



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

PhD's Degree
in Department of
Asian and North African Studies

cycle 33°

Final Thesis

**Analysis of Michele Ruggieri's
Contribution to the *Dicionário
Português-Chinês* in the Ming Dynasty
and the Compiling Features of the
Dictionary**

SSD: L-OR/21

Supervisor

Ch. Prof. Franco Gatti

Doctorate coordinator

Ch. Prof. Patrick Heinrich

Ph.D. student

Yunlu Wan

Matriculation number

956396

Academic Year

2017/2018

Index

Acknowledgments.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Research Status Description.....	6
Part I Historical and linguistic background.....	8
1.1 Jesuits in China in the sixteenth century.....	8
1.1.1 Michele Ruggieri and his efforts.....	10
1.1.2 Significant progress after Matteo Ricci's arrival.....	12
1.2 Cultural accommodation and language learning.....	14
Part II The <i>Dicionário Português-Chinês</i> and its compiling features.....	18
2.1 Language competence for compiling a dictionary.....	18
2.2 Overview of the Dictionary and methodologies of research.....	19
2.2.1 General structure.....	19
2.2.2 Scope and methodologies of research.....	23
2.2.2.1 Scope of research.....	23
2.2.2.2 Methodologies of research.....	23
<i>A. Historical dictionary research method</i>	23
<i>B. Linguistic synchronic method</i>	24
<i>C. Exemplification and listing methods</i>	24
<i>D. Structural construction method</i>	24
<i>E. Phonological and morphological methods</i>	25
2.3 Compiling features of the Dictionary.....	25
2.3.1 Lexical collection criteria.....	26
2.3.1.1 Learnable for beginners.....	26
2.3.1.2 Culture spreading.....	28
2.3.1.3 Priority to oral language.....	33
2.3.1.4 Priority to single-term equivalents.....	38
2.3.1.5 Priority to Mandarin.....	40
2.3.2 Word formulating methods.....	45
2.3.2.1 Word borrowing method.....	46
2.3.2.2 Compounding method.....	53
<i>A. Definition of compounds</i>	53

<i>B. Types of compounds</i>	53
B.1 Modified compounds.....	55
B.1.1 Modifier + noun.....	56
B.1.2 Modifier + verb.....	60
B.1.3 Modifier + adjective.....	66
B.2 Coordinate compounds.....	67
B.3 Subordinate compounds.....	74
<i>C. Single-morpheme words and compound words</i>	78
<i>D. Words with affixes and compound words</i>	78
<i>E. Compound words and phrasal expressions</i>	81
2.3.2.3 <i>Method of negation and exclusion</i>	86
Part III Evaluation of the <i>Dicionário Português-Chinês</i>	94
3.0 Overview of dictionary evaluation and criticism.....	94
3.1 Significance and initiatives of the Dictionary for the development of Chinese studies, linguistics, and lexicography.....	94
3.1.1 Significance for Chinese studies and linguistics.....	94
3.1.2 Significance for lexicographical research and initiatives on dictionary editing.....	95
3.1.2.1 Annotation with the third language–Italian.....	95
3.1.2.2 Dialectal words collecting.....	96
3.1.2.3 Romanization of Chinese.....	96
3.2 Imperfections as a bilingual dictionary.....	97
3.2.1 Lack of intonations and other phonetic makers.....	97
3.2.2 Incomplete entries.....	98
3.2.3 Limited groups of users.....	98
3.2.4 Disordered arrangement.....	99
Conclusion.....	101
Vocabulary.....	102
Figures and tables.....	105
Bibliography.....	107
Estratto.....	115
Abstract.....	117

Acknowledgments

I would like to take the opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude for the help, understanding, and support given by the following people: I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Franco Gatti, for his valuable instructions and professional guidance on this research; to the doctorate coordinator, Prof. Patrick Heinrich, for his organization and dedication to training courses and workshop; to Prof. Detroia and Prof. Paternicò, for their stringent reviews on this dissertation. Without their suggestions and criticism, I could not have completed the dissertation in the present form. Additionally, I wish to show my sincere appreciation to the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, for its open, inclusive, and multi-cultural attitude towards instructors and students, especially from the international perspective.

I also want to express my profound thanks to my supervisor during the master's degree, Prof. Zhao Xiuying. She led me into the world of linguistics, always encouraging me, caring for my study and life even after I graduated from Beijing Language and Culture University.

Finally, I wish to offer special thanks to my adored parents for their understanding and contribution for years on my behalf and their support for my every critical decision.

Introduction

Michele Ruggieri (Luó Míngjiān 罗明坚, Spinazzola 1543-Salerno 1607) was an Italian missionary. In 1572, he joined the Society of Jesus and devoted himself to religious affairs. In 1579, Ruggieri arrived in Macau, China, following the direct command from Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano (Fàn Lǐ'ān 范礼安, 1539-1606), who urged him to learn Chinese as soon as possible, specifically the Mandarin spoken by court officials and literati. After about two years of hard work, he mastered about 15,000 characters and could read some Chinese classic books. One year later, he managed to write directly in Chinese. His high-level motivation for language study came from his firm determination to spread Christianity in China. In 1583, he entered Mainland China, in the city of Zhaoqing 肇庆, where he started to compile the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* (hereinafter, the Dictionary) with his confrere Matteo Ricci (Lì Mǎdòu 利玛窦, 1552-1610), who arrived in China after him. In 1588, Ruggieri and Ricci completed the Dictionary, hoping that this manual would help other missionaries to learn Chinese more efficiently. In 1934, the sinologist Pasquale D'Elia (1890-1963) rediscovered the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary's* manuscript in ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu). In 2001, John W. Witek (1933-2010) re-edited and published it, bringing the work to light.

The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* (Pú-Hàn Cídiǎn 葡汉辞典) is likely to be the earliest European-Chinese dictionary ever discovered. It inspired many later missionaries to study Chinese phonetics and characters. The achievements are outstanding, such as the *Xī zì qíjì* 西字奇迹¹ of Matteo Ricci, an initial manual with a few texts in Chinese annotated in the Roman alphabet; the *Xī rú ěr mù zī* 西儒耳目资² of Nicolas Trigault (Jīn Ní gé 金尼阁, 1577-1628) in 1626; the *Petit vocabulaire chinois-français* edited by Joachim Bouvet (Bái Jīn 白晋, 1656-1730) during Emperor Kangxi's reign; the *Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum* compiled by Basilio Brollo (Yè Zūnxiào 叶尊孝, 1648-1704). Among these outcomes on Chinese language study, the

¹ Ricci, Matteo. (1605). *Xī zì qíjì* 西字奇迹 [Wonder of Western Writing] First edition published in Beijing. Reprinted edition (1957) in *Míng mò luómǎ zì zhùyīn wénzhāng* 明末罗马字注音文章. Beijing: Wénzì gǎigé chūbǎnshè 文字改革出版社.

² Trigault, Nicolas. (1626/1957). *Xī rú ěr mù zī* 西儒耳目资 [An Aid to the Ear and the Eye of Western Scholars], facsimile edition. Beijing: Wénzì gǎigé chūbǎnshè 文字改革出版社.

Dicionário Português-Chinês is probably the earliest and has been researched and discussed from various aspects.

Looking into these study results, researchers tend to put their emphasis on the historical and linguistic value of the Dictionary; few of them, however, pay attention to its lexicographical value, probably because this Dictionary seems not to be a fine example for dictionary compilers. The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* has mainly two imperfections. First, being a bilingual dictionary, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* remains an incomplete version with many defects, such as the inconsistency of the phonetic system and the lack of Chinese tone signs. Paul Fu-mian Yang (1925-1995) deemed that this pronunciation system was still in its preliminary stage with many variant spelling for the same phonemes.³ Second, some scholars argued that Michele Ruggieri, compiler of the Dictionary, was not sufficiently qualified to complete the work since he was not proficient in the Chinese oral language. The evidence for this is the letter sent in 1588 by Father Alessandro Valignano to the Jesuit superior Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615). In this message, Valignano claimed: “Father Michele Ruggieri has worked a lot in this mission and now is going to Rome. And he’s leaving here since he does not have a good pronunciation of the Chinese language.”⁴ This kind of judgment could be somehow influenced by Matteo Ricci’s reports about Ruggieri, who obviously did not receive much praise from his colleague Ricci. Even Ruggieri himself admitted in one of his Chinese poems that his oral proficiency needed to be improved:

On Regretting My Poor Knowledge of Chinese⁵

Several years have I resided in this place and still find it hard

to teach the Christian religion,

It is all because there is a difference between the foreign

and the Chinese language,

I must go on waiting until I have mastered the Chinese language,

Then I shall be able to preach with ease.

³ Yang, Paul Fu-mien. (1989). The *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Academia Sinica, p. 211.

⁴ Hisa, R. Po-Chia. (2010). *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, p. 108.

⁵ Chan, Albert. (1993). Michele Ruggieri S.J. (1543-1607) and his Chinese Poems, in *Monumenta Serica* 41, pp. 129-176.

Original Chinese version:

叹唐话未正

数年居此道难通，只为华夷话不同；
只待了然中国语，那时讲道正从容。

All this explains his confreres and later experts' doubts about his ability to compile a professional dictionary. Nevertheless, thanks to his language talent and great diligence, Ruggieri indeed finished this monumental work. Besides, from this Chinese poem, we can see that Ruggieri had a high-level writing competence (with his Chinese friends' help). This fact proves that his Chinese proficiency was not that limited, at least not worse than Matteo Ricci during their cooperation period.

Neither Michele Ruggieri nor Matteo Ricci was an expert in dictionary editing. And their work, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, is considered incomplete because of its structural problems and lack of essential content comparing with modern professional bilingual dictionaries. There are mainly five problems in it: first, some entries are arranged in casual order; second, certain Portuguese words have no Chinese counterparts; third, the lack of aspirates and signs for tones in Chinese; fourth, some Chinese equivalents are semantically ambiguous; fifth, some words in both languages are illegible because of careless handwriting. Nevertheless, despite these imperfections, the compilation of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* was still a significant attempt of missionaries to show their study and thoughts on the Chinese language and culture. As a language-learning manual, this Dictionary indeed encouraged the Jesuits and other missionaries to study further such a harsh language, helping them with rich vocabularies and extensive knowledge about China. As a result, they could read classic Chinese books and write Christian doctrine in Chinese by themselves. And then, thanks to their improved language capacity, European missionaries could communicate with local people and authorities to promote their faith in God in China, which was the ultimate goal of the mission. On this issue, a detailed description of historical and linguistic background is shown in Part I. In a word, the completion of *Dicionário Português-Chinês* shows missionaries' foresight, responsibility, and perseverance in their assignment. They have made unique contributions to the cultural exchange between Europe and China and the development of the Chinese language.

In this bilingual dictionary, Portuguese is the source language, which is

the language to be translated into another language, and Chinese is the target language, into which another language is to be translated. The Portuguese headword entries are alphabetically listed on the left side, with their corresponding Chinese equivalents on the right side. The Romanized Chinese is placed in the middle. Two editors carefully selected both Portuguese and Chinese words with a set of criteria (see 2.3.1), incorporating their thoughts and values into these terms. These words contain all aspects of social life thus can be classified into various categories; most of them are highly valuable for linguistic and lexicography research since they offered a quantity of textual data of Chinese Mandarin and dialects, and concrete examples in oral and written language.

Referring to the study of this Dictionary, scholars have already published numerous papers and articles from diverse perspectives, such as phonetics, orthography, lexicology, semantics, translation, and dialects. However, few of them stress its lexicographical value: they mentioned some fragmented findings related to the compiling features but lacked a critical analysis about word structures and a synthetic evaluation from the dictionary compiling view. In this dissertation, the author shall pay more attention to Chinese word-forming methods (see 2.3.2), producing a summary of its initiatives and imperfections (see 3.1 and 3.2) and offering a critical evaluation of the Dictionary's characteristics and significance. Building upon the previous research, the author also provides groups of examples with careful classification and comparison of specific terms. In other words, this research is based on textual research and statistical integration of the Dictionary, specifically concerning the analysis of lexical selection criteria, the entry arrangement order, and word interpretation techniques.

In the end, we shall draw this conclusion: despite some editing faults, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* compiled by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci had great significance for bi-lingual dictionary compiling to missionaries who had come to China, inspiring future dictionary compilers and researchers to improve the quality of their works. It also had a major impact on the forming and development of modern Chinese phonetics and vocabulary, enriching Chinese vocabulary with loan words, loan shifts, neologisms and so on. Furthermore, it offered numerous corpora of words and expressions used in the Ming Dynasty, which can be applied in Chinese dialectal research.

Research Status Description

In 1934, the manuscript *Dicionário Português-Chinês (1583-1588)* by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci was rediscovered in ARSI, and now almost ninety years have passed since then. Over the decades, discussions and research from different perspectives related to this Dictionary are endless and being continuously developed and expanded into new fields. In *Fonti Ricciane*⁶ (containing volumes of documents about Matteo Ricci that introduce the early communications between Europe and China, including manuscripts, notes, and comments), Pasquale D'Elia introduced the Dictionary's manuscript to the public, talking about issues like its background, authorship, and the significance for historical research. Paul Fu-mian Yang, a Chinese dialectologist and linguist expressed his agreement with D'Elia in his paper (1987). Furthermore, he also conducted a careful analysis of Mandarin Chinese and Chinese dialects during the Ming dynasty, based on this Dictionary's data, which affirmed its value on linguistic and sinological studies (Yang: 1989). In the early 21st century, with the publication of numerous missionary documents on language, relevant international conferences have been held in various localities, and a new linguistic terminology received much more attention than before, which is the so-called "Missionary linguistics" (Klöter: 2015).⁷ It reflects the fact that many new kinds of research concerning missionary work have come into view. In this context, scholars began to seek breakthroughs from the point of view of missionary linguistics, integrated with previous interlanguage research and sociolinguistics research. Italian sinologist Federico Masini is one of the scholars who worked hard on the Chinese phonetic system, grammar, and dialect analysis based on many resources. In the 1990s, Chinese sinologist Zhang Xiping started studying cultural communication between Europe and China, focusing on European missionaries' activities and works in China. In his researches, he speaks highly of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci for their contributions to cultural exchange and the development of Sinological studies; he regards the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* as the first foreign-Chinese language dictionary ever discovered.

This dissertation is inspired by previous research and analysis. It aims to evaluate the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* by providing examples that have not been discussed

⁶ D'Elia, Pasquale. (1942). *Fonti Ricciane*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.

⁷ Klöter, Henning. (2015). Missionary Linguistics, in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language & Linguistics*, General Editor Rint Sybesma. First published online, p. 167.

in other research on its lexicographical value. Specifically, the primary concerns are the compilers' lexical selection criteria, word interpretation methods, and compiling features. Therefore, a critical analysis is necessary in order to give an objective evaluation of this Dictionary.

Part I Historical and linguistic background

1.1 Jesuits in China in the sixteenth century

During the long history of European missions in China, missionaries, including the Jesuits, have made noble efforts to promote their religion in China. According to historical records, their overseas adventures date back to the Tang Dynasty, when the Nestorians first arrived in Chang'an (today is known as Xi'an) - a metropolis and the capital of Empire Tang - at the beginning of the 6th century.⁸ However, these Nestorian monks failed to leave any evidence of their work in that territory, let alone foster any native believers; they left behind only a Nestorian Stele⁹ standing still on a local monastery ground. As a result, Christianity was once extinct in China.¹⁰ Meanwhile, during the late Sui Dynasty and the middle of the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism in China reached its golden age: thousands of temples were built all over the country, thousands of followers kept devoted to the religion for their entire life. Besides, starting from the same period to the end of the Tang Dynasty, Taoism, the Chinese indigenous religion, was highly admired and praised by several emperors. It had an unprecedentedly successful development compared to the past; it even had a more significant impact on Chinese people than Buddhism at one time. Considering the long-time predominance of Buddhism and Taoism in China (as well as in other parts of Asia, e.g., in Japan), this ancient Kingdom seemed unprepared to receive such a dramatically distinct belief until the Jesuits arrived.

Jesuit Priest Francis Xavier (Shā Wùlüè 沙勿略, 1506-1552) had spent about three years in Japan, during which he noticed how it was difficult to convert local people to another religion. He found out that the lack of native language fluency could be an enormous obstacle for all priests. As he claimed in an epistle wrote in Goa to Society of Jesus: "The interval after this was spent in instructing our converts, in learning Japanese, and in translating into that tongue the chief heads of the Christian faith..."¹¹ In 1551, Xavier left Japan, holding out hope that he could proceed with his

⁸ Lackner, Michael. (2018). Some Preliminary Remarks on the First Chinese Translation of Thomas Aquinas' "Summa Theologica", in *Geschichte Der Germanistik*, 53/54 (2018). Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, p. 22.

⁹ Erected in 781 and discovered in 1625, now exhibited in the Stele Forest Museum in Xi'an, China.

¹⁰ Wilmshurst, David. (2011). *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East*. London: East & West Publishing Limited, p. 222.

¹¹ Coleridge, Henry James (ed.). (1872). *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. 2d Ed. Vol. II.

evangelical activities in another Kingdom, China, to establish a permanent residence for Jesuits in Mainland. During the trip, he arrived on an island surrounded by the South China Sea near Canton, an area frequently harassed by robbers and Japanese pirates.¹² During the period, the Ming authorities were conducting significantly restricted private overseas communication measures, one of which was the “Ban on foreign maritime trade” policy. As a result, this policy increased the difficulty for European missionaries to obtain permission from local authorities. At one time, they could not pass through Chinese customs into the Mainland.

On the other hand, ordinary Chinese people still treated foreigners with great suspicion and fear which made the situation much more complicated. As for Father Xavier, his sudden death in 1552 stopped his enterprise in Asia. Despite his ambitious hope, Xavier failed in several attempts to enter China and to spread Christianity widely in East Asia.

Although Xavier did not open China’s door, he made notable progress in spreading Christianity in Japan while struggling to learn Japanese. Schurhammer (1982)¹³ estimates that before Xavier departed from Japan to India, he had converted over 500 Japanese to Christianity. It shows that he did not waste his efforts on language. Xavier was not the only one who had recognized the significance of language competence to convince people. His younger colleague Father Alessandro Valignano, after years of hard work in Asia, also realized the fact that missionaries must change their preaching strategies.

Upon observing his confreres’ behaviors in Japan, Alessandro Valignano, assigned as Visitor of Missions in the East in 1573, found that the traditional ways to preach (forcing new believers to learn Portuguese and take the Western dresses) had raised great antipathy in local people against them. It is clear that if missionaries in Asia insisted on moralizing in their mother language and refused to respect the Japanese customs,¹⁴ their mission could never be fully accomplished. In order to win local people’s hearts, he put forward the project of “cultural accommodation” or

London: Burns & Oates, p. 296.

¹² “...essendo questa Provincia nel fine del regno, assai distante da Pachino e tutta Marittima, veniva molte volte ad essere infestata da ladroni e fuora di essa da Corsari Giapponi...” Ricci, Matteo, and Piero Corradini (ed.), Maddalena Del Gatto (ed.). (2000). *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, in *Quaderni Quodlibet*. Vol. 10. Macerata: Quodlibet, p. 118.

¹³ Schurhammer, Georg. (1982). *Japan and China (1549 – 1552)*, in *Francis Xavier. His life, his times*. Vol. 4. Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, pp. 229-235.

¹⁴ J.F. Moran. (2014). *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 53.

“acculturation,” a conception related to many perspectives of a highly developed society, such as language, culture, costumes, and etiquette. Regarding the assignments in Japan and China, this strategy is mainly based on a “linguistic policy”¹⁵ that leads Fathers to learn how to speak and write Japanese or Chinese. Moreover, they should also conduct themselves in the same manner as Japanese or Chinese people, especially as the literati and functionaries, so as to be respected and accepted by them. In 1578, Valignano arrived in Macau, a coastal city in the south part of China, next to the Province of Canton, surrounded by the South China Sea. He was aware of the urgency to make priests in Macau learn Chinese; otherwise, they would not obtain permission to remain in Mainland China.¹⁶ Immediately he sent a letter to his Superior, asking a competent person to assume the task. The superior in India agreed with Valignano’s suggestion, with no hesitation he dispatched Father Michele Ruggieri¹⁷ to Macao, instructing him to learn Mandarin Chinese well.¹⁸

1.1.1 Michele Ruggieri and his efforts

Michele Ruggieri was a devoted Jesuit and talented learner of languages. Before traveling to China, he had spent about six months in India, whereupon he learned to speak fluently the local language, which convinced Valignano to send him to China believing that he was a qualified person to implement the mission. In 1579,¹⁹ after a long sea trip through winds and storms, Ruggieri landed in Macau with two targets to complete. First, learning Mandarin Chinese; second, establishing a residence in China’s mainland for his Jesuit confreres. Once arrived, he immediately began with the study of Chinese, immersing himself in reading and practicing. However, he encountered tremendous difficulties that were beyond his imagination. He had to

¹⁵ Assunção, Carlos, and Silvio Neto, Gonçalo Fernandes. (2019). The first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary: Contributions to the discussion of the context of production and authorship, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*. 29.1, p. 50.

¹⁶ “To achieve such a lasting presence, Valignano was convinced that the missionary methods required changes. The first principal was to have future missionaries learn to speak, read and write Chinese.” Ruggieri, Michele, and Matteo Ricci, John W. Witek (ed.). (2001). *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, in Jesuit Archives of Rome (ARSI). Jap. Sin. I, 198. Facsimile edition, with an introduction by John W. Witek. Lisbon: Instituto Português do Oriente, National Library of Portugal, p. 153.

¹⁷ The first candidate was Father Bernardino de Ferraris, but was engaged in mission at Cochin and was not able to take over this task.

¹⁸ The instructions to Ruggieri were mentioned in the letter wrote by Valignano himself to the bishop of Evora on December 23, 1585.

¹⁹ Liu, Yu. (2011). The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission: Michele Ruggieri, in *History of Religions*. Vol. 50, No. 4, p. 365.

memorize a mass of characters all by himself since there were no lectors, no textbooks, no partners or interpreters to help him (at one time, being interpreters for foreigners was strictly forbidden by the Ming Court). He could hardly find a native speaker who knew Portuguese or a Portuguese merchant who had Chinese learning experience to share with him. In a word, learning Chinese alone was an extremely challenging task for every foreign missionary since Chinese characters are incredibly different from the alphabetical letters used in most European nations.

In addition to efforts on language learning, Michele Ruggieri has made substantial contributions to translating Chinese classics, specifically focusing on Confucian doctrines and works. Among them, *The Four Books*²⁰ (*Sìshū* 四书), which were partially translated from Chinese into Spanish, are quite representative. These works were based on his solid language competence, helping him and other preachers to understand Chinese philosophy and ideology.

Despite linguistic and ideological obstacles, Ruggieri had to solve another problem as soon as possible: how to obtain the stay permit in the Mainland of China to travel through this Kingdom and spread Christianity in all parts of this vast territory. Since 1581, he made several trips between cities like Macau, Guangzhou, and Zhaoqing, where he contacted the local governors and behaved politely as a cultured person, demonstrating the difference between missionaries and those “barbarous” alien merchants. With the consent of Chinese officials, Ruggieri was able to use the Siamese embassy’s palace as a temporary residence. However, what the missionaries needed was a permanent residence in the Chinese mainland. Therefore, Ruggieri, equipped with his Chinese knowledge, insisted on requesting permission to stay permanently in Canton Province. In 1582, finally, he convinced one of the local authorities Chén Ruì 陈瑞 (1515-1583) to issue a document that allowed him to establish a residence in Zhaoqing of Guangdong province. Chén Ruì also offered rooms in a Buddhist temple to the Fathers. The Visitor Valignano considered it was appropriate to seize the opportunity and assigned Francesco Pasio (1544-1612) to Ruggieri to develop the mission in Zhaoqing. Encouraged by these favorable conditions, Ruggieri was full of confidence in the future enterprise.

²⁰ *Four books*: four Chinese classics about philosophical doctrines, containing the *Great Learning* (Dàxué 大学), the *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸), the *Analects of Confucius* (论语) and the *Mencius* (孟子).

1.1.2 Significant progress after Matteo Ricci's arrival

Through significant efforts, Michele Ruggieri and his colleagues took the first step towards spreading their belief in China. At the same time, Matteo Ricci, who was waiting in Macau for permission to enter China, was now ready to join his confreres for further activities. In 1583, he was allowed to visit Canton together with Ruggieri. Two Fathers settled in the city of Zhaoqing, regarding it as the first missionary station, which represents a landmark of Christian expedition to China. Ricci lived in Zhaoqing until 1589; during this period, he worked industriously in acquiring Chinese and made remarkable achievements thanks to his excellent memory and the help of Ruggieri. After about three years, he could communicate with the local Chinese people requiring no intervention of interpreters.

What is more, it turned out that Ricci had a gift for language learning, and began to preach the religion directly in Chinese to neophytes. Still, he was also talented in mathematics and cartography, which drew much interest from Wáng Pàn 王泮, the magistrate of Zhaoqing. After several visits and meetings, the missionaries managed to change the official's opinion towards foreigners and convinced Wáng Pàn of their courtesy and erudition; furthermore, they forged a valuable friendship. Thanks to the magistrate's protection, the two Fathers could live in the city and receive visitors.

Being acutely aware of the urgency to teach the Chinese language to other priests, Ruggieri and Ricci edited a bilingual dictionary entitled the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, aiming to help their colleagues and catechumen to master the tongues. In fact, no existing evidence proves that this Dictionary had been widely spread among the missionaries nor the local Chinese community. However, it was indeed the first attempt of missionaries to present Chinese phonetics using Roman letters.²¹

The Romanization system was dedicated to describing Chinese pronunciation (used in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* and then developed in *Xī rú ěr mù zī*). It is devised by Fathers Ruggieri and Ricci, thus is called then the “Ruggieri-Ricci scheme” which inspired later Jesuit Nicolas Trigault to compile the work *Xī rú ěr mù zī*. As

²¹ Biàn Hàoyǔ 卞浩宇, and Yán Jiā 严佳. (2010). *Cóng “Pú Hàn Cídiǎn” dào “Xī rú ěr mù zī”-Lái huá yēsūhuìshì yǔ zǎoqī hàn yǔ pīnyīn fāng'àn de lìshǐ yǎnbiàn* 从《葡汉词典》到《西儒耳目资》-来华耶稣会士与早期汉语拼音方案的历史演变 [From the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary to *Xī rú ěr mù zī*--The Jesuits in China and historical evolution of early Chinese Pinyin schemes], in *Kējì xìnxī* 科技信息, 2010(1). Jinan: Kējì xìnxī 科技信息, p. 223.

Trigault modestly illustrated in the preface of *Xī rú ěr mù zī*: “Rán yì shù'érbúzuò, bì huì Lì Xītài, Guō Yǎngfèng, Páng Shùnyáng shí shǐ zhī, yú qiè bǐ yú wǒ Lǎo Péng éryī. 然亦述而不作, 敝会利西泰、郭仰凤、庞顺阳实始之, 愚窃比于我老彭而已 (However, what I composed is only an interpretation of works initiated by Matteo Ricci, Lazzaro Cattaneo, and Diego De Pantoja, I personally compare myself with Master Peng)”.²²

During the Chinese study and lexicographical research, Matteo Ricci also committed himself to introducing European scientific developments to China. For example, Ricci and Xú Guāngqǐ (徐光启, baptismal name: Paul. 1562-1633) translated parts of Euclid's *Elements* into Chinese, presenting Western mathematic principles and theories. In this work, they also translated and created various mathematic and technological terms in Chinese. Furthermore, Ricci also wrote several works directly in Chinese, which constituted efficient tools to explain European philosophical doctrine to Chinese people. For instance, Ricci compiled the *Jīrén shípiān* 畸人十篇, in which the Chinese literati's conversations and discussions with missionaries about philosophy were documented. This composition reflected ideological and ethical encounters between the Europeans and the Chinese; it also was a worthwhile endeavor of missionaries for conversion, making it more acceptable to Chinese people. Ricci's efforts in translation and writing encouraged other missionaries to learn the Chinese language and literature, including Lazzaro Cattaneo and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (Tāng Ruòwàng 汤若望 1591-1669).

Being equipped with rudimental knowledge about the Chinese language and classic literature, Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci could smoothly express their opinions to indigenous people, especially to scholars who kindly reminded them later that they should not violate Chinese rituals and customs in the process of their mission and conversion. Xú Guāngqǐ was one literatus who treated these intellectuals well. He was deeply attracted to Ricci's European astronomical and mathematic knowledge and was convinced of Ricci's respectful manner and personality. Therefore, he became Ricci's intimate friend and was finally baptized as a Catholic. In cooperation with Xu, Ricci composed the Chinese translation of Euclid's *Elements*, in which several terminologies of mathematics are still used today.

²² Lì Xītài 利西泰: Matteo Ricci 利玛竇. Guō Yǎngfèng 郭仰凤: Lazzaro Cattaneo. Páng Shùnyán 庞顺阳: Diego De Pantoja. Lǎo Péng 老彭: Master Peng, a famous philosopher in the Yin Dynasdy.

1.2 Cultural accommodation and language learning

The actual situation and advantageous conditions stated above made it necessary that missionaries should convince the Chinese people's hearts by speaking Chinese before proceeding with preaching. Thus, Father Valignano raised the acculturation strategy and urged missionaries in China and other East Asia parts to implement it. Father Ruggieri was determined to carry out this task from the perspective of linguistics, starting with Chinese learning, speaking, and writing. With the help of a Chinese painter and some Chinese scholars, Ruggieri brought forward two initiative approaches during the process of Chinese study: the approach of Romanization and the approach of iconic memorization for Chinese orthography.²³ These two methods turned out to be the key to Chinese grammatical analysis and essential points for dictionary compiling and further Chinese studies.

It is known that traditional Chinese is not an alphabetical language, which means that it has an entirely different phonetic system compared with Latin, Portuguese, or Italian that are composed of Latin letters. Thus, Ruggieri and Ricci made use of Romanization (or Latinization) as an interlanguage to present Chinese pronunciation, and they applied it in editing the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. Before the Jesuits introduced the Romanization system in China, Chinese literati used to learn the pronunciation of characters through two conventional methods: zhíyīnfǎ 直音法²⁴ and fǎnqièfǎ 反切法,²⁵ both of which were intricate and time-consuming even for Chinese people, let alone Europeans. As Ruggieri asserted in a letter: “Queste lettere di Cina sono molto differenti dalle nostre e da tutte altre nazioni, poiché questa lingua non ha alfabeto né lettere determinate, ma sono tante quante ha vocaboli e dizioni nel mondo.”²⁶ (These letters of China are so different from ours and from any other nations', since this kind of language does not have alphabet or determining letters. However, it has so many vocabularies and dictions as much there are in the world).

²³ Pfister, Louis. (1995). *Zài huá yēsūhuìshì lièzhuàn jí shūmù* 在华耶稣会士列传及书目 [Biography and bibliography of Jesuits in China]. (Féng, Chéngjūn 冯承钧, Transl.) Beijing: Zhōnghuá shūjú 中华书局. (Original work *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur Les Jésuites de L'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773* published in 1932), p. 24.

²⁴ The method that indicates a character's pronunciation by using its homophone (usually a simpler character).

²⁵ The method that indicates a character's pronunciation by using two other characters, with the first one having the same consonant as the given character and the second having the same vowel and tone.

²⁶ Ruggieri, Michele. Letter of 12 November 1581 at Macao.

Apparently, those classical phonetic representations were not suitable for the Jesuits who had to master Chinese pronunciation as soon as possible in the most efficient way. In the end, Romanization turned out to be the ideal solution that inspired many later missionaries and scholars in various fields.

In the field of linguistics, the Romanization system indicates the conversion of writing from non-Latin script to Latin (Roman) script. To be specific, it is the process of alphabetization of characters. Missionaries were likely inspired to use this approach from Romanized Japanese, based on Portuguese orthography and developed by a Japanese Catholic Yajiro (or Anjiro). Then Jesuit priests adopted the Romanization system for preaching and education. The evidence of this assumption is found at the end of this Dictionary: compilers listed a bunch of words and phrases forming an addendum to the main vocabulary. A few of them are relevant to Japan: *Misso* (醬), a kind of sauce made from beans used in Japanese cooking, and *Japão* (日本, 东洋) (166). These two words have no corresponding Romanized letters alongside them, demonstrating that they were introduced directly from Japan according to the pronunciation. That is to say, *Misso* and *Japão* were already in a phonetically transcribed form composed of Portuguese letters, which were Latin-based and have been widely used by missionaries in Japan to communicate with local people and to write epistles to their colleagues in China. In fact, the Japanese language had a marked impact on many early missionary works, taken as their point of reference.²⁷

The practice of Romanization turned out to be highly efficient, shortening the study time of Fathers. For example, by the year 1581, about three years after Ruggieri's arrival in Macau, he had already learned 12,000 Chinese characters, as Pedro Gomez (1533/1535-1600) mentioned in a report to the General.²⁸ However, being the preliminary and unique aid to learning Chinese for missionaries in China in the sixteenth century, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* also had some evident defects, such as the inconsistent phonetic system and the lack of tones, which shall be involved in the detailed discussion (see 3.2.1).

Iconic memorization is the process of storing visual memory in the short term.

²⁷ Levi, A. Joseph. (2014). The Ricci-Ruggieri Dicionário Europeu-Chinês: Linguistic and Philological Notes on Some Portuguese and Italian Entries, in *Language and Linguistics Monograph Series 53*. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, p. 344.

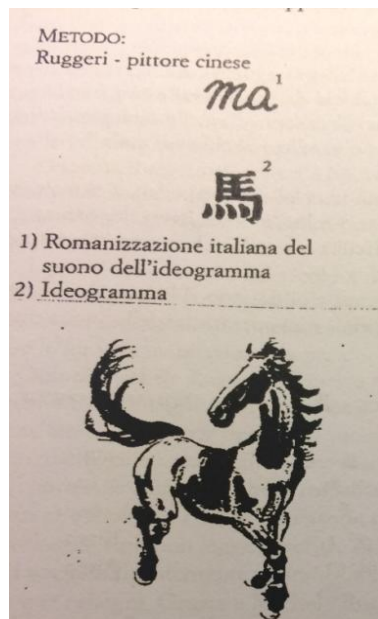
²⁸ Gomez, Pedro, and Josef F. Schütte (ed.). (1975). Letter to the General of the Jesuit Order, October 25, 1581, in *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*. Vol.1. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (IHSI), pp. 116-117.

Although it is widely considered that iconic memory does not last long, it is still a useful pedagogical tactic for tutors to teach children and novice students (adults included) from ancient times until today. Michele Ruggieri adopted this approach to learn and memorize Chinese characters that are formed by strokes. Besides, he got great help from his painter friend, who skillfully taught him the technique of Chinese calligraphy, explaining the stroke order and illustrating the meaning of characters by drawing pictures.²⁹

For example, the Chinese character mǎ 馬 (horse)-the traditional form of mǎ 马 in modern standard Chinese-is interpreted as a painting of a horse (**Figure 1**). The Chinese painter drew the image with a few strokes to strengthen learners' impression of the character's meaning and writing. It is easy to find that this figure of the horse resembles the character mǎ 馬, which is not a coincidence. In general, Chinese characters can be classified into several types based on different word-formation principles, such as *xiàngxíngzì* 象形字 (pictographs or pictograms), *huìyìzì* 会意字 (ideographs or ideograms), and *xíngshēngzì* 形声字 (phono-semantic compounds). Among them, about 600 Chinese characters are categorized as pictographs, which are formed by highly stylized and simplified pictures of objects in daily life. Regarding the character mǎ 馬, it is a pictograph as well as an ideograph representing the concept and the appearance of a horse. The iconic memorization approach is not suitable for all Chinese characters but was still an efficient method to memorize Chinese words for Ruggieri at the beginning of learning.

²⁹ Brockey, Liam Matthew. (2007). Learning the Language of Birds, in *Journey to the East. The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Part II, 7. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, p. 246.

Figure 1³⁰: Romanization and ideogram of *mǎ* 馬³¹



³⁰ English translation of Fig.1 from the top down: METHOD: Ruggieri – Chinese painter. 1) Romanization in Italian of this ideogram's pronunciation. 2) Ideogram.

³¹ Gisondi, F. Antonio. (1999). *Michele Ruggeri S.J., missionario in Cina, primo sinologo europeo e poeta "cinese" (Spinazzola 1543-Salerno 1607)*. Milano: Jaca Book, p. 49.

Part II The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* and its compiling features

2.1 Language competence for compiling a dictionary

As we mentioned in the Introduction, Michele Ruggieri's Chinese proficiency during his residence in China is continually a controversial topic under discussion. Some scholars in the field of sinology argued that his competence was insufficient to compile the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. In some articles, researchers compare Ruggieri's Chinese proficiency to Ricci, and they tend to assess their language competence through published works. If we look into the modern system of the language placement test, one's language proficiency assessment generally includes four sections: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Although these standards are almost word-widely accepted to measure one's second language level in many official language tests, they seem unsuitable for Ruggieri.

It is difficult to find direct evidence about Ruggieri's listening and speaking level. D'Arelli mentioned (1994) Ricci's affirmation that Ruggieri did not acquire a more than mediocre knowledge of the Chinese language and letters.³² Still, the fact that he adopted Romanized letters in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* proves that at least he has made efforts to mimic and record Chinese pronunciation. Ruggieri made it by noting down every single "sound" he heard from his Chinese friends and interpreters, transforming them into groups of Roman letters, despite the lack of the five tones. Apparently, during the residence in Canton, he had no serious problem with listening but still could not distinguish the difference in accent between Chinese mandarin and various dialects. Regarding his speaking ability, Ruggieri himself stated in a report to Claudio Aquaviva (1543-1615) on October 20 from Zhaoqin: "By the grace of the lord, I always have been healthy, and now I can speak to all [Chinese] without an interpreter and can read their books fairly well."³³

Considering Ruggieri's endowments and endeavor in Chinese study, he achieved

³² "M. Ruggieri...non acquisì una conoscenza che fosse più che mediocre della <<lingua e lettere>> cinese." D'Arelli, Francesco. (1994). Michele Ruggieri S.I., l'apprendimento della lingua cinese e la traduzione latina dei Si shu (Quattro libri), in *Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, 1994 (54/4). Naples: Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", p. 486.

³³ Yang, Paul Fu-mien. (1989). *The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction*, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Academia Sinica, pp. 193-194.

significant speaking and reading progress within three years. Before the compilation of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, Ruggieri showed great respect and interest in Chinese classic books; he spent a lot of time reading; in the meantime, he immersed himself in the translation of works. One of them was the translation of *Great Learning* (*Daxue*) in Latin, which was then partially published in 1593 by Antonio Possevino (1533-1611). According to Jesuit Albert Chan, who rediscovered manuscripts of Ruggieri's poems kept in ARSI,³⁴ Ruggieri had also strived to write poems in Chinese, obviously with Chinese tutors' help. It is clear that Ruggieri was eager to acquire the language and to study China's culture. He made great efforts to attract their interest with advanced European knowledge and patient guidance about Christianity, hoping to enter the Chinese elites' group, mitigating their suspicion and fear towards foreign missionaries. Taken as a whole, this demonstrates that from the perspective of language competence, Ruggieri was qualified enough to compile a dictionary; what is more, he was always devoting himself to his work with fierce determination.

2.2 Overview of the Dictionary and methodologies of research

2.2.1 General structure

This research is based on the manuscript of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* rediscovered by Pasquale d'Elia in 1934, then re-edited by John W. Witek (1933-2010) and published in 2001, with Fu-mien Yang's paper appended to the beginning of the work. The original document is kept in ARSI with the number of Jap. Sin. I, 198, in total 189 pages, including 65 pages of manuscripts not related to the Dictionary, such as the essay written in Roman letters "Pin ciù ven dà ssignì" (*Bīn zhǔ wèndá cíyì* 宾主问答词意),³⁵ some disordered Chinese vocabularies in different fields, Chinese learning notes, and so on. As Witek asserted in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* (2001), "The following folio, pages 157-169, are not part of the dictionary, but are bound in the same codex". The original manuscript was written on Chinese paper

³⁴ Chan, Albert. (1993). "Michele Ruggieri, S.J. (1543–1607) and his Chinese Poems," in *Monumenta Serica*. Vol. 41, pp. 139-157.

³⁵ Zhāng, Xīpíng 张西平. (2016). "Pú Huá Cídiǎn" zhōng de sǎnwén yè yánjiū 《葡华辞典》中的散文页研究 [Research on the file sheets of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Běijīng xíngzhèng xuéyuàn xuébào* 北京行政学院学报. No. 1. Beijing: Běijīng xíngzhèng xuéyuàn xuébào 北京行政学院学报, p. 117.

Italian (merely used in few pages). To answer this question, we should consider three determinants: historical and linguistic background; the competence of compilers; the work's localization, namely, where they completed this work. To be specific, the primary reason for their choice of language lies in the popularity of the Portuguese. Portuguese has been widely used starting from the 15th century to the 16th century in many fields, especially in navigation and commercial trades. In other words, Portuguese has been the *lingua franca* for a long time, the bridge language for Europeans and local people in many parts of Asia, and remained a common language there until the 19th century. During the long sea trip from Europe to Asia, Ruggieri learned Portuguese and communicated with sailors and merchants in Portuguese; when he arrived in China, he found a Chinese tutor to help him with Chinese learning who was probably familiar with Portuguese, not Italian. A secondary reason is that after several years away from the motherland, Ricci and Ruggieri spoke Portuguese more frequently and fluently than Italian. A third reason, which cannot be ignored, is the birthplace³⁶ of this work, the port city Macao, where Ruggieri had stayed for a long time until 1588 when he left China and returned to Rome taking with him the Dictionary³⁷ and other documents. As discussed later, the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* includes subjects of various fields, such as nautical activities, commercial intercourses and military equipment. Being accustomed to living in this geographically important city, the Fathers could easily record corpus from daily conversations between Portuguese and Chinese people.

The Dictionary remained an uncompleted draft: sometimes the handwriting of the manuscript is careless and illegible; several Chinese translations for Portuguese terms are not precise and may lead to semantic ambiguity; specific entries were deleted and then revised; moreover, there are a few spelling mistakes.

Ricci and Ruggieri adopted the effective method of Romanization (or

³⁶ The writer of this dissertation believes that missionaries learned the majority of vocabularies in the Dictionary when they lived in Macao. Here we should mention that the contention among scholars about location of the *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* is between Macao and Zhaoqing. Paul Fumian Yang put forward that the location was in Zhaoqing, a place not much far from Macao. See Paul Fumian Yang's article *the Portuguese Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci: A historical and Linguistic Introduction* (1989).

However, according to Italian sinologist, Raoul Zamponi, the dictionary was planned and elaborated in Macao, see Zamponi, Raoul. (2012). Per una nuova immagine del dizionario portoghese-cinese attribuito a Ricci e Ruggieri, in *Attualità di Ricci: testi, fortuna, interpretazioni*. Macerata: Quodlibet, p. 82.

³⁷ Barreto, Luís Filipe. (2002). Reseña de "Dicionário Português-Chinês de John W. Witek (ed.)", in *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies*. Vol. 5. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, p. 118.

Latinization) in order to describe the phonetic system of Chinese. They presented Chinese Characters' pronunciation by using Portuguese, Latin, and sometimes Italian syllables and letters that were familiar to priests.³⁸ However, this system lacks tone indicators, which constitutes one of the defects of the Dictionary. The improvement and integration of the Romanized system fell on later missionaries and sinologists. In this dissertation, the author will not go deep into research of the phonetic system; instead, she will put emphasis on the compiling features analysis and comprehensive evaluation of the Dictionary.

Regarding encoding Portuguese entries into Chinese, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* offers numerous faithful interpretations (including words and expressions). These words turn out to be efficient solutions to convert the source language to the target language. For example, they used more than one synonym or expression in Chinese to describe a Portuguese entry, enriching semantical expression and providing parallel alternatives. These Chinese terms could be verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and word combinations. In most cases, these alternatives are synonyms with the same part of speech.

For instance, the verb *Desobedicer* (to disobey) is interpreted in four Chinese synonyms: *bù xiào* 不孝 (to disobey one's parents), *bù shùn* 不顺 (to disobey), *wǔnì* 忤逆 (to disobey) and *bèini* 悖逆 (to disobey), which represent similar meaning but with subtle differences in word-forming structure and usage. *Xiào* 孝 means to obey to one's parents, *shùn* 顺 means to obey the superior's order or accept one's fate. The negator *bù* 不 gives a negative sense to these two verbs *xiào* 孝 and *shùn* 顺. As a result, both *bù xiào* 不孝 and *bù shùn* 不顺 convey the meaning of *desobedicer*; in the meantime, they are following the similar word-building method as *desobedicer* does, which is a derivative of *obedicer*, categorized by the prefix *des* (des+obedicer) without changing the part of speech of the word. This approach is the negation method for interpretation (see 2.3.2.3). Whereas, the other two Chinese equivalents *wǔnì* 忤逆 and *bèini* 悖逆 are both coordinate compounds (see 2.3.2.2, B.2) constituted by two monotonic verbs, in which *wǔ* 忤, *nì* 逆 and *bèi* 悖 are all

³⁸ Xuē Zhixiá 薛志霞. (2008). *Ming mò chuánjiāoshì hànǚ luómǎzì zhùyīn fāng'àn xìngzhì kǎo* 明末传教士汉语罗马字注音方案性质考 [Study on the Source Language of the Roman Transcription of Chinese Words by Western Missionaries in the Late Ming Dynasty], in *Jinzhōng xuéyuàn xuébào* 晋中学院学报. Vol. 71(4). Jinzhong: Jinzhōng xuéyuàn xuébào 晋中学院学报, p. 4.

synonyms of *desobedicer*.

2.2.2 Scope and methodologies of research

2.2.2.1 Scope of research

This research aims to evaluate the compiling features of *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, and reconstruct the word-selecting principles of the two editors, identifying lexical categories from the view of word-forming approaches. To be specific, this dissertation's scope includes the study of the general structure and overall arrangement, the discussion about interpretation methods applied, and the evaluation of this Dictionary's significance. To give a practical investigation about several topics, the author provides examples of certain words (and expressions) selected from this Dictionary and emphasizes the lexical value of these terms. The analysis of the Dictionary's Romanized system is not the central issue of the discussion, therefore phonology and morphology methods are not the major methods of the research.

2.2.2.2 Methodologies of research

Methods are procedures or mechanics that can be applied in all scientific disciplines.³⁹ In dictionary research, a set of theories and methodologies is needed, especially for evaluating and criticizing a dictionary. These theories and methods should be appropriate and specific for the dictionary on-topic, but may not be suitable for other dictionary types. The author applied several methods as below:

A. Historical dictionary research method

Theories and methodologies in historical research involve various aspects of society, caring about the subject's similarity and distinction in different historical periods or a specific period. In consideration of the time when the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* is completed, methods for historical dictionary evaluation are necessary, which concerns the Dictionary's editing background, its advantages and disadvantages compared with modern dictionaries, the historical limits of editors and users of the Dictionary, its

³⁹ Schierholz, Stefan J. (2015). Methods in Lexicography and Dictionary Research, in *Lexikos*. South Africa: African Association for Lexicography (AFRILEX). Vol. 25, p. 324.

significance and impact on society and contemporary lexicographical research.

B. Linguistic synchronic method

The synchronic method in the field of linguistics often relates to a language at a particular time. In this research, the synchronic method applies to discuss Portuguese and Chinese in the 16th century (during the Ming Dynasty of China), taking specific examples of Portuguese and Chinese words collected from the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, excluding other bi-lingual vocabularies and dictionaries edited in the same period or later. To be specific, the author conducts a synchronic description of several Chinese words used merely in ancient times and those still used in modern times. Among them, a few Portuguese words were subjected to morphological changes since then; some Chinese terms have been simplified now. Therefore, the synchronic method is applied, integrating with approaches of linguistic comparison and exemplification.

C. Exemplification and listing methods

The exemplification and listing methods are consistently applied together, providing specific examples and irrefutable evidence to support one's opinion or arguments. This research shall enumerate representative examples in groups to compare and observe the homogeneity and heterogeneity between the lexical items, integrating with figures and statistic tables.

D. Structural construction method

The structural constructing method is used to conduct a thematic arrangement of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, reconstructing the compiling principles and features. In the narrow sense, it means to analyze this Dictionary itself regarding all the properties a dictionary has.⁴⁰ However, conducting a comprehensive investigation in only one thesis seems impossible; thus, this dissertation aims to evaluate not all of them but certain structural properties. To be specific, it refers to the systematic description of

⁴⁰ Schierholz, Stefan J. (2015). Methods in Lexicography and Dictionary Research, in *Lexikos*. South Africa: African Association for Lexicography (AFRILEX). Vol. 25, p. 341.

macrostructure (compiling features and the relationship between them) of this Dictionary and microstructure (Chinese word-building methods) within some entries.

E. Phonological and morphological methods

The phonological study concerns the relationships of phonetic components within a language, sometimes between different languages. The morphological study concerns the forms and structures of words. Both of them are branches of linguistics. Even though the author gives no in-depth analysis of the Romanization system in this dissertation, the phonological and morphological methods are still adopted in some parts to identify specific terms that are indecipherable due to sloppy handwriting and wrongly shaped Chinese characters or deviant characters.

2.3 Compiling features of the Dictionary

Although the two compilers were not experts in the field and had no dictionary compiling experience, they introduced various efficient approaches while editing the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. These approaches were then adopted and developed by later missionaries, such as the Romanized phonetic system and the linguistic borrowing method. The previous research presumed that this Dictionary is composed based on a Portuguese vocabulary brought from Europe and carried by merchants and sailors during their intercontinental travels, since Portuguese was an international lingua franca, especially in the fields of commerce and navigation.⁴¹ For the purpose of preaching in Chinese, these missionaries urgently needed a bilingual vocabulary that could meet their requirements for communication in daily life and with upper-class elites. As a result, two priests completed the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* within about five years, considering it as an intensive language-learning manual that would be circulated in the community of Jesuits and Chinese neophytes.

Based on the systematic investigation of the Dictionary and the detailed analysis of selected entries, we deduce that the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* has certain unique features that have influenced the compilation of later bilingual dictionaries and

⁴¹ Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平. (2014). *Míng mò “Pú Hàn Cídiǎn” yìshì tǐlì kǎo* 明末《葡汉词典》译释体例考 [On the explanatory rules in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Dāngdài yǔyánxué* 当代语言学. Vol. 16. 2014(04). Beijing: *Dāngdài yǔyánxué* 当代语言学, pp. 436-437.

vocabularies edited by missionaries from the 16th century to the 17th century.

2.3.1 Lexical collection criteria

The lexical collection criteria refer to a series of principles and rules applied when entries or lexical items are collected, categorized, and ordered during lexicographical editing. Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci have intentionally followed a range of criteria during the process of lemma selecting and registering, which means they had to choose which ones should be included and which are excluded. With these selected words and expressions, they looked forward to facilitating language learning in the short term and introducing certain Western conceptions that were not familiar to Chinese people. Both Portuguese and Chinese entries listed in this research can be examined and evaluated with four rules as below:

2.3.1.1 Learnable for beginners

The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* remained a simplified learning manual for missionaries and has not been known to the public until 2001 when it was firstly published. When the two Fathers began their work, they regarded it as a pragmatic linguistic tool for daily communication with local people rather than a masterpiece that could take them too much time. Although this Dictionary is not an encyclopedia, it offers numerous essential words and expressions in two languages, explaining to primary learners the pronunciation and meaning in the most intuitive manner.

As the source language, Portuguese entries are placed in the first column so that readers who speak Portuguese can consult a word in alphabetical order and then find the corresponding Chinese term. In the second column, Romanized letters are indicating the Chinese pronunciation. In the third column are arranged Chinese characters. In the fourth column, we can see a few Italian words that seem to be missionaries' notes when they proceeded with their Chinese learning. They wrote down several Italian words or phrases right after the Chinese interpretations as additional explanations to avoid ambiguity and strengthen users' understanding. From these annotations, we deduce that Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci should have planned to compile the Dictionary in three different languages but were interrupted

for unknown reasons.⁴²

When the first groups of European missionaries, specifically the Jesuits came to China, they immediately encountered an extremely challenging problem: the Chinese language. At that time, they had no idea about the difficulty of learning Chinese and felt quite confused about its pronunciation and orthography. First, Chinese phonetics does not correspond directly to its writing, which makes it much more complicated to learn. Regarding the phonetic problem, missionaries adopted the Romanization system to help learners pronounce Chinese characters in a familiar way. Besides, from the view of semantics, when there is only one Chinese counterpart of a Portuguese term, new learners may wrongly use it since its meaning and use may differ according to the context. It means that readers of the Dictionary should be imparted more information about an entry. However, too-long annotations are also not suitable for beginners who are not capable of parsing sentences.

Thus, the two missionaries often offered more than one Chinese equivalent to correspond to one Portuguese word. They interpreted a Portuguese word by collecting a group of appropriate Chinese words and expressions that are semantically and morphologically equivalent to the Portuguese term. Most of these Chinese characters are synonyms with the distinction between formal and informal language. Therefore, learners can find various lexical solutions in different situations to deal with a new word.

However, this rule does not work every time, since there are a few Chinese terms that do not precisely correspond to the Portuguese ones: the original meaning of these Chinese equivalents could have been extended or narrowed regarding the Portuguese terms. As a result, users could have difficulty distinguishing these Chinese synonyms' intertwined uses that correspond to one Portuguese term. In addition to that, it happens that the part-of-speech of a Chinese word differs from that of a Portuguese term. For example, a noun in Portuguese could be interpreted as a verb in Chinese, intentionally or unintentionally, since the existing Chinese words can hardly explain it. Furthermore, beginners could barely acquire all the Chinese synonyms in a short time, let alone practice them properly in the correct context. Considering the situation above, we assume that the two compatriots were not capable of offering accurate definitions with precise counterparts for every Portuguese term (or their time for

⁴² Levi, A. Joseph. (1998). *O dicionário Português-Chinês de Padre Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552-1610): uma abordagem histórico-linguística*. Vol. 10. New Orleans: University Press of the South, p. 26.

language study was too limited). Nevertheless, they still provided sufficient foundational lemmata for beginners.

2.3.1.2 Culture spreading

Motivated to spread their religious belief, these missionaries made efforts to acquire the local language by devoting themselves to bilingual dictionary editing and classics translation. Through hard work on language study, the Fathers made a significant contribution to cultural communication between the two sides. For the sake of the Catholic faith spreading in Asia, they took a series of measures to adapt the strategy of “cultural accommodation” raised by Visitor Father Alessandro Valignano. The first step was to implement the language policy, which is the *fondamento* of any other approaches to reach the goal. It means that the priests should immerse themselves in indigenous culture study as far as possible, using all resources they could get, and creating favorable language tools, such as educating catechumen as interpreters and compiling vocabularies and dictionaries. During the process, inspired by traditional Chinese doctrines, they extracted a series of religious concepts from Buddhism and Confucianism similar to Catholic tenets, making them acceptable to local people. For instances:

(1) Igreja *sì* 寺 (108)⁴³

(2) Orar *niàn jīng* 念經 *sòng jīng* 誦經 (124v)

In entry (1), the Portuguese term *Igreja* (church) is interpreted in Chinese as *sì* 寺 (temple), which refers to the Buddhist temple in China. Talking about the building function, the two terminologies *Igreja* in Christianity and *sì* 寺 in Buddhism are semantically similar since they represent places for believers’ worship and sacrament. Still, they are visibly different in many other aspects. In fact, when those followers walk into *Igreja* or *sì* 寺, they are praying to their gods, following different doctrines, conducting different behaviors, and constituting various organizations. Thus, instead

⁴³ *Sì* indicates 寺’s pronunciation in Pinyin, not Romanized letters invented by compilers. In the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, most Chinese terms have corresponding Romanized forms listed alongside, which are often distinct from modern standard Pinyin. Therefore, for readers’ convenience, all Chinese terms quoted in this dissertation are integrated with Pinyin, rather than the Romanized letters.

of arduously explaining *Igreja*'s symbolic meaning from Christianity's perspective to local people, the missionaries choose to assimilate it to the general concept of "worship place," comparing it to the term *sì* 寺 so as to make it much more acceptable for Chinese.

Another example is the entry *Orar* (to pray) with its correspondent Chinese phrases *niàn jīng* 念经, *sòng jīng* 诵经. The term *orar* in Portuguese can be a transitive verb and an intransitive verb according to the context in which the object is needed. It refers to Christians' behavior when they speak to God expressing themselves or praying. The two verbal phrases in Chinese are both "predicate-object" constructions: *niàn* 念 and *sòng* 诵 are predicate verbs which mean "to read" and "to pray", *jīng* 经 is a polysemous word, and in this Dictionary, it is used as a noun, suggesting the Buddhist scriptures. As a result, the annotation of *Orar* is limited in the field of religious rites. Here emerges a fact that during Chinese lexical development from the past to the present, "there is a basic tendency that words with single syllable developed into disyllabic words and even those words with more syllables have appeared in great amount."⁴⁴ That is to say, the disyllabification of words is the preferred word-forming approach. On the other hand, combinations of the verb (predicate) and the object can be a highly efficient method to avoid semantic ambiguity and accurately indicate the linguistic context.

Sì 寺, *niàn jīng* 念经, and *sòng jīng* 诵经 are all Buddhist terminologies, missionaries adapted these words in a new religious context which is the belief of Christianity. This kind of word borrowing from Buddhism reflects that in the early time of mission the Jesuit tended to compare Christian doctrines to those of Buddhism. Even Ruggieri has mentioned himself as *sēng* 僧 (Buddhist monk) in his Chinese poems. However, when they noticed that during the late Ming dynasty the influence of Buddhism was on the decline in China, they decided to shift towards Confucian doctrines.

In addition to religious concepts that missionaries tried hard to convey to the Chinese public, they were also willing to transmit basic scientific knowledge from the

⁴⁴ Táo Yuánkē 陶原珂. (2003). *Hànyǔ cíhuì fāzhǎn zhōng de cíxíng yǎncháng — cóng shuāngyīnjié dào sānyīnjié de kǎochá* 汉语词汇发展中的词形延长—从双音节到三音节的考察 [Lexical Extension in Chinese Vocabulary Development—An Investigation of the Words Extension from 2 to 3 Syllables], in *Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng* 语言文字应用, 4, 2003. Beijing: *Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng* 语言文字应用, p. 73.

West to the East through the Dictionary. However, there were huge obstacles in front of them. In the sixteenth century, many Chinese people held a dramatically negative attitude towards foreigners, let alone consuming their education and preaching. Besides, considering the Dictionary's limited usage scale, the knowledge spreading range could be relatively narrow. Fortunately, during their stay in the South of China, the missionaries had gained great interest from local officials and literati, who were surprised to find that those "occidental monks" could speak and write Chinese unexpectedly well. Therefore, the elites were convinced that the Fathers were intelligent and literate men, not "barbarian" as Chinese people imagined before. More than that, Fathers had brought some fantastic exotic objects, such as striking clocks and crystals, which aroused local people's interest, stimulating Chinese authorities to get acquainted with these foreign visitors and build a friendship with them. This assumption can be supported by the evidence found in the Dictionary since there is a number of scientific terminologies in it referring to occidental technology and innovations. Some representative examples are as below:

(3) *Repiccar* *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 (139)

In (3), the Portuguese verb *Repiccar* means (bell) rings, (bell) tolls, and its Chinese translation is *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 (bell), which is a noun. In 1582, the two Jesuits Michele Ruggieri and Francesco Pasio, gave a mechanical clock as a gift to the governor of Canton Province, which gratified his curiosity because he had never seen a clock that could automatically strike to indicate hours. This kind of gadget was too precious and delicate; its mechanism shows the technology development in Europe and has never been seen in China. Thanks to the official's kindness, missionaries finally got permission to stay in the city of Zhaoqing for months. It was the first time that the chiming clock was introduced in this Oriental Kingdom, and the entry *Repiccar* collected in the Dictionary provides support for this episode of a donation from European missionaries to Chinese authorities. In fact, it was complicated to translate this term that did not exist in the Chinese context; therefore, the solution of *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 must have come out of a careful discussion among Fathers and their interpreters. The equivalent of *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 is semantically corresponding to the Portuguese entry *Repiccar* but unfortunately not grammatically accurate, for the reason that *Repiccar* is apparently an intransitive verb, whereas *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 is a complex

construction composed of a transitive verb *nào* 鬧 and a noun *zhōng* 鐘. *Zhōng* 鐘 originally means “bell” in Chinese, which is an object used to report time in old times. In many metropolises, high towers were built in the city centers in order to hang those monumental bronzes up. Traditionally, bells bear a public function as a time indicator (or a musical instrument) for nearby residents, though they were far beyond ordinary people’s reach as personal property. Because of the similar function of a Chinese bell with a European clock, the two compilers “borrowed” the concept of “clock”, comparing it to *zhōng* 鐘 (bell) as one component of the equivalent, along with the fronting verb *nào* 鬧, which means to make noises (in this case sounds of striking) to suggest the part of speech and proper use of the entire word. We deduce that it was the Chinese interpreter who had seen the occidental clock and had known how it worked proposed this initiative solution. In spite of the inappropriate grammatical correspondence, the interpretation of *nàozhōng* 鬧鐘 for *Repiccar* results efficient in semantics. What’s more, it is pretty significant that this entry has brought the latest European technological development information to Chinese people. To some extent, it has aroused Chinese officials’ interest in the Western world.

(4) *garafa bōlipín* 薄璃瓶 (106)

Other examples of new scientific development transmitted from the West to the East derive from two entries. The first one is the entry *garafa* (in modern Portuguese *garrafa*), which means glass bottle, translated in Chinese as *bōlipín* 薄璃瓶 (Romanized: *po li pin*, which has similar orthography with *bōlipín* in modern Pinyin). It is a compound structure made by two components: *bōli* 薄璃, which demonstrates that glass is the primary construction material of the object; *pín* 瓶, which means the bottle, suggesting its shape and use. To clarify, the translation of *bōli* 薄璃 was a variant form that differs from standard writing *bōli* 玻璃 or *liúli* 琉璃 which were much more commonly used in the Ming Dynasty; both of which could be found in historical records such as in *Tiān Gōng Kāi Wù* 天工开物⁴⁵ and poems like *Zūn Shēng Bā Jiān* 遵生八牋.⁴⁶ In this Dictionary, compilers utilized the adjective *bō* 薄

⁴⁵ Sòng Yìngxīng 宋应星, Zōu Qíchāng 邹其昌 (ed.). (1637/2015). *Tiān Gōng Kāi Wù* 天工开物 [Exploitation of the works of nature]. Beijing: Rénmín chūbǎnshè 人民出版社.

⁴⁶ Gāo Lián 高濂.(1591/2010). *Zūn Shēng Bā Jiān* 遵生八牋 [Eight treatises on following the principles of life]. Anhui: Huángshān chūbǎnshè 黄山出版社.

in order to describe its thinness and lightweight, emphasizing that its transparency is the most valuable property. Among all the gifts Ricci presented to Emperor Wanli, there were pairs of glass bottles that were highly appreciated because of their unique transparency and delicate manufacturing technology. Besides, constrained by limited manufacturing techniques, Chinese workshops had the scarce capability to produce such fine bottles; thus, local people and officials considered them as precious as jewels and jades.

(5) *Oculos* *yǎnjìng* 眼镜 (123v)

The second entry related to “glass” is *oculos* (in modern Portuguese *óculos*), which means eyeglasses. Its Chinese equivalent is *yǎnjìng* 眼镜, a compound structure composed of the first noun *yǎn* 眼 (eyes), determining that this object applies for eyes rather than other things. The second noun, *jìng* 镜, originally means mirrors, but in this case, its meaning has been extended to vision aids, suggesting that *oculos* have similar characteristics and functions with mirrors. According to historical records (literature and paintings), during Emperor Wanli’s domination in the Ming Dynasty, glasses were initially introduced by European missionaries to China and were considered an extremely precious gadget; naturally, wearing a pair of glasses has become trendy among scholars. This example makes up another evidence of the fact that two compilers designedly selected specific words about occidental inventions, hoping to spread relevant concepts to Chinese people; they utilized the Dictionary to familiarize Chinese users with the European world starting from simple terms. Their method of assimilation turned out to be relatively efficient, which should be attributed to their efforts on language learning and cultural accommodation.

These entries show that missionaries believed that collecting words from certain areas could benefit cultural communication between two sides. However, there is a confusing point about this Dictionary that the words related to religious concepts represent a relatively small part compared with terms in other fields; some of them were merely listed but not translated into Chinese. This lack of translation of religious words is mainly caused by the difficulty to find a Chinese word that exactly corresponds to a Portuguese word, which means to convey the precise meaning of a Portuguese term while remaining its lexical property.

A secondary cause comes from the hypothesis that the Dictionary is based on a Portuguese vocabulary written by an unlettered sailor or merchant, explaining why there are much more terms about navigation and commerce than those about religion. Considering the historical background, due to the profitable overseas trades in the South of China and the frequent cultural encounters between the West and the East during the 16th century, European missionaries and Chinese people were able to obtain a better understanding of each other than before. On the linguistic aspect, they could communicate in Portuguese and Chinese, learn Portuguese and Chinese terms and apply them to maritime and commercial activities. Thus, benefited by the favorable external circumstances, compilers indeed offered a large number of Chinese words about the secular world characterized by high semantic equivalence with Portuguese terms; however, they might feel less competent to translate precisely the religious terms as well as to inculcate all the religious values to Chinese people. Therefore, they did not put emphasis on words of their belief but expressed more interest in terms of daily life and innovations.

2.3.1.3 Priority to oral language

Above all, the third editing rule is remarkably meaningful: the priority to oral language rather than written language and classical Chinese (*wényán* 文言). In other words, it refers to the priority to informal language rather than formal language. This rule applies to both word selection and word arrangement. Namely, when there was more than one Chinese alternative to correspond to one Portuguese term, two compilers showed their preference for elementary vocabulary and simple phrases commonly used by ordinary people, containing various aspects of daily life. Moreover, the informal equivalents are usually placed before formal ones, as evidenced in examples below:

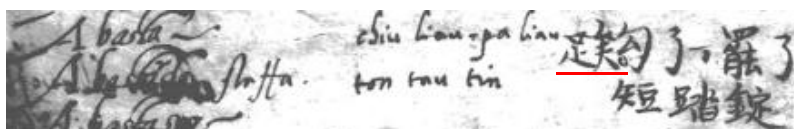
- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| (6) Amigo de uinho | <i>yào shí jiǔ</i> 要食酒 <i>hào yǐn</i> 好饮 (41v) |
| (7) A que proposito | <i>yīn shénme shì</i> 因什么事 <i>wèi shèn shì</i> 为甚事
<i>yīn hé gù</i> 因何故 (41v) |
| (8) De madrugada | <i>qīngzǎo</i> 青早 <i>zhāo</i> 朝 (75v) |
| (9) Riviera de mar | <i>hǎibiān</i> 海边 <i>hǎibàng</i> 海傍 <i>hǎibīn</i> 海滨 (140) |

These Portuguese entries are all phrasal expressions characterized by different prepositions: (6) Amigo de uinho (friend of wine), (7) A que proposito (for which purpose), (8) De madrugada (at dawn), (9) Riviera de mar (coast of the sea). Based on the semantic equivalence principle, in the third column on the right side, there are listed several Chinese synonyms corresponding to one Portuguese word. In most cases, the first one of these equivalents (or the first two) is usually used in the oral language, such as *yào shí jiǔ* 要食酒, *shénme* 什么, *qīngzǎo* 青早 (*qīngzǎo* 清早 in modern Chinese) and *hǎibiān* 海边 in contrast with those in the written language like *hào yǐn* 好饮, *shèn* 甚, *hé* 何, *zhāo* 朝, *hǎibàng* 海傍 and *hǎibīn* 海滨. This situation can be attributed to the progressive language learning experiences of foreign missionaries. That is to say, as beginners, they tended to start with relatively simple oral expressions and then edged to advanced vocabulary and expressions. Additionally, compared with written language, oral language often has higher practical usage among the public; thus, this priority to oral language for word arrangement was expected to make the Dictionary more accessible for everyone.

However, sometimes there are also notable exceptions about the position between oral words and written words. That is, a formal Chinese term (or terms) may be sorted in front of the informal ones. Nevertheless, the formal term turns out to be a supplementary interpretation during the Dictionary's revision, inserted before other Chinese equivalents during the first drafting. We can see this kind of exception in the example below:

(10) Abasta *zúyǐ* 足矣 *gòule* 勾了 *bàle* 罢了 (32v)

Figure 3: *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 32v



There are two complete Chinese interpretations in **Figure 3**, *zúyǐ* 足矣, *gòule* 勾了, *bàle* 罢了 written above and *duǎn tà dìng* 短踏錠 written below. In comparison with the position of *duǎn tà dìng* 短踏錠, the Chinese equivalent *zúyǐ* 足矣 - with a

Chinese period “。” behind it - is narrowly inserted between Romanized letters and other Chinese words *gòule* 勾了 and *bàle* 罢了. Even though *zúyǐ* 足矣 is obviously a much more formal expression compared with the other two, but it was placed in the narrow space between Romanized letters and Chinese terms, which shows that it is included later than *gòule* 勾了 and *bàle* 罢了, when missionaries were revising the first edition of the Dictionary. To enrich the vocabulary of the Dictionary, they implemented some additions and perfections to the entries during several revisions. Therefore, when we are talking about the third editing rule (the priority to informal language rather than formal language), we should pay attention to modifications and additions to the Chinese equivalents completed within several revisions, for which the newly added terms could be the formal expression that is posed in front of other words.

For the purpose of demonstrating the percentage of Chinese oral terms in comparison with that of written words in the entire Chinese vocabulary in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, a histogram is shown below (**Figure 4**). This histogram is drawn on the basis of the data about Chinese oral and written terms in entries from A- to C- (**Table 1**), thereby demonstrating compilers' priority to informal words than formal words. Regarding **Figure 4** and all the other following figures, we have to clarify first that we are following 6 selecting criteria dealing with the essential data from the Dictionary. These selecting criteria are listed below from a) to f). Some of them are integrated with practical examples.

a) Entries that begin with A-, B- and C- are collected as representative cases; in the meantime, other entries are also following the same rule of priority for oral language even though they are not counted in this data analysis.

b) Specific Portuguese entries are counted in the statistical analysis because their corresponding Chinese terms are multiple (at least two, shown as multi-term equivalents in **Table 1**). These Chinese terms include both oral terms and written terms, such as the Portuguese entry *Amigo de uinho*, which is translated into two Chinese words *yào shí jiǔ* 要食酒 and *hào yǐn* 好饮. And then, *A que proposito* which corresponds to three Chinese equivalents *yīn shénme shì* 因什么事, *wèi shèn shì* 为

甚事, and *yīn hé gù* 因何故.

On the other hand, some multi-term Chinese equivalents are not included in the data because they are synonyms that correspond to one Portuguese word; they supplement each other without distinction in oral language and written language. For example:

(11) *Borboleta húdié* 蝴蝶- *dēng'é* 灯蛾 (53)

In (11), *Borboleta* (butterfly) is interpreted as *húdié* 蝴蝶 (butterfly) and *dēng'é* 灯蛾 (moth). *Dēng'é* 灯蛾 is a complimentary word to *húdié* 蝴蝶, and both of them are used in oral language and written language.

c) We distinguish oral terms from written terms on the basis of the corpora in three works: *Xùn shì píng huà* 训世评话 [Popular Stories with Admonitions] of Bian Li⁴⁷ (1391-1473) accomplished in ca.1473, which is collected in *Cháoxiǎn shídài hànǚ jiāo kè shū cóng kān* 朝鲜时代汉语教课书丛刊⁴⁸ [The Series of Chinese Textbook in Korea-Time]; in *Xī rú ěr mù zī* 西儒耳目资⁴⁹ [An Aid to the Ear and the Eye of Western Scholars] of Nicolas Trigault published in 1625; and in the Chinese version⁵⁰ (2003) of *Arte de la Lengua Mandarina* [Art of the Mandarin Language] of Francisco Varo published in 1703. For example:

(12) *Abitar zhù* 住 *jū* 居 *zài* 在 (33)

In (12), the Portuguese word *Abitar* (to live) has three Chinese equivalents, *zhù* 住, *jū* 居, and *zài* 在. According to the 45th story and the 60th story of *Xùn shì píng huà* 训世评话, in which the contrast between classic and oral Chinese is showed, *jū* 居 is often used in written language, however *zhù* 住 and *zài* 在 are generally oral expressions.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Li, Bian, Ancient Korean sinologist.

⁴⁸ Wāng Wéihuī 王维辉. (2005). *Cháoxiǎn shídài hànǚ jiàokèshū cóngkān* 朝鲜时代汉语教课书丛刊 [The Series of Chinese Textbook in Korea-Time]. Beijing: Zhōnghuá shūjú 中华书局.

⁴⁹ Trigault, Nicolas. (1626/1957). *Xī rú ěr mù zī* 西儒耳目资 [An Aid to the Ear and the Eye of Western Scholars], facsimile edition. Beijing: Wénzì gǎigé chūbǎnshè 文字改革出版社.

⁵⁰ Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平, transl. (2003). *Huáyǔ guānhuà yǔfǎ* 华语官话语法. Beijing: Wàiyǔ jiàoxué yǔ yánjiū chūbǎnshè 外语教学与研究出版社. (Original work *Arte de la Lengua Mandarina* published in 1703)

⁵¹ Zhāng Měilán. (2012). *Cóng “Xùn Shì Píng Huà” wén bái duìzhào kàn míng chū hànǚ chángyòng dòngcí de xīngtìbiànhuà* 从《训世评话》文白对照看明初汉语常用动词的兴替变化 [Observing the Changing of the Commonly Used Verbs in the Early Ming Dynasty from the Classic and Verbs], in *Nánjīng shīfàn dàxué wénxuéyuàn xuébào* 南京师范大学文学院学报. No. 4. Nanjing: Nánjīng shīfàn

d) Dialectal expressions are not included in **Figure 4** but in **Figure 6** in the next part.

e) Within Chinese equivalents, a few words are not counted due to semantic ambiguity or illegible handwriting.

f) Preliminary data and the result may vary if the criteria above are changed or different conditions are added.

Figure 4: Ratio of oral/written terms in entries from A- to C- (%)

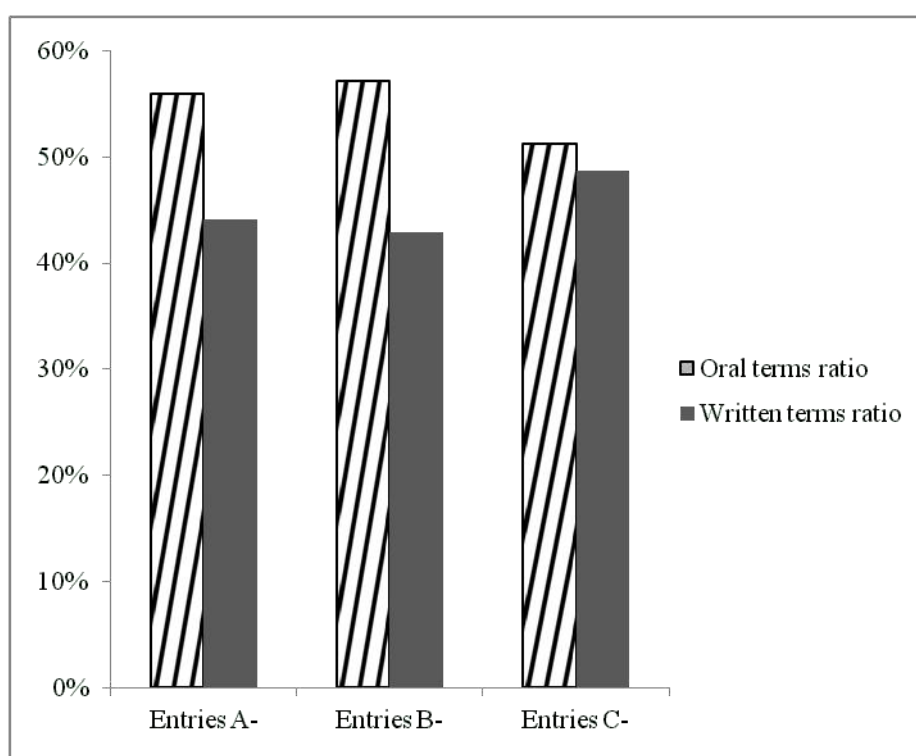


Table 1: Selected Chinese oral/written terms in entries from A- to C- and the ratio

	Selected multi-term equivalents [※]	Oral terms	Written terms	Oral terms ratio	Written terms ratio	Ratio difference [※]
Entries A-	168	94	74	55.95%	44.05%	+11.90%
Entries B-	35	20	15	57.14%	42.86%	+14.29%
Entries C-	117	60	57	51.28%	48.72%	+2.56%

[※] Total of multi-term equivalents including oral and written terms

[※] Ratio difference between oral terms and written terms

According to the statistical analysis of **Figure 4** and **Table 1**, we can draw several elementary conclusions about the characteristics of this dictionary as below:

- On the basis of selecting the criteria above, the quantity of selected multi-term equivalents may be as small as that in entries B-, which contains only 35 terms.

- Within the Chinese equivalents of entries that begin with A-, B- and C-, oral terms have a slim quantitative majority compared with the written ones, occupying more than half of the selected terms. (55.95%, 57.14% and 51.28%)

- The ratio difference between oral terms and written terms is not evident in some instances. Such as in entries C-, the ratio gap is merely +2.56%, which means that some Portuguese words have as many oral equivalents as written ones. For examples:

(13) Calado *bù yào jiǎng* 不要讲 *mò jiǎng* 莫讲 (55v)

(14) Cogelara *dòng* 冻 *lěng* 冷 *hán* 寒 *qīng* 清 (61v)

In (13), *calado* (quiet, silent) has two Chinese interpretations: one oral term which is *bù yào jiǎng* 不要讲, and one written term which is *mò jiǎng* 莫讲. In (14), *cogelara* (probably *congelar* in modern Portuguese) has four Chinese equivalents which are *dòng* 冻, *lěng* 冷, *hán* 寒 and *qīng* 清, the first and the second one are often used in oral language and the other two in written language.

To sum up, in light of the statistical data and corresponding analysis, it is proved that two compilers had a preference for oral language rather than written language dealing with Chinese equivalents.

2.3.1.4 Priority to single-term equivalents

In the following statistics, the gap between Chinese single-term equivalents and multiple-term equivalents used in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* is showed (**Figure 5**), which is based on essential data about entries from A- to C- (**Table 2**). As we explained before, in these patterns, a single-term equivalent means that it is the only one Chinese word corresponding to a Portuguese word, for example:

(15) *Abano shànzi* 扇子 (32)

In (15), *Abano* (fan) has only one Chinese counterpart which is *shànzi* 扇子, thus it is considered as a single-term equivalent in this research.

And for other Portuguese words, more than one Chinese term is provided, therefore these Chinese equivalents are described as multi-term equivalents.

Figure 5: Ratio of Chinese single/multi-term equivalents

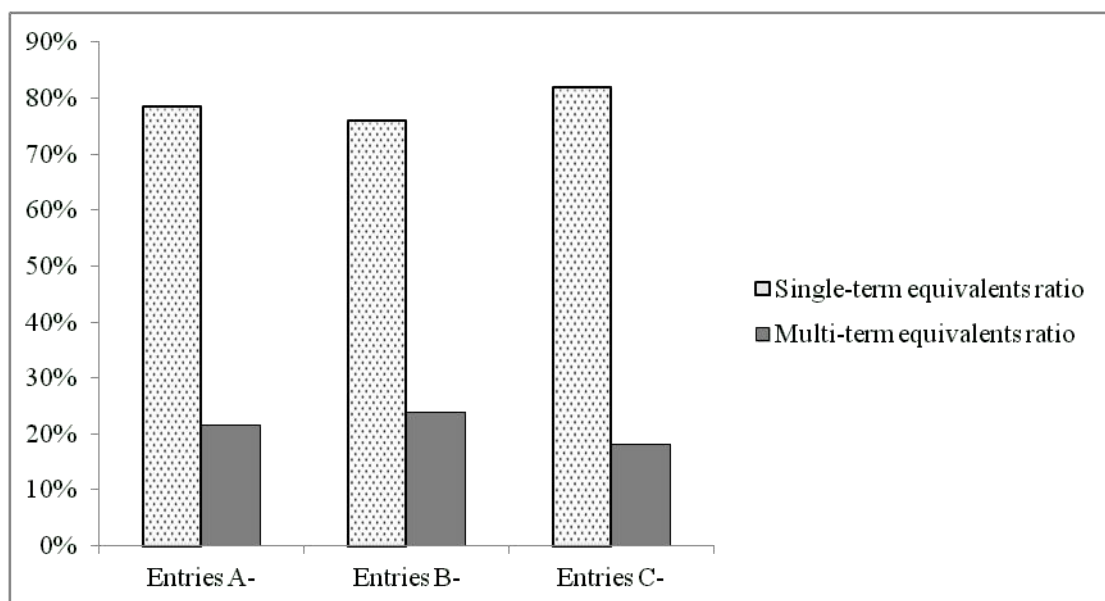


Table 2: Chinese single/multi-term equivalents of entries from A- to C- and the ratio

	Entries with Chinese equivalents	Entries with single-term equivalents	Entries with multi-term equivalents	Single-term equivalents ratio	Multi-term equivalents ratio
Entries A-	621	487	134	78.42%	21.58%
Entries B-	117	89	28	76.07%	23.93%
Entries C-	449	368	81	81.96%	18.04%

From the statistical data above, we can make some reasonable inferences as below:

- The quantity of single-term equivalents is considerably larger than multi-term equivalents, for example, in Entries A-, the ratio of single-term equivalents is 78.42%, and the ratio of multi-term equivalents is 21.58%, suggesting that two Fathers aimed to compile a dictionary with basic vocabularies for beginners, not a complex

encyclopedia. From another perspective, it also demonstrates that the two foreign priests did not have a sufficiently large vocabulary during their editing work.

- There is no general rule that can explain why some Portuguese entries are given only one Chinese equivalent, and others are offered more than one. However, from this unconformity of editing preference, we can deduce that this dictionary has been edited and revised several times by different collaborators, including foreign missionaries and Chinese interpreters and assistants.

In a word, for most entries, editors tended to utilize a single and simple Chinese word to correspond to a Portuguese word. Still, in the meantime, for some entries, they also made efforts to provide more advanced Chinese vocabularies to satisfy further communication needs.

2.3.1.5 Priority to Mandarin

Finally, there is the fourth editing rule: the priority to Mandarin Chinese rather than regional dialects. In fact, among all Chinese alternatives of the Portuguese entries, the majority are words of Mandarin, namely *Guānhuà*. In general, it is the language used by Chinese officials (the mandarins) of the court.⁵² The *Nánfāng Guānhuà* 南方官话 (the southern Mandarin) was the official language during the late Ming Dynasty based on Nankinese (the dialect of the City Nanjing). In addition to Mandarin words, there are also dialectal words and expressions of the southeast of China, which were not commonly used in official communication. Here are some examples in which dialectal words are highlighted as below:

(16) Abitassão *jiā*家 *fángzi* 房子 *wūyǔ*屋宇 (33)

(17) Deitar sortes *qiúxiān* 求仙 *wènǚ*问卜 *dǎguà*打卦 (75)

(18) Desbaratado *qióng*le 穷了 *pínán* 贫难 *xiāofá*消乏 (78)

In (16), *Abitassão* (housing) is translated into three Chinese synonyms. The first two words, *jiā*家 and *fángzi* 房子 are used in the Mandarin during the Ming dynasty but also in modern standard Chinese. However, the third equivalent, *wūyǔ* 屋宇 (houses), is not a commonly used word in modern Chinese, but it can be found in the

⁵² Raini, Emanuele. (2010). *Sistemi di romanizzazione del cinese mandarino nei secoli XVI-XVIII*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Studi Asiatici, XXII ciclo. Rome: Facoltà di Studi Orientali, Sapienza- Università di Roma, p. 15.

Cantonese and the Hakka dialect (spoken by the Hakka people of south-eastern China). For example, *wūyǔ* 屋宇 in Cantonese is often used as a term in commercial activities and advertising.⁵³

In (17), *Deitar sortes* (to draw sortition) can be formally interpreted as *qiúxiān* 求仙 (to search for immortality), *wènǔ* 问卜 (to ask fortunes). Then the third equivalent is *dǎguà* 打卦 (to tell fortunes), which is a dialectal expression that is primarily used in regions of East China (such as in the city of Nanjing), South China, Central China and so on.

In (18), *Desbaratado* (broken) corresponds to *xiāofá* 消乏, which is not a modern expression but can be found in some dialogue parts in several Chinese fictions written in the Yuan Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty (e.s. the classic Chinese play *The Palace of Eternal Life*⁵⁴), suggesting the bad health condition of someone or the shortage of income. *Xiāofá* 消乏 is used in the Wu dialect (spoken by the people of Shanghai, Zhejiang province, and the South part of Jiangsu province) but also can be seen in other dialects. And then, according to the statement of Lin Xianlong in his work *Héluòhuà yīqiān língyī yè* 河洛話一千零一頁⁵⁵, *xiāofá* 消乏 could be a variant form for *xiāobēng* 消崩 (collapsed) in Hoklo dialect. In any case, *xiāofá* 消乏 is supposed to be a negative adjective that semantically corresponds to *desbaratado*.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| (19) Abracar | <i>xiānglài</i> 相賴 (33) |
| (20) Cadela | <i>gǒumǔ</i> 狗母 (55v) |
| (21) Afoguar | <i>jìnsǐ</i> 浸死 <i>yānsǐ</i> 淹死 <i>nìsǐ</i> 溺死 (36v) |
| (22) Aranha | <i>zhīzhū</i> 蜘蛛- <i>bājiǎo</i> 八脚 (44v) |
| (23) Armadilha | <i>zhāngǔi</i> 張鬼 (45) |
| (24) Apartamento | <i>xíngkāi</i> 行開 (44v) |
| (25) Cabrao | <i>yángǔ</i> 羊牯 (55) |

As we presented above, missionaries arranged dialectal expressions behind other

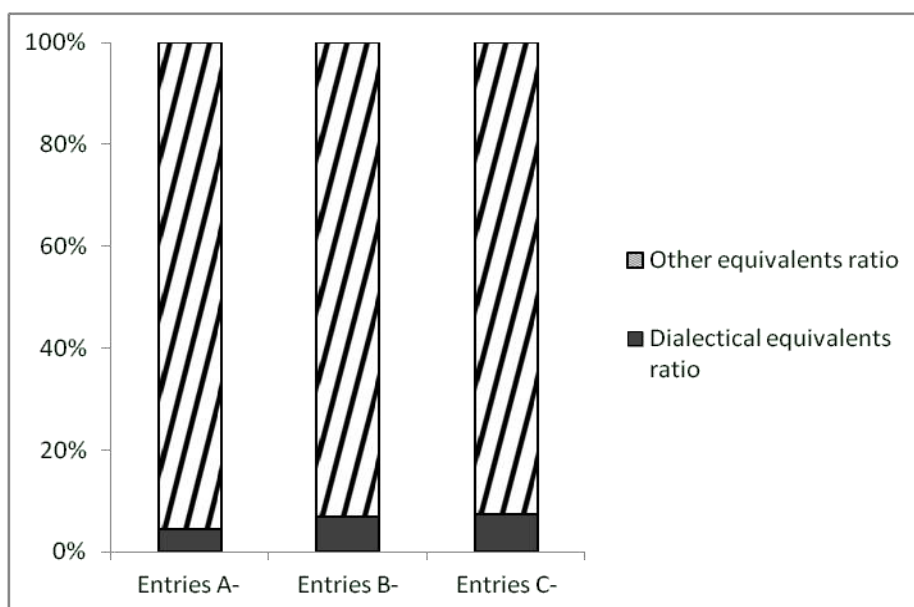
⁵³ Lí Yùnhàn 黎运汉. (2001). *Shāngyè yǔyán* 商业语言 [The Commercial Language]. Taipei: Táiwān shāngwù yìnshūguǎn gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī 台湾商务印书馆股份有限公司, p. 36.

⁵⁴ Hóng Shēng 洪升. (1688/1983). *Cháng Shēng Diàn* 长生殿 [The Palace of Eternal Life]. Beijing: Rénmín wénxué chūbǎnshè 人民文学出版社.

⁵⁵ Lín Xiānlóng 林仙龍. (2011). *Héluòhuà yīqiān língyī yè* 河洛話一千零一頁 [One Thousand and one pages about Hoklo dialect]. Taipei: Bóyǎ shūwū yǒuxiàn gōngsī 博雅書屋有限公司, p. 79.

non-dialectal equivalents, which shows their preference for Mandarin rather than dialects. This priority situation corresponds to the linguistic trend among officials and literati to use Mandarin during the late Ming dynasty. Furthermore, this incredible attention to Mandarin shows that the two missionaries were also seeking meaningful contact with Chinese authorities through learning the court's language. Nevertheless, it is valuable to investigate the proportion of dialectal terms compared with the Mandarin terms in the Dictionary. In order to present the ratio difference between the dialectal equivalents and other non-dialectal equivalents (including Mandarin and a few illegible words) within entries from A- to C-, the relative statistical data is shown in the chart below (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Ratio of dialectal equivalents in entries from A- to C- (%)



Then in **Table 3**, different dialects found in the Dictionary are listed and the number of equivalents of each dialect is shown. In fact, some of these terms are used merely in one dialect. For example, in (19), *xiānglài* 相賴 (namely *xiānglǎn* 相攬 which means to embrace each other) is usually used in the Southern Fujian dialect (also known as the Southern Min dialect). In (20), *gǒumǔ* 狗母 (female dog) is used in Cantonese. In (21), *jìnsǐ* 浸死 (drowned) is used in the Hakka dialect. In (22), *bājiǎo* 八脚 (spider) is used in the Wu dialect. In (23), *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 (to trap) in Teochew dialect. In the meantime, some other words are commonly spoken in various regions of China, such as in (24), *xíngkāi* 行開 (to leave) is a verb used both in

Cantonese and Hakka dialect; in (25), the noun *yánggǔ* 羊牯 (Ram) is spoken in Wu dialect, in Southern Fujian dialect, in Cantonese and so on.

Table 3: Chinese dialectal equivalents of entries from A- to C-

	Southern Fujian dialect	Cantonese	Hakka dialect	Wu dialect	Teochew dialect	Southern Fujian and Hakka dialects	Southern Fujian and Wu dialects	Southern Fujian, Wu, Cantonese and other dialects	Cantonese and Hakka dialects	Total
Entries A-, B- and C-	17	36	6	1	1	3	1	2	1	68

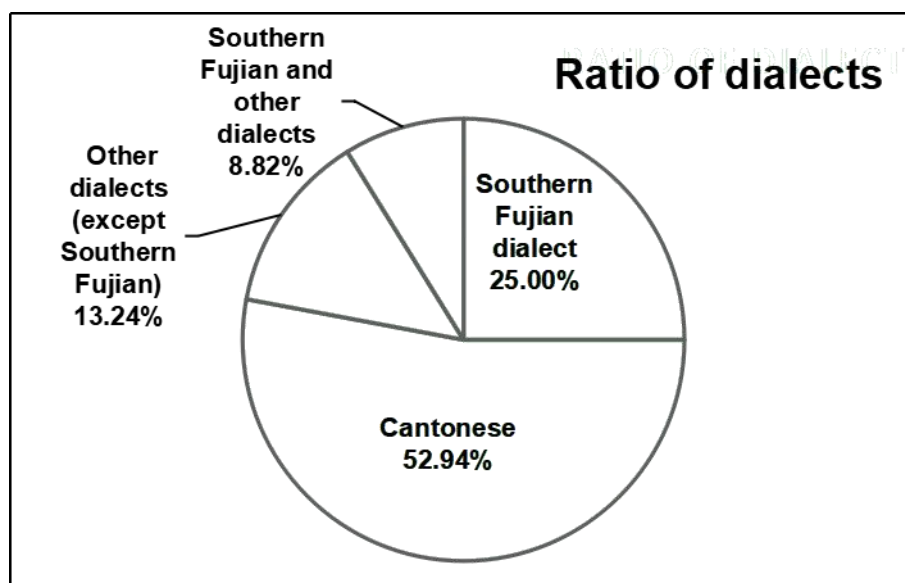
From the diagrams above, we can draw preliminary conclusions:

a) in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, the dialectal equivalents take a comparatively little proportion compared with other non-dialectal terms (including Mandarin terms and illegible terms);

2) the average ratio of dialectal equivalents in Entries A-, B- and C- is merely 10%, suggesting that these words and expressions used in dialects were not preferred Chinese interpretations in compilers' view; instead, the Mandarin was their first choice.

On the basis of the data of Tab. 3, the ratio of dialectal words of various areas can be then calculated and analyzed in percentage, as it is shown in **Figure 7**. In this chart, we should point out that the item *other dialects* indicate the specific terms commonly used in different dialects, except in the Southern Fujian dialect. The item *Southern Fujian and other dialects* shows the words used in Southern Fujian and other dialects, such as in the Hakka dialect, the Wu dialect, and Cantonese.

Figure 7: Ratio of various dialects



We can see (Figure 7) that among all the dialects that appeared in the Dictionary, Cantonese and Southern Fujian dialect words take a considerably large proportion compared to other ones. This situation proves that the missionaries must have gotten help from native speakers from Canton and Fujian during their stay in the South of China. This assumption is widely accepted by linguists. For example, Táo stated that “Yóuyú Lì mǎdòu zhǔyào shì zài yuèyǔqū (Macao, Guǎngzhōu, Zhàoqing děng dì) xuéxí hànyǔ de, xiézhù biānxiě cídiǎn de zhè wèi ‘zhōngguó běndìrén’ hěn yǒukěnéng shì dǒng guānhuà de yuèyǔzhě. 由於利瑪竇主要是在粵語區（澳門、廣州、肇慶等地）學習漢語的，協助編寫辭典的這位‘中國本地人’很有可能是懂官話的粵語者...”⁵⁶ (Since Matteo Ricci has learned Chinese mostly in Cantonese dialect areas, including Macao, Guangzhou, Zhaoqing and so on, therefore his editing assistant is very likely to be a ‘native Chinese’ that speaks Cantonese and the Mandarin). Besides, also Yang believed that “...at least one of Ruggieri’s teachers was a Hakka dialect speaker.”⁵⁷

In a word, there were four word-collecting rules used during editing by which

⁵⁶ Táo Yuánkē陶原珂. (2019). *Dìyī bù “Pú Hàn Cídiǎn” zhōng suǒ jiàn yuèyǔ cíhuì*第一部《葡漢辭典》中所見粵語詞彙 [Cantonese lexicon in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Àomén lǐgōng xuébào* 澳門理工學報. 2019(3). Macao: *Àomén lǐgōng xuébào* 澳門理工學報, p. 77.

⁵⁷ Yang, Paul Fu-mien. (1989). The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Academia Sinica, p. 213.

Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci succeeded in enriching the context of the Dictionary and making it accessible for Chinese and foreign beginners to learn Portuguese as well as Chinese (including the formal language Mandarin and various dialects). They provided practical solutions (oral or written words) to conduct daily conversations with local people, meet efficient communication needs with authorities, and contribute to culture spreading and cultural communication between Europe and China.

2.3.2 Word formulating methods

Having solved the problem of word collecting and arrangement, the two compilers had to face another difficulty during the process of word translation: the difficulty of maintaining linguistic correspondence between Portuguese words and Chinese words. It is a language translation process that localizes a foreign language – the source language - to an indigenous language – the target language. In this process, talking about the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, Portuguese is the source language, and Chinese is the target language. There are literal differences and cultural and conceptual gaps between these two languages that are implicit in letters. These gaps cause three difficult situations while editing. First, they have to describe some Portuguese words that make little sense in Chinese culture. For instance, in this dictionary, Portuguese words *Grifo* (griffon. 107v) and *Serea* (mermaid. 144) indicate two mythical creatures in occidental culture, but these concepts did not exist in Chinese culture. Second, it is not easy to give an accurate definition. For example, the Portuguese word *Igreja* (church. 109) is translated in Chinese as *sì* 寺. In short, *igreja* is the meeting place for Christians; however, *sì* 寺 is the meeting place for Buddhists, these two words seem to be literally similar, but from the view of religion, *igreja* and *sì* 寺 are distinct in many aspects, such as function, architectural style, and users. However, even though two missionaries noticed this difference, they could not provide precise definitions with single words, but translating a word with long sentences was not their scope. This example tells that some Chinese equivalents do not have sufficient semantic equivalence to Portuguese terms.

Furthermore, inappropriate translation from Portuguese to Chinese might lead to misunderstanding to readers. For example, *Caduco* (lapsed, caduceus. P. 119) is

interpreted in Chinese as *lǎodiān* 老颠 (insane), which is not semantically correct and would confuse users of the dictionary. In the face of these difficulties, the two missionaries adopted several effective linguistic methods to borrow terms from existent words; to formulate and create new terminologies. Thanks to these word-forming methods, they could provide appropriate Chinese words to correspond to Portuguese words, introducing occidental concepts (including religious beliefs, technological innovations and myths) to the East and vice versa.

On the other hand, from the view of modern linguistic research, these methods help us understand unknown entries. These entries contain Portuguese words and Chinese words that are semantically ambiguous; if we find out how two compilers applied these methods, we can put forward a hypothesis about the meaning, property, and use of these words.

2.3.2.1 Word borrowing method

In this research, the method of borrowing mainly concerns Chinese terms (words and expressions) in the Dictionary. To be specific, we shall discuss those Chinese words borrowed from foreign languages or Chinese itself (including Mandarin and various dialects). In terms of linguistics, this method is defined as linguistic borrowing, namely a process of semantic word-borrowing from one language to another in which the borrowing of meaning is indispensable, as Chén affirms (2020) that the “meaning” is the necessary borrowing content.⁵⁸ In fact, all languages borrow words from other languages. Because of the diversity within different languages, various borrowing typologies can be defined, such as **loanword**, **loan shift**, loan rendering, and loan translations. In the following discussion, loanwords and loan shifts are taken into primary consideration. In this Dictionary, the borrowed words (in Chinese) are adapting a) the meaning; b) the pronunciation; c) the form from foreign words to correspond to Portuguese entries. Referring to these different kinds of borrowing, we discovered evidence that demonstrates encounters across language boundaries and reflects contacts between Chinese and Portuguese.

A **loanword** (or loan-word, loanwords) is the word borrowed from a foreign

⁵⁸ Chén Yàn 陈燕. (2010). *Zàiyì hànyǔ wàiláicí de jièrù fāngfǎ* 再议汉语外来词的借入方法 [Discussions on the Methods of Chinese Loan Word], in *Tǎlímù dàxué xuébào* 塔里木大学学报. Vol. 22. No. 3. Tarim: Tǎlímù dàxué xuébào 塔里木大学学报, p. 75.

language (the source language or the donor language), incorporated with its meaning and pronunciation (with little or no modification), adapted into the native language (the target language) without translation. In the case of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, Portuguese is the source language, and Chinese is the target language. Referring to the application and function of the loanword, we provide representative examples of words from selected entries as below:

(26) Pão *mien pau* 麵包 (126v)

(27) Padeira *mai mien pau ti* 卖麵包的 (126)

In (26), the Portuguese noun Pão (bread) is defined in Chinese as *miàn bāo* 麵包⁵⁹ (bread) (in simplified Chinese is written as *miàn bāo* 面包⁶⁰), integrated with the Romanized letters *mien pau* in the middle, indicating the pronunciation of 麵包 based on Ruggieri-Ricci phonetic system. In (27), Padeira (bread seller) is translated as *mài miàn bāo de* 卖麵包的, which is Romanized by missionaries as *mai mien pau di*. The main concern of this part is to discuss the term *miàn bāo* 麵包 used in both entries.

Looking into previous etymological researches, there are mainly three viewpoints referring to the earliest use of the term *miàn bāo* 麵包 and its property. Masini in his work (1993)⁶¹ regards *miàn bāo* 麵包 as an autochthonous neologism, assuming that it is firstly used in Zhāng Déyí's *Hánghǎi shùqí* 航海述奇 (1866)⁶². On the contrary, Huang (1999)⁶³ argues that *miàn bāo* 麵包 is supposed to be a liberal translated word and it is firstly included in the *Chinese-English Dictionary Ying Hwa Yun-fu Lih-Kiai* 英华韵府历阶 (1844) of W. Williams. However, Jin (2020)⁶⁴ states that *miàn bāo* 麵

⁵⁹ Traditional Chinese characters.

⁶⁰ Modern standardized Chinese characters.

⁶¹ Masini, Federico. (1993). The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898, in *Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series*, 1993, No.6. Hongkong: *The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press*, p. 189.

⁶² Zhāng Déyí 张德彝. (1866/1981). *Hánghǎi shùqí* 航海述奇. Changsha: *Húnán rénmin chūbǎnshè* 湖南人民出版社.

⁶³ Huáng Xīngtāo 黄兴涛. (1999). *Jīndài zhōngguó hàn yǔ wàiláicí de zuìxīn yánjiū-Píng Mǎ xīn* “Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cíhuì de Xíngchéng” 近代中国汉语外来词的最新研究-评马西尼《现代汉语词汇的形成》 [The latest research on Modern Chinese loanwords-A Review of The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution towards a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898], in *Opentimes* 开放时代. 1999(05). Guangzhou: *Opentimes*, p. 68.

⁶⁴ Jīn Guóping 金国平. (2020). *Shilùn “miànbāo” wù yǔ míng shǐyú Àomén* 试论“面包”物与名始于澳门 [Discussion about the origin of the object “bread” as well as its Chinese term “Mianbao” from Macao], in *Study of Maritime History*. Vol.15. Beijing: *Social Sciences Academic Press (China)*, pp. 366-368.

包 is a phono-semantic loan word which is originated from Macau, since there are two Chinese terms about Pão found in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* (1583-1588), *miàn bāo* 麵包 and *mài miàn bāo de* 卖麵包的, which are documented much earlier than the other two works did. The author of this paper expresses agreement with Jin’s statement, that *miàn bāo* 麵包 is the combination of two elements: the first character, *miàn* 麵, which is an additional element of the term playing the semantic function, indicating the making ingredients of the object *pão* (bread); the second character, *bāo* 包 (steamed stuffed bun or bag), should be the transliteration of *pão* representing the similar pronunciation. In Chinese, *bāo* 包 has two diverse meanings in common use: 1) steamed stuffed bun, a Chinese traditional food made of flour; 2) bag, a kind of container. As a result, simple phonetic borrowing from *pão* to *bāo* without a certain context will lead to misunderstanding. For example, *bāo* can be used both in the word *pí bāo* 皮包 (leather bag) and the word *bù bāo* 布包 (cloth bag). In known contexts, if these two words have to be repeated, they can be replaced as *bāo* 包 for short. Therefore, *miàn* 麵 added to the root *bāo* 包 is an indispensable part to avoid semantic ambiguity of the word, determining that *miàn bāo* 麵包 is a kind of food, rather than a container made of leather or other materials. In other words, from the word-forming perspective, *miàn bāo* 麵包 is a modified compound⁶⁵ composed of two nouns: the modifier 麵 and the root 包 (**Figure 8**).

Figure 8: Noun + noun structure

(Noun) (Noun)

麵 + 包

M R

(28) Por merce de Deus in gui liau si⁶⁶ yīnwèi liàoshī 因為廖 (132)

In (28), *Por merce de Deus* is an expression often used by missionaries that means by God’s mercy; this entry is markedly important since it transmits the conception of

⁶⁵ The compound structure is frequently used in many languages for word building; among all the Chinese compounds, the modified compounds occupy a larger proportion than other types. For detailed description see Cecagno. A. and Basicano B. ’s *Classification of Chinese compounds* (2008).

⁶⁶ liau si: Romanization of “廖 师” according to the pronunciation of Hokkien dialect listed in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*.

Deus, the most representative terminology of Christianity. Moreover, many researchers deem it as a valuable term because, in this Dictionary, religious words are relatively rare, as we mentioned above. *Liau si*, written as *liàoshī* 唎哝⁶⁷, is the equivalent of *Deus*, which did not exist in Chinese vocabulary at that time. Thus, this new term is supposed to be the invention of compilers. The two characters *liào* 唎 and *shī* 哝 are both formed of the left-right structure which is an essential forming type of Chinese. The character *liào* 唎 contains two elements: the component *kǒu* 口 (mouth) on the left side which is the marker of transliteration. Because we commonly use the mouth to pronounce words. On the right side, there is the radical *liào* 廖 implying that the pronunciation of the loan shift *liào* 唎 is borrowed from the word *liào* 廖. Likewise, *shī* 哝 follows the same forming process: it consists of the component *kǒu* 口 (mouth) and the radical character *shī* 师. *Liau si* is the Romanized form of *liàoshī* 唎哝, which means that *Liau* should correspond to the syllable /deu/ and *si* correspond to /s/. It seems that this is not a precise corresponding of phonetics. In fact, according to Wáng (2012)⁶⁸, *Liau si* is probably transliterated from the southern Min dialect (a variety of Chinese spoken primarily in Fújiàn 福建 province).

To explain further, the alteration - including addition and deletion - of syllables is a necessary procedure in the process of loan word adapting so that native speakers can accept it. That is to say, we can divide the process of phonetic borrowing from the source language Portuguese to the target language Chinese in two phases (**Figure 9**):

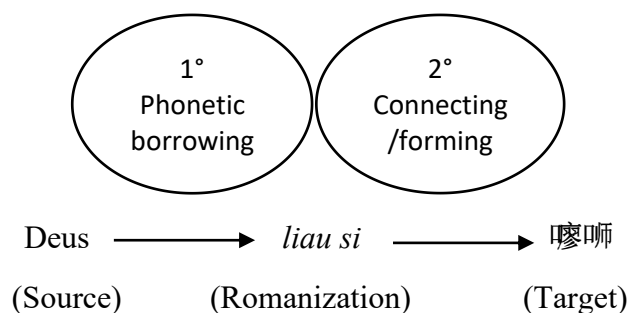
1° to form syllable structures by using Romanized letters according to the pronunciation of Portuguese words;

2° to connect the Romanized letters with existent Chinese characters that have similar pronunciation, or sometimes to form new Chinese characters using Chinese radicals (in this case *kǒu* 口).

⁶⁷ Rare Chinese words invented by missionaries.

⁶⁸ Wáng Míngyǔ 王铭宇. (2012). “Tiānzhǔ” cíyuán kǎo “天主”词源考 [Study on the Etymology of “Tiānzhǔ 天主”], in Yǔwén yánjiū 语文研究, 2012 (03). Shanxi: Yǔwén yánjiū 语文研究, p. 51.

Figure 9: Process of loanword applying



In this example, we can see that both the meaning and the pronunciation of *liàoshī* 嘍嘍 are borrowed from the foreign word *Deus*. However, it remains the unique evidence that *Liau si* 嘍嘍 has been adopted as an equivalent of *Deus* among missionary works and has not been known by common people. Thus, this situation shows that the loan word method was not an efficient one for concept spreading at that time.

In fact, missionaries also discovered a better equivalent for *Deus* in the same Dictionary, that is, the loan shift *tiānzhǔ* 天主.

A **loan shift** borrows the meaning of a foreign word without considering its pronunciation. This kind of word-forming method refers to the process of adapting a native word (of the target language) to semantic extension or shifting, assimilating this word with a foreign word (of the source language), during which the indigenous morphemes are likely to have followed the structure of the source language. For instance:

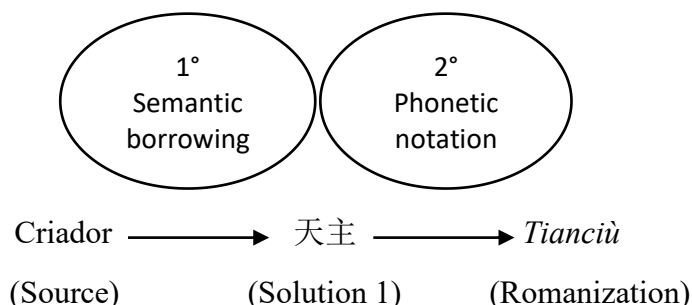
(29) Criador *Tianciù sunvanue*⁶⁹ *tiānzhǔ shēng wànwù* 天主生萬物 (63v)

In this case, *tiānzhǔ* 天主 is the loan shift of the Portuguese word *Criador* (creator, God). In Christianity, *Criador* is another name of *Deus*. *Tiānzhǔ* 天主 (God of Heaven) is an existent word borrowed from one Chinese classic, the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*, ca. 94 BC), in which *tiānzhǔ* 天主 is documented as one of eight ancient gods who are living in the sky. The suffix *-dor* suggests that *Criador* is a noun as well as its equivalent *tiānzhǔ* 天主. In order to adapt this Chinese word into Portuguese, its original meaning - one of the ancient gods - has been shifted and

⁶⁹ Tianciù sunvanue: Romanization of 天主生萬物 listed in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*.

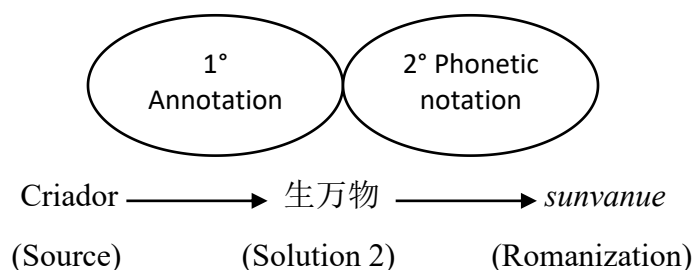
expanded so as to indicate exclusively the only God in Christian belief. We can divide this shifting process into two steps as following:

Figure 10: Process of the loan shift applying–solution 1



As for the second solution, *shēng wànwù* 生萬物, which means to create all things on earth, is generally considered an extra explanation that reflects the word-building structure of the foreign word *Criador* derived from the transitive verb “*criar*”. This solution is following the same process of loan shift applying, and it indicates clearly the literal meaning of *Criador*:

Figure 11: Process of the loan shift applying–solution 2



It is evident that the applying process of loan shifts differs from that of loanwords, in which not only the borrowed objects are distinct - phonetics or semantics - but also the translations methods are different according to Fathers’ understanding about the Portuguese words; namely, it depends on whether these foreign words exist in Chinese culture. Otherwise, new Characters should be formulated.

As a case in point, the equivalent *tiānzhǔ* 天主 for *Criador*, the God, initiated by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, was then widely accepted and adopted by many other missionaries to refer exclusively to *Deus* in their works and report letters. In fact,

the loan shift *tiānzhǔ* 天主 (God of Heaven) is not precisely corresponding to *Deus*,⁷⁰ since there are fundamental differences between the two terms, and the major difference hinges on the definition of *tiān* 天 and that of God. In Confucianism, there are generally three conceptions of *tiān* 天: *tiān* 天 can be conceived as nature, as divinity not personified, and as ethics and morality. In Christianity, God is considered as the origin of the universe, spiritual reality, and the Father with goodness.⁷¹ Therefore, *tiān* 天 and that of God have distinct properties in Confucianism and Christianity but both of them are relating to good morality. Considering the ethical similarity between two ideologies, missionaries added *zhǔ* 主 (Lord) to *tiān* 天 (Heaven), incorporating divinity, morality and personification into *tiānzhǔ* 天主 that refers to the supreme being. Following the motto “Fides Quaerens Intellectum” (faith seeks understanding) of Augustinism, the two fathers tried to make Chinese people understand God and then convince them to believe in God.

The loan shift *tiānzhǔ* 天主 is widely accepted by the masses and remains in everyday use until today in modern standard Chinese. In other words, the method of loan shift turns out to be quite useful and productive in cultural accommodation. Inspired by M. Ruggieri and M. Ricci, later missionaries borrowed specific words from Buddhist and Confucian classics, adapting them into new Chinese contexts, which is a significant contribution to Chinese vocabulary modernization.⁷²

Another example of loan shift is the entry of *Abismo*:

(30) *Abismo* *Ti yi dìyù* 地獄 (32v)

In (30), *Abismo* (abyss) is interpreted in Chinese as *dìyù* 地獄, which is a concept firstly introduced from Buddhism and then borrowed and developed by Daoism as a

⁷⁰ Xǔ Wēihàn 许威汉, and Xú Shíyí 徐时仪. (1998). *Yǔyán wénhuà chāyì de bǐjiào-shuāngyǔ cídiǎn biānzuàn de línghún* 语言文化差异的比较-双语辞典编撰的灵魂 [Comparison of Linguistic and Cultural Differences-The key of Dictionary Compilation], in *Wàiyǔ yǔ wàiyǔ jiàoxué* 外语与外语教学. 1998 (08). Dalian: Wàiyǔ yǔ wàiyǔ jiàoxué 外语与外语教学, p. 5.

⁷¹ Sūn Lǐjuān 孙丽娟. (2010). *Rújiā yǔ Jīdūjiào guānyú tiān rén guānxì de yì tóng* 儒家与基督教关于天人关系与神人关系的异同 [Differences and similarities between Confucianism and Christianity about the heaven-man relationship and the God-man relationship], in *Bóhǎi dàxué xuébào* 渤海大学学报. Bohai: Bóhǎi dàxué xuébào 渤海大学学报. 2010 (01), pp. 151-152.

⁷² Huáng Xīngtāo 黄兴涛. (1999). *Jìndài zhōngguó hànǔ wàiláicí de zuìxīn yánjiū-Píng Mǎ Xīní “Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cíhuì de Xíngchéng”* 近代中国汉语外来词的最新研究-评马西尼《现代汉语词汇的形成》 [The latest research on Modern Chinese loanwords-A Review of The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution towards a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898], in *Kāifàng shídài* 开放时代. 1999(05). Guangzhou: Kāifàng shídài 开放时代, p. 65.

religious terminology. Generally speaking, this term refers to the bottomless pit (or hell). In fact, in Sanskrit, it is called *Niraja* and has been transliterated in Chinese as *nīlīyē* 泥犁耶, *nàluòjiā* 捺落迦 and *nīlī* 泥犁⁷³ according to its pronunciation. However, this kind of transliteration has not been widely adopted, *nīlīyē* 泥犁耶, *nàluòjiā* 捺落迦 and *nīlī* 泥犁 were finally replaced by the disyllable word *dìyù* 地狱 - a compound structure using the metaphor of jail underground. *Dìyù* 地狱 is invented later and then highly accepted both in written and oral contexts until today since a loan shift equipped with concrete meaning is in exact accordance with Chinese people's preference. Evidentially the use of loan shift results to be a valuable method for word formation and culture spreading.

2.3.2.2 Compounding method

A. Definition of compounds

The compound structure is frequently used in many languages for word building because of its high productivity and flexibility, especially for nouns and adjectives. Generally speaking, “compounding is indeed the combination of lexical morphemes.”⁷⁴ From the word-forming point of view, a compound word is the smallest meaningful unit and an indivisible grammatical component in a sentence, consisting of at least two morphemes closely connected; thus, compounds are always disyllabic or trisyllabic words. In modern Chinese vocabulary, compound words account for a significant proportion compared with other lexical structures.

B. Types of compounds

According to heterogeneous classification criteria, there are various compound types. First, we adopt a basic criterion that concerns a morpheme's quantity as an introduction of different compounds. Considering the morphemes (in general, two or three; sometimes four) that constitute a compound word, there are mainly two categories: disyllabic compounds and trisyllabic compounds. According to Biàn

⁷³ Zhōu Wén 周文. (2009). “*Dìyù*” *yuánliú kǎo* “地狱”源流考 [Research on the Origins of the Word “*Dìyù*”], in *Húběi shèhuì kēxué* 湖北社会科学. Wuhan: Húběi shèhuì kēxué 湖北社会科学. No. 7, 2009, p. 135.

⁷⁴ Arcodia, F. Giorgio, and Fabio Montermini, Gilles Boyé, Nabil Hathout. (2007). Chinese: a language of compound words? In *Selected Proceedings of the 5th Décembrettes: Morphology in Toulouse*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, p. 82.

(1998), on the basis of quantitative analysis, more than 70% of modern Chinese words are disyllabic compounds⁷⁵. This observation shows that disyllables are preferred word-forming structures in modern Chinese compared with other multi-syllable words (including trisyllables and quadrisyllables). The preference for two-syllable compounds also appeared in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, from which we selected and presented below both kinds of compounds that were used in the Ming dynasty, but also in modern times; a few obsolete words that are not in everyday use now but can be understood by modern people.

Even though there is a gap in quantity between trisyllables and disyllables, and disyllabification of words is the tendency in Chinese, it does not mean that trisyllables have less significance than disyllables. In fact, three-syllable words play an irreplaceable role in Chinese vocabulary development⁷⁶. In the past, trisyllables were rarely used in traditional Chinese; but in modern Chinese Mandarin, we can see a considerable rising number of trisyllables in spoken and written Chinese. As Lǚ (2005) states, “there is a growing trend in Chinese three-syllable words.”⁷⁷ This increase is also discovered in the Ming dynasty since we found several trisyllabic words in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. Looking into these two-syllable and three-syllable compounds, we will have a comprehensive view of Chinese the word-forming tendency from the Ming dynasty to today. In the following parts, we shall mainly discuss disyllabic compounds; a few trisyllabic compounds are also included.

Among Chinese disyllabic and trisyllabic compounds in the Dictionary, we carefully selected certain entries to analyze their structural characteristics and grammatical functions, comparing between disyllabic and trisyllabic compounds, highlighting certain compounds that were firstly introduced in the Dictionary and remain in use now. Besides, some obsolete compounds are ambiguous both in meaning and use; therefore, a concrete linguistic analysis is made to restore

⁷⁵ Biàn Chénglín 卞成林. (1998). *Xiàndài Hànyǔ sānyīnjié fùhéci jiégòu fēnxī* 现代汉语三音节复合词结构分析 [Analysis on the Structure of Modern Chinese Trisyllabic Compounds], in *Hànyǔ xuéxí* 汉语学习, 04 (1998). Yanbian: Hànyǔ xuéxí 汉语学习, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Zhèng Qìngjūn 郑庆君. (2003). *Sānyīnjié héchéngcí de jiégòu lèixíng jí céngcì* 三音节合成词的结构类型及层次 [A comprehensive Study on the Structure of the Three-syllable Compounds], in *Shānxī dàxué xuébào (zhéxué shèhuì kēxué bǎn)* 山西大学学报 (哲学社会科学版). Vol. 26, No.1. Taiyuan: Shānxī dàxué 山西大学, p. 68.

⁷⁷ Lǚ Chángfèng 吕长凤. (2005). *Xiàndài Hànyǔ sānyīnjié cí de cìlèi fēnbù jí qí yǔfǎ tèzhēng* 现代汉语三音节词的词类分布及其语法特征 [The Distribution of Three-Syllable Words in Modern Chinese and Their Characteristics of Grammar], in *Běifāng lùncóng* 北方论丛, No. 4. Haerbin: Běifāng lùncóng 北方论丛, p. 72.

connections between these rare words and their potential counterparts in modern Chinese (including the Mandarin and dialects). To achieve these goals, initial presumptions and corresponding evidence are provided in the following parts.

In addition to the quantitative classification above, the qualitative analysis is also needed to differentiate the compounds in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*; on this issue, we introduce the scheme proposed by Ceccagno and Basicano (2007) that there are three varieties of Chinese compounds, including a) modified compound words; b) coordinate compounds; c) subordinate compounds.⁷⁸ In the lexical research of this Dictionary, the most significant point is that: some Chinese compounds are “created” by M. Ruggieri and M. Ricci and adopted firstly in this Dictionary; others are words (or expressions) “readjusted” based on existent Chinese characters and words. Guided by Ceccagno and Basicano’s classification criterion and internal structural analysis of the compounds below, we shall understand the rules followed by two compilers to invent new terms; discuss whether they are still in use today.

B.1 Modified compounds

Among all the Chinese compounds, the modified compounds or attributive compounds (Ceccagno: 2006) occupy a larger proportion than other types. The common structure of a modified compound is M (modifier) + R (root). Namely, it is led by a modifier that gives modifications and limits to another morpheme - a noun, a verb, or an adjective—right behind it. As a result, the meaning of the second word is changed. On the other hand, this compounding method can also be analyzed by the system called the NHS, namely the non-head stress system (Hong: 2010)⁷⁹, and according to it, the modifier is the non-head, and the root is the head. To identify a modified compound, we should analyze the morphemes’ properties, figure out how a modifier and a root are constructed in a compound word, and how they are related to each other. We can classify the compounds in the dictionary in three categories: a) modifier + noun; b) modifier + verb; c) modifier + adjective.

⁷⁸ Ceccagno, Antonella, and Basicano, Bianca. Masini, Federico (ed.). (2008). Classification of Chinese compounds, in *On-line Proceedings of the Sixth Mediterranean Morphology Meeting (MMM6)*. Patras: University of Patras, p. 77.

⁷⁹ Hong, Shuang. (2010). Synthetic Compounds in Mandarin, in *PACLIC 24 - Proceedings of the 24th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*. Sendai: Institute of Digital Enhancement of Cognitive Processing, Waseda University, p. 409.

B.1.1 Modifier + noun

(31) Grifo, hypergrifo *fēimǎ* 飛馬 (107v)

In (31), *Grifo* (griffin, with a lion's body and an eagle's head and wings) and *hypergrifo* (hippogriff, hipogrifo in modern Portuguese, with a horse's body, the wings and head of an eagle) are both mythical animals in occidental legends, but not known by Chinese people at that time. In modern Chinese, *Grifo* is interpreted as *shījiù* 獅鷲 in, which *shī* 獅 means the lion, and *jiù* 鷲 means the vulture, *hypergrifo* is translated as *jùnyīng* 駿鷹 in which *jùn* 駿 means the fine horse and *yīng* 鷹 means the eagle. As for two compilers, they utilized the modified compound composed of the verb *fēi* 飛 (to fly) and a noun *mǎ* 馬 (horse) (**Figure 12**) to explain this mysterious creature, implying that it refers to a horse flying with wings. Apparently, *shījiù* 獅鷲 and *jùnyīng* 駿鷹 are much more precise descriptions about *Grifo* and *hypergrifo*, and the translation of *fēimǎ* 飛馬 conveys simply a general idea rather than an accurate definition. Besides, *fēimǎ* 飛馬 in modern Chinese corresponds to another mythological creature, Pegasus, a horse with wings.⁸⁰ Still, the compound *fēimǎ* 飛馬 is a positive attempt to introduce occidental cultural belief. What is more, this legendary description may draw Chinese people's attention and interest in the occidental world.

Figure 12: Verb + noun structure

(Verb) (Noun)

飛 + 馬

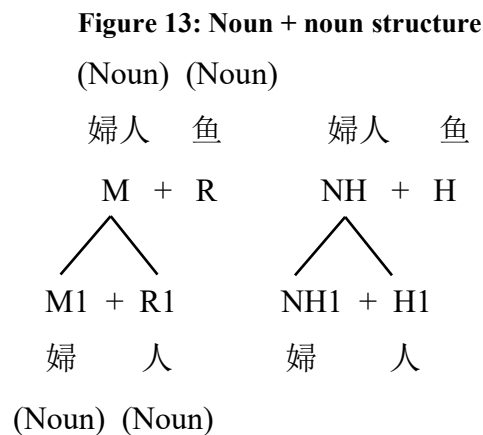
M(NH) R(H)

(32) Serea *fūrén yú* 婦人魚 (144)

In addition to two-syllable modified compounds, there is also a certain amount of trisyllabic modified compounds in the Dictionary. In (30), the Chinese word *fūrén yú* 婦人魚 is another example of the modifier-noun combination that refers to the entry *Serea* (mermaid, in modern Portuguese *sereia*). *Fūrén yú* 婦人魚 (literally woman-fish)

⁸⁰ Anonymous. (2007). *Fēimǎ zuò yǔ xīlà shénhuà chuánshuō* 飞马座与希腊神话传说 [Pegasus and Greek mythology], in *Zhōngxuéshēng yuèdú: Xīn shìchuāng* 中学生阅读:新视窗. Vol. 5, p.35.

describes a kind of woman-like marine creature; now in Standard Chinese, this term has been developed and written as *měirén yú* 美人鱼 (beauty-fish) which is related to a fairy tale and remains in common use today. For example, in the sentence “...tā hūrán fāxiàn zhè tiáo měirényú měng yī zòngshēn...他忽然发现这条美人鱼猛一纵身...”⁸¹ (He suddenly found that the mermaid gave a quick leap...), *měirényú* 美人鱼 is used as a metaphorical term to describe a woman. From the view of word-forming, *fūrén yú* 婦人魚 is categorized by a trisyllable that can be deconstructed into a two-level hierarchy (**Figure 13**). In the first level, there is the macrostructure of M (*fūrén* 婦人) + R (*yú* 鱼); in the second level, there is the microstructure of M1(*fū* 婦) + R1(*rén* 人), which is a modified compound that means woman. On the other hand, according to the NHS system, *Fūrén* 婦人 is the non-head (NH), which gets the stress; and *yú* 鱼 is the head (H). Similarly, in the micro-structure of compound *fūrén* 婦人, *fū* 婦 is the modifier and *rén* 人 is the head.



The disyllable *fūrén* 婦人 has been used since ancient times; here, it functions as a modifier to suggest the gender, especially the creature’s humanoid appearance.

With these two examples, we can point out that people can distinguish the modifier + noun compounds from others by answering a question: whether a compound word can be expanded into a complete phrase or not? Such as the term *fēimǎ* 飛馬, which can be extended into a meaningful sentence like “*Fēimǎ shì yī zhǒng mǎ*. 飛馬是一种马。” (Griffin is a kind of horse); the word *fūrén* 婦人 can be

⁸¹ Lí Rǔqīng 黎汝清. (1988). *Shēn Gǔ Yīng Hún* 深谷英魂. Cap. 6. Beijing: Zhōngguó qīngnián chūbǎnshè 中国青年出版社, pp. 86-103.

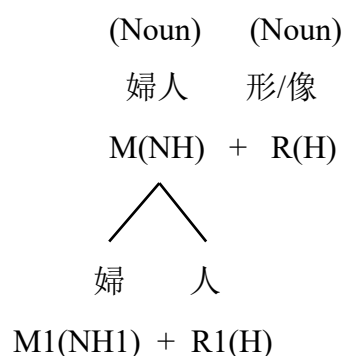
expanded into the phrase “*Fùrén shì yī lèi rén*. 婦人是一类人。” (Woman is a kind of human); the word *fùrényú* 婦人鱼 can be interpreted as “*Fùrényú shì yī zhǒng yú*. 婦人鱼是一种鱼。” (Mermaid is a kind of fish). Moreover, this approach can be defined as a kind of classification method.

A similar example of a trisyllabic modified compound is as below:

(33) *Afeminado fùrénxíng* 婦人形 *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像 (36v)

In (33), *Afeminado* (effeminate) is an adjective in Portuguese that derives from its verbal form *afeminar*, listed right upon it. For this word, there are two Chinese equivalents that are semantically and morphologically similar, *fùrénxíng* 婦人形 and *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像, both of which are formed by the structure of M + R (**Figure 14**). Same as it in (30), the noun *fùrén* 婦人 functions as the modifier of the root. Still, the problem is whether the property of the roots *xíng* 形 and *xiàng* 像 are verbs or nouns. According to the definition given in the Classical Chinese dictionary, *xíng* 形 and *xiàng* 像 can be defined as or nouns or verbs on the basis of syntactic parsing in different contexts. In this case, we believe that *xíng* 形 and *xiàng* 像 are both nouns, which mean one’s appearance and looks. This statement hinges on the property and formation method of the Portuguese word *afeminado* since it is the participle form of the verb *afeminar*. Thus, it should be applied as an adjective describing the femaleness of someone (or of a creature). However, in Portuguese, a participle can also function as a noun. For example, when the participle *afeminado* is integrated with indefinite or definite articles, like *um* and *o*, then *um afeminado* (an effeminate) and *o afeminado* (the effeminate) can function as nouns. Accordingly, its Chinese equivalent *fùrénxíng* 婦人形 and *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像 are supposed to have the same property but are subjected to different forming process concerning the Portuguese word *afeminado*, which is the result of verb conjugation. Apparently, in Chinese, verb conjugation does not exist; thus, compilers had to resort to existent word-forming methods to describe the meaning and especially the use of this foreign word *afeminado*. Consequently, they adopted the typical compound structure of noun – the modified compound – which in the case of *fùrénxíng* 婦人形 is composed of a modifier and a noun (root), to correspond to the Portuguese word *afeminado* without causing ambiguity.

Figure 14: Noun + noun structure



On the other hand, from the view of lexicography, we can also apply the classification method to distinguish a modifier + noun compound from other compounds. To be specific, we can develop meaningful sentences based on a modifier + noun compound. For example, from the term *fùrénxíng* 婦人形, we can form sentences like “*Fùrénxíng shì yī zhǒng wàimào xíngxiàng*. 婦人形是一种外貌形象。” (Effeminate indicates one’s looks.) or “*Fùrénxíng shì zhǐ yǒu nǚxìng tèzhēng de rén*. 婦人形是指有女性特征的人。” (Effeminate means someone with female characteristics.) Both sentences are showing clearly the property and use of *fùrén xíng* 婦人形 and *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像. Moreover, the expressions of *fùrénxíng* 婦人形 and *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像 used as nouns are more acceptable for Chinese readers since they can be found both in Chinese classic and modern works. To sum up, *fùrénxíng* 婦人形 and *fùrénxiàng* 婦人像 are semantically and morphologically in accordance with *afeminado*. It proves that a modified compound’s structure is a considerably productive and flexible method to form new words in Chinese, especially when it is hard to explain the meaning and the use of certain foreign words formulated through conjugation of infinitive verbs.

(34) Armadilha *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 (45)

In (34), Armadilha (trap) is the noun form of the transitive verb *armadilhar* (to entrap, to trick). However, the meaning of its Chinese equivalent *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 is not explicit since it can not be traced in any other dictionaries or literary works during the Ming dynasty. Nevertheless, we found a similar idiom *zhāngshénzhāngguǐ* 张神张鬼 (*zhāng* 张 is the simplified form of *zhāng* 張 in modern standard Chinese) in a

contemporary book *Cháoshàn fāngyán xiēhòuyǔ* 潮汕方言歇后语⁸² (Allegorical idioms of Teochew Dialect) which is published in 1997. Therefore, we suppose that *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 might be the abbreviated expression of *zhāngshénzhāngguǐ* 张神张鬼. The author of *Cháoshàn fāngyán xiēhòuyǔ* 潮汕方言歇后语 refers the term *zhāngshén zhāngguǐ* 张神张鬼 to Teochew dialect (Cháoshànhuà 潮汕话 or Cháo zhōuhuà 潮州话 in Chinese), a regional language spoken in the East of Guangdong province, and according to his explanation, *zhāngshénzhāngguǐ* 张神张鬼 corresponds to the verbal expression *zhuāngshénnòngguǐ* 装神弄鬼 in Mandarin, which means to trick somebody with exaggeration. As a result, *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 is supposed to be as well a verb that conveys a similar meaning with the Portuguese noun *Armadilha* but unfortunately failed in maintaining grammatical accordance with it. To be specific, *zhāngguǐ* 張鬼 is structured by a modifier and a root (**Figure 15**), in which *zhāng* 張 means to make and *guǐ* 鬼 literally means demon or ghost. Still, apparently, in this case, the original meaning of *guǐ* 鬼 has been altered and extended to *tricks*. In fact, the Chinese character *guǐ* 鬼 with its original meaning has been separately listed on another page (76v) of this dictionary as a single-syllable equivalent in the Portuguese entry *Demonio*. It proves that two priests noticed the difference between the literal meaning and the symbolic meaning of a Chinese character, especially when the same character is used in specific words or expressions with particular semantic functions.

Figure 15: Verb + noun structure

(Verb) (Noun)

張 + 鬼

M(NH) R(H)

B.1.2 Modifier + verb

As we mentioned above, the modified compound structure is the most productive word-forming method in Chinese. The main reason consists of the great flexibility it shows in word combination, neglecting the distinct properties of large numbers of

⁸² Lín Lúnlún 林伦伦, Chén Guóyīng 陈国英. (1997). *Cháoshàn fāngyán xiēhòuyǔ* 潮汕方言歇后语 [Allegorical idioms of Teochew Dialect]. Shàntóu: Shàntóu dàxué chūbǎnshè 汕头大学出版社.

morphemes. As for the Chinese modified compounds in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, these compounds' root words can be nouns and verbs. Some representative examples are as below:

(35) De palavra *miànjiǎng* 面讲 (76v)

(36) De praça y palavra *míngjiǎng* 明讲 (76v)

In (35), the Portuguese phrase *De palavra* (of the word) is translated in Chinese as *miànjiǎng* 面讲, which remains an unsolved entry since its meaning is ambiguous and its use is not explicit: there is little relative evidence or example about *miànjiǎng* 面讲 that is found in documents written in Chinese Mandarin or dialects. Concerning *De palavra*, it is a prepositional phrase composed of the preposition “*de*” and the noun “*palavra*”; it should be integrated with a predicate to express concrete meaning in a sentence. Consequently, it seems complicated to establish a connection between “*De palavra*” and *miànjiǎng* 面讲 without reliable references.

Fortunately, on the same page, there is a Chinese word *míngjiǎng* 明讲 (to explain clearly), in (36), which corresponds to the Portuguese expression “*De praça y palavra*” (literally of palace and word), but the latter cannot be related to any modern Portuguese phrases. Nevertheless, it has two same components: the preposition “*de*” and the noun “*palavra*”. From this evidence, we can deduce that from the perspective of semantics, “*palavra*” corresponds to *jiǎng* 讲 and “*de*” should grammatically function as an adjunct or modified component in the whole structure. However, *jiǎng* 讲 in Chinese is generally used as a verb which means *to speak, to explain*; only in a few cases it can also be used as a noun that means *speech, lecture*. In the context of Mandarin Chinese, *míngjiǎng* 明讲 is structured by a modifier and a verb; thus, *jiǎng* 讲 is definitely a verb and *míng* 明 functions as an adverb to describe in which way the action of speaking is completed (**Figure 17**).

In the same way, looking into the word *miànjiǎng* 面讲, *jiǎng* 讲 is supposed to have a similar meaning as it does in *míngjiǎng* 明讲; and *miàn* 面 should have a similar function with *míng* 明. That is to say, *miàn* 面 is also a modifier that helps to form the modified compound structure of *miànjiǎng* 面讲, in which *jiǎng* 讲 is the lexical head in the compound (**Figure 16**). The only difference between *míngjiǎng* 明讲 and *miànjiǎng* 面讲 lies in their different property, namely *míng* 明 (clearly) in

this term functions as an adverb, and *miàn* 面 (face) is a noun. As for its concrete meaning, we can refer to another common expression in Chinese *miàntán* 面谈 which means to speak to somebody face to face (personally), in which *miàn* 面 modifies *tán* 谈 indicating that the speech is to be taken in private and with the presence of both sides. On the other hand, *jiǎng* 讲 is a synonym of *tán* 谈; therefore, the author of this thesis believes that *miànjiǎng* 面讲 is a rare expression in some regions of China that is equivalent to *miàntán* 面谈 in semantics but also in morphology (**Figure 18**). Accordingly, on the basis of the assumption that the Portuguese entry *de palavra* has been interpreted faithfully into the Chinese equivalent *miànjiǎng* 面讲, *de palavra* could be translated in English as “by words” or “through dialogue”. It proves that some unsolved words can be efficiently deciphered through the structural analysis, especially when no direct evidence is found.

Figure 16: Noun + verb structure

(Noun) (Verb)
 面 + 讲
 M(NH) R(H)

Figure 17: Adverb + verb structure

(Adverb) (Verb)
 明 + 讲
 M(NH) R(H)

Figure 18: Noun + verb structure

(Noun) (Verb)
 面 + 谈
 M(NH) R(H)

(37) Represar *zuòdāng* 做当¹(to block) (139)

(38) Dar a refens *zuòdàng* 做当²(to pawn) (73)

(39) Apenhar *zuòdàng* 做当²(44)

In the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, it happens that one Chinese compound

word corresponds to more Portuguese terms, such like in (37) (38) (39), *zuòdāng/zuòdàng* 做當 is considered as the equivalent of three different Portuguese words and phrasal expressions. In fact, the Chinese character 當 is a heteronym which in general has two pronunciations: *dāng* in the first tone (level tone) and *dàng* in the fourth tone (entering tone). Because the four tonations in Mandarin Chinese are used to differentiate meanings. However, missionaries didn't give tone marks in this Dictionary to distinguish meanings of 當, therefore, we will give a hypothesis about the pronunciation and meaning of 當 based on corresponding Portuguese terms. Thus, a comparative analysis is needed in order to find out the semantic connection and distinction between these Portuguese terms and Chinese terms, identifying whether *zuò dāng* and *zuòdàng* have the same semantic and grammatical values in these entries.

In (37), *Respresar* (to dam, to stem) is a transitive verb. Accordingly, its Chinese equivalent *zuòdāng* 做當¹ should function as a verb as well, and has a similar connotation. In fact, *zuòdāng* 做當¹ is a compound verb formed by a typical lexical structure in Chinese composed of verb 1 (modifier) and verb 2 (root) – V+V structure - that in general should follow after another noun (subjective) to build a meaningful sentence. With regard to this V+V structure, *zuòdāng* 做當¹ (**Figure 19**), in which *zuò*做 (to make), is undoubtedly the predicate that describes the motion of the subject. Then, the main problem lies in the qualitative analysis of *dāng/ dàng* 當, since it is a polyphone with two phonetic alternatives: *dāng* and *dàng*. In addition to that, its property varies in different contexts, such as the verb, the noun, and the adjective. In the case of (37), to maintain the semantic equivalence between *Reprsar* and its Chinese counterpart, *dāng* 當¹ is deemed to be a verb, which means to block, to stop (with something). Thus, its pronunciation should be *dāng*, just like it is used as a loan character of *dǎng* 挡 (*dǎng*, to block, get in the way of) in the Chinese idiom *tangbidāngchē* 螳臂当车 (a mantis trying to stop a chariot). Therefore, in (37), *zuòdāng* 做當¹ indicates someone acts with the purpose of blocking something or somebody. As a matter of fact, this example reveals an implicated word-forming rule applied by compilers, that is, the use of grammatical markers, such as *zuò*做, which is integrated with certain polyphones and polysemes in order to suggest the property of them. Meanwhile, to maintain the grammatical accordance with the Portuguese words,

to be specific, thanks to the grammatical maker of *zuò* 做, the semantic ambiguity of *dāng* 當¹ is avoided.

Figure 19: Verb + verb structure

(Verb) (Verb)
 做 + *dāng* 當¹(to block)
 M(NH) R(H)

And then in (38), the Portuguese verbal expression *Dar a refens* (to give hostage) is supposed to be categorized as a terminology in the field of finance; therefore, its equivalent *zuòdàng* 做當² should be as well a compound verb composed of a modifier and a root (**Figure 20**). However, the meaning of *dàng* 當² should be to pawn, not to block as it is in (37) *zuòdāng* 做當¹(to block), and *zuò* 做 functions as a grammatical marker like we mention above. Accordingly, the pronunciation of *dàng* 當² is determined, which is *dàng*.

Likewise, in (39), *Apenhar* is a transitive verb that is not a common word in modern Portuguese. Yáo (2014)⁸³ assumes that *Apenhar* means *diǎndàng* 典当 (to pawn). The author of this dissertation deduces that *Apenhar* could refer to the verb *apenhorar* (to pledge, to pawn). As for its equivalent *zuòdàng* 做當², the second character *dàng* 當² should be pronounced as *dàng* and function as the root; the first character *zuò* 做 should function as the modifier (**Figure 20**). Based on the analysis above, it reveals that missionaries have noticed the semantic varieties of certain Chinese polyphones, consequently, they listed separately these polyphones in specific entries adapting them into corresponding Portuguese words or expressions. In addition to that, in order to provide an accurate interpretation of a word, they should also take into account the grammatical accordance of Portuguese and Chinese terms, therefore they often applied modified compounds in Chinese, which are sometimes integrated with grammatical makers.

⁸³ Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平. (2014). *Cóng wǎn míng “Pú Hàn cídiǎn” kàn zhōngxī cǐhuì de jiēchù* 从晚明《葡汉词典》看中西词汇的接触 [The Earlier Language and Cultural Contact between China and the West as Reflected in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Dāngdài wàiyǔ yánjiū* 当代外语研究. No. 9. Shanghai: *Dāngdài wàiyǔ yánjiū* 当代外语研究, p. 5.

Figure 20: Verb + verb structure

(Verb) (Verb)

做 + *dàng* 當² (to pawn)

M(NH) R(H)

(40) *Odio xiǎnghài* 想害 (123v)

In (40), *Odio* (hate, hatred) is a noun in Portuguese, but its equivalent *xiǎnghài* 想害 is composed of two verbs, which makes it complicated to identify its property. In fact, *xiǎng* 想 (intend to) is an auxiliary verb that expresses one's intention to do something, and *hài* 害 (to harm) is a transitive verb. As it is discussed above in (37), (38), and (39), in general, a compound structured by two verbs should also be a verb; if so, *xiǎnghài* 想害 would not correspond to *Odio* in grammar. On the other hand, from the view of usage, *xiǎnghài* 想害 is not a common word in Chinese mandarin, but it is very likely to be a term in Min dialect (Hokkien) spoken by the people in the province of Fujian and other southeast regions. Therefore we deduce that *xiǎng* 想 is the modifier (**Figure 21**) that helps to determine the meaning of *hài* 害 from other varieties since it is a polyseme that can refer to a) to harm (verb); b) harmful (adjective); c) calamity (noun), and so on. In this entry, it is more likely that *hài* 害 means to harm, and it expresses a kind of negative attitude towards someone, which leads to the willingness to do harm to him. Above all, as a dialectal word, *xiǎnghài* 想害 is not a faithful interpretation to *Odio* and does not have the grammatical accordance with it. Still, this entry constitutes significant evidence for researchers in the field of dialectal varieties in China. Based on careful syntactic analysis about word-forming rules, researchers can confirm the meaning and use of specific complex Chinese terms, especially those of dialects. These dialectal words and expressions in the dictionary remained unsolved because they were rarely used in the official language. That is to say, they can be accepted and understood only in specific areas, according to different linguistic contexts. If too many dialectal words appear in a bilingual dictionary, readers could be confused about the pronunciation and the use of these words. As for the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, it was made to break linguistic barriers between two cultures, in which the official languages should be preferred, and dialects should be limited and even avoided. Still, missionaries

introduced a considerable number of dialectal terms, which constituted precious data of the Ming dynasty's Chinese dialectal vocabulary.

Figure 21: Verb + verb structure

(Verb) (Verb)
想 + 害
M(NH) R(H)

B.1.3 Modifier + adjective

In the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, some Chinese modified compounds are formed by the modifier and the adjective. In most cases, the combination of them turns out to be a verb. Some examples are as below:

(41) *Abrandar* *jiàoshàn* 教善 *zuòruǎn* 做软 (33)

In (41), the Portuguese word *Abrandar* (to soften, to moderate) is obviously a transitive verb categorized by the suffix – *ar*, and it has both original and symbolic meanings. In accordance with it, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* provides distinct alternatives of Chinese equivalents, which are *jiàoshàn* 教善 (instruct people to do good) and *zuòruǎn* 做软 (to soften). Literally, it seems that these two Chinese words do not have semantic similarities between them. In fact, the connection should be found by integrating traditional Chinese philosophy. According to Confucian ideology, *shàn* 善 indicates the optimal moral standard for people. It reflects one of the Confucian philosophical views, which is the so-called *zhōngyōng-zhīdào* 中庸之道 (the method of moderation). This point of view is also interpreted in one of the Four Books of Confucianism, namely the *Doctrine of the Mean*. From this perspective, the author considers that *zuòruǎn* 做软 corresponds to the original meaning of *Abrandar* and *jiàoshàn* 教善 represents the symbolic meaning of it, that is to instruct people to be moderate (which is a good thing). From the view of grammatical analysis, *jiàoshàn* 教善 is a modified compound verb (**Figure 22**) composed of the modifier *jiào* 教 (instruct, make) and the root adjective *shàn* 善 (good, moderate). Similarly, *zuòruǎn* 做软 is also a modified compound verb (**Figure 23**) structured by the modifier *zuò* 做 (make) and the root adjective *ruǎn* 软 (soft). This entry turns out to be

evidence for the hypothesis that through the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, certain philosophical doctrines and concepts have also been conveyed from China to Europe thanks to local people's contribution and some Chinese literati who assisted the missionaries with editing.

Figure 22: Verb + adjective structure

(Verb) (Adjective)

教 + 善

M(NH) R(H)

Figure 23: Verb + adjective structure

(Verb) (Adjective)

做 + 软

M(NH) R(H)

From the examples above, we can conclude that the modified compound is undoubtedly the most productive Chinese word-forming method. It has considerably high flexibility on properties of words that constitute the compound structures: modifiers and roots can be nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Moreover, the property of these compounds varies according to different combinations of monosyllables and sometimes disyllables. Some Chinese words and expressions are invented and first introduced in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* by two foreign compilers following Chinese traditional word-building regulations in order to bridge the linguistic and cultural gaps between China and Europe.

B.2 Coordinate compounds

In Chinese, coordinate compounds are generally constituted by two or more semantically equivalent morphemes, including verbs, adjectives, and nouns. Usually, they play a role in emphasizing, complementing, and generalizing the meaning while contributing to formulating words and expressions, maintaining lexical structures' stability. Some representative examples of coordinate compounds in the Dictionary are shown below:

- (42) Acompanhar *gēnsuí* 跟随 (34)
 (43) Acrerar *jiěshì* 解释 (34)
 (44) Doença *jíbìng* 疾病 *bìngyàng* 病恙 *juéjì* 厥疾 (84)
 (45) Puro *jiéqīng* 潔清 (133)
 (46) Rogar *qǐngyāo* 請邀 (140)
 (47) Rasto *jìzōng* 跡踪 (137)

In general, what distinguishes coordinate compounds from coordinate phrases is whether the morphemes' order in a compound is fixed and unalterable. This distinguishing method is exemplified in some notable compound words, including the compound verbs: *Acompanhar* (accompany)- *gēnsuí* 跟随, *Acrerar* (clear up) - *jiěshì* 解释, and the compound nouns *Doença* (disease) - *jíbìng* 疾病, *bìngyàng* 病恙, and *juéjì* 厥疾. These terms are meaningful only when each component of the word remains in its position. Nevertheless, there are also exceptions: within certain compounds, the component words could change their positions with each other, thereby creating “new” words without altering the original meaning. However, after a long-term linguistic development, only one alternative remained in Mandarin Chinese. For instance: *Puro* (clean)- *jiéqīng* 潔清. *Jié qīng* 潔清 is the variant of *qīngjié* 清潔, but the latter is more commonly used in modern Chinese. Likewise, in entries like *Rogar* (invite)- *qǐngyāo* 請邀 (140) and *Rasto* (trace)- *jìzōng* 跡踪, the Chinese verb *qǐngyāo* 請邀 and the noun *jìzōng* 跡踪 can be found in classic works. Still, in modern Chinese, they are considered as inverted variants compared with the correct orthography of *yāoqǐng* 邀請 and *zōngjì* 踪跡 (*zōngjì* 踪迹 in Mandarin). All of these three terms are examples of coordinate compounds in which the morphemes are semantically and grammatically parallel to each other, namely, *jié* 潔 equals to *qīng* 清, *qǐng* 請 equals to *yāo* 邀, *zōng* 踪 equals to *jì* 跡. Thus, in theory, the meaning, property, and syntactic function of these three words will not change if the morphemes switch their positions; however, for some words, there is left only one alternative which is more commonly used in daily life, such as *qīngjié* 清潔 is more acceptable than *jiéqīng* 潔清, and *yāoqǐng* 邀請 is more acceptable than *qǐngyāo* 請邀 in Standard Chinese. There are also cases where the morphemes in a coordinate compound are placed in reverse order, but the meaning has been barely changed. For

example, *jìzōng* 跡踪 and its alternative *zōngjì* 踪跡 are equally acceptable in Mandarin.

Apparently, in coordinate compounds, semantic repetition is necessary in order to express clearly the meaning. What's more, we can see that the component morphemes in a coordinate compound have the same properties, such as verb, noun, or adjective. They integrally form the linguistic structure of the word that can be applied then in the syntactic context. Besides, according to the NHS method, all components in a coordinate compound are heads and they value equally. From the Chinese compounds above that have high correspondence with Portuguese words, we can see that the coordinate method contributes to semantic emphasizing and structural unifying by using two grammatically parallel synonyms.

In addition, some coordinate compounds are not giving an accurate definition of a term, but a general idea of a certain kind of concrete object or an abstract thing, for example:

(48) *Fraita de pastor xiāoguǎn* 箫管 (104v)

In this example (48), *fraita de pastor* (flute of a shepherd), *fraita* is a dialectal word in the Mirandese language which belongs to the Portuguese language branch. In fact, *fraita* is an alternative form of *flauta*. Generally speaking, the flute in Europe is a side-blown (horizontal) instrument that mostly corresponds to the Chinese musical instrument *dí* 笛. However, here it is interpreted as *xiāoguǎn* 箫管, which literally means the vertical bamboo flute and the pipe, collectively suggesting all kinds of wind instruments. Two synonyms *xiāo* 箫 and *guǎn* 管 are composing this coordinate compound (**Figure 24**), but neither can explain precisely this musical instrument from the West. Besides, *fraita de pastor* is a phrasal expression that consists of the noun *fraita* and the complement *de pastor*, which is introduced by the possessive preposition *de* giving the ownership to the shepherd and in the meanwhile clarifying the usage scenario of *fraita*. Still, this information is unfortunately missed in its Chinese equivalent *xiāoguǎn* 箫管. From this case, we can see that some Chinese coordinate compounds in the Dictionary are adopted to generalize concepts derived from those Portuguese words. Still, for the sake of guaranteeing a quick understanding of readers, the compilers made efforts to simplify interpretations in Chinese with

simple but highly generalized terms.

Figure 24: Noun + noun structure

(Noun) + (Noun) = (Noun)

箫 + 管 = 箫管

H H

As for coordinate compounds that express abstract concepts, here are examples:

(49) *alegria* *huānxǐ* 欢喜¹ (happiness) (39)

(50) *alegrarse* *huānxǐ* 欢喜² (to feel happy) (39)

In (49), *alegra* (joy, happiness) is a noun, but its equivalent *huānxǐ* 欢喜¹ is generally considered as a noun. From the perspective of word-forming, it is also a coordinate compound composed of two synonyms, *huān* 欢 and *xǐ* 喜 (literally happiness and pleasure), both of them are nouns (**Figure 25**). This disyllabic noun is often used to express one's positive feeling that is naturally an abstract concept, and thus it corresponds perfectly to *alegria* in both semantics and grammar.

Here is an interesting point about the use of *huānxǐ* 欢喜². In (50), right below the entry *alegria* there is a reflexive verb *alegrarse* (rejoice, to feel happy, *alegrar-se* in modern Portuguese). Surprisingly it is also interpreted as *huānxǐ* 欢喜² that seemingly is not grammatically appropriate. In fact, according to Níng (2002)⁸⁴, the adjective *huānxǐ* 欢喜² can also be used as a verb when an object or a phrase follows it, for example, “*Tā huānxǐ dǎ pīngpāngqiú.* 他欢喜打乒乓球。” (He feels happy to play ping-pong), in which *huānxǐ* 欢喜² is a verb that functions as the predicate and *dǎ pīngpāngqiú* 打乒乓球 is the object structured by a verb and a noun. From this phrase, we know that using *huānxǐ* 欢喜² as a verb is not very common but still grammatically correct. Additionally, this kind of use can also be seen in some dialects such as in Shanghai dialect, such as “*ālā huānxǐ nóng* 阿拉欢喜侬” (I am fond of you). And in the case of (48) *huānxǐ* 欢喜² (**Figure 26**), it is adopted as a verb to correspond to *alegrarse*.

⁸⁴ Níng Méng 宁檬. (2002). “*Xǐhuān*” yǔ “*huānxǐ*” “*de cǐxìng jí qí yònglì*” “喜欢”与“欢喜”的词性及其用例, in *Yǔwén zhīshí* 语文知识. 2002(03). Zhengzhou: *Yǔwén zhīshí* 语文知识, p. 37.

Figure 25: Noun + noun structure

(Noun) + (Noun) = (Noun)

欢 + 喜 = 欢喜¹ (happiness)

Figure 26: Noun + noun structure

(Noun) + (Noun) = (Verb)

欢 + 喜 = 欢喜² (to feel happy)

From the entries above, we can see that the compilers have already noticed the difference of word property and use in two languages, and they actually took them into consideration while editing. Nevertheless, there are still numerous Chinese coordinate compounds that succeeded in describing the general idea of the Portuguese words but failed in the corresponding grammar. That is to say, these Chinese words have different properties in comparison to the source words, which are Portuguese words. For instance:

(51) Desecar *kūjiāo* 枯焦 (079)

In (51), the Portuguese word *desecar* (dry out, desiccate. *dessecar* in Modern Portuguese) is an intransitive verb that is terminated by the postfix *-ar*, which indicates its property of verb in Portuguese, but the property of its Chinese equivalent *kūjiāo* 枯焦 remains to be discussed. *Kūjiāo* 枯焦 is composed of two adjectives *kū* 枯 (withered) and *jiāo* 焦 (extremely dry). It is generally applied as an adjective to describe the dryness of scorched plants; sometimes, the property of *kū jiāo* 枯焦 can be shifted from adjective to noun, suggesting the withered plants. These two kinds of usage are both collected with example sentences in the traditional Chinese dictionary. Besides, there is another possibility about the property of *kūjiāo* 枯焦, which is supposed to be a causative verb that should be followed by an object in certain contexts. But there is no evidence of this hypothesis. On the basis of the discussion above, it has been proved that in Chinese, the property of a word is often flexible and varies according to different syntactic structures. As for the property of *kūjiāo* 枯焦 in the entry *Desecar*, it is more probable to be an adjective (**Figure 27**) in contrast with the verb *desecar*. What is more, it is a typical coordinate compound formed by two adjectives.

Figure 27: Adjective + adjective structure

(Adjective) + (Adjective) = (Adjective)

枯 + 焦 = 枯焦

(52) Paixão *huānsào* 慳⁸⁵燥 (126)

In (52), *paixão* in Portuguese means passion and love (towards somebody or something), but the problem is that the meaning as well as the pronunciation of its Chinese equivalent, *huānsào* 慳燥, is not that clear since it is not a common term in Modern Chinese. We have not found any example sentences about it from traditional Chinese works. The main concern is to figure out to which word in Mandarin the first character *huān* 慳 is referring, and concerning this uncertainty, there are two possible solutions. The starting point lies in its orthography. According to the handwriting of this word in this Dictionary, it is composed of two Chinese components, *xīn* 忄 and *huán* 萑. However, such a combination does not form any existent character. Otherwise, we can consider its pronunciation, which is described as *ceu* based on Chinese phonetic systems developed by M. Ruggieri and M. Ricci. Then some homonyms of *ceu* are found, such as *ceu*¹- *chòu* 臭 (*ceu*4 in Hakka Chinese) and *ceu*²- *zhōu* 州 (*zu*1 in Hakka Chinese), theoretically from these homonyms we can deduce the pronunciation of *huān* 慳 in modern Chinese. Still, as it is shown above, even between *chòu* 臭 and *zhōu* 州 there are phonetic distinctions both in Mandarin and in dialect, which makes it more complicated to confirm the correct pronunciation of 慳. Besides, as Paul Fumian Yang illustrated (Yang: 1989), it happens that for the same character, there are variant and sometimes inconsistent orthographies, and vice versa, the same spelling can correspond to different characters that are unfortunately not perfect homonyms in Mandarin.⁸⁶ Thus, the method of phonetic analysis seems to fail in solving the problem. Therefore we have to resort to the practice of structural analysis, which concerns the components *xīn* 忄 and *huán* 萑 and their forming structures.

Firstly the radical *xīn* 忄 refers to one's feeling or mental activities by which the

⁸⁵ A rare Chinese character which cannot be typed on computer, therefore it is replaced by the relevant picture in this dissertation.

⁸⁶ Yang, Paul Fu-mien. (1989). *The Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction*, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Academia Sinica, p. 211.

abstract aspect of the word is expressed. Similar to that, the Portuguese word *paixão* is also communicating the abstract concept about human emotion. Secondly, as for the radical *huán* 萑, there are two possibilities. One of them is that *huán* 萑 probably refers to another character *cuī* 催 that means depressed, which is evidentially describing a kind of negative emotion, thereby not corresponding to according to the meaning of *paixão*. Moreover, another possibility is based on the explanation of the *Xinhua Dictionary*, in which the radical *huán* 萑 is semantically equal to *huán* 藿. As a forming component, it plays not the semantic but the phonetic role in the given character. That is to say, the character *huān* 擘 is supposed to be a variant of *huān* 擘 which is formed by two Chinese radicals, *xīn* 忄 and *huán* 藿. In fact, *huān* 擘 turns out to be a traditional writing style of the adjective *huān* 欢 (happy, joyous). However, in the same Dictionary, there exist another traditional writing style for *huān* 欢, namely, the character *huān* 歡 (joyous) of the Chinese word *huānxǐ* 歡喜 (joyful), and *huān* 歡 is Romanized as *cuo'* in the Dictionary. This situation of inconformity in pronunciation and orthography demonstrates again that the phonetic system and the writing style applied in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, are not perfectly integrated; furthermore, the dictionary should be the result of the cooperation of multiple people, including editors and their interpreters. To sum up, it is reasonable to assume that the character *huān* 擘 corresponds to *huān* 歡.

As for the second character, *sào* 燥, an adjective of which meaning, as well as pronunciation, vary in different contexts, specifically, there are three possible interpretations: *cǎo*, worried; *sāo*, agitated; *sào*, anxious and greedy, all of which are adjectives. Only the third interpretation is expressing the feeling of eagerness that can be connected with passion. Therefore, it seems to have higher semantic accordance with *paixão*.

With regard to the property of *paixão*, it is evidentially a noun; thus, we can naturally deduce that *huānsào* 擘燥 is also a coordinate compound noun formed by two adjectives (**Figure 28**). And the reason why the use of this uncommon word cannot be traced in other resources is that compilers themselves have invented some new characters while editing (Yao: 2015). From the above, we can draw the conclusion that *huān sào* 擘燥 has a similar meaning and the same property as *paixão*, even though its components are both adjectives.

Figure 28: Adjective + adjective structure

(Adjective) + (Adjective) = (Noun)

摧 + 燥 = 摧燥

B.3 Subordinate compounds

According to Ceccagno and Basciano (2006), Chinese subordinate compounds can be classified into two categories: a) verb + objective structure (VO type); b) subjective + predicate structure (SP type). Ceccagno and Basciano put forward that in a subordinate compound noun of VO type, the object should be the head. For example, *bǎngtuǐ* 绑腿 (leggings) is a noun composed of the verb *bǎng* 绑 (to tie) and the noun *tuǐ* 腿 (leg) in which *tuǐ* 腿 is the head. If the subordinate compound is a verb of VO structure, then the verb should be the head, for example, the subordinate verb *kāidāo* 开刀 (literally to operate with a knife) is composed of the verb *kāi* 开 (to operate) and the noun *dāo* 刀 (knife) in which the head is the verb *kāi* 开. Other subordinate compounding structures like SP are all right-headed, such as *xīnténg* 心疼 (love dearly, care about), which is an SP structure composed of the subject *xīn* 心 (heart) and the predicate *téng* 疼 (ache), and in this case, *téng* 疼 at the right side should be the head of the word.

As for the subordinate compounds in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, the VO structures are much more than SP structures, and it turns out to be more productive than SP compounds. Some examples are as below:

(53) *Abanar* 打扇 (32)

In (53), *Abanar* (to fan) is an intransitive verb derived from the noun *abano* (fan), and its Chinese equivalent *dǎ shàn* 打扇 is evidentially a subordinate compound composed of the verb *dǎ* 打 (to shake, to move), and the noun *shàn* 扇 that constitutes the object of the structure. It results that the combined word *dǎ shàn* 打扇 is a verb, indicating the motion of a fan completed by someone. In fact, *shàn* 扇 in Chinese has a variety of properties like the noun and the verb, depending on different contexts and linguistic needs. For example, in the modern verbal phrase *shān shànzi* 扇扇子, the character 扇 is used two times in different ways with distinct meanings and functions.

The first *shān* 扇 is a transitive verb that indicates the motion of shaking and moving; however, *shànzi* 扇子 is a noun that indicates the fan, because the suffix *zǐ* 子 is a common word-forming component which is often used after an object to constitute a noun. The suffix *zǐ* 子 has been adopted from ancient times, and a lot of nouns ended with *zǐ* 子 are still in use today.⁸⁷ Besides, in the entry (53), according to the Portuguese word *Abanar*'s property, its corresponding Chinese word should be a verb or a verbal phrase as well, and the monosyllable *shàn* 扇 is a noun.

Shān/shàn 扇 has multiple meanings, consequently, if it is used without being integrated by a functional component like *zǐ* 子, its meaning and function will be ambiguous. Thus, a grammatical maker is always needed to maintain the grammatical accordance; that is the verb *dǎ* that gives the property of verb to the word *dǎ shàn* 打扇 and consequently the property of *shàn* 扇 is determined to being a noun as the object of *dǎ* 打. That is to say, *dǎ shàn* 打扇 is a subordinate compound categorized by the VP structure. And then, according to the NHS (non-head system) that we mentioned above, *dǎ* 打 is the head, and *shàn* 扇 is the non-head of the structure (**Figure 29**). In modern standard Chinese, *dǎ shàn* 打扇 is not a commonly used word but may remain in the oral language in some dialects, such as in the Sichuan dialect and the Wu dialect.

Figure 29: Verb + noun structure

(Verb) (Noun) = (Verb)

打 + 扇 = 打扇

H NH

(54) Açucarar *xià táng* 下糖 (35)

In (54), the Portuguese word *Açucarar* (make something sweet, sweeten) is a transitive verb categorized by the verb suffix *-ar* derived from the noun *açucar* (sugar). Its Chinese equivalent *xià táng* 下糖 (put sugar) is a subordinate compound

⁸⁷ Guō Zuòfēi 郭作飞. (2004). *Hànyǔ cízhù xíngchéng de lìshǐ kǎochá—Yǐ “lǎo”, “ā”, “zǐ”, “ér” wéi lì* 汉语词缀形成的历史考察——以“老”、“阿”、“子”、“儿”为例 [A Brief Discussion about the Historical Evolution of Some Common Affixes in Chinese Language], in *Nèiměnggǔ mínzú dàxué xuébào* 内蒙古民族大学学报. Vol. 30. No. 6. Neimenggu: Nèiměnggǔ mínzú dàxué xuébào 内蒙古民族大学学报, p. 53.

constituted by the verb *xià* 下, which should be the head, and the noun *táng* 糖 that should be the non-head (**Figure 30**), and *xià táng* 下糖 is a verb. Referring to the word-forming method, in contrast with the conjunction adopted in Portuguese, the compounding method is used in Chinese to create words, which means that there is no morphologic change on the root words. For example, in this entry, the character *tang* 糖 itself is not subjected to any modifications but is integrated with the verb *xià* 下 right before it, suggesting that the purpose of the motion *xià táng* 下糖 is to make something sweet. This compounding process turns out to be comparatively efficient and appropriate for Chinese word-forming, in the meanwhile making it possible to correspond foreign words semantically and grammatically without violating Chinese syntax rules.

Then, we noticed that in the same Dictionary, the synonym of *Açucarar* is also listed on page 35v, namely *Adoçar* (sweeten), a transitive verb derived from the adjective *doce* (sweet). Still, its Chinese equivalent *zuòtián* 做甜 is a modified compound composed of the causative verb *zuò* 做 and the adjective *tián* 甜, to be specific, *zuò* 做 is the modifier and *tián* 甜 is the root (**Figure 31**). It is clear that compilers had noticed the syntactic difference between Portuguese and Chinese, especially the difference in the word-forming approach and the qualitative classification of words. As a result, they adopted distinct interpretation methods dealing with different entries in order to maintain semantic and grammatical accordance as far as possible.

Figure 30: Verb + noun structure

(Verb) (Noun) = (Verb)

下 + 糖 = 下糖

H NH

Figure 31: Verb + adjective structure

(Verb) (Adjective) = (Verb)

做 + 甜 = 做甜

H NH

(55) Afouto *dǎndà* 胆大 *bù pà* 不怕 (36v)

In (55), *Afouto* (dared, audacious) is an adjective of the Galician language, which is classified as the Galician – Portuguese dialect. As for its Chinese equivalents, there are two interpretations: *dǎndà* 胆大 (audacious) and *bù pà* 不怕 (not afraid of). The first one, *dǎndà* 胆大, turns to be more formal than the second one, *bù pà* 不怕, and this kind of priority of compilers to formal language than oral language is one of the editing rules as we discussed above. To be specific, *dǎndà* 胆大 is a subordinate compound formed by the noun *dǎn* 胆 (literally gallbladder, metaphorically means courage) that functions as the subject; and the adjective *dà* 大 (large) plays the role of the predicate. Apparently, this is an SP structure, and according to Ceccagno's opinion, the predicate *dà* 大 should be the head of the word, and *dǎndà* 胆大 turns out to be an adjective (**Figure 32**). It proves again that the compounding method, including subordinate compounds, contributes a lot to dictionary editing and lexicographical research. As for the second solution, *bù pà* 不怕, a more profound analysis is shown in the following part *Method of negation and exclusion*.

Figure 32: Noun + adjective structure

(Noun) (Adjective) = (Adjective)

胆 + 大 = 胆大

NH H

In conclusion, Chinese compounds, including modified compounds, coordinate compounds, and subordinate compounds, are indispensable for bilingual dictionary compilers to solve language correspondence problems and word-forming. They are a reasonable starting point for linguists to trace the origin and development of the Chinese language.

On the other hand, when reviewing the terms in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, we should clarify several considerably confusing points on compound identification, especially when there is a morphological resemblance between Chinese compounds and other disyllables or trisyllables. That is to say, even though Chinese compounds are always composed of two or three syllables, not all disyllables or

trisyllables are necessarily compound structures. Moreover, single-morpheme words, words with affixes, and phrases should be distinguished from compound words. Thus, we shall make comparisons between compound words and non-compound units. Some examples are shown below to discuss the similarity and differences between compounds and other terms.

C. Single-morpheme words and compound words

(56) Aranha *zhīzhū* 蜘蛛-*bājiǎo* 八脚 (44v)

In (56), the Chinese equivalent of Aranha (spider) is *zhīzhū* 蜘蛛, which is not a compound word, but a single-morpheme word. A single-morpheme word contains only one lexical morpheme and is composed of one or sometimes over one syllable that integrally conveys only one meaning. That is to say, a single-morpheme word could be a disyllable or a trisyllable that cannot be divided or abbreviated; if so, the word will be meaningless. In the case of the disyllabic word *zhīzhū* 蜘蛛, composed of two syllables *zhī* 蜘 and 蛛 that separately do not express the meaning of spider or any other implications.

(57) Asna *límǔ* 驢母 (46v)

On the contrary, in (55), the equivalent *límǔ* 驢母 of *Asna* (female donkey) is eventually a disyllabic compound that is constituted by two independently meaningful morphemes, which are *lú* 驢 (donkey) and *mǔ* 母 (female). Grammatically, *mǔ* 母 modifies *lú* 驢 to describe one of its characteristics, which is the gender.

D. Words with affixes and compound words

However, we should notice that the compound structure should be distinguished from another word building approach categorized by using affixes, which is traditionally adopted in Chinese since ancient times. To be specific, it is the use of prefixes and suffixes on the basis of root verbs or adjectives in order to create disyllables and trisyllables. In this situation, prefixes and suffixes are grammatical components: prefix is generally arranged at the beginning and suffix at the end of a word, indicating the word's property and category. In the meantime, their original meanings

have been significantly weakened.⁸⁸

(58) Cozinheira *zhǔfànpó* 煮饭婆 (63)

(59) Cozinheiro *chúzi* 厨子 (63)

In (58), the Portuguese noun *Cozinheira* (female cooker) is paraphrased in Chinese as *zhǔfànpó* 煮饭婆 (female cooker), which is a trisyllabic modified compound structured by the modifier *zhǔ fàn* 煮饭 (to cook a meal), and the root noun *pó* 婆 (woman). In the meanwhile, *pó* 婆 is the head that suggests that it refers to a feminine noun that cannot be manifested in Chinese utilizing conjugation; accordingly, *zhǔ fàn* 煮饭 is the non-head (**Figure 33**). And then within the substructure of the subordinate compound *zhǔ fàn* 煮饭, there are the transitive verb *zhǔ* 煮 (to cook) that functions as the predicate, and the noun *fàn* 饭 (meal) that functions as the object, in the meanwhile *zhǔ* 煮 is the head and *fàn* 饭 is the non-head.

However, in (59), the Chinese equivalent *chúzi* 厨子 of *Cozinheiro* is a disyllable which is formulated by the noun *chú* 厨 and suffix *zi* 子 (**Figure 34**), the latter emphasized the property of this word, namely a noun that refers to a specific profession (chef). From the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* we can find several words formed in this method categorized by suffixes like *zi* 子 attached behind the core word. Still, they should be differentiated from compound words since the core words are already nouns themselves (Arcodia, 2014: 86). Additionally, these two entries also reflect another problem on bilingual dictionary editing: the difficulty of maintaining the accordance between two languages in gender. As we know, in modern standard Chinese, there is no inflection as there it is in Portuguese, which contributes to distinguishing masculine from feminine nouns utilizing determining suffixes. For example, the masculine noun *cozinheiro* is ended with *-o*, and the feminine noun *cozinheria* is ended with *-a*; these suffixes do not have concrete meaning but play a grammatical role. In Chinese, instead, to present the difference between a male and a female, certain meaningful suffixes are needed. Like in (58), *pó* 婆 suggest that *zhǔfànpó* 煮饭婆 is referring to a woman. As for the suffix *zi* 子 in *chúzi* 厨子, it is

⁸⁸ Huáng Míngliàng 黄明亮. (2015). *Hànyǔ cíhuì “zi” de lìshí kǎochá jí rènzhīxìng fēnxī* 汉语词缀“子”的历时考察及认知性分析 [The Diachronic Investigation and Cognitive Analysis of Chinese Affix “Zi”], in *Huáiyīn gōngxuéyuàn xuébào* 淮阴工学院学报 . Vol. 24. No. 6. Huaian: Huáiyīn gōngxuéyuàn xuébào 淮阴工学院学报, p. 44.

not necessarily related to male cooks in modern Chinese, but in ancient times, being a cook by profession was absolutely restricted to man. In brief, modified compounds like *zhǔfànpo* 煮饭婆 are formed differently compared with *chúzi* 厨子, which is marked by the suffix.

Figure 33: Verb + noun structure

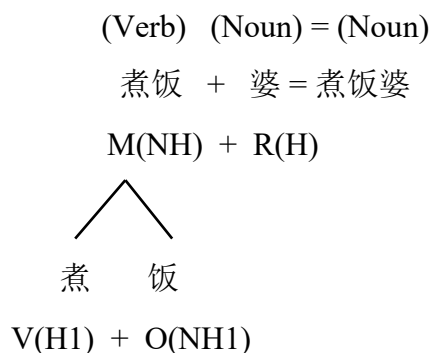
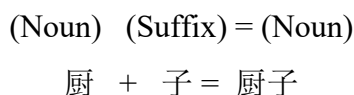


Figure 34: Noun + suffix structure



(60) Rato *lǎoshǔ* 老鼠 (137v)

(61) Dona matrona *lǎoānrén* 老安人 *lǎorúren* 老孺人 *lǎofūren* 老夫人 (84v)

In (60), the Chinese word *lǎoshǔ* 老鼠 (rat) corresponds to the Portuguese noun *Rato* perfectly since both of them refer to actual existence and have lexical meaning. From the perspective of the word-forming method, *lǎoshǔ* 老鼠 is formulated by the prefix *lǎo* 老 that does not have concrete meaning and the core word *shǔ* 鼠 (rat) (**Figure 34**). Thereby, *lǎoshǔ* 老鼠 becomes a disyllabic word that is more broadly accepted than the monosyllable *shǔ* 鼠, because disyllables contribute to avoiding misunderstanding about tremendous monosyllabic homophones.

However, in (61), *Dona matron* (Matron lady) is interpreted as three Chinese synonyms, *lǎoānrén* 老安人, *lǎorúren* 老孺人 and *lǎofūren* 老夫人 (the older madam), generally speaking, all of which represent classified honor titles dedicated to older women in noble families in ancient China. In this case, *lǎo* 老 suggests the age of madams but also their high social status. Thus, *lǎo* 老 in *lǎofūren* 老夫人 (**Figure 36**) (and the same with others) is not a prefix but a meaningful modifier that

contributes to building compound structure together with root nouns *fūrén* 夫人, *ānrén* 安人, and *rúrén* 孺人.

Figure 35: Prefix + noun structure

(Prefix) (Noun) = (Noun)

老 + 鼠 = 老鼠

Figure 36: Adjective + noun structure

(Adjective) (Noun) = (Noun)

老 + 夫人 = 老夫人

M(NH) + R(H)

From the examples above, we believe that compounds and affixes are both essential word-building approaches in Chinese and have been commonly adopted in this Dictionary. Still, it is a fact that many compounds and words marked by suffixes and prefixes have structural similarities; therefore, they should be distinguished carefully from each other.

E. Compound words and phrasal expressions

In the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* Chinese, compounds should also be distinguished with certain expressions structured by disyllables and trisyllables that do not constitute words but phrases. In fact, the distinction between words and phrasal expressions has been a problematic issue for a long time, perplexed researchers in fields of lexicology and syntactic (Chí and Lín, 2019).⁸⁹

There are various aspects relating to these differences. One of them is that some Chinese phrases are trisyllables that seem similar to trisyllabic compounds. Thus, when illustrating the points, we should first distinguish three-syllable compounds from phrases to avoid confusion in our discussion. The second problem concerns the heterogeneous grammatical function of a compound word and a phrase. To be specific,

⁸⁹ Chí Chānghǎi 池昌海, and Lín Zhìyǒng 林志永. (2019). “*Hànyǔ fùhécí de jiégòu yǔ jùfǎ jiégòu píngxíng*” *shuō xīnyì* 汉语复合词的结构与句法结构平行”说新议 [A New Discussion on the Parallelism Between Compound Word Structure and Syntactic Structure in Chinese], in *Zhèjiāng dàxué xuébào (rénwén shèhuì kēxué bǎn wǎngluò bǎn)* 浙江大学学报 (人文社会科学版网络版). Hangzhou: Zhèjiāng dàxué chūbǎnshè 浙江大学出版社, p. 1.

a compound word describes the comprehensive concept of an object or an action; it plays the role of indicating and categorizing the subject; but a phrase is generally constituted by two or more words, always assuming the function of describing and predicting (Chí and Lín, 2019). Third, from the view of semantics, a compound's meaning should be more integrated or abstract than a phrase; in most cases, a compound word also has a metaphorical sense that depends on the context. In contrast, a phrase always carries a concrete meaning that is likely to be much more transparent and specific without causing ambiguity.

The same difficulty has also plagued two missionaries during dictionary editing. In the face of Portuguese words that they could not translate directly into existent Chinese terms, they resorted to phrases, especially those categorized by subject+predicate structure (SP structure), to convey a Portuguese term's information as much as possible. These phrasal expressions should be told apart from compound words since phrases should be analyzed from the syntactic, not the lexical perspective. Otherwise, theoretical and practical contradictions will be aroused. In the meantime, compounds should be discussed from the view of morphology.

There are substantial distinctions of structure between compounds and phrases, which means that not all multi syllables are necessarily compound words in Chinese. Consider also that in this Dictionary, there are rare words, common words, and some in between, which makes it more complicated to identify phrasal structures from compounds. Therefore, a comparative study with several examples is provided below. The first pair of words is about disyllables.

(62) *Acalmaroueto* *fēng jìng* 风静 *fēng qíng* 风晴 (33v)

(63) *Sul* *nánfēng* 南风 *nánxūn* 南熏 (146v)

In (62), the Portuguese term *Acalmaroueto* (literally the wind make calm) is not a single word but an infinitive phrase without indicating the object. *Acalmar* is a verb that means calm down, quiet; *oueto* is supposed to be the traditional writing (or miswriting) of *o vento* (the wind) in modern Portuguese, and this assumption hinges on the Italian note written at the rightmost side: *il vento far sereno* (the wind make calm), which is as well an infinitive phrase. The reason why two compilers choose to insert an infinitive phrase, not a syntactically integrated sentence, is not that clear. The author assumes that they aimed to maintain the grammatical accordance with two

Chinese phrases, *fēng jìng* 风静 (the wind keeps quiet) and *fēng qíng* 风晴 (the wind keeps serene). In both phrases, there does not exist an object. According to Chí and Lín (2019), the most essential and fundamental criterion to distinguish compounds from phrases consists of two points: components in the structure of a compound are closely integrated and cannot be divided; within these components, no other characters can be inserted. Otherwise, the original meaning will be changed.

For example, in (63), the entry *Sul* has two Chinese equivalents, *nánfēng* 南风 (south wind) and *nánxūn* 南熏 (warm south wind), both of which have very close correlation and strong stability within their compounding structures, that is to say, *nán* 南 (south) and *fēng* 风 (wind) are attached and cannot be divided by other characters. On the contrary, for phrases, the position of components in the internal structure is relatively flexible compared with compounds. To be specific, both *fēng jìng* 风静 and *fēng qíng* 风晴 are phrases structured by the subject *fēng* 风 and the predicates *jìng* 静, *qíng* 晴 (**Figure 37**). The predicate can be modified by adverbs such as *hěn* 很 (very), *fēicháng* 非常 (greatly), and the phrases remain meaningful: “*fēng hěn jìng* 风很静” (the wind is so quiet), “*fēng fēicháng qíng* 风非常晴” (the wind is greatly serene). It is evident that compilers paid much attention to present the grammatical difference between Portuguese and Chinese since they intended to make sure that readers of the Dictionary would be clearly informed about the correct use of the entries. We assume that *Acalmaroueto* is interpreted as words *jìngfēng* 静风 (quiet wind) and *qíngfēng* 晴风 (serene wind), which are apparently compounds composed of adjectives (modifier) and nouns (root) (**Figure 38**). In this case, there will not be a clear subject, and the use will be different in comparison with *fēng jìng* 风静 and *fēng qíng* 风晴.

Figure 37: Noun + adjective structure

(Noun) (Adjective) = (Phrase)

风 + 静 = 风静

Subject Predicate

(Noun) (Adjective) = (Phrase)

风 + 晴 = 风晴

Subject Predicate

Figure 38: Adjective + noun structure

(Adjective) (Noun) = (Compound noun)

静 + 风 = 静风

M R

(Adjective) (Noun) = (Compound noun)

晴 + 风 = 晴风

M R

We can see that these Chinese phrases tend to have syntactic features, serving as equivalents of the source words to convey their original meaning. Besides, Chinese phrases have a more flexible form than compounds; therefore, they can easily correspond to Portuguese words and phrases to avoid missing information. The second pair of examples is about trisyllables.

(64) *Ensayar autos* shì xìwén 試戲文 (91v)

(65) *De mau mente* méi nàihé 没奈何 (75)

In (64), *Ensayar autos* (to play acts, *ensaiar atos* in Modern Portuguese) is apparently not a single verb but a syntactic structure formed by verb + object. Likewise, its Chinese counterpart *shì xìwén* 試戲文 is also a verbal phrase structured by a verb and an object, in which *shì* 試 corresponds to *ensayar* and *xìwén* 戲文 corresponds to *autos*. *Xìwén* 戲文 and *autos* are both terms in the theater. Strictly speaking, there are essential distinctions between Portuguese theater and traditional Chinese opera. Still, it is a successful correspondence of a Portuguese term with a Chinese term; they meet with each other both in semantics and grammar. In this case, *shì xìwén* 試戲文 is a trisyllabic word but not a compound. It indicates a practical activity of humans that should be accomplished by somebody and has no symbolic meaning beyond its original meaning.

In (65), the Portuguese word *De mau mente* (of bad mind) is made by three independent words, *de* (preposition), *mau* (adjective) and *mente* (noun), and this is a noun phrase as well as a prepositional complement of the subject. Even though the three words are separated from each other, they formed an integrated structure in which the noun *mente* is the head that indicates the syntactic category of the phrase by

describing the quality or characteristic of the noun. As for its equivalent *méi nàihé* 没奈何 (have no idea, have no way out, be hopeless, *mò nài hé* in Chinese Pinyin), it is a trisyllabic compound structured by the verb *méi* 没 and the compound noun *nàihé* 奈何. *Méi nàihé* 没奈何 is a commonly used compound verb as a colloquial verbal expression in classic Chinese works, mainly in the Ming and Qing dynasty; in addition to that, it can also be used as a noun to indicate a kind of silver ingot in old times. The Chinese interpretation *Méi nàihé* 没奈何 does not precisely correspond to the original meaning of the Portuguese word *de mau ment*—as it also happens in some other entries—but at least compilers have connected the two words by expressing the negative sense of *de mau ment*, suggesting the feeling of hopeless. It is called free translation, and it works primarily when these terms are used in similar contexts, even though they are differently categorized. Thus, from this case, we find that in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* the grammatical correspondence is not necessarily required during the editing, and a Portuguese word’s property does not always determine that of the Chinese counterpart.

(66) *Amanhacer* *tiān cái liàng* 天才亮 *tiān fāng xiǎo* 天方晓 (40)

Sometimes phrases are much more semantically precise than compound words when used to describe the single Portuguese words.

For example, in (66), *Amanhacer* (dawn, to dawn) is probably the miswriting of *amanhecer* in modern Portuguese, and it can be a noun and an intransitive verb, referring to the concept of time. According to Portuguese grammar, the verb *amanhacer* does not have a subject to match and should always be used in the third person like in the sentence: “No inverno amanhece muito tarde.” (In winter, it gets light very late). In this case, *amanhece* is the singular form in the third person of *amanhecer* and “it” turns out to be the placeholder of the sentence suggesting the implicit subject is the time or the sky. However, in the Chinese phrases *tiān cái liàng* 天才亮 and *tiān fāng xiǎo* 天方晓, the subject *tiān* 天 is always explicit as the subject that is followed by adverbs *cái* 才 (just now), *fāng* 方 (newly) and the adjective *liàng* 亮 (lighted) and the verb *xiǎo* 晓 (to dawn), which convey ultimately the original meaning as well as the concept of time. In addition to that, as we mentioned above, components in phrases are not closely connected, which means that *tiānliàng* 天亮

and *tiānxiǎo* 天晓 are also meaningful phrases.

From the examples and analysis above, we assume that in Chinese, phrases should be distinguished from compounds since they have distinct forming structures; sometimes, between some Portuguese words and their Chinese counterparts (especially the phrases), there is no accordance of property. Furthermore, the forming structures of phrases are not often corresponding to that of source words. Even though disyllables are traditionally preferred word-forming methods, two foreign compilers and their Chinese assistants have a relatively flexible attitude towards the selection between disyllables and trisyllables. The essential selection rule consists of expressing the basic meaning of source words and making sure readers can easily use these entries.

2.3.2.3 Method of negation and exclusion

The negation method indicates the use of determined negators in words or sentences with the purpose of corresponding affirmatives in a negative way. In Chinese, negators can be used as essential components in compounds for word-building and syntactic structuring, and indispensable elements to express a negative or contrary sense towards the root of a word or towards a sentence. In the discussion above we focus on the lexical value of compound words without mentioning the negation method which is also a common and productive compounding method. Because in this part, negation is investigated as a particular method to form not only compound words, but also phrases that are included in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. The negators used in words have the lexical value and those in phrases have the syntactic value. In fact, negators' lexical and syntactic function in Chinese have been widely discussed, but its contribution to foreign-Chinese words corresponding in bilingual dictionaries still needs further study. Generally speaking, in modern Chinese, *bù* 不 (not) and *méi* 没 (not), *méiyǒu* 没有 (without) are the most commonly used negators for word-forming and phrase-forming, and their properties and functions differ according to the context and the syntactic structure. Some representative examples of *bù* 不, *búshì* 不是, *méi* 没, *méiyǒu* 没有 and *wú* 无 are shown below:

(67) Afouto *dǎndà* 胆大 *bù pà* 不怕(36v)

(68) Dannoso *bù hǎo* 不好 (72)

In (67), the first Chinese equivalent *dǎndà* 胆大 for *Afouto* (dared, audacious) is already discussed above as a modified compound (see example (55) and **Figure 32**). The second Chinese word, *bù pà* 不怕 (be not afraid of), is as well a compound word composed of two elements: the negator *bù* 不 (not) that functions as an adverbial modifier, and the verb *pà* 怕 (be afraid of) that works as the head. In the entry *Afouto*, it is considered as a different interpretation to the first affirmative one, semantically equivalents to *dǎndà* 胆大, but suggests a more comprehensive categorical range. According to the statement of Zhāng (2013:122), the actual function of negators lies in the exclusion of dedicated connotations, not suggesting any other affirmatives.⁹⁰ On the basis of this theory, compared with *dǎndà* 胆大, *bù pà* 不怕 provides an extended definition about *Afouto* through the negation to the verb *pà* 怕.

However, the method of negation has its limit in semantic interpretation. Such like in (68), the Portuguese adjective *Dannoso* (harmful) is translated in Chinese as *bù hǎo* 不好 (not good), which is composed of the negator *bù* 不, and the adjective *hǎo* 好 (good). Even though *bù hǎo* 不好 seems like a negative expression but it also can be a neutral word, since *bù hǎo* 不好 could be understood as “not good enough,” and it fails in pointing out directly the harmfulness of the referent (something or somebody). Thus, in this case, the use of negation causes the lack of partial information of original meaning. Nevertheless, *bù hǎo* 不好 remains the only Chinese equivalent of *Dannoso*, and this kind of semantic lack proves that the two missionaries had insufficiency on Chinese learning.

(69) Deitar à boa parte *xiǎng hǎo* 想好 (75)

(70) Deitar à maa parte *xiǎng bù hǎo* 想不好 (75)

(71) De maa mente *méi nàihé* 没奈何 (75)

The negation method is adopted in the Dictionary also when it refers to the

⁹⁰ Zhāng Xīnhuá张新华, and Zhāng Héyǒu 张和有. *Fǒudingcí de shízhì yǔ hànǔ fǒudingcí de yǎnbìàn* 否定词的实质与汉语否定词的演变[The Substance of Negator and Evolution of Chinese Negator], in *Zhōngguó rénmín dàxué xuébào* 中国人民大学学报. No.4. Beijing: Zhōngguó rénmín dàxué xuébào 中国人民大学学报, p. 122.

antonym of determined words. For example, in (69), *Deitar à boa parte* is a verbal phrase composed of the transitive verb *deitar* (to lay, to throw), the preposition *à* (the), the adjective *boa* (good), and the feminine noun *parte* (part), literally, it can be translated as “to lay (something) to the good part,” combined with the Chinese translation *xiǎng hǎo* 想好 (to think good thoughts), *Deitar à boa parte* can be metaphorically interpreted as “to lay thoughts to the good part” or “to think positive,” even though initially there is no word corresponding to “think.”

In (70), *Deitar à maa parte* (literally to lay something to the bad part) is the antonym of *Deitar à boa parte*, and it is translated in Chinese as *xiǎng bù hǎo* 想不好 (to think bad thoughts). To be specific, in Portuguese *boa* is the feminine form of adjective *bom* (good), and its antonym is *maa* (in modern Portuguese *má*), which is the feminine form of *mau* (bad). Semantically we consider that *boa* and *maa* represent the two extremes of the object.

From the perspective of syntactic analysis, *hǎo* 好 is a monosyllabic adjective, and *bù hǎo* 不好 is originally a compound word structured by the negative modifier *bù* 不 and the root adjective *hǎo* 好. Nevertheless, given traditional linguistic use, *hǎo* 好 and *bù hǎo* 不好 are nouns and function as the objects of the verb *xiǎng* 想, suggesting the good things and the bad things. In addition to that, *xiǎng hǎo* 想好 and *xiǎng bù hǎo* 想不好 are definitely not words but phrases structured by the verb and the noun. Therefore, concerning the structure of word *bù hǎo* 不好, which is composed of the negative adverb *bù* 不 and the adjective *hǎo* 好, it is appropriate to use negator combined with an adjective to correspond to the Portuguese adjective *maa* since it completely excludes the positive side compared with *bom* (*boa*). Accordingly, we consider that *xiǎng bù hǎo* 想不好 is not a completely faithful translation to *Deitar à maa parte* but remains a good attempt for compilers since they have tried to find out Chinese words based on what they learned. Semantic accordance is the first choice during translation.

On the same page, there is another entry in which *maa* is used, that is, in (71), *De maa mente* (of bad mind, badly), and it is translated in Chinese as *méi nàihé* 没奈何 (have no way out; helplessly). In this case, instead of the negator *bù* 不, another negator *méi* 没 is adopted and combined with the compound noun *nàihé* 奈何 (way out, solution) in order to express the negative feeling of somebody, which corresponds

to *De maa mente* emotionally but not from the syntactic perspective. As a matter of fact, *De maa mente* is a prepositional phrase guided by the preposition *de* that should follow after a predicate, but *méi nàihé* 没奈何 is a trisyllabic compound that can be used as a verb but also an adverb in a sentence. For example: “(nǐmen) Yě méi nàihé, zhǐ kě huībì tā. (你们) 也没奈何，只可回避他。”⁹¹ (You have no way out but to avoid him.) In this sentence, *méi nàihé* 没奈何 is used as a compound verb to express the subject’s mental activity. And there is another example: *Tā méi nàihé de kǔ xiào le yī xià.* 她没奈何地苦笑了一下。” (She helplessly forced a bitter smile.) In this case, *méi nàihé* 没奈何 is adopted as an adverb to describe the verbal phrase *forced a smile*. In a word, the property and the practical use of *méi nàihé* 没奈何 vary according to different contexts, but *De maa mente* should be used definitely as a prepositional complement; therefore, the author believes that in (71), *méi nàihé* 没奈何 is more likely to be an adverb—composed of the negative verb *méi* 没 and the compound noun *nàihé* 奈何 (**Figure 39**)-that can grammatically correspond to *De maa mente*. Nevertheless, in consideration that two Italian missionaries did not have sufficient knowledge about Chinese grammar, they might not have noticed the syntactic difference among the components of the sentence.

Figure 39: Negator + noun structure

(Verb) (Noun) = (Adverb)

没 + 奈何 = 没奈何

M R

From the two entries above, we conclude that in the Dictionary, both *bù* 不 and *méi* 没 have been adopted as negators to correspond to Portuguese negative adjective *mau* (feminine form *maa*), in addition to that, the negation method turns out to be relatively valuable but unfortunately lacks sufficient equivalence on syntax.

(72) *Desarmado méi yǒu xiōngqì* 没有凶器 *wú lìqì* 无利器 (77v)

In (72), *Desarmado* (disarmed) is an adjective but also past participle form of the

⁹¹ Shī Nàian 施耐庵. (2005). *Shuǐ Hǔ Zhuàn* 水浒传. Ch. 4. Beijing: Dōngfāng chūbǎnshè 东方出版社.

verb *desarmar* that is formulated by the prefix *de-* (removing something) and the noun *arma* (weapon). It is translated in Chinese as *méi yǒu xiōngqì* 没有凶器 (have no weapon) which is not a word but a verbal phrase, in which the negator *méi yǒu* 没有 is used to deny the verb *yǒu* 有 (have) in the meanwhile to deny the existence of the noun *xiōngqì* 凶器 (weapon). In reality, *méi yǒu* 没有 is the disyllabic form of *méi* 没 and can be replaced by each other without changing meaning and function. In comparison with the use of *méi* 没 in *méi nàihé* 没奈何, which is a free translation of *De maa mente*, *méi yǒu* 没有 in *méi yǒu xiōngqì* 没有凶器 is somehow corresponding to *Desarmado* in the view of syntax, since it manifests the function of prefix *de-* which is commonly used in Portuguese for word-forming. As for the second Chinese equivalent, *wú lìqì* 无利器, it is the combination of the negator verb *wú* 无 and the compound noun *lìqì* 利器 (sharp weapon) that is the synonym of *xiōngqì* 凶器. To be specific, *wú* 无 is more frequently used in traditional Chinese works, which is also suggesting the negation to the existence of something. Compared with the verbal phrase *méi yǒu xiōngqì* 没有凶器, *wú lìqì* 无利器 is likely to be a trisyllabic adjective that describes the status of having no weapon, thus from the view of grammatical corresponding, it is more appropriate than *méi yǒu xiōngqì* 没有凶器 as the interpretation of *Desarmado* which is as well an adjective.

(73) *Desobedicer* *bù xiào* 不孝 *bù shùn* 不顺 *wǔnì* 忤逆 *bèini* 悖逆 (80v)

In (73), *Desobedicer* (to disobey. *desobedecer* in modern Portuguese) is a verb formed by the negative prefix *de-* and the verb *obedicer* (to obey), and it has four different Chinese equivalents: *bù xiào* 不孝 (not obey one's parents, be unfilial), *bù shùn* 不顺 (not obey), *wǔnì* 忤逆 (to disobey) and *bèini* 悖逆 (to revolt). Both *bù xiào* 不孝 and *bù shùn* 不顺 are compound words, they can be adjectives but also verbs. *Bù xiào* 不孝 is composed of the negator and adverb *bù* 不 (not) and the verb *xiào* 孝 (obey one's parents, be filial); *bù shùn* 不顺 is composed of the negator and adverb *bù* 不 (not) and the verb *shùn* 顺 (obey) (**Figure 40**). To be specific, *bù* 不 equals to *de-*, *xiào* 孝 and *shùn* 顺 equal to *obedicer*. Thus, from the syntactical perspective, they faithfully correspond to *desobedicer*'s forming structure. As for *wǔnì* 忤逆 and *bèini* 悖逆, they are both coordinate compound words composed of synonyms (**Figure 41**),

all of which original are expressing the action of disobedience. In this case, there is no evident negator component within them to correspond to *de-*, but the negative sense is implicit inside the words.

Figure 40: Negator + verb structure

(Adverb) (Verb) = (verb/adjective)

不 + 孝 = 不孝

M R

(Averb) (Verb) = (verb/adjective)

不 + 顺 = 不顺

M R

Figure 41: Verb + verb structure

(Verb) (Verb) = (verb)

忤 + 逆 = 忤逆

R R

(Verb) (Verb) = (verb)

悖 + 逆 = 悖逆

R R

We can see that *bù xiào* 不孝 (not obey one's parents, be unfilial) is not a precise equivalent of *desobedicer* from the view of semantics, but it is listed in front of all the other Chinese alternatives, which reflects that missionaries attached much importance to this word and its ideological connotation. The virtue of *Xiào* 孝 (obey one's parents, be filial) is greatly valued by Confucius. They believe in a motto that “*bǎi shàn xiào wéi xiān* 百善孝为先”, which means that filial piety is one of the virtues to be held above all else. Likewise, according to Cristian doctrines, the followers of Christianity should also love their parents. But they should first honor God, which is the supreme existence of the universe. They have to obey and love God because they have been told that “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me (Matthew 10:37)”. From the ethical perspective, the Fathers appreciated Confucius because they

have a common moral goal, which is to guide people towards goodness and virtues. However, missionaries' final goal is to guide people to the faith of God, in other words, the object of the Christian virtues is God himself, which is the essential difference from Confucian virtues. Even though there was the “cultural accommodation” policy, missionaries must not violate the absolute authority of God. Therefore, missionaries put *bù xiào* 不孝 (be unfilial) at the first place of the equivalents to break the strangeness of Christianity to Chinese people, in the meantime, they added behind it other more precise equivalents: *bù shùn* 不顺 (not obey), *wǔnì* 忤逆 (to disobey) and *bèini* 悖逆 (to revolt), to avoid misinterpretation of the original meaning of the word *Desobedicer*.

(74) *Desonrar* *huài míngshēng* 坏名声 *sǔn míngyù* 损名誉 (80v)

In this Dictionary, using negative verbs is another way to express negative sense in Chinese. In (74), *Desonrar* (dishonor) is a transitive verb composed of the negative prefix *de-* and the verb *honor*; it has two Chinese equivalents: *huài míngshēng* 坏名声 (to destroy one's reputation), and *sǔn míngyù* 损名誉 (to damage one's reputation), which are both verbal phrases constituted by the verb and the noun. To be specific, in these two expressions, *huài* 坏 (to destroy) and *sǔn* 损 (to damage) are both negative verbs indicating that the motion is forced by the agent to the object, even though the structure of two Chinese equivalents is not the same with *Desonrar* but are semantically correct in response to it.

(75) *Desviarsè* *xíng cuò lù* 行错路 (82v)

Using negative adverbs is an efficient method to correspond to Portuguese words categorized by the prefix *de-*. In (75), *Desviarsè* (deviate, *desviar-se* in modern Chinese) is a verb; from the perspective of etymology, it can be grammatically analyzed as the combination of *des* + *via* + *ar* + *sè*, in which *des-* is a kind of negative prefix. It is translated in Chinese as *xíng cuò lù* 行错路 (go the wrong way; go wrong), which is a verbal phrase structured by the verb *xíng* 行 (to walk); the adverb *cuò* 错 (wrong) that modifies the verb *xíng* 行; the noun *lù* 路 (way, road) that

functions as the object of *xíng* 行.⁹² Naturally, being a verbal phrase *xíng cuò lù* 行错路 is not syntactically corresponding to the verb *desviarsè*, but the use of negative adverbs like *cuò* 错 turns out to be another alternative to express the negative sense.

(76) *Prosa* *bù shì shī/fù/cí/gē/wén/zàn* 不是詩賦詞歌文讚 (134v)

The method of exclusion is also a kind of negation. It refers to the negation of not only one category, but various categories that should not be included. Such as in (76), the Portuguese noun *Prosa* (prose) comes from the traditional French, which indicates a more literary, written language. The *New Oxford Dictionary of English*⁹³ defines it as “the literary in contrast to poetry.” Alternatively, the online *Larousse Dictionnaires français*⁹⁴ explains that prose is “non assujettie aux règles du rythme et de la musicalité, propres à la poésie” (not subject to the rules of rhythm and musicality, specific to poetry). We can see that the word *Prosa* is interpreted in Occidental languages with the negation method, excluding the other writing forms from *Prosa* thereby giving its correct definition. Therefore, it explains why in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* *Prosa* is interpreted in Chinese with a negation list, including *bù shì shī/fù/cí/gē/wén/zàn* 不是詩賦詞歌文讚 (not verses or odes, poems, song, articles or eulogies). This negative interpretation excludes six traditional Chinese literary genres from the occidental *Prosa*. The use of the negation method manifests that two compilers were seeking strictness and preciseness while editing.

In conclusion, the outcome of using the negation method is optimistic, it contributes to building semantic and grammatical equivalence between words in different languages. This method contains various alternatives such as using negators *bù* 不, *bú shì* 不是, *méi* 没, *méiyǒu* 没有, and *wú* 无, negative verbs like *wǔnì* 忤逆, *bèini* 悖逆, *huài* 坏, *sǔn* 损, negative adverbs like *cuò* 错 in *xíng cuò lù* 行错路, and exclusion of categories. Naturally, the rules to use negation methods in this Dictionary are not always consistent, but negation is still a valuable measure that can be adopted by future lexicographers dealing with lexical interpretation between languages.

⁹² The author of the dissertation assumes that “错” of “行错路” should be analyzed as an adverb since “行错路” represents a completed action.

⁹³ Pearsall, Judy. (1998). *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. (1st ed.)

⁹⁴ Les éditions Larousse. Accueil > langue française > dictionnaire > prose. DÉFINITIONS. <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/prose/64451>. (2021/06/01)

Part III Evaluation of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*

3.0 Overview of dictionary evaluation and criticism

A set of theories in relevant scientific fields is needed to take a critical analysis of a dictionary, and so does it to make a comprehensive dictionary evaluation. That is to say, the dictionary evaluation and criticism should be organized by experts in the field, not by users, since “there is a difference between a dictionary being evaluated from the perspective of an expert or from the perspective of a user who is the intended target of a dictionary.”⁹⁵ In this dissertation, the evaluation of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* is made from the perspectives of sinology, dictionary editing, and lexicographical research; thus, it concerns its significance for Chinese studies and impact on future dictionary compiling.

As for the Dictionary’s critical analysis, the author of the dissertation also conducts the analysis from a user’s perspective, concentrating on its editing imperfections that caused users inconvenience, advising dictionary compilers to avoid these defects in future works.

3.1 Significance and initiatives of the Dictionary for the development of Chinese studies, linguistics, and lexicography

3.1.1 Significance for Chinese studies and linguistics

The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* edited in the 16th century was probably the earliest European-Chinese dictionary ever rediscovered. It is tremendously valuable since it represents one of the Jesuit missionaries’ most influential contributions in China, reflecting their first attempts and approaches to study Chinese with the motivation to introduce Christian conceptions to Chinese people, especially to Chinese literati and officials. As a matter of fact, Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci succeeded in completing several significant works about Chinese study, among which the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* turned out to be a valuable and efficient linguistic tool for indigenous new believers, but also for later missionaries who were seeking for

⁹⁵ Schierholz, Stefan J. (2015). Methods in Lexicography and Dictionary Research, in *Lexikos*. South Africa: African Association for Lexicography (AFRILEX). Vol. 25, p. 343.

deeper communication with Chinese people and further research on Chinese culture. This kind of ambition actively urged them to devote themselves to dictionary editing and classics translation. In addition to the historical influence, from the view of contemporary humanities studies, the corpora derived from this Dictionary are considered as unique and precious preliminary datasets for linguistic and lexicographical research. Recently, based on these studies, a new direction for linguistics was developed: missionary linguistics. It involves theory in several disciplines such as sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, dictionary research. Concerning this research field, there have been published numbers of papers, and accordingly, relative conferences have been held worldwide, among which stands out the International Conference on Missionary Linguistics. It was first conducted in 2003 in Oslo, Norway, organized by Zwartjes Otto and Hovdhaugen Even, during which there have since been 11 subsequent sessions up to the year 2020.

3.1.2 Significance for lexicographical research and initiatives on dictionary editing

3.1.2.1 Annotation with the third language—Italian

The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* is a bilingual dictionary that documents the status of Portuguese and Chinese during the 16th century. It is believed that the compilation of this work is based on an existent Portuguese vocabulary ever used by and passed around sailors, and then was read by two Italian missionaries while traveling together and taken as the draft for its context and basic structure. Generally speaking, a modern bilingual dictionary or vocabulary should be written in no more than two languages for most of the entries since the work is made to solve linguistic problems for determined users. That is to say, the target readers of a Portuguese–Chinese dictionary are supposed to have basic knowledge about at least one of the two languages, or both. Therefore, in this kind of Dictionary, there is no need to provide annotations in other languages. However, in consideration of the fact that Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci were both Italians, and they were not sufficiently qualified in Portuguese, the Italian annotations following the Chinese words in the fourth column constitute their own editing notes that probably even helped future Italian missionaries arriving after them.

It has to be clarified that this is not a trilingual dictionary as we define today,

since in the entire work, there are merely about four pages (from p. 31 to p. 34) in which Italian annotations are found. Moreover, Italians were not the primary target users of this Dictionary. Nevertheless, these Italian notes help us recognize some Portuguese words with careless handwriting or those semantically ambiguous Chinese words, thus to have a better understanding of certain entries.

3.1.2.2 Dialectal words collecting

As we discussed above in Part II, 2.3.1, one characteristic of the Dictionary is the collection of dialectal words and expressions together with Mandarin, and these data about dialects-including Southern Fujian dialect, Cantonese, Hakka dialect, Wu dialect etc.-makes up a significant resource of sociolinguists and dialectologists for deeper Chinese studies during the Ming dynasty. Thanks to these dialectal words, historians can track missionaries' movements in China when they stayed in Macau, Canton, Shaoxing (of Zhejiang Province), and Zhaoqing, to put forward a reliable hypothesis about family origins of interpreters and assistants that contributed to dictionary editing. For instance, according to Paul Fu-mian Yang's research, at least one of the interpreters comes from the province of Fujian (Fu-mian Y. 2001).

3.1.2.3 Romanization of Chinese

Because of great phonetic distinction between Portuguese and Chinese, Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci invented the Romanized phonetic system dedicated to Chinese characters, which is firstly adopted in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* and then inspired later missionaries and linguists such as Nicolas Trigault and Lazzaro Cattaneo to develop Chinese phonetic schemes with better approaches. In spite of the fact that the Romanization of Chinese in the Dictionary is not a perfect phonetic system, it helped readers master Chinese pronunciation as accessibly as possible. Moreover, it contributes to modern linguistic qualitative and quantitative analysis by offering practical examples. These examples are valuable and unique because few documents provided evidence about the exact pronunciation of these characters.

3.2 Imperfections as a bilingual dictionary

3.2.1 Lack of intonations and other phonetic makers

In reality, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* turned out to be an incomplete work and remained unpublished until 2001. When we make a comprehensive evaluation of it, we cannot ignore that it has several defects. The primary defect lies in the absence of tones (five tones in traditional Chinese and four in modern standard Chinese). It shows that at least before 1588, the year when two compilers ended the editing work, Ruggieri and Ricci had relatively limited knowledge about Chinese tones: they were not able to identify the distinctions between these tones without assistance of local interpreters. Or, they noticed the differences of tones; still, they failed in coming up with appropriate indications, until Italian Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo (*Guō Jūjìng* 郭居静) in collaboration with Matteo Ricci, produced the first phonetic system dedicated to Chinese equipped with tone makers, namely, the work *Xī zì qíjì* 西字奇迹 (Wonder of Western Writing). Compared with later phonetic works of missionaries and modern bilingual dictionaries, the lack of intonations is evidently a kind of weakness, mainly when it is analyzed and evaluated by linguists and lexicographers. In fact, some reviews deem that we cannot compare the value and significance of this Dictionary with other missionary dictionaries. Indeed, the Romanized phonetic scheme in this dictionary is not a complete version because of two defects. First, there are 6000 Portuguese entries and 5460 Chinese equivalents in the Dictionary, which means about 540 Portuguese entries have no corresponding Chinese words. Second, sometimes there are spelling mistakes, careless handwriting terms among the Romanized letters. Third, the inconsistency of the Romanized phonetic system. The phonetic inconsistency is mainly caused by the lack of clear and consistent phonetic markers.

For example, for the Chinese character *guǐ* 鬼 (ghost), there are two Romanized forms: *guei* in the word *zhāngguǐ* 张鬼 (45) and *cuei* in the word *jìguǐ* 祭鬼 (124). Here, /g/ of *guei* is a voiced consonant, different from /c/ of *cuei* that is a voiceless consonant. *Guei* and *cuei* are evidentially different Romanized letter groups but corresponding to the same character, *guǐ* 鬼. This example shows the inconsistency of consonants, and there are also inconsistencies of some vowels and nasals (front nasals

and back nasals), and so on. The phonetic inconsistency of words naturally can confuse readers; it is a limitation but also a characteristic of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*. Nevertheless, the evaluation of the phonetic system is not the primary concern of this dissertation. As for a more profound analysis about phonetics, please refer to Fu-mian Yang's article named "The Portuguese Chinese Dictionary of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci: A Historical and Linguistic Introduction."

3.2.2 Incomplete entries

The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* contains about 189 pages, including 124 pages that make up the major part of the vocabulary and 65 pages of other literature that attach to the same manuscripts (articles, translation works, learning notes, and so on). Missionaries arranged vocabulary entries from page 32, starting from the entry *aba da vestidura*, to page 156, ending with the phrase *zunir a orelha*. Among these pages, they listed nearly 6.000 Portuguese lemmas in alphabetical order. However, not all of them have a Chinese interpretation. As we mentioned above, experts identified 5460 Chinese words and expressions that correspond to Portuguese, which means that specific entries lack Chinese equivalents. Therefore, their meaning and function remain ambiguous since some of them are orthographically different from modern Portuguese, and others are illegible because of careless handwriting. This situation makes it even more complicated to decode these words. Besides, as we mentioned above, this Dictionary is believed to be worked on the basis of a Portuguese vocabulary or a language learning manual that sailors used because numbers of the entries are referring to terms in limited fields such as navigation, trade and business, social life, nature and creatures, military, law and penalty, professions, foods and so on. Still, there are relatively few entries for religion, or they have been listed but without corresponding Chinese translation.

3.2.3 Limited groups of users

There are mainly three reasons that explain why groups of users of this dictionary are comparatively limited. First, this Dictionary was dedicated to foreign missionaries and Chinese new believers; still, there was scarcely any other who was interested in language study, which means that social learning requirements were relatively low, let

alone large numbers of Chinese users. Many Chinese people had great hostility and fear towards foreigners, assuming them as “barbarians” and considering their languages as “words of evil.” Second, the Dictionary’s manuscript was archived and uncovered for a long time in ARSI and remained unpublished until 2001. Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci did not have the intention to publish it, or they tried to but gave it up at the end due to complex publication regulations during the Ming dynasty towards those foreign works. Third, the two compilers might not have duplicated copies of the Dictionary; therefore, the user extent was limited to their colleagues, catechumen, and a few local officials that had developed a friendship with them. When father Michele Ruggieri returned to Europe, he might have taken the only manuscript with him; thus, no duplicates of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* were left in China.

3.2.4 Disordered arrangement

Reviewing the original manuscript of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, we find that within some entries, the Portuguese terms, the Romanized letters, and corresponding Chinese equivalents are disorderly arranged; sometimes, confusingly linked by irregular dashes.

For example, *Açucaradacousa* (Sugary thing) should be interpreted in Chinese as *tángdōngxī* 糖东西 with its Romanized form *ta' tu' ssi*. However, it is wrongly coupled by a curved dash to the Romanized Chinese “schia tan” which indeed corresponds to *xià táng* 下糖 (**Figure 42**), and (**Figure 43**) which obstacle researchers from recognizing and identifying these words and expressions in the correct order.

Figure 42: Dashes between words (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 35)

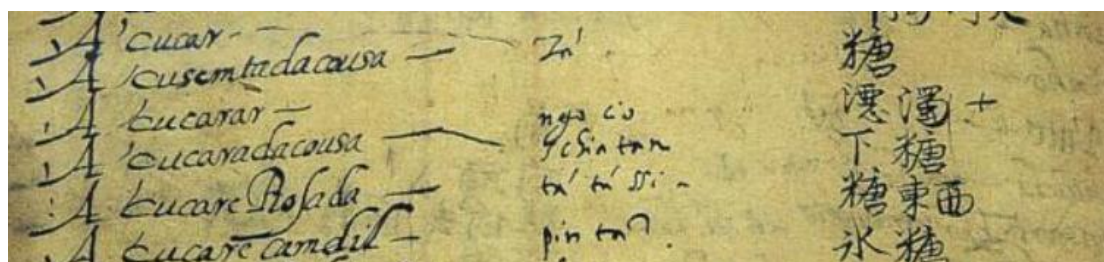
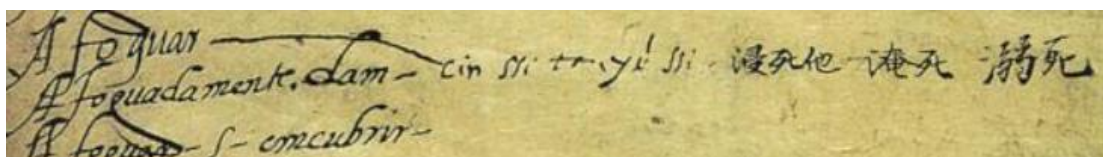


Figure 43: Dashes between words (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p.37v)

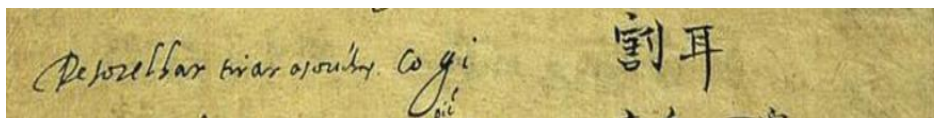


Despite the confusing dashes, in a few entries, the Portuguese' synonyms are parallelly listed in the same line, providing more alternatives to correspond to Chinese words but also causing difficulty to identify them. For example:

(77) Desorelhar/tirar as orelhas $g\bar{e} \check{e}r$ 割耳 (80v)

In (77), there are two paralleling listed Portuguese words (**Figure 44**). The verb *Desorelhar* (cut ears), and the verbal phrase *tirar as orelhas* (remove the ears), are semantically similar. From the syntax perspective, both of these two Portuguese words function as a predicate in a sentence. However, *Desorelhar* has higher equivalence to $g\bar{e} \check{e}r$ 割耳 which is obviously a subordinate compound word structured by the head $g\bar{e}$ 割 (cut off) and the non-head $\check{e}r$ 耳 (ears), on the contrary, *tirar as orelhas* is an expression constituted of three components: the verb, the article and the noun. Thus, it is not grammatically corresponding to $g\bar{e} \check{e}r$ 割耳. It seems that two synonyms contribute to providing a better explanation of meaning. However, when they are listed closely without a clear separator, it may confuse readers about the use, especially those who do not have any basic knowledge about Portuguese.

Figure 44: Entry *Desorelhar* and its equivalent $g\bar{e} \check{e}r$ 割耳 (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 80v)



Above all, during the process of evaluation, we cannot neglect the weakness mentioned before. Still, the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* remains tremendously significant and valuable for research in various fields because of its methods and innovations in lexicographical editing and linguistic study. On the other hand, the defects within it that are inspiring future bilingual dictionary editors to produce more qualified and professional works.

Conclusion

This dissertation's overview concerns Michele Ruggieri's significant contributions to the Jesuit mission in China and the Chinese study: he initiated a series of creative and effective methodologies for Chinese learning and bilingual dictionary compiling. The *Dicionário Português-Chinês* is valuable missionary work of Jesuits from many perspectives. It is the outcome of the collaboration between European missionaries and Chinese literati which has undoubtedly improved the communication between two peoples. It also provides essential word-building models, vivid examples of Portuguese and Chinese expressions in the late Ming dynasty, offering large corpora and solid evidence for further linguistic and lexicographical research.

The process of drafting has been tough and challenging for the author, mainly because of the complexity of theories about dictionary criticism. After a comprehensive examination of the first draft of this dissertation, some weak points appeared, such as the lack of sufficient evidence for a few assumptions about Chinese dialects; the English language that should be improved; the references that should be revised with more clarity. After careful correction and revision, the author completed the final version, hoping that this research will provide some newly discovered evidence with quantitative and qualitative analysis (such as figures, diagrams, tables, examples) so that the context is abundantly enriched and the hypothesis is fully proved. The main structure of this dissertation is relatively simple but straightforward. In conclusion, the author summarizes her academic research during the doctoral period in this dissertation and is looking forward to further suggestions and criticism in order to implement improvements in her future academic career.

Vocabulary⁹⁶

- *Dicionário Português-Chinês* of Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci

Aba da vestidura	<i>qúnzi</i> 裙子 (32)
Abanar	<i>dǎ shàn</i> 打扇 (32)
Abano	<i>shànzi</i> 扇子 (32)
Abasta	<i>zúyǐ</i> 足矣 <i>gòule</i> 勾了 <i>bàle</i> 罢了 (32V)
Abismo	<i>dìyù</i> 地獄 (32v)
Abitassão	<i>jiā</i> 家 <i>fángzi</i> 房子 <i>wūyǔ</i> 屋宇 (033)
Abracar	<i>xiānglài</i> 相賴 (33)
Abrandar	<i>jiàoshàn</i> 教善 <i>zuòruǎn</i> 做软 (33)
Acalmaroueto	<i>fēng jìng</i> 风静 <i>fēng qíng</i> 风晴 (33v)
Acompanhar	<i>gēnsuí</i> 跟随 (34)
Acrerar	<i>jiěshì</i> 解释 (34)
Açucarar	<i>xià táng</i> 下糖 (35)
Afeminado	<i>fùrénxíng</i> 婦人形 <i>fùrénxiàng</i> 婦人像 (36v)
Afogar	<i>jìnsǐ</i> 浸死 <i>yānsǐ</i> 淹死 <i>nìsǐ</i> 溺死 (36v)
Afouto	<i>dǎndà</i> 胆大 <i>bú pà</i> 不怕 (36v)
Alegarse	<i>huānxǐ</i> 欢喜 ² (39)
Alegria	<i>huānxǐ</i> 欢喜 ¹ (39)
Amanhacer	<i>tiān cái liàng</i> 天才亮 <i>tiān fāng xiǎo</i> 天方晓 (41)
Amigo de uinho	<i>yào shí jiǔ</i> 要食酒 <i>hǎo yǐn</i> 好饮 (41b)
Apartamento	<i>xíngkāi</i> 行開 (44v)
Apenhar	<i>zuò dàng</i> 做當 ² (44)
A que proposito	<i>yīn shénme shì</i> 因什么事 <i>wéi shèn shì</i> 为甚事 <i>yīn hé gù</i> 因何故 (41b)
Aranha	<i>zhīzhū</i> 蜘蛛- <i>bājiǎo</i> 八脚 (44v)
Armadilha	<i>zhāngǔi</i> 張鬼 (45)
Asna	<i>lú mǔ</i> 驢母 (46v)
Borboleta	<i>húdié</i> 蝴蝶- <i>dēng'é</i> 灯蛾 (53)

⁹⁶ Entries quoted in this dissertation listed in alphabetical order.

Cabrao	yánggǔ 羊牯 (55)
Cadela	gǒumǔ 狗母 (55v)
Calado	bù yào jiǎng 不要讲 mò jiǎng 莫讲 (55v)
Cogelara	dòng 冻 lěng 冷 hán 寒 qīng 清 (61v)
Cozinheira	zhǔfànpo 煮饭婆 (63)
Cozinheiro	chúzi 厨子 (63)
Criador	tiānzhǔ shēng wànwù 天主生萬物 (63v)
Dannoso	bù hǎo 不好 (72)
Dar a refens	zuò dàng 做當 ² (73)
Deitar à boa parte	xiǎng hǎo 想好(75)
Deitar à maa parte	xiǎng bù hǎo 想不好(75)
Deitar sortes	qiúxiān 求仙 wènǚ 问卜 dǎguà 打卦 (75)
De maa mente	méi nàihé 没奈何(75)
De madrugada	qīngzǎo 青早 zhāo 朝 (75v)
De mau mente	méi nàihé 没奈何 (75)
De palavra	miànjiǎng 面讲 (76v)
De praça y palavra	míngjiǎng 明讲 (76v)
Desarmado	méi yǒu xiōngqì 没有凶器 wú lìqì 无利器 (77v)
Desbaratado	qióngle 穷了 pínán 贫难 xiaofá 消乏 (78)
Desecar	kūjiāo 枯焦 (79)
Desobedicer	bù xiào 不孝 bù shùn 不顺 wǔnì 忤逆 bèini 悖逆 (80v)
Desonrar	huài míngshēng 坏名声 sǔn míngyù 损名誉 (80v)
Desorelhar/tirar as orelhas	gē ěr 割耳 (80v)
Desviarsè	xíng cuò lù 行错路 (82v)
Doença	jībìng 疾病 bìngyàng 病恙 juéjì 厥疾 (84)
Dona matrona	lǎoānrén 老安人 lǎorúrén 老孺人 lǎofūrén 老夫人 (84v)
Ensayar autos	shì xìwén 試戲文 (91v)
Fraita de pastor	xiāoguǎn 箫管(104v)

Garafa	<i>bōlipíng</i> 薄璃瓶 (106)
Grifo, hypergrifo	<i>fēimǎ</i> 飛馬 (107v)
Igreia	<i>sì</i> 寺 (108)
Oculos	<i>yǎnjìng</i> 眼鏡 (123v)
Odio	<i>xiǎng hài</i> 想害 (123v)
Orar	<i>niàn jīng</i> 念经 <i>sòng jīng</i> 诵经 (124v)
Paixão	<i>sào</i> 燥 (126)
Por merce de Deus	<i>yīnwèi liàoshī</i> 因為□廖□师 (132)
Prosa	<i>bù shì shī/fù/cí/gē/wén/zàn</i> 不是詩賦詞歌文讚 (134v)
Puro	<i>jiéqīng</i> 潔清 (133)
Rasto	<i>jìzōng</i> 跡踪 (137)
Rato	<i>lǎoshǔ</i> 老鼠 (137v)
Repiccar	<i>nàozhōng</i> 鬧鐘 (139)
Represar	<i>zuò dāng</i> 做當 ¹ (139)
Riviera de mar	<i>hǎibiān</i> 海边 <i>hǎibàng</i> 海傍 <i>hǎibīn</i> 海滨 (140)
Rogar	<i>qǐngyāo</i> 请邀 (140)
Serea	<i>fùrényú</i> 婦人魚 (144)
Sul	<i>nánfēng</i> 南风 <i>nánxūn</i> 南熏 (146v)
Zunir a orelha	(156v)

Figures and tables

Figure 1: Romanization and ideogram of *mǎ* 馬

Figure 2: *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 32

Figure 3: *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 32v

Figure 4: Ratio of oral/written terms in entries from A- to C- (%)

Figure 5: Ratio of Chinese single/multi-term equivalents

Figure 6: Ratio of dialectal equivalents in entries from A- to C- (%)

Figure 7: Ratio of various dialects

Figure 8: Noun + noun structure

Figure 9: Process of loanword applying

Figure 10: Process of loan shift applying – solution 1

Figure 11: Process of loanword applying – solution 2

Figure 12: Verb + noun structure

Figure 13: Noun + noun structure

Figure 14: Noun + noun structure

Figure 15: Verb + noun structure

Figure 16: Noun + verb structure

Figure 17: Adverb + verb structure

Figure 18: Noun + verb structure

Figure 19: Verb + verb structure

Figure 20: Verb + verb structure

Figure 21: Verb + verb structure

Figure 22: Verb + adjective structure

Figure 23: Verb + adjective structure

Figure 24: Noun + noun structure

Figure 25: Noun + noun structure

Figure 26: Noun + noun structure

Figure 27: Adjective + adjective structure

Figure 28: Adjective + adjective structure

Figure 29: Verb + noun structure

Figure 30: Verb + noun structure

Figure 31: Verb + adjective structure

Figure 32: Noun + adjective structure

Figure 33: Verb + noun structure

Figure 34: Noun + suffix structure

Figure 35: Prefix + noun structure

Figure 36: Adjective + noun structure

Figure 37: Noun + adjective structure

Figure 38: Adjective + noun structure

Figure 39: Negator + noun structure

Figure 40: Negator + verb structure

Figure 41: Verb + verb structure

Figure 42: Dashes between words (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 35)

Figure 43: Dashes between words (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 37v)

Figure 44: Entry *Desorelhar* and its equivalent *gē ěr 割耳*” (*Dicionário Português-Chinês*, p. 80v)

Table 1: Selected Chinese oral/written terms in entries from A- to C- and the ratio

Table 2: Chinese single/multi-term equivalents of entries from A- to C- and the ratio

Table 3: Chinese dialectal equivalents of entries from A- to C-

Bibliography

- Anonymous. (2007). *Fēimǎzuò yǔ xīlǎ shénhuà chuánshuō* 飞马座与希腊神话传说 [Pegasus and Greek mythology], in *Zhōngxuésēng yuèdú: Xīn shìchuāng* 中学生阅读:新视窗. Vol. 5.
- Arcodia, F. Giorgio, and Fabio Montermini, Gilles Boyé, Nabil Hathout. (2007). “Chinese: a language of compound words?” In *Selected Proceedings of the 5th Décebrettes: Morphology in Toulouse*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, pp. 79-90.
- Assunção, Carlos, and Silvio Neto, Gonçalo Fernandes. (2019). “The first Portuguese-Chinese dictionary: Contributions to the discussion of the context of production and authorship”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*. 29.1 (2019). Münster: Nodus Publikationen, pp. 49-70.
- Barreto, Luís Filipe. (2002). Reseña de “Dicionário Português-Chinês de John W. Witek (ed.)”, in *Bulletin of Portuguese - Japanese Studies*. Vol. 5. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, pp. 117-126.
- Biàn Chénglín 卞成林 (1998). *Xiàndài Hànyǔ sānyīnjié fùhéci jiégòu fēnxī* 现代汉语三音节复合词结构分析 [Analysis on the Structure of Modern Chinese Trisyllabic Compounds], in *Hanyu Xuexi* 汉语学习, 1998.4, pp. 13-17.
- Biàn Hàoyǔ 卞浩宇 and Yán Jiā 严佳. (2010). *Cóng “Pú Hàn Cídiǎn” dào “Xī rú ěr mù zī”-Lái huá yēsūhuìshì yǔ zǎoqī hànyǔ pīnyīn fāngàn de lìshǐ yǎnbiàn* 从《葡汉词典》到《西儒耳目资》——来华耶稣会士与早期汉语拼音方案的历史演变 [From the Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary to *Xī rú ěr mù zī*--The Jesuits in China and historical evolution of early Chinese Pinyin schemes], in *Kējì xìnxī* 科技信息, 2010(1). Jinan: Kējì xìnxī 科技信息, pp. 223-224.
- Brockey, Liam Matthew. (2007). Learning the Language of Birds, in *Journey to the East. The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*. Part II, 7. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 243-286.
- Ceccagno, Antonella; Basciano, Bianca and Masini, Federico. (eds.). (2008). Classification of Chinese compounds, in *On-line Proceedings of the Sixth Mediterranean Morphology Meeting (MMM6)*. Patras: University of Patras, pp. 71-83.

- Chan, Albert. (1993). Michele Ruggieri S.J. (1543-1607) and his Chinese Poems, in *Monumenta Serica* 41, pp. 129-176.
- Chén Yàn 陈燕. (2010). *Zàiyì Hànyǔ wàiláicí de jièrù fāngfǎ* 再议汉语外来词的借入方法 [Discussions on the Methods of Chinese Loan Word], in *Tǎlǐmù dàxué xuébào* 塔里木大学学报. Vol. 22. No. 3. Tarim: Tǎlǐmù dàxué xuébào 塔里木大学学报, pp. 73-79.
- Chí Chānghǎi 池昌海, and Lín Zhìyǒng 林志永. (2019). “*Hànyǔ fùhécí de jiégòu yǔ jùfǎ jiégòu píngxíng*” *shuō xīnyì* “汉语复合词的结构与句法结构平行”说新议 [A New Discussion on the Parallelism between Compound Word Structure and Syntactic Structure in Chinese], in *Zhèjiāng dàxué xuébào (rénwén shèhuì kēxué bǎn wǎngluò bǎn)* 浙江大学学报 (人文社会科学版网络版). Hangzhou: Zhèjiāng dàxué chūbǎnshè 浙江大学出版社, pp. 1-14.
- Coleridge, Henry James (ed.). (1872). *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. 2d Ed. Vol. II. London: Burns & Oates.
- D’Arelli, Francesco. (1994). Michele Ruggieri S.I., l’apprendimento della lingua cinese e la traduzione latina dei Si shu (Quattro libri), in *Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, 1994 (54/4). Naples: Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”, pp. 479-487.
- D’Elia, Pasquale. (1942). *Fonti Ricciane*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.
- Gāo Lián 高濂. (1591/2010). *Zūn Shēng Bā Jiān* 遵生八牋 [Eight treatises on following the principles of life]. Anhui: Huángshān chūbǎnshè 黄山出版社.
- Gisondi, F. Antonio. (1999). *Michele Ruggeri S.J., missionario in Cina, primo sinologo europeo e poeta <<cinese>> (Spinazzola 1543-Salerno 1607)*. Milano: Editoriale Jaca Book SpA.
- Gomez, Pedro, and Josef F. Schütte (ed.). (1975). Letter to the General of the Jesuit Order, October 25, 1581, in *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*. Vol. 1. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (IHSI), pp. 116-117.
- Guō Zuòfēi 郭作飞. (2004). *Hànyǔ cízhuì xíngchéng de lìshǐ kǎochá—Yǐ “lǎo”, “ā”, “zi”, “ér” wéi lì* 汉语词缀形成的历史考察——以“老”、“阿”、“子”、“儿”为例 [A Brief Discussion about the Historical Evolution of Some Common Affixes in Chinese Language], in *Nèiměnggǔ mínzú dàxué xuébào* 内蒙古民族大学学报. Vol. 30. No. 6. Neimenggu: Nèiměnggǔ mínzú dàxué xuébào 内蒙古

- 民族大学学报, pp. 50–56.
- Hisa, R. Po-Chia. (2010). *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hóng Shēng 洪升. (1688/1983). *Cháng Shēng Diàn* 长生殿 [The Palace of Eternal Life]. Beijing: Rénmín wénxué chūbǎnshè 人民文学出版社.
- Hong, Shuang. (2010). Synthetic Compounds in Mandarin, in *PACLIC 24 - Proceedings of the 24th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*. Sendai: Institute of Digital Enhancement of Cognitive Processing, Waseda University, pp. 409-416.
- Huáng Míngliàng 黄明亮. (2015). *Hànyǔ cíhuì “zi” de lìshí kǎochá jí rènzhīxìng fēnxī* 汉语词缀“子”的历时考察及认知性分析 [The Diachronic Investigation and Cognitive Analysis of Chinese Affix “zi”], in *Huáiyīn gōngxuéyuàn xuébào* 淮阴工学院学报. Vol. 24. No. 6. Huaian: Huáiyīn gōngxuéyuàn xuébào 淮阴工学院学报, pp. 43-61.
- Huáng Xīngtāo 黄兴涛. (1999). *Jìndài zhōngguó hànyǔ wàiláicí de zuìxīn yánjiū-Píng Mǎ xīní “Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cíhuì de Xíngchéng”* 近代中国汉语外来词的最新研究-评马西尼《现代汉语词汇的形成》 [The latest research on Modern Chinese loanwords-A Review of The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution towards a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898], in *Kāifàng shídài* 开放时代. 1999(05). Guangzhou: Kāifàng shídài 开放时代, pp. 61-71.
- J.F. Moran. (2014). *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Klötter, Henning. (2015). Missionary Linguistics, in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language & Linguistics*, General Editor Rint Sybesma. First published online, pp. 167-170.
- Lackner, Michael. (2018). Some Preliminary Remarks on the First Chinese Translation of Thomas Aquinas’ “Summa Theologica”, in *Geschichte Der Germanistik*, 53/54 (2018). Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, pp. 21-33.
- Levi, A. Joseph. (1998). *O dicionário Português-Chinês de Padre Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552-1610): uma abordagem histórico-linguística*. Vol. 10. New Orleans: University Press of the South.

- Levi, A. Joseph. (2014). The Ricci-Ruggieri Dicionário Europeu-Chinês: Linguistic and Philological Notes on Some Portuguese and Italian Entries, in *Language and Linguistics Monograph Series 53*. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, pp. 343-366.
- Lín Lúnlún 林伦伦, Chén Guóyīng 陈国英. (1997). *Cháoshàn fāngyán xiēhòuyǔ* 潮汕方言歇后语 [Allegorical idioms of Teochew Dialect]. Shantou: Shàntóu dàxué chūbǎnshè 汕头大学出版社.
- Lí Rǔqīng 黎汝清. (1988). *Shēn Gǔ Yīng Hún* 深谷英魂. Cap. 6. Beijing: Zhōngguó qīngnián chūbǎnshè 中国青年出版社, pp. 86-103.
- Lí Yùnhàn 黎运汉. (2001). *Shāngyè yǔyán* 商业语言 [The Commercial Language]. Taipei: Táiwān shāngwù yìnshūguǎn gǔfèn yǒuxiàn gōngsī 台湾商务印书馆股份有限公司.
- Lín Xiānlóng 林仙龍. (2011). *Héluòhuà yīqiān líng yī yè* 河洛話一千零一頁 [One Thousand and one pages about Hoklo dialect]. Taipei: Bóyǎ shūwū yǒuxiàn gōngsī 博雅書屋有限公司.
- Liu, Yu. (2011). The True Pioneer of the Jesuit China Mission: Michele Ruggieri, in *History of Religions*. Vol. 50, No. 4, Jesuit Missionaries in China and Tibet (May 2011). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 362-383.
- Luó Shùlín 罗树林. (2014). *Sānyīnjiéjùhé cíyǔ jiégòu, yǔyì tèzhēng jí cíhuìhuà xiànzhuàng fēnxī* 三音节聚合词语结构、语义特征及词汇化现状分析 [Analysis on the Structural Features Semantic Features and Lexical Status of Three- Syllable Words of Polymerization], in *Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng* 语言文字应用. No.1. Beijing: Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng 语言文字应用, pp. 76-83.
- Lǚ Chángfēng 吕长凤. (2005). *Xiàndài Hànyǔ sānyīnjiécí de cílèi fēnbù jí qí yǔfǎ tèzhēng* 现代汉语三音节词的词类分布及其语法特征 [The Distribution of Three-Syllable Words in Modern Chinese and Their Characteristics of Grammar], in *Běifāng lùncóng* 北方论丛, No. 4. Haerbin: Běifāng lùncóng 北方论丛. pp. 72-74.
- Níng Méng 宁檬. (2002). “Xǐhuān” yǔ “huānxǐ” de cíxìng jí qí yònglì “喜欢”与“欢喜”的词性及其用例, in *Yǔwén zhīshí* 语文知识, 2002(03). Zhengzhou: Yǔwén zhīshí 语文知识, p. 37.

- Pfister, Louis. (1995). *Zài huá yēsūhuìshì lièzhuàn jí shūmù* 在华耶稣会士列传及书目 [Biography and bibliography of Jesuits in China]. (Féng, Chéngjūn 冯承钧, Transl.) Beijing: China Publishing House 中华书局. (Original work *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur Les Jésuites de L'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773* published in 1932)
- Raini, Emanuele. (2010). *Sistemi di romanizzazione del cinese mandarino nei secoli XVI-XVIII*. Ph. D. Dissertation, Studi Asiatici, XXII ciclo. Rome: Facoltà di Studi Orientali, Sapienza- Università di Roma.
- Ricci, Matteo. (1605). *Xīzì qíjì* 西字奇迹. Beijing: first edition published. Reprint edition (1957) in *Míng mò luómǎzì zhùyīn wénzhāng* 明末罗马字注音文章. Beijing: Wénzì gǎigé chūbǎnshè 文字改革出版社.
- Ricci, Matteo, and Piero Corradini (ed.), Maddalena Del Gatto (ed.). (2000). *Della entrata della Compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina*, in *Quaderni Quodlibet*. Vol. 10. Macerata: Quodlibet.
- Ruggieri, Michele, and Matteo Ricci. *Dicionário Português-Chinês*, in Jesuit Archives of Rome (ARSI). Jap. Sin. I, 198. Facsimile edition, with an introduction by John W. Witek. Lisbon: Instituto Português do Oriente, National Library of Portugal.
- Schierholz, Stefan J. (2015). Methods in Lexicography and Dictionary Research, in *Lexikos*. South Africa: African Association for Lexicography (AFRILEX). Vol. 25, pp. 323-352.
- Schurhammer, Georg. (1982). *Japan and China (1549 – 1552)*, in *Francis Xavier. His life, his times*. Vol. 4. Chicago: Loyola Press, pp. 229-235.
- Sòng Yǐngxīng 宋应星, and Zōu Qíchāng 邹其昌 (ed.). (1637/2015). *Tiān Gōng Kāi Wù* 天工开物 [Exploitation of the works of nature]. Beijing: Rénmín chūbǎnshè 人民出版社.
- Sūn Lǐjuān 孙丽娟. (2010). *Rújiā yǔ Jīdūjiào guānyú tiān rén guānxì yǔ shén rén guānxì de yì tóng* 儒家与基督教关于天人关系与神人关系的异同 [Differences and similarities between Confucianism and Christianity about the heaven-man relationship and the God-man relationship], in *Bóhǎi dàxué xuébào* 渤海大学学报. Bohai: Bóhǎi dàxué xuébào 渤海大学学报. 2010 (01).
- Táo Yuánkē 陶原珂. (2003). *Hànyǔ cíhuì fāzhǎn zhōng de cíxíng yáncháng —cóng*

- shuāngyīnjié dào sānyīnjié de kǎochá* 汉语词汇发展中的词形延长—从双音节到三音节的考察 [Lexical Extension in Chinese Vocabulary Development—An Investigation of the Words Extension from 2 to 3 Syllables], in *Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng* 语言文字应用, 4, 2003. Beijing: *Yǔyán wénzì yìngyòng* 语言文字应用, pp. 73–79.
- Táo Yuánkē 陶原珂. (2019). *Dìyī bù “Pú Hàn Cídiǎn” zhōng suǒ jiàn yuèyǔ cíhuì* 第一部《葡汉辞典》中所见粤语词彙 [Cantonese lexicon in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Àomén lǐgōng xuébào* 澳门理工学报, 2019(3). Macao: *Àomén lǐgōng xuébào* 澳门理工学报, pp. 77-81.
- Trigault, Nicolas. (1626/1957). *Xī rú ěr mù zī* 西儒耳目资 [An Aid to the Ear and the Eye of Western Scholars], facsimile edition. Beijing: *Wénzì gǎigé chūbǎnshè* 文字改革出版社.
- Wáng Míngyǔ 王铭宇. (2012). “*Tiānzhǔ*” *cíyuán kǎo* “天主”词源考 [Study on the Etymology of “*Tiānzhǔ* 天主”], in *Yǔwén yánjiū* 语文研究, 2012 (03). Shanxi: *Yǔwén yánjiū* 语文研究.
- Wáng Wéihuī 王维辉. (2005). *Cháoxiǎn shídài hànyǔ jiàokèshū cóngkān* 朝鲜时代汉语教课书丛刊 [The Series of Chinese Textbook in Korea-Time]. Beijing: *Zhōnghuá shūjú* 中华书局.
- Wilmshurst, David. (2011). *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East*. London: East & West Publishing Limited.
- Xiàng Róng 向荣. (2005). *Lùn Lìmǎdòu duì hànyǔ cíhuì fāzhǎn de gòngxiàn* 论利玛窦对汉语词汇发展的贡献 [Matteo Ricci’s Contribution to Chinese Language], in *Zhūzhōu shīfàn gāoděngz huānkē xuéxiào xuébào* 株洲师范高等专科学校学报. Vol.10, No.6. Zhuzhou: *Zhūzhōu shīfàn gāoděngz huānkē xuéxiào xuébào* 株洲师范高等专科学校学报, pp. 98-100.
- Xǔ Wēihàn 许威汉, and Xú, Shíyí 徐时仪. (1998). *Yǔyán wénhuà chāyì de bǐjiào-shuāngyǔ cídiǎn biānzhuàn de línghún* 语言文化差异的比较-双语辞典编撰的灵魂 [Comparison of Linguistic and Cultural Differences-The key of Dictionary Compilation], in *Wàiyǔ yǔ wàiyǔ jiàoxué* 外语与外语教学, 1998 (08). Dalian: *Wàiyǔ yǔ wàiyǔ jiàoxué* 外语与外语教学, pp. 53-55.

- Xuē Zhixiá 薛志霞. (2008). *Míng mò chuánjiāoshì hànyǔ luómǎzì zhùyīn fāng'àn xìngzhì kǎo* 明末传教士汉语罗马字注音方案性质考 [Study on the Source Language of the Roman Transcription of Chinese Words by Western Missionaries in the Late Ming Dynasty], in *Jìnzhōng xuéyuàn xuébào* 晋中学院学报. Vol. 25. No.4. Jinzhong: Jinzhōng xuéyuàn xuébào 晋中学院学报, pp. 1-5, 9.
- Yang, Paul Fu-mien. (1989). The *Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* of Matteo Ricci: A historical and linguistic introduction, in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sinology: Section on Linguistics and Paleography*. Vol. 1. Taipei: Academia Sinica, pp. 191-241.
- Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平, transl. (2003). *Huáyǔ guānhuà yǔfǎ* 华语官话语法. Beijing: Wàiyǔ jiàoxué yǔ yánjiū chūbǎnshè 外语教学与研究出版社. (Original work *Arte de la Lengua Mandarina* published in 1703)
- Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平. (2014). *Cóng wǎn míng "Pú Hàn cídiǎn" kàn zhōngxī cíhuì de jiēchù* 从晚明《葡汉词典》看中西词汇的接触 [The Earlier Language and Cultural Contact between China and the West as Reflected in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Dāngdài wàiyǔ yánjiū* 当代外语研究. No. 9. Shanghai: *Dāngdài wàiyǔ yánjiū* 当代外语研究, pp. 1-10,16.
- Yáo Xiǎopíng 姚小平. (2014). *Míng mò "Pú Hàn Cídiǎn" yìshì tǐlì kǎo* 明末《葡汉词典》译释体例考 [On the explanatory rules in the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Dāngdài yǔyánxué* 当代语言学. Vol. 16. 2014(04). Beijing: *Dāngdài yǔyánxué* 当代语言学, pp. 436-451.
- Zamponi, Raoul. (2012). Per una nuova immagine del dizionario portoghese-cinese attribuito a Ricci e Ruggieri, in *Attualità di Ricci: testi, fortuna, interpretazioni*. Macerata: Quodlibet, pp. 65-101.
- Zhāng Měilán 张美兰. (2012). *Cóng "Xùn Shì Píng Huà" wén bái duìzhào kàn míng chū hànyǔ chángyòng dòngcí de xīngtìbiànhuà* 从《训世评话》文白对照看明初汉语常用动词的兴替变化 [Observing the Changing of the Commonly Used Verbs in the Early Ming Dynasty from the Classic and Verbs], in *Nánjīng shīfàn dàxué wénxuéyuàn xuébào* 南京师范大学文学院学报. No. 4. Nanjing: *Nánjīng shīfàn dàxué wénxuéyuàn xuébào* 南京师范大学文学院学报, pp. 153-162.

- Zhāng Xīnhuá 张新华, and Zhāng Héyǒu 张和有. (2013). *Fǒudìngcí de shízhì yǔ hànǔ fǒudìngcí de yǎnbìàn* 否定词的实质与汉语否定词的演变 [The Substance of Negator and Evolution of Chinese Negator], in *Zhōngguó rénmin dàxué xuébào* 中国人民大学学报. No.4. Beijing: Zhōngguó rénmin dàxué xuébào 中国人民大学学报, pp. 122-130.
- Zhāng Xīpíng 张西平. (2016). “Pú Huá Cídiǎn” zhōng de sǎnwén yè yánjiū 《葡华辞典》中的散文页研究 [Research on the file sheets of the *Dicionário Português-Chinês*], in *Běijīng xíngzhèng xuéyuàn xuébào* 北京行政学院学报. No. 1. Beijing: Běijīng xíngzhèng xuéyuàn xuébào 北京行政学院学报, pp. 116-128.
- Zhèng Qìngjūn 郑庆君. (2003). *Sānyīnjié héchéngcí de jiégòu lèixíng jí céngcì* 三音节合成词的结构类型及层次 [A comprehensive Study on the Structure of the Three-syllable Compounds], in *Shānxī dàxué xuébào (zhéxué shèhuì kēxué bǎn)* 山西大学学报 (哲学社会科学版). Vol. 26, No.1. Taiyuan: Shānxī dàxué 山西大学, pp. 68-71.
- Zhōu Wén 周文. (2009). “Dìyù” yuánliú kǎo 地狱”源流考 [Research on the Origins of the Word “Dìyù”], in *Húběi shèhuì kēxué* 湖北社会科学. No. 7, 2009. Wuhan: Húběi shèhuì kēxué 湖北社会科学, pp. 134-136.
- Zwartjes, Otto. (2012). The Historiography of Missionary Linguistics: Present state and further research opportunities, in *Historiographia Linguistica*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 185-241.
- <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/prose/64451>. (2021/06/01)

Estratto per riassunto della tesi di dottorato

Studente: YUNLU WAN matricola: 956396

Dottorato: in Dipartimento di Studi sull'Asia e sull'Africa Mediterranea

Ciclo: 33°

Titolo della tesi: Analysis of Michele Ruggieri's Contribution to the *Dicionário Português-Chinês* in the Ming Dynasty and the Compiling Features of the Dictionary

Estratto

[IN ITALIANO]

Ripassando la storia della comunicazione culturale tra Europa e Cina, possiamo generalmente dire che i missionari europei, in particolare i gesuiti, hanno servito come ambasciatori culturali e linguistici in Cina dal XV secolo. I missionari gesuiti hanno compiuto grandi sforzi e generosi contributi alla loro missione evangelica; durante questo processo, avrebbero superato molti ostacoli che avrebbero incontrato. In primo luogo, hanno risolto il problema del permesso di ingresso facendo la conoscenza di funzionari cinesi e, infine, hanno ottenuto la residenza in Cina. In secondo luogo, hanno accorciato gli enormi gap tra lingue e culture diverse attraverso traduzioni e dizionari. Dopo alcuni tentativi preliminari, i sacerdoti hanno deciso di adottare la politica di acculturazione e predicare il cristianesimo in cinese. Sebbene fosse stato un processo di apprendimento-insegnamento impegnativo, sono riusciti a sviluppare una serie di metodi di studio efficaci e poi li hanno applicati a compilare dizionari bilingue (portoghese-cinese, latino-cinese, francese-cinese e così via) . Questi metodi e pratiche hanno parzialmente influenzato la perfezione della ricerca sul cinese moderno nella formazione del sistema fonetica, nella costruzione di parole e nella categorizzazione lessicale. I dizionari missionari hanno svolto un ruolo significativo durante la missione in Cina, poiché sono stati utilizzati come supporto dati ma anche trasmettitori informativi. Il *Dicionário Português-Chinês* a cura di Michele Ruggieri e Matteo Ricci è un'opera missionaria rappresentativa nella tarda dinastia Ming ed è quindi il tema di questa ricerca. Si propone di verificare come vengono costruite le parole (in particolare parole in prestito e composti cinesi) con tali nuovi metodi e

come è rappresentata la diversità cinese (della lingua orale o scritta, il mandarino o dialetti e così via) in questo dizionario. In questa tesi, tutti gli esempi sono analizzati in un sistema coerente nelle prospettive della lessicografia e la linguistica comparativa (confronto dettagliato delle singole caratteristiche tra diverse parole). Oltre all'analisi statistica, vengono utilizzate anche altre metodologie come la rappresentazione schematica e la critica del dizionario.

Sono stati pubblicati numerosi articoli e documenti relativi al valore della ricerca di questo dizionario da diversi aspetti quali la linguistica, la ricerca storica, i metodi di traduzione e così via. Tuttavia, solo pochi di loro mettono l'accento sul suo valore lessicografico. Alcuni di loro hanno appena menzionato alcuni elementi segmentati della ricerca sistematica del dizionario, ma mancano di ricostruzione della struttura. Al fine di fornire uno studio approfondito, dopo l'introduzione della ricerca e la descrizione del background storico e linguistico, l'autore divide la ricerca in tre sezioni principali: chiarire i criteri di selezione del lemma durante la modifica del dizionario, analizzare alcuni metodi di traduzione specifici dal portoghese al cinese (parole in prestito, composti e espressioni negativi) del dizionario, e poi criticare e valutare le proprietà e qualità principali di questo dizionario bilingue. Si prevede che questa tesi possa offrire più dati testuali e ispirare ulteriori ricerche nei campi della lessicografia e della ricerca del dizionario bilingue.

Parole chiave: dizionario bilingue, lessicografia, costruzione di parole, critica del dizionario.

Abstract

[IN ENGLISH]

When reviewing the history of cultural communication between Europe and China, we can generally say that European missionaries, especially the Jesuits, have served as cultural and linguistic ambassadors in China since the 15th century. The Jesuit missionaries have made great efforts and generous contributions to their evangelical mission; during this process, they would overcome many obstacles that they would encounter. First, they solved the problem of entry permission by making the acquaintance of Chinese officials, and finally, they received residence in China. Second, they shortened the huge gaps between different languages and cultures through translations and dictionaries. After some preliminary attempts, the priests decided to adopt the cultural accommodation policy and preach Christianity in Chinese. Although it was a challenging learning-teaching process, they succeeded in developing a bunch of effective study methods and then applied them to bi-lingual dictionaries editing (Portuguese-Chinese, Latin-Chinese, French-Chinese, and so on). These methods and practices have partially influenced the perfection of modern Chinese study in the phonetic system forming, word-building, and lexical categorization. Missionary dictionaries played a significant role during the mission in China: they have been utilized as the data carrier but also the information transmitter. The *Dicionário Português-Chinês*¹ edited by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci is a representative missionary work during the late Ming dynasty, therefore, is the object of this research. It aims to investigate how new word-building methods (specifically Chinese loan words and compounds) are applied and how Chinese diversity (oral or written language, Mandarin or dialects, and so on) is represented in this dictionary. In this dissertation, all examples are analyzed in a coherent system from the perspectives of lexicography and comparative linguistics (feature-by-feature comparison between various words). In addition to the statistical analysis, other methodologies such as

¹ Dicionário Português-Chinês = Pu Han ci dian = Portuguese-Chinese dictionary: Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci. John W. Witek, S.J., ed..Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, Instituto Português do Oriente, 2001.

diagrammatic representation and dictionary criticism are used as well.

Numbers of articles and papers have been published concerning the research value of this dictionary from different aspects such as linguistics, historical research, translation methods, and so on. However, only a few of them put emphasis on its lexicographical value. A few of them just mentioned some segmented elements of systematic dictionary research but lack structure reconstructing. In order to provide an in-depth study, after the introduction of the research and the description of historical and linguistic background, the author divides the research into three major parts: clarifying lemma selection criteria while editing, analyzing some specific interpretation methods from Portuguese to Chinese (loan words, compounds, and negative expressions) of the dictionary, and then criticizing and evaluating the main properties and qualities of this bilingual dictionary. It is expected that this dissertation can offer more textual data and inspire further research in the fields of lexicography and bi-lingual dictionary research.

Keywords: bi-lingual dictionary, lexicography, word-building, dictionary criticism.

Firma dello studente

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature reads "Yunlu WAN" in a cursive, slightly slanted script.