One name, two parents: The marketing potential of Phono-Semantic Matching in China

Sarah Fleming
Chinese Institute
University of Oxford

Ghil'ad Zuckermann
Chair of Linguistics and Endangered Languages
The University of Adelaide, Australia

One name, two parents: The marketing potential of Phono-Semantic Matching in China

Abstract: Phono-Semantic Matching (PSM) is a camouflaged borrowing in which a foreign lexical item is matched with a phonetically and semantically similar *pre-existent* native word. The neologism resulting from such source of lexical expansion preserves both the meaning and the approximate sound of the reproduced expression in the Source Language (SL) with the help of pre-existent Target Language (TL) elements. This paper analyses the marketing potential of PSM in contemporary China, arguing that PSM provides *manipulation* of the foreign term and thus controlled *nativization* of it.

Keywords: lexical expansion, translation, Phono-Semantic Matching (PSM), Chinese.

Introduction

Phono-Semantic Matching (Zuckermann 1999: 331, 2003, 2005, 2009; henceforth PSM) is a camouflaged borrowing in which a foreign lexical item is matched with a phonetically and semantically similar *pre-existent* native word/root. The neologism resulting from such source of lexical expansion preserves both the meaning and the approximate sound of the reproduced expression in the Source Language (SL) with the help of pre-existent Target Language (TL) elements. (*Neologism* is used in its broader meaning, i.e. either an entirely new lexical item or a TL pre-existent word whose meaning has been altered, resulting in a new sense.)

Such 'lexical accommodations' (Dimmendaal 2001: 363) are inter alia common in two key language groups: (1) languages using a phono-logographic script that does not allow mere phonetic adaptation, e.g. Chinese and Japanese (the latter only to the extent that kanji are used), and (2) reclaimed (e.g. Revived Hebrew, henceforth Israeli), revolutionized (e.g. Republican Turkish) and puristically-oriented (e.g. Icelandic, Sapir and Zuckermann) languages, in which language-planners attempt to replace undesirable foreignisms or loanwords.

One of the problems facing Hebrew revivers was that of Hebrew lexical voids. The revivalists attempted to use mainly internal sources of lexical enrichment but were faced with a paucity of roots. They changed the meanings of obsolete Hebrew terms to fit the modern world. This infusion often entailed PSM. Israeli has approximately 300 PSMs (see Zuckermann 2003, 2008) because such multiple causation neologization (1) conceals foreign influence from the native speakers, ensuring lexicographic acceptability of the coinage (for the native speaker in the future), (2) recycles obsolete autochthonous roots and words (a delight for purists) and (3) aids initial learning among contemporary learners and speakers. Other motivations include (4) playfulness (cf. *pilpul* and midrashic tradition of homiletic commentary), (5) Apollonianism (the wish to create order/meaningfulness, cf. etymythology, or folk etymology), (6) iconicity (the belief that there is something intrinsic about the sound of names), (7) political correctness / rejective lexical engineering, and (8) attracting customers (in the case of brand names) (Zuckermann 2006).

Traditional classifications of borrowing such as Haugen (1950) ignore PSM and categorize borrowing into either substitution or importation. However, PSM is a distinct phenomenon, which operates through simultaneous substitution and importation. Yet, PSM ought not to be confused with calquing as the latter lacks the phonetic matching component. Recognizing PSM carries significant implications of hybridity and multiple causation not only for lexicology and comparative historical linguistics, but also for sociolinguistics, cultural studies and revivalistics (Revival Linguistics and Revivalomics).

PSM in China

In the early 1930s, when the drink was first introduced to the Chinese market, Coca Cola launched a competition to come up with a Chinese brand name. The winner, a Chinese man called Chiang Yee living in London at the time, won the £20 prize for his suggestion 可口可乐 (kěkǒukělè) which means 'tasty and delicious'. The name is a prime example of PSM: it both approximates the phonetics and manages to maintain the syllabic balance of the original while also creating a name that is 好听 (hǎotīng) – 'good to hear', with a meaning which makes it attractive to the Chinese consumer.

可口可乐 (kěkǒukělè) is just one of hundreds of brand names which have been translated into Chinese by means of PSM. Although brand names represent the word category in which it is most productive and current, PSMs range in subject from technological terms such as the early 拖拉机 (tuōlājī) meaning 'pull, drag machine' for 'tractor' to more general terms in fashion and medicine. 休克 (xiūkè) – 'shock', means 'inactive' and 'overcome' while 维他命 (wéitāmíng) – 'vitamin' means 'preserve his life'. 迷你 (mǐnǐ) meaning 'fascinate you', is used as a prefix to 裙 (qún) – 'skirt', and now generally to mean 'mini' as in 迷你电视 (mǐnǐdiànshì) – 'mini TV' etc.

PSM is a means of translation into Chinese which has been employed since the first major influx of English words at the beginning of the previous century and before. Many of the first examples of the use of PSM were probably foreign country and place names in Chinese. Although some countries' names are merely transcriptions using characters from a rudimentary 'syllabery' or whose meanings are disregarded, such as 巴基斯坦 (bājīsītǎn) – Pakistan, others have been given characters which both sound similar to the original and

also have appropriate meanings. The meanings are often complimentary, perhaps originally a political gesture, such as the 'heroic' 英国 (yīngguǒ) or the 'beautiful' 美国 (měiguǒ). Our favourite is 雅典 (yǎdiǎn) for Athens which both sounds very similar to the original and uses a Classical Chinese character connoting 'classicism'. Personal names are also invested with intentionally flattering meanings; the Chinese have always named their children by choosing characters suggesting particular qualities or spelling out the parents' aspirations. So Chinese are called things like 丽 (lì) – 'pretty' and 伟 (wěi) – 'great'. When foreigners choose Chinese names, they often choose PSMs – characters which sound similar to their English names and also have appropriate or complimentary meanings. The notion of好听 (hǎotīng), referred to throughout the paper, means that the word 'sounds good' to the Chinese ear. It is an unqualifiable concept judged by a native speaker based on the interrelation of various linguistic factors such as flow, balance of syllables and pronounceability, whilst also taking into account how well the characters work together semantically. The importance of *hǎotīng* when considering names and other words highlights the connection between phonetics and semantics in the mind of a Chinese speaker.

As a consequence of the way it evolved, the phono-semantic relationship is an inherent part of the Chinese script. Chinese is the prime example of a language using a morpho-syllabic writing system, one of the categories of language in which PSM has been identified as a constructive means of translation (see above, and Zuckermann 2003 and 2004). Chinese writing did not evolve to become a syllabary; instead, from ideographs, it expanded using the rebus technique and evolved further creating new characters by combining phonetic and semantic elements. Each character of the morpho-syllabic script stands for a morpheme – a minimum unit of meaning; it also stands for a syllable – an individual unit of sound (De Francis 1984: 147). Another category of language in which PSM has been recognised as a productive means of translation is re-invented languages such as 'Israeli' (Zuckermann 2003 and 2004, i.e. Revived Hebrew), which make use of historical language components as part of language-planning policy in order to nativize loanwords. Translation by PSM with the motive of nativization is also relevant in the case of Chinese, although as yet there are no specific policies.

Also as a result of the way it evolved, but pertaining to the spoken language, Chinese has a huge number of characters and yet poor phonetic variance. This has given rise to a superstitious tradition based on homophonous wordplay which is a manipulation of the inherent phono-semantic relationship again demonstrating its significance in Chinese culture. China is a country where there are no floor fourteens – to take the elevator there, you would be saying that you 'want to die', as 幺四（yāo sì) meaning 'one-four', sounds similar to要死（yaò sì). This fascination with homophony has meant that complex word games can be employed to coin PSM translations. An early example is the translation of the Viagra brand as 伟哥 (wěigē) which means 'great big brother' and is a play on the Chinese euphemism 小弟弟 (xiǎodìdi) – 'little brother', for the male organ[1]. Another area of the creative sphere in which homophonous wordplay is particularly productive is literary translation. Fictional proper names and fictional constructs in JK Rowling's *Harry Potter*, often the

---

[1]   The word Viagra was itself a PSM from the Sanskrit word for tiger, but was also enhanced by the English 'Niagara' and 'vigour'.

result of punning in English or Latin, are frequently translated using PSM. In the Taiwanese translation, the name of wiry old female teacher Professor Sybil Trelawney is translated 崔老妮 (cuīlǎonī). The character 崔 is a surname in Chinese, but also has the meaning 'hasten, urge', while the characters 老 and 妮 together mean 'old spinster'. This makes a pun on her name with a derogatory term often used by students in Taiwan to refer to a teacher they dislike.

An interest in the relationship between phonetics and semantics in translation is not a recent phenomenon. The *Hobson-Jobson Dictionary*, compiled by Henry Yule and Arthur C. Burnell in the second half of the nineteenth century, details the etymology of Anglo-Indian words in order to understand how these became 'nativized' by English colonizers. For example, the word 'typhoon' is assumed to have come to English from the Chinese 'tài fēng', meaning 'great wind' (which was originally a match of the Egyptian 'typhon')[2]. Language contact has, throughout history led to changes in languages as foreign words are nativized; the phono-semantic relationship has always had an important part to play in this etymological process.

In a world undergoing rapid globalization, driven by the pluralization of media of communication, particularly the Internet, cultures and languages increasingly influence each other. Chinese is being encroached upon by English, which is showing a dominating trend on the global sphere, and from the worldwide proliferation of 'Globish'. In an age when people are writing less and typing more, already Globish is entering certain written registers. Chinese *Marie Claire* simply prints the names of models and designers. Bloggers hoping to avoid censorship use the letters 'ZF' to stand for 政府 (zhèng fǔ) – 'government'. There are, however, other methods which make use of Chinese' inherent phono-semantics. Perhaps the most frequently cited homonym is the 'river crab' – 河蟹 (héxiè) used to replace the censored word 'harmonious' – 和谐 (héxié). Arguably the proliferation of Globish is nowhere more apparent in China than in the growing creative industries, particularly in brand names. Although international corporations entering the Chinese market generally create a Chinese name written in characters, many also use their global brand or icon and certain new products such as the *Apple* '*iPod*' or '*iPad*' do not have Chinese equivalents. Some companies, such as *Coca Cola*, have invested in understanding Chinese linguistics and seen the potential of PSM when translating their brand names into Chinese. Many have not.

More generally, PSM could be a means of counteracting the rise of Globish in China and of slowing the widening disparity between the spoken and written language. In the *Oxford Chinese Dictionary*, the index of the Chinese side is in pinyin and does not contain any entries written using the alphabet in its main section[3]. In a French bilingual dictionary 'hot dog' or 'weekend' would be found on both sides; at least for now, the wholesale adoption of English terms into the Chinese lexis is not supported by the writing system. PSM is about capitalizing on the innate phono-semantic capabilities of the Chinese language in order to translate foreign loanwords; in accommodating the foreign aspect while

---

[2]   An alternative origin of 'typhoon' is that English traders heard the Portuguese 'tufão' (originally from Arabic) and approximated it with the English 'tough 'un'.

[3]   Lettered words (mainly acronyms) are included in an appendix.

simultaneously nativizing it, PSM contributes to the organic growth of Chinese, which is what makes PSM an extremely relevant and exciting topic.

PSM on the Translation Spectrum

PSM is generally overlooked by Chinese linguistics scholars as a separate category of translation amidst 'foreign loanword translation' and there is no consensus on the relative importance of the phonetic and semantic elements in translated words, or clarity about whether or not connotations are intentional or retrospectively drawn. Tang proposes that the tendency of Chinese translated words is to rely on meaning and not on sound, even going as far as to claim that 'phono-semanticism is an aim which can be hoped for but not attained' (汤廷池 Tang 1989: 6). Yao (Yao 1992) argues that the morphology of words using半音译半意译 (bàn yīnyì bàn yìyì) – 'half phonetic translation, half semantic translation' is completely phonetic, but that meaning can subsequently be derived from the component characters. For example: 安琪儿 （ān qí'ér) – *angel (safe, little jade, child)*.

According to Yao on the theory of language, meaning and sound have no necessary connection and that this is a subjective ideal, a semantic understanding retrospectively applied to an originally phonetic loan – '音中有意' (yīn zhōng yǒuyì). Yao does however admit that transcriptions which carry an implication of meaning are complicit with the mental requirements of language users.

The disagreement between native scholars indicates that the phono-semantic relationship, although fundamental to PSMs, normally exists at the level of the subconscious. Does a successful PSM rely on the Chinese speaker engaging with the phono-semantics of their language? This is a question which is addressed forthwith when considering the marketing potential of PSM. In our attempt to systematize translation methods, with a view to giving PSM its proper place amongst them, we have devised a scale of translation that shows the range of the phono-semantic relationship in translation.
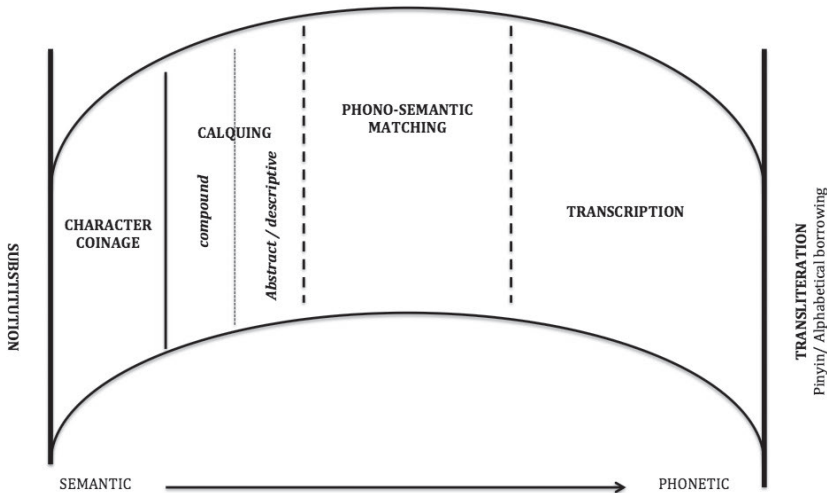

Figure 1. Translation Spectrum

Substitution

The most basic way to translate a foreign word into MSC is by substituting the pre-existing word or words with the same semantic value, for example 'dog' is translated as 狗 (gǒu). The concept is not originally foreign and so the word is not a 'loanword'.

Character creation

If no concept of the word to be translated already exists, the next logical step in translation is to create an entirely new character, i.e. a new 'semantic domain' (Wright 2000: 188). This method mimics the natural evolution of the Chinese language, using the rule component + radical, i.e. one phonetic and one semantic element. As the semantic radical is only capable of giving a vague indication of meaning, there is a problem of uptake and transmission of newly created words. Productivity is also limited in general terms due to the fact that it only arises in monosyllabic words so homophones therefore confuse the matter. For this reason, character creation has for the large part been restricted to specialist terms such as botany and scientific elements. E.g.

(1) 碘 (diǎn) – 'iodine'
(2) 茉莉 (mòlì) – 'jasmine' (from the Sanskrit 'malli')

Etymological calque/ loan translation

As character creation is relatively unproductive, the next step in translation is *calquing*. A calque is a word formed by word-for-word or morpheme-for-morpheme translation of a word in another language. Examples of etymological calques in Chinese, where the individual morphemes occupy exactly the same semantic space as in English are:

(1) 热狗 (règǒu) – 'hot dog'
(2) 摩天楼 (mótiānlóu) literally ('scrape; sky; building') – 'skyscraper'

This method is evidently limited in Chinese to the translation of English compound words into bi-morphemic or poly-morphemic Chinese words (otherwise it is *substitution*).

Abstract/ descriptive calques

More common in Chinese, where a word-for-word or morpheme-for-morpheme translation is not possible due to a lack of exact equivalents, is creating an abstract or descriptive calque by combining two or more morphemes which together convey the meaning of the English word. For example:

激光 (jīguāng) – 'laser' ('excited/ aroused, ray of light')

Phono-semantic matching

PSM means appropriating characters with similar phonetic values to the syllables of the source language, which also have suitable meanings. PSM occupies the space on our scale of translation between abstract calquing and transcription, and the placement of each individual PSM on the phono-semantic scale depends on the relative strengths of the phonetic

and semantic elements. The term *phono-semantic matching* was coined by Zuckermann (e.g. 2003: 290, see above). Zuckermann identifies two categories of language in which PSM is particularly prevalent as a means of adopting words from a foreign language. One is in re-invented languages such as Israeli, or Modern Hebrew, through which he studies the political aspect of motivational language creation. The other is in languages with a 'phono-logographic script', of which he uses Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) as an example. In his two studies of PSM in MSC (Zuckermann 2003 and 2004), Zuckermann argues that in PSM, the phonetic fidelity to the original is often compromised for a better meaning on the basis of which could be argued that PSMs are a type of abstract calque, for example:

声纳 *(shēngnà)* – 'sonar' ('sound, receive')

However Chinese scholars tend to consider them to be transcriptions which evoke connotations.

Transcription

Where phonetic borrowing between alphabetic languages is called *transliteration*, when phonetically translating foreign words into Chinese in order that a literate Chinese speaker is able to read them, the method of *transcription*[4] is used. The first time that a significant number of foreign loanwords entered the Chinese language was with the Buddhist canon in the Han dynasty (206 BC to 220 AD). Translators made use of obscure characters, or those whose meanings had become obsolete, to represent the phonetic value of the syllables in the Buddhist terms; these characters formed a 'rudimentary system' (Zürcher 2007). For example, the 薩 (sà) (translation of the syllable 'sa' in 'Bodhisattva') lost its original meaning and is now used alone as an abbreviation of the full term. Some of these characters are still used in a simple syllabery today, like a basic form of the Japanese katakana. E.g.

(1) 尔 *(ěr)*
(2) 奥 *(aǒ)*
(3) 巴 *(bā)*

Transliteration

In phonetic translation between languages using the same alphabet, it is easy to apply the spelling rules of the target language to the pronunciation of the word to be translated from the source language (with a few discrepancies, for example the marking of accents etc.). Foreign words can be adopted wholesale into Chinese using the Roman alphabet, or the pinyin system can be used, for example place names such as *Dongzhimen*.

Brand names

New words, particularly technological terms, are increasingly entering Chinese from a global backdrop, where the users are not only aware of the original English word but are also subject to the marketing initiatives of international corporations and are sharing a common 'global culture' through new mediums of communication such as

---

4   In Chinese the term is 音译 (yīnyì) – 'phonetic translation'.

chat rooms. Everyday dictionary entries such as 博客 (bókè) – 'blog', result from the internationalization of language, and even the use of PSM in translating place names such as 优山美地 (yōushānměidì) – *Yosemite* (National Park in California), meaning 'excellent, mountain, beautiful, land' could have been driven by marketing. Many international corporations have followed in the footsteps of *Coca Cola* and used PSM as a marketing tool to translate their brand names.

It is arguable that brand names are likely to be one of the more stable forms of translated words, along with other proper names, in particular famous names coined when the person is still alive[5]. This is because there is strong motivation to coin a successful name which adds value to the brand. Translation is, in this case, normally a one-off process, rather than an ongoing evolution during which multiple variations may co-exist or supersede each other before being made redundant by lack of use or official rejection. This is proved by phonetic translations such as 帝亚吉欧 (dìyàjí'oū) – *Diageo* (literally: 'ruler, second, auspicious, Europe'), which since they were originally coined, with little consultation and certainly no imagination, have endured because the name is fixed in consumers' associations[6]. However, it is not the case that brands will not consider changing a brand-name translation which is not doing the brand any favours. *Canon*, for example, changed its name from the transcription 卡侬 (kǎnǒng) (literally: 'card, I/me'), to the PSM 佳能 (jiānéng), meaning 'fine, ability' and saw a related increase in profits. Similarly, *Polaroid* changed its name from 宝丽来 (Bǎolìlái) (literally: 'precious, pretty, to come') to 拍立得 (pāilìde), meaning 'to take (a picture), instantly, obtain' (Fan 2002: 13).

We expected there to be some authority within the Chinese government which issues guidelines on how international companies should translate their names into Chinese, perhaps even officially requiring them to do so, as part of the overall policy regarding their entrance into the Chinese market. On the contrary, we are unable to find any government regulations regarding the translation of brand names into Chinese. Rather there is a tendency for multinationals to shun published standardizations regarding translation. This is most common in the translation of proper nouns, for which the Xinhua standard translation is often purely phonetic and so does not add value to the brand by giving it good connotations. Examples of these are *KFC*, which has translated its name by partial-PSM as 肯德基 (kěndéjī), meaning 'can be relied on, virtue, base', rather than the standard translation of *Kentucky* – 肯塔基 (kěndéjī) (literally: 'can be relied upon, pagoda, base')[7]; *Johnson & Johnson*, which is 强生 (qiǎngshēng), meaning 'strong, birth' and not 约翰逊 (yuēhànxùn) (literally: 'to arrange, writing brush, modest'), and *Phillips*, which is 飞利普 (fēilìpǔ), meaning 'fly, profit, general', rather than 菲利普 (fēilìpǔ) (literally: 'humble, benefit, common').

---

[5]   As opposed to the personal names of people who are already dead, e.g. the translation for *Napoleon* which in the past did not have a standard transliteration. This caused confusion when scholars sitting for the Imperial Examinations translated each of the characters of the transcription 拿破仑 (nápòlún) literally and wrote about 'taking a cart with a broken wheel'.

[6]   We wonder why they did not take advantage of the character 酒 (jiǔ) – 'alcohol'.

[7]   We do wonder why they did not choose the character 鸡 (jī) for 'chicken'. Furthermore, when pronounced in Cantonese, the 基 sounds like the word for 'gay' whereas 鸡 sounds like the word for 'guy'.

Although marketing is a relatively new business in China, it has long been recognized that when targeting a product to a new market, companies must be sensitive to the culture of that new market. Li and Shooshtari (Li and Shooshtari 2007) explore this in the case of two disastrous advertising campaigns by *Nike* and *Toyota* which offended their Chinese audience. They also observe that 'without a proper mastery of the implications that shimmer throughout the Chinese script, an advertiser can easily stumble' (Li and Shooshtari 2007: 8). Several examples illustrate the importance of cultural sensitivity when Western companies enter Asian markets, even to the extent that names can be differently received in Mainland China and Taiwan. *Lux* is a well-established brand in China and Taiwan but has a different name on either side of the Strait. At first it seemed that the name given it in the PRC, 力士 (lìshì) and the image it evokes of a 'strong man', was contradictory to the image of a beautiful woman on the *Lux* packaging. *Lux*, however, took a gamble with the first Hollywood-style TV advert to be aired in China in the early 1980s, which was considered very risqué at the time. The advert showed a western woman saying 'I only use strong man', which appealed to the Communist doctrine emphasizing strength and vigour. The Taiwanese translation 丽士 (lìshì), on the other hand, meaning 'beauty', would have been at odds with the Communist dislike of 'decadent bourgeois aesthetics' (Fan 2002: 11). Similarly, while *Johnson & Johnson's* translated name 强生 (qiǎngshēng), meaning 'strong birth', appeals to mainland parents' desires for their only child to grow up strong, in Taiwan, the name 娇生 (jiāoshēng), means 'delicate birth' with connotations of 'pampered' and 'spoilt'. When entering the Chinese market, international companies must understand the cultural implications of their translated brand names character by character.

It is common for companies to choose auspicious characters to approximate the phonetics of the original name. Evidently, in the majority of cases and particularly proper names, the original name has no inherent meaning and so brands often gain meaning by translating their names into Chinese, in accordance with Chinese naming traditions. Characters often used are 美 – 'beautiful', 利 – 'benefit' and 佳 – 'fine/ quality'. We would argue against Li and Shooshtari (Li and Shoostari 2003) who claim that a character's written form is most important, and suggest that the lucky nature of the semantic element is as linked to the character's phonetic value. Even though auspicious characters like 福 (fù) – 'fortune' – are valued for their visual aesthetics and are often used in calligraphy, they also form part of superstitious traditions based on homophones: the character 福 is always pasted upside down at New Year because the character 福 reversed (福倒) sounds like 福到, meaning 'fortune has arrived'.

Another trend is the popularity of animal-related characters for brands, particularly cars, which want their names to have a sense of power. Animals such as the horse and tiger are traditionally revered by the Chinese and are often prefixed with the character 老 (lǎo) – 'old' (as in 'respected'). A few examples of this are 奔驰 (bēnchí) – (*Mercedes*) *Benz*, (run quickly, gallop), in which the radical for 'horse' is important in 'gallop'; 宝马 (bǎomǎ) – *BMW* (precious, horse) and 雪铁龙 (xuětiělóng) – *Citröen* (snow, iron, dragon).

A brand name which makes use of auspicious characters is therefore assumed to be a good one. However, there can also be confusion which can arise when the PSM is 'too good', another example is 奔驰 – *'Benz'* literally meaning 'speed'. Because of the poor phonetic variance in Chinese, there are a limited number of lucky characters available to

represent the syllables of foreign brand names. This can cause confusion when names are too similar, for example 吉百利 (jíbáilì) – (lucky, hundred, profit) and 金百利 (jīnbáilì) – (gold, hundred, profit) – *Cadbury* and *Kimberley-Clark*; 家乐氏 (jiālèshì) – (home, happiness, family) and 家乐福 (jiālèfù) – (home, happiness, fortune) – *Kellogg's* and *Carrefour* or 美乐 (měilè) – (beauty, happiness) and 多美了 (duōměile) – (many, beauty) – *Miller Beer* and *Dominos Pizza* (Fan 2002).

As with country names, international companies sometimes make mistakes when translating their brand name, through inadequate understanding of Chinese culture and language. Some examples are simply that the characters have negative connotations when put together, for example 必胜客 (bìshèngkè) – *Pizza Hut* (must, win over, customers), makes the company sound desperate; *Standard Chartered* uses the unfortunate characters 渣打 (zhādǎ) – 'waste/slag; to hit' to approximate *Chartered*. However, others require an understanding of Chinese culture as well as language, for example 康柏 (kàngbái) – *Compaq*, means 'healthy' and 'cypress'; whereas *Compaq* represents new technology, in Chinese tradition the cypress tree has connotations of being 'old' and 'weak'. Similarly, while car brands tend to choose 'powerful' characters, *Peugeot* is translated 标到 (biǎodào) meaning 'beautiful' so is considered too effeminate by many Chinese (Fan 2002).

International corporations have a number of options in choosing their Chinese names. While marketing companies exist which specialize in advising companies how best to tailor their brand's image to the Chinese market and who will suggest brand-name translations, smaller companies may simply opt to consult their Chinese employees.

One such specialist brand-name translation company, *Nanjing Marketing Group (NMG)*, provides clients with four to five potential names. The top name always has meaning but only sometimes phonetically matches the original (very well in 30% of cases, somewhat in 50% and not at all in 20%). The company usually also provides clients with one name which sounds very close to the original, even if they are unable to imbue it with meaning. However, clients do not always choose the name preferred by *NMG*, sometimes referring to their Cantonese-speaking staff in Hong Kong for advice, and sometimes choosing names according to completely different criteria than those provided to *NMG* – this is especially true for companies with large and complex bureaucracies. With regards to regulation, when suggesting names, *NMG* must check that the name is not already in use or registered, but beyond that, there are no regulations regarding what is suitable. We ascertain that *NMG's* start with semantics, not necessarily the first consideration of their clients. The CEO is a linguist and perhaps more acutely aware of the phono-semantic relationship than his clients: We believe the latter are overlooking a potentially profit-enhancing marketing tool.

It is logical that translating an international brand name into Chinese characters allows the brand to reach further into the Chinese market. We had assumed that companies which use PSM as a translation method would have the dual advantages of preserving their status as an international company through phonetic fidelity to the original name, while appealing to the local market by creating Chinese flavour with the semantic element. It is not, however, always as clear-cut. The strategy of *Unilever*, despite being a multinational corporation, is to enter local markets making itself location specific. Although *Unilever* has used partial PSM to translate its name into Chinese, 联合利华 (liánhélìhuā) – 'United

Benefit China', has a very Chinese flavour to it, so most Chinese consumers do not think about its global background. 联合利华 (liánhélìhuā) is a good example of a PSM because it is considered 好听 (hǎotīng): not only does it mimic a *four-character expression* but the initials of the first two syllables are also balanced with those of the second two syllables and the tones flow well.[8]

It is not every multinational corporation's strategy to increase penetration into the Chinese market. Some luxury brands, for example *Van Cleef & Arpels*, the first French jewellery boutique to open in China, do not translate their name into Chinese in order to preserve an image of exclusivity, while others use transcription to maintain the foreign sounds of the name without adding any Chinese semantic flavour. However, for multinationals wishing to strike a balance between international and local appeal, PSM is the obvious marketing tool.

Consumer psycholinguistics

A number of studies have been carried out recently on brand-name translation. The majority, such as Fan (Fan 2002) and Yan (Yan 2007) aim to throw light on how socio-linguistics is important in the relatively new fields of marketing and advertising in China, by drawing on a sample from the *World's Most Valuable Brands 2000* and the *World's Top 100 Brands*. None have focused exclusively on the use of PSM within the scope of brand name translation from English into Chinese.

The main problem in previous studies using brand names which have already been translated from English into Chinese is the categories used to determine the translation method. Many of the names which Fan considers to be 'freely translated' (Fan 2002) could in fact have been chosen for their approximation of the original name's sound, for example 标致 (biāozhì) – *Peugeot* (beautiful) while names which he says have not considered the semantic element could in fact be construed to have intended meanings, for example 福特（fùtè) – *Ford* (fortune, special).

Zhang, Schmitt, Haley and Hillary (Zhang et al. 2003) advance the theory that differences between phonological and logographic writing systems will affect consumers' acceptance of a translated brand name, depending on how it shows the phonological and semantic characteristics of the original name. This theory is based on the assumption of the 'Whorfian Hypothesis' (Carroll 1997 [Whorf 1956]) that language can affect cognition, which leads to the suggestion that language can affect 'consumer categorization'. Zhang et al. undertake comparative research in which they aim to discern whether the differences between phonological and logographic writing systems account for the success of one method of translation over another. They found, contrary to expectation, that Chinese speakers did not simply prefer PSM to other methods of translation. Instead, their choice of translation method was dependent on 'immediate, environment-based linguistic cues, and long-term, memory-based cues' (Zhang et al. 2003: 15). Examples of these are whether the

---

8   It must be noted that in this case, the semantic element very probably took priority in the use of the word 联合 (liánhé) which is a pre-existent word for 'United' and some compromise was allowed in the phonetic element. Therefore this could also be considered a mixture of a calque and a PSM.

original or the translated name was emphasized, and if the new brand name was translated using the same method of translation as another similar brand which had been successful before it. For example, *Pepsi's* choice of the name 百事可乐 (báishìkělè) – 'one hundred, things, enjoyable' alludes to *Coca Cola* – 可口可乐 (kěkǒukèlè).

The underlying assumption of both Zhang et al. and Fan, is that Chinese native speakers, as a result of their '*logographic*⁹ writing system' (Zhang et al. 2003: 10), 'tend to encode verbal information in a "visual mental code", and judge a brand name based on its visual appeal; whereas English native speakers rely primarily on a "phonological code", and judge a brand name based on whether the name sounds appealing' (Fan 2002: 4). However a fallacy behind some scholars' research is the assumption that, as a *logographic* script, 'Chinese writing is not based on a correspondence with linguistic sounds, but is rooted in the picturing of words and concepts' (Li and Shooshtari 2007: 8). This leads to such suggestions as that the frequent use of the character 安 (ān) – 'safe' in translating brand names is due to its 'capability of provoking vivid mental images of the objects represented by the linguistic symbol' (Li and Shooshtari 2003: 5) – in this case a woman under a roof signifies 'safety'. This is something with which scholars of Chinese linguistics such as De Francis would certainly take issue: Chinese is not a *logographic* script, it is a *morpho-syllabic* script, where the characters have both phonological and semantic elements. We doubt whether a Chinese consumer, although they might draw good connotations of 'safety' from the character 安 (ān) used in a brand-name translation, would think about the pictographic origins of the character. We wonder whether these scholars, in the name of socio-linguistics, have a motivation in advancing the 'ideographic myth' (De Francis 1989) in order to draw conclusions about how language affects consumer behaviour?

We propose that with a focus on Chinese, based on the understanding that it uses a *morpho-syllabic* script, Chinese consumers' acceptance of PSM as a means of brand name translation can instead shed some light on the psychological reality of a phono-semantic interface and whether Chinese speakers are consciously aware of this.

Previous research on 'consumer categorization' (Carroll 1997), focused on well-known brand names, has meant that results are affected by pre-existing consumer bias. Creating our own fictional translations of brand names meant both that consumers have no preconceptions regarding the different Chinese translations and that we are aware of their intended phono-semantic qualities. These are illustrated in Table 1.

The English brand names represent different points on the semantic-phonetic spectrum in four categories: (1) names which have literal meanings relevant to the brand or product, e.g. Top Shop; (2) names that have irrelevant connotations, e.g. Rubicon; (3) proper names, e.g. Morrisons; and (4) onomatopoeic names which also have meanings, e.g. Coco Pops. There are three alternative translations for each brand name in Chinese, using different translation methods: transcription, calquing and PSM. The transcriptions use characters most frequently used to translate foreign words phonetically. For the calques, we chose characters which we think best represent the idea or qualities of the product. For the PSMs we considered various characters whose sound approximates the English syllables and choose ones with meanings most relevant to the brand or product.

---

⁹ (Our italics)

Table 1

ENGLISH	TRANSCRIPTION	CALQUE	PSM
Topshop	托普秀 (tuōpǔxiù) – to pull; common; elegant	顶尚行 (dǐngshàngháng) – the top; still; business	特秀铺 (tèxiùpū) – special; elegant; shop
Bravissimo	波拉福斯莫 (bōlāfúsīmò) – wave; to pull; fortune; this; nothing	妙极了 (miàojíle) – wonderful; extremely	博美思慕 (bóměisīmù) – to gain; beautiful; think of with respect
Total	托特尔 (tuōtè'ěr) – to pull; special; (phonetic)	完全希腊酸奶 (wánquánxīlàsuānnǎi) – completely; Greek; yoghurt	透特利 (tòutèlì) – totally; special; benefit
Boots	布茨 (bùcí) – cloth; thatch	靴子 (xuēzi) – boots (footwear)	补特色 (bǔtèsè) – mend/ nourish; special characteristic
Rubicon	卢比孔 (lúbǐkǒng) – surname; to compare; hole (together = transliteration for ‚Rubicon')	奇异果汁 (qíyìguǒzhī) – strange; fruit juice	露碧空 (lùbìkōng) – dew/ juice; bluish green; sky
Fat Face	发特非斯 (fàtèfēisì) – to send; special; not; this	肥脸 (féiliǎn) – fat; face	筏飞衣 (fáfēiyī) – raft; to fly; clothes
Morrisons	英国北部零售 (yīngguǒbēibùllíngshòu) – North of England retail	莫里桑 (mòlǐsāng) – nothing; inside; mulberry tree	梦利盛 (mènglìshèng) – to dream; benefit; to flourish
Harrods	哈罗德 (hāluódē) – (official transliteration of 'Harrod')	英国初立百货商店 (yīngguǒchūlìbǎihuòshāngdiàn) – England first-established department store	豪偌大 (háoruòdà) – luxury; so big
Tyrrells	蒂雷尔 (dìléi'ěr) – base; lightning; (phonetic)	手工薯片 (shǒugōngshǔpiàn) – handmade crisps	土惹乐 (tǔrělè) – earth; stir up; happiness
Snappy Snaps	斯那普 (sìnàpǔ) – this; that; common	快的拍 (kuàidepai) – quickly; take photo	速拍速拿 (sùpāisùná) – speed; take photo; speed; to take away
Coco Pops	可可泼斯 (kěkěpōsì) – can; can; wave; this	科科爆 (kēkēbào) – cocoa (phonetic); explode	可口爆破 (kěkǒubaòpò) – tasty; pop

The results of our survey were not conclusive that PSM is the preferred translation method as we had expected. Nevertheless, a retrospective analysis of our translations alongside comments provided by native speakers elucidates the reasons behind their choices and provides insight into how they engaged with phono-semantics in order to judge whether or not a translation is 好听 (hǎotīng).

First, the phonetic translations were in general more popular. The results do provide evidence against the assumption that Chinese consumers, because of their supposed 'logographic' writing system, will tend to judge a brand name based on its visual appeal, and that the phonetic element is of little or no importance. The results corroborate the general trend whereby the initial emphasis is on the phonetic rather than the semantic element[10]. Taking *Coco Pops* for example, it seems that no matter which translation method was chosen, the phonetic element is important, as is also the case with the onomatopoeic appeal of the English word 'pop'; this is the marketing strategy followed by brand-owner *Kellogg's*. The translation 科科爆 (kēkēbào) – 'cocoa, explode' was originally meant to be semantic, however 科科 (kēkē), which here is a literal translation of 'cocoa', was in fact originally a transcription, and so 科科爆 (kēkēbào) is therefore a PSM. One respondent suggested the alternative PSM: 颗颗爆 (kēkēbào) – 'kernal, kernel, explode' showing engagement with the phono-semantic relationship.

In the case of *Morrison's*, we conclude that the phonetic element was again primary, perhaps because the brand is a proper name. However, in corroboration with previous research, our use of oft-used auspicious characters was appreciated. The majority of consumers recognized the positive connotations of the PSM 梦利盛 (mènglìshèng) – 'dream, benefit, flourishing'. It is common in China for multinational chain stores such as supermarkets to translate their names using popular characters with connotations of success and prosperity, for example 家乐福 (jiālèfú) – *Carrefour* (home, happiness, prosperity). We were advised by our native Chinese speaker controls not to use the character 摸, (mō) in the combination 摸利盛 (mō lìshèng) which means 'to pilfer, profit, win over', and so has negative connotations of greed and gaining advantage over customers. For this reason the PSM compromises on the phonetic element.

Second, we think the results demonstrate that a brand name which successfully uses PSM as its translation method, such as 博美思慕 (bóměisīmù) – *Bravissimo* (to gain, beautiful, think of with respect), will be preferred by Chinese speakers. This was overwhelmingly popular with both groups; comments prove that we have created a brand which is both 好听 (hǎotīng) and has connotations which are appropriate and flattering to the brand. Many consumers consider the name in relation to the product and its target consumer – the larger woman. This is in keeping with the pun in the original brand name which comes from the Italian, meaning at the same time 'well done' and 'on a large scale'. In addition, linguistically, the syllables flow well together.

However, the success of the PSM relies on many factors, most important in the case of imported brand names being the phonetics, but also the 好听 (hǎotīng) – 'sounds good' factor, which was the most popular reason given for choosing a translation. Other reasons were a variant of 'easy to remember' and linguistic factors such as 'easy to say' or 'flows easily', which all contribute to whether or not it is 好听 (hǎotīng). Consumers indicated dislike for a name for reasons such as that it is 'difficult to pronounce', 'doesn't sound right' or is 'confusing'. For example, regarding *Top Shop,* the calque was most popular, the main reason being because it 'flowed best'. In retrospect, the choice of the relatively uncommon character 铺 (pū) meaning 'shop' in the PSM was not advantageous given its connotations of a small, common store or stall, which belittle the brand.

---

[10]   I.e. that transcriptions tend to be superseded by calques.

Consumers also consider whether a name is 'fashionable' etc. and the appropriateness of the characters to the value of the product, such as in the case of *Fat Face* where the majority surveyed engaged with the phono-semantics of the PSM and considered the connotations of 'outdoor pursuits' to accord with the nature of the brand. While we thought the literal translation of 'fat' and 'face' might sound ridiculous, it was also considered 'cute', indicating that brands with names which could be considered bizarre and have a meaning irrelevant to their product are no less appealing in China than in Britain.

Semantic suitability of the characters to the product also depends on the product being sold. In the case of *Total,* the transcription was most popular. It was suggested that in a food brand name, particularly in a product category with many competing brands, consumers do not pay much attention to the name and are not interested in abstract connotations. The calque was considered good in setting the brand apart by highlighting its special characteristics, but does not sound as much like a name. One response preferring the transcription nevertheless showed an engagement with phono-semantics saying that 托特尔 (tuōtè'ěr) sounds similar to the name of a place in Inner Mongolia which is famous for milk production.

In the case of *Rubicon*, we had expected the PSM to be more popular as we deliberately used the character 露 meaning 'dew/ juice' which is often used to translate the sound 'ru'. We also used the character 碧 as an allusion to雪碧（xuěbì) – *Sprite,* meaning 'snow, jade green', which is the most popular soft drink in China. We therefore expected that the PSM would be successful according to the theory that consumers will subconsciously acknowledge if the translation method is the same as that used by a similar successful product (Zhang, Schmitt et al. 2003). Consumers were undecided as to whether the fact that the calque described the nature of the product made it a good brand name or made it sound too descriptive. A few pointed out that the syllables chosen in all of the translations are homophonous with 露鼻孔 (lùbíkǒng) meaning 'dew/ juice; nostril'! This suggests that it would be advisable to compromise on phonetic fidelity to the original.

Thirdly, the consumers surveyed had been primed with the knowledge that the brands were of Western origin and in some cases, they deliberately chose a name because it gave the brand a 'Western feeling'. For example, in the case of *Harrods,* some were aware of the transcription as the official translation for this brand, which is known in China. It is deemed to 'sound British'; conversely a criticism of the PSM was that it sounds too 'native'. Another argument in favour of the phonetic translation was that it makes use of the character 德 (dé) – 'virtue'. This 'foreign flavour' may also be desirable to certain brands, as discussed previously.

Regarding the question of how Chinese think about the phono-semantics of their language, the results suggest that the most appealing brand names are those in which consumers recognise obvious deliberate wordplay and connotations; this wordplay is most often employed in PSM. In order to take advantage of PSM as a lucrative marketing tool, we think it is worth the while of international corporations to invest time and creativity into stimulating an awareness of phono-semantics in the minds of potential Chinese consumers.

The language planning potential of PSM

What we hope to have highlighted is the productivity of PSM in Chinese. This is, we believe, due to a particularly active relationship between phonetics and semantics in Chinese, and, we propose, also due to a potential heightened awareness of this relationship in Chinese speakers. The focus on brand names as a particular use of PSM is an example of how this productivity can be harnessed, in this case as a marketing tool. However, under globalization, it can be argued that the Chinese language, in particular its writing system, are under threat from the increasing use of 'Globish' and use of the Roman alphabet. Yet Chinese speakers and writers have the ability and will to be creative with their language. From the use of homonyms to replace government-censored characters on the Internet to coining PSMs to translate proper names and fictional constructs in *Harry Potter*, there is ample evidence of imaginative exploitation of the phono-semantic relationship inherent in Chinese. It is still unclear at exactly what level Chinese speakers are aware of the phono-semantic relationship and what triggers this awareness. What is clear is that awareness can motivate the use of PSM.

Self-appraisal by native-Chinese speakers testifies that the prevalence of familiar words which have originally employed PSM as a method of translation does not necessarily prove they have a heightened sensitivity to the phonosemantic relationship. With regards to general PSMs which have been sinicized as they were absorbed into the Chinese lexis, everyday Chinese speakers are no more aware of their foreign origins than English speakers tend to be of the etymology of loanwords in English (e.g. 'casserole' being originally French). As well as suggesting that English knowledge is a factor which increases the impetus to use PSM as an initial means of coinage, this observation has implications for language planning and using PSM with the motive of ultimately sinicizing foreign translated words.

Psycholinguistics: writing and speech

It has been proposed that the nature of the Chinese script affects cognition (Tavassoli 2002) but the misconception that Chinese is a *logographic* script leads to the falsehood that Chinese speakers can bypass sound to *read ideas* (Tavassoli 2002), and hence the argument made for brand names' 'capability of provoking vivid mental images of the objects represented by the linguistic symbol' (Li and Shooshtari 2003: 5)[11]. Speech is widely accepted as a precursor to writing but studying the phono-semantic relationship provokes questions of how the Chinese script informs the speech of Chinese speakers[12]. Do Chinese speakers have a greater propensity to disassociate their written and spoken languages, and are globalization and 'Englishization' leading to a widening rift between the two?[13]. We believe

---

[11]   See also De Francis (1989) for a discussion on this debate.

[12]   See Olson (1996) or Kratochvil (1968) for further discussion of this subject.

[13]   It is suggested that the relationship between Chinese writing and speech is comparatively looser than in languages with alphabetic scripts. For example, by the end of the 19th century the Classical written form 文言 (wényán) was so divorced from the spoken vernacular that the written vernacular 白话 (bái huà) was introduced. At the turn of the 19th century, language revolutionaries saw this as a prerequisite for a complete overhaul of the Chinese script, whereby they might eventually dispense with characters altogether – see Kaske (2008).

this manifests itself clearly when Chinese speakers are morpheme-aware in saying foreign words within Chinese speech. To take an anecdote involving a globally recognised brand for example, when we ordered 一中杯美式咖啡 (yī zhōng bēi měi shí kāfēi) – 'one tall Americano' in *Starbucks*, this was relayed by the barista as 'yi bei ta-er-ah-mei-li-ka-nuo'. I suppose she might have written '一杯它尔阿美利卡诺' (yī bēi tā'ěr āhměilìkānuò), because for her the phonological element of each morpheme was primary. As morphemes represent both meaning and sound, morpheme-awareness necessarily requires an engagement with the phono-semantic relationship, even if we cannot ascertain exactly how or when a conscious awareness of the semantic element is triggered.

We believe PSM is relevant at the growing edge of the Chinese language because it has the potential to bridge this apparently widening gap between speech and writing. For example, *Apple* could coin a PSM for '*iPod*' which represents its pronunciation by Chinese speakers – 'ai po de'. We suggest 爱宝德 (aìbǎodé), meaning 'love, treasure, virtue'. We propose that an interesting area of further research is how the phono-semantic relationship is triggered, and how it relates to the conception of speech and writing in a Chinese speaker's mind.

Lettered words

What do the observations above mean for the adoption of lettered words in Chinese, for example reading in a novel: '他 去了 *Starbucks*' (tā qù le *Starbucks*), rather than '他 去 了星巴克 (tā qù le *Starbucks*) – 'He went to *Starbucks*'? Some scholars suggest that the Chinese script may eventually be replaced by an alphabet, but not only is the script intrinsically related to Chinese culture, but Chinese speakers' conceptualization of language is also seen as a barrier to a purely phonetic system.[14] Lettered words are without doubt being increasingly absorbed into Chinese; the introduction says that Chinese magazines frequently use letters for the names of models and haute-couture designers, because preserving a Western feeling suggests exclusivity to Chinese consumers. Many international companies such as *Walmart*, which has a well-known translated brand – 沃尔玛 (wòěrmǎ) –, do not advertise their Chinese name on their Chinese websites; others such as *Apple* do not have a Chinese brand name or translate their product names. The new edition *Oxford Chinese Dictionary* also has a separate section for lettered words, consisting mainly of acronyms. But we believe that the potential of PSM to counteract this trend is shown by examples in branding such as *Canon's* PSM wordplay translation of its camera model *5D Mark II* – 无敌兔 (wúdítù) – 'invincible rabbit'.

Globalization/ Englishization

Kachru (2004) argues that the hegemony of English is unprecedented in the history of language spread. There is no doubt that the Chinese language is in a continual process of being affected by so-called 'Globish', through increasing penetration by global companies, new business strategies, new concepts of society and perhaps increasingly of politics, and cross-national virtual forums available to the average Chinese.

---

[14] For example, should the calque for the measurement 'gram' – 公分 (gōng fēn) – be replaced with the direct borrowing from English or the pinyin 'gōngfēn', which demands a knowledge of the characters from which the phonetics derive? See 大陆杂志 Vol. 78, No. 5: 259.

In addition to the observations above, there are yet more instances where Chinese words are replaced by acronyms or lettered words for convenience or to circumnavigate Internet censorship, for example the use of the letters ZF for 政府 (zhēngfú) – 'government' and FQ for 愤青 (fènqīng), referring to over-nationalistic 'angry youth'[15]. English-word supplementation in speech and writing is driven by the force of being 酷 (kù) – 'cool'[16], an indication that the user is educated and connected to the modern world. It is proliferated by the Internet which provides access to a virtual world free from national boundaries and simultaneously contributes to the breakdown of linguistic barriers.

Nativization

What, if any, is the reaction of the Chinese government and society against this trend? Surprisingly, given the rhetoric about Chinese characters representing Chinese culture, there is little perceivable nationalistic sentiment in opposition to the 'Englishization' of Chinese, and no equivalent of the anti-American 'Académie française', which advises on the regulation of the French language. Whilst members of a growing 'middle-class' consumer society increasingly embrace any means by which to demonstrate their status as global citizens, general feeling in China is that the Government cannot control the 'Globish' trend, and is relatively unconcerned to do so as it does not threaten its political legitimacy. In China, although language planning policy plays an important part in education policy, it focuses on Mandarin vis-à-vis other Chinese languages such as Cantonese. There are a few exceptions, such as the ban on the use of acronyms, e.g. '*NBA*' (*National Basketball Association*) in state media.

However, as the Chinese economy impacts more on the rest of the world, and so too does its culture. And it seems that the Chinese government is becoming increasingly aware of the potential global impact of Chinese.[17] Could an awakening to the global profile of Chinese provoke heightened awareness of its contact with and assimilation of other languages amongst those in power in Beijing? In this case, could a recognition of the importance of the phono-semantic interface mean that PSM could be incorporated into official rhetoric and motivationally used to sinicize global concepts in counteracting 'Globish'? We think that PSM as a means of translation provides a novel mechanism of language contact, allowing for *manipulation* of the foreign term and thus controlled *nativization* of it. This approach advances upon an existing approach to 'Englishization' which analyses the phenomenon according to: (1) a deficit model, where borrowings fill native 'lexical lacunae' (Zuckermann 2003: 299) and (2) a 'dominance' model, where one culture and language is

---

[15] http://pinyin.info/readings/texts/proper_nouns.html

[16] 酷 is itself a quasi-PSM in that it adopts an existent character 'kù' which matches the phonetics of the English word and also had the appropriate meaning of 'extremely' as well as its meaning 'cruel' (when used as a single character, 酷 now has the dominant meaning 'cool').

[17] E.g. by 2012, ICANN (The Internet Corporation for Assigned names and Number) was expected to have introduced new domain names in Chinese script – they could look something like '.店' (http://ipr.chinadaily.com.cn/2010-08/25/content_11597456_3.htm). By 2020 it is estimated there will be 1000 Confucius Institutes worldwide (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confucius_Institute).

the 'giver' and the other the 'receptor' (Kachru 1994: 138). PSM thus introduces a new way of conceptualizing language interplay.

References

A Guide to the Writing of Mandarin Chinese in Romanization. http://pinyin.info/readings/texts/proper_nouns.html (accessed September 3, 2010).

Bathrobe's Harry Potter in Chinese, Japanese & Vietnamese Translation. http://www.cjvlang.com/Hpotter (accessed November 10, 2010).

Carroll, J. B. (ed.). 1997 (1956). *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

China Intellectual Property. *China Daily*. http://ipr.chinadaily.com.cn/2010-08/25/content_11597456_3.htm (accessed January 28, 2011).

De Francis, J. 1984. *The Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy.* University of Hawaii Press.

Dimmendaal, G. J. 2001. Areal Diffusion versus Genetic Inheritance: An African Perspective. In *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance. Problems in Comparative Linguistics*, A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), 358–392. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fan, Y. 2002. The National Image of Global Brands. *Journal of Brand Management* 9 (3): 180–192.

Haugen, E. (I.) 1950. The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing. *Language* 26: 210–31. Baltimore: Waverly.

Kachru, B. B. 1994. Englishization and Contact Linguistics, *World Englishes* 13 (2): 135–154.

Li, F., and N. H. Shooshtari. 2003. Brand Naming in China: Sociolinguistic Implications. *The Multinational Business Review* 11 (3).

Li, F., and N. H. Shooshtari. 2007. 'Multinational Corporations' Controversial Ad Campaigns in China-Lessons from Nike and Toyota'. http://www.business.umt.edu/faculty/li/Multinational%20Corporations.pdf (accessed November 8, 2010).

Oxford Chinese Dictionary. 2010. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Popular Chinese Internet Slang, Expressions & Acronyms – ChinaSMACK. http://www.chinasmack.com/glossary (accessed November 9, 2010).

Ran, S. 2010. Chinese Translation of Coca Cola: Analysis and Enlightenment. *Asian Culture and History* 2 (1).

Sapir, Y., and G. Zuckermann. 2008. Icelandic: Phonosemantic Matching. In *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*, J. Rosenhouse and R. Kowner (eds), 19–43 (Chapter 2) (References: 296–325). Clevedon – Buffalo – Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Tang Tingchi *(bianji), Xinci chuangzao yu yingyu cifa, yingyi cifa xuji* 汤廷池 （编辑） ：新词创造与英语词发， 英语词发续集 (Tang, T. The Creation of New Words and Chinese Morphology. *Further Writings on Chinese Morphology and Syntax,* T. Tang (ed.), Taipei, Student Book Company, 1989).

Tavassoli, N. T. 2002. Beyond reading: Visual Processing of Language in Chinese and English. http://www.bus.umich.edu/facultyresearch/researchcenters/centers/yaffe/downloads/Visual_Persuasion/nader.pdf (accessed October 10, 2010).

Weijibaike, shijie renming fanyi dacidian 维基百科: 世界人名翻譯大辭典. http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/ (accessed October 19, 2010).

Wikipedia. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transcription_into_Chinese_characters (accessed September 5, 2010).

Wright, D. 2000. *Translating Science: The Transmission of Western Chemistry into Late Imperial China, 1840–1900*. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Xia, X. 2002. Application and Normalization of Lettered Words in Chinese Character System. *CCSE Asian Social Science* 6 (2).

Yan, C. B. 2007. Brand Naming, a Study on Brand Name Translation in China: US Brands Translated into Chinese and Chinese Brands Translated into English. BBA Honours Project, Hong Kong Baptist University Library.

Yan, Y., and T. Deng. 2009. On Chinese Loan Words from English Language. *CCSE English Language Teaching* 2 (4).

Yao Rongsong. 1992. *Taiwan xianxing wailaiyu de wenti, Shida xuebao, di 37 qi, di 329–362 ye* 姚荣松：台湾现行外来语的问题，师大学报，第37期，第329－362 (Yao, R. 1992. Problems of Current Borrowed Vocabulary in Taiwan. *Bulletin of National Taiwan Normal University* 37: 329–362).

Yule, H., and A.C. Burnell. 1886. *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Zhang, S., B. H. Schmitt, and H. Haley. 2007. Language and Culture: A New Approach to Consumer Behaviour in International Marketing Research. http://www.anderson.ucla.edu/faculty/shi.zhang/pdf (accessed December 16, 2010).

Zuckermann, G. 1999. Review Article of Nakdimon Shabbethay Doniach and Ahuvia Kahane (eds). *The Oxford English-Hebrew Dictionary*. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. *International Journal of Lexicography* 12: 325–46.

Zuckermann, G. 2003. *Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew*. London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zuckermann, G. 2004. Cultural Hybridity: Multisourced Neologization in "Reinvented" Languages and in Languages with "Phono-Logographic" Script. *Languages in Contrast* 4 (2): 281–318.

Zuckermann, G. 2005. Phono-Semantiche Abgleichung. In *Semantik im Lexikon*, S. Langer and D. Schnorbusch (eds.), 223–267. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Zuckermann, G. 2006. "Ety*myth*ological Othering" and the Power of "Lexical Engineering" in Judaism, Islam and Christianity. A Socio-Philo(sopho)logical Perspective. In *Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion* (Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture series), T. Omoniyi and J. A. Fishman (eds.), 237–258 (Chapter 16). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zuckermann, G. 2008. *Israelit Safa Yafa (Israeli – A Beautiful Language)*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved.

Zuckermann, G. 2009. Hybridity versus Revivability: Multiple Causation, Forms and Patterns. *Journal of Language Contact*, Varia 2: 40–67.

Zürcher, E. 2007. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Brill.