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CHALLENGING THE PALATE AND THE MIND. INTRODUCING WESTERN BAKING VOCABULARY INTO CHINESE

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ABSTRACT. ***Challenging the Palate and the Mind. Introducing Western Baking Vocabulary into Chinese***. Starting from the first Western recipe book published in China in 1866, the paper analyzes the attempts to translate Western bakery vocabulary into Chinese. Although the Chinese cuisine was already very rich and refined, with a complex vocabulary, dessert had never been an integral part of a traditional meal, and, in fact, there was no specific word for it. After China's defeat in the two Opium Wars, in the mid-19th century, the increasing foreign presence on Chinese soil meant both an increase in demand for cooks able to satisfy the dietary needs of the Westerners, and of restaurants serving Western food, especially in cities with foreign concessions, like Shanghai, where dining in such a place had become very "modern". *Zao yang fan shu* (*Foreign Cookery in Chinese*) compiled and translated by Martha Foster Crawford, and published at The American Presbyterian Mission Press, in Shanghai, in 1866, was the first Western recipe book to be translated into Chinese. Out of the 271 recipes, 139 are desserts. Considering the resistance of the Chinese language to loanwords, especially phonetic loans, the paper looks at the solutions employed by Crawford to translate the new vocabulary, find out when were the phonetic loans used and how were they transcribed, if it was possible to identify equivalents in Chinese for the new terms, which terms were translated as semantic loans, and which are still in use today.

Keywords*: Zao yang fan shu, translation, recipe book, baking, phonetic/semantic loan*

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REZUMAT. ***Provocarea gustului și a minții. Pătrunderea vocabularului de patiserie occidentală în China***. Pornind de la prima carte de bucate occidentale publicată în China în 1866, lucrarea de față propune o analiză a transpunerii vocabularului patiseriei occidentale în limba chineză. Deși în momentul publicării cărții, bucătăria chineză era deja extrem de bogată și rafinată, cu un vocabular complex, desertul nu era parte dintr-o masă tradițională și nu exista un termen care să definească acest fel. După înfrângerea Chinei în cele două Războaie ale opiului, prezența tot mai numeroasă a occidentalilor pe teritoriul chinez a făcut ca cererea de bucătari capabili să satisfacă cerințele culinare ale străinilor și numărul restaurantelor care serveau mâncare occidentală să crească, mai ales în orașele cu concesiuni străine, precum Shanghai, unde servitul mesei în restaurante occidentalizate devenise o modă. Prima carte de bucate occidentale în limba chineză, *Zao yang fan shu* (*Rețete occidentale în chineză*), a fost tradusă și editată de Martha Foster Crawford, în 1866, publicată la Editura Misiunii Prezbiteriene Americane, din Shanghai. Dintre cele 271 de rețete, 139 sunt deserturi. Luând în considerare rezistența limbii chineze la împrumuturi, mai ales la cele fonetice, lucrarea de față analizează soluțiile folosite de Crawford pentru a reda în chineză vocabularul de patiserie, când și de ce au fost preferate calcurile fonetice, cum au fost ele transcrise, dacă a fost posibilă identificarea unor termeni echivalenți din vocabularul culinar chinez pentru felurile de desert incluse în carte, când s-a folosit calcul semantic și care dintre termenii propuși de autoare mai sunt încă în uz.

Cuvinte cheie*: Zao yang fan shu, traducere, carte de bucate, patiserie, împrumuturi fonetice/semantice*

Introduction

In a letter sent in August 1898 to one of her sisters back in the USA, Sarah Pike Conger, the wife of the American envoy to Qing China, Edwin H. Conger, wrote:

> When I first went into my kitchen I was heart-sick; it seemed to me that there was literally nothing with which to work, not even a range. I said to Mr. Conger, "We have an empty kitchen, no cooking-stove, or range, - what can we do?" "There is nothing of the kind to be obtained here," was his answer. "See the cook and learn what is needed and I will send home at once for the kitchen necessities." The cook was interviewed, and his reply was, "All proper. Can get pans, and all proper." (Conger 1909, 7)

The Chinese cook proved to be right; once Mrs. Conger stopped having the cooks to do things her way, but simply letting them know what she wanted, the results were "all proper" and she was "rarely disappointed" (1909, 7). We do not know exactly what kind of food the Congers liked, but for somebody who had been in China for less than a month by the time of writing that letter, we can safely assume that it was most probably Western food.

By the end of the 19th century, Western food was not necessarily a rarity, especially in the big cities with foreign legations, settlements or concessions, such as Beijing, Shanghai or Canton, although it was not very popular among the locals. The Chinese called it at the beginning *fancai* (barbarian food), but because it was rather derogatory and due to the increased foreign presence in the second half of the 19th century, it was changed to *xicai* (Western food), *xican* (Western meal), *dacai* (grand food), or *dacan* (grand meal) (Song 2012, Chen 2009).

In the beginning, the Chinese were not very fond of the Westerners' culinary habits, with the few descriptions that appeared prior the Opium Wars in the mid-19 century pointing out the foreigners' habits of chopping big chunks of half-cooked meats with knives, eating smelly chesses, dipping roasts in sauce, and drinking a foaming liquid called *biyu* (beer) (Song 2012, Zou 2007). Zhang Deyi, one of the diplomats traveling to Europe in 1866, was so horrified by the food served on the British ship that he "started vomiting as soon as the meal bell rang" (Zou 2007, 139)[2].

The earliest descriptions of Western food and table manners belong to the Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century. For example, the Italian Giulio Aleni included in his *Xifang dawen* (*Questions and Answers about the West*), published in Chinese in 1637, a short chapter called *Yin shi* (Drinks and food), in which he said: "The meats and vegetables are all cooked with fire", adding that to show respect, the host shared the meat himself, or had one of his cooks do it for him, and then placed it in the empty plates in front of the guests; the guests all had a napkin on their chest to avoid droplets of soup falling on their clothes, the table was covered with a white tablecloth and people used Spoons, forks and small knives to eat. However, just as Song (2012) observed, the reason behind these descriptions was not to familiarize the Chinese with Western habits, but that of depicting the Western society as civilized as the Chinese. One of the first Western recipes to be published in Chinese was that of *xiyang bing* (Western pancakes), included by Yuan Mei, at the end of the 18th century, in *Suiyuan*

[2] It is also true that by the end of his journey, Zhang Deyi got used to Western food and admired the table manners and the hygienic way of serving and eating the food. See Song, 2012. For more descriptions of the Western table manners as seen by the Chinese see also Conger 1909, and Hunter, William C. 1885. *Bits of Old China*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

shidan (*Recipes from the Garden of Contentment*), made of egg white and flower, fried on a pan, as white as snow, as transparent as paper, to be eaten with grounded rock candy or pine nuts (Song 2012)[3].

After the Opium Wars, China was forced to open its cities to foreign merchants, diplomats, missionaries and their families, and Shanghai became one of the busiest ports in Asia: "All the foreign steamers, no matter which was their final destination, first had to stop in Shanghai" (Xu 2014 vol. VI, 268). It is thus no surprise that Shanghai was the first city in China to open Western restaurants catering to its foreign inhabitants. Quoting *Qing bai lei chao* (*An Anthology of Small Matters from the Qing*) compiled by Xu Ke at the beginning of the 20th century, Xu Hairong (2014 vol. V) mentions that the first restaurant serving Western food was Yi pin xiang, followed immediately by many others. According to Zou (2007), the newspapers in the 1870s often carried advertisements to such restaurants; in 1903, only on Fuzhou Road, (called back then the Fourth Avenue, one of the most popular places in Shanghai), there were over 30 such places. Since "it did not take long for eating Western food to become fashionable and show one's social status" (Yang 2021, 317), *fancai guan* (barbarian food restaurants) spread rapidly to Beijing, Tianjin and other cities, Swislocki even talking about "the late Qing craze for Western food" (2009, 98). In *Hu you zaji* (*Miscellaneous notes on travels in Shanghai*), one of the first thorough depictions of Shanghai published in 1887, Ge Yuanxu wrote about the Western food restaurants:

> Foreign food restaurants are places where foreigners organize banquets, opened in places like Outer Hongkou, where one can play ball or cards as one pleases. A number of people is needed for a grand meal (*dacan*), one needs to book in advance, and each person pays three silver dollars. For an ordinary meal, one can go any time, there is no limit to the number of people, and everyone pays one silver dollar. Drinks are paid separately. The dishes of the grand meal are of different flavors, the best ones are roasted lamb and various desserts. Sometimes, Chinese also go there to eat. (Ge Yuanxu 1989, 30)

However, foreign food was not consumed exclusively in restaurants or cooked only by foreign cooks. Most of the traders or diplomats did not come to China alone, brought their families with them and therefore had to hire either foreign cooks, if they could afford them, or employ locals to cook and staff to mind their household.

[3] The full name of the recipe is *Yang Zhongcheng's Western Pancakes*. The text in Chinese is available at https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/隨園食單.

Zao yang fan shu - Foreign Cookery in Chinese

Zao yang fan shu (*Foreign Cookery in Chinese with A Preface and Index in English*) was the first Western recipe book to be published in China, by Martha Foster Crawford (1830 - 1909), an American Baptist missionary, and published at The American Presbyterian Mission Press in 1866. The book was so successful that it had three more editions – in 1885, 1899 and 1909.

Martha was married to Tarleton Perry Crawford, who served in the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention in China, where they spent almost fifty years, from 1852 to 1900. Aware of the importance of speaking Chinese for evangelization, the Crawfords started learning the language as soon as they reached Shanghai, and after a while, her husband began preaching in Chinese, while Martha opened a school as means to reaching as many people as possible (Kurian and Lamport 2016).

According to Wu (2015) and Yang (2021), the name of the author does not figure on the first edition published in 1866, however, it is mentioned in the *Jiaowu zazhi* (*The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*) and in the 1885 edition; the journal also mentions a third edition in 1899[4] attributed to the same Martha Crawford. The last edition published in 1909, and republished in 1986, does not mention the author either. Another question open for discussion is if Mrs. Crawford translated or wrote the book directly into Chinese[5]. The *Jiaowu zazhi* lists her name as "editor". Considering her language skills, any of the two variants would be possible. Crawford edited the book to help Chinese cooks working for foreign families, and it would have been interesting to know how familiar the cooks were with the names of the new ingredients, utensils and dishes.

The first edition includes an English "Preface", unsigned, where the editor explains the reason for the book: "to aid both foreign housekeepers and native cooks. […] this book has begun solely for the author's own use. Various friends wishing copies, it was suggested that the demand might be sufficient to

[4] In 1899, the Korean translation of the Chinese book was published by Horace Grant Underwood. The title of the book was printed on the front cover, both in Korean and Chinese, and also included on the inside cover in English: *Foreign Cookery in Korean, Translated from the Chinese of Mrs. Crawford with A Preface and Index in English* (Yang 2021).

[5] Besides that, another unknown fact is whether Crawford edited the book alone, or she benefited from local help. Usually, foreigners who translated books into Chinese would not work alone, but with a Chinese colleague, to ensure that the resulting text was correct and coherent. This might have happened in this case, also, but no reference to a Chinese proofreader has been found in any of the sources consulted.

defray the expenses of a small issue"[6]. The "Index" at the end is bilingual, English to Chinese; it starts from "apple butter" and ends at "yeast potato", each recipe followed by a number written both with Arabic and Chinese numerals, to help those unable to speak the language. Thus, any foreigner wishing to have his or her own local cook prepare something Western needed only to show the number of the dish and the cook could immediately identify the recipe.

The book begins with "The rules of the kitchen", teaching the cooks how to keep their working space clean, how often to wash all the pans and posts, or the whole kitchen including the stove, how to keep the towels or to throw away the organic waste. It is then followed by 271 recipes divided into 17 categories, out of which 139 are desserts, grouped into "Sweets", "Pies", "Puddings", "Syrups", "Miscellanea"[7], "Biscuits" and "Cakes".

All the above chapters contain a plethora of terms absolutely new to the Chinese readers, be they names of dishes, ingredients or utensils. The paper analysis how Crawford rendered them into Chinese, the choices she made to translate the new vocabulary, whether she looked for an equivalent in the host language, or she came up with a totally new term. At first glance, it might seem that phonetic borrowing was the method of choice for the editor; it was a method used by translators of technical texts before her, and probably the easy way out for terms with no equivalent in Chinese. On the other hand, Chinese is very resistant to phonetic loans, which are puzzling for the target readers who are not used to looking at characters just as phonetic shells, as opposed to semantic loans which are much more transparent.

Loanwords in Chinese

Chinese has borrowed words from other languages since ancient times[8], but until de end of the 19th century, loanwords did not attract much attention, and there was no word in Chinese for this class. The first term used for loanwords, until fairly recently, was *jieci*, literally "borrowed word", and it included both borrowings and neologisms. At the beginning of the 20th century, the term

[6] The "Preface" was not included in the 1909 (1986) issue we analyze in this paper. However, an image of it can be found in Wu (2015) and at https://www.bastillepost.com/hongkong/article/11561201-中國最早的西餐烹飪書-《造洋飯書》.

[7] There are two categories called "Miscellanea" (*zalei*); the first one includes 11 sweet recipes, like biscuits, gems, custard etc., while the last one includes 24 recipes of coffee, teas, ham, soap, including advice on preserving and cleaning foodstuff.

[8] Shi (2013) mentions that the names of the 12 star-signs used in *Li sao*, a poem attributed to Qu Yuan and dated to the 3rd century BC, are most probably of Babylonian origins, basing his arguments on the syllabic structure of the ancient Chinese.

wailaici (word coming from abroad) was borrowed from Japanese (Shi 2013), and used for borrowings from other languages, while neologisms, called *xinci* (new words), were words coined recently according to internal lexical rules and based on existing morphemes to meet the needs of a developing society (Ge 2018).

Among the first to discuss the importance and the methods of translating foreign words into Chinese were the Christian missionaries who, besides evangelical works, also translated scientific literature. In 1880, John Fryer, sent to China by the Church Missionary Society, who had become the main translator with the Department for Translation at the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai, published *Jiangnan zhizao zongju fanyi xishu shilüe* (*An Account of the Department for the Translation of Foreign Books at the Jiangnan Arsenal*) in which he proposed a unified way of translating foreign terms into Chinese, including how to create new characters for the new words such as chemical elements. Creating a new term was always the last resort and used only after making sure that it was not created by previous translators; the translator needed to consult with specialists in the field and come up with a transparent word, easy to understand[9], and then list it in the existing glossaries to avoid retranslation, and to create a standard scientific language (Zlotea 2019).

The social changes triggered by the events in the second half of the 19th century, the calls for reforms and the increased importance the reformist movement gave to translation resulted in an exponential increase of loanwords, mainly from English and Japanese[10]. At the beginning, in spite of the efforts of various translators to publish glossaries of technical terms, such as those by Fryer, who between 1883 and 1889 published four of them, covering the fields of metallurgy, chemistry, pharmacy and technology, there was a lot of inconsistency, and the same terms were translated in different ways depending on who translated them. According to Feng (2021), the first official attempt to standardize the scientific language came in 1909, when the Ministry of Education asked Yan Fu, one of the most prominent translators of the time, to compile a list of scientific terms in foreign languages and their Chinese equivalent, and check their correspondence. Only after the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1912, and of the People's Republic in 1949, the efforts to unify and standardize the scientific language increased and various institutions were established.

[9] The example given by Fryer in his text is that of "steamboat" translated as *huolunchuan*, a new word composed of three morphemes "fire", "wheel" and "boat".

[10] To better understand the impact of the events at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries upon the Chinese lexicon see Masini, Frederico. 1993. "The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898". *Journal of Chinese Linguistics. Monograph Series* no. 6: i-295.

Before discussing the specific methods of lexical borrowing into Chinese, it is worth pointing out that there were quite a few English - Chinese dictionaries, circulating during the time when Mrs. Crawford published her book. We do not know if she ever consulted these dictionaries, but it is worth checking if any of the new terms she used in her cookbook existed in the dictionaries, if they were already in circulation, and how they had been borrowed. The existing English-Chinese dictionaries at the time were those by Robert Morrison - *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts. Part Three Consisting of English and Chinese* (1822), Samuel Wells Williams - *An English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect* (1844), and Walter Henry Medhurst - *English and Chinese Dictionary in Two Volumes* (vol. I in 1847, vol. II in 1848).

Broadly speaking, there are two types of loans in Chinese: phonetic (*yinyi*) and sematic (*yiyi*)[11], with the last category much more stable than the first one, due to the phonetic and morphological features of the Chinese language. Most of the times, the phonetic loans borrow only the sounds of the original words transcribing them with the corresponding character: *a-si-pi-lin*[12] (Aspirin), *ka-fei* (coffee), *sha-fa* (sofa), *sha-la* (salad), etc. The characters used to write these words are not related in any way to the referent, for example the character *sha* in "salad" means "sand" and the *la* means "to pull"[13]. The fact that the characters forming the word are used only as phonetic shells and do not make lexical sense when put together goes against the nature of the Chinese language, and it is one of the reasons why semantic loans are preferred. There are also a few instances where the characters used in a phonetic loan do make some sense together, but this is usually not the norm: *beng-dai* (bandage) composed of "to pull tight" and "strip of cloth", or *ke-kou-ke-le* (Coca-Cola) composed of "tasty" and "feeling good".

Semantic loans borrow the meaning, not the sound of the foreign words, and here one can differentiate between semantic calques in which each morpheme is translated into Chinese: *mi-yue* (honeymoon) made of "honey" and "moon", or *zu-qiu* (football) made of "foot" and "ball", and semantic translation when the

[11] For a much more detailed discussion see Kim (2019).

[12] Normally, the Chinese words are transliterated without a hyphen between syllables. We added the hyphen for the sake of clarity, and only when we needed to show the syllables making up the word.

[13] In time, some characters became much more probable to appear in phonetic loans, signaling to the reader that the word belongs to this category. In the 19th century, translators sometimes used existing characters containing the radical 口 *kou*, mouth, or added the radical in front of an existing common character, creating new one with the same reading, but no specific meaning. For example, by adding the radical 口 *kou* to the word *fei* 非 (not be) the character *fei* 啡 was created, which appears only in phonetic loans, such as coffee (*kafei* 咖啡), and has no meaning of its own.

word is recreated into Chinese regardless of its original form[14], such as *min-zhu* (democracy), "people" and "rule", *Tian-zhu* (God), "sky" and "ruler", or *xin-wen* (news), "new" and "to hear".

There is also the case of words borrowed from Japanese. This category includes words borrowed by Japanese from foreign languages, written with Chinese characters, not in katakana: *wasi* (< Jap. *gasu* < Eng. gas), *julebu* (< Jap. *kurubu* < Eng. club), or created as neologisms in Japan due to the new reality: *wenfa* (grammar, < Jap. *bunpo*), *mudi* (aim, < Jap. *mokuteki*), *liaoli* (cuisine, < Jap. *ryouri*).

Some borrowings combine the phonetic and semantic translations, becoming half-phonetic half-semantic loans (*yinyi jianyi*): *xinyong-ka* (credit card), "credit" (semantic) and "card" (phonetic), *nihong-deng* (neon light), "neon" (phonetic) and "light" (semantic), or by adding at the end of the word an extra morpheme which did not exist in the original language to indicate the class the term belongs to: *xiangbing-jiu* (Champagne), literally "Champagne-alcohol", *xuejia-yan* (cigar), literally "cigar-tobacco", etc.

The Baking Vocabulary in the Zao yang fan shu

The analysis of the baking terms used by Martha Foster Crawford in her recipe book is not a quantitative one, since we are interested in how she rendered in Chinese those terms which did not have any equivalent in the Chinese cuisine.

Before analyzing the baking vocabulary in the book, we need to look at some of the words used in Chinese for cakes. One of the most common word is *bing*, translated as cake, pancake, or cookie; usually, *bing* is quite thin, made mainly by mixing flour with water, sometimes adding various other ingredients, such as eggs, and it can be sweet or savory. All the traditional flatbreads and pancakes are called *bing*. The word used for biscuits today is *binggan*, literally a dry *bing*. Most Western type desserts would be called using the word *gao*. Traditionally, *gao* was a paste of rice or beans, steamed, looking a bit like a pudding; today it is associated with cream cakes (*dangao* – *gao* with egg) or sponge cakes. (Sponge cakes without cream are also called (*tian*) *mianbao* – (sweet) bread.)

[14] There is a whole discussion if this category belongs to loanwords or not. Usually, if the word was coined after the Mai 4th Movement, which is roughly from the 1920s onwards, it is considered a neologism (*xinci*), not a loanword (*wailaici*). Older words are usually included in the *wailaici* category.

In her book, Crawford used phonetic loans, but they were usually restricted to names of particular cakes, types of cakes, or ingredients new to the Chinese cuisine.

Phonetic loans – names or types of cakes

pai (< Eng. pie) – the same name used today, but written with a different character; included in Medhurst as "an article of food, *roubao* [15] (meat dumpling), *xian* (filling), *dianxin* (sweets) [16] ", and in Williams as "*miangui*", a type of offering used in southern China, made of flour and with various sweet fillings.

puding (< Eng. pudding) – today *buding*, or *budian,* phonetic loans; written with different characters; in Medhurst – "*fenci* (mashed glutinous rice), *gao* (cake), *tangbing* (cake in soup), *shuiyinbing* (water absorbing cake), *shuimian* (dough in water)"; in Williams – "*budian*", also a phonetic loan.

aluoluo puding (< Eng. arrowroot pudding) – today *zhuyu buding*; Crawford chose a phonetic calque for arrowroot, but she mentioned that it was the same as "*oufen* (lotus-root powder)". Morrison included three equivalents for arrowroot, depending on the plant of which it was made: "made of the roots of the water lily, and called *lianfen*; also from the roots of the Scirpus Tuberosus, and called *matifen*; that from Otaheite was called *shangefen*".

pigenei puding (< Eng. picnic pudding) – today, picnic is *yecan* (meal in the fields); most probably there was no word for picnic in the 19th century Chinese. Morrison has an entry for "picknick party" explained as "*ju*, *ju* (two different characters with the same meaning - pooling money for a feast, drinking together), *xiang hui yin shi* (getting together to drink and eat), *he qian yin jiu* (putting money together for drinks)".

popu (< Eng. puffs) – today *supi* (soft and crispy skin); also written by Crawford as *pofu*, with different characters, marked as phonetic loan by adding the radical *kou* (mouth) to existing characters; *pofu* was used only in compounds like "puff flour" (*pofu mian*).

[15] All three dictionaries give the approximate pronunciation of the Chinese characters. For the sake of clarity, we have chosen to replace it with the current *pinyin*, instead of the various transliterations used by each author.

[16] *Dianxin* is used today for "sweets", but traditionally it is not necessarily something sweet, they are snacks, savoury or sweet, served in the afternoon, better known in the West by their Cantonese name, *dim sum*.

keshitai, *kesita* (< Eng. custard) – today *kashida*, phonetic calque*, dong jishi* (jelly cheese)*, dan nai dong* (egg and milk jelly); two variants for the same dessert, the second one used more often, both marked as phonetic loans, with characters containing the radical *kou*[17]; found in Medhurst as "a cake made of milk and eggs", and in Williams as "*jishi*", also a phonetic loan, which sounds more like "cheese"[18].

huafu (< Eng. waffles) – today *huafubing*, a phonetic-semantic hybrid, (waffle-cake); included only in Medhurst as "*shuibing* (water cake)".

duonachi (< Eng. doughnut) – today *tiantianquan* (sweet rings), *youzha baoquan* (oil-fried rings), *youzha quanbing* (oil-fried ring cake).

emulai sufulai (< Eng. omelet soufflé; *amulai sufulai* alternative reading) – today *jiandanbing* (fried egg cake) or *dannaisu* (egg milk crisp [cake]); "omelet" exists in Williams as "*jidanbing* (egg cake)".

bensi (< Eng. buns; *benshi* alternative reading) – today *xiao yuan mianbao* (small round bread), sometimes also including the word *tian* (sweet); this must have been rather funny to the Chinese reader, because the characters used could be understood as "seemingly stupid"; included in Medhurst as "*mantou bing* (bread cake), *bingtuo* (cake), dough fried in oil, *youjianbing* (oil fried cake)", and in Williams as "*xiao tian bing* (small sweet cakes)".

weifu (< Eng. wafers) – today *baosubing* (thin crisp cakes).

halalusi (< Eng. á la Russe < Eng. Charlotte Russe) – today *Eshi naiyou buding* (Russian-style egg and butter pudding).

fulami (< Eng. flummery) – no current name, explained as a type of custard.

salaleng (< Eng. Sally Lunn) – no current name, explained as a type of teacake.

xinbusi (< Eng. jumbles) – no current name; a puzzling choice of characters, taken together the three characters mean "believe [it] does not neigh".

zhigula (< Eng. chocolate) – today *qiaokeli*, phonetic loan; the same word and characters used in Morrison and Medhurst, *zhugula* in Williams.

Phonetic loans - ingredients

suoda (< Eng. soda) – today *xiao suda*, a phonetic-semantic hybrid, (small soda); marked as phonetic loan by adding the radical mouth to both characters.

dabiouge (< Eng. tapioca) – today *mushu* (wood potato).

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[17] Some of the characters used by Crawford do not exist in Chinese with the radical *kou*; Crawford added it to some very common characters just to signal that they were used phonetically, and did not carry any specific meaning.

[18] William rendered "cheese" as "cow's milk cake" (*niu ru bing*).

suigou (< Eng. sago) – today *xigumi* (rice form the western valley, *xigu* < sago); included in all three dictionaries: in Morrison – "the Chinese from Canton call by the foreign name *xigumi*; also written *shagumi* (rice form the sand valley; *xigu* / *shagu* < sago)", in Medhurst – "*shagumi*, *ximi* (western rice)", in Williams – "*ximi*, *shagumi*". Sago was clearly used in the southern part of China, and its names did not change much over time, however, Crawford chose to translate it in a different way.

More numerous than phonetic loans are the hybrid half-phonetic half-semantic loans, where the phonetic calque is paired with a morpheme existing in the original term rendered into Chinese as a semantic loan. (Most of the cake names are translated this way – the phonetic calque followed by the word *bing*, cake.) A less common occurrence in the bakery section is adding an explicative morpheme – (the main ingredient or cooking method) – to the phonetic loan to make the term a bit more transparent.

Half-phonetic half-semantic loans

fruit name *+ mamalai* (< Eng. marmalade) – today fruit name + *guojiang* (fruit paste); all types of marmalades are formed by adding the name of the fruit to the phonetic calque: *tao mamalai* (peach marmalade), *pingguo*[19] *mamalai* (apple marmalade), or *mugua*[20] *mamalai* (quince marmalade), etc. There is no entry for marmalade in any of the three dictionaries, however, there is jam in Medhurst – "*tangguo* (sugar fruits)".

main ingredient + *mofen* (< Eng. muffin) – today *yingshi songbing* (English sponge cake), *beizhuang xiao songgao* (small sponge cake in a cup form, cupcake), or *mafen*, a phonetic calque; the same translation method is used for all muffins, even if their original name does not contain the ingredient: *mian mofen* (wheat muffin), *baomi mofen* (sweetcorn muffin; Indian muffin in the Index), or *mantou fulatuo* (bread fritters; Spanish fritters in the Index). Same for waffles: *wujiao huafu* (no yeast waffles; plain waffles in the Index).

[19] The first character of the word *pingguo*, apple, is written in two different ways. Most of the times the character used is 苹, with the radical *cao*, grass, on top of it, just as it is today; it is also written 平, without the radical. They have the same pronunciation and since they are followed by *guo* (fruit) there is no room for misunderstanding.

[20] *Mugua* actually means papaya, but in the final index, *mugua mamalai* is translated as quince marmalade. Even today, quinces are not very easy to find din China.

phonetic loan + cake or biscuit – the phonetic loan could be either a proper name, *Waxuntun gao* (Washington cake), or *Fulanxi bing* (French cake), or the name of the main ingredient, *laimeng gao* (lemon cake), or *xida gao* (cider cake). Crawford used a new phonetic calque for lemon, *laimeng*, although all the dictionaries contain the phonetic loan still used today, *ningmeng*; in the cider cake recipe, cider, *xida*, is explained as "cider is apple juice", although in Medhurst and in Williams it is "*pingguo jiu* (apple alcohol)", just as it is today.

semantic loan + phonetic loan – Little boy's pie became *Xiao er pai*, (*xiao er* means little boy); Custard ice cream was translated as *bingdong kesita*, (*bingdong* means frozen).

Hybrid translations with an added morpheme(s)

youzha fulatuo (< Eng. deep-fried fritters) – today *youzha xianbing* (deep-fried cakes with filling); because the phonetic calque *fulatuo* (fritters) probably meant nothing to the Chinese reader, the author felt the need to add the method of cooking to the name; the recipe also included an explanation, "deep fried *folatuo*, also deep-fried fruit".

Translation with an added morpheme is more common in the case of main dishes, rather than desserts, because most of the times the added morpheme shows the method of cooking – (baked, boiled, fried, etc.).

Sematic borrowing is also a method often employed. For the dessert names in which all the words had equivalents in Chinese, Crawford used semantic calques; when this was not possible, she employed semantic translation, introducing a new term into Chinese. Semantic translation is the preferred method for ingredients and utensils.

Semantic calques

xueqiu (snow balls) – this type of dessert still exists today, but its name was made even more transparent by adding in front the main ingredient, glutinous rice – *nuomi xueqiu*; at the end of the recipe, which is very simple and says that one needs to make small balls out of glutinous rice, stuff them with a piece of fruit, and then boil them, Crawford added: "[They] resemble Chinese *zongzi*" – a triangular steamed glutinous rice cake with various fillings.

rongbing (flannel cake) – *rong* is "velvet", "floss"; the Chinese name is a faithful translation of the English one. The same for *fu hai dao* (island floating on the sea, i.e. floating islands), *hei gao* (black cake), *jin gao* (golden cake), *yin gao* (silver cake).

pingwu gao (cottage cake) – traditionally, Chinese houses had only one floor, but in the 19th century, in places like Shanghai, under the Western influence, the architectural style changed, and taller, multifloored buildings appeared, called not *pingfang* (flat house) or *pingwu* (flat room), but *loufang* (building with more than one floor). Since the closest equivalent in Chinese to a one-story small house was *pingwu*, Crawford used it as the name for this cake.

jinqian jiang bing (ginger nuts) – the ginger nuts are an interesting case; *jiang bing* literally means ginger cake. However, Crawford's ginger cake is called *jiang gao*, and it comes after the ginger nuts, in the book. She also added *jinqian* (gold money) to the original name, the full name thus becoming "golden money ginger nuts", explaining the reason for her choice: before baking, the dough needed to be cut into little pieces no bigger than a golden coin; *jinqian* is also phonetically close to the word ginger.

Semantic translations

danyi (lit. egg cloth) – pancake; today *bing* (flat cake), or *jianbing* (fried flat cake).

naipi (lit. milk skin) – used for any type of cream based on milk and eggs, together with *naiyou*, which was also used for double cream or butter; *naipi gao* was used for Boston cream cake; today only *naiyou* remains in use.

tangpi (lit. sugar skin) – cake sugar frosting, today *tangyi* (sugar coat).

xiongjiu (lit. fierce alcohol) – spirits, strong liquors used in cakes; today *liejiu* (intense alcohol), included in Medhurst as "*chong ao li jiu* (strong alcohol twice brewed)" and "*nongjiu* (strong liquor)", the last one also existing in Williams.

fangua (edible gourd), *fanggua* (square gourd) – both regional names for pumpkin, today called *nangua* (southern gourd). Medhurst listed other regional names in his dictionary: "*jingua* (golden gourd), *tiangua* (sweet gourd), *wanggua* (king gourd)", Williams translated it as "*donggua* (winter gourd), *fangua* (foreign gourd)".

tian xiaotang (lit. sweet small soup) – today *naiyou jiang* (butter sauce).

pen (lit. basin, pot) – various types of pans, mainly rectangular in shape, with variants: *pai pen* (pie pan), *shenpen* (deep pan), *aopen* (pancake pan). Medhurst included various types of ancient pots and cauldrons, among which there are "*guo* (pot [made of iron])" and "*tong pen* (brass pot)"; Williams gave an archaic term, "*huo* (pot, cauldron)"

yang tie wan (lit. foreign iron bowl) – also a pan, but round, for baking cakes.

ganzhang (lit. run-after cane) – rolling pin, today also called *ganzhang* (flattening cane), written with a different *gan* character; included in Williams as "*mian gun* (flour stick)".

Conclusions

Translators are very much aware that rendering food terminology from one language into another is not only a question of linguistic translation, but it involves a lot of non-linguistic elements such as the translator's and the receptor's social and political backgrounds, their political and religious views, knowledge of the source and target culture, etc. The paradoxical nature of terminology was clearly summed up by Cabré:

> On the one hand, we are faced with specialized vocabularies that allow us to maximally reduce subjectivity and which require a high degree of internationalization. This aspect, which is the unifying side of special languages, aims at attaining precise and efficient communication. But terms, albeit to a lesser degree than words, reflect a certain world view, and express the culture of a people. This latter aspect is the diversifying side of terminology, which respects the cultural identity of communities that import technology developed by others. (Cabré 1999, 23)

When introducing new terms into a language, one needs to pay close attention to the cultural specificity of that language, because, just as Li and Hope emphasize, terminology translation "is also essential to the construction and dissemination of the external discourse system of political, commercial, and cultural entities" (2021, 1). Nowadays, food names are translated into Chinese in such a way that they evoke positive feelings to the consumer and stimulate sales. Li (2021) recalls how the name of Coca Cola was first translated into Chinese as *kedou kenla* (tadpoles bite wax), and then changed into today's *kekou kele* ("tasty" + "feeling good"), much more appealing to the customer; Dove chocolate became *defu* ("virtue" + "hibiscus"), Cheetos became *qiduo* ("marvel" + "many"), and Oreo – *aoliao* ("mysterious" - used twice, + "beneficial"), to give just a few examples.

While there are many scholars writing on the history of translation in China, including the impact translation had upon the Chinese society, at the end of the 19th century, hardly anyone paid attention to Crawford's book, and especially to the choices she made when translating the new terms into the target language. It is important to see if the editor opted for phonetic loans or for semantic ones, because it is not only a matter of linguistics, with many extra-linguistic factors influencing her choices.

Martha Crawford published her book at a time when the relation between the Chinese elites – (the only ones who could have had access to this type of cuisine) –, and the Western world was extremely complicated. One the one hand, after the Opium Wars, the Chinese had to accept that China was technologically far behind the Western nations – a very bitter pill to swallow considering that they had invented the gun powder –, and on the other hand, most of them not yet ready to accept that one of the reasons for falling behind other nations was their own socio-political system, incapable of keeping up with the changing times. The second half of the 19th century was also the moment when a handful of intellectual reformists educated abroad, like Yan Fu, started translating into Chinese texts which they considered fundamental to the developed European nations, such as Rousseau's *Du contract social*, Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, or Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, introducing new political and social concepts and kick-starting a movement which had profound implications upon the Chinese language.

As someone who was fluent in Chinese and who was there for evangelical work, Martha Crawford must have been quite aware of the differences between the two cultures, and this influenced the way she translated the names of the desserts. The "Preface" and "Index" suggest that the book was destined mainly for the use of native cooks working in foreign households, but the following editions prove that it was much more successful than initially anticipated, and was probably used in Chinese restaurants trying to cook Western dishes.

Phonetic loans were employed mainly for particular names or types of desserts not found in the Chinese cuisine; pies, wafers or puddings were absolutely new and it was much easier to translate them phonetically. And even if sometimes one could find in Chinese cuisine a dish resembling any of these desserts, it was probably important not to domesticate the name too much, to reflect their foreign origin. Dining in a foreign restaurant was, after all, an expression of one's social status, people of humble origin did not eat *pai* (pie), or *puding* (pudding), therefore it had to be clear that the dishes consumed were not the usual *mianbao* (bread) or *zhou* (porridge), even is bread and porridge

resembled pies and puddings. Today, phonetic calques are still used for many of these desserts, albeit the characters are different.

On the other hand, there are few ingredients or utensils translated as phonetic loans, but the author tried to find equivalents in Chinese. Eating a *pai* and making one are two different things, and the cooks had to be able to find all the ingredients, to understand how to use them, not to become alienated by having to use something of which they had no idea. This can also be seen in Crawford's attempts to identify ingredients used in similar ways in the Chinese cuisine, when possible, for example mentioning that arrowroot (*aluoluo*) was very much alike *oufen* (lotus-root powder).

Semantic loans or hybrid phonetic-semantic loans made much more sense to the Chinese reader. Whenever she could find an equivalent in Chinese, based mainly on the aspect of the dessert, for example pancake – *danyi* (egg cloth), sugar coating – *tangpi* (sugar skin), flannel cake – *rongbing* (velvet cake), etc., or its color – *jin gao* (golden cake), *hei gao* (black cake), etc., Crawford used it. This is also consistent with the way the Chinese name their own dishes, generally by describing what they contain or how are they made, (*hui guo rou* – twice cooked pork; *suan cai yu* – fish with pickled mustard), their origin (*Chogqing lazi ji* – Chongqing style spicy chicken), or by giving them rather poetic names (*zui ji* – drunken chicken; *Fo tiao qiang* – Buddha jumps over the wall), etc. The hybrid loans also make the new terms more transparent by adding either the main ingredient, or the method of cooking.

The fact that there sometimes existed more than one term for the same referent shows how uncharted the territory was. Many terms did not exist in the bilingual dictionaries circulating at that time, and even for those included, their Chinese equivalents did not always reflect the reality, and this makes Crawford attempts to introduce a whole new vocabulary even more remarkable. Translating food names is not a simple choice, and definitely not only a linguistic one, but a complex process involving many extra-linguistic factors; Crawford's translations reflect her knowledge of Chinese, and also her understanding of the local culture, helping better understand both the contacts between China and the West, and Chinese mentality.

Many of the terms in *Zao yang fan shu* have been replaced either with new loans or with internal creations. However, even after a century and a half since Crawford published her book, the baking vocabulary is far from being settled, and it is in a continuous transformation, as proven by the same referent known in various parts of China by different names.

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