

Language Contact and Globalisation: The camouflaged influence of English on the world's languages—with special attention to Israeli (sic) and Mandarin

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Abstract This paper discusses the camouflaged influence of Modern English (mainly American) on Israeli (a.k.a. 'Modern Hebrew') and Mandarin Chinese (especially Modern Standard Chinese) within the broader context of linguistic and cultural globalisation. Among the questions it attempts to answer are the following: What is the extent of phono-semantic matching (PSM) of Anglicisms in Israeli and Mandarin? What are the terminological and lexicopoietic types of PSM? What is the sociolinguistics of word-formation and neologisation in those languages?*

אַ קלוגער פֿאַרשטייט פֿון איין וואָרט צוויי. A wise man hears one word and understands two. (Yiddish proverb, cf. Bernstein 1908, p. 243)

Both in 1975 and 1992 I sought to conjecture as to the polyglot future in the face of the global detergence by an Anglo-American esperanto, itself splitting into more local though cognate forms. Chinese remains a formidable but inwardly focused rival. Culturally and demographically, Spanish is on the march. 'Smaller' and isolated languages, notably in Sub-Saharan Africa and throughout Amazonia, are perishing, as is the ecology inwoven in their unique image of life. Thus one is tempted to suppose that the triumphalism of science, of technocracy, of international finance and the mass-market media will assure the long-term hegemony of Anglo-American (computer languages reflect and enforce this prepotence). Reality, however, is always subtler and more ironic than our suppositions. It may well be that the Tower of Babel will continue to cast its creative shadow.

(Steiner 1998: viii)

English is already the world's universal language. The number of spoken languages (about 6,000) is diminishing every year, whereas English is used as a second language in more and more countries. It seems inevitable that—with CNN and the *ab initio* English-dominated Internet (and despite the imminent development of advanced technological methods of translation)—the world will become by and large bilingual, with people mastering both English and their native/national language (if different). I believe that, at some further point in time, English will achieve complete dominance and the native/national language language.

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guage will become obsolete—with the decline of national boundaries and the emergence of non-geographical economic affiliations; someone working for Walmart in Jamaica will feel closer to a Walmart worker in Slovenia than to a Jamaican artist, and so forth. This might also occur because of the lay belief (currently refuted by most linguists) that speaking two languages as a mother tongue degrades the level of each one of them. Consider, for example, Chinese Singaporeans' tendency to apologise for their 'low level' in both English and Chinese.

The interactions between lexis (vocabulary) and politics are, unfortunately, often neglected, especially by modern theoretical linguistics. Stress, for example, which seems to be solely a linguistic feature, can, in fact, tell us a lot about international affairs. Consider Israeli (a.k.a. 'Modern Hebrew') yeríkho 'Jericho', synchronically speaking a derogatory form of יריחו, usually *verikhó*, the oldest town known in Eretz Yisrael (Palestine). Israel's late former Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, pronounced יריחו as yeríkho once it became clear that the area was going to be ceded to the Palestinians, as though attempting to create revulsion for this land by hinting that 'it is not biblical [jərī'ho] but rather alien yeríkho'. Possibly, the stress was also induced by Arabic الربحا [?ar'ri:ħa:] 'Jericho'. An example working in the contrary direction, which might sustain the argument that penultimate stress can reflect alienation or foreignness, is Israel's former Prime Minister Shimon Peres's pronunciation of the Israeli acronym אש"ך אש"ך. *ו.ע.* 'PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation)'. In what I perceive as an attempt to 'humanise' the PLO at a time when it was widely seen in Israel as a terrorist movement, Peres pronounced η was as haf, unlike the common pronunciation áshaf.¹

As you can see, I use the new coinage *Israeli* rather than *Modern Hebrew*. The genetic classification of *Israeli* has preoccupied linguists since the language emerged in *Eretz Yisrael* at the beginning of the 20th century. The still prevalent, traditional view suggests that Israeli is Semitic: (Biblical/Mishnaic) Hebrew revived (cf. Rosén 1956 and Rabin 1974). The revisionist position defines Israeli as Indo-European: Yiddish relexified (cf. Horvath and Wexler 1997), i.e. Yiddish, the 'revivalists" mother tongue, is the *substratum* whilst Hebrew is only a *superstratum*. My own *mosaic* (rather than *Mosaic*) hypothesis is that Israeli is simultaneously both Semitic and Indo-European; both Hebrew and Yiddish act as its *primary contributors* (rather than *substrata*). Therefore, the term *Israeli* is far more appropriate than *Israeli Hebrew*, let alone *Modern Hebrew* or *Hebrew* (tout court).

Coming back to globalisation, and bearing in mind that futurism is considered unacademic, this paper analyses the contemporary influence of English, mostly American, on national languages. The transparent impact of English has been studied extensively, especially in the case of lexical borrowing, e.g. phonetic adaptations of Anglicisms in Japanese. But the camouflaged one has not been researched—perhaps with the exception of the disguised impact of *calquing*. Examples of calques introducing a new sememe, or 'semantic loans',

¹ cf. political use of euphemisms, e.g. Israel's former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's use of the neutral פעימות *peimót*, lit. 'beatings (of the heart)', to refer to the stages in the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. The term *peimót* might lessen the opposition of right-wing Israelis to such 'withdrawal' (Israeli *nesigá*).

are Israeli כוכב kokháv, Russian звезда zvezdá, Polish gwiazda and Finnish tähti, all words basically meaning 'star', but which acquired the sememe '(pop/film)star' owing to English star. Similarly, Israeli אתר atár 'site' and Italian sito 'id.' acquired the sememe 'website' owing to English site. Italian salvare 'save' (as in Jesus saves, not as in Jesus saves, Moses invests) acquired the sememe 'save (a file/document)' owing to English save (mentioned by Orioles 1994, p. 671). Modern Standard Chinese (henceforth, MSC) 🛪 bīng, lit. 'ice', currently also refers to the drug *Ice*.

Sometimes, calquing links two English homonyms even when they are etymologically unrelated. Consider Yiddish גלײַר *glaykh* 'similar to, like', which acquired in American Yiddish the form גלײַכן *gláykhŋ* 'to like' owing to the homonymity between English *like* (adj.) 'having the same characteristics as, similar to' and the etymologically distinct English *like* (verb) 'be fond of, derive pleasure from'.²

An example of a calque introducing a new compound (cf. 'loan-translation') is Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) 篮球 *lánqiú* 'basketball', consisting of 篮 *lán* 'basket' and 球 *qiú* 'ball', thus imitating English *basketball*. Interestingly, while *tennis* was nativised in MSC as 网球 *wǎngqiú*, lit. 'net-ball', *netball* could only enter MSC as 英式篮球 *yīngshìlánqiú*, lit. 'English-style basketball', constituting a secondary derivative of the calque MSC 篮球 *lánqiú* 'basketball', constituting a secondary derivative of the calque MSC 篮球 *lánqiú* 'basketball'. An example of an 'etymological calque'—in which the calquer pays attention to the sense of the Anglicism rather than to its referent—is MSC 热狗 *règǒu* 'hotdog' (热 *rè* 'hot' +狗 gǒu 'dog').³ Similarly, *cocktail* entered MSC as鸡尾酒 *jīwěijiŭ*, lit. 'chicken tail alcohol'.⁴ However, most Chinese calques are not merely etymological.

But, as previously stated, normal forms of calquing have already been explored. This paper, on the other hand, focuses on an important mechanism of camouflaged borrowing which has not yet received scholarly attention: *phonosemantic matching* (PSM). What is PSM? Let me begin with an example. Medieval Hebrew Titer [dib' būb] 'speech'—cf. Biblical Hebrew [do'beb śip' tē-jəʃe'nīm] 'causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak' in Song of Solomon 7:10—came to refer in Israeli (as *dibúv*, often pronounced *divúv*) to 'inducing (someone) to speak', and then to 'dubbing'—owing to English

² English *like* (adj.) 'having the same characteristics as' derives from Early Modern English *līch*, *līk*, a shortened form of Old English *Jelíc*, cf. Old High German *gilîh*, Middle High German *gelîch*, Modern German *gleich*. However, English *like* (verb) 'be fond of' derives from Old English *lícian*, cf. Old High German *lîhhên*, *lîchên*, which goes back to Old Teutonic **līkājan*, **līkājan*, from **līko*- 'body' (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*).

³ cf. chiens chauds, spotted in vendors' signs in Canada in 1964 (Raphael Loewe pc).

⁴ cf. the semanticised phonetic matching 马踢你 MSC *mǎtīnǐ*, lit. 'horse + kick + you', referring to Intl *martini* — perhaps due to the effects of consuming such a potent alcoholic beverage. Ramsey (1989, p. 60) attributes this multisourced neologism to the prominent 20th-century Chinese linguist Yuen Ren Chao (Yuánrèn ZHÀO). However, this coinage did not gain much currency and the native Chinese-speakers whom I have interviewed use the plain phonetic adaptation MSC 马提尼 *mǎtíní*, lit. 'horse + point out + Buddhist nun'.

dubbing.⁵ This neologism is recent—while Even-Shoshan (1970, p. 387b) does not mention it, it appears in Even-Shoshan (1997, p. 277c). The following figure illustrates the process:



Figure 1.

At this stage there are two possible etymological analyses:

- (i) INDUCTION (no borrowing): The etymon of דבוב *dibúv* 'dubbing' is (Medieval) Hebrew דבוב [dib'būb] 'speech'. The coinage was merely *motivated* by English *dubbing*.
- (ii) MULTISOURCED NEOLOGISATION (camouflaged borrowing): The etymon of דבוב *dibúv* 'dubbing' is simultaneously English *dubbing* and (Medieval) Hebrew דבוב [dib'būb] 'speech'.

Puristic linguists (e.g. members of the Academy of Hebrew Language) would suggest that Analysis (i) is the correct one, basing their judgement on conservative tenets such as (1) The etymology of a lexical item is determined by morphology (and Trans *dibúv* is, in fact, morphologically Hebrew), and (2) A lexical item necessarily has only one etymon (this is parallel to the belief that a language can have only one source, cf. the *Stammbaum* model). However, such conservative, *structural* views, just like the traditional classifications of sources of lexical enrichment, fail to take into account the effects of language contact (and in particular the extensive contact between languages in our era of ever-increasing globalisation). I would advocate a broader-based, *motivational* approach, one that considers the lexeme or sememe's covert cultural, social and political aspects to be as important as its morphology. Analysis (ii) would consequently be the correct one.

Israeli Jirá *dibúv* is but one example of what is, in fact, a pervasive form of lexical borrowing, apparent in Israeli, Turkish, Chinese, Japanese, Yiddish, Hebrew, Arabic, creoles and many other languages. In accordance with Analysis (ii) above, I call this phenomenon—in general—*multisourced neologisation*, and in particular *phono-semantic matching* (PSM). I define PSM as 'multisourced neologisation in which a foreign lexical item is matched with a phonetically and semantically similar *pre-existent* autochthonous lexeme/root; a neologism that

⁵ cf. Toury (1990, p. 195). It might be the case that Italian *doppiaggio* 'dubbing' and English *dubbing* are multisourced neologisms too. Italian *doppiaggio* hybridises Italian *doppiare* 'to surpass (e.g. in motor-racing)' and French *doublage* 'dubbing, doubling' (cf. Devoto and Oli 1995, p. 640b). Note that Italian *doppiare* 'dub' is a secondary derivative from Italian *doppiaggio* 'dubbing'. Similarly, English *dubbing* might be based simultaneously on English *double* or French *doublage* 'dubbing' and English *dub* 'to name, to speak of or set down as'.

preserves both the meaning and the approximate sound of the parallel expression in the source language (henceforth, SL), using *pre-existent* target language (TL) lexemes or roots'.⁶ The following figure illustrates this mechanism:

SL x 'a' $\rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow TL_{(+PSM)}$ y' 'a'' $\leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow TL$ y 'b'

x is phonetically similar to y y' is based on y a' is based on a

Figure 2.

Although this source of lexical enrichment is widespread, it has not been systematically studied by linguists but rather dismissed with an honourable mention. In his *Patterns and Trends of Linguistic Innovations in Modern Hebrew*, Sivan hardly mentions this phenomenon: there is only one reference of just three lines (1963, pp. 37–38). It is mentioned briefly by Heyd (1954, p. 90), who refers to *calques phonétiques*, by Hagège (1986, p. 257), who calls it *emprunt-calembour*, and by Toury (1990), who refers to *phonetic transposition*. In the case of Chinese, Luó (1950) mentions 音兼意 MSC *yīnjiānyì*, lit. 'sound + concurrent with + meaning', while Lǐ (1990) describes MSC 音译兼意译 *yīnyìjiānyìyì* 'phonetic translation along with semantic translation'.

The traditional classifications of borrowing ignore this phenomenon (e.g. Haugen 1950). Furthermore, they categorise borrowing as either a substitution or an importation, whilst PSM is a case of simultaneous substitution and importation. Such an oversight could have seemed minor had PSM been rare. However, it is common in two key categories of language: (1) languages using 'phono-logographic script', e.g. Chinese and Japanese (in the latter-to the extent that kanji are used)-both of which are influenced by 'cultural superstratum languages', mainly English; (2) 'reinvented' languages, in which language-planners attempt to replace undesirable loanwords, e.g. Israeli and 'Revolutionised Turkish'. There is not enough space here to discuss the entire range of languages affected by PSM of Anglicisms (for example, on Turkish, Japanese and Arabic, see Zuckermann 2003a). Therefore, I have decided to focus on PSM in Israeli and Mandarin Chinese. The choice of these two languages is partly for typological reasons: Israeli and Mandarin are representatives of the two key categories and are very different orthographically and morphologically. Thus, demonstrating that PSM exists in both implies a global dominance of the phenomenon.

But there is also a political aspect: whilst Israel has traditionally positioned itself as a strong ally of the United States of America, mainland China considers itself America's rival and has, in ideological terms, tended to define its sense of national identity against the American model, at least since the cultural revolution. If the PSM of Anglicisms can be proved to be widespread not only in Israeli but also in mainland Mandarin, the true proportions of the global influence of the English language, and specifically of American English, are revealed to be immense, and, moreover, strong enough to override even geopolitical forces.

⁶ Note that throughout this paper—unless otherwise specified—*neologisation* and *neologism* are used in their broader meaning. In other words, *neologism* is either an entirely new lexeme or a pre-existent word whose meaning has been altered, resulting in a new sememe.

ISRAELI

Similia similibus curantur.

It is important to distinguish between two separate periods during which English influenced Israeli: (a) Early 20th century: the British 'substratum'—owing to the British Mandate in Eretz Yisrael; (b) Late 20th century: the American 'superstratum'—owing to American being the global language. The Americanisation of contemporary Israel is apparent in the distinctive rephonologisation in Israeli of internationalisms. Whilst this rephonologisation was originally based on Yiddish, Polish and Russian, it currently shows signs of Americanisation. Sometimes a pre-existent Israeli form of an internationalism is even superseded by a more American one. For instance, גיגה gíga 'giga' is overriden by גיגה dzhíga, אַלולרי tselulári 'cellular' is replaced by אַלולרי selulári (contrast this with the still current צלולוזה *tselulóza* 'cellulose', thus constituting a minimal pair), סן פרנציסקו san frantsisko 'San Francisco' is slowly being supplanted by וסן erespékt is substituted by רספקט respékt. See רספקט rispékt. See also אס פלאס פלאס si plas i plas 'C⁺⁺' (the computer language), as opposed to the expected סי פלוס פלוס si plus but this might also be explained as a borrowing en bloc. With regard to euro, the official signifier is אירו évro (cf. the non-English based Italian euro ['ewro] and German Euro ['ojko]) but I have encountered Israelis who prefer the English-based yúro. The Oxford English-Hebrew Dictionary (Doniach and Kahane 1998) even mentions (either exaggerating or prophesying) that ad hoc is pronounced by Israelis as ed hok (rather than ad hok), aphasia as efázya (rather than afázya), deus ex machina as déus eks mékina (rather than déus eks mákina or deus eks mákhina), tetanus as tétenus (rather than tétanus), conceptual as konseptuáli (rather than kontseptuáli).

I believe that this very Americanisation has caused the recent popular etymology which I have heard in Israel, according to which אמברקס *ámbreks* 'handbrakes' actually derives from English **armbrakes* (rather than *handbrakes*). In fact, if *handbrakes* were to be adapted phonetically today, when American English is the main contributor to Israeli, it would probably be in the form of **émbreks*. However, *ámbreks* entered Israeli from British, where the vowel in *hand* is more open.

Such Anglicisation (and more recently Americanisation) also occurs in languages which are more established than Israeli, for example Dutch, the essence of which was consolidated long ago (albeit remaining subject to influences from German, French and English). Consider the 20th-century tendency to change the pronunciation of Dutch *efficiëntie* [efis'jensi] 'efficiency' to the more business-like [e'fi∫ənsi]. The American influence appears to have superseded the German and French. Table 1 lists Israeli PSMs whose SL (source language) is British, followed by those whose SL is American. By and large, the British-based Israeli PSMs are earlier than the American-based ones.

14/10 1.										
	SOURCE LANGUAGE	SL lexical item	TL lexical item		Terminological Area	Lexicopoietic Type	General Currency			
1.	В	dummy	דמה	déme	military/ general	creational	highly successful			
2.	R	corner	קרן	kéren	sport	shifting	highly successful			
3.	Ι	shake (in fear)	שקשק	shikshék	colloquial (verb)	shifting	highly successful			
4.	Т	Yes!	יש!	yesh	colloquial	shifting	highly successful			
5.	Ι	pin	פין	pin	technological/ object	shifting	partly successful			
6.	S Н	tag	תג	tag	object	shifting	partly successful			
7.	11	swivel	סביבול	svivól	technological	creational	failed			
8.		marrow	מרא	mére	medicine	creational	failed			
9.		message	מסר	méser	general	creational	highly successful			
10.		hit	להיט	lahít	music/ general	creational	highly successful			
11.		dubbing	דבוב	dibúv	technological/ general	shifting	highly successful			
12.		tackle	תקול	tikúl	sport	creational	highly successful			
13.	А	terrific	מטריף	matríf	colloquial (adjective)	shifting	highly successful			
14.	М	baby, babe	בובה	búba	colloquial	shifting	highly successful			
15.	Е	Never a dull moment	אין רגע דל	en réga dal	general	shifting	partly successful			
16.	R	masking	מסוך	misúkh	technological	shifting (creational)	partly successful			
17.	I	dock	מבדוק	mivdók	technological/ general	creational	partly successful			
18.	A	gay	גא / גאה	ge/geé	person	shifting	partly successful			
19.	Ν	gender	מגדר	migdár	academic	creational (shifting)	partly successful			
20.		byte	בית	báit	computers	shifting	(partly successful)			
21.		(video-)clip	קליט	klit	technological/ general	creational	failed			
22.		bit	סיבית	sibít	computers	creational	failed			
23.		muffin	מופין	mufín	food	creational	failed			
24.		C language	שפת שיא	sfat si	computers	shifting	failed			

Table 1.

In the following discussion, I shall provide several biographies of selected Israeli PSMs of Britishisms and Americanisms. While doing so, I shall introduce the main two types of my 'lexicopoietic' classification of PSM: (a) PSM by semantic shifting, i.e. created by shifting the meaning of a pre-existent TL/SL_2 word (and thus creating a new sememe) in order to restrict the word's meaning to that of the semantically related SL_1 word. If the PSM gains currency, the original meaning (before the shift) often disappears. This sometimes happens because of the speakers' pragmatic tendency towards a one-to-one correlation between signifiers (words) and referents (the objects in real life that words stand for); (b) *creational PSM*, which is actually an etymological hybrid resulting in a new TL lexeme.

I. PSM that introduces a new SEMEME (PSM by Semantic Shifting)

A 'PSM by semantic shifting' is a PSM produced by shifting the meaning of a *pre-existent* word in the TL.

SL v 'h' $\rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$	TL (man x 'h'	$\leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow TL x 'a'$	
	$\mathbf{T} \mathbf{T} (\mathbf{T} \mathbf{P} \mathbf{M}) \rightarrow \mathbf{M}$		

x is phonetically similar to y a is similar to b



The aforementioned דבוב *dibúv* 'dubbing' is an example of PSM by semantic shifting. Consider also גא Biblical Hebrew גא [ge] meant 'proud', e.g. Isaiah 16:6. In Israeli, גא *ge*—usually written as גאה and pronounced *geé*—acquired the sememe 'homosexual', rendering a politically correct nativization of English *gay*. It is usually used in its plural form גאים *geím* 'homosexuals'.





Israeli גאה geé 'homosexual' seems to override גאה alíz 'homosexual', which originally meant 'gay (merry, cheerful)' and thus constituted a calque of English gay. Note the semantic connection of the literal meaning of גאה 'proud' to the use of gay pride to imply an empowered homosexual community. For many LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered) native speakers of English,

signifiers which include the word *pride* immediately imply gay pride, cf. *pride* week (שבוע הגאווה shvúa hagaavá), gay pride parade.⁷

II. PSM that introduces a new WORD (Creational PSM)

A 'creational PSM' is a *new* TL word resulting from the etymological hybridisation of an SL word and a phonetically similar *pre-existent* TL lexical morpheme (e.g. root) fitted into a TL grammatical morpheme (such as a noun-pattern).

SL y 'b' $\rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$ TL_(+PSM) {x}+{z} 'b' $\leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow$ TL {x} 'a', {z}

x is a lexical morpheme (e.g. root) that is phonetically similar to y z is a grammatical morpheme (e.g. noun-pattern) $\{x\}+\{z\}$ is one word a is similar to b

Figure 5.

Israeli דמה déme 'dummy, military decoy figure' is a creational PSM stemming from both Hebrew דמה \sqrt{dmh} (cf. Biblical Hebrew דמי \sqrt{dmj}) 'seem alike' and English dummy (the latter having no etymological link to Biblical Hebrew דמי \sqrt{dmj} and deriving from English dumb 'that cannot speak').⁸ The following figure illustrates this process:





 $^{^{7}}$ cf. the politically incorrect Yiddish pun found near a gay cemetery in San Francisco: *gey in drérd*, lit. 'Go to earth!', meaning 'Go to hell!', 'Go to the devil!', reinterpreted as 'gay in earth'.

⁸ דמה *déme* is mentioned by Toury (1990, p. 195). Compare it with Israeli דמה *dmay* 'lack of clarity, doubt, fantasy', from Rabbinic Hebrew למאי [də'maj] 'doubtful thing, fruit about which there is a suspicion (as to the tithes being properly taken)'.

démi rather than *déme*, although this could also be explained by analogy to Israeli words like בכי *békhi* 'crying'.⁹

Similar to דמה déme is the case of Israeli הקול 'tackle (e.g. in football)'. Even-Shoshan (1997) fails to mention this lexeme and its verbal derivatives, e.g. tikél 'tackled (m, sg)'. However, this lexical item is widespread in the Israeli sporting world. It derives from Rabbinic Hebrew הקל \text{tarkled} 'fail, come across, stumble' as in Rabbinic Hebrew הקלה [təqå'lå], currently pronounced takalá, 'obstacle, hindrance', and as in Rabbinic Hebrew התקי [hit'qīl] 'tripped up, caused to stumble (m, sg)'. In Israeli, התקי \text{tarkled} is fitted into the $\Box i \Box i \Box$ gerundpattern, the other co-etymon being English tackle (cf. Toury 1990, p. 195). Compare this with the Israeli colloquialism (also tackle, tackle, quarrel' (cf. Ben-Amotz and Ben-Yehuda 1982, p. 419b), most probably a phonetic adaptation of English tackle.

Following is a creational PSM deriving from the Hebrew/Israeli root קלט \sqrt{qlt} 'record' (originally 'receive, absorb'). Israeli קליט *klit* '(video-)clip', introduced by the Academy of Hebrew Language (see *Laméd Leshonkhá*, New Series 8, December 1994; *Akadém* 4, September 1994), converges קלט \sqrt{qlt} fitted into the $\Box i \Box \Box$ noun-pattern with English *clip* (see also Gonen 1995, p. 93; *Yalkút HaPirsumím* 1998, p. 1080).



Figure 7.

This puristic PSM seems to be more elegant than the French puristic proposal for English *videoclip*: *bande promo*, short for *bande vidéo promotionnelle*, lit. 'promotional video'.¹⁰

Amnon Shapira (pc) of the Academy of Hebrew Language proposed allying American English *muffin* with Israeli מופין *mufin* (accepted on 22 May 2000 in Session 254 of the Academy). Israeli מופין *mufin* is modelled upon Biblical Hebrew מופין [tū' p̄ɪn] 'pastry, baked piece', a *hapax legomenon* appearing in Leviticus 6:14, which is traceable to (Biblical) Hebrew לאפי $\sqrt{2pj}$ (cf. Hebrew $\sqrt{2ph}$ 'bake, cook'. Some Israelis use $\sqrt{2ph}$ tufin to refer to 'biscuit'.

¹⁰ So far, קליט klit has not been accepted by Israeli speakers. On אקליט klit transmitter 'cassette', another קלט \sqrt{qlt} -based PSM from the assembly line of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, see Zuckermann (2003a).

⁹ The same English *dummy* (above used as the SL lexical item) participated in another PSM-this time as the TL material, as follows. In Arabic grammar there is a specific 'personal pronoun' (cf. Wright 1896–98, pp. i, 53), which is a nominal suffix [hu] used to fill a syntactic spot that needs a pronoun—cf. Hebrew מי מי מי מי מי מי מי גווא וו functions as a subject but its form is that of an object. The Arabic metalinguistic name for this specific personal pronoun' [da'mi:r aʃ' ʃa?n] 'pronoun of the matter (to come)' (a'mi:r] 'pronoun' literally means 'a word by which something is concealed/hidden', cf. *ibid.*, p. 105). Some American teachers have referred to ضمير الشان [da'mi:r aʃ' ʃa?n] <u>a</u> a gPSM of j ضمير الش:r], the semanticisation being that this personal pronoun functions as a dummy (i.e. it does not have a specific referent).



Figure 8.

The Academy of Hebrew Language does not indicate that the muffin to which its neologism refers is the sweet American variety rather than the plain English bun. However, an advertisement for the new word—from the affiliated Mazia Institute in Jerusalem—uses a picture of an American chocolate muffin. Furthermore, the Academy's coinage is likely to have been motivated by its anticipation of increasing Americanisation in Israeli eating habits.

As opposed to the aforementioned אא *geé* 'homosexual', a 'politically correct PSM', Israeli מגדר *migdár* 'gender' is a recent PSM which is regarded by some as 'negatively charged'. Whilst it nativises English *gender*, it is based on (Hebrew >) Israeli \sqrt{gdr} 'fence, enclose, wall up', and later 'define'.



Figure 9.

The form *migdár* could be accounted for either by (Hebrew >) Israeli גדר \sqrt{gdr} fitted into the $mi\square\square i$ verb-pattern or—hypothetically—as a result of the process: $\lim_{n \to \infty} \min' (\sec' + \tau) gdar$ (cf. \sqrt{gdr} 'fence') \rightarrow assimilation of the *n* to the following $g \rightarrow miggdar \rightarrow$ deletion (elision) of one $g \rightarrow migdár$. Israeli *migdár* was adopted (but not invented) by the Academy of the Hebrew Language—cf. Gadish (1998, p. 59). One might argue that the form πr existed prior to Israeli as (Aramaic >) Rabbinic Hebrew πr (cf. πr 'fencing' (cf. πr 'fencing' in *Talmud*: Yebamoth 90b). However, I doubt that the neologisers took that expression into account. I therefore record Israeli πr find πr 'gender' as a creational PSM rather than as a PSM by semantic shifting. The fact that a form identical or similar to a PSM existed prior to it does not automatically imply that the PSM is by semantic shifting—see also πr (cf. (Zuckermann 2003a, §4.4).

One can observe that creational PSMs are a widespread technique among language planners and puristic institutions such as the Academy of Hebrew Language. I perceive three main advantages of PSM from a puristic point of view: (1) *recycling obsolete lexical items* (a delight for purists); (2) *camouflaging foreign influence* (for the native speaker in the future); and (3) *facilitating initial*

learning (mnemonics) (for the contemporary learner/speaker). Other motivations (cf. Zuckermann 2003a; 2003b) include (4) *playfulness* (cf. the midrashic tradition of homiletic commentary; *pilpul*); (5) *Apollonian tendency* (the wish to create order/meaningfulness, cf. *popular 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), which leads my discussion to PSM in Chinese.

MANDARIN

(MODERN STANDARD CHINESE (MSC), MAINLAND CHINA; 'THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE', TAIWAN)

Ex oriente lux, ex occidente lex.

The Chinese writing system, which was developed as a 'morphemic script' more than 3,000 years ago, is used by Chinese (*Hànzì*), Japanese (*Kanji*) and Korean (*Hanja*). Whilst Chinese uses this script exclusively, Japanese and Korean also have syllabaries (writing systems consisting of syllables rather than individual letters). Over time, there have been various theories analysing Chinese orthography, which can be presented schematically as follows:

- <u>pleremic</u> (from Greek plḗrēs 'full', 'full of meaning'): pictographic (signs as pictures), ideographic (signs as ideas), logographic (signs as words), morphemic (signs as minimal distinctive units of grammar/meaning). Of these, morphemic might be a better definition than logographic because, while in a logographic orthography each character (or logograph) represents a word as a whole (a semantic unit), in the case of Chinese, a compound-word like 灯泡 MSC dēngpào 'lightbulb' is written with two characters, representing two morphemes: 灯 dēng 'light' and 泡 pào 'bulb'.
- <u>cenemic</u> (from Greek kenós 'empty', i.e. 'empty of meaning'): phonographic (signs as sounds) and even syllabic (signs as syllables); see inter alios DeFrancis (1984, p. 111ff). In the case of loanwords, Chinese characters are often used in a similar manner to a syllabary. Evidence that might support this observation is that sometimes the same SL lexical item has several distinct Chinese phonetic adaptations. Note also that native Chinese speakers use characters phonographically when they attempt to write down a word whose exact characters they do not know.¹¹

Traditionally, the most influential view has been the *ideographic* one (cf. Suzuki 1975, p. 182). However, it seems that most linguists have by now rejected it. A harsh criticism of the 'ideographic myth' can be found in DeFrancis (1984, pp. 133–48), Unger (1990; cf. 1987) and Frellesvig (1993). One of the main criticisms against the ideographic view is that characters of writing actually stand for linguistic units, not for ideas, and can therefore be either phonographic or logographic/morphemic.

¹¹ The terms *pleremic* and *cenemic* are referred to by French (1976, p. 118), Haas (1976) and Coulmas (1989 *passim*; 1999, pp. 71, 408). They are based on Hjelmslev's 1938 *plérématique* and *cénématique* (cf. Hjelmslev 1959, p. 152). For relevant discussions of Chinese orthography, see also Haas (1983), Norman (1988) and Frellesvig (1996).

I believe that the Chinese orthography should be regarded as multivalent and often as *phono-logographic*. In other words, it can serve as both cenemic and pleremic simultaneously. This can be proved not only by the existence but also by the extent of PSM in Chinese. Such 'folk-etymological nativisations' are modelled as closely as possible upon the sound of the SL word but the choice of characters (and therefore morphemes) used to render the sounds is determined by semantic criteria. The phonetic fidelity may be somewhat distorted in an attempt to use a character which is more appropriate semantically. For example, MSC 声纳 shēngnà 'sonar' uses the characters 声 shēng 'sound' and 纳 nà 'receive, accept'. 声 shēng is a phonetically imperfect rendering of the initial syllable in *sonar* (although *peng*, for instance, would have been much worse). Chinese has a large number of homotonal/heterotonal homophonous morphemes, which would have been much better phonetically (but not nearly as good semantically)—consider SONG (cf. 送 sòng 'deliver, carry, give (as a present)', 松 song 'pine; loose, slack', 耸 song 'tower; alarm, attract' etc.), SOU (cf. 搜 sou 'search', 叟 sou 'old man', 馊 sour, spoiled' and many others) or SHOU (cf. 收 shōu 'receive, accept', 受 shòu 'receive, accept', 手 shǒu 'hand', 首 shǒu 'head', 兽 shòu 'beast', 瘦 shòu 'thin' and so forth).



Figure 10.

I have collected hundreds of PSMs of Anglicisms in MSC, Taiwan Mandarin, Cantonese and Japanese, and have found that for various reasons (including ideological ones, e.g. purism) PSM has not been given enough attention by *in situ* linguists, although it is mentioned by Tang (1989) and Yáo (1992) (as well as by Gelb 1963 and Hansell 1989; and see above). Owing to constraints of space, I cannot discuss many examples but shall summarise the relevant issues. For further details, see Zuckermann (2000; 2003a).

The main terminological areas of PSMs in MSC

At first sight, one might think that one difference between Israeli and MSC is that, whereas the first speakers of Israeli were not monolingual, most Chinese speakers are. *A priori*—setting aside the phono-logographic script which is highly conducive to PSM—this fact should lead one to assume that PSM would not be that common in MSC. However, as mentioned above, my field research uncovered hundreds of Chinese PSMs. It indicates—and this is supported by Hansell (2000)—that in addition to general usage, PSM in MSC is widespread in three main terminological categories: (i) (commercial) brand names (and sometimes antonomasias), (ii) computer jargon and (iii) technological terms. It is no coincidence that these are precisely those areas suffering from native lexical

lacunae, as well as being fields in which (educated) Chinese speakers can be expected to have knowledge of English lexical items. Thus, monolingualism is not, after all, a serious obstacle to PSM in MSC.

Technological terms

Similarly to the aforementioned *sonar* (*< sound navigation and ranging*), English *radar*, an acronym for *radio detection and ranging*, was nativised in MSC as 雷达 *léidá* (Wú 1993, p. 1540, also mentioned in Ramsey 1989, p. 60), consisting of 雷 *léi* 'thunder' and 达 *dá* 'reach, attain, amount to'.



Figure 11.

English *laser*, an acronym for *light amplification by the stimulated emission of radiation*, was domesticated in Chinese as 镭射 *léishè* (cf. Kōsaka 1994, p. 1846), consisting of 镭 *léi* 'radium' and 射 *shè* 'to shoot/fire'. However, the common word for *laser* is 激光 *jīguāng* (Wú 1993, p. 1203), from 激 *jī* 'arouse, stimulate, excite, intense, fierce, strong' and 光 *guāng* 'light, ray'. That said, a video CD house (computer night-club) can be called 镭射厅 *léishè tīng*, lit. 'laser hall'.



Figure 12.

A PSM including a translated part, this time of English *neon*, is MSC 霓虹灯 *níhóngdēng* 'neon lamp/light/tube' (Wú 1993, p. 1833; also mentioned in Zhōu 1961, p. 274), consisting of 寬 *ní* '(female/secondary) rainbow' (referring to the female rainbow according to Chinese folklore—see Ogawa *et al.* 1968, p. 1087), 虹 *hóng* '(male) rainbow' (referring to the male rainbow according to Chinese folklore—*ibid.*) and 灯 *dēng* 'light, lamp, lantern'.

English *tractor* was adopted as MSC 拖拉机 $tu\bar{o}l\bar{a}j\bar{\imath}$ (Wú 1993, p. 2592; Zhōu 1961, p. 274; Ramsey 1989, p. 60), making use of 拖 $tu\bar{o}$ 'haul, pull, drag, draw', 拉 $l\bar{a}$ 'pull, drag, draw, tug' and 机 $j\bar{\imath}$ 'machine, engine'. See also MSC 拖车 $tu\bar{o}ch\bar{e}$ 'trailer' (Wú 1993, p. 2591)—from 拖 $tu\bar{o}$ 'haul, drag' and 车 $ch\bar{e}$ 'vehicle, machine' (<'wheel').

Brand names

A sign of somewhat disguised 'coca-colonisation' from the 1930s is MSC 可口可乐 kěkǒu kělè 'Coca-Cola' (Wú 1993, p. 1460). 可口 kěkǒu consists of 可 kě 'can, may, need, be worth, able to' and 口 kǒu 'mouth', thus meaning 'tasty, good to eat, palatable'. 可乐 kělè consists of 可 kě 'can, may' and 乐 lè 'happy, glad, joyful, cheerful, enjoy, be amused', thus meaning 'enjoyable, happy'. MSC 可口可乐 kěkǒu kělè was coined by a Shanghai resident, who then won a naming contest sponsored by the Coca-Cola company.¹² Several years later, in imitation of this elegant method, English *Pepsi-Cola* was reproduced in MSC as 百事可乐 bǎishì kělè (Wú 1993, p. 1460; Ramsey 1989, p. 60), consisting of (i) 百事 bǎishì 'everything', from 百 bǎi 'hundred, numerous' +事 shì 'thing'; and (ii) 可乐 kělè 'enjoyable', from 可 kě 'can, may' +乐 lè 'happy, glad, joyful, cheerful'. Similarly, *Ericsson* was nativised as MSC 爱立信 aìlìxìn, lit. 'love + establish + trust' (i.e. 'we [the company] love to build trust').

General terms

English *mini* (cf. *miniskirt*) was domesticated as 迷你 MSC *mínǐ* (Wú 1993, p. 1754), combining 迷 *mí* 'fascinate, enchant' and 你 *nǐ* 'you'. Thus, 迷你裙 *mínĭqún* 'miniskirt' literally means 'attract-you skirt'. In the entry for 迷你 *mínĭ*, Yú (1993, p. 496) calls this process 音译 *yīnyì*, lit. 'sound + translation', i.e. 'translation according to sound'. However, this does not necessarily mean PSM but rather phonetic adaptation. In other words, the loanword 布尔什维克 *bùěrshíwéikè* 'Bolshevik' can also be referred to as a 音译 *yīnyì*, hence the lack of terminological precision. Note that 迷你 MSC *mínĭ* can mean 'mini-' in general, e.g. 迷你电视 MSC *mínĭdiànshì* 'mini-television'.

English *vitamin* was nativised as **维他命** MSC *wéitāmìng* (Wú 1993, p. 2650b; Kōsaka 1994, p. 3202; Zhōu 1961, p. 274), lit. 'preserve + his + life'. A later version of *vitamin*, which is much more common today, is **维生素** *wéishēngsù* (Wú 1993, p. 2650a; Kōsaka 1994, p. 3202), lit. 'preserve + life + element'.

English *humour* entered Chinese as 幽默 MSC $y\bar{o}um\dot{o}$ (cf. Ramsey 1989, p. 60) 'humorous, (sense of) humour' (Wú 1993, p. 3091), consisting of 幽 $y\bar{o}u$ 'secluded, deep and remote' and 默 $m\dot{o}$ 'silent, tacit, quiet'. Semantically, the choice of characters might reflect the fact that being shrewd and reserved is not necessarily incompatible with showing a sense of humour. On the contrary; some Chinese whom I have interviewed thought that a humorous person should maintain a dignified silence while others laugh at his/her jokes. Compare this also with American Portuguese *humoroso*—see Zuckermann (2003a, §1.1 and §3.1.4.4).

The MSC parallel of English *shock* (medical) is 休克 MSC *xiūkè* (Wú 1993, p. 2871; Ramsey 1989, p. 60), making use of 休 MSC *xiū* 'inactive, stop, cease, dormant, rest' and 克 MSC *kè* 'overcome, be able to, can, conquer'. Compare this with Israeli 克格拉 'shock', when used instead of Israeli أخل *hélem* 'shock' in literary translation (on PSM in literary translation, see Zuckermann 2000, pp. 307–10).

¹² He received a \$50 cash prize (Ramsey 1989, p. 60).

English *seminar* was domesticated as 习明纳尔 MSC *ximingnàěr* (Kōsaka 1994, p. 3301; mentioned by Ramsey 1989, p. 60 as 'review-understand-acceptlike that'), consisting of 习 *xi* 'review, practice, exercise' (in many contexts, it means 'to study, learn', cf. Kōsaka 1994, p. 3301), 明 *ming* 'understand, comprehend, know, bright, brilliant, light', 纳 *nà* 'accept, take in, receive, admit' and 尔 *ěr* 'like that, so, you'. However, this neologism has not gained currency, perhaps because of its sesquipedality. The actual MSC words referring to 'seminar' (in its various nuances) are 讲座 *jiǎngzuò* ('talk', e.g. in a weekly seminar), 学习班 *xuéxíbān* ('training session') and 讨论课 *tǎolùnkè* ('discussion class').

Computers

The field of computer technology is fertile ground for multisourced neologisation all over the globe. *Pentium* was allied with the pre-existent MSC 奔腾 *bēnténg* 'gallop, surge forward', which consists of 奔 MSC *bēn* 'run quickly' and 腾 MSC *téng* 'jump, gallop; rise, soar' (see Figure 13; note that 奔 MSC *bēn* 'run quickly' participated in another PSM: the brand name (*Mercedes*) *Benz* was domesticated as MSC 奔驰 *bēnchí* 'run quickly + gallop').



Figure 13.

Another computer PSM involving a zoological connotation is MSC 雅虎 yǎhǔ 'elegant tiger', a domestication of Yahoo:



Figure 14.

English *hacker* (one who uses computers to gain unauthorised access to data, documented with this meaning in 1983, *Oxford English Dictionary*) was recently nativised in MSC as 黑客 *hēikè* from the pre-existent word 黑客 MSC *hēikè* 'robber, violent burglar'. The latter was used to refer to Lǐ Kuí, a hero in the famous Chinese novel 水浒传 *Shuǐ Hǔ Zhuàn* 'Water Margin', also known as 'All Men are Brothers' and 'Outlaws of the Marsh', a story about 108 'Robin Hoods' in 1119–21, written by Guànzhōng LUÓ in the 16th/17th century. Thus,

黑客 $h\bar{e}ik\dot{e}$ 'hacker' can be recorded as a PSM by semantic shifting. 黑客 MSC $h\bar{e}ik\dot{e}$ derives from 黑 $h\bar{e}i$ 'black' (the burglars are normally dressed in black, with black masks, and work in the dark) and 客 $k\dot{e}$ 'visitor':





Some native speakers mentioned **§** \mathbf{k} **a** $h \lambda i k \hat{e}$, lit. 'surprising visitor', consisting of **§** $h \lambda i$ 'surprise, astonish' + **§** $k \hat{e}$ 'visitor, guest, caller' (see the figure below).



Figure 16.

Others use 害客 *hàikè*, lit. 'harming visitor', consisting of 害 *hài* 'harm, evil, harmful, destructive, do harm' (Wú 1993, p. 1044) 'cause trouble' and 客 *kè* 'visitor, guest, caller' (Wú 1993, p. 1467). This word is not mentioned *en bloc* by Wú (1993) and is not common in mainland China.

Internet was domesticated in MSC as 英特网 yīngtèwǎng, lit. 'hero + special + net', likely to have been triggered by 英特尔 yīngtèčr, the name for the company Intel. However, the common signifier in Taiwan Mandarin is different: 万维网 wàngwéiwǎng, 'myriad + dimension + net', thus 'net of myriad dimensions'. Semantically, the Taiwanese term would seem to render more faithfully the Western concept of the Internet as incarnating infinite possibility, openendedness and freedom. Phonetically too, it appears to be a striking adaptation of WWW—similar to anthroponymic partial phonetic matches such as Morris or Morton for Yiddish awar móyshə or that that of mainland China, some mainland Chinese began to use this term too.¹³

¹³ Another Taiwan Mandarin term for Internet is 网路 *bánglō* (which would yield MSC *wǎnglù*) 'net + road'. Other MSC terms referring to the Internet include 互联网 *hùliánwǎng* 'inter-connection net', 多维网 *duōwéiwǎng* 'a lot + dimension + net', and 网络 *wǎngluò* 'net + something resembling a net', thus constituting a tautological lexical item.

Concluding Remarks

Most of the Chinese terms above gained currency, most likely due to the usefulness of PSM in phono-logographic Chinese. In Israeli, on the other hand, an SL lexical item can also be subject to mere phonetic adaptation. Puristic authorities, such as the Academy of Hebrew Language, are unable to influence the native speaker with their neologisms in the English-dominated field of computers. (American) English is the language of computer software and hardware, as well as the Internet and email. Therefore, Israelis are exposed to English computer terminology to an extent which makes them neither susceptible nor amenable to 'indigenous' computer neologisms. Thus, none of the following nativisations have actually entered the spoken language:

- (a) Israeli סיבית sibít 'binary digit' (Laméd Leshonkhá 178, 1990) <
 - 1. English *bit* (either an acronym for *binary digit* or a semantic extension of *bit* 'piece' which is reanalysed as an acronym).
 - 2. Acronym for ספרה בינרית *sifrá binárit* 'binary digit' (Israeli ספרה sifrá 'digit' is itself a PSM—see Zuckermann 2003a, §3.1.2).

Note that סיבית had been used long before it was introduced in Laméd Leshonkhá, which is the voice of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, cf. the Israeli Journal Anashím uMakhshevím 14, p. 55 ('People and Computers', The Personal Computers Magazine) (July 1984), where it is even mentioned in its Israeli plural form סיביות sibiót 'bits', e.g. 'סיביות [...] 32'.

- (b) Israeli בית báit 'byte, a group of adjacent binary digits often shorter than a word, which a computer processes as a unit', e.g. an 8-bit byte (Webster's New Encyclopedic Dictionary 1996, p. 134) <</p>
 - 1. English *byte*.
 - 2. (Biblical Hebrew >>) Israeli בית *báit* 'house', cf. Rabbinic Hebrew בית ['bajit] 'one of the four sections of the forehead *tefillin* (Jewish phylacteries)'.
- (c) Israeli שׁפֿת שׁיא sfat si 'C (language)' <
 - 1. English *C* (language).
 - 2. (Biblical Hebrew איש 'height' >>) Israeli איש si 'top, climax'. Note that C (computer language) was considered 'strong' and advanced. See Anashím uMakhshevím 14, p. 53 (July 1984), where it is regularly spelled as יס si 'C' but described as שפח שיא sfat si 'top language', namely שפח הסי היא שפח שיא (sfat hasí hi sfat si).

Consider also the rare Israeli לגלגל בגוגל *legalgél bagúgel*, lit. 'to roll/scroll in the Google', meaning 'to (search) google', as well as the recent adoption of the Spanish first name *Emilio* to refer to *email*—e.g. *Escribiré un emilio* 'I'll write an email' and *Te envío un emilio* 'I'll send you an email'.

In Chinese, it is impossible to import the Anglicism as it stands, for example by morpho-phonemic adaptation. One can calque the Anglicism or neologise, but—at least in writing—one cannot import the sound without using indigenous characters which *ipso facto*, at least in theory, are associated with pre-existent words/morphemes. The use of Chinese characters is a necessity (although in the future the Chinese might well embed words written in roman alphabet in their script—as the Japanese sometimes do). However, which characters one chooses to use is an altogether different matter. This flexibility—combined with the constraint of using indigenous characters-makes Chinese an incredibly fertile ground for PSM.

Because the original International/American term is generally familiar, translation or mere neologisation are not options. Chinese purists, then, cannot merely calque computer terms or introduce a neologism (in the narrow sense). Therefore, they resort to camouflaging the SL lexical item by ensuring its nativisation through PSM. The only other options here would be to use a roman transcription in written language or to mimic the American pronunciation (cf. code switching) in speech (thus resulting in an utterance which is at best a *guestword*). Thus, PSM in MSC seems to be a result of a selection of the 'lesser evil'.

In the case of brand names, there are other motivations involved: first, the desire to attract customers with a catchy name; second, the wish to exploit many speakers' belief that the sound of proper names is intrinsic to their meaning. This is the same type of iconicity which might explain why so many languages refrain from translating *Hallelujah* and *Amen*, as if the sounds of such basic religious notions are related to their referents so that by losing the sound, one might lose the meaning.¹⁴

At the beginning of the third millennium, our world is characterised by globalisation, worldwide communication, vast distribution of technological and *talknological* devices, and linguistic imperialism. The mobility of the word respects no borders and its extent may not be paralleled even in future (less heterogeneous) generations. Thus, the study of the modes and dynamics of linguistic and political contact could hardly be more timely.

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¹⁴ Compare this to the *cabbalistic* power of letters, for example in the case of *gematria*, the method of interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures by interchanging words whose letters have the same numerical value when added. A simple example of *gematric* power might be the Hebrew proverb value when added. A simple example of *gematric* power might be the Hebrew proverb value of intervent inte

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