

Chinese “Face” in Japanese and English (Part 2)¹

Michael Carr

3 ‘FACE; PRESTIGE’ IN ENGLISH

A great roar of laughter went up. Makamuk bowed his head in shame. The fur thief had fooled him. He had lost face before all his people. Still they continued to roar out their laughter. Makamuk turned, and with bowed head stalked away. He knew that thenceforth he would no longer be known as Makamuk. He would be Lost Face; the record of his shame would be with him until he died. (Jack London, “Lost Face,” 1916: 70)

This section will analyze four linguistic aspects of English borrowing ‘prestige; honor’ from Chinese: *face* semantics §3.1; lexical developments of *lose face* < *diūliǎn* 丟臉, *save face*, *save-face*, *face-saving*, and *face-saver* §3.2; differences between “losing” and “saving” face §3.3; and the uniqueness of the *lose face* loan §3.4. While the English language has only a fraction of the “face” lexicalizations in Chinese or Japanese, English dictionaries provide a clearer chronology of vocabulary developments.

1. Part 1 of this paper was published in the *Review of Liberal Arts* 小樽商科大学人文研究 (August, 1992) 84: 39-77. Note the following corrigenda: (page 48/line 19) “*wōmen*” should be → *wōmen*, (51/11) “C6]” → C6], (52/18) “face face” → face-face, (53/18) “above” → above, (55/25) “C92]” → C92], (57/1) “face face” → face-face, (63/3) “*yǎn*” → *yǎn*, (64/22) “*kan-on*” → *Kan-on*, (64/24) “Cf.the” → Cf. the.

3.1 Face Semantics

Face is an especially polysemous English word meaning: ‘the front part of the head; visage, mien, countenance; (exaggerated) facial expression; appearance, look; aspect; outward semblance/show, pretense, effrontery; prestige, dignity, good reputation; surface; principal side, front; surface presented to view; acting/striking surface (of a tool, etc.); expressed amount/terms’. The salience of *face* literally meaning ‘the face; the front of the head’ is evident in the lack of synonyms, except for slang terms (e.g., *mug*, *puss*) or ‘countenance’ words (e.g., *visage*, *physiognomy*).

The Chinese contribution to English *face* meaning ‘prestige; dignity’ is semantically closest with *face*’s ‘outward semblance/show’ sense that usually refers to preserving one’s dignity during anxious situations.² This meaning ranges from ‘assurance; confidence; composure; coolness’ to brasher ‘pretense; pretext; effrontery; impudence’. Wycliffe’s (1382) *Bible* translation (2 Cor. V.12) has the earliest recorded *face* ‘outward show’ usage, “Hem that glorien in the face, and not in the herte.” From the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries, English *face* meant ‘impudent; pretentious’ in colloquialisms like:

interpret (words) to a wicked face ‘put a bad construction upon’,
make a great/good face ‘make (something) look well’,
bear/have the face ‘be sufficiently impudent’,
push/show a face ‘exhibit a bold front’,
to face and brace ‘bluster; domineer’,

2. For instance, *Julius Caesar* (v.i.ii) “Thinking by this face, To fasten in our thoughts that they have courage.”

to face a lie (upon) ‘tell a manifest untruth’.

In current usage, there are ‘face; semblance’ constructions such as:

to face (someone) down ‘browbeat; put down with effrontery’,

to face (something) out ‘maintain impudently; coolly controvert’,

have the face to ... ‘be sufficiently impudent to ...’,

put on a good face ‘maintain appearances’,³

put on a bold face ‘give the appearance of confidence’.

English importing the Chinese ‘face; prestige’ sense filled a semantic/lexical gap (Lehrer 1974: 95-105) for a positive sense of *face*’s ‘pretense; false face’ meaning.

3.2 The Loan of ‘Face’ to English

The first dictionary known to record *face*’s borrowed ‘prestige’ sense was *Funk & Wagnalls’ New Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (1913). It did not list ‘prestige; honor’ as a separate meaning, but *face* entries include:

to lose f., to lose standing or reputation; suffer loss of self-respect
 ... to save one’s (his) f. [Colloq.], to retire, under some pretext,
 from negotiations that have proved or are likely to prove unsatisfactory, in such a manner as to protect one’s dignity.

Note the “colloquial” usage notation for *save face*, which has a much more complicated definition than *lose face*.

In the sixty-five years since English borrowed *diūliǎn* 丟臉,

3. It appears that the collocation *put on a face* (cf. *put on a happy face*) is gradually being displaced from the English lexicon by the more recent colloquialism *put on one’s face* ‘apply makeup’.

speakers have coined four additional *face* ‘prestige; dignity’ phrases:

E1 *lose face* ‘suffer disgrace/humiliation’ (1876 *These from Land of Sinim*) [< C62]

E2 *save face* ‘avoid disgrace/humiliation’ (1898 *Westminster Gazette*)

E3 *save-face* ‘action avoiding disgrace’ (1917 *Chamber’s Journal*)

E4 *face-saving* ‘preserving one’s prestige/dignity’ (1922 *Lilian*)

E5 *face-saver* ‘compromise without jeopardizing dignity’ (1941 *Scorched Earth*).

These earliest ‘face; prestige’ usage dates are according to the (2nd ed. 1989) *Oxford English Dictionary*, combining three strata from earlier *OED* editions: E1 and E2 (1933), E4 and E5 (1972), and E3 (1982).

The first edition (1901 “*New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*”) did not include *lose/save face* under its *face* definition “10” meaning “Outward show; assumed or factitious appearance; disguise, pretence; an instance of this; a pretext.” The 1933 *Supplement* corrected this oversight and augmented “10.b” to include E1 and E2:

To save one’s face; see **SAVE** *v.* 8f; also *to save face*. *To lose face* [tr. Chinese [*diūliǎn*]]: to be humiliated, lose one’s credit, good name, or reputation; similarly, *loss of face*.

It cited four usage examples, with the earliest *lose face* found in Hart’s *These from Land of Sinim* (1876: 225), “[The country begins to feel that Government consented to] arrangements by which China has lost face.” The cross-referenced 1933 *save* “8.f” definition added:

To save one’s face: to avoid being disgraced or humiliated. Similarly, *to save* (another’s) *face*. ... Originally used by the English community in China, with reference to the continual devices among

the Chinese to avoid incurring or inflicting disgrace. The exact phrase appears not to occur in Chinese, but ‘to lose face’ ([*diūliǎn*]), and ‘for the sake of his face’, are common.

The Westminster Gazette (April 5, 1898) is the earliest citation for *save face*: “Unquestionably the process of saving one’s face leads to curious results in other countries than China.” Both supplements cite C62 *diūliǎn* as the source for *lose face*, but without any specification.

Second, the 1972 *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* repeated the “10.b” sub-definition with the conclusion “Hence *face* = reputation, good name.” It recited the same E1 and E2 *lose* and *save face* usage examples, appended subsequent ones, and added E4 *face-saving* and E5 *face-saver*, citing:

She had been trapped beyond any chance of a face-saving lie.
Enoch A. Bennett, *Lilian* (1922)

As a face-saver, however, Doihara was given enough support, from the Kwantung Army in Manchuria [etc.].

Edgar Snow, *Scorched Earth* (1941)

Third, the 1982 supplemented *save* entry repeated the 1933 E2 *save face* entry and added E3 *save-face* with this illustration:

The civilian native staff had bolted at the first sign of trouble, ‘going to report to the authorities’ being their ‘save face’ for it!
Chamber’s Journal (1917)

Both as an adjective and a noun, *face-saving* is more commonly used than *save-face*.

To summarize, in the late nineteenth century, as the felicitous E1 *lose face* became increasingly popular in English, *face* took on a general

sense of ‘prestige; reputation’, and *lose/save* antonymy balanced the coinage of E2 *save face*. In the first part of this century, derivational morphology generated “*face-saving*” words E3-E5 without any direct Chinese equivalents. It is significant that the earliest usages for English *lose face*, *save face*, *save-face* and *face-saver* refer to China, while later ones are more international in application.

3.3 Saving and Losing Face

Table 3 compares the total 192 Chinese, Japanese, and English “face” collocations analyzed in this study.

Table 3 – Overall Semantic Distribution

LEXEMES	“LOSE FACE”	“SAVE FACE”
Chinese		
<i>miàn</i> 面	18	28
<i>yán</i> 顏	7	3
<i>liǎn</i> 臉	26	16
Japanese		
<i>men</i> 面	19	23
<i>omote</i> 面	9	4
<i>tsura</i> 面	9	1
<i>kao</i> 顏	13	11
English		
<i>face</i>	1	4

Except *miàn* 面 and *men* 面 with slightly more “face saving,” most Chinese and Japanese lexemes emphasize “face losing.” The negative sense of “lose face” accounts for 56% of the Japanese expressions, 52%

of the Chinese, and 20% of the English.

In expanding *lose face* into *save face*, English developed oppositely from Chinese and Japanese. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for instance, defines the borrowed ‘prestige’ sense under *face* and *save* but not *lose*. While the Sinitic lexicon has many “lose face” collocations (e.g., C31 *shī miànzi*, C62 *diūliǎn*), none literally mean “save face.” The semantically nearest is C24 *bǎoquǎn miànzi* ‘maintain honor’ or C25 *yào miànzi* ‘eager to gain reputation’ (which Hu 1944: 58 calls “the closest Chinese approximation” for *save face*). In marked contrast, the English lexicon has standardized four *saving face* expressions E2-5 but only one *losing face* term E1; dictionaries do not include **lose-face*, **face-losing*, or **face-loser*. Two reasons for this difference are the sociological *liǎn* vs. *miànzi* contrast §1.4, and ‘losing’ semantics in Chinese and English.

First, since Chinese *liǎn* 臉 is ethically absolute while *miànzi* 面子 is socially quantitative, losing the former is more serious than the latter. According to Huang:

The fact that Chinese lexicalizes losing face (丟臉, 沒面子), but not gaining face is a potent reminder that losing face has far more serious implications for one’s sense of self-esteem or decency than gaining face. (1987: 71)

“Losing” one’s “face” is more sociodynamically significant than “saving” it. Ho explains the difference:

Previous writers on face have treated losing face and gaining face simply as if they were opposite outcomes in a social encounter and have thus failed to notice the basic difference between two social processes that are involved. In the first instance, while it is

meaningful to speak of both losing and gaining [*mianzi*], it is meaningful to speak only of losing [*lian*]. One does not speak of gaining [*lian*] because, regardless of one's station in life, one is expected to behave in accordance with the precepts of the culture; correctly conceptualized, exemplary conduct adds not to one's [*lian*], but to one's [*mianzi*]. (1975: 870, cf. Huang 1987: 71)

"Losing face" brings into question one's moral decency and societal adequacy, but not "gaining face."

Second, the Chinese semantics of 'lose' and 'save' most likely affected the lexical predominance for "losing face" as opposed to English and Japanese preferences for "saving face." Chinese morphologizes two verbs for "losing (face)": *shī* 失 'lose; neglect; mistake' (e.g., C31 失面子, cf. Japanese *ushinau* 失う 'lose; miss' in J7, J26, and J32) and *diū* 丟 'lose; throw away; put/lay aside' (e.g., C62 丟臉). *Shī* has an antonym of *dé* 得 'get; gain; obtain', but *diū* does not have one.⁴ Neither *dé* 得 nor practically any other 'gain; save' word was coined into "face" collocations, and this is explicable by the Chinese sociological potency of "losing face."

The English creation of *save face* as the opposite of *lose face* was arbitrary because *lose* has other antonyms: *win*, *find*, *keep*, *catch*, *maintain*, *preserve*, *gain*, and *regain*.⁵ Speakers occasionally use the last three

4. Chinese is lexically rich in oppositional compounds (e.g., *mǎimài* 買賣 "buy-sell" 'business; trade'), including three with 'losing': *déshī* 得失 "gain-lose" 'pros and cons, desirability'; *sūnyì* 損益 "lose-gain" 'profit and loss; increase and decrease'; and *shūyíng* 輸贏 "lose-win" 'result of a game/wager'.

5. Although *lose* and *save* commonly refer to *money*, they are neither

(esp. *gain*) regarding *face* 'prestige', though less frequently than *save*. The *lose* in *lose face* means 'fail to maintain' (cf. *lose one's life*); and consequently, the *save* in *save face* means 'avoid loss/damage' (cf. *save one's honor*).

Save face is nearly synonymous with *save appearances* 'maintain a semblance of propriety'. *Lose face* is structurally similar with *lose countenance* 'lose one's composure; become flustered'⁶ and semantically with *lose caste* 'lose prestige'. *Face*'s four *save* and one *lose* expressions E1-5 contrast with these two *save* and seven *lose* with body-parts:

save one's breath 'refrain from useless talk',
save one's skin 'escape unhurt',
lose one's tongue 'be speechless',
lose one's head 'act foolishly',
lose one's legs (slang) 'get drunk',
lose one's figure 'gain weight',
lose one's nerve 'lose courage',
lose one's heart 'fall in love' [cf. next],
lose heart 'become discouraged'.

These common sayings helped to naturalize Chinese "face" and made *lose/save face* appear to be native English.

semantically converse (e.g., *buy* and *sell*) nor reverse (e.g., *borrow* and *return*); see Lehrer and Lehrer (1982). Note the phonetic coincidence that English *lose* (also spelled *los* or *loos* < Latin *laus* 'praise') had an archaic sense of 'praise; fame; renown; reputation', e.g., *out of lose* 'to one's dispraise'.

6. Cf. *out of countenance* 'abashed; disconcerted'. *Countenance* had an obsolete meaning of 'dignity; standing' (< a mistranslation of *contenementum* in the *Magna Carta*, properly *contenement*).

3.4 Summary

English antonymously developed the *lose face* E1 loan fourfold into “*saving-face*” E2-5 neologisms. Among all the English words of Chinese origin, *lose face* is a rare verb phrase and a unique semantic loan translation.

Very few Anglo-Chinese words are verbs/predicates. Yuan studied English lexemes deriving from Chinese and concluded (1981: 250): “Except *congo* (*cangue*), *kowtow*, *Shanghai*, etc., which are also used as verbs, all the 124 words on the above list are substantives.”⁷ *To lose face* and *to save face* verb phrases are in a syntactic loan-class by themselves.

Face meaning ‘prestige’ is the sole case of an Anglo-Chinese “semantic loan,” or what Haugen (1950) calls a “loanshift.” The vast majority of English words from Chinese are ordinary “loanwords” with regular phonemic adaptation (e.g., *chop suey* < Cantonese *tsap-sui* = *zāsui* 雜碎 ‘miscellaneous broken [bits]’). A few are “loanblends” (“calques” or “hybrids”) where a borrowing is blended with native elements (e.g., *chopsticks* < Pidgin *chop* ‘quick, fast’ < Cantonese *kap*⁴ ‘quick’ + *stick*).⁸ Semantic loans such as *face* extend an indigenous word meaning in conformity with a foreign model (e.g., French *réaliser* ‘achieve; create;

7. Yuan overlooked *lose/save face* along with *brainwash*. *To brainwash* is a back formation of *brainwashing* ‘intensive systematic indoctrination’ < (during the Korean War) Chinese *xǐnǎo* 洗腦 “wash brain.”

8. Cannon (1987: 203) gives two examples of blending non-Chinese elements: *tung oil* < *tóngyóu* 桐油 “tong tree oil” and *Pekingese* < *-ese*. Some others are *tangram*, *chinaware*, and the *-isms* of *Foism*, *Mo(h)ism*, *Maoism*, *D/Taoism* (Carr 1990), *Confucianism*, etc.

construct’ used in the sense of English *realize*, Ullmann 1957: 41). The two basic types of semantic loans are loan homonyms with a “leap” to a new meaning unrelated with the old (e.g., American Portuguese *grosseria* ‘rude remark’ used for *grocery*); and loan synonyms with a more “logical” or “invisible” §4.2 extension (e.g., American Italian *libreria* ‘bookstore’ for *library*). *Face* ‘respect’ is a loan synonym owing to semantic overlapping between the native English ‘outward semblance; effrontery’ meaning §3.1 and the borrowed Chinese ‘prestige; dignity’ meaning (see Hope’s 1960: 133 “polygenesis of metaphor” discussion).

Semantic loan translations are more typically words (e.g., English *case* meaning ‘grammatical case’ < Latin *casus* ‘fall; event’ translated < Greek *ptōsis* ‘falling’, Ullmann 1970: 167) than phrases (e.g., *on the carpet* ‘be reprimanded’ < French *sur le tapis*, Allen 1986: 1: 245). Weinreich (1968: 51) distinguishes three types of phrasal loan translations: (1) Loan translation proper, element by element, e.g., Louisiana French *marchandises seches* < *dry goods*. (2) Loan renditions, where the model furnishes a general idea; “*skyscraper*,” for instance, has calques in numerous languages: Chinese *mōtiānlóu* 摩天樓, Russian *neboskrjeb*, Polish *drapacz chmur*, German *Wolkenkratzer*, French *gratte-ciel*, and Spanish *rascacielos*. (3) Loan creations, matching a designation through language contact, e.g., Canadian French *escalier de feu* “fire/flame staircase” ‘fire escape’ instead of standard French *escalier de sauvetage/secours* “rescue/help staircase.” *Lose face* is an example of type (1), a literal loan translation of C62 *diūliǎn* 丟臉.

Although *lose face* is unique among English loanwords from Chinese, it is not unique to English.

4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

At first sight nothing can be more irrational than to call that which is shared with the whole human race a “characteristic” of the Chinese. But the word “face” does not in China signify simply the front part of the head, but is literally a compound noun of multitude, with more meanings than we shall be able to describe, or perhaps to comprehend. (Arthur Smith, 1894: 16)

This concluding section can widen the above focalizations on Chinese “face” in Japanese and English. It surveys some additional languages where “face” words mean ‘prestige’ in §4.1; describes *face* as what Orr (1953) calls an “invisible” borrowing (e.g., *red-faced* ‘ashamed’) in §4.2; considers “face” as a sociolinguistic universal in §4.3; and puts forth some suggestions for further research in §4.4.

4.1 ‘Face’ in Other Languages

Languages besides Chinese, Japanese, and English have “face” lexicalizations meaning ‘prestige; honor; respect’. The following illustrations are tentatively grouped into: probable borrowings from Chinese, possible borrowings, and parallel “face” creations independent from Chinese. Since the author is unfamiliar with many of the languages below, these dictionary examples are open to corrections.⁹ Overall, “losing/saving face” is the most widespread linguistic congruence, with both “lose” and “save face” (Italian, French, Danish, German, and Russian); only “lose face” (Malay and Polish); or only “save face” (Greek, Latin).

9. Note that only citation forms are listed, not derivations. For instance, O22 Romanian *obrăz* ‘face; sight; countenance’ has *obraznic* ‘shameless; brazen; impudent’ and *obrăznicie* ‘effrontery; boldness’ derivatives.

First, there are languages that have probably/presumably borrowed Chinese “face”:

- O1 Vietnamese *mặt dày* “full face” ‘shameless; brazen’
- O2 Vietnamese *mặt dày mày dạn* “full face, bold eyebrows” ‘brazen; shameless’
- O3 Vietnamese *vẻ vang* “resounding face/appearance” ‘honorable; creditable’
- O4 Malay *kehilang muka* “lose face” ‘be disgraced; lose prestige’
- O5 Malay *muka-muka* “face-face; faces” ‘on the face of it; pretentious; insincere’
- O6 Malay *bermuka-muka* “having face-face” ‘face to face; insincere; hypocritical’ [cf. C28, O16, O19]
- O7 Malay *bersemuka* [reflexive] “facing” ‘have the audacity to meet’
- O8 French *sauver la face* “save face” ‘save honor’ (1920)
- O9 French *beaucoup de face* “lots of face” ‘prestigious’ (1933)
- O10 French *perdre la face* “lose face” ‘lose honor’ (1957)
- O11 French *donner encore plus de face* “give more face” ‘increase (someone’s) honor’ (1975)
- O12 German *das Gesicht verlieren* “losing face” ‘losing honor/prestige’
- O13 German *das Gesicht bewahren* “saving face” ‘saving honor/prestige’.

Since Chinese borrowings are common within the lexicons of Vietnamese (DeFrancis 1977) and Malay (Marre 1896), Sinitic “face” might have influenced O1-7. French *face* ‘face; surface; front; side’ incorporated a Chinese meaning of ‘honor; dignity’. The *Trésor de la langue Française* (1980) gives the above O8-11 usage dates and says: “Le mot a parfois le

sense d'origine chinoise de 《honneur, dignité》 sans qu'il soit employé dans la loc[ution] *perdre/sauver la face*."¹⁰ German *Gesicht* 'face; countenance' means 'prestige' in O12-13 'lose/save' antonymic collocations; but historical dictionaries, e.g., the *Lexicon der Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten* (1973), do not clarify whether these are borrowings.¹¹ Considering these relatively late dates, it is possible that English *lose/save face*, rather than Chinese, could have affected French or German.

Second, there are possible, though still uncertain, Sinitic "face" loanwords. Owing to the "invisibility" §4.2 of the 'face' > 'prestige' extension, there is frequently doubt over whether semantic borrowing has occurred:

- O14 Italian *perdere la faccia* "lose face" 'lose honor/prestige'
- O15 Italian *salvare la faccia* "save face" 'save honor/prestige'
- O16 Italian *avere la faccia di fare ...* "have the face to ..." 'shameless enough to ...'
- O17 Italian *faccia di bronzo* "bronze/brazen face" 'effrontery;

10. On the other hand, the *Grand Larousse de la langue Française* (1973) claims nineteenth century borrowings for O8 and O10, but without citing any examples. The *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue Française* (1972) notes these "expressions sont empruntées du chinois." Holmes (1934) criticizes ambiguities in French lexicographic citations of terms deriving from Chinese.

11. Lothar von Falkenhausen (letter of 87/2/2) says O12 (nominalized to *Gesichtverlust*) has a "decidedly Far Eastern connotation to a German native speaker," and, similar with Chinese "lose face" terms, is far more common than O13, and lacks corresponding nominalization. Peter Richter (letter of 87/6/16) was unable to find any dictionary references to whether German borrowed O12 or O13, and notes *Maske* 'mask; face' and *Larve* 'mask; larva' have comparable meanings in *die Maske/Larve fallenlassen* "throw off the mask" 'unmask, reveal; cause a loss of face'.

shamelessness’

O18 Italian *faccia tosta* “hard face” ‘shamelessness; shameless person’

O19 Spanish *tener cara para hacer ...* “have the face to ...” ‘have the courage to ...’

O20 Spanish/Portuguese *cara estanhada* “tin/pewter face” ‘bold; impudent; brazen’

O21 Portuguese *ficar com a cara no chão* “have face on the ground” ‘be embarrassed to death’

O22 Romanian *a fi fără obrâz* “without face” ‘shameless; impudent; insolent’

O23 Danish *tabe ansigt* “lose face” ‘lose prestige’

O24 Danish *redde ansigtet* “save face” ‘save prestige’

O25 Dutch *aanzien vóórkomen* “look at face” ‘affecting prestige’

O26 Polish *stracić twarz* “lose face” ‘lose authority/prestige’

O27 Russian *pot’eryat’ lico* “lose face” ‘lose honor’

O28 Russian *sohranit’ lico* “save face” ‘save honor’

O29 Russian *licom v gryaz’ n’e udarit’* “not hit face into the mud” ‘avoid dishonor’

O30 Greek *sōzō ts proschēata* “save face” ‘save honor’.

Further research into the histories of such “face” lexemes will be fruitful. Italian, for instance, could have developed “face” collocations O14-18 from Chinese or English influence above, or from Latin below.

Third, there are what seem to be linguistically independent creations of “face” > ‘prestige’:

O31 Latin *salva fronte* “save face” ‘unblushing; unashamed’

O32 Latin *frons urbana* “urbane face” ‘assurance; impudence’

O33 Arabic *yabyaḍḍ wujūh* “whiten face” ‘distinguish oneself’

O34 Arabic *yusawwid wujūh* “blacken face” ‘disgrace oneself’

O35 Kwakiutl *q’elsem* “rotten face” ‘one who gives no potlatch; dishonored’.

Horace (65-8 B.C.E.) extended Latin *frons* ‘forehead; countenance; face’ to mean ‘impudent; shameless’, and Juvenal (fl. 100) warned (*Satirae* 2: 8), “*Fronti nulla fides,*” Appearances are not trustworthy. Latin borrowed a few Chinese words,¹² but there is no evidence that *frons* was semantically Sinicized. Arabic *wajh* ‘face; front; surface; aspect’ has a derivative *wujūh* meaning ‘honor; dignity; esteem; influence’ used in antonymous O33-34 ‘black/white’ expressions without any Chinese or Japanese colorful parallels. The Kwakiutl, a Wakashan-speaking people of British Columbia, have the word *q’elsem* “rotten face” ‘stingy potlatch-giver; one who gives no feast’. According to Mauss:

Kwakiutl and Haida noblemen have the same notion of ‘face’ as the Chinese mandarin or officer. It is said of one of the great mythical chiefs who gave no feast that he had a ‘rotten face’. The expression is more apt than it is even in China; for to lose one’s face is to lose one’s spirit, which is truly the ‘face’, the dancing mask, the right to incarnate a spirit and wear an emblem or totem. It is the veritable *persona* which is at stake, and it can be lost in the potlatch just as it can be lost in the game of gift-giving, in war, or through some error in ritual. (1954: 38, cf. 105)

12. Classical Latin borrowed *sericum* ‘silk’ from Chinese (Yuan 1981, 1982), and later developed *setinus* ‘silky cloth; satin’ and *sarica* ‘serge’ (see §4.4). Latin *faciēs* ‘face; countenance’ < ‘form; shape; appearance’ evolved into Romance ‘face’ words extended to mean ‘honor; prestige’: Italian *faccia*, French *face*, and Portuguese *face*.

Since there is effectively no historical possibility of Kwakiutl borrowing ‘face; prestige’ from Chinese, *q’elsem* is a perfect example of independent lexical development.

Even when there is no lexicographic attribution of loanwords, terminological analogues are evident. For instance, the vivid “face in the mud” image in the Russian *lico ЖИЛИО* ‘face’ 029 collocation compares with English *fling/throw mud (at someone)*, and with “dirt” in C56 *yān-miàn sāodi* 顔面掃地 or “mud” in J54 *omote ni dorō o nuru* 面に泥を塗る, J61 *tsura ni dorō o nuru* 面に泥を塗る, and J73 *kao ni dorō o nuru* 顔に泥を塗る. In analogy with *effrontery* (< Latin *ex* ‘without’ + *frons* ‘countenance’,¹³ cf. O31-2), “not having face” means ‘shameless; impudent’ in Rumanian 022 *a fi fără obraz*, Chinese C68 *méiyǒu liǎn* 没有臉 or C29 *méiyǒu miànzi* 没有面子, and Japanese J6 *menboku-nai* 面目ない or J80 *kao ga nai* 顔が無い. It can be difficult to determine whether such cross-linguistic “face” similitudes are inventions or adaptations.

4.2 An “Invisible” Loanword

John Orr (1953) coined the term “invisible exports” to describe how French *forme*, *ouverte*, and *courir* borrowed the sports meanings of English *form*, *open*, and *run*. Chinese *lose face* is an imperceptible English import because it appears to be an intrinsically “logical” semantic growth from [upon?] *face*, and not a visible foreign borrowing.¹⁴ This

13. *Put on a front* and *effrontery* derive from Latin *frons* ‘forehead; countenance; impudence’ (cf. O32) and are “facially” synonymous with *forward*.

14. The inapparent English < Chinese semantic loan *face* ‘prestige’ sharply contrasts with its synonymous English < Hindi loanword *izzat*. In 1895, Kipling introduced *izzat* ‘honor; prestige’ into English from Hindi *‘izzat*

face 'prestige; status' loan is, Chan and Kwok (1985: 60) explain, "so firmly established in the English vocabulary that the average native speaker is unaware of its Chinese origin."

As the most expressive human body-part, the face unconsciously reveals 'blushing; shame', but when deliberately controlled indicates 'unblushing; shameless'. This is a special case of what Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 37) call "the face for the person" metonymy. Unlike shame that is discernible on someone's face, shamelessness is a figurative (and somewhat false) "face." 'Shame-shameless' and 'dishonor-honor' are "gradable" antonyms classifiable in degrees, e.g., *slightly/very ashamed*. These two scales have concurrent 'shame; blushing' and 'shameless; unblushing' endpoints in "facial" semantic space.

Divergent lexicons use "red face" to express the first semantic focal point of 'shame; dishonor' and resultant 'blushing'; for instance, Italian *rosso in viso*, Malay *merah muka*, Chinese *miānhóng* 面紅 ~ *liǎnhóng* 臉紅, Japanese *sekimen* 赤面,¹⁵ or English *red-faced*.¹⁶ This lexical field is expressive of, but not always determined by, emotional physiol-

'honor' (< Arabic *'izza* 'glory; strength'). Although both *face* and *izzat* are borrowings meaning 'honor', *face* (appearing to be "native" English) is far more common than *izzat* (appearing phonemically foreign). Compared with a loanword like *chop suey* §3.4, *lose face* does not seem imported.

15. Japanese has a wealth of poetic terms in this lexical field, e.g., *kao ni momiji o chirasu* 顔に紅葉を散らす "scatter red leaves on face" 'blush', *kao ni hi o taku* 顔に火をたく "make a fire on the face" 'blush; ashamed', *kao kara hi ga deru* 顔から火が出る "fire comes from the face" 'very ashamed'.

16. Modern English *shame-faced* is a consequence of *face*'s strong 'shame' association; *-faced* originally was *-fast*, Old English *sceamfaest* literally meant "fast/firm (as if held by) shame."

ogy. *Red-faced* overlaps semantic fields for ‘blush; ashamed’ and ‘flush; angry’ (cf. *see red* and *red with anger* with near-synonyms *white-faced* and *livid* < ‘bluish’). Although the lexical opposite of *blushing* is *unblushing*; the cardiovascular opposite of ‘turn red; blush; flush’ is ‘turn white; blanch; pale’.

The second semantic focus of ‘shameless; honorable; unblushing’ has more English lexicalizations than the first of ‘shame’. Among body-parts figuratively meaning ‘audacity’ in English (e.g., *have the nerve/gall/balls/guts*), *face*, as discussed in §3.1, can mean ‘pretentious; audacious; impertinent’, for instance, *have the face* (to do something) or *brazen-faced*. While Chinese and Japanese use “thick face” to express ‘impudence; audacity’, English figuratively uses facial parts: *cheek* ~ *cheeky*, *don’t give me any lip/mouth*, *thumb/turn up one’s nose at*, and *look down one’s nose*. The proboscis prominently means ‘pride; vanity; conceit’ in many lexicons. English *have one’s nose up in the air* is synonymous with Japanese *hana ga takai* 鼻が高い “nose is high” ‘proud; vain’ and Malay *hidung tinggi* “nose tall/high” ‘arrogant; conceited’. “Nose” meaning ‘pride’ may be even more widespread than “face” meaning ‘prestige’.

Any language that borrows ‘face; prestige’ enriches its vocabulary and improves semantic precision. When *face* acquired its Sinitic ‘prestige; honor’ sense, it filled a lexical/semantic gap in the English lexicon.

The Chinese has supplied a specific ‘name’ for a ‘thing’ embodying qualities not expressed or possibly not fully expressed, by a number of terms in English. The aptness of the figurative extension has probably also played a part. (Chan and Kwok, 1985: 61-62)

The nearest English synonyms of the apt figurative *face* are *prestige*,

honor, respect, dignity, status, reputation, social acceptance, or good name. Ho (1975: 874-880) explains how 'face' is a more basic meaning than 'status', 'dignity', or 'honor'. 'Prestige' appears to be semantically closest to 'face', however a person can be said to have *face* but not *prestige*, or vice versa. Prestige is not necessary; one can easily live without it, but hardly without "face."

4.3 A Sociolinguistic Universal

'Face; prestige' words are linguistically fundamental. People "are human," Agassi and Jarvie (1969: 140) believe, "because they have face to care for — without it they lose human dignity."

There is a false myth that "face" is peculiar to the Chinese rather than a force in every human society. According to Eberhard,

It is mainly in the writings of foreigners that we find the stress upon shame in Chinese society; it is they who stated that the Chinese were typically afraid of "losing their face." (1967: 119)

Two lexicographic examples of this prejudice are the *OED*'s (E1) *lose face* definition referring to "continual devices among the Chinese to avoid incurring or inflicting disgrace"; and *A New Practical Chinese-English Dictionary*'s (C42) *qíngmiàn* 情面 translation equivalent of "face (an intangible commodity particularly valued by orientals)." Ho debunks this myth because:

The point is that face is distinctively human. Anyone who does not wish to declare his social bankruptcy must show a regard for face: he must claim for himself, and must extend to others, some degree of compliance, respect, and deference in order to maintain a minimum level of effective social functioning. While it is true

that the conceptualization of what constitutes face and the rules governing face behavior vary considerably across cultures, the concern for face is invariant. Defined at a high level of generality, the concept of face is a universal. (1975: 881-2; cf. Brown and Levinson 1978: 66-7)

Lexical comparison reveals predictable East/West sociolinguistic differences in the importance of "face." Chinese and Japanese have nearly one hundred 'face; prestige' collocations each, more than most Occidental languages, and these two Oriental cultures highly esteem "face." The disparity can be explained with lexico-history; Chinese has been using and developing 'face; prestige' lexemes for more than twenty-five centuries, and Japanese for more than twelve, but European languages (e.g., French and English) only began importing it in the last century.

What exactly does sociological "face" mean? Despite accepting the canard that "face" is uniquely Chinese, Agassi and Jarvie explain:

A decisive difference between east and west in this matter, however, is that in the west we gain status, not face. A lavish wedding reception, a big car, a handsome gift to charity, the friendship of a big shot, a familiarity with western worldly ways, all these and many more can gain a person social assets. In the east these are matters of face, which is status plus something else, like dignity. In the west these would constitute matters of status alone, hardly of dignity. So while in the west 'losing face' (being humiliated) seems to be similar to what it is in the east, 'gaining face', to begin with, and consequently the special syndrome of the institution of face as it is found in Hong Kong, is not the same as in the west. (1969: 139)

If “face” is “status plus something else, like dignity,” then what else?

Lin (1935: 200) said “Face cannot be translated or defined”; but here are four good definitions:

① The term *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes. (Goffman 1955: 213)

② Face is the respectability and/or deference which a person can claim for himself from others, by virtue of the relative position he occupies in his social network and the degree to which he is judged to have functioned adequately in that position as well as acceptably in his general conduct. (Ho 1975: 883)

③ Face is a sense of worth that comes from knowing one’s status and reflects concern with the congruency between one’s performance or appearance and one’s real worth. (Huang 1987: 71)

④ [Face] is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate (and assume each other’s cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. (Brown and Levinson 1978: 66)

Thus, “face” means ‘sociodynamic valuation’, a lexical hyponym of words meaning ‘prestige; dignity; honor; respect; status’.

Martin Yang and Huang Shuanfan have provided two more empirical definitions of Chinese “face.” Yang (1945: 167-179) analyzed eight

sociological factors in losing/gaining face: the kinds of equality between the people involved, their ages, personal sensibilities, inequality in social status, social relationship, consciousness of personal prestige, presence of a witness, and the particular social value/sanction involved. Huang experimentally investigated the relative importance of three “semantic prototypes” involved in losing *miànzi* 面子, concluding (1987: 81) that “X considered act Y improper” was the most important element of the paradigm, “X did act Y which failed to attain X’s goal” is the second most, and “Performance of act Y was public knowledge” is the least important. Yang’s and Huang’s socio-/psycho-linguistic approaches have wider (unhyphenated-)linguistic ramifications.

Adrienne Lehrer (letter of 87/1/25) pointed out that in current linguistic theory, “face” has gone from sociolinguistics via Goffman (1955, 1956) and Brown and Levinson (1978) into theoretical semantics via Allen (1986). Many communicative behaviors are readily explicable in terms of mutual “face” considerations. Allen postulated “face” to be an essential element of *all* language interchanges, and claimed:

A satisfactory theory of linguistic meaning cannot ignore questions of face presentation, nor other politeness phenomena that maintain the co-operative nature of language interchange. (1986: 10)

With ever-increasing theoretical significance being attributed to “face,” linguists should not overlook the Chinese origins of *face* ‘prestige’.

4.4 Suggestions for Research

This study is not concluded. The original plan was to analyze how Japanese and English semantically borrowed “face” from Chinese. However, the unexpected discovery that many, if not most, lexicons have

“face” > ‘prestige; honor’ expressions calls for further research before any conclusions can be made. Some topics for investigation are suggested.

◎ What were the precise diachronic developments in Chinese and Japanese? Compared with the well-documented dates for English “face” words E1-5, the first usages of many Oriental terms remain uncertain. Only 13% of C1-98 and 66% of J1-89 have dated origins. The forthcoming completion of the *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典 will help to clarify the Chinese history (see the P.S.).

◎ How does “face” differ across Chinese dialects? Hu (1944: 55) notes that *miàn* 面 replaces *liǎn* 臉 in many Southern dialects, and in the Yangtze Valley, people use C10 *miànpi hōu* 面皮厚 (Tsuji 1987: 160) for C95 *liǎnpi hōu* 臉皮厚.

◎ Will Modern Chinese back-form a “save face” loan based upon a foreign model as it did for “serge”? *Serge* originally referred to a silken fabric, the name of which came (through Latin, cf. §4.1) from Chinese *sī* < *sí* < **sǐəg* 糸 ‘silk’ (Yuan 1982: 147-8). However, owing to semantic differentiation and cultural prestige, this European “silk” word was back-loaned into Chinese as *biji* 嗶嘰 ‘serge’ < French *beige* (Gao and Liu 1958: 64).

◎ What cultural/linguistic differences exist for similar facial ideations? For example, the idea of “metal [i.e., ‘hard’] face” meaning ‘impudence; audacity’ is alloyed with: iron in Chinese C12 *tiěmiànpi* 鉄面皮 and Japanese J25 *tetsumenpi* 鉄面皮, bronze in English *brazen face* and

Italian O17 *faccia di bronzo*, and tin/pewter in Spanish and Portuguese O20 *cara estanhada*.

◎ What are the most universal collocations of figurative “face”? “Two faced” meaning ‘duplicitous; deceitful’ is so common (e.g., Chinese *liǎngmiàn* 两面, Malay *dua muka*, Rumanian *doua fete*, and Spanish *duas caras*) that it would be notable for its absence from a lexicon.

◎ Do “losing” and “saving face” have any inherent patterns of ordering like the universal lexicalization (Brown 1977) of “tree” before “shrub”? English E1 *lose face* and French O10 *perdre la face* borrowed ‘prestige’ from Chinese in the last century; and both languages now favor “saving” over the original “losing face.” Can it be predicted if and when languages such as Malay or Polish that say “lose face” (O4 and O26) but not “save face” will coin antonymous expressions?

◎ What are the diachronics of figurative “facial” developments? The wide lexical fields of Japanese and Chinese, with at least 98 and 89 lexemes respectively, offer excellent comparative bases because they have been continuously using “face” collocations from their earliest written periods. (Is the twenty-two years English took to develop *save face* after borrowing *lose face* a typical time?)

◎ How ubiquitous are ‘face’ > ‘prestige; honor’ extensions? The §4.1 examples from sixteen languages are a random sampling, not a thorough analysis. Besides Chinese, Arabic, Latin, and Kwakiutl, how many languages have independently developed ‘face; prestige’ meanings? Which languages borrowed it directly from Chinese, and which from

secondary non-Chinese sources?

Chinese “face” has achieved exceptionally wide international currency, and this paper is a first linguistic step towards comparative analysis. Lu Xun wrote:

But what is this thing called face? It is very well if you don't stop to think, but the more you think the more confused you grow. (1934, 1959: 129; cf. Ho 1974: 240, 1975: 867)

Future interdisciplinary studies will be able to clear up the confusion about “this thing called face.”

POSTSCRIPT: Additional “face” data has recently become available. However, rather than reorganize this already overlong study, two final illustrations are given. First, the *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典 lists some variants that previous dictionaries have overlooked:

liǎnzi 臉子 “face” ‘prestige’ [cf. C57 and C13]

liǎnbáo 臉薄 “face thin” ‘diffident; bashful’ [cf. C96]

liǎnxiǎo 臉小 “face small” ‘ashamed; dishonored’ [cf. C79]

miànzi xiǎo 面子小 “face small” ‘ashamed; dishonored’ [cf. C92].

This historical dictionary notes further classical citations (e.g., C57 *liǎn* 臉 first means ‘respect; prestige’ in the ca. 1400 *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳 “Tale of the Marshes” [cf. C36], and C71 *zuò liǎn* 作臉 originates in the 1791 *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 “Dream of the Red Chamber”); as well as modern usages (e.g., the 1935 *Lu* 路 “Road” by Mao Dun 茅盾 uses C97 *hòuliǎnpí* 厚臉皮 and C58 *liǎnnèn* 臉嫩). Second, Oey’s study of Malay “psycho-collocations” lists (1990: 157) these *muka* “face” expressions (compare 04-07) for ‘shame; prestige’:

tebal muka ~ *muka tebal* “thick face” ‘unashamed; thick-skinned’

[cf. C10, C50, J23, J67, etc.]

muka tembok/dinding "face wall" 'impudent; insolent'

muka kayu "face wood" 'impudent; unabashed; knowing no shame'

muka papan "face board" 'impudent; unabashed; shameless'

cari muka "seek face" 'flatter, fish for a compliment'

mengambil muka "take face" 'wheedle; flatter' [cf. C22]

membuat muka "make face" 'flatter; receive praise' [cf. C71]

memberi muka "give face" 'encourage; give face to; not embarrass someone' [cf. C18, C65, C78, J8, O11]

menyembunyikan muka "hide face" 'hide one's embarrassment' [cf. J44]

buruk muka cermin dibelah "rotten face, mirror split" 'blaming someone else for one's own mistakes' [cf. O35]

bermuka-muka "having face-face" 'feign; pretend' [viz. O6].

Clearly, the prospects for studying "face" are bright.

REFERENCES

- Agassi, Joseph, and Jarvie, I.C. 1969. "A Study in Westernization." In *Hong Kong: A Society in Transition*, ed. by I.C. Jarvie, 129-163. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Allen, Keith. 1986. *Linguistic Meaning*, 2 vols. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Aston, W.G., tr. 1972. *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Rev. ed. Tuttle.
- Bloodworth, Dennis. 1967. *The Chinese Looking Glass*. Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.
- Bond, Michael Harris. 1991. *Beyond the Chinese Face, Insights from Psychology*. Oxford University Press.

- Brown, Cecil. 1977. "Folk Botanical Life-Forms: Their Universality and Growth." *American Anthropologist* 79: 317-342.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen Levinson. 1978. "Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena." In *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*, ed. by Esther N. Goody, 56-289. Cambridge University Press.
- Cannon, Garland. 1987. "Dimensions of Chinese Borrowings in English." *Journal of English Linguistics* 20.2: 200-06.
- Carr, Michael. 1990. "Whence the Pronunciation of *Taoism*?" *Dictionaries* 12: 55-74.
- Chan, Mimi and Kwok, Helen. 1985. *A Study of Lexical Borrowing from Chinese into English with Special Reference to Hong Kong*. University of Hong Kong Press.
- Chu Rueiling. 1983. "The Concept of Face: an Empirical Approach from Psychological Perspectives." Ph.D. dissertation. National Taiwan University.
- Crump, J.I., tr. 1979. *Chan-kuo Ts'e*. Rev. ed. Chinese Materials Center.
- Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 大漢和辭典 [A Comprehensive Chinese-Japanese Dictionary]. 1960. 13 vols. Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次. Taishukan.
- DeFrancis, John. 1977. *Colonialism and Language Reform in Viet Nam*. Mouton.
- Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue Française*. 1978. 7 vols. Paul Robert. Le Robert.
- Dubs, Homer H., tr. 1928. *The Works of Hsüntze*. Probsthain.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. 1967. *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China*. University of California Press.

- Fung Yu-lan. 1937. *A History of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. I. The Period of the Philosophers (from the beginning to circa 100 B.C.)*. Tr. by Derk Bodde. Rev. ed. 1952. Princeton University Press.
- Funk and Wagnalls' New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*. 1913. Isaac K. Funk. Funk and Wagnall.
- Gao Mingkai 高名凱 and Liu Zhengyan 劉正炎. 1958. *Xianzai Hanyu wailaiyu yanjiu* 現代漢語外來語研究 [A Study of Loanwords in Modern Chinese]. Wenzhi gaige.
- Goffman, Erving. 1955. "On Face-Work; An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction." *Psychiatry* 18: 213-231.
- _____. 1956. "Embarrassment and Social Organization." *American Journal of Sociology* 62: 264-271.
- Grand Larousse de la langue Française*. 1971. 7 vols. Louis Guilbert. Librairie Larousse.
- Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典 [An Unabridged Dictionary of Chinese]. 1986-. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風. Shanghai Cishu.
- Hart, Robert. 1876. *These from Land of Sinim*. Chapman & Hart reprint 1901.
- Haugen, Einar. 1950. "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." *Language* 26: 210-231.
- Hirth, Friederick. 1873. "Words Introduced from the Chinese into European Languages." *China Review* 2: 95-8.
- Ho David Yau-fai. 1972. "Field Studies in Foreign Cultures: A Cautionary Note on Methodological Issues." *Psychologia; An International Journal of Psychology in the Orient* 15: 15-21.
- _____. 1974. "Face, Social Expectations, and Conflict Avoidance." *Readings in Cross-cultural Psychology; Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting of the International Association for Cross-Cultural*

- Psychology Held in Hong Kong, August 1972*, ed. by John Dawson and Walter Lonner, 240-251. Hong Kong University Press.
- _____. 1975. "On the Concept of Face." *American Journal of Sociology* 81: 867-884.
- Holmes, Urban. T. 1934. "French Words of Chinese Origin." *Language* 10: 280-285.
- Hope, T.E. 1960. "The Analysis of Semantic Borrowing." In *Essays Presented to C.M. Girdlestone*, 124-141. University of Durham.
- Hu Hsien Chin. 1944. "The Chinese Concepts of 'Face'." *American Anthropologist* 46: 45-64.
- Huang Shuanfan. 1987. "Two Studies of Prototype Semantics: *Xiao* 'Filial Piety' and *Mei Mianzi* 'Loss of Face'." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 15: 55-89.
- Karlgren, Bernhard, tr. 1950. *The Book of Odes*. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- _____. 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- _____. 1964. *Glosses on the Book of Odes*. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
- Kobayashi Takashi 小林隆. 1983. "*Kao* no goshi 顔の語史. [History of the Word *Kao*]" *Kokugogaku* 国語学 132: 51-64.
- Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 国立国語研究所. 1969. *Nihon gengo chizu* 日本言語地図 [Linguistic Atlas of Japanese], vol. 3. Shuei.
- Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lehrer, Adrienne. 1974. *Semantic Fields and Lexical Structure*. North-Holland.
- Lehrer, Adrienne and Lehrer, Keith. 1982. "Antonymy." *Linguistics*

- and Philosophy* 5: 483-501.
- Lexicon der Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*. 1973. 2 vols. Lutz Röhrich. Herder.
- Lin Yu-tang. 1935. *My Country and My People*. Reynal & Hitchcock.
- London, Jack. 1916. "Lost Face." In *The Collected Works of Jack London*, 59-70. Mills and Boon.
- Lu Xun [Lu Hsun, Chou Shu-jen]. 1934. "On 'Face'." Tr. by Hsien-yi Yang and Gladys Yang, *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, vol. 4: 129-132. Foreign Language Press. 1959.
- Macgowan, J. 1912. *Men and Manners of Modern China*. Unwin. Illinois Free Press reprint 1954.
- Marre, A. 1896. "De l'introduction de terms Chinois dans le vocabulaire des Malais." *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, 188-93. E.J. Brill.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1954. *The Gift*. Tr. by Ian Cunnison. Cohen & West.
- A New Practical Chinese-English Dictionary*. 1971. Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋. Far East.
- Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本國語大辭典 [An Unabridged Japanese Dictionary]. 1976. 20 vols. Shōgakukan.
- Oey, Eric M. 1990. "'Psycho-Collocations' in Malay: A Southeast Asian Areal Feature." *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 13. 1: 141-158.
- Orr, John. 1953. *Words and Sounds in English and French*. Oxford University Press.
- The Oxford English Dictionary*. 1933-89. 12 vols, 5 supplements. 2nd ed. 1989. 20 vols. Oxford University Press.
- Passin, Herbert. 1979. *Language and Cultural Patterns*. Kinseido.
- Pelliot, Paul. 1936. "[Review of] Urban T. Holmes: French Words of Chinese Origin." *T'oung Pao* 32: 76-79.

- Pharr, Susan J. 1989. *Losing Face, Status Politics in Japan*. University of California Press.
- Saiki Kazuma 齋木一馬. 1968. "Kokugo shiryō toshitenō kokiroku no kenkyū 国語資料としての古記録の研究 [Research on Ancient Records as Linguistic Data]." *Bukkyōshi kenkyū* 仏教史研究 3: 11-20.
- Smith, Arthur H. 1894. *Chinese Characteristics*. Fleming H. Revell.
- Stover, Leon E. 1962. "'Face' and Verbal Analogues of Interaction in Chinese Culture: A Theory of Formalized Social Behavior Based upon Participant-Observation of an Upper-Class Chinese Household, together with a Biographical Study of the Primary Informant." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University. UMI 62-5199.
- Trésor de la langue Française*. 1971-. Paul Imbs. Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Tsuji Nobuhisa 辻伸久. 1987. *Lexicon of A Chinese Dialect in South Hunan, China: Classified Data from Longtan-xu, Jiahe County*. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Asian and African Lexicon 17.
- Ullmann, Stephen. 1957. *The Principles of Semantics*. Basil Blackwell.
- _____. 1970. *Semantics, an Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Basil Blackwell.
- Yang, Martin C. 1945. *A Chinese Village*. Columbia University Press. Kegan Paul reprint. 1967.
- Yuan Jia Hua. 1981. "English Words of Chinese Origin." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 9: 244-286.
- _____. 1982. "An Anglo-Chinese Glossary." *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 10: 108-164.

- Yuan Yu'an 遠愈安 and Tang Moyao 唐莫堯. 1981. *Shijing quanshi* 詩經全譯 [A Complete Explanation of the *Shijing*]. Renmin.
- Zhongwen dacidian* 中文大辭典 [An Unabridged Dictionary of the Chinese Language]. 1968. 5th rev. ed. 1980. 40 vols. Zhang Qiyun 張其旬, Lin Yin 林尹, and Gao Ming 高明. Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan [Chung-kuo wen-hua hstieh-yüan].