# THE ADOPTION OF ENGLISH ACRONYMS IN THE CHINESE LEXICON 

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English acronyms are known to have been finding their way into the lexicon of the Chinese language for quite some time. Presented in the given paper is an attempt to generalize on the major types of trans-codification of the acronym-carried concept(s) into a typologically divergent recipient lexicon and the socio-linguistic and pragmatic-semantic significance of these strategies.
Keywords: acronym, structural type, letter words, language contacts, Chinese, English.

## Introductory remark

The Chinese language system used to be relatively closed to foreign loans. With China's reform and open-door policy, China's contact and communication with the outside world has been highly strengthened, its economic development and scientific and technological achievements have been really fast, and also people's lives have been changing by leaps, all of which has called for a higher demand to use simple and easy-to-remember language forms to express new-born things and new phenomena. With the entry into the 21st century and with the rapid and sound development of globalization, everything is changing at an even higher speed. Under such circumstances in order to ensure mutual communication in an effective and convenient way, the advent of abbreviations is relatively fast and prolific. Its due result is the use abbreviations with simple forms, but with the purpose of ascribing in this succinct form latent and much larger information, whose aim is to increase efficiency and reduce unnecessary and long forms, thus fostering speech economy.

## 1. The socio-linguistic background of borrowed letter words in Chinese

Letter words, as one of the techniques of coining new word formations in Chinese, have been studied extensively by many scholars. Up till now, the studies in China have mainly focused on the following aspects: the definition and terms standing for letter words; the classification of letter words; the category ascription of letter words; the pronunciation of letter words; the standardization of letter word; the origin of letter words; the inclusion of letter words as entries into dictionaries; the pragmatic function of letter words.

With the deepening implementation of China's reform and opening policy, there has been an increasing contact between Chinese and English. It is widely recognized that a growing number of English words and phrases appear in the idiolects of Chinese speakers. These words pertain to various areas manifesting themselves also in such abbreviations as WTO, SOHO, VCD, MTV. They originate from diverse fields of public communication and are primarily supplied by the media where they can also be heard pronounced in full, e.g. ETC would have to be pronounced
（in the sounding discourse）as Electronic Toll Collection．However，it could be presumed that the very entry of this acronym into the recipient lexicon，at least for an initial while，was parallel with the tentative and，what is more important，strictly temporary Chinese word for word description／translation 电子不停车收费系统［diàn zǐ bù tíng chē shōu fèi xì tǒng］（lit． Electronic nonstop car charging system）．Hence，international acronyms of English extraction stuck into the medium of the recipient Chinese language could go through the stage of its crude， or even ersatz temporary，and what is more－domesticated，counterpart．

Generally，now the Chinese speech community will not have any problems with decoding and perceiving such acronyms．Still there could be a matter of their correct pronunciation on the part of an average speaker of Chinese depending on his sociolinguistic and educational experience．Such an acronym can also be identified as a Chinese Anglicism［cf．BMW X5／bi－em－d＾bljv cha wu／，here the X in＇X5＇usually be called as＇cross＇instand of English letter X ］．To an extent，this situation is reminiscent of the issues that arise when an English entry has to be phonologically assimilated in multiple recipient languages．If the Chinese speaker has a command of English，this will be fine．But educated Chinese speakers without a command of English will have to suffice with a rude semi－ precise／authentic read－out，or even use a semantic translation．

This situation resembles the sociolinguistic borrowing experience back in the source language（English）where in pre－globalization times the read－out in the media of French phrases was dependent of the virtual linguistic expertise of the reader．

A strive at precision and at the same time the inevitable risks of distortion seem to be two parallel，even though conflicting，tendencies of assimilating English acronyms in Chinese．A prolific ground for these two contradictory outcomes crops up in the letter－and－numeral mix，e．g 3G is typically read our as，lit．［THRI：DZI：］，but also sometimes，especially among the older generation（non－specialist in the subject）speakers，as［san dzi：］with the attribution of the Chinese phonological structure to the constituting numeral；3W（WWW，world wide web，［san d＾bljo］；WIN 98 （Windows system 98 ［w In jiu ba］）；B2B（business to business［bi tu bi］）；B2C （business to consume［bi tu bi］）；F2F（face to face［ef tu ef］）．

The sociolinguistic acquisition of English acronyms in Chinese can follow the phonological－graphemic，or rather sound－image，reincarnation，which calls for the awareness of the English alphabet on the part of the speaker－NBA［en bi ei］，WTO［d＾bljv ti əच］，GDP［，d3i： di：＇pi：］，ABS［eI bi $\varepsilon s$ ］，HIV［eitJai’vi］（also mentioned in Szymanek（2005））．

Interestingly，the acronyms originally from other languages，but entering Chinese through English，are pronounced in the recipient language irrespective of their readings in the original source，e．g．BMW［bi em d＾bljv］．

When need may be they will be accompanied with the full source language（English），e．g． BBC［bi bi si］；CPU［si pi ju］；DIY［di ai wai］，both source and recipient languages，e．g．NBA比赛（ National Basketball Association match［en bi e I bi sai ］，比赛 match［bi sai］），or only recipient（Chinese）language，e．g．Fax in Chinese is 传真［chuan zhen］．The precise one of the above solutions may be determined by background knowledge of the communication participants． Thus，HIV，pronounced as［eitfai＇vi］，will be clear by the English full formula Human immunodeficiency virus whereas SARS，pronounced as［sa：z］，is more likely that alongside the English full reading Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome will require the Chinese translation 非典型肺炎［fei dian xing fei yan］．

The phenomenon of English words mixed with Chinese has aroused the attention of Chinese linguists．The National Language Resources Monitoring and Research Center（2007，p．39）surveyed
the application of letter words in newspapers and broadcasts as well as TV and Internet（news） in 2006，which showed that within all the corpora surveyed，there were 139,821 letter words， taking up to $5.3 \%$ of all the constituting units（types）；letter words occurred 4，390，554 times， which was $0.7 \%$ of the entire number of tokens extracted from this mega corpus．Of all the letter words，typical letter words were 1,619 ，while atypical ones were 138,202 ，respectively $1.16 \%$ and $98.84 \%$ ：a clear signal that acronyms are on the rise numerically and may reveal bold neologizing tendencies in the lexicon．

On November 25，2010，the report on language living conditions in 2009 issued by the Ministry of Education and the National Committee of China showed that in language life，which was a very popular object of social concern，there appeared new trends．Among the words of high frequency in 2009，there were ‘甲型 H1N1 流感’（甲型 jiă xíng，lit．‘a type’；流感 liú găn lit．‘flu＇．甲型 H1N1 流感 translated from English as influenza A［H1N1］）．Thus acronyms from English reveal an extent of domestication in Chinese；POS 机［pi：əu es ji］（point of sale machine with a separate signification of machine－机［ji］）．

As for this phenomenon of social language，opinions vary among scholars．In general，they form two groups：positive and negative．The backers claim that the appearance of English acronyms in Chinese could enrich Chinese vocabulary，since this process generally contributes to the traits of openness and inclusiveness（cf．Liu Yongquan（Liu，2002）；Shen Mengying（Shen， 2002）；Zhou Qihuan（Zhou，2002）；Zhang Tiewen（Zhou，2004））．While the opponents are getting worried that the phenomenon would pollute the purity of our mother tongue and lead to confusion and errors among people．Li Tushen（2008）appealed for＇saving＇Chinese．Hu Mingyang（2002） said that it was not easy for common speakers to recognize what CEO［si i əঠ］，NBA［en bi eI］， SOHO（small office and home office）really meant．Thus，abbreviations and acronyms are claimed to belong to special registers and sub－languages，which to an extent is true of this material in any language．

## 2．The entry of English acronyms into the Chinese lexicon

The term letter words is unique to Chinese．In the English and other European languages， letters are the basic elements．As we know，the written form of Chinese consists of characters expressing meanings．The very concept of＇letter words＇that in Chinese have a source of borrowing in English is thus obviously established through the written form．Compared to Chinese characters，letter words have become a special type in Chinese vocabulary with its unique written form．In addition，letter words reveal a fair amount of variance as regards their structural and meaningful peculiarities．

Guo Fuliang（1997），Wang Jihui and Wang Mindong（2001）all consider letter words as new words written with foreign letters or，more interestingly（emphasis my own），the combination of foreign letters and Chinese characters，such as CD，T 恤（xù，no separate assimilation），as well as 卡拉 $O K$（kǎ lā əひ keI ），or X 光（光 guāng，lit．＇light＇． X 光 in English corresponds to $X$－ray ）．Similarly，B 超（超 chāo，lit．‘super’）with the referential meaning type－B ultrasonic）and SIM 卡（卡 kă，lit．＇card＇denoting Subscriber Identity Module）．This viewpoint just takes into account the written form and regards all words with foreign letters as letter words．

Liu Yongquan（2002）holds that letter words are the Chinese vocabulary elements with foreign letters（mainly Latin letters，or words all written in letters，e．g．CD，UFO（made to sound， i．e．are pronounced，maximally similar with the original．It is a new form of loanwords．

Li Xiaohua（2002）holds the same view，but his classification also includes words with the hyphen or Arabic numbers（e．g．CD－Rom［si di roum／rou：m］，C3 I 系统（command control communication intelligence system）．［si san ai xì tǒng，lit．＇system＇］

Zhou Yukun（2002）regards letter words as an important aspect of Chinese loanwords．While stressing that letter words are loanwords，he also excludes Chinese Pinyin from Chinese letter words．In the discussion over whether to include letter words into the dictionary Shen Mengyin （2002）points out while dealing with the pronunciation that＇an easy way to solve the problem is to exclude the letter words composed of Pinyin as these words can still be written in characters with the notification next to them in parenthesis of the acronym form of Pinyin．Interestingly， Shen Mengyin suggested excluding from the lexicographic practice letter words from English that get fixed in Pinyin for the sake of pronunciation codification，even though sometimes altered． Still in practice he does not deny the letter words of Pinyin the right to get into the dictionaries．

Hu Mingyang（2002）points out that words like＇ X 光’（guāng，lit．light）for $X$－ray，and 射线（shè xiàn，lit．ray）for the Chinese translation for Roentgen discovered rays（X－ray），can be defined as foreign letter words whereas words like WTO（World Trade Organization），DNA （Deoxyribonucleic Acid），CD（Compact Disc）are not words at all but original acronyms．The reason he said they are＇original＇is because those words are complete original foreign forms both in written form and pronunciation．

Interestingly，GB is borrowed from English in the meaning of Gigabyte acquiring a modified Chinese form of 十亿字节［shí yì zì jié］．

And in some sense they are the accommodation of the Chinese phonemic structure to the expression and coding possibility of the recipient English environment of the Chinese input． However，if they are named Chinese letter words，they are not foreign letter words any more． This scholar clearly pointed out that only Chinese Pinyin acronyms can be defined as letter words and all the others are excluded from the system．

Liu Yunhan（2002）thinks letter words refer to original foreign words and their acronyms as well as combination of letters and Chinese characters．He also classifies the original words like internet and party as letter words．

Internet as a borrowing tends to lose its acronymic nature and begins to behave like a usual cultural monolexemic borrowing，e．g．party．

We think letter words are mainly about those words involving foreign letters（including the Latin alphabet combined with numbers，e．g．B 超，4G．

There are at least two drawbacks of cross－linguistic decoding of English acronyms with the retaining of part source language graphical pattern and part crossdecoding the concept expressed by the acronym in question with the help of subsidiary Pinyin characters．The Pinyin character disambiguation blocks further transference of the acronym to other Latin script languages．Initial letters acronyms in English are known for their homonymy when the same set of letters corresponds to diverse full－word readings．The peculiarity would be inconceivable when these are combined with the Pinyin extensions．Pinyin words have very weak ability to develop new words as this may cause a lot of confusion and communicative deficiency．Also，English acronyms are usable in the recipient languages while Pinyin words can only be used in Chinese．

Generally，in Chinese sociolinguistic codification hybrid acronymic borrowings with Pinyin constituents are endowed with an important expressive function and are indispensable for public space and also specific media communication．Sometimes，however，such creations are really
substandard．And for this matter the spread Chinese letter words can be divided into acronym letter words（absolute letter words）and hybrid letter words by the criterion on the basis of whether there are any Chinese characters or other signs in a letter word．Because English letter words are not involved in other language signs besides Latin letters，their classification is very simple and has no complexity compared with the Chinese letter words．

In Chinese，absolute letter words refer to those words which are entirely made up of letters，and do not have any Chinese characters in the letter words，such as KTV，CCTV，VCD and RMB．This type of letter words contains not only western letters，but also Chinese Pinyin letters．But they usually do not appear together in a letter word．The letter words are mostly modern scientific and technological words．Unlike some western letters which can convey a certain meaning，a Chinese Pinyin letter does not make a word．Therefore，the letter words we often see are at least two letters．

Apart from those coming from a shortened from of foreign vocabulary items there are also some letter words which our language user creates．From a rigorous angle，one letter or Pinyin may not carry any meaning in Chinese，but we are very clear about the fact that certain letters have at least one meaning in English．For example：N：various，many times（a mathematical term）． Such are seldom come by in Chinese or English．

Generally，absolute letter words appear with more than three letters，one letter or two seldom emerge．Two letters are like PC，WC，CT and IQ，pronounced，respectively，as［pi si］，［d＾bljv si］，［si ti］，［ai kju］．Beside three letters which are common，there are few absolute letter words with more than three letters，such as OPEC（Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries）and UNESCO（United Nations Educational，Scientific，and Cultural Organization）．The popularity of multi－letter words depends on its usage in heated political issues，which find their way to the mess media．People＇s attention counts on the frequency of the letter words emergence in their lives．

Borrowed letter words include two types：one is conveying letter words with phonetic similarity，and no internal meaningful structure with the speakers being required to strengthen the new arbitrariness between the alien concept and the equally alien sound，whereas the other is with both phonetic similarity and meaning similarity．

To exemplify the first type，one can take the English＇hidden＇（although not generally recognized）acronym Golf（高尔夫 gāo ěr fū）．It is true though that the acronymic nature of the input is not actually undisputed with golf admitting two＇light＇readings as＇grass，oxygen，light and feet＇，but also，possibly，＇gentlemen only，ladies forbidden＇．This purely phonetic strategy of the conveyance of the acronym is meant to naturalize it as a ready－made borrowed item in compliance with the in－take simulation of the recipient language with an amount of distortion of the phonetic image that there is between two distant languages．A meaningless phonetic representation would also be found at E－mail（伊妹儿 yī mèi ér）or T－shirt（T恤 xù：a kind of shirt with the shape of＇ T ＇．

These letter words have only phonetic similarity between letter form and character form．But the second type is different from the first one．There is an amount of similarity between the two forms in pronunciation and meaning，e．g．DINK［double income no kids］（ 丁克 ding kè，separately has no meaning with each of the characters．Ding kè is the result of the phonological operation assimilated with the acronym DINK．It becomes a cultural－social borrowing in Chinese．The same strategy with a somewhat lower representation precision as observable in DINK）means＇a life－style young people pursue＇and stands for＇double incomes and no kids＇．BLOG，an English acronym coined in the late 1990s with several motivation paths is rendered in Chinese as 博客
［bó kè］．The phonemic sequence（bó kè）standing for these characters shows a lesser amount of similarity with the pronunciation of the acronym in the source language than that standing for the acronym DINK．

## 3．Acronymic hybridization of the borrowing process through Pinyin

In English，hybrid letter words are fewer than in Chinese because in most languages letter words are from Latin letters and English is not an exception，English hybrid letter words mostly take on their own features，which have a similar spelling form in the letter shapes．

By contrast，in Chinese，hybrid letter words are made of letters and Chinese characters，or letters and Arabic number（s）．Western letters and Chinese Pinyin can make hybrid letter words．But Pinyin letters in such hybrids are outnumbered by the quantity of acronym characters or superseded by them． Usually in a hybrid letter word，there must be Chinese characters．For example，BP 机（jī，lit． ＇machine＇，‘equipment＇）：Beeper；B 超（chāo，lit．‘super＇）：Type－b ultrasonic；PH 值（zhí，lit．‘value＇）： PH is short for＇pondus hydrogenii＇，and also means potential of hydrogen．

The kind of hybrid letter words is made up of a foreign acronym and one or more Chinese characters which should have a relevant meaningful component within the hybrid letter word．It is meant to be instrumental in the disambiguation of the meaning on the acronym in an alien recipient environment．At times this reduplicated，but semantically pragmatic，component turns redundant．For instance，the Pinyin character in ATM 机（jī，lit．＇machine＇）is coincident with the last element of the very abbreviation ATM（Automatic Teller Machine）．

The letter（s）in hybrid letter words can be placed before Chinese characters，e．g．IT 业（yè， lit．＇industry＇）：Information Technology industry（here I and T stand for the two English words， respectively）．Also，the English abbreviating characters can be put after the Chinese characters， e．g．卡拉 OK（卡拉 kă lā）．OK stands for an English word，＇orchestra＇，while the character part，卡拉 kǎ lā is the pronunciation of the Japanese word＇空 kōng＇，it means＇non－＇and OK means orchestra．So all together 卡拉 OK［kǎ lā au ki］means sing song without any orchestration，just with audio video．

There are instances when the Pinyin part of the notation is marked by idiomaticity，which nonetheless is pragmatically suitable for rendering the respective concept of the source language acronym，e．g．维生素 B（wéi shēng sù，lit．＇keep alive element＇，no meaningful separateness of the constituents）renders vitamin－B．The Chinese part is the core to be modified in the word．The letter B （there are other vitamins）is the modifier to indicate the signified thing，which is one of the various vitamins．Likewise，owing to the series－building potential of the respective signification the Chinese nominations for other vitamins words，respectively，run at 维生素／维他命（wéi shēng sù／wei ta ming）with the prepositional sub－sting of Pinyin elements．

There are some letter words in which the letter are put in the middle，such as：
四（sì，lit．＇four＇）S 店（diàn，lit．＇shop＇）：a shop which can offer Sale，Spare parts，Service， annual maintenance inspection for cars．There are good reference to three S＇s only in the definition formula though，leaving the numeral＇four＇with reference to＂ S ＂unaccountable．

In 四（sì，lit．four）A 级旅游区（jí lŭ́ yóu qū，级 jí lit．＇level＇，旅游区 lŭ yóu qū lit．＇scenic spot， tourist area＇）the components amount to the meaning＇a standard for the tourist area and scenic spot， scenic spot＇with the letter A not representing any English word，it just means＇good＇）．

The other type of hybrid letter words mainly takes advantage of the shape merits of the letter combined with the Chinese lexeme to make a letter word，such as A 字裙（zì qún，字 zì lit．word；裙 qún lit．skirt）， T 型台（xíng tái 型 xíng，lit．type；台 tái lit．stage），阿 Q （ā，lit．dialect，use before the name of a person like in English nickname），V 字领（zì ling，字 zì lit．word；领 lǐng lit．collar）．

There is also a special group of hybrid letter words which are composed of Latin letters and Arabic numbers，or Latin letters，Arabic numbers and Chinese characters．In such a hybrid，the letter means a certain English word or only it．For instance：

18K 黄金（huángjīn lit．gold）：the letter K stands for the English word＇carat＇which originates from the German word＇karat＇．The gold purity accounts for $75 \%$ ．

A5：［ei wu］a size of printed paper， $182 * 257 \mathrm{~mm}$ A is never fallen to character substitution．
MP4：［em pi si］the abbreviated form of MPEGI player 4，MPEG means Moving Picture Experts Group．It is a portable player which can offer video．

Relevant elements in these could be only pronunciation for the Chinese reading of acronyms G20 峰会（20－二十 èr shí ；峰会－fenghuì，lit．summit）：G20 summit．In fact in Chinese，unlike English，G20 can be used for the full version G20 summit，i．e．the rule of economy extends the
pragmatics of the acronym．It is an international forum for the governments and central bank governors from 20 major economies．

Taking some examples for the latter，such as F－16 战斗机（16－十六 shí liù ；战斗机 zhàn dòu jī，lit．battle plane，战斗 zhàn dòu lit．fight，机 jī lit．plane，machine），B－2 隐形飞机（B èr yǐn xíng fēi jī，lit．stealth aircraft；隐形 yǐn xíng lit．stealth；invisible，飞机 fēi jī lit．airplane；飞 fēi lit．fly，机 jī lit．machine）．These letter words are comparatively difficult to comprehend for the vast majority of speakers．

## 4．Conclusion

The conveyance of acronyms in the recipient language environment during language contacts could be explained by the notion of＇morphologized phonology＇held by Andrew Spencer（2001）．In fact，the meaning similarity between a letterform and a character form is not clear and distinct．It requires the user to further comprehend the inner structure and referential underpinnings of the acronym as well as the extents of its phonological proximity or distancing from its sounding pattern in the source language．

Letter words are quite different from traditional Chinese characters．They have the features of the language itself．We know every language would pursue simplicity．That is the major reason for the appearance of letter words．In spellings，they emerge completely or partly in the form of letters．Chinese is a word writing system in which the characters are frequently in square images while letters are formal spellings of the sound system．However，language itself has the ability to adjust to new circumstances，one of which is to condense the amount of expression and at the same time enlarge the information coming from the content，i．e．to use language units as little as possible to meet the pragmatic－expressive needs to the best of the lexicon＇s ability．Abbreviations are the best key to suit this situation，which is developing and changing at the same pace with society．The absorption and employment of English acronyms in Chinese enrich the Chinese vocabulary and ways of expression．In conclusion，we as English language learners，should cast our eyes on these changes and trends of the appearance of abbreviations，pay attention to their characteristics and grasp their rules and directions．It is our task to combine language and society together and study them systemically in that language is an indispensable part in society．In that sense，if you are a good master of the language，you are sure to be a good and proficient observer of society at the same time．

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# ЗАСВОЄННЯ АНГЛІЙСЬКИХ АКРОНІМІВ У СЛОВНИКУ КИТАЙСЬКОЇ МОВИ 

## Юнмінг Ванг

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Англійські акроніми здавна проникають до лексикону китайської мови під впливом відповідних мовних контактів. У статті зроблено спробу узагальнити основні типи транскодування концептів, що передаються акронімами, у типологічно відмінному лексиконі мови-реципієнта, а також соціолінгвальні та прагмасемантичні чинники цих стратегій.

Ключові слова: акроніми, структурні типи, абревіатури, мовні контакти, англійська мова, китайська мова.

