing the same sound.

4.3.2 How to Choose the Right Characters in Lexical Borrowing

4.3.2.1 Phonetic Value Only

The characters used for the transliteration of foreign words are chosen only for their phonetic value, whilst their semantic significance is ignored. Therefore these characters cannot function to connect their sound with the usual Chinese meaning associated with that sound, thus avoiding possible erroneous semantic interpretations of characters in different contexts.

In Chinese lexical borrowing it is often the case that a number of Chinese characters that do not relate to one another in a semantic sense, may serve to transliterate the same foreign sound. In such cases, the characters representing the foreign sounds have to be chosen in such a way that their combination does not form a possible Chinese word or phrase with its own Chinese meaning. There are two factors that contribute to the selection of the right characters. These are as follows:

A. Semantic factors
When transliterating the sound or pronunciation of a Russian syllable, translators should try to use characters representing just lexical information, rather than those serving functional purposes in written Chinese. Some characters, as a result, cannot serve for the purposes of transliteration. These include: characters which represent tense 着 (zhe) [added to a verb or adjective to indicate a continued action or state], 了 (le) [used after a verb to indicate the completion of an action, at a point in the past or before the beginning of another action] and 过 (guo) [used after a verb to indicate the completion of an action]; the tense 吧 (ba) [indicating a request; a consent or approval; doubt in the speaker’s mind; or forming a leading question which asks for the confirmation of a supposition]. Other characters include the numeral 二 (er) [two], the pronoun 你 (ni) [you], and the adverb 不 (bu) [no]. An example is the word 不拉及 (bu la ji) — (dress), (Liu & Gao, 1984) in which the first character is used as the adverb (bu) [no]. As can be seen in this case, the first character also has a functional purpose in Chinese. Given that this is so, even though its sound is matched to the initial consonant of the source word, it must be replaced by another character. Reference to the functional character is made in the dictionary of Chinese loan words, but not in common use. This example demonstrates that any characters serving specific purposes in Chinese are not available for the transliteration of foreign sounds.

The sound, or pronunciation, of a Russian syllable is usually represented by commonly used characters which do not represent meaning in the context in which they are used. An example is the word 米格 (mi ge)—МИГ (MIG), in which the first character means ‘rice’, and the second character means ‘squares formed by crossed lines’. The two characters are obviously used for their sound value alone, without reference to their meaning, and they are utilized only for the purposes of transliteration.
In the example above it is shown that Chinese native speakers have used characters representing nominal, rather than verbal meanings, since most borrowings are nouns or adjectives. The sounds associated with Chinese verbs are not used for the representation of foreign sounds.

When substituting foreign sounds with Chinese characters it is difficult at times to avoid introducing Chinese meaning. Suppose the word borrowing 万卡 (wan ka) — ванка (cabby) is changed by a new combination having the sound of a verb, for example, 玩卡 (wan ka), the new combination not only transliterates the Russian sound, but also has the literal meaning of ‘play the card’. In this example, a verb and a noun are put together, and form a meaningful lexical item. In this, as in all situations, the translators should avoid using characters whose combination may result in possible semantic interpretations.

In addition to this, in the course of choosing characters for the transliteration of foreign sounds, translators should also avoid misleading head nouns, as in the following example of phonetic borrowing: 布拉吉 (bu la ji) — πλατέ (dress) should not be replaced by another form of the phonetic loan word 布拉机/鸡 (bu la ji/ji), because the sound of the last character of the two possible versions, can represent the meaning of either ‘machine’ or ‘chicken’, and does not coincide with the original meaning of ‘dress’. Given the possible meanings associated with this sound, it is very easy for confusion to arise when native speakers attempt to comprehend this word without knowing the meaning of the borrowed word.

B. Cultural Factors
Cultural considerations are directly concerned with the positive and negative meanings of characters in Chinese. The characters used for transliterating foreign sounds should not have negative meanings. Consider again the word 布拉吉 (bu la ji) [dress]. The sound of the source word may also be adapted as the phonetic loan word 布垃圾 (bu la ji), in which the sound of the second and third characters is a match for the original sound, but in literal meaning the last two characters can represent the word meaning ‘rubbish’. Generally, there is no use of the word ‘rubbish’ in refined places according to the traditional cultural ideas; Chinese native speakers often adopt the word ‘sanitation’ instead of ‘rubbish’, for example the ‘rubbish bin’ is usually referred to as the ‘sanitary bin’. Thus, taboo words cannot serve as characters for transliterating foreign sounds.

Given the relationship between the sound and meaning of Chinese characters as discussed in Chapter Three, it is very important for cultural considerations to play a role in the choice of characters used to represent foreign words. For example, suppose the Russian feminine name Лиза [Lisha] is transliterated as 立杀 (li sha) — even though the combination of characters may make sense, a literal interpretation produces the phrase ‘suddenly kill’ which has strong cultural connotations. The meaning of the character 杀 (sha) [kill] is commonly used in a derogatory sense and is often associated with the meaning of ‘died’ in Chinese. Generally speaking, the words 杀 (sha) [kill] or 死 (si) [died] are linguistic taboo’s in traditional customs. As a result Chinese native speakers avoid using these words in social communication. Therefore, characters with such possible semantic interpretations are not suitable for transliterating foreign sounds.

To avoid using characters representing negative or taboo concepts, characters utilised for the transliteration of foreign sounds should be chosen from both commonly used, and neutral characters. These characters not only have the advantage of being in
common use in social life, they are also easily utilised to represent foreign sounds, and are easy to be read or understood by native speakers.

Apart from the phonetic and semantic factors constraining the selection of appropriate characters as mentioned above, some characters also take on different sounds when used in transliteration. An example of this is the word 卡普隆 (ka pu long) — капрон (kapron [polycaprolactam fiber]), in which the first character has two pronunciations. One pronunciation, ‘qia’, means ‘to stick fast (as a fishbone in the throat)’, the second, ‘ka’, is used virtually exclusively for transliteration. In this case, the sound of borrowed word is different from the traditional pronunciation that uses the same character. The alternate sound of the character is not associated with the character’s traditional meaning. It appears in the following examples:

卡那乌斯 (ka na wu si) — канаяс (coarse silken fabric); 莫斯卡里 (mo si ka li) — москаль and 列兹金卡舞 (lie zi jin ka wu) — лезгинка (lezginka).

4.3.2.2 Phonetic and Possible Semantic Values

A. Semantic Factors

It is often the case that there are several semantic values possible in the phonetic borrowings occurring in Modern Chinese. Semantic value refers to an appropriate and applicable range of word meanings, that can be used to represent a foreign concept. This range of possible meanings arises because speakers using different dialects may interpret the same foreign concept differently, and secondly, different speakers may use different characters to represent the same foreign concept. Chinese native speakers have utilized the phonetic resources of their own language to represent as best they can, the
pronunciations of the foreign words they have borrowed. As we have discussed above, the Chinese have paid close attention to the syllabic structure of Russian words in order to match, as closely as possible, the phonetic structure of Chinese words to borrowed Russian words. In Chinese phonetic borrowing, phonetics takes precedence over semantics. Once the Chinese language adopts its own characters to reproduce the sound of Russian words, generally, the traditional meanings of those characters are ignored. Although phonetic borrowing sometimes attempts to unite Chinese characters with phonetically-appropriate sounds with the meaning of the original word (Bauer et al., 1997).

Each Chinese character is represented by one sound, and most characters also have meaning. The meaning of a Chinese word is often associated with the meaning of a single character, therefore, when Chinese speakers transliterate foreign words, they take into account the meaning of those characters chosen, and try to provide information for users, via the shape of the character, regarding why the particular character/s were chosen. The association of characters in phonetic borrowing is a result of the Sinicism of the sound and meaning represented by characters. There are three types of association amongst characters. They are as follows:

1) Full word

Transliteration sometimes occurs with reference to both the sound and meaning in all of the characters used to represent the foreign word. An example is the word 布拉吉 (bu la ji)—платье (platye [dress]) which is a phonetic borrowing from Russian. The first character of the word 布 (bu) means ‘cotton cloth or clothing’, the medial character 拉 (la) means ‘to pull, to draw’ and the last one 吉 (ji) can mean ‘luck’, or ‘lucky’. The three characters are literally translated as ‘the
clothing pulls luck’. This example of lexical borrowing is easy for Chinese speakers to articulate, can also bring to these speakers an association of the style, design and colour of the skirt. In addition to this, upon encountering the phonetic borrowing of a foreign word transcribed in Chinese characters, Chinese speakers are able to determine the meaning of the borrowing word from both their prior knowledge, and from the sociolinguistic context in which it was borrowed.

2) Partial word

Transliteration also occurs at times, with reference to both sound and meaning in one or more of the characters used to represent a foreign word. When a foreign concept may be chosen by many homonymous characters, the chosen characters are often close to the meaning of the source word. An example is the word 卢布 (lu bu)—рубль (rouble), in which the first character 卢 (lu) means ‘a surname’ representing only the sound of the source syllable; the second character 布 (bu) means ‘an ancient coin’. This character replaces not only the sound but also the meaning of the source word. Another example is the word 习明纳尔 (xi ming na er)—семинар (seminar), where 习 (xi) means ‘to study’, and 明 (ming) can mean ‘to know; to understand’; 纳 (na) can mean ‘to accept; to receive’, and 尔 (er) can mean ‘you’.

3) Morpheme

There are some new characters which have been created to stand for new items. These characters make use of indigenous morphemes, and are assigned a sound corresponding to all or part of the Indo-European word (McCaskey, 1973). When no existing characters are readily available to transliterate the foreign word, new characters may be created especially for that purpose. A class of Chinese
characters referred to as phonetic compounds can used in this case. A character belonging to this class is made up of two components: the signifier, which is meant to give a general indication of the kind of object the character represents; and the phonetic component, intended to indicate in a general way the pronunciation of the word (Chan and Kwok, 1982/1990). Generally, such characters are used mostly in chemistry and physics to represent elements and metals etc., for which there is no traditional Chinese character, and, for the sake of scientific precision, could not be represented by existing characters with other meanings. Many characters of this type are written with parts of the character known as radicals, or others known as components, on the left or the upper half of the character, and with a phonetic element approximating the sound of all, or part of the Western word, on the right or lower half. For example, 鈣 (gai—calcium), 镁 (mei—magnesium), 氟 (fu—fluoride). In the first and second examples, the common morpheme is 金 (jin—gold) which is used as the signifier, while the phonetic component is a character morpheme similar in sound to the borrowed item. In the third example, the morpheme 氣 (qi—air), is used to denote a gaseous substance.

Apart from the full, partial word, and morphemes, used in the association of characters in phonetic borrowing, there are also alliterative and rhyming compounds of characters. These compounds are discussed in depth below.

As discussed above, the association between multiple characters representing a single foreign word can only indistinctly connect with the literal meaning of those characters. Strictly speaking, the associations between characters do not produce the
meaning of the word. No matter what the Sinicism of the meaning, the phonetic aspects of borrowing are primary. In addition to this, individual characters selected to represent the sound of a source word, are only meaningful when combined, thus the internal structure of the word cannot be semantically analysed, because the characters only make sense when considered all together.

As for scientific transliteration, the method of creating new characters with Chinese morphemes is not ideal for Chinese speakers to write and speak. Moreover these characters as described in the discussion above are not convenient for use in international academic communication, but are a best approximation. It is also interesting that the chemical elements 106—109 have no Chinese version in the dictionary (Xinghua zidian, 1996). Perhaps these will need to be transliterated or transcribed in the future. This however is an unanswered question.

B. Cultural factors

Language is a special cultural phenomenon, and the primary means by which people communicate with each other. One function of language is to trace human culture. It is necessary to recognise the incredible achievement that people have made in understanding the world through language.

Several cultural factors are reflected in the choice of characters used to transliterate foreign words. Accordingly, Chinese characters used in phonetic borrowing are usually culturally associated with the meaning of the original foreign word. The principle of choosing common characters is utilized especially in cases where many possible cultural connotations can be associated with the original meaning of the foreign
word. Lexical borrowing is influenced by such broad cultural practices as eating, drinking, and the arts etc.

a) Eating

Some cases of phonetic borrowings relate to eating, for example the word 博尔食汤 (boer shi tang) — борщ (borschch). This word is used to name a soup containing beetroot, cabbage and meat soup. This soup is very popular in Russia, particularly Ukrainian borschch [soup], which is famous in various parts of the world. The third character here 食 (shi), meaning eating, is not only a match for the Russian sound, but also connotes the meaning of foods or meals. The character 食 (shi) reflects the fact that borschch is a principal food in everyday Russian life. In traditional Chinese culture, eating also has a very important place. The common saying 民以食为天 ‘The masses regard food as their heaven’ is good evidence of this. Thus, we can see that 食 (shi) is a suitable choice of character in transliterating the foreign sound.

b) Drinking

A few phonetic borrowings relating to drinking come into use in modern Chinese. Among them we find an example which reflects different cultural factors. The example is the borrowed word 毕康酒 (bi kang jiu) — used to transliterate the Russian word, пикон [a kind of Russian alcohol] (see Chapter 3). It is very easy to associate this word with the famous Chinese wine 杜康 (du kang), which has been consumed by the Chinese for more than two thousand years. In China, there is a well-known phrase: 何以解忧, 惟有杜康 (sorrows naught allays, save the cup since ancient days). Transliterating the Russian word, the Chinese translators have automatically chosen the character 康 (kang) representing both the original sound and meaning. The choice of the character 康 (kang)
in this example of phonetic borrowing reflects the cultural significance associated with the historical Chinese wine.

c) Medicine

Chinese native speakers have also borrowed some Russian medical terms. The word 伊查菲宁 (yi cha fei ning) — изафенин [a kind of laxative] is an example, in which the last character 宁 (ning) means ‘peaceful or stopping’. The character 宁 (ning) is also used to describe some Chinese medicines. Thus, the character 宁 (ning) has a strong cultural relationship with Chinese medicine, and when transliterating this foreign word, translators prefer the character 宁 (ning), over other possible characters.

d) Musical Instruments

Many Russian folk instruments have been introduced into Chinese culture, and as a result the Russian words naming these instruments have required transliteration into Chinese. Among them, the borrowed word 苏苇尔笛 (su wei er di) — шоныр [a kind of Russian folk pipe], is an example in which the second character 苇 (wei) [reed] and the generic term 笛 (di) [pipe], together form a complete concept that is connected with the meaning of the original word. In Southern China, the instrument 苇笛 (wei di) [reed pipes] is very popular, because they have many reeds to cultivate. Most individuals coming from this area of China can play reed pipes, thus the character representing both foreign sound and meaning is an appropriate choice in the transliteration.

e) Proper Names

The transliteration of foreign proper names involves both phonic and cultural considerations. For example, the transliterated name 娜达莎 (na da sha) — Наташа (Natasha) consists of three characters, in which a radical 女 (nu) [woman] is in the first character 娜 (na), and a component 草头 (grass), relating to flowers, is in the third
character. These two characters act to both represent foreign sounds, and to represent femininity. Moreover, these characters are often associated with Chinese feminine names. In the transliterated name, the radical or component representing the feminine connotation may give rise to the idea of beauty in the mind of native speakers. Conversely, without this kind of radical or component associated with the character, the transliterated name would lack the Chinese cultural concept of beauty. For example, suppose the Russian name Harama (Natasha) is transliterated as 那达沙 (na da sha), then feminine connotations would be lacking in these characters. Therefore, the principle of transliterating feminine names using radicals and components is given in the foreign word transliteration tables (Ma lie zhu zuo bian yi ju, 1959; Jia Jinghong et al., 1983). Under this principle the characters with radicals or components representing feminine connotations, such as 娜 (na), 娃 (wa), 娜 (ni), 娜 (ya), 玛 (ma), 琳 (lin), 珍 (zhen), 莉 (li), 芭 (ba), 莎 (sha), 莉 (lei), 莲 (lian), 莘 (luo) etc., are used for transliterating foreign sounds. Apart from these, some characters representing feminine features, such as 丝 (si), 丽 (li), 秀 (xiu), and 青 (dai), are also utilised for the transliteration of feminine names (Zhang Qingyan, 1987).

In the transliteration and translation of foreign words, commonly used characters are the key element in choosing the most appropriate characters. Commonly used characters appear widely in social life, and are popularly received.

4.3.3. The Variety of Chinese Characters in Borrowing

There is always at least two (and sometimes more) characters that can be used to represent a single foreign word. These characters form Chinese homonyms. There are
also several different forms of characters that are used to represent foreign single sound, pronunciation, and syllable. Thus, the choice of different characters is important in phonetic borrowing. There are three reasons for the variety of Chinese characters that can be used when borrowing from the Russian language:

First, some Chinese borrowings are imported by spoken or oral language. China has a long border with Russia both in the north, and in the west. Chinese residents that live on the border often come into contact with the Russian language, and as a result sometimes unconsciously adopt Russian words. Thus, a variety of Chinese characters naturally occurs in Modern Chinese, according to the different attempts Chinese speakers make in reproducing foreign words. For example, the Russian word хлеб has been substituted as 黑列巴 (hei lie ba) — (black [brown] bread), 列粑 (lie ba) — (bread), 裂粑 (lie ba) — (bread) and 列巴 (lie ba) — (bread) (see also Chapter 5). In these cases the first example is close to the pronunciation of the source word and represents the meaning of that word. This transliteration is also associated with the size, weight and appearance of bread. The other three versions are similar to the sound of the Russian word, and have an aphesion in the initial syllable. They also omit the Russian initial fricative voiceless velar /ʃ/. This consonant is very hard to hear clearly when Russian speakers pronounce it quickly, and is therefore sometimes not sounded by Chinese speakers. In addition, these three versions have two patterns representing two Chinese tones. There is a falling-rising tone (a long tone, broken in the middle), and a High-falling tone (a high short tone, quickly falling to a low tone) in the initial syllable of 列巴 (lie ba). The Chinese borrowing of 黑列巴 (brown bread) has diffused widely in North-Eastern China and is still in current use.
Secondly, some Chinese borrowings come from written language. There are many word borrowings which are transliterated directly from written text in Russian to Modern Chinese. In the past Century the Russian language impacted on the native Chinese language mainly through its written form. Chinese speakers have come into contact with written Russian texts in large numbers since the 1890s, being when Russia first started to build the Chinese Eastern Railway. In the course of the transliteration from Russian into Chinese, translators reproduced the same Russian sounds using a range of different Chinese characters. There are two reasons this occurred. The first is simply that there are several Chinese characters available to translators that can be used to represent the same sound coming from a Russian word; and the second is that translators with an awareness of both standard speech and dialects, choose the most appropriate character depending on the context in which the word is used. So in different contexts the same Russian word has been transliterated using different Chinese characters. Note, even though these characters represent the same Russian sound, they themselves do not represent the same Chinese sound. Thus, the variant sound of a character exists as different characters in Chinese borrowing. For example, the Russian word кириллица (Cyrillic alphabet) has been imported as 基里尔字母 (ji li er zi mu) (Liu et al., 1984), 基利尔字母 (ji li er zi mu) (Wang Lusheng et al., 1990), 西里尔字母 (xi li er zi mu) (Hartmann, 1981), and 息立尔字母 (xi li er zi mu) (The Chinese Department of Beijing University, 1962). Among these four Chinese borrowings, the first one accords with the regularity of correspondences between Chinese and Russian; and the second one is spelt according to the official table of transliteration from Russian to Chinese. The consonant of the initial syllable in the source word generally substitutes the Chinese consonant /j/ according to the corresponding regularity, so the first and second examples are imported from Russian
directly. The third and fourth examples do not correspond to the sound of the Russian word, because they do not conform with the corresponding principle of Russian initial syllable consonants in Chinese. Thus we could say that the third and fourth examples either do not come from Russian, or that the translator is lacking in knowledge about the Russian language. Even if the translator had a sound knowledge of Russian, he may speak a different dialect from putonghua (standard speech), and therefore could not accurately translate the word into his dialect.

The final reason that a variety of Chinese characters is used when borrowing from the Russian language is that different dialectic influences act on borrowed words, producing different characters for the same Russian word.

The residents of a dialect area may directly reproduce the Russian sound according to the pronunciation of their dialect. Chinese speakers who do not come from this dialectic population may however adopt a different character according the pronunciation of standard speech. Borrowings according to dialect pronunciations have a distinction in correspondence between Russian and Chinese sounds. For example, the Russian word союз (Union) has been borrowed as 沙油子 (sha you zi) in the dialect of North-Eastern China. In this case the Chinese consonant of the initial syllable is the voiceless fricative /sh/, but the Russian consonant /c/ in this position usually replaces the Chinese voiceless fricative /s/, according to the rules of correspondence between the two languages. This Russian consonant does not however obviously distinguish the consonants /sh/ and /s/ in the North-Eastern Chinese dialect.
Chapter Five

Linguistic Changes in Lexical Borrowing

5.1 Growth and Decline of Foreign Concepts and Objects in Chinese Culture

5.1.1 Chinese Adoption and Naming of Foreign Objects

Generally, the naming of new foreign objects is a common phenomenon throughout many cultures. Indeed, China is no exception, with Russian words having become a major source of Chinese borrowings throughout the last century. As discussed in Chapter Three, with the growing motivation to import new Russian objects into the Chinese language on a large scale, there arose new methods of borrowing, accompanied by a need to name these special objects. Zhao Yibo (1958) notes that as the Chinese language does not have the appropriate words to represent new foreign objects, the words representing these objects must instead be directly assimilated. On the other hand, the Chinese language may of course utilise its own resources to coin new words for foreign objects. For example, three indigenous morphemes, 标 (biao) – ‘mark’, 准 (zhun) – ‘norm’ and 语 (yu) – ‘language’ may be joined to form the new word (标准语), to represent the Russian term ‘литературный язык’ (meaning literary language; Sun Changxu, 1956). These are what Haugen (1950) refers to as ‘semantic loans’. Another method of borrowing foreign objects is to adopt the meaning of the Russian word and to substitute indigenous morphemes to re-create a word with the same meaning in Chinese. For example, 集体农庄 (ji ti nong zhuang)—колхоз (collective farm), and 五年计划 (wu nian ji hua)—пятилетний план (Five-Year Plan; Wang Li, 1993). A third method, one which this thesis is particularly focused on, is to borrow the phonetic pattern of the
Russian word and to refer to the meaning if same object that is represented in the donor language. This form of object borrowing therefore includes both phonetic and semantic borrowing. Examples include 喀秋莎 (ka qiu sha), which is imported from the Russian кавказ (rocket launcher), and based upon the correspondence of pronunciation between the two languages (see Chapter 4); 拖拉机 (tuo la ji)—трактор (tractor), 反法西斯的 (fan fa xi si de)—антифашистский (antifascist), and 古斯拉夫语词 (gu si la fu yu ci)—старославянизм (Old [Church] Slavism), are all examples of hybrid (combination) words in which one part of the native word is formed on the basis of phonetic borrowing, and the other from semantic borrowing (Sun Changxu, 1956).

5.1.2 The Relativity of New Concepts and Objects to Chinese Speakers

The meaning of both old and new Chinese words borrowed from foreign concepts and objects is relative, varying in terms of subject, content and history.

The meaning of many of the Russian concepts or objects adopted in the Chinese language are known by Chinese speakers to be obsolete in the source language. Despite this, the Chinese still introduce these words as new foreign concepts or objects, such as weights and measures, currency, military affairs, etc. Examples include 维尔勺克 (wei er shao ke)—вершок (vershok), an old Russian measure of length, equivalent to 4.4 cm; 维得罗 (wei de luo)—ведро (vedro), an old Russian liquid measure, equivalent to approximate 12 litres or 21 pints; 普特 (pu te)—пуд (pood), an old Russian weight measure, equivalent to approximate 16.38 kg. Another typical example is the word 格罗什 (ge luo shi)—грош (farthing) from old Russian currency, and equivalent to two kopeck pieces between 1657 and 1838; and half-kopeck pieces between 1838 and 1917.
Other examples include: 高福炮 (gau fu pao)—гауфушиця, referring to a gun which was in service in Russia during the 16th Century but is no longer used; and, 叶拉拿西 (ye la na xi)—ералаш (eralash), an old card game previously played widely throughout Russia but now rarely played. Although these original Russian words are regarded as out of date, having gone out of use after the October Revolution in Russia (1917), Chinese adoption of these objects continues to be diffused widely throughout translated works of Russian literature and art.

Other components of Chinese borrowing from the Russian language are those concepts or objects that are seen to represent different periods and events throughout Russian history. Although the meaning of these word borrowings may indicate the dated and historical nature of foreign concepts or objects, often sounding strange to the native ear, such words are still considered new within the Chinese language, and vital to the Chinese understanding of Russian culture and history. For example, the word 乌卢斯 (wu lu si) is borrowed from the Russian улус (Ulus), and refers to an historic military domain which possessed a Mongolian khan in Central Asia and Siberia. However, as this borrowing cannot be identified semantically, Chinese speakers are unable to understand its meaning simply by hearing or reading it. Further examples include: 赛切 (sai qie)—Сечь (host of Cossack) which, during the 16th and 18th Centuries, meant Zaporozhian Cossack host; 盖达马克队伍 (gai da ma ke dui wu) or 盖达马克匪帮 (gai da ma ke fei bang)—гайдамаки (haydamak) which has two meanings 1) the members of the revolutionary movement against the Poles in the Ukraine in the 17th and 18th Centuries, and 2) the members of the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian cavalry detachment in 1918.

There are some Russian words borrowed by the Chinese which, at the time of their introduction, were still widely used throughout Russia. However, it is generally the
case that, across time, the use of these words became gradually restricted and eventually diminished among both Russian and Chinese nations alike. Examples include: 潘菲洛夫式战士 (pan fei luo fu shi zhang shi)—панфиловцы (Panfilovtsy), meaning the soldiers of I.V. Parfilov [Ivan Vasil’evich Panfilov (1892—1941)] — a Soviet military leader, major general (1940), and hero of the Soviet Union — who distinguished themselves in the Great Patriotic War (1941—1945); 斯达汉诺夫运动 (si da han no fu yun dong)—стахановизм (Stakhanovism; derived from Aleksey G. Stakhanov, 1906—1977, a coal miner and famous model worker in USSR, who set a record for coal extraction, fourteen times over the production quota, during a shift in 1935) is a movement of promotion for labour productivity in a second Five-Year Plan in USSR. This kind of word borrowing, which looks unfamiliar to Chinese speakers, has been used widely for several generations. However, although such words are still referred to in literary works of that time, as well as historical texts, their common use has now been halted by their limited applicability with a changing society.

It must be highlighted that, in Russia, following the October Revolution in 1917 the word 杜马 (du ma)—дума (Duma or Council) became obsolete upon the abolishment of this political system. Shortly after, however, it was imported into the Chinese language as 国家杜马 (guo jia du ma) — Государственная дума (meaning The State Duma). However, when the Russian state parliament once again resumed control 74 years later, the word дума (Duma) re-appeared in Russian newspapers, radio and television. Today, use of the word 国家杜马 (The State Duma) is widespread throughout the Chinese media for the purpose of publishing Russian current affairs. As such, through the media Chinese speakers can again recognise and identify with the native phonetic replacement of the Russian source word ‘дума’. There has therefore been
further adoption of the word 杜马 (Duma) into other phrase borrowings, including: 市杜马 (shi du ma)—Городская дума (City Duma, or Council); 杜马党团 (du ma dang tuan)—Думская фракция (Duma parliamentary group of a political party), and; 杜马委员会 (du ma wei yuan hui)—Думский комитет (Duma committee).

As already discussed, some Chinese word borrowings are obsolete words and expressions in their source languages at the time of adoption. Despite this, although such words are not frequently used in everyday Russian speech, they are still referred to in a number of Russian literary, historical and cultural works.

5.2 Relation of Phonetic and Semantic Borrowings

5.2.1 The Proportion of Phonetic to Semantic Borrowings

Broadly speaking, a large proportion of Chinese word borrowings are semantic in nature. This finding is supported by the Chinese linguist Shi Youwei (2000) who has calculated the ratio of semantic to phonetic borrowing from two Chinese dictionaries (The Dictionary of Modern Chinese, 1978; The Dictionary of New Words in Modern Chinese, 1994). As a means of comparison, Japanese phonetic borrowing typically dominates Modern Japanese. On must therefore question why Chinese borrowing from the Russian language is largely represented by semantic loan words. In response, it is argued that it is difficult for Chinese native speakers to translate the pronunciation or sound of a foreign word into Chinese characters. It is therefore easier to simply adopt the meaning of the word. However, despite the pervasiveness of semantic borrowing, both semantic and phonetic forms of a word may sometimes co-exist in Modern Chinese. At other times, the use of a word may alternate between phonetic and semantic forms.
In discussing the proportion of phonetic to semantic borrowings from Russian in Modern Chinese, one must consider the complexity of loan words, as highlighted by the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen (1954, pp.212-213):

"In most speech-mixtures the various elements remain distinct and can be separated, just as after shuffling a pack of cards you can pick out the hearts, spades, etc. But in the case of English and Scandinavian languages we have a subtler and more intimate fusion, very much as when you put a lump of sugar into a cup of tea and a few minutes afterwards are quite unable to say which is tea and which is sugar."

In discussing Chinese borrowings from Russia, phonetic borrowing may be easily distinguished by native speakers; just as if they were distinguishing suits from a pack of cards. By contrast, the number and extent of semantic borrowing mixed into Modern Chinese is difficult to determine, similar to the widespread dispersion of sugar in a cup of tea.

5.2.2 The Development of Semantic Borrowing from Phonetic Borrowing

Many Chinese word borrowings are first imported in the form of phonetic loans. When Chinese speakers come into contact with phonetic borrowing, they generally feel uneasy, unable to comprehend the meaning of the word in Chinese. However, after numerous encounters with these ‘strange foreign words’, Chinese speakers are able to gradually assimilate their phonetic characteristics and comfortably reproduce them in everyday speech (i.e. among commonly used native characters). As there are certain procedures set in place for the appropriate adoption of foreign words, certain rules must be followed when changing phonetic borrowings into semantic borrowings. Examples of these changes include: the word 康拜因 (kang bai yin)—комбайн (combine) which was
first introduced from Russian as a phonetic borrowing. To the end of this borrowing was then added the semantic identification (thus forming the hybrid word 康拜因机, meaning combine, and containing both phonetic and semantic characteristics) so native speakers could comprehend it; the semantic borrowing 联合收割机 (a united harvester) was derived from the phonetic borrowing 康拜因 комбайн (combine), indicating an abandoning of foreign pronunciation in favour of the semantic form of the word in Chinese vocabulary.

The integration of some foreign words from Russian into the Chinese language have been adopted purely on the basis of their semantic characteristics, displacing the original phonetic borrowing. Examples are given in table 5.A in the Appendix.

5.2.3 The Development of Phonetic-Compound Borrowing from Phonetic Borrowing

Depending upon the degree of correspondence between the Chinese and Russian languages in a particular instance of lexical borrowing, Chinese phonetic borrowing will generally correspond to the sound of the original Russian word. However, often the Chinese characters used to represent the sound of words borrowed from the Russian language cannot be associated with the correct Chinese meaning of these words. Further, there exists a number of loan words that were first adopted on the basis of their phonetic characteristics, but to which the semantic meaning was later added to form a phonetic – compound. That is, when loan words are first adopted phonetically into the Chinese language they may not be immediately understood by native speakers. Consequently, the Chinese characters representing the sound of these borrowings are altered such that the meaning of the translated foreign terms can be understood. These words are therefore
transformed into phonetic–compounds. For example, the word 尼龙 (ni te long) was first borrowed phonetically from the Russian word нитро (nitron [polyacrylonitrile fibre]), and was later changed to 尼纶 (ni te lun), with the first two characters (尼纶 – ni te) remaining the same but the third altered from 龙 (long) to 绵 (lun). This third character was changed both phonetically and semantically (i.e. from dragon to artificial silk or rayon) to form the phonetic–compound 尼龙 (ni te lun), and to more clearly represent the sound and meaning of the original foreign word. Another example is 壁里气 (bi li qi) from the Russian word печь (oven). This word was adopted through the dialect of North-East China, but is directly translated as ‘the air or smoke in the wall’. In this example, the entire Chinese word has altered the sound of the original Russian word, and in fact added a further character (里 – li). This word borrowing was later changed to form the new phonetic–compound 壁里砌 (bi li qi), in which the third character was replaced with one having the same sound but that added a different and clearer meaning to the word, now defined as something ‘built in the wall’, and capturing the trend in North-East China of building ovens into walls for protection from the cold climate. Other examples of Chinese phonetic-compounds include 乙烯 (yi lun)—ylon (synthetic fibre) and 黑列巴 (hei lie ba)—хлеб (bred). However, Shi Youwei (2000) notes that because it is very difficult to create phonetic-compounds within whole Chinese loan words, very few exist.

5.2.4 The Development of Phonetic Borrowings from Semantic Explanations

When a foreign word first comes into Chinese, native speakers usually manage to easily reproduce it by way of semantic borrowing. Consequently, semantic borrowings
tend to dominate foreign loan words within Modern Chinese (see Chapter 3). However, as the name of foreign objects usually contains special meaning unique to that culture and language, native speakers have difficulty finding the appropriate Chinese characters to express its full meaning. Therefore, in some cases it is necessary to use more than a few characters (even a full sentence) to fully describe the meaning of a foreign word. For example, the Russian word ‘матрешка’, an historical word referring to a traditionally crafted Russian doll, has been recently adopted into China through merchants and tourists. In Chinese, this word is described as ‘村姑形状的木偶’ (cun gu xing zhuang de mu ou), meaning a carved wooden figure in the form of a country girl. From this it can be argued that direct adoptions of foreign words through phonetic borrowing provide a more concise method than attempting to derive foreign meanings using several Chinese characters. Further, in light of Chinese principles of word borrowing such semantic borrowings may not be widely accepted by native Chinese speakers. In this case, Chinese speakers are more likely to apply the phonetic borrowing ‘马特廖什卡’ (ma te liao shi ka), which has the same meaning but is not as well understood. However, through its use in the media in future years, it is believed that phonetic borrowing will spread.

Another example is the phonetic borrowing ‘叶拉拿西’ (ye la na xi)—ералаш (eralash [a card-game]), of which there also exists a semantic form: ‘古时一种牌戏’ (gu shi yi zhong pai xi). This semantic form also refers to an old type of Russian card-game, but has proven extremely difficult for Chinese speakers to articulate due to its longwinded and complicated description. As such they prefer to apply phonetic borrowing.
There is another case of lexical borrowing where the source word contains several meanings, and no Chinese semantic equivalent can be found. In such situations phonetic borrowing has to be employed. For example, the Russian word ‘cober’ has the following meanings: 1) advice, idea; 2) discussion, council, conference; 3) Soviet; 4) council (security council); 5) harmony, friendship. The third one is the meaning used for Chinese borrowing. The word ‘Soviet’ was introduced into Modern Chinese first as a new political term, and it is imported in the semantic borrowings as follows: ‘劳农会’ (workers’ and peasants’ council); ‘劳工会议’ (Workers’ and peasants’ conference); ‘劳工代表会议’ (workers’ and peasants’ Congress); ‘劳农议会’ (Workers’ and peasants’ parliament) (Zhou Dingyi, 1962); ‘劳农政府’ (Workers’ and peasants’ government; Wang Lida, 1958). At the same time the phonetic borrowing of the word appeared as ‘苏租’ (su wei ai), ‘苏域’ (su yu), ‘苏威’ (su wei) in the Chinese newspapers and the journals in 1920. As we have seen above, the meaning of the word ‘cober’ contains different subjects and is very complex to define. Thus all forms of semantic borrowing cannot represent the whole meaning of the word and native speakers have to choose the most simple and suitable way. In the end, native speakers prefer the word ‘苏租’ (su wei ai) — ‘cober’ (Soviet), as a result of phonetic borrowing.

To illustrate, once diffused throughout China, the phonetically borrowed word ‘苏租’ (Soviet) was noted as one of the most frequently used words among 8000 other frequently used common nouns, (Beijing Language Institute, 1986). Phonetic borrowing has derived numerous other related words in Modern Chinese, such as ‘苏租政权’ (the Soviet power), and ‘老苏区’ (Chinese Soviet Areas established during the second Revolutionary Civil War period, 1927–1937; You Mo, 1956).
Another major example of cases in which phonetic borrowing tends to replace semantic loans is the Russian word ‘товарищ’, which has been translated (semantically) into Chinese as ‘同志’ (tong zhi) — comrade. However, the meaning of this Russian word is not limited to ‘comrade’ as, etymologically, it comes from ‘товар’ meaning goods or commodity. Early Russian speakers referred to people who are in business or trade as ‘товарищ’ (meaning trading partner, or businessman). It was only later that the meaning of the word ‘товарищ’ became ‘comrade’. In addition, the Chinese scholar Hu Shuangbao (1958) indicates that in Chinese the word ‘товарищ’ actually contains the meaning ‘伙计’— ‘sales clerk’. Because of this complexity, Chinese speakers have tended to adopt the phonetic borrowing ‘杜瓦里希’ (du wa li xi) — tovarisch; tovarish; tovarich (Liu et al., 1984; Guoyu ribao, 1981) in spite of the polysemy of the word.

Other instances in which phonetic borrowing is preferred over semantic borrowing are set out in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1 Examples in which phonetic borrowing is preferred over semantic borrowing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Semantic</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Господин</td>
<td>先生; 君</td>
<td>戈斯帕京</td>
<td>gentleman; sir; Mr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сударь</td>
<td>先生；老爷</td>
<td>苏达利</td>
<td>Sir (mode of address)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Сударыня</td>
<td>女士;夫人;太太</td>
<td>苏达鲁尼亚</td>
<td>madam; ma’am (mode of address)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.5 The Coexistence of Phonetic and Semantic Borrowing

Both semantic and phonetic borrowings are known to coexist within Chinese. This is clear for several reasons. The first is that a foreign word may enter the Chinese language through either spoken or written language, and be expressed in terms of its meaning or sound. Another reason is that the same foreign word may be interpreted at different times and places by numerous interpreters, and therefore hold various semantic or phonetic characteristics. For example, if one interpreter has chosen a form of phonetic borrowing for a foreign word, another interpreter may have preferred a more semantic form of the same word. Therefore, numerous synonyms of loan words may exist at any one time within Modern Chinese (Zheng Dian, 1956). However, the use of these synonyms tend to appear in different contexts. For example, the phonetic borrowing ‘瓦普’ (wa pu)—ВАПП [Всероссийская ассоциация пролетарских писателей, 1920—1932] (VAPP [All-Russian Association of Proletarian Writers]) frequently appears in monographs of Russian history or Soviet literature, while the semantic borrowing with similar meaning ‘全俄无产阶级作家协会’ tends to appear in general Chinese books. Another example is the phonetic borrowing ‘耐普曼’ (nai pu man)—нэйман (нэй [новая экономическая политика] + mann [from German] — нерман [New Economic Policy + man]) which is typically used in history or economics, although the semantic borrowing ‘新经济政策人’ is used in other cases.

The third reason for the coexistence of semantic and phonetic borrowings is that, in Chinese literature writers usually alternate between semantic and phonetic loans. They prefer to use phonetic borrowing for vivid descriptions within language. Consequently, phonetic borrowing from Russian appears in literary works as Chinese dialect (especially in North-Eastern Chinese), but is not typically used in standard speech. The following
passage provides an illustrative example from '马加' Ma Jia's novel '江山村十日' *The Ten Days in the Village Jiang Shan*. In this we examine a dialogue between the elder sister Zhang and Deng Shougui:

“……我问你，你在苏联参加贫农大会么？”

“不，张大嫂，我参加了沙油子。”

张大嫂听走音了，张着大嘴笑了。“你们在那里杀牛子。”

“不是。”邓守桂摇着头：“沙油子是工会，我进了工会。”

“… I ask you, did you join in the association of poor peasants and farm labourers in the Soviet Union?”

“No, elder sister Zhang, I joined in the sha you zi [шошо— the Union].”

Elder sister Zhang listened to the wrong voice and smiled broadly. “You did sha niu zi [kill the oxen] there.”

“No.” Shaking his head, Deng Shougui said: “The sha you zi is the Union, I joined the Union” (see also Zhao Yibo, 1958).

In this example, although the writer is aware of both semantic and phonetic borrowings of the word “Union”⁴, he has opted for the phonetic borrowing “sha you zi” from Russian, to describe the character Deng Shougui — a worker who has been in Russia. Other examples of phonetic borrowing within Chinese literature include:

Table 5.2 Examples of Phonetic borrowing within Chinese literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Semantic</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Альфа</td>
<td>阿耳发草</td>
<td>芦苇草</td>
<td>Alpha (esparto needle grass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Афалина</td>
<td>阿法林</td>
<td>宽吻海豚</td>
<td>Bottlenose, bottle-Nosed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

132
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Баян</th>
<th>巴扬</th>
<th>键钮式手风琴</th>
<th>Bayan (kind of accordion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Вервь</td>
<td>维尔夫</td>
<td>连坐村社</td>
<td>Community, commune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Капитан</td>
<td>戈必蛋&lt;方&gt;</td>
<td>上尉</td>
<td>Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Парики</td>
<td>巴立克</td>
<td>遠农</td>
<td>Paroikos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Петрушка</td>
<td>彼得鲁什卡</td>
<td>小丑</td>
<td>Petrushka, punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Пхачич</td>
<td>哈契奇板</td>
<td>响板</td>
<td>Pkhachich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Самовар</td>
<td>沙莫瓦(尔)</td>
<td>茶炊</td>
<td>Samovar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Тубабон</td>
<td>图博方打琴</td>
<td>钢管琴</td>
<td>Tubaphone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Работа</td>
<td>老博大; 老博代&lt;方&gt;</td>
<td>苦力</td>
<td>Labour (coolie, cooly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Полиция</td>
<td>笛笼子&lt;方&gt;</td>
<td>监狱(警察局)</td>
<td>Police (prison, gaol)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 The Development of Word Borrowings

5.3.1 From Phonetic Borrowing to Descriptive Forms

Generally, there is a procedure of Sinicism that occurs in Chinese phonetic borrowing. Through the course of Sinicism a ‘descriptive form’ of Modern Chinese is introduced to, and in some cases, replaces phonetic borrowings. An example is the word ‘维尔斯特’ (wei er si te)—верст (verst [old Russian measurement, equivalent to approximately 1.06 kilometres]), which was first borrowed into the Chinese language as a phonetic loan. However, as Chinese speakers believed this phonetic borrowing to be too long (containing four syllables, as opposed to the majority of words, which are bisyllabic), and therefore too difficult to understand, the word ‘俄里’ (the Russian li 里)
was created as a descriptive form, thus replacing the phonetic borrowing while holding
the same meaning. However, within the Chinese language the number of descriptive
forms of loan words is small, although phonetic borrowing and descriptive forms do tend
to coexist. A good example of this is the word ‘普特’ (pū te)—пуд (pood) which has the
descriptive form ‘俄担’ (the Russian dan ⁶). Because this descriptive form does not truly
express the meaning of the source word, it cannot substitute the phonetic borrowing but
must exist alongside it and be used in situations in which the phonetic form does not
apply. Examples are given in the Appendix in Table 5.B From phonetic borrowing to
descriptive forms.

5.3.2 From Indirect to Direct Borrowing

Prior to both the construction of the Chinese East Railway, and the Russian
Revolution in October 1917, the Chinese had little direct contact with Russia and
therefore very few people had studied the Russian language. After 1917, the Chinese
attempted to keep track of Russian culture, through other European and Asian languages,
given the lack of Chinese work on the subject. As a result, numerous borrowings from the
Russian language were transferred into Chinese through these other languages (Gao and
Liu, 1958). For example, the Chinese word ‘札尔’ (zha er) was first borrowed from the
English word czar /zaː/ (Shi Youwei, 1991). Although this word ‘札尔’ (zha er) is not
similar in terms of pronunciation with the Russian word царь (tsar), it is very close to the
English definition. Consequently, the word ‘沙尔’ (sha er) was later adopted into the
Chinese language to more closely reflect both the meaning and pronunciation of the
Russian word царь (tsar). Later, the word ‘沙皇’ (sha huang) was adopted through the
phonetic loan ‘沙尔’ (sha er). This Sinicised word ‘沙皇’ (sha huang) is a bisyllabic compound, with the first syllable 沙 (sha) a shortening of the adaptation for the Russian word tsar, and the second syllable 皇 (huang) representing the meaning of the source word in the generic sense. As this word is widely used throughout Modern Chinese (Liu et al., 1984; Guoyu ribao, 1981), Chinese speakers have almost forgotten the originally borrowed English word 札尔 (zha er—czar), and the Russian word 沙尔 (sha er—уарь [tsar]).

Other examples of indirect borrowing are those words imported from English, and then later directly translated from Russian. A very famous novelette ‘Капитанская дочка’ (Captain’s daughter) of the Russian writer Alekander Pushkin, has been translated into Chinese from English. Coming from the title of that work, the word ‘甲必丹’ (jia bi dan)—капитан (captain) was translated as a phonetic loan (Liu et al., 1984; Lu Shuxiang, 1947). However, many native speakers do not understand the meaning of this phonetic borrowing (甲必丹—captain) due to the polysemy of the word (Ci Yuan, 1947). Consequently, they have translated the word капитан (captain) by means of semantic borrowing such that the title of the novel can be more easily understood (Gao Jie, 2001). In addition to these indirect borrowings, such phonetic loan words as ‘戈必蛋’ (ge bi dan) are borrowed directly from Russian, but only within the limits of the dialects within North-East China (Ma and Jiang, 1991).

After discussing these two typical kinds of changing (i.e. 札尔→沙尔→沙皇 [from English to Chinese phonetic borrowing→from Russian to Chinese phonetic borrowing→from Russian to Chinese compound] and 甲必丹→上尉+戈必蛋 [from English to Chinese phonetic loans→from Russian to Chinese semantic loans + from Russian to Chinese phonetic loans in dialect]) there is a third example of indirect
borrowing which deserves mention. The Chinese word ‘息立尔字母’ (xi li er zi mu) has been borrowed from the English phrase “Cyrillic alphabet”, and because it is quite close to the English pronunciation it can be found in numerous references (Wang Fuxiang et al., 1959; The linguistic section of the Chinese Department of Beijing University, 1962). As such, the Chinese phonetic loan borrowed directly from the Russian word ‘基里尔字母’ (ji li er zi mu) — кириллица (Cyrillic alphabet), (Liu et al., 1984) has not proven as popular as this English adaptation. Consequently, although Chinese phonetic borrowing from the Russian language generally dominates borrowing from English in terms of pronunciation, both English and Russian words are often used at the same time (Lu Gusun, 1993; Wang Lusheng et al., 1990).

There are other examples of Chinese word borrowing from Russian through the English and Japanese languages. For example, the word ‘知识界’ (intelligentsia [intellectual circles]) was first borrowed from the Russian language into English. Specifically, English speakers reproduced the original Russian word интеллигенция (intellectual circles) by means of its pronunciation, which is so close to the Russian pronunciation that Russian speakers often think of it as a Russian word, because the suffix -tsia is regarded as unique to the Russian language. Following the English pronunciation of this source word, the Japanese later borrowed this Russian word. From this, the words ‘知识分子’ (zhi shi fen zi—intellectual) and ‘知识阶层’ (zhi shi jie ceng—intellectual stratum) were adopted into the Chinese language. These are heterographs of 知识界—intelligentsia. The first and second characters ‘知识’ of the semantic borrowing ‘知识界’ (intellectual circles) were first adopted from a Buddhist phrase, but the two characters ‘知识’ (knowledge) were borrowed from Japanese Kanji (Wang Lida, 1958). The word ‘印贴利根追亚’ (yin tie li gen zhui ya)—интеллигенция
(intelligentsia) is a phonetic borrowing from Russian into Modern Chinese (Gao and Liu, 1958; Li Yueyi, 1990). This phonetic loan word has not diffused throughout Modern Chinese as it does not coincide with the word formation of Chinese language, although it has been adapted completely with Chinese pronunciation.

However, in addition to loan words borrowed through the English language, a number of Russian words have been imported into the Chinese language through other languages, based upon their pronunciation. For example, although the Russian word ‘苏维埃’ Coser (Soviet) was borrowed through the English language (and indirectly introduced into Mandarin through a dialect of South China ⁸), the word ‘劳农政府’ (lao nong zheng fu—workers’ and peasants’ government) is a semantic borrowing of the same Russian word but which was imported from Japanese (Wang Lida, 1958; Zhou Dingyi, 1962).

The Chinese word ‘俄罗斯’ (e ro si) (Zhang Qingchang, 1978) meaning Russia, is now discussed. This word was adapted through the Mongolian language [Oros] before the Chinese Dynasty Yuan (1271—1368). In addition to this Chinese borrowing, there are two other phonetic loan words of the same meaning borrowed through English and Japanese. During the first years of the Qing Dynasty, the word ‘罗刹’ (luo sha)—Россия (Russia) was defined as ‘Russia’ by Chinese speakers (Guoyu ribao, 1981), and is very close to its English pronunciation. In reference to the word ‘露西亚’ (lu xi ya), a Chinese scholar has indicated that it comes from Japanese language (Zhang Qingchang, 1978). Thus these three heterographs of the word ‘Russia’ occur in Modern Chinese at the same time, but they are used in different circumstances. Among them, the word ‘俄罗斯’ (e ro si—Russia) is most widely used; the word ‘罗刹’ (Luo Sha—Russia) often appears in works of literature and art, or in historical books; and the word ‘露西亚’
(lu xi ya—Russia) is typically used in the phrase ‘露和辞典’ (lu he ci dian) meaning Russian–Japanese Dictionary.

5.3.3 Different Forms of Phonetic Borrowing

Many Chinese phonetic borrowings from Russian have different written forms. There are only a few Chinese characters that can represent the sound of an original Russian word. Such words can be represented either as a homonym, a near-sound character, the dialect sound, the standard speech sound, the sound through singular and plural versions of the source word, and the sound of the foreign language. From the examples above, many Chinese loan words are represented through the sound or pronunciation of the donor language. For example, the word ‘黑白族’ (hei jin zu)—гольды (Gold[i]) has been borrowed as a phonetic loan. It is the title of one of the minority nationalities within Russia. The first character of this Chinese borrowing 黑 (hei) is very close to the pronunciation of the source syllable in Russian dialect or non standard speech. Some Russian speakers usually pronounce the consonant of the first syllable /t/ as [h] in word гольды (Gold[i]). This pronunciation pattern is very popular in Russia, and it is a result of the sound change in Russian language. The Chinese phonetic borrowing has been influenced by the Russian sound change as well. Thus, Chinese speakers have adapted the sound /t/ as [h] in the Chinese loan word ‘黑白族’ (hei jin zu) (Jia Jinghong etc. ed., 1983). The word ‘果尔特人’ (guo er te ren) is a heterograph of the Russian word гольды (Gold [i]) in Modern Chinese (Wang Lusheng et al., 1990). This is a phonetic loan of the Russian word as well, but it has been borrowed from Russian received pronunciation. The Chinese characters of the borrowing coincide with the
sound of the Russian standard speech according to the rules of phonetic correspondence. Therefore, two different forms of one source word may coexist in Modern Chinese. Other examples are the words ‘艾涅茨族’ (ai nie ci zu) (Jia Jinghong et al., 1983) and ‘恩茨人’ (en ci ren), (Wang Lusheng et al., 1990) which have been borrowed from the Russian words энец and энцы, respectively, in the form of phonetic borrowing. Both of them represent the same name of minority nationalities in Russia, with the word ‘艾涅茨族’ (ai nie ci zu) being adapted to the Russian singular энец, according to the pronunciation of second character in the Chinese borrowing; and the word ‘恩茨人’ (en ci ren) representing the Russian plural энцы, according to the sound of the first and second character in the Chinese loan word. Thus, there may exist many different forms of the one word in Modern Chinese, the meaning of which native speakers can not easily recognize.
NOTES:

1. The Chinese phonetic loan of the Russian word was not found in any dictionaries, but rather the semantic borrowing from ‘便携俄汉大词典’ (Wang Lusheng et al., 1990); the phonetic borrowing has been quoted from ‘中俄信息报’ (Chinese-Russian Herald [Moscow], Oct. 1, 1994).

2. The Workers' and Peasants' Government is taken from the semantic loan of 'Soviet Government'. This semantic borrowing was used for a time in Chinese newspapers and journals, not long after the achievement of Russian October Revolution.

3. See also *The Communist*, 1920, No. 1; *East Journal*, V. 17, No. 23; *The New Young*, May 1920, V. 7, No. 6.

4. Besides the semantic borrowing 工会 (workers' association [Union]) in the dialogue, there is another semantic loan 劳动组合 (labour association [trade union]) from English through Japanese. This loan word was used no later than July 1921 when the organisation of labour was first established in China (Wang Lida, 1958).

5. The Chinese character 里 (li) is a traditional unit of length, equivalent to 0.5 km.

6. The Chinese character 担 (dan) means an unit of weight, equivalent to 50 kilograms.

7. The word intelligentsia is listed as a phonetic borrowing from English in 'A Dictionary of Loan Words and Hybrid Words in Chinese' (Liu et al., 1984), but Gao Mingkai and Liu Zhengtang have included it in the category of phonetic borrowing from Russian as well as (Gao and Liu, 1958).

8. Chinese Southerners usually omit the ending consonant when they speak a foreign language like English.
Chapter Six

Conclusion

This study has discussed and analysed lexical borrowing from Russian in Modern Chinese, and has concentrated on three major aspects of borrowing, namely: form, method, and linguistic changes in lexical borrowing. It has also considered special features of the Chinese language which have impacted upon lexical borrowing.

The Chinese language has been both enhanced and enlarged by lexical borrowing, and continues to be so. Although, in comparison to the amount of existing Chinese words, borrowed words make up a very small proportion. When considering the basic standard lexicon, distinguished from the general lexicon, borrowed words make up an even smaller proportion. As discussed, most lexical borrowing is of foreign nouns which represent new concepts objects in the general lexicon. The formation of new words is constrained by the linguistic fact that some Chinese characters only make sense when considered in combination with other characters. Also the possible number of borrowed words is constrained by the fact that there is no need to introduce foreign terms for words that already exist in Chinese. This is especially the case for verbs. Foreign words that are appropriate for reproduction in the Chinese language, should follow the internal regularity of Chinese word and character combinations, to have a place as a member of the Chinese vocabulary.

To be a member of the Chinese lexicon, borrowed lexical items need to undergo Sinicised language processing. That is, when a foreign word is imported into Chinese, a written form is needed to represent it, therefore its graphic shape must undergo a
complete metamorphosis from that having a form made up of letters, to that having the form of Chinese characters.

The Phonetic Process

Phonetic borrowing is the major form of lexical borrowing in Chinese. Phonetic borrowing imparts special features to loan words, as reflected in their foreign style among the Chinese vocabulary. Because different sounds occur in different national languages, Chinese phonetic borrowing cannot completely accurately translate or transliterate all foreign words. The difference between the transliterated Chinese sound and the source sound is the result of Chinese phonetic influences which come about through: phonetic correspondences, the substitution of phonemes, and through the omission or addition of existing syllables in the Chinese language. In this thesis this Sinicised phonetic process has been analysed according to phonetic structures. First, consonants and vowels of both the Russian and Chinese languages were divided, according to their segmentation by different sounds, e.g. stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, laterals, monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs; then, the corresponding sound was produced in light of the phonetic features of the two languages. Consonant clusters and long consonants are specific to Russian language, and the Chinese reproduction of them is realised by the reduction of original consonants or the addition of Chinese vowels. As for the omission and addition of consonants in lexical borrowing, this is a special method of reproducing Russian sounds in Chinese. Generally, the Russian lateral, or trill, either at the end of a word or after the final syllable, is ignored. With respect to the addition of consonants, the Russian consonant /n/ is replaced by the Chinese consonant /n/ twice in the cases of
nasalised vowels and initial syllables. The principles of phonetic correspondence between the two languages are uncovered in the practice of translation, and these principles form general regularities among Chinese borrowings. The regularity given by Chinese phonetic influences has provided both guidance and insight in uncovering the standardisations present in lexical borrowing.

The Semantic Process

This thesis has highlighted the fact that the meaning associated with the different sounds of individual characters, is a special feature of phonetic borrowing in Chinese. Each character represents at least one, and sometimes more than one, monosyllabic sound. Most characters also represent meaning, with the meaning of many Chinese words being represented by the meaning of a single character. Thus, as mentioned above, when translating or transliterating foreign words, Chinese native speakers must always consider the meaning associated with the characters used to represent each sound, or a combination of the meaning and sound. They must also try to provide written leads in the characters themselves, for users to clearly understand the meaning associated with those characters used in loan words. Note, the meaning of the characters used in the transliteration of foreign sounds is not exactly the same as the common meaning associated with those characters. In most cases, characters used in phonetic borrowing only make sense when considered in combination with all of the characters used to represent a foreign word or phrase, hence the need for additional markings to denote the ways that characters relate to one another. As mentioned in Chapter Four, in cases of phonetic borrowing characters are nearly always utilised just for the representation of foreign sounds, and therefore the semantic internal structure of phonetic borrowings, i.e.
the meaning of any one character in isolation, cannot be analysed. On the contrary, in
cases of semantic borrowing (as opposed to phonetic borrowing), whole or partially
assimilated words are translated in accordance with the meaning and structure of the
Chinese language, and therefore their internal structure and meaning may be analysed in
the light of the principles of linguistic structuralism.

The Process of Word Formation

This thesis has also pointed out that the special features of word formations in
Chinese are reflected in the Sinicisation of some borrowed words. Possible Chinese word
formations constrain the ways in which foreign words can be borrowed. This is because
there is not a one-to-one correspondence between foreign phonemes and Chinese
phonemes. One or more indigenous characters are often added to phonetically borrowed
words to denote the way in which Chinese linguistic constraints have effected the
translation of those words. This process has been sometimes referred to in this thesis as
the Sinicism of foreign terms. These added characters are referred to as ‘generic terms’
(or ‘identification marks’) and form part of the composition of borrowed words. Generic
terms may be put before or after phonetic borrowings. Whole foreign words or foreign
phrases are transliterated or transliterated into two parts, phonetic and semantic. Generally,
the semantic part is the affix and the phonetic part is the root of the foreign word; or,
entire phonetic and semantic parts may come from foreign words and phrases. In sum the
two main received forms of lexical borrowing in Chinese are semantic borrowing and
phonetic borrowing. In phonetic borrowing the addition of generic terms is very common,
and is used to highlight linguistic Sinicism.
Cultural Features

Word borrowing is an excellent indicator of cultural exchange. China has an outstanding historical cultural tradition which outdates that of surrounding nationalities. Thus, the exportation of Chinese culture has far outweighed overall importations in the course of language and cultural exchanges with other nationalities (Liu Shihong, 1969). The following examples of the relationship between cultural exchange and resulting lexical borrowing have been discussed in this thesis. First, word borrowing in the early stages of Chinese history was concerned mainly with flora and fauna which existed in geographic locations outside of China, although some limited trade terms were also borrowed. Second, the translation of Buddhist scriptures has also been a great event in the history of Chinese culture from Eastern Han to Tang Dynasties. Many words of Buddhism have been translated into Chinese from Sanskrit. Third, scientific terminology has also been introduced from the West into China, and has influenced the Chinese culture in depth. Finally, the diffusion of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and its succeeding Marxist-Leninism, has been causally responsible for many Russian terms being introduced into China, both before and after the birth of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.

Apart from the cultural factors mentioned above, this thesis has also discussed the fact that the characters used for transliterating foreign sounds must respect certain Chinese cultural considerations. Cultural considerations are denoted through the use of concrete characters in phonetic borrowings. These concrete characters connect Chinese and foreign cultures. Chinese characters are therefore not just linguistic symbols, but also representations of Chinese culture.
Forms of Lexical Borrowing

Facing numerous foreign words representing different cultures, it is worthwhile for Chinese native speakers to research the best ways to assimilate these words. In Chinese linguistic and cultural history, the reproduction of foreign words has taken several forms. At first, almost the foreign words were transliterated into Chinese through phonetic borrowing, then, the translators of the Buddhist scriptures introduced the form of semantic borrowing. At the same time, the method of phonetic borrowing was not put aside. The forms of phonetic and semantic borrowing are still used as the essential forms of Chinese lexical borrowing. Furthermore in the latter 19th and early 20th Centuries, new forms of lexical borrowing were introduced. These included the forms of: Phonetic plus semantic borrowing, and phonetic-compound borrowing. Other forms of Chinese borrowings like descriptive form; phonetic borrowing plus foreign original; and semantic borrowing plus foreign original, appeared one after another in the first half of the 20th Century. As for the form of direct transplantation of the source word and alphabet, this form first came into use in Modern Chinese in the early 1950s. These forms of word borrowing have been widely adopted by Chinese native speakers. This thesis has proposed that the two essential forms of lexical borrowing (phonetic and semantic borrowing) may be exchanged exclusively with one another, but other forms may only be changed to the essential forms. The exchange of forms of lexical borrowing is controlled by the internal regularity and structural system of Modern Chinese. Besides this, such exchanges are also connected with the history of Chinese language and culture.

Future Considerations
Although this thesis has provided a fairly exhaustive analysis of the forms of lexical borrowing it has not been practical, or possible, to cover all of the aspects of grammatical and lexicological (semantic) influences of the Russian culture on the Modern Chinese language. Also this thesis has not considered how Chinese lexical borrowing from English, differs from that of Chinese lexical borrowing from Russian. It is proposed that these aspects should be addressed in future studies of Chinese lexical borrowing. Possible future considerations are now suggested.

The Grammatical Level

Many morphological inflexions occur in Russian and in other European words. Both nouns and verbs are subject to various inflexions in Russian. When Russian words with inflexions are translated or transliterated into Chinese, they need to be adjusted to accord with Chinese grammar. In addition, other changes, such as in the class membership of words (that is, in Russian words that fall into multiple classes, usually fall into just a single class in Chinese); in parts of speech (noun, adjective, verb, numeral and adverb); and in transmutations (functional changes), also appear in Chinese word borrowings.

The Semantic Level

At the semantic level, both the narrowing of meaning and the development of meaning occurs during the process of importing foreign words. Usually, a foreign word with a number of meanings will enter the Chinese language as a morpheme with just a single meaning. Sometimes however, there is the addition of certain connotations attached to these borrowed words.
Russian Cultural Influences

The Revolution of Russia in October 1917, and its associated Leninit and Marxist philosophies, have had far-reaching influences on Chinese language and culture. Moreover, the translation of Russian political, economic, and historical works, and the introduction of Russian literature and arts into China, have also had a great impact on Chinese culture, and have brought about numerous instances of lexical borrowing. Thus many Russian words have become apart of the Chinese lexicon. Apart from those areas mentioned above, the connection between technical assistance from the USSR (especially between 1949—1962) and the appearance of Russian technical terminology in Chinese, should not be overlooked in the history of the language exchange between these countries.

Comparison of Word Borrowings from Russian and English

In comparing Chinese word borrowings between Russian and English, there is a main factor that need consideration, these being types of borrowed words in lexical borrowing, especially during the 1950’s and 1990’s.

Types of Borrowed Words

Among the numerous types of borrowed words from Russia, political (Soviet, kolkhoz, sovkhoz; Leninism etc.) and scientific terms (sovprene, VIT-iron, gazik, voltolized oil etc.) are primary. Many terms have also been borrowed from other fields, such as economic, literature, and the arts, to name a few.
Among word borrowings from English, common words are primary (e.g. Coca Cola, ice cream, sandwich, butter etc.). Terms from economics and science also occur but are less frequent than borrowed common English terms.

A comparison of word borrowings from English and Russian demonstrates that the different political and economic relations between China and these countries play a significant role in determining which types of words are borrowed.

The above four aspects which we have discussed, being grammatical, lexicological, cultural, and comparative factors, have not been well-considered by other scholars and should form the basis of further studies in the future.

Through the analysis of lexical borrowing from Russian to Chinese presented in this thesis, this body of work has examined many examples, and uncovered several factors active in the borrowing process. This thesis is therefore significant for Chinese and other scholars interested in the principles guiding Chinese lexical borrowing. In sum this work has offered an original and novel analysis that has the potential of being a benchmark for future analyses addressing the issues raised in the study of Chinese lexical borrowing.
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## Appendix

Table 3. A The direct transplantation of foreign abbreviations or words in Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign Abbreviation or Word</th>
<th>Chinese Pronunciation</th>
<th>English Full Form or Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>Bi bi sei</td>
<td>British Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartoon</td>
<td>Ka tong</td>
<td>A cartoon film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALL</td>
<td>Kao/kou</td>
<td>Asking an answer through a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>trunkline operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.C.</td>
<td>Xi xi/sei sei</td>
<td>A transliteration; old name for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>millilitre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>Sei di</td>
<td>Compact disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIZEN</td>
<td>Xi tie cheng</td>
<td>A name of watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITROEN</td>
<td>Xue tie long</td>
<td>A name of French Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cool</td>
<td>Ku</td>
<td>A figure of a man with ease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and natural poise, handsome,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>deep, haughty and manliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Sei ti/xi ti</td>
<td>Computerized tomography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disco</td>
<td>Di si ke</td>
<td>A place where can do disco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNA</td>
<td>Di en ei</td>
<td>Deoxyribonucleic acid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOS</td>
<td>Dao si</td>
<td>Disk Operating System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVD</td>
<td>Di wei di</td>
<td>Digital Versatile Disk (Digital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Video Disk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>Ji ei ti ti</td>
<td>General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Ji di pi</td>
<td>Gross domestic product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRE</td>
<td>Ji a'er yi</td>
<td>Graduate record examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-Fi</td>
<td>Hai fai</td>
<td>High fidelity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>Ai bi aim</td>
<td>International Business Machines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDD</td>
<td>Ai di di</td>
<td>International Direct Dial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IQ</td>
<td>Ai kiu</td>
<td>Intelligent Quotient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBA</td>
<td>Aim bi ei</td>
<td>Master of Business Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTV</td>
<td>Aim ti wei</td>
<td>Music TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBA</td>
<td>En bi ei</td>
<td>National Basketball Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>En yi sei</td>
<td>Nippon Electric Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHK</td>
<td>En aich kei</td>
<td>Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.B.</td>
<td>Ou bi</td>
<td>Ohne Befund (without findings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OK</td>
<td>Ou kei</td>
<td>All right, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPEC</td>
<td>Ou pei ke</td>
<td>Organization of PetroleumExporting Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panasonic</td>
<td>Pan na suo ni ke</td>
<td>A trademark of Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philips</td>
<td>Fei li pu</td>
<td>company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pizza</td>
<td>Bi sa</td>
<td>A kind of thin pancake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexy</td>
<td>Sai ke xi</td>
<td>Sex appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHARP</td>
<td>Xia pu</td>
<td>A trademark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Show</td>
<td>Xiu</td>
<td>Performance; program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SONY</td>
<td>Suo ni</td>
<td>A trademark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDK</td>
<td>Ti di kei</td>
<td>A trademark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOEFL</td>
<td>Tuo fu</td>
<td>Test of English as Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFO</td>
<td>You aif ou</td>
<td>Unidentified Flying Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCD</td>
<td>Wei sei di</td>
<td>Video Compact Disk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.C.</td>
<td>Dabliu sei /dabliu xi</td>
<td>Water closet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>Dabliu ti ou</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.O.</td>
<td>Aiks ou</td>
<td>Extra old [Designation on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>labels] brandy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ty-104</td>
<td>Tu--</td>
<td>Tu-104 (aircraft designed by</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|         |                      | A.N.Tupolev)^

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Table 5. A Semantically borrowings developed from phonetic borrowings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Semantic</th>
<th>notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>блат</td>
<td>隈拉特</td>
<td>走后门</td>
<td>Get something done through pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>богатырь</td>
<td>波加的尔</td>
<td>勇士;壮士</td>
<td>bogatyr (warrior in Russian folklore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>борц</td>
<td>博尔食汤</td>
<td>红甜菜汤</td>
<td>Borshch (beat root and cabbage soup)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>бояре</td>
<td>波雅尔</td>
<td>大臣;古代大贵族</td>
<td>Boyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Госплан</td>
<td>高士波林</td>
<td>国家计划委员会</td>
<td>Gosplan (State Planning Committee USSR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>дача</td>
<td>达恰</td>
<td>别墅</td>
<td>Dacha (country cottage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>интеллигенция</td>
<td>印贴利根追亚</td>
<td>知识分子</td>
<td>Intelligentsia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>кандидат (наук)</td>
<td>堪及达</td>
<td>副博士</td>
<td>Candidate of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>колхоз</td>
<td>科尔火支</td>
<td>集体农庄</td>
<td>Kolkhoz (collective farm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Коминтерн</td>
<td>康民团</td>
<td>共产国际</td>
<td>Comintern (Communist international)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>комиссиор</td>
<td>康密沙</td>
<td>委员;专员</td>
<td>Commissar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>комсомол</td>
<td>康沙模尔</td>
<td>共青团员</td>
<td>Komsomol (member of Young communist league)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>phonetic</td>
<td>Description form</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Аршин</td>
<td>阿尔申(a er shen)</td>
<td>俄尺(Russian chi [a traditional unit of length, equivalent to 0.333 meter])</td>
<td>Arshin (old Russian unit of length, equivalent to 71 cm).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Вертма</td>
<td>维尔斯特 (wei er si te)</td>
<td>俄里 (Russian li [a traditional unit of length, equivalent to 0.5 kilometres])</td>
<td>Verst (old Russian measurement, equivalent to approximately 1.06 Kilometres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>вершок</td>
<td>维尔勺克 (wei er shao ke)</td>
<td>俄寸 (Russian cun [a traditional unit of length, equal to 0.1 chi, and equivalent to 3.333 cm.])</td>
<td>Vershok (old Russian measure of length, equivalent to 4.4cm.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Пуд</td>
<td>普特 (pu te)</td>
<td>俄担 (Russian dan [a traditional unit of weight, equivalent to 50 kilometres])</td>
<td>pood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>сажень</td>
<td>沙绳 (sha sheng)</td>
<td>俄丈 (Russian zhang [a traditional unit of length, equal to 10 chi, and equivalent to 3.333 meters])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>самовар</td>
<td>沙莫瓦 (尔) (sha mo wa)</td>
<td>俄式茶炊 (tea-urn of Russian style)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Фунт</td>
<td>分特(fen te)</td>
<td>俄磅(Russian bang [pood])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Фут</td>
<td>呼多(hu duo)</td>
<td>英尺(English chi [a traditional unit of length, equivalent to 0.333 meter])</td>
<td>Foot (measure of length)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Четверк</td>
<td>赤特维里克(chi te wei li ke)</td>
<td>八分之一俄石(one eightths of Russian dan [an unit of dry measure for grain])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Чилага</td>
<td>契利亚加葡萄(qi li ya jia pu tao)</td>
<td>中亚早熟葡萄(Central Asian grape of early-maturing variety)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Шгоф</td>
<td>什托夫(shi tuo fu)</td>
<td>俄升(Russian sheng [a traditional unit of capacity, equivalent to 1 litre])</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>