



# **Conceptualisations of Death, Illness, and the Body in Chinese Euphemisms**

A Survey of Sensitive Vocabulary in  
Modern Chinese Lexicography

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### Selbständigkeitserklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich ausdrücklich, dass es sich bei der von mir eingereichten Dissertation mit dem Titel „Conceptualisations of Death, Illness, and the Body in Chinese Euphemisms: A Survey of Sensitive Vocabulary in Modern Chinese Lexicography“ um eine von mir selbst und ohne unerlaubte Beihilfe verfasste Originalarbeit handelt. Ich bestätige, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit unter Zuhilfenahme der angegebenen Literatur erstellt habe.

Berlin, den 04.07.2022

Yaroslav Akimov

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Euphemisms in Chinese as a challenging object of linguistic studies

The increasing body of linguistic research on taboo-related phenomena indicates a significant change in what can constitute a “proper” object of scholarly attention: taboo words and expressions, slurs and insults, verbal aggression, euphemism and dysphemism, and political correctness and hate speech have left the periphery of language science (Jay, 2000; Allan & Burridge, 2006; Christie, 2013; Meibauer 2013; Koo & Rhee 2016; Pizarro Pedraza, 2018b; Crespo-Fernández, 2018; Stollznow 2020; Guillén-Nieto, 2022). Two possible factors that defined a certain underrepresentation of these problems in linguistic studies have been pointed out by A. Pizarro Pedraza (2018b, p. 2): “the extralinguistic difficulty motivated by the social stigmatization of the phenomenon, and the linguistic difficulty based on its inherent complexity.” Whereas the former circumstance has been partially overcome in the academic community, the latter problem remains salient today.

What is meant by “euphemism,” “euphemistic paraphrase,” “genteelism,” “evasive expression,” “mild expression,” “avoidance language,” or “inoffensive language” seems to remain a terminological labyrinth. On the one hand, euphemisms have been positively defined as substitutions of direct, disagreeable, “unpleasant or embarrassing” words “motivated by the desire not to offend” (Stollznow, 2020, p. 8). At the same time, they belong to “the language of evasion, of hypocrisy, of prudery, and of deceit” (Holder, 2003, p. viii). While euphemism is claimed to be “the set of communicative strategies we have evolved to refer to a topic under a taboo” (Ayto, 2007, p. 5), K. Allan and K. Burridge (1991, p. 3) object, arguing that “euphemism and dysphemism are not merely a response to taboo,” but an attempt to avoid a “distasteful expression and/or an infelicitous style of addressing or naming.” The contextualization of research on “vague,” “mild,” “periphrastic” language within various linguistic disciplines has not been unambiguously solved; however, works in the field of (lexical) semantics (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, Allan & Burridge, 2006; Tokar, 2015) and practical lexicography (Richter, 1993; Williams, 2001; Veisbergs, 2002; Cloete 2013) appear to be the most productive, particularly when scholars analyse numerous metaphors and metonymies for death (Horn, 2018; Terry, 2020) or sexual desire (Csábi, 1999).

Euphemisms in the present project are also considered primarily linguistic phenomena: though closely related to social conventions and practices, euphemistic expressions are, in the first instance, lexical and phrasal units. Thus, euphemisms constitute a research object based in lexical semantics, overlapping with studies of connotation and expressive meaning. Euphemistic meanings of expressions in particular utterances hinge on contextual parameters, including the specific features of the communicants, the type of relationship between them, their age, social status, and mood, as well as the time, place, and particular circumstances of communication.

The problem of definition and identification of euphemistic expressions becomes even more intricate when the relatively little-studied material of Chinese sensitive vocabulary falls within the purview of scholars. Despite widespread attempts to translate “euphemism” with the term *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 (NCD, 2006; OCD, 2010), during the initial stage of work on this project, the non-equivalence of these concepts was established. Apart from words substituting direct names for taboo entities related to death, afterlife, funerals and burials, sex and sex organs, disease, bodily functions, misfortunes, war, crime, imprisonment, body weight, appearance, height, inebriation, abortion, unemployment, etc. (Ge, 2011, p. 111; He, 2016, p. 380), scholars of ‘tactful language’ *wěiwǎnyǔyán* 委婉语言 define as “tactful” various terms for marriage, family relationships, pregnancy, character traits, income, and money (Zhang, 1996, pp. 159–232). Moreover, same terms are deployed in cases of humble requests for favours, polite rejections, hedging, unpopular expressions of judgement, etc. (Zhu, 2018, pp. 10-11). This presents the first research problem of the current project: How do Chinese lexical semantics and lexicography treat indirect words that replace their offensive counterparts? Is there a Chinese concept that is analogous or at least close to the “Western” phenomenon of euphemism?

Apart from addressing essential terminological issues, this project on Chinese euphemisms aims to contribute to the universal typology of euphemistic expressions. The common models of euphemism formation thematised in English language scholarship (Warren, 1992) are tested on Mandarin Chinese data and revised accordingly. Since Chinese is widely divergent from the languages traditionally involved in the studies of sensitive vocabulary in terms of its typological characteristics and varied socio-cultural contexts, the inclusion of linguistic evidence of Mandarin Chinese in the general discussion of euphemisms can enhance our understanding of universal



patterns of euphemisation, modify existing systematics, and possibly detect certain ways in which euphemisms can be formed through specific or even unique patterns. Thus, the second problem area covered in this project concerns the principles of euphemistic formation in Modern Chinese: To what extent do Chinese mechanisms of euphemisation resemble or, on the contrary, diverge from already known processes in well-studied languages like English? Are there fundamentally exclusive, specific, unique models for the formation of euphemisms in the Chinese language?

In order to collect and assess this sort of data, the annotated database was compiled through the qualitative analysis of existing Chinese monolingual lexicographic entries that include miscellaneous data: along with common and widespread vocabulary, one may come across multiple archaic terms of various historical periods and regions, expressions coined and used predominantly by a certain writer, hapax legomena, etc. For this project, priority in the selection of data is given to conventionalised expressions that were or are used by a large number of speakers in both formal and informal communicative situations. The notion of conventionality in the current project is understood as a degree of “how well-worn or how deeply entrenched” a euphemism is in the usage of the majority of a given linguistic community (Kövecses, 2010, p. 33). Therefore, well-established, well-entrenched, or even clichéd euphemisms are considered conventional, as opposed to unconventional euphemisms creatively coined by a certain author in a certain text. The latter are perceived by speakers as unusual or novel expressions characteristic of someone’s individual style or a specific occasion. Finally, since the “panchronic” understanding of semantic shifts is widespread among scholars (Juvonen & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2016, p. 1), both obsolete and relatively new conventional euphemisms are included in the general discussion of how Chinese euphemisms are built and how exactly they conceptualise the taboo realities.

## **1.2 Cognitivist approach**

Since the most productive mechanisms of euphemism formation are semantic, the central question of cognitive semantics—namely, which patterns and processes are involved in the organisation of the conceptual content (cf. Talmy, 2011, p. 622)—is particularly relevant for this project. Euphemistic expressions in this research project are analysed according to a cognitive framework, adopted because “an analysis of semantic content in cognitive terms more adequately describes how language users process language” and cognitive linguistics “works on both a semantic and

referential level of language description, accepts differences in structural weight and fuzziness, and puts an emphasis on multidimensional, clustered semantic structures” (Ostermann, 2015, p. 48). Its basic tenets are summarised in Croft and Cruse (2004, pp. 1–4), Geeraerts (2006, pp. 1–28), and Lemmens (2016, pp. 90–103).

It is assumed that language (along with memory, perception, attention, or categorisation) is governed by general cognitive principles. The cognitive abilities related to speaking and understanding languages are not significantly different from those applied to other cognitive tasks like visual perception, reasoning, motor activity, etc.

The modular view of language, with its dichotomy between a non-computable idiosyncratic “dictionary” and a computable regulated grammar, is not accepted, since all structures (including grammatical patterns) are inherently meaningful, albeit with different degrees of schematicity and internal complexity.

Cognitive linguistics defines meaning as perceptual experience, both physical/bodily and societal/cultural. This experiential view understands meaning—particularly linguistic meaning—as:

- **Perspectival:** cognition and language construe the world in a certain way, which determines the way we look and speak about the world;
- **Dynamic and flexible:** new experiences and circumstances modify linguistic structures;
- **Usage-based:** actual linguistic sequences do not exist in abstraction and knowledge of language emerges from real-time language use.

Any knowledge, including linguistic knowledge of any level, necessarily has some version of conceptual structure: as one of the leading semanticists Alan Cruse puts it, “the meaning of a linguistic expression is taken to arise from the fact that the latter gives access to a particular conceptual content” (2011, p. 18). Concepts, as mental entities schematising our experience through categorisation, are not fixed. Rather, they have to be characterised against multiple domains—our background assumptions. Taylor (1999, p. 39) demonstrates this dynamic conceptualisation in the utterances “read a book”, “print a book”, and “drop a book”, where the concept BOOK is construed differently in terms of the different background domains INFORMATION,

WRITTEN TEXT, and OBJECT, respectively. It should be noted that concepts are not restricted to entities expressed by nouns. On the contrary, verbs, adjectives, and function words (i.e. prepositions) all have conceptual structure (Jackendoff, 1990), even grammatical endings inflect how our experiences are communicated in specific ways (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 3).

Due to the fact that a significant number of Chinese euphemisms are of a metaphorical nature, the conceptual theory of metaphor occupies a major place in the present research. The theory was established in the philosophical and linguistic tradition of George Lakoff (1987, 1993) and his co-authors Mark Johnson (1980) and Mark Turner (1989). Zoltan Kövecses, one of the prominent metaphor scholars, interprets a conceptual metaphor as a case in which “one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another conceptual domain” (2010, p. 7, 324). The domain that we are trying to understand is termed the “target domain”, which is usually more abstract, complex, and subjective (LIFE, LOVE, THEORY). The domain that is used to understand the target domain is called the “source domain”, which is typically more concrete and easier to relate to our daily experiences (PLANT, BUILDING, JOURNEY). Languages manifest conceptual metaphors in the form of metaphorical words and expressions: in utterances like “he’s holding all the aces”, “the odds are against me”, and “you are a loser”, we can easily recognise the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME. There must be a number of systematic correspondences between these two domains, and linguistic expressions must follow these correspondences: player in GAME → person in LIFE; competition in GAME → struggle in LIFE; winning and losing in GAME → having more and having less in LIFE; cheating in GAME → dubious strategy to gain something in LIFE; factor of luck in GAME → an allegedly benevolent coincidence of events in LIFE, etc. Some conceptual metaphors are considered near-universal or at least highly prevalent across languages (cf. the extremely widespread metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY) while others appear to be culture-specific, determined by certain socio-cultural aspects found in the linguistic community (cf. the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS BLUE COLOUR, which is unknown to Chinese speakers, does not find a linguistic expression in Mandarin Chinese).

In order to identify conceptual metaphors in discourse, one might need a systematic procedure for detecting them in words and expressions. The metaphorical identification procedure (MIP), centred on differentiation of the so-called “basic” meanings of linguistic expressions (concreteness, relatedness to bodily action, precision, and sustainability), was offered by a group of researchers

of the Pragglejaz Group (2007, p. 3).<sup>1</sup> The more recent and substantially elaborated version of MIP, known as MIPVU, was introduced by a team of linguists from *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam (Steen et al., 2010).<sup>2</sup> Metaphor is understood as indirectness by similarity or comparison at the level of the conceptual structure of discourse. Although founders of MIPVU in their major works dealt primarily with samples in English, this tool is being currently applied to Mandarin Chinese, and not without difficulties (Lu & Wang, 2017; Wang et al., 2019).<sup>3</sup>

The way the analytical toolkit of cognitive linguistics (categories, domains, frames, mental spaces, mapping, schemata, meaning change, construal, etc.) can be applied to a broader scope of studies (related not only to metaphor but also to metonymy, simile, and blending) was summarised in Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser's recent textbook on figurative language (2014). Based primarily in cognitive linguistic models, they managed to elucidate the ways in which the elements of conceptual domains are manipulated, how concepts are reconstrued, and how speakers express new meanings and establish new conventions. Since euphemisation can be interpreted as a particular case of linguistic creativity, this approach serves as a productive research paradigm for this project.

The treatment of euphemisation and dysphemisation as processes of conceptualisation has already been undertaken, cf. the observations of Casas Gómez (2009, p. 738) on how conceptualisations of euphemisms and dysphemisms are manifested in speech through various language mechanisms: while euphemisms “attenuate... a certain forbidden concept or reality”, dysphemisms “reinforce” them. A successful example of viewing euphemistic and taboo-related phenomena through a cognitive framework is the collection of papers edited by Andrea Pizarro Pedraza (2018b), which offers an overview of the terminological “labyrinth” in present linguistic taboo studies, an analysis

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<sup>1</sup> MIP is a tool which is aimed to find a more basic (i.e., more concrete, precise, closely related to the world of physical entities and bodily action) sense which is contrasted with the contextual meaning of an expression used metaphorically in the natural discourse. It does not determine the exact conceptual domains involved, which “constitutes a research question of its own.” (Steen et al., 2010, p. 8)

<sup>2</sup> The system of labeling direct and implicit metaphors, metaphor-related words (MRW), metaphor flags (MFlag) was first proposed in MIPVU. Unlike MIP, MIPVU includes direct metaphorical expressions in the analysis apart from indirect “classic” metaphors (e.g. simile ‘like’). It has also narrowed the scope of analysis: only metaphors manifested in lexical items are scrutinized, and metaphors in morphology, syntax etc. are put aside. (Steen et al., 2010, pp. 21-22)

<sup>3</sup> A major challenge is the question of “word” and its boundaries in Chinese language with no explicit word delimiters: “due to less clear-cut word boundaries and more fluid word classes in Chinese, there are inevitable discrepancies among word segmentation tools in their tokenisation strategies and part-of-speech categories, which may systematically lead to different annotation results.” (Wang et al., 2019, p. 263)

of metaphor- and metonymy-based euphemisms in different cultures and discourses, a conceptualisation of various taboo subjects, and interdisciplinary insights into taboo violations by people with mental disorders.

### **1.3 Monolingual dictionaries as primary source of conventional metaphor and metonymy research**

Chinese metaphors in natural discourse came recently to the attention of scholars doing research within the framework of corpus linguistics, cf. corpus-assisted study of various metaphors in academic discourse, fiction, and news based on the MIPVU protocol by Lu and Wang (2017); study of 5605 manually annotated Chinese sentences containing metaphors for human emotions by Zhang et al. (2018); CCL (therefore, of mixed registers) corpus-based study of metaphors for LIFE by Luo (2018).

In this project, dictionary data is used as the primary language data for linguistic analysis.<sup>4</sup> The present project on conventional Chinese euphemisms is carried out not only descriptively, by elaborating an exhaustive index of sensitive Chinese vocabulary illustrating various mechanisms of euphemistic formation based on an analysis of existing Chinese lexicographic entries in both print and digital forms, but also analytically, by assigning each entry to a particular domain of sensitive vocabulary, ascertaining its semantic motivation, and identifying special features of its use that were not considered in the paper-based and online dictionaries: restrictions on usage, scope and conditions of use, connotation, etc.

Following Swanepoel's (2017) analysis of the lexicographic sub-disciplines, in this project, lexicography is understood as the unity of dictionary design and research with a particular focus on the latter. Among the multifaceted research undertaken on dictionaries, the field of dictionary criticism or dictionary reviewing is especially relevant here. Svensén (2009, quoted in Swanepoel 2017, p. 23) offers general guidelines for the dictionary-review process that were adopted for the review of the monolingual Chinese lexicographic works dedicated to tactful expressions:

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Gouw's (2016, p. 102) remark on dictionaries that "have been and still are typically regarded as sources for the retrieval of especially linguistic data". Both MIP and MIPVU resort to contemporary user dictionaries in order to differentiate the contextual and basic senses of lexical items.

- Acquaint yourself with the dictionary by reading the preface and the users' guide;
- "Find your bearings" by browsing the dictionary, reading entries of different kinds, and finally browse the back matter to see what it has to offer;
- Analyse the outer and inner selection of the dictionary content and relate it to the function(s) and target group(s) of the dictionary;
- Randomly select a comprehensive and representative number of entries: select entries representing different types as regards size, content and structure; make spot checks crosswise and examine the overall treatment given to data types;
- Pay attention to the structure of the dictionary (micro-structure and macro-structure, access structure and the form and function of cross-references);
- If available, compare the design of dictionaries of the same kind on the market with the design of the dictionary under review.

Nielsen (2009, p. 40) provides a comprehensive list of dictionary features that usually become the subject of dictionary reviews. The following aspects of dictionary content and structure were selected for the analysis within this project on Chinese euphemisms: lemma presentation, search options, article structure, data types, prescriptive/descriptive/proscriptive language usage guidance, equivalents, cultural information, diasystematic labelling, etymology, example sentences, collocations and phrases, idioms, and cross-references. It is important to note that this project is not a metalexicographical, but a lexicological study: the entries of monolingual Chinese dictionaries are used as language data for searching and categorising Chinese ways of conceptualising death, illness, and corporeality by means of euphemisms.

The database sought to address the following main issues associated with the collected data:

- **Diatopic markedness:** an item  $x$  is a member of common Mandarin Chinese vocabulary embodied in common dictionaries OR an item  $x$  is a dialectal/regional expression coined by a certain author, cf. Taiwanese 'fry rice' *chǎofàn* 炒饭 (BS-0898) for having sex, which is not common in mainland China; and the unique expression in Lao She's prose 'cow in one's nose' *bíniú* 鼻牛 (BE-1438) for boogers, which also might have a dialectal origin);
- **Diachronic markedness:** an item  $x$  is, at the moment of observation, an obsolete expression OR an item  $x$  is a frequently used expression, cf. the archaic euphemism 'white

matter’ *báiwù* 白物 for silver/money or the Internet slang ‘MM’ (BP-1350) – an abbreviation of ‘younger sister’ *mèimei* 妹妹 written in Latin script – for female prostitutes;

- **Diastratic markedness:** an item *x* belongs to the language of a certain social group, used by speakers of particular age, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, profession, etc., cf. ‘Eastern Palaces [and Western Palaces]’ *dōnggōng[xīgōng]* 东宫[西宫] meaning gay scene, used in queer slang by male homosexuals in Beijing;
- **Diaphasic markedness:** an item *x* belongs to a certain register, either formal or informal, cf. ‘your precious body lacks peace’ *guìtǐ qiànr’ān* 贵体欠安 (ID-0853) meaning “you are sick” and ‘relieve oneself’ *qù fāngbiàn yīxià* 去方便一下 (BE-1452) meaning urinate or defecate.<sup>5</sup>

The content of the database is based on both the material taken from specialised dictionaries of Chinese ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 (Zhang, 1996; Hong, 2010; Zhu, 2018) and the material of contemporary Chinese dictionaries of common vocabulary units (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; GF, 2014; XHC, 2016), which are usually marked with specific lexicographic labels, including ‘tactful’ *wěiwǎn* 委婉 and ‘indirect’ *wǎnzhuǎn* 婉转. Each entry was transcribed into alphabet romanisation pinyin, translated literally (based on the meaning of the morphemes of a euphemistic word or based on the meaning of the words of a euphemistic expression) and interpretatively, assigned to a particular target domain (DEATH, DISEASE, or BODY) and sub-domain (e.g. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS, BODY: MENSTRUATION, etc.), and supplied with an example in the context of a full sentence or a dialogue, occasionally supplemented by a remark on its specific features of usage taken from the Chinese lexicographic works, including “obsolete” (if all found examples of word usage date before 1911), “regional”, “formal”, “normally used in reference to”, etc.

As mentioned, the current project is particularly aimed to analyse the conventional euphemisms found in monolingual Chinese dictionaries of common lexis. Unconventional, individual, novel euphemisms created in a certain text by a certain author are in most cases not included in the database, since they go beyond the scope of this study. For instance, the classic erotic novel of the

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<sup>5</sup> The four-dimensional variationist model adopted here was originally proposed in Coseriu (1981).

late Ming dynasty *Jinpingmei*, or *The Plum in the Golden Vase* [Cihua Edition] 《金瓶梅词话》 by Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng 兰陵笑笑生 (c. 1610 AD) is replete with euphemisms for sexual desire and sexual contacts. It can hardly be established whether “the Scoffing Scholar of Lanling” used common euphemisms known to most native speakers of his time or invented his own genteelisms. However, only several (nowadays obsolete) euphemistic expressions entered the major common Chinese dictionaries, cf. ‘do night job’ *zuò yè zuò* 做夜作 (BS-1064) in HDC (2010). Therefore, specific euphemisms in Chinese fiction, including *Jinpingmei*, require a separate study.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1.4 Structure of the research project

Chapter 2 problematises the definition of euphemism and provides a possible working solution that this project adopts: providing a thumbnail sketch of the possible disciplinary contexts in which euphemistic expressions and related expressive phenomena were studied.

Chapter 3 offers a comprehensive general classification of different means of euphemism formation found in languages.

Chapter 4 provides an extensive overview of Chinese literature on the so-called ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语.

Chapter 5 presents the collected data and a detailed account of the various domains in which Chinese euphemisms are particularly frequent. Sub-sections itemise sensitive Chinese vocabulary pertinent to the domains of DEATH, ILLNESS, and BODY/SEXUALITY found in lexicographic sources in order to discover the most common metaphorical and metonymical conceptualisations of taboo entities.

Chapter 6 introduces a revised classification of euphemisation mechanisms based on the Chinese data.

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<sup>6</sup> There are several contemporary “*Jin*-ological” dictionaries dedicated specifically to the words and expressions found in *Jinpingmei*, including annotated glossaries by Wang (1988) and Shi (1989).



Chapter 7 concludes the project with reference to open issues related to euphemistic expressions in Mandarin Chinese.

The system of in-text references to the entries in the database is discussed on p. 115.

Examples in European languages written in Latin letters, as well as Latin transliterations of Chinese and Japanese words, are shown in italics without quotation marks. Italics are also used (with no quotation marks) to denote book titles and names of particular texts, including poems, treatises, dictionaries etc.

The English translations of Chinese words and expressions are always accompanied by single quotes.

Double quotes are used to format quotations, including translations from Chinese authors. Double quotes are also used to refer to specific words and phrases intended to be taken as objects themselves rather than read in terms of their meaning.

Pinyin is indicated only for words and expressions that are the subject of analysis of this work, as well as for key terms used by Chinese linguists and lexicographers. Quotes from Chinese dictionaries and Chinese texts are in the original and, if necessary, translated into English, but never supplied with pinyin.

## 2. Euphemism: Definitions

### 2.1 Definition of euphemism in general works on language and society

In general discussions of language and its influence on social interactions and conventions, there is a prevailing view of euphemisms as instances of a linguistic strategy aimed at making unpleasant, disgusting, or shocking messages sound less embarrassing or scandalous. Once a euphemism is employed, one can refer to a controversial topic in a form that is both polite and appropriate for communicants.

In comprehensive introductions to the study of language and its functions, a euphemism is primarily understood as a speech tool geared towards averting conflict. Broad definitions of euphemisms refer to replacements, substitutions, mitigations, and paraphrasing—euphemisms are therefore considered “instead”-words. Above all, general literature on introductions to various linguistic problems and contributors to linguistic manuals, encyclopaedias, and compendiums focus on the socio-cultural influence of euphemisms and their function in speech behaviour.

#### 2.1.1 Functions of euphemisms, or what euphemisms *do*

(1) Euphemisms neutralise conflict and avoid offence;

English language scholars Kristin Denham and Anne Lobeck (2013, pp. 303-304) see euphemisms as linguistic mechanisms that “avoid offending by directly addressing taboo subjects” and “deliberately obscure actual (usually unpleasant) meanings”. The verb *vomit* for ejecting stomach contents through the mouth can be qualified as unpleasant and too direct; a possible substitution in British English is the vague and indirect *be sick*, as well as *feel sick* and *get sick*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The question of who exactly “qualifies” something as “inappropriate” and under which exact circumstances is debatable and important in the discussion of euphemisms and, broadly, politeness in language. This has been articulated in a very concise manner by Keith Allan (2013, p. 24): “(Im)politeness is never a depersonalized, decontextualized absolute but always a perception or judgment of appropriate behaviour on a given occasion—what one expects oneself and others to do in a particular social interaction.” Judgments of appropriateness and politeness within anglophone communities have been proposed on the basis of the so-called “middle class politeness criterion” (MCPC) by Allan and Burridge (1991, 2006), which will be elaborated on later in the course of this chapter.

Richard Spears, author of the major dictionary of English slang and colloquialisms, points out that collected euphemistic terms, which he interprets as “relatively mild or vague” phrases substituting for “harsh or specific word[s] or phrase[s]”, “came into use so that people could avoid writing or saying prohibited terms for unpleasant subjects” (1981, pp. vii, xxvi). This is the most common function of euphemisms mentioned in general linguistic and socio-linguistic literature.

According to the discourse analyst and socio-linguist Kerry Linfoot-Ham, euphemisms “allow discussion of ‘touchy’ or taboo subjects ... without enraging, outraging, or upsetting other people”, such that euphemisms “act as a pressure valve whilst maintaining the appearance of civility” (2005, p. 228). The same task of “avoid[ing] possible loss of face” is attributed to euphemisms by Australian socio-linguists Keith Allan and Kate Burridge (1991, pp. 11, 225-226) in their linguistic and social-psychological exploration of euphemisms as a universal human practice: “Euphemism creates harmony and strengthens the social fabric by avoiding those things which threaten to cause offence and distress.”

(2) Euphemisms cover, completely or partially, any unpleasant content in order to comply with the requirements of the public order and societal norms;

Apart from conflict avoidance, there is another, closely related perspective on euphemistic expressions as a certain kind of a “deodorizing spray” applied to an utterance (Allan & Burridge 1991, p. 25). According to Tom McArthur, lexicographer and editor of *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, euphemisms “replace or cover a term that seems to be either taboo, too harsh or simply inappropriate for a given conversational exchange” (1992, p. 387).

The same view can be found in the collection of academic essays *Fair of Speech* (1986), edited by novelist and language critic Dennis Joseph Enright, in which primarily American and British scholars of different backgrounds assess how euphemisms pervade and transform all aspects of human life: euphemisms “sweeten the unpalatable” and “round the hard edges” (Lewis, 1986, p. 105); they “muffle reality in fine words” (Adams, 1986, p. 45). Languages without euphemisms would be “a defective instrument of communication” (Burchfield, 1986, p. 29). The speaker is

hardly able to “bear very much reality [without euphemisms]” or “survive on a diet of raw truths...” (Lewis, 1986, p. 93).

Euphemisms are contrasted with obscenities by cognition scientists Jeffrey Bowers and Christopher Pleydell-Pearce: the intention of obscenities is “to evoke a response in the listener, whereas euphemisms are spoken with the intention to communicate the same idea while minimising the emotional response” (2011, p. 6).

A similar contrast can be found between euphemisms and slang expressions: the former are mild and aimed to keep a civil, proper, and respectable tone of communication, making sensitive topics more presentable for formal occasions; the latter are harsh and “not considered suitable for formal or serious matters”, “symboliz[ing] a lack of allegiance to social conventions” (Spears, 1981, p. viii).

(3) Euphemisms can be used in the pursuit of appropriateness and approval by other communicants to elevate the status of the speaker or writer and project a positive image among listeners or readers;

Euphemisms are deployed when language users care about the image they project to others, when they try to raise their own status in their eyes. American linguist Mario Pei (1969, pp. 208–214) discovers this subjective function of euphemistic expressions in his observations on American English in the context of other forms of “double-speak” found in the language of politicians, various political parties (i.e. “Common Communes”) and political groups (i.e. “Pentagonese”), economists, lawyers, scientists, scholars, educationists, journalists, etc. Pei calls this effect “a desire to be thought better, more refined, more cultured, more sensitive, more polite than you really are” (1969, p. 209), which explains the cases when ‘intoxicated’ is preferred over ‘drunk’ or when a woman is labelled ‘expecting’ instead of ‘pregnant’.

(4) Euphemisms can be used to underhandedly manipulate in order to gain advantage from obscuring or relativising a given matter;

Although a referent denoted by any euphemism remains unchanged despite all attempts of euphemistic concealment (cf. the term “verbal placebo” in Adams 1986, p. 50), euphemistic expressions can exert a substantial impact on the attitudes of communicants towards the referent.

This impact can have negative consequences and correspond to deceptive or manipulative motivations when some unpleasant aspects of reality are camouflaged.

The misleading role of euphemisms is widely discussed in general literature on euphemisms and their impact on society: according to German philosopher Armin Burkhardt (2010, p. 355), euphemism can become “one of the favorite means of ... diverting people’s mind by linguistic expression”.

This negative aspect of euphemism use can be found in George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: “‘*Newspeak*’ is the official language heavily reliant on euphemism which the novel’s totalitarian regime wishes to implement in order to prevent seditious thought” (Cuddon, 2013, p. 257). To illustrate this provision in non-literary contexts, Russian linguist and lexicographer Leonid Krysin (1994) gives an overview of euphemisms present in the lingo of Soviet bureaucracy and state security authorities that concealed its repressive nature: ‘liquidate’ *ликвидировать* or ‘make harmless’ *обезвредить* were used instead of *destroy* or *kill*; ‘well-wisher’ *доброжелатель* instead of *informant* or *source* (cf. pejorative *snitch*); and ‘competent authorities’ *компетентные органы* instead of *KGB*.

When the negative side of reality is disguised by means of euphemisms, the latter are labelled ‘non-words’ *Unwörter* by German linguist H. D. Schlosser (2000) for their obscurity that is misleading, dehumanising, or discriminative, i.e., a biased “ethnic cleansing” instead of a direct “elimination” or “mass murder of unwanted ethnic [or religious] groups”.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, P. A. D’Alessandro (1996), in his review of R. W. Holder’s (1995; 2003) *Dictionary of Euphemisms*, associates euphemistic expressions with “evasion”, “prudery”, and “deceit”. As stylistics scholar Katie Wales states, euphemisms are notorious for promoting “a false ‘rose-coloured’ world-view” (1990, p. 159). When euphemisms seek to “positivize” gruesome or unjust realities, they “are even more mendacious, because they add a positive valuation to a deplorable fact” (Burkhardt, 2010, p. 270). German socio-linguist Elisabeth Leinfellner treats euphemisms as

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<sup>8</sup> Politically motivated euphemisms (i. e. ‘peacekeeper’ for ‘missile’) were defined as a distinctive group and referred as “**euglots**” by A. Burgess in 1985 (cited by Wales, 1990, p. 159).

partial lies (1971, p. 42), British essayist Jeremy Lewis (1986) as an example of hypocrisy manifested in speech:

... they dilute and constrict the language, substitute imprecision for the exactitude and the generalized for the particular, doing the old words and phrases out of a job, and a synthetic and odour-free haze of banality and mediocrity. (pp. 92-93)

Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to find a strong criterion to differentiate between “moral” (associated with politeness, tactfulness, appropriateness) and “immoral” (used as a deliberate manipulation) euphemisms. It is debatable whether the expression *full-figured*, denoting fat (example from Burkhardt 2010, p. 357), represents compassion and concern for the feelings of a corpulent person or reflects a manipulative commercial strategy.

### **2.1.2 Nature of euphemisms, or what euphemisms are**

Keith Allan and Kate Burridge (2005, p. 57; 2006, pp. 29–34) distinguish three interrelated notions in their discussion of sensitive vocabulary: euphemisms (“sweet-talking”), dysphemisms (“speaking offensively”),<sup>9</sup> and orthophemisms (“straight-talking”, neutral terms without positive or negative connotations). Dysphemisms are also termed “offensive” expressions, juxtaposed with euphemisms and orthophemisms, which are “inoffensive” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 237).

Euphemisms are defined in the terms “avoidance language”, “evasive expression”, “expression[s] that seek to avoid being offensive”, and “alternative[s] to a dispreferred expression in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one’s own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 3-4, 11). The so-called “dispreferred” expression in this definition may be “taboo, fearsome, distasteful, or for some other reason have too many negative connotations to felicitously execute Speaker’s communicative intention on a given occasion” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 14). Apart from responding to taboos related to bodily fluids, body parts, sexual activity, death, disease, dangerous animals, atrocities and misfortunes,

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<sup>9</sup> McArthur (1992, p. 328) elaborates further on this and sets boundaries between dysphemisms (“the use of a negative or disparaging expression to describe someone or something”) and cacophemisms (obviously offensive and rude expressions).

and naming and addressing people, euphemisms can also substitute distasteful expressions as “an infelicitous style of addressing or naming” (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 3).

Euphemisms have a sort of “shelf life”: by the analysis of utterances qualified as euphemistic, it makes sense to determine the time frames of their presence in language since many of them have passed their “expiration date” and “lost their gloss” and “their power to disguise” (Ayto, 2007, pp. 201, 229), especially those frequently used. Once a GDR neologism, the German term ‘closing time house’ *Feierabendheim* instead of ‘home for the elderly’ *Altersheim* became obsolete in unified Germany and was replaced by another euphemism ‘home for seniors’ *Seniorenheim* (Fleischer et al., 1996, p. 138). When euphemisms lose their capacity to mildly allude to topics rather than articulate them, they “impede communication, cause confusion” (Hughes, 2006, pp. 152-153) and are replaced by new expressions. As Allan and Burrige (1991, p. 22) express, “the once euphemistic ‘toilet’ (from French *toile* “cloth”) in *going to the toilet* is being, or has already been, superseded by *bathroom* or *restroom* in American and *loo* in spoken British and Australian. Perhaps we should say that *toilet* is ‘fading’ as euphemism and may well disappear, as has *necessary house*.” Euphemisms “inevitably, sooner or later, end up being associated with the features of the referents they were originally designed to hide” (Halmari, 2011, p. 839); thus, nowadays, some “ex-euphemisms” are used dysphemistically as insults and slurs, cf. the once euphemistic ‘retarded’.

As the editor of *Dictionary of Euphemisms* Bob Holder (2003, p. ix) rightly observes, some topics have withstood the test of time. Alcoholism and disease, death and murder, and various physiological processes may still cause embarrassment when mentioned directly in public, while most of us are no longer hypersensitive to prostitution, underwear, extramarital sexual intercourse, and illegitimate children. Changes in social attitudes, values, and worldviews determine how frequently euphemisms occur. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the English-speaking world, the expression ‘criminal operation’ was used for abortion and ‘criminal conversation’ for extramarital sexual relations (examples from Pannick, 1986, pp. 144-145): both euphemisms reflect former moral views, and their declining usage testifies major subsequent value-related changes. The plethora of euphemisms for fat in contemporary English was “unheard of in the days when it was more socially acceptable or even desirable to be fat” (Ayto, 2007, p. 12).

Regarding the origins of euphemisms, it has become commonplace for euphemistic expressions and expletives to be deeply embedded in religious beliefs. Anthropologist and linguist Sandra Stahl considers “pious contexts” as their source of origin (1977, p. 54), communal certainty about both the auspiciousness or malevolence of certain words and the mystic powers that dwell in speech and names defined taboo vocabulary and its paraphrases (Casas Gómez, 2009, p. 734). This is still recognisable in contemporary languages with “taboos on names of dangerous animals and naming taboos observed by people undertaking hazardous pursuits such as mining, hunting, and fishing” (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 51). The avoidance of blasphemy, profanity, and obscenity, together with the pursuit of reverence and appropriateness, were later determined not only by religious motifs but also by certain social and cultural norms, stereotypes, views, roles, and values, cf. Linfoot-Ham’s (2005, pp. 227, 230) “societal mores”, “pressures”, and “conventions”.

Another motivation for euphemistic formation is fear (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 31), as well as shame and disgust—so-called “moral emotions”, a term adopted by psychologists Jonathan Haidt (2003) and David Pizarro (2007)—which are conditioned not only physiologically, but also socially.

Dysphemisms are expressions “with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both” (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 26). In the cases of deliberate insults, taboo words, in utterances showing condemnation, disapproval, and derision, usage is dysphemic, cf. the term ‘whore’ in comparison to ‘prostitute’ or ‘sex worker’. Similar to euphemisms, dysphemisms interact with the context and register of speech, such that ‘I’m off to have a piss’ might be considered dysphemistic (in comparison to ‘excuse me for a moment’) if uttered at a formal occasion, e.g., a dinner party (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 29).

Though swear words might have different, non-dysphemistic motivations (e.g., the use of expletives ‘fuck!’ and ‘shit!’ as “autocathartic ‘letting off steam’”, see Allan 2018, p. v), in general, everything that causes offence, including verbal aggression and derogatory nicknames, is dysphemistic—and everything that is directly called by its name is orthophemistic.

According to Allan and Burrige (1991), the context of utterance is of the utmost importance in defining the meanings of euphemistic and dysphemistic expressions:



Euphemism and dysphemism are principally determined by the choice of expression within a given context: both world spoken **of**, and the world spoken **in**. We cannot properly judge something as euphemistic or dysphemistic without this information... Normally, the choice between alternatives depends entirely on context. (pp. 4, 20)

The “default” context of use is defined by the so-called “middle class politeness criterion” proposed by Allan and Burridge (1991) and adopted in the present project:

In order to be polite to a casual acquaintance of the opposite sex in a formal situation in a middle class environment, one would normally be expected to use the euphemism rather than its dispreferred counterpart(s). A dispreferred counterpart would be a dysphemism. Note that we have to judge what is probably preferred in such a context and what is probably dispreferred. (pp. 21, 31)

Allan (2013) adds “among adults” to “the set of the most probable conditions for politeness”, in addition to “casual acquaintance of the opposite sex”, “a formal situation” and “in a middle class environment”:

I should add that the ‘adults’ referred to have the characteristics ascribed to the apocryphal *man on the Clapham omnibus* or *the man who takes the magazines at home and in the evening pushes the lawn mower in his shirt sleeves* or *the man in the street*—all of which were intended to refer to very ordinary persons of either sex. By definition, formal situations require participants to hold social roles that are often institutionally defined, usually by convention but occasionally by explicit regulation, which typically prescribe a readily perceptible social distance among participants. Informal situations encourage camaraderie and a colloquial style that is tolerant of less overt politeness. (pp. 31-32)

Based on this criterion, lexicographers use connotative (pragmatic) labels in regards to certain words and expressions that are “intrinsically (im)polite”, e.g. labelling the English word *shit* in various dictionaries as “coarse”, “obscene”, “insulting”, “vulgar”, “profane”, “taboo”, and “an impolite or offensive word” (Allan, 2013, p. 28).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Since the practice of lexicographic labelling is based on the intuition of dictionary compilers, decisions of lexicographers might be contestable: “Many hundreds of terms are now labeled as *disparaging*, *contemptuous* or *offensive* in dictionaries, often on the strength of dubious evidence but out of fear that they will be taken to be insensitive to some group. *The Encarta World English Dictionary* (EWED) has carried this trend to an extreme... It considers the word *madness* offensive, and one can’t call someone *a nut* or *nutty* or a *nutcase* in its book without being offensive... EWED makes no distinction between words used humorously or affectionately and words used to insult. So among the words it labels *offensive* are *jerk*, *slob*, *schnook*, *klutz*, *loony*, and *crazy*. It views language as a fortified castle of virtue, and every battlement is equipped with a cannon loaded with warnings” (Lindau, 2001, p. 234, cited from Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 35).

Of particular interest to scholars are the diffuse phenomena of euphemistic dysphemisms and dysphemistic euphemisms (Allan & Burrige, 1991, pp. 30-31): the former notion is often applied to cases of modified obscenities (e.g. *shoot* or *sugar* instead of *shit*, when the expression takes a euphemistic form but still functions dysphemistically as swearing), while the latter concept describes expressions that are functionally euphemistic (i.e. hiding something unpleasant or indecent) but not formally euphonious, cf. *the flag is up* meaning menstruating (also *fly the red flag* in Holder, 2003, p. 144).

This diffusion can be extreme: one and the same expression can be perceived as either euphemistic or dysphemistic solely based on social context (Pfaff et al., 1997, p. 60). *We had a nice roll in the hay* meaning “we had sex” can be viewed as either a euphemism or a vulgarity depending on the communicants (their social status, generation, relationship, etc.). Ayto (2007) illustrates this point with a death-related euphemism/dysphemism:

... if someone were to say jokingly to a friend, ‘Don’t worry, I’m not about to kick the bucket yet’, it would be quite reasonable to interpret their substitution of the trivializing idiom for the deadly-earnest *die* as euphemistic. But if a doctor were to say to someone waiting for news in a hospital, ‘I’m so sorry to have to tell you, Mr. Bloggs, that your husband has just kicked the bucket,’ the choice of words would be justly condemned as gratuitously insensitive. (pp. 11-12)

Allan and Burrige (1991, pp. 29-30, 222) created the term “X-phemism” to refer to “the union set of euphemisms, orthophemisms and dysphemisms”. The term is “the concept of cross-varietal synonymy, i.e. words that have the same meaning as other words used in different contexts” (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 29). The words *poo*, *shit* and *faeces* are X-phemisms that share the same denotatum but have different connotations and belong to different styles. The relevance of the context in which X-phemisms are used cannot be overstated: “To address Jesus Christ in prayer makes orthophemistic use of Jesus Christ; the same words uttered when swearing are often dysphemistic and tabooed” (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 37).

The extremely useful terminological triad *euphemism* – *dysphemism* – *orthophemism* will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.3 with respect to the question of how (cognitive) semanticists see the interplay between taboo concepts and language forms.

### 2.1.3 Phenomena related to euphemism

When a general linguistic manual addresses the topic of euphemisms, there is usually a discussion on what one should not treat as a euphemistic expression.

Pei (1969, pp. 209-210) defines euphemisms as a type of linguistic behaviour that prevents shock or offence and puts them together with other “weasel words”—highly ambiguous expressions that obfuscate a message or a statement by making it sound less specific (e.g. ‘it is widely believed that’, ‘in many ways’, ‘obviously that’). The ability of vague and over-generalising weasel words to soften debatable propositions is shared with euphemistic expressions that are used in situations in which direct and open talk on a sensitive matter is undesirable. However, not every case of vagueness or ambiguity in speech should be interpreted as euphemistic. Observing expressions for death, philosopher John Gross (1986, p. 215) contrasts the “mildness” of euphemisms with the “menacing” vagueness of a general kind: the latter “can leave the full horror to our imagination”, which runs counter to nature of euphemisms, which are supposed to minimise fear, displeasure, and embarrassment.

Furthermore, not every cryptic paraphrasing is euphemistic either. It is known that cryptolects (for example, the parlance of prisoners) employ obscure expressions, however, they do so with a different purpose: to exclude unwanted audiences and create communications within a confined group of individuals (cf. Russian stylistics scholar Vasiliy Moskvin’s review in 2011, p. 58). Nevertheless, prisoners’ cryptolects and professional jargons can be sources of euphemisms that become integrated into common vocabulary via mass media and/or cinematography, cf. ‘target’ in military lingo.

It is also wrong to equate euphemisms with any sort of exaggeration, especially in the field of advertising. As philosopher and ethicist Derwent May (1986, p. 122) points out, despite the tendency of this industry to whitewash reality, one can perceive as euphemistic only those utterances that are related to intrinsically “offensive”, “intimate”, or “socially controversial” items, such as haemorrhoids suppositories or condoms.

Linguistically, the phenomenon of political correctness (PC) is closely related to euphemistic formation: these “euphemisms with attitude” (Burrige, 1996) are novel items with new

connotational values used instead of unfavoured expressions in order to avoid the emergence of any “unpleasant” associations between communicants, namely offence, aggression, and exclusion. Expressions that are “politically correct” are, by default, intended to be inclusive, respectful, and polite—therefore, they belong to the category of euphemisms, as opposed to disrespectful or dysphemistic language: “the phrase *politically correct* is now completely entangled with euphemism and jargon” (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 96). These are “novel” euphemisms in comparison to “traditional” euphemistic expressions that deal with taboos relating to death and the body. These new euphemisms are responses to “new taboos”, namely “ageism, racism, sexism, religiousism, and the like; so ageist, racist, sexist, and religiousist language is not only contextually dysphemistic, but it is also legally dysphemistic” (Allan & Burrige, 1991, p. 232).<sup>11</sup> Karen Stollznow’s most recent book *On the Offensive* (2020, p. 6) is dedicated to examining the prejudice in language expressed in racist, ageist, sexist, homophobic, antisemitic, and sanist (i.e. discriminative against a mental trait or the mental condition of a person), and lookist vocabulary, in which euphemistic and politically correct expressions—“polite, preferred, and inclusive terms”—are equated. Consequently, newly coined polite terms in Chinese related to ageing, disease, and disability are also treated as euphemistic (see Chapters 5.1.5 and 5.2).

#### 2.1.4 Non-lexical euphemism

It is important to underscore that euphemisms are understood as more than words in general works on language. While euphemisms are primarily words (lexical units) and expressions (phrasal units), John Ayto (2007, p. 6) observes various displays of euphemisms within non-lexical domains, such as syntactic constructions, typographic tricks, and paralinguistic forms, cf. the body language of a “muffled cough” or “furtive glance” expressing embarrassment.

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<sup>11</sup> If a euphemism is interpreted narrowly, only as a mechanism for hiding something intrinsically negative and not as a mode of polite speech, then there is resistance to using the term “euphemism” in relation to politically correct expressions: “The reluctance to view PC initiatives as euphemism may arise from deprecation of the term euphemism itself. For instance, some feminists reject the word *lady* as euphemistically implying some negative quality inherent in *woman*, their term of preference. For many people, euphemism is a pejorative label attaching to any deodorising language; the sort of doublespeak that turns *dying* into *terminal living*, *killing* into *the unlawful deprivation of life* and *potholes* into *pavement deficiencies*. They believe such euphemism to be value-laden, deliberately obfuscatory jargon intended to befuddle the hearer. Understandably, if euphemism is seen in this light, those promoting PC-inspired relabelling disown it” (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 98).

Burkhardt (2010, pp. 358-360) treats sentences (1) and (2) below as “euphemistic utterances” due to the referential vagueness created by grammatical means, namely by using pronouns (pronominalisation) in (1) and by implementing the passive, rather than active, voice in (2):

- (1) *It* didn’t turn out well, and now *one* must be prepared for a new situation. (Said by a coach referring to the fact that the match was lost).
- (2) The small boy ... explains how the window ‘*got broken*’.

The use of the passive voice in (2) is “a way of blurring the directness of a message, often for self-exculpatory reasons” (Ayto, 2007, p. 6).

A further example would be the use of post-modified nouns (‘people with disabilities’) instead of pre-modified ones (‘disabled people’), which can be regarded as euphemistic in English. This phenomenon is often informally called ‘people first’ in literature regarding political correctness (Halmari, 2011). The preferred expression can be referred to as a “syntactic euphemism”. Halmari (2011, pp. 833-835) identifies a certain connection between the syntactic form and the semantics of the referent in her analysis of the text corpora of print and online media: pre-modified nouns are used in reference to undesirable societal elements (e.g. prisoners) and fictional characters, while post-modification is more common when addressing vulnerable referents or children.

Syntactic euphemisms can be employed simultaneously with lexical ones: along with a syntactic shift towards ‘people first’ language, we are witnessing a change in lexical terms related to intellectual disabilities (including the avoidance of the dysphemistic expressions ‘retardation’, ‘mental deficiency’, ‘idiocy’, ‘imbecility’, and ‘feeble-mindedness’). Words with negative semantics are being replaced with neutral terms: ‘people who have multiple sclerosis’ instead of ‘those suffering from multiple sclerosis’; ‘people with cerebral palsy’ instead of ‘those afflicted by cerebral palsy’; ‘people who had strokes’ instead of ‘stroke victims’, ‘people with shortened arms’ instead of ‘deformed people’, and ‘people who are (hearing/visually/mobility) impaired’ instead of ‘deaf’, ‘blind’ or ‘crippled’ people. However, since syntactic euphemisms are language specific, post-modification itself can work and is perceived as euphemistic in English but not in Spanish or Mandarin Chinese.

Robert Adams (1986, pp. 50–54) treats the hotel designation *12A* for the thirteenth floor as “euphemistic” too. This phenomenon, as well as the addition of marble fig leaves to classical Greco-Roman statues, are called “visual euphemisms” (Allan & Burridge, 1991, p. 223).

Similarly, certain gestures and facial expressions can be interpreted as euphemistic evasion devices, such as pursing one’s lips or lowering one’s eyes when referring to death (Gross, 1986, p. 204). For purposes of this research, these would be considered paralinguistic euphemisms, which go beyond the scope of the present work.

## SUMMARY

As the above literature review on euphemisms indicates, contributors to various linguistic manuals, encyclopaedias, and compendiums focus, above all, on the socio-cultural influence of euphemisms and their functions in speech behaviour: (1) avoidance of offence and discord; (2) adherence to social conventions, etiquette, etc.; (3) preoccupation with the public image of the speaker in terms of “the image they present to others and what others esteem them for” (Allan, 2013, p. 26); and (4) hidden manipulation: “euphemism can have a more sinister motivation too: to blur reality, not so much to avoid offence, but to deceive” (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 96).

Apart from the question of what euphemisms *do*, linguists address the issue of what euphemisms *are*. The triad *euphemism* – *dysphemism* – *orthophemism* corresponds to the modes of (im)polite, (in)appropriate, or (in)offensive language. The contextual sensitivity of X-phemistic expressions will be of huge importance for the further discussion on euphemisms in this project.

General works hypothesise a genetic linkage of euphemisms with the religious beliefs, magical interpretations of reality, superstitions, and prejudices (word choice depends solely on the stance of a particular researcher) that manifest in taboo practices; societal conventions and perceptions of courtesy, tact, and decency that are visible in certain etiquette models; and primary psychological factors, such as fear, shame, and disgust.

Finally, literature on euphemisms designed for a wide audience lists the main areas where euphemisms can be expected with the greatest probability and indicates the “mortality” of many

euphemistic expressions due to their inability to hide and embellish realities after excessive use. It also differentiates between euphemisms regarding similar phenomena and supports the point that euphemisms are not only words or expressions, but rather correspond to a linguistic strategy or mode that manifests itself at both lexical and syntactic levels, in typography, and even in non-linguistic (for example, visual) ways.

## 2.2 Definition of euphemism in stylistics

Stylistics, as an inherently interdisciplinary field of the humanities, bridges linguistics and literary studies since its main and primary object of research is the language of literary works—“the most culturally valued and aesthetically prestigious form of language practice” (Stockwell, 2006, p. 742). Though stylistic studies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was predominantly engaged in the analysis of language forms found in written literature, its predecessor rhetoric—as a systematic study of the use of appropriate language usage in expressing ideas, memorising, inventing content, selecting manner and delivery—focused not only on written texts but also on spoken discourse. What remains unchanged for rhetoric and, later, for stylistics is the fascination with the phenomenon of expression: the attempt to understand under what circumstances and by what mechanisms language exerts its most powerful influence on the listener/reader. Examples include non-standard forms of expression that differ from “ordinary” language use, whether it be unusual prosody, non-trivial lexical choices, or uncommon syntactical patterns.

Expressions that depart from their conventional literal sense or from their conventional use within a sentence or text, or which have a peculiar sound pattern, are called figures (cf. Baldick, 2015). Rhetoricians labelled and categorised dozens of figures, distinguishing between tropes, interpreted as extensions of word meanings, and figures of speech, understood as peculiar word usage or placement in an utterance; however, this delineation is debatable and not common in contemporary stylistic research (Cuddon 2013, p. 279).

Euphemisms have traditionally been perceived as stylistic devices of literary texts and rhetorical strategies—speech techniques that “deviate from the normal, inconspicuous formulation” (Gévaudan, 2008, p. 728).

It is important to note that the term was not known to the rhetoricians of antiquity. The word ‘euphemism’ (derivative *euphēmismos*: *eu-* for ‘well’, ‘easily’ and *phēmē* for ‘speaking’;<sup>12</sup> originates from verb *euphēmizein* ‘speak fair’,<sup>13</sup> ‘speak favourably’, ‘use terms of good omen’<sup>14</sup>) was originally applied in Greek to favourable words of good omen in place of inauspicious ones

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<sup>12</sup> Donald, 1874, p. 162; ODCE, 1993, p. 297.

<sup>13</sup> OCDEEt 2000, p. 157.

<sup>14</sup> Partridge, 2006, p. 1003.



to avoid misfortunes (Weekley, 1921, p. 528). This language practice of using a substitute term to circumvent directly naming sacred entities served various religious purposes, e.g., to protect speakers from attracting the unwanted attention of spirits. This practice can be found in many cultures: the Greek spirits of revenge, Erinyes or Furies, were called *Eumenides*, lit. ‘the benevolent ones’; the English *Devil* is replaced by *Old Nick*; the Russian *Medved*, lit. ‘bear’, had the literal meaning of *honey-eater* (originally \*medu-ēdis, where \*medъ ‘honey’ + \*(j)ěsti ‘eat’, cf. the etymology of Germanic words *bear* and *Bär* with their reference to the colour of the animal). The English “euphemism” as a rhetorical term in the broader contemporary sense related to the sensitive topics of death, illness, and sex is first attested in 1790s (OEtD 2020). Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that euphemistic patterns of language were unknown to the ancient Greek and Latin philological traditions.

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle explores the impact of speech on listeners, seeing its persuasive potency and the importance of its correct impression achieved through various stylistic means, including metaphors. Though Aristotle does not use the term “euphemism”, he notices that certain metaphors are “intended to throw dirt...” (in modern terms, dysphemistic usage), while other can dignify and elevate the signified object (euphemistic usage). For the latter sub-type of metaphor, he gives the following examples: “And pirates now call themselves 'purveyors'. We can thus call a crime a mistake... We can say that a thief ‘took’ a thing” (III, 2). Metaphors that can be used to avoid baseness to magnify, minify and embellish (thus used euphemistically) are also recalled in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.45) by an unnamed ancient Roman author (formerly attributed to Cicero), cf. Innes (1988, p. 320).

Quintilian, in his only extant work *Institutio Oratoria*, deals with tropes—“artistic alteration(s) of a word or phrase from its proper meaning to another” (VIII, 6.1)—and figures of speech—“term(s) employed when we give our language a conformation other than the obvious and ordinary” (IX, 1.4). As in the case of Aristotle’s works, we do not find the term “euphemism” among Quintilian’s rhetorical devices, but we do come across examples related to euphemistic concealment, cf. his discussion of allegory (Latin *inversio*, lit. ‘other-speaking’, saying one thing but meaning another), which “disguises bitter taunts in gentle words” (VIII, 6.57). Furthermore, Quintilian examines the phenomenon of *paradiastole* (Greek term used by Quintilian literally meaning παρα ‘alongside’ + διαστολή ‘separation’; also known as Latin *distinctio*) when one refers to a vice in terms of a virtue:

“when you call yourself *wise* instead of *astute*, *brave* instead of *rash*, *economical* instead of *mean*” (IX, 3.65)—cf. modern English *confident* instead of *proud*. This can be understood as a sub-type of euphemism and interpreted as a description in positive terms of an event or object that would otherwise be regarded negatively.

The ancient rhetorical study of figures was absorbed by medieval theologians, logicians, and rhetoricians. The definition of rhetoric as “the art of speaking well” and its necessity in the society was endorsed in the writings of Cassiodorus (485–585), Isidore of Seville (560–636), Alcuin of York (735–804), and Rhabanus Maurus (780–856)—who, in turn, appealed to the authority of the early Church Fathers: Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Jerome of Stridon (342–420), and Ambrose (340–397), who had studied “the figures which are common to sacred and secular letters” (McKeon, 1942, pp 13–15, 19)<sup>15</sup>. Rhetoric, though subordinated to logic and perceived as a subsidiary instrument of theology, flourished in the treatises of scholastic authors. While its high status as an indispensable part of education and scholarship was authorised by the immensely influential Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Bonaventure (1221–1274), the rhetorical toolkit of figurative language was not significantly revised, remaining as established by Cicero and Quintilian.

Renaissance authors continued the tradition of creating exhaustive indices of rhetorical terms and exemplifying them with quotations from both classical texts and contemporary pieces, cf. the courtesy book by Henry Peacham *Garden of Eloquence* (1577). Compilers of these stylistic manuals were fixated on the so-called “correct”, or “appropriate”, language that conformed to the canons of propriety, good taste, and good manners. This consistency with the canons of propriety (“decorum”) became of essential importance towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, “when Classical rules and tenets were revered” (Cuddon 2013, pp. 191–192). Groupings of figures vary in their treatments of different authors, but “the actual devices listed from manual to manual remain surprisingly consistent” (Fahnestock 1999, p. 14). Though not identifying euphemisms as a separate entity, the stylistic manuals of the early modern period (including Peacham) see euphemistic usages under the heading of the classical trope circumlocution, or

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. the saying of the medieval scholastic philosopher Peter Abelard (1079–1142): “The divine pages cannot be read and appreciated without grammar and rhetoric” (cited in: McKeon 1942, p. 21).

periphrasis ('talking around')—the manner of referring to something at length using several words instead of a concise and direct single-word naming.

Contemporary stylistics scholars still include euphemisms in their specialised dictionaries. The reference book by Katie Wales (1990, pp. 137-138) treats euphemisms as substitution, which is similar to the periphrastic interpretation of euphemisms found in earlier stylistic manuals: one deploys an inoffensive or more pleasant expression instead of offensive, unpleasant, or distasteful term. Literary critic Meyer Howard Abrams in his *Glossary of Literary Terms* defines euphemisms as “inoffensive expression[s]” that are used instead of “blunt one[s]” referring to religion, death, bodily functions, and sex (2009, p. 83). Researcher of Western contemporary culture Brett Zimmerman, while applying the classical rhetorical taxonomy to the field of comedy, includes euphemisms in his conventional list of tropes (2009, p. 481). In the *Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* by English language scholar Richard Lanham, euphemisms are a variation of metaphorical substitution (1991, p. 189). The rhetorical tradition of treating euphemisms as substitutions has been accepted and developed by linguists working in completely different frameworks, including philosopher and cognitive linguist George Lakoff (1973, p. 57), language historian Joseph Twadell Shipley (1977, p. 153), and lexicographer and socio-linguist Kenneth George Wilson (1993, p. 178).

In this paper, an attempt is made to desist from considering euphemisms solely in this traditional stylistic paradigm for multiple reasons.

First, euphemism can take various forms of tropes and figures of speech. A euphemistic function can be performed by metaphors, metonymies, litotes, antiphrasis, aposiopesis, etc., as illustrated below in (1)–(5):

- (1) You surely wouldn't make trouble about a scrap of *grass*. (Holder, 2003, p. 174)

(metonymy GRASS FOR MARIJUANA)

- (2) Selecting meaningful goals is *not rocket science*. (Burns, 2007, p. 200)

(litotes for SIMPLE)

- (3) *Resting* is one of the least restful periods of an actor's life. (Holder, 2003, p. 336)

(metaphor UNEMPLOYMENT IS REST)

- (4) ... Or lose your heart, or your *chaste treasure open // to his unmastered importunity*. (Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 1.3.31–32)

(metaphorical periphrasis for LOSING VIRGINITY)

- (5) *Great!*<sup>16</sup> (said if something unpleasant had happened)

(antiphrasis for BAD)

Second, it is possible for euphemisms to have no relation to figurative language at all, cf. the euphemistic usage of the opaque medical terms *halitosis* and *nasal mucus* instead of the common and direct expressions *bad breath* and *snot*, respectively.

Third, stylistics treats euphemisms as the expressive devices of an individual author, literary genre, or certain text, while euphemisms that have become part of the lexical system of a certain language as units of common vocabulary are not contextualised as a research objects in the traditional rhetorical framework. The latter “fossilised” euphemisms are regarded by semanticist Armin Burkhardt (2010, p. 362) as units that “become the standard expressions” via “conventionalisation and lexicalisation” and can be codified as entries in non-specialised dictionaries. The novel meaning of these euphemisms is memorised and generally accepted by the majority of speakers: they are understood by native speakers without reference to a particular author or source.<sup>17</sup> These are of primary interest in the present research. A more general approach that can accommodate the analysis of these euphemisms might be found in semantic theories.

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<sup>16</sup> Euphemistic reading of antiphrastic utterances can already be found in classical rhetorical theory, cf. Schirren 2009, p. 1491

<sup>17</sup> A similar research transition from the traditional field of literary stylistics to general semantics has already been carried out earlier in regard to other figures of speech: the Lakoff's linguistic approach to analyse metaphors in the everyday language opened the way to a revision of the typologies of semantic changes.

## SUMMARY

The rhetorical tradition gave birth to multiple terms used in contemporary linguistic research, such as “figure”, “metaphor”, “metonymy”, and “paraphrasis”. Stylistic manuals managed to record various euphemistic expressions in contemporary texts and speech, though the latter were not directly identified as euphemistic in early rhetorical treatises.

Euphemisms can arguably be treated as tropes or figures, since figurative expressions with euphemistic meanings can generally be understood in terms of other tropes (in their metaphorical or metonymical usages). However, euphemisms are not necessarily figurative; thus, a stylistic treatment might not be suitable for the discussion of all euphemistic cases.

The general stylistic paradigm can be best applied to the phenomena of expressivity found in the texts of certain authors, especially literary texts. However, if euphemisms are not novel entities created in an individual manner, a stylistic approach can be meaningfully complemented by a framework that is capable of dealing with conventionalised units of common vocabulary as well.

### 2.3 Euphemism in lexical semantics and lexicography

Since words have a central role to play in conveying meaning, problems of describing word senses lie in the foundations of linguistic studies, notably in the discipline of lexical semantics. The prime object of lexical semantic research is the lexical unit and its meaning, which varies contextually. Lexical semantics describes paradigmatic (i.e. hyponymy/hypernymy, meronymy/holonymy, synonymy) and syntagmatic relations (i.e. incompatibility, antonymy, reversals), while mapping changes in meaning over time (semantic extensions).

In this project, euphemisms are proposed to be included in the section “word connotation”. Connotative (i.e. implying or suggesting something in addition to what is explicit) variations in the lexicon can be identified at different levels:<sup>18</sup>

- Diachronic (time-related) variation, expressed in archaisms and neologisms;
- Diatopic (place-related) variation, expressed in dialectal and regional expressions;
- Diastratic (style-related) variation, expressed in elevated vocabulary, pedantic words, colloquialisms, vulgarisms, etc.;
- Diatechnic (in-group-related) variation, expressed in jargon, lingo, and parlance;
- Diintegrative (descent-related) variation, expressed in loanwords;
- Diafrequent (frequency-related) variation, expressed in frequent and rare words;
- Diatextual (text-related) variation, expressed in specific words found in certain kinds of texts and genres;
- Diamedial (mode-related) variation, expressed in specific words typical of either written or spoken language;
- Diaevaluative (evaluation-related) variation, expressed pejoratives, melioratives, obscenities, euphemisms, etc.

Thus, euphemisms are words that have specific “evaluative meaning[s]”, also called “emotional”, “affective”, or “expressive meaning[s]” (Matthews, 2007, p. 11) (Ježek, 2016, p. 43). Cruse (2011,

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<sup>18</sup> Terms for different types of connotative variation are based on the taxonomies of German linguists Wolfgang Fleischer, Georg Michel, and Günther Starke (Fleischer et al., 1996, pp. 82-83), as well as on those of Klaus-Dieter Ludwig (2009, p. 1583): cumulatively, they took into account the most exhaustive range of phenomena related to connotation.

p. 195) suggests that these are opposed to “descriptive meaning[s]”, “referential meaning[s]”, and “propositional meaning[s]”. For instance, both the words *meticulous* and *picky* have the same denotative meaning (selectiveness), but differ in their connotations, i.e. the emotional content with which these words are loaded.

Evaluative meanings convey the speaker’s attitude towards the world’s referent, especially when the speaker uses pejoratives (implicitly derogatory terms); melioratives (complimentary terms), swearwords; slurs; words with humorous, playful, ironic, acrimonious tones; etc.<sup>19</sup>

Euphemisms and dysphemisms have strong evaluative meanings as well—they are essentially “semantic means of evaluation” (Burkhardt, 2010, p. 362). Since there is a lack of in-depth comparative and typological studies in the field of expressive phenomena, euphemisms remain peripheral in contemporary lexical studies.<sup>20</sup>

There are no generally accepted criteria that can conclusively determine whether an expression is euphemistic. There is no consensus regarding the “nature of euphemisms” and no unified system for their labelling (Veisbergs, 2002, p. 305). The common properties that lexicographers usually attributed to euphemisms are “tactful” (McArthur, 1992, p. 387), “circumlocutory” (Aarts et al., 2014), “deliberately indirect” (Crystal, 1995a, p. 172), and “conventionally imprecise” (Hughes, 2006, p. 151). They are utterances that the speaker prefers in order to avoid any insulting, provocative, offensive, vulgar, distasteful, or painful content.

This definition of euphemistic meaning does not contradict the functional viewpoint found in the general linguistic literature on euphemisms, outlined in Chapter 2.1. What lexical semantics manages to centralise in its discussion is the evaluative, non-denotative, nature of euphemistic

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<sup>19</sup> Words with strong evaluative meanings are often labeled in dictionaries, though inconsistently, e.g. taboo entries are prescriptively marked with “!”, as exclamation marks normally warn of danger and the need for caution in lexicography, cf. OALD (1995).

<sup>20</sup> Euphemisms can be composed of several lexemes and constitute various idiomatic expressions; thus, phraseology does not exclude euphemy as its object of study. Fifty-four works related primarily to euphemisms can be found in the ambitious two-volume *International Bibliography of Paremiology and Phraseology* by Wolfgang Mieder (2009), although the scope of research remains chiefly within the data of “major” European languages.

meanings and the critical importance of contextual and situational characteristics for expressions to be understood as a euphemistic.

Beatrice C. Warren (1992), probably most cited scholar on euphemisms in English, notes that the treatment of the English word *casualty* as a euphemism for dead might be controversial as it is “no longer... used in any other sense... [but only as] dead or wounded in some calamity, esp[ecially] war”. Qualifications of expressions as euphemistic are therefore, in many respects, arbitrary, dependant both on the speaker and the particular context of communication.

Warren gives a useful pragmatic perspective on euphemisms, which can be purely contextual, conventional, or dead:

- Purely contextual euphemisms are original neologisms that are perceived as new or unusual lexical units by speakers. In Shakespeare’s *Othello* (Act 1, Scene 1), Iago tells Brabantio: “I am one, sir, that comes to tell you your daughter and the Moor are now making the beast with two backs” (reference to sexual intercourse). These are abundantly available in fiction, journalism, and advertisements, and are of particular interest for scholars of stylistics and literary criticism.
- Conventional euphemisms often become dictionary entries, having evolved into integral parts of common vocabulary. The euphemistic meaning of the verb *come* in the sense of *reach an orgasm* is registered in all major English dictionaries (OED<sup>ONL</sup>, 2020; MD<sup>ONL</sup>, 2020; CD<sup>ONL</sup>, 2021).
- Dead euphemisms, though widely used, can no longer perform their euphemistic function and are unable to obscure actual unpleasant meanings (e.g. *disease* which originally was a euphemism for illness; *accident* instead of *misfortune*; and *retard* to designate those with disabilities, namely *idiot*, *imbecile*, and *moron*).

The general framework for analysing these crucial situational characteristics can be found in Douglas Biber and Susan Conrad’s introduction to the linguistic study of registers and genres (2009, pp. 39–47). There are seven major features that are particularly relevant for understanding whether an expression uttered by a certain speaker to a certain hearer in a certain place and setting at a certain time about a certain topic with a certain purpose is euphemistic:



- i. Participants
  - a. Addressor (is the speaker/author single? Or plural? Or institutional? Or unidentified? What are her/his/their social characteristics: age, education, profession, etc.);
  - b. Addressee (is the listener/reader single? Or plural? Or un-enumerated? Is the message conveyed by the addressor for her/him/themselves?);
  - c. On-lookers (if any)?
- ii. Relations among participants
  - a. Instructiveness;
  - b. Social roles (relative status? power status?);
  - c. Personal relationship?
  - d. Shared knowledge?
- iii. Channel of communication (mode? medium?)
- iv. Production circumstances (time? planned? scripted? edited?)
- v. Setting (is time and place of communication shared? private or public?)
- vi. Purposes (narrating? explaining? persuading?)
- vii. Topic (topical domain?)

When a Catholic priest (addressor) appeals orally (channel) to the congregation (addressees; relations) publicly, in real-time, in church at a memorial service (setting; production circumstances), preaching (purpose) about the afterlife (topic) and mentioning: “Our beloved grandmother and sister ... passed away to the eternal life”, it is hardly possible to qualify the expression as a euphemistic way of informing the addressees about a person’s death since no participant considers the expression to be figurative due to situational characteristics. On the other hand, the same expression, when uttered by a surgeon informing family members about the sudden death of their loved one would be considered a textbook example of the euphemistic treatment of a highly sensitive matter. Alexander Tokar (2015, pp. 239-240) provides another example of the interpretational duality of an expression depending on the situational features of communicants: *Daddy’s in Heaven* can operate as a euphemism only if both the addressor and the addressee share the same knowledge or view that the person is dead and that both communicants do not want to refer to the subject explicitly. The expression does not have a soothing euphemistic effect if the addressee is a child and/or if the addressor firmly believes in the existence of the afterlife.

Time is essential, not only as a dimension of certain interactions, but also as a crucial factor among production circumstances. David Pannick, in his essay on English Legalese (1986, p. 144), demonstrates the poor sustainability of euphemistic expressions: the originally euphemistic terms *backward* and *intellectually handicapped* for mentally disabled persons found in Australian English in 1938 (“The Backward Persons Act”) and 1983 (“The Intellectually Handicapped Citizens Bill”) were not problematic in the ODCE (1993, p. 55, 398) or the OADCE (1999, p. 51, 357), but these terms are now considered “obsolete” , “degrading”, “old-fashioned, “often offensive” in the OED<sup>ONL</sup> (2020), the MD<sup>ONL</sup> (2020) and the CD<sup>ONL</sup> (2021), which indicates a loss of their euphemistic potency over time.

Euphemisticity can be interpreted as a non-discrete characteristic of lexical units that implement the euphemistic speech strategy (namely when the speaker encounters unpleasant and disturbing topics and prefers to talk on them in an indirect way), relative and definable only when several expressions for the same denotatum are juxtaposed comparatively and when the broader contextual background is taken into consideration. The non-euphemistic and euphemistic interpretations of the same expression follow:

- (1) ‘Stop playing computer games, and *get busy* with your homework’.
- (2) ‘The couple were *getting busy* in the front room when the doorbell rang’.

Whether it is a direct compulsion act urgently in contrast to idleness in (1) or a euphemistic expression for sexual intercourse (metonymic change) in (2) depends solely on the contextual parameters of communication. Euphemisms “are entwined with context” (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 229). Depending on the communication partners, setting, surrounding object, time of communication, chronology of the described events, etc., one and the same item can be qualified as either a neutral expression, a euphemism, or a dysphemism. A similar analysis of sensitive words is given in Cloete (2013, p. 485), who finds it “reasonably neutral” when the word *blind* is used in reference to a physically blind person, while this designation is “injurious” (dysphemic) if used in reference to a near-sighted person.

A closer look at which particular areas of human experience are usually euphemised is provided by linguists engaged in taboos studies (Allan & Burrige, 2006). The most recent collection of

papers written in the framework of cognitive semantics and pragmatics on taboos in language can be found in Pizarro Pedraza (2018b). From this standpoint, euphemisms are one of the possible ways to refer to a taboo item in language. Taboos prescribe certain behaviours of community members in relation to phenomena that can cause any kind of harm: physical or psychological, real or imaginary. These practices are usually associated with interpersonal relationships, bodies and their physiology, death, disease, interactions with the sacred, food, etc. Taboos as behavioural restrictions were originally of enormous interest for anthropologists, ethnologists, and scholars of religious studies, and the term is in active use in the works of one of the most influential researchers of mythology and comparative religion J. G. Frazer (1854–1941). S. Freud (1856–1939) broadens the scope of the term, applying it to Western societies. Taboo behaviour and the prescriptions that arise from social constraints are also applied to the use of language in the form of censoring<sup>21</sup> in the pursuit of conducting oneself in a polite and inoffensive manner. Any violation of these language prescriptions is associated with an impolite and offensive mode of speech. The existence of taboos is universal, however, there is no particular taboo that is universal, absolute for everyone, or panchronic; thus, behavioural and linguistic prescriptions have to be specified in regard to particular communities, times, and contexts (Allan & Burridge, 2006, pp. 9–11). A flourishing body of linguistic research on taboos focuses not only on so-called “bad language” (obscenities, slurs, hate speech, etc.), but also on “the linguistic means to create alternative expressions” for the taboo concepts and fields (Pizarro Pedraza, 2018b, p. 3)—and euphemisms are among the most effective linguistic devices at providing such means.

There are three possible ways to address to a taboo item: dysphemistically (using exclusively offensive expressions), euphemistically (using exclusively inoffensive and polite expressions), and orthophemistically (using basically inoffensive, formal, standardised, and direct expressions that might still cause dissatisfaction due to their directness and possible tactlessness). Therefore, if we interact with the taboo of death, we might use:

- (1) He passed away as we got to the hospital. (euphemism)
- (2) He croaked as we got to the hospital. (dysphemism)

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<sup>21</sup> Allan & Burridge (2006, p. 24) draw a distinction between *ensorship* and *censoring*: “child pornography is subject to both censorship and censoring, but picking your nose in public is subject only to censoring”. The former is an institutionalised practice that is typically carried out by professional or authorised censors, whereas the latter can be conducted both by societal institutions and individuals.

- (3) He died as we got to the hospital. (orthophemism)

Similarly, words *poo*, *shit*, and *faeces* are possible conceptualisations of the same taboo entity:

- (4) The dog poop is on the grass. (euphemism, hypocoristic)  
(5) The dog shit is on the grass. (dysphemism, vulgar)  
(6) The dog faeces are on the grass. (orthophemism, formal)

Examples (1)–(3) and (4)–(6) are X-phemisms, encompassing all three possible construals of a forbidden concept in language and forming an X-phemistic continuum.

Casas Gómez (2018, p. 14) sees a recent gradual transition from structuralist views on taboo-related phenomena in lexical semantics to the cognitivist paradigm. First, there is a clear distinction between word taboos and concept taboos. The former are related to beliefs in the magical power of words, according to which a certain utterance (naming) is forbidden and malevolent. The latter refer to an entire forbidden sphere of taboo realities (death, disease, sexuality, etc.), and these conceptual interdictions demand adequate linguistic forms—either offensive or inoffensive expressions. Second, euphemisms are one of many possible construals of a conceptual indirection: they try to deflect any association with forbidden realities, while dysphemistic expressions intensify our associations with taboo concepts. Euphemisms are not exclusively limited to the lexical sphere (gestures, tone of voice, intonation) and they are not limited to a substitutive mechanism (see Chapter 3 for multiple mechanisms of euphemistic formation). Following Casas Gómez (2018), **euphemisms are understood in the present research project as the outcomes of both the cognitive processes of conceptualising forbidden realities and the linguistic process that “result[s] in the neutralisation of a forbidden term by means of associative resources of a formal and semantic nature”** (p. 24).

## SUMMARY

Euphemisms (along with pejoratives, melioratives, obscenities, etc.) are contextualised by semanticists as elements of diaevaluative variation that are characterised by a distinctive expressive effect: rehabilitating, mitigating, “sweetening”, and concealing. This subjective, evaluative meaning is based on moral assessments, social restrictions, and sentiments enforced in particular community; therefore, situational and contextual characteristics—such as the status of

and relations between participants, channel of communication, production circumstances, settings, purpose, and topic—are of crucial importance when certain expressions are qualified as euphemistic. Although judgements on the euphemistic force of words is subjective, intention and situational parameters determine euphemistic interpretations.

Taboo studies within the framework of cognitive linguistic postulates the existence of conceptual interdictions and forbidden domains: death, disease, defecation, urination, menstruation, sexuality, infidelity, prostitution, unemployment, crime, obesity, inebriation, ageing, poverty, etc. Languages apply three different conceptual construal strategies to these taboo realities: attenuated (euphemistic), intensified (dysphemistic), and neutral (orthophemistic), though the latter might still be contextually interpreted as offensive due to its directness.

Euphemisms are one possible reaction of language to unpleasant, disturbing, and sensitive phenomena on which speakers impose constraints: they are indirect (in contrast to orthophemisms), muffled and manifestly polite (in contrast to dysphemisms), of a multifaceted nature (lexically, grammatically, prosodically, and extra- and para-linguistically), and identifiable in the context of production. Euphemisms construe forbidden realities by means of both formal and semantic means with a constant intention to avoid offence and conform with the politeness rules promulgated in a given community.

### 3. Types of Euphemistic Formation: Existing Models

A detailed classification of euphemistic mechanisms in English can be found in the article “What euphemisms tell us about the interpretation of words” by the semanticist Beatrice C. Warren (1992). She delineates the two most essential types of euphemistic formation: formal, when speakers seek a novel form not previously used in their language, and semantic, when speakers confer a novel meaning on an already existing linguistic form.

Warren’s formation model was modified in Kerry Linfoot-Ham’s study of euphemisms (2005). She uses Warren’s model to test her data of 250 expressions related to sexuality that she retrieved from three British novels written over the course of several generations.

Those formation mechanisms will be summarised below with some necessary revision and expansion, supplemented by explanatory comments and exemplified by additional expressions not found in either Warren’s or Linfoot-Ham’s works.

#### 3.1 Non-semantic mechanisms

##### 3.1.1 Word-formation devices

Usually, word-formation refers to the creation of words as lexical units by primarily derivational means or compounding. Word-formation is commonly contrasted with inflectional formation, which mostly modifies the grammatical meanings of words and rarely builds new ones, though certain forms of inflectional morphology, such as reduplication or suprasegmental variation, may change word meaning.

##### a. Compounding

Compounding, or composition, refers to the process of building words by linking two or more elements that are themselves words or forms of words. Formally, compounds in English can be written as one word (*cupcake, takeaway*), separately (*living room, video game*) or in a hyphenated format (*six-pack, X-ray*).

The following euphemisms are qualified as compounds: *comfort station* (Warren, 1992), meaning toilet; *handjob* (Linfoot-Ham, 2005), meaning act of male masturbation, especially as performed on a man by someone else; *foreplay* (Linfoot-Ham, 2005), meaning sexual activity such as kissing and touching that people do before they have sex; and *call girl*, meaning female prostitute who arranges her meetings with men over the phone.

Note that compounding is supported by semantic change. The euphemism *adult video*, meaning sex video and being formally a compound, is also a case of typical metonymic change: *adult* has a wider and more abstract literal meaning in terms of belonging or connected with adults, particularised in its euphemistic meaning pornographic. The unequivocal boundary between this formal type of word formation and semantic change can be problematic to define.

#### **b. Derivation**

Distinct from compounds, derivatives are new words formed by adding bound derivational affixes to a root, such as the English suffix *-ess* (as in *shepherdess*) or the Latin prefix *inter-* (as in *intercontinental*).

The following euphemisms are qualified as derivatives: *sanguinary* (Warren, 1992), meaning causing or involving bloodshed, violent, with the suffix *-ary* meaning “related to, belonging to”<sup>22</sup>; *phallic* (Linfoot-Ham, 2005), meaning related to an erect penis, resembling an erect penis, especially in art, with the suffix *-ic* meaning “related to”<sup>23</sup>; and *unendowed*, meaning having a small penis, with the prefix *un-* meaning “not having, lacking, not”.<sup>24</sup>

Based on these examples, derivation in euphemistic formation is normally accompanied by an additional mechanism at an earlier stage of formal or semantic change.

Certain derivative affixes are deployed regularly to convey euphemistic meaning. Ayto (2007, p. 7) mentions various negative prefixes *un-*, *in-*, *dis-*, and *sub-* that form litotic euphemistic

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<sup>22</sup> Derivation here is combined with borrowing from Latin *sanguis/sanguin-*.

<sup>23</sup> Derivation here is combined with borrowing from Latin *phallus* and Greek φαλλός.

<sup>24</sup> Derivation here is combined with semantic change: *equipped* implies having a large penis.

expressions: *uneven* or *sub-optimal* meaning bad; *inappropriate* meaning wrong; and *disimprove* meaning worsen.

### c. Blends

While two words may build a compound when combined in their entirety, there are cases of blending when a word is formed by combining several parts of words—usually, among these “fragments”, at least one does not constitute a meaningful morpheme. Typical blends in English include *smog*, *brunch*, *foodgasm*, and *frenemy*. Certain morphs in blends can be productive, cf. *mock-* in *mocktail*, *mockumentary*, and *Mocktober*. Blending is usually distinguished from complex clipping when both elements of the novel word retain the compound stress, cf. *hi-fi* and *sitcom*.

Though introduced as specific word-formation mechanisms, euphemistic blends are exemplified in neither Warren (1992) nor Linfoot-Ham (2005).

The following graphic blends can be qualified as euphemisms: *sinema* (fusion of *sin* and *cinema*), meaning either pornography or movies of low quality; and *rendezwoo* (fusion of *rendezvous* and *woo*), meaning a meeting arranged between two lovers. Boris Lefilliâtre (2019, p. 12) treats *ambisextrous* (fusion of *ambidextrous* and *sex*), meaning bisexual, as a “playful blend” and a “witticism” with a euphemistic purpose.

### d. Acronyms

If a word is formed from the initial letters of several words of a sequence, it is termed an acronym.

Acronyms can be pronounced as words (*NATO* ['neɪtoʊ]) or spelled as a string of letters (*WTO* ['dʌbəl.ju:'ti:'oʊ]). The former is sometimes called a “word acronym” while the latter has a more specific term: “initialism” or “alphabetism”. Acronyms can be considered a sub-type of the broader phenomenon of abbreviation—any method of word shortening. Acronyms can relate to both phonetic and graphic alteration used in euphemistic formation.



Warren's example of a euphemistic acronym is the military slang term *SAPFU*, which can be expanded as *Surpassing All Previous Fuck-Ups*.<sup>25</sup> Here are additional examples from daily life:

- (1) 'C'mon Geoffrey, we're already five minutes late, so get your *a into g*!'
- (2) 'Nothing can stop me from partying *HAM* this spring break!'

The slang euphemistic acronym *a into g* in (1) stands for *ass into gear* as in *get one's ass in gear* — meaning act effectively, hurry up, do something—concealing the dysphemistic term *ass*. The slang euphemistic acronym *HAM* [hæm] in (2) stands for *hard as a motherfucker* and is used as an emphasiser expressing intensity without explicit obscenity, similar to the use of the popular acronym *BS* ['bi: 'es], which stands for *bull shit*.

Acronyms, similar to borrowings, are rather opaque in their “structure[s] of nomination” (term used in Fleischer et al. 1996, p. 146-148); thus, they have high euphemistic potential.

#### e. Onomatopoeia

One may understand onomatopoeia as a “process of forming words whose phonetic form is perceived as imitating a sound” (Matthews, 2007, p. 276). Thus, onomatopoeic or mimetic are multiple interjections signifying sounds produced by animals (*meow, oink*), people (*argh, phew*), and objects (*ka-boom, ding dong*). In a broader sense, any resemblance that words have to natural sounds can be qualified as onomatopoeic, though their denotation might be motivated by other factors (cf. less obviously onomatopoeic verbs *slurp, buzz, or creak* and their derivatives).

Euphemistic onomatopoeia is not exemplified in Warren (1992). Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 231) qualifies *bonk*, meaning have sex, as a mimetic verb that imitates the sound of colliding objects. A similar motivation can be found in the onomatopoeic verb *bang*, meaning have sex. *Tinkle*, as in *have a tinkle* meaning urinate, or *honk*, meaning vomit, demonstrate the same sound symbolism.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. other acronyms from the Oxford English Dictionary (OED<sup>ONL</sup>, 2020) that originate from military lingo: *FUBAR* meaning messed up or extremely intoxicated and originally standing for *Fucked Up Beyond All Recognition*; and *SNAFU* meaning confused or chaotic and originally standing for *Situation Normal: All Fucking Up*.

Sometimes, onomatopoeic motivation is supported by metaphorical visual resemblance, as in *ding-a-ling*, meaning bells or sound of a bell, which can be meant euphemistically as male genitalia.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.1.2 Phonemic modification

Warren (1992, p. 133) observed a range of phenomena when “the form of an offensive word is modified or altered”, i.e. a dysphemistic expression is substituted by euphemistic expression with a similar phonemic structure, e.g. *shoot* instead of *shit*. It is surprising that Warren (1992) does not distinguish a group of graphemic modifications, which will be discussed separately below.

#### a. Back slang

Back slang represents a form of secret language in which encrypted words are reversed, i.e. completely or partially spelled and pronounced backwards in order to avoid a given word’s direct expression. This type of cipher is particularly tangible in the speech of criminal circles, among schoolmates, in military lingo, etc. Examples include: *ecilop* or *slop*, meaning police, and *redraw*, meaning warder.

Back slang is deployed in the formation of euphemistic expressions that aim to avoid explicit and sensitive terms related to sex, cf. *epar*, meaning rape (Warren 1992, p. 133); *enob*, meaning bone, erect penis (Linfoot-Ham 2005, p. 231); and *paf*, meaning fap, masturbate.

#### b. Rhyming slang

A more sophisticated form of secret language characteristic of British dialects occurs when a word is substituted for an alternative phrase that rhymes with it for either amusement or encryption. A dysphemistic *titty* (meaning breast) is replaced by a two-term phrase *Bristol City; balls* (meaning

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<sup>26</sup> The etymology of the hypocoristic term [*little*] *Willie* might be linked to the onomatopoeic *wee-wee* for the sound of urination, later associated with a proper name. This interpretation might explain the desexualised use of this term. That *Willie* could be interpreted as a contraction of the Latin *membrum virile*, meaning male member (penis), is a significantly less probable motivation. The use of masculine proper names is definitely supported by their reference to male genitalia (cf. *fanny*, which denotes female genitalia). Warren (1992) believes that this term for penis has been chosen “for no real reason”.

testicles) is replaced by a two-term phrase *cobbler's awls*. Warren (1992) finds a pretentious rhyming euphemism: *elephant and castle* meaning arsehole.

Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 231) states that the rhyming part is often dropped in these kind of encrypted words, making deciphering them even more complicated: the euphemism *Bristols*—as in *get a load of those Bristols*, meaning “just look at those breasts”—is a “shortened and further euphemised” version of *Bristol Cities* meaning titties.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Holder (2003, p. 59) derives the British euphemism *Chalfonts* for haemorrhoids from the geographic name *Chalfont St. Giles*, which rhymes with the slang term *piles*, also denoting haemorrhoids.

Euphemisms based on rhyming slang can additionally deploy affixal derivation: *dicky*, meaning ill, derives from the Cockney expression *Uncle Dick*, which rhymes with *sick*.

### c. Phoneme replacement

While back slang and rhyming slang might be marginal and specific phenomena of linguistic creativity, the replacement of certain phonemes in a select expressions in order to avoid explicit and/or offensive terms is a widely used euphemistic strategy. Typical examples are modified expletives, such as *fug* instead of *fuck*, *Gosh* instead of *God* (Warren, 1992), *shoot* instead of *shit* (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 231), *Geez* or *Jeez* or *Jeepers* or *Jeepers Creepers* or *Jiminy Christmas* instead of *Jesus Christ*, and *for chrissake* or *for Chrissakes* instead of *for Christ's sake*. Sandra Stahl (1977, p. 55) finds euphemistic phonemic replacements in American children's songs: *oh gee* instead of *Jesus*, *oh heck* instead of *hell*, and *oh dread* instead of *damn*. Autocorrections commonly found in text editing interfaces and input methods for smartphones and tablets gave rise to the expression *ducking problem*, when the system replaces *fuck* and *fucking* with *duck* and *ducking*, respectively.

Modified swear words that can be used without offending speakers and avoid blasphemous profanity are commonly termed “minced oath” in general literature on language (Burchfield, 1986,

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<sup>27</sup> Some abridged rhyming slang terms have become part of common British offensive vocabulary. For instance, the old-fashioned British slur ‘berk’ is originally a shortened form of ‘Berkley Hunt’, meaning ‘cunt’: the term “is used by speakers who have no notion of the implications of the unabbreviated version” (Allen and Burridge 1991, p. 219).

p. 17-19; McArthur et al., 2018): *flipping heck* instead of *fucking hell*, *darn [it]* instead of *damn [it]*, and *zounds!* instead of *God's wounds*.

#### d. Abbreviation and deletion

Warren (1992) gives a couple of phonemic truncations that she calls “abbreviation”, which should not be confused for acronyms: *f* or *eff*, as in *eff off*, meaning fuck and fuck off, respectively; and *j* or *jay* meaning joint, marijuana. McArthur et al. (2018) sees the phonemic truncation *p* or *pee*, meaning piss, urinate as a way to amend taboo words in speech. Note that the spelling of the letters *F*, *J* and *P* as *eff*, *jay* and *pee* supports the phonemic interpretation of this modification.

Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 241) proposed deletion as a specific type of euphemistic formation not mentioned in Warren’s (1992) classification and exemplified it with the interrupted usages ‘Did you –?’ or ‘Have you –?’, meaning “Did you have sex?” or “Have you had sex?”.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, these deletions might be treated as a particular case of phonemic abbreviation with the same motivation and the same mechanism.

In relation to various phonemic reductions of words aimed at toning down the harshness of speech, such as *bl* instead of *bloody* (Adams, 1986, p. 52) or any form of unarticulated noise in speech as in *Where is the ehum?* (Warren, 1992), deletions can take their most radical form in the deliberate omission of an entire phrase or discourse when the narrative is broken and left unfinished. This extreme formal device is also known in rhetoric as **aposiopesis** (Burchfield, 1986, p. 17): ‘Is he ...?’ might imply any taboo entity, including death, disease, misfortune, sexual intercourse, etc. This strategy of silence, usually accompanied by suspension points or dashes, is termed the “ultimate euphemism” by Epstein (1986, p. 56).

### 3.1.3 Graphemic modification

Apart from phonemic alterations, Jeffrey S. Bowers and Christopher W. Pleydell-Pearce (2011) note the possibility of graphic or graphemic modifications—alterations of the written form of a taboo or sensitive word. These are usually omissions of certain letters or syllables, such as *fck*,

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<sup>28</sup> Similarly, “beeping” on television and radio as a means of censoring inappropriate expressions falls into the same category of deletion (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 241).

meaning *fuck*. A certain letter can also be substituted by a non-letter symbol, such as *f@ck*, *f-ck*, *f4ck*, or *f.ck*, meaning fuck. Nonsense non-letter symbols can be used exclusively to refer to an explicit or taboo word, such as *they are trying to cover their @#\$\$%* (possibly, @#\$\$% for *asses* or *shit*).

The intentional “corruption” of words in the form of misspelling can be also used euphemistically: *pron* instead of *porn*, *fuckin* instead of *fucking*, and *frikkin* instead of *freaking*.

Various punctuation devices can be also used in order to conceal inappropriate content, namely asterisks and dashes (Burchfield, 1986, p. 17; Epstein, 1986, p. 61). The use of an asterisk in *c\*nt*, meaning cunt, is termed a “social ellipsis” by McArthur et al. (2018). Similarly, the word *fuck* can be spelled *f--*, *f\*\*\**, or *\*\*\*\**. This form of spelling is called “graphic euphemism” by Crystal (1995b, p. 4) and “graphological deletion” by Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 241), though neither Linfoot-Ham (2005) nor Warren (1992) incorporate these phenomena into their models of disguise mechanisms despite their pervasiveness and specificity.

### 3.1.4 Borrowing

Borrowed words are well suited for euphemistic formation “due to [their] nontransparent structure of nomination” (Fleischer et al., 1996, pp. 90-91). Loan words of French origin—such as *affair*, *ménage à trois*, *lingerie*, and *faux pas* used instead of *sexual relationship*, *sexual arrangement between three people*, *women’s underwear*, and *mistake*, respectively—are known for bearing positive connotations in comparison to their English synonyms. This is similar to the way in which the Latin loan words of *senior citizens*, *flatulence*, and *perspiration* are preferred to *old people*, *farting*, and *sweating* (Burkhardt, 2010, p. 360).

That Latin is one of the main sources of euphemistic borrowings for English was observed and vividly described by George Orwell (1967): “A mass of Latin words falls upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details” (p. 154). Words of Latin and Greek origin “obscure rather than make transparent the relation between the word and its referent” (Halmari, 2011, p. 830), this is the so-called “‘blind-them-with-science’ school of euphemism” (Ayto, 2007, p. 9). That is why, instead of *deadly* or *deathly*, English medicalese might use *lethal*, *mortal*, and *fatal* —“appropriate” substitutions of Latin origin.

### 3.1.5 Metalingual description

Speakers can deploy the metalingual or metalinguistic strategy of avoiding taboo terms and obscenities when language is used to refer back to itself: instead of the expletive *fuck*, one might deploy the euphemistic terms *f-word* or the extremely polysemous *four-letter-word*. Similarly, when a speaker needs to refer to the exact form of the taboo pejorative *kaffir* (a racist slur for Bantu peoples, black Southern Africans, blacks in Suriname), one can euphemistically depict it as the *k-word*, cf. *n-word*.

Although Warren (1992) does not label or elaborate on this specific strategy of euphemistic formation in her model, she mentions “descriptions of the form of the word that we wish to avoid”: the term *monosyllable*, meaning cunt, is a perfect example of a euphemism in the self-referential use of language.

### 3.2 Semantic mechanisms

The ability of language to generate novel meaning without formal transformation is commonplace in linguistic literature. Semantic mechanisms of euphemistic formation are found in situations when speakers seek “a new sense for an established form” (Warren 1992). In this project, these semantic transformations are termed semantic shifts or semantic extensions, as they are usually observed in cognitive semantics in order to understand the dynamic nature of meaning (Juvonen & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2016, p. 1). When senses are categorised with respect to other senses, we can find very general senses (“schemas”) which encompass many more particular senses. The latter are “elaborations” or “instantiations” of the schematic sense. One sense can be an “extension” of another “prototypic” sense. Finally, the extensions might take the form of radial networks (in which several senses derive from one single prototype), chains (in which extensions become prototypes of new extensions), or a combination of the two. It is also convenient to interpret two related concepts in terms of **motivation**: meaning A is derived from meaning B or is motivated by meaning B. Motivation can be caused (“triggered”) in various ways: a discovery that changes one’s understanding of things, an imaginative leap, etc. (Newman, 2016, pp. 268–272)

Polysemous lexemes with several co-existing meanings demonstrate the phenomenon of semantic extension synchronically. The English word *neck* can be used to describe (1) the part of the body between the head and the shoulders, as in *giraffes have long necks* or *he stretched his neck*; (2) the part of a piece of clothing that fits around the neck, as in *she wore a shirt with an open neck*; (3) a long narrow part of an object, as in *the neck of a bottle* or *the neck of a guitar*; (4) the cooked part of an animal, as in *neck of lamb*, etc. Note that the semantic shifts from a body part to clothes, other objects, and cooked items in the co-existing meanings (1–4) are achieved without any formal modification of the word *neck*.

Apart from synchronic polysemy, the history of language can provide certain evidence of semantic extension from the diachronic perspective: the English word *naughty* used to refer to (1) the poor and needy who possessed nothing (archaic *naught* for *nothing*); due to diachronic semantic evolution, this term acquired the meaning (2) immoral, vicious, or wicked; at a later stage, (3) promiscuous; in later use, ironically in a weakened sense, (4) sexually provocative; and, finally, in a desexualised sense, (5) disobedient, badly behaved (especially in reference to children).

Meanings (1–5) do not co-exist in Modern English, nevertheless, the semantic extension was achieved without phonemic, graphic, morphological, or any other modifications of the word form.

Semantic shifts are usually interpreted panchronically within our lived experience, without reference to a certain historical period (Newman 2016, p. 266).

Semantic motivation can be combined with the formal mechanisms of word building. Peter Koch (2001, p. 1165) demonstrates his notion of meaning – form correlation by analysing the cognitive relation between a tree and its fruit in different languages: in the Russian language, instead of deploying any derivational morphology to delineate between two meanings of the word ‘pear’ *зpyyua* [gruša], denoting both fruit and tree, it uses a non-formal semantic mechanism of metonymy. However, the English language expresses this relation by formally compounding *pear* and *tree*; Mandarin Chinese uses both affixation and compounding to differentiate between ‘pear fruit’ *lizi* 梨子 and ‘pear tree’ *lishù* 梨树.

Metaphoric and metonymic processes are two major semantic shifts that constitute the “central concern of cognitive semantics” (Juvonen & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2016, p. 3). Although Warren (1992) sees more semantic mechanisms for euphemisms, Tokar (2015, p. 238) argues that “all semantically motivated euphemisms can be analysed as products of either metonymic or metaphoric semantic change”. Thus, semantic mechanisms like particularisation, implication, etc., stated in (Warren 1992) can be re-interpreted as particular cases of either metaphor or metonymy.

### 3.2.1 Metaphor

Metaphor is usually treated as a figurative shift of meaning based on a resemblance or similarity between two entities that share comparable shape, colour, consistency, function, etc.: Warren (1992) exemplifies this with the expressions *dumplings*, *magic wand*, and *parsley*, used instead of *breasts*, *penis*, and *pubic hair*, respectively. In the same way, Linfoot-Ham (2005) sees a metaphorical link between genitals and their euphemisms: *tools*, *secret entrances* (function), *balls* and *gates* (shape/look); and between sexual intercourse and its euphemisms: *fireworks* (feelings) and *riding* (physical similarity).



Conventional metaphors involve an interaction between distinct conceptual domains: the “source domain”, which supports the literal meaning of the expression, and the “target domain”, which profiles the actual meaning of the expression in a particular utterance. Cognitive linguists use the formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN to describe the metaphorical link between these domains (Croft & Cruse 2004, p. 196): a conceptual metaphor is defined as the mental mapping of knowledge from a familiar, concrete domain (source) onto a less familiar domain of knowledge (target). It is significant to note that metaphorical expressions are not a purely linguistic phenomenon but a manifestation of conceptual mapping that constitutes a particular way of thinking.

There is a great range of metaphors related to various taboo domains, including death, for which metaphors make “death sound less deathly” (Gross, 1986, p. 205, 208). The most common metaphorical formulas for death-related expressions in English are DEATH IS A JOURNEY/VOYAGE (*pass away, pass on, depart this life, check out, buy a one-way ticket*), DEATH IS A HARBOR/REFUGE (*go to glory, go to meet one’s maker, go to one’s last resting place, go to the great beyond*), DEATH IS AN END (*be no more [with us]*), and DEATH IS SLEEP (*the big sleep, rest in peace*).

Pfaff et al. (1997) is a standard reference work on euphemistic metaphors in English for sex, prostitution, menstruation, drugs, intoxication, etc.: the concrete domains of JOURNEY and RELEASE OF PRESSURE are linked with the domain ORGASM when we use euphemisms *come* and *explode*, respectively.

Metaphorical conceptualisation follows similar schemes among extremely distant languages: the euphemisms for sexual intercourse used in Gĩkũyũ, a Bantu language spoken in Kenya, with metaphorisation as the most frequently used means of forming sex-related euphemisms (Gathigia et al. 2015, p. 25f). Examples include ‘shooting each other’ *ndathano* or ‘piercing each other’ *gũthecana* (SEX IS A WAR), ‘work’ *wĩra* or ‘remove soot’ *kũruta mbiro* (SEX IS LABOR), and ‘eat sugarcane’ *kũrĩa kĩgwa* (SEX IS FOOD). However, the quantitative part of Gathigia’s research shows that the most frequently used Gĩkũyũ expression for sex was a metonymy ‘to sleep with’ or ‘to lie with’ *gũkomania*.

### 3.2.2 Metonymy

Another fundamental cognitive mechanism deployed in semantic innovation is metonymy—the process “through which we use one thing to refer to another” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 1). Entities must be related to or associated with each other in one way or another: *Dickens* (author) refers metonymically to *Dickens* (books) in *The kind of character we often find in Dickens* (Littlemore, 2015, p. 6). This is an example of the widespread PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT metonymy. Similarly, *the Kremlin* (a fortress) and *the Pentagon* (a building) can metonymically designate the Russian government and the US Department of Defense, respectively, due to the so-called “contiguity” of the given building and the administration located there (PLACE FOR INSTITUTION).

In cognitive linguistics, metonymy is understood as a process in which one conceptual element—the “vehicle”—relates to another conceptual element—the “target”—and this “relation” must be provided within the same knowledge network (e.g. “domain”). In other words, when the mapping takes place across several domains, the observer deals with metaphors, while in metonymy, the “relation” is found within the same domain.

The referential function of metonymy described above—when a simple and tangible entity is used to provide access to an abstract and complex concept within the same domain—is central in the related literature (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). In addition, Littlemore (2015, pp. 65–122) gives a detailed account of other metonymic tasks, including highlighting,<sup>29</sup> coherence and cohesion,<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This is also known as the “construal” or “perspectivization” of metonymy: when certain individual features of an object or scene are singled out. For example, in the expression ‘plastic glasses’ (in which the function of *glasses* (container) is highlighted and the material of *glasses* is downplayed), information about the object’s purpose turns out to be more important to the speaker.

<sup>30</sup> The metonymy of CAUSE FOR EFFECT is used to form a unified whole in a logical and consistent manner within three sentences: *He wanted to be a king. He was tired of waiting. He thought arsenic would work well.* A reader’s understanding of the relationship between these sentences is impossible without the metonymic relation of causality that forms a coherent text.

exophoric reference,<sup>31</sup> relationship-building,<sup>32</sup> playfulness,<sup>33</sup> and evaluative functions.<sup>34</sup> Due to its intrinsic indirectness, metonymy is employed extensively in euphemistic formation and generally “underlines a great deal of euphemism, hedging and vague language” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 92).<sup>35</sup> We use vague terms to refer to sensitive topics—this is what metonymy is known for.

One of the most common types of euphemistic metonymy are PART FOR WHOLE and CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY, also known as “widening” (Neaman & Silver, 1995, pp. 9-11, due to a wider literal meaning of the expression), “abstraction” (Burkhardt, 2010, p. 360), or “hypernymisation” (Moskvin, 2001, p. 65; 2010, pp. 194–195). In the case of the latter, a taboo hyponym is replaced by a taboo-free hypernym: *price adjustment* instead of *price increase* (literally, *adjustment* is a more abstract hypernym with a broader meaning). Similarly, *facilities* are used instead of *toilet*, *innocent* instead of *virgin*, *satisfaction* stands for *orgasm*, *the pill* (as in *she is on the pill*) for *contraceptive pills*, *substance* for *drug*, *drink* for *alcoholic drink*, *affair* for *sex*, *institution* for *mental hospital*, *asset* for *weapon*, etc. Extreme cases of this metonymic generalisation include use of the semantically depleted *thing* for *sex* or *genitalia* and the use of *her situation* for *being married* or *being pregnant* (Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 251).

It is also possible to say that the meaning of a euphemistic expression represents a sub-category of its literal meaning: *tumour* (specific) is a kind of *growth* (generic), but *growth* is euphemistically used to mean tumour.<sup>36</sup>

In the “whole and part” metonymies, the literal meaning of an expression can be analysed as a part of the prototypical scenario to which the expression refers. A typical part-for-whole metonymy

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<sup>31</sup> Metonymy can invoke information outside of the text, such as the metonymic reference to a well-played episode of a match in *Boys*, *that was a great ball*.

<sup>32</sup> Metonymy is known for its ability to play a significant role in the formation of discursive (register/genre) communities, cf. metonymy in the language of employees working in a children’s nursery: *meat bowls* for children who eat meat and *veg bowls* for children who don’t; the nursery office is denoted with the metonymic *upstairs* (Littlemore, 2015, pp. 83, 87). The use of these metonymic expressions, which might be unclear for “outsiders”, designates the speakers of a certain community.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. the creative use of *baby oil* in the sentence: *If olive oil is made from olives, and sunflower oil is made from sunflowers, what is baby oil made from?* (Littlemore, 2015, p. 105).

<sup>34</sup> Also known as “positioning”, cf. the use of the metonymic term *enemy* and its denotates in the “us versus them” discourse found in the speech of politicians depending on their stance in the discussion.

<sup>35</sup> Metonymy can also perform a dysphemistic function that is realised in the speech of morgue workers when they refer to bodies as *stiffs*, employing the metonymy of PROPERTY FOR OBJECT (Littlemore, 2015, p. 94).

<sup>36</sup> Cognitive linguists would say that euphemistic sense of *tumor*, which is being disguised, is an instance of the vehicle concept *growth* (cf. Tokar, 2015, p. 243).

that falls under the SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT category is *wash hands*, standing for *defecate/urinate*. In this example, the profile is shifted from the important, relevant, and central event (performing certain bodily functions) to an associated event (washing hands) in the same semantic frame, despite the fact that it is the less relevant and more peripheral event. Its literal meaning also can be interpreted as a part (i.e. the beginning) of the whole process expressed in its figurative meaning.

Apart from whole-part relations, euphemistic metonymies can be interpreted as semantic innovations based on spatial contiguity (*bathroom* meaning toilet) or cause-effect contiguity (*ashes* meaning marijuana).

The present project excludes the “particularisation” (hyponymic relationship: generic *growth* instead of the very particular *tumour*) and “implication” (antecedent-consequent relationship: *sleep with somebody* instead of *have a sexual intercourse with somebody*) mechanisms postulated by Warren (1992) since both categories can be interpreted as a type of metonymy. For the same reason, the “naming” category proposed in Linfoot-Ham’s research (2005, p. 241) was not specifically listed here, either, since the corresponding expressions might be interpreted as products of formal mechanisms (for instance, phonemically modified *Jiminy Cricket* for *Jesus Christ*) or semantic shifts (such as the outdated and stereotypical metonymy *the Italian way* for *anal sex*).

### 3.2.3 Reversal and irony

Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 232), following Warren’s (1992) classification of the minor semantic devices of euphemistic formation, understands reversals as “using opposites”, especially when speaker refers to something “bad”.

A classic example of a euphemistic reversal is the expression *life insurance*, which dislodges the unpleasant, direct reference to *death* from its name and substitutes it with its euphonious opposite *life*. This type of semantic shift is a case of rare occurrence.

Reverse meanings can co-exist in one and the same word (**enantiosemy**), usually due to the inherent generality of a given word’s original meaning, which results in its inevitable polysemy:

for example, the word *quite* can imply *slightly* (as in *quite nice*) and *completely* (as in *quite right*), which can be interpreted as an antonymy within the same word.

A few examples of euphemistic enantiosemes are given in Klegr (2013, p. 16), amongst which the most glaring is the English collocation *exceptional child*: in the UK, one might understand it as a reference to an intellectually gifted kid while, in the US, it might be used euphemistically to describe a physically or especially mentally disabled child who needs special care or special schooling.

Finally, contrast-based changes in meaning related to euphemistic formation can also be cases of ironic interpretation (**antiphrasis**). A typical example of this rhetorical device in colloquial English is the exclamation *Great!* in a situation when something unpleasant has happened or is going to happen. Several adjectives in English are used reversely to mitigate the harshness of a given speaker's judgement: *interesting* meaning bizarre or boring, *invigorating* meaning unpleasantly cold, *mixed* meaning mainly bad, and *uncertain* meaning most probably bad (examples of Ayto, 2007, p. 10).

### 3.2.4 Overstatement

The intentional overstatement of a certain point or its significance, termed **hyperbole** or **auxesis**, has been intensively treated as a specific device in rhetorical studies, cf. *I have not seen her for ages*.

At first glance, deliberate overstatement does not have apparent euphemistic potency. Euphemistic exaggeration is, indeed, applied in practice very rarely. It is problematic to detect any “hyperbolic overtones” or “praising and magnifying the biological act of dying by means of overstatements based on Christian beliefs” in the metaphors *world of unending glory* or *eternity of happiness* for death, as E.C. Fernández controversially claims (2006, p. 111). For adherents of Christian doctrine, the terms *glory*, *rest*, *joy*, and *eternal happiness* in obituaries call upon unequivocal realities and not exalted exaggerations, even if expressed metaphorically.

On the other hand, the metaphorical expressions *I'm going to eat him* (SEX IS FOOD) or *I'm going to wreck him* (SEX IS WAR/DESTRUCTION), which imply *I'm going to have sex with him*, do contain a hyperbolic sense.

In some cases, the creation of novel job titles can be treated as instances of euphemistic overstatement, especially when an attempt is made to elevate the status of a particular type of occupation or service by exaggerating its creative or managerial components. Notorious examples of this kind include *visual engineer* instead of *window cleaner* (example of Linfoot-Ham, 2005, p. 232), *sanitary engineer* or *custodial engineer* substituting *janitor*, *hair stylist* substituting *hairdresser* or *barber*, *beautician* instead of *manicurist* or *beauty salon worker*, and *sandwich artist* instead of *sandwich maker*.

### 3.2.5 Understatement

Litotes as a form of understatement intentionally implies that the described phenomenon is of lesser size or significance. For instance, calling a bleeding wound “a scratch” is litotic. Such expressions can be used euphemistically (cf. Burchfield, 1986, p. 21) to minimise the negativity of a described entity or event. In rhetoric, this euphemistic usage of understatement is traditionally termed **meiosis**. Understating the negative side of a phenomenon is a more frequently used euphemistic tactic than overstatement.

As in case of exaggeration, some of the examples for litotes given in Warren (1992) and Linfoot-Ham (2005, p. 232) can be alternatively interpreted as metonymic euphemisms of the metonymical whole-part type (i.e. *plump* for *fat*, *drug habit* for *drug addiction*, and *deed* for *act of murder or rape*) or as metaphorical euphemisms (i.e. *sleep* for *die*, which falls under the DEATH IS SLEEP theme). Nonetheless, the intention behind using a milder, understating expression is definitely euphemistic, as in the cases of *misunderstanding*, *difficulty*, or *issue* instead of *serious problem* or *grave mistake*; *concerned* instead of *worried*; and *grey* instead of *possibly illegal*.

Grammatically, litotes is expressed most often in sentences with denied positives: *He is not a great singer*. In this case, what might be meant is *He is a terrible singer*, concealed by the negation of an especially positive attribute. Ayto (2007, p. 7) qualifies the following litotic expressions as euphemisms: *he is not all there* meaning *he is mad*; *people are not as young as they were* meaning

*they are old; he is no angel meaning he is a vicious thug; and he is less than honest meaning he is not honest.*

## SUMMARY

With the great variety of mechanisms used to form euphemisms, the most significant distinction that can be drawn is between formal and semantic mechanisms. The former produce novel forms by means of word-formation devices, phonemic and graphemic modifications, and borrowing and metalinguistic description. The latter strategy is that of semantic extension within an already existing form that is basically a product of either a metaphoric or metonymic shift—though, in relatively sparse cases, ironic, hyperbolic, and litotic interpretations are possible as well. Formal mechanisms can be deployed simultaneously with semantic extensions.

Thus, the existing model introduced by Warren (1992) and Linfoot-Ham (2005) has been revised: “abbreviation” was differentiated into acronyms as a word-formation device and phonemic deletion as a phonemic modification device; “blending” was elaborated and exemplified; graphemic modification and metalinguistic description were added to the model as formal devices; major semantic innovations were reduced to two basic semantic shifts—metaphoric and metonymic, while “particularisation”, “implication”, and “naming” were merged with metonymy; minor semantic innovation devices were elaborated. The model will be tested on Mandarin Chinese data in Chapter 6 of this project.

## 4 Tactful expressions in Chinese linguistic literature and lexicography

Before approaching the analysis of sensitive vocabulary and euphemisms in Mandarin Chinese for death, sickness, and body, it is necessary to investigate whether there is a specific Chinese tradition of describing and categorising taboo vocabulary within Chinese linguistics. In what context do Chinese linguists and lexicographers place language taboos and the variety of linguistic devices to deal with them? Is there a Chinese analogue of the Western concept of “euphemism” formulated in Chapter 2?

Probably the closest, though by no means identical, term for the English euphemism in Modern Chinese would be ‘tactful words’ *wěiwǎncí* 委婉词 or, shortly, *wǎncí* 婉词. The term is well established in general monolingual Chinese lexicography (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; GF, 2014; XHC, 2016), in specialised dictionaries dedicated to sensitive vocabulary (Zhang, 1996; Hong, 2010; Zhu, 2018) as well as in Chinese contrastive linguistics (Gomaa & Shi, 2012; Wang, 2014) and educational publications designed for a wide readership (Zhou, 2011). As will be shown in Chapter 4.2, Chinese scholars define the concept of “tactfulness” in language in a much broader way than “euphemism” and “euphemy” formulated by their Western colleagues.

The term ‘tactful’ *wěiwǎn* 委婉 is composed of two morphemes that characterise the most distinctive features of this Chinese notion.

The original meaning of the first morpheme ‘winding’, ‘tortuous’, ‘twisting’, ‘devious’, or ‘roundabout’ *wěi* 委 is associated with the disyllabic term ‘meandering’ or ‘winding’ *wěiyí* 委蛇, also spelled *wěiyí* 逶迤 (XHZ, 2004, p. 920). The etymology of the character *wěi* 委 can be found in GHZ (2005, p. 825): “[This is an] associative compound character (会意字) with elements ‘crop’ *hé* 禾 and ‘woman’ *nǚ* 女; [element ‘crop’ depicts] long ears of grain crooking under their own weight when they get ripe (禾谷成熟时的样子, 为长穗委曲); [element ‘woman’ depicts] a woman in a humble and obedient pose (妇女有委婉逊顺的形状)”. The morpheme constitutes the frequently used disyllabic word ‘winding’ or ‘crooked’ *wěiqū* 委曲. Therefore,



‘tactful expressions’ are winding and oblique: they avoid directly mentioning unpleasant or sensitive subjects, in a manner similar to a car driver taking a roundabout route in order to avoid a traffic jam or any other sort of trouble.

The second morpheme ‘gentle’ or ‘soothing’ *wǎn* 婉 originally denoted ‘gentle and obedient [temper]’ *héshùn shùncóng* 和顺顺从 (XHZ, 2004, p. 911). The phono-semantic compound character (形声字) consists of the semantic component ‘woman’ *nǚ* 女 (obedience, mild-heartedness, and humbleness were expected from women in a male-dominated society) and the phonetic component ‘bent’ or ‘crooked’ *wǎn* 宛, though the latter might also be part of character semantics (cf. “*wǎn* also has the meaning ‘crooked and winding’” 宛兼表屈曲义, GHZ, 2005, p. 813). The morpheme builds upon multiple disyllabic words: ‘mild’ *héwǎn* 和婉, ‘sweet-tempered’ or ‘gentle’ *wēnwǎn* 温婉, ‘complaisant’ *wǎnshùn* 婉顺, and ‘exquisite’ or ‘gracious’ *wǎnli* 婉丽. Thus, ‘tactful expressions’ are expected to be mild and propitious, make a positive impression on hearers or readers and comply with what is considered elegant and polite in the given language community.

Chinese scholars follow the practice of anglophone linguistics when they contextualise ‘tactful expressions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲 in the domains of either stylistics or lexical studies.

#### 4.1 Tactful circumlocutions *wanqu* in Chinese stylistics

Similar to the Western tradition, Chinese scholars have viewed literary texts and language creativity as the province of stylistics and rhetoric. “Tactful” words and expressions used by individual authors have been placed among various figures of speech *cígé* 辞格 and stylistic or rhetoric figures *xiūcígé* 修辞格.

Figures of speech are already found in the oldest literary texts in Chinese. Yang (1999, p. 253) applies this term to rhetorical devices in *The Book of Odes* 《诗经》, which comprises poems that date back to between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC:

(1) 自伯之东、首如飞蓬。《诗经·卫风·伯兮》

Since [my] husband went to the East, [my] head has been like the bitter fleabane.

(2) 彼采萧兮。一日不见、如三秋兮。《诗经·王风·采葛》

He is gathering wormwood, one day without seeing him is like three autumns.

The poetic simile ‘[head] like the bitter fleabane’ in (1) stands for dishevelled or uncombed hair. In (2), both simile and hyperbole are deployed simultaneously when a single day without the lover is compared to a three-year-long period.

Huang and Liao (2007, pp. 184–224) give a detailed account of figures in contemporary Chinese, listing 20 rhetorical figures, including ‘metaphor’ *bǐyù* 比喻, ‘metonymy’ *jièdài* 借代, ‘hyperbole’ *kuāzhāng* 夸张, ‘antithetical parallelism’ *duì'ǒu* 对偶, etc. Earlier manuals on figures in literary texts were even more fastidious: Tang Yue’s 唐钺 *Figures of Speech* 《修辞格》(1923) included 27 figures, Chen Wangdao’s 陈望道 *Introduction to Stylistics* 《修辞学发凡》(1932) dealt with 38 figures, and Huang Minyu’s 黄民裕 *Collection of Figures* 《辞格汇编》(1984) encompasses a record-breaking number of 119 figures (Yang, 1999, p. 254).

It is noteworthy that Yang (1999, p. 256) differentiates between the ‘associative’ *liánxiǎngxíng* 联想型, ‘compositional’ *zǔhéxíng* 组合型, and ‘transformative’ *biànhuàxíng* 变化型 types of figures. The associative figures are based on the associations between meanings of words (metaphors, metonymies, similes, hyperboles, etc.), the latter are based on either specific forms of text organisation (parallelisms, repetitions, rhetorical questions, etc.) or modifications of word forms (irony, figurative use of erroneous characters, decomposition, etc.). In the list of figures of the “associative type”, there is a figure related to the discussion of “candidates” for euphemisms in Chinese discourse, notably ‘tactful circumlocutions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲 (Yang 1999, p. 282).

Huang and Liao (2007, p. 201) define a “tactful circumlocution” as “an intentional indirect reference to a phenomenon which is tactfully and circumlocutory expressed by a related phrase with the same meaning” (有意不直接说明某事物，而是借用一些与某事物相应的同义语句

婉转曲折地表达出来). Tactful circumlocutions are opposed to ‘direct wording’ *zhíyán* 直言 (Chen, 2001, p. 118).<sup>37</sup>

Instead of directly naming a certain phenomenon, speakers refer to it “in a roundabout way” (转弯抹角), “hemming and hawing” (闪烁其辞), substituting the direct term with a “tactful and restrained” expression (委婉含蓄) (Yang, 1999, p. 282), as in the following example:

(3) 你说你没喝醉? 你说话舌头都短啦。——你的舌头也不长了。(侯宝林, 《醉酒》)

[Speaker A:] You said you were not drunk? Your tongue got short after all. [Speaker B:] Your tongue didn't get long either (Hou Baolin, *Drunk*).

In order to attain a particular expressive effect, namely humorous in (3), Hou Baolin intentionally opts not to name the phenomenon directly, using the paraphrase ‘the tongue got shorter’ *shétou duǎn le* 舌头短了 to refer to the state of being drunk, associated with the indistinct speech of a drunk person.

A longer and more expressive paraphrase is used in the following passage by Zhou Libo:

(4) 怕啥? 大不了, 打一仗再走, 咱们的刺刀正想开荤了。(周立波, 《湘江一夜》)

What are you afraid of? That's not a big deal, we'll fight before leaving, our bayonets are hungry for meat (Zhou Libo, *One Night by Xiangjiang*).

The expression ‘end the meatless diet’ or ‘resume eating meat after maintaining a vegetarian diet’ *kāihūn* 开荤 together with the weapon creates a circumlocution that indicates readiness to fight and/or kill.

It is extremely important to mention that ‘tactful circumlocutions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲 in Chinese stylistics are not necessarily euphemistic. Although this figure can be used to hint at what an author or speaker does not want to talk about directly (similarly to euphemisms in Western languages), there are cases in contemporary Chinese literature in which an author or speaker uses indirect

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<sup>37</sup> It is worth mentioning that circumlocutions in Chinese rhetoric might have no relation to sensitive topics or tactfulness. E.g., Chen (2001, p. 120–125) discusses circumlocutions *qūzhé* 曲折 aimed to reach an aesthetic effect (e.g. to avoid clichés or repetitions), circumlocutions *wēicí* 微辞 expressing veiled criticism and hidden irony, etc.

circumlocution without any implied fear, discomfort, or displeasure towards the denotation in question—a prerequisite for the use of euphemistic expressions. Yang (1999, p. 282) finds an example of paraphrasing a positive quality or phenomenon that is considered tactful but not euphemistic (in the sense of disguising taboo-related, distasteful, and inappropriate entities), as defined in Chapter 2:

- (5) 同志啊，你可知道，我们敬爱的周总理的办公室啊，灯光又亮了通宵。（石祥，《周总理办公室的灯光》）

O comrade, you do know that the light in the office of our beloved Premier Zhou was on again all night (Shi Xiang, *Light in the Office of Premier Zhou*).

Efficiency and hard work were introduced in an indirect form and thus perceived as a more tactful than direct praise or flattery. However, this is not a euphemism due to the lack of any euphemistic meaning, i.e. any attempt to hide or avoid an unpleasant, vulgar, shocking, or taboo topic.

Huang and Liao (2007, pp. 201-203) cite a similar example of a non-euphemistic tactful circumlocution for the extreme beauty of a young woman:

- (6) 好一个娇女！走在公路上，小伙子看呆了，听不见汽车叫；走在街面上，两旁买卖都停掉；坐在戏院里，观众不往台上瞧...（高晓声，《水东流》）

What a lovely girl! When she is walking on the highway, the young fellows are dumbfounded and cannot hear the cars calling; when she is walking on the street, the trade stops on both sides; when she is sitting in the theatre, the audience does not look on the stage... (Gao Xiaosheng, *River Flows East*).

Chen Zhengzhi (2001, p. 117) gives an example of a tactful circumlocution in the speech of a manipulative schoolchild:

- (7) 妈，暑假的时候，我班的班长要到英国去旅行，副班长要到日本去，排长要去欧洲，跟我坐一起的小毛，也要去东南亚玩。他们都要出国旅行，都要出国旅行呢！

Mom, during the summer vacation, my class president will travel to the UK, and my class vice-president will go to Japan, and my group leader will go to Europe, and my seatmate Xiao Mao will also go to Southeast Asia. They all will travel abroad, they all will travel abroad!

This whole passage in (7) is qualified by Chen as *wǎnqū* 婉曲. It was said by a student to their mother, hoping and motivating her to organise a trip abroad. It was not directly expressed in the form of a request, but indirectly in the form of a reference to the experience of others.

In order to differentiate between types of ‘tactful circumlocutions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲, Huang and Liao (2007, p. 202), as well as Liu and Yang (2011, p. 202), suggest distinguishing between ‘[tactful] paraphrases’ *qūyǔ* 曲语 (mostly non-euphemistic in terms of this project) and ‘gentle words’ *wǎnyán* 婉言 (primarily euphemistic).

In the same way, Yang (1999, p. 282f) splits ‘tactful circumlocutions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲 into two sub-types: ‘mild and indirect expressions’ *wǎnzhuǎn* 婉转 (a broader term for tactful, polite paraphrases, extending beyond the scope of the working definition of euphemism adopted in the project) and taboo-related ‘[expressions of] concealment and embellishment’ *huìshì* 讳饰. In the latter case, speakers face a reality that they do not wish to openly discuss in that they do not want “to violate a taboo” (犯忌). They speak about the reality indirectly and use alternative expressions in order “to evade” (回避), “to conceal” (掩盖), or “to gloss over” (装饰美化) the sensitive topic.

Although neither Huang and Liao (2007) nor Yang (1999) elaborate on the exact taboos that Chinese fiction authors deal with when they implement “gentle words” (Huang & Liao, 2007, p. 202) or “expressions of concealment and embellishment” (Yang, 1999, p. 283), these sub-types of tactful circumlocutions seem to be the closest analogue of euphemisms found in Chinese stylistics.

The following examples might provide us with insight into what kind of taboo entities require the implementation of the above-mentioned stylistic figures:

- (8) 你的个人问题怎么处理呀?——。。。大姐提起这事,我脸热得烫。(刘富道,《眼镜》)  
How are you dealing with your personal problem?—... My eldest sister brought it up and I blushed (Liu Fudao, *Spectacles*).

Here, the expression ‘personal problem’ or ‘personal matter’ *gèrén wèntí* 个人问题 stands for sexual life. Based on the definition of euphemism given in Chapter 2, this expression is euphemistic: it is taboo to directly speaking about sex and sex-related entities, which require euphemistic circumlocution (metonymy PERSONAL FOR SEXUAL). The contextual circumstances (one of the communication partners blushed upon hearing the euphemism) indicate that the expression belongs to a sensitive vocabulary.

(9) 聂耳以 23 岁的青春年华，过早地写下他生命的休止符。（何为，《他的进军号》）

At the young age of 23, Ni Er wrote the “rest” sign in the score of his life (He Wei, *His Call to Advance*).

The paraphrase ‘write the “rest” [musical notation sign] in the score of one’s life’ *xiěxià shēngmìng de xiūzhǐfú* 写下生命的休止符 stands for death, particularly the death of a musician. Although it is not a conventional euphemism for death in Chinese (none of the consulted Chinese lexicographic works include it), this metaphor is nevertheless a creative, novel euphemism that denotes the universal taboo of death.

(10) “谁……谁没有了？”我其实是已经大概知道的了，但还是问。“魏大人，前天没有的。”（鲁迅，《孤独者》）

“Who... who is gone?” Actually, I already knew, more or less, but still asked. “Master Wei, he passed away the day before yesterday” (Lu Xun, *The Loner*).

Lu Xun does not invent a novel expression for death. Instead, he deploys the frequently used Chinese euphemism ‘not have [anymore]’ or ‘not exist [anymore]’ *méiyǒu [le]* 没有[了] (DD-0032b), avoiding the direct term ‘die’, in reference to Master Wei—a respected person.

Therefore, “gentle words” (Huang & Liao, 2007, p. 202) or “expressions of concealment and embellishment” (Yang, 1999, p. 283) can either be expressions coined by authors for certain occasions as unconventional euphemisms in order to disguise taboo realities, as in (8), or common expressions deployed for the same purposes, as in (7) and (9).<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ge (2011, p. 112) argues that “tactful circumlocutions” (婉曲) are non-conventional, indirect expressions in the speech of individuals that are customised to communicative situations, while “tactful expressions” (委婉语) are conventional terms of common vocabulary with a “relatively stable tactful meaning” (相对稳定的委婉意义).

Yang (1999, pp. 283-285) observes that “expressions of concealment and embellishment” are common not only in literary texts but also in daily speech. These can be content words (‘have joy’ *yǒu xǐ* 有喜 instead of ‘get pregnant’ *huáiyùn* 怀孕), pronouns (‘that thing’ or ‘that one’ *nàge* 那个 (BS-0965) instead of any taboo item), or combination of both (‘that stuff’ *nàge yìsi* 那个意思 (BS-0965b) instead of any taboo item). All these examples fit within this project’s working definition of euphemism if they are applied to taboo entities (sex, body, reproduction, death, disease, etc.). However, once Chinese stylistics scholars claim that “tactful circumlocutions” transcend the domain of taboo realities and can be broadly used in any situation of discomfort between communication partners (cf. “tactful words expressing rejection” 委婉的拒绝词 in Liu & Yang, 2011, p. 204),<sup>39</sup> these cases of figurative language use can no longer be treated as euphemistic since they do not correspond to any taboo-related entity.

## SUMMARY

Euphemistic paraphrasing as a specific case of the general and commonly used stylistic term *wǎnqū* 婉曲 is translated here as ‘tactful circumlocutions’, following Yang (1999, p. 282). Despite their similarity to euphemisms (intentionality, indirectness, pursuit for politeness, and appropriateness), these are not necessarily euphemistic since tactfulness can be deployed when speakers describe realities that have nothing to do with taboos, fears, breaches of etiquette, disgust, or superstition. Positive qualities are also paraphrased in order to avoid unnecessary or involuntary flattery. Tactful circumlocutions can also be used when an author wants to create jocular or ironic effect, one that cannot be qualified as euphemistic (i.e. concealing an unpleasant or negative side of reality).

The Chinese terms ‘gentle words’ *wǎnyán* 婉言 and ‘[words of] concealment and embellishment’ *huìshì* 讳饰 denote a sub-type of ‘tactful expressions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲. They are more specific in

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. Chen’s example (2001, p. 118) of a polite rejection of a marriage proposal: ‘I am sorry, I am not psychologically ready yet. I think it is better just to stay friends’ *Duìbùqǐ, wǒ hái méiyǒu xīnlǐ zhǔnbèi. Wǒ juéde wǒmen dāng pǔtōng péngyǒu jiào hǎo* 对不起，我还没有心理准备。我觉得我们当普通朋友较好, qualified as a “tactful circumlocution” *wǎnqū* 婉曲 and opposed to the direct rejection ‘I will not marry you’ *Wǒ bù jiàgěi nǐ* 我不嫁给你.

that they describe euphemistic uses of language—an intentionally indirect way of referring to a taboo reality by means of evasive and florid alternatives.

Since euphemistic paraphrasing and substitution in fiction and creative writing do not exhaust the entire range of possible scenarios in which euphemisms emerge in language, it is necessary to look into an alternative paradigm that can provide a broader view of Chinese euphemisms used in language of different registers and genres.



## 4.2 Tactful expressions *weiwanyu* in Chinese lexical studies

Chinese scholars studying ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 as units of common language place their observations of euphemistic expressions in the context of either linguistic taboos or linguistic politeness. The first approach is usually focused on the socio-linguistic impact of euphemisms as a reaction of language to societal restrictions and taboos, while the second perspective provides semantic insight into the relationship between euphemistic meaning and other types of expressive meaning, seeing euphemisms as a form of polite language.

### 4.2.1 *Weiwanyu* as substitutions of taboo realities

The Chinese term for taboo ‘forbidden and avoided’ *jìnjì* 禁忌 is not limited to language. It describes any banned behavioural scenarios and practices, including dietary restrictions, sexual constraints, boundaries in human interactions, religious prohibitions, etc. In his essays on ‘common taboo customs’ *mínjiān jìnjì fēngsú* 民间禁忌风俗, the Chinese folklorist Wan Jianzhong (2015) introduces forbidden practices in a wide variety of situations: boiled dumpling are not served as a first dish for guests; when tea is served, the teapot spout should not be pointing at anyone sitting at the table; in the bedroom, one might sleep pointing in any direction—except with one’s head facing the window; one should not urinate on the firewood collected for heating the cooking utensils; etc.

For primarily linguistic prescriptions, one might choose the term ‘language taboo’ *yǔyánjìnjì* 语言禁忌 or *yǔhuì* 语讳 while forbidden expressions themselves can be termed ‘taboo words’ *jìnjìyǔ* 禁忌语 (Ge, 2011, p. 110). The substitution of taboo terms for their neutral or even luck-bringing analogues are seen as cases of functional variation in language (功能变体, Ge, 2011, p. 109). Contextual variables (time of communication, place of communication, goals of communication, status of communication partners) determine the choice of words and expressions. Below, for convenience, three large groups of language taboos are distinguished.

**a. Language taboos based on homophony with inauspicious or ominous entities**

Ge Benyi's *Introduction to Linguistics* (2011, p. 110-112) provides several examples of taboo words and their substitutions in Mandarin Chinese based on superstitions and ominous associations, which denote "dangerous situations, accidents, failures, unsuccessful course of events, etc." (危险情况、事故、失败、不顺利等等).

Language taboos of this kind are motivated by the homophony of the disregarded word with inauspicious events or objects. When fish is served and its fillet is eaten from one side, one may not say 'turn it over [to eat the fillet on the other side]' *fānguòlai* 翻过来 since the verb 'turn over' *fān* 翻 is associated with a 'capsized ship' *fānchúan* 翻船 or a 'sunken ship' *chénchúan* 沉船 and generally with misfortune.<sup>40</sup> Instead, one should say 'turn it to the right side' *zhèngguòlai* 正过来, 'set it in order' *shùnguòlai* 顺过来, or 'draw it to the other side' *huáguòlai* 划过来. Butchers and chefs substitute the term 'pig tongue' *zhūshétou* 猪舌头 or *zhūshé* 猪舌 with 'pig profit' *zhūlì* 猪利 in order to avoid the inauspicious homophony of 'tongue' *shé* 舌 (*shétou* 舌头) and 'financial loss' *shě* 舍 (*shěběn* 舍本) while seeking to bring good luck to their business by uttering the word 'profit', 'gains', or 'benefits' *lì* 利 (*lìrùn* 利润 or *yínglì* 盈利). When dumplings fall apart in boiling water, one may not say that 'the dumplings got cracked while cooking' *shuǐjiǎo zhǔpò le* 水饺煮破了 due to the inauspicious association of the term 'crack' or 'break' *pò* 破 with destruction and misfortune. Instead, one might utter the completely fanciful phrase 'dumplings set themselves free while cooking' *shuǐjiǎo zhǔ zhèngle* 水饺煮挣了, which has the additional positive association of the term 'get free' *zhèng* 挣 with 'earn money' *zhèngqián* 挣钱.

Similar examples are given in Sui (2018, p. 39): Chinese used to avoid the word 'buy' *mǎi* 买 in regard to the purchase of sacred images or statues, since this was considered an act of 'blasphemy of spirits' *xièdú shénlíng* 亵渎神灵; instead, the verb 'ask', 'invite', or 'request' *qǐng* 请 was preferred.

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<sup>40</sup> Language taboos can be accompanied by behavioural prohibitions. In this case, once the fish fillet is eaten on the top surface, instead of turning the fish onto its other side, one may remove the fish bones with chopsticks and continue eating the remaining fillet on the bottom.

Amy He Yun's survey article on taboos in Mandarin Chinese (2016, p. 380) combines all sorts of infelicitous words and their proper substitutions into one category (various "aspects of human existence"). The following obsolete cases are taken by He (2016, p. 389) from *The Miscellaneous Records from the Bean Garden* 《菽园杂记》 by Lu Rong 陆容 (1436–1494):

- (1) 'Fast' + nominal suffix '(e)r' *kuàir* 快儿 stands for chopsticks (in Modern Chinese is written in form *kuài* 筷; the original and nowadays bookish word for 'chopsticks' *zhù* 箸 is homophonous with the inauspicious 'stop' *zhù* 住 in the parlance of sailors);
- (2) 'Wiping cloth' *mābù* 抹布 used to stand for sailcloth (nowadays used in the literal meaning 'rag, dish towel'; back in the days the first element of the original term for 'sailcloth' *fānbù* 帆布 is homophonous with the inauspicious 'turn over' *fān* 翻 which is ominous for sailors).

He (2016, p. 390) also finds cases of how taboos based on inauspicious homophony are handled in other regional varieties of Chinese:

- (3) 'Round fruit' *yuánguǒ* 圆果 stands for pear (obsolete, regional; the word 'pear' *lí* 梨 is homophonous with the inauspicious 'leave, depart' *lí* 离);
- (4) 'Vertical bamboo hat' *shùlǐ* 竖笠 stands for umbrella (obsolete, regional; the word 'umbrella' *sǎn* 伞 is homophonous with the inauspicious 'fall apart, break up' *sàn/sǎn* 散);
- (5) 'Big insect' *dàchóng* 大虫 or 'cat' *māo* 猫 stand for tiger instead of *hú* 虎 (dialectal, Changsha);
- (6) 'White fruit', 'ginkgo [seeds]' *báiguǒ* 白果 *báiguǒ* stands for hen's egg instead of *jīdàn* 鸡蛋 (regional, Beijing; possibly due to the dysphemistic meaning of *dàn* 蛋 meaning not only eggs, but also testicles).

Language taboos often come with behavioural restrictions. Popular Chinese taboos of this kind are gift-related prohibitions such as '[offering] the sliced pieces of pears' *fēnlí* 分梨 due to its inauspicious acoustic similarity with 'bid farewell' *fēnlí* 分离 and 'giving clocks as presents' *sòngzhōng* 送钟 due to its inauspicious acoustic similarity with 'see [the deceased] off at [her/his] end [of life]' *sòngzhōng* 送终, designating the funerals of one's parents or senior relatives. Nor should apples be brought to patients when they are visited by relatives or friends in hospitals since

the pronunciation of ‘apple’ *píngguǒ* 苹果 in Shanghainese is similar to that of the expression ‘die of disease’ *bìnggù* 病故 (Mao, Chen, and Chen 2001, p. 316).

#### **b. Name taboos**

‘Name taboos’ *míng huì* 名讳 or simply *huì* 讳, also translated as “taboos of naming and addressing” (He, 2016, p. 380), are probably one of the earliest and most specific types of sensitive vocabulary in Mandarin Chinese. This prohibition applies to the use of a certain Chinese character found in proper names of respected individuals.

Name taboos—associated with political, cultural, and ideological restrictions in imperial China—are extremely rare in the contemporary language use. Rather sparse cases are by no means commonly accepted anymore and are, instead, region- and family-specific, including when parents choose not to give their children certain names that would resemble ancestors’ names.

Chen Yuan’s (1928) pivotal work on *huì* 讳 summarises numerous examples of this sort in Chinese historiography, tracing the first records of taboos in Zhou Dynasty.<sup>41</sup> The ‘study of name taboos’ builds a separate historical discipline, *shǐ huì xué* 史讳学, in China. A comprehensive list of name taboos in Chinese texts of different dynasties can be found in the lexicon compiled by Wang Yankun (1997). A detailed overview of the research in this field can be found in Piotr Adamek’s doctoral thesis on the tabooing of names in China (2012, pp. 20–30). A pioneering work in Western scholarship on Chinese taboos and euphemisms by Rev. H. Friend (1881) provides examples of name taboos in Chinese literature (the avoidance of words that contain similar sounds in the names of senior relatives as well as “prejudices” against words that contain similar sounds in the names of former chiefs, including emperors), supporting the idea that various personal name taboos were still observable in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century China.

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<sup>41</sup> The phenomenon of taboo personal names is not unique to China: e.g. practice of (*uku*)*hlonipha* (Zulu) can be found in southern Africa as a form of respectful behaviour, both verbal (married women must avoid uttering the father-in-law’s name) and non-verbal (specific activities), cf. Irvine and Gunner’s (2018) recent revision of this term.

The terms ‘monarchical name taboo’ *shìhuì* 史讳 or *jūnhuì* 君讳 are usually applied to strict prohibitions of use personal names of emperors and their fathers and grandfathers in speech and writing.

A more general term for name taboos is ‘words that are avoided’ *bìhuì* 避讳, which encompasses all cases of prohibition to use the personal names of emperors, family members of emperors, officials of different ranks and positions, teachers and scholars, and clergy, as well as (on a wider scale) elders, senior relatives, etc.

Based on their scope of use, name taboos were also divided into ‘national name taboos’ *guóhuì* 国讳 and ‘family/clan name taboos’ *jiāhuì* 家讳: the former were also known as ‘public taboos’ *gōnghuì* 公讳 while the latter were also called ‘private taboos’ *sīhuì* 私讳.

An early, well-known example of a national taboo is the term ‘scholar’ *xiùcái* 秀才, which was strictly forbidden under the rule of Emperor Guangwu of Han 汉光武 (5 BC – 57 AD). Instead, *màocái* 茂才, an alternative term for ‘scholar’, was used. This is due to the personal name of the Emperor *Liú Xiù* 刘秀, which contained the character ‘superior, blooming’ *xiù* 秀. The use of the alternative ‘luxuriant’ *mào* 茂 is motivated by the name taboo.

An example of a private name taboo is presented in the Classical Chinese novel *Dream of The Red Chamber* 《红楼梦》 by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (mid-18<sup>th</sup> century). In the novel, the given name of Lin Daiyu’s 林黛玉 mother is ‘agile’ *mǐn* 敏, which her daughter tries to substitute or avoid completely. Whenever Lin Daiyu encounters “the character *mǐn* 敏, she read it as ‘concealed’ *mì* 密, and she did so every time; when she had to write the character *mǐn* 敏, she omitted one or two brush strokes” (凡中有『敏』字, 她皆念作『密』字, 每每如是; 写字遇着『敏』字, 又減一二笔。).

Family or clan name taboos could create serious problems for people affected by these social prohibitions. He (2016, p. 387-389) provides an interesting example of criticism against ‘name taboo’ *huì* 讳 in the Tang Dynasty. The prominent Tang Dynasty poet Han Yu 韩愈 (768–824) composed his well-known essay *Against Taboo* 《讳辩》, which contains the following line:

父名晋肃，子不得举进士；若父名仁，子不得为人呼？

If the father's name is *Jinsù* 晋肃, the son is not allowed to take the *Jinshì* 进士 exam; if the father's name is *Rén* 仁, is the son not allowed to be called “human” (*rén* 人)?

This sarcastic remark refers to the friend of Han Yu: the poet Li He 李贺 (790–816). Li He was not given permission to partake in the ‘highest imperial examinations’ *jìnshì* 进士 because his father's name contained the character *jìn* 晋, which is homonymous with the name of the academic title and violates the family name taboo.

Chinese scribes used various ways to avoid violating name taboos, cf. Gong's (2017) terms describing such techniques: ‘omission of a stroke in a character’ *quēbǐ* 缺笔, ‘[complete] omission of a character’ *quēzì* 缺字, ‘replacement/substitution of a character’ *huànzì* 换字, and ‘change of reading of a character’ *gǎiyīn* 改音. A similar and more elaborate typology of hiding techniques is given in Adamek's dissertation (2012, pp. 64–75), which can be summarised in the following way:

1. **Replacement of characters** (this category includes cases in which characters have same or similar meanings, related meanings, opposite meanings, same or similar reading, etc.).

Cf. replacement of ‘right, straight’ *zhèng* 正 with ‘upright, proper’ *duān* 端;

2. **Graphic alteration of characters**

- a. Addition of an extra element, cf. *yǒu* 莠 instead of *xiù* 秀;
- b. Omission of an element, cf. *yú* 禺 instead of *yóng* 颙;
- c. Substitution of an element, cf. *yù* 喻 instead of *yú* 渝;
- d. Change of the position of an element in a character, cf. *xīng* 𠄎 instead of *xīng* 星;
- e. Fragmentation of a character, cf. *rihuá* 日华 instead of *yè* 晔;
- f. Omission of strokes, cf. *xuán* 𠄎 instead of *xuán* 玄;

3. **Omission of characters**

- a. Full omission of a character, cf. *Wáng Chōng* 王充 instead of *Wáng Shìchōng* 王世充;
- b. Gap/empty place in text;
- c. Using character *wéi* 匚;
- d. Using characters ‘some [character]’ *mǒu* 某 and ‘taboo [character]’ *huì* 讳.

4. **Paralinguistic methods** (e.g. covering the taboo character with a piece of yellow paper).

Some of these manipulations with words and characters are undertaken to build euphemistic expressions for ‘forbidden’ entities not related to personal names. See the examples of euphemisms for death with the characters *shì* 世 and *dài* 代 in Chapter 5.1.

### c. **Language taboos related to death, disease, and body**

Apart from ominous homophones and name taboos, there are entities and corresponding terms that are associated with the taboos of death, funerals, burials, afterlife, disease, mental and physical defects, the body and its excreted and fluids, sex organs, sex acts, reproduction, marriage, pregnancy, etc. (Ge, 2011, p. 111).

In her article on taboos in Mandarin Chinese (2016, p. 380), Amy He Yun gives various reasons for the genesis of these taboos, including ritual and/or physical uncleanness, boundaries of privacy, conscious and unconscious fears, expression of respect, etc.

The “linguistic realizations” of taboos (Shen, 1996) are expressions like ‘severe illness’ *dàbìng* 大病 (DD-0068) instead of the taboo word ‘death’ *sǐ* 死, ‘white affairs’ *báishì* 白事 (DF-0555) instead of ‘funeral affairs’ *sāngshì* 丧事 based on the culturally-specific metaphor DEATH IS WHITE, and ‘heavenly flowers’ *tiānhuā* 天花 (ID-0782b) instead of ‘smallpox’ *dòuchuāng* 痘疮.

These cases are treated as entries of different taboo categories introduced in Amy He’s (2016) overview:

**Category 1** captures products of the human digestive system and the human metabolism, namely urine and faeces, as well as related processes, such as urination, defecation, and flatulence: ‘nocturnal fragrance’ *yèxiāng* 夜香 (BE-1516) stands for faeces (obsolete); ‘[corn] pancake’ *bābā* 粑粑 (BE-1427) stands for faeces (modern, dialectal, baby-talk);

**Category 2** includes different sexual practices, as well as sex organs (genitalia), sex-related objects (toys, films, etc.), sex work (prostitution in the first instance), violations of sexual morality (i.e. adultery): ‘blue-green house’ or ‘teal house’ *qīnglóu* 青楼 (BP-1362) stands for brothel (obsolete); ‘bed play’ *chuángxi* 床戏 (BS-0904) stands for sex scene in a movie (modern);

**Category 3** deals with death, funerals and burials, as well as diseases and disabilities—all put in one domain since physical and mental disorders used to be seen as types of disease, which, in the worst cases, cause death. Euphemistic substitutions for death varied based on the social class, gender, age, and occupation of the deceased, as well as the circumstances of their death: ‘bury jade’ *zàngyù* 葬玉 (DD-0524) stands for untimely death of a beautiful female (obsolete); ‘not agile’ *bùlǐngbiàn* 不灵便 (ID-0833) stands for physical difficulties and impairments (modern).

As seen from this summary, corporeal taboos are subdivided into those that are related to non-sexual physiological processes (Category 1) and those that belong to human sexuality (Category 2). Borderline cases are taboos on menstrual blood and sperm: as effluvia they are placed in Category 1, though functionally menstruation and ejaculation belong to sexual reproduction contextualised in Category 2 (cf. ‘moon waters’ *yuèshuǐ* 月水 (BM-1558) for menstrual blood and ‘little red has come’ *xiǎohóng lái le* 小红来了 (BM-1552) for the beginning of menses).

Similar taboo domains of sensitive vocabulary that require ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 or ‘[tactful] substitutions’ *tìdàiyǔ* 替代语 are mentioned by Ge (2002, p. 111), who differentiates between six categories: (1) death, funerals and burials, clothes and other items related to the deceased and the buried, and afterlife; (2) diseases, disorders, and disabilities; (3) reproduction, reproductive organs, and related items and phenomena; (4) secretory organs, excreted, and related items and phenomena; (5) marriage, sex, sexuality, and related items and phenomena; and (6) dangerous situations, accidents, misfortunes, unfortunate turns of events, etc.<sup>42</sup>

When taboo domains intersect with one another, namely in case of impotence and sexually transmitted diseases as an intersection of DISEASE and SEXUALITY, euphemistic formation is particularly productive (cf. ‘disease of flower and willow’ *huāliǔbìng* 花柳病 (ID-0847) for sexually transmitted disease).

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<sup>42</sup> A taboo might be supported by unpleasant associations evoked by certain direct terms. Ge (2002, p. 111) exemplifies the so-called “provoking expressions” (具有刺激性的说法) with the term ‘perform a surgical operation’ (lit. ‘cut with a knife’) *kāidāo* 开刀 which induces the negative association ‘use the knife in order to rip one’s flesh’ (用刀子把肉割开) and, therefore, is substituted by a more “tactful” term ‘operate’ (lit. ‘[do] a manual trick’) *[dòng] shǒushù* [动]手术 with no negative connotations.



## SUMMARY

Taboos in China—traditionally the object of anthropological, folklore, and cultural studies—come to the attention of linguists when researchers investigate various language prohibitions. Significantly, taboo-based linguistic prescriptions are never universal or omnipresent but always culture- and community-specific, never panchronic but always restricted to a specific point in time and history. They are grounded in perceptions of ritual impurity and physical uncleanness, various fears, and in the understanding of what is sacred and auspicious or cursed and ominous.

One of the oldest forms of linguistic taboos in China are ‘name taboos’ *hui* 讳, understood as a ban on the use of particular characters that were part of the personal names of different social groups that enjoyed respect and authority. Numerous examples of prohibitions on names are found in the pages of historical chronicles and classical works of Chinese literature, exerting significant influence on the public and private lives of the Chinese until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to social, political, and cultural changes in Chinese society over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, name taboos became substantially less relevant, but the rich repertoire of formal means of avoiding these taboos has been inherited by new euphemisms in Modern Mandarin.

Apart from ‘name taboos’ *hui* 讳, numerous linguistic prohibitions in China related to death, murder, funerals, mourning, disease, physical and mental disability, sexuality, corporality, prostitution, infidelity, crime, etc., permeated personal and social life and spawned countless expressions of ‘sensitive vocabulary’ that correspond to the above-mentioned taboo domains. From this point of view, euphemisms are intrinsically linked to taboos as linguistic realisations of or reactions to extralinguistic taboo realities.

Finally, there is a specific group of taboos that are linguistically motivated: when the direct name of an object or practice is associated with an inauspicious phenomenon due its acoustic similarity.

### **4.2.2 *Weiwanyu* as expressive forms of polite language**

Politeness in Mandarin Chinese has been established as a separate and fruitful area of studies within Chinese linguistic research (Gu, 1990; Liang, 1998; Kádár, 2007; Lee, 2020), based predominantly on the frameworks of “face” introduced by sociologist Erving Goffman (1967) and

“positive and negative face” proposed by socio-linguists Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987). Goffman’s essays are focused on the so-called “rituals” found in daily interpersonal communication. One’s “face” is understood as a positive construct or projection of ourselves aimed at the outside world and playing the key role in any social interaction. Brown and Levinson use the same term in their linguistic model, referring to the self-esteem of communicants challenged by face-threatening acts. Politeness is therefore understood as a set of strategies to save “face” or to avoid situations of losing “face”. Finally, Chinese researchers of politeness often refer to “politeness maxims” given by linguist Geoffrey Leech (1983; revised 2007) following “conversational maxims” postulated by semanticist Paul Grice (1975). The maxims of QUANTITY (be sufficiently and reasonably informative), QUALITY (make true statements that are supported by evidence), RELEVANCE (be relevant), and MANNER (no ambiguity, no obscurity, no prolixity, be orderly) constitute Grice’s Cooperative Principle. Leech adds new maxims to Grice’s framework: TACT (minimise cost and maximise benefit to others), GENEROSITY (put listeners first), APPROBATION (maximise appraisals of others, minimise negative statements about others), MODESTY (minimise appraisals of self, maximise criticism of self), AGREEMENT (seek agreement, avoid disagreement), and SYMPATHY (maximise sympathy between self and others, minimise antipathy between self and others).

Gu Yueguo (1992) proposed his own set of maxims “with Chinese characteristics” that reflects traditional views on politeness found in Classical Chinese texts:

- (1) **Principle of diminishing/depreciating self and respecting/elevating others** (贬己尊人准则). This maxim is originally found in *The Book of Rites* 《礼记》, which states: “Propriety lies in self-deprecation and veneration of others” (夫礼者，自卑而尊人。《礼记·曲礼上》);
- (2) **Principle of [proper] naming and addressing** (称呼准则). This maxim does not only prescribe the correct use of titles, honorifics, and forms of address but also the vocabulary used by the “high” (“senior”, “noble”, “male”) in contrast with the “low” (“junior”, “ignoble”, “female”) in imperial China;
- (3) **Principle of elegance** (文雅准则). This principle has the following extension: “use elegant language and avoid obscenities; use more euphemisms and fewer blatant expressions” (选用雅言，禁用秽语。多用委婉，少用直言。). Other common modifications of this maxim related to euphemistic and taboo-free polite

language are “avoid vulgarities and aim for elegance” (避俗就雅) and “avoid ominousness and aim for auspiciousness” (避凶就吉);

(4) **Principle of conformity** (求同准则). This principle directly relates to the concept of ‘face’ *liǎn* 脸 or *miànzi* 面子, denoting the feelings, dignity, reputation, and honour of others, all of which must be respected;

(5) **Principle of moral integrity in conduct and speech** (德言行准则). This principle reiterates Leech’s maxims of TACT and GENEROSITY thematised above.

Due to the dramatic socio-cultural transformations that occurred in China in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, a new set of politeness norms emerged and a significant body of honorific and euphemistic vocabulary items disappeared or became obsolete (Gu, 1990, p. 239). Among those that disappeared are the complex system of forms of address and numerous name taboos.

Nevertheless, many communicative strategies that existed in imperial China were partially preserved in contemporary language behaviour. Based on contemporary Chinese monolingual lexicography, Zhou Xiaojuan (2008, p. 46, 49) identifies the following categories of polite language in Modern Mandarin:

1. **‘Respectful forms of address and honorific titles’** *zūnchēng* 尊称

- (1) [Family name] + *lǎo* 老, as in ‘Honorable Chen’ *Chén-lǎo* 陈老;
- (2) ‘Uncle’ *lǎobó* 老伯—a polite form of address to older males (usually, friends of one’s father);

2. **‘Respectful terms or honorifics’** *jìngcí* 敬辞

- (1) ‘Precious store’ *bǎohào* 宝号 meaning ‘your store, shop, business’ or ‘[honourable] name of your company’;
- (2) ‘Have the honour to read’ *bàidú* 拜读 meaning ‘read from you’;

3. **‘Self-depreciatory terms or humilifics’** *qiāncí* 谦辞

- (1) ‘Clumsy writing’ *zhuōzuò* 拙作 meaning ‘my writing/book/article’;
- (2) ‘Humble home’ *hánshè* 寒舍 meaning ‘my home’;<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Radical self-deprecation didn’t manage to sustain in Modern Mandarin. Pan and Kádár (2011, p. 1534) label the expression ‘small dog’ or ‘puppy’ *xiǎoquán* 小犬 meaning ‘my son’ as “anachronistic”.

4. **'Formulaic congratulations and wishes'** zhùcí 祝词

- (1) 'May you enjoy boundless longevity' wànshòu wújiāng 万寿无疆 to wish somebody a long life;
- (2) 'May you give birth to [your] precious son soon' zǎoshēng guìzǐ 早生贵子 to wish newly-weds a happy life with children;

5. **'Conventional polite formulas'** kètàohuà 客套话

- (1) 'I [caused you] a mental fatigue' [ràng nín] fèishénle [让您]费神了 meaning 'thank you [for your help]';
- (2) '[Please] excuse me for all the imperfections' [qǐng] duōduō bāohan [请]多多包涵 to express modesty;

6. **'Set expressions of gratitude'** gǎnjīyǔ 感激语

- (1) 'Thanks a million' wàn fēn gǎnxiè 万分感谢;
- (2) 'Thank [you] again and again' chēngxiè bùzhǐ 称谢不止;

7. **'Formulaic greetings'** wèn hòu cí 问候词

- (1) 'Give somebody one's regards' zhuǎndá wèn hòu 转达问候;
- (2) 'Ask about somebody's health and give greetings' qǐng ān wèn hǎo 请安问好;

8. **'Tactful words'** wǎncí 婉词

- (1) 'Stout' fùtai 富态 meaning fat;
- (2) 'Stop a carriage' dǎngjià 挡驾 meaning turn away a visitor.

The terms 'tactful words' wǎncí 婉词 or 'tactful expressions' wěiwǎnyòngyǔ 委婉用语 used by Zhou Xiaojuan (2008, pp. 49, 206) describe a category of polite expression used to substitute a direct way of saying, when an indirect expression is preferred "in order to avoid embarrassment or maintain ambiguity while keeping something secret or creating a humorous effect".

"Tactfulness" can be expressed in either lexical or grammatical form: in the former case, by lexical items or 'tactful words' wǎncí 婉词; in the latter case, by grammatical structures or so-called 'patterns of tactful language' wěiwǎnyǔyángéshì 委婉语言格式.

Lexical tactfulness is presented by words or set (usually idiomatic) expressions, such as ‘leave [this] world’ *xièshì* 谢世 (DD-0436) or ‘return to the West’ *guīxī* 归西 (DD-0152), both of which mean death.

Euphemistic meaning can be conveyed by grammatic patterns:

(1) 请您给咱看看，指点指点。

Please let us have a look and give some advice.

(2) 你别幼稚好不好。

Don't be naïve, alright?

The example (1) is qualified by Chinese linguists as ‘tactful’ *wěiwǎn* 委婉 (Fang, 2001, p. 274; Zhou, 2008, pp. 206–209) due to its verbal reduplication, which adds a more polite, softer tone to the whole utterance. The example (2) includes another “tactful” pattern—Adjective + Negation + Adjective—at the end of the sentence, which softens its tone.

This broad understanding of tactfulness is common among Chinese researchers of lexis: apart from words substituting direct names for taboo entities related to death, sex, disease, bodily functions, misfortunes, war, crime, imprisonment, body weight, appearance, height, inebriation, abortion, unemployment, ‘tactful language’ *wěiwǎnyǔyán* 委婉语言 includes cases in which mildness and ambiguity are deployed, such as polite and humble requests for favours, polite rejections, hedging, unpopular expressions of judgement, etc. (Zhu, 2018, pp. 10f). This broad understanding of conventional ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 among Chinese scholars of vocabulary is strikingly similar to the examples of ‘tactful circumlocutions’ *wǎnqū* 婉曲 found in fiction by Chinese rhetoricians (see Chapter 4.1).

In this project, only those ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 that replace or circumvent taboo terms that violate social conventions and speech etiquette within a linguistic community will be qualified as euphemistic.

## SUMMARY

The theory of politeness formulated in the works of Goffman, Brown, Levinson, and Leech was incorporated by the Chinese linguists in their research of polite language. The theory is supported by ideas expressed in Classical Chinese texts related to the traditional views on etiquette, politeness, and appropriateness. This interaction of the theory of politeness and Chinese Classical texts is especially noticeable in regards to the principles of self-deprecation and veneration of others, in respectful naming, in taking care of reputational risks and the image of speakers, in striving for elegance, and in avoiding vulgarity.

Thematically heterogeneous ‘tactful words’ *wǎncí* 婉词 represent only one manifestation of polite speech in Chinese, put in the same context as various polite formulas for parting, greeting, exchanging courtesies, expressing gratitude, and good wishes, as well as the complex system of honorary titles, honorifics, and humilifics. ‘Tactfulness’ *wěiwǎn* 委婉 is understood in the very broad sense of adjusting one’s language to the needs of the communication partners complying with the principles of politeness, which significantly exceeds the scope of Western euphemy.

### 4.3 Tactful expressions *Weiwanyu* in specialised Chinese lexicography

#### 4.3.1 Zhang Gonggui's *Dictionary of Chinese Tactful Expressions* (1996)

In his foreword to Zhang Gonggui's *Dictionary of Chinese Tactful Expressions* (1996, p. 2), Wu Tieping notes that, due to the rise of cognitive linguistics in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the unprecedented attention of theoretical linguists to formerly stylistic phenomena (first and foremost within metaphor studies), this work closes a long-standing gap in the contemporary linguistic treatment of euphemisms. As such, it is the first lexicographic reference book in China exclusively dedicated to “tactful” expressions.

The dictionary constitutes the largest data base of Chinese euphemistic expressions available, with around 2,900 lexicographic entries. These entries are either words (e.g. ‘pot of cleanliness’ *jìngtǒng* 净桶 for chamber pot) or set phrases (e.g. ‘personal issue’ *gèrén wèntí* 个人问题 for sex-related matters).

The dictionary does not include novel contemporary euphemisms if they were strongly context-based at the time of the dictionary's publication and still not “well-fledged” or “fossilized” enough to be included as lexicographic entries (Zhang, 1996, p. 3), e.g. ‘that [thing]’ *nàge* 那个 (BS-0965), which might refer to multiple taboo domains, including sex; ‘[she] is going to be a mother soon’ *kuài zuò mā mā le* 快做妈妈了 for being pregnant; and ‘legs and feet are not agile’ *tuǐ jiǎo bù líng biǎn* 腿脚不灵便 (ID-0833) for being lame. Unfortunately, the criteria of what to qualify as a “set expression” or when a word is sufficiently “fossilized” to be included in the dictionary are not thematised.

Zhang Gonggui does not provide readers with his definition of “tactful” expressions. However, an idea of what is considered “tactful” by Chinese lexicographers who worked on this dictionary can be deduced from the range of vocabulary domains to which the entries belong. Moreover, additional information on what a “tactful” expression is can be obtained from the vocabulary entries themselves.

The dictionary organises its entries thematically: there are 13 euphemistic categories that succeed one another (Zhang, 1996, pp. 5–6). Table 1 shows in detail the thematic structure of the dictionary and its corresponding quantitative distribution of lexicographic units in each of the categories. Additionally, the calculation of entries within smaller sub-categories was made for this project in order to compare the relative lexical “density” of taboo domains. For example, the number of euphemisms related to death and sexuality are predictably several times more frequent than those that refer to unemployment or crime. Euphemistic expressions related to excretion and toilets are far fewer than terms describing prostitution.

Unlike other dictionaries of “tactful” expressions, Zhang gives a very short introduction at the beginning of each category, seeking to explain speakers’ motivation for avoiding a direct way of referring to the taboo domain and creating the corresponding indirect expression. These preliminary commentaries on each domain have been recapitulated in English for this project and included in Table 1 as well.

Table 1

Categories and sub-categories of “tactful” expressions in Zhang (1996)	Number of entries
<p><b>1. Death, funeral, and burial</b>  <i>sǐwáng yǔ bīnzàng</i> 死亡与殡葬</p> <p>Death, as the greatest human misfortune, is the most taboo concept in the languages of the world, including Chinese with its huge arsenal of substitutes for the word ‘death’ <i>sǐ</i> 死. Alternatives to the words die and death depend on the social class, social status, and origin of the deceased, from their age, cause of death, circumstances of death, as well as the speaker’s attitude towards the deceased. All concepts related to death, including funerals, the deceased themselves, and their posthumous lives, also have to be replaced by “tactful expressions”. Ways of avoiding direct designations of death are varied, including metaphors relating to sleep, rest, distant travel, return, immortality, ascending to heaven, and so on (p. 1).</p>	<b>749</b>
<p>a. Death  <i>sǐwáng</i> 死亡</p>	481
<p>b. Funeral arrangements</p>	55



<i>sāngshì</i> 丧事	
c. Deceased <i>sǐzhě</i> 死者	40
d. Burial <i>bīnzàng</i> 殡葬	140
e. Afterlife <i>yīnjiān dìyù</i> 阴间地狱	33
<b>2. Disease and disability</b> <b><i>jībìng yǔ shāngcán</i> 疾病与伤残</b> The emergence of “tactful” expressions for illness and disability is mainly associated with the corresponding taboo, as well as with the attempt of speakers to psychologically alleviate the condition of the person involved. Substitutions for some diseases are driven by shame (e.g. of sexual nature) and disgust (e.g. for bouts of vomiting and diarrhea). “Tactful” expressions for disabilities are motivated by a desire not to provoke irritation among the affected people (p. 55).	<b>104</b>
a. Disease <i>jībìng</i> 疾病	69
b. Disability and physiological deficiency <i>shāngcán yǔ shēnglǐ quēxiàn</i> 伤残与生理缺陷	35
<b>3. Secretion and excretion</b> <b><i>fēnmì yǔ páixiè</i> 分泌与排泄</b> Taboos related to excreta are associated with a feeling of disgust for their smell and appearance, as well as with the complex idea of impurity. The “tactful” expressions of this domain also come from “[a desire] to avoid vulgarity and pursuit of elegance” (避俗求雅). The same applies to concepts related to excreta, including toilet facilities. “Tactful” expressions in relation to menstruation and ejaculation (which are associated with reproduction) are caused by sexual taboo with a sense of shame. Alternative terms for tears, sweat, and other bodily fluids are also motivated by the pursuit of elegance in speech and writing, especially if they describe women’s bodily fluids (p. 63).	<b>117</b>
a. Urine, faeces, and flatus <i>dàxiǎobiàn, fàngpì</i> 大小便、放屁	40
b. Toilet	30

<i>cèsuǒ, biànrì</i> 厕所、便器	
c. Urination, defecation, menstruation, and ejaculation <i>xíngjìng, xièjīng</i> 行径、泄精	30
d. Tears, sweat, etc. <i>yǎnlèi, hànshuǐ dēng</i> 眼泪、汗水等	17
<b>4. Sexuality and childbirth</b> <b><i>xìng'ài yǔ shēngyù</i> 性爱与生育</b> The taboo on talking directly about sexual love and sexual desire is deeply rooted in traditional Chinese culture, which tends to “avoid dirty talk” (避褻). The genitalia- and sex-centricity of Chinese swear words and obscenities also reflect the taboo on talking about sexual matters. Extra-marital practices received moral condemnation (and criminal prosecution), which also required corresponding “tactful” terms. Pregnancy and childbirth, as direct continuations of sexual relations, give rise to their euphemisms (p. 73).	<b>590</b>
a. Sexual Desire and Romantic Love <i>xìngyù, qíng'ài</i> 性欲、情爱	166
b. Lascivious Behaviour and Infidelity <i>yínhuì, tōuqíng</i> 淫秽、偷情	142
c. Prostitution <i>màiyìn, piáochāng</i> 卖淫、嫖娼	225
d. Pregnancy and Childbirth <i>huáiyùn, shēngyù</i> 怀孕、生育	57
<b>5. Body organs and physiological changes</b> <b><i>shēntǐ qìguān yǔ shēnglǐ biànhuà</i> 身体器官与生理变化</b> The genitals are directly related to the sexual taboos thematized in Category 4. Beyond the reproductive organs, taboos extend to other parts of the body, including women's breasts and (in the past) women's bound feet. Physiological changes primarily mean ageing. Despite respect for elders in China, there is also a fear of old age and the desire to avoid the topic of old age in speech (怕老、忌老) due to its association with decay and death. Physiological changes include obesity and thinness, ageing, hair graying (not necessarily, but most often related to ageing), baldness, and weakness (p. 120).	<b>126</b>

a. Body organs <i>shēntǐ qìguān</i> 身体器官	74
b. Physiological changes <i>shēnglǐ biànhuà</i> 生理变化	52
<b>6. Crime and punishment</b> <b><i>fànzuì yǔ chéngfá</i> 犯罪与惩罚</b> The origins of “tactful” expressions for crime and punishment are various: from the point of view of the criminals, there is a desire to hide the scale and details of the crime, as well as to whitewash and embellish what was done, mislead, and deceive; for people not involved in the criminal world, “tactful” terms are inspired by various fears and disgust towards crime, as well as the general desire to avoid irritating one’s interlocutors when a sensitive topic is mentioned (p. 130).	<b>237</b>
a. Criminal (illicit) acts <i>ànzùi (wéijìn) xíngwéi</i> 犯罪（违禁）行为	66
b. Criminals (violators) <i>fànzuì (wéijìn) zhě</i> 犯罪（违禁）者	62
c. Illegal (prohibited) items <i>fànzuì (wéijìn) pǐn</i> 犯罪（违禁）品	29
d. Prison and punishment <i>jiānyù, xíngfá</i> 监狱、刑罚	80
<b>7. War and disaster</b> <b><i>zhànluàn yǔ zāihuò</i> 战乱与灾祸</b> War is defined by Zhang (1996) as the highest form of political conflict and controversy, which tends to result in large-scale destruction and death, causing speakers to hate, fear, curse, and avoid talking about war directly. Typical to the Chinese language is the use of archaic names for weapons and military devices, which metaphorically and metonymically stand for military operations (cf. ‘shield and battle ax’ <i>gān’gē</i> 干戈 and ‘weapons and armor’ <i>bīnggé</i> 兵革 for war). For a similar reason, negative associations with war and the psychological reluctance of speakers to accept the consequences of social upheavals and natural disasters demand language users to describe this experience in “tactful” (委婉) and “vague” (含糊其词) manner. Finally, the	<b>104</b>

<p>taboo is also associated with belief in the magic of the word—the ability of the spoken word to physically influence the surrounding reality. This belief has survived rudimentary in various superstitions (p. 150).</p>	
<p>a. War <i>zhànluàn</i> 战乱</p>	71
<p>b. Disaster <i>zāihuò</i> 灾祸</p>	33
<p><b>8. Family and marriage</b> <i>jiātíng yǔ hūnpèi</i> 家庭与婚配</p> <p>Expressions in this category are formed not so much on the basis of a taboo but rather on Chinese ideas about what is ‘elegant’ (典雅) and ‘vulgar’ (粗俗). Degrees of ‘elegance’ vary: the father-in-law (wife’s father) can be denoted as ‘old man’ <i>zhàngrén</i> 丈人 (neutral or colloquial), ‘[wife’s] father’ <i>yuèfù</i> 岳父 (more elegant than <i>zhàngrén</i> 丈人), ‘Mount Taishan’ <i>tàishān</i> 泰山, or ‘old man [who is as transparent and pure as] ice’ <i>bīngwēng</i> 冰翁 (even more elegant than <i>yuèfù</i> 岳父). Elegance also depends on the social status of the person to whom the term refers. Replacing the colloquial expression for wife ‘old woman’ <i>lǎopo</i> 老婆 with the term ‘wife’ <i>qīzi</i> 妻子 can be considered a step towards greater elegance. In the hierarchical structure of ancient China, <i>qīzi</i> 妻子 could only be applied to common people (老百姓), which makes it a taboo word (忌讳词) or an “obviously disrespectful” term (显得不敬) if applied to the ‘wife of the emperor’ <i>hòu</i> 后, the ‘wives of aristocrats’ <i>fūrén</i> 夫人, the ‘wives of high-ranking officials’ <i>rúrén</i> 孺人, or the ‘wives of ordinary officials’ <i>fūrén</i> 妇人. In patriarchal China, direct neutral names for a husband uttered by a wife were considered unacceptable. On the contrary, husbands allowed themselves to use implicitly derogatory names for their wives (humilifics 谦词), which was considered the norm of polite language, cf. ‘[my] maid (from the inner chambers)’ <i>nèiren</i> 内人 or ‘[my] person with [hairpins made of] chaste tree’ <i>jīngrén</i> 荆人. Taboos have been implicated in the formation of “tactful” expressions for events frowned upon by public morality or those too sensitive to directly mention, including the division of property between brother heirs and marital separation (兄弟</p>	323

分家), divorce (夫妻离异), the abandonment of a wife by her husband (女子被弃), and a woman's second marriage (改嫁) (p. 158).	
a. Forms of address and relationships between spouses <i>fūqī chēngwèi yǔ guānxi</i> 夫妻称谓与关系	113
b. Forms of address and relationships with other family members <i>qítā chéngyuán chēngwèi yǔ guānxi</i> 其他成员称谓与关系	64
c. Marriage <i>hūnpèi jià qǔ</i> 婚配嫁娶	126
d. Matchmaker <i>méishuò</i> 媒妁	20
<b>9. Interpersonal relationships and forms of address</b> <b><i>rénjì guānxi yǔ chēngwèi</i> 人际关系与称谓</b> Words and phrases in this category are polite forms of address and self-address dictated by the norms of etiquette, as well as various forms of polite refusal and tactful criticism in relation to the interlocutor (p. 185).	<b>108</b>
a. Social interaction and communication <i>yìngchóu, jiāojiè</i> 应酬、交际	50
b. Self-address and forms of address to others <i>zìchēng, duìchēng</i> 自称、对称	58
<b>10. Occupation and [adverse] circumstances</b> <b><i>zhíyè yǔ jìngyù</i> 职业与境遇</b> Words in this category reflect the traditional Chinese concept of “noble” (高贵) and “low” or “base” (低贱) professions and public services. The latter needed embellishment (for example, the use of the word ‘master’ <i>shī</i> 师) and tactful expressions (for example, euphemisms for eunuchs in imperial China). The domain also contains the terms for job loss and unemployment, as well as for career failures and, more generally, for any unfortunate events in a person's life (p. 194).	<b>230</b>
a. Occupation and rank <i>zhíyè, dìwèi</i> 职业、地位	111
b. Unemployment and dismissal <i>shīyè, címiǎn</i> 失业、辞免	56

c. Fatigue and frustration <i>kùndùn, shīyì</i> 困顿、失意	63
<b>11. Money and economy</b> <i>qiáncái yǔ jīngjì</i> 钱财与经济 Word substitutions for money and wealth are associated with a superstitious fear of losing money if it is mentioned directly or shown openly. Losing money meant being poor, losing social status, and facing the rejection of others. A traditional association between money and dirt reinforces the desire of the speakers to find alternative ways of talking about money and their financial situations, cf. ‘stink of copper’ <i>tóngchòuwèi</i> 铜臭味 for money and wealth, especially if it is acquired by dishonest means (p. 213).	<b>162</b>
a. Gold, silver, and money <i>jīnyín qiáncái</i> 金银钱财	66
b. Trade <i>jīngshāng</i> 经商	17
c. Reward and income <i>chóuxiè, shōurù</i> 酬谢、收入	52
d. Poverty and debt <i>pínqióng, kuīkong</i> 贫穷、亏空	27
<b>12. Character traits and temper</b> <i>pǐnzhì yǔ xìngqíng</i> 品质与性情 This section brings together “tactful” expressions that describe flaws in the human character, errors of various kinds, and terms that mean “bad” or “of poor quality” (p. 227).	<b>36</b>
<b>13. Names of plants and animals</b> <i>dòngzhíwù míngchēng</i> 动植物名称 Fear of wild animals and poisonous snakes gave rise to the first replacements for the words tiger, wolf, yellow weasel, snake, etc. The idea of inauspicious names is also found among plant names, including the ‘round fruit’ <i>yuánguǒ</i> 圆果 for pear (based on the consonance of the words ‘pear’ <i>lí</i> 梨 and the negatively connoted ‘parting’ <i>lí</i> 离) <sup>44</sup> (p. 230).	<b>24</b>

<sup>44</sup> Amusingly, the Japanese word for pear has its own euphemistic substitution based on a different homophony: “The Japanese word NASHI, ‘pear’ (梨/なし) is homophonous with the word for ‘nothing’, so you may if you wish have recourse to ARI-NO-MI, ‘fruit of something’ (有りの実). Even a pear’s feelings ought to be respected” (Enright, 1986, p. 10).

Such a thematic diversity in the dictionary of “tactful” expressions testifies to Zhang’s (1996) extremely broad interpretation of the term “tactful”. Apart from terms related to domains of death, disease, excretion, sex and sexuality, ageing and obesity, money and crime, and unemployment and precarious life circumstances—which are traditionally treated as euphemistic or sensitive in Western linguistics—the dictionary includes set expressions for polite refusals and forms of polite criticism that are not usually treated as euphemistic in anglophone scholarship. By placing respectful terms, self-depreciatory terms and honorifics in Sections 8 and 9, the lexicographer implies that ‘tactful words’ *wǎncí* 婉词 is an umbrella term for all expressive forms of polite language which conflicts with other scholars of Chinese lexis (Chapter 4.2.2).

Zhang (1996) uses various labels for “tactful” expressions in his dictionary definitions:

1. ‘Tactful designation for X’ (X的婉称)  
 ‘[One’s body] does not feel pleasant’: a tactful designation for being ill  
 【不快】患病的婉称
2. ‘Tactfully refers to X’ (婉指X)  
 ‘Give up one’s body’: tactfully refers to dying for a righteous cause  
 【弃躯】婉指为正义事业而舍弃生命。
3. ‘Tactful expression for X’ (婉言X)  
 ‘Stomach bursts’: tactful expression for diarrhoea  
 【破腹】婉言腹泻。
4. ‘Tactful word for X’ (X的婉辞)  
 ‘Human way’: originally served as a tactful word for sexual intercourse between a man and a woman; later used to tactfully refer to the penis  
 【人道】本为男女性交的婉辞。后用以婉指阴茎。
5. ‘Word used to avoid a taboo reference to X’ (X的讳称)  
 ‘Illness poison’: word used to avoid a taboo reference to syphilis  
 【病毒】梅毒的讳称。
6. ‘Vague expression’ (模糊说法)  
 ‘Illness poison’: since one feels ashamed of directly speaking about syphilitic disease, a vague expression is used instead  
 【病毒】梅毒病羞于直言，故采用模糊说法。

7. ‘Veiled designation for X’ (X的隐称)

‘Poisonous sore’: veiled designation for syphilis

【毒疮】梅毒的隐称。

8. ‘Ambiguous expression’ (含糊说法)

‘Poisonous sore’: since syphilitic disease is sexually transmitted, it is difficult to talk about it with others openly, therefore an ambiguous expressions is used

【毒疮】梅毒病因为性交传染，难以启口告人，故采用含糊说法。

雅称

9. ‘Elegant designation for X’ (的雅称) or ‘refer elegantly to X’ (雅称X)

‘Valley path’: elegant designation for anus

【谷道】肛门的雅称。

‘Golden lotus’: elegantly refers to women’s bound feet in former times

【金莲】雅称旧时女子的小脚

This system of labelling has been inherited by later specialised dictionaries, such as those of Hong (2010) and Zhu (2018), discussed below.

One of the greatest values of this lexicographic work is the morphemic analysis of tactful words and expressions, as well as the explanation of the motivation behind them. This is particularly valuable in regards to archaic euphemisms, for which the motivation is often unclear or dubious.

For example, it is uncertain what kind of “mat” or “pad” is meant in the archaic euphemism ‘remove a woven mat’ *chèxí* 彻席 (DD-0050), which stands for death. HDC (2010) mentions only that it is used as “tactful” expression denoting human death (人死的婉辞). Is it implied that the removal of a mat, used as a seat during banquets in China and removed after a feast, metaphorically stands for the end of one’s life? This assumption would be challenged by Zhang (1996, p. 4), who gives a full explanation of each of character, as well as a commentary on the funerary convention behind this expression. Each morphemes in the word is expanded by a disyllabic synonym: “remove a pad: take away a bed pad; tactful designation of death” (【彻席】撤去床席。死亡的婉称). This analysis is followed by the reference to the funeral ritual: “in old days it was customary to get rid of the bed pad of the deceased, therefore it is said so.” (旧俗人死则撤去床席，故称).



This should be compared to the following definitions of the obsolete euphemistic term for ‘grave’  
*yōuxū* 幽墟 (DF-0675):

HDC (2010): *yōuxū*: (1) refers to a remote place; (2) refers to a tomb [or grave].

【幽墟】(1) 指边远之地。(2) 指坟墓。

Zhang (1996): *yōuxū*: ‘remoted, [secluded, dark’ stands for] the netherworld; ‘mound, [ruins, place’ stands for] a hill [or a mound]. A tomb rises like a mound; therefore ‘dark hill’ refers tactfully to a tomb [or grave].

【幽墟】幽，阴间。墟，丘。坟墓隆起如丘，因以“幽墟”婉指坟墓。

Each component of the term is explained in order to show its associations and connections with related realities. It allows one to grasp the literal meaning of the euphemism and identify the grounds for its figurative use (e.g. the source domain for a metaphor or the vehicle for a metonymy), which is crucial for this project.

As shown above, entries in this dictionary are not limited to contemporary Mandarin Chinese. The dictionary captures hundreds of expressions that can be found only in classical prosaic and poetic texts within 2,500 years of historical records. In many cases, they are unknown even to educated speakers of Chinese. The dictionary does not specifically label these archaic terms or otherwise differentiate them from contemporary words. The user can only surmise that a certain expression has been in use from at least a certain point in history based on the given examples of usage extracted from the classical or pre-modern texts, cf. the following case for DD-0012b:

【崩殂】帝王之死的婉辞。

三国蜀97·诸葛亮《出师表》：“先帝创业未半，而中道崩殂。”

参见“崩”。

[Collapse and be gone]: euphemism denoting the death of a monarch.

[Former] *Chu Shi Biao* [Memorial] by Zhuge Liang, the State of Shu, the Three Kingdoms period: “The Late Emperor had yet to complete his great mission, when he passed away.”

See “collapse”.

The attribution of the [Former] *Chu Shi Biao* to Zhuge Liang (181–234 AD) proves that this expression has been in use for almost two millennia. However, the entry does not provide us with any information as to whether this euphemism is still in use in contemporary Mandarin Chinese

(and, if so, it is unclear if the expression is perceived as obsolete or if it is characteristic of a certain genre or register).<sup>45</sup>

Entries of a category are alphabetically sorted by romanisation pinyin, though entries themselves are not supplied with pinyin. In case of characters with two or more readings (多音字), one should either consult other dictionaries or take into the account the entries preceding and succeeding the entry in question, e.g. it is unclear if 【重身】 from Section 4.4 “Pregnancy and Childbirth” (p. 115) should be read as ‘heavy body’ *zhòngshēn* or ‘double body’ *chóngshēn* for pregnancy. Both readings and interpretations are possible based on HDC (2010) and GC (2015). However, Zhang (1996) places this entry between ‘birthing [cotton-padded] mattress’ *chǎnrù* 【产褥】 (metonymically for childbirth) and ‘spring body’ *chūnshēn* 【春身】 (for being pregnant), which justifies the reading of ‘double body’ *chóngshēn*.

#### 4.3.2 Hong Chengyu’s *Dictionary of Self-Deprecatory, Honorific and Tactful Expressions* (2010)

Hong Chengyu’s work (2010) is dedicated to three main forms of polite expressions in Chinese: ‘honorifics’ *jìngcí* 敬词, including ‘polite formulas used in letters’ *shūxìn jìngcí* 书信敬词, ‘self-deprecatory expressions’ *qiāncí* 谦词, and ‘tactful words’ *wǎncí* 婉词. Around 1,000 entries of this lexicographic work belong the latter category.

Unlike Zhang’s (1996) dictionary, Hong (2010, pp. 3–30) provides users with a detailed preface in which the theoretical foundations of his vocabulary selection are schematised.

For Hong, polite language is based on the principle of ‘propriety’ or ‘courtesy’ *lǐ* 礼—a set of social norms, rules, agendas, and restrictions in which a person exists. *Lǐ* 礼 makes society civilised;

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<sup>45</sup> In order to investigate this range of questions, each and every lexicographic entry must be tested in other dictionaries and text corpora. In this particular case HDC (2010) cites another, more recent example with *bēngcú* 崩殂 taken from the *Tracing the Reason of China’s left-behind* 《中国积弱溯源论》 by Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873–1929) in relation to the death of Louis XIV. The text corpus CCL gives additional examples of use in contemporary texts, e.g., in *Wuxia*-novels by Jin Yong 金庸 (1924–2018) and in essays on the history of Taoism by Qing Xitai 卿希泰 (1927–2017) (not as a quote from the classical text, but as a part of his narrative in Modern Mandarin) which might be an indication that this is a literary expression of contemporary Chinese.

without *lǐ* 礼, it falls into barbarism and human beings become tantamount to animals. Hong quotes two fundamental texts of Chinese canonical literature regarding *lǐ* 礼—*The Book of Rites* 《礼记》 and *The Analects* 《论语》—which proclaim the necessity of “propriety” in the human community:

- (1) 鸚鵡能言，不離飛鳥；猩猩能言，不離禽獸。今人而無禮，雖能言，不亦禽獸之心乎？夫唯禽獸無禮，故父子聚麀。是故聖人作，為禮以教人。使人以有禮，知自別於禽獸。（CTEXT, 《禮記·曲禮上》9）

The parrot can speak, and yet is nothing more than a bird; the ape can speak, and yet is nothing more than a beast. Here now is a man who observes no rules of propriety; is not his heart that of a beast? But if (men were as) beasts, and without (the principle of) propriety, father and son might have the same mate. Therefore, when the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order to teach men, and cause them, by their possession of them, to make a distinction between themselves and brutes.

- (2) 子曰：“非禮勿視，非禮勿聽，非禮勿言，非禮勿動。（CTEXT, 《論語·顏淵》1）

The Master replied: “Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety.” (Hong, 2010, p. 3f).

Modern “politeness” originates from the principle of propriety, and it affects the linguistic behaviour of the Chinese. It is lexically expressed in its honorifics, humilifics, and “tactful” words. A daughter of a communicative partner could be termed ‘[your] precious and beloved one’ *lìng’ài* 令爱, someone else’s wife could be respectfully called ‘[your] honoured one [from the] inner chamber’ *zūnkǔn* 尊闈. On the contrary, the speaker’s own daughter would be modestly called ‘clumsy girl’ or ‘stupid girl’ *zhuōnǚ* 拙女 and the speaker could refer to himself humbly as ‘old and clumsy’ or ‘old and stupid’ *lǎozhuō* 老拙 (Hong, 2010, p. 4). A polite way to inquire about one’s age is to ask ‘[May I know your] honourable age?’ *guìgēng* 贵庚.<sup>46</sup> Much of the preface and the dictionary entries are devoted to these two main forms of polite language, which exalt the communication partner and humiliate the speaker, including numerous formulas of the epistolary genre based on a corpus of 7,000 letters of different epochs and origins.

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<sup>46</sup> It should be mentioned that ostentatiously polite expressions of this kind in contemporary language can be used ironically and even mockingly.

“Tactful” words 婉词 are introduced at the end of the dictionary. These are a form of polite language, when “non-elegant” or “non-graceful” (不文雅) and “inauspicious” (不吉利) expressions are substituted by “tactful” (委婉) and “indirect” (间接) ones (Hong 2010, p. 25). Typical situations in which “tactful” words are deployed are, among others, references to toilets, menstruation, and death. Hong’s observation about the limited “shelf life” of polite terms (Hong 2010, p. 27) corresponds to the general tendency in languages for euphemisms to “expire” after multiple uses over time (see also Zhang, 2005, pp. 240-241).

In his preface, Hong (2010, pp. 25–30) provides a summary of only one domain of sensitive vocabulary—death—paying attention to its major conceptualisations and its variety of forms that depend on the status of the deceased: DEATH IS LEAVING ONE’S OWN HOME AND A LONG JOURNEY (离家远行), DEATH IS ASCENSION AND TRANSFORMATION INTO AN IMMORTAL (仙升而去), DEATH IS SEPARATION FROM THE HUMAN WORLD AND LIFE (捐弃人生), DEATH IS DISAPPEARANCE FROM THE WORLD (泯没于世), DEATH IS DESTRUCTION OF MOUNTAINS AND FALL OF STARS (山崩星陨), and UNEXPECTED EVENT FOR DEATH (事感突然).

The number of entries in this dictionary is inferior to Zhang’s (1996) volume and some categories are missing (such as old age and ageing, crime, money, unemployment, character traits, etc.). However, the entries are also organised thematically: different types of polite language are placed separately in corresponding sections of the dictionary and “tactful” expressions are divided into 12 categories based on their relation to a certain taboo domain or a certain part of a taboo domain.

The lexicographer decided to include in his dictionary so-called ‘common terms’ or ‘vulgo’ *súchēng* 俗称, which are opposed to ‘elegant’ *yǎchēng* 雅称 and ‘tactful expressions’ *wǎnchēng* 婉称 (Hong, 2010, p. 33). Lists of these “common”, non-euphemistic words are given as appendices to euphemistic categories (though some categories are not supplemented by “common terms”, e.g. disease, frequenting prostitutes, sex, menstruation, and genitals). In general, “common terms” are either dysphemistic expressions (cf. ‘lift one’s braid [before beheading]’ *qiàobiànzi* 翘

辫子 (DD-0320) for dying used in an ironic, humorous, or mocking context and ‘whore’ *biǎozi* 婊子 as an offensive term) or orthophemisms (cf. *jīnǚ* 妓女 for prostitutes and *fèn* 粪 for faeces).<sup>47</sup>

Table 2

Categories of ‘tactful expressions’ <i>wǎnchēng</i> 婉称 in Hong (2010)	Number of “tactful” entries	Number of other entries
<b>1. Wancheng for toilet and urinal</b> <i>cèsuǒ biànrì wǎnchēng</i> 厕所便器婉称;	24	26
<b>2. Wancheng for excretion</b> <i>páixiè wǎnchēng</i> 排泄婉称;	27	9
<b>3. Wancheng for genitals</b> <i>shēngzhìqì wǎnchēng</i> 生殖器婉称;	22	0
<b>4. Wancheng for menstruation</b> <i>yuèjīng wǎnchēng</i> 月经婉称;	16	0
<b>5. Wancheng for sex</b> <i>xìng'ài wǎnchēng</i> 性爱婉称;	108	0
<b>6. Wancheng for prostitutes</b> <i>jīnǚ wǎnchēng</i> 妓女婉称;	60	30
<b>7. Wancheng for brothels</b> <i>jìyuàn wǎnchēng</i> 妓院婉称;	85	12

<sup>47</sup> However, “common” terms are organised inconsistently: for example, the orthophemism for ‘menstruation’ *yuèjīng* 月经 appears in the main list of euphemisms under the category ‘menstruation’; the category ‘genitals’ does not include the well-known orthophemism for ‘vagina’ *yīndào* 阴道 and does not include any dysphemisms for genitals at all.

<b>8. Wancheng for visiting prostitutes</b> <i>xiájì wǎnchēng</i> 狎妓婉称;	78	0
<b>9. Wancheng for death</b> <i>qùshì wǎnchēng</i> 去世婉称;	496	16
<b>10. Wancheng for parents' funerals</b> <i>fùmǔ sāngshì wǎnchēng</i> 父母丧事婉称;	34	0
<b>11. Wancheng for disease</b> <i>jíbìng wǎnchēng</i> 疾病婉称;	25	0
<b>12. Other</b> <i>qítā</i> 其他.	47	0

The vocabulary entries have no chronological boundaries such that contemporary Chinese expressions are juxtaposed with obsolete words and classical idioms found in the pre-Qin Dynasty texts (i.e. before 221 BC).

Most entries with ‘tactful words’ *wǎncí* 婉词 in the dictionary consist of a core word (often monosyllabic) and several related words and expressions with the same or similar meaning that share the same morpheme and are semantically interconnected:

过 过世 过辈 过背 去过

‘Pass’ *guò*, ‘leave the [human] world’ *guòshì*, ‘leave the [human] world’ *guòbèi*, ‘leave the [human] world’ *guòbèi*, ‘leave’ *guòqù* (Hong 2010, p. 358)

The core word ‘pass’ or ‘leave [the human world]’ *guò* 过 (DD-0157) is followed by its disyllabic synonyms *guòshì* 过世 (DD-0163), *guòbèi* 过背 (DD-0158), *guòbèi* 过辈 (DD-0159), and *guòqù* 过去 (DD-0161). In this case, it allows users to see the connections between various metaphorical euphemisms that share the same source domain DEPARTURE.

Similarly to Zhang (1996), Hong supplies many of his definitions with an analysis of morpheme semantics by offering dissyllabic synonyms of the word or morpheme in question:

【愚 yú】谦词。愚，愚昧，愚笨。单用时：① 谦称自己。

*Yú*, humilific. *Yú* [literally means] ‘ignorant’, ‘stupid’. When deployed as a single word, used a modest self-referential [pronoun] (Hong 2010, p. 5).

Hong’s explanation of the semantics of the pronoun ‘I/me’ *yú* 愚 allows readers to see its connotation and help them figure out that the literal meaning of the polite expression ‘I do not agree’ *Yú yǐwéi bùrán* 愚以为不然 is “I, [the ignorant one], think it is not this way”.

#### 4.3.3 Zhu Jingsong’s *Dictionary of Common Tactful Expressions* (2018)

One of the most recent and extensive specialised lexicographic work dedicated exclusively to “tactful” words in Chinese is the *Dictionary of Common Tactful Expressions*, compiled by Zhu Jingsong (2018) and containing around 2,000 entries.

The “commonality” (通用) in the title refers to relevance of the selected vocabulary for contemporary language users. As a rule, ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 in Zhu’s dictionary are illustrated by examples taken from Chinese literary classics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the most recent entries are accompanied by excerpts from contemporary newspapers and magazines of the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

Despite the author’s pursuit of relevance in terms of the included vocabulary units, the dictionary contains archaic euphemisms taken from the texts of the Ming and Qing Dynasties without any quotes from contemporary sources. Zhu (2018, p. 28) states that these archaic units “can still be used in some contexts” (现在在一定场合还会用到).

Zhu differentiates between ‘tactful expressions’ (which can be interpreted as euphemistic in most of the cases) *wěiwǎnbiǎodá* 委婉表达 and ‘direct [orthophemistic] expressions’ *míngyán* 名言, using the following excerpt from Lu Xun’s novel *Blessing* 《祝福》:

“祥林嫂？怎么了？”我又赶紧地问。  
“老了。”

“死了？”我的心突然紧缩，几乎跳起来，脸上大约也变了色。

“Auntie Xianglin? What happened?” I asked again hurriedly.

“Got old.”

“[You mean,] died?” My heart suddenly tightened and almost began to jump, and I guess my face changed its colour as well (Zhu, 2018, p. 4).

The euphemism ‘got old’ *lǎole* 老了 (DD-0237) is contracted with the plain and direct orthophemism ‘died’.

Zhu treats ‘tactful words and phrases’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 as specific cases or forms of the more general phenomenon of ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnbiǎodá* 委婉表达. Tactful expressions can deploy as tactful words, but it is not obligatory. Tactful expressions can consist of words with no specific “tactful” meaning, however, the whole sentence, passage, or text may still imply tactfulness based on contextual and discursive settings. The following extract is taken an article dated 18 May 2013 from *Wénhuìbào* 《文汇报》 by Xinhua journalist Xu Haitao (quoted in Zhu, 2018, p. 5):

2012年8月，在北京工作的程女士回安徽老家，与邻家几个孩子聊天时，说起英国的“儿童十大宣言”。当介绍到“背心裤衩覆盖的地方不许别人摸，小秘密要告诉妈妈”等内容时，一个14岁的女孩突然站起来说：“我有一个秘密，天明学校的杨老师是个坏人，小学三年级时侮辱过我。《安徽潜山小学生遭性侵事件调查——小学校长怎成“恐怖色狼”？》

In August 2012, Ms. Cheng, who works in Beijing, returned to her hometown in Anhui. When she was chatting with a few children next door, she mentioned the topic of “Top Ten Declarations for Children” [related to child protection] in the United Kingdom. When they were talking about the rule “it is not allowed for others to touch the places covered by waistcoat and underpants; if you have a little secret, let your mother know», a 14-year-old girl suddenly stood up and said: “I have a secret. Teacher Yang from Tianming School is a bad person and insulted me in the third grade.” (*Investigation of the sexual assault case at Qianshan primary school in Anhui: how could a schoolmaster turn into a horrible sex maniac?*).

The expression ‘places covered by waistcoat and underpants’ *bèixīn kùchǎ fūgài dì dìfāng* 背心裤衩覆盖的地方 is a euphemism for genitalia and girl’s breasts. None of the words in this expression have an intrinsic euphemistic meaning—rather, the euphemistic meaning is “activated” only in the context of the terms “touching” and “secrets” (which are not euphemisms by themselves either).



“Tactful” words and phrases are the most essential means of expressing euphemistic meaning in language and these words and phrases should express euphemistic meaning in a relatively regular and elegant manner (Zhu, 2018, pp. 5, 24–25). Euphemistic domains are determined by taboos embedded in culture in the form of ethnic customs, traditions, social norms, values, and moral standards, as well as personal preferences and senses of that which is pleasant and unpleasant (Zhu, 2018, pp. 5–12), among which some of the most essential are death, disease, ageing, the body and its functions, sexuality, ugliness, misfortunes, etc.

The dictionary is phonetically organised: entries are sorted by pinyin only and there is no thematic division of the data, which significantly complicated the work with this dictionary for the purposes of this project. Nevertheless, in the preface to his dictionary, Zhu (2018, pp. 5–12) introduced 11 domains in which entities are usually described in “tactful” terms:

1. **‘Human death and death-related activities and items’** *rénsǐwáng yǐjī xiāngguān de huódòng, yòngpǐn* 人死亡以及相关的活动、用品;
2. **‘Diseases’** *shēngbìng* 生病;
3. **‘Age’** *niánlíng* 年龄;
4. **‘Human body as well as organs, activities and items related to sexuality and excretion’** *réntǐ yǔ xìng hé páixiè yǒuguān de qìguān, xíngwéi, yòngpǐn děng* 人体与性和排泄有关的器官、行为、用品等;
5. **‘Ugliness, physical deficiency and physiological defects’** *xiàngmào bù hǎokàn, zhītǐ cánjí, yǒu shēnglǐ quēxiàn* 相貌不好看, 肢体残疾, 有生理缺陷;
6. **‘Unpleasant and terrifying objects and phenomena’** *lìng rén bùkuài, lìng rén kǒngbù de shìwù, xiànxàng* 令人不快、令人恐怖的事物、现象;
7. **‘Adverse and unfortunate circumstances’** *bùxìng, bù shùnlì de jìngyù* 不幸、不顺利的境遇;
8. **‘Embarrassing matters’** *xiūyúchūkǒu zhī shì* 羞于出口之事;
9. **‘Personal interaction, establishment of interpersonal relations, discussions about the right and wrong, etc.’** *dàirén jiēwù, chǔlǐ rénjì guānxì, pínglùn shìfēi děng* 待人接物, 处理人际关系, 评论是非等;
10. **‘Underdeveloped objects, phenomena and states’** *xiāngduì luòhòu de shìwù, xiànxàng, zhuàngtài* 相对落后的事物、现象、状态;
11. **‘Diplomatic parlance’** *wàijiāo cílíng* 外交辞令.

It is fully justified to combine the terms for death, funerals and burials, mourning, the terms of the deceased, coffins, memorial rites, funeral items, and the funeral industry into a single category

DEATH (unlike Hong's (2010) treatment of 'tactful words' *wǎncí* 婉词). The category BODY includes both sexuality (sex, sexual desire, sexual partners, genitalia, and other taboo body parts) and excretion (including terms for excreta, toilets, etc.), which is a reasonable, though uncustomary, decision in the Chinese specialised lexicography for 'tactful' expressions.

Physical and mental disadvantages in Domain 5 are normally euphemised for the same reasons as diseases, and will thus be combined with the diseases of Domain 2 for the purposes of this project. Physical unattractiveness in Domain 5 might, indeed, constitute a separate domain together with euphemisms for a given person's weight, height, specific traits of appearance, etc.

Strikingly heterogenous, Domain 9 includes polite expressions used in different social occasions that require tactfulness—namely asking for favours, making and accepting gifts, rejecting requests, declining invitations, expressing dissent, etc.—which is consistent with the typical understanding of “tactfulness” relied upon by Chinese scholars of polite language and transcends the Western euphemism. However, tactful and predominantly understating judgments about one's negative experiences from Domain 9 can be qualified as euphemistic, especially if merged with the mild and generic expressions for inferior/low-quality/low-standard entities of Domain 10.

Terms in Domains 6 and 8 are motivated solely by the feelings of speakers (fear, shame, aversion, etc.) and not thematic, as distinct from other proposed domains. Domains 6 and 8 contain euphemisms for toilet fixtures, sex-related products, drug addicts, money, and taboo-related paraphrases for destructive fires, all of which can be either redistributed into already existing domains for bodily functions and sexuality (Domain 4), inauspicious and disastrous phenomena (Domain 7), and poverty as social underdevelopment (Domain 10), or be used to build separate domains, e.g. money (cf. with Zhang's (1996) “tactful” words for money and economy), alcohol, and drugs (e.g. domain ADDICTIONS, possibly as a sub-category of DISEASE). Diplomatic parlance in Domain 11 can be extended to the more general and universally well-established arena of political euphemisms (domain POLITICS).

In most cases, Zhu's dictionary does not provide readers with a semantic analysis of the morphemes that build the “tactful” words, cf. the definitions of the euphemism ‘put pillows next

to each other' *fùzhěn* 附枕 (BS-0936) for have a sexual relationship in Zhu (2018) and Zhang (1996):

【附枕】*fùzhěn* 夫妻过性生活。  
*fùzhěn*: sexual life between a husband and a wife (Zhu, 2018, p. 81).

【附枕】男女同枕共眠。婉指过性生活。附，依傍、靠近。  
*fùzhěn*: a man and woman share pillows and sleep together. Tactfully refers to having sexual life. *Fù*: 'lie adjacent to something', 'be close to' (Zhang, 1996, p. 76).

Although Zhu (2018) does not normally include interpretations of morphemes in order to elucidate the literal meaning of a tactful word, he often includes additional information about the conditions of a given term's usage (cf. the above-mentioned reference to a married couple as sexual partners in a relationship described as 'putting pillows next to each other' *fùzhěn* 附枕), information on the its connotation (cf. the term 'write off' or 'wipe out' *bàoxiāo* 报销 for die or get destroyed is marked "often used humorously" 多含诙谐意 (Zhu, 2018, p. 10)—these are dysphemistic overtones of a euphemistic expression realised in certain contexts), and information on the origins of the discourse in which the expression was initially used (cf. 'get free [from the body] by a [bladed] weapon' *bīngjiě* 兵解 (DD-0018) meaning get killed is supplemented by the remark "[originally a] Taoist term" 道教用语 (Zhu, 2018, p. 16)).

## SUMMARY

Following the models of taboo researchers, Chinese lexicographers identify sensitive domains in which "tactful" expressions are particularly expected to be deployed, including topics related to death, disease, and the body. Within these domains, "tactful" words are one possible linguistic reaction to forbidden, unpleasant, uncomfortable, embarrassing, or provocative realities and practices.

This understanding of "tactful" words is consistent with the anglophone semanticists and lexicographers who treat euphemistic meaning as a pronouncedly polite and meliorative type of expressive meaning, glossing over or construing a menacing reality in mild terms whenever feasible.

“Tactful” expressions are opposed to impolite expressions in which speakers relate to a controversial entity in emphatically negative form, including derogative expressions, profanities, swearing, slurs, and insults. This juxtaposition is also very similar to the division between euphemistic and dysphemistic uses of language outlined in Chapter 2.3.

By including terms for polite rejections, polite criticism, apologies, exchanges of gifts, diplomatic imprecision and vagueness, etc., in their dictionaries, Chinese lexicographers treat “tactfulness” in a much broader sense than ‘euphemism’ is treated in Western languages. Terms of this type remain outside the scope of this study.

## 5. Domains of sensitive vocabulary

This project considers the mechanisms of formation and variation of Chinese euphemistic expressions for death, disease, and the human body. Conventional euphemisms for these sensitive domains have been extracted from specialised dictionaries of “tactful” expressions (see Chapter 4.3)—the main sources of data for the project.

However, since not all the terms qualified as “tactful” by Chinese lexicographers correspond to the euphemistic substitutions of taboo entities, language data from Zhang (1996), Hong (2010), and Zhu (2018) was only selectively included in the annotated database and scrutinised in detail in the present chapter, namely:

- Entries from five sections in Zhang (1996): “Death, Funerals and Burials” (Category 1), “Disease and Disability” (Category 2), “Secretion and Excretion” (Category 3), “Sexuality” (Category 4, subcategories a–c), and “Body Organs and Physiological Changes” (Category 5, subcategories a and partially b);
- Entries from 11 sections in Hong (2010): “Toilets and urinals” (Category 1), “Excretion” (Category 2), “Genitals” (Category 3), “Menstruation” (Category 4), “Sex” (Category 5), “Prostitutes” (Category 6), “Brothels” (Category 7), “Visiting Prostitutes” (Category 8), “Death” (Category 9), “Parents’ funerals” (Category 10), and “Disease” (Category 11);
- Entries in Zhu (2018) for death, funerals and burials, the deceased, afterlife, disease, disability, old age and ageing, bodily functions and body parts, sexual desire and sex acts, and sexual relations, including non-marital sexual relations, infidelity, and prostitution. Since Zhu’s dictionary does not organise its entries by theme, selections were made manually by analysing the whole corpus of the dictionary.

The database created for and by this research project was expanded and cross-checked through additional lexicographic sources, namely four major general monolingual Chinese dictionaries:

*Comprehensive Chinese Word Dictionary* 《汉语大辞典》 (HDC, 2010),<sup>48</sup> *The Revised Dictionary of the National Language* 《重編國語辭典修訂本》 (GC, 2015),<sup>49</sup> *A Standard Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese* 《现代汉语规范词典》 (GF, 2014),<sup>50</sup> and *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* 《现代汉语词典》 (XHC, 2016).<sup>51</sup> The former two historical dictionaries often provide etymological information and elaborate any links to classical texts that contain the first codified examples of certain euphemisms. The latter two contemporary dictionaries allow readers to see if expressions are still in use, even if their usage is restricted to a certain genre or register.

In addition to the vast majority of euphemisms discovered by means of dictionaries, a relatively small number euphemisms included in the database were actually discovered through private informal conversations with native Chinese speakers and reading Internet blogs and comments in Chinese. For the most part, these are colloquial neologisms and specific expressions found in digital communication that are currently not codified in dictionaries. These expressions were also included in the database, moreover, these novel entries were tested in terms of their frequency of occurrence in the largest Mandarin Chinese text corpora available: CCL, created by the Center of Chinese Linguistics at Peking University, with 470 million characters ([http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl\\_corpus](http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus)); and BCC, created by the Beijing Language and Culture University, comprising over 15 billion characters (<http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn>).

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<sup>48</sup> The electronic version of this extensive, up-to-date dictionary of Chinese language (ca. 380,000 entries and almost 1.5 million citations) was used for this project provided by Pleco Dictionaries. The Pleco version is based on the CD-ROM edition (Luo, Zhufeng (Ed.) (1993). *Hanyu Da Cidian* 汉语大词典. Shanghai: Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House; CD-ROM Ed. ISBN 962-07-0255-7) with supplemented by the volume from 2010 《汉语大词典订补》 (14,000 additional entries and 17,000 revised entries). It is therefore it is abbreviated as “HDC, 2010” in this project. All conventional euphemisms found for this project were collated with the entries of this dictionary. Since it is a historical dictionary, there are no example sentences—rather, there are excerpts from mostly classical texts of various epochs and genres.

<sup>49</sup> The latest edition of this grand (ca. 160,000 entries) historical Chinese dictionary was compiled in 2015 by lexicographers affiliated with the Taiwan Ministry of Education.

<sup>50</sup> This one-volume dictionary of Standard Mandarin Chinese (ca. 70,000 entries) belongs to the prescriptive type of lexicographic reference book with multiple examples of usage as well as around 5,500 notes on the “correct” or “proper” use of words and expressions.

<sup>51</sup> The seventh edition of the *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, which is claimed to be the most authoritative and widespread Chinese dictionary of its kind in mainland China (Huang et al., 2016), contains approximately 70,000 entries.

Some euphemisms found in Zhang (1996), Hong (2010), and Zhu (2019) were combined into a single entry in the created database for the project for the following reasons:

- Entries duplicate themselves as “spelling” variants of the same word (e.g. *diāoxiè* 凋谢 (DD-0100) and *diāoxiè* 雕谢 (DD-0100b) from the domain DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED, both denoting the same word ‘wither, decay’ meaning die).<sup>52</sup> Information about spelling alternatives is given in the *Remarks* column in the database.
- Entries duplicate themselves as combinatory variants of the same word with the exact same morphemes. These can be disyllabic archaic euphemisms that consist of the same morphemes, e.g. ‘one’s spirit moves [away from the body]’ *qiānshén* 迁神 (DD-0317) and *shénqiān* 神迁 (DD-0317b) from the domain DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED both denoting death, mainly said of deceased Buddhist monks. Combinatory variants are especially frequent among Chinese idioms, e.g. ‘steal jade and pilfer incense’ *qièyù tōuxiāng* 窃玉偷香 (BN-1145b) and *tōuxiāng qièyù* 偷香窃玉 (BN-1145), which both having the same idiomatic meaning of having sex with women, said predominantly in reference to adulterous sexual relations. If combinatory variants include synonymous but different morphemes, they are usually entered into the database as separate entries, especially if they denote different entities, e.g. the archaic idioms ‘orchid broke off’ *huìsǔn lán cuī* 蕙损兰摧 (DD-0185) for the death of a young woman and ‘orchid broke off and jade cracked’ *lán cuī yù zhé* 兰摧玉折 (DD-0185b) for the death of a gifted person. However, *huìzhé lán cuī* 蕙折兰摧 and *lán cuī huìzhé* 兰摧蕙折 do not form separate entries since they are just structural variants that are semantically equal.
- Entries are polysyllabic extensions (derivates) of rare/obsolete monosyllabic words.<sup>53</sup> For example, the archaic euphemism ‘perish’ *hōng* 薨 (DD-0170), denoting the death of certain members of Chinese nobility since the Zhou Dynasty, builds multiple derivates with the

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<sup>52</sup> In Chinese lexicography, these spelling alternatives of various types and degrees of standardisation are called ‘variant forms of characters’ or ‘doublet characters’ *yìtǐzì* 异体字.

<sup>53</sup> In Chinese lexicography, this type of entry is called ‘rarely used characters and words’ *shēngpì zìcí* 生僻字词.

same meaning: ‘perish and fall’ *hōngluò* 蕙落, ‘perish and wither’ *hōngxiè* 蕙谢, ‘perish and leave’ *hōngshì* 蕙逝, ‘perish and be gone’ *hōngcú* 蕙殂, ‘perish and abandon’ *hōngbèi* 蕙背, ‘perish and fall [as a star]’ *hōngyǔn* 蕙陨 (DD-0170b), etc. In this case, the rare monosyllabic term and its polysyllabic forms are included in the database as a single entry, though the derivatives are introduced in the corresponding *Remarks* in the database.

- Entries that have distinct derogative connotations with no euphemistic examples of usage were excluded from this project (cf. entries in Zhu (2018) ‘metamorphosis’ *biàntài* 变态 for perverted or pervert; ‘steamed bun stuffed with vegetables’ *càibāozi* 菜包子 for useless person, good-for-nothing person, or idiot).

The system used to label euphemistic expressions in Chinese lexicography is irregular and inconsistent, both within individual general dictionaries and between them when their entries are compared with information from specialised lexicographic works on “tactful” expressions. Most often, there are no specific labels in general dictionaries for the words qualified as “tactful” in specialised dictionaries, e.g. ‘break one’s body’ 破身 (BS-0976) for losing one’s virginity in reference to women (Zhang, 1996, p. 79; Zhu, 2018, p. 163), has no labels in either HDC (2010), GC (2015), GF (2014), or XHC (2016). Nevertheless, the opposite situation is also possible: a general dictionary GF (2014) interprets ‘not good’ *bùxíng* 不行 (DD-0028) as a “tactful” word for a person’s death (婉词, 指人死亡), supported by HDC (2010), GC (2015), and XDC (2016) (though without labels), while no specialised dictionaries of “tactful” expressions include this word in their lexica.

Euphemisms can be labelled as “tactful” in the following ways:

- ‘Tactful word’ *wǎncí* 婉辞 or *wǎncí* 婉词, e.g. ‘sleep in the same bedroom’ *tóngfáng* 同房 (BS-0999) for having sexual life in HDC (2010) (‘Tactful word. Refers to the sex life between spouses’ 婉辞。谓夫妇过性生活) and XHC (2016) (‘Tactful word. Refers to the sex life between spouses’ 婉辞, 指夫妻过性生活). However, this term’s definition has no label in GC (2015) (‘sex act between a man and a woman’ 男女之间的性行为) or GF



(2014) ('refers to the sex life between spouses' 指夫妻过性生活). This is also the case with 'wash hands' *xǐshǒu* 洗手 (BE-1494b) for going to the toilet with the identical definition in both GF (2014) and XHC (2016) ('Tactful word. Refers to going to the toilet' 婉词。指上厕所). However, neither HDC (2010) nor GC (2015) recognise the euphemistic meaning of this term;

- 'Tactful designation' *wǎnchēng* 婉称, e.g. 'ride a crane to the West' *jiàhè xīyóu* 驾鹤西游 (DD-0199b) for dying in HDC (2010) ('tactful designation of death' 死的婉称), not included in either GC (2015), GF (2014), or XHC (2016);
- 'Tactful expression' *wěiwǎnzhīcí* 委婉之辞, *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语, *wěiwǎn shuōfǎ* 委婉说法, or *wǎnzhuǎn yòngyǔ* 宛转用语, e.g. 'return to Heaven' *guītiān* 归天 (DD-0150) for dying in GC (2015) ('A person died. Since one cannot talk directly on someone's death, it is substituted by a tactful word' 人死。因不忍直言死亡而改以委婉之辞替代); '[to be] a guest [of the Celestial Emperor] in Heaven' *bīntiān* 宾天 (DD-0017) for dying in HDC (2010) ('Tactful expression. Said of the deceased monarch. Also said broadly of the death of any respectable one' 委婉语。谓帝王之死，亦泛指尊者之死); 'unluck' *sāncháng liǎngduǎn* 三长两短 (DD-0338) for unforeseen death in GF (2014) ('tactful expression which is often used to denote a possible deathly accident' 常用作对可能发生的死亡事故的委婉说法); 'rest in peace' *ānxī* 安息 (DD-0001) for dying in GC (2015) ('tactful term which stands for death or a memorial for the deceased' 表示死亡或悼念死者的宛转用语);
- 'Word [used instead of the] taboo' *huìcí* 讳词, e.g. 'get drown under the [Yellow] Springs' *yǎnquán* 掩泉 (DD-0469) for dying in HDC (2010) ('get drown under the Yellow Springs. A word used instead of the taboo for death' 没于黄泉。死的讳词);
- 'Expression [used instead of the] taboo [one]' *huìchēng* 讳称 or *huìzhǐ* 讳指, e.g. 'be already gone' *jìwǎng* 既往 (DD-0194) for dying in HDC (2010) ('expression used instead

of the taboo one for death’ 死的讳称); ‘[one] cannot talk about it’ *bùkěyán* 不可言 (DD-0025) for dying in HDC (2010) (‘expression used instead of the taboo one for death’ 对死的讳指).

Euphemisms can be also labelled ‘substitutions’ or ‘alternative names’ *dàichēng* 代称, *dàicí* 代词, or *dàicí* 代辞 (cf. ‘ascend to the Western Heaven’ *shàng xītiān* 上西天 (DD-0351) for dying in HDC (2010); ‘sleep forever’ *yǒngmián* 永眠 (DD-0504) for dying in GC (2015); ‘abandon and leave’ *qìjuān* 弃捐 (DD-0299) for dying in GC (2015)); ‘beautiful designations’ *měichēng* 美称 (cf. ‘[enter] Nirvana’ *nièpán* 涅槃 (DD-0292) for dying in HDC (2010)); or ‘elegant designations’ *yǎchēng* 雅称 (cf. ‘land of emerald [eyebrow] tint and [cheek] rouge’ *cǔihóngxiāng* 翠红乡 (BP-1279) for brothel in HDC (2010)).

Very helpful are the frequently occurring comments provided in general dictionaries about the person or a group of people usually referred to in an expression (“said of X”), e.g. HDC (2010) claims that the term ‘comfort has been disturbed’ *wéiyù* 违豫 (ID-0819) for being ill is used in reference to monarchs (帝王有病的讳称) and ‘leave [the human world]’ *qìbèi* 弃背 for dying is used mostly in reference to senior relatives (多用于尊亲); XHC (2016, p. 1599) states that the term ‘part forever [with the human world]’ *yǔ shì chángcí* 与世长辞 (DD-0522) for dying is used mostly in reference to “highly esteemed” deceased people (多用于敬仰的人). The connotations of euphemisms are also mentioned on several occasions, e.g. HDC (2010) notes that ‘alas’ *wūhū’āizāi* 呜呼哀哉 (DD-0409) for dying “sometimes has jocular or sarcastic connotation”.

Dictionaries of contemporary Mandarin Chinese, GF (2014) and XHC (2016), provide users with information about the formal and informal registers of certain euphemisms. Formal euphemisms for dying ‘end suddenly’ *bào zú* 暴卒 (DD-0008) and ‘pass away suddenly’ *kèrán chángshì* 溘然长逝 (DD-0234b) are labelled ‘bookish’ *shū* 书 (XHC 2016) and ‘literary’ *wén* 文 (GF 2014). The informal euphemisms ‘lose one’s life’ *méimìng* 没命 (DD-0268) for dying and ‘double body’ *shuāngshēnzi* 双身子 for being pregnant are both marked ‘colloquial’ *kǒu* 口.

In order to simplify the search in the database, each entry was assigned to one of the three main domains: DEATH (D), ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY (ID), and BODY (B). Entries which belong to domains DEATH and BODY have additional letters in their descriptors: DD for DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED; DF for DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS; DA for DEATH: AFTERLIFE; DO for DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGEING; BS for BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX; BN for BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX; BG for BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS; BP for BODY: PROSTITUTION; BE for BODY: EXCRETION; BM for BODY: MENSTRUATION. If there is a reference to a particular variation of the entry thematised in the “Remarks” section, the ID of the entry contains the letter “b”. All entries within a certain subdomain are organised “alphabetically” based on pinyin – the standard romanization for Mandarin Chinese.

## 5.1 Domain DEATH (DD-0001–DO-0775)

Despite the fact that approaches and attitudes towards death vary greatly across cultures, serious, non-ironic talk about death in any language always brushes up against sensitive topics. Even the use of a facetious tone when discussing death-related issues might be a way of coping with the gruesome reality of life's inevitable extinction.

The universal death taboo is motivated by a set of different and inter-related fears:

(1) Fear of the loss of loved ones; (2) Fear of the corruption and disintegration of the body—the body with which one has so long been familiar in life is suddenly to become abhorrent; (3) Death is the end of life, and there is fear of what follows—there can be no first-hand experience of death for the living; (4) Fear of malevolent spirits, or of the souls of the dead... <...> and finally, fear of an absurd and meaningless death—something which particularly touches those living in modern secular societies (Allan and Burridge, 1991, p. 153, 170).

Fear breeds countless attempts to name “the great unmentionable”, which is particularly reflected in conventional euphemisms paraphrasing death. The following sections on death-related terms in Chinese will be concerned not only with the phenomenon of dying itself, but also with the associated entities, artifacts, places, periods of time, and people involved with it, including funerals, burials, and bereavement; the industry of death; and traditional (though extremely diverse) views on posthumous existence as reflected in the Chinese vocabulary.

### 5.1.1. Terms for DEATH AND DYING in Chinese and their variations based on the status of the deceased

In contemporary Chinese, the most direct way to refer to death is ‘die’ *sǐ* 死, which seems to be the most basic orthophemism used to denote the death of ordinary people and animals for many centuries, cf. the prescription of *The Book of Rites* (CTEXT, 《礼记: 曲礼下》 121):

天子死曰崩，诸侯曰薨，大夫曰卒，士曰不禄，庶人曰死。

If the Son of Heaven died, say he *collapsed*; if dukes and princes [died], say they *perished*; if senior officials [died], say they *finished [their life journey]*; if common officials [died], say they *receive no more salary*; if common people [died], say they *died*.

Language in hierarchical Chinese society in the Zhou period depended on the status of the deceased, and euphemisms were employed excessively in regard to the death of people who held power and authority. Emperors used to ‘collapse’ *bēng* 崩, in a manner similar to mountains<sup>54</sup> (metaphor DEATH IS COLLAPSE). Officials ‘stopped receiving their salary’ *bùlù* 不禄 (alternatively *wúlù* 无禄 or *qìlù* 弃禄) since the deceased could no longer serve (metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE). They were also said to ‘finish [their life journey]’ *zú* 卒 (metaphor DEATH IS THE END [OF A JOURNEY]). Nobility ‘perished’ *hōng* 薨, which denotes the deafening sound of a collapsing mountain.<sup>55</sup> In the database created for the project, lexemes that were predominantly used in reference to the deaths, funerals, and burials of emperors and empresses are specifically marked “said of emperors” or “said of emperors and empresses”. ‘The dragon has ascended’ *lóng shēng* 龙升 stood for the emperor’s death. The deceased emperor was said to ‘ascend to Heaven and become an immortal’ *shàngxiān* 上仙, ‘ascend to Heaven and become an honorable guest of the celestial King’ *shàngbīn* 上宾, and ‘leave his bow’ *yígōng* 遗弓, among other euphemistic phrases. The taboo of mentioning an emperor’s death was substituted by the term ‘thousands of autumns and tens of thousands of years’ *qiānqiū wànsuì* 千秋万岁, which implied the eternal memory of the deceased monarch. The national mourning for the deceased emperor or empress was euphemistically referred to as ‘the sorrow of the [entire] country’ *guóxù* 国恤. The tombs of emperors and empresses were elegantly called ‘cypress walls’ *bǎichéng* 柏城 since it was customary to plant cypress trees around royal tombs. Coffins prepared for emperors and empresses were made of *Catalpa ovata*, native to China, therefore designated ‘catalpa palaces’ *zǐgōng* 梓宫.

<sup>54</sup> The verb ‘collapse’ *bēng* 崩 is used on the occasion of a mountain break or rockslide *shānbēng* 山崩 as well as an avalanche *xiěbēng* 雪崩 (see its characteristic semantic component). Once said of emperors, it used to denote their death, underlining the catastrophic dimension of the event, cf. the classical idioms ‘the sky is falling, the earth is collapsing’ *tiān bēng dì tā* 天崩地塌 and ‘sky is falling, earth is splintering’ *tiān bēng dì liè* 天崩地裂, both of which imply major disasters. The component *bēng* 崩 is used in multiple metaphors that fall under the theme DEATH IS DESTRUCTION with the same mountainous imagery, cf. ‘the lofty mountain collapsed’ *shānlíng bēng* 山陵崩 and ‘the mountain crumbled’ *shāntuí* 山颓, both of which denote the death of an emperor or an empress. Finally, it is found as a morpheme in several disyllabic words all denoting death, including ‘collapse and go’ *bēngcú* 崩殂, ‘collapse and leave’ *bēngbèi* 崩背 or *bēngshì* 崩逝, and ‘collapse and perish’ *bēnghōng* 崩薨.

<sup>55</sup> See the commentary of Zheng Xuan (127–200 AD) on *The Book of Rites*: “*hong* is the sound of a mountain collapsing” (CTEXT, 《太平御览: 礼仪部二十七, 死》: 郑玄注曰: <…> 薨, 崩之声也。), see also Hong (2010, p. 27). The component is used in multiple disyllabic words with additional metaphorical extensions: ‘perish and fall’ *hōngluò* 薨落, *hōngyǔn* 薨陨 (metaphor DEATH IS THE FALL) and ‘perish and leave [the earthly world]’ *hōngxiè* 薨谢, *hōngshì* 薨逝, *hōngbèi* 薨背 (metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE).

In a manner similar to the words for die, terms for those ‘who died’ were regularised by the canonical texts, and the word choice also depended on the gender and family status of the deceased (CTEXT, 《礼记: 曲礼下》 122):

生曰父、曰母、曰妻；死曰考、曰妣、曰嫔。

If alive, call [your father] *fù*, [your mother] *mǔ*, [your wife] *qī*; if dead, call [your father] *kǎo*, [your mother] *bǐ*, [your wife] *pīn*.

All terms for the deceased might be qualified as euphemisms since their literal meaning made no direct reference to the domain of DEATH: *kǎo* 考 used to mean ‘old/longevous’, *bǐ* 妣 could refer generally to ‘mother’, and *pīn* 嫔 might be used generally to mean ‘woman’ or more specifically to mean ‘concubine of a monarch’ (GHZ, 2005, p. 425, 605; HDC, 2010). However, since the metonymic extensions of these words denoting the deceased were already registered in the earliest Chinese texts (including the anthology *The Verses of Chu* 《楚辞》 and the ancient Chinese dictionary *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters* 《说文解字》), the euphemistic status of these terms has not been obvious to most speakers.<sup>56</sup> The above-mentioned terms for the deceased could be combined with the honorific component ‘illustrious/noble’ *xiǎn* 显, expressing respect: cf. archaic terms ‘venerable late father’ *xiǎnkǎo* 显考, ‘venerable late ancestor’ *xiǎnzǔ* 显祖, and ‘late mother’ *xiǎnbǐ* 显妣.

Most of the euphemistic terms for the verb “die” found in the Chinese dictionaries employed in were intended to refer to men since, in traditional Chinese society with its inherent patriarchal characteristics, ‘male’ was a default feature which could be applied broadly to any member. There is only one lexicographically marked case of a euphemistic term that is prescribed to be used only in reference to men (只适用于男子, HDC, 2010): the archaic expression ‘say farewell to the guests’ *xiè bīnkè* 谢宾客. In contrast, there are several euphemisms that denote the death of a young and beautiful female, including ‘the fragrance disappeared and the jade faded’ *xiāngxiāo yùyǎn* 香消

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<sup>56</sup> A similar case of a very early euphemistic treadmill can be found in the term ‘flee’, ‘be gone’ *wáng* 亡 (DEATH IS DEPARTURE), which has been strongly associated with death (especially in the disyllabic words ‘die’ *wánggù* 亡故 or *sǐwáng* 死亡, ‘the deceased friend’ *wángyǒu* 亡友, ‘the deceased wife’ *wángshì* 亡室, and ‘die in battle’ *zhènwáng* 阵亡) – its euphemistic status is hardly recognisable.

玉殒 and its variations ‘the fragrance disappeared and the jade broke to pieces’ *xiāngxiāo yùsuì* 香消玉碎, ‘the fragrance disappeared and jade was damaged’ *xiāngxiāo yùsǔn* 香消玉损, ‘the jade broke to pieces and the fragrance vanished’ *yùsuì xiāngcán* 玉碎香残, ‘the jade broke to pieces and the pearls were damaged’ *yùsuì zhūcán* 玉碎珠残, ‘the pearls faded and the jade broke to pieces’ *zhūchén yùsuì* 珠沉玉碎, etc. The corpse or remains of a woman (again, usually a beautiful one) was euphemistically termed ‘fragrant bones’ *xiānggǔ* 香骨. The term ‘bury jade’ *mái yù* 埋玉 served as a euphemism for the burial of a woman, although it could also be used in reference to the burial of a talented person (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018). Euphemisms could also indicate the marital status of the deceased woman, cf. ‘string is broken’ *duànxián* 断弦 to refer to the fact that one’s wife had died and ‘drum a bowl’ *gǔpén* 鼓盆 for mourning one’s wife’s death.

Euphemisms for death could even indicate the occupation of the deceased, cf. ‘compose texts underground [as an official]’ *dìxià xiūwén* 地下修文 stood for the death of a literati or scholar *wénrén* 文人. The deceased literati had a title ‘[honourable] officials responsible for composing texts [in the underworld]’ *xiūwénláng* 修文郎.

Such examples also indicate that the Chinese netherworld was believed to be governed by ministers and officials, in a similar way to the world of the living.

Apart from the social rank, occupation, gender, family, and marital status of the deceased, there is linguistic evidence that language related to death was also sensitive to the age of the dead, e.g. orthophemistic terms for premature death ‘die in young age’ *yāo* 夭, *yāo* 殤, and *shāng* 殇.<sup>57</sup> The death before turning three months old was called ‘die in young age unnamed’ *yāohūn* 夭昏 (Hong, 2010; GC, 2015). ‘Premature death due to a disease or epidemics’ had multiple direct designations,

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. their combinations *yāoshāng* 夭殇, *shāngyāo* 殇夭, and *shāngyāo* 殇殤 as well as multiple disyllabic words containing these elements with the same meaning ‘die young’: *yāoxiè* 夭谢, *yāowáng* 夭亡, *yāoshì* 夭逝, *yāozhé* 夭折, *yāocú* 夭殂, *yāosǐ* 夭死, *yāomò* 夭歿, *yāomò* 夭没, *yāoyāng* 夭殃, *yāowǎng* 夭枉, *yāocù* 夭促, *yāosàng* 夭丧, *yāoduǎn* 夭短, *yāojié* 夭绝, *yāoshòu* 夭寿, *yāojù* 夭遽, *yāo’è* 夭阨, and *yāo’è* 夭遇. The term *shāng* 殇 can also be metaphorically used in the expression ‘one who died for one’s country’, ‘national martyr’ *guóshāng* 国殇 (DEATH IS SACRIFICE).

including *yāojí* 夭疾, *yāozhá* 夭札, *yāoyì* 夭疫, *yāolì* 夭厉, *yāoli* 夭疠, and *yāochài* 夭瘥. Euphemisms that denote premature death are abundant, including ‘stop blossoming’ *shōuhuá* 收华, ‘leave the [human] world [too] early’ *zǎoshì* 早世, and ‘[evaporate like] the morning dew’ *zhāolù* 朝露. Euphemisms that designate the death of seniors are usually accompanied by the positive connotations ‘highly respected’, ‘having merits’, cf. ‘leave [the human world]’ *qīngbèi* 倾背 or *qìbèi* 弃背 and ‘receive no more care [from the younger ones]’ *qìyǎng* 弃养.

The language used to differentiate the religious affiliation of the dead or their rank in the clerical hierarchy, cf. the Buddhist terms ‘enter the quietness’ *rùjì* 入寂<sup>58</sup> used euphemistically in reference to the death of Buddhist monks or nuns and the Taoist esoteric term ‘leave one’s body [and become an immortal]’ *shījiě* 尸解, which originally denoted a technique for transformation into an ‘immortal’ *xiān* 仙 and was later used in reference to the death of Taoist adepts.

Several pragmatic features could be combined in a single term, cf. the idiomatic euphemism ‘bury jade and inter incense’ *zàngyù máixiāng* 葬玉埋香, which used to denote the funeral or, more generally, the death of a beautiful (APPEARANCE) young (AGE) woman (GENDER) of virtue (MORAL STANDARDS).

With very few exceptions, expressions related to death are products of either metaphoric or metonymic change.

### 5.1.2 Chinese metaphors for DEATH, DYING, AND THE DECEASED (DD-0001–DD-0549; DA-0685–DA-0723)

In Chinese, the most productive metaphor for death is **DEATH IS DEPARTURE/DEATH IS SEPARATION**. In innumerable metaphorical expressions, death is understood as leaving a certain place (as in “go away” or “abandon a place”) or as leaving certain people (as in “bidding farewell”

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<sup>58</sup> The term is a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term *parinirvāṇa* (also known as ‘complete quietness’ *yuánjì* 圆寂 or *bānnièpán* 般涅槃).



or “saying goodbye”). The place that the deceased is leaving is most commonly the earthly human world such that the following expressions include the word ‘[human] world’ 世 combined with various verbs meaning ‘leave’, ‘abandon’, ‘depart’, or ‘part’: *qùshì* 去世, *shìshì* 逝世,<sup>59</sup> *qìshì* 弃世, *xiàshì* 下世,<sup>60</sup> *bèishì* 背世,<sup>61</sup> *jíshì* 即世,<sup>62</sup> *juānshì* 捐世,<sup>63</sup> *wěishì* 委世,<sup>64</sup> *shùnshì* 顺世,<sup>65</sup> *císhì* 辞世,<sup>66</sup> *cǐbié rénrshì* 辞别人世, *qīngshì* 倾世,<sup>67</sup> *yíshì* 遗世, *xièshì* 谢世, *guòshì* 过世,<sup>68</sup> *juéshì* 绝世, *líshì* 离世,<sup>69</sup> *gàobié rénrshì* 告别人世, *qì tiānxià* 弃天下, *xiè chényuán* 谢尘缘, *líchén* 离尘, *sāshǒu chénhuán* 撒手尘寰,<sup>70</sup> and *guòshēn* 过身.<sup>71</sup> The deceased person ‘is already gone’ *jìwǎng* 既往.<sup>72</sup> The circumstances of the departure can be specified, cf. ‘leave due to illness’ *bìngshì* 病

<sup>59</sup> GF (2014) differentiates between *qùshì* 去世 and *shìshì* 逝世 based on the degree of formality and the age of the deceased: while the former is a neutral euphemism used in regard to adults, the latter is a formal term used to refer to the death of seniors and/or prominent personalities who are highly respected in the community.

<sup>60</sup> HDC (2010) interprets this expression as ‘leaving the [human] world’ (去世), though historically the expression could be used as the noun ‘underworld’ meaning ‘the underworld of the dead’ or ‘netherworld’. Nowadays, the term is strongly associated with the concept of reincarnation, meaning ‘next life of a person’, also known as *láishì* 来世.

<sup>61</sup> Dying is ‘leaving the human world’ (离开人世, HDC, 2010) or ‘leaving the earthly world’ (离开尘世, GC 2015). Although one might assume that the first character in the expression *bèi* 背 denotes ‘back’ (body part) or ‘turn round’ (which makes sense in that a person shows one’s back upon departure after bidding farewell), Chinese lexicography (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Hong 2010) insists on the interpretation ‘leave’ (离开), as in ‘leave one’s homeland’ *bèijǐng líxiāng* 背井离乡.

<sup>62</sup> HDC (2010) interprets this expression as ‘leaving the [human] world’ (去世).

<sup>63</sup> HDC (2010) identifies this euphemism with ‘abandon the [human] world’ (弃世). The morpheme *juān* 捐 has the meaning ‘abandon’, ‘relinquish’ (舍弃, 抛弃, GF 2014).

<sup>64</sup> HDC (2010) identifies this euphemism as ‘abandon the [human] world’ (弃世). The morpheme *wěi* 委 has the meaning ‘cast aside’, ‘throw away’, ‘abandon’, or ‘discard’ 丢弃, 舍弃 (GF 2014).

<sup>65</sup> HDC (2010) mentions that the expression is said of deceased Buddhist monks.

<sup>66</sup> GF (2014) prescribes the use this expression only with regard to adults and seniors.

<sup>67</sup> Alternatively, ‘leave the human world’ *qīngqì* 倾弃 and *qīngshì* 倾逝. The literal meaning of the first character *qīng* 倾 in these expressions is obscure: it might be either ‘collapse’ (as in ‘the great mansion is about to collapse’ *dàshà jiāng qīng* 大厦将倾 or in ‘capsize’ *qīngfù* 倾覆) or ‘spend all energy’ (as in ‘make all the efforts’ *qīng quánlì* 倾全力). In the former case dying is ‘collapsing’, in the latter case dying is ‘spending all vital energy’, but, one way or another, it is combined with the metaphor of departure.

<sup>68</sup> GF (2014) identifies this euphemism as ‘leaving the [human] world’ (去世).

<sup>69</sup> GF (2014) identifies this euphemism as ‘leaving the [human] world’ (去世).

<sup>70</sup> This metaphorical expression is supported by the visual image of a person ‘unclenching their fists’ and ‘leaving the world of the mortals’. The latter term ‘the world of the mortals’ *chénhuán* 尘寰 (literally ‘world of dust’ or ‘world of dirt’) is of Buddhist origin and refers to earthly life full of vice and suffering. Alternative expressions with synonymous morphemes expressing the same meaning are ‘unclench one’s hands and [leave] the human world’ *sāshǒu rénrshì* 撒手人世, *sāshǒu rénjiān* 撒手人间, and *sāshǒu rénhuán* 撒手人寰; as well as ‘unclench one’s hands and go/return to the West’ *sāshǒu xī qù* 撒手西去, *sāshǒu guī xī* 撒手归西, *sāshǒu xī guī* 撒手西归, and *sāshǒu guī qù* 撒手归去 or just ‘unclench one’s hands’ *sāshǒu* 撒手.

<sup>71</sup> HDC (2010) interprets this expression as ‘leaving the human world’ (去世).

<sup>72</sup> Nowadays, this term is still used in its non-euphemistic meaning ‘the past’, cf. collocations ‘matters of the past’ *jìwǎng zhī shì* 既往之事 and ‘let bygones be bygones’ *jìwǎng bùjù* 既往不咎.

逝 for dying by disease. Other “places” that the deceased metaphorically leaves are places of residence (‘leave one’s house’ *juān guǎnshě* 捐馆舍,<sup>73</sup> ‘leave one’s usual dwelling’ *qì píngjū* 弃平居) and buildings (‘leave the hall’ *cítáng* 辞堂<sup>74</sup>). The deceased can also metaphorically bid farewell to people: ‘leave one’s guests’ *juān bīnkè* 捐宾客<sup>75</sup> or *xiè bīnkè* 谢宾客, ‘leave the imperial court’ *qìcháo* 弃朝 (said of emperors), and ‘leave one’s ministers and officials’ *qì qúnchén* 弃群臣 (said of emperors). The archaic term ‘be abandoned’, ‘I was abandoned’, ‘we were abandoned [by parents]’ *jiànbèi* 见背 implies the death of one’s parents who left their children behind.<sup>76</sup>

Many euphemistic expressions based on the metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE do not specify the exact place the deceased leaves or the exact people the deceased abandons, such as ‘leave’ *shì* 逝, *qù* 去, *guò* 过, *zǒu* 走, *líkāi* 离开 and ‘bid farewell’ *juébié* 诀别.<sup>77</sup> Many metaphorical expressions of this sort consist of two synonymous morphemes: ‘leave’ *líqù* 离去, *guòqù* 过去, *qīngbèi* 倾背, *guòbèi* 过背, and *cíqù* 辞去; ‘move and leave’ *qiānshì* 迁逝; and ‘leave and abandon’ or ‘abandon and leave’ *qìbèi* 弃背, *juānbèi* 捐背, *bèiqì* 背弃, *qìjuān* 弃捐, *qìshì* 弃逝, *wěilí* 委离, and *yíqì* 遗弃.

Since the act of departure can be construed as a series of sub-events, metaphorical expressions based on DEATH IS DEPARTURE can highlight a certain action associated with it, cf. archaic

<sup>73</sup> HDC (2010) defines ‘house’ *guǎnshě* 馆舍 as a place of one’s permanent residence (‘house’, ‘abode’ 房舍) and as a place of temporary stay (‘a place which accepts guests for living’ 接待宾客住宿之所).

<sup>74</sup> This expression is used with respect to the death of mothers and grandmothers. The ‘hall’ *táng* 堂 in the expression (also used in honorifics ‘your honorable mother’ *língtáng* 令堂 and *xuāntáng* 萱堂) refers to the chamber where senior female family members reside.

<sup>75</sup> Dying is ‘leaving one’s guests and going away’ (弃宾客而去, HDC, 2010). This expression is used in reference to the death of people of higher rank.

<sup>76</sup> The function word *jiàn* 见 can be used to either express passive meaning (as in ‘to be accused’ *jiànzé* 见责 or ‘to be rejected’ *jiànqì* 见弃) or indicate the first person pronoun that should be understood as an object of the verb (as in ‘[they] laugh at me/us’ *jiànxiào* 见笑 and ‘please forgive me/us’ *qǐng duō jiànliàng* 请多见谅). Here, the second character 背 is used as a verb ‘leave’, ‘abandon’, or ‘desert’ (背弃), cf. also the commentary of (GC, 2015) on *jiànbèi* 见背: “见背: 离开了我, 指死去。”

<sup>77</sup> Dying is ‘bidding farewell for all eternity’ (永远诀别, HDC, 2010). The morpheme ‘bid farewell’ *jué* 诀 is used in multiple euphemisms for death (or death-related expressions, such as ‘facing death’, ‘before one’s death’ *línjué* 临诀), which implies separation without any hope for reunion (不再相见的辞别, XDZ, 2004, p. 460).

euphemisms ‘turn one’s head [while leaving]’ *huíshǒu* 回首,<sup>78</sup> ‘turn round’ *zhuǎnshēn* 转身, and ‘the soul leaves [the body]’ *húnduàn* 魂断 or *duànhún* 断魂.<sup>79</sup>

Deathly departure can be described in terms containing the words “eternity” or “forever”, such as ‘part forever [with the human world]’ *yǔ shì chángcí* 与世长辞,<sup>80</sup> *chángcí* 长辞, *chángcí rénjiān* 长辞人间, *yǒngbié* 永别, *yǒngjué* 永诀, *yǒngcí* 永辞, *chángshì* 长逝, *chángxiè* 长谢, *chángwǎng* 长往, *chángwéi* 长违, *chángbié* 长别, *yǒngshì* 永逝, *yǒngqiān* 永迁, *yǒnggé* 永隔, and *yǒngjué* 永绝. The scale and circumstance of the event can be explicitly mentioned, cf. ‘great departure’ *dàqù* 大去 for die; ‘leave early’ *zǎoshì* 早世 or *zǎoshì* 早逝 for die prematurely; and ‘leave [the earthly world] sitting cross-legged [on praying mat]’ *fūshì* 跏趺 for die, when said of a Buddhist. The departure can be sudden, thus the death could be metaphorically described with the words ‘leave suddenly’ *kèshì* 溘逝<sup>81</sup> or ‘suddenly separate [oneself from the earthly world]’ *yǎngé* 奄隔.

Euphemisms based on the DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor can describe objects “left” by the deceased: ‘left letter’ *yíshū* 遗书 for ‘letter or note left by the deceased upon their death’, ‘left assets’ *yíchǎn* 遗产 for heritage or legacy of the deceased, ‘left body’ *yítǐ* 遗体 for ‘corpse’, ‘left bones’ *yíhái* 遗骸 for remains, ‘left image’ *yíxiàng* 遗像 or *yíróng* 遗容 for portrait of the deceased, and ‘left exhortation’ *yízǔ* 遗嘱 for testament or last words said or written by the deceased before their death. The archaic term ‘leave the bow’ *yígōng* 遗弓 for die (mostly said of emperors) has its origins in the story of the legendary Yellow Emperor 黄帝 ascending to Heaven on a dragon:

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<sup>78</sup> The metaphorical understanding of dying as ‘leaving’ derives from ‘turning one’s head back’ (回头, GC, 2015; 回头看, HDC, 2010) and ‘looking back at one’s past [at the end of one’s life journey]’ (回想, 回忆, GC, 2015).

<sup>79</sup> HDC (2010) interprets the soul in these euphemisms as a ‘spirit leaving the human body’ (离开躯体的灵魂). A disembodied spirit leaving one’s body upon death *hún* 魂 is opposed to the remaining corporeal entity of the corpse *pò* 魄.

<sup>80</sup> This expression is mostly used in reference to ‘respectable or beloved people’ and marked ‘euphemistic and solemn’ in XHC (2016).

<sup>81</sup> This can be interpreted as a contraction of two words: ‘suddenly’ and ‘pass away’ *kèrán chángshì* 溘然长逝 (GF, 2014). The term originates from the poem *The Lament* 《离骚》 from the anthology *The Verses of Chu* 《楚辞》, attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 340 BC – 278 BC). The morpheme ‘abruptly’ *kè* 溘 forms multiple compounds with words that share the meaning ‘die suddenly’: *kèjìn* 溘尽, *kèxiè* 溘谢, *kèzhì* 溘至, and *kèbì* 溘毙. There are famous expressions that describe the fleeting nature of life: ‘the morning dew dissipates swiftly’ *kè xiān zhāolù* 溘先朝露 or *zhāolù kèzhì* 朝露溘至 (GF, 2014).

once the Yellow Emperor strode on the dragon's back in order to go in the air, numerous ministers and courtiers of the emperor wanted to follow their sovereign. Those who did not manage to mount the dragon pulled its whiskers. Shortly, the dragon's whiskers came loose and the emperor's bow fell to the ground (CTEXT, 《史记: 封禅书》 73).

When death is understood as a voluntary giving away of one's valued life, DEATH IS DEPARTURE and DEATH IS SEPARATION become closely related to two other metaphorical interpretations of death: DEATH IS SACRIFICE and DEATH IS LOSS.<sup>82</sup> One's life is "abandoned", "cast away", "discarded", "given up", or "lost"—usually for noble or higher reasons. Most of these metaphors are based on the VERB + OBJECT pattern 'give away one's life' *juānmìng* 捐命, *juānshēng* 捐生,<sup>83</sup> *yíshēng* 遗生, *shěshēn* 舍身, *shěshēng* 舍生, *xiànshēn* 献身, *juānshēn* 捐身, *shòumìng* 授命, *jiùmìng* 就命, *xùnshēn* 殉身, *xiànchū shēngmìng* 献出生命, *xīshēng shēngmìng* 牺牲生命, and *juānxiàn shēngmìng* 捐献生命; 'sacrifice one's life' *zhìmìng* 致命;<sup>84</sup> and 'lose one's life' *mémìng* 没命.<sup>85</sup> Similar VERB + OBJECT patterns are found in the terms 'give away one's body' *juānqū* 捐躯; 'give away one's bones' *juānhái* 捐骸; 'shed one's blood' *liúxuè* 流血; and 'give away everything from head to heel' *dǐngzhǒng jìnjuān* 顶踵尽捐. The euphemism 'sacrifice' *xīshēng* 牺牲 meaning die can be used without an object: 'he perished on the battlefield' *tā xīshēng zài zhànchǎng shàng* 他牺牲在战场上. The object of the specific verb 'sacrifice' *xùn* 殉<sup>86</sup> can introduce the purpose or circumstances of one's death: 'sacrifice [oneself] for one's country' *xùnguó* 殉国 or *yǐ shēn xùnguó* 以身殉国; 'sacrifice [oneself] at one's post' *xùnzhi* 殉职 or *yǐ shēn xùnzhi* 以身殉职; 'sacrifice [oneself] for money' *xùncái* 殉财; 'sacrifice [oneself] for material [benefits]' *xùnwù* 殉物; 'sacrifice [oneself] for love' *xùnqíng* 殉情; 'sacrifice [oneself] for one's

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<sup>82</sup> Certain archaic euphemisms can be interpreted in terms of both the DEATH IS DEPARTURE and DEATH IS SACRIFICE metaphors, cf. 'give up one's body' or 'leave one's body' *qìqū* 弃躯.

<sup>83</sup> Here, the morpheme 捐 is used in its meaning 'abandon', 'relinquish' (舍弃; 抛弃 GF, 2014).

<sup>84</sup> The meaning 'sacrifice one's life' (牺牲生命, HDC, 2010) is already obsolete. Nowadays, it refers to anything 'deadly' or 'causing death' (导致丧命, GF, 2014).

<sup>85</sup> This reading, together with the usage of the final particle *le* 了, is prescribed in GF (2014) and XHC (2016).

<sup>86</sup> Originally, the term referred to an old burial practice: 'bury items or living people along with the dead' (GF 2014).

chastity' *xùnjié* 殉节;<sup>87</sup> 'sacrifice [oneself] for righteousness' *xùnyì* 殉义 meaning die for a righteous cause; 'sacrifice [oneself] for truth' *xùndào* 殉道 meaning die for one's beliefs; and 'sacrifice [one's life] in a disaster' *xùnnàn* 殉难 meaning die for a just cause (i.e. while rescuing others from a disaster). Dying for justice or worthy cause can be also expressed through euphemisms such as 'strive for justice' *qǔyì* 取义, *jiùyì* 就义 or *fùyì* 赴义 and '[die in order to] achieve virtue' *chéng rén* 成仁.<sup>88</sup> If someone has 'left one's country' *qùguó* 去国, it might contextually mean the person died for their country (Zhang, 1996: 为国而死). In the military context in reference to soldiers dying is '[gaining] the glory' *guāngróng* 光荣.

The metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE is strongly associated with the well-established metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Therefore, we can understand death as the end of a journey or, in a more general sense, DEATH IS THE END. Words denoting the end of a process constitute most of the euphemisms based on this metaphor: 'end' *zhōng* 终 and its related expressions 'end permanently' *chángzhōng* 长终 or *yǒngzhōng* 永终; 'end [one's life] naturally' or 'end [one's life] peacefully' or 'end [one's life] properly' *kǎozhōng* 考终,<sup>89</sup> *zhèngzhōng* 正终, *lìngzhōng* 令终 or *shànzhōng* 善终; 'do not finish [one's full lifespan]' *bùzhōng* 不终 denoting the premature death; 'approach one's end' *línzhōng* 临终 meaning that one is about to die; 'end [one's life] peacefully in the main bedroom' *shòuzhōng zhèngqǐn* 寿终正寝 or just *shòuzhōng* 寿终; 'end [one's life] without disease' *wújí'érzhōng* 无疾而终 denoting a peaceful death; 'end' *zú* 卒 and the related expression 'end suddenly' *bàozú* 暴卒; and 'end' *jìn* 尽 and its related expressions 'lifespan has come to its end' *xiànjìn* 限尽 and 'come to one's end together' *tóngguīyújìn* 同归于尽, used to denote several people, mostly enemies, dying together. Other euphemisms referring to the end of one's life

<sup>87</sup> Nowadays, the expression is used to refer to people who died for their country. Earlier, it was said of women dying to preserve their chastity (贞节) and moral integrity (节操), including widows who committed suicide rather than get remarried (GF 2014).

<sup>88</sup> HDC 2010 interprets this expression as 'achieve virtue of kindheartedness', 'benevolence' (成就仁德)—the highest Confucian virtue of all.

<sup>89</sup> The term is strongly related to the expression 'end one's life peacefully' (善终, HDC, 2015), used in reference to the death of a person at an advanced age (*kǎo* 考 derives from 'old' *lǎo* 老), avoiding any punishment, execution, or unpredicted misfortunes (刑戮或意外的灾祸, HDC, 2010). It can build collocations, e.g. 'end one's years at an old age' *kǎo zhōng nián* 考终年.

journey or spending one's lifetime are 'end one's life' *bì mìng* 毕命; 'have one's life cut short' *jué mìng* 绝命; 'face the end' *lín mìng* 临命 or *lín jué* 临绝; 'have spent one's life' *guò bèi* 过辈; 'finish walking one's life path' *zǒu wán rén shēng de lù chéng* 走完人生的路程; 'unharness [the horses from] the carriage' *jiě jià* 解驾, referring to the end of one's life journey; 'the emperor's carriage was set out late' *gōng chē yàn jià* 宫车晏驾, *gōng chē wǎn chū* 宫车晚出 (or just *wǎn jià* 晚驾, *yàn jià* 晏驾, and *yàn guī* 晏归) denoting the death of an emperor; and 'end one's life' *jiù shì* 就世.<sup>90</sup> Death is understood as the ultimate end, related to the concept of destiny: one's predestined life span is up and the last moment of one's life has come. Such a situation is expressed in the modern common collocation 'one's ultimate [life] limit is about to come' *dà xiàn jiāng zhì* 大限将至 and in the archaic terms for death 'ultimate [time] limit' *dà xiàn* 大限 or *dà qī* 大期.

Death as a pivotal moment in one's existence may also initiate a new journey, a perspective that is attested in the metaphors DEATH IS THE BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY and DEATH IS A JOURNEY: 'go [on a journey]' *cú* 徂<sup>91</sup>, 'go on a distant journey' *yuǎn xíng* 远行 or *xiá jǔ* 遐举, 'go on a distant journey and leave [the earthly world]' *xiá qì* 遐弃 (said of emperors), 'go on a great journey' *dà xíng* 大行, 'set out on a journey' *shàng lù* 上路, 'set out on a journey of no return' *zǒu shàng bù guī lù* 走上不归路, 'go on a distant journey to a foreign [land]' *xiá yí* 遐夷, 'one's spirit set out on a journey' *shén yóu* 神游, and 'the life of a person set up for the journey to the Yellow Springs' *mìng fù huáng quán* 命赴黄泉—a paraphrase of the underworld (XHC 2016, p. 575).

Taoist symbolism and beliefs gave birth to many expressions based on the DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor, such as 'ride a crane' *jià hè* 驾鹤 or *kuà hè* 跨鹤<sup>92</sup> and 'ride a crane and transform [into an immortal]' *qí hè huà* 骑鹤化. 'Western Paradise' or 'Western Heaven' *xī tiān* 西天 traditionally

<sup>90</sup> In this expression, the character *jiù* 就 denotes 'end' (终, HDC 2010).

<sup>91</sup> This archaic euphemism builds multiple disyllabic alternatives in classic texts with the same meaning 'die': *cú xiè* 徂谢, *cú mò* 徂没, *cú shì* 徂逝, *cú luò* 徂落, *cú sàng* 徂丧, *cú qiān* 徂迁, and *cú diān* 徂颠. The term is closely related to 'go to die' *cú* 徂, which could be substituted for the term *cú* 徂 in various disyllabic words: *cú mò* 徂没, *cú yāo* 徂夭, *cú huà* 徂化, *cú bèi* 徂背, *cú shì* 徂逝, *cú luò* 徂落, *cú sàng* 徂丧, *cú yǔn* 徂陨, *cú yǔn* 徂殒, *cú xiè* 徂谢, *qiān cú* 迁徂, *gào cú* 告徂, *shì cú* 逝徂, etc.

<sup>92</sup> This originates from the Taoist belief that the deceased ascend to Heaven and become immortal. Here, the metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY is manifested along with the metaphor DEATH IS ASCENSION.

denote the afterlife (religious beliefs are supported by the association of the Western sky or Western Heaven with sunset, evening, and the upcoming darkness) such that some metaphors for death mention ‘West’ and ‘Western Heaven’: to die is to ‘ride a crane to the West’ *jiàhè xīqù* 驾鹤西去 or *jiàhè xīyóu* 驾鹤西游, ‘ride a crane to the world of immortals’ *chéng hè xiānqù* 乘鹤仙去, ‘ride a crane and return to the West’ *kuàhè guīxī* 跨鹤归西 or *kuàhè xīguī* 跨鹤西归, ‘become an immortal and go to the Western [Heaven] riding a [crane] carriage’ *xiānyù xīchí* 仙驭西驰, and ‘become an immortal and travel [to the world of immortals]’ *xiānyóu* 仙游.

The souls of the deceased, once they left their bodies, were believed to ‘travel to the mountain Tai’ *yóu dài* 游岱 or *yóu dài zōng* 游岱宗. The deity of the mountain Tai *dōngyuè dàdì* 东岳大帝 was also alleged to be the lord of the underworld (HD, 2010). The Mountain Tai *tàishān* 泰山 has an honorific name *dài zōng* 岱宗, the main peak of the so-called ‘Five [Sacred] Mountains’ *wǔyùè* 五岳; thus, the honorific *dài zōng* 岱宗 can itself be used as a euphemism for death (HD, 2010).

The journey to Nirvana can be also be qualified as a linguistic manifestation of the metaphor DEATH IS A JOURNEY or DEATH IS CROSSING found in Buddhist expressions ‘enter the extinction’ *rùmiè* 入灭, ‘enter [Pari]nirvana’ *rùjì* 入寂 or *qiānjì* 迁寂.

The death of a high-ranking member of Buddhist clergy could be denoted as ‘extinct seemingly’ *shìmiè* 示灭 and ‘[enter] quietness seemingly’ *shìjì* 示寂, since “extinction” and “entering the quietness” are only apparent or seeming real phenomena in visual perception and not real in the Buddhist sense.<sup>93</sup>

The JOURNEY can lead underground, where the Chinese used to localise the netherworld (cf. the above-mentioned euphemistic archaism ‘compose texts as an official in the underworld’ *dìxià xiūwén* 地下修文 or *xiūwén dìxià* 修文地下, denoting the prematurely deceased talented poets and writers). If the journey is directed upwards, speakers construe the reality of death by using the

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<sup>93</sup> Cf. Hong (2010, p. 29): 示灭、示寂……意思是，寂、灭只是视觉所示现的现象，而并非真寂、真灭。

metaphor DEATH IS ASCENSION, found in numerous Chinese euphemisms. The transition to the sky, Heaven, or Heavenly Kingdom is the most prevalent type of this metaphor: ‘ascend to Heaven’ *shàngtiān* 上天, *dēngtiān* 登天, *fēitiān* 飞天, and *shēngtiān* 升天; ‘the dragon has ascended’ *lóngshēng* 龙升 (said of emperors); ‘ascend and [become] an immortal’ *shàngxiān* 上仙, *dēngxiān* 登仙, *dēngzhēn* 登真;<sup>94</sup> *shēngxiān* 升仙, and *xiān shēng* 仙升; ‘ascend to the lotus world’ *dēng liánjiè* 登莲界;<sup>95</sup> ‘ascend afar’ *dēngxiá* 登遐 and *shēngxiá* 升遐; ‘ascend to Heaven’ *shàng tiāntáng* 上天堂 (a mostly Christian term); ‘ascend [to Heaven] and become an [honourable] guest [of the Celestial Emperor]’ *shàngbīn* 上宾; ‘to be a guest [of the Celestial Emperor] in Heaven’ *bīnkōng* 宾空 and *bīntiān* 宾天 (said of emperors); ‘ascend to the world of absolute bliss’ *shàng jílèshìjiè* 上极乐世界;<sup>96</sup> ‘ascend to the Western Heaven’ *shàng xītiān* 上西天 and *shēng xītiān* 升西天; ‘ride the clouds and return [to Heaven]’ *yúnguī* 云归; ‘ride the clouds’ *yúnyù* 云驭; ‘ride [the clouds] and ascend [to Heaven]’ *shēngyù* 升驭; and ‘climb up’ *zhì* 陟 or *dēngzhì* 登陟 (said of emperors). Less typical is the ascension to the top of a mountain: ‘ascend the mountain [and be buried there]’ *shàngshān* 上山.

If the journey is directed backwards, speakers can refer to death in terms based on the metaphor DEATH IS THE RETURN.<sup>97</sup> The deceased return to different destinations: HEAVEN (‘the life of a person returns to Heaven’ *yīmìng guītiān* 一命归天, ‘return to Heaven’ *guītiān* 归天, ‘the life of a person returns to the West[ern Heaven]’ *yīmìng guīxī* 一命归西, and ‘return to West[ern Heaven]’ *guīxī* 归西<sup>98</sup>); DARKNESS (‘the life of a person returns to the underworld’ *yīmìng guīyīn* 一命归阴 and ‘return to the underworld’ *guīyīn* 归阴<sup>99</sup>); MOUNTAINS—a common burial site in

<sup>94</sup> This Taoist term presupposes that the deceased joined the world of the immortal *xiānrén* 仙人, who were also known as ‘perfected people’ *zhēnrén* 真人—a specific Taoist term for people who reached a high level of spiritual mastery.

<sup>95</sup> This Buddhist term ‘lotus world’ *liánhuā shìjiè* 莲花世界 refers to Paradise; entering Paradise refers to death.

<sup>96</sup> The Buddhist term ‘world of perfect bliss’ *jílè shìjiè* 极乐世界 refers to Paradise; entering Paradise refers to death. Other terms for this idea of the afterlife include ‘Pure Land’ *jìngtǔ* 净土 and ‘Western Heaven’ *xītiān* 西天.

<sup>97</sup> Certain archaic euphemisms with the verb ‘return’ *guī* 归 allow for various interpretations, cf. *guīshì* 归世, which might denote the return to the blessed world of Immortals (DEATH IS THE RETURN metaphor) or the leaving of the earthly world (HDC (2010) interprets it as ‘leaving the [human] world’ 逝世).

<sup>98</sup> Here, ‘West’ *xī* 西 can be interpreted as the ‘Western Sky’ or ‘Western Heaven’ *xītiān* 西天, which equal the ‘pure’ or ‘blessed land’ in Buddhist discourse, typologically similar to the Western term ‘Paradise’ (XHC, 2016).

<sup>99</sup> Dying is the ‘return of a soul to the underworld’ (死后灵魂返归阴间, HDC, 2010). The character ‘shadow’, ‘shade’, ‘darkness’ *yīn* 阴 often refers to ‘the underworld’ *yīnjiān* 阴间.



pre-modern China ('return to mountains [and be buried there]' *guīshān* 归山, 'return to the mountain of immortals' *guī dào shān* 归道山, and 'return to the mountain of immortals long time ago' *jiǔguī dào shān* 久归道山<sup>100</sup>); SPRINGS ('return to the springs' *guīquán* 归泉<sup>101</sup>); [PARI]NIRVANA ('return to parinirvana' *guījì* 归寂); WORLD OF IMMORTALS ('return to the genuineness' *fǎnzhēn* 返真, *huánzhēn* 还真, or *guīzhēn* 归真—in the Taoist discourse of 'perfected people' *zhēnrén* 真人 and 'immortals' *xiānrén* 仙人); SOIL ('return to the soil' *guītǔ* 归土); and HOME ('get back to one's old home' *huílǎojiā* 回老家). In certain euphemisms, the destination of one's return is not explicitly mentioned: 'return for long' *chángguī* 长归, 'great return' *dàhuán* 大还 or *dàguī* 大归, 'return/go back' *huíqù* 回去 or *guīqù* 归去, and 'one's soul returns [to Heaven]' *guīshén* 归神 or *guīhún* 归魂. In several euphemisms, the object of the verb 'return' *guī* 归 should be interpreted as an adverbial modifier: 'return with one's intact [body]' *guīquán* 归全 (alternatively *quánshēng quánguī* 全生全归) refers to death in old age when the whole body is preserved, contrasted with a death due to a misfortunate accident. The archaic term 'the person who returned' *guīrén* 归人 used to denote the deceased.

The idea of the earthly world as a temporary prison, the body as a cage of the eternal spirit, and the mundane life as a miserable experience full of sorrows, travails, and sufferings leads to the metaphorical understanding of death as LIBERATION. Metaphorical expressions of this sort mostly originate from Taoist discourse: 'escape from the [earthly] world' *wéishì* 违世 (can be also treated as DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor); 'lose one's physical form' *jiěxíng* 解形;<sup>102</sup> 'lose one's bones' *jiěgǔ* 解骨; 'leave one's body [and become immortal]' *shījiě* 尸解; 'relieve oneself from the [earthly] matters' *xièshì* 谢事;<sup>103</sup> 'free oneself' *jiětuō* 解脱; 'get free [from the body] by a [bladed]

<sup>100</sup> 'Mountain of Dao' 道山 refers to the 'Mountain of Immortals' 仙山, the Taoist paradise where souls of the righteous reside upon their death.

<sup>101</sup> 'Spring' *quán* 泉 refers to the 'Yellow Springs' *huángquán* 黄泉, denoting the underworld.

<sup>102</sup> HDC (2010) sees dying as 'setting oneself free' (脱身) when "one releases oneself from the body and becomes immortal" (遗弃形骸而成仙).

<sup>103</sup> HDC (2010) interprets the original meaning of the expression as "getting rid of the mundane matters" (免除俗事).

weapon' *bīngjiě* 兵解, meaning 'get killed'; and 'free oneself like a cicada shedding its skin' *chántuì* 蝉蜕, *tuìhuà* 蜕化, *tuìwěi* 蜕委, and *wěituì* 委蜕.

Various death-related euphemisms in Chinese are based on the metaphor DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION. Various expressions denoting death contain the morpheme 'transform' *huà* 化: 'transform into an immortal' *xiānhuà* 仙化; 'transform into an immortal riding a crane' *jiàhè chéngxiān* 驾鹤成仙; 'change one's [physical] form' *wùhuà* 物化, *huàxíng* 化形, *qiānxíng* 迁形, and *qiānhuà* 迁化; 'become [as light as] a bird's feather [and ascend to the sky]' *yǔhuà* 羽化; 'submit to the [natural] transformations' *wěihuà* 委化;<sup>104</sup> 'leave one's physical form' *yíxíng* 遗形; 'hide [from the world] and transform' *dùnhuà* 遁化;<sup>105</sup> 'turn into a butterfly' *diéhuà* 蝶化; 'turn into a crane' *huàhè* 化鹤; 'undergo a spiritual transformation' *líng huà* 灵化; '[one should not be] afraid of the change' *dáhuà* 怛化;<sup>106</sup> 'lose one's form' *sànxíng* 散形; 'lose one's body' *wúshēn* 无身; 'transform while sitting cross-legged' *zuòhuà* 坐化 (said of Buddhist monks); 'approach one's transformation [into an immortal]' *lín huà* 临化; and 'the time of one's transformation' *huàqí* 化期 denoting death. Death is 'impermanence' *wúcháng* 无常. One of the possible transformations is associated with the passage of time: dying is 'becoming a forefather' *zuògǔrén* 作古人 (also in contracted forms *zuògǔ* 作古, *gǔrén* 古人, and *gǔ* 古).

One of the possible transformations found in nature is the process of decay common among plants such that the metaphor DEATH IS WITHERING, with its vegetal imagery, is widespread in Chinese: to die is to 'wither' *líng* 零, *diāolíng* 凋零, *diāokū* 凋枯, *língluò* 零落, *língxiè* 零谢, *wěijué* 萎绝, *wěixiè* 萎谢, *gǎo* 稿, *diāoluò* 凋落, or *diāoxiè* 凋谢; 'vanish and wither' *lúnxiè* 沦谢; 'wither and leave' *diāoshì* 凋逝; 'wither and get lost' *diāosàng* 雕丧; 'wither and decay' *diāoshāng* 雕伤 or

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<sup>104</sup> Dying is "letting the natural changes happen freely" (随任自然的变化, HDC, 2010). The meaning of *wěi* 委 here is 'let', 'yield', or 'allow' (听任, 任凭, GHZ, 2005, p. 825), which is a different metaphorical understanding than in 'abandon the [human] world' *wěishi* 委世.

<sup>105</sup> HDC (2010) interprets the original meaning of the expression as "seclude oneself from the world and transform" (隐遁变化).

<sup>106</sup> Originates from *Zhuangzi* (see CTEXT, 《庄子: 大宗师》, 5) where it is said not to "fear death" (无怛化). GC (2015) interprets this exhortation by calling human death "a natural change" (人之死乃自然变化, 不要惊动他).

*diāocán* 雕残;<sup>107</sup> ‘the sage withered’ *wēizhé* 萎哲 or *zhéren qí wēi* 哲人其萎 (said of a wise person); ‘apricot buds withered too early’ *xìngshāng* 杏殇 (said of a deceased baby); ‘one’s [physical] form withered’ *xíngxiè* 形谢; and ‘stop blossoming’ *shōuhuá* 收华.<sup>108</sup>

The transformation of death can take an ultimate form of complete annihilation such that all expressions relating to one’s disappearance or extinguishing are based on the metaphors DEATH IS VANISHING, DEATH IS DESTRUCTION, and DEATH IS FALL.

If someone ‘is not here anymore’ *bù zài le* 不在了, they have ceased to exist. This is a very common contemporary euphemism in Chinese, though GC (2015) cites an example from the *Tingshi* 《程史·卷七·朝士留刺》 of the Song dynasty (960–1279) which already notes the euphemistic usage of this expression: “Say ‘[he] is no longer here’ when a person dies” (凡人之死者, 乃称不在。)

The images of extinguishing fire and fading light can be found in the euphemism ‘candle in the wind’ *fēngzhú* 风烛, said of people who are about to die, including the elderly and the sick,<sup>109</sup> and in the regional terms ‘blow out the lamp’ *chuīdēng* 吹灯 and ‘blow out the lamp and put out the candle’ *chuīdēng bálà* 吹灯拔蜡, meaning die. Apart from extinguishing of the candle flame, the fiery imagery can be found in the euphemistic expression of Buddhist origin ‘the firewood burned out and the fire extinguished’ *xīnjìn huǒmiè* 薪尽火灭 (also in the contractions ‘firewood and fire’ *xīnhuǒ* 薪火 and ‘run out of firewood’ *xīnjìn* 薪尽). All the expressions describing the Chinese translation of the term *nirvāṇa mièdù* 灭度—literally, ‘extinguishing [of worries] and crossing [the sea of grief]’ (灭烦恼, 度苦海, HDC, 2010; GC, 2015)<sup>110</sup>; phonetically, *nièpán* 涅槃—are

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<sup>107</sup> The characters *diào* 凋 and *diāo* 雕, meaning ‘wither’, are interchangeable in classical texts.

<sup>108</sup> HDC (2010) interprets its original meaning as ‘withering of stamen and pistil’ or ‘withering of the flower and its bud’ (花蕊凋零).

<sup>109</sup> This word is used in the common collocation ‘be in one’s declining years’, ‘be about to die’ *fēngzhú cánnián* 风烛残年.

<sup>110</sup> The highly complex Buddhist notion ‘worries’ *fǎnnǎo* 烦恼 is the Chinese attempt to translate the Sanskrit term *kleśa*—a disturbed mental state that includes anxiety, fear, depression, unsatiable desire, and other negative emotions. ‘Sea of sorrows’ 苦海 *kūhǎi* is a common translation of the Sanskrit/Pali term *samsāra*—mundane existence, full of misery and suffering.

used to denote death. These designations refer to the death of Buddha, Bodhisatva, and prominent Buddhist monks and nuns. Death in Chinese Buddhist discourse is also known as ‘quietude and extinction’ *jìmiè* 寂灭, ‘complete quietude (*parinirvāṇa*)’ *yuánjì* 圆寂, and ‘extinction of consciousness (*vijñāna*)’ *shímiè* 识灭.

A complex fiery metaphor ‘burn [the Chamber of] Pepper’ *fénjiāo* 焚椒 is a rare archaic euphemism denoting the murder of an empress. The palace where empresses used to reside together with the concubines within the Weiyang Palace of the Han Dynasty was called ‘the chamber of pepper’ *jiāofáng* 椒房 or ‘chambers of pepper and orchid’ *jiāofáng lánshì* 椒房兰室 (HDC, 2010) since its walls were rubbed with fragrant pepper (a symbol of fertility, CG, 2015). Later, the term was used metonymically to refer to the empress herself.

Death could be metaphorised in water-related images, particularly those related to drowning or submerging in water. The metonymical interpretation of drowning as disappearing (cf. English ‘sink into oblivion’) and, subsequently, as dying gave birth to various expressions with the same literal meaning: ‘vanish [in water]’ or ‘sink’ *mò* 没,<sup>111</sup> *mǐn* 泯, *mǐnmò* 泯没, *lúnmò* 沦没,<sup>112</sup> *chénmò* 沉没,<sup>113</sup> *chénlún* 沉沦, and *chénxiāng* 沉湘;<sup>114</sup> ‘sink and depart’ *lúnshì* 沦逝, ‘sink and wither’ *lúnxiè* 沦谢 for die. Dissipation of the ‘morning dew’ *zhāolù* 朝露 is a typical Chinese euphemism

<sup>111</sup> XDZ (2004, p. 620f) differentiates between two interconnected meanings of *méi/mò* 没, notably (1) literal meaning “sink” (沉没) and (2) metonymically extended meaning “end” (尽、终) deriving from “sink”: once an object submerged in waters, it is not seen, therefore vanished (DEATH IS VANISHING). The latter meaning can be found in the euphemistic metonymies ‘end one’s life’ *mòshì* 没世, ‘reach the old age and end [one’s life]’ *zhǎngmò* 长没, ‘leave and end [one’s life]’ *shìmò* 逝没, ‘face the end’ *línmò* 临没, ‘end [one’s life] in battle’ *zhènsmò* 阵没. This extension has also the graphic manifestation in its graphic variant *mò* 歿 (cf. CTEXT 《广雅, 卷四, 释诂》 110).

<sup>112</sup> Apart from denoting human death the expression can be also used in reference to non-animate objects meaning ‘sink into oblivion’, for example for the lost ‘historical records’ *shǐliào* 史料 or ‘treasures’ *zhēnbǎo* 珍宝 (GF 2014).

<sup>113</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 4) notes that ‘sink’ *chénmò* 沉没 is used euphemistically as ‘die’ with no relation to the literal meaning ‘submerging under water’ and cites an example taken from Lu Xun’s 鲁迅 (1881–1936) prose: “They proved the advancement of revolution by giving away their lives” *tāmen yǐ zìjǐ de chénmò, zhèngmíngzhe géming de qiánxíng* 他们以自己的沉没, 证明着革命的前行。

<sup>114</sup> The term originates from the biography of poet Qu Yuan 屈原 found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* 《史记·屈原贾生列传》 by Sima Qian 司马迁 (c. 145–86 BC). The poet was exiled due to court intrigues and during his exile found out about the fall of his capital and committed suicide by wading into Miluo River 汨罗江 (a tributary of Xiang River 湘江), cf. archaic idiom ‘Qu Ping (Qu Yuan) drowned himself in the Xiang River’ *Qūpíng chénxiāng* 屈平沉湘.

for transient life and mortality, cf. ‘life is like the morning dew’ *rénshēng rú zhāolù* 人生如朝露 and ‘life fades before the morning dew dissipates’ *shēnxiān zhāolù* 身先朝露.

Death can be metaphorised as a collapse or deterioration of various physical entities, e.g. rocks and stones: ‘the [precious] jade has broken into pieces’ *yùsuì* 玉碎 stands for dying worthily or dying in glory, which are juxtaposed with ‘a tile remaining intact’ *wǎquán* 瓦全, meaning living unworthily or living a shameful life. As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, the death of a beautiful young woman is euphemistically paraphrased as ‘scent disappeared and jade faded’ *xiāngxiāo yùyǐn* 香消玉殒, ‘orchid is broken’ *huìsǔn láncuī* 蕙损兰摧, ‘orchid is broken, jade is cracked’ *láncuī yùzhé* 兰摧玉折. ‘Cinnamon branch and orchid are broken’ *guìzhé láncuī* 桂折兰摧 or just *guìzhé* 桂折 stands for the death of an honourable person. The broken object can also be unspecified, such as in ‘break within a short [lifetime]’ *duǎnzhé* 短折 meaning die young and ‘[one’s life] gets cut short inauspiciously’ *xiōngzhé* 凶折 meaning die prematurely.

Two expressions denoting the death of one’s wife are also based on the DEATH IS DESTRUCTION metaphor: the above-mentioned ‘string is broken’ *duànxián* 断弦<sup>115</sup> and ‘jade terrace collapsed’ *yáotáiqīng* 瑶台倾.<sup>116</sup> Another example of a metaphorical expression that depicts the destruction of a building is the euphemism ‘main beams [of the house] are broken’ *liángcuī* 梁摧 or *liánghuài* 梁坏, denoting the death of a talented person who had a good perspective in life.<sup>117</sup> The largest scale of collapse can be found in expressions denoting the death of an emperor: ‘collapse’ *bēng* 崩, ‘emperor’s carriage was overturned’ *jiàbēng* 驾崩, and ‘collapse suddenly and fiercely’

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<sup>115</sup> Two string instruments—*qín* 琴 and *sè* 瑟—symbolised a married couple in pre-modern China, which is why a string breaking also means the death of a spouse. If a widower decided to marry for the second time, he could ‘replace the string’ *xùxián* 续弦 or ‘replace the broken string’ *duànxián zàixù* 断弦再续. If the widower did not get remarried after his wife’s death, it was said he ‘has not yet replaced the broken string’ *duànxián wèixù* 断弦未续.

<sup>116</sup> This archaic term derives from the poem *Wandering in Sorrow* 《伤往赋》 by Liu Yuxi 刘禹锡 (c. 772–842), in which the speaker bemoans the death of his wife: “the jade terrace collapsed! Your dressing case with a mirror is now empty” (瑶台倾兮镜奁空).

<sup>117</sup> HDC (2010) finds the source of this metaphor in *The Book of Rites* 《礼记·檀弓上》, and refers to the term ‘ridge beam and high mountain’ 梁岳, metaphorically denoting a significant person who is compared to both the main beam along the ridge of a roof (cf. English ‘pillar’ in its figurative meaning ‘important member or part of a system’) and the Tai mountain.

*bàobēng* 暴崩. The death of renowned personalities can be described in terms of a falling star: ‘fall from the sky [like a meteor]’ *yǔnlùò* 陨落 and ‘the star fell’ *xīngluò* 星落 or *xīngyǔn* 陨.<sup>118</sup>

There are many euphemistic (and contextually dysphemistic, if irony is involved) expressions for death based on other metaphors, including DEATH IS THE CALL (‘answer the call to the jade tower’ *fùzhào yùlóu* 赴召玉楼<sup>119</sup>); DEATH IS A MEETING (‘meet Yama, [The King of Hell]’ *jiàn yánwáng* 见阎王, ‘meet [Karl] Marx’ *jiàn mǎkèsī* 见马克思, ‘meet God’ *jiàn shàngdì* 见上帝); DEATH IS SLUMBER (‘sleep forever’ *chángmián* 长眠, *yǒngmián* 永眠, *chánghū* 长忽, *chángmèi* 长寐, *chángqǐn* 长寝, and *yǒngzhé* 永蛰; ‘fall into a deep slumber’ *chénmián* 沉眠; ‘sleep peacefully’ *ānwò* 安卧 and *ānmián* 安眠; ‘rest’ *tǎng* 躺, ‘rest in peace’ *ānxī* 安息; ‘rest [forever]’ *xiūxi* 休息 and *chángxiū* 长休); DEATH IS DARKNESS (‘birthday anniversary in the [world of] darkness’ *míngshòu* 冥寿<sup>120</sup> denoting birthday anniversary of the dead, ‘[go into] darkness’ *miǎomíng* 眇冥 or *míngmèi* 冥昧, ‘[go to the] dark and unclear [place]’ *míngmò* 冥漠, ‘path to the darkness’ *mínglù* 冥路,<sup>121</sup> ‘sink into darkness’ *yōulún* 幽沦, and ‘great night’ *dàyè* 大夜 meaning ‘death’); and DEATH IS ILLNESS (‘great illness’ *dàbìng* 大病). It is important to note that multiple expressions might be based on several metaphors simultaneously: both DEATH IS DEPARTURE and DEATH IS LIBERATION serve as the bases for the euphemism ‘be bored of the earthly world [and leave]’ *yànshì* 厌世; the metaphors DEATH IS DEPARTURE and DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION gave rise to the euphemisms ‘become an immortal and leave’ *xiānqù* 仙去 or *xiānshì* 仙逝, ‘transform [into an

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<sup>118</sup> The morpheme ‘falling from the sky’, ‘falling from above’ *yǔn* 陨 is related to the similarly written ‘die’ *yǔn* 殒, which might have had an impact on the emergence of its euphemistic meaning. Native speakers mix the words *yǔnlùò* 陨落 and *yǔnlùò* 殒落, which the prescriptive dictionary explicitly warns against (GF 2015, p. 1632). Multiple archaic compounds with the morpheme 陨 can be found in pre-modern Chinese texts, all expressing the same meaning: *yǔnbèi* 陨背, *yǔnlíng* 陨零, *yǔnpū* 陨仆, *yǔnshēn* 陨身, *yǔnshì* 陨世, *yǔnxiè* 陨谢, *yǔnyuè* 陨越, *yǔnzhù* 陨坠 (and its spelling variation *yǔnduì* 陨队), *yǔnbó* 陨踣, *yǔnjué* 陨蹶, and *yǔnzhì* 陨蹶.

<sup>119</sup> According to a legend found in Li Shangyin’s 李商隐 (c. 813–858) *Biography of Li Changji* 《李长吉小传》, when the poet Li He 李贺 (c. 790–816) was about to die, he met a man in a red robe—a messenger delivering the will of Jade Emperor. The poet is called to Heaven in order to glorify in his poems the newly built emperor’s Palace of White Jade.

<sup>120</sup> The term ‘darkness’ *míng* 冥 refers to the netherworld or hell, which are known as ‘the world of darkness’ *míngjiè* 冥界.

<sup>121</sup> The term ‘darkness’ *míng* 冥 refers to both the netherworld or hell and death itself, cf. ‘the netherworld’ *míngfǔ* 冥府, ‘birthday anniversary for the dead’ *míngshòu* 冥寿, and ‘false paper money burned as an offering to the dead’ *míngchāo* 冥钞.

immortal] and leave [the human world]’ *huàqù* 化去, ‘transform one’s body and leave [the human world]’ *huàshēn ér qù* 化身而去, and ‘hide [away from the human world] and transform’ *yǐnhuà* 隐化.

### 5.1.3 Chinese metonymies for DEATH, DYING, AND THE DECEASED (DD0001–DD0549; DA0685–DA0723)

Numerous euphemisms for death are based on metonymic extension MISFORTUNE FOR DEATH, when death is understood as a particular case or sub-type of a larger category—misfortunes, accidents, and unpredictable events. Since the taboo cannot be mentioned directly, a broader euphemism is used instead of death: ‘unluck’ *bùxìng* 不幸; ‘unpredictable’ *bùcè* 不测; ‘accident’ *chūshì* 出事, *wùgù* 物故, *chángduǎn* 长短, *duǎncháng* 短长, *sānchángliǎngduǎn* 三长两短, and *sānchángsìduǎn* 三长四短; ‘misfortune’ *shāngāo shuǐdī* 山高水低 (lit. ‘mountains are high, rivers are low’, which are associated with a grave danger for a person—one may fall from steep mountains or drown in rapid waters); ‘disaster’ *hǎodǎi* 好歹; ‘great accident’ *dàgù* 大故; ‘unexpected [event]’ *bùyú* 不虞; ‘not good’ *bùxíng* 不行; ‘do not do any help’ *bùjìshì* 不济事; ‘ominous news’ *xiōnghào* 凶耗, *xiōngxìn* 凶信, and *xiōngwèn* 凶问 or ‘grievous news’ *èhào* 噩耗; ‘great worry’ *dàyōu* 大忧; ‘extraordinary misfortune’ *fēihuò* 非祸;<sup>122</sup> ‘heavenly punishment’ *tiānfá* 天罚; and ‘extreme punishment’ *jíxíng* 极刑 or ‘great punishment’ *dàxíng* 大刑 or *dàpì* 大辟 for ‘death penalty’. To die is to ‘encounter a misfortune’ *yùnnàn* 遇难, *línàn* 临难 or ‘face a danger’ *línwēi* 临危; to be close to death is to be in a situation when ‘in the morning one does not know whether the evening will come’ or ‘in the morning one does not know what will happen in the evening’ *zhāo bù lǜ xī* 朝不虑夕 or when ‘in the morning one cannot guarantee whether the evening will come’ or ‘in the morning one cannot guarantee what will happen in the evening’ *zhāo bù bǎo xī* 朝不保夕.

Death can be seen as a sub-type of another larger category TABOO, thus the metonymy TABOO FOR DEATH underlies the euphemisms with the morpheme ‘[something] which should be avoided’ *huì*

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<sup>122</sup> HDC (2010) interprets death as an “extraordinary misfortune” (非常的灾祸).

讳, which could stand for ‘die’ or ‘death’ by itself (Zhang, 1996, p. 12): ‘there is a taboo’ *yǒuhuì* 有讳; ‘great taboo’ *dàhuì* 大讳 or ‘absolute taboo’ *yóuhuì* 尤讳; ‘taboo day’ *huìrì* 讳日 or *jìrì* 忌日 for ‘day of one’s death’; and ‘taboo place’ *huìsuǒ* 讳所 for ‘place where one died’. Since the names of deceased parents could not be mentioned or uttered directly, the ritual mourning for dead parents could be referred to as a practice of ‘observing the name taboo’ *fèng huì* 奉讳 (see the discussion on name taboos in Chapter 4.2.1b). The term ‘[one] cannot talk about it’ *bùkěyán* 不可言 for die also belongs to the metonymic extension TABOO FOR DEATH. Finally, there are archaic euphemisms for death such as ‘[one] should not avoid mentioning it’ *bùhuì* 不讳 and ‘it is impossible to avoid mentioning it’ *bùkěhuì* 不可讳: they underline the idea that dying is a natural and inevitable phenomenon, it cannot be avoided both in either speech or life.<sup>123</sup>

Multiple euphemisms for death are based on the CAUSE FOR EFFECT and EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy.

In the first case, death can be understood as the end effect of a disease, ageing, or any lethal circumstances—euphemisms denote death by naming the processes that caused one’s passing. CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymies include ‘get old and leave’ *lǎoqù* 老去 or just ‘got old’ *lǎole* 老了; ‘grow old’ *gù* 故<sup>124</sup> (and related expressions for ‘late’, ‘deceased’ *gùqù* 故去, *zǎogù* 早故, *shēngù* 身故, *yǐgù* 已故, etc.); ‘get old during a journey’ *chénglǎo* 程老 meaning die while traveling; ‘once got ill, cannot get up’ *yībìng bùqǐ* 一病不起; ‘receive the sword’ *fújiàn* 伏剑 and ‘touch the sword’ 齿剑 meaning kill oneself by cutting one’s throat; ‘hold up one’s head and [swallow] the poison’ *yǎngyào* 仰药 meaning kill oneself by poisoning; ‘stay long [on the sickbed]’ *míliú* 弥留 for about to die; ‘plague’ *zhálì* 札疔 or *zháchài* 札瘥 meaning die of plague; ‘the

<sup>123</sup> This understanding of death as a part of the natural circle of life is reflected in the euphemism ‘drum a bowl’ *gǔpén* 鼓盆 that denotes the death of one’s wife. According to *Zhuangzi* 《庄子·至乐》, at first Zhuangzi mourned bitterly over the death of his wife, however, he later realised that living and dying are the law of nature and stopped crying. Instead of bereavement, he started drumming on a ceramic bowl and singing.

<sup>124</sup> Although the euphemistic meaning of ‘die’ *wángù* 亡故 can be derived from the meaning ‘accident’ or ‘misfortune’ *shìgù* 事故, XDZ (2004, p. 293) sees the connection of ‘dead’ with the basic meaning of the word ‘old’ or ‘past’, cf. ‘old site’ *gùzhǐ* 故址 and ‘he is still his old self’ *tā háishì yīrán gùwǒ* 他还是依然故我 (*wǒ* 我 is used here as a reflective pronoun ‘self’, not as a personal pronoun ‘I/me’, which is unusual for Modern Mandarin).



servant of [the lord] of the underwater kingdom’ *bōchén* 波臣 meaning drowned person;<sup>125</sup> and ‘catch a cold’ *fàn wùlù* 犯雾露.<sup>126</sup>

In the second case, the metonymic extension EFFECT FOR CAUSE will generate euphemisms that denote death by naming the consequences of one’s passing. Most commonly, those euphemisms depict the phenomena related to one’s funerals and burials: ‘enter the soil’ *rùtǔ* 入土, *rùdì* 入地, *jìntǔ* 进土, or ‘drill the soil’ *zuāntǔ* 钻土; ‘cover with earth’ *yǎntǔ* 掩土 or ‘get drown under the [Yellow] Springs’ *yǎnquán* 掩泉;<sup>127</sup> ‘listen to the crickets singing [after being buried]’ *tīng qūqur jiào* 听蚩蚩儿叫; ‘have half of one’s body buried’ *bànjíe rùtǔ* 半截入土 or *tǔmái bànjié* 土埋半截 meaning that one is about to die; ‘be about to enter the coffin’ *xíngjiāng jiùmù* 行将就木; ‘close the coffin [lid]’ *gàiguān* 盖棺 or *héguān* 阖棺; ‘bury jade and inter incense’ *zàngyù máixiāng* 葬玉埋香 meaning death of a beauty; and ‘put [the corpse] on the bed’ *tíngchuáng* 停床. Archaic euphemistic expressions for death referred to old funeral practices in a very concise manner: ‘remove the [bed] pad [from the bed of the deceased]’ *chèxí* 彻席;<sup>128</sup> ‘change the bed pad’ *yìzé* 易箒;<sup>129</sup> ‘remove the musical instruments’ *chèyuè* 彻乐 and ‘remove the harp’ *chèsè* 撤瑟 or *chèsè* 彻瑟;<sup>130</sup> ‘wrap the corpse in the horse’s skin’ *guǒshī mǎgé* 裹尸马革, *guǒshī mǎgé* 裹尸, or *guǒgé* 裹革, used with respect to the deceased after battle; and ‘open [the bed quilt and see that] hands and legs [are intact]’ *qǐ shǒuzú* 启手足.<sup>131</sup> The exclamations ‘alas’ *wūhū* 呜呼 or *wūhū āizāi* 呜呼

<sup>125</sup> This archaic term originates from the idea that the underwater realm has rulers like the “earthly” lords and that their “subjects” were also called ‘servants’ *chén* 臣. Later, the term was used to refer to the deceased who drownEd.

<sup>126</sup> The term ‘fog and dew’ *wùlù* 雾露 originates from the discourse of traditional Chinese medicine denoting a serious fatal illness caused by the imbalance of *yin* and *yang* (the modern English phrase “catch a cold” does not reflect the severity of the disease described by the Chinese *wùlù* 雾露).

<sup>127</sup> According to HDC 2010, dying is “sinking into the Yellow Springs” (没于黄泉), the Yellow Springs denoting the netherworld.

<sup>128</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 4) interprets the ‘pad’ *xí* 席 as the ‘bed pad’ (床席), which was customary to remove after one’s death (旧俗人死则撤去床席).

<sup>129</sup> The term ‘bed pad’ *zé* 箒 refers to a bed mat made of thick bamboo strips. If it had to be changed, the person for whom it would be changed was a dying person. This procedure metonymically referred to an upcoming death (Zhang 1996, p. 30).

<sup>130</sup> These terms originate from the idea expressed in *The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* 《仪礼·既夕礼》 that no musical instruments could be used at home when a parent was seriously ill. Similarly, no music was played at a given ruler’s house if any misfortunes happened or any inauspicious meteorological or astronomical phenomena occurEd.

<sup>131</sup> This archaic term was used in reference to a natural death (in old age, in one’s bed, etc.) and originates from the *Analecst* 《论语·泰伯》: when Zengzi 曾子 was gravely ill, he asked his disciples to visit him. They opened the burial cloth and saw that his body, his feet, and his hands were all intact and that he had no injuries. Later, Confucian scholars, including Zhu Xi 朱熹, believed an intact body at the moment of death to be a blessing.

哀哉 were frequently uttered during funerals to express grief,<sup>132</sup> thus they could be used euphemistically to denote death, cf. also ‘one’s life [has ended], alas’ *yīmìng wūhū* 一命呜呼. Dying at a young age presupposed that the deceased could no longer grow up, hence the archaic euphemism ‘cannot grow up’ or ‘cannot become a grown-up person’ *bùyù* 不育, which denoted premature death. Deceased parents could no longer be supported by their children such that their deaths could be expressed by means of the euphemism ‘receive no more care’ *qìyǎng* 弃养 or *wéiyǎng* 违养. Children could lose the support of their deceased parents as well, so orphans could use the archaic euphemisms ‘lose support’ *shīhù* 失怙 denoting the death of one’s father and *shīshì* 失恃 denoting the death of one’s mother;<sup>133</sup> the expression ‘[lose protection of one’s] side and expose oneself’ *piānlù* 偏露 used to denote the death of one’s father.

Apart from causal interpretation, there are many euphemistic expressions denoting death that indirectly describe the particular features of a dying or dead person. This is the case of the SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY metonymy, when death is named through its associated “symptoms”: ‘stop breathing’ *duànqì* 断气, *juéqì* 绝气, *luòqì* 落气, *qìjué* 气绝, *qìjìn* 气尽,<sup>134</sup> and *tíngzhǐ hūxī* 停止呼吸; ‘swallow one’s last breath’ *yànqì* 咽气; ‘breathe feebly’ *qìxī yǎnyǎn* 气息奄奄 or *yǎnyǎn yīxī* 奄奄一息; ‘rolled one’s eyes’ *fānlè báiǎn* 翻了白眼; ‘one’s heart stopped beating’ *xīnzàng tíngzhǐ le tiàodòng* 心脏停止了跳动; ‘the light of one’s eyes fell to the ground’ *yǎnguāng luòdì* 眼光落地;<sup>135</sup> ‘close one’s eyes’ *míngmù* 瞑目, *héyǎn* 合眼, and *bìyǎn* 闭眼, as well as ‘close one’s eyes forever’ *yǒngyuǎn de bì shàng yǎnjīng* 永远地闭上眼睛 and ‘once closed one’s eyes, cannot see anymore’ *yīmíng bùshì* 一瞑不视; ‘stretch one’s legs’ *shēntuǐ* 伸腿; and ‘fall prostrate’ *bìpū* 弊仆. The archaic expression ‘at the moment of [putting] the cotton fibre [next to the nostrils in order to test if the person is still breathing]’ *shǔkuàng zhī jì* 属纆之际 used to mean about to

<sup>132</sup> GC (2015) shows multiple variations of this interjection used in classical texts: *wūhū* 於乎, *wūhū* 於戏, *wūhū* 乌乎, *wūhū* 乌呼, *wūhū* 乌辜, and *wūhū* 呜辜. The interjection *wūhū* could previously be found in eulogies and later stood metonymically for death (旧时祭文中常用“呜呼”, 后因以借指死亡, HDC, 2010).

<sup>133</sup> Both terms originate from the *Book of Songs* 《诗·小雅·蓼莪》: “If there is no father, where do you find your support? If there is no mother, where do you find your shelter?” *Wú fù hé hù? Wú mǔ hé shì?* 无父何怙? 无母何恃?

<sup>134</sup> HDC (2010) identifies this euphemism with ‘stop breathing’ (气绝), though it can also be interpreted as ‘one’s vital energy is completely gone’ (生气消失, HDC, 2010; 没有生气, GC, 2015).

<sup>135</sup> HDC (2010) sees the connection between the moment of one’s death with the moment when the ‘mortal’ or ‘corporeal’ soul *pò* 魄 (opposed to ‘ethereal’ soul *hún* 魂) ‘falls onto the ground’ (魄之降乎土).

die due to the association of “breathless” with “dead”. ‘Losing teeth’ *mòchǐ* 没齿 can designate both old age and approaching death: when adult’s teeth are falling out, one’s life is about to come to its end.

The widespread PART FOR WHOLE metonymy can be found among euphemisms for death as well. The deceased person can be named ‘dust under the pine’ *sōngxiàchén* 松下尘 (based on the custom to plant pines next to graveyards) or ‘decaying bones’ *xiǔgǔ* 朽骨 (REMAINS FOR THE DECEASED). The corpse of a beautiful woman can be euphemised as ‘fragrant bones’ *xiānggǔ* 香骨 and the action of bringing home one’s corpse or remains for burial is termed ‘return the bones’ *guīgǔ* 归骨. A deceased friend can be called ‘old roots’ *chéngēn* 陈根 (GRASS FOR GRAVE, GRAVE FOR THE DECEASED).<sup>136</sup> The term ‘spirit’ *líng* 灵 might refer to a coffin containing a corpse (灵柩, XHDZ, 2004, p. 548, cf. multiple collocations ‘keep vigil beside the coffin’ *shǒulíng* 守灵, ‘move the coffin during a funeral’ *yíling* 移灵, ‘keep a coffin in a temporary shelter before burial’ *tínglíng* 停灵, etc.) and ‘related to the deceased’ (关于死者的, XHDZ, 2004, p. 548, cf. ‘figure of the spirit’ *língyǐng* 灵影 for the silhouette of the deceased).

There are some other metonymical extensions found among euphemistic terms for death such as the gruesome euphemism ‘lift one’s braid [before beheading]’ *qiào biànzi* 翘辫子 (which can, in certain contexts, be used jocularly and therefore dysphemistically). This expression refers to the male hairstyle worn by the Jurchen and Manchu peoples of Manchuria in Qing China. The SUB-EVENT-FOR-EVENT metonymy for death highlights only one of several steps of the execution, namely lifting one’s braid before decapitation.

The euphemisms ‘[be remembered for] thousands of years’ *qiāngǔ* 千古 and ‘[be remembered for] tens of thousands of years’ *wàngǔ* 万古 for die are based on the TIME FOR CATEGORY metonymy (LONG PERIOD OF TIME FOR COMMEMORATION, COMMEMORATION OF THE DECEASED FOR DEATH).

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<sup>136</sup> There is a related euphemism ‘last year grass’ *sùcǎo* 宿草 meaning ‘die long time ago’, which is based on the LOCATION FOR CATEGORY metonymy (GRAVE FOR DEATH). The period of grieving for one’s deceased friend used to last one year; afterwards, “when the grass turns old, one should stop crying on the tomb of the friend” (《礼记·檀弓上》：朋友之墓，有宿草而不哭焉).

Expressions for death based on referential metonymies required the knowledge of classical texts and the context of their emergence. The expression ‘Wormwood and Dew’ *hāolù* 蒿露 for die is based on the PROPER NAME FOR EVENT (NAME OF A SONG FOR DEATH) metonymy since it originates from the names of two anonymous songs from the Han Dynasty dedicated to death: *Wormwood Village* 《蒿里》 (*Hāolǐ* 蒿里 itself can be used euphemistically to mean tomb or cemetery) and *Dew on the Shallot* 《薤露》 (*Xièlù* 薤露 is also a euphemism for mortal).<sup>137</sup> Other euphemistic PROPER NAME FOR EVENT metonymies include ‘tree and wind’ *fēngmù* 风木 for death when said of the deceased parents (IMAGE FROM A CLASSIC POEM FOR DEATH);<sup>138</sup> ‘cook in a mortar [instead of a pot]’ *chuījiù* 炊臼 for losing one’s wife (DREAM DESCRIBED IN A CLASSICAL TEXT FOR DEATH);<sup>139</sup> ‘*Tóngwū*’ 童乌 for ‘deceased child who is smart and gifted’ (NAME OF A PERSON FOR THE DECEASED);<sup>140</sup> and ‘grief in Xihe’ *Xīhé zhī tòng* 西河之痛 for grief over one’s deceased son’ (NAME OF A PLACE FOR THE EVENT).<sup>141</sup>

Apart from metaphorical and metonymical expressions analysed above, several death-related euphemisms are based on the LIFE FOR DEATH reversal. The attention of speakers is focused on

<sup>137</sup> For English translation of these poems see Cai, Z.-Q. (1996). *The Matrix of Lyric Transformation: Poetic Modes and Self-Presentation in Early Chinese Pentasyllabic Poetry*. Chicago: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 72-73.

<sup>138</sup> The expression (alternatively *fēngshù* 风树 or *fēngzhī* 风枝) derives from the *The Outer Commentary to the Book of Songs by Master Han* 《韩诗外传, 卷九》 attributed to Han Ying 韩婴 (c. 200–130 BC): ‘Trees desire peace, but the wind does not stop. Children want to take care of their parents, but they are not with us anymore’ *Shù yù jìng ér fēng bù zhǐ, zǐ yù yǎng ér qīn bù dài yě* 树欲静而风不止, 子欲养而亲不待也. They are common in collocations with the common meaning ‘regret one’s failure to take good care of one’s parents while they were alive’ *fēngmù zhī sī* 风木之思, *fēngmù zhī bēi* 风木之悲, *fēngmù hánbēi* 风木含悲.

<sup>139</sup> According to a legend narrated in the *Miscellaneous Morsels from Youyang* 《酉阳杂俎·梦》 by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (died 863 AD), a person named Wang Sheng 王生 from Jianghuai 江淮 was good at interpreting people’s dreams. A merchant named Zhang Zhan 张瞻 asked the dream-teller what his recent dream could mean: the merchant was cooking food in a stone mortar. Wang Sheng got the following answer: “When you come back, you will not see your wife anymore. Cooking in a mortar means that you do not have a pot [you do not have a wife]”. The expressions ‘no wife’ *wífū* 无妇 and ‘no cauldron’ *wífū* 无釜 sound similarly in Chinese. Indeed, the merchant got back home and found out that his wife had passed away several months ago.

<sup>140</sup> This term originates from the story found in *Model Sayings* (CTEXT, 《法言: 问神卷第五》) by the prominent philosopher and political figure of the Western Han dynasty Yang Xiong 扬雄 (53 BC – 18 AD). Yang Xiong’s son called Tongwu died at the age of nine. The nine-year-old child had been able to discuss his father’s philosophical and divinatory text *Canon of Supreme Mystery* 《太玄》. This expression was therefore used predominantly in reference to (1) smart children and (2) smart children who died prematurely.

<sup>141</sup> This term refers to the story found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (CTEXT, 《史记: 仲尼弟子列传》, 55) about the famous disciple of Confucius named Bu Shang 卜商 or Zixia 子夏 (507 BC – 400 BC). The latter is believed to have moved to Xihe 西河 after the death of his teacher. Once Zixia’s son passed away, Zixia cried for him unceasingly and thereby lost his sight.

the word “life”, though what is actually implied is death: in the sentences ‘He came close to losing his life’ *tā chàdiǎnr diūle xìngmìng* 他差点儿丢了性命 and ‘Lung cancer deprived him of his life’ *fèi’ái duó qùle tā de shēngmìng* 肺癌夺去了他的生命, there is no implicit mention of death or “bringing to death” (i.e. killing), though death and killing are denoted. The following euphemisms for death contain the term “life”: ‘before, when one was alive’ *shēngqián* 生前 meaning before one’s death; ‘after one’s life’ *shēnhòu* 身后 meaning after one’s death; ‘short life’ *duǎnmìng* 短命, *duǎnsuì* 短岁, *duǎnshì* 短世, and *duǎnlì* 短历 meaning premature death; ‘hundred years of life’ *bǎisuì* 百岁 and *bǎinián* 百年 (if accompanied by the word “after” means “after one’s death”); and ‘happy spirit’ *xǐshén* 喜神 and ‘happy look’ *xǐróng* 喜容 both denoting a portrait of the deceased while the person was alive. An archaic form of well-wishing ‘[live] thousands of autumns and tens of thousands of years’ *qiānqiū wànsuì* 千秋万岁 and its iterations—‘thousand autumns’ *qiānqiū* 千秋, ‘thousand autumns and ten thousands of old [years]’ *qiānqiū wàngǔ* 千秋万古, ‘thousand autumns and ten thousands of generations’ *qiānqiū wànshì* 千秋万世, ‘ten thousands of years’ *wànnián* 万年, and ‘tens of thousands of years’ *wànsuì yìwàn* 万岁万岁—expressing the speaker’s wish for the emperor’s long life (HDC 2010, GC 2015) could be used as substitutes to denote death of an emperor. These forms were normally accompanied by the word “after” while the lengths of time intended to express longevity varied: ‘after billions of years’ *yìwànnián hòu* 亿年后 and ‘after ten thousands of years’ *wànnián hòu* 万年后 or *wànsuì hòu* 万岁后 all meant after the monarch passed away.

As a final observation, we can state that only a few conventional death-related euphemisms were formed via non-semantic mechanisms. Several euphemistic expressions result from the formal substitution of the taboo character *shì* 世, the usage of which was restricted during Tang dynasty:<sup>142</sup> *jídài* 即代 instead of *jíshì* 即世, *qìdài* 弃代 instead of *qìshì* 弃世, and *wéidài* 违代 instead of *wéishì* 违世. The term ‘[leave] the [earthly] world early’ *zǎoshì* 早世 or and *hūrán* 忽然 for die suddenly can be considered examples of the formal deletion of characters. A very rare expression (found only in one text in this form) ‘in ten lives there are nine [deaths]’ *shíshēng jiǔ[sǐ]* 十生九

<sup>142</sup> GC (2015) claims that the name taboo on the character *shì* 世 is related to the Emperor Taizong of Tang 唐太宗 Li Shimin 李世民的 *Shì* 世民.

[死] for dangerous or deadly situation might be also classified as a case of formal deletion. The deletion of characters can be supported by adding indefinite pronouns referring to death, cf. the euphemism ‘and then [did] that’ *nà shále* 那啥了 denoting that something unspeakable had happened, including drunkenness, rape, and especially death (Zhu, 2018).

#### 5.1.4 Euphemisms for FUNERALS AND BURIALS (DF-0550–DF-0684)

Most of the euphemisms relating to funeral and burial rituals found in specialised dictionaries for this project are obsolete expressions (around 90 entries out of 130), which might indirectly signify the de-tabooisation of the funerary sphere reflected the linguistic behaviour of the Chinese.

Nowadays, funeral and burial rituals and practices are mostly described by means of orthophemisms. The common terms for ceremonies and services held after one’s death are the hypernyms ‘funeral and burial’ *bìnzàng* 殡葬 or *sāngzàng* 丧葬, which encompass the process of placing a corpse in a coffin (*bìnlìàn* 殡殓 or *rùlìàn* 入殓), carrying it to the grave (*chūbìn* 出殡), and putting a dead body underground (*máizàng* 埋葬 or *ānzàng* 安葬<sup>143</sup>), though the latter can currently be substituted by cremation (*huǒzàng* 火葬 or, euphemistically, *huǒhuà* 火化). Each of the morphemes found in these orthophemisms denote a particular element of the traditional funerary ceremony: *liàn* 殓 designates the practice of dressing the corpse for burials and putting it into a coffin, *bìn* 殡 refers to a coffin which contains a dead body<sup>144</sup> and the practice of placing this coffin in a specific place temporarily before burials, *sàng* 丧 designates the mourning ritual for the deceased before burial or cremation,<sup>145</sup> and *zàng* 葬 stands for putting the dead into a grave and covering it with earth.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> The latter term is a more formal designation of burials used on solemn occasions (GF, 2014).

<sup>144</sup> This type of coffin containing a corpse is also called 柩 or 灵柩, whereas 棺, 棺材 are general terms for coffin with no obligatory containment.

<sup>145</sup> In a more general sense the term can denote the whole funeral practice with all the related rituals and arrangements (丧事) as well as the mourning (居丧 or 服丧).

<sup>146</sup> The verbs 埋 and 掩埋 can be used for burying items which are not related to the dead, e.g. ‘bury nuclear waste’ 掩埋核废料, although they also can be used figuratively in order to denote the burials of the dead, cf. the archaic euphemism ‘bury a jade’ 埋玉 meaning ‘bury a beauty’ or ‘bury a talented person’ (metaphor THE DECEASED IS A PRECIOUS STONE).

The plot of land where the dead are buried is usually directly called ‘graveyard’ *mùdì* 墓地 or *féndì* 坟地, and each individual grave is called *mù* 墓 or *fénmù* 坟墓. Historically, depending on the social status of the deceased, a larger tomb or vault for burying the dead could be named *mùxué* 墓穴. ‘Grave mounds’ *féntóu* 坟头 were also common in pre-modern China. Particularly monumental tombs or mausoleums for emperors and their family members, nobles, and prominent figures were called *líng* 陵 or *língmù* 陵墓.

The metaphor DEATH IS WHITE—possibly enrooted in the philosophical doctrine of ‘Five Phases’ *wǔxíng* 五行, which sets a correlation between the cardinal direction (WEST 西), element (METAL/GOLD *jīn* 金), season (AUTUMN *qiū* 秋), taste (PUNGENT/BITTER *xīn* 辛), and ritual colours (WHITE *bái* 白)—might have construed the euphemistic way of speaking about funeral rites (Kobzev, 2006, p. 451). In the related normative notion of ‘Five Colours’ *wǔsè* 五色, the white colour stands for mourning due to “the associations between West and death/violence” (Kravtsova, 2007, p. 627). Therefore, the euphemism ‘white matters’ *báishì* 白事 used to indicate funeral arrangements is also strongly related to the tradition kept by the relatives of a deceased of wearing coarse, white hemp mourning clothes, which enhanced the association of the colour white with bereavement (Zhang 1996, p. 35). This link between the colour white and funerals can be found in the traditional term ‘white gift’ *báilǐ* 白礼, referring to a monetary gift made to the family of the deceased on the occasion of a funeral, and in the modern term ‘white consumption’ *báisè xiāofèi* 白色消费, referring to funeral costs. As opposed to the expression ‘red joy’ *hóngxǐ* 红喜 for wedding, ‘white joy’ *báixǐ* 白喜 denotes the death of an old person who had a long life and extends to the funeral of an old person who had a long life (the latter are also known as ‘white happy matters’ *báixǐshì* 白喜事). Together, wedding and funerals can be described as ‘red and white happy matters’ *hóngbáixǐshì* 红白喜事 since both weddings and the funerals of old people who enjoyed long lives are reasons for happiness. The attribute ‘joyful’ or ‘happy’ *xǐ* 喜 is normally applied to weddings (cf. ‘happy matters’ *xǐshì* 喜事) but can also be applied to funerals (cf. ‘happy funeral’ *xǐsāng* 喜丧 or ‘laughing funeral’ *xiàosàng* 笑丧).

Other metaphorical extensions referring to funerals are occasional.<sup>147</sup> A significantly greater amount of euphemisms related to funerals are based on metonymic extensions. An object related to funerals can refer to the funerals or ritual mourning (note that the words “funeral” and “mourning” are not explicit in the following terms): ‘[mourning] cloth and [mourning] rope’ *cuīdié* 衰经,<sup>148</sup> ‘old [man’s] clothes’ *lǎoyī* 老衣, and ‘white silk dress’ *gǎosù* 缟素 for mourning (CLOTHES FOR ACTION); ‘hemp’ *jūmá* 苧麻 for mourning (FABRIC FOR CLOTHES, CLOTHES FOR ACTION); and ‘straw and soil’ *cǎotǔ* 草土 for being in the mourning period of one’s deceased parents (MATERIAL FOR ACTION, based on the custom to mourn one’s parents by sleeping on a bed made of straw and on a pillow made of clay). In a few cases, an object related to the funerals can euphemistically refer to death itself: ‘wear a headband’ *shìjīn* 饰巾 for death (based on the custom to bury the dead with a headband instead of a hat or a headdress), ‘bamboo staff [of a mourning son]’ *jūzhàng* 苴杖 for both death of one’s father and mourning one’s father’s death (based on the custom to use a bamboo staff by the mourning son of the deceased), and ‘lime and nails’ *huīdīng* 灰钉 for death (based on the custom to bury the corpse and seal the coffin with limestone *shíhuī* 石灰 and nails *dīngzi* 钉子). The euphemism ‘[face] the sacrifices made to the dead and [sit between the two] pillars [in a royal hallway]’ *diànyíng* 奠楹 denoting death refers to the dream which Confucius had seven days before his passing (see *The Book of Rites* 《礼记·檀弓上》).

A distinctive part of the funerary or mourning ritual could euphemistically refer to the whole funeral ceremony or the entire mourning practice without mentioning it directly (SUB-EVENT FOR EVENT metonymy): ‘pull a thick rope’ *yǐnfú* 引紼 for take part in the funeral procession;<sup>149</sup> ‘read [the mourning] rituals’ *dúli* 读礼 for observe the ritual mourning (based on the custom to recite the ritual texts beside the coffin at home of the deceased); ‘sleep on the straw [instead of a

<sup>147</sup> The term ‘clam vehicle’ *shènchē* 蜃车 for ‘hearse’ is based on the physical resemblance of the funerary vehicle used to convey a corpse to a bivalve mollusk (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996).

<sup>148</sup> A six-by-four-inch piece of cloth *cūi* 衰 (not *shuāi*) was sewn on mourning garments *sāngfú* 丧服; the whole garment was therefore metonymically called *cūi* 衰. Additionally, the mourning person used to wear a loose hemp bandage around their head (*shǒudié* 首经) and around their waist (*yāodié* 腰经). The term *cuīdié* 衰经 was used to represent *sāngfú* 丧服 as a whole and to further denote ‘observe the ritual mourning’ *jū sāng* 居丧.

<sup>149</sup> The term *fú* 紼 refers to a long, thick rope or a cord guiding the hearse. The expression depicts the procession in which the coffin is accompanied by the bereaving relatives of the deceased.



comfortable bedding] and rest one's head on clay [instead of a pillow]' *qǐnshān zhěnkūài* 寝苦枕块 for observe the ritual mourning for one's parents; 'wear [mourning] clothes' *xíngfú* 行服 for mourning; and 'watch [how the deceased] is holding [a jade] in one's mouth' *shìhán* 视含 for seeing off the dead (based on the custom of placing a piece of jade in the mouth of the deceased during funerals).

PART/WHOLE and CONSTITUTION metonymies were popular in the funeral business. A coffin could be euphemised as 'wood' or 'timber' *cái* 材 or 'empty log' *kōngmù* 空木 (MATERIAL FOR OBJECT). 'Chinese catalpa' *zǐ* 梓 was used to refer to the coffin of an emperor or empress, cf. 'palace made of catalpa wood' *zǐgōng* 梓宫 (together with COFFIN IS A CHAMBER metaphor) or 'woodware of catalpa' *zǐqì* 梓器. Parts of a coffin could refer to the whole coffin without directly naming the taboo object, such as 'board' *bǎnzi* 板子, 'six boards [of a coffin]' *liùkuàibǎn* 六块板 (i.e. upper, lower, left, right, frontal, and posterior boards), 'auspicious board' *jíxiángbǎn* 吉祥板 and 'longevity board' *chángshēngbǎn* 长生板 (both are also examples of LIFE FOR DEATH reversal), and 'bearers of [thick] polls' 杠夫 for pallbearers of coffin bearers and 'house of polls' *gàngfáng* 杠房 for undertaker's shop<sup>150</sup> ('pole' refers to the long piece of wood used to transport coffins). Euphemisms based on the OBJECT FOR COFFIN metonymies allowed the speaker avoid the direct term "coffin": 'inauspicious utensils' *xiōngjù* 凶具, 'box' *xiázi* 匣子, and 'jade box [with golden carvings of] water dragons' *jiāolóngyùxiá* 蛟龙玉匣.

A funeral can be interpreted as a specific case of a more general category (CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY metonymy), thus the words "funerals" and "mourning" can be hidden behind generic, vague terms, cf. the metonymies RITUAL FOR FUNERALS and ARRANGEMENTS FOR FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS: 'during a ritual' *zhìzhōng* 制中 for mourning,<sup>151</sup> 'see [the deceased] off' *fāsòng* 发送 meaning deal with funeral arrangements, 'hold a farewell party' *sòngxíng* 送行

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<sup>150</sup> The undertaker's shop could also be referred to with the generic term 'ominous store' *xiōngsì* 凶肆.

<sup>151</sup> The ritual of mourning one's parents and grandparents in imperial China used to last for a period of 27 months. This period ruled out any entertainment for the bereaving children, as well as their participation in state exams, official appointments, marriages, etc. This practice was also called 'observing the ritual' *shǒuzhì* 守制 or 'keeping vigil beside the coffin' *shǒusāng* 守丧.

for bid farewell to the deceased (together with DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor), ‘see [the deceased] off at [her/his] end [of life]’ *sòngzhōng* 送终 (together with DEATH IS THE END [OF A JOURNEY] metaphor), and ‘see [the deceased] off at [her/his] old age’ *sònglǎo* 送老 (together with BEING OLD FOR BEING DEAD metonymy). Funeral arrangements could also be referred to as ‘matters after *hòushì* 后事 in a very generic manner (implying “after death”<sup>152</sup>) or ‘big matters’ *dàshì* 大事.

Many expressions related to funerals are based on the MISFORTUNE FOR DEATH metonymy, which involves substituting one’s passing with the more generic terms “misery” or “hardship”: ‘hardship and misery’ *jiānkù* 艰酷 for mourning one’s relatives, ‘encounter a sorrow’ *gòumǐn* 遘闵 for mourning one’s parents, ‘encounter misery’ *dīngyōu* 丁忧 or *zāoyōu* 遭忧, ‘encounter hardship’ *dīngjiān* 丁艰, and *zāojiān* 遭艰 for losing one’s parents and mourning them. The expressions can be further specified, such as in the cases of ‘be in mourning for one’s father’ *dīngfùyōu* 丁父忧, *dīngwàiyōu* 丁外忧, or *dīngwàijiān* 丁外艰 and ‘be in mourning for one’s mother’ *dīngmǔyōu* 丁母忧, *dīngnèiyōu* 丁内忧, or *dīngnèijiān* 丁内艰. Since funerals are a form of expressing one’s bereavement for the deceased, the term is substituted by descriptions of one’s feelings (FEELING CAUSED BY EVENT FOR EVENT): ‘stone of sorrow’ *āishí* 哀石 denoted the inscription on the memorial tablet placed on a tomb, ‘sorrow of the [entire] country’ *guóxù* 国恤 denoted national mourning, ‘be in grief’ *zàijiù* 在疚 denoted mourning, and the self-referential ‘people in grief’ *jírén* 棘人 denoted those in mourning.

There are several archaic euphemisms for tombs, graves, and coffins based on various metaphorical extensions, including TOMB IS FOOD (‘steamed bun made of soil’ *tǔmántou* 土馒头), COFFIN IS A NEST (‘warm nest’ *rèwōr* 热窝儿 for a coffin with a newly placed corpse inside), and TOMB IS A WELL (‘golden well’ *jīnjǐng* 金井)—all based on physical resemblance. The metaphor CEMETERY IS A CITY in the Chinese archaic terms ‘fine city’ *jiāchéng* 佳城 and ‘fine city of a thousand autumns’ *qiānqiū jiāchéng* 千秋佳城 resembles the Greek concept of νεκρόπολις: ‘city

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<sup>152</sup> The association of the word ‘after’ or ‘last’ *hòu* 后 with death is seen in other euphemisms, cf. ‘last words’ *hòuhuà* 后话 which are said before one’s death. Rulers saying their last will in the hour of death were said to be ‘looking [at their past] and proclaiming their will’ *gùmìng* 顾命 or *gùyán* 顾言.

of the dead'. Since tombs could look like the room of a building—enclosed by walls, a floor, and a ceiling—the archaic euphemisms based on the TOMB IS A CHAMBER metaphor<sup>153</sup> are particularly numerous, including ‘chamber of one thousand years’ *qiānsuìshì* 千岁室 or ‘house of one thousand years’ *qiānniánwū* 千年屋, ‘abode in the earth’ *tǔzhōngzhái* 土中宅, ‘sleeping palace’ *qǐngōng* 寝宫 (together with DEATH IS SLUMBER metaphor), ‘one’s own abode’ *běnzhuái* 本宅 for one’s own tomb, ‘abode with green pines’ *qīngsōngzhái* 青松宅 (together with the metonymical expression TREE FOR GRAVEYARD since both pines and cypresses were typical trees planted next to graveyards and tombs), ‘eternal abode’ *yǒngzhái* 永宅, and ‘genuine abode’ *zhēnzhái* 真宅. The very productive metaphor DEATH IS DARKNESS combined with TOMB IS A CHAMBER gave birth to the euphemisms ‘dark abode’ *yōuzhái* 幽宅, *yīnzhái* 阴宅, and *xuánzhái* 玄宅; ‘dark hall’ *yīntáng* 阴堂 and *xuántáng* 玄堂; ‘dark chamber’ *xuánshì* 玄室; ‘dark palace’ *xuángōng* 玄宫; ‘dark hut’ *xuánlú* 玄庐; ‘tower of everlasting night’ *chángyè tái* 长夜台 and *yè tái* 夜台; and ‘dark tower’ *yōutái* 幽台.<sup>154</sup>

Metonymic designations for tombs, graves, and cemeteries are numerous. The location of the dead in burials is significant in the expressions based on the PLACE UNDER THE GROUND FOR TOMB and PLACE ON THE HILL FOR TOMB metonymies: ‘three *chi* [feet] of soil’ *sānchǐtǔ* 三尺土, ‘pile of earth and bones’ *tǔgǔduī* 土骨堆, ‘earth worker’ *tǔgōng* 土工 for gravedigger, ‘dark pit’ *yōukǎn* 幽坎, ‘return and hide in the ground’ *guīcáng* 归藏 for returning the body and getting it buried in one’s homeland (together with the DEATH IS THE RETURN metaphor), ‘cover with earth’ *yǎntǔ* 掩土 for ‘bury’, ‘hills’ *qiūlíng* 丘陵 for tomb, ‘top of a hill’ *shāntóu* 山头 or ‘dark hill’ *yōuxū* 幽墟, ‘resting [place] in the high mound’ *língqǐn* 陵寝 for tomb, ‘worship at mountains’ *bàishān* 拜山 for paying respects to a dead person at her/his tomb, and ‘hills and valleys’ *línggǔ* 陵谷 for emperor’s tomb. The concept of ‘Yellow Springs’ *huángquán* 黄泉, denoting the netherworld, gave birth to the

<sup>153</sup> Since tombs and graves are not actual chambers where the living hold activities or where events take place, these expressions are considered metaphorical. This is particularly clear when tombs or graves are compared to bedrooms or places of residence, e.g. the terms ‘abode’ *zhái* 宅 or ‘palace’ *gōng* 宫 when applied to burial places. However, if certain tombs—especially mausoleums—are defined as large spaces enclosed by walls, a floor, and a ceiling, these euphemisms can be interpreted as expressions based on a metonymy (CHAMBER FOR TOMB).

<sup>154</sup> The term *tái* 台 can be also interpreted in a more general way as a terrace or platform.

metonymic expressions relating to SPRING FOR TOMB: ‘deepest springs’ *qióngquán* 穷泉 or ‘spring terrace’ *quántái* 泉台 for tomb and ‘door to the [Yellow] Springs’ *quánhù* 泉户 for tomb door.

The ‘spirit of the deceased’ *líng* 灵 forms euphemisms for items and places related to funerals: ‘hall of the spirit’ *língtáng* 灵堂 for funeral hall, ‘abode of the spirit’ *língzhái* 灵宅 for graveyard, ‘bedroom of the spirit’ *língqǐn* 灵寝 for tomb, ‘ridge of the spirit’ *línggǎng* 灵岗 for graveyard, ‘bed of the spirit’ *língchuáng* 灵床 for bed on which a corpse is placed before a funeral, ‘pole of the spirit’ *línggāng* 灵杠 for pole to transport a coffin, and ‘carriage shafts of the spirit’ *língyuán* 灵辕 for hearse.

“Cemetery” could be expressed by euphemisms based on the metonymy PLOT OF LAND FOR CEMETERY, cf. ‘auspicious land’ *jídi* 吉地, *jírǎng* 吉壤, or *jíqiān* 吉阡; ‘a handful of earth’ *huàitǔ* 坏土; and ‘land of spirits’ *língyù* 灵域. Cemetery can also be expressed by means of the metonymy TREE FOR CEMETERY: ‘planted trees’ *rǎngshù* 壤树, ‘pines and catalpas’ *sōngqiū* 松楸, ‘cypress wall’ *bǎichéng* 柏城, and ‘pine road’ *sōngsuì* 松隧.

Several referential metonymies found in archaic euphemisms for funerals and burials required knowledge of Chinese geography, history, and classical literature: ‘Beimang [mountain]’ *Běimáng* 北邙<sup>155</sup> for graveyards or tombs (PROPER NAME FOR CATEGORY), ‘Wormwood Village’ *Hāolǐ* 蒿里 for graveyards (PROPER NAME FOR CATEGORY, see section c), and ‘ridge with a hanging sword’ *xuánjiànǒng* 悬剑陇 for a tomb of one’s deceased friend (HISTORICAL EVENT FOR CATEGORY).<sup>156</sup>

Finally, a range of euphemisms are motivated by the reversal figure LIFE FOR DEATH, in which death is expressed by the words “life”, “long time”, “eternity”, and “longevity”: ‘auspicious land

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<sup>155</sup> The mountain Mang *Máng* 邙 or Beimang *Běimáng* 北邙 is located in Luoyang 洛阳 in the Henan province, home to many royal tombs from the Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996).

<sup>156</sup> This term originates from a story found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (CTEXT, 《史记·吴太伯世家》, 15), which contains the story of Ji Zha 季札 and his precious sword 宝剑 that impressed the ruler of Xu 徐君. Despite the latter’s admiration, he did not express his wish to claim it; once the ruler of Xu passed away, Ji Zha hung the sword on a pine next to the tomb of the deceased ruler.

of tens of thousands years’ *wànnián jí dì* 万年吉地 for graveyard; ‘store of longevity’ *chángshēngdiàn* 长生店 for undertaker’s shop; ‘longevity tools’ *shòujù* 寿具, ‘longevity utensils’ *shòuqì* 寿器, ‘longevity wood’ *shòumù* 寿木, or *shòucái* 寿材 for coffin; ‘longevity palace’ *shòugōng* 寿宫 or ‘longevity cave’ *shòuxué* 寿穴 for tomb; ‘longevity area’ *shòuyù* 寿域 for grave or tomb; ‘longevity hall’ *shòutáng* 寿堂 for funeral hall or tomb; ‘longevity robe’ *shòuyī* 寿衣 for burial clothes; and ‘birthday in [the world of] darkness’ or ‘dark birthday’ *yīnshòu* 阴寿 denoting the tradition of commemorating the day of one’s death and continue to count age even after death.<sup>157</sup>

### 5.1.5 Euphemisms for OLD AGE AND AGEING (DO-0724 –DO-0775)

The inclusion of concepts related to ageing in the domain of death is based on the general psychological motivation to taboo the terms for dying and growing old: the fear of ceasing to exist, cf. Ayto (2007, p. 228), who places euphemisms about the old age together with the death-related terms. Ageing is also strongly related to the domain DISEASE, since it is associated with various age-determined health complications and chronic disabilities, with the degradation of physical or mental strength over time. Persistent evasions of the term *old* in contemporary discourse can be explained by means of its negative connotations of decline and deterioration of physical and mental health, the supposed loss of attractiveness and vital energy supported by the anti-ageing industry, and social biases against any identification with being old.

For pre-modern Chinese and East Asian societies, old age has never been perceived as taboo. On the contrary, the culture of ‘longevity’ *shòu* 寿 as well as the almost religious reverence for elders and their incomparable authority in family and social life (Liang, 2004) rule old age and ageing out of the category of forbidden topics. However, it is still possible to detect a strong incentive to avoid terms related to ageing if they are associated with decay and the inevitable and ultimate end of one’s life.

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<sup>157</sup> The tradition of commemorating one’s day of death was called ‘celebrate [dark] birthday of the deceased’ *zuò yīnshòu* 做阴寿 (darkness here refers to the netherworld). It is opposed to the term ‘celebrate birthday [of the living person]’ *zuò shòu* 做寿 (said of an elderly person).

Modern Chinese offers the following orthophemistic terms related to this domain: ‘old’ *lǎo* 老, ‘old in years’ *niánlǎo* 年老, ‘old person’ *lǎorén* 老人, and ‘person of old age’ *lǎoniánrén* 老年人. These terms are mainly denotative when used in narrative mode, though they can be considered dysphemistic when applied to a given communicative partner depending on situational circumstances. ‘Old’ *lǎo* 老 is attested in classical texts as a largely neutral person who is 70 years old and older<sup>158</sup> or positively connoted as “respected”, “honourable”, or “wise”, similar to the English *elder* or *sage*. This positive emotional value of the classic term has its manifestation in various contemporary honorific terms with this morpheme: ‘[honourable] old person’ *lǎorénjiā* 老人家, ‘[honourable] old gentleman’ *lǎoxiānshēng* 老先生, ‘[honourable] old lady’ *lǎotàitai* 老太太, ‘[honourable] grandpa’ *lǎoyéye* 老爷爷, ‘[honourable] grandma’ *lǎopópo* 老婆婆, ‘[honourable] uncle’ *lǎodàiyé* 老大爷 (regional), and ‘[honourable] aunty’ *lǎodàniáng* 老大娘 (regional), as well as in terms for ‘teacher’ *lǎoshī* 老师, ‘boss’ *lǎobǎn* 老板, ‘lady boss’ *lǎobǎnniáng* 老板娘, ‘chief’ *lǎozǒng* 老总, etc., *lǎo* 老 can be used nowadays as an honorific prefix for men, modifying their Chinese surnames and expressing respect, affection and friendliness irrespective of the age of the communicants,<sup>159</sup> e.g. ‘Old Huang’ *Huáng* 老黄 *Lǎo-*, ‘Old Wang’ *Lǎo-Wáng* 老王, which can be compared to the English forms *old chap*, *old sport*, *my old man*, *old boy*, *pal*, *buddy*, *mate*, and *fellow*. The obsolete suffixal usage of the honorific *lǎo* 老 can be still attested in Modern Chinese, e.g. ‘honourable [Alex] Gr[eenspan]’ *Gé-Lǎo* 格老—a polite form of address to the American economist and 13<sup>th</sup> Chair of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan.

Despite its positive connotation, *lǎo* 老 serves a morpheme that creates a range of ultimate dysphemisms, used predominantly in narration and literature either derogatively or sarcastically: ‘old fogey’, ‘old codger’, ‘geezer’ *lǎotóuzi* 老头子, *lǎotóur* 老头儿, *lǎojiāhuo* 老家伙; ‘damn old

<sup>158</sup> The interpretation of *lǎo* 老 as a term specifically denoting ‘70-year-old person’ can already be found in *Shuowen Jiezi* 《说文解字》 and in *the Book of Rites: Summary of the Rules of Propriety* 《礼记：曲礼》. There were specific terms for people who are ‘60 years old’ *qí* 耆, ‘70 or 80 years old’ *dié* 耋, and ‘80 or 90 years old’ *mào* 耄, all of which are obsolete in Modern Mandarin. General archaic terms with no positive or negative connotation for ‘old people’ include *wēng* 翁, *lǎowēng* 老翁, *sǒu* 叟, *lǎosǒu* 老叟, *fù* (not *fū*) 父, and *lǎofù* 老父 for male and *ǎo* 媪, *lǎo’ǎo* 老媪, *yù* 妪, and *lǎoyù* 老妪 for female.

<sup>159</sup> Originally, it could serve as a numeral indication of the order of birth of children in a family.

man' *sǐ lǎotóuzi* 死老头子, *zāo lǎotóuzi* 糟老头子; 'old woman' *lǎopózi* 老婆子, *lǎoqiánpó* 老虔婆.

There is a string of orthophemistic expressions found in contemporary publications that are intended to reflect reality impartially and denote the age group in a more precise way than simply "old": 'people around 60' *dàgài liùshí suì de rén* 大概六十岁的人 or *liùshí suì shàngxià de rén* 六十岁上下的人; 'people over 70' *qīshí suì yǐshàng de rén* 七十岁以上的人, 'people age 70 and up/above/over' *guò qīshí suì de rén* 过七十岁的人, 'people 70-plus' *niánguò qīshí de rén* 年过七十的人 (though, statistically, these attributes combine more frequently with the direct terms 'old people' *lǎorén* 老人, *lǎoniánrén* 老年人, *lǎorénjiā* 老人家, etc., instead of 'people' *rén* 人). There is no Chinese suffixal derivation that expresses comparative meaning. Therefore, we do not find any Chinese forms similar to the English comparative *older* (as in *older adults* or *older people*), *elderly* (Ayto, 2007, p. 229) or *ageful* (Holder, 2003) that soften the connotation of decline and exist as less problematic than the direct *old*. Since there is no widespread "elegant" stylistic alternatives to the term 'old' *lǎo* 老 due to its mostly positive connotation in classical texts, we do not find a lexeme that would be a precise equivalent to the most notorious and well-established loanwords in English 'senior', 'senior citizen', or 'geriatric' used in formal register. However, the closest alternative that attempts to avoid the direct word *old* in Chinese would be a compound 'the one who has grown [old]' *zhǎngzhě* 长者 for old or senior, which consists of the verb "grow" and the classical word functionally analogous to the English suffix *-er*, denoting someone or something that performs an action. The related adjective 'grown in years' *niánzhǎng* 年长 can be used as an attribute of an 'old person' *niánzhǎng zhī rén* 年长之人 or an 'old and experienced person' *niánzhǎng ér yǒu jīngyàn de rén* 年长而有经验的人. In comparative sentences, such as 'I am a bit older than him' *wǒ bǐ tā niánzhǎng yīxiē* 我比他年长一些, it is not necessarily implied that either "he" or "I" are old, even if this term cannot be used to in reference to the age of children or teenagers.

Chinese offers multiple ways to paraphrase the *o-word* and express the same idea with recourse to the generic word "age" and the adjective "big": *niánsuì dà* 年岁大, *suìshu dà* 岁数大, *niánlíng dà*

年齡大, and *niánjì dà* 年紀大. All these terms, which can serve as both attributes and predicates, are not included in any Chinese dictionaries of euphemisms, probably due to their relative directness.

Litotic expressions such as *not as young as one was*, *not in one's first youth*, or *not in the first flush of youth* might be compared with the Chinese 'not young anymore' *bù niánqīng le* 不年輕了, however, the latter cannot usually be applied to describe old people. Instead, it is said by adult or middle-aged people when comparing their appearance, memory, strength, habits, etc., with their younger selves, often in a self-ironic context.

More than 40 euphemistic expressions related to old age and ageing have been identified based on the lexicographic entries in general and special Chinese dictionaries as well as verified using the Mandarin Chinese corpora. The intrinsically ironic and fanciful witticisms such as *well-preserved*, *chronologically gifted*, *experientially enhanced*, etc., were excluded from this account, since they can only be interpreted dysphemistically, even if well-intentioned.

Speakers can sense a subtle difference when 'big' *dà* 大 is substituted by 'high' *gāo* 高 in these expressions: 'high years' *gāonián* 高年, 'high age' *gāolíng* 高齡, and 'be already advanced in age' *nián shì yǐ gāo* 年事已高, which all stand for old. The discourse of speaking about "old age" is elevated by speaking in terms of "advanced age". All these terms are formal and found predominantly in written registers.

Similar euphemistic effects can be reached when the age is not specified with reference to any adjectives, cf. 'in a certain age' *zài mǒu gè niánjì* 在某个年纪, which usually describes the initial phase of entering old age when the first physical and mental changes take place, and the speaker begins to compare her/his current state with that of her/his younger years. A more literary term for "age" is the expression 'springs and autumns' *chūnqiū* 春秋, which usually refers to old age as in the collocation the '[number] of springs and autumns [one has lived] is already high' *chūnqiū yǐ gāo* 春秋已高.



The reference to the old age can also be construed with specific verbs: literally ‘go up in age’ *shàng niánjì* 上年纪 and *shàng suìshù* 上岁数 might be closest equivalent to the English *get on in years* or *get on in life* (Holder, 2003, p. 450; Ayto, 2007, p. 230). The vertical image-schema metaphor UP IS GOOD finds its manifestation here in the evaluation of ageing as a process of ascending to a higher, more respected, and prestigious status with no association with frailty or weakness.

The idea of ageing as a late stage in one’s life corresponds to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Its manifestations can be found in various Chinese metaphorical expressions with the same mapping OLD AGE IS EVENING as in the English euphemism *evening of one’s days* and the Chinese expression ‘one’s later years’ *wǎnnián* 晚年. A similar metaphorical interpretation of old age as the “last sunlight of the day” can be found in multiple expressions with the same conceptualisation of “evening light”: ‘sunset years’ *mùnián* 暮年, ‘years at evenfall’ *huánghūn mùnián* 黄昏暮年, ‘late sunny time’ *wǎnqíng* 晚晴, ‘twilight’ *bómù* 薄暮 or *bómù* 薄莫, ‘sunset scene’ *mùjǐng* 暮景, “late at dusk” *chímù* 迟暮, and ‘sunset scene with the last light left’ *mùjǐng cánguāng* 暮景残光. The productive component ‘the setting/evening sun’ *xīyáng* 夕阳 is also used in metaphorical expressions related to old people: ‘red glowing sunset’ *xīyánghóng* 夕阳红 meaning the active phase in one’s old years, ‘sunset industry’ *xīyáng chǎnyè* 夕阳产业 meaning elderly care industry, ‘sunset market’ *xīyáng shìchǎng* 夕阳市场 meaning market for old people as its main consumers, and ‘sunset marriage’ *xīyánghūn* 夕阳婚 and ‘sunset love’ *xīyángliàn* 夕阳恋, which refer to marriage and love between old people, respectively.

OLD AGE IS EVENING LIGHT finds its linguistic form in the metaphorical expression ‘mulberry and elm’ *sāngyú* 桑榆, which is an abbreviated dissyllabic word originating from the classical idiom ‘the light of the setting sun is shining on the treetops of mulberry and elm’ *sāngyú mùjǐng* 桑榆暮景, alternatively spelled *mùjǐng sāngyú* 暮景桑榆. These trees metonymically denote sunset and evening and are contrasted with the term ‘Eastern corner/outlying place far in the East’ *dōngyú* 东隅, metonymically denoting sunrise or morning. Together, they are used in the classical set expression metaphorically related to youth and old age: ‘the morning time has already gone, the

evening time is not late' *dōngyú yǐ shì, sāngyú fēi wǎn* 东隅已逝, 桑榆非晚, meaning '[though] the years of youth are gone, there is still time to cherish/work hard before the old age comes'. *Sāngyú* 桑榆 is still used in formal and literary texts, normally in the collocations 'years of mulberry and elm' *sāngyú zhī nián* 桑榆之年, 'time of mulberry and elm' *sāngyú zhī jì* 桑榆之际, and 'evening light [at sunset shining] in mulberry and elm' *sāngyú wǎnjǐng* 桑榆晚景, all of which stand for old and old age.

Two more terms can be mentioned here with respect to the metaphor OLD AGE IS EVENING LIGHT. The first expression 'river bank in the West' or 'ditch of stagnant water in the West' *xī sī* 西汜 metonymically denotes the place where the sun is supposed to set and further metaphorically implies the understanding of old age as the time when the sun sets. The alternative expression 'shadows cast by the sun disappear' *duǎnjǐng* 短景 (the first character 'scene' *jǐng* 景 is a spelling variant of 'shadow' *yǐng* 影) metonymically refers to the sunset and the immanent late evening. The metonymy is extended metaphorically, since the end of one's life in one's old age approaches in a similar manner to the end of a day. The euphemism 'autumn direction' *qiūfāng* 秋方 expresses both the association of late autumn as the period of decay with the final stage of one's life, as well as the idea of Chinese geomancy about the correlation of the seasons spring, summer, autumn and winter with the four cardinal directions East, South, West, North, respectively. Therefore, the 'autumn direction' is interpreted as heading West, where the sun sets and the light "ends". Another "autumn-related" euphemism for old age is 'white autumn' *sùqiū* 素秋, based on the Chinese philosophical doctrine of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth), according to which autumn corresponds to metal and is associated with the white colour.

The metaphor OLD AGE IS THE WITHERING OF PLANTS has been linguistically realised only once in the examined Chinese data: 'withering years' *diāonián* 凋年.<sup>160</sup> The rarity of this metaphor is probably related to its unpleasant associations with the decay, decline, and infirmity caused by the process of ageing.

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<sup>160</sup> Etymologically, this word might also originate from the classical set expression 'time flies and the year is coming to its end' *jǐng diāonián* 急景凋年, which means the end of the year and metaphorically extends to 'the end of one's life'.

The idea of old age as the final stage of one's life journey is reflected in the literary terms 'end of the year' *suìmù* 岁暮 (and its collocations 'old man' *suìmù zhī rén* 岁暮之人 and 'of old and feeble age' *niánshuāi suìmù* 年衰岁暮) and 'end path of a journey' or 'final path of a journey' *mòlù* 末路. The same motivation is contained in the classical literary expression that combines the sources EVENING and END OF A JOURNEY: 'the [evening] bell strikes and the water of the clepsydra runs out' *zhōngmíng lòujìn* 钟鸣漏尽 (alternative spelling *zhōng lòu bìng xiē* 钟漏并歇), which denotes one's old age as well as one's approaching death.

Several modern expressions represent the idea of old age as a period of happiness, when people are finally free of their daily troubles and hassle, enjoying their peace and rest, including the regional terms found in Singaporean Mandarin 'happy age' *lèlín* 乐龄 meaning old age and 'houses of happiness' *xìngfúyuàn* 幸福院 for nursing homes (Zhou, 2002, pp. 44-45). All other terms for housing facilities intended for the elderly contain the morpheme "old": 'house for old people' *lǎorényuàn* 老人院, 'house where old people are respected' *jìnglǎoyuàn* 敬老院, 'house where old people are taken care of' or 'house for old people, where they lead their retired life' *yǎnglǎoyuàn* 养老院, and 'house where old people are settled to live a peaceful life' *ānlǎoyuàn* 安老院.

A substantial number of expressions related to old age are based on the metonymical associations between bodily changes and the person whose body experiences those changes. Two of the most salient features of ageing are greying hair and skin pigmentation, thus, the Chinese language can also refer to old age by means of the metonymic expressions 'white head' *báishǒu* 白首,<sup>161</sup> *hàoshǒu* 皓首 or *huáshǒu* 华首;<sup>162</sup> 'white' *huáhào* 华皓 or *cānghuá* 苍华;<sup>163</sup> 'hair strands of two colours' *èrsī* 二丝;<sup>164</sup> 'white hair' *báifà* 白发; 'white top of the head' *huádiān* 华颠; 'waves of

<sup>161</sup> Also noted in the set expressions 'stay friends till one's old age' *bái shǒu tóng guī* 白首同归 and 'continue learning new things even in one's old age' *bái shǒu qióng jīng* 白首穷经.

<sup>162</sup> In modern Chinese, these literary expressions are mostly used as predicates, e.g. 'one's head is grey and one's face is pale' *hàoshǒu cāng yán* 皓首苍颜.

<sup>163</sup> *Huá* 华 in literary expressions *huáshǒu* 华首, *huáhào* 华皓, and *cānghuá* 苍华 is interpreted in dictionaries as a spelling variant of 'flower' *huā* 花 (Zhang, 1996), which has the additional meanings of 'white', 'grey', and 'grizzled', as in its disyllabic form *huábái* 花白.

<sup>164</sup> Zhang (1996) associates hair and beard greying with ageing (人年老须发斑白, 发丝有二色).

white hair’ *báifà làngcháo* 白发浪潮; ‘white moustache and eyebrows have crossed over each other’ *xū méi jiāo bái* 须眉交白 and ‘moustache and eyebrows have all turned grey’ *xū méi jiē bái* 须眉皆白; ‘skin spots of longevity’ *shòubān* 寿斑 meaning liver spots. People of old age can also be referred to as the ‘tribe with silver hair’ *yínfàzú* 银发族. The metonymic-metaphoric chain is realised in the expression ‘frost hair’ *shuāngfà* 霜发,<sup>165</sup> which metonymically refers to the grey hair of an old person by means of the metaphoric comparison of frost colour and grey colour of grizzled hair.

Culture-specific terms for old age (cf. English *Darby and Joan* originating “from a popular ballad in the 18<sup>th</sup> century” (Ayto, 2007, p. 231)) are often direct or modified quotes from significant classical texts. Several expressions denoting people of a certain age have their origin in the *Analects* (CTEXT, 《论语，为政》, 4):

子曰：吾，十有五，而志于学，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳顺，七十从心所欲，不逾矩。

The Master said, “At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right.

Parts of this maxim turned into fixed expressions used in Modern Mandarin: ‘he reached the age when his ears are ready for the reception of truth’ *tā dào le ěrshùn zhī nián* 他到了耳顺之年 meaning “he turned 60”; ‘he reached the age of having no doubts’ *tā dào le bùhuò zhī nián* 他到了不惑之年 meaning “he turned 40”; and ‘he reached the age when he was ready to follow all the desires of his heart’ *tā dào le cóngxīnsuǒyù zhī nián* 他到了从心所欲之年 meaning “he turned 70”.

Another specific term used to denote a person who is in her/his 70s is ‘the one who reached an age that is rare for ancient times’ *gǔxī* 古稀. This expression has its origins in the *Two Odes on Meandering River* 《曲江二首》 by Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770 AD): “Man’s life span rarely reached

<sup>165</sup> Alternative expressions in classical texts with the same meaning of ‘grey hair’ and/or ‘grey moustache’ are ‘jade hair [at the temples]’ *yùbìn* 玉鬓, ‘frost stems’ *shuāngjīng* 霜茎, ‘frost fur’ *shuāngmáo* 霜毛, ‘frost clumps [of grass]’ *shuāngpéng* 霜蓬, and ‘frost moustache’ *shuāngxū* 霜须 or *shuāngzī* 霜髭.

seventy back in the days” 人生七十古来稀 *rén shēng qī shí gǔ lái xī*. The term builds on several common collocations in Modern Chinese, including ‘seventy years old’ 古稀之年 *gǔxī zhī nián*, ‘be almost seventy years old’ 年近古稀 *nián jìn gǔxī*, and ‘be over seventy years old’ 年逾古稀 *nián yú gǔxī*.

## 5.2 Domain ILLNESS AND DISABILITY (ID-0776–ID-0886)

Euphemisms for diseases are motivated by fear of their potential lethality, of pain and discomfort caused by them, and of weakness and inability to function as usual, which might be accompanied by the loss of social status, isolation, marginalisation, and discrimination as a result of disease (Dunn et al., 1993). Euphemistic expressions related to certain diseases can also be explained as attempts to avoid the embarrassment and shame associated with them, especially if the disease is of a sexual nature, affects the sexual organs, or relates to the excretory system. Fear and embarrassment might be supported by a strong feeling of disgust that accompanies various unpleasant experiences, as is the case for diseases caused by parasites (cf. English euphemism ‘crabs’ for ‘body louse living in the pubic hair’). Euphemisms play a crucial role in communication between doctors and patients, in so-called “patientese” (Faure, 2016).

Although disabilities are no longer treated as illnesses and people with disabilities are no longer considered to be patients (see the prescriptive notes on language use in American English in ADA, 2017), Chinese lexicographers (cf. ‘disabilities and physiological deficiency’ 伤残与生理缺陷 put in the same section with ‘diseases’ 疾病 in Zhang, 1996, pp. 60–62) still treat such conditions as part of a sensitive vocabulary that requires a responsible language use, including various euphemistic forms, see multiple entries in Zhu (2018).

### 5.2.1 Euphemisms for BEING ILL

The Chinese language offers a range of direct terms that denote the state of being ill, including *bìng* 病, *jí* 疾, *zhèng* 症, *jíbìng* 疾病, *bìngzhèng* 病症, *bìnghuàn* 病患, and *kē* 痾, which correspond to the English *illness*, *sickness*, and *disease*. However, disease-related discourse can be extremely vague, leading Ayto (2007, p. 205) to aptly define it as the realm of “impenetrable generalities”.

In English, if one speaks euphemistically, people are neither *sick* nor *suffer* from diseases — instead, they have *conditions*, *medical conditions*, *complaints*, *troubles*, *problems*, or *incidents*, all of which metonymically denote the state of being sick in a very generic way. Surgical operations are replaced with vague terms like *procedure* or *intervention*. In medical jargon, it is a usual practice

to metonymically refer to a patient as a *case*.<sup>166</sup> Military lingo coined the vague and strongly context-based term *combat ineffective* for seriously ill, wounded, or even dead. Generic terms can take form of understatements: *severe pain* may be replaced by *discomfort*; and the direct term *being sick* may be paraphrased as *not feeling very well*, *feeling unwell*, *feeling funny*, *feeling off colour*, or *feeling under the weather*. Similar litotic mechanisms are deployed in Chinese. Sick people can refer to their state as ‘one’s body is not in peace’ *shēntǐ bù'ān* 身体不安; ‘one’s body lacks peace’ *shēntǐ qiàn'ān* 身体欠安;<sup>167</sup> ‘one’s body lacks a pleasant feeling’ *shēntǐ qiànshuǎng* 身体欠爽; ‘one’s body is not very much at ease’ *shēntǐ bùdà zìzài* 身体不大自在; ‘one’s body does not feel pleasant’ *shēntǐ bù shuǎngkuài* 身体不爽快, *shēntǐ bùjiā* 身体不佳, *shēntǐ bùkuài* 身体不快, or *shēntǐ bùshuǎng* 身体不爽; ‘one’s body does not feel comfortable’ *shēntǐ bù shūfú* 身体不舒服 or *shēntǐ bùshì* 身体不适; or ‘one’s body lacks [something] good’ *shēntǐ qiànjiā* 身体欠佳. Feeling unwell can also be described as a lack of vital energy, as in the euphemism ‘cannot draw enough energy’ or ‘not supplied with enough energy’ *bù dé jìn* 不得劲.

Similarly, the classical expressions ‘disturb the harmony [in one’s body]’ *wéi hé* 违和 and ‘disturb [the harmony in one’s body] and suffer [from illness]’ *wéi yōu* 违忧 stood for being sick.<sup>168</sup> The recovery from a disease could be described as ‘[finding] harmony and winning [the fight against the disease]’ *hé shèng* 和胜 or ‘[finding] peace and recovering’ *píng yù* 平愈. In such cases, the body is a metaphorical container that encompasses peace, balance, and harmony, which are delightful and pleasant feelings in a state of health but vanish or become somehow violated in a state of illness.

Classical Chinese described the state of disease in terms containing the lexeme ‘discomfort/concern/worry’ *yàng* 恙, used to denote any ailment or indisposition. To be ill was to have a ‘small

<sup>166</sup> Depending on the domain of language use, *case* may also denote a corpse, as in funeral jargon, cf. “we cremate quite a few cases” (Holder, 2003, p. 56).

<sup>167</sup> Usually, this euphemism builds the following collocations with honorifics: ‘[your] precious body lacks peace’ *guì tǐ qiàn'ān* 贵体欠安 and ‘[your] made-of-jade body lacks peace’ *yù tǐ qiàn'ān* 玉体欠安, both of which mean “you are sick”.

<sup>168</sup> Used commonly in collocations: ‘the harmony in [your] precious body has been disturbed’ *guì tǐ wéi hé* 贵体违和, ‘the harmony in [your] dragon body has been disturbed’ (said of emperors) *lóng tǐ wéi hé* 龙体违和, and ‘the harmony in [your] sacred body has been disturbed’ (said of emperors) *shèng tǐ wéi hé* 圣体违和.

discomfort' *xiǎoyàng* 小恙, 'light discomfort' *qīngyàng* 清恙, 'tiny discomfort' *wéiyàng* 微恙, or to 'embrace a [small] discomfort' *bàoyàng* 抱恙. The term can be still used in the following highly formal expressions in Modern Mandarin: '[I trust you] had no [body-related] discomfort since [we last] met' *bié lái wú yàng* 别来无恙 for "I hope you are well" (this can be also used as a rhetorical question: 'have you had any [body-related] discomfort since our last meeting?' *xiānshēng bié lái wú yàng fǒu* 先生别来无恙否? or *xiānshēng bié lái wúyàng ma* 先生别来无恙吗?) and 'Have you recovered from your discomfort?' *guì yàng yù fǒu* 贵恙愈否 for "Do you feel better?".

The similar term 'trouble/worry' *yōu* 忧 is euphemistically used in place of 'sickness' *jí* 疾 in the archaic set expressions 'worries of collecting firewood' *cǎi xīn zhī yōu* 采薪之忧 and 'worries of carrying firewood [on one's back]' 负薪之忧 (instead of *cǎi xīn zhī jí* 采薪之疾 and *fù xīn zhī jí* 负薪之疾 or *fù xīn zhī bìng* 负薪之病, respectively). The state of illness resembles the state of exhaustion after hard work, such as carrying firewood on one's back (HDC, 2010). Zhang (1996, p. 57) gives a thorough explanation of the term 'carry firewood' *fùxīn* 负薪, used to express sickness: "Since there was a taboo on saying 'be ill' in former times, one used to substitute it with the expression 'carry firewood', implying that carrying firewood on one's back is exhausting and that one has not physically recovered from it yet" (旧时讳言有病, 以“负薪”婉指, 意谓背柴劳累, 体力还没恢复). 'Worries of collecting firewood' *cǎixīn zhī yōu* 采薪之忧, which is predominantly used self-referentially, can be interpreted as an EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymy, cf. Zhang (1996, p. 56): "once sick, one is unable to carry firewood" (有病不能采薪).

In connection with the aforementioned euphemism 'carry firewood' *fùxīn* 负薪, it must be said that Classical Chinese was sensitive to the social status of a sick person to the same extent that it used different designations for the deceased of different social classes. In his *Commentary on Gongyang zhuan* 《春秋公羊经传解诂》, Han Dynasty historian and philologist He Xiu 何休 (129–182 AD) mentions four euphemistic expressions related to the sick:

天子有疾称不豫, 诸侯称负兹, 大夫称犬马, 士称负薪。

If the Son of Heaven (emperor) is ill, say 'he is discontented'; if dukes or princes are ill, say 'they are burdened with multiple duties'; if senior officials are ill, say 'they are [toiled away like] dogs and [are



constantly on duty travels like] horses’; if officials are ill, say ‘they are [exhausted] carrying firewood [on their backs]’.

Physical and mental health used to be associated with a state of ‘comfort/content’ *yù* 豫 to the extent that sick emperors and rulers were said to be ‘not comfortable’ *bùyù* 不豫 or that their ‘comfort has been disturbed’ *wéiyù* 违豫.<sup>169</sup> The phrases ‘be burdened by duties’ *fūzī* 负兹<sup>170</sup> and ‘be [toiled away like] dogs and [be constantly on duty travels like] horses’ *quǎnmǎ* 犬马<sup>171</sup> for being sick are EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymies.

The unhealthy look of a person can metonymically refer to the general state of being sick: ‘one’s complexion is not good’ *liǎnsè bù hǎo* 脸色不好 and ‘one’s look is not good’ *qìsè bù hǎo* 气色不好 are SALIENT FEATURE FOR CATEGORY metonymies. The metonymical extension EFFECT FOR CAUSE can also be found in the term ‘cannot get up [from bed]’ *bù qǐ* 不起 for being sick.

Classical Chinese texts also contained hyperbolic euphemisms that conceptualised disease as ‘disaster’ or ‘catastrophe’. A prime example is the term ‘disaster of Boniu’ *Bóniú-zāi* 伯牛灾, used to refer to an incurable disease. The expression originates from the story of Ran Geng 冉耕 or Boniu 伯牛—a young disciple of Confucius—who is mentioned in the *Analects* 《论语·雍也》: Confucius visited his terminally ill disciple, holding Boniu’s hand through the window and

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<sup>169</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 56) interprets *bùyù* 不豫 as ‘not satisfied’ or ‘be displeased’ (不悦, 不快乐). However, HDC (2010) cites *Bai Hu Tong* 《白虎通·杂录》, attributed to Ban Gu 班固, which provides us with a completely different interpretation of the euphemism based on the alternative writing variation of the character *yù* 豫 as ‘participate’ *yù* 与: “if the Son of Heaven is sick, it is called ‘not participating’, it means that he is not participating in the governance of the country” (天子病曰不豫, 言不复豫政也。豫政, 参与政事。豫, 通“与”)。In the latter case, *wéiyù* 违豫 should be interpreted as ‘avoid participating [in the governance of the country]’; nevertheless, this explanation is not codified in any dictionary. Instead, Zhang (1996, p. 57) defines *wéiyù* 违豫 as ‘uncomfortable’ (不安适). It seems that *wéiyù* 违豫 is closer to the euphemism ‘disturb the harmony [in one’s body]’ *wéihé* 违和.

<sup>170</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 57) interprets *fūzī* 负兹 as ‘be burdened with multiple duties which leads to disease’ (意谓负事繁多而致疾), which is probably based on the commentary 《疏》 on *Gongyang zhuan* 《春秋公羊传》 by the scholar Xu Yan 徐彦 of the Tang Dynasty (诸侯言负兹者, 谓负事繁多, 故致疾。).

<sup>171</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 57) interprets *quǎnmǎ* 犬马 as ‘do hard work for others and go to distant lands on duty travels which leads to a disease’ (意谓代人劳苦, 行役远方而致疾), which is probably based on the commentary 《疏》 on *Gongyang zhuan* 《春秋公羊传》 by the scholar Xu Yan 徐彦 of the Tang Dynasty (“大夫言犬马者, 代人劳苦, 行役远方, 故致疾。”).

lamenting bitterly his premature death. The vague term ‘it intensifies greatly’ *dàjiàn* 大渐 used to be an indirect way to express the idea that an ill person is in a critical condition.<sup>172</sup>

### 5.2.2 Euphemisms for DISEASES

English has multiple mostly obsolete terms for particular diseases that used to euphemistically substitute their direct or technical names. For instance, pulmonary tuberculosis was widely known as the *white plague* (motivated by the similarity of its lethality with plague outbreaks) or *consumption* (a metaphor for the devouring disease “consuming” the victim), while *decline* and *delicate* (metonymies referring to the consequences of the disease) meant suffer from tuberculosis. Once a hazardous disease is eradicated or its mortality substantially decreased, people tend not to mind using their direct terms<sup>173</sup> (except for the abbreviation *TB*, which is still commonly used in place of *tubercule bacillus* due to its brevity).

The Chinese euphemisms ‘disease number one’ *yīhào bìng* 一号病 and ‘disease number two’ *èrhào bìng* 二号病—which were commonly used among medical workers as technical terms for plague and cholera, respectively—have declined in use since these diseases have been successfully fought with modern medicine (Zhu, 2018, p. 6). Pulmonary tuberculosis used to be called the ‘horrendous disease’ *qièzhèng* 怯症 due to its ‘horrifying’ mortality rates in the past.<sup>174</sup> Leprosy was termed ‘great insanity’ *dàfēng* 大疯.<sup>175</sup> Another metonymy-based euphemism for cholera was ‘acute disease of midnight and noon’ *zǐwǔshā* 子午痧, which originates from the idea that its most severe symptoms would occur within a very short time: if one falls ill at midnight, one might be dead by noon.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Cf. Zhang (1996, p. 56): “婉指病危。渐，加剧。”

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Zhang (1996, p. 25): “随着科学的发展，许多疾病已不是那么神秘和令人可怕，从心理上说，对许多病，人们也不是那么害怕直呼其名了。”

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Zhang (1996, p. 58): “肺结核在旧时死亡率极高，被认为是一种极可怕的病，故忌讳直言，以“怯症”婉称。”

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Zhang (1996, p. 56): “麻风病病状可怕，旧时讳言，以“大疯”婉称。”

<sup>176</sup> Obsolete euphemisms can reflect beliefs that were prevalent in society and among physicians in the past. For instance, the common cold was considered a disease caused by the cooling of the body (Zhang 1996, p. 59)—it was therefore called ‘the disease of frost and dew’ *shuānglù zhī jí* 霜露之疾 or *shuāng lù zhī bìng* 霜露之病. Madness was called ‘loss of the heart’ *shīxīn* 失心 because the Chinese believed that the heart (not the brain) was responsible for thought and mental activity in the human body.

Similarly, smallpox, which used to have a high mortality rate and was associated with death, could be camouflaged in English with *variola* – a technicism of Greek origin. The obsolete Chinese euphemisms for smallpox include ‘flowers come out’ *chūhuār* 出花儿 and ‘encounter joy’ *jiànǎi* 见喜. In the first case, ‘flowers’ metaphorically refer to the rashes symptomatic of this disease. In the second case, since smallpox used to be dangerous, seeing the pustules was a good sign that the disease was almost gone, which, in turn, was a solid reason for “joy” back in the day.

In English, cancer can be substituted by the abbreviation *the big C*; the metonymic terms *long illness* or *prolonged illness*, *incurable disease*, *lump*, *growth*, and *tumour*; and the technicisms *carcinoma* and *neoplasm* (technical words of Greek origin might be less familiar to the laymen). Similarly, depending on the context, the Chinese terms ‘incurable disease’ *bùzhì zhī zhèng* 不治之症 and ‘terminal disease’ *juézhèng* 绝症 stand metonymically for cancer.

Inaccurate uses of medical terms in laymen’s speech have euphemistic potency, cf. English *coronary* for heart attack and *cardiac arrest*, *cardiac incident*, or *myocardial infarction* for heart disease. The use of technical names in non-medical discourse has a strong euphemistic effect, cf. *Down syndrome* instead of the outdated racist slur *mongolism* (which used to be a medical term itself) or *Hansen’s disease* instead of *leprosy*. At the same time, descriptive metonymic expressions can also be deployed instead of medical technicisms, such as *kissing disease* for glandular fever, *old man’s friend* for pneumonia, and *falling sickness* or *falling evil* for epilepsy. As in English, the Chinese term ‘hare lip’ *tùchún* 兔唇 or ‘hare defect’ *tùquē* 兔缺 for cleft lip can substitute the dysphemistic ‘defective lip’ *quēchún* 缺唇.

The metonymy SALIENT FEATURE FOR CATEGORY is realised in descriptive euphemisms that highlight a symptom of a disease in place of naming the disease directly. Schistosomiasis, caused by parasitic worms and leading to the abnormal build-up of fluid in the abdomen, is called ‘disease of a big belly’ *dàdùbìng* 大肚病. Suffering from malaria is termed ‘swaying’ or ‘swinging’ *dǎ bǎizi* 打摆子 or *fā bǎizi* 发摆子 since shivering, trembling, and regular sweating are characteristic

of the disease. Diarrhoea<sup>177</sup> is euphemistically described in terms similar to the English ‘upset stomach’, colloquial ‘the runs’, and already obsolete ‘the flux’: ‘get troubles in one’s stomach’ *hài dùzi* 害肚子, *nào dùzi* 闹肚子, or *pǎo dùzi* 跑肚子; ‘it goes down suddenly and violently’ *bàoxià* 暴下; ‘stomach bursts’ *pòfù* 破腹; ‘ruin one’s stomach by eating’ *dùzi chīhuài* 肚子吃坏; and ‘have a stomach ache’ *dùzi tòng* 肚子痛. The archaic expression ‘the rotting abdomen of the river fish’ *héyú kuifù* 河鱼溃腹, as well as its variants ‘disease of the river fish’ *héyú zhī jí* 河鱼之疾 and ‘abdominal disease of the river fish’ *héyú fùjí* 河鱼腹疾, for diarrhoea is based on the idea that fish begin rotting from their abdomens, which eventually burst. Vaginal bleeding outside the expected menstrual period is termed the ‘disease of collapse’ *bēng zhèng* 崩症, in a manner similar to a dam bursting.

The metonymy TIME FOR CATEGORY is manifested in the terms ‘season’ *shíling* 时令 for seasonal disease (a term of traditional Chinese medicine referring to frequently-occurring diseases in a certain season of the year, such as dysentery and heatstroke in summer or malaria in autumn, see 时令病 in HDC 2010, GC 2015) and ‘pimples of youth’ *qīngchūn dòu* 青春痘 for teenage acne (cf. the metaphorical euphemism for acne ‘red thorns’ *fěncì* 粉刺—a common term in traditional Chinese medicine).

Generalisations are common when Chinese speakers refer to gynaecological diseases (e.g. contextual euphemism ‘women’s disease’ *fùnǚbìng* 妇女病 to refer to various menstruation disorders and childbirth problems) and diarrhoea (‘abdominal disease’ *fù jí* 腹疾).

Vomiting after drunkenness can be expressed by the euphemistic and somewhat jocular metaphor ‘give a return banquet’ *huánxí* 还席. This one-shot image metaphor (Kövesces, 2010, p. 44) is generated by an instant juxtaposition between a banquet image (food and alcoholic drinks) and the scene of a drunk person vomiting. The jocular effect is achieved by the polysemy of the term ‘give back’ or ‘return’ *huán* 还: on the one hand, a banquet is arranged in order to “return” the favour;

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<sup>177</sup> Cf. the direct colloquial terms ‘have loose bowels’ 拉肚子 *lādùzi*, 拉稀 *lāxī*, 泻肚 *xiè dù*, 泻肚子 *xiè dùzi* and the medical technicism ‘diarrhoea’ 腹泻 *fùxiè*.

on the other hand, vomiting is a process by which one ejects food “back” from the stomach through the mouth.

Euphemisms for disease can also be based on stories and proper names taken as references from Classical Chinese texts.

Diabetes could be referred to as ‘the thirst of Xiangru’ *Xiāngrú-kě* 相如渴, which originates from the story of the Chinese poet and politician Sima Xiangru 司马相如 (179–117 BC) who is believed to have suffered from diabetes.

Stuttering was euphemistically termed ‘[saying] qiqi [and] aiai’ *qīqīàitài* 期期艾艾 (also in shortened form *qīài* 期艾). GC (2015) and Pitner (2017, pp. 707-708) refer to two famous stutterers in Chinese history: Zhou Chang 周昌 (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), a prominent statesman of the Han Dynasty who stuttered over the word *qī* 期, and Deng Ai 邓艾 (197–264 AD), a military general of the state of Wei who stammered over his own name *ài* 艾.

Anal fistulas caused by haemorrhoids used to have the euphemistic substitution ‘piles of the King of Qin’ *qín zhì* 秦痔, which is a reference from *Zhuangzi* 《庄子·列御寇》: when the King of Qin was ill, he summoned his physicians. The ruler announced: whoever would open his haemorrhoid ulcer and squeeze the boil will be rewarded with a chariot. The one who licks the piles would be rewarded with five chariots. This story gave birth to another expression ‘lick the [haemorrhoid] piles and suck the ulcers’ *shì zhì yōng shǔn* 舐痔痛吮, meaning seek favours by any means.

Particular attention should be paid to the topic of sexual diseases and sexual dysfunction, since two domains of sensitive vocabulary are involved: DISEASE and SEX. Though sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) can be spread through non-sexual contact (e.g. breastfeeding), this English term is preferred to denote infections transmitted by various sexual activities, also known as *venereal diseases*. The latter euphemism originates from *being of Venus*, which indicates something related to sexual desire or sexual intercourse. Alternative English terms, mostly obsolete, include *a certain*

*disease, social disease, unmentionable disease, and contagious and disgraceful disease.* Similarly, Mandarin Chinese refers to these group of diseases as ‘dark’ or ‘hidden’ 暗疾 *ànjí* or 隐疾 *yǐnjí* (HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL), as well as ‘dirty’ 脏病 *zāngbìng* (SEX IS FILTH). The euphemistic expression ‘disease of flowers and willows’ 花柳病 *huāliǔ bìng*, motivated by the association of venereal diseases with brothels and prostitutes, is culturally specific: the metaphor ‘flowers and willows’ *huāliǔ* 花柳, an image of flourishing nature and lush vegetation, originally referred to any bustling, vibrant place full of people and amusement, particularly bordellos.

Apart from vague generalisations, blaming others was another universal strategy used in the past to generate euphemisms for STDs:

From the very beginning, syphilis has been a stigmatised, disgraceful disease; each country whose population was affected by the infection blamed the neighbouring (and sometimes enemy) countries for the outbreak. So, the inhabitants of today’s Italy, Germany, and United Kingdom named syphilis ‘the French disease’, the French named it ‘the Neapolitan disease’, the Russians assigned the name of ‘Polish disease’, the Polish called it ‘the German disease’, The Danish, the Portuguese and the inhabitants of Northern Africa named it ‘the Spanish/Castilian disease’ and the Turks coined the term ‘Christian disease’. Moreover, in Northern India, the Muslims blamed the Hindu for the outbreak of the affliction. However, the Hindu blamed the Muslims and in the end everyone blamed the Europeans (Tampa et al., 2014, p. 4).

This might explain the obsolete Chinese euphemism ‘ulcer of Guangzhou’ *Guǎng-chuāng* 广疮 for syphilis. The term presupposed the “non-Chinese” genesis of syphilis, originating from abroad in the major port city through the contact with foreigners.

Other outdated euphemisms for this once stigmatised and shameful disease was the generic term ‘illness poison’ *bìngdú* 病毒: this meaning was later superseded by ‘virus’, ‘viral infection’, and ‘viral disease’. Based on its symptoms, syphilis was termed ‘poisonous sore’ *dúchuāng* 毒疮 and ‘chancre’ *gānchuāng* 疔疮. Specific to Chinese culture, the term ‘sore of wind flow’ *fēngliú chuāng* 风流疮 originates from the metaphoric expression ‘[free as] wind flow’ 风流 *fēngliú*, meaning ‘unconventional’, ‘unrestrained’, ‘loose’, and ‘romantic’—i.e. related to sex.

In addition to euphemisms for STDs, Chinese offers various euphemisms for sexual dysfunction. Erectile dysfunction can be graphically described as ‘unable to rise’ *bùjǔ* 不举 or ‘unable to rise in the yang-matters’ *yángshì bùjǔ* 阳事不举. Male energy *yang* is mentioned in the medical orthophemisms ‘withering of yang-energy’ *yángwěi* 阳萎 and ‘atrophy of yang-energy’ *yángwěi* 阳痿, both of which indicate impotence (RELATED TO YANG-ENERGY FOR MASCULINE). Remarkably, male sexual dysfunction can be expressed in the terms ‘withering of yin-energy’ *yīnwěi* 阴萎 and ‘atrophy of yin-energy’ *yīnwěi* 阳痿 (metonymy RELATED TO YIN-ENERGY FOR SEXUAL instead of RELATED TO YIN-ENERGY FOR FEMININE). “Atrophy” could also stand for sexual dysfunction without any reference to *yin* or *yang* energy, cf. ‘disease of atrophy’ *wěiji* 痿疾 for impotence.

In colloquial Chinese, it is possible to refer to impotence metonymically (SALIENT FEATURE FOR CATEGORY), such as in the terms ‘unable to get hard’ *yìng bù qǐlái* 硬不起来 and ‘second brother cannot stand up’ *lǎo èr zhàn bù qǐlái* 老二站不起来. The general lack of strong sex drive among men can be euphemised as ‘weakness in bedroom matters’ *ruòfáng* 弱房, ‘deficiency of the kidney’ *shènxū* 肾虚 (a term of traditional Chinese medicine that claimed that the “energy” for reproduction emerges in the kidneys), and ‘gradual decline of yin-energy’ *yīnxiāo* 阴消 (again, metonymy RELATED TO YIN-ENERGY FOR SEXUAL). The metonymy HUMAN FOR SEXUAL is manifested in the euphemisms ‘cannot handle the human matters’ *bùnéng rénrshì* 不能人事 and ‘cannot go in the human way’ *bùnéng réndào* 不能人道, both of which refer to sexual dysfunction.

### 5.2.3 Euphemisms for PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DISABILITIES

Nowadays, the Chinese terms ‘blind’ *máng* 盲 or *xiā* 瞎,<sup>178</sup> ‘deaf’ *lóng* 聋, ‘dumb’ *yǎ* 哑, and ‘lame’ *qué* 瘸 or *bǒ* 跛<sup>179</sup> sound insensitive and “brutally frank” (Ayto, 2007, p. 210) when applied to people with physical limitations. The nouns that derive from these terms, including ‘blind person’

<sup>178</sup> Although both words are synonyms in contemporary Chinese (XHC, 2016, p. 878), *xiā* 瞎 historically denoted one-eye blindness while *máng* 盲 referred to the complete loss of vision.

<sup>179</sup> Nowadays, both words are used as synonyms, however, *bǒ* 跛 historically denoted the disability or injury of legs and *qué* 瘸 was a broader term that could be applied to any limb.

*xiāzi* 瞎子, ‘deaf person’ *lóngzi* 聋子, ‘dumb person’ *yǎbā* 哑巴, ‘lame person’ *quēzi* 瘸子, *bǒzi* 跛子, ‘be lame’ *bǒjiǎo* 跛脚, are all pejorative.<sup>180</sup> The term ‘crippled’ *cánfèi* 残废 and its derivate ‘crippled person’ *cánfèizhě* 残废者 or *cánfèirén* 残废人, though widely used, are exclusive and gauche, especially if one reflects on the semantics of its components: ‘deficient/broken’ *cán* 残 and ‘useless/waste’ *fèi* 废. Although Zhang (1996, p. 62) includes ‘injured and deficient person’ *shāngcánrén* 伤残人 for the physically disabled and ‘mentally deficient person’ *zhìcánrén* 智残人 for the mentally disabled in his collection of “tactful words” (probably, based on their relative indirectness in comparison to ‘crippled’ *cánfèizhě* 残废者 and ‘retarded’ *dīnéngér* 低能儿, respectively), these terms are nevertheless problematic to the negatively connoted morphemes they contain. Language users are unceasingly searching for new, more appropriate forms.

The increasingly popular Chinese orthophemism for ‘disabled’ is *cánjí* 残疾, which still contains the morphemes with the negative connotations ‘deficient’ *cán* 残 and ‘ill’ *jí* 疾. The English terms *disabled*, *handicapped*, *deprived*, and *impaired* have been criticised as “ableist” for their inherent negative connotations of abnormality, deterioration, deformity, absence, disadvantage, lack of abilities, and weakness (Stollznow, 2020, p. 176)—a criticism that can also be said of their Chinese equivalents.

Instead, English words with positive connotations have been introduced, such as *challenged*, *special*, *different* or *differently abled*, *otherly abled*, and *uniquely abled*. Unfortunately, these terms have not managed to totally replace the negatively loaded terms. First, one might consider them somewhat artificial, forced, or even condescending. Second, they are still manifestations of the dehumanising PROPERTY OF MEMBERS OF A GROUP FOR THE WHOLE GROUP metonymy and therefore retain a reductive and depersonalising sense, as when a group of people is labelled and defined by their disabilities.

The *Guidelines for Writing about People with Disabilities* (2017) developed by the ADA Knowledge Translation Center prescribes to “refer to the person first and the disability second”,

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<sup>180</sup> Exceptionally, the term ‘blind person’ *máng rén* 盲人 has no derogative connotation.



which allows a speaker to avoid depersonalising metonymies: if *a person with epilepsy* is a better choice than *epileptic*, then *person with a disability* or *people with disabilities* would be better orthophemistic terms than *disabled*. If necessary, the disability can be further specified: *slow learner* is discarded in favour of *a person with a learning disability*.

Neutrality of word connotation as a principle for writing about people with disabilities can also be seen as the preferred form of reference (ADA, 2017, p. 1): *person who uses a wheelchair* instead of *wheelchair-bound* or *confined to a wheelchair* (de-emphasising the “limitation”) and *congenital disability* instead of *birth defect* (de-emphasising the “deficiency”). The terms *victim*, *afflicted*, and *sufferer* are no longer recommended for use (ADA, 2017, p. 2).

Modern Mandarin uses the notion ‘obstacle’ *zhàng* 障 to form multiple euphemisms for people with disabilities: ‘people with an aural obstacle’ *tīngzhàngzhě* 听障者, *tīngzhàng rénshì* 听障人士, and *tīnglì zhàng'ài zhě* 听力障碍者; ‘people with a visual obstacle’ *shìzhàngzhě* 视障者, *shìzhàng rénshì* 视障人士, *shìjué zhàng'ài zhě* 视觉障碍者, and *shìlì zhàng'ài zhě* 视力障碍者; ‘people with limb obstacles’ *zhītǐ zhàng'ài zhě*, 肢体障碍者 and *zhīzhàngzhě* 肢障者; ‘people with disabilities [and] obstacles’ *cánzhàng rénshì* 残障人士 or *cánzhàng rényuán* 残障人员, etc. Another widespread euphemistic mechanism is the litotic use of the term ‘weakness’ *ruò* 弱 instead of ‘handicap’ or ‘deficiency’, as in ‘people with weak hearing’ *ruòtīng rénshì* 弱听人士, ‘people with weak sight’ *ruòshì rénshì* 弱视人士, and ‘people of weak physical abilities’ *ruònéng rénshì* 弱能人士. Disability as a “constraint” or “limitation” is realised in the Chinese euphemism ‘people with mobility limitations’ *xíngdòng shòuxiàn rénqún* 行动受限人群. The highly vague metonymic term ‘people with special needs’ *yǒu tèshū xūyào rénshì* 有特殊需要人士 refers to people with disabilities, however, it can also refer to other categories of people with “special needs”, including senior citizens, single parents, etc.

It is important to underline that most of the aforementioned euphemistic Chinese terms for people with disabilities contain the polite form ‘people/personalities’ 人士 *rénshì*, which expresses

respect to the group of reference, cf. ‘people who are deaf and mute’ *lóngyǎ rénshì* 聋哑人士 instead of the depersonalising ‘deaf-mute’ *lóngyǎ* 聋哑.

Alternatively, if Chinese speakers have to mention one’s disability, they can deploy the construction ‘have’ *yǒu* 有 + name of a disability. Instead of a derogatory term ‘hunchback’, it is possible to refer to a person who has severe kyphosis as one who ‘has a [round] raised pot-shape part [on one’s back]’ *yǒu luógō* 有罗锅. However, if *luógō* 罗锅 is used as a noun (also in forms *luógōzi* 罗锅子 or *luógōr* 罗锅儿), it is clearly a dysphemism, cf. “I haven’t seen this hunchback selling vegetables for ages” 好久没见到那卖菜的罗锅了 (GC, 2015).

One of the productive models of euphemistic formation is that of negation expressed in English affixes: the direct term *blind* can be substituted by *sightless*, *eyeless*, *visionless*, or *nonsighted*. Alternatively, speakers can deploy understatement, such as *partially sighted* instead of *nearly blind*. The latter is “a product of the half full/half empty school of verbal prestidigitation” (Ayto, 2007, p. 210). In Chinese euphemisms for disabilities, negation is also common, cf. the four terms for ‘not agile’ *bù lìsuǒ* 不利索, *bù hǎoshǐ* 不好使 (often collocates with specific body parts like ‘left leg’ *zuǒjiǎo* 左脚, ‘right leg’ *yòujiǎo* 右脚, ‘left hand’ *zuǒshǒu* 左手, or ‘right hand’ *yòushǒu* 右手), *bù líng* 不灵, and *bù língbiàn* 不灵便 (can collocate not only with limbs, but also with hearing, sight, etc.—cf. ‘hands and legs are not agile’ *shǒujiǎo bù líng* 手脚不灵 for people with mobility difficulties and ‘hearing is not agile’ *tīnglì bù líng* 听力不灵 for people with hearing disabilities), all of which stand for disabled. The descriptive euphemisms ‘lose light’ *shīmíng* 失明 or *sàngmíng* 丧明 for grow blind and ‘lose sharpness’ *shīcōng* 失聪 for grow deaf allow speakers to avoid the pejorative terms “blind” and “deaf”. The expressions ‘hard of hearing’ *zhòngtīng* 重听 and ‘ears are not sharp’ *ěrduǒ bèi* 耳朵背, *ěr bèi* 耳背, and *ěr chén* 耳沉 can be used orthophemistically for partially deaf and euphemistically for deaf.

The metaphorical understanding of disability in war as a sign of ‘honour’ *róngyù* 荣誉 is manifested in the military terms ‘honourable soldiers’ or ‘soldiers of honour’ *róngyù jūnrén* 荣誉军人, as well as in the abbreviated form *róngjūn* 荣军 for disabled soldiers wounded in action

while performing their duty. Wounds received in battle can be metaphorically euphemised as ‘coloured silk’ *cǎi* 彩 or *huā* 花<sup>181</sup> as a sign of military splendour and honour, cf. ‘wear coloured silk’ *guàcǎi* 挂彩, *dàicǎi* 带彩, *guàhuā* 挂花, or *dàihuā* 带花 for being wounded in battle. The wounded people, including soldiers, are called ‘people wearing coloured silk’ *cǎihào* 彩号 or, if wounded severely, *zhòngcǎihào* 重彩号.

Another aspect of sensitive vocabulary related to people with disabilities are the terms used for people with mental disorders and developmental limitations. The process of a “euphemism treadmill” (Pinker, 1994)—when euphemisms lose their disguising ability and are replaced by new ones—can be illustrated by the following range of words: *insane*, *demented*, *lunatic*, *cretin*, *imbecile*, *moron*, and *idiot*, which were all euphemistic or technical terms applied to people with mental disorders and are now all obsolete and/or derogative (Stollznow, 2020, pp. 159–195). *Mental deficiency*, *mental disorder*, and *mental illness* are the most common ways to refer to this umbrella notion in contemporary speech. Instead of *mad*, one might say *a person with mental disorder*, *disturbed*, or *distressed*. Note that the technicism *mental*—as in *he is mental*—has already turned into a dysphemism. A range of euphemisms for people with “abnormally low mental powers” (Holder, 2003) have been coined in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as *developmental difficulties*, *developmentally challenged*, *developmentally different*, and *developmentally inconvenienced*. Precision is a good way to orthophemistically refer to the disorder, e.g. *a person with the concentration difficulties*.

In a manner similar to the vocabulary of physical disabilities, Mandarin Chinese uses the notions “low”, “weakness”, and “obstacle” to refer to people with mental disorders in the following euphemisms: ‘children of low intellect’ *dīzhì értóng* 低智儿童, ‘people with weak intellectual [ability]’ *ruòzhì rénrshì* 弱智人士, ‘people with intellectual obstacles’ *zhìzhàng rénrshì* 智障人士 or *zhìzhàngzhě* 智障者, ‘[those who] have intellectual obstacles’ *yǒu zhìlì zhàng’ài* 有智力障碍

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<sup>181</sup> The character 彩 might originally denote coloured silk (彩色丝绸, HDC, 2010), which used to be displayed or worn on solemn occasions (遇喜庆事披挂彩绸, HDC, 2010) as a sign of festivity or received honours, cf. the classic idiom ‘drape red silk and silks of other colours [over one’s shoulders]’ *pī hóng guà cǎi* 披红挂彩 for ‘bestow a favor’ (said of monarchs), ‘show recognition of services rendered’, and ‘celebrate’ (披红绸和彩帛, 以示荣宠、慰劳或喜庆, HDC, 2010).

or *yǒu zhìnéng zhàng'ài* 有智能障碍, and 'people with mental obstacles' *jīngshén zhàng'àizhě* 精神障碍者. However, if these terms are depersonalised by omitting the agent morpheme *zhě* 者, the nouns 'men' *nánzǐ* 男子, 'women' *nǚzǐ* 女子, and 'person' or 'people' *rénshì* 人士 lose their euphemistic potency and become derogatory: for instance, 'retarded' *ruòzhì* 弱智 is a curse word and 'idiot' 智障 *zhìzhàng* is an insult (cf. the aforementioned 'people with intellectual obstacles' *zhìzhàngzhě* 智障者).

### 5.3 Domain BODY (BS0887–BM1560)

#### 5.3.1 Euphemisms for SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX (BS-0887–BS-1064)

Before taking a closer look at the myriad euphemisms for sex drive and sexual relations in Chinese, a few important caveats need to be taken into account. Since “sexuality as a concept is uneasily poised between the biological, the social and the psychic” (Weeks, 2011, p. 198) and its interpretations in contemporary sex studies are immeasurable, the term “sexual” in this project is used in the narrowest and most trivial sense: anything related to sexual desire, sexual activity, and sexual contact among people. In linguistic treatments on taboos, this domain is usually considered “the lexicon of sex acts” or “the language of sexual pleasuring and copulation” (Allan & Burrige, 2006, p. 144). Sexuality is a “problematic semantic field” that often requires indirect construal (Pizarro Pedraza, 2018a, p. 247).

The conceptualisation of sex and sexuality in Chinese conventional euphemisms with their long history is inextricably linked with restrictive and prescriptive social norms, perceptions of what is “right” and “wrong”, “appropriate” and “inappropriate”, “acceptable” and “deviant”. The permissibility of certain behavioural scenarios within the framework of the system of moral values existing in specific socio-historical conditions and compliance with these moral norms of a patriarchal society construed most of the figurative expressions about sex from the standpoint of a heterosexual adult man participating in sexual intercourse in an active role, cf. ‘enter the harbour’ *rùgǎng* 入港 denoting coitus or ‘pick flowers and trample the grass’ *niān/nián huā rěcǎo* 拈花惹草 for a man frequenting brothels. Only in a few euphemisms the referential focus is set on a woman, cf. ‘give away one’s body’ *xiànshēn* 献身 for losing women’s virginity.

One of the central Chinese metaphors SEX IS A DREAM is deeply rooted in the history of Chinese language: it has multiple linguistic manifestations that all refer to the story narrated in preface to the *Poetic Exposition on Gaotang* 高唐賦 (also known as *Rhapsody on the Gaotang Shrine*),

traditionally attributed to Song Yu 宋玉 (ca. 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).<sup>182</sup> It depicts a mystical erotic encounter between the King Xiang of Chu 楚襄王 and the Goddess of Mountain Wu 巫山之女, which took place in the former's dream. On the following morning, the Goddess, leaving him, said: 'At daybreak I am the morning clouds, in the evening I am the falling rain' *dàn wéi zhāo yún, mù wéi xíng yǔ* 旦为朝云, 暮为行雨. The term 'cloud and rain' *yúnyǔ* 云雨 became the essential euphemism of literary Chinese for sexual intercourse, still recognised by the majority of native speakers today (GF 2014, XHC 2016). This euphemism can be extended by mentioning the location in which the mystical encounter took place, such as 'clouds and rain of the Wu Mountain' *Wūshān yúnyǔ* 巫山云雨 for sex and 'dream at Gaotang' *Gāotáng mèng* 高唐梦 for sexual encounter between lovers. The proper name *Gāotáng* 高唐 can also be used as a euphemism for a hidden place where lovers meet one another for obvious purposes (HDC, 2010). Euphemisms can also refer to the participants of that famous encounter, such as in 'dream of the King Xiang' *Xiāngwáng mèng* 襄王梦<sup>183</sup> for romantic affair between a man and woman. 'Clouds in the morning, rain in the evening' *zhāoyún mùyǔ* 朝云暮雨, 'floating clouds' *xíngyún* 行云, and 'falling rain' *xíngyǔ* 行雨 all denote the sexual liaison itself,<sup>184</sup> while 'feeling of the clouds and passion of the rain' *yúnqíng yǔyì* 云情雨意 euphemistically refers to sexual desire. Sexual intercourse can be referred to as 'rolling clouds and falling rain' *fānyún fùyǔ* 翻云覆雨, 'entangled clouds and infatuated rain' *yóuyún tiyǔ* 尤云殢, or 'entangled clouds and infatuated snow' *yóuyún tìxuě* 尤云殢雪. To have sex can be to 'get moistened by rain and tempted by clouds' *yǔzhān yúnrě* 雨沾云惹 or 'grasp the rain and carry the clouds' *wòyǔ xīyún* 握雨携云. The time when an intimate encounter takes place between lovers can be referred to as 'at dusk while raining' *yǔmù* 雨暮. The place where lovers meet can also be called '[under] the curtain of rain, [behind] the screen of clouds' *yǔzhàng yúnpíng* 雨帐云屏 or '[under] the mat of rain, [in] bed of clouds' *yǔxí yúncuáng*

<sup>182</sup> Yu, Song. "Rhapsody on the Gaotang Shrine". *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume III*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 325–339.

<sup>183</sup> It is also used in the following saying: 'the goddess has an intention, but the ruler Xiang does not dream' *shénnǚ yǒuxīn, Xiāng-wáng wúmèng* 神女有心, 襄王无梦, which is said of a woman's unrequited love.

<sup>184</sup> If the terms *xíngyún* 行云 and *xíngyǔ* 行雨 are used as verbs that denote 'have sex', they may be translated as 'carry out a "cloud" act' and 'carry out a "rain" act', respectively (cf. euphemisms of similar structure 'carry out an *yin* act' *xíngyīn* 行阴 and 'carry out a bedroom act' *xíngfáng* 行房 that stand for having sex).

雨席云床. Finally, the moment after sex can be euphemistically referred to as when ‘the rain stops and the sky clears up’ *yǔsàn yúncōu* 雨散云收.

Another important metaphor for describing sexual desire and sexual activity is SEX IS BLOSSOMING, which is usually found in expressions deploying various vegetal images, especially in spring—a period of awakening and flourishing nature, raging vegetation, and sexual receptivity in animals (cf. ‘call spring’ *jiàochūn* 叫春 for cats caterwauling to attract mates). ‘Burst the bud’ (if used transitively) and ‘the bud bursts’ (if used intransitively) *kāibāo* 开苞 stand for depriving a woman of her virginity (cf. the English “deflowering”) and the first sexual experience, respectively. Being ‘under the flowering peach’ *bitáo huāxià* 碧桃花下 or ‘in the thickets of mulberry trees above the Pu river’ *sāngjiān púshàng* 桑间濮上<sup>185</sup> are euphemisms that refer to places where a couple conducts their love affairs. The term ‘spring’ frequently occurs in euphemistic descriptions of sexual desire and sexual practices. ‘Spring matters’ *chūnshì* 春事, ‘spring passions’ *chūnqíng* 春情, ‘spring mood’ *chūnyì* 春意 or *chūnxīn* 春心, and ‘spring desire’ *chūn xìng* 春兴 denote feelings of love and, contextually, lust. ‘Spring scenery’ *chūnguāng* 春光 refers to sex scenes in art or anything sexually revealing or erotic in general. ‘Spring albums’ *chūncè* 春册 and ‘[scenes in the] spring palace’ *chūngōng* 春宫 refer to collections of pornographic pictures, which can also be euphemised as ‘spring pictures’ *chūnhuà* 春画. Sex scenes can be referred to as ‘live [scenes] in the Spring palace’ *huó chūngōng* 活春宫, in which ‘live’ stands for real-life sexual experiences in contrast to sex depicted in books or movies. ‘Spring night’ *chūnxiāo* 春宵 can refer to a wedding night or a rendezvous between lovers at night. ‘Spring medicine’ *chūnyào* 春药 stands for any drug which increases sexual desire and/or sexual performance.

Having an open unrestrained sexuality is also compared to being ‘[free as] wind flow’ *fēngliú* 风流, a normally positively connoted term that was originally used to describe talented, free-thinking people engaging in creative pursuits, unconstrained by any rules, who were often extravagant and

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<sup>185</sup> Strictly speaking, both parts of the expression might refer to toponyms in the ancient Wei state: ‘[in] Sangjian’ *sāngjiān* 桑间 and ‘[by] the Pu river’ *púshàng* 濮上 were both notorious for lechery (GC, 2015).

flamboyant like the so-called Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (third century AD).<sup>186</sup> The meaning of being ‘free’ was extended to ‘romantic’, ‘amorous’, and ‘erotic’—by further metonymical extension, it could also be applied to illicit sexual behaviour and licentiousness (放荡轻浮, GF, 2014), cf. ‘wanton woman’ *fēngliú nǚrén* 风流女人 and ‘wanton empress’ *fēngliú nǚhuáng* 风流女皇 (said of the Russian Empress Catherine the Great who allegedly had a voracious sexual appetite).

More uncommon in Chinese language metaphors for sexual matters are SEX IS HOT (such as the contextual euphemism ‘[get] intimate and warm’ *qīnrè* 亲热 for kissing, caressing, and other sexual acts, when feelings are described in temperature terms), SEX IS A JOB (‘doing a night job’ *zuò yèzuò* 做夜作), SEX IS ENTERING A HARBOUR (‘entering the harbor’ *rùgǎng* 入港), SEX IS A RITE (‘the rites of Zhou Gong’ *Zhōugōng zhī lǐ* 周公之礼<sup>187</sup>); SEX IS FOOD (‘sniffing honey’ *xiùmì* 嗅蜜 for chasing after women and ‘meat [diet]’ or ‘strong-smelling’ *hūn* 荤—as opposed to ‘vegetarian [diet]’ or ‘with no strong smell’ *sù* 素—for acts and practices that are considered vulgar, obscene, and sexual, including ‘dirty jokes’ *hūnxiàohuà* 荤笑话, ‘dirty talking’ *hūnhuà* 荤话, and ‘dirty songs’ *hūngē* 荤歌), SEX IS COOKING (‘frying rice’ *chǎofàn* 炒饭, likely based on the similarity between the rhythmic motions of sex and the process of cooking by jiggling a frying pan), SEX IS A GAME (‘playing tic-tac-toe’ *quānquān chāchā* 圈圈叉叉 and ‘playing with girls’ (lit. ‘soaking with girls’) *pàoniū* 泡妞 for flirting with women, mostly with a sexual objective), SEX IS WAR (‘fighting battle in the field’ *dǎ yězhàn* 打野战 and ‘fire a canon in the wilderness’ *dǎ yěpào* 打野炮 for outdoor or public sex (as opposed to sex in bed); ‘cannon friend’ *pàoyǒu* 炮友 for sex partner with no obligations, cf. the English term ‘fuck buddy’), SEX IS SACRIFICE (‘giving away one’s body’ *xiànshēn* 献身 for losing virginity when said of women), SEX IS DESTRUCTION (since the women’s first sexual experience is traditionally seen as a ‘loss [of virginity]’, the first instance of sex intercourse can be described with recourse to the terms ‘break the body’ *pòtǐ* 破体,

<sup>186</sup> The term is also used in the idiomatic expression ‘[engage] in matters of freedom and elegance’ *fēngliú yùnshì* 风流韵事, which denotes love affairs.

<sup>187</sup> This formal expression (Zhu, 2018, p. 282) refers to the sexual life of spouses and associated with the figure of Chinese cultural hero Duke Wen of Zhou who allegedly made the practice of extramarital sex illegal and stipulated that men and women should not have any sexual relations before marriage.



*pòshēn* 破身, or *pòròu* 破肉; ‘break virginity’ *pòchù* 破处; ‘break the flat jade disk’ *pòbì* 破璧;<sup>188</sup> ‘break the melon’ *pòguā* 破瓜; and ‘destroy the stubble in the field [so that the land can be used for another crop cycle]’ *pòchá* 破茬).

Unusual are the metaphorical representations SEXUAL PARTNERS ARE INSECTS, such as ‘bee tent’ *fēngzhàng* 蜂帐 meaning place for sex and ‘crazy bees and rowdy butterflies’ *fēngkuáng diéluàn* 蜂狂蝶乱 meaning rough sex.

Among metonymic euphemisms for sex and sexuality, many are formed using a common euphemistic model of highlighting a certain—usually salient—property of the category without directly naming the category itself. Thus, we find euphemisms based on the metonymies ADULT FOR SEXUAL (‘a[dult] film/video’ *A-piàn* A片 or *chéng rén diànyǐng* 成人电影 for pornographic movies, ‘adult show’ *chéng rén jiémù* 成人节目 for pornography, and ‘adult products store’ *chéng nián yòng pǐn diàn* 成年用品店 for sex shop), HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL (‘internal matters’ *nèi shì* 内事 for sexual life;<sup>189</sup> ‘vague’ *ài mèi* 暧昧 for any dubious relationship, including illicit sexual contacts; ‘secret meeting’ *yōu huì* 幽会 or *yōu qī* 幽期 for meetings between lovers;<sup>190</sup> ‘hidden and intricate [matters]’ *yǐn qū* 隐曲 for sex; and ‘picture with secret plays’ *mì xì tú* 秘戏图 for pornographic pictures); SHAMEFUL FOR SEXUAL (‘place of shame’ or ‘place of embarrassment’ *xiū chù* 羞处 or *xiū xiū chù* 羞羞处 for genitals), PLEASANT FOR SEXUAL (‘seek joys’ *xún huān* 寻欢 for seek sexual pleasures, ‘beg [a woman] for joys’ *qiú huān* 求欢 for ask a woman for sex, ‘be happy and joyful’ *kuài huó* 快活 for having sex, and ‘items for pleasure’ *qíng qù yòng pǐn* 情趣用品 for sex toys and other sex-related items), PASSIONATE FOR SEXUAL (‘scenes of passion’ *jī qíng xì* 激情戏 for sex scenes and ‘fire of desire’ *yù huǒ* 欲火 for lust), ATTRACTIVE FOR SEXUAL (‘beautiful photo’ or ‘bright-coloured photo’ *yàn zhào* 艳照 for erotic or nude photos, ‘beautiful poem’ or ‘colourful poem’ *yàn shī* 艳诗 for erotic poems, ‘beautiful story’ or ‘colourful story’

<sup>188</sup> The term is contrasted with the metaphor ‘intact flat jade disk’ *wán bì* 完璧 meaning ‘virginity’ (HDC 2010).

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Zhang’s definition (1996, p. 79) of ‘internal matters’ as “matters of the inner chamber” (i.e. bedroom) 内房之事.

<sup>190</sup> Both euphemisms are strongly context-based since a secret meeting of lovers could involve no sexual act, although it is usually implied.

yànshǐ 艳史 or yànshì 艳事 for erotic stories, ‘beautiful dance’ or ‘vivid dance’ yànwǔ 艳舞 for erotic dances, and ‘beautiful star’ or ‘colourful star’ yànxīng 艳星 for female pornographic stars as well as sexually attractive female celebrities),<sup>191</sup> NAKED FOR SEXUAL (‘a star who strips’ tuōxīng 脱星 for a celebrity known for her/his nude photos, erotic or pornographic movie scenes; ‘exposing [one’s body excessively]’ bàolù 暴露 for wearing inappropriately revealing clothes, cf. ‘exhibitionism’ or ‘exhibitionist’ bàolùkuáng 暴露狂), CARNAL FOR SEXUAL (‘carnal desires’ ròuyù 肉欲 for lust and ‘intimacy of flesh and skin’ jīfū zhī qīn 肌肤之亲 for sexual relationships), INVOLVING TWO PERSONS FOR SEXUAL (‘relations of a man and a woman’ nánǚ guānxì 男女关系 for sexual relationships, ‘matters of a man and a woman’ nánǚ zhī shì 男女之事 for sexual matters, and ‘sports for two people’ shuāngrén yùndòng 双人运动). Since sexuality is an essential part of being human, the metonymy HUMAN FOR SEXUAL can also be expected, such as in the cases of ‘human matters’ rénshì 人事 for sexual matters and ‘human way’ réndào 人道 for sexuality. It is noteworthy that the latter euphemisms are more often used nowadays in their negative forms ‘cannot do human matters’ bùnéng rénshì 不能人事 and ‘cannot walk the human way’ bùnéng réndào 不能人道, both of which refer to sexual impotence.

Apart from highlighting the crucial properties of sexual relationships ADULT, PLEASANT, PASSIONATE, ATTRACTIVE OR APPEALING, SHAMEFUL OR HIDDEN, CARNAL, INVOLVING TWO PERSONS, AND HUMAN, euphemisms can spark an instant visual or aural association with sex by referring to non-essential circumstances such as a place or manner of sexual intercourse, cf. ‘car shaking’ chēzhèn 车震 for having sex in a car.

The intimate physical proximity of sexual partners has inspired a range of euphemisms that construe sexual intercourse as a particular case of a more general category: CONTACT/ENCOUNTER/MEETING. Expressions of this type are based on the metonymy

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<sup>191</sup> Concurrently, the metonymy ROMANTIC FOR SEXUAL might also influence the emergence of these expressions, such as the term ‘romantic feeling’ yànróng 艳情, which can be extended to mean sexual passion and or eroticism as a euphemism instead of ‘sexual’ sèqíng 色情. Rumours and news related to peoples’ sexual lives can be termed ‘beautiful rumors’ or ‘colourful news’ yànwén 艳闻, while sexual adventures or affairs can be described with the euphemism ‘beautiful encounter’ or ‘colourful encounter’ yànyù 艳遇.

PHYSICALLY CLOSE FOR SEXUAL. To have sex is to ‘rendezvous’ or ‘meet’ *jiāohuì* 交会 or *jiāohé* 交合;<sup>192</sup> ‘exchange feelings’ *jiāogǎn* 交感; ‘be together already’ *zài yīqǐ le* 在一起了; ‘connect’ *jiāojiē* 交接; ‘join together and have fun’ *jiāohuān* 交欢 (or *héhuān* 合欢); ‘have a happy meeting’ *huānhuì* 欢会 (together with the metonymy PLEASANT FOR SEXUAL); ‘connect bodies’ or ‘unite into one body’ *tōngtǐ* 通体; ‘meet by chance’ *xièhòu* 邂逅; ‘beg for [body] union’ *qiúhé* 求合 for asking for sex.

Two lovers who entwine themselves in each other’s bodies during sexual intercourse can be compared to the physical encounter between two mythical birds—the phoenix-like *luan* 鸾 and the phoenix *feng* 凤—that traditionally symbolised a married couple. When ‘[mythical birds] *luan* and *feng* turn upside down’ *diān luán dào fèng* 颠鸾倒凤, a couple has sexual intercourse. A similar modern designation for sexual intercourse is the more direct term ‘push [one’s partner] down [onto a bed]’ *tuīdǎo* 推倒.

One of the most frequently metonymies for sex is SLEEPING FOR HAVING SEX when sex is described in terms of slumber, being in bed, or being in a bedroom. In this context, sex can be seen as a sub-event of being a bed or in a bedroom. The coincidence of “sleeping” and “having sex” is a prototypical scenario for most Chinese euphemisms for sex and especially for marital sex, such as ‘sleep’ *shuìjiào* 睡觉 or *shuì* 睡,<sup>193</sup> ‘go to bed’ *shàngchuáng* 上床, ‘tumble about on the bedsheet’ or ‘tumble the bedclothes’ *gǔn chuángdān* 滚床单, and ‘enter the bedroom’ *rùfáng* 入房. Newlyweds are said to ‘connect [their] bedrooms [into one]’ *héfáng* 合房, *wánfáng* 完房, or *yuánfáng* 圆房, denoting the start of the sexual life of spouses. Sexual partners are said to ‘live together’ *tóngjū* 同居 or ‘live in the same room’ *jūshì* 居室 and ‘[sleep] in the same bedroom’ *tóngfáng* 同房, ‘[sleep] together in the same room’ *tóngwū* 同屋, or ‘[sleep] on the same mat’ *tóngxí* 同席. Sexual partners ‘share the same bed’ *tóngchuáng* 同床, ‘share the same pillows’

<sup>192</sup> Cf. orthophemisms ‘copulate’ *jiāogòu* 交媾 and *gòuhé* 媾合 with the same morpheme ‘intersection’ *jiāo* 交.

<sup>193</sup> The verb 睡 can be transitive if used as a euphemism for ‘have sex’: ‘It is really irresponsible sleeping with girls [having sex with girls] without getting married, right?’ 睡女孩子不结婚就是没有责任心? (Zhu, 2018, p. 206).

*tóngzhěn* 同枕, ‘share the same bed and the same pillows’ *tóngchuáng gòngzhěn* 同床共枕, ‘put pillows next to each other’ *fùzhěn* 附枕, and ‘connect [two] beds together’ *liánchuáng* 连床.

Being ‘in bed’ (lit. ‘on the bed’) *chuángshàng* 床上 is used as a euphemism for anything related to sexual matters, as in ‘skills in bed’ or ‘bedroom skills’ *chuángshàng gōngfū* 床上功夫 for sexual techniques or sexual mastery. The term ‘behind the bed curtain’ *chuángwéi* 床帏 refers to the sexual life of spouses. ‘Bed scenes’ *chuángxì* 床戏 or *chuángshàngxì* 床上戏 stand for sex scenes in movies. If one is ‘engaged in bedroom matters’ *xíng fángshì* 行房事, one has sex. ‘Bedroom matters’ or ‘bedroom affairs’ *fángshì zhī shì* 房室之事 denote sexual life, as well as ‘joys of bed and bamboo sleeping mat’ *chuángzǐ zhī huān* 床第之欢 and ‘joys of blanket and pillow’ *qīnzhěn zhī lè* 衾枕之乐 or *zhěnxí zhī huān* 枕席之欢 (together with the metonymy PLEASANT FOR SEXUAL).

To end one’s sexual life is to ‘close one’s bedroom’ *bì fáng* 闭房. Sexual activity can be described in terms of “feelings” or “matters” that partners have in their shared bedroom: sexual contacts are ‘love on the sleeping mat’ *rènxí zhī hào* 衽席之好 and ‘matters between blankets and bed-curtains’ *qīnchóu shì* 衾裯事. When one ‘offers’ somebody ‘a pillow and a sleeping mat’ *jiàn zhěnxí* 荐枕席, one extends an invitation to have sex. ‘Books on the bedroom [matters]’ *fángzhōngshū* 房中书 denote books about sex and sex techniques while ‘the art in the bedroom’ or ‘mastery of bedroom matters’ *fángzhōngshù* 房中术 refers to the art of love making. What happens ‘inside the bedroom’ *fángnèi* 房内 describes intimate, sex-related events.

The distinction between romantic feelings (“love”) and sexual desire is often determined not at the lexical but at the pragmatic or contextual level. However, there are a number of forms that unambiguously convey the meaning ROMANTIC FOR SEXUAL, including the slang reduplication ‘love-love’ *àitài* 爱爱 for have sex (probably derived from ‘make love’ *zuò’ài* 做爱), ‘love action movie’ *àiqíng dòngzuòpiàn* 爱情动作片 for pornographic movies, ‘harmonise human relations’ *dūnlún* 敦伦 for having sex, and ‘enjoy marital happiness’ *yànhǎo* 燕好 for having sex in reference to a married couple.

Sexual contact can be considered a sub-category of the more general (and, therefore, more vague) term “relations”. This ambiguity of the term “relations” implying sexual affairs gives birth to the metonymy RELATIONS FOR SEXUAL RELATIONS in which the sexual component of relationships is hidden under more generic terms, such as ‘relationship between the two sexes’ *liǎngxìng guānxì* 两性关系, ‘life of husband and wife’ *fūqī shēnghuó* 夫妻生活, and ‘have a relationship happen’ *fāshēng guānxì* 发生关系 or ‘have a relationship’ *yǒu guānxì* 有关系. Similarly, the metonymy DESIRE FOR SEXUAL DESIRE conceals a sexual component under a generic term, as in ‘desire’ *qíngyù* 情欲 for lust (however, the morpheme ‘feeling’ or ‘love’ *qíng* 情 gives a hint what kind of ‘desire’ *yù* 欲 is implied). Possibly the highest degree of generalisation can be found in expressions based on the MATTERS FOR SEX metonymy, in which sexual acts are called by generic terms like ‘thing’, ‘matter’, ‘incident’, ‘event’, ‘affair’, or ‘business’: examples include ‘do that job’ *zuò nà zhǒng shìqíng* 做那种事情 or *zuò nà zhǒng shì* 做那种事, ‘do business’ *bànshì* 办事 or ‘finish the job’ *wánshì* 完事, and ‘carry out [that] business’ *xíngshì* 行事.

Multiple euphemisms that are not included in dictionaries originate from Internet slang. It is notable that these expressions are formed by non-semantic means. These are mostly represented by borrowings, usually spelled with capital Latin letters: ‘BL’ as an abbreviation of ‘boys’ love’ denoting a homosexual relationship; ‘ML’ for ‘make love’; ‘SEX’ for have sex; ‘HAPPY’ for have sex. Calques ‘make love’ *zuò’ài* 做爱 or *zào’ài* 造爱 stand for have sex; the partial calque ‘one-night love’ *yīyèqíng* 一夜情 stands for one-night stand,<sup>194</sup> ‘brokeback’ *duàn bèi* 断背 for homosexual.<sup>195</sup> Moreover, there are usages of Chinese characters to imitate pronunciation (Taiwanese *xīstī* 西斯 for sex), graphic modifications and substitutions (‘%’), ‘@@@’, ‘XXOO’, ‘OOXX’ all stand for have sex), onomatopoeic expressions (*piapiapia* or *pāpāpā* 啪啪 and *hēixiū* 嘿咻 both denoting sexual intercourse), and deletion (‘that thing’ *nàge* 那个 for sex).

<sup>194</sup> This euphemism can already be found in dictionaries, cf. Zhu (2018, p. 262).

<sup>195</sup> This originates from the name of an American romantic drama film *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), directed by Ang Lee, translated into Chinese as 断背山.

### 5.3.2 Euphemisms for NON-MARITAL SEX (BN-1065–BN-1175)

Particularly euphemised are terms for sexual activity that are considered “illicit” and therefore condemned by the majority within a language community:

All sex is subject to taboos and censoring, but the taboos on male homosexuality and ‘unfaithful’ wives have been strongest... In most cultures, the strongest taboos have been against non-procreative sex and sexual intercourse outside of a family unit sanctioned by religion and lore or legislation. Although these strictures have been relaxed in modern Anglo societies, their hold has not completely loosened (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 145).

In this project, these sanctioned sexual relations are broadly termed non-marital. They imply sexual acts before marriage (premarital sexual relations, fornication) and outside of marriage (extramarital sexual relations, adultery). Sex for money (prostitution) is thematised in a separate sub-chapter.

The widely represented metaphor SEX IS BLOSSOMING underpins the sexual understanding of women as flowers, fruits, or plants that are manipulated by men: for instance, unfaithful husbands ‘pick flowers and trample the grass’ *niān/nián huā rěcǎo* 拈花惹草 meaning that they either go to brothels or are promiscuous in a broader sense. Playboys are ‘butterflies that flutter from flower to flower’ *chuānhuā jiádié* 穿花蛱蝶. Promiscuous relations with women outside of marriage can be also termed ‘[enjoying] flowers and grass’ *huāhuā cǎocǎo* 花花草草, implying relentless hedonism. However, vegetal imagery can also be used to describe ‘wanton’ women who are said to ‘be as [unstable] as water and [whirl about in the wind like] poplar flowers’ *shuǐxìng yánghuā* 水性杨花.

The blossoming of a peach is a particularly common euphemistic image that refers to non-marital sexual relations: originally a reference to feminine beauty (HDC, 2010), ‘peach colour’ *táosè* 桃色 stands in multiple expressions for illicit sex, including ‘news of peach colour’ *táosè xīnwén* 桃色新闻 for news about sex scandals or ‘peach-coloured cases’ *táosè ànjiàn* 桃色案件 for legal cases involving illicit sexual relations. Unfaithful women are also metaphorised as plants, such as

in ‘a red apricot reaches over the wall’ *hóngxìng chūqiáng* 红杏出墙, which describes a woman engaging in extramarital relations.

The closely related metaphor SEXUAL IS WHITE/PINK is based on a polysemy of the Chinese word ‘powder’ *fěn* 粉, which is used to denote white and pink colours, as in the cases of ‘white butterfly’ *fěndié* 粉蝶 and ‘pink peony’ *fěnmǔdān* 粉牡丹. It can metaphorically refer to sexual and even pornographic items in the Beijing dialect (GC, 2015), such as ‘pink play’ *fěnxì* 粉戏 for pornographic play. Most likely it might refer to a woman’s practice of applying white powder onto her face as makeup, linking femininity with sexuality (Zhang, 1996, p. 88).

Another common metaphor in contemporary Chinese for illicit sexual relations and practices is SEXUAL IS YELLOW. Among many controversial hypotheses, Zhang (1996, p. 90) suggests that the yellow colour resembles the colour of skin, while GF (2014) refers to the practice of publishing vulgar and erotic material on special pages of yellow colour by US magazines in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The metaphor is supported by the metonymic shift CARNAL FOR SEXUAL and gives birth to multiple expressions related to sexual phenomena and items, which are mostly considered ‘salacious’ *yínhuì* 淫秽 (Zhu, 2018): ‘yellow website’ *huángsè wǎngzhàn* 黄色网站 for pornographic website; ‘yellow novel’ *huángsè xiǎoshuō* 黄色小说 for pornographic novel; ‘yellow books’ *huángshū* 黄书 for pornographic books; ‘yellow goods’ *huánghuò* 黄货 or ‘yellow poison’ *huángdú* 黄毒 for pornographic products of any kind; ‘yellow source’ *huánghuán* 黄源 for different sources of pornographic production, including books and audio-visual items; and ‘yellow disaster’ *huángzāi* 黄灾 (similar to the floods of Huanghe – ‘Yellow River’) for the proliferation of pornography.

Taking advantage of women or chasing women can be described with recourse to the metaphors SEX IS FOOD (‘eat tofu’ *chī dòufu* 吃豆腐) and SEX IS A GAME (‘tease and play’ *tiáoxì* 调戏). Metonymy ‘be impolite’ or ‘breach etiquette’ *fēilǐ* 非礼 imply either unsolicited flirtation or sexual harassment depending on the context.

Similarly to figurative expressions about woman “losing” her virginity, a woman who lost her “female chastity” (失去女贞, HDC 2010) or was disloyal to her spouse was metaphorised in Qing texts as a ‘smashed jade disk’ *suìbì* 碎璧 ([NON-MARITAL] SEX IS DESTRUCTION). Disloyalty towards one’s husband could be expressed judgmentally in the archaic terms ‘lose one’s flower’ *shīhuār* 失花儿 or ‘lose [proper] behaviour’ (‘lose moral integrity’) *shīxíng* 失行 and can be expressed in the contemporary term ‘lose one’s body’ *shīshēn* 失身 (metaphor [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS A LOSS).

The metaphors [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS GOING ASTRAY, [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS GOING OUTSIDE, and [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS GOING DOWN are based on the notion of monogamous marriage as something “central” or “high” and opposed to adultery, which is condemned as a “peripheral” and “low” practice violating social norms, cf. ‘going off the rails’ *chūguǐ* 出轨 for adultery; ‘be of the lower stream’ or ‘low-class’ *xiàliú* 下流 for anything vulgar or pornographic; ‘have a person/man/woman outside’ *wàimiàn yǒu rén* 外面有人, *wàimiàn yǒu nǚrén* 外面有女人, or *wàimiàn yǒu nánrén* 外面有男人; ‘mix up with a woman outside’ *wàimiàn gǎo nǚrén* 外面搞女人; and ‘mix up with a man outside’ *wàimiàn gǎo nánrén* 外面搞男人 for having mistresses (‘woman of love’ *qíngfù* 情妇) and lovers (‘man of love’ *qíngfū* 情夫).

The ‘outside’ component can be expressed very broadly: it can range anywhere from the top of a hill (as in the archaic term ‘match together on the top of the hill’ *shāntóu cuōhe* 山头撮合 for illicit sexual gathering or illicit sexual affairs) to a hotel room (as in the modern term ‘rent a hotel room’ (lit. ‘open a room’) *kāi fángjiān* 开房间 for having a one-night stand). The ‘external’ partners are represented in the euphemisms ‘external woman’ *wàifù* 外妇 or ‘external wife’ *wàishì* 外室, *wàiqī* 外妻, or *wàijiā* 外家 for mistress; ‘external beloved one’ *wàichǒng* 外宠 for either a mistress (指丈夫在婚外所宠爱而与之同居的女子, HDC, 2010) or a favourite of the emperor, “usually a boy [as homosexual partner]” (婬童; 男色, HDC, 2010); and ‘external encounters’ *wàiyù* 外遇 for extramarital affairs. The archaism ‘love the external [one]’ *hàowài* 好外 was used to describe extramarital homosexual affairs with a boy or male prostitute.



Closely related to this set of metaphors is that of [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS WILD, as can be seen in euphemisms for adulterous relations such as ‘take the wild path’ *zǒu yě lù* 走野路 for cheating on one’s husband, ‘act recklessly without any rules’ *hú lái* 胡来 for being adulterous, ‘act wilfully and make trouble’ *hú nào* 胡闹 for having mischievous behaviour which can contextually refer to extramarital sexual affairs, ‘wild union’ *yě hé* 野合 for illicit sexual relations, ‘wild man’ *yě hàn zi* 野汉子, ‘wild flower’ 野花<sup>196</sup>, ‘wild food’ *yě shí er* 野食儿, and ‘wild Mandarin ducks’ *yě yuān yang* 野鸳鸯 all for extramarital sexual partners.

A common metaphor for illicit sex is [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS STEALING, wherein having illicit sexual affairs is compared to being a thief: ‘steal the sister-in-law’ *dào sǎo* 盗嫂 for having illicit sex with one’s own sister-in-law, ‘steal tin’ *tōu xī* 偷锡 for committing incest with one’s daughter-in-law,<sup>197</sup> ‘steal incense and jade’ *tōu xiāng qiè yù* 偷香窃玉,<sup>198</sup> and ‘steal chicken and dogs’ *tōu jī mō gǒu* 偷鸡摸狗 for indulging in secret illicit relations with women. In the following examples the character *tōu* 偷 is used to mean ‘secretly’, ‘hiddenly’, and the expressions are therefore based on the metonymy HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL: ‘have a person secretly’ *tōu rén* 偷人 and ‘have a man secretly’ *tōu hàn* 偷汉 or *tōu hàn zi* 偷汉子 for having a lover (said of “adulterous” women), ‘have feelings secretly’ *tōu qíng* 偷情, ‘have joys secretly’ *tōu huān* 偷欢 and ‘have a meeting secretly’ *tōu qī* 偷期, and ‘go over to Chencang secretly’ *àn dù Chéncāng* 暗度陈仓<sup>199</sup> denote being adulterous irrespective of gender.

<sup>196</sup> This term is opposed to the term ‘home flowers’ *jiā huā* 家花 meaning lawful wedded wife. The famous saying ‘don’t pick roadside wildflowers’ *lù biān yě huā bu yào cǎi* 路边野花不要采 serves as a warning against adultery.

<sup>197</sup> The term is based on the similar reading of characters ‘daughter-in-law’ *xī* 媳 and ‘tin’ *xī* 锡 (Zhu, 2018).

<sup>198</sup> The stealing of incense is associated with a well-known Jin Dynasty liaison quoted in (HDC, 2010): a handsome man named Han Shou 韩寿 had a secret relationship with his master’s daughter. The woman stole a rare incense from the emperor and gave it to her lover as a gift. When the secret was revealed, the court servant and Han Shou’s master married his daughter to Han Shou. The story about stealing jade is linked to a man named Deng Sheng 郑生, but the details are unknown.

<sup>199</sup> This term originates from a historic anecdote found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* 《史记·高祖本纪》: in 206 BC, Liu Bang 刘邦, the future Emperor Gaozu of Han 汉高祖, captured the city of Xianyang 咸阳, the capital of Qin Emperors, and was proclaimed Ruler of Han by General Xiang Yu 项羽. He then took his men and horses to the city of Nanzheng and burned down the plank roads 栈道 on the way. Soon, he secretly detoured northward and defeated the Qin General Zhang Han’s 章邯 army in Chencang 陈仓. Finally, he returned to Xianyang. Over time, the metaphor of ‘entering Chencang in the dark’ was used to refer to any kind of an activity carried out in secret, especially those regarding hidden sexual relations, primarily adultery.

Illicit sexual relations have many more metaphorical interpretations in Chinese: CHAOS/LACK OF ORDER (‘make a mess’ *luàngǎo* 乱搞 for being promiscuous), FILTH (‘be contaminated with’ *zhānrǎn* 沾染 or ‘have contamination with’ *yǒurǎn* 有染 for having illicit sexual contacts; ‘crawl in ashes’ *páhuī* 扒灰 or *páhuī* 爬灰 for committing incest with a daughter-in-law<sup>200</sup>), DEW (‘dew spouses’ 露水夫妻 for unmarried couple living together; their relationship can be called ‘dew relationship’ 露水姻缘<sup>201</sup>), CRIME (‘love smuggling’ *àiqíng zǒusī* 爱情走私 for having extramarital sexual relations), and SPORT (‘split legs’ *pītuǐ* 劈腿 and ‘stand on two boats at the same time’ *jiǎotà liǎng tiáo chuán* 脚踏两条船 for having two or more lovers at the same time).

Finally, a mixture of metaphoric and metonymic mechanisms gave birth to the term ‘wind, flowers, snow and moon’ *fēng huā xuě yuè* 风花雪月, which denotes promiscuity. Originally, it referred to four frequent images used to describe scenes in classical literature, later associated with superficial, second-rate poetry and writing, mostly of a romantic nature (HDC, 2010). Therefore, the term could metonymically describe feelings between lovers (GC, 2015), which was further extended to mean excessive sexual activity—the expression was then used euphemistically to refer to lechery and licentiousness (HDC, 2010).

A lover can be metaphorically termed “husband” or “wife” (LOVER IS A SPOUSE: ‘keep a second wife’ *bāo èrnǚ* 包二奶 and ‘keep a second husband’ *bāo èryé* 包二爷 refer to the practice of living with lovers and supporting them financially), ‘canary’ (LOVER IS A BIRD: ‘keep a canary’ *yǎng jīnsīquè* 养金丝雀), ‘happiness’ (LOVER IS A JOY: ‘new happiness’ *xīnhuān* 新欢), or ‘the one who steps in’ (LOVER IS AN INTRUDER: ‘insert one’s foot [in a relationship]’ *chāzú* 插足 for ‘interfere in other people’s relationship as a lover’) and metonymically termed ‘man’ (MAN FOR LOVER: ‘keep a man’ *yǎnghàn* 养汉 for having a lover, when said of a married woman), ‘third one’

<sup>200</sup> ‘Crawling in ashes’ is associated with dirty knees. The term is based on the homophony of words ‘knee’ *xī* 膝 and ‘daughter-in-law’ *xī* 媳: getting one’s knees dirty is therefore associated with committing incest with one’s daughter-in-law (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018).

<sup>201</sup> These terms originate from the idea that tiny drops of water that quickly disappear resemble the unstable status of unmarried relationships (Zhu, 2018).

(THIRD FOR LOVER: ‘a little third one’ *xiǎosān* 小三 and ‘the third one’ *dìsānzhě* 第三者<sup>202</sup>); ‘beauty’ (BEAUTY FOR LOVER: ‘keep a young beauty in a golden house’ *jīnwū cáng jiāo* 金屋藏娇 for having a mistress), or ‘friend’ (FRIEND FOR LOVER: ‘be on familiar terms’ *xiānghǎo* 相好). The ironic euphemism ‘little honey’ *xiǎomì* 小蜜 for a young mistress engaging in an adulterous relation with her colleague most probably originates from a formal substitution of homophonic characters: ‘secret’ *mì* 秘 into ‘honey’ *mì* 蜜. ‘Little secret’ *xiǎomì* 小秘 derived from ‘secretary’ *mìshū* 秘书, possibly accompanied by the influence of the English word “miss”.

Having illicit love affairs can be expressed by means of various metonymic euphemisms. Non-marital relations can be euphemised as ‘ganging up’ *gōuda* 勾搭 or ‘paying a visit’ *chuàn ménzi* 串门子 which rely on the PHYSICALLY CLOSE FOR SEXUAL metonymy. Having ‘no peace in bedroom’ *bù ān yú shì* 不安于室 was said of married women who were not satisfied with their husbands. ‘[Bed] curtains and screens are not kept in good order’ *wéibó bùxiū* 帷薄不修 denoted promiscuity between residents of the same house. Being ‘under bedcover openly’ *míng pū àn gài* 明铺暗盖 stood for illicit sexual contacts not kept secret. If ‘bedrooms [of different couples] are not separated’ *tōng shì* 通室, it denoted the archaic practice of exchanging wives for sexual intercourse (SLEEPING FOR HAVING SEX). Having ‘affairs’ *guānmù* 关目<sup>203</sup> referred to illicit sexual relations (AFFAIRS FOR SEX). Having ‘problems in working style’ *zuòfēng wèntí* 作风问题 and being ‘be improper’ *gǒuqiě* 苟且 for adultery are based on the IMMORAL FOE SEXUAL metonymy. ‘Having a secret [affair]’ *yǒu sī* 有私, *sīluàn* 私乱, *sīhé* 私合, or *sīqíng* 私情 are manifestations of the HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL metonymy, cf. also ‘have an intimate relationship and enjoy happiness secretly’ *sīxié huānhǎo* 私谐欢好, ‘secret communication’ *sītōng* 私通, and ‘climb over the wall, get through the crack [secretly]’ *yú qiáng zuān xì* 逾墙钻隙 or *zuān xué yú qiáng* 钻穴逾墙. An illicit sexual practice can be metonymically described as a ‘violation of proper human relationships’ *luànlún* 乱伦, particularly in terms of incestual sex (UNNATURAL FOR SEXUALLY ILLICIT).

<sup>202</sup> Cf. ‘the first one’ *dìyīzhě* 第一者 for the married person who cheats on his/her spouse.

<sup>203</sup> The meaning of love ‘affairs’ in *guānmù* 关目 is an extension of its literal meaning: ‘crucial plot elements in an opera or a novel’ (GC, 2015).

Among metonymies with historical or literary references, we find several expressions for non-marital sexual relations that denote homosexuality (‘cut off one’s sleeve’ 断袖<sup>204</sup>), cuckoldry (‘wear a green headband’ *dài lǜtóujīn* 戴绿头巾 and ‘wear a green hat’ *dài lǜmào* 戴绿帽 or *dài lǜmàozi* 戴绿帽子<sup>205</sup>), and lechery (‘Dengtu Zi’ *Dēngtúzi* 登徒子 or ‘Loafer Dengtu’ *Dēngtú làngzǐ* 登徒浪子<sup>206</sup> and ‘Qiu Hu’ *Qiū Hú* 秋胡<sup>207</sup>). Non-consensual sex can be euphemised (i.e. avoiding sexual references) by making use of the generic-for-specific metonymies ‘humiliate’ *língǔ* 凌辱, ‘insult’ *wǔrǔ* 侮辱, ‘use violence’ *shībào* 施暴 or *qiángbào* 强暴 as well as metaphorically ‘contaminate’ *diànwū* 玷污 or *wūhuì* 污秽, ‘defile’ *zāotà* 糟蹋, and ‘pluck flowers’ *cǎihuā* 采花.<sup>208</sup>

### 5.3.3 Euphemisms for GENITALS AND OTHER TABOO BODY PARTS (BG-1176–BG-1255)

The language related to external reproductive organs (*genitalia*) as well as other body parts associated with sexual arousal and sexual behaviour is culturally determined:

Bodies, the fleshy, messy, pulsating, highly differentiated assemblages of skin and bones, muscles and blood, DNA and brain cells, reproductive and defecatory organs, are the common-sense loci of sexual instincts and desires... But bodies are never just bodies. Bodies exist in cultures, and have acquired highly differentiated historical meanings. Many cultures across the globe celebrated the pleasures of the body in a variety of different ways (Weeks, 2011, p. 19).

<sup>204</sup> According to the *History of the Han* 《汉书·卷九三·佞幸传·董贤传》, Emperor Ai of Han 汉哀帝 was called to a meeting when lying in bed with his male lover. The lover was sleeping on the Emperor’s sleeve. Emperor Ai cut off his own sleeve rather than stir the boy.

<sup>205</sup> All of these terms originate from the Yuan Dynasty custom of wearing a green headband when frequenting brothels (GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016).

<sup>206</sup> This euphemism originates from the proper name of a fictional character whose family name was Dengtu 登徒. Dengtu was famous for his hypersexuality. In the poem *Lecherous Dengtu Zi* 《登徒子好色赋》 (attributed to Song Yu 宋玉), it is said that though Dengtu’s wife was extremely unattractive, a humpback, and gravely ill, he fancied her so much that she gave birth to five children.

<sup>207</sup> This term is based on the story about a person named Qiu Hu 秋胡 found in the “Biographies of Exemplary Women” 《列女传·鲁秋洁妇》. On his way home after spending five years working as a state official, Chen Qiu Hu saw a woman collecting mulberry and molested her. Once home, Qiu Hu’s mother asked his wife to come and greet her husband. It turned out that his wife was the same woman whom he had met and sexually assaulted. The righteous wife could not bear such an insult and threw herself into the river.

<sup>208</sup> This term was originally used to describe a situation in which someone would break into a house and rape women. Now, it can be found mostly in old-fashioned novels (GC 2015). A common collocation for rapist was ‘thief who plucks flowers’ *cǎihuāzéi* 采花贼 or *cǎihuā dàdào* 采花大盗.

However, many expressions describing sexual organs have much in common among languages that have no genealogical or cultural affinity. Among researchers of sensitive English vocabulary in relation to human genitalia and other taboo body parts, it is customary to single out metaphorical, metonymic, and non-semantic ways of euphemistic formation (Allan & Burridge, 1991, pp. 96–104). Metaphors can be based on physical similarity (PENIS IS A SWORD, VAGINA IS A WHEEL, TESTICLES ARE NUTS, BREASTS ARE MELONS, NIPPLES ARE ROSEBUDS, etc.), functional similarity (PENIS IS A TOOL, GENITALIA ARE EQUIPMENT, VAGINA IS A LOVEBOX, etc.), or other kinds of similarities such as significance, importance, feelings and pleasures they bring, etc. (GENITALIA ARE [FAMILY] JEWELS, MALE GENITALIA ARE MANHOOD, GENITALIA ARE FOOD, etc.). Apart from metaphors, there are common metonymies GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC (e.g. *thing* for sexual organ), SYNECDOCHIC LOCATION (e.g. *bottom* for buttocks or *down there* for genitals), and PART FOR WHOLE (*tits*, which originally denoted nipples, for breasts, cf. Allan and Burridge (1991, p. 97)). Finally, formal ways of euphemisation include various borrowings (Lat. *labia* for lips or folds of skin bordering the vulva; Yiddish *tush* or *tushy* for buttocks), the use of proper names (e.g. *fanny* for either buttocks or vagina), as well as all kinds of word remodelling (including abbreviations *c* and *d* for *cunt* and *dick*, respectively, as well as clippings, such as *doodle* from *cock-a-doodle-doo* for *cock*, i.e. penis. As will be shown below, the conventional Chinese euphemisms for various taboo body parts (either compounds or word combinations) are exclusively products of semantic shifts.

#### a. General euphemisms for reproductive organs

In Chinese, genitalia can be orthophemistically termed ‘sex organs’ *xìngqìguān* 性器官, ‘reproductive organs’ *shēngzhìqì* 生殖器, or ‘outer reproductive organs’ *wài shēngzhìqì* 外生殖器 for external genitalia. These functional terms are completely appropriate for formal occasions, formal writing, and speaking, particularly in the professional speech of medical workers, scientific papers, police reports, etc.

The configuration of the genitals in the lower part of the human body gives rise to many metonymic euphemisms with the morpheme ‘down/lower’ *xià* 下, in which genitals are denoted in vague,

highly generic terms: ‘lower body’ *xiàtǐ* 下体 or *xiàshēn* 下身, ‘lower half of the body’ *xiàbànnshēn* 下半身, ‘lower section’ *xiàjié* 下截, and ‘lower side’ *xiàbiān* 下边.<sup>209</sup>

Several metonymic shifts formed euphemisms that refer to human reproductive organs, highlighting their significant properties (SHAMEFUL, HIDDEN, SENSITIVE) and avoiding any direct naming by means of generic terms such as “place”, “part”, and “thing”—cf. SHAMEFUL FOR SEXUAL ‘place of shame’ or ‘place of embarrassment’ *xiūchù* 羞处, ‘place which is inconvenient [to see or speak about]’ *bùbiànchù* 不便处, and ‘repulsive [things]’ *chǒu’è* 丑恶; HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL ‘place which one hides’ *yǐnchù* 隐处, ‘private place’ *sīchù* 私处 or *sī* 私, ‘private parts’ *yǐnsī bùwèi* 隐私部位 or *sīmì bùwèi* 私密部位, and ‘secret parts’ *yǐnmì bùwèi* 隐秘部位; and SENSITIVE FOR SEXUAL ‘sensitive parts’ *mǐngǎn bùwèi* 敏感部位.

Finally, several orthophemisms and euphemisms for genitals contain the polysemous morpheme *yīn* 阴. There are several possible explanations why *yīn* 阴 can denote human genitalia. On the one hand, etymographic references in XDZ (2004, p. 1062) and GHZ (2005, p. 964) indicate that *yīn* 陰/阴 originally referred to a cloud-darkened area of a mountain. It was metonymically extended to “dark”, “shady”, “gloomy”, and “overcast”, then to “hidden”, “secret”, which are the salient features of reproductive organs and their perception in the community of Chinese speakers. On the other hand, traditional Chinese philosophy and medicine used *yīn* 阴 together with *yáng* 阳 to refer to the universal dichotomy found ubiquitously in nature, representing two binary energies or natural principles: negative – positive, terrestrial – celestial, dark – light, lunar – solar, night – day, soft – hard, passive – active, cold – hot, wet – dry, female – male, etc. This may lead to the conclusion that *yīn*-energy stands generally for femininity and specifically for female sexuality and, therefore, female reproductive organs. However, this assumption is not supported by linguistic data. Indeed, the orthophemistic term ‘female *yīn*’ *nǚyīn* 女阴 stands as the collective term for female genitalia, including the orthophemisms ‘*yīn* lip’ *yīnchún* 阴唇 for labia and ‘*yīn*

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<sup>209</sup> The latter two expressions meaning ‘genitals’ are obsolete: HDC (2010), GC (2015), and Zhu (2018) exemplify their usage exclusively with quotes from *The Plum in the Golden Vase* 《金瓶梅》, written in vernacular Chinese. The term ‘lower section’ *xiàjié* 下截 used to refer predominantly to male genitals (GC, 2015).

path' *yīndào* 阴道 for vagina. HDC (2010) and Hong (2010) claim that the term 'yin and yang' *yīnyáng* 阴阳 could be used to denote a married couple or, broader, women and men—they even suggest that the terms could euphemistically refer to female and male genitalia. However, the morpheme 'yin' constitutes terms that describe reproductive organs without gender specification, as in 'yin mound' *yīnfū* 阴阜 for the male and female mons pubis<sup>210</sup> and 'yin hair' 阴毛 for male and female pubic hair. Moreover, male genitals can be euphemised as 'male yin' *nányīn* 男阴 with no relation to femininity, cf. orthophemisms 'yin stem' *yīnjīng* 阴茎 for penis and 'yin bag' *yīnnáng* 阴囊 for scrotum. Lastly, sexual intercourse can be construed as an act that involves yin-energy, cf. euphemism 'carry out an yin act' *xíngyīn* 行阴.<sup>211</sup> Thus, terms with the morpheme yin-energy or yin-principle are based on both the HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL and RELATED TO YIN-ENERGY FOR SEXUAL metonymies used to denote objects and phenomena related to human sexuality, particularly sex organs. Other metonymic euphemisms for non-gender-specific human reproductive organs are 'frontal yin' *qiányīn* 前阴 or 'external/outer yin' *wàiyīn* 外阴, as well as 'yin organs' *yīnqì* 阴器 and 'yin parts' *yīnbù* 阴部.

### b. Euphemisms for male reproductive organs

The above-mentioned orthophemism 'yin stem' *yīnjīng* 阴茎 can be considered the most formal way to designate the adult penis. It is noteworthy that Classical Chinese had a specific term for the pre-pubescent penis, *zū* 媮, which is interpreted by modern Chinese lexicographers as a literary term (GF 2014), a dialect word (XHC 2016), and a euphemism (Hong 2010).

The human penis and its parts have various metaphorical representations in Chinese. Animals often became the base for phallic metaphors. 'Turtle head' *guītóu* 龟头 stands for a glans penis, and this conceptualisation is based on similarity in appearance. Avian imagery is salient in the euphemisms

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<sup>210</sup> In contemporary Chinese, the pubic mound is euphemised as the 'shameful mound' *chīqiū* 耻丘, which could be a 'back-borrowing' from Japanese, cf. the term "returned loans" in Chung (2001).

<sup>211</sup> The term 'yang-energy' *yángqì* 阳气 or *yáng* 阳 can metonymically refer to male sexual prowess or the male libido, cf. 'strengthen yang' *zhuàng yáng* 壮阳 or 'replenish yang' *bǔ yáng* 补阳 for 'boost male sexual function'.

‘bird’ *niǎo/diǎo* 鸟,<sup>212</sup> ‘little bird’ *xiǎoniǎoniǎo* 小鸟鸟, ‘chick’ *jījī* 鸡鸡, ‘little chick’ *xiǎojījī* 小鸡鸡, and ‘sparrow’ *máquè* 麻雀 or *quèquè* 雀雀, all of which are common ways to refer to the penis in children’s speech. Other animate terms for penis include the regional euphemisms ‘hairy carp’ *máoliányú* 毛鱧魚 and ‘calf’ *niúzi* 牛子.

The penis can also be jocularly designated a relative, such as in the euphemisms ‘younger brother’ *dìdì* 弟弟 or ‘little brother’ *xiǎodìdì* 小弟弟, as well as ‘second-eldest [child in a family]’ (usually a male sibling) *lǎoèr* 老二.

Conceptualisations of the penis in non-animate terms are common: ‘hammer’ *chuízi* 锤子, ‘meat stick’ or ‘meat rod’ *ròubàng* 肉棒, ‘lead strip’ *qiāntiáo* 铅条, ‘goods’ *hánghuò* 行货, ‘internal tool’ *nèijù* 内具, ‘yang tool’ *yángjù* 阳具, and ‘jade stem’ *yùjīng* 玉茎. The very common metaphor PENIS IS ROOT might be based on physical resemblance or on the interpretation of reproductive organs as ‘roots’ or ‘sources’ of vitality: ‘root of the mundane [world]’ *chéngēn* 尘根, ‘male root’ *nángēn* 男根, ‘foul-smelling root’ *sāogēn* 臊根, ‘body root’ *shēngēn* 身根, and ‘life root’ *mìnggēnzi* 命根子.<sup>213</sup> Finally, together with the testicles, the penis can be conceptualised in the abstract term ‘power’ *shì* 势, as in ‘cut off one’s power’ *gēshì* 割势 for castration. The removal of male reproductive organs as criminal punishment in imperial China used to be euphemistically termed the ‘purification of one’s body’ *jìngshēn* 净身 and the ‘corruption one’s body’ or ‘spoiling of one’s body’ *fǔshēn* 腐身.<sup>214</sup> The morpheme *fǔ* 腐 in the latter term can be also interpreted directly as ‘rotten’ or ‘fetid’, cf. ‘foul-smelling punishment’ *fǔxíng* 腐刑 for

<sup>212</sup> Used as a phonetic substitution of the vulgar term ‘dick’ *diǎo* 屌. In various Chinese dialects the word ‘bird’ 鸟 is pronounced with the initial [d] sound instead of [n].

<sup>213</sup> The euphemistic meaning of the latter expression (often used jocularly) might be an extension from the literal meaning of the morphemes ‘life’ and ‘root’ as well as from the figurative meaning of the expression (‘the most precious thing in life’ or ‘essence of life’, GF, 2014; XHC, 2016).

<sup>214</sup> The direct terms ‘castrate’ *gōng* 宫 and ‘castrate oneself’ *zìgōng* 自宫 can be still considered to have certain euphemistic power due to their forgotten meaning for contemporary Chinese speakers. HDC (2010) suggests that both male castration (lit. ‘palace punishment’) *gōngxíng* 宫刑 and female sterilisation (lit. ‘confinement in darkness’) *yōubì* 幽闭 are associated with being ‘confined’ (*jìnbì* 禁闭) in ‘palace’ (*gōng* 宫) as eunuchs, servants and slaves.



castration and the explanation found in GC (2015): “Castration is [accompanied by] rotten stench [of the wound], therefore it is called foul-smelling punishment” (『宫刑腐臭，故曰腐刑。』)<sup>215</sup>

The penis of an animal can be euphemised metaphorically as a ‘whip’ *biān* 鞭: this term is often used in texts related to traditional Chinese medicine and traditional Chinese cuisine, as in ‘wine of three whips’ *sānbīānjiǔ* 三鞭酒, which stands for wine made from the genitals of three male animals: ox, sheep, and dog.

The metonymical euphemisms ‘yang matter’ *yángwù* 阳物 and ‘yang way’ *yángdào* 阳道<sup>216</sup> or ‘human way’ *réndào* 人道 for the human penis seem to be anchored in Chinese philosophy and traditional medicine, understanding the so-called *yang*-principle in nature as a salient property of masculinity and virility. Nevertheless, apart from expressions mentioning *yang*-energy, there are also terms based on the RELATED TO YIN-ENERGY FOR SEXUAL metonymy, namely ‘male *yin*’ *nányīn* 男阴 and ‘*yin* organ’ *yīntǐ* 阴体.

The metaphor TESTICLES ARE EGGS, widespread among the world’s languages (cf. the German flippant term ‘Eier’ for testicles or the Russian orthophemism ‘яички’ used predominantly in the medical context), is based on the physical similarity of human testicles and the oval eggs laid by birds and reptiles. The Chinese terms ‘egg’ *luǎn* 卵, *luǎnzǐ* 卵子, *dàn* 蛋, *dàndàn* 蛋蛋 and ‘*yin* egg’ *yīnzǐ* 阴子 can denote both human testicles as well as the sperm-producing organs of other male mammals, substituting the orthophemisms ‘testicular balls’ *gāowán* 睾丸 and ‘sperm nest’ *jīngcháo* 精巢.

Traditional Chinese medicine has an alternative designation for human testicles, ‘external kidneys’ *wàishèn* 外肾 or *shènzǐ* 肾子, based on the belief that the kidneys store the vital “essence” *jīng* 精 —the main substance that makes up the human body and supports its vital activity. *Jīng* is also

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<sup>215</sup> *Kangxi Dictionary of Characters* 《康熙字典》 provides an additional commentary on the term *castration*: once a man is castrated, he cannot give birth to children, “similarly to rotten wood which cannot grow fruit” (如腐木，不生实) (accessed online on 07.10.2021: <https://www.zdic.net/hans/腐>).

<sup>216</sup> The latter term 阳道 could also denote seminal fluid (HDC, 2010).

“responsible” for sexual functions in the human body. Nowadays, terms like ‘external kidneys’ *wàishèn* 外肾 for testicles, ‘kidney bag’ *shènnáng* 肾囊 for scrotum, ‘kidney water’ *shènsuǐ* 肾水 for semen, and ‘deficiency of the kidney’ *shènxū* 肾虚 or *shènkū* 肾亏 for the lack of male sexual prowess can all be perceived as euphemisms if taken in the non-terminological sense.

### c. Euphemisms for female reproductive organs and breasts

Euphemisms for female genitals usually contain the morpheme ‘yin’ *yīn* 阴 as a standard referential component in terms for human sexuality in general and for female sexuality in particular. Sources of metaphorical comparisons for the vaginal orifice are typically GATES, DOORS, WAYS, and CAVES AND TRENCHES, such as the orthophemism ‘yin way’ *yīndào* 阴道 and the euphemisms ‘yin gate’ *yīnmén* 阴门, ‘yin door’ *yīnhù* 阴户, ‘yin cave’ 阴穴, ‘birth gate’ *chǎnmén* 产门, ‘birth door’ *chǎnhù* 产户, and ‘yin trench’ *yīngōu* 阴沟.

The clitoris can be conceptualised in terms of vegetal imagery as an orthophemism (‘yin pedicel’ *yīndì* 阴蒂) or as a euphemism (‘yin stone [of a fruit]’ or ‘yin pip’ *yīnhé* 阴核). In latter case, due to its vagueness, the euphemism could also be used to describe male testicles in the past (HDC, 2010). Similarly, the ambiguous archaic euphemism ‘yin orifice’ 阴窍 could not only denote vagina, but also the human anus and urethra (HDC, 2010).

Women’s breast can be euphemised metaphorically and metonymically. One could refer to them using the generic terms ‘chest’ *xiōng* 胸 or *xiōngbù* 胸部 instead of the direct ‘breast’ *rǔ* 乳 or *rǔfáng* 乳房. The white, soft breast of a beautiful woman can be euphemised as ‘butter-soft chest’ 酥胸. Surprisingly, the metaphorical euphemisms for women’s breasts ‘chicken head’ 鸡头 and ‘chicken head meat’ 鸡头肉 are based on the physical resemblance between women’s breasts and Gorgon fruit (lat. *Euryale ferox*, Ch. *qiàn* 芡), cf. “‘chicken head’ is another word for Gorgon plant” (鸡头, 芡的别名) in Zhang (1996, p. 122). The nipples of women’s breasts used to be euphemised as ‘purple grapes’ *zǐpútáo* 紫葡萄. Zhu (2018, p. 200) identifies a conventional euphemism for woman’s cleavage in ‘line of career’ *shìyèxiàn* 事业线, when the line separating a

woman's breasts is conceptualised in terms of Chinese palmistry. This sexist term implies that women's careers depend on the size, form, and attractiveness of their breasts and therefore on their sexual appeal.

#### **d. Euphemisms for anal hole**

No conventional euphemistic expressions have been found in Chinese lexicography for the human buttocks except for the technical terms *tún* 臀 or *túnbù* 臀部. However, there are several Chinese euphemisms for the human anus *gāng* 肛, construing it metaphorically as a DOOR, GATE, FLOWERING PLANT, PATHWAY, and BACKYARD.

The anatomical structure of the human body stipulates the usage of the morpheme 'back' in the euphemisms 'backdoor' *hòumén* 后门, 'backyard' *hòutíng* 后庭, 'back yin' *hòuyīn* 后阴, and 'back orifice' *hòuqiào* 后窍.

The resemblance of the anal hole to a flower explains the motivation of the metaphorical euphemisms 'chrysanthemum' *júhuā* 菊花 and 'flower in the backyard' *hòutíng huā* 后庭花. Both the rectum and the anus, as the last part of the digestive tract, can be also euphemised as the 'valley path' *gǔdào* 谷道.

The metaphorical euphemism 'side gate' *biànmén* 便门 for anal hole is supported by the ambiguity of the morpheme *biàn* 便, which might refer to something either convenient ('convenient route' or 'shortcut' *biànlù* 便路) or related to excrement ('urine and faeces' *dàxiǎobiàn* 大小便). The euphemism 'soul door' *pòmén* 魄门 might be based on homophony of its first morpheme 'soul' *pò* 魄 and 'waste' *pò* 粕 (HDC, 2010).

The metaphor ANAL HOLE IS A GATE gave birth to the euphemistic expressions for anal sex 'go through the backdoor' *zǒu hòumén* 走后门 and 'go through the side gate' *zǒu biànmén* 走便门.

### e. Euphemisms for women's bound feet

Zhang (1996, pp. 120–126) includes various terms for bound feet *chánzú* 缠足 (as opposed to unbound 'natural feet' *tiānzú* 天足) in his collection of euphemisms for taboo body parts. Most scholarship on Chinese foot binding highlights the erotic aspect of the gruesome practice (Blake, 1994, p. 676), though it is also considered “a radical method of gender-marking” that “cost little girls years of agony and left them partly crippled for life” (Gates, 2015, p. 1). The practice can be seen a form of female body mutilation:

Beginning at about age six to eight, the female child's four smaller toes were bent under the foot, the sole was forced to the heel, and then the foot was wrapped in a tight bandage day and night in order to mold a bowed and pointed four-inch-long appendage. Foot binding was extremely painful in the first 6 to 10 years of formative treatment. Complications included ulceration, paralysis, gangrene, and mortification of the lower limbs... Bound feet were malodorous, and treated women were crippled and largely housebound (Mackie, 1996, p. 1000).

Deformed women's feet were considered highly erotic in pre-modern China—an “ultimate expression of sensuality” (Levy, 2001). Moreover, for Chinese men, bound feet were not just a sexual fetish but also “a prestige symbol” of the treated woman: “the popular belief was it increased fertility because the blood would flow up to the legs, hips, and vaginal areas” (Smith, 2009, p. 331).

Metaphorical euphemisms conceptualised the mutilated female foot as LOTUS ('golden lotus' *jīnlián* 金莲 and 'three-inch golden lotus' *sāncùn jīnlián* 三寸金莲), LOTUS PARTS ('lotus petal' *liánbàn* 莲瓣 and 'lotus hook' *liángōu* 莲钩), or BAMBOO SHOOT ('jade bamboo shoot' *yùsǔn* 玉笋). Metonymical euphemisms could also refer to the salient features of the deformed feet, namely their CURVATIVE ('the thing which is curved like a bow' *gōngwān* 弓弯) and UPWARDS BENT ('bent upwards' *qiào* 翘).

### 5.3.4 Euphemisms for PROSTITUTION (BP-1256–BP-1426)

Conventionally, the direct way to refer to the practice of engaging in sexual activity on a monetary basis in Chinese is ‘selling lechery’ or ‘selling lust’ *màiyín* 卖淫. Chinese dictionaries (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; GF, 2014; XHC, 2016; Zhang, 2010; Zhu, 2018) dealing with various euphemisms for prostitution use this term, which is far from neutral, in their definitions. The meaning of the morpheme ‘excessive’ *yín* 淫 is negatively loaded and, therefore, ‘lascivious’ or ‘wanton’ *yíndàng* 淫荡 and ‘salacious’ or ‘obscene’ *yínhuì* 淫秽 are commonly associated with filth, viciousness, and inappropriateness, such as in ‘lecherous woman’ *yínfù* 淫妇 for a “wanton” woman, ‘lecherous pictures’ *yínhuà* 淫画 for pornographic pictures, ‘lecherous books’ *yínshū* 淫书 for pornographic books, and ‘lechery of hands’ 手淫 for masturbation.

Euphemisms try to avoid the negatively connoted morpheme *yín* 淫, and prostitution is construed as an activity in which one ‘sells one’s body’ *màishēn* 卖身, ‘sells one’s smiles’ *màixiào* 卖笑, ‘leans against the door and sells smiles’ *yǐmén màixiào* 倚门卖笑, and ‘sells one’s spring’ *màichūn* 卖春 (as opposed to ‘buy spring’ *mǎi chūn* 买春 for visiting prostitutes when said of their clients). In the latter expressions, ‘spring’ can either stand for the romantic and sexual desire common during the spring period (‘think of spring’ *sī chūn* 思春 or ‘cherish the spring feeling’ *huái chūn* 怀春 for being in love or sexually awakened) or substitute the ‘wine’ that accompanied any brothel visit in imperial China (‘spring cup’ 春杯 for wine cup or ‘spring table’ 春台 for dining table). Thus, ‘women who sell spring’ *màichūnfù* 卖春妇 or just ‘women of the spring’ *chūnfù* 春妇 denote prostitutes.

In the above-mentioned metaphoric euphemisms, prostitution is understood as a business or occupation, cf. terms with contextually negative connotations such as ‘business of skin and flesh’ *píròu shēngyì* 皮肉生意, ‘life of skin and flesh’ *píròu shēngyá* 皮肉生涯, and ‘lowly occupation’ *jiànyè* 贱业. The compensation for services provided by prostitutes was called ‘money of skin and flesh’ *píròu qián* 皮肉钱, ‘money of flesh’ *ròujīn* 肉金, ‘money for having rest’ or ‘money for staying overnight [with a prostitute]’ *xiēqián* 歇钱, and ‘money for renting a room [to have sex

with a prostitute]’ *xiāngqián* 箱钱. If a prostitute were to get married and leave her occupation, she was said to ‘follow the good [people]’ *cóng liáng* 从良, the morpheme ‘good’ *liáng* 良 referring to the so-called ‘good people’ or ‘good citizens’ *liángmín* 良民 (implicitly contrasted with the ‘people of base status’ or ‘lowly people’ *jiàn mǐn* 贱民, including slaves, criminals, pirates, beggars, actors, and prostitutes) (GC, 2015).

Since prostitution used to be concomitant with social instability, hardships, and precarious living, the metaphor ‘windblown dust’ *fēngchén* 风尘, denoting volatility and the vicissitudes of life, could also describe the reality of sex workers, as in ‘fall into windblown dust’ *duòluò fēngchén* 堕  
落风尘 or *lúnluò fēngchén* 沦落风尘 for becoming a prostitute and ‘women amidst wind and dust’ *fēngchén nǚzǐ* 风尘女子 or *fēngchén nǚláng* 风尘女郎 for prostitutes.

Modern Mandarin does not abandon attempts to find a neutral term for prostitution, devoid of a deprecating or condemning connotation. Calquing English terms, a Chinese speaker might refer to prostitution metonymically as the ‘industry of sex services’ *xìng fúwùyè* 性服务业, ‘sex work’ *xìng gōngzuò* 性工作 (prostitute is therefore a ‘sex worker’ *xìng gōngzuòzhě* 性工作者), or ‘special service’ *tèshū fúwù* 特殊服务. The Japanese loan word ‘compensated dating’ *enjo-kōsai* 援助交际 for the sexual favours and companionship offered by young women to older men in exchange for money or luxury gifts has been also imbibed by Chinese, in both the full form *yuánzhù jiāojiè* 援助交际 and the abbreviated *yuánjiāo* 援交. The providers of these services are termed ‘girls which do *Enjo-kōsai*’ *yuánjiāo mèi* 援交妹 or *yuánjiāo xiǎojiě* 援交小姐.

#### a. Euphemisms for prostitutes and procurers

The term ‘female prostitute’ *jì* 妓 or *chāng* 娼 (earlier with alternative spellings *jì* 伎 and *chāng* 倡) initially designated female performers, including actors, singers, dancers, and acrobats (GC, 2015). The social status of most performing artists in traditional China was extremely low, and this marginalised and discriminated against community was considered outside normative morality and associated with sexual indulgence, including sex for money. Nowadays, *jì* 妓, *jì nǚ* 妓女, *chāng*

娼, and *chāngjī* 娼妓 are all normative terms for prostitutes in Chinese language and lexicography that contain no reference to performing arts and share an apparent derogative connotation. Their alternative spelling variants *jì* 伎 and *chāng* 倡 are prescribed to be used in particular reference to professional performers in ancient times (GF, 2014), such as ‘singer’ *gējì* 歌伎, ‘dancer’ *wǔjì* 舞伎, and ‘entertainers [like musicians, singers, and dancers]’ *chāngyōu* 倡优. Nevertheless, all the above-mentioned terms could be used as euphemisms for prostitutes in the history of Chinese language based on the general-for-specific metonymy PERFORMER FOR PROSTITUTE, as in ‘female performer’ *chāngnǚ* 倡女 and ‘female musician’ *yuèfù* 乐妇.

In a few cases, euphemisms could refer to high-class prostitutes or a women of high social position and profound knowledge of literature entering into sexual relationships for money in a manner comparable to European courtesans (metonymy LITERATI FOR PROSTITUTE). Examples include, ‘[the one who knows] *ci*-poems and *shi*-records’ *císhǐ* 词史 for a prostitute particularly skilled in literature, playing musical instruments, singing (hence the reference to ‘poems’ *cí* 词), playing chess, calligraphy, dancing, as well as possessing wide knowledge of history (hence the reference to ‘historical records’ *shǐ* 史) (HDC, 2010) and ‘scholar who collates texts’ *jiàoshū* 校书 or ‘woman of letters who collates texts’ *nǚ jiàoshū* 女校书, which originate from a title given to a famous courtesan of Tang Dynasty Xue Tao 薛涛, praised for her knowledge of literature, poetic talent, and expertise in collating and revising books (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015). Proper names of famous courtesans can be used to generically refer to prostitutes, such as ‘Lady Xie’ *xiè niáng* 谢娘, which was initially a proper name of a famous female singer and courtesan Xie Qiuniang 谢秋娘 from the house of Chancellor Li Deyu 李德裕 during the reigns of the Emperors Wenzong, Wuzong, and Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty (HDC, 2010; Hong, 2010).

The central and probably most productive metaphors for prostitutes in Chinese are PROSTITUTES ARE FLOWERS and PROSTITUTES ARE TREES. Floral and vegetal metaphors for women in general, celebrating their grace and beauty, were carried over to prostitutes. There is also evidence that supports the strong influence of the poetic tradition on language about prostitutes: ‘flowers in the mist, wind, and moon’ *yān huā fēng yuè* 烟花风月 was a popular image in classical poetry

describing romantic love (HDC, 2010) and therefore sexual encounters, including illicit sexual contact in brothels. Prostitutes were known as ‘flowers’ *huā* 花 (Zhang, 1996, p. 102), ‘flowers in the mist’ *yānhuā* 烟花, ‘women of flowers in the mist’ *yānhuā nǚzǐ* 烟花女子 or *yānhuā nǚ* 烟花女, ‘flower girls’ *huā gūniáng* 花姑娘 or *huā niáng* 花娘, ‘graceful branches’ *chāngtiáo* 倡条, <sup>217</sup> ‘graceful branches and enticing leaves’ *chāngtiáo yěyè* 倡条冶叶, ‘flowers which accompany [a banquet]’ *péihuā* 陪花, ‘dewy flowers and willow catkin in the wind’ *lùhuā fēngxù* 露花风絮, ‘wild flowers and wild grass’ *xiánhuā yěcǎo* 闲花野草 (additional metaphor [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS WILD), ‘willows on the roadside and flowers on the walls’ *lùliǔ qiánghuā* 路柳墙花, *qiánghuā lùliǔ* 墙花路柳 or *qiánghuā liǔ* 墙花柳, and ‘flowers on the walls and grass on the roadside’ 墙花路草 (often said of prostitutes working on the streets). Prostitutes were collectively referred to as ‘the world of flowers’ *huājìè* 花界 or ‘kingdom of flowers’ *huāguó* 花国. A prostitute’s nickname (opposed to her given name) was known as a ‘flower name’ *huāmíng* 花名. Boats that used to carry prostitutes to their clients were called ‘flower boats’ *huāchuán* 花船. Unattractive prostitutes were compared to ‘bindweed’ *gǔzǐhuā* 鼓子花.

For the case of the euphemism ‘pink flowers’ *fěnhuā* 粉花 used to denote prostitutes, HDC (2010) offers a metonymic motivation: originally, this was a term for ‘a flower-like decoration worn by women (not necessarily prostitutes) on their forehead’ resembling plum flowers *méihuā* 梅花 with their distinctive colour. Golden hairpins were another accessory associated with prostitutes, as in ‘persons with golden hairpins’ *jīnchāikè* 金钗客. Prostitutes were known to wear heavy makeup (HDC 2010) such that they were also called ‘rouged flowers’ *yānhuā* 胭花 or ‘rouged girls’ *yānhuānǚ* 胭花女, as well as ‘powdered heads’ (i.e. powdered faces) *fěntóu* 粉头.



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<sup>217</sup> HDC (2010) defines the literal meaning of the term as “soft and various branches of poplars and willows” (杨柳轻柔多姿的枝条). Poplars *yáng* 杨 and willows *liǔ* 柳 are traditional metaphors for concubines and female entertainers at the imperial court at least from the times of the Yuan dynasty (杨树和柳树的并称, 借指侍妾、歌姬).



Based on the above-mentioned poetic term ‘flowers in the mist, wind, and moon’ *yān huā fēng yuè* 烟花风月<sup>218</sup> for sexual encounters, prostitutes could be named ‘moon in the haze’ *yānyuè* 烟月, ‘wind and moon[light]’ *fēngyuè* 风月, and ‘girls of wind and moon[light]’ *fēngyuènǚ* 风月女 (cf. ‘section of wind and moon[light]’ *fēngyuèbǎn* 风月版, which stands for the pornographic section in newspapers).

Prostitutes are metaphorised as CATS (‘kitten’ *māor* 猫儿), FISH (‘yellow fish’ *huángyú* 黄鱼 for prostitutes with natural non-bound feet, which was a specific feature, since bound-feet were a “default” feature before the 20<sup>th</sup> century), and BIRDS (‘chicken’ *jī* 鸡, ‘pheasant’ *yějī* 野鸡, and ‘orioles and swallows’ *yīngyàn* 莺燕<sup>219</sup>). The scenery ‘[singing of] orioles and [blossom of] flowers’ *yīnghuā* 莺花 is associated with spring as the season of sexual awakening and, therefore, figuratively stands for prostitutes.

The rather unusual metaphor PROSTITUTES ARE DICE VALUES (‘throw dice’ *zhì tóuzi* 掷骰子) generated several regional expressions that discerned between prostitutes of different status: ‘one-two’ *yāoèr* 幺二 signifies the lowest value of the thrown dice  and stands for a prostitute of low- or middle-class background while ‘three-three’ or ‘double three’ *chángsān* 长三  signifies a high-value throw of dice and refers to a prostitute of high class.

The metonymies WOMAN FOR PROSTITUTE and GIRL FOR PROSTITUTE are culturally conditioned in the patriarchal Chinese tradition. A good example of the multiple metonymic shifts within one lexeme is the literary term ‘lady guest’ *tángke* 堂客 (as opposed to ‘male guest’ *guānke* 官客) in context of social gatherings. Its meaning was first extended to denote any woman and then further extended to refer to prostitutes (HDC, 2010). Contextually, prostitutes can also be termed ‘sister’ *jiě* 姐, *jiěer* 姐儿, *jiějie* 姐姐, *dàjiě* 大姐, and *xiǎodàjiě* 小大姐; ‘sisters’ *zǐmèi* 姊妹; ‘youngsters’

<sup>218</sup> ‘Flowers in the mist’ *yānhuā* 烟花 can also be taken as a visual metaphor since the sceneries of numerous flowers in blossom could be compared to fog, haze, or mist if seen from afar, though it is not reflected in the examined lexicography.

<sup>219</sup> The motivation behind this term can be explained by various reasons: both birds are ‘spring birds’, and the spring season has a sexual connotation in Chinese. Moreover, orioles are said to be good at singing and swallows are said to be good at dancing, thus referencing singers, dancers, and prostitutes (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhu, 2018; Hong, 2010).

or ‘pupils [of a performing group]’ *dìzǐ* 弟子; ‘girl’ *gūniáng* 姑娘; ‘miss’ 小姐; ‘ice girl’ *bīngmèi* 冰妹 (‘ice’ here stands for methamphetamine *bīngdú* 冰毒—the term is usually applied to young women accompanying guests bars or clubs and offering sexual services together with drugs); and a two-Latin-letter abbreviation ‘MM’, which stands for ‘younger sister’ *mèimei* 妹妹 in Internet slang. Nowadays, the generic term ‘woman’ can be supplemented by moralistic elements, such as ‘a woman who took a wrong step [in life]’ *shīzú fùnǚ* 失足妇女.

The depersonalising metonymy ‘brief note’ *tiáozi* 条子 for outcall prostitutes (cf. the rather direct contemporary term ‘outcall girl’ or ‘call girl’ *yìngzhào nǚláng* 应召女郎) originated from the custom to summon—often in form of a written note—various performers, musician, singers, and prostitutes to join banquets (cf. also ‘summon a prostitute’ *jiào tiáozi* 叫条子 or ‘go out on a summoning note’ *chū tiáozi* 出条子) (HDC, 2010).

Multiple metonymies construe prostitutes without any direct mentioning of sexual services by highlighting their salient features that make them recognisable. This can be done by referring to where they work (‘women leaning against the door’ *yǐménfū* 倚门妇, ‘those who lean against the door’ *yǐménzhě* 倚门者, ‘gatekeepers’ *ménlǐrén* 门里人,<sup>220</sup> ‘women from Pingkang’ 平康女,<sup>221</sup> ‘kiln women’ *yáojiě* 窑姐 or *yáozi gūniang* 窑子姑娘,<sup>222</sup> ‘women of the blue house’ or ‘women of the teal house’ *qīnglóu nǚzǐ* 青楼女子<sup>223</sup>, and ‘street women’ *jiētóu nǚrén* 街头女人), when they work (‘night girls’ *yèdùniáng* 夜度娘), how they work (‘traveling women’ or ‘women on tour’

<sup>220</sup> Several similar euphemistic expressions for prostitutes without a license are depersonalised metonymies ‘hidden door’ *àn ménzi* 暗门子, ‘half-open door’ *bàn kāimén* 半开门 or *bàn ménzi* 半门子. Zhang (1996) detected another elegant euphemism with the door reference—‘a hundred beauties at the doorstep’ *bǎimèi ménīng* 百媚门程 for brothel.

<sup>221</sup> The term originates from the proper name Pingkang 平康, a place in the capital of Tang China Chang’an 长安 where prostitutes used to reside (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018). Brothels are therefore named as ‘Pingkang’ *píngkāng* 平康 or ‘Pingkang lane’ or ‘Pingkang neighborhood’ *píngkāng xiàng* 平康巷, *píngkāng lǐ* 平康里 or *píngkāng fāng* 平康坊 as well as ‘Northern neighborhood’ 北里 since Pingkang was located in the northern part of Chang’an city.

<sup>222</sup> The term ‘kiln’ or ‘coal pit’ *yáo* 窑 or *yáozi* 窑子 is a regional obsolete name for brothel of lower class (GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018).

<sup>223</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 108) notes that teal colour of roofs was generally associated with “luxurious and exquisite” multi-stored buildings (本泛指豪华精美的楼房), which “were built for beautiful women as a place of residence” (为美女所居之楼).

*yóunǚ* 游女 and ‘salt-water girls’ *xiánshuǐmèi* 咸水妹 or *yánshuǐmèi* 盐水妹 who offer services to foreign clients<sup>224</sup>), or how long they have worked (‘young servants’ or ‘pure servants’ *qīng guānrén* 清信人 for young prostitutes who have not yet received customers<sup>225</sup>).

There are very few euphemistic entries found in Chinese for male prostitutes *jìnnán* 妓男 or *nánjì* 男妓. It is important to emphasise that male prostitution in pre-modern China was rarely discerned from [homo]sexual contact between adults and pubescent boys<sup>226</sup>, cf. metonymies ‘beautiful child’ *luántóng* 变童 and ‘[beautiful] face and hair’ *miànshǒu* 面首, initially for boys used as sexual partners and broadly for any male prostitutes irrespective of age. In the past, similarly to female courtesans, male prostitutes were designated ‘young actors’ *xiāngōng* 相公<sup>227</sup> and, in recent times, ‘male dancers’ *wǔnán* 舞男 (PERFORMER FOR PROSTITUTE). They can also be metaphorically referred to as BIRDS (slang term ‘duck’ *yā* 鸭 or *yāzi* 鸭子) and RABBITS (‘rabbit man’ *tùr yé* 兔儿爷 for a boy kept for homosexual practices). The term for gigolos and, contextually, prostitutes that has almost gained orthophemistic status in Chinese is the borrowing ‘midnight cowboy’ *wǔyè niúláng* 子夜牛郎 (or shortly ‘cowboy’ *niúláng* 牛郎), originating from the American movie title *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), directed by John Schlesinger, which depicted the story of a hustler who became a male escort (GC, 2015; Zhu, 2018).

As the general term ‘lechery agent’ or ‘lust broker’ *yínméi* 淫媒 suggests, the practice of arranging clients for prostitutes and maintaining brothels was as marginalised and condemned in Chinese society as prostitution itself.

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<sup>224</sup> The motivation for these figurative terms is controversial. GC (2015) sees *xiánshuǐmèi* 咸水妹 as a borrowing from English ‘handsome maid’ (but this non-semantic explanation seems not to be plausible for *yánshuǐmèi* 盐水妹). HDC (2010) associates the ‘salty water’ in the term for prostitutes with the manner they used to receive their clients on a seagoing ship.

<sup>225</sup> The first experience of a young prostitute is metonymically referred to as a moment when one ‘binds one’s hair into a bun’ *shàng tóu* 上头 or ‘combs one’s hair’ *shū lǒng* 梳拢 (alternative spelling *shū long* 梳栊) or *shū nòng* 梳弄. At the age of 15 girls were considered to be grown-up and ready for marriage, therefore binding girls’ hair into a bun was a symbolic custom to confirm their adulthood (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018).

<sup>226</sup> See abundant examples in Hinsch (1990).

<sup>227</sup> This highly polysemic term could be used to denote ministers, high-ranking officials, scholars, husbands, specifically male actors and therefore male prostitutes (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015).

Colloquial alternatives for “acting as a procurer”, though less literal and direct, retain a negative connotation. The terms ‘pull a leather strap’ *lā pítiao* 拉皮条, *lā pítiaoqiàn* 皮条纤, and *chě pítiao* 扯皮条 imply that procurers *lāpítiaozhě* 拉皮条者 or *pítiaokè* 皮条客 bring people together for illicit sex in a manipulative manner, cf. also ‘pull horses’ *lā mǎ* 拉马 for procuring.

A procuress can be metaphorically termed a BIRD (‘bustard’ *bǎo* 鸨, ‘old bustard’ *lǎobǎo* 老鸨, and ‘buster-mother’ *bǎomǔ* 鸨母), HEAD (‘head of chicks’ *jītóu* 鸡头 in the sense of a leader of a group of prostitutes), and MOTHER (‘mama’ *māma* 妈妈 and ‘respected mama’ *māmāsheng* 妈妈生).

### b. Euphemisms for brothels

Expressions denoting brothels *jìyuàn* 妓院<sup>228</sup> often comply with the way prostitutes are figuratively represented in language.

If prostitutes are metaphorised as FLOWERS and WILLOWS, it is understandable why brothels and red-light districts<sup>229</sup> are euphemistically termed ‘flower markets’ *huāshì* 花市, ‘markets of flowers in mist’ *yānhuāshì* 烟花市, ‘place of flowers in mist’ *yānhuā chǎng* 烟花场 or *huāyān jiān* 花烟间, ‘alley of flowers in mist’ *yānhuā xiàng* 烟花巷, ‘alley of flowers in mist and willows’ *yānhuā liǔxiàng* 烟花柳巷, ‘garden of beautiful spring’ or ‘Lichun garden’ *lìchūn yuán* 丽春园<sup>230</sup> or *lìchūn yuàn* 丽春院, ‘willow alleys’ *liǔxiàng* 柳巷, ‘willow roads’ *liǔmò* 柳陌, ‘flowers and willows’ *huāliǔ* 花柳, ‘house of poplars and willows’ *yángliǔlóu* 杨柳楼 or ‘house of willows’ 柳楼 *liǔlóu*, ‘flowering shrubs’ *huācóng* 花丛, ‘clumps of willows and flowers’ *huāliǔcóng* 花柳丛, ‘houses

<sup>228</sup> The term is historically related to a house of prostitutes and performers of all kinds (Hong, 2010), therefore pre-modern Chinese texts contain various alternative expressions with morphemes ‘singers’, ‘performers’, etc. referring to brothels, including *jìguǎn* 伎馆, *jìlóu* 妓楼, *jìjiā* 妓家, *chànglóu* 倡楼, *chàngguǎn* 倡馆, *chānglóu* 娼楼, *chāngguǎn* 娼馆, *chāngjiā* 娼家, *chāngliáo* 娼寮.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. contemporary Chinese calque ‘red-light district’ *hóngdēngqū* 红灯区.

<sup>230</sup> It is believed to be the name of a residence which belonged to a famous courtesan which was later metonymically extended to denote any residence of female performers and brothels (HDC 2010).

of flowers and willows’ *huāliǔ rénjiā* 花柳人家, ‘place of flowers and willows’ *huāliǔ chǎng* 花柳场, ‘flower yard’ *huāyuàn* 花院, ‘flower terrace’ *huātái* 花台, ‘flower camp’ *huāyíng* 花营 or ‘camp of flowers and willows’ *huāliǔyíng* 花柳营, ‘village of flowers in the mist’ *yānhuāzhài* 烟花寨, ‘rows of flowers in the mist’ *yānhuāzhèn* 烟花阵, ‘flower house’ *huāguǎn* 花馆, ‘gates of flowers and willows’ *huāmén liǔhù* 花门柳户 (also abbreviated *ménhù* 门户), ‘flower lane’ *huā hùtong* 花胡同, and ‘flower street’ *huājīe* 花街. General-for-specific metonymies underpin the euphemisms ‘crooked alley’ *qūxiàng* 曲巷 and ‘narrow side-street’ *xiáxié* 狭邪.

Some euphemistic expressions for brothels are based on the same metaphor that metaphorises prostitutes as BIRDS: ‘nests of orioles and ramparts of swallows’ *yīngcháo yànlěi* 莺巢燕垒, ‘markets of orioles and flowers’ *yīnghuāshì* 莺花市, ‘outposts of orioles and flowers’ *yīnghuāzhài* 莺花寨, and ‘rows of orioles and flowers’ *yīnghuāzhèn* 莺花阵.

If prostitutes are figuratively represented as PERFORMERS of different kinds, then brothels can also be metaphorised as places where performers reside or work. The euphemism ‘household of music’ *yuèhù* 乐户 for brothel referred to an ancient Chinese practice in which the wives and daughters of criminals, as well as women who committed crimes, could be deprived of their property and become so-called ‘prostitutes authorised by the government’ *guānjì* 官妓 who worked at ‘households of music’ and offered sexual services. The practice was financially supported by the government: ‘households of music’ belonged to the Board of Music *yuèbù* 乐部 (GC, 2015). The schools that focused on the teaching, rehearsal, and performance of course music (as opposed the ceremonial music *yǎyuè* 雅乐), dance, and acrobatics in the Tang Dynasty were called *jiàofāng* 教坊, which also became a euphemism for brothels. Palace banquets were frequently accompanied by *guānjì* 官妓, however, this practice was abandoned during the Yongzheng period of the Qing Dynasty (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996; Zhu, 2018).

Another euphemism for brothels, ‘carved balustrades’ *gōulán* 勾栏, originally denoted temporary places for theatrical performances equipped with stages, back stages, audience tents, etc. (‘buy fun at the carved balustrades’ *mǎixiào gōulán* 买笑勾栏 for ‘frequent brothels’). The regional term

‘theatrical troupe’ *bānzi* 班子 can be used to refer to a brothel (interestingly, not to the women who inhabit the brothels, see HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhu, 2018), as well as ‘theatre’ *hángyuàn* 行院 or ‘theatre of flowers in the mist’ *yānhuā hángyuàn* 烟花行院 with its actresses, singers, and performers (particularly said of Jin and Yuan dynasties) (GF, 2014), cf. also ‘head of the theatre’ *hángshǒu* 行首 for the lead prostitute of a brothel.

If prostitutes are simply referred to as ‘sisters’ or ‘girls’, then brothels are naturally called ‘sisters’ households’ *zǐmèi rénjiā* 姊妹人家.

The metonymy SEXUAL FOR RELATED TO PROSTITUTES is common among euphemisms for brothels. ‘Land of clouds and rain’ *yúnyǔxiāng* 云雨乡 emerges naturally from the sexual euphemism ‘clouds and rain’ *yúnyǔ* 云雨 for copulation. Female beauty *měisè* 美色 as an object of desire is the basis of the metonymic euphemism ‘residence of beauty’ *sèfǔ* 色府. Since ‘flowers in the mist, wind, and moon’ *yān huā fēng yuè* 烟花风月 was a popular metaphor for romantic love and sexual relations (HDC, 2010), brothels could be elegantly referred to as ‘moon houses’ *yuèjú* 月局, ‘workshops of moon in the haze’ *yānyuè zuòfāng* 烟月作坊, and ‘places of wind and moon[light]’ *fēngyuè chǎngsuǒ* 风月场所, *fēngyuèsuǒ* 风月所, or *fēngyuèguǎn* 风月馆.

The complex metaphorical expression ‘Tower of Qin and House of Chu’ *qínlóu chǔguǎn* 秦楼楚馆 (alternatively *chǔguǎn qínlóu* 楚馆秦楼 as well in abbreviated forms *qínlóu* 秦楼 and *chǔguǎn* 楚馆) for brothel combines several references. *Chǔguǎn* 楚馆 might be connected to the story of Ruler Xiang of Chu 楚襄王 who met the Goddess of Wushan in his erotic dream (see the discussion on the term *yúnyǔ* 云雨 above). *Qínlóu* 秦楼 refers to the story of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 who built for his daughter Nongyu 弄玉 a beautiful palace—naming it ‘Phoenix Tower’ *fènglóu* 凤楼—where she and her husband Xiao Shi 萧史, a famous musician, enjoyed their lives and played music (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015).<sup>231</sup> Towers are also deployed in more general

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<sup>231</sup> The association between musicians and prostitutes is manifested in language yet again. Moreover, the contemporary regional (Hong Kong and Taiwan) expression ‘phoenix in the tower’ *lóufēng* 楼凤 is used to denote a prostitute who serves her customers in-house and works independently (Zeng, 2008, p. 93).

euphemisms for brothels, such as ‘jade tower’ *yùlóu* 玉楼, ‘green tower’ *cuìlóu* 翠楼, ‘blue tower’ or ‘teal tower’ *qīnglóu* 青楼, and ‘labyrinth-like tower’ *mílóu* 迷楼.

Associated with female beauty, prostitutes’ use of makeup is a point of reference in several euphemisms for brothels, including ‘land of emerald [eyebrow tint] and [cheek] rouge’ *cuǐhóngxiāng* 翠红乡 and ‘[face] powder store’ *fěnfáng* 粉房.

The proper names of famous brothels or areas where prostitutes resided were often used to refer to ordinary brothels. Apart from the above-mentioned Pingkang 平康, brothels were called ‘old courtyard’ *jiùyuàn* 旧院 after a place in Nanjing where prostitutes used to gather in the Ming Dynasty (HDC, 2010; Zhu, 2018) and ‘Zhangtai [Street]’ *zhāngtái* 章台 after a street in ancient Chang’an 长安 that was a famous area for brothels (cf. ‘willows from the Zhangtai [street]’ *zhāngtái liǔ* 章台柳 for prostitutes and ‘go to the Zhangtai [Street] on horseback’ *zǒumǎ zhāngtái* 走马章台 for visit brothels).

In contemporary China, hair salons *xǐtóufáng* 洗头房 or *fàláng* 发廊, foot spa centres *xǐjiǎofáng* 洗脚房, bathing centres *xǐyù zhōngxīn* 洗浴中心, clubhouses *huìsuǒ* 会所, sauna clubs *sāngnǎ huìsuǒ* 桑拿会所, and guest houses *zhāodàisuǒ* 招待所 are commercial service establishments that can sometimes illegally provide sex services in a manner similar to brothels.

### c. Euphemisms for visiting prostitutes and frequenting brothels

Brothel visitors *piáokè* 嫖客 are usually construed as GUESTS. A prostitute is said to ‘receive guests’ *jiē kè* 接客. Brothel visitors are euphemistically known as ‘guests with brocade headbands’ *chántóukè* 缠头客.<sup>232</sup> They are also perceived as BUYERS, as in the emerging orthophemism ‘sex service buyer’ *xìngfúwù gòumǎizhě* 性服务购买者 and the euphemisms ‘buy spring’ *mǎi chūn* 买

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<sup>232</sup> This term is based on the custom in imperial China to reward actors, singers, and prostitutes with brocade headbands *chántóu* 缠头 (HDC, 2010; Zhang, 1996).

春, ‘buy smiles’ or ‘buy fun’ *mǎi xiào* 买笑, ‘buy fun and seek pleasures’ *mǎi xiào zhuī huān* 买笑追欢, and ‘buy hours’ *mǎi zhōng* 买钟 for pay prostitutes on an hourly basis.

Just as in the case of brothels, the euphemisms for visiting prostitutes and having sex for money normally depend on how prostitutes are conceptualised in language.

The central metaphors PROSTITUTES ARE FLOWERS and PROSTITUTES ARE WILLOWS underpin the following metaphorical expressions for frequenting brothels: ‘search for fragrance’ *xún fāng* 寻芳 (cf. also ‘guests who is searching for fragrance’ *xún fāng kè* 寻芳客 for brothel visitors), ‘pick flowers and trample the grass’ *niān/nián huā rě cǎo* 拈花惹草, ‘trample grass and pick flowers’ *rě cǎo niān/nián huā* 惹草拈花, ‘pick flowers and pluck grass’ *niān/nián huā zhāi cǎo* 拈花摘草, ‘beckon flowers and trample grass’ *zhāo huā rě cǎo* 招花惹草, ‘pick flowers and pluck [tree] leaves’ *niān/nián huā zhāi yè* 拈花摘叶, ‘walk along willows and flowers’ *bàng liǔ suí huā* 傍柳随花, ‘break off flowers and willows’ *pān huā zhē liǔ* 攀花折柳, ‘sleep among flowers and willows’ *mián huā sù liǔ* 眠花宿柳, ‘visit flower houses’ *chuàn huā jiā* 串花家, ‘seek flowers and ask willows’ *xún huā wèn liǔ* 寻花问柳, ‘be obsessed with flowers and infatuated with willows’ *míhuā liànliǔ* 迷花恋柳, and ‘enter the flower terrace’ *shàng huātái* 上花台.

Apart from floral imagery, since prostitutes are metaphorised as ANIMALS, their clients ‘catch pheasants’ *dǎ yějī* 打野鸡, ‘play with swallows and flirt with orioles’ *nòngyàn diào yīng* 弄燕调莺, and ‘crawl through a doghole’ *zuān gǒudòng* 钻狗洞. The connotation of ‘going wild’ for illicit sexual relations is also preserved in the term ‘go on a hike’ *yěyóu* 冶游 (cf. the homophonous ‘go on a hike in the countryside’ *yěyóu* 野游).

Prostitutes can also be metonymically represented by their makeup and accessories such that brothel visitors are said to be ‘attracted by [eyebrows] covered by emerald tint and lean to rouged [cheeks]’ *yǐcuǐ wēihóng* 倚翠偎红 or be ‘attracted by jade and lean to fragrance’ *yǐyù wēixiāng* 倚玉偎香.



Visiting prostitutes can be also expressed in metonymies that highlight parallel sub-events occurring either before or after the main event of receiving sexual services. Clients of prostitutes are said to ‘drink tea and eat fish’ *hē chá chī yú* 喝茶吃鱼 and ‘drink wine [accompanied by] flowers’ (i.e. by female performers and prostitutes) *chī huā jiǔ* 吃花酒 or *huā jiǔ* 花酒.

### 6.3.5 Euphemisms for EXCRETION (BE-1427–BE-1527, BM-1528–BM-1560)

The thematic distribution of Chinese euphemisms for the excreta of the human body is extremely disproportionate. Most found expressions relate to the so-called ‘toilet vocabulary’ of urination, defecation, and menstruation, while all other bodily fluids and matters (non-menstrual blood, belched breath, saliva, tears, snot, semen, sweat, pus, nail-parings, skin parings, hair-clippings, breast milk, vomit) are either not conventionally euphemised at all or only very scarcely represented in euphemisms. Most likely, this can be explained by the interconnectedness of effluvia with taboo body parts. In the study of Allan and Burridge on body parts and bodily substances (1991, pp. 69–74), while informants displayed the highest degree of restraint when mentioning the genitals and anus, they found faeces, urine, menstrual blood, and semen most “revolting”.<sup>233</sup>

Human blood, when not related to menstrual blood, could be metonymically referred to as ‘red [substance]’ *hóng* 红, as in ‘spit red [substance]’ *tùhóng* 吐红 for spitting blood. Similarly, the archaic expression ‘red ice’ *hóngbīng* 红冰<sup>234</sup> could denote blood and sweat. Saliva in Classical Chinese texts could be elegantly referred to as ‘jade spring’ *yùquán* 玉泉 or ‘fragrant fluid’ *fāngjīn* 芳津; the generic term ‘generate fluid’ *shēngjīn* 生津 could designate both salivating and shedding tears.<sup>235</sup> The metaphors ‘nasal dragon’ *bílong* 鼻龙 and ‘jade chopsticks’ *yùzhù* 玉箸<sup>236</sup> stand for snot. ‘Yin essence’ *yīnjīng* 阴精 stands for semen.

<sup>233</sup> The only exception is the broad lack of distaste for the oral orifice (the mouth is judged “freely mentionable” in speech by 97% of informants). On the other hand, they found vomit highly “revolting” (over 80% of subjects gave it the highest “revoltingness” rating).

<sup>234</sup> ‘Red ice’ could also refer to tears caused by grief (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996).

<sup>235</sup> ‘Fluid’ 津 served a generic term for any transparent bodily fluid, including saliva, sweat, and tears.

<sup>236</sup> This term is based on the physical similarity between thin chopsticks and the traces or lines left by tears. In Buddhist texts, the term may also refer to the hanging snot of a monk at the moment of his death (HDC, 2010; Zhang, 1996).

Interestingly, a number of found euphemisms related to bodily fluids are gender sensitive, most often used exclusively in relation to women. Women's tears were known as 'red tears' *hónglèi* 红泪<sup>237</sup> ('red' in Chinese often stands for beauty, especially feminine beauty), 'powder tears' *fěnlèi* 粉泪, and 'jade tears' *yùtí* 玉啼. Women's sweat had various euphemistic designations, including 'jade sweat' *yùhàn* 玉汗, 'powder sweat' *fěnhàn* 粉汗, 'red sweat' *hónghàn* 红汗,<sup>238</sup> or 'fragrant sweat' *xiānghàn* 香汗.

#### a. Euphemisms for urination and defecation (BE-1427–BE-1527)

The direct terms 'shit' *shǐ* 屎 and 'pee' *niào* 尿, both as physiological processes and bodily waste, have many alternative expressions in Chinese. A very early euphemism for excrement, 'convenience' or 'ease' *biàn* 便 (DEFECATION/URINATION IS A RELIEF<sup>239</sup>), has gained orthophemistic status in contemporary Mandarin Chinese: nowadays, 'big convenience' *dàbiàn* 大便 and 'small convenience' *xiǎobiàn* 小便 stand as neutral or formal designations for faeces or defecation and urine or urination, respectively. 'Comfort' 方便, as in 'I will go and make [myself] comfortable' or 'I will go and have some convenience' 我去方便一下, has become the most standard way to express one's need to go to the toilet. Other euphemisms that contain the morpheme *biàn* 便 are various designations of chamber pot: 'convenience bucket' *biàntǒng* 便桶 or 'convenience pot' *biànhú* 便壶 (vs. *niàotǒng* 尿桶 and *niàohú* 尿壶), 'convenience bowl' *biànpén* 便盆 (vs. *niàopén* 尿盆), 'convenience device' *biànqì* 便器. Toilet can be referred to as 'convenience room' or 'convenience place' *biànsuǒ* 便所, and urination/defecation can be euphemised as 'excuse oneself and [go to make oneself] convenient' *gàobiàn* 告便, '[make oneself]

<sup>237</sup> According to a legend found in *Shi Yi Ji* 《拾遗记, 卷七》, Cao Pi 曹丕, who ruled as Wei Wendi 魏文帝, fell in love with a beautiful lady Xue Lingyun 薛灵芸. When Lady Xue left her parents, she wet her clothes with tears and carried her tears around in a red jade spittoon. When she arrived at the capital, her tears in the spittoon coagulated like blood (HDC, 2010; GC, 2015; Zhang, 1996).

<sup>238</sup> Cosmetic rouge applied on a face is associated with women. Once mixed with rouge, women's sweat turned red (HDC 2010).

<sup>239</sup> Allan and Burridge (1991, pp. 79-81) call these metaphors EASEMENT and PLACE FOR EASEMENT found in English terms for urination or defecation and lavatories, respectively.

convenient’ *biànlì* 便利. ‘[Make oneself] convenient quickly’ *biànxuán* 便旋 stood in Classical Chinese for ‘urinate’.<sup>240</sup>

The original meaning of *biàn* 便 as faeces is still noticeable in the euphemism ‘faeces and urine’ or ‘defecate and urinate’ *biànniào* 便溺: this Classical Chinese expression opposes the colloquial *shǐniào* 屎尿 in a similar way as the Latin-based words in English “urine” or “urinate” and “faeces” or “defecate” are opposed to the informal “pee” and “shit”.

Other euphemisms with the same metaphor DEFECATION/URINATION IS A RELIEF are the literary expressions ‘release one’s hands’ *jiěshǒu* 解手 and ‘release waste’ *jiěsōu* 解漚. If the urge to go to the toilet is termed ‘the internal urge’ *nèijí* 内急 (alternatively ‘inner press’ *nèibī* 内逼 or *nèipò* 内迫), then the act itself can be referred to as ‘solving the [problem] of the internal urge’ *jiějué nèijí* 解决内急.

Defecation and urination are often linguistically construed in terms of the general-for-specific metonymy GOING TO TOILET FOR DEFECATING/URINATING, avoiding any further details on what exactly happens there. The contemporary Chinese ‘go to the washroom’ *qù xǐshǒujiān* 去洗手间 (also known as ‘hygienic room’ *wèishēngjiān* 卫生间 and ‘washing room’ *guànxǐshì* 盥洗室) and the Classical Chinese ‘go to the toilet’ *rúcè* 如厕 or ‘ascend to the toilet’ *dēngcè* 登厕 do not elaborate on the goal of this journey. The word for toilet can be omitted as well, as in ‘go out’ *chūqù* 出去 for urinating or defecating. The expression ‘go out with respect’ *chūgōng* 出恭 for going to the lavatory originates from the Yuan and Ming Dynasty custom to give examinees at state exams special cards or tablets saying ‘go out with respect’ 出恭 and ‘enter with reverence’ 入敬, which regulated how examinees had to exit classrooms and enter toilets (GF, 2014; Zhu, 2018). Old-style private schools have adopted this tradition (Zhu, 2018). The chamber pot can therefore be termed the ‘pot of respect’ *gōngtǒng* 恭桶.

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<sup>240</sup> Zhang (1996, p. 63) interprets the second morpheme *xuán* 旋 as ‘quickly’ (指时间短促).

Several metonymies describe the circumstances and sub-events preceding, succeeding, or accompanying urination/defecation: ‘get up and squat down’ *qǐjū* 起居, ‘get up at night’ *qǐyè* 起夜 (cf. ‘night pot’ *yèhú* 夜壶 and ‘night bowl’ *yèpénr* 夜盆儿 for chamber pot), ‘wash hands’ *jìngshǒu* 净手 (cf. ‘pot of cleanliness’ *jìngtǒng* 净桶 for chamber pot), ‘change clothes’ *gēngyī* 更衣, and ‘freshen one’s makeup’ *bǔzhuāng* 补妆. The highest degree of generalisation can be found in the euphemism ‘do business’ *bàngōng* 办公 for defecating or urinating.

The one-shot metaphor ‘draw a map’ *huà dìtú* 画地图 serves a contemporary euphemism for ‘wet one’s bed’ (Zhang, 1996).

Several archaic metonymies for toilet are based on its location in the traditional Chinese residence, namely in a complex’s eastern corner: ‘eastern cleaning [places]’ *dōngjìng* 东净, ‘eastern office’ *dōngsī* 东司, and ‘eastern toilet rooms’ *dōngqīng* 东圜. To go to the toilet is therefore to ‘ascend to the East’ *dēngdōng* 登东.

The common construction material for low-quality toilets and toilet pits ‘straw’ *máo* 茅 can be found in many slightly obsolete euphemisms: ‘straw toilet’ *máocè* 茅厕, ‘straw office’ *máosī* 茅司, ‘straw pit’ *máokēng* 茅坑 (which can denote both a real pit used as a toilet and a toilet room of low quality), and ‘straw room’ *máofáng* 茅房.

Differentiation between urination and defecation in euphemisms can also be done by using numerals—‘go number one’ 上一号 for urinate and ‘go number two’ 上二号 for defecate—or by using one of the words in the opposition SMALL/BIG. Respectively, urination is a ‘small relief’ *xiǎojiě* 小解 and defecation is a ‘big relief’ *dàjiě* 大解; ‘go small number’ *shàng xiǎohào* 上小号 and ‘go out with small respect’ *chū xiǎogōng* 出小恭 stand for urinate while ‘go big number’ *shàng dàhào* 上大号和 ‘go out with great respect’ *chū dàgōng* 出大恭 stand for defecate. Urine is also euphemised as ‘small water’ *xiǎoshuǐ* 小水 and urination as ‘leave small [waste]’ *xiǎoyí* 小遗.

There are a few conventional euphemisms for flatulence and flatus associated with the word ‘air’ or ‘gas’, such as ‘release air’ *fàngqì* 放气, ‘leak air’ *xièqì* 泄气, ‘emit air’ *xiàqì* 下气, and ‘go out with empty respect’ *chū xūgōng* 出虚恭. ‘Dirty air’ *zhuóqì* 浊气 stands for gas from the anus.

Excrement is also metaphorised as DIRT (‘big dirt’ *dàhuì* 大秽 and ‘big waste’ *dàsōu* 大溲 for faeces and ‘small waste’ 小溲, ‘dirty [matter]’ *hùnzhī* 溷汁 for urine; ‘vessel for dirt’ *xièqì* 褻器 or *huìqì* 秽器 and ‘bucket for waste’ *yútǒng* 余桶 for chamber pots and similar toilet fittings; and ‘dirty hedge’ *hùnfan* 溷藩 or ‘dirty house’ *hùnxuān* 溷轩 for toilet), GOLD (‘yellow gold’ *huángjīn* 黄金 for faeces and ‘golden juice’ *jīnzhī* 金汁 for excrements used as fertilisers), FOOD (‘corn pancake’ *bābā* 粑粑 for faeces, especially in children’s speech), and SCENT (‘nocturnal fragrance’ *yèxiāng* 夜香 for faeces).

Graphic decomposition and character substitution with homophones are possible mechanisms used in euphemisms for human excretion. The character ‘excrements’ *fèn* 糞 can be decomposed as a string of three characters ‘rice’, ‘field’, ‘together’ *mǐtiángòng* 米田共 written in traditional Chinese (in simplified Chinese, this shorthand does not work, cf. 粪). The euphemism ‘leave an arrow’ *yíshǐ* 遗矢 stands for defecation (based on the homophony of ‘arrow’ *shǐ* 矢 and ‘shit’ *shǐ* 屎).

#### **b. Euphemisms for Menstruation (BM-1528–BM-1560)**

The standard ways to refer to menstruation in Chinese are ‘monthly cycle’ *yuèjīng* 月经 or *xíngjīng* 行经. Apart from these orthophemisms, the term *bàn* 姘 or *bànbiàn* 姘变 used to denote menses<sup>241</sup> in Classical Chinese—nowadays, however, it is considered obsolete (Zhu, 2018). Euphemisms also highlight the cyclicity or regularity of monthly menstruation: menses are termed the ‘[certain] time of the month’ *yuèhòu* 月候, ‘several days of the month’ *yuèshù* 月数, ‘regularity’ *jīngxìn* 经

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<sup>241</sup> *Shuowen Jiezi* 《说文解字·女部》 associates menses with “a woman being dirty” (姘: 婦人汚也。). GC (2015) quotes *Regulations of the Han [Dynasty]* 《汉律》, which prohibited menstruating women from participating in sacrificial offerings to gods or ancestors.

信 or *gēngxìn* 庚信, ‘enter the month’ *rùyue* 入月, and ‘monthly regularity’ *yuèxìn* 月信. Menstrual blood is referred to as ‘monthly waters’ *yuèshuǐ* 月水 or ‘regularly waters’ *xìnshuǐ* 信水.

Menses are metaphorised as HOLIDAY (‘regular holidays’ *lìjià* 例假), GUEST (‘monthly guest’ *yuèkè* 月客), BLESSING (‘auspicious sign for having offspring’ *zǐsūnrùi* 子孙瑞), ILLNESS (‘the sickness of concubine Cheng’ *chéngjīzhījí* 程姬之疾<sup>242</sup> and the contextual expression ‘not feel well’ *bù shūfú* 不舒服), TRAFFIC LIGHT (‘red light went on’ *hóngdēng liàng le* 红灯亮了 and ‘run a red light’ *chuǎng hóngdēng* 闯红灯 for having sex with a menstruating woman), RELATIVE (‘big aunt has come’ *dà yímā lái le* 大姨妈来了 and ‘mama Chen’ *Chén māma* 陈妈妈), and FRIEND (‘good friend has come’ *hǎopéngyou lái le* 好朋友来了 and ‘old friend has come’ *lǎopéngyou lái le* 老朋友来了).

Metonymies that are focused on the sub-events of or circumstances around menses without explicitly mentioning them are also common, as in menstruation is the time of ‘cleaning [one’s body] and changing [one’s clothes]’ *xǐhuàn* 洗换 (cf. “when menses come, women have to wash themselves and change their clothes” 妇女月经来时, 需洗身换衣, GC, 2015).

Traditional Chinese medicine deployed a special term ‘substance *tianguǐ*’ *tiānguǐ* 天葵 or *tiānguǐshuǐ* 天葵水 (abbreviated *guǐshuǐ* 葵水)—“a substance which promotes reproductive function” (一种促进生殖功能的物质, GC 2015)—to refer specifically to menstruation.

One of the central metaphors for menses in Chinese is MENSTRUATION IS A TIDE. HDC (2010), in its entry for ‘monthly regularity’ *yuèxìn* 月信 for menses, interprets menstruation as a process “happening monthly and being regular similarly to tides” (按月而至, 如潮有信). GC (2015)

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<sup>242</sup> This term is based on a historical anecdote found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* 《史记·五宗世家》: Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Han Dynasty summoned his beloved concubine Cheng 程姬 to spend a night with her, however, Cheng did not feel well, supposedly due to her period, and therefore sent her maid instead.

gives the same interpretation: “tides rise and fall in a fixed cycle, and so is women’s menstruation” (潮汐的涨退有固定的周期，而女子的月经亦是). This explains the motivation behind various euphemisms, including ‘tide comes’ *láicháo* 来潮 denoting the beginning of menses, ‘first tide’ *chūcháo* 初潮 for one’s first menstruation, ‘red tide’ *hóngcháo* 红潮, and ‘regular time of the tide’ *cháoxìn* 潮信.

The metonymy RED FOR MENSTRUAL BLOOD underpins various figurative expressions related to menses: ‘little red has come’ *xiǎohóng lái le* 小红来了, ‘red has come’ *láihóng* 来红, and ‘red has come in one’s body’ *shēnshang lái hóng* 身上来红 (also in the abbreviated form ‘in one’s body’ *shēnshàng* 身上).

Finally, menstruation can be metonymically substituted by the highly generic terms ‘processes’, ‘things’ or ‘circumstances’, as in ‘physiological period’ *shēnglǐqī* 生理期, ‘do good things’ *gàn hǎoshì* 干好事, ‘monthly things’ *yuèshì* 月事, and ‘special circumstances’ *tèshū qíngkuàng* 特殊情况. The highest degree of ambiguity is reached in the expression ‘that one of hers has come’ *tāde nàge lái le* 她的那个来了.

## **6. Revised typology of euphemistic mechanisms based on Chinese data**

The present chapter examines how the collected Chinese language material (see the annotated database with over 1,500 tactful expressions given in the appendix)—analysed in detail in Chapter 5—corresponds to the typology of euphemistic mechanisms in English summarised in Chapter 3. The following attempts to integrate the results of the research and introduce tactful expressions into the general discussion on euphemisms in anglophone linguistics and the existing classification models adopted by language scholars of English.

Many typological features of Chinese morphology are briefly presented below: while this summary may already be familiar to sinologists, it could be helpful for readers who do not specialise in Chinese linguistics.

Among the conventional euphemisms in Chinese assembled for this project, there are very few entries that were formed solely by formal means. Even if euphemisms were created in non-semantic ways, they were supported by semantic shifts in the vast majority of cases. In order to illustrate some of the formal mechanisms of euphemistic word-building, one must turn to examples of Chinese Internet slang (euphemisms of digital communication), which are not codified in monolingual Chinese lexicography. In each such case, this is separately emphasised.

One of the central discoveries of this study on the representation of tactful expressions in Chinese lexicography is that Chinese euphemisms are, for the most part, manifestations of universal metaphoric and metonymic shifts found across typologically dissimilar languages. Only a small number of euphemistic expressions are specifically Chinese due to certain historical and cultural conditions or unique literary references.

While reduplication was not mentioned in Chapter 3 as a specific word-building device in Chinese, it was added to the discussion below (Chapter 6.1.4). On the other hand, the litotic and hyperbolic euphemisms thematised in Chapter 3 were not discerned here, since they can be interpreted as either metaphoric or metonymic shifts.



## 6.1 Non-semantic euphemisation

### 6.1.1 Compounding

Compounding is a leading word-formation strategy in Chinese. Mandarin Chinese is traditionally viewed as an isolating and analytic language (Norman, 1998, p. 10). Isolation implies an approximate 1, p. 1 ratio between words and morphemes, thus grammatical categories are represented by separate functional words. A purely isolating language is supposed to lack inflectional morphemes or internal changes that convey grammatical relationships. As the Dutch linguist Geert E. Booij (2012, p. 42) points out, isolating languages “do not make use of morphology at all, except for compounds”.<sup>243</sup>

It is typical for morphemes in isolating languages to retain their phonological shape regardless of whether they are used as words in a sentence or appear together with other morphemes in a compound word. Significantly, Chinese morphemes “undergo virtually no morphophonemic alternation” (Packard, 2015, p. 263) as well.

The extreme analyticism<sup>244</sup> of Mandarin Chinese, together with the peculiarities of its writing system, leads to extreme ambiguity regarding the concept “word” and its length: there are no uniform standards of word segmentation (Tsou & Kwong, 2015, p. 604) and “no indication of word boundaries” (Norman, 1998, p. 155). For native speakers, Chinese characters, which normally represent morphemes, turn out to be a “more intuitive concept than a word” (Sun, 2006, p. 46). A plausible definition of words in Chinese was given by Jerome L. Packard (2015, p. 263): a Chinese word is a syntactically free form that “can stand independently in a syntactic slot”.

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<sup>243</sup> Languages of this type do not make use of all possibilities listed by researchers as a “catalogue of morphological operations”, including concatenation, root-and-pattern morphology, paradigmatic word formation, etc. Instead, grammatical relationships in such languages are shown analytically—by the use of grammatical functors, i.e. particles, prepositions, clitics, and word order.

<sup>244</sup> The degree of analyticism/syntheticism in languages is relative, and Mandarin Chinese (undoubtedly highly analytical) demonstrates a few cases of inflection atypical of isolating languages, cf. inflectional affixation in Mandarin Chinese nouns (plural inflectional affix *men* 们; agentive *zhe* 者) and verbs (perfective *le* 了, experiential *guo* 过, imperfective *zhe* 着), infixation found in potential complement constructions (infixes *de* 得 and *bù* 不), and unproductive intrasyllabic tonal change (i.e. ‘to measure’ *liáng* 量 – ‘quantity’ *liàng* 量). However, these cases are sparse (Norman, 1998, pp. 154-155, 159) since the number of inflectional affixes is “exceedingly small” (Packard, 2015, p. 271) and they are used “in optional manner” (Sun, 2006, p. 64).

Simple words are free morphemes that can stand independently in an utterance “to represent a grammatical form class category” (a part of speech) and strings of several morphemes of any status are termed ‘complex words’ (compounds, bound root words, derived words, and inflected words). If a form cannot occur in an utterance without the support of some additional language material, it is a bound morpheme: either a bound root or an affix.

Apart from the blurred line between word and morpheme in Chinese, an observer might be confused by the “categorical ambiguity” of Chinese words (Tsou & Kwong, 2015, p. 605). An extreme example of this categorial fluidity is the performance of the compound *fānyì* 翻译, which can be used nominally (as a product ‘translation’ or an agent ‘translator’), verbally (‘to translate’), and adjectivally (‘translational’) without any morphological transformations. Thus, grammatical categories are based on their semantics (what Packard (2015, pp. 266-267) terms the “intrinsic nominal, verbal, and adjectival meanings”; “innate meanings”; “basic meanings”; and “default speech identity”) and their syntactic behaviour in a sentence, remaining pre-defined in the long run. Part of speech tagging in Chinese has not yet been unified, which poses “a dilemma not only for the language users and learners but also for comparative and practical analysis of the Chinese language, including machine translation and other natural language processing efforts” (Tsou & Kwong, 2015, p. 606).

Another important typological characteristic of Chinese is its morphemic monosyllabism (Norman, 1998, p. 8). Polysyllabic morphemes are extremely rare, i.e. ‘toad’ *háma* 蛤蟆. This should not be confused with lexical monosyllabism, which was a distinctive feature of Classical Chinese. Contemporary Chinese words are polysyllabic: Sun Chaofen (2006, p. 50) cites data that indicates that 61% of the 3,000 most commonly used Chinese words are disyllabic. This dominance of disyllabic words can be explained by productive morphological compounding that occurred in the last millennia.

Compounding, or composition, is a word-formation mechanism that occurs when two or more compositional units are themselves free morphemes, bound roots, or combinations of both: ‘ice-mountain’ *bīngshān* 冰山 for iceberg (the compound is formed with two free morphemes), ‘ice-hail’ *bīngbáo* 冰雹 for hail (the compound is formed with a free and a bound morpheme) and

‘wheel-chair’ *lúnyǐ* 轮椅 for wheelchair (the compound is formed with two bound morphemes). It is usually recognised as “the most productive process of word formation” in Modern Mandarin (Norman, 1998, p. 156).

Since compounding represents the most productive model of word formation in Chinese, most Chinese euphemisms are formal compounds as well. Nevertheless, we still consider Chinese euphemistic compounds to be semantically motivated words.

There are two possible scenarios for the semantic shifts that occur in Chinese euphemistic compounds: (1) the semantic change happens simultaneously with the process of compounding and (2) the semantic change happens at a later stage in the form of an extension of the word’s literal meaning.

The term ‘women who stand in the street’ *zhànjiēnǚ* 站街女 (BP-1422) for prostitutes is an example of the first scenario. It is formally a compound, consisting of three free morphemes: *stand* 站, *street* 街, and *woman* 女.<sup>245</sup> However, this is never used in its literal meaning since there is no special designation for women who solely stand in the street for whatever reason. It is only found as a conventional euphemism for prostitutes—a case of metonymic semantic change (salient-property-for-category metonymy STANDING IN THE STREET FOR BEING A PROSTITUTE), which co-occurs with the process of compounding.

The euphemism ‘close one’s eyes’ *héyǎn* 合眼 (DD-0169) for dying exemplifies the second scenario. As a compound of two morphemes—‘close’ *hé* 合 and ‘eyes’ *yǎn* 眼—it is used in its literal meaning:

- (1) 五更天了,他还没合眼。

It was already dawn time, but he hasn’t got a wink of sleep yet (GF 2014).

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<sup>245</sup> The final morpheme ‘woman’ *nǚ* 女 is qualified by some researchers as a derivational affix that refers to a group of women with a particular set of characteristics shared by all members of the group, as in ‘high-position-girls’ *gāozhí nǚ* 高职女 for well-paid female white-collars (cf. Tsou & Kwong, 2015, p. 612).

The meaning of this compound can be then extended to denote death (this figurative meaning is identified in the major Chinese dictionaries HDC 2010, GF 2014, and XHC 2016):

(2) 几经深思下，他终于决定替女儿找个优秀的男人当丈夫，如此以来他才能安心撒手合眼。

After many thoughts, he finally decided to find a good man for his daughter to be her husband. Only then can he die peacefully (lit. “let his hands go and close his eyes”) (BCC).

In (2), compounding was not involved in the formation of the euphemism: it is a pure semantic shift, drawing upon the salient-property-for-category metonymy CLOSING ONE’S EYES FOR DYING with possible influence of the metaphor DEATH IS SLEEP.

### 6.1.2 Derivational affixation

Unlike compounding, derivational morphology through affixation in Chinese is restricted. Only a few word-formative affixes attained their grammaticalised status: suffixes *zi* 子, *er* 儿, *tou* 头<sup>246</sup>, *dù* 度, *huà* 化, *xìng* 性, *yuán* 员, and *xué* 学; prefixes *lǎo* 老, *dì* 第, *chū* 初, *ā* 阿, *fù* 复, etc. New partially grammaticalised prefixoids and suffixoids still emerge in contemporary language, (cf. ‘tribe’ *zú* 族 in ‘office workers’ or ‘salary people’ *shàngbānzú* 上班族 and ‘taxpayers’ *nàshuìzú* 纳税族) some under influence of English (cf. ‘zero’ *líng* 零 in ‘zero-cost’ *língchéngběn* 零成本 and ‘zero-tolerance’ *língróngrěn* 零容忍.)<sup>247</sup> These derivational elements are used irregularly such that Chinese affixes are often labelled “quasi” (Norman, 1998, p. 156) or “derivation-like” (Sun, 2006). Chinese affixes constitute a class of morpheme that “possess[es] certain affixal properties (namely, they are bound and productive in forming words), but encode[s] lexical rather than grammatical information” (Packard, 1997, p. 17).

There are only a few cases of derivational affixation among collected euphemisms. As in the case of compounding, this formal process is accompanied by semantic changes. The nominalising prefix *xiǎo* 小 (as in ‘burglar’ *xiǎotōu* 小偷 and ‘peddler’ *xiǎofàn* 小贩) was used to build the euphemisms ‘little-third’ *xiǎosān* 小三 (BN-1159) for mistress (supported by the metonymic shift

<sup>246</sup> Tone reduction might be interpreted as a further step in the grammaticalisation of these units.

<sup>247</sup> The examples are taken from Tsou & Kwong (2015, p. 611). A nuanced account of lexical derivation in Chinese can be found in the monograph of Giorgio F. Arcodia (2012).

THIRD FOR LOVER) and ‘little-secret’ *xiǎomì* 小秘 (BN-1158b) for mistress at work (likely supported by the abbreviation ‘secretary’ *mìshū* 秘书 to ‘secret’ *mì* 秘). The suffixoid ‘circles’ or ‘world’ *jiè* 界 (as in ‘scientific circles’ *kēxuéjiè* 科学界 and ‘diplomatic circles’ *wàijiāojiè* 外交界) was used to refer to the world of prostitution as ‘flower-world’ *huājiè* 花界 (BP-1303). The above-mentioned suffixoid “tribe” in ‘tribe with silver hair’ *yínfāzú* 银发族 (DO-0773) for the elderly.

It is important to differentiate between the cases of derivational affixation involved in the process of forming euphemisms (as described in the previous paragraph) and those cases of affixation that have no relation to euphemisation. Euphemisms containing the common nominaliser *zi* 子 were not built through affixation; instead, they are solely products of semantic shifts. This can be illustrated in the case of the term ‘hammer’ *chuízi* 锤子 (BG-1182), which is used in both its literal meaning of a tool with a heavy metal head and its contextual euphemistic meaning of a human penis. The derivational affixation already occurred at the early stage of forming its literal meaning TOOL and is not relevant in terms of its euphemistic meaning PENIS. This euphemism is a product of a metaphorical shift.

### 6.1.3 Onomatopoeia

Very few expressions found for this project are of echoic origin. These sound-imitative words denote sex, resembling the accelerated heavy breathing typical of sexual intercourse *hēixiū* 嘿咻 (BS-0943) or the clapping sounds common to sexual acts *pāpāpā* or *piāpiāpiā* 啪啪啪 (BS-0968), cf. English term ‘bang’ with the same meaning and linguistic motivation. While none of these onomatopoeic euphemisms for sex originating from Internet slang are codified in dictionaries, they can be easily found in the text corpus:

- (2) 他满脑子只想着跟她“嘿咻、嘿咻”，都没有顾虑到她的感受！

The only thing he had on his mind was just having “uugh-uugh” with her, he didn’t care at all about her feelings! [BCC].

- (3) 你在夜里思念她时她却在和别的男的在做着“啪啪啪”的事情 <...>。

When you miss her at nights, she is doing “bang-bang-bang” stuff with other guys [BCC].

### 6.1.4 Reduplication

The morphological process of complete repetition of morphemes to convey new meaning (either lexical or grammatical) is common in Chinese.<sup>248</sup> However, there are very few euphemistic entries in the collected data that are based on derivational reduplication. While ‘love-love’ *àiai* 爱爱 (BS-0889) for have sex (accompanied by metonymic shift ROMANTIC FOR SEXUAL) is not codified in dictionaries, it can be found in the text corpus:

(4) 老公总半夜叫醒我和他爱爱。

My husband always wakes me up in the middle of the night for [making] love [BCC].

Lexicographic entries based on derivational reduplication include the contemporary childish words ‘chicken-chicken’ *jījī* 鸡鸡 (BG-1196) and ‘cow-cow’ *niúniú* 牛牛 (BG-1213b) for penis and, especially, the pre-pubescent penis (accompanied by the metaphorical shifts MALE GENITALS ARE BIRDS/MALE GENITALS ARE ANIMALS) and the archaic term ‘wet-wet’ *shīshī* 湿湿 (BE-1501) for urinate (supported by the metonymic shift LIQUID FOR URINE). Reduplication can be a salient feature of child speech or its imitation, which often deploys euphemisms, cf. ‘egg-egg’ *dàndàn* 蛋蛋 (BG-1183b) for testicles:

(5) 公狗狗有两颗“小蛋蛋”。

Male doggie has [normally] two little balls [zhuanlan.zhihu.com].

### 6.1.5 Blending

The process of merging parts of polysyllabic words to produce a new word is possible in Chinese, though it can be considered a sub-type of compounding in Mandarin Chinese, cf. “reduced compounds” in Arcodia and Montermini (2012). It is possible to claim that the term ‘secondary and elementary schools’ (lit. ‘middle elementary school’) *zhōngxiǎoxué* 中小学 is a lexical blend of two disyllabic words ‘secondary school’ *zhōngxué* 中学 and ‘elementary school’ *xiǎoxué* 小学, which share the same morpheme ‘learn’ or ‘school’ *xué* 学. The latter morpheme can be seen

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<sup>248</sup> Cf. the claim of Melloni and Basciano (2018, p. 357) that reduplication in Mandarin Chinese “can manifest semantic functions closely related to the inflectional/functional domain, but it approaches more closely the domain of derivation/word formation.”

as an overlapping constituent. Alternatively, the morpheme *xué* 学 in one of the words can be interpreted as having been clipped in the process of merging. Similarly, ‘parents’ *fùmǔqīn* 父母亲 can be seen as a blend of ‘father’ *fùqīn* 父亲 and ‘mother’ *mǔqīn* 母亲, ‘exit-entrance’ *chūrùkǒu* 出入口 as a blend of ‘exit’ *chūkǒu* 出口 and ‘entrance’ *rùkǒu* 入口, and ‘two-way [airport] transfer’ *jiēsòngjī* 接送机 as a blend of ‘pick up at the airport’ *jiējī* 接机 and ‘take somebody to the airport’ *sòngjī* 送机.

*Lexical* blending should not be mixed with *graphic* contractions in Chinese, the so-called “portmanteau characters” (Branner, 2011), cf. colloquial terms ‘no need’ *béng* 甬 for ‘no need’ *bùyòng* 不用, ‘crooked’ *wāi* 歪 for ‘not straight’ *bùzhèng* 不正, ‘bad’ *nāo* 孬 for ‘not good’ *bùhǎo* 不好, and ‘use great strength’, ‘tamp’ *hāng* 夯 for ‘vigorously’ *dàlì* 大力. Blending is also opposed to contraction: blends can represent new concepts that are semantically different from their ‘donors’ while contractions are always just shortened forms of sequences without any semantic changes. Therefore, ‘do not’ *bié* 别 is a contracted form of the sequence *bùyào* 不要, which can be pronounced and written as *bùyào* 不要 without any semantic difference. Similarly, the Classical Chinese words ‘to it’ or ‘at it’ *yān* 焉, ‘it to’ or ‘it at’ *zhū* 诸, and ‘cannot’ *pǒ* 叵 are contractions of frequently used function word combinations *zhīhū* 之乎 (also spelled *zhīyú* 之于), *hūzhī* 乎之 (also spelled *yúzhī* 于之), and *bùkě* 不可, respectively. Most Chinese blends can also be analysed as  $C = A + B$ , cf. the blend ‘teaching and administrative staff’ *jiàozhīyuán* 教职员 are indeed ‘teachers’ *jiàoyuán* 教员 and other ‘staff members’ *zhīyuán* 职员 taken collectively. However, C may have a new and a more complex semantic status than the mere sum of its constituents, cf. ‘edutainment’ *yùlè* 育乐—a blend of ‘education’ *jiàoyù* 教育 and ‘entertainment’ *yúlè* 娱乐 that denotes a new phenomenon rather than the word combination ‘education and entertainment’. The slang term ‘expensive mobile phone’ or ‘iPhone’, lit. ‘kidney phone’, *shènjī* 肾机 is a lexical blend of ‘kidney’ *shèn* 肾 and ‘mobile phone’ *shǒujī* 手机 based on the 2011 incident in which a 17-

year-old Chinese high school student in the Hunan province was reported to have sold one of his own kidneys to purchase an iPhone and an iPad.<sup>249</sup>

The only found example of a euphemistic (currently orthophemistic) blend in the project database is the term ‘big [and] small convenience’ *dàxiǎobiàn* 大小便 denoting urine and faeces or urination and defecation collectively (metonymy EASEMENT FOR URINATION/DEFECATION).

Unlike English portmanteaus, which normally contain at least one meaningless splinter (cf. English ‘foodgasm’ with the splinter *-gasm* originating from ‘orgasm’; ‘brunch’ with two splinters *-br* and *-unch*, which make sense only together), Chinese morphemes in the above-mentioned blends are all meaningful. The impossibility of breaking Chinese syllables down into smaller fragments for further recombination majorly constrains blending. Structurally, Chinese blends are extremely close to regular compounds (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2012, p. 139), which makes blending almost indistinguishable from compounding.

### 6.1.6 Acronymy

Initialisms or alphabetisms cannot be realised in the Chinese writing system due to the lack of letters. However, once Latin letters are deployed in Chinese texts, abbreviations come to life, though used predominately in informal Internet communication. Upper-case letters are preferred since lower-case letters are reserved for the input of Chinese characters.

Euphemistic initialisms are based on the pinyin transliteration of Chinese characters:

(6) 为什么女友不愿意给我 KJ, 女人都对这个反感吗?

Why is my girlfriend reluctant to give me a KJ, do all women detest it? [zhidao.baidu.com].

*KJ* (BS-0958) which stands for oral sex is based on the pinyin reading of *kǒujiāo* 口交. Similarly, penis is abbreviated as *JJ* (BG-1196) from *jījī* 鸡鸡; prostitute is shortened to *MM* (BP-1350) from ‘sister’ *mèimei* 妹妹 or ‘beauty’ *měimèi* 美妹, originally denoting a beautiful young woman; virgin turns into *CN* (interestingly, the acronym is gender neutral since it is derived from either *chǔnǚ* 处

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<sup>249</sup> Source: BBC News, reported by Jonathan Josephs on 3 June 2011, <<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-pacific-13647438>>, accessed on 15 September 2021.



女 or *chǔnán* 处男), and one night stand can be shortened to *YP* (from *yuezpào* 约炮). None of these terms have been codified in Chinese lexicography.

### 6.1.7 Abbreviation and deletion

The strictly fixed structure of syllables in Standard Chinese, together with the limitedness of its syllable inventory, narrows down the range of contracting options on the morphemic level. Even if the reduction of weak syllables in natural speech occurs regularly (cf. ‘tofu’ *dòufu* 豆腐 to *dòuf*), these alterations are often unrecognisable to speakers and have no euphemistic potential.

Apart from a few conventional contractions codified in Chinese lexicography (including the above-mentioned Standard Chinese *yān* 焉, *zhū* 诸, *pǒ* 叵, and *bié* 别, as well as several regional contractions like ‘what’ *shá* 啥 for *shénme* 什么), there are a few neologisms of this type born in the context of digital communication, such as *nánpiào* 男票 and *nǚpiào* 女票 for ‘boyfriend’ *nán péngyǒu* 男朋友 and ‘girlfriend’ *nǚ péngyǒu* 女朋友, respectively, and *bùzào* 不造 for ‘do not know’ *bù zhīdao* 不知道. None of these have become a part of common vocabulary.

Several cases of morpheme/character deletion have been identified in the project database. ‘Male homosexual’ *nánxìng tóngxìngliànzhě* 男性同性恋者 and ‘female homosexual’ *nǚxìng tóngxìngliànzhě* 女性同性恋者 are abbreviated to *nántóng* 男同 (BN-1117) and *nǚtóng* 女同 (BN-1118): the abbreviated forms do not indicate any relation to sexuality and therefore work as euphemisms and are marked as examples of ‘tactful’ *wěiwǎn* 委婉 vocabulary in Zhu (2018).

The complete deletion of words and phrases for euphemistic purposes is detected in colloquial Chinese:

(7) 他们有没有做过?

Have they ever done [it]? [zhidao.baidu.com].

Here, the speaker deliberately omits ‘love’ *ài* 爱 from ‘make love’ 做爱 for have sex without any substitution. Alternatively, speakers may use the highly vague ‘that thing’ or ‘it’ 那个 for ‘[have] sex’ used as a verb with the verbal particle *guò* 过:

(8) 他们有没有……那个过?

Have they... done it? [zhidao.baidu.com].

The omission of taboo characters was common practice in Classical Chinese, as well, such as the omission of the character ‘die’ *sǐ* 死 in the idiomatic expression ‘out of ten [chances] to survive there were nine [chances to die]’ *shíshēng jiǔ[sǐ]* 十生九[死] (DD-0374) for extremely dangerous situation or barely escape death (Zhang 1996) or the usage of adverb ‘suddenly’ *hūrán* 忽然 for die suddenly (HDC 2010).

### 6.1.8 Phoneme replacements

Euphemistically motivated phonemic modifications are possible in Mandarin Chinese. Minced oaths (when euphemistic expressions are formed by alternating the forms of obscenities to render its provocative effect more mild) can be exemplified by the exclamation ‘damn’ or ‘frack’ [wǒ]kào [我]靠 instead of the obscene term ‘fuck’ [wǒ]cào [我]肏. This colloquial usage is not codified in any of the selected contemporary Chinese dictionaries relied upon in this project.

### 6.1.9 Graphic modifications and alternative spelling

In digital communication, Chinese speakers use alternative symbols to substitute characters for various reasons: brevity of expression; adding humorous, ironic, or sarcastic overtones; pure entertainment; language play; and demonstration of one’s originality and creativity. These alternative symbols can be digits (‘88’ *bābā* for bye-bye), combinations of digits and Latin letters (‘3Q’ *sān/k<sup>h</sup>ju/* for thank you), or other symbols (‘+油’ instead of *jiāyóu* 加油 for go). In several cases, alternative spelling can denote taboo entities. The punctuation marks ellipsis (Chinese six dots ..... instead of three or four dots common in European languages) and serial asterisks (\*\*\*) can euphemistically substitute obscenities and sensitive terms. The Internet slang ‘play tic-tac-toe’ *quānquānchāchā* 圈圈叉叉 (BS-0985) for have sex is semantically motivated (metaphor SEX IS A GAME), though it can be further euphemised by means of the alternative spellings ‘XXOO’, ‘OOXX’, and ‘%%%', all of which refer to sexual intercourse. Alternative homophonous spellings of certain Chinese vulgarisms can be deployed in order to hide their defiant and provocative nature, cf. ‘compel’ *bī* 逼 for ‘cunt’ *bī* 屄. The original tone of the substitute can be modified, cf. ‘grasp’

*cāo* 操 for ‘fuck’ *cào* 尫 and ‘sand sculpture’ *shādiāo* 沙雕 for ‘dickhead’ *shǎdiǎo* 傻屌. Jocular substitutions in digital communication can be found for non-obscene words, which are still contextually sensitive, cf. proper name ‘Du Ziteng’ *Dù Ziténg* 杜紫藤 for ‘stomachache’ *dùzi téng* 肚子疼.<sup>250</sup>

Homophonous puns are also used to mock or avoid censorship in digital media in the People’s Republic of China. One of the most prominent examples of advanced euphemistic cryptography is the neologism ‘grass-mud-horse’ *cǎonímǎ* 草泥马, which serves as a substitute for the obscene expression ‘fuck your mother’ *càonǐmā* 尫你妈 (Nordin, 2014, pp. 169-170). As an Internet meme, the “grass-mud-horse” has been often represented visually as an alpaca-like animal. The expression has been metaphorised and expressed nominally with a classifier in colloquial speech, as well:

(9) 心中千万头草泥马奔过。

Millions of grass-mud-horses ran lightning fast through my mind [s.weibo.com]. (One of the possible interpretations in English: I couldn’t stop thinking “for fuck’s sake!”).

This spelling pun belongs to a closed group of ten set expressions labelled ‘ten mythical creatures’ *shídà shénshòu* 十大神兽 which became viral in the Chinese social media (Wines, 2009). They turned out to be particularly resonant in the late 2000s and early 2010s, showing the futility of censorship. Some such alternative spellings conceal foul words, i.e. ‘squid from the Lake Faak’ *fǎkèyóu* 法克鱿 substituting English ‘fuck you’; ‘auspicious striding cat’ *jībámāo* 吉跋猫 substituting ‘dick hair’ *jībamá* 鸡巴毛—a crude term for male pubic hair. There are also euphemisms that conceal body parts, sexual practices, and objects that are considered by Mandarin Chinese speakers to be part of sensitive vocabulary, i.e. ‘Weishen whale’ *wěishēnjīng* 尾申鲸 substituting ‘sanitary napkin’ or ‘menstrual pad’ *wèishēngjīn* 卫生巾, ‘fierce deep-water crab’

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<sup>250</sup> If these substitutions of homophones do not disguise taboos or obscenities but rather create new meanings, this should be qualified as a word-formation strategy: either compounding or blending. Ronneberger-Sibold (2012, p. 135) qualifies the term ‘backpacker’ (lit. ‘donkey friend’) *lúyǒu* 驴友 instead of ‘travel companion’ *lǚyǒu* 旅友 as a “contour blend”: a new word has been formed with a new meaning by merging the words ‘travel companion’ *lǚyǒu* 旅友 and ‘donkey’ *lú* 驴, which is a metaphor for a tourist loaded ‘like a donkey’ with a backpack.

*qiánlièxiè* 潜烈蟹 substituting ‘prostate’ *qiánlièxiàn* 前列腺, and ‘Dafei chicken’ *dáfēiji* 达菲鸡 substituting ‘masturbate’ (said of men) *dǎfēiji* 打飞机.

These cases of linguistic creativity have obviously received no treatment in Chinese lexicography. Nevertheless, a few examples of homophonic replacements used as euphemisms are known in literary Chinese, such as ‘steal tin’ *tōuxí* 偷锡 (BN-1144) for commit incest with a daughter-in-law, based on the complete homophony of the characters ‘daughter-in-law’ *xí* 媳 and *xí* 锡 ‘tin’ (Zhu, 2018). The term ‘end one’s life’ *bì mìng* 毕命 (DD-0013) for die is mostly used nowadays in reference to a violent or sudden death, including suicide, by accident, etc. (横死, GC, 2015), probably under influence of the non-euphemistic derogative homophonous term ‘be killed’ *bì mìng* 毙命, though historically *bì mìng* 毕命 could also describe a peaceful death in old age (老死, 寿终, HDC, 2010).

#### 6.1.10 Borrowing

The incorporation of English<sup>251</sup> words in Chinese texts without any formal modification has a certain euphemistic effect since the direct mentioning of their corresponding native terms would otherwise be considered inappropriate:

(10) 我和我前前 bf 交往了快两年，期间有无数机会 sex，但是我就是没那感觉，我们也有 oral，但最后一步我还是没让他进去。女人最怕男人在 ML 时做什么？

I’ve been with my ex-ex-boyfriend for almost two years, although we had countless opportunities for sex at that time, but I wasn’t too much in the mood for this. Yes, we also had oral sex, but in the end I didn’t let him penetrate me. What are women afraid of when it comes to sex with a man? [ask.sina.com.cn].

Borrowings in (10) are represented in a variety of forms: as words (‘sex’ (BS-0993) for have sex, ‘oral’ (BS-0993b) for oral sex) and acronyms (‘bf’ for boyfriend and ‘ML’ (BS-0964) for make love).

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<sup>251</sup> Only a few non-English borrowing in the database of euphemisms were detected, including *yuánjiāo* 援交 (BP-1417) as the abbreviated form of the Japanese ‘compensated dating’ *yuánzhù jiāoji* 援助交际 (*Enjo-kōsai*) for the situation in which older men give money or luxury gifts to women for their companionship and sexual favours.

Borrowed acronyms can be supplemented by Chinese morphemes, cf. ‘A-movie’ *A-piàn* A片 (BS-0888) for pornographic movie (‘A’ stands for the English ‘adult’). This is one of the rare terms with entries in Chinese dictionaries (Zhu, 2018).

Borrowed words can also be transformed into Chinese characters, cf. ‘bikini’ *bījīnī* 比基尼, *fākè* 法克 (BS-1012b) for fuck (which is less offensive and obscene than in the source language), Taiwanese *xīsī* 西斯 (BS-1012) for sex, and ‘give a kiss’ *dǎ kāisī* 打开司 instead of 打 KISS (which turns out to be unacceptable if said fully in Chinese \**dǎ jiēwěn* 打接吻).

While certain borrowings are semantically transparent and correspond to the meaning in the source language (i.e. ‘KISS’ instead of *jiēwěn* 接吻)<sup>252</sup>, some euphemistic loanwords have unexpected meanings and non-trivial interpretations in the Chinese context, such as ‘HAPPY’ (BS-0940) as the act of sexual intercourse:

(11) 他们今天可能要 happy 一下。

They are probably going to have some sex today [ask.sina.com.cn].

Finally, euphemistic borrowings can enter Chinese vocabulary as calques (cf. ‘red-light districts’ *hóngdēngqū* 红灯区 (BP-1298)) and partial calques (cf. ‘one night feeling’ *yīyèqíng* 一夜情 (BS-1033) for one-night stand).

### 6.1.11 Metalingual description

The self-referential use of language can be found in Chinese when the “disguise mechanism” (Hughes, 2006, pp. 135-136) is based on the formal description of the Chinese character related to the unfavoured word. The only found example of this kind is the term ‘face in form of the character *guo*’ *guózìliǎn* 国字脸, which euphemistically denotes a square, unattractive face.

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<sup>252</sup> Example taken from Guo (2010, p. 137f).

## 6.2 Semantic euphemisation

In the present project, all semantic shifts among euphemisms are either of a metaphoric, metonymic, or reversal nature.

Hyperbolic and litotic euphemisms were not distinguished as separate types of semantic formation. Instead, Chinese overstatements and understatements can be qualified as sub-types of metaphor, metonymy, or ironic reversal. Consider the following hyperbolic and litotic concealments in Chinese:

- (1) 现在来咖啡馆的怎么不是来吹牛比的要么就是来摸大腿的，还有来打野炮的…多么万恶的社会啊。  
People who come to café nowadays either want to brag or to fondle [girls'] thighs. Some come there to perform artillery fire in field. What a wicked society! [BCC].
- (2) 几天来身子不快。  
[They] didn't feel well for the past few days. [cidian.odict.net/zh-tw/].

The overstatement in (1) 'open fire in field with artillery' *dǎyěpào* 打野炮 (BS-0920) for having sex outdoors or a in public place is based on the SEX IS WAR metaphor (together with other slang expressions for sex, including 'open fire with a cannon' *dǎpào* 打炮, 'cannon friend' *pàoyǒu* 炮友 for friend with benefits, and 'cannon' *pào* 炮 for ejaculation) and implies irony, which creates an additional comic effect. The understatement in (2) '[one's body] does not feel pleasant' [*shēntǐ*] *bùkuài* [身体]不快 (ID-0861b) is based on the DISCOMFORT FOR DISEASE metonymy when the designation of a more general category is used instead of a specific member of the category.

### 6.2.1 Metaphoric semantic change

In summary, Chinese euphemisms metaphorically conceptualise taboo realities from manifold source domains. Each of the major metaphors for the taboo concepts DEATH and SEX are illustrated below by at least one conventional linguistic realisation in Chinese. Other specific metaphors of death- and body-related target domains (FUNERALS AND BURIALS, TOMBS, GRAVES, AFTERLIFE, BEING OLD AND AGEING, PROSTITUTION, EXCRETION, and DISEASE AND DEFICIENCY) can be found in the database provided in the appendix.

1. Death as a taboo reality can be metaphorically understood as a physical MOVEMENT IN SPACE, which generates the following metaphors:

- DEATH IS DEPARTURE ('part forever' *chángcí* 长辞, DD-0036);
- DEATH IS CROSSING ('enter the quietude' or 'enter nirvana' *rùjì* 入寂, DD-0331);
- DEATH IS A JOURNEY ('the life of a person is heading towards the Yellow Springs' *mìng fù huángquán* 命赴黄泉, DD-0277);
- DEATH IS A BEGINNING OF A [NEW] JOURNEY ('set out on a journey' *shànglù* 上路, DD-0347);
- DEATH IS THE END [OF A JOURNEY] ('end' *zú* 卒, DD-0545);
- DEATH IS ASCENSION ('ascend to the Western Heaven' *shēng xītiān* 升西天, DD-0362);
- DEATH IS FALLING ('fall into a gorge' or 'throw [one's dead body] into a gorge' *tián gōuhè* 填沟壑, DD-0385);
- DEATH IS THE RETURN ('get back home' *huí lǎojiā* 回老家, DD-0181).

2. Death can be metaphorically represented as DISAPPEARANCE from the human world:

- DEATH IS EXTINCTION OF BODY AND/OR CONSCIOUSNESS ('no longer exist' *bù zài le* 不在了, DD-0032);
- DEATH IS VANISHING ('sink' *chénmò* 沉没, DD-0055)
- DEATH IS WITHERING OF PLANTS ('wither' *diāoxiè* 凋谢, DD-0100);
- DEATH IS DESTRUCTION ('orchid is broken, jade is cracked' *lán cuī yù zhé* 兰摧玉折, DD-0236);
- DEATH IS SACRIFICE ('lay down one's life for a just cause' 舍生取义, DD-0329b).

3. Death can be broadly understood as a physical and metaphysical CHANGE:

- DEATH IS CHANGE OF STATUS ('become a forefather' *zuò gǔrén* 作古人, DD-0548);
- DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION ('turn into a crane' *huàhè* 化鹤, DD-0173);
- DEATH IS LIBERATION ('liberate oneself from the body [and become an immortal]' *shījiě* 尸解, DD-0369).

4. Death can be metaphorically interpreted as a STATE:

- DEATH IS DARKNESS ('great night' *dàyè* 大夜, DD-0083);
- DEATH IS ILLNESS ('great illness' *dàbìng* 大病, DD-0068);
- DEATH IS SLEEP ('sleep peacefully' *ānmián* 安眠, DD-0002).

5. EVENTS can stand for death:

- DEATH IS A MEETING ('meet Yama Raja' *jiàn yánwáng* 见阎王, DD-0203).

6. SEX can be metaphorically construed in the following ways:

- SEX IS A DREAM ('Wushan's clouds and rain' *Wūshān yúnyǔ* 巫山云雨, BS-1010);
- SEX IS FREEDOM ('[free as] wind flow' *fēngliú* 风流, BS-0932);
- SEX IS FOOD ('meat [diet]' *hūn* 荤, BS-0945);
- SEX IS BLOSSOMING ('burst the bud' *kāibāo* 开苞, BS-0957);
- SEX IS DESTRUCTION ('break the body' *pòshēn* 破身, BS-0976);
- SEX IS HOT ('[get] intimate and warm' *qīnrè* 亲热, BS-0979);
- SEX IS A JOB ('do night job' *zuò yèzuò* 做夜作, BS-1064);
- SEX IS A GAME ('play tick-tac-toe' *quānquān chāchā* 圈圈叉叉, BS-0985);
- SEX IS COOKING ('fry rice' *chǎofàn* 炒饭, BS-0898);
- SEX IS SACRIFICE ('give up one's body [to a man]' *xiànshēn* 献身, BS-1013);
- SEX IS ENTERING A HARBOUR ('enter the harbor' *rùgǎng* 入港, BS-0991);
- SEX IS A RITE ('the rites of Zhou Gong' *Zhōugōng zhī lǐ* 周公之礼, BS-1060);
- SEX IS A WAR ('fight a battle in the wild' *dǎ yězhàn* 打野战, BS-0921).

7. Metaphors for ROMANTIC LOVE are often extended to denote sexual relations:

- WIND AND MOON ARE ROMANCE ('place of wind and moon' *fēngyuè chǎngsuǒ* 风月场所 (BP-1288) for brothel, together with the metonymy ROMANTIC FOR SEXUAL);



- WIND, FLOWERS, SNOW AND MOON ARE ROMANCE (‘wind, flowers, snow and moon’ *fēng huā xuě yuè* 风花雪月 (BN-1091) for promiscuous lifestyle, together with the metonymy ROMANTIC FOR SEXUAL).

8. NON-MARITAL SEX/NON-MARITAL SEXUAL RELATIONS has its own metaphorical representations:

- NON-MARITAL SEX IS GOING ASTRAY (‘go off the rails’ *chūguǐ* 出轨, BN-1075);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS GOING OUTSIDE (‘external encounter’ *wàiyù* 外遇, BN-1152);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS GOING DOWN (‘be of the lower stream’ *xiàliú* 下流, BN-1156);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS CHAOS (‘make a mess’ *luàngǎo* 乱搞, BN-1113);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS FILTH (‘be contaminated with’ *zhānrǎn* 沾染, BN-1172);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS CRIME (‘love smuggling’ *àiqíng zǒusī* 爱情走私, BN-1065);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS STEALING (‘steal incense and jade’ *tōuxiāng qièyù* 偷香窃玉, BN-1145);
- NON-MARITAL SEX IS A LOSS (‘lose one’s moral integrity’ *shīxíng* 失行, BN-1127);
- NON-CONSENSUAL SEX IS PLUCKING FLOWERS (‘pluck flowers’ *cǎihuā* 采花, BN-1072);
- NON-CONSENSUAL SEX IS CONTAMINATION (‘defile’ *zāotà* 糟蹋, BN-1171).

9. Humans engaged in sexual relations can be compared to other living beings:

- SEXUAL PARTNERS ARE INSECTS (‘crazy bees and rowdy butterflies’ *fēngkuáng diéluàn* 蜂狂蝶乱 (BS-0931), together with the WILD FOR SEXUAL metonymy);
- ADULTEROUS WIFE IS A TREE (‘a red apricot reaches over the wall’ *hóngxìng chū qiáng* 红杏出墙 (BN-1097), together with [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS GOING OUTSIDE);

- LOVERS ARE WILD MANDARIN DUCKS ('wild mandarin ducks' *yě yuānyang* 野鸳鸯, BN-1167);
- MISTRESSES ARE FLOWERS ('wild flower' *yěhuā* 野花, BN-1165);
- MISTRESSES ARE CANARIES ('keep a canary' *yǎng jīnsīquè* 养金丝雀, BN-1162).

10. Illicit sexual partners take on alternative roles in their metaphorical euphemisms:

- LOVERS ARE SPOUSES ('keep a second wife' *bāo èrnǚ* 包二奶, BN-1067);
- LOVERS ARE INTRUDERS ('insert one's foot [in a relationship of others]' *chāzú* 插足, BN-1073);
- LOVERS ARE BEAUTIES ('keep a young beauty in a golden house' *jīnwū cángjiāo* 金屋藏娇, BN-1108);
- LOVERS ARE BRINGERS OF JOY ('new happiness' *xīnhuān* 新欢, BN-1160).

As mentioned above, several metaphors can be simultaneously involved in euphemistic formation, such as 'ascend and [become] an immortal' *shàngxiān* 上仙 (DD-0352) for die (involving the metaphors DEATH IS ASCENSION and DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION) and 'wild flower' *yěhuā* 野花 (BN-1165) for mistress (involving the metaphors NON-MARITAL SEX IS WILD and MISTRESS IS A FLOWER).

### 6.2.2 Metonymic semantic change

There are various ways to construe taboo realities metonymically. Since metonymic shifts are very specific, only the major types are summarised below with several corresponding instantiations from different taboo domains:

1. The CAUSE-FOR-EFFECT metonymy can highlight the reasons for or factors that lead to taboo consequences, including:
  - GETTING ILL FOR DEAD ('once got ill, cannot get up [anymore]' *yībìng bùqǐ* 一病不起, DD-0475);

- GROWING OLD FOR DEAD ('get old during a journey' *chénglǎo* 程老, DD-0057);
  - PROXIMITY TO PROSTITUTES FOR SEXUAL DISEASES ('disease of flowers and willows' *huāliǔbìng* 花柳病, ID-0847);
  - LOSING SUPPORT FOR PARENT'S DEATH ('lose shelter' *shīshì* 失恃, DD-0376);
  - RECEIVING NO MORE CARE FROM CHILDREN FOR PARENT'S DEATH ('stop receiving care [from children] *qìyǎng* 弃养, DD-0311).
2. A range of EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymies denote taboo realities by emphasising their the effects:
- FUNERALS AND BURIALS FOR DEATH ('be about to enter the coffin' *xíngjiāng jiùmù* 行将就木, DD-0440);
  - HONOUR FOR DISABILITY ('soldiers of honour' *róngyù jūnrén* 荣誉军人, ID-0812);
  - RECEIVING NO MORE SALARY FOR DEATH ('receive no more salary' *bùlù* 不禄, DD-0026);
  - UNABLE TO BECOME GROWN-UP FOR DEATH ('have no offspring' *bùyù* 不育, DD-0031);
  - HAPPINESS FOR PREGNANCY ('have happiness' *yǒuxǐ* 有喜).
3. Various SALIENT PROPERTY-FOR-CATEGORY metonymies emphasise one feature of a taboo reality that represents it as a whole:
- CLOSED EYES FOR BEING DEAD ('once closed one's eyes, cannot see [anymore]' *yīmíng bùshì* 一瞑不视, DD-0479);
  - STOP BREATHING FOR BEING DEAD/TAKING ONE'S LAST BREATH FOR DYING ('gasp one's last breath' *yànrì* 咽气, DD-0468);
  - STRETCHING ONE'S LEGS FOR BEING DEAD ('stretch one's legs' *shēntuǐ* 伸腿, DD-0357);
  - HEAVINESS FOR PREGNANCY ('heavy body' *zhòng shēnzi* 重身子);

- BEING RELATED TO PHYSIOLOGY FOR MENSTRUATION ('physiological period' *shēnglǐqī* 生理期, BM-1547);
  - SMALL FOR URINE ('small relief' *xiǎojiě* 小解, BE-1507);
  - CARNAL FOR SEXUAL ('money of flesh' *ròujīn* 肉金, BP-1365);
  - MASCULINE FOR PENIS ('Yang path' *yángdào* 阳道 (BG-1238), together with the metonymy RELATED TO YANG-[ENERGY] FOR MASCULINE).
4. PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymies can focus attention on specific non-taboo components of complex taboo objects:
- BOARDS FOR COFFIN ('six boards' *liù kuài bǎn* 六块板, DF-0609);
  - BONES FOR THE DECEASED ('decaying bones' *xiǔgǔ* 朽骨, DD-0450);
  - GRASS FOR GRAVE ('old roots [of the grass on the grave]' *chéngēn* 陈根 (DD-0052), together with the metonymy GRAVE FOR THE DECEASED);
  - TREES FOR GRAVEYARD ('pines and catalpas' *sōngqiū* 松楸, DF-0639).
5. SUBEVENT-FOR-EVENT metonymies can focus attention on specific non-taboo episodes of complex taboo events:
- RECITING THE MOURNING RITUALS FOR FUNERALS/BURIALS ('read the [mourning] rituals' *dúlǐ* 读礼, DF-0570);
  - FALLING ONTO THE MAT FOR BIRTH ('fall onto the straw [mat]' *luòcǎo* 落草);
  - GETTING UP FOR GOING TO THE TOILET ('get up at night' *qǐyè* 起夜 (BE-1493), which can also be understood in terms of the ACTION-FOR-GOAL metonymy);
  - SLEEPING FOR HAVING SEX ('share the same bed' *tóngchuáng* 同床, BS-0997).
6. CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER-OF-CATEGORY metonymies hide taboo realities under more generic terms, representing taboos as specific cases of a more general series of cases:
- MISFORTUNE FOR DEATH ('grievous news' *èhào* 噩耗, DD-0113);
  - TABOO FOR DEATH ('something which one may not mention' *bùkěyán* 不可言, DD-0025);

- BUILDING FOR TOILET (‘thatched house’ *máofáng* 茅房, BE-1483);
  - BUILDING FOR BROTHEL (‘teal house’ *qīnglóu* 青楼, BP-1362);
  - BUSINESS FOR PROSTITUTION (‘lowly occupation’ *jiànyè* 贱业, BP-1320);
  - DANCERS FOR PROSTITUTES (‘dancing man’ *wǔnán* 舞男, BP-1375).
7. The LOCATION-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy highlights the place associated with the taboo entity in order to denote the taboo:
- ON THE DEATHBED FOR BEING DEAD (‘be placed on the [death]bed’ *tíngchuáng* 停床, DD-0387);
  - NEXT TO THE GRAVE FOR BEING DEAD (‘grass that has grown on a grave since last year’ *sùcǎo* 宿草 (DD-0382) for ‘die long time ago’).
8. Metonymies denoting taboo entities can refer to GEOGRAPHIC PLACES, HISTORICAL FIGURES, or FICTIONAL CHARACTERS when anecdotes associated with proper names stand for a category:
- PROPER NAME FOR MENSTRUATION (‘the sickness of concubine Cheng’ *Chéngjī zhī jí* 程姬之疾 (BM-1531), together with the metaphor MENSTRUATION IS A DISEASE);
  - PROPER NAME FOR BROTHEL (‘*Zhangtai [Street]*’ *zhāngtái* 章台, BP-1423);
  - PROPER NAME FOR DISEASE (‘the thirst of [Sima] Xiangru’ *Xiāngrúkě* 相如渴, ID-0820);
  - PROPER NAME FOR DEATH (‘[songs]“*Wormwood [Village]*” and “*Dew [on the Shallot]*”’ *hāolù* 蒿露, DD-0167);
  - PROPER NAME FOR PROSTITUTE (‘*woman of letters [Xue Tao]*’ *nǚ xiàoshū* 女校书, BP-1354);
  - PROPER NAME FOR SEX (‘dream of King Xiang’ *Xiāngwáng mèng* 襄王梦, BS-1014).

Clearly, euphemisms can deploy both metonymies and metaphors simultaneously, as in the term ‘pictures with secret plays’ *mìxìtú* 秘戏图 (BS-0963) for pornographic pictures, which is based on the metaphor SEX IS A PLAY and the metonymy HIDDEN FOR SEXUAL.

### 6.2.3 Reversals

If a word is used in its opposite meaning against its literal meaning, one might deal with a semantic reversal. This occurs due to either the internal polysemy of a lexeme (enantiosemy) or its pragmatic characteristics, allowing speakers to ironically imply the opposite of what they explicitly say.

Many cases of auto-antonymy on the lexical level can only be understood in context. Based on the contextual conditions, the Chinese word ‘fierce’ *lihài* 厉害 can be interpreted as either terrible in (1) or as awesome in (2):

- (1) 北京大概是全宇宙堵车堵得最厉害的城市了。

Beijing probably has the worst traffic jams in the universe [ChinesePod].

- (2) 你昨天的商业提案表现得很好，真是太厉害了。

You did such a great job on yesterday’s business proposal. That was fantastic [ChinesePod].

The extreme contrast between the literal meaning ‘smart’ and the contextual meaning ‘stupid’ of the term *cōngmíng* 聪明 can be found in the following Chinese sentence uttered at the moment the addressee made a mistake or performed poorly:

- (3) 你好聪明啊！

You are so smart! (ironically) [ChinesePod].

The ironic sense in (3) should also be supported by prosodic features (particular rhythms, intonations, or stresses). Like the enantiosemic term ‘fierce’ *lihài* 厉害 in (1) and (2), the pragmatic interpretation of *cōngmíng* 聪明 as ‘stupid’ is not defined in any dictionaries.

Lexemes can also acquire opposite meanings in digital communications that have not yet found lexicographic treatment, as in ‘item of the best quality’ *jí pǐn* 极品 in (4), which can colloquially refer to something (usually somebody) extremely annoying, gross, and outrageous, as in (5):

- (4) 我宿舍还有为数不多的几袋“极品”咖啡，寒冷天气你下楼来拿去喝喝啊，其他地方没有这么好。

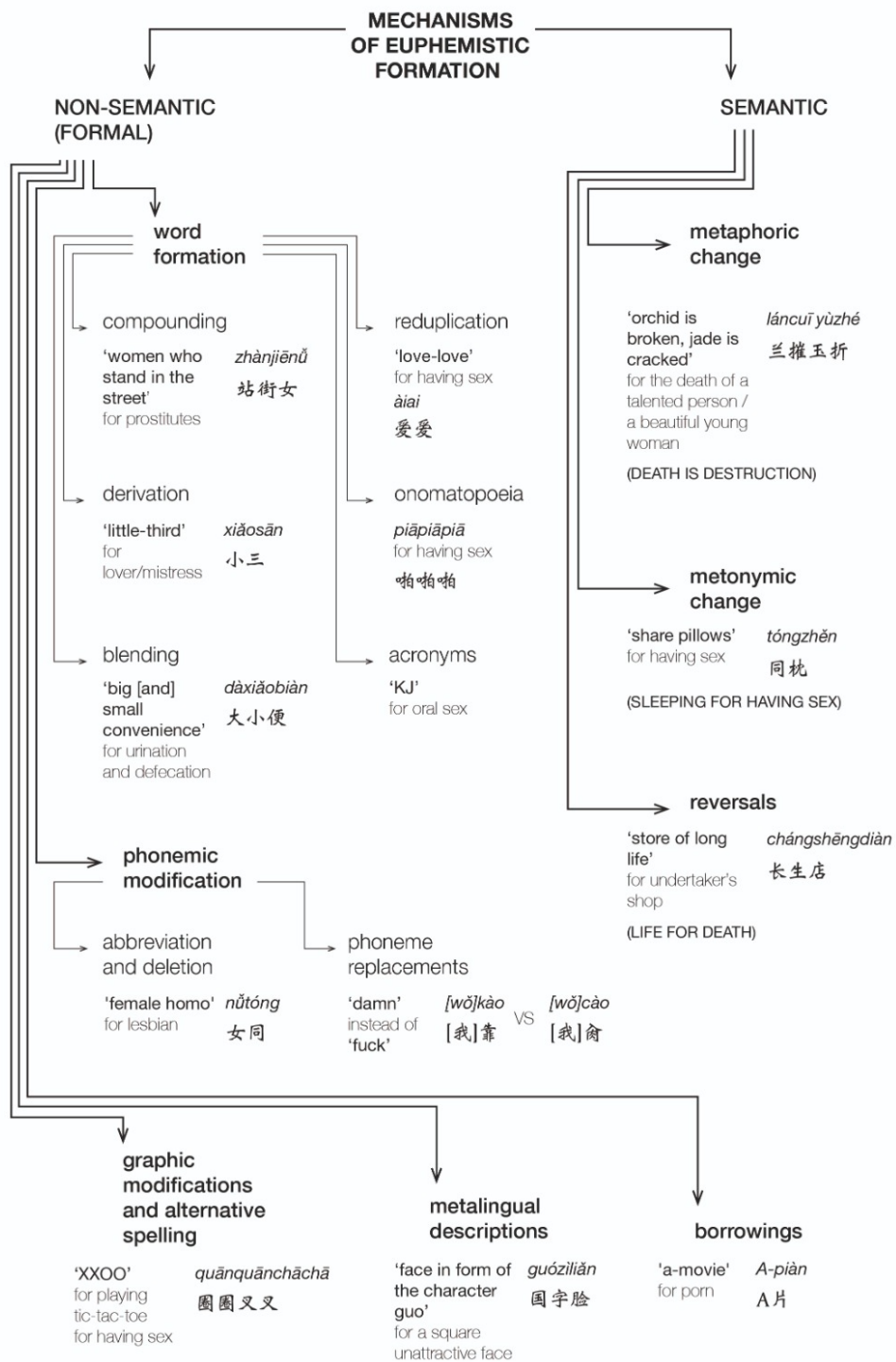
There are still a few bags of high-quality coffee in my dormitory. You can come downstairs and drink it on a cold day. You won’t find better [coffee] elsewhere [BCC].

(5) 这么厚颜无耻的人，真是“极品”!

What a shameless man, really awful! [BCC].

Among entries included in the project database, there are 33 semantically motivated conventional euphemisms based on the reversal shift LIFE FOR DEATH. These expressions denote either death, dying, or various items and places associated with death and funerals, though they do not contain any explicit words or morphemes meaning ‘die’. Quite the contrary, they profile death as the opposite of life by using the words ‘life’ (‘before, when one was alive’ *shēngqián* 生前 (DD-0360) for before one’s death), ‘life-span’ (‘short life-span’ *duǎnlì* 短历 (DD-0105) for premature death), ‘long life’ (‘store of long life’ *chángshēngdiàn* 长生店 (DF-0564) for undertaker’s shop), ‘longevity’ (‘longevity wood’ *shòumù* 寿木 (DF-0632) for coffin), ‘one hundred years’ (‘after one hundred years’ *bǎisùì zhīhòu* 百岁之后 (DD-0005b) for after one’s death), ‘one thousand autumns’ (‘one thousand autumns and ten thousand of generations’ *qiānqiūwànshì* 千秋万世 (DD-0316b) for death of an emperor), and ‘tens of thousands of years’ (‘after ten thousand years’ *wànnián zhīhòu* 万年之后 (DD-0316b) for after one’s death). Death-related phenomena expected to be associated with mourning, grief, and misfortune are nevertheless termed ‘auspicious’ (‘auspicious land’ *jídì* 吉地 (DF-0585) for burial land) and ‘happy’ (‘happy look’ *xǐróng* 喜容 (DD-0415) for a portrait of the deceased while the person was alive).

The diagram below (graph 1) summarises the non-semantic and semantic mechanisms of euphemistic formation in Chinese.



Graph 1: Mechanisms of euphemistic formation in Mandarin Chinese



## 7. Conclusions and open issues

For this project, a working definition of euphemism was formulated based on a both functional and cognitive interpretation of this linguistic phenomenon: euphemisms are polite, inoffensive words and expressions that are meant to avoid conflict, irritation, and embarrassment when referring to taboo topics, understood as sensitive issues for speakers within a particular language community. Euphemisms can also be substitutions of stylistically infelicitous words, providing alternatives that are perceived as “appropriate” among speakers. Euphemisms can be uniquely created and deployed in written or spoken language by individual authors as rhetorical figures, or they can be conventional and commonly understandable for most speakers, not associated with a concrete author, style, or genre.

Euphemistic meanings are always evaluative, or non-denotative, such that the contextual and situational characteristics of an expression gain significant importance in terms of qualifying a given case of X-phemism usage as neutral, euphemistic, or dysphemistic.

Since death, disease, and corporeality/sexuality are the conceptual domains most associated with taboo or sensitive realities, their linguistic manifestations can be either offensive or inoffensive, polite or impolite. Dysphemistic expressions, including pejorative terms, obscenities, and slurs, are offense and their “degree of harm can fall anywhere on a scale from a breach of etiquette to real fatality” (Allan, 2018, v). Euphemistic and neutral terms that do not generate negative reactions among speakers, or at least intentionally aim towards this goal, are inoffensive. In other words, while dysphemistic expressions intensify associations with taboo concepts, euphemistic expressions are applied to alleviate associations with forbidden realities.

Euphemism is one possible construal for a conceptual domain containing forbidden entities. Following Casas Gómez (2018, p. 24), euphemisms are understood in this project as one possible reactions of language to unpleasant, disturbing, and sensitive phenomena on which speakers impose restrictions; euphemisms can be understood as the outcomes of a cognitive process of the conceptualisation of forbidden realities—a linguistic process that “result[s] in the neutralization of a forbidden term by means of associative resources of a formal and semantic nature.”

In this work, an attempt was made to reconcile the approaches of anglophone functional and cognitive linguistics with the views of Chinese researchers of rhetoric, lexis, and lexicography. ‘Tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 seem to exhibit the closest similarity with euphemisms. Despite the heterogeneity of these terms and the differences as to exactly which phenomena these terms cover, the following similarities were established:

- Both ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 and euphemisms are deployed in speech in order to avoid offence, resentment, and/or embarrassment among communicants;
- Both ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 and euphemisms are linked with the perception of what is polite and appropriate in language on the one hand and, on the other, what is elegant or stylistically felicitous;
- Both ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 and euphemisms are opposed to impolite, offensive, and/or obscene terms on the one hand (vulgar expressions and dysphemisms) and, on the other, to neutral, direct terms (direct expressions and orthophemisms);
- A significant number of cases labelled by lexicographers as ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 and euphemisms relate to sensitive vocabulary associated with various taboos, including death, disease, and the body. In this project, ‘tactful expressions’ *wěiwǎnyǔ* 委婉语 related to these sensitive domains are called Chinese euphemisms.

Much attention in this project was paid to the typology of the mechanisms of euphemistic formation. Given the great variety of mechanisms used to form euphemisms, a distinction can and should be made between formal and semantic mechanisms. The former generate novel forms through word formation devices, phonemic and graphemic modifications, borrowing, and metalinguistic description. The latter are achieved through semantic expansion within an already existing form, which is basically either a product of a metaphorical or metonymical shift—although in relatively rare cases ironic, hyperbolic, and litotic interpretations are also possible. Formal modifications can cooccur with semantic extensions.

Perhaps the main result of the project is the creation of an annotated database of over 1,500 Chinese euphemisms. Each euphemistic term or expression with its individual ID is assigned to a certain

domain and sub-domain according to its thematic affiliation. The database entries are supplied by pinyin romanisation. Each entry is translated into English in two ways—literally (word-for-word or morpheme-for-morpheme) and idiomatically—which allow an understanding of what kind of figurative language is deployed in order to convey its euphemistic meaning. Each database entry has been classified according to its corresponding mechanism of euphemistic formation: semantic or non-semantic. Semantic mechanisms include metaphor, metonymy, and reversal: elaborations on metaphors include any relevant source and target domains; if metonymy or reversal, which vehicle and tenor are involved. Each entry is supplied with an example sentence, with priority given to modern (after 1911) usage examples. If no modern examples were found in the dictionaries or in the text corpora, then the example was cited from classical texts with a link to its source. Most entries are supplied with additional remarks regarding their use based on information found in general and specialised Chinese monolingual lexicography, including the semantic analysis of morphemes, register information (formal/bookish, informal/colloquial), usual reference group (e.g. “said of seniors”, “said of emperors”, “said of young women”, etc.), and collocations.

The database is far from perfect and has its inevitable gaps. There is no doubt the database would benefit from expansion and supplementation. It is possible to increase its number of entries by including additional unconventional words and expressions into existing domains. However, it is also feasible to include new domains of sensitive vocabulary. The thematic limitation to death, disease, and the body was undertaken solely for practical purposes in order to narrow down the scope of this project, constrained by time and the capabilities of the compiler. Obviously, there is an opportunity to include additional domains of sensitive vocabulary, which would require meticulous lexical analysis of entries in order to establish various metaphorical and metonymic shifts, including money and financial situation, human appearance and weight, political double-talk, etc. It is also possible to involve new lexicographic sources, including bilingual dictionaries, as well as phraseological dictionaries, dictionaries of idioms, set expressions, etc. The database can be also supplemented with information on the frequency of occurrence of these units in modern language based on data retrieved from the text corpora. The database can be socio-linguistically tested with native speakers for recognition across different age, gender, and social and regional

groups. In any case, the existing database is a good starting point for further research into the euphemistic vocabulary of the Chinese language.

Despite all the shortcomings and inevitable limitations of the annotated database created within the framework of this project, it became possible to identify the following significant features of conventional Chinese euphemisms, which allows linguists to draw broader conclusions about the nature of euphemism and euphemisation in the context of world languages:

- The overwhelming majority of Chinese conventional euphemisms for death, disease, and the body are either metaphors or metonymies. Among 1560 entries there are 785 metaphor-based and 704 metonymy-based euphemisms.
- Euphemisms in Chinese can be based on several semantic shifts simultaneously.
  - Several metaphors can be associated with a euphemistic expression, cf. both DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION and DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphors underpin the euphemism for death ‘become immortal and leave’ *xiānshì* 仙逝 (DD-0428); both PROSTITUTE IS A BIRD and [NON-MARITAL] SEX IS WILD metaphors can be distinguished in the euphemism for a streetwalking prostitute ‘wild chicken’ or ‘pheasant’ *yějī* 野鸡 (BP-1281).
  - Several metonymic relationships can be represented in a single euphemism, cf. both PHYSICALLY CLOSE FOR SEXUAL and PLEASANT FOR SEXUAL metonymies are seen in the euphemism for copulation ‘get together and enjoy’ *jiāohuān* 交欢 (BS-0953); both WEAKNESS FOR DISEASE and SLEEPING FOR HAVING SEX metonymies were involved in the creation of the obsolete euphemism for impotence ‘weak in [bed]room [matters]’ *ruòfáng* 弱房 (ID-0813).
  - Both metaphor and metonymy can be combined in a reference to a taboo entity, cf. PROSTITUTE IS A FLOWER, PROSTITUTE IS A WILLOW metaphors together with the FREQUENTING BROTHELS FOR VENEREAL DISEASE cause-for-effect metonymy can be identified in the euphemism for sexually transmitted diseases ‘disease of flowers and willows’ 花柳病 (ID-0847); a well-established metonymy RELATED TO THE MOON/MONTH FOR MENSTRUATION is combined with the metaphor

MENSTRUATION IS A GUEST in the obsolete euphemism for menses ‘guest of the month’ or ‘guest of the moon’ *yuèkè* 月客 (BM-1554).

- Metaphor- or metonymy-based euphemisms can be involved in the formation of euphemisms together with reversals and other minor semantic means, cf. in the euphemism for coffin ‘long-life board’ *chángshēngbǎn* 长生板 (DF-0563) the part-for-whole metonymy BOARD FOR COFFIN “works” together with the reversal DEATH IS THE OPPOSITE OF LIFE; TROUBLE FOR DISEASE metonymy involved in the euphemism ‘tiny discomfort’ *wēiyàng* 微恙 (ID-0871) (it might stand for both minor ailments as well as for more serious diseases) is supported by litotes INSIGNIFICANT FOR [POTENTIALLY] SIGNIFICANT.
- Chinese euphemisms can be potentially built by any formal means found in other well-researched languages (e.g., English), including compounding, derivation, blending, onomatopoeia, reduplication, acronymy (by using borrowed Latin letters), abbreviation and deletion, phoneme replacement and alternative “spelling”, graphic modification, metalingual description, and borrowing. Except for compounding, being the default word formation model in Chinese, all other formal means are considerably less productive in comparison to semantic shifts.
- The unprecedented homonymy among Chinese words allows for endless possibilities for puns and creative concealments, though cases of alternative spelling of taboo words are sparse.
- Using the Latin alphabet in a text written with Chinese characters can have euphemistic potency since Latin letters are less transparent for Chinese readers and, therefore, potentially less provocative.
- Although the Chinese writing system allows for unique manipulations of characters in order arrive at a euphemistic effect, cases of character transformation or decomposition are extremely few and exotic for native speakers of Chinese.
- Formal mechanisms are used in almost all detected cases for the formation of novel euphemisms associated with Internet language and digital communication. These new euphemisms have not yet been represented in Chinese lexicography. Possibly this is due to the unstable status and insubstantiality of these recent linguistic creations with a limited

number of speakers using these novel terms against the prescriptive and conservative nature of Chinese lexicography.

- Regarding the question, if there are any specific euphemisms that are entirely unique to the Chinese language, an important distinction between conceptual metaphors/metonymies and their linguistic manifestations must be always kept in view.
  - Euphemisms are truly unique in the cases of euphemistic expressions that refer to proper names GEOGRAPHIC PLACES, HISTORICAL FIGURES, or FICTIONAL CHARACTERS, when a semantic extension derives from various culture-specific aspects and not from universal human physiologic or psychologic phenomena, as embodied metaphors normally do.<sup>253</sup>
  - Euphemisms are unique if they are based on unique conceptual metaphors and metonymies, just as in cases when the Chinese language metaphorises battle wounds as COLOURED SILK (ID-0794) or metonymises sexuality as something RELATED TO YIN [ENERGY] (inter alia, ID-0821, ID-0875, BS-1019).
  - However, though many discovered linguistic manifestations of metaphors and metonymies are unique to Chinese, the underlying metaphors and metonymies involved in the creation of these expressions are not. The euphemisms ‘become immortal and leave’ *xiānshì* 仙逝 (DD-0428) and ‘ascend to the lotus world’ *dēng liánjiè* 登莲界 (DD-0084) are indeed unique linguistic manifestations, however, its metaphors DEATH IS TRANSFORMATION, DEATH IS DEPARTURE, DEATH IS ASCENSION which are involved in the conceptualisation of death are not specific to Chinese language. Although it is impossible to claim that some conceptual metaphors or metonymies are universal due to the current impossibility of checking “more than four thousand languages spoken currently around the world” (Kövesces, 2010, p. 195), the universality of certain conceptual metaphors and metonymies is still hypothesised and can only be supported in this project.
- Based on the entire corpus of the discovered and analysed euphemistic expressions, it is possible to postulate that conventional Chinese euphemisms, similarly to European languages, conceptualise death as a JOURNEY, PARTING, MEETING, VANISHING,

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<sup>253</sup> More discussion on embodiment in metaphors in Casasanto and Gijssels (2015).

DESTRUCTION, LIBERATION, ASCENSION, BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY, END OF A JOURNEY, SLEEP, REST, RETURN, MISFORTUNE, TABOO, ILLNESS, GETTING OLD, SACRIFICE, DARKNESS, WITHERING, OPPOSITE OF LIFE, TRANSFORMATION, THE CALL, THE FALL, THE LOSS, HONOUR, GETTING BURIED, STRETCHING ONE'S LEGS, BEING CLOSE TO THE GRAVE, BEING ON THE DEATHBED, CLOSING ONE'S EYES, STOP BREATHING, LYING ON/UNDER THE GROUND. Chinese language construes old age and ageing as SUNSET, HAVING GREY HAIR, APPROACHING THE END [OF A JOURNEY] and WITHERING. It sees mistresses and lovers as SPOUSES, FRIENDS, BIRDS; it uses SYMPTOMS FOR DISEASE. It refers to sex as SLEEPING, DREAMING, EATING, WAR, DESTRUCTION, SPORTS, GAME, FILTH; instead of calling the contacts 'sexual', it refers to them as ROMANTIC, CLOSE, PASSIONATE, PLEASANT, CARNAL, LOW, SHAMEFUL, IMMORAL, PRIVATE or HIDDEN.

All the above-mentioned findings allow us to get away from the inappropriate exoticisation of non-European languages and better understand that, with all the diversity of linguistic manifestations, people speaking genetically unrelated and typologically divergent languages engage in cognitive processes that are astoundingly similar.

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ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0001	安息	ān xī	rest peacefully	die	死 [多用于死者的悼慰]	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0002	安眠	ān mián	sleep peacefully	die; be dead	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0003	安卧	ān wò	lie peacefully	die; be dead; be buried (at a certain place)	人死亡, 遗体停放或安葬 (在某地)	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0004	百年	bǎi nián	hundred years	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0005	百岁	bǎi suì	hundred years	die	很多年以后, 婉言人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0006	半截入土	bàn jié rù tǔ	have half of one's body buried	be close to death, have one foot in the grave	人年老或多病, 不久就会死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0007	暴崩	bào bēng	collapse suddenly and fiercely	die suddenly	指天子或皇家其他极尊贵人物突然去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0008	暴卒	bào zú	end suddenly	die suddenly	得急病突然死亡, 突然去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0009	背	bèi	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0010	背弃	bèi qì	abandon and leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0011	背世	bèi shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0012	崩	bēng	collapse	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0013	毕命	bì mìng	end one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0014	弊仆	bì pū	fall prostrate	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0015	闭眼	bì yǎn	close one's eyes	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0016	宾空	bīn kōng	[become a] guest [once ascended to] the celestial void	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0017	宾天	bīn tiān	[become a] guest [once ascended to] the sky	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0018	兵解	bīng jiě	get free by a [bladed] weapon	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0019	病逝	bìng shì	leave due to illness	die of an illness	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0020	波臣	bō chén	the servant of [the lord] of the underwater kingdom	drowned person	被水淹死的人	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0021	不测	bù cè	unpredictable	death	死亡等意外的伤害事故	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0022	不讳	bù huì	[one] should not avoid mentioning it	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	他已经安息了。(GC 2015)	Often used in imperative sentences 'rest in peace' (GF 2014; Zhang 1996, p. 1): 再见吧, 安息吧!
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996; Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	她终于静静地安眠, 在他常常去散步的那个地方。(Zhu 2018, p. 2)	人死犹如入睡, 因以“安眠”婉称 (Zhang 1996, p. 1)
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	一位为人类健康而辛勤耕耘的医学一级教授再走完了93年人生历程后, 静静地安卧在鲜花丛中。(Zhu 2018, p. 2)	
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	这么着罗二爷才硬要谢老爷坟, 好让他自己百年之后葬到那个正穴里。(HDC 2010)	死的婉词, HDC 2010; 婉词, 指人死亡, GF 2014. Common collocations: 'after 100 years' 百年之后, 百年以后; 'at the time of 100 years' 百年之际.
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	现在还有我在管他, 等我百岁之后该怎么办啊! (BCC)	古人认为人生罕过百岁, 因以“百岁”婉称死亡 (Zhang 1996, p. 1); 死的讳称, HDC 2010
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	姑奶奶, 官儿要按年资递进的, 你要嫁人说不定一二品里还可以拣出两个嫫夫来呢, 只是齿牙摇落, 须发斑白, 都已半截入土了。(BCC)	Alternative expressions: 'with the bigger half of one's body already in the ground' 多半截入土 meaning 'be almost dead'; 'half of one's body in the ground' 半截身子入土
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《三国演义·第四回》: “永乐太后暴崩, 众论惑焉。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to emperors and their family members. Later used in reference to highly respected people (Zhang 1996, p. 1)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	而在1960年的罗马奥运会上, 荷兰自行车运动员詹森暴卒于竞赛途中, 尸体检验发现, 他在赛前服用了安非他明和尼古丁酒石酸盐。(BCC)	Literary (GF 2014). 暴, 突然。婉指突然死亡。(Zhang 1996, p. 1) Used instead of the pejorative expression 'sudden death' 暴毙
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·孙枝蔚《忆昔篇寄示燕毅仪三子》诗: “八岁背吾母, 出入哭声哑。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·高明《琵琶记·散发归林》: “我闻说你父母背弃, 你媳妇来此相寻, 此事果否?”	Obsolete. See 弃背
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《宋书·后妃传: 孝懿萧皇后》: “孝皇背世五十餘年, 古	Obsolete. Dying is 'leaving the human world' (离开人世, HDC 2010), 'leaving the earthly world' (离开尘世, GC 2015). The meaning of the first character 背 in the expression is 'leave' (as in 'leave one's homeland' 背井离乡, Zhang 1996, p. 2), see 见背
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	皇后生胤初时难产而崩, 所以胤初从落地就没有母亲。(Zhang 1996, p. 2)	意谓天崩地塌。帝王之死, 犹如天崩地塌, 为国之大难。(Zhang 1996, p. 2) Used in reference to emperors and empresses (GF 2014, GC 2015, HDC 2010). Commonly known as a disyllabic term 驾崩. Less frequent compounds are 崩殒 (Zhang 1996, p. 2), 崩逝 (Zhang 1996, p. 2), 崩背 (HDC 2010, Hong 2010), 崩毙 (HDC 2010, Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	当场毕命。(GF 2014)	毕命, 即生命终止。(Zhang 1996, p. 2) Used nowadays mostly in reference to violent or sudden death (横死, GC 2015), although historically it could also describe a peaceful death in old age (老死, 寿终, HDC 2010; Zhang 1996, p. 2). GF (2014) implicitly cautions against mixing this verb with a non-euphemistic homophonous term 'be killed' 毙命 which has derogative connotation
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Lying on the Ground for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	三国·魏·文钦《降吴表》: “钦累世受魏恩, 乌鸟之情, 窃怀愤踊, 在三之义, 期于弊仆。”	Obsolete. 仆倒于地。人死则倒地, 故用作死亡的婉称 (Zhang 1996, p. 2)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Closing One's Eyes for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	没等生病的父亲闭眼, 几个兄弟就已开始争遗产。(GC 2015)	婉词, GF 2014; 人死则闭眼, 故以“闭眼”婉指死亡 (Zhang 1996, p. 2)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·岳珂《程史·献陵疏文》: “仙驭宾空, 载严遐荐, 法筵撤席, 更罄餘哀。”	Obsolete. Said of monarchs (HDC 2010). See 宾天
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《红楼梦·第六三回》: “忽见东府中几个人慌慌张张跑来说: 「老爷宾天了。」众人听了, 吓了一大跳。”	Used in reference to monarchs and later to any highly respected person (GC 2015) 委婉语, 谓帝王之死, 亦泛指尊者之死, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	我听说天狐修炼必须要经过兵解, 才能脱体飞升, 若是经由雷火天劫, 就会形神俱灭了。[https://809802.com/wuxia/gulong/yywd/195.htm]	Originally a Taoist and Buddhist term
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	祖父不幸病逝。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Being Under Water for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·汪中《哀盐船文》: “亦有没者善游, 操舟若神, 死丧之威, 从井有仁, 旋入雷渊, 并为波臣。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea that underwater realm also has rulers, thus their "subjects" were called 'servants'. Later, it was used to refer to the deceased who were drowned
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Unpredictable Event for Death	Zhang 1996	《镜花缘·第十五回》: “倘老夫别有不测, 贤契俯念师生之情, 提携孤儿弱女, 同归故乡, 不致飘流海外, 就是贤契莫大之德了。”	Strongly context-based. Most dictionaries (HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014) define the meaning of this euphemism as "accidental" (料想不到的事情) and "disastrous" (祸患) without any direct reference to death
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	一旦不讳, 谁可代之? (GF 2014)	不避忌讳, GC 2015; 婉词, 指人死亡, GF 2014

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0023	不济事	bù jì shì	do not do any help	seriously ill and is about to die	病重无救，病危将死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0024	不可讳	bù kě huì	it is impossible to avoid mentioning it	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0025	不可言	bù kě yán	[one] cannot talk about it	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0026	不禄	bù lù	receive no [more] salary	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0027	不祥	bù xiáng	not auspicious	misfortune, death	死的讳称	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0028	不行	bù xíng	not good	(about to) die	接近于死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0029	不幸	bù xìng	unluck	misfortune, death	指灾祸，亦特指死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0030	不虞	bù yú	unexpected event	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0031	不育	bù yù	cannot become a grown-up person	die young	犹言夭折	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0032	不在了	bù zài le	be no longer here anymore	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0033	不终	bù zhōng	do not finish [one's full lifespan]	die young	过早死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0034	蝉蜕	chán tuì	be oneself like a cicada shedding its skin	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0035	长别	cháng bié	long separation	death	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0036	长辞	cháng cí	part forever [with the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0037	长短	cháng duǎn	accident	accidental death	人遭遇意外而突然死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0038	长归	cháng guī	return for long	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0039	长忽	cháng hū	long sleep	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0040	长寐	cháng mèi	long sleep	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0041	长眠	cháng mián	[fall into] long sleep	die	人死亡（埋葬在某处）	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0042	长寝	cháng qǐn	long sleep	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0043	长逝	cháng shì	be gone forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0044	长往	cháng wǎng	long departure	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0045	长违	cháng wéi	long departure	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0046	长谢	cháng xiè	bid farewell forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0047	长休	cháng xiū	rest eternally	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·燕北闲人《儿女英雄传》：“[鲍老]向着刘住儿说道：“你	Obsolete. 不中用，不顶事，婉称病危。意谓病危将死，无法可医。(Zhang 1996, p. 2) 重病无救，HDC 2010. Currently used in its literal meaning 'useless', 'of no help' with no relation to death
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	《战国策·魏策一》：“公叔（彘）病，即不可讳，将奈社稷何？” 《汉书·司马迁传》：“今少卿抱不测之罪，涉旬月，迫季冬，仆又薄从上上雍，恐卒然不可讳。”	Obsolete. Possibly a contraction of the phrase 不可讳言 'cannot be avoided in speech'. See 不讳
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《汉书·元后传》：“阳朔三年秋，凤病，天子数自临问，亲执其手，涕泣曰：‘将军病，如有不可言，平阿侯谭次将军矣。’”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Receiving no Salary for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《大宋宣和遗事·元集》：“未几一年，司马光不禄；章惇等入相，再行新法。”	Obsolete. Originally used in reference to senior officials and high-ranked scholars, later applied to officials of any rank and even in regard to the death of any person (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《太平广记》卷四三七引《广异记·姚甲》：“郎君家本北人，今窜南荒，流离万里，忽有不祥，奴当扶持丧事北归。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016	老人家快不行了。(GF 2014)	病情严重，将近死亡。GC 2015; 婉词，指人死亡，GF 2014
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	Zhang 1996, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	遭此不幸，令人心痛。(GF 2014)	Strongly context-based. Used in regard to severe misfortunes, and death is a common case of reference (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·李八缸》：“月生虑一旦不虞，觑无人就床头秘讯之。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Unable to Become Grown-Up for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·恽敬《亡妻陈孺人权厝志》：“生子以道、女玉婴，皆不育，乌乎，可哀也。”	Obsolete. 不能养育承成人，婉指未成年而死。(Zhang 1996, p. 3) Nowadays used in a different meaning 'infertile' with no relation to death
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	Zhang 1996, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	父亲两年前就不在了。(GF 2014)	Also: 没有了
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《汉书·晁错传赞》：“错虽不终，世哀其忠。”	Obsolete. Derived from the idiom 'live one's full life span' 终其天年 or 终天年. Once negated, it refers to the premature death. Alternatively: 不终天年; 不没 (HDC 2010; Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	唐·贯休《经旷禅师院》：“再来寻师已蝉蜕，菡萏枯株醴泉竭。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Originates from the idea that Taoists after their death leave their bodies and become immortal, similarly to cicadas leaving their shells (Zhang 1996, p. 3). Obsolete alternative expressions with the same meaning: 蜕化 (Hong 2010), 蜕委 (Zhang 1996, p. 23; Hong 2010), 委蜕 (Zhang 1996, p. 24)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	母亲撒手人寰，同我们长别了。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	毛主席和我们长辞了，但是，毛泽东思想却永远照亮我国前进的道路。(HDC 2010)	死亡的婉辞，HDC 2010; 远辞、永辞，GC 2015. Typical collocation: 'part forever with the human world' 长辞人间
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	万一我有什么长短，婆，妈，请你们好好地看待孙少奶。(Zhu 2018, p. 30)	Strongly context-based. Alternative expressions with the same meaning 'unexpected misfortune' 三长两短，三长四短，一长二短，一长两短，一长半短 which also often refer to death
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	北·周庾信《周赵国夫人纣豆陵氏墓志铭》：“况复仙台永别，无复箫声；傅母长归，唯留琴曲。”	Obsolete. Death is interpreted as leaving for eternity and never coming back
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·张南庄《何典·第三回》：“他已叫声弗应问声弗听的困到长忽里去了。”	Regional (Wu), 忽 for 'sleep' (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·鲍照《松柏篇》：“长寐无觉期，谁知逝者穷。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Hong 2010, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	长眠于九泉之下。(GF 2014)	Used in common collocation: 长眠不醒
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	孔融《临终》诗：“生存多所虑，长寝万事毕。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	一代伟人，溘然长逝。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·薛福成《庸盦笔记·述异·愚民含忿轻生》：“见其幼弟气尚未绝，灌救得生。其余六人则已长往。”	Obsolete. Death is interpreted as leaving for eternity and never coming back. Alternative Obsolete expressions with the same meaning: 往逝 (Zhang 1996, p. 23), 往化 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·王安石《祭苏虞部文》：“聊陈薄奠，以告长违。”	Obsolete. 永久地离别。(Zhang 1996, p. 4)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	才人不寿，可惜！故人长谢，可哀！（Zhu 2018, p. 31）	The word 谢 here means 'leave' (离开, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Rest	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·唐顺之《胡贤棺记》：“予既不復有所披閱章籍，世事又已一切无所与，则置二杉棺，以待长休。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0048	长终	cháng zhōng	end forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0049	撤瑟	chè sè	remove the harp	get sick and die	指有人生病、死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0050	彻席	chè xí	remove the bed pad	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0051	彻乐	chè yuè	remove the musical instruments	get sick and die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0052	陈根	chén gēn	old roots	deceased friend	亡友	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0053	沉沦	chén lún	sink deeply	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0054	沉眠	chén mián	fall into a deep slumber	death	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0055	沉没	chén mò	sink	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0056	沉湘	chén xiāng	sink in the [river] Xiang	die [due to unjust treatment]	人死亡；冤屈死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0057	程老	chéng lǎo	get old during a journey	die (on one's way)	在路途中死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0058	成仁	chéng rén	[die in order to] achieve virtue	die for a righteous cause	完成、实践仁德，多指为正义事业而牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0059	齿剑	chǐ jiàn	touch the sword	be killed [by a knife or sword]; commit suicide [by cutting one's own throat]	被杀或自刎	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0060	出事	chū shì	accident	have an accident; die	发生丧事，是死亡的隐语	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0061	吹灯	chuī dēng	blow out the lamp	die, death	指人死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0062	吹灯拔蜡	chuī dēng bá là	blow out the lamp and put out the candle	die, death	指人死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0063	炊臼	chuī jiù	cook in a mortar [instead of a pot]	lose one's wife	丧妻	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0064	辞去	cí qù	bid farewell and leave	die, death	去世的婉辞	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0065	辞世	cí shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0066	辞堂	cí táng	leave the hall	die, death	指母亲或祖母去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0067	徂	cú	go [on a journey]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0068	大病	dà bìng	great disease	die, death	死的婉辞	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0069	大分	dà fēn	one's [predestined] life limit	death	大限，寿数	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0070	大故	dà gù	catastrophe	die, death	重大的事故，如战争、灾祸等；指父亲或母亲死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0071	大归	dà guī	great return	die, death	死之婉称	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	而后，溘然长终异国，应已无憾。(Zhu 2018, p. 31)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Removing the Musical Instruments [from the the house] for Death; Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷二·胡四姐》：“我今名列仙籍，本不应再履尘世，但感君情，敬报撒瑟之期，可早处分后事。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea expressed in the "Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial" 《仪礼·既夕礼》 that no musical instruments are used at home when a parent is seriously ill. Similarly, no music was played at ruler's house if any misfortunes happened or inauspicious meteorological or astronomical phenomena occurred. Alternatively: 彻瑟 (Zhang 1996, p. 4)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Removing the Bed Pad [from the Bedroom] for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	李绛《兵部尚书王绍神道碑》：“在位三岁，享龄七十有二，彻席于长安永乐里之私第。”	Obsolete. Originates from the custom of removing the pad from the bed of a deceased (Zhang 1996, p. 4)
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·范仲淹《宋故乾州刺史张公神道碑》：“虽享禄不薄，屢膺蕃庶之赏，彻乐之日，门中索然。”	Obsolete. See 撤瑟
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Grass for Grave; Place for Category: Grave for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·唐孙华《钱瞿亭舍人挽诗》：“独悲君早逝，凄凉哭陈根。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	鲁迅《范爱农》：“大圆犹酩酊，微醉合沉沦。”(HDC 2010)	
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	中兴谏诸将，永夜遂沉眠。(Zhu 2018, p. 32)	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	鲁迅《三闲集·在钟楼上》：“他们以自己的沉没，证明着革命的前行”。	
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	沉湘哀郢都陈迹，剩话人间绝妙词。(Zhu 2018, p. 32)	Originates from the biography of Qu Yuan 屈原 found in the "Records of the Grand Historian" 《史记·屈原贾生列传》 by Sima Qian 司马迁. The poet was exiled due to court intrigues and during his exile found out about the fall of his capital and committed suicide by wading into Miluo River 汨罗江 (a tributary of Xiang River 湘江), cf. Obsolete idiom 'Qu Ping (= Qu Yuan) drowned himself in the Xiang River' 屈平沉湘
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Getting Old for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	你死了，万事皆休；你要不死，只得送你程老，没的留着你那活口，叫你往家去铺搭呀！(Zhu 2018, p. 34)	婉指途中死亡。(Zhang 1996, p. 4)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	杀身成仁。(GF 2014) 杀身成仁，是革命党的本色。(HDC 2010)	成就仁德, HDC 2010; 成全仁义, GF 2014
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Cutting One's Throat for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·刘知几《思慎赋》：“朝结驷而乘轩，暮齿剑而膏馘。”	Obsolete. 齿，触。触剑，受刃。婉指被杀或自刎。(Zhang 1996, p. 4)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	GC 2015	《程乙本红楼梦·第五回》：“赵姨娘的兄弟赵国基昨儿出了事，已经回过老太太、太太，说知道了，叫回姑娘来。”	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing. Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016	他那次遇险，差点儿吹灯。(GF 2014)	Regional (Mainland Chinese, GC 2015, XHC 2016). Colloquial (GF 2014). May also refer to any defeat or relationship breakup, expressed jocularly (GC 2015, GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing. Death is Darkness	Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, GC 2015	去年一场意外，差点就吹灯拔蜡。(GC 2015)	See 吹灯
Metonymy	Anecdote for Category	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	炊白之痛 (Zhu 2018, p. 40)	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	元·关汉卿《玉镜台》第一折：“老身姓温，夫主姓刘，早年辞去，别无儿男。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	父母相续辞世。(GF 2014)	Literary. Used in reference to adults and elderly people. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 辞别人世
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《剪灯新话·秋香亭记》：“祖母辞堂，先君捐馆。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to the death of mothers and grandmothers. The 'hall' in the expression refers to the chamber where mothers and grandmothers lived in one's house (Zhang 1996, p. 5). 堂 means 'mother' (cf. honorific 'dear mother' 令堂)
Metaphor	Death is the Beginning of a Journey	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《史记·伯夷列传》：“于嗟徂兮，命之衰矣！”	Obsolete. 死亡, HDC 2010. The non-euphemistic spelling 殂 builds multiple disyllabic expressions with the same meaning 'die', including 殂落, 告殂 (Zhang 1996, p. 8) as well as 徂没, 徂歿, 徂背, 徂逝, 徂落, 徂丧, 徂迁, 徂谢, 徂颠, 徂天, 徂化, 徂背, 殂迹, 殂丧, 殂陨, 殂殒, 殂谢, 迁殂 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Illness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《庄子·徐无贵》：“仲父之病病矣，可不讳云。至于大病，则寡人恶乎属国而可？”	Obsolete. Death is described as an incurable disease
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	Hong 2010	唐·张鷟《朝野僉载》卷二：“……人之大分，如来尚所未	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	不幸遭逢大故。(GF 2014)	Used with respect to the death of parents, but can also refer to death in general
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	唐·顾况《祭李员外文》：“先生大归，赴哭无由。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0072	袒化	dǎ huà	[one should not be] afraid of the change	die, death	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0073	大还	dà huán	great return	die, death	死之婉称	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0074	大讳	dà huì	great taboo	die, death	大禁忌; 谓天子之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0075	大辟	dà pì	great punishment	death penalty	指死刑	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0076	大期	dà qī	one's ultimate [time] limit	moment of one's death	死期	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0077	大去	dà qù	leave forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0078	大数	dà shù	one's [predestined] life limit	death	大限, 寿数	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0079	大限	dà xiàn	one's ultimate [life] limit [is about to come]	die, death	迷信指寿数已尽, 注定死亡的日期	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0080	大行	dà xíng	go on a great journey	die, death	旧时皇帝或皇后初崩称为「大行」	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0081	大刑	dà xíng	great punishment	death penalty	指死刑	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0082	大忧	dà yōu	great worry	die, death	大忧患, 大灾祸; 指皇帝死丧。有误用以称人父母之丧者	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0083	大夜	dà yè	great night	die, death	形容人死后, 从此长眠不醒	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0084	登莲界	dēng lián jiè	ascend to the lotus world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0085	登天	dēng tiān	ascend to Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0086	登遐	dēng xiá	ascend afar	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0087	登仙	dēng xiān	ascend and [become] an immortal	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0088	登真	dēng zhēn	ascend and [become] an immortal	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0089	登陟	dēng zhì	climb up	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0090	地下修文	dì xià xiū wén	write texts underground [as an official]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0091	奠楹	diàn yíng	[face] the sacrifices made to the dead and [sit between the two] pillars [in a royal hallway]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0092	雕残	diāo cán	wither and decay	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0093	吊颈	diào jǐng	hang one's neck	commit suicide by hanging oneself	上吊自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0094	凋枯	diāo kū	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0095	凋零	diāo líng	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0096	凋落	diāo luò	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0097	雕丧	diāo sàng	wither and get lost	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0098	雕伤	diāo shāng	wither and decay	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0099	凋逝	diāo shì	wither and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0100	凋谢	diāo xiè	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0101	蝶化	dié huà	transform into a butterfly	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·骆宾王《与博昌父老书》：“虽蒙庄一指，殆先觉于劳生；秦佚三号，诩先情于怛化？”	Obsolete. 死亡, GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·楼钥《宜人杨氏挽词》：“一昨闻微恙，宁知竟大还。”	Obsolete. See 大归
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《魏书·礼志三》：“伏惟远祖重光世袭，至有大讳之日，唯侍送梓宫者凶服，左右尽皆从吉。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to emperor's death
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Punishment for Death. Great for Deadly	HDC 2010, GF 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	谁都知道从周到汉，有一种施于男子的“宫刑”，也叫“腐刑”，次于“大辟”一等。对于女性就叫“幽闭”，向来不大人提起那方法，但总之，是决非将她关起来，或者将它缝起来。[https://www.aixiang.com/data/27728.html]	Literary (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018	宋·司马光《祭齐国献穆大长公主文》：“呜呼，遐福未终，大期奄及，去白日之昭晰，归下泉之窈冥。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	他因病入膏肓，自觉大去之期不远，所以找了律师定下遗嘱。(GC 2015)	一去不返, 用为死亡的婉词, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	Hong 2010	《礼记·月令》：“凡举大事，毋逆大数，必顺其时，慎因。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	大限将至。(GF 2014)	Originates from an idea of destiny, when one's predestined life span is up and the one's last moment (= death) has come
Metaphor	Death is a Journey	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《六部成语注解·礼部》：“大行：皇帝初崩，尊谥未定，暂称大行，言其德行大备无所不具也。”	Obsolete. Used by servants of an emperor in respect to his death before the deceased received his posthumous name and title (谥号). The 'great journey' might refer to other major important events
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Punishment for Death. Great for Deadly	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	他犯下滔天大罪，必判大刑。[http://twdict.lookup.tw/大刑.html#YeA14C8w3BI]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《司马温公行状》：“国有大忧，中外窘乏。”	Obsolete. Referred to any great misfortune, but particularly to the death of emperors and empresses and later to the death of any respected person
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·僧孺《从子永宁令谦谏》：“昭涂长已，大夜斯。”	Obsolete. Death is similar to a long sleep with no awakening (GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	Zhang 1996	清·缪荃孙《艺风堂友朋书札·钱堂振·五》：“前从袖岑令弟处送来讣告，知年嫂宜人遽登莲界，至为骇愕。”	Buddhist term. 莲界，佛国……进入佛国，婉称死。(Zhang 1996, p. 6)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	他卧病多年，已于昨晚登天了。(GC 2015)	Might have a contextual humorous connotation with no reference to death: instead it implies that the person is naughty
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·王楙《野客丛书·卷二十八·凉暗登遐》：“晋人如山涛居母丧，诏曰，山太常居凉暗，情在难夺，盖当时未甚避忌故尔，又如登遐二字，晋人臣下亦多称之。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 登假 (Zhang 1996, p. 6), 遐登 (Zhang 1996, p. 25). Used with respect to emperors. Later might refer to the death of anybody
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《赤壁赋》：“飘飘乎如遗世独立，羽化而登仙。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Common collocation: 羽化登仙. The deceased joins the world of the 'immortal' 仙人. See 羽化
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·曹唐《仙都即景》诗：“蟠桃花老华阳东，轩后登真谢六宫。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. The decease joins the world of the immortal 仙人, also known as 真人
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	章炳麟《徐锡麟陈伯平马宗汉秋瑾哀辞》：“亦有马君，就涂未极，调吏旁布，断头登陟。”	Obsolete. 登高，升天。死的婉辞。(Zhang 1996, p. 6)
Metaphor	Death is a Journey	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·司空图《狂题诗十八首之九》：“地下修文著作郎，生前何处倒空墙。”	Obsolete. Said of the deceased literati (Zhang 1996, p. 6). Alternatively: 修文地下 (Zhang 1996, p. 27)
Metonymy	Location for Category: Columns where the Offerings to the Spirits of the Dead are made for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·赵翼《六哀诗·故傅文忠公》：“公竟染危疾，还朝遽莫榷。”	Obsolete. 奠，祭奠；榷，堂屋前部的柱子。(Zhang 1996, p. 6)
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	田海燕《吴玉章同志在辛亥革命前后的革命活动》诗：“辛亥革命五十年，当年志度土半雕残。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Hanging Oneself for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	那妇人昨夜吊颈！(GC 2015)	婉指上吊自杀。(Zhang 1996, p. 7)
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·陈子昂《岷山怀古》诗：“丘陵徒自出，贤圣几凋枯。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering. Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	柯灵《小浪花》：“我的同代人几乎凋零殆尽。”	Used with respect to the elderly people
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·范成大《李郎中挽词》之二：“故人雕落盡，衰涕不勝橫。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to the elderly people. Alternatively: 雕落 (Zhang 1996, p. 7)
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	宋·苏轼《与宋汉杰书》之一：“话及畴昔，良复慨然，三十余年矣，如隔晨星，而前人雕丧略尽，仆亦仅能生还。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·顾炎武《关中杂诗》：“祖谢良朋尽，雕伤节士空。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering. Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·梅曾亮《阮小咸诗序》：“北城诸君凋逝殆尽。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to the elderly people.
Metaphor	Death is Withering	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GF 2014, GC 2015	几十年前的伙伴多已相继凋谢。(GF 2014)	Used with respect to the elderly people. Alternatively: 雕谢 (Zhang 1996, p. 7), 凋零, 凋替 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·周密《悼杨明之》诗：“帐中蝶化真成梦，镜里鸾孤枉断肠。”	Obsolete. Used to refer to both 'dream' and 'death'

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0102	顶踵尽捐	dǐng zhǒng jìn juān	give away everything from the head to the heel	die	牺牲, 死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0103	短长	duǎn cháng	accident	die	意料不到的变故; 死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0104	短见	duǎn jiàn	short-sighted view	suicide	自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0105	短历	duǎn lì	short life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0106	短命	duǎn mìng	short life	die young	寿命不长、早死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0107	断气	duàn qì	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0108	短世	duǎn shì	short life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0109	短岁	duǎn suì	short life	die young	早死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0110	断弦	duàn xián	string is broken	lose one's wife	失妻	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0111	短折	duǎn zhé	break within a short [lifetime]	die young	早死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0112	遁化	dùn huà	hide [from the world] and transform	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0113	噩耗	è hào	grievous news	news about one's death	人死亡的消息	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0114	而已	ér yǐ	that is all	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0115	翻了白眼	fān le bái yǎn	rolled one's eyes	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0116	犯雾露	fàn wù lù	catch a cold	die due to a disease	病死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0117	返真	fǎn zhēn	return to the genuineness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0118	非祸	fēi huò	extraordinary misfortune	death	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0119	非命	fēi mìng	not a [right] appointment [of Heaven]	unnatural death	遭遇祸害而死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0120	飞天	fēi tiān	fly to the Heaven	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0121	焚椒	fén jiāo	burnt pepper	the Empress was killed	指皇后被杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《平山冷燕》第五回：“乃復辱令愛小姐疏救……此天地父母所不能施之恩。而一旦轉加之罪人，真令人頂踵盡捐，不能少報萬一。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 頂踵捐糜 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《儿女英雄傳：第八回》：“我上有老母，下無弟兄，父親既死，就仗我一人奉養老母，萬一機事不密，我有個短長，母親無人養贖。”	See 長短
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Short-Sighted Thinking for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	魯迅《故事新編：奔月》：“羿忽然心驚肉跳起來，覺得嫦娥是因為氣忿尋了短見了！”	Obsolete. 指看不到生的希望而尋死、自殺之事。HDC 2010; 淺短的見解，自殺的婉稱。(Zhang 1996, p. 7) Common collocation: 自尋短見 (Zhang 1996, p. 35). Alternatively: 短計 (Zhang 1996, p. 7)
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·獨孤及《為元相公祭嚴尚書文》：“昔公先中書以道消逸，不踐衰職；公復算屈短曆，卒無相印。蒼生孤望，前後同悲。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to young people
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Hong 2010	陳毅《悼羅炳輝將軍》詩：“所悲君短命，失我老戰友。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, GF 2014	省建工醫院值班醫生告訴記者，老太太送到時就已經斷氣了。(BCC)	
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《漢書：諸侯王表》：“本朝短世，國統三絕。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to young people or emperors who ruled for a short period of time. Also could be used to describe the fleeting nature of life
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·劉知幾《史通·古今正史》：“其後李仁實撰于志寧……等傳，載言記事，見推直筆，惜其短歲，功業未終。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, GC 2015	斷弦猶可續，心去最難留。[https://zhuolan.zhihu.com/p/42538942]	Two stringed instruments – Qin and Se 琴瑟 – symbolized a married couple in classical China, which is why string breaking also means the death of a spouse. If a widower decided to marry for the second time, he could ‘replace the string’ 續弦 or ‘replace the broken string’ 斷弦再續. If the person didn’t get remarried after his wife’s death, it was said he ‘has not replaced the broken string yet’ 斷弦未續
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	南朝·梁·劉勰《文心雕龍：哀吊》：“賦寃之謫，短折曰哀。哀者，依也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·顏真卿《有唐茅山元靖先生廣陵李君碑銘》：“先生以大曆己酉歲冬十一月十四日，遁化于茅山紫陽之別院。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. 遁，隱。道家認為，人死是靈魂離化而去。(Zhang 1996, p. 7)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	噩耗傳來，不勝悲痛。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	Zhang 1996	唐·元稹《祭亡妻韋氏文》：“縱斯言之可踐，奈夫人之而已。”	Obsolete. 完了。(Zhang 1996, p. 30)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Showing the Whites of One’s Eyes for Death	Zhu 2018	他恨不能雙手掐住她的脖子，掐！掐！掐！一直到她翻了白眼！(Zhu 2018, p. 72)	
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《漢書：淮南厲王劉長傳》：“淮南王為人剛，今暴摧折之，臣恐其逢霧露病死，陛下有殺弟之名，奈何？”後以“犯霧露”指病死。	Obsolete. The term ‘mist and dew’ 霧露 refers to the name of a severe cold in traditional Chinese medicine (Zhang 1996, p. 8)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·徐乾學《與劉古衡書》之三：“若不速照良方自醫，一旦返真，人其謂之何哉！”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Alternatively: 返真元 (Zhang 1996, p. 8)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·孫光憲《北夢瑣言》卷七：“文學淵奧，迴出華流，然特才躁進，竟罹非禍。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) interprets death as ‘extraordinary misfortune’ (非常的災禍)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	免于非命。(GF 2014)	HDC (2010) interprets this expression as something ‘against the natural order’ (不合天命, 違反天道) which usually refers to the unnatural or violent death
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	Zhu 2018	徐志摩飛天后，他寫了悼詩《吊志摩先生》……。(Zhu 2018, p. 74)	
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·程羽文《鴛鴦牒》：“遼蕭後騷雅纏綿，焚椒最慘。”	Obsolete. According to HDC (2010), the palace where Empresses together with the concubines used to reside within the Weiyang palace complex of the Han Dynasty was called ‘the chamber of pepper’ 椒房 or ‘chambers of pepper and orchid’ 椒房蘭室, since its walls were rubbed with fragrant pepper (symbol of fertility, CG 2015). Later the term was used metonymically to refer to the Empress herself (Zhang 1996, p. 8)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0122	风木	fēng mù	tree and wind	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0123	风烛	fēng zhú	candle [flame] in the wind	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0124	伏剑	fú jiàn	receive the sword	commit suicide [by cutting one's throat]	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0125	跏趺	fū shì	leave [the earthly world] sitting cross-legged	die (said of a Buddhist)	僧徒逝世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0126	赴义	fù yì	answer the call of duty	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0127	赴召玉楼	fù zhào yù lóu	answer the call to the jade tower	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0128	盖棺	gài guān	close the coffin [lid]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0129	槁	gǎo	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0130	告别人世	gào bié rén shì	bid farewell to the human world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0131	宫车晏驾	gōng chē yàn jià	the emperor's carriage was set out late	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0132	故	gù	grow old <i>or</i> accident	die; dead	死亡; 死的	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0133	古	gǔ	[become] a forefather	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0134	顾命	gù mìng	look at one's past and proclaim one's [last] will	last will of the ruler; posthumous imperial edict	天子的遗诏	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0135	鼓盆	gǔ pén	drum a bowl [in grief]	die (said of one's wife)	比喻妻死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0136	故去	gù qù	grow old and leave <i>or</i> become the man of the past and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0137	古人	gǔ rén	forefather	deceased person	已死的人	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0138	故世	gù shì	become the man of the past and leave [the earthly world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0139	顾言	gù yán	look at one's past and say [one's last will]	last will of the ruler; posthumous imperial edict	人临终遗言	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0140	光荣	guāng róng	[gain] glory	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0141	归道山	guī dào shān	return to the mountain of immortals	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0142	归寂	guī jì	return to the parinirvana	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0143	归去	guī qù	return	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Literary Image from a Poem for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·汪廷讷《狮吼记·第二出》：“先父公弼，作宦黄州，因而流寓岐亭，不幸风木含悲，年来独与妻房柳氏，谐其伉俪。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to deceased parents, common in collocations 'regret one's failure to take good care of one's parents while they were alive' 风木之思, 风木之悲, 风木含悲. The expression derives from the 'The Outer Commentary to the Book of Songs by Master Han' (c. 150 BC) 《韩诗外传》卷九：“树欲静而风不止，子欲养而亲不待也。” "Tree desires peace, but the wind does not stop. Children want to take care of their parents, but they are not with us anymore". Alternatively: 风树 (Zhang 1996, p. 8), 风枝 (Zhang 1996, p. 8)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	但是，从1990年后，他的身体逐渐衰弱，进入了风烛残年。(BCC)	Used with respect to people who are about to die (the elderly people, patients etc.) understood as extinction of the candle flame. Often used in the collocation 'in one's declining years', 'be about to die' 风烛残年
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Cutting One's Throat for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·钱谦益《母刘氏仍前赠》：“古之贤母，望倚门而辞伏剑者，无不教其子以作忠也。”	Obsolete. 伏，承受。婉指用剑自刎。(Zhang 1996, p. 8)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·魏源《圣武记》卷五：“晚年病目，能以手捫经卷而辨其字，於四十一年跌逝京师。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	现在，我总算可以从容赴义了！(HDC 2010)	
Metaphor	Death is the Call	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·曾朴《孽海花》第二十四回：“忽听见里面一片哭声沸腾起来，却把个文园病渴的司马相如，竟做了玉楼赴召的李长吉了。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 玉楼赴召 (Zhang 1996, p. 31). According to a legend, when the poet Li He 李贺 of the Tang Dynasty was about to die, he met a man in a red robe who was sent as a messenger to deliver the will of God: the poet is called to heaven in order to glorify in his poems the newly built Palace of White Jade for the Jade Emperor
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	鲁迅《花边文学·运命》：“智者千虑，必有一失”，这里的‘失’，是在非到盖棺之后，一个人的运命‘终’是‘不可知’。”	
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·高攀龙《三时记》：“文山负其马，立稿，至今马冢尚在。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	Zhu 2018	一个人行将告别人世，还不肯原谅别人，这是怎样的大无畏精神？(Zhu 2018, p. 85)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·孙光宪《北梦瑣言·卷十八》：“帝母弟存渥从战，及宫车晏驾，存渥与刘皇后同奔太原。”	Obsolete. Said of emperors. Alternatively: 宫车晚驾, 晚驾 (Zhang 1996, p. 23; Hong 2010), 宫车晚出, 晚出 (Hong 2010), 宴驾 (Zhang 1996, p. 29; Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Getting Old for Death or Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	我住的是一个已故资本家留下的别墅。	Although the euphemistic meaning of 'die, dead' can be derived from the meaning 'accident', 'misfortune' (Zhang 1996, p. 9). XDZ (2004: 293) sees the connection with the basic meaning of this word 'old', 'past'. Common collocations for 'the deceased' are 故人 and 故友 (Zhang 1996, p. 40; Zhu 2018, p. 90)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	Zhang 1996	唐·司空图《诗品二十四则·旷达》：“孰不有古，南山峨峨。”	Obsolete. See 作古
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《东周列国志·第四回》：“晋文公有疾，召赵衰、先軫、狐射姑、阳处父诸臣，入受顾命，使辅世子驩为君，勿替伯业。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grief for Mourning	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	明·朱权《荆钗记·第四十三出》：“他鼓盆已久，未有夫人，央我去说亲。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 鼓缶. Common collocations: 'grief for one's deceased wife' 鼓盆之痛 or 鼓盆之戚
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	父亲故去快三年了。(GC 2015)	See 故
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	鲁迅《热风·望勿“纠正”》：“汪原放君已经成了古人了。”	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	家父已经故世多年了。(GC 2015)	作古，去世。(Zhang 1996, p. 9)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·王安石《大理寺丞杨君墓志铭》：“嘉祐七年四月辛巳，卒於南，享年三十九。顾言曰：‘焚吾所为书，无留也。以棺从先人葬。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	Zhang 1996	能活着回来当然最好。万一光荣了，也可以为秀才们提供一点素材。(Zhang 1996, p. 9)	Strongly context-based. Used in military contexts to refer vaguely to the death of soldiers
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	这位朋友，现在已归道山，这一回无言造访，我至今不忘。(Zhu 2018, p. 93)	'Mountain of Dao' 道山 refers to the Mountain of Immortals 仙山, Taoist paradise, where souls of the righteous reside (Zhang 1996, p. 9). Alternatively: 'die long time ago' 久归道山
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·王世贞《宛委余编·八》：“宋开宝中，八十老僧道价为丛林所重，临当归寂，从容示偈。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Used with respect to the death of monks and nuns. The term 寂 can be interpreted as parinirvana 圆寂 (Zhang 1996, p. 9)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	如今，母亲已乘春风向那永恒归去。(HDC 2010)	

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DD-0144	归全	guī quán	return with one's intact [body]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0145	归泉	guī quán	return to the [Yellow] spring	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0146	归人	guī rén	person who returned	deceased person	死人	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0147	归山	guī shān	return to mountains	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0148	归神	guī shén	one's soul returns [to Heaven]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0149	归世	guī shì	return to the [eternal] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0150	归天	guī tiān	return to Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0151	归土	guī tǔ	return to the soil	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0152	归西	guī xī	return to the West	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0153	归阴	guī yīn	return to the underworld	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0154	桂折	guì zhé	cinnamon branch is broken	die (said of honourable people)	桂枝折断。喻品德高尚的人亡故	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0155	桂折兰摧	guì zhé lán cuī	cinnamon branch and orchid are broken	die	比喻品德高尚的人亡故	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0156	归真	guī zhēn	return to the genuineness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0157	过	guò	pass [away]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0158	过背	guò bèi	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0159	过辈	guò bèi	have spent one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0160	裹革	guǒ gé	wrap the corpse in the horse's skin	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0161	过去	guò qu	leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0162	过身	guò shēn	leave the human world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0163	过世	guò shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0164	裹尸	guǒ shī	wrap the corpse in the horse's skin	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0165	裹尸马革	guǒ shī mǎ gé	wrap the corpse in the horse's skin	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0166	好歹	hǎo dǎi	disaster	die	不幸的意外变故、灾祸，多指死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0167	蒿露	hāo lù	wormwood and dew	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0168	阖棺	hé guān	close the coffin [lid]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0169	合眼	hé yǎn	close eyes	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《后汉书·崔骃传》：“贵启体之归全兮，庶不忝乎先子。”	Obsolete. Refers to the "natural" death in old age, when the whole body is preserved (contrasted with the death due to an accident). Could be used in an idiom: 全生全归
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《闲情偶寄·演习·变调》附《改本》：“因来灶边，窥奴私噓，一声儿哭倒便归泉。”	Obsolete. Refers to the "Yellow Spring" which stands for afterlife, see 黄泉
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《列子·天瑞》：“古者谓死人为归人。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	到第四天傍晚，匡老头归山了。(BCC)	Regional. Mountains were a common burial site in pre-modern China. 人死后大都埋葬在山上，故用以比喻去世，GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《三国演义·第七十七回》：“关公夜走临沮，为吴将所获，义不屈节，父子归神。”	Obsolete. 人死即灵魂归天。(Zhang 1996, p. 9)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《前汉书平话·卷上》：“大汉十九年九月十一日，韩信归世。”	Obsolete. Taoist. Alternatively: 归尽 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014	如今不中用的人都顺顺当当活下来，真正有点本事、有点志气的人早就归天了。(Zhu 2018, p. 94)	婉词，GF 2014; 人死的婉辞，HDC 2010; 人死，因不忍直言死亡而改以委婉之辞替代，GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	鲁迅《书信集·致曹靖华》：“而今竟已归土，哀哉！”(HDC 2010)	Obsolete. 谓人逝世，HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	我不能服侍娘娘百年归西，是我不孝顺。(Zhu 2018, p. 94)	Buddhist term. 称人死亡的委婉语，GC 2015; 到西天，谓人死亡，HDC 2010. 'West' 西 in 归西 can be interpreted as 'western sky' 西天, which in Buddhist discourse belongs to the 'pure' or 'blessed country' and can be compared to the western 'paradise' (XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	昆曲《十五贯·第一场》：“你父被杀命归阴。”	死后灵魂回归阴间，HDC 2010; 魂魄回归阴间，GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	北周·庾信《周安昌公夫人郑氏墓志铭》：“巴水幽咽，猿鸣断绝。月落珠伤，春枯桂折。”	Obsolete. Said of honourable people (品德高尚的人亡故，HDC 2010), as cinnamon branch refers to a talented person
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	元·曹之谦《吊王内翰从之》诗：“山瞻斗仰名空在，桂折兰摧恨未休。”	Obsolete. Said of honourable people ((品德高尚的人亡故，HDC 2010), as cinnamon branch refers to a talented person
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	有人说他们得到一张藏宝图，海角天涯寻宝去了，有人说夫妻俩早已物化归真。(BCC)	Buddhist term (HDC 2010; Zhang 1996, p. 10), later also Islamic term (GF 2014) interpreting death as 'leaving of the body by the soul and returning to Allah 真主'
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, XHC 2016	现在妈过了，家里也冷静……(HDC 2010)	Regional (XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·俞弁《逸老堂诗话》卷下：“陈声伯《渚山诗话》云：‘近世士大夫遇事退却’，则曰：‘过背之后，不知和尚在钵盂在？’”	Obsolete. The meaning of the second character 背 in the expression is 'leave' (as in 'leave one's homeland' 背井离乡, see 见背)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	潘漠华《人间》：“听说你父亲已‘过辈’了。”	Obsolete. 过完了这辈。(Zhang 1996, p. 10)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·员半千《陇头水》诗：“喋血多壮胆，裹革无怯魂。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to the deceased in war
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	……那夫人就过去了。(Zhu 2018, p. 95)	Alternative interpretation: dying is 'becoming a man of the past' 已成过去之人。(Zhang 1996, p. 10)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《二十年目睹之怪现状·第十回》：“自从你祖老太爷过身之后，你母亲就跟着你老人家运送灵柩回家乡去。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) interprets this expression as 'leaving the human world' (去世)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	……老先生已过世了。(Zhu 2018, p. 95)	离开人世。(Zhang 1996, p. 10)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·何逊《见征人别》诗：“且当横行去，谁论裹尸入。”	Obsolete. Used in the term 'shroud / cloth to wrap a corpse' 裹尸布
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·邵灿《香囊记·第十二出》：“还须上万言策，拼取微躯，裹尸马革。”	Obsolete. 指战死沙场后，用马皮把尸体包裹起来。(Zhang 1996, p. 16) Alternatively: 马革裹尸 (Zhang 1996, p. 10)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	郭澄清《大刀记》第九章：“万一我要有个好歹，等咱二愣长大成人，去找你认爹的时候，这只手铐就算个凭证吧！”(HDC 2010)	Strongly context-based. 多指死亡，HDC 2010. Normally refers to a deadly danger (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Song for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·周亮工《书影》卷四：“戊子余入闽时，客以其诗来，予悲其蒿露，谓客曰：‘余任其葬，子任其诗。’”	Obsolete. Originates from the names of two songs dedicated to death: 'wormwood village' 《蒿里》(can be used in the meaning 'tomb' or 'cemetery') and 'dew on the shallot' 《薤露》(can be used in the meaning 'mortal', 'come and go')
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《三国志·魏志·邓艾传》：“以平蜀之功，绍封其孙，使阖棺定讞，死无馀恨。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Eyes Closed for Death	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, GF 2014	等我合眼了，你们再分家吧。[http://zuci.chaziwang.com/show/wci-23489.html]	Alternatively: 阖眼

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0170	薨	hōng	rumble [when a building collapsed]	die	古代诸侯或大官死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0171	后话	hòu huà	words after	last words before one's death	临终遗言	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0172	忽然	hū rán	suddenly [die]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0173	化鹤	huà hè	transform into a crane	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0174	化期	huà qī	time of the transformation	moment of one's death	死期	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0175	化去	huà qù	transform [into an immortal] and leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0176	化身而去	huà shēn ér qù	transform one's body and leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0177	化形	huà xíng	change one's form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0178	还真	huán zhēn	return to the genuineness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0179	讳	huì	taboo	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0180	灰钉	huī dīng	lime and nails	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0181	回老家	huí lǎo jiā	get back to one's old home	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0182	回去	huí qù	return	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0183	讳日	huì rì	taboo day	the day of one's death	人死之日	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0184	回首	huí shǒu	turn one's head	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0185	蕙损兰摧	huì sǔn lán cuī	orchid is broken	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0186	讳所	huì suǒ	place of taboo	place of one's death	死难之地	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0187	魂断	hún duàn	soul leaves [the body]	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0188	魂销	hún xiāo	one's soul dissipated	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0189	忌辰	jì chén	taboo day	the day of one's death	人去世的日子	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0190	即代	jí dài	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0191	寂灭	jì miè	quietude and extinction	die	僧尼死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0192	忌日	jì rì	taboo day	the day of one's death	人死之日	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0193	即世	jí shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《汉书·卷八十一·孔光传》：“及霸薨，上素服临吊者再。”	Obsolete. Said of the deceased noble people or high-ranking officials. 房子坍塌时发出颠坏之声而令人震惊。(Zhang 1996, 10) It builds multiple disyllabic expressions with the same meaning 'die', including 薨背, 薨逝, 薨谢, 薨陨 (Zhang 1996, p. 11)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	Zhang 1996, GC 2015, HDC 2010	他可留下后话，才撒手人寰？(GC 2015)	Strongly context-based
Deletion	Taboo word 'die' is omitted	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《后汉书·赵壹》：“窃伏西州，承高风旧矣，乃今方遇而忽然，奈何命也。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 忽诸 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《搜神后记》：“丁令威学道，后化鹤归辽。”	Obsolete. Can be spelled 鹤化. Often used in the collocation 'an immortal transforms into a crane' 仙人化鹤 meaning 'die'
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]. Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·《传法正宗记·卷一》：“其后以化期将近，乃命摩訶迦叶曰：‘吾以清淨法眼涅槃妙心实相无相微妙正法，今付於汝，汝当护持。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is Departure	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GC 2015, HDC 2010	《刘知远诸宫调·第二》：“妻夫妻母在生时，凡百事做人且较容易。自从他化去，欺负杀俺夫妻两个。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is Departure	Zhang 1996	明·无名氏《杨冢府世代忠勇通俗演义》：“闻吾儿化身而去，长善公主今已惊死。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, GC 2015	宋·李石《续博物志》卷七：“臣搏大数有终，圣朝难恋，已于今月二十二日化形于莲花峰。”	Obsolete. XHC (2016) recognizes only the literal meaning 'change one's form (said of demons)'
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·唐顺之《闻石屋彭君置生棺有感为赋》之一：“试料还真后，谁为倚户人。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《左传·桓六年》：“周人以讳事神，名终将讳之。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·黄宗羲《留仙冯公神道碑铭》：“鐘鼓无灵，灰钉见志。”	Lime (石灰) and 'nails' (钉子) were used to bury the corpse and close the coffin, thus metonymically refer to death (Zhang 1996, p. 11)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, HDC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	他因得了绝症，没多久就回老家了。(GC 2015)	Often has jocular connotation (XHC 2016, GF 2014). 旧时迷信，认为是由阴间魂魄转世而来，死后又回到阴间。(Zhang 1996, p. 11)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《红楼梦·第十三回》：“秦可卿梦中诀别王熙凤时说：‘姊妹好睡！我今日回去，你也不送我一程。’”	Obsolete. See 回老家
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·宋濂《汪文节公神道碑》：“其奉亲也，丁工部公之忧，则三年独处於外，非御酒肉，每遇讳日，悲恸不自胜。”	Obsolete. Originates from the tradition to avoid the name of the deceased in any form
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《儒林外史·第二十回》：“牛先生是个异乡人，今日回首在这里，一些甚么也没有。”	Obsolete. The metaphorical understanding of dying as 'leaving' derives from 'turning one's head back' (回头, GC 2015; 回头看, HDC 2010) and 'looking back at one's past [at the end of one's life]' (回想, 回忆, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·梁辰鱼《破齐阵·咏时序悼亡》：“把酒对斜晖，问芳卿为甚的便惠损兰摧。”	Obsolete. Used with respect to the death of a young woman. The expression contains two terms for orchid: 蕙 stands for 蕙草 and 兰 stands for 佩兰, both denoting a young woman (Zhang 1996, p. 12). Alternatively: 蕙折兰摧, 兰摧蕙折 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·王绅《滇南恸哭记》：“遂遇害，时为腊月二十四日未申时……讳所，则今之观音寺前三市街。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	苏曼殊《断鸿零雁记》第二十七章：“异哉先生，人既云亡，哭胡为者？曾谓雪姑有负於先生耶？试问覆花郎，吾家女公子为谁魂断也？”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 断魂
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·元稹《感梦》诗：“行吟坐叹知何极？影绝魂销动隔年。今夜 商山馆中梦，分明同在后堂前。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 魂消
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	另外还出过一些纪念外国作家诞辰或忌辰的专刊。(HDC 2010)	人去逝的日子，旧俗在此日禁止娱乐行为，故称为忌辰。(GC 2015)
Character Replacement	Taboo character is replaced with a neutral character with the similar meaning	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《金石续编·唐长丰令李丕墓志铭》：“沉疾於故林私第，即	Obsolete. In Tang Dynasty the usage of the character 世 'world' was restricted, thus the alternative character with the similar meaning 代 is used in this euphemism (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	《黄绣球·第十三回》：“老姑子既得了这座荒庵，又有箇终老之意，看看自家老病颓唐，一旦寂灭之后，叫那中年伴当，怎样支撑得住？”	Buddhist term. Used in reference to Buddhists, especially monks and nuns (Zhang 1996, p. 12)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	每到母亲忌日，他都要去祭奠。(GF 2014)	Private taboo day' 私忌日 or 私忌 denoted the day of one's parents' death (Zhang 1996, p. 38)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·叶廷珪《吹网录·柳边纪略》：“迨后先子即世，归葬中	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0194	既往	jì wǎng	be already gone	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0195	极刑	jí xíng	extreme punishment	death penalty	指死刑	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0196	驾崩	jià bēng	imperial carriage was overturned	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0197	驾鹤	jià hè	ride a crane	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0198	驾鹤成仙	jià hè chéng xiān	transform into an immortal riding a crane	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0199	驾鹤西去	jià hè xī qù	ride a crane to the West	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0200	见背	jiàn bèi	be abandoned [by parents]	lose one's parents / grandparents	长辈去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0201	见马克思	jiàn mǎ kè sī	meet [Karl] Marx	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0202	见上帝	jiàn shàng dì	meet God	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0203	见阎王	jiàn yán wáng	meet [god of death] Yama	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0204	解骨	jiě gǔ	lose one's bones	die	尸解	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0205	解驾	jiě jià	unharness [the horses from] the carriage	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0206	解剑	jiě jiàn	unfasten the sword	commit suicide	自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0207	解脱	jiě tuō	free oneself	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0208	解形	jiě xíng	lose one's physical form	die	尸解	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0209	尽	jìn	end	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0210	尽命	jìn mìng	end one's life <i>or</i> give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0211	进士	jìn tǔ	enter the soil	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0212	就化	jiù huà	let the transformation happen; <i>or</i> give away [one's life] and transform	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0213	就命	jiù mìng	give away one's life	die	毕命, 死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0214	就世	jiù shì	end one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0215	就义	jiù yì	fulfil one's duty	die as a martyr	为义而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0216	拄杖	zhǔ zhàng	bamboo staff	mourn for one's father	父丧	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0217	捐背	juān bèi	abandon and leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0218	捐宾客	juān bīn kè	leave one's guests	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	Zhang 1996	南朝·齐·王俭 《褚渊碑文序》：“晏婴既往，齐君越车而行哭。”	Obsolete. Possible interpretation: the deceased is one who turned into a person of the past 人死则成过去之人。(Zhang 1996, p. 12) Nowadays still used in the non-euphemistic meaning 'the past' as in collocations: 'matters of the past' 既往之事, 'let bygones be bygones' 既往不咎
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Punishment for Death. Great for Deadly	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	后来罗伯斯庇尔因是暴君而被处以极刑。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Hong 2010	如果国王驾崩, 必须要有一个继位的国王。(BCC)	Used in reference to emperors. The verb 'collapse' 崩 with the characteristic radical is used on the occasion of a mountain break or an avalanche, so that one could see the dimension of the event. Might be related to the classical idiom 'sky collapses and ground splinters' 天崩地塌 which stands for 'catastrophe', 'disaster'. Alternatively: 崩驾 (Zhang 1996, p. 2), 驾薨 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is a Journey	Hong 2010	南朝·梁·江淹《别赋》：“驾鹤上汉，骖鸾腾天。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 鹤驭, 鹤驭登仙, (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	杨大群《关东传奇》第54章：“……老爹，你驾鹤成仙了，嘿嘿。”(HDC 2010)	死的婉称, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Transition	XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	李祖新老人已驾鹤西去。(Zhu 2018, p. 117)	Alternative expressions with synonymous morphemes having the same meaning: 乘鹤仙去, 驾鹤西游 (Zhu 2018, p. 117), 驾鹤西归, 乘鹤远去 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	周立波《山乡巨变》下十一：“她一把眼泪，一把鼻涕，先哭去世多年的爷爷，后哭新近见背的妈妈。”	The expression should not be interpreted literally as 'see one's back'. The word 见 is used here a function word expressing passive meaning (as in 'to be accused' 见责; 'to be rejected' 见弃; 'to be mocked' 见笑, GF 2014; XHC 2016:639). The second character 背 is used here as a verb 'leave / abandon / desert' (Zhang 1996, p. 12)
Metaphor	Death is the Meeting	Zhu 2018	[他]得了脑充血, 一命呜呼, 去见了马克思。(Zhu 2018, p. 118)	Can be used dysphemistically
Metaphor	Death is the Meeting	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	最近几年大概还不至于要见上帝, 然而甚矣吾衰矣。望你好生保养身体。(Zhu 2018, p. 118)	
Metaphor	Death is the Meeting	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	要不是苏干事, 我早见了阎王啦! (Zhu 2018, p. 118)	Can be used dysphemistically. Alternatively: 见阎王爷 (Zhu 2018, p. 118)
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	南朝·宋·鲍照《白云》诗：“探灵喜解骨，测化善腾天。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. HDC (2010) sees dying as 'cutting the cords of the mortal body' (解脱骸骨)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	南朝·梁·陶弘景《许长史旧馆碑》：“太元元年，解驾违世。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Using the Sword for Death	Zhang 1996	唐·李贺《马诗》：“君王今解剑，何处逐英雄？”	Obsolete. 解下佩剑。婉指自杀。(Zhang 1996, p. 12)
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	Zhu 2018	杨校长说，患了癌症才好，我就可以解脱了，死不死活不活反让人难熬。(Zhu 2018, p. 122)	
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·陈子昂《体玄先生潘尊师碑颂》：“遂解形而遗世，乘白云以上宾。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. HDC (2010) sees dying as 'setting oneself free' (脱身), when 'one releases oneself from the body and becomes immortal' (遗弃形骸而成仙)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014	自尽。(GF 2014) 同归于尽。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey] or Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《宋书·卷四十六·张邵传》：“音仪容止，众皆瞩目，见	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	张洁《拣麦穗》：“他摸着我的头顶说：‘不等你长大，我可该进土啦。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·白居易《唐抚州上弘和尚石塔碑铭》：“言讫跌坐，恬然就化。”	Obsolete. Said of Buddhist monks. 向化, 归顺 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·向秀《思旧赋序》：“嵇博综伎艺，於丝竹特妙，临当就命，顾视日影，索琴而弹之。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	汉·刘向《说苑·卷一·君道》：“管子今年老矣，为弃寡人	Obsolete. The morpheme 就 here means 'end' (终, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	瞿秋白同志就义60多年了。[http://www.cqvip.com/qk/81684x/200201/11186879.html]	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《旧五代史·晋书·尹玉羽传》：“会有直杖之丧，累岁羸疾，冬不释普履，期不变倚庐。”	Obsolete. Metonymically refers to the death of one's father, since a bamboo staff was used by the son during mourning (Zhang 1996, p. 13)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	晋·潘岳《寡妇赋》：“荣华晬其始茂兮，良人忽以捐背。”	Obsolete. The first character 捐 in the expression means 'abandon, desert' (as in 'relinquish' 捐弃). The meaning of the second character 背 in the expression is 'leave' (as in 'leave one's homeland' 背井离乡), see 见背
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	鲁迅《中华革命党》：“设孙先生一旦捐宾，岂吾辈将无所	Obsolete. Dying is 'leaving one's guests and going' (弃宾客而去, HDC 2010). Used in reference to the death of people of higher rank/position. Alternatively: 捐宾 (Hong 2010)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0219	捐床帐	juān chuáng zhàng	leave the bed curtain	die (said of women)	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0220	捐馆舍	juān guǎn shè	leave one's house	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0221	捐骸	juān hái	give away one's life	die	捐躯	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0222	捐命	juān mìng	give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0223	捐躯	juān qū	give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0224	捐身	juān shēn	give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0225	捐生	juān shēng	give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0226	捐世	juān shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0227	诀别	jué bié	part [forever]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0228	绝命	jué mìng	have one's life cut short	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0229	绝气	jué qì	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0230	绝世	jué shì	break the nexus with the [earthly] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0231	开除	kāi chú	remove	kill	杀死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0232	考终	kǎo zhōng	end [one's life]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0233	溘然	kè rán	suddenly [die]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0234	溘逝	kè shì	depart suddenly	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0235	跨鹤	kuà hè	fly on a crane	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0236	兰摧玉折	lán cuī yù zhé	orchid is broken, jade is cracked	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0237	老了	lǎo le	get old	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0238	老去	lǎo qù	get old and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0239	离尘	lí chén	depart from the earthly world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0240	离开	lí kāi	depart	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0241	离去	lí qù	leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·颜真卿《崔孝公宅陋室铭记》：“太夫人王氏捐衾之后，公徙居他室，或在宾馆，而无常所。”	Obsolete. Said of a deceased woman (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·恽敬《与来卿书》：“清如先生捐馆舍，世间又少一读书力行之人矣。”	Obsolete. Dying is 'abandoning a guesthouse' (抛弃馆舍, HDC 2010). Can be shortened to 捐馆 or 捐舍 (Zhang 1996, p. 13)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《再生缘》第二回：“老师青目门生幸，惟有捐骸报圣王。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·苏辙《北狄论》：“汉兵深入，不憚死亡，捐命绝幕之。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GF 2014, GC 2015	在抗日战争和抗美援朝战争时期，1400多名中国烈士为支援越南人民的正义事业而捐躯。(BCC)	Used in reference to the death in the name of justice or any righteous cause. Common collocations: 'die for one's country' 为国捐躯 (Zhang 1996, p. 24), 'die for the right cause' 捐躯赴义
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GC 2015	《三国演义·第一一八回》：“捐身酬烈祖，搔首泣穹苍。”	Obsolete. Used in an Obsolete collocation: 'die for the right cause' 捐身殉义
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015	故仁道不远，则杀身以成仁，义重于生，则捐生而取义。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·陈师道《妾薄命》诗之二：“捐世不待老，惠妾无其终。”	Obsolete. 犹弃世。人死的婉辞。HDC 2010. The morpheme 捐 has the meaning 'abandon / relinquish' (舍弃; 抛弃 GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	若不是造化弄人，四年前说什么他也不会向娜薇亚那个可恶的女人妥协，眼睁睁的看着自己最在乎的宝贝弟弟“诀别人世，永远离开这个世界。(BCC)	Strongly context-based. Dying is 'bidding farewell with no chance of meeting again' (再无会期的离别 HDC 2010). Can be used non-euphemistically: 'leave one's hometown forever' 诀别故乡
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《后汉书·卷二：显宗孝明帝纪》：“子孙饥寒，绝命于此，岂祖考之意哉！”	Common collocations: 'suicide note' 绝命书 or 绝命词
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《后汉书·卷八十：文苑传下：赵壹传》：“昔原大夫赋桑下绝气，传称其仁。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《左传：哀公十五年》：“大命隕队，绝世于良。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《水浒传后传：第二回》：“我一时性起，开除了他。”	Obsolete. Killing is 'eliminating' 除去 (Zhang 1996, p. 14)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《文选：潘岳：杨荆州诔》：“谏德策勋，考终定谥。”	Obsolete. Originates from the expression 考终命 'end one's life [naturally]' (HDC 2010; Hong 2010), similar to 善终 (GC 2015). Used in reference to the natural death at an advanced age. Common collocations: 'the year of one's death' 考终年 (Zhang 1996, p. 14)
Deletion	Taboo word 'die' is omitted	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·周亮工《追报亡友黄汉臣书》：“子迺隔岁书来，遂闻先生溘然之耗，能不悲哉！”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异：卷四：辛十四娘》：“巫医无灵，竟溘然长逝。”	Obsolete. Can be interpreted as a contraction of two words 'suddenly' and 'pass away' 溘然长逝 (GF 2014). Originates from the poem "The Lament" 《离骚》 from the anthology "Chuci" 《楚辞》 attributed to Qu Yuan 屈原. The morpheme 'abruptly' 溘 forms multiple compounds with words having the same meaning 'die suddenly': 溘尽, 溘谢, 溘至, 溘毙 (Zhang 1996, p. 14; Hong 2010). There is a famous expression which describes the fleeting nature of life: 'the morning dew dissipates swiftly' 溘先朝露 or 朝露溘至
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·林景熙《钱盛景则教授诗》：“空明仙人朝帝所，跨鹤凌虚堕霜羽。”	Obsolete. Originates from the Taoist symbolism found in other 'crane'-related expressions when a deceased ascends to heaven and becomes an immortal, cf. 驾鹤, 化鹤, 鹤驾 (Hong 2010). Alternative expressions: 跨鹤归西, 跨鹤西归, 跨鹤仙去 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GC 2015	南·朝宋·刘义庆《世说新语》：“毛伯成既负其才气，常称“宁为兰摧玉折，不作萧敷艾荣。”	Obsolete. Originally used with respect to the premature death of a talented person (Zhang 1996, p. 14). Later used in reference to any young people died prematurely (GC 2015). Alternatively: 玉折兰摧, 玉折, 玉摧 (Zhang 1996, p. 31; Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Getting Old for Death	Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014	他奶奶前几天老了。	XHC (2016) prescribes to use the particle 了 in this case in order to express the euphemistic meaning of "dying". Colloquial euphemism (口, 婉词, GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·李东阳《柳岸垂纶》诗：“老去祇应家在此，不须盘石更垂萝。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·闰湘《湘烟小录序》：“铭心刻骨之言，孰料为撒手离尘之讖哉！”	Obsolete. Can be interpreted as a contraction of a Buddhist term 'leave the earthly world' 离开尘世
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	... 于6月11日离开我们了，终年77岁。(Zhu 2018, p. 132)	Death is metaphorically understood as a departure from this world
Metaphor	Death is Departure	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	他知道青云道长已经离去，但他还是站立了很久，然后才走出庙宇。(Zhu 2018, p. 133)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0242	离世	lí shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0243	梁摧	liáng cuī	main beams [of the house] are broken	die	有为之人死去	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0244	梁坏	liáng huài	main beams [of the house] are broken	die	有为之人死去	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0245	临化	lín huà	each one's transformation [into an immortal]	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0246	临绝	lín jué	approach the last [moment]	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0247	临诀	lín jué	approach the [moment of] saying farewell [and not seeing each other again]	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0248	临命	lín mìng	approach the [last moment of] one's life	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0249	临没	lín mò	face the end	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0250	临难	lín nàn	face a disaster	[about to] die	临死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0251	临危	lín wēi	face a danger	[about to] die due to a grave illness	重病将死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0252	临终	lín zhōng	approach one's end	[about to] die	人即将死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0253	灵	líng	spirit	remains of the dead; coffin	死者的遗体；也指棺材	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0254	零	líng	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0255	灵化	líng huà	undergo a spiritual transformation	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0256	灵期	líng qī	the moment of withering	the moment of one's death	死期	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0257	灵影	líng yǐng	figure of the spirit	figure of the deceased	死者的身影	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0258	令终	lìng zhōng	end peacefully	death	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0259	流血	liú xuè	shed blood	be wounded or die	负伤或牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0260	龙升	lóng shēng	the dragon has ascended	emperor died	旧称皇帝的死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0261	禄命终	lù mìng zhōng	career of an official is over	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0262	鸾驭	luán yù	fly on a phoenix-like <i>luan</i> -bird	become immortal, die	成仙	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0263	沦没	lún mò	sink	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0264	沦逝	lún shì	sink and depart [from the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0265	沦谢	lún xiè	vanish and wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0266	落	luò	fall	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	圣陶老人九天之上对离世时未曾听到“编辑家”这一他最喜欢的称呼，恐怕也不无遗憾。(Zhu 2018, p. 133)	
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·沉约《齐故安陆昭王碑文》：“盖百代之仪表，千年之领袖，曾不愁留，梁摧奄及。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of a talented person who had good perspectives in life (有为之人死亡, HDC 2010). Can be interpreted as a contraction of 'breaking of foundations/beams of a house' 梁栋摧折 (HDC 2010). Death is understood metaphorically as a destruction of a house
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·曾国藩《母弟温甫哀词》：“李既山颓，弟乃梁坏。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of a talented person who had good perspectives in life (有为之人死亡, HDC 2010). Can be interpreted as a contraction of 'collapse of foundations/beams of a house' 梁栋倾坏 (HDC 2010). Death is understood metaphorically as a destruction of a house
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·陶潜《饮酒》诗之十一：“客养千金躯，临化消其宝。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·韩愈《祭柳子厚文》：“嗟嗟子厚，今也则亡，临绝之音，一何琅琅！”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) equates this euphemism with 'approach one's end' 临终
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·吕无病》：“无何，许病卒。临诀，囑孙曰：无病最爱儿，即令子之可也。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) differentiates two meanings of this euphemistic expression: 'being about to die' (临死) and 'paying one's respects to somebody's remains, saying goodbye to the deceased' (瞻仰遗容, 最后告别)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	章炳麟《狱中赠邹容》诗：“临命须携手，乾坤只两头。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 临命终
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	清·龚炜《道闻五妹凶问》：“闻其临没时方夜膳，抚其子多作身后语，顿尔咯血，医药罔效。”	HDC (2010) equates this euphemism with 'approach one's end' 临终 and 'approach one's death' 临死
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	枪声、同志们突围的呐喊声，和临难时高喊‘中国共产党万岁！毛主席万岁！’的口号声，交织在一起。(HDC 2010)	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016	临危留下遗言。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	父亲生前也特别喜欢他，临终辰光还再三嘱咐，叫他不要忘记照顾这个小弟弟。(HDC 2010)	Common collocations 'last words [before one's death]' 临终遗言 or 临终之言 (Hong 2010); 'hospice care' 临终关怀 and 'hospice' 临终关怀医院
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	哥哥，保佑你兄弟发财，把你的灵运回中国去吧！(HDC 2010)	The term 'spirit' 灵 metonymically referred to the coffin prepared for funerals, which can be found in multiple collocations: 'keep vigil beside the coffin' 守灵; 'move the coffin during a funeral' 移灵; 'keep a coffin in a temporary shelter before burial' 停灵
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	汉·孔融《论盛孝章书》：“海内知识，零落殆尽。”	Obsolete. Interpreted as a monosyllabic alternative of the euphemism 'wither' 凋零 (GF 2014) meaning 'die' (HDC 2010). Alternatives with the same meaning: 零落, 零谢 (Zhang 1996, p. 15), 零坠 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《宋书·袁淑传论》：“徒以灵化悠远，生不再来，虽天行路峻，而未之斯遇，谓七尺可存，百年可保也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《逸周书·度邑》：“惟二神授朕灵期，予未致未休。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010), citing the commentary of Zhu Youceng 朱右曾, interprets the term 灵 here as 'wither, decay' 零, [零落]
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·颜延之《祭弟文》：“灵影凤灭，筵褻虚张。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·刘勰《文心雕龙·哀吊》：“君子令终定谥，事极理哀，故哀之慰主，以至到为言也。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to a natural death
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	凡是为国流血的都是英雄。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·郎瑛《七修类稿·国事·七·象简龙衣联》：“高庙鼎成龙升之日，建文即位，成祖以燕王来奔丧而不朝，盖以叔不拜姪也。”	Obsolete. Said of emperors. Alternatively: 龙去鼎湖 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Receiving no Salary for Death	Zhang 1996	元·王实甫《西厢记》第一本楔子：“夫主京师禄命终，子母孤孀途路穷。”	Obsolete. 禄, 官员俸禄。禄命终, 意谓官运绝止。(Zhang 1996, p. 15)
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·周邦彦《长相思慢》词：“桃溪换世，鸾驭凌空，有愿须成。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Alternatively: 鸾驭西归, 鸾驭辞尘 (Hong 2010), 鸾驭驭鹤 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	李大钊《一八七一年的巴黎“康妙恩”》：“在‘康妙恩’沦没以前，在五月十日及五月十八日这委员会集合了两次。”	Apart from denoting human death the expression can be also used in reference to non-animate objects meaning 'sink into oblivion', for example 'historical records' 史料 or 'treasures' 珍宝 (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·薛福成《出使四国日记·光绪十六年十一月初八》：“沉帅尤以中兴伟绩，坐镇东南，不数月间遽皆沦逝。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 沦落 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	前蜀·杜光庭《宣胜军使王谔为亡男昭胤明真斋词》：“飘魂异境，恹其沦谢。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the Fall	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《国语·吴语》：“人民离落。”韦昭注：“落，殒也。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0267	落气	luò qì	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0268	没命	méi mìng	lose one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0269	弥留	mí liú	stay long [on the sickbed]	[be about to] die	病重快要死了	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0270	眇冥	miǎo míng	[go into] darkness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0271	灭	miè	extinguish	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0272	灭顶	miè dǐng	submerge one's head under water	sink and die	溺水而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0273	灭度	miè dù	extinguish and cross [the sea of sorrow]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0274	灭化	miè huà	extinguish and change	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0275	泯	mǐn	vanish	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0276	泯没	mǐn mò	vanish	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0277	命赴黄泉	mìng fù Huáng quán	the life of a person set up for the journey to the Yellow Springs	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0278	命赴阴间	mìng fù yīn jiān	the life of a person set up for the journey to the netherworld	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0279	冥路	míng lù	on the road to the darkness	the moment of one's death	死期	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0280	冥昧	míng mèi	[go into] darkness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0281	冥漠	míng mò	*[go to the] dark and unclear [place]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0282	瞑目	míng mù	close one's eyes	die peacefully	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0283	冥寿	míng shòu	birthday anniversary in the [world of] darkness	birthday anniversary of the dead	已经死去的人的寿辰	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0284	没	mò	sink, vanish in water	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0285	抹脖子	mǒ bó zi	slit one's [own] throat	commit suicide	自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0286	没齿	mò chǐ	[till the moment when] teeth fall out	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0287	没地	mò dì	be buried under ground	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0288	没化	mò huà	end [one's life] and transform	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0289	没世	mò shì	end one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0290	没寿	mò shòu	end one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making one's Last Breath for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	沙汀《老烟的故事》：“落气那天我正在那里。别的不讲，那位堂客以后的日子怎么过呵。”	Regional
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	让车撞上就没命了。(GF 2014)	Colloquial (GF 2014). Usually used with the function word 了
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	母亲弥留的一刹那，像电影似的在他的回忆中展开来了。(HDC 2010)	Originally referred to an incurable disease and being sick for long time (HDC 2010, GC 2015). Common collocation: 'in the hour of one's death' 弥留之际 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·范成大《提刑察院王丈挽词》：“日者悲离索，公今又眇冥。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea of dying as an entering into the world of darkness. Character 'darkness' 冥 refers to the underworld / the nether world
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·白居易《赠王山人》诗：“彭殇徒自异，生死终无别。不如学无生，无生即无灭。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 淹没, 灭抑 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Going Under Water for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	据说一个渔人在江中打鱼，突然狂风暴雨，船覆灭顶。(Zhang 1996, p. 16)	Nowadays used broadly as 'fatal'
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	后秦·鸠摩罗什译《金刚般若波罗蜜经》：“我皆令入无余涅槃而灭度之，如是灭度无量无数无边众生。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Semantic translation of the term 'nirvana' as 'extinguishing [of passions and suffering] and crossing [the sea of grief]' (灭烦恼、度苦海, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	汤用彤《汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史》第二分第十九章：“(达摩)常以四卷《楞伽》授学者，以天平年(公元534至537年)前灭化洛滨。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term, said of the deceased Buddhists (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	南朝·梁·任昉《为范始兴作求立太宰碑表》：“昔晋氏初禁立碑，魏舒之亡，亦从班列。而阮略既泯，故首冒严科，为之者竟免刑戮，致之者反蒙嘉叹。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 亡泯
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	泯没无闻。(GF 2014)	Consecutive metonymical interpretation of drowning ('sink into oblivion') as disappearing and later disappearing as dying. Common collocation: 'dead and forgotten' 泯没无闻. Nowadays it is more often used in reference to images, merits and achievements which won't be forgotten (XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Death is a Journey. Death is Darkness	XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	赵70多岁的老因此连气带吓，几天后命赴黄泉。(BCC)	Yellow springs' are a paraphrase of Underworld or afterlife in Chinese (XHC 2016, GC 2015). Alternative expression with a synonymous morpheme and same meaning: 'return to the yellow springs' 命归黄泉 (Zhang 1996, p. 17)
Metaphor	Death is a Journey. Death is Darkness	Zhang 1996	《清平山堂话本·勿颈鸳鸯会》：“于今又有个不识窍的小二哥也，与个妇人私通，……后惹出一场祸来，尸横刀下，命赴阴间。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is a Journey. Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·莲香》：“莲入曰：‘君殆矣！是真鬼物。嗟其美而不速绝，冥路近矣！’”	Obsolete. Character 'darkness' 冥 refers to the netherworld (Zhang 1996, p. 16; GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·沉佺期《哭苏眉州崔司业二公》诗：“崔昔挥宸翰，苏尝济巨川。绛衣陪下列。黄阁谬差肩。及此俱冥昧，云谁叙播迁。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transition. Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·杜甫《九日》诗之三：“欢娱两冥漠，西北有孤云。”	Obsolete. Zhang (1996, p. 16) interprets 冥漠 as 'complete emptiness' 一无所有; 人死则万事皆空。
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Closing One's Eyes for Death	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014	《后汉书·皇后纪上：明德马皇后》：“欲令瞑目之日，无所复恨。”	Obsolete. The term has the connotation of peaceful death, when the deceased had no regrets or concerns. Common collocations: 'die happily' 死也瞑目; 'die unwillingly with a grievance or regret' 死不瞑目. Alternatively: 冥目 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《红楼梦·第一一八回》：“到了八月初三这一日，正是贾母的冥寿。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《红楼梦·第十三回》：“如今孙子媳妇没了，侄儿媳妇偏又病倒，我看里头着实不成个体统。”	Alternatively: 歿, 终没, 终歿 (Hong 2010). XZD (2004: 621) interprets the meaning of 'dying' as 'ending' (of one's life) which is also a metonymic extension from its basic meaning 'sink'
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Cutting One's Throat for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	周立波《暴风骤雨》第一部十四：“我老初从不说虚话，我怕工作队待不长远，‘中央军’来抹脖子。”	Used broadly for 'committing suicide' (HDC 2010; GC 2015)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having No Teeth Left for Being Old. Having No Teeth Left for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	明陆容《菽园杂记·卷四》：“夫自开国以来，将相大臣，功名富贵烜赫一时者多矣，没齿之后，陵谷变迁，不能保其坟墓者有矣。”	Used in common collocations: 'remember the whole life [= till one's death]' 没齿难忘 或 没齿不忘
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	南朝·梁·江淹《恨赋》：“至乃敬通见抵，罢归田里……贻志没地，长怀无已。”	人死埋葬于地下。借指寿终，死。(HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·张九龄《故果州长史李公碑铭并序》：“道非吾行，德无必贵，遂以没化，岂命也夫？”	Obsolete. 没, 通“歿” (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《儿女英雄传》缘起首回：“至于他各人到头来的成败，还要看他入世后的个造因，才知他没世时怎的个结果。”	Common collocation: 'do not forget till one's death' 没世不忘
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《战国策·齐策六》：“使管仲终穷抑幽因而不出，慙耻而不见，穷年没寿，不免为辱人贱行矣。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0291	那啥了	nà shá le	and then [did] that	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0292	涅槃	niè pán	[attain] Nirvana	die	僧尼死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0293	偏露	piān lù	[lose protection of one's] side and expose oneself	become orphaned (said of losing one's father)	父死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0294	弃背	qì bèi	abandon and leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0295	弃朝	qì cháo	leave the imperial court	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0296	弃代	qì dài	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0297	骑鹤化	qí hè huà	ride a crane and transform	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0298	气尽	qì jìn	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0299	弃捐	qì juān	leave and abandon [the earthly world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0300	气绝	qì jué	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0301	弃禄	qì lù	give up [receiving] salary	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0302	弃平居	qì píng jū	leave one's usual dwelling	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0303	弃躯	qì qū	leave one's body	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0304	弃群臣	qì qún chén	leave one's ministers / officials	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0305	弃世	qì shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0306	弃逝	qì shì	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0307	启手足	qǐ shǒu zú	open [the bed quilt and see that] hands and legs [are intact]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0308	弃堂帐	qì táng zhàng	leave the curtains of one's home	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0309	弃天下	qì tiān xià	leave all under heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0310	气息奄奄	qì xī yǎn yǎn	breathe feebly	be on the verge of death	濒于死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0311	弃养	qì yǎng	receive no more care [from the younger ones]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0312	弃移	qì yí	leave [the human world] and move	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0313	千古	qiān gǔ	[be remembered for] thousands of years	die	哀悼死者，表示永别或永垂不朽 <多用于挽联、花圈等的上款>	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0314	迁化	qiān huà	change one's form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0315	迁寂	qiān jì	enter [Par]nirvana	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Deletion	Taboo word 'die' is omitted	Zhu 2018	又赶上严打，结果，上头一划勾，“瘦哥”就给那啥了。(Zhu 2018, p. 153)	
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李华《荆州南泉大云寺故兰若和高碑》：“报年之限，涅槃之时，同于如来。”	Used in reference to Buddhists, especially monks and nuns (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Losing Support for Parent's Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·孟浩然《送莫翊兼诸昆弟从韩司马入西军》诗：“平生早偏露，万里更飘零。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of one's father. 失去荫庇保护. HDC 2010; 露出一边. 婉称父亲死亡. 意谓父死即孤单无所荫庇. (Zhang 1996, p. 17)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	北齐·颜之推《颜氏家训·终制》：“先夫人弃背之时，属世荒墟，家涂空迫。”	Obsolete. Said of 'parents or senior members of one's family' (多用于尊亲, HDC 2010; 亲属中长者过世, GC 2015). The meaning of the second character 背 in the expression is 'leave' (as in 'leave one's homeland' 背井离乡), see 见背
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·高启《咏三良》：“殉葬古所禁，秦国固戎风，穆公临弃朝，要此三臣从。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of monarchs (HDC 2010)
Character Replacement	Taboo character is replaced with a neutral character with the similar meaning	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·柳宗元《先太夫人河东县太君归祔志》：“先夫人姓卢氏……元和元年，岁次丙戌五月十五日，弃代于永州零陵佛寺。”	Obsolete. Replacement of the taboo character 世 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·东轩主人《述异记·鹤化寄韵》：“九峰山人颇有所得，晚年无疾，骑鹤化去。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GC 2015	明·高明《琵琶记·勉食姑嫜》：“力尽计穷泪亦竭，看看气”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) identifies this euphemism with 'stop breathing' 气绝, though it can also be interpreted as 'one's vital energy is completely gone' (生气消失, HDC 2010; 没有生气, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《史记·卷一〇五·扁鹊仓公传》：“有先生则活，无先生则弃捐填沟壑，长终而不得反。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	当时师父已伤得很重，说了那些话就气绝了。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Receiving no Salary for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《剪灯馀话·贾云华还魂记》：“生又问：‘平章弃禄数年，今有谁在？生事若何？’”	Obsolete. See 不禄
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·苏舜钦《先公墓志铭并序》：“夫人弃平居……终丧，复除三司判官。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure. Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《汉书·吴王刘濞传》：“今吴王自以与大王同忧，愿因时循理，弃躯以除患於天下，意亦可乎？”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death in the name of justice or any righteous cause
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·王闿运《李仁元传》：“宣宗弃羣臣，遗诏，命后世毋奉配郊。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of monarchs (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	义母……才刚过五十大寿，不该这么早就弃世。(BCC)	Literary (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	元·关汉卿《陈母教子·第四折》：“他父曾为前朝相国，早年弃逝。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·独孤及《前左骠卫兵曹参军河南独孤公故夫人韦氏墓志》：“启手足之日，长幼号咷。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to a natural death (in old age, in one's bed etc.) Alternatively: 启手启足, 启手, 启足 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·梁绍壬《两般秋雨庵随笔·书卒异词》：“凡人死曰卒，曰歿……又曰弃堂帐。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《后汉书·顺帝纪》：“孝安皇帝圣德明茂，早弃天下。陛下正统，当奉宗庙。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of emperors (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grabbing one's Last Breath for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	大家赶紧跑过去把他抬起来，放到沙发上，可是他已气息奄奄，与这个世界告别了。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Not Receiving Any Care for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2014, GF 2014	家严、家慈相续弃养。(GF 2014)	Said of parents, later referred to the death of any senior relatives or seniors (HDC 2010, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·贾岛《哭卢仝》诗：“长安有交友，託孤遽弃移。塚侧誌石短，文字行参差。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016	人民的学者钟敬文先生千古。(BCC)	Used primarily in inscriptions on headstones, funeral scrolls, wreaths etc. Functionally analogous to the Latin expression 'R.I.P.' / 'Requiescat in pace' or English 'Rest in peace'
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	丰子恺《缘缘堂随笔集·怀梅兰芳先生》：“现在，梅先生的身体已经迁化了。”	Buddhist term. 易变, 变化. (Zhang 1996, p. 18)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·晓莹《罗湖野录》卷三：“潜庵源禅师……寿九十有六而迁寂。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0316	千秋万岁	qiān qiū wàn suì	thousands of autumns and tens of thousands of years	death of an emperor	帝王之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0317	迁神	qiān shén	the spirit leaves [the body]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0318	迁逝	qiān shì	move and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0319	迁形	qiān xíng	change one's form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0320	翘辫子	qiáo biàn zǐ	lift one's braid [before beheading]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0321	倾背	qīng bèi	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0322	倾弃	qīng qì	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0323	轻生	qīng shēng	do not value one's life	commit suicide	自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0324	倾逝	qīng shì	leave [the human world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0325	倾世	qīng shì	leave the[human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0326	去	qù	leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0327	去国	qù guó	leave one's country	die for one's country	为国而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0328	去世	qù shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0329	取义	qǔ yì	strive for justice	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0330	入地	rù dì	enter the soil	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0331	入寂	rù jì	enter the quietness	die	僧尼之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0332	入灭	rù miè	enter the extinction	die	僧尼死去	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0333	入土	rù tǔ	enter the soil	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0334	撒手	sā shǒu	unclench one's fists	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0335	撒手尘寰	sā shǒu chén huán	unclench one's fists and leave the world of the mortals	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0336	撒手归去	sā shǒu guī qù	unclench one's fists and return	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0337	撒手归西	sā shǒu guī xī	unclench one's fists and return to the west	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0338	三长两短	sān cháng liǎng duǎn	misfortune, accident	death	指意外的灾祸、事故，特指人的	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《史记·卷五十八·梁孝王世家》：“上与梁王燕饮，尝从容言曰：『千秋万岁后，传于王。』”	Obsolete. Originally a form of well-wishing (HDC 2010, GC 2015). The expression meaning 'long life' has been used as a substitute for the taboo denoting death of an emperor. Alternative expressions 'thousand autumns' 千秋 (Hong 2010), 'thousand autumns and ten thousands of old [years]' 千秋万古, 'thousand autumns and ten thousands of generations' 千秋万世 (Zhang 1996, p. 18), 'ten thousands of years' 万年 or 万岁, 'tens of thousands of years' 万岁万岁 (Zhang 1996, p. 23) all mean 'death of a monarch'. Usually used in collocations with the word 'after' (numerals expressing a very long time vary): 'after billions of years' 亿万年后, 'after ten thousands of years' 万年后 or 万岁后 all meaning 'after one's death' (said of a monarch)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·梁绍壬《两般秋雨盒随笔·书卒异词》：“凡人死曰卒，曰歿，曰疾终……又曰迁神。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 神迁 (Zhang 1996, p. 21)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	晋·左芬《万年公主诔》：“精灵迁逝，幽此中阿。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·梁绍壬《两般秋雨盒随笔·书卒异词》：“僧卒曰迁形，亦曰迁化。见《禅道安禅师塔记》及《僧维新等经幢》。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Lifting One's Braid at the Time of One's Execution for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	有病千万别住医院，一住医院，就没病变小病，小病变大病，大病翘辫子。(BCC)	Often used jocularly / dysphemically (GF 2014; HDC 2010). Alternatively: 跷辫子 (Zhang 1996, p. 19)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·宋濂《张氏图谱序》：“邇者先祖又倾背矣。痛念世德弗昭，家牒不脩，皆无以示远，爰辑为一书。”	Obsolete. Said of senior members of one's family (HDC 2010). See 倾弃 and 见背
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·高明《琵琶记·散发归林》：“他椿庭萱室齐倾弃，怎不想家山桃李？”	Obsolete. The literal meaning of the first character 倾 in the expression is obscure: it might be either 'collapse' (as in 'the great mansion is about to collapse' 大厦将倾, 'capsize' 倾覆), 'damage' (损伤, Zhang 1996, p. 19) or 'spend one's all energy' (as in 'make all the efforts 倾全力'). In the former case dying is 'collapsing', in the latter case dying is 'spending [one's all life's energy]'
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Not Appreciating One's Life for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	我们没有理由轻生，活下去吧，活到必须死的时候。(HDC 2010)	Alternatively: 轻身 (Zhang 1996, p. 19)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·无名氏《再生缘》第二折：“西宫李夫人昨日倾逝了，圣上恸哭，声振后宫。”	Obsolete. See 倾弃
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《清平山堂话本·合同文字记》：“这刘二嫂害着个脑疽疮，医疗一月有余，疼痛难忍，饮食不进，一命倾世。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	他病了，病得很厉害……人们来看望他，都以为他要去了。(HDC 2010)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure. Death is Sacrifice	Zhang 1996	黄飞龙尚且算一位留名者，与他并肩去国者三十好几，全东山东站死者数以百计，又有几个留下姓名？(Zhang 1996, p.19)	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	老夫人去世了。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	徐先生说：“什么话！君子取义舍生。既敢为之，亦敢当之。”	Often used in collocation: 'die for the just cause' 成仁取义 and 舍生取义, 舍生取道, 舍生存义 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《后汉书·卷六十二·韩韶传》：“长活沟壑之人，而以此伏罪，含笑入地矣。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《请净慈法涌禅师入都疏》：“京师禅学之盛，发於本秀二公。本既还山，秀復入寂。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Used in reference to the death of monks or nuns (HDC 2010). 'Quietness' here refers to Nirvana
Metaphor	Death is Transition. Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	梁启超《论中国学术思想变迁之大势·佛学时代》：“后祖受钵，前祖随即入灭。”	Buddhist term. Used in reference to Buddhists, especially monks and nuns (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	快入土的人了，还赶时髦！(GF 2014)	The term can be used in the meaning of 'be buried' ('buried and at rest' 入土为安) and 'die' ('people who are about to die are still chasing for fashion' 快入土的人了，还赶时髦！GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	他不能就这样撒手而去，他还有多少美好的东西要留下来啊！(HDC 2010)	Alternatively: 撒手人间 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	XHC 2016, GF 2014, Hong 2010	去年三月，宫中清凉殿举行了和歌竞赛大会，壬生忠见因为败给了平兼盛，因而患上不饮不食之病，最后撒手尘寰。(BCC)	Buddhist term 'the world of mortals' 尘寰 (literally 'world of dust/dirt') refers to the earthly life full of vice and suffering
Metaphor	Death is Departure	GC 2015	他还来不及看小孩长大，就撒手归去了。(GC 2015)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	GF 2014	司敬之低沉道，按住她的肩头制止她的躁动，怕气虚的老爹来不及把事情交代完就撒手归西。(BCC)	Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 撒手西去, 撒手西归 (Zhang 1996, p. 20)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	万一海儿有个三长两短，那我也活不下去了。(HDC 2010)	特指人的死亡, HDC 2010; 多指死亡, GC 2015; 死亡事故的委婉说法, GF 2014. Alternatively: 三长四短 (Zhang 1996, p. 20)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0339	散形	sàn xíng	lose one's form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0340	撒手人寰	sāshǒu rén huán	unclench one's fists and leave people's world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0341	山高水低	shān gāo shuǐ dī	mountains are high, rivers are low	death or any other misfortune	死亡等不幸之事	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0342	山陵崩	shān líng bēng	mountains collapsed	die (of monarchs)	帝王之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0343	山颓	shān tuí	mountains crumbled	die	去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0344	善终	shàn zhōng	end peacefully	die naturally	人正常死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0345	上宾	shàng bīn	ascend [to Heaven] and become an [honourable] guest [of the celestial Emperor]	die	帝王或尊者之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0346	上极乐世界	shàng jí lè shì jiè	ascend to the world of absolute bliss	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0347	上路	shàng lù	set out on a journey	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0348	上山	shàng shān	ascend the mountain	die and be buried	人死亡, 埋葬	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0349	上天	shàng tiān	ascend to Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0350	上天堂	shàng tiān táng	ascend to Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0351	上西天	shàng xī tiān	ascend to the Western Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0352	上仙	shàng xiān	ascend [to Heaven] and become an immortal	die	帝王、帝后的死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0353	舍身	shě shēn	give away one's body	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0354	舍生	shě shēng	give away one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0355	身故	shēn gù	[end] one's life and leave [the earthly world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0356	身后	shēn hòu	after one's life	after death	死后	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0357	伸腿	shēn tuǐ	stretch one's legs	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0358	身先朝露	shēn xiān zhāo lù	life fades before the morning dew dissipates	die soon	很快死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0359	神游	shén yóu	one's spirit set out on a journey	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0360	生前	shēng qián	before, when one was alive	before one's death	死去的人活着的时候	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0361	升天	shēng tiān	ascend to the Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0362	升西天	shēng xī tiān	ascend to the Western Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	汤用彤《汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史》第二分第六章：“(土行) 其后竟死于闾，散形异域。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Originates from the idea that souls of monks leave their bodies and turn into immortals
Metaphor	Death is Departure	XHC 2016, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	年事已高，突然撒手人寰。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇：卷二十三》：“夫人知道了，恐怕自身有甚山高水低，所以悲哭了一早起了。”(GC 2015)	Strongly context-based. 多指死亡, GF 2014; 通常指死亡, GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《战国策：赵策四》：“一旦山崩，长安君何以自托于赵？”	Obsolete. Said of monarchs (HDC 2010; Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·曾国藩《母弟温甫哀词》：“李即山颓，弟乃梁坏。”	Obsolete. Also used as an idiom with the same meaning: 'mountain crumbled and beams rotted' 山颓木坏. Originates from the story depicted in the "Book of Rites" 《礼记，檀弓上》：“Confucius rose early (one day), and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing, ‘The great mountain must crumble; The strong beam must break; The wise man must wither away like a plant.’ 孔子蚤作，负手曳杖，消摇于门，歌曰：“泰山其颓乎？梁木其坏乎？哲人其萎乎？” (Translated by James Legge)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	欧阳山《柳暗花明：一〇六》：“要是有个半字假话，叫我不善善终。”	Often used in collocations: 'does not end well' 不得善终 for 'die unnaturally'; 'service of good end' 善终服务 for 'hospice'
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《正旦于福宁殿作水陆道场资荐神宗皇帝斋文》：“伏以弃黄屋以上宾，莫追风驭；抱乌号而永慕，再历春朝。”	Obsolete (XHC 2016 does not identify any euphemistic meaning of the expression and interprets it as a noun 'honourable guest' 尊贵的客人). 作客于天帝之所，指帝王去世, HDC 2010; 比喻帝王驾崩, GC 2015. Said of emperors (HDC 2010, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	BCC	人生必死，但死后是上极乐世界。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is the Beginning of a Journey	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	她的结论是世间的寿数到头了，说不定今天明天就要上路。(HDC 2010)	人死魂归阴府, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	XHC 2016	上山(方):指人死亡, 埋葬 [https://www.zdic.net/hans/上山]	Regional (XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	自古怕死就会死，几多贪生不得生，诛妖上天是好事，永远光荣传子孙。(HDC 2010)	Strongly context-based. XHC (2016) differentiates between the literal meaning of 'going to Heaven' in the religious context and the figurative (thus, euphemistic) meaning of 'dying'.
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	BCC	“我很小的时候，我妈就离开我了，我是我外公外婆带大的”。——“你说离开，指的是‘上天堂’吗？”——“喔，不。她还健在，只是经年在外国工作，遇到假期时才能回来看我，我每隔一阵子会收到她从远方寄来的录音带。”(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018	你再这么嚣张，小心我叫人送你上西天！(GC 2015)	死亡的代称, HDC 2010; 死亡、去世, GC 2015. Typical collocations: 'send somebody to the Western Heaven' meaning 'kill' 送某人上西天 or 让某人上西天
Metaphor	Death is Ascension. Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·彭时《彭文宪公笔记》：“戊子六月二十八日，慈懿王太后上仙。”	Obsolete. 升天为仙人, GC 2015. Said of emperors and empresses (HDC 2010).
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	舍身救人。(GF 2014)	Used in common collocation: 'sacrifice one's life to save somebody else' 舍身救人
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	他舍生忘死、不怕牺牲的大无畏的英雄壮举，是“党和人民忠诚卫士”高尚品质的集中体现。(BCC)	Used in common collocation: 'die for a just cause' 舍生取义. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 舍命, 舍寿 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	在车祸中不幸身故。(GF 2014)	犹去世, HDC 2010
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	身后的遗产早有安排。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stretching one's Legs for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014	《红楼梦：第十三回》：“谁不知我这媳妇比儿子还强十倍，如今伸腿去了，可见这长房内绝灭无人了。”	Can be used ironically/dysphemistically (GF 2014). Common alternative expression with the same meaning: 两腿一伸
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《元史：刘因传》：“恐一旦身先朝露，必至累人，遂遣人於容城先人墓侧，修营一舍，儻病势不退，当居处其中以待尽。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 溘先朝露, 溘露 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the Beginning of a Journey	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·方孝孺《懿文皇太子挽词》：“神游思下土，经国意难忘。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	生前留下遗言。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	巴金《雷》：“别人告诉她，死就是升天，她是到天上去。”	The euphemistic death-related meaning of expression 升天 is considered to be outdated (HDC 2010), unlike its literal meaning
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	他做和尚却不想升西天，说过‘如人人皆升西天，则西天将人满为患’这样的话。(HDC 2010)	Buddhist term. Used originally in reference to monks, later generally to any deceased person

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0363	升遐	shēng xiá	ascend afar	die (of monarchs and their wives)	帝王、帝后的死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0364	升仙	shēng xiān	ascend and [become an] immortal	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0365	升遐	shēng yù	ascend and ride [to the Heaven]	die	帝王或后妃之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0366	逝	shì	leave	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0367	失怙	shī hù	lose support	lose one's father	丧父	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0368	示寂	shì jì	enter the quietness	die	佛菩萨及高僧身死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0369	尸解	shī jiě	leave one's body [and become immortal]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0370	饰巾	shì jīn	[wear a] headband	die	人死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0371	识灭	shí miè	extinction of consciousness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0372	示灭	shì miè	enter nirvana	die	佛菩萨及高僧坐化身死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0373	逝世	shì mò	leave and end [one's life]	die	死去	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0374	十生九	shí shēng jiǔ	in ten lives there are nine [deaths]	death	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0375	逝世	shì shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0376	失恃	shī shì	lose shelter	lose one's mother	丧母	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0377	收华	shōu huá	stop blossoming	die prematurely	英年早逝	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0378	授命	shòu mìng	give [away] one's life	die	献出生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0379	寿终正寝	shòu zhōng zhèng qǐn	end [one's life] peacefully in the main bedroom	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0380	顺世	shùn shì	leave the [human] world	die (said of Buddhist monks)	僧徒逝世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0381	松下尘	sōng xià chén	dust under the pine	deceased person	死人	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0382	宿草	sù cǎo	last year grass	die long ago	死亡多时	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0383	躺	tǎng	lie; rest	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0384	天罚	tiān fá	heavenly punishment	lose one's parents	父母丧亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0385	填沟壑	tián gōu hè	throw [one's dead body] into a gorge	die	自己死去	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0386	跳黄浦	tiào huáng pǔ	jump into Huangpu [river]	commit suicide [by drowning]	投水自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0387	停床	tíng chuáng	put [the corpse] on the bed	die	死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0388	听蟋蟀儿叫	tīng qū què jiào	listen to the crickets singing [after being buried]	die and be buried in the areas outside the city	人死了，埋在野外的坟墓里了	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0389	停止呼吸	tíngzhǐ hūxī	stop breathing	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0390	同归于尽	tóng guī yú jìn	come to one's end together	die together	一同毁灭或死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0391	童乌	tóng wū	Tongwu ( <i>proper name</i> )	deceased child	聪明而早死的孩子	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《五代史平话·周史·卷上》：“高祖升遐，将太子承佑分付着郭威辅佐。”	Obsolete. Said of monarchs (HDC 2010). Alternatively: 遐升 (Zhang 1996, p. 25)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension. Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	前蜀·韦庄《洛阳吟》：“胡骑北来空进主，汉皇西去竟昇僊。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Ascension. Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·顾绛《刘谏议蕡祠》诗：“一自德陵升驭后，山河祠庙总沦倾。”	Obsolete. Said of monarchs (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016, GC 2015	病逝 (GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Losing Support for Parent's Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	洪深《歌女红牡丹》：“红牡丹幼年失怙，事母尽孝。”	Obsolete. 失去依靠。(Zhang 1996, p. 21)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	清·钱谦益《洞闻禅师塔铭》：“天启三年七月，洞闻禅师示寂于破山之禅院。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Said of Bodhisattva, Buddhist monks and nuns. Originally referred to reaching a state of no further reincarnation, but later also used to refer to the death of monks (GC 2015), especially of higher rank (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Liberation. Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·《聊斋志异·卷十·恒娘》：“明日老父尸解，妾往省觐，不复还矣。”	Obsolete. Taoist term. Multiple variations of 'transformation' derive from the Taoist imagery, including 木解 and 水解 all denoting death [of Taoists] (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·赵翼《挽唐再可》诗：“方当享大藎，光景日正午。何期遽饰巾，霞飞倏羽化。”	Obsolete. Originates from the tradition to bury people with a headband instead of a hat or headdress (HDC 2010). Zhang (1996, p. 22) refers to the piece of cloth covering the face of the deceased
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《南齐书·武帝纪》：“我识灭之后，身上著夏衣画天衣，纯乌犀导，应诸器悉不得用宝物及织成等，唯装复袂衣各一通。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. "Extinguish" 灭 refers here to the 'nirvana' 灭度, and 识 stands for 'consciousness' 知觉 (Zhang 1996, p. 21)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	Hong 2010	唐·黄滔《华严寺开山始祖碑铭》：“师咸通六年七月五日示灭，寿八十有五。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Said of Bodhisattva, Buddhist monks and nuns
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	晋·潘岳《怀旧赋》：“何逝没之相寻，曾旧草之未异。”	Obsolete
Deletion	Taboo word 'die' is omitted	Zhang 1996	《醒世姻缘传》第二回：“一帖发丧药下去，这汗还止的住哩？不由的十生九了。”	Obsolete. Probably, hapax legomena
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	今年是国父逝世周年纪念日。(GC 2015)	Used in reference to highly respected people (famous, high-ranking or esteemed persons contributed to the development of society)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Losing Support for Parent's Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	宋·梅尧臣《秃叔头风诗》：“吾儿久失恃，发括仍少稀。”	Obsolete. 失去依赖。(Zhang 1996, p. 21)
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·谢庄《宋孝武宣贵妃诔》：“掩绿瑤光，收华紫禁。”	Obsolete. Said of young people. Metonymical expression referring to the withering of stamen and pistil (花蕊凋零, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	对于士大夫，那种临难不苟、见危授命、仗义执言、秉笔直书者，总是被书之竹帛，千古称扬……(BCC)	Literary (GF 2014). Used in collocations: 'sacrifice one's life facing a danger' 见危授命, 临危授命
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]. Death is Sleep	GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	他活得很长，最后寿终正寝。[https://www.aocet.com/115af1.html]	Said of old people (GF 2014, XHC 2016). Used in reference to a peaceful death in the comforts of home. Alternatively: 寿终 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	钱谦益《一树斋集序》：“今年春，文瀾之徒陈生迪祥偕计吏来北京，携师手书謁余，则师之顺世，又三年矣。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Dust for the Corpse	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·李白《对酒忆贺监》诗之二：“昔好盃中物，今为松下尘。”	Obsolete. Originates from the custom to plant pines next to tombs. 'Dust' refers to the corpse
Metonymy	Location for Category: Next to the Grave for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·陆以湑《冷庐杂识·初三月》：“今二君已皆宿草，回溯前尘，恍如春梦。”	Obsolete. The grass here denotes the grass on the tomb
Metaphor	Death is Rest	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《二十年目睹之怪现状》：先母躺了下来，还是很热闹的。(Zhang 1996, p. 22)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	晋·陶渊明《祭程氏妹文》：“昔在江陵，重罹天罚。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Falling	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《答王幼安书之三》：“若未即填沟壑，及见伯仲功成而归，为乡里房舍客，伏腊相劳问，何乐如之？”	Obsolete. Self-referential euphemism or humilific (GC 2015). Alternatively: 填壑 (Zhang 1996, p. 22)
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Jumping into Water for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	徐铸成《报海旧闻》三四：“一夜之间，就有不少人倾家荡产、跳黄浦的。”	Regional (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Location for Category: On the Deathbed for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《红楼梦》第一一四回：“宝钗走到跟前，见凤姐已经停床。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	Zhu 2018	那些老事儿呀，总是在脑子里转来转去，不了结，好像都不能踏踏实实地去听蝓蝓儿叫……(Zhu 2018, p. 216)	Regional. Can be used dysphemistically. Alternatively: 听蝓蝓儿叫唤
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	BCC	我们希望你永远停止呼吸。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	清·姬文《市声·第十四回》：“只图自己安逸，那管世事艰难，弄到后来，不是同归于尽吗？”	
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal Name for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·苏轼《悼朝云》诗：“苗而不秀岂其天，不使童乌与我玄。”	Originates from the name of Yang Xiong's 杨雄 (53 BC-18 AD) son who died at the age of 9. The 9-year-old child was able to discuss the father's work "太玄" related to philosophy, thus this expression was used predominantly in reference to smart children

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0392	土埋半截	tǔ mái bàn jié	have half of one's body buried	be close to death	人年老或多病，不久就会死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0393	土中人	tǔ zhōng rén	person in the ground	deceased person	死人	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0394	蜕壳	tuì ké	exuviae	corpse	尸体	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0395	万古	wàn gǔ	[be remembered for] tens of thousands of years	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0396	亡	wáng	flee	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0397	委化	wěi huà	submit to the [natural] transformation	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0398	萎绝	wěi jué	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0399	委离	wěi lí	leave [the world] and depart	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0400	违世	wéi shì	escape from the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0401	委世	wěi shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0402	萎谢	wěi xiè	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0403	违养	wéi yǎng	receive no more care	lose one's parents or seniors	父母或尊长去世	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0404	萎折	wěi zhé	wither	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0405	萎哲	wěi zhé	the sage withered	die (of a wise person)	有才智者之死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0406	无常	wú cháng	impermanence	death	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0407	物故	wù gù	accident	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0408	呜呼	wū hū	alas	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0409	呜呼哀哉	wū hū āi zāi	alas	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0410	物化	wù huà	transubstantiate, change one's physical form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0411	无疾而终	wú jí ér zhōng	end [one's life] without disease	die peacefully	没有病就死了	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0412	无禄	wú lù	[get] no [more] salary	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0413	无身	wú shēn	lose one's body	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	他已经是土埋半截的人了，难不成还想把家当带进棺材里？(GC 2015)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·宋濂《跋张孟兼文稿序后》：“伯温作土中人将二载，俯仰今古，不能不慨然兴怀。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	Zhang 1996	前蜀·贯休《闻赤松舒道士下世》诗：“蜕壳埋金隧，飞精驾锦鸾。”	Obsolete. Originates from the Buddhist and Taoist interpretation of human's death as the decomposition of one's body similar to the metamorphosis which happens to insect larvae which get rid of their cocoon and leave an exuviae. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 蛻 (Hong 2010), 蛻质 (Zhang 1996, p. 40-41)
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·裴羽仙《哭夫》诗之二：“从此不归成万古，空留贱妾怨黄昏。”	Obsolete. See 千古
Metaphor	Death is Departure	Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	父母双亡。(GF 2014)	It builds multiple disyllabic expressions with the same meaning (Zhang 1996, p. 23): 亡故, 亡过, 亡化, 亡身, 亡逝. Also 亡歿, 亡没, 亡泯 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·袁枚《随园诗话》卷十二：“初十日，榜发，余获第，而先生即於是日委化。”	Obsolete. 随任自然的变化, HDC 2010. Note that the meaning of 委 here is 'let / yield / allow' (听任, 任凭, GHZ 2005), which builds a different metaphorical understanding than in 'abandon the [human] world' 委世
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	梁启超《中国学术思想变迁之大势》第二节：“其道最不利於霸者，朝廷豪族，日芟而月锄之，文景以降，殆萎绝矣。”	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·李纲《哭宗留守汝霖》：“驂騮竟委离，冀北羣遂空。”	Obsolete. See 委世
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《资治通鉴》后唐明宗天成四年：“先王违世，兄为人子，初不临丧，可乎？”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 违代 (Zhang 1996, p. 24)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	南朝·宋·颜延之《宋文皇帝元皇后哀策文》：“太和既融，收华委世。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) identifies this euphemism with 'abandon the [human world]' 弃世. Indeed, the morpheme 委 has the meaning 'cast aside / throw away / abandon / discard' (丢弃, 舍弃 GF 2014; cf. 委弃)
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	郭沫若《沸羹集·怀董维键》：“人才养成了而未能竟其用，不甚受人珍惜而又委谢，实实在在是一件可惜的事。”	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Stop Taking Care for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·章懋《费太常小传》：“伯玉已登乡举而享年不久，既而父亦违养。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·曹寅《哭东山修撰》诗：“斯人已委折，寤意空奚为。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·何景明《方竹先生谏》：“风悲日冥，歼良萎哲。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	一旦无常万事休。(GF 2014)	Buddhist term. 'Nothing in the world is persistent, everything emerges and dies, takes shape and decays, and death is a part of this impermanence' 世间一切事物都不能久存，都处于生灭成坏之中。死亦属“无常”之事。(Zhang 1996, p. 25) 婉词, GF 2014. Moreover, a ghost named Wuchang 无常鬼, also known as the Messenger of Death, was associated with the creature taking away souls of the deceased.
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016	凌大哥，你是说何姑姑和萧大侠已物故了，他们是怎么死的？(BCC)	Literary (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《红楼梦》第十六回：“自己气的老病发作，三五日光景，呜呼死了。”	Interjections 呜呼 or 呜呼哀哉 'alas' expressing grief were frequently used in funerals. GC (2015) shows multiple variations of this interjection used in classical texts: 於乎, 於戏, 乌乎, 呜呼, 乌康, 呜康, also 旧时祭文中常用“呜呼”，后因以借指死亡, HDC 2010
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GF 2014, GC 2015	《老残游记》第十五回：“谁知这个女婿去年七月感了时气，到了八月半边就一命呜呼哀哉死了。”	See 呜呼. The expression often has jocular connotation (XHC 2016, GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	一个彻底物化的人则是一个心灵已死亡或虽生犹死的人。	Literary (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	医生说他没有痛楚，无疾而终。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Receiving no Salary for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《尔雅·释诂下》：“崩、薨、无禄、卒……死也。”	Obsolete. See 不禄
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《三国志·蜀志·诸葛亮传》：“当此之时，亮之素志，进欲龙驤虎视，包括四海，退欲跨陵边疆，震荡宇内，又自以为无身之日，则未有能蹈涉中原，抗衡上国者，是以用兵不戢，屡耀其武。”	Obsolete. Originally a Taoist term

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DD-0414	西河之痛	xī hé zhī tòng	grief in Xihe	grieve for one's deceased son	丧子	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0415	喜容	xǐ róng	happy look	portrait of the deceased	人生前所画的肖像	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0416	喜神	xǐ shén	happy spirit	portrait of the deceased	遗像	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0417	牺牲	xī shēng	sacrifice	die	为正义事业遇难身亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0418	遐举	xiá jǔ	go on a distant journey	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0419	下世	xià shì	leave the world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0420	遐夷	xiá yí	on a distant journey to a foreign [lan	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0421	显	xiǎn	illustrious, honourable	deceased	旧美称去世的长辈亲属	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0422	先	xiān	[the one who was] before	deceased	已故的	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0423	仙化	xiān huà	transform into an immortal	die	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0424	限尽	xiàn jìn	lifespan has come to its end	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0425	仙去	xiān qù	become an immortal and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0426	献身	xiàn shēn	sacrifice one's body	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0427	仙升	xiān shēng	become an immortal and ascend	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0428	仙逝	xiān shì	become an immortal and leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0429	仙游	xiān yóu	immortal and travel [to the world of	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0430	仙驭西驰	xiān yù xī chí	become an immortal and go to the Western [Heaven] riding a [crane] carriage	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0431	香骨	xiāng gǔ	fragrant bones	corpse of a beautiful woman	美女的尸骨	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0432	香消玉殒	xiāng xiāo yù yǔn	scent disappeared and jade faded	die (said of a woman)	女子死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0433	销沉	xiāo chén	vanish	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0434	谢宾客	xiè bīn kè	say farewell to the guests	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0435	谢尘缘	xiè chén yuán	say farewell to the earthly world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0436	谢世	xiè shì	leave the [human] world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0437	谢事	xiè shì	leave oneself from the [earthly] matte	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Place for Death	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	后以西河之痛为悼人丧子的挽联。(GC 2015)	Refers to the story of Zixia who moved to Xihe after the death of Confucius. Once Zixia's son passed away, Zixia grieved for him and lost his sight. See "Historical Records" (史记:卷六十七:仲尼弟子传:卜商传) Alternatively: 西河之戚 (Zhang 1996, p. 25)
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《西游记:第四十回》:“一壁厢传旨宣召丹青,写下唐师徒四位喜容,供养在金銮殿上。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第七九回:“伯明亲自指挥督率,舖陈停妥,便向雅琴道:‘此刻可请老伯母的喜神出来了。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	为民族独立和解放而牺牲。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	晋·孙绰《孔松阳像赞》:“於穆我后,含和体纯。行范乃祖,德冠縉绅,降迹垂化,泽侔三春。超然遐举,遗爱在民。”	Obsolete. Alternative obsolete expression with the same meaning: 遐弃 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	李氏夫人归国的时候,才二十二岁,恰好金氏夫人下世后,已经满了三年。(HDC 2010)	去世, HDC (2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	元·姚燹《中书左丞李公家庙碑》:“今復弃养太夫人,而身先朝露,於是遐夷,吾目不暇泉下矣。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Honour is Light. Death is Honour	Zhang 1996, GC 2015	《文选:曹植<王仲宣诔>》:“伊君显考,葬佐佐时。”	Obsolete. Used to refer to the deceased relatives, cf. 'late father' 显考, 'late grandparent' 显祖, 'late mother' 显妣
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	许地山《无忧花》:“(壁上)一边挂着先人留下来的铁笛玉笙,一边却放着皮安奥与梵欧林。”	Used in multiple expressions: 'late father' 先人, 'late mother' 先母, 'late wife' 先室, 'late ruler' 先帝
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·周密《齐东野语·谢惠国坐亡》:“公燕居无他,忽报双鹤相继而毙,公喟然叹曰:‘鹤既仙化,余亦从此逝矣。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《董西厢:卷二》:“性者,我也;身者,舍也。若当来限尽之后,一性既往,四大狼籍。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	我昨天就抽了高华教授的视频还没看完,人却已仙去。(BC C)	成仙而去, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	为抗洪而献身。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Ascension. Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·无名氏《安恭皇后上仙发引·黄钟羽导引》词:“金殿晚,愁结坤寧。天下母,忽仙昇。云山浩浩归何处,但闻空际綵鸞声。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is Departure	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Hong 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	他不抽烟、不喝酒,一直活到八十几岁才仙逝。(GC 2015)	成仙升天, GC 2015, 登仙而去, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is a Journey	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	《儒林外史:第八回》:“原来便是尊翁,怪道面貌相似,却如何这般称呼?难道已仙游了么?”	Obsolete. 古指亡灵,谓游于仙界, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Transformation. Death is Transition	Zhang 1996	明·唐顺之《朝谒长陵》诗:“遗弓仙驭远,上食总帷帐。”	Obsolete. The term 'carriage of the immortals' 仙驭 is an alternative name for 'crane' which has a death-related connotation
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Bones for the Corpse	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·杜甫《石镜》诗:“冥冥怜香骨,提携近玉颜。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to women
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	而对赵士程的负疚,也使唐婉终日难安,不久忧郁而香消玉殒。(BCC)	Literary. Used in reference to the death of a young woman. Alternative spelling and alternative expressions with the same meaning 'die' expressed in terms of destruction of precious objects: 玉殒, 香消玉碎, 香消玉损, 玉碎香残, 香销玉沉, 玉碎花销, 玉碎香埋, 玉碎珠残, 珠沉玉碎, 珠沉璧碎, 珠沉玉陨, 玉碎珠沉, 玉碎香销 (Zhang 1996, p. 32; Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	生命的确是像一朵火焰,来去无踪,无时不是动着,忽然扬焰高飞,忽然消沉将熄,最后烟消火灭,留下一点残灰,这一朵火焰就再也燃不起来了。(Zhu 2018, p. 240)	消失。婉称死亡。(Zhang 1996, p. 26)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018	《儒林外史》第十回:“莲公孙上前拜见,牛布衣说道:‘适才会见令表叔,才知尊大人已谢宾客,使我不胜伤感。’”	Obsolete. Rarest example when a Chinese dictionary mentions that the term is used only in reference to men (只适用于男子, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018	清·洪昇《长生殿·情悔》:“虽谢尘缘,难返仙庭。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Hong 2010, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	这下子棘手了,秘籍失踪,唯一知道秘籍下落的二位长老又已不幸谢世。(BCC)	Literary. Alternatively: 谢时 (Zhang 1996, p. 26; Hong 2010). Alternative obsolete expressions with the same meaning: 谢生 and 谢殁 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Liberation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·沉起凤《谐铎:鬼妇持家》:“妇慨然曰:‘人一朝谢事,百凡都听诸后人。’”	HDC (2010) interprets the original meaning of the expression as 'getting rid of the mundane matters' (免除俗事)

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DD-0438	薪尽火灭	xīn jìn huǒ miè	the brushwood burned out and the fire extinguished	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0439	心脏停止跳动	xīn zàng tíng zhǐ tiào dòng	one's heart stopped beating	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0440	行将就木	xíng jiāng jiù mù	be about to enter the coffin	be about to die, have one foot in the grave	人临近死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0441	星落	xīng luò	the star fell	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0442	杏殇	xìng shāng	apricot buds withered too early	die (said of babies)	婴儿夭折	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0443	星亡	xīng wáng	the star fell	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0444	形谢	xíng xiè	one's physical form withered	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0445	星陨	xīng yǔn	the star fell	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0446	凶耗	xiōng hào	ominous news	news about one's death	人死亡的消息	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0447	凶问	xiōng wèn	ominous news	news about one's death	死亡的消息	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0448	凶信	xiōng xìn	ominous news	news about one's death	死亡的消息	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0449	凶折	xiōng zhé	[one's life] is cut short inauspiciously	die prematurely	短命而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0450	朽骨	xiǔ gǔ	decaying bones	deceased person	死者	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0451	休息	xiū xi	rest	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0452	悬梁	xuán liáng	hang [oneself] from a beam	commit suicide by hanging oneself	上吊自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0453	殉财	xùn cái	sacrifice oneself for money	die for money	为钱财而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0454	殉道	xùn dào	sacrifice oneself for truth	die for a great cause	为道义或某种主张而献身	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0455	殉国	xùn guó	sacrifice oneself for one's country	die for one's country	为保全国家而奉献生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0456	殉教	xùn jiào	sacrifice oneself for one's faith	die for one's faith, religion	为信仰的宗教而牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0457	殉节	xùn jié	sacrifice oneself for one's chastity	die for one's virtue; die in defence of one's chastity	为保全志节而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0458	殉难	xùn nàn	sacrifice [one's life] in a disaster	die for a great cause	为正义事业遇难身亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0459	殉情	xùn qíng	sacrifice oneself for one's love	die for one's love	为爱情而死;男女因爱情不能有圆满的结果而自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0460	殉身	xùn shēn	sacrifice oneself	die for a great cause	牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0461	殉物	xùn wù	sacrifice oneself for things	die for material benefits	为追求物质利益而丧生	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0462	殉义	xùn yì	sacrifice oneself for justice or righteousness	die for a great cause	指为正义事业而献身	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0463	殉职	xùn zhí	sacrifice oneself at one's post	die at one's post	在职人员为公务而牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0464	厌代	yàn dài	be bored of the earthly world [and leave]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	空海大师于日本高野山薪尽火灭, 时年62岁。(Zhu 2018, p. 246)	Buddhist term. Common contractions: 'brushwood and fire' 薪火 (Zhang 1996, p. 26), 'run out of brushwood' 薪尽 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: One's Heart Stops Beating for Death	BCC	我会爱你, 直到我的心脏停止跳动。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	但是, 她已经死去了。我已届行将就木之年, 但只要我活在这世上一天, 就要为贝达报仇。(BCC)	快要进棺材, HDC 2010; 比喻年纪已大, 寿命将尽, GC 2015. Alternatively: 就木 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the Fall	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	唐·方干《哭秘书姚少监》诗: “寒空此夜落文星, 星落文留万古名。”	Obsolete. Said of prominent people (HDC 2010). See 陨落
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	金元好问《清明日改葬阿辛》诗: “孟郊老作枯柴立, 可待吟诗哭杏殇。”	Obsolete. 谓杏的花苞凋落 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is the Fall	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	北周·庾信《崔說神道碑铭》: “诸侯地裂, 边将星亡。”	Obsolete. Said of prominent people (HDC 2010). See 陨落
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	南朝·梁·范缜《神灭论》: “是以形存则神存, 形谢则神灭也。”	Obsolete. 形体死亡, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is the Fall	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	北周·庾信《周大將軍冢嘉柳遐墓志铭》: “智士石折, 贤人星陨。”	Obsolete. Said of prominent people (HDC 2010). See 陨落
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	得此凶耗, 震惊不已。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《挽沉骊英女士》诗: “积劳而致疾, 突发未能痊。凶问播遐邇, 听之泣涕涟。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	凶信传来, 她痛哭失声。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·林氏》: “卿万一能活, 相负者必遭凶折。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Bones for the Corpse	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李绅《悲善才》诗: “闻道善才成朽骨, 空餘弟子奉音徽。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Rest	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	唐·桑叔文《淮南节度讨击使田侁墓志》: “一朝休息, 平生已矣。”	Obsolete. Contextual. In contemporary Chinese the verb 'rest' does not have any association with death. HDC (2010) places the meaning of dying after the meaning 'stop' which might imply the literal interpretation of the morphemes in the expression ('stop breathing'), whereas GC (2015) defines it as 'rest peacefully' 安息
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Hanging Oneself for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	老舍《四世同堂》六七: “他觉得凄凉黯淡。他很想悬梁自尽。”	挂在梁上。婉指自缢, 上吊自杀。(Zhang 1996, p. 27)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《庄子·盗跖》: “小人殉财, 君子殉名。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	章炳麟《俱分进化论》: “基督教未行以前, 如琐格拉底辈以身殉道, 蹈死不顾。”(HDC 2010)	Used in reference to people died for justice, faith or political views (为道义、信仰或某种政治主张而献身, GF 2014). Alternatively: 殉道 (Zhang 1996, p. 26)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	1940年2月23日在吉林濛江(今靖宇县)与日军作战中壮烈殉国。(BCC)	Alternatively: 殉国 (Zhang 1996, p. 26)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	郭沫若《反正前后》第一篇六: “他们以殉教的精神在从事于救济国家、救济人类的事业。”(HDC 2010)	Cf. martyr 殉教者
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	一代一代的爱国者, 杀身成仁, 舍生取义, 为祖国捐躯, 为民族殉节。(BCC)	Nowadays used in reference to people died for one's country. Earlier said of women dying to preserve their chastity, including widows who committed suicide rather than remarried. Alternatively: 殉节 (Zhang 1996, p. 26)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	不幸殉难。(GF 2014)	Often used in reference to people died for one's country (GC 2015). Alternatively: 殉难 (Zhang 1996, p. 26)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	哪会想到痴心不已的妻子为他而殉情。(BCC)	Based on the context, the expression can often describe the act of suicide of desperate lovers who cannot be together due to certain obstacles (GC 2015, GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·姚莹《采孝女传》: “世有以殉身为愚孝者, 观於来女, 可爽然也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010	《庄子·让王》: “今世俗之君子多为身弃生以殉物, 岂不悲哉!”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	冯自由《兴中会时期之革命同志》: “杨衢云尝在南非洲英属数埠创立兴中会……自杨殉义后, 无人能知当时南非洲党务。”	Originally referred to people died for morality and justice (为道义而死, HDC 2010), later extended to people died for a great cause
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	曹金鱼当场被撞, 不幸因公殉职。(BCC)	Often used in collocation with the same meaning 以身殉职 (XHC 2016)
Character Replacement	Taboo character is replaced with a neutral character with the similar meaning	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·范仲淹《遗表》: “昨自明肃庆代之后, 陛下奋权之初, 首承德音, 占预禔列。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0465	奄隔	yǎn gé	suddenly separate [oneself from the earthly world]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0466	眼光落地	yǎn guāng luò dì	the light of one's eyes fell to the ground	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0467	晏归	yàn guī	the emperor's carriage was set out late	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0468	咽气	yàn qì	swallow one's last breath	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0469	掩泉	yǎn quán	get drown under the [Yellow] Springs	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0470	厌世	yàn shì	be bored of the earthly world [and leave]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0471	掩土	yǎn tǔ	cover with earth	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0472	奄奄一息	yǎn yǎn yī xī	breathe feebly	be on the verge of death	濒于死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0473	仰药	yǎng yào	hold up one's head and [swallow] the medicine	commit suicide by poisoning	服毒自杀	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0474	瑶台倾	yáo tái qīng	jade terrace collapsed	one's wife died	妻子死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0475	一病不起	yī bìng bù qǐ	once got ill, cannot get up	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0476	遗产	yí chǎn	left assets	heritage, legacy of the deceased	死者留下的财产	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0477	遗弓	yí gōng	leave one's bow	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0478	遗骸	yí hái	left bones	corpse	尸体	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0479	一瞑不视	yī míng bù shì	once closed one's eyes, cannot see anymore	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0480	一命归西	yī mìng guī xī	the life of a person returns to the West[ern Heaven]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0481	一命归阴	yī mìng guī yīn	the life of a person returns to the underworld	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0482	一命呜呼	yī mìng wū hū	the life of a person [has ended], alas!	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0483	遗弃	yí qì	leave (the world) and go	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0484	遗容	yí róng	left image	remains [exposed to the public]; portrait of the deceased	死者的容貌; 遗像	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0485	以身许国	yī shēn xǔ guó	[be ready to] dedicate one's body to the country	be ready to die for one's homeland	为国家利益而准备去死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0486	遗生	yí shēng	lose one's life	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0487	遗世	yí shì	leave the earthly world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0488	遗书	yí shū	left letter	letter or note left by the deceased upon their death	死者临死时留下的书信	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0489	遗体	yí tǐ	left body	corpse	尸体	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0490	遗像	yí xiàng	left image	portrait of the deceased	死者生前的照片、画像	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0491	遗形	yí xíng	leave one's physical form	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0492	易箦	yì zé	change the bed pad	be seriously ill and about to die	病危将死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0493	遗嘱	yí zhǔ	left exhortation	testament or last words said by the deceased before death	死者生前或临死前留下的嘱咐	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《与程正辅提刑书之二十》：“老嫂奄隔，更此粗岁，想加悽断，然终无益。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 奄化, 奄忽, 奄弃, 奄然, 奄逝, 奄逝, 奄逝, 奄忽 (Zhang 1996, p. 28; Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Closing One's Eyes for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·洪迈《夷坚志支甲·巴东太守》：“盖将亡时精神消散，所谓眼光落地者此歎？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《前汉书平话》卷中：“戚夫人自思：‘高祖在日，如此欺负，若帝晏归，我子母每如之奈何！’”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of emperors
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making one's Last Breath for Death	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	他被打捞上来时，不幸已经咽气了。(GF 2014)	Colloquial (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·高启《送安南使者杜舜卿还国应制》：“号册纒临境，容衣忽掩泉。”	Obsolete. Dying is 'sinking into the Yellow Springs' (没于黄泉, HDC 2010). See 黄泉
Metaphor	Death is Liberation. Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·周亮工《祭王瑞芝太翁文》：“太翁厌世时，长公、季公依依在侧，哀礼备至。”	Obsolete. Now commonly understood in its literal meaning 'be world-weary', as in 'commit suicide due to depression' 厌世自杀 or 'be pessimistic and world-weary' 悲观厌世 (XHD 2016)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《西游记》第五六回：“老者道：‘我待也要送了他，奈何再无以次人丁，纵是不才，一定还留他与老汉掩土。’”	Obsolete. Dying is 'being buried, covered with earth' (盖土埋葬, HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making one's Last Breath for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014	待老人的家人赶到时，老人已奄奄一息。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Taking Poison for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷十·葛巾》：“与其相思而病，不如仰药而死！”	Used in common collocations: 'commit suicide by poisoning' 仰药自杀 or 仰药自尽
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·锺生》：“但夫人前世为妇不贞，数应少寡。今君以德延寿，非其所耦，恐岁后瑶台倾也。”	Obsolete. Originates from the poem by the Tang poet Liu Yuxi 《伤往赋》 bereaving the death of his wife: "the jade terrace collapsed! Your dressing case [with a mirror] is now empty" 瑶台倾兮镜奁空
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Being Ill for Death	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	那老妈又是老年，船上早晚感冒些风露，一病不起。(GC 2015)	HDC (2010) interprets the second part of the expression 'cannot get up' 不起 as a euphemism for death
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	继承母亲的遗产。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·沉约《齐武帝谥议》：“慕切遗弓，哀同遇密。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of emperors. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 遗弓剑 (Zhang 1996, p. 30)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	1977年，烈士遗骸隆重安葬于市郊梅岭。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Eyes Closed for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	我们都盼望他能够到南边来游一趟，谁知道在假期里他便一蹶不视了呢？(Zhu 2018, p. 262)	闭眼不能再看, HDC 2010; 眼睛一闭, 不再睁开, GC 2015
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010	现在，全世界的钞票对他都没有用了，日落之前，他就要一命归西。(BCC)	See 归西
Metaphor	Death is the Return	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	四个月后，爷儿俩先后一命归阴。(BCC)	指死亡, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	他受不了那么大的打击，没多久就一命呜呼了。(GC 2014)	生命结束, GC 2015. Has a humorous or sarcastic connotation, thus the expression can be used dysphemistically (HDC 2010, GF 2014). Alternatively: 一命呜呼
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·元稹《告赠皇考皇妣文》：“慈训备至，不肖乃立，积初一命，稹始奉朝，供养未遑，奄尔遗弃。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	遗容安详。大厅里悬挂着鲁迅先生的遗容。(GF 2014)	The expression has two euphemistic meanings: it can describe the remains of the deceased, especially if exposed to the public (e.g. during the funerals, when people pay respect to the deceased) and it can also refer to the portrait of the deceased
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	你我既食君禄，就当以身许国，宁可战死疆场，不可死于国法。(Zhu 2018, p. 263)	Strongly context-based. 愿将生命献给国家, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·刘敬叔《异苑》卷六：“谦怪语曰：‘何不进耶？’对曰：‘遗生已久，无宜干突。’始悟是鬼。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) interprets death as 'giving away one's life' (捐躯, 献身)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	何况像我这样即将遗世之人，选婿当然并不十分苛求。(Zhu 2018, p. 263)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	枕头下有一封遗书。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	遗体告别仪式。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	国父遗像。(GC 2015)	
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·梅尧臣《长歌行》：“遗形得极乐，昇仙上玉京。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Removing the Bed Pad [from the Bedroom] for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·柳宗元《衡州刺史东平吕君谏》：“康不余食，藏无积帛，内厚族姻，外矜宾客，恒是悬磬，遽兹易贲，僮无凶服，葬非旧陌。”	Obsolete. The term 'bed pad' 簟 refers to a bed mat made of thick bamboo strips (Zhang 1996, p. 30). If it had to be changed, that was done for a dying person, and this procedure metonymically refers to the upcoming death
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	国父遗囑。(GC 2015)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0494	一命归天	yī mìng guī tiān	the life of a person returns to Heaven	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0495	隐化	yǐn huà	hide [away from the human world] and transform	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0496	影	yǐng	portrait	portrait of the deceased	遗像	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0497	影削	yǐng xuē	one's image disappeared	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0498	永别	yǒng bié	part forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0499	永辞	yǒng cí	bid farewell [to the human world] forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0500	永隔	yǒng gé	separate [oneself from the world] permanently	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0501	永恒	yǒng héng	[enter] the eternity	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0502	永绝	yǒng jué	cut off [oneself from the world] permanently	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0503	永诀	yǒng jué	part forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0504	永眠	yǒng mián	[fall into] eternal sleep	die	人死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0505	永迁	yǒng qiān	set out on a journey to the eternity	die	亡故	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0506	永逝	yǒng shì	leave [the world] permanently	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0507	永远地闭上眼睛	yǒng yuǎn de bì shàng yǎn jīng	close one's eyes forever	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0508	永蛰	yǒng zhé	hibernate permanently	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0509	永终	yǒng zhōng	end permanently	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0510	游岱宗	yóu dài zōng	travel to the mountain Tai	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0511	尤讳	yóu huì	absolute taboo	die, death	帝王等死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0512	有讳	yǒu huì	there is a taboo	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0513	幽沦	yōu lún	sink into darkness	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0514	羽化	yǔ huà	become [as light as] a bird's feather [and ascend to the sky]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0515	遇难	yù nàn	face a misfortune	die due to a misfortune	因迫害或发生意外而死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0516	玉碎	yù suì	[precious] jade has broken into pieces	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0517	圆寂	yuán jì	[attain] Parinirvana, [attain] complete quietness	die	僧尼死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0518	远行	yuǎn xíng	go on a distant journey	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0519	云归	yún guī	[ride] the clouds and return [to Heaven]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is the Return	BCC	我并不知道布切特被杀的详情，只知道他一命归天。(BCC)	See 归天
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李白《江夏送倩公归汉东序》：“先生六十而隐化，若继跡而起者，惟倩公矣。”	Obsolete. 隐没幻化。(Zhang 1996, p. 30)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Image for the Image of the Deceased	Zhang 1996	《红楼梦》第三十一回：“老太太和舅母那日想是纒拜了影回来。”	Obsolete. Context-based. Alternatively: 灵影 (Zhang 1996, p. 46)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·刘大櫛《祭张十二郎文》：“呜呼，孰谓汝方在蒙养也，而忽焉影削，不保其向聚之形。天固将使汝若斯而已，不如无生。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, XHC 2016, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	谢有法同志虽然与我们永别了，但他忠诚高尚的品德，无私奉献的革命精神永远值得我们学习。(BCC)	多指死亡, GF 2014; 指死别, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	现在这些事已成过去，我也要永辞人世了。(BCC)	Dying is 'bidding farewell for all eternity' (永远诀别, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	汉·祢衡《鹦鹉赋》：“痛母子之永隔，哀伉儷之生离。”	Obsolete. Death is the 'eternal separation' (永久分离, HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	走进永恒。(HDC 2010)	Zhang (1996, p. 30) gives a different interpretation of the term, defining human death as an "eternal course of things" (人死是永恒的规律，故称。).
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	清·钮琇《觚觚·溺妾入梦》：“不幸罹兹厄，与君永绝。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	于是，她先走了。她想不到和丈夫一别，竟成永诀。(BCC)	Strongly context-based. 永别，指死别, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	他已安祥永眠了！(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is the Beginning of a Journey	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	晋·潘岳《哀永逝文》：“撤房帷兮席庭筵，举爵觴兮告永迁。”	Obsolete. 犹永逝，指亡故, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	先生遽然永逝。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Closing One's Eyes for Death	BCC	在我从容就义之后，我的眼睛将永远闭上。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Sleep	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	三国·魏·曹植《武帝诔》：“幽闾一扇，尊灵永蛰。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	蔡东藩《慈禧太后演义》第十五回：“午后，大行皇帝大殓，十有九龄的天子至此永终。”(HDC 2010)	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Transition	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《得景娘殁邻人告违禁景不伏》：“纵近倾筐之岁，且未从人；虽有游岱之魂，焉能事鬼？”	Obsolete. The Mountain Tai 泰山 has a honorific name 岱宗 being the main peak of the 'Five [Sacred] Mountains' 五岳. The honorific 岱宗 itself can be used as a euphemism for death (HD 2010). The expression originates from the idea of the deity of the mountain Tai 东岳大帝 who is also believed to be the Lord of the Underworld. The souls of the deceased return to the Mountain Tai upon leaving their bodies. Alternative contraction: 游岱 (HDC 2010; Zhang 1996, p. 31; Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·司马光《资治通鉴：齐武帝永明八年》：“魏家故事，尤讳之后三月，必迎神於西，禳恶於北，具行吉礼。”胡三省注：“尤讳，犹云大讳也。尤，甚也；死者，人之所甚讳也。”	Obsolete. Said of emperors or his family members
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《元朝秘史》卷十三：“皇帝涉歷山川，远去征战，若一日倘有讳，四子内命谁为主，可令众人先知。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《哭诸故人寄元九诗》：“伟卿既长往，质夫亦幽沦。”	Obsolete. The Underworld is called 'darkness' 幽 or 幽冥
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	或则希望白日羽化，或则祷祝上登天堂。(HDC 2010)	Used in reference to Taoists. Zhang (1996, p. 31) interprets the transformation literally: one was said to "grow bird feathers" (生鸟羽) when turned into an immortal (成仙)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	不幸遇难。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Death is Destruction	HDC, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	我李自成宁为玉碎，不为瓦全。(HDC 2010)	'Broken like jade' 玉碎 (stands for 'dying worthily') is almost always juxtaposed with 'intact like brick' 瓦全' (stands for 'living unworthily').
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	大概十多年前，这位禅师圆寂了。[http://www.360doc.com/content/17/0420/06/11742939_646996011.shtml]	Used in reference to Buddhists, especially monks and nuns
Metaphor	Death is Transition	Hong 2010	死亡仅仅是一次远行吗？[http://fo.sina.com.cn/xuefo/2018-06-12/doc-ihcuqih4866705.shtml]	
Metaphor	Death is Ascension. Death is the Return	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·苏轼《过永乐文长老已卒》诗：“初惊鹤瘦不可识，旋觉云归无处寻。”	Obsolete. 乘云归去, HDC 2010

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0520	陨落	yǔn luò	fall from the sky [like a meteor]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0521	云驭	yún yù	ride the clouds	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0522	与世长辞	yǔ shì cháng cí	part forever with the [human]world	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0523	葬身鱼腹	zàng shēn yú fù	bury one's body and feed the fish	die, be drowned	淹死于水中	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0524	葬玉埋香	zàng yù mái xiāng	bury jade and inter incense	bury a beauty / a beauty died	女子死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0525	早世	zǎo shì	[leave] the world early	die prematurely	人过早死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0526	早逝	zǎo shì	leave early	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0527	札瘥	zhá chài	plague	die due to an epidemic	因瘟疫而死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0528	札疠	zhá lì	plague	die due to an epidemic	因瘟疫而死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0529	长没	zhǎng mò	reach one's old age and end [one's lifespan]	die in one's old age	老人之死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0530	朝不保夕	zhāo bù bǎo xī	[in the morning] one cannot guarantee whether the evening will come / what will happen in the evening	be close to death	形容情况危急	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0531	朝不虑夕	zhāo bù lǜ xī	in the morning one does not know whether the evening will come / what will happen in the evening	be close to death	情况危急，不能作长远的打算	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0532	朝露	zhāo lù	[evaporate like the] morning dew	die prematurely	少年而死	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0533	哲人其萎	zhé rén qí wěi	the sage withered	die due to a disease	贤者病逝	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0534	阵没	zhèn mò	fall in battle	die in battle	在作战中死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0535	正命	zhèng mìng	right appointment [of Heaven]	die naturally	人死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0536	正终	zhèng zhōng	end naturally	die in old age at home	人老死在家	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0537	陟	zhì	ascend, climb up	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0538	致命	zhì mìng	give away one's life	die; deadly, lethal	可使生命丧失的；牺牲生命	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0539	终	zhōng	end	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0540	属纆	zhǔ kuàng	put the cotton fibre [next to the nostrils]	be about to die	临终	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is the Fall	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	冰心《悼郭老》：“他并没有陨落，他永远不会陨落。”	Used in reference to significant persons. The morpheme 'falling from the sky / from above' 陨 might be related to the similarly written 'dying' 殒, which could have influenced the emergence of its euphemistic meaning. The native speakers mix 陨落 and 殒落, which the prescriptive dictionary explicitly warns of (GF 2014). Multiple obsolete compounds with the morpheme 陨/殒 can be found, expressing the same meaning (Zhang 1996, pp. 32-33): 陨背, 陨零, 陨仆, 陨身, 陨世, 陨谢, 殒谢, 陨越, 陨坠 (and its spelling variations 陨队), 陨踏 [b6], 陨蹶, 陨蹶, 陨殒, 陨没, 殒没, 殒殒, 陨命, 殒命, 陨缺, 殒毙, 殒逝, 殒殒, 殒殒, 殒殒 as well as its spelling variation 賁 with several obsolete compounds 賁生, 賁颠, 賁祚, 殒祚 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·孙枝蔚《挽丁筱云》诗：“共拟雪帆趋大府，忽惊云驭向高天。”	Obsolete. 驭云而行。传说仙人以云为车, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	他久病缠身，终于在昨日不幸与世长辞。(GC 2015) 先父已于去年与世长辞。(HDC 2010)	永久辞别人世, GF 2014; 与人世永远告别, GC 2015. Used mostly in reference to 'respectable or beloved people' and marked 'euphemistic and solemn' in XHC (2016)
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Being Drowned for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	冯德英《迎春花》八：“不幸遭遇强风骇浪，翻进沧海，全家葬身鱼腹。”	
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	GC 2015	宋·叶庭珪《海录碎事·卷二》：政事礼仪部：冢墓门：葬玉埋香：“隋开皇二年，渭州刺史张崇妻王氏铭文有深深葬玉，郁郁埋香之语。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	阮玲玉……幼年因父亲早世，便随母亲在一个姓张的大户人家帮佣。(Zhu 2018, p. 277)	
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	英年早逝。(GF 2014)	Used in reference to young people
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·归有光《鬻贷皇子》：“当凶荒札遘之余，百姓嗷嗷，谓当以王命施惠，家赐户益之，犹不能济，而反而浚削之，民命穷矣。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Illness for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·苏轼《睡乡记》：“其土平夷广大，无东西南北，其人安恬舒适，无疾痛礼妨。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《国语·吴语》：“民之恶死而欲富贵以长没也，与我同。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) quotes the commentary of Wei Zhao 韦昭 which interprets death as 'growing old and ending [one's lifespan]' (长, 老也; 没, 终也。)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Unpredictable Event for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014	如今也算知道命危于晨露，朝不保夕。(BCC)	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Unpredictable Event for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016	气息奄奄，人命危浅，朝不虑夕。(BCC)	Strongly context-based. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 朝不谋夕, 朝不图夕
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014	也许，这样一双眼睛原本就不属于尘世？于是，即使在她朝露一般短暂的生命中，这双眼睛也只是属于她，她注定要被一堵穿不透的灰墙死死罩住。(BCC)	Used in common collocations: 'Human life is like the morning dew' 人生如朝露 and 'morning dew, evening mist' 朝露暮霭 both denoting ephemeral and precarious nature of human life
Metaphor	Death is Withering	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	叶圣陶《乡里善人》：“学人文人同声哀悼，‘泰山其颓，哲人其萎’的成语，在祭文挽联哀诗中随处可见。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to honourable people, people of virtue (贤人, GC 2015). Alternatively: 哲人萎, 哲萎 (Zhang 1996, p. 34)
Metaphor	Death is Vanishing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《清史稿·礼志六》：“乾隆十三年，諭祀阵亡总兵任举、侍卫丹泰，旋令征金川阵没将士并入之。”	Obsolete. Used to refer to both the action ('die in the battle') and the deceased person ('fallen warrior'). Possibly related to the non-euphemistic 阵歿. Alternatively: 阵亡, 阵亡将士 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Destiny for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《野叟曝言》：“我年逾六十，贵居一品，子孫繞膝，得終正命，僥天之幸，至此極矣！”	Obsolete. Said of natural death (泛指寿终而死, HDC 2010). Based on the maxim found in "Mencius" 《孟子·尽心上》：“Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven" (尽其道而死者，正命也。)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《穀梁传·定公元年》：“昭公之终，非正终也。”	Obsolete. Said of old people who died peacefully at home (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Death is Ascension	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《周书·康王之诰》：“惟新陟王，毕协赏罚。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the death of emperors
Metaphor	Death is Sacrifice	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《论语·子张》：“士见危致命，见得思义。”	HDC (2010) and GC (2015) define its obsolete meaning of 'sacrifice one's life' (牺牲生命), whereas this expression in its modern usage usually refers to 'fatal' or 'causing death' (使丧命)
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	父亲终年三十四岁。(HDC 2010)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stop Breathing for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014	郭沫若《落叶·第二十一信》：“人到属纆时的惨状我凝视过的回数很多。”	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DD-0541	转身	zhuǎn shēn	turn round	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0542	走	zǒu	leave	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0543	走上不归路	zǒu shàng bù guī lù	set out on a journey of no return	be about to die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0544	走完人生的路程	zǒu wán rén shēng de lù chéng	finish walking one's life path	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0545	卒	zú	end	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0546	钻土	zuān tǔ	drill the soil	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0547	作古	zuò gǔ	become a forefather	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0548	作古人	zuò gǔ rén	become a forefather	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DD-0549	坐化	zuò huà	transform oneself while sitting [cross-legged]	die	死亡	01. DEATH: DYING AND THE DECEASED
DF-0550	哀石	āi shí	stone of sorrow	the inscription on the memorial tablet placed in a tomb	墓志铭	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0551	柏城	bǎi chéng	cypress wall	tomb of an emperor or empress	皇陵	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0552	白礼	bái lǐ	white gift	monetary gift made on the occasion of a funeral to the family of the deceased	给丧家送的礼金、奠仪	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0553	白色消费	bái sè xiāo fèi	white consumption	funeral costs	操办丧事的消费	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0554	拜山	bài shān	worship at mountains	pay respects to a dead person at her/his tomb	扫墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0555	白事	bái shì	white matters	funeral arrangements	丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0556	白喜	báixǐ	white joy	death of an old person who had a long life; funeral of an old person who had a long life	高手老人去世	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0557	板子	bǎnzi	board	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0558	北邙	běi máng	Beimang mountain	graveyard or tomb	墓地或坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0559	本宅	běn zhái	one's own abode	one's own tomb	自己的坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0560	不造	bù zào	[encounter] a misfortune	death of parents; funerals of parents	父母死亡; 父母丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0561	材	cái	timber	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0562	草土	cǎo tǔ	straw and soil	mourn one's parent	居亲丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0563	长生板	cháng shēng bǎn	long-life board	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0564	长生店	cháng shēng diàn	store of longevity	undertaker's shop	专门售卖棺材的店铺	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0565	长夜台	cháng yè tái	terrace of ever-lasting night	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0566	衰经	cūi dié	[mourning] cloth and [mourning] rope	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0567	大事	dà shì	big matters	funeral arrangements	丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0568	丁艰	dīng jiān	encounter hardship	funeral arrangements	丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·李贽《又与周友山书》：“至于转身之后，或遂为登临之会，或遂为读书之所，或遂为瓦砾之场，则非智者所能逆为之图矣。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Hong 2010, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	老人撒手走了。(GF 2014)	用作死亡的讳言, HDC 2010
Metaphor	Death is the Beginning of a Journey	GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	你一定要走上这条不归路, 我也没办法, 反正我劝过你了。[https://www.mybook285.com/ysyz/qjdy/114.htm]	不能再回来的路, 比喻通向死亡的路, GF 2014; 多指死亡之路, XHC 2016
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	BCC	1958年, 我未周岁, 父亲刚刚28岁就走完了他人生的路程。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010, GF 2014, XHC 2016	张旭, 字伯高, 吴郡人, 世称张长史, 生卒年月不详。(BCC)	Common collocations: 'die of illness' 病卒; 'die suddenly' 暴卒; 'date of birth and death' 生卒年月
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Funerals and Burials for Death	Zhang 1996	等你出得了头, 我已经钻土了。(Zhang 1996, p. 35)	
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, GF 2014, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	抗日战争胜利已经过去50周年了, 东北作家群的先辈们, 不少人已经作古。(BCC)	意为已作古人, HDC (2010)
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	Hong 2010	中山先生不幸于二十二年前即作了古人, 国人失去一思想深刻、眼光远大、性情宽厚的领导者。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Transformation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	赵熙《长城魂》五：“只有几天, 她显然衰老了, 仿佛成了一个哑女, 仿佛是一个病妇, 一个坐化在这泥屋里的信女。”(HDC 2010)	Used in reference to Buddhists, especially monks and nuns
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grief for Mourning	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·王安石《秘阁校理张君墓志铭》：“书此哀石, 永祐后人。”	
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《开成皇帝挽歌词奉教撰进诗》之四：“月低仪仗辞兰路, 风引箫簾入柏城。”	Obsolete. Cypress trees were planted around the tombs of emperors and empresses
Metaphor	Death is White	Zhu 2018	沙妻擦了一把眼泪, 茫然地问：“阿三, 你这是干啥? 你要送白礼也用不着这么多呀。”(Zhu 2018, p. 6)	
Metaphor	Death is White	Zhu 2018	丧葬陋俗的复起, “白色消费”的升温, 已成为一个不容忽视的社会问题。(Zhu 2018, p. 6)	
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	你那些废话就留到清明拜山的时候再讲吧。	Used instead of a direct term 扫墓 sāomù 'sweep a grave', 'visit a grave (to pay respects to the dead)'
Metaphor	Death is White	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	他们马上明白了祁家是落了白事。(CCL)	Also related to the custom to wear white coarse hempen mourning clothes by the relatives of a deceased
Metaphor	Death is White	Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	过世的是一位八十好几的老奶奶……这样的丧事是可以当作喜事来办的, 所谓“白喜”就是这个意思。(Zhu 2018, p. 7)	Also known as 白喜事. Opposed to the expression 'red joy' 红喜 meaning 'wedding'. Together wedding and funeral can be described as 'red and white happy matters' 红白喜事, since both events, including the funeral of an old person who had a long life, are reasons for happiness. The attribute 'joyful' 喜 is normally applied to wedding (喜事 'happy event'), but also to funeral (喜丧 'happy farewell').
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Boards of a Coffin for Coffin	Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	捞渣人虽小, 行的是大仁义, 好歹得用一副板子送他。(Zhu 2018, p. 8)	Alternatively: 板 (Zhang 1996, pp. 42-43)
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Mountain for Cemetery	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·徐渭《雌木兰: 第一出》：“长嗟叹道: ‘两口儿北邙近也, 女孩儿车坦萧然。’”	Obsolete. The mountain Mang 邙 or Beimang 北邙 is located in Luoyang 洛阳 in Henan, with many Han, Wei and Jin dynasty royal tombs
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·孙枝蔚《篋中偶检亡友姚山期一绝有作》诗：“笑别相知还本宅, 九重泉下不闻鹃。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《诗经·周颂·闵予小子》：“闵予小子, 遭家不造, 嬛嬛在疚。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Material for Object: Wood for Coffin	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	四爷, 给他买口好材, 别的都是假的。(HDC 2010)	
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Sleeping on Hay and Soil for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《续资治通鉴·宋高宗绍兴二十六年》：“浚身在草土, 名繁罪籍, 要誉而论边事, 不恭而违诏书。”	Obsolete. Originates from the custom of those who mourn their parents' death to sleep on the bed made of straw and on the pillow made of clay (this custom was called 寝苫, 寝苫枕块, 寝苫枕草 or 寝苫枕土, Hong 2010) during the mourning period
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	买了一副百把银子的长生板, 越日就殓他去了。(Zhu 2018, p. 30)	Alternatively: 长生木
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	BCC	广州很早就有棺材铺, 雅称“寿枋店”或“长生店”。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《唐太原白氏之殇墓志铭》：“念尔九岁逝不遇, 埋魂闾骨长夜墓。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions: 夜台 (Zhang 1996, p. 50), 长夜室 (Zhang 1996, p. 43)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Clothes for Burial Clothes	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·俞樾《茶香室续钞·袁中行嘉礼》：“按衰经之中, 举行吉礼, 此世俗权宜之事。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Arrangements for Funeral Arrangements	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	茅盾《子夜》十六：“忽然想起夫人的‘大事’也许要赶在他自己做寿之前就会发生。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	我的父亲中了举人之后就丁艰。(BCC)	Literary. Refers to mourning for a parent's death. The expression can be specified: 'be in mourning for father' 丁外艰; 'be in mourning for mother' 丁内艰. Alternative expressions (Zhang 1996, pp. 37-38): 父艰, 母艰, 家艰, 私艰. Therefore, the mourning clothes is called 艰服 (Zhang 1996, p. 38)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DF-0569	丁忧	dīng yōu	encounter misery	funeral arrangements	丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0570	读礼	dú lǐ	read the [mourning] rituals	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0571	发送	fā sòng	see [the deceased] off	deal with funeral arrangements	办理丧事, 出殡并安葬死者	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0572	奉讳	fèng huì	keep a taboo	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0573	杠房	gàng fáng	house of poles	undertaker's shop	专为丧事服务的铺子	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0574	杠夫	gàng fū	bearers of [thick] poles	coffin-bearer	出葬时抬运棺木的人	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0575	缟素	gǎo sù	white silk dress	mourning dress	丧服	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0576	遭闵	gòu mǐn	encounter a sorrow	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0577	归藏	guī cáng	return and hide [in the ground]	bury [in one's homeland]	归葬	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0578	归骨	guī gǔ	return the bones	bury the dead	死后安葬	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0579	国恤	guó xù	sorrow of the country	national mourning	国丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0580	蒿里	hāo lǐ	[Mountain] Haoli	graveyard; netherworld	墓地; 阴间	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0581	蒿薤	hāo xiè	wormwood and shallot	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0582	后事	hòu shì	matters after	funeral arrangements	丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0583	坏土	huài tǔ	a handful of earth	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0584	皇堂	huáng táng	the hall of the emperor	emperor's coffin chamber	皇帝的墓室	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0585	吉地	jí dì	auspicious land	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0586	吉阡	jí qiān	auspicious land	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0587	吉壤	jí rǎng	auspicious land	graveyard	坟地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0588	棘人	jí rén	grieving person	those who are in mourning	居丧者	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0589	吉祥板	jí xiáng bǎn	auspicious board	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0590	佳城	jiā chéng	beautiful city	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0591	艰酷	jiān kù	hardship and misery	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0592	蛟龙玉匣	jiāo lóng yù xiá	jade box [with golden carvings of] water dragons	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0593	金井	jīn jǐng	golden well	tomb; urn [for bone-gathering]	墓穴; 骨瓮	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	丁忧离任。(BCC)	Literary. Refers to mourning for a parent's death. This usually included the tradition of keeping watch beside the parent's coffin (守丧) as well as the prohibition to marry, to attend banquets, to take exams or official posts within 3 years. The expression can be specified (Zhang 1996, p. 36): 'be in mourning for father' 丁父忧 or 'be in mourning for mother' 丁母忧 or 'be in mourning for mother' 丁内忧
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Rituals for Funeral Rituals	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第二回：“临去时，执着我的手，嘱咐我回去好好的守制读礼。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Accompanying for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	刘魁胜家弟兄俩，发送了他爹，携带些细软，带领家口逃进保定城。(Zhu 2018, p. 71)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Taboo for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	到曾府拜会，请他遵旨办团，劝之再三，曾国藩始终没有答应，只说奉诏归家，不宜与闻军事。(Zhu 2018, p. 78)	Originates from the tradition to avoid the name of the deceased in any form
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Pole for Carrying a Coffin for Coffin	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	下午回来，在校门外看见杠房里的人，知道杠已来了。(Zhu 2018, p. 82)	The 'pole' refers to the thick poles which were used to transport coffins
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Pole for Carrying a Coffin for Coffin	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	中间还有杠夫抬着的避容亭，亭中安放孙中山遗像。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Clothes for Burial Clothes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	一身缟素。(GF 2014)	Literary (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《文选》：潘岳《杨仲武诔》：“子之遭阨，曾未乱髻。”	Obsolete. The term 阨 originally referred to the 'disturbance' caused by illness (GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is the Return	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·王勃《为原州赵长史请为亡父度人表》：“今者归藏有日，先远戒期。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Bones for the Corpse	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	历史著名人物则归于巴黎的万神庙。(BCC)	The expression is used in the situation when the corpse is transported to the homeland of the deceased
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grief for Mourning	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《元史》：卷二十四·仁宗本纪一：“朕以国恤方新，诚有未忍。”	Obsolete. Used to refer to the mourning for emperors and empresses
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Mountain for Cemetery	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	晋·陶渊明《祭程氏妹文》：“死如有知，相见蒿里。”	Obsolete. The mountain (the name can be literally translated as "wormwood village") was believed to be located south of Taishan, thus the reference to the tombs and the dead. Alternatively: 蒿丘。(Zhang 1996, p. 44)
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Song for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·徐渭《问军中之系于国用》诗：“甚者乏继承，馁鬼满蒿薶。”	Obsolete. See 蒿薶
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	周谷城同志为自己的后事作了周密安排。(Zhu 2018, p. 104)	
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·王献定《汤琵琶传》：“已归省母，母尚健而妇已亡，惟居旁坏土在焉。”	Obsolete. The spelling variant for 'a handful of earth' is 一抔土 which also means 'grave' (Zhang 1996, p. 51)
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·叶绍翁《四朝闻见录·武林》：“（朱熹）上书建议，乞以武林山为孝宗皇堂。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Plot of Land for Cemetery	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《清史稿》：卷二九二·高其倬传：“复召至京师，令从怡亲王勘定太平山谷万年吉地，进世职三等阿思哈尼哈番。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea that certain places are more suitable (= auspicious) for burials than others based on the principles of fengshui
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Plot of Land for Cemetery	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·吾邱瑞《运甓记·牛眠指穴》：“记牛眠，定吉阡，葬后君家福荫绵。”	Obsolete. The term 'footpath between fields' 阡 might also refer to the footpath leading to a grave or tomb, thus alternative expressions meaning 'tomb' are 阡原, 阡兆
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Plot of Land for Cemetery	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《清史稿》：礼志十一：“自世宗亲营泰陵吉壤，工需动用内帑，并谕毋建石像，惜人力。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grief for Mourning	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·周亮工《清明闻同人各有饮所风雨荒园悽然有感》诗：“燧火偏迷羈旅路，清明独上棘人心。”	Obsolete. Form of self-address of a person who is mourning for the deceased parent
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Boards of a Coffin for Coffin	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《廿载繁华梦》第四回：“次日，就由管家寻得一副吉祥板，是柳州来的，价银八百元。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Cemetery is a City [of the Living]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《文选》：沈约《冬节后至丞相第诣世子车中诗》：“谁当九原上，郁郁望佳城。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 千秋佳城
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《晋书》：孝友传论：“刘殷幼丁艰酷，柴毁逾制。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to mourning for any relative
Metaphor	Coffin is a Jewellery Box	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《西京杂记》卷一：“汉帝送死，皆珠襦玉匣，匣形如鎧甲，连以金缕。武帝匣上皆鍍为蛟龙、鸾凤、龟麟之象，世谓为蛟龙玉匣。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to the coffin of emperors and the noble. The mythical water dragon refers to the emperor
Metaphor	Tomb is a Well	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《喻世明言》：卷十六：范巨卿鸡黍死生交：“因此扶柩到此，众人拽棺入金井，并不能动，因此停住坟前，众都惊怪。”	Obsolete. According to the doctrine of five elements, gold is associated with autumn, thus both associations with death and the noble. Alternative expression meaning 'tomb of the noble': 秋井 (Zhang 1996, p. 47)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DF-0594	苴麻	jū má	hemp	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0595	科柏	kē bǎi	trim poplars	clean and offer sacrifices at the [ancestral] tomb	祭扫陵墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0596	空木	kōng mù	empty log	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0597	老衣	lǎo yī	old [man's] clothes	clothes on the corpse	人死时穿的衣服	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0598	料	liào	wood	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0599	灵床	líng chuáng	bed of the spirit	bed on which the corpse is placed	停放尸体的床铺	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0600	灵杠	líng gǎng	pole of the spirit	pole to transport the corpse	抬棺材的杠子	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0601	灵岗	líng gǎng	ridge of the spirit	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0602	陵谷	líng gǔ	hills and valleys	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0603	灵寝	líng qǐn	bedroom of the spirit	tomb	陵墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0604	陵寝	líng qǐn	resting [place] in the high mound	tomb	帝王及后妃的坟墓及墓地的宫殿建筑	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0605	灵堂	líng táng	hall of the spirits	funeral hall	停灵柩、放骨灰或设置遗像供人吊唁的屋子	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0606	灵域	líng yù	land of spirits	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0607	灵辘	líng yuán	carriage shafts of the spirit	hearse	载运灵柩的车子	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0608	灵宅	líng zhái	abode of the spirit	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0609	六块板	liù kuài bǎn	six boards	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0610	埋玉	mái yù	bury jade	bury a beauty or a talented person	埋葬有才华的人或女子	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0611	蓬颗	péng kē	lumps of earth	burial mound	坟头	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0612	千年屋	qiān nián wū	house of one thousand years	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0613	千岁室	qiān suì shì	chamber of one thousand years	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0614	寝宫	qǐn gōng	sleeping palace	tomb	陵墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0615	青松宅	qīng sōng zhái	abode with pines	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0616	青台	qīng tái	green terrace	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0617	青乌垄	qīng wū lǒng	raven ridge	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0618	穷泉	qióng quán	deepest springs	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0619	丘陵	qiū líng	hill	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0620	泉户	quán hù	door to the springs	door of a tomb	墓门	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0621	壤树	rǎng shù	planted trees	graveyard of ancestors	祖先的坟地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0622	热窝儿	rè wōr	warm nest	coffin with newly placed corpse inside	新殓的棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0623	三尺土	sān chǐ tǔ	three chi earth	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0624	苫块	shān kuài	hay and soil	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Clothes for Burial Clothes	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《野获编补遗》：内阎：阎臣夺情奉差：“辅臣且麻，下充麻使，事不汗颜！此景泰四年事。”	Obsolete. The term refers to the fabric of the mourning garment. Alternatively: 直经 (Zhang 1996, p. 38)
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	元·陆友《研北杂志》卷下：“宋珣、洛陵寝，岁以四月科柏，前期遣官奏告。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Material for Object: Wood for Coffin	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·陶潜《拟挽歌辞》之一：“魂气散何之，枯形寄空木。”	Obsolete. Originates from the legend about the mythical emperor Yao 尧 whose corpse was placed in a hollow tree trunk or log (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Clothes for Burial Clothes	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	叶圣陶《潘先生在难中》：“我在这里一点也不怕；如果打仗打到这里来，反正我的老衣早就做好了。”	
Metonymy	Material for Object: Wood for Coffin	Zhang 1996	周立波《山乡巨变》上卷二二：“我是阎老五点名的人了，我屋前面的那根杉木，要留着合料。”	木料，特指制棺材的木料。婉指棺材 (Zhang 1996, p. 45)
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	父亲安睡在灵床上，双目紧闭……。(CCL)	The term 'spirit' 灵 usually refers to the deceased or metonymically to the coffin or to the tomb. A common term for a coffin which contains the deceased is 柩 or 灵柩
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	梁斌《红旗谱》二三：“只要一副‘灵杠’，把人抬出去就算了。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·黄滔《祭司勋孙郎中文》：“今则江湖梗涩，京洛迢遥，权卜灵岗，寓安寿域。”	
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·顾炎武《十月二十日奉先妣葬于先曾祖兵部侍郎公墓之左》诗：“六十年间事反覆，到今陵谷青模糊，止存松楸八百树，夜夜宿鸟还相呼。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	成吉思汗灵柩在移离圣地16年之后终于重返故里。(CCL)	Alternatively: 神寝
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	对中国帝王陵寝的好奇，就如我对埃及金字塔的痴迷狂热一般。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	现在我才明白，为什么肖先生一进灵堂就住口。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Plot of Land for Cemetery	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·陆云《晋故散骑常侍陆府君诔》：“龟策协贞，灵域裁判。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·颜延之《祭弟文》：“令龟吉兆，祖榭东旋，灵辘次路，严舟在川。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 灵驾
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·苏辙《东空老翁并斋僧疏》：“右伏以先君太子太师，兆自东山，躬卜灵宅。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Boards of a Coffin for Coffin	Zhang 1996	石英《文明地獄》第二章：“可以说是电闸失灵，是事故。大不了破费几个钱儿，买副六块板呗。”	Six boards describe the boards of a coffin (up, down, left, right, front, behind)
Metaphor	Beautiful Woman is a Precious Stone	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《梁书·卷五十·陆云公传》：“不谓华龄，方春掩质，埋玉之恨，抚事多情。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to women
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·顾炎武《霍山》诗：“春雪覆松杉，堂基对蓬颗。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Coffin is a Room [of the Living]	Zhang 1996	不过老太太的千年屋肯定不是大叔口中说的自己用得着的东西。[https://myxsub.com/xuanhuan/88977/35686.html]	
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·朱熹《次延之年兄韵呈伯时季路二兄》：“柏下竟开千岁室，竹间犹插万籤书。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	几个人又回到了“寝宫”。到底打不开棺材？(BCC)	
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·鲍溶《途中旅思》诗之一：“朝提黄金爵，暮造青松宅。”	Obsolete. Both pines and cypresses are typical trees planted next to graveyards and tombs
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·汤显祖《牡丹亭·婚走》：“青墓闭，白日开。秀才呵，受的俺三生礼拜。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea that immortal spirits of the deceased reside on the green side of a hill (Zhang 1996)
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·梅尧臣《闻高平公祖谢述哀感旧以助挽歌》之一：“归卜青乌垄，韩城苦雾平。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《文选》：潘岳《悼亡诗》：“之子归穷泉，重壤永幽隔。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 穷泉朽壤
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·聂夷中《劝酒诗二首之一》：“岁岁松柏茂，目目丘陵多。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions: 丘壤，丘墟，山丘，首丘
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·彭孙贻《度台寒食忽诗》：“几人江上共招魂，瘴海青蝇吊泉户。”	Alternative expressions: 泉扉，泉岗，泉门 (Zhang 1996, p. 47)
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·刘禹锡《上杜司徒书》：“小人祖先壤树在京索间，瘠田可耕，陋室未毁。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Coffin is a Nest	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《三侠五义》第三六回：“咱家员外遭了此事已是不幸，人人听见该当叹息，替他难受，怎么你还要就热窝儿去偷盗尸首的东西？”	Obsolete. Used in reference to a corpse which is 'newly prepared for funerals' 新殓, whereas the verb 殓 means 'dress the corpse for burial and put it in a coffin'
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·郑燮《徐君墓》诗：“为表延陵万古心，忍负徐君三尺土。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Sleeping on Hay and Soil for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《儒林外史·第一回》：“王冕负土成坟，三年苦块，不必细说。”	Obsolete. The term refers to the way the mourning is conducted: using hay 苫 instead of bedclothes for sleeping; using a block of soil 块 instead of a pillow

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DF-0625	山头	shān tóu	top of the hill	grave mound	墓地的坟头	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0626	蜃车	shèn chē	clam carriage	funeral carriage, hearse	载棺的丧车	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0627	神道	shén dào	path of spirits	path leading to a tomb	墓道	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0628	视含	shì hán	watch [how the deceased] is holding [a jade] in one's mouth	see off the dead	送终	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0629	寿材	shòu cái	wood of longevity	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0630	寿宫	shòu gōng	palace of longevity	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0631	寿具	shòu jù	longevity tool	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0632	寿木	shòu mù	wood of longevity	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0633	寿器	shòu qì	longevity utensils	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0634	寿堂	shòu táng	longevity hall	funeral hall; tomb	停放死者棺木的厅堂; 坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0635	寿穴	shòu xué	longevity cave	new grave	生前营造的墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0636	寿衣	shòu yī	robe of longevity	burial clothes	装殓死人的衣服, 老年人往往生前做好备用	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0637	寿域	shòu yù	longevity area	new tomb	生前准备的坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0638	送老	sòng lǎo	see [the deceased] off at [her/his] old age	handle the funeral affairs	安排长辈的丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0639	松楸	sōng qiū	pinus and catalpas	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0640	松隧	sōng suì	pine road	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0641	送行	sòng xíng	hold a farewell party	bid farewell with the deceased	送别死者	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0642	送终	sòng zhōng	see [the deceased] off at [her/his] end [of life]	handle the funeral affairs	安排长辈的丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0643	太平间	tàipíngjiān	chamber of great calm	mortuary	医院中停放尸体的房间	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0644	土工	tǔ gōng	earth worker	gravedigger	专司殡葬的人	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0645	土骨堆	tǔ gǔ duī	pile of earth and bones	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0646	土馒头	tǔ mán tóu	steamed bun made of soil	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0647	土中宅	tǔ zhōng zhái	abode in the earth	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0648	外艰	wài jiān	external hardship	be in mourning for one's father's death	父亲的丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0649	万年吉地	wàn nián jí dì	auspicious land of tens of thousands years	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0650	喜丧	xǐ sāng	happy funeral	funeral of an old person died naturally	为正常死亡的高寿老人举办的丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0651	匣子	xiá zǐ	box	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0652	笑丧	xiào sāng	laughing funeral	funeral of an old person died naturally	为正常死亡的高寿老人举办的丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0653	行服	xíng fú	wear [mourning] clothes	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0654	凶具	xiōng jù	inauspicious utensils	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0655	凶肆	xiōng sì	ominous store	undertaker's shop	出售丧葬用品的商店	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Place for Category: On the Hill for Tomb	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅：第十四回》：“那日也教吴月娘办了一桌席，与他山头祭奠。”	Obsolete. Originates from the custom to place tombs on the hills or mountains
Metaphor	Funeral Carriage is a Clam	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《周礼：地官：遂师》：“大丧，使帅其属以輓帘先，道野役，及空抱磨，共丘瓮，及雇车之役。”	Obsolete. The form of the carriage resembles a clam
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Spirit for the Deceased	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	神道碑。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Putting Jade into one's Mouth for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·张居正《答李石麓相公书》：“第一别先人，十有九年，生不得侍养焉，没不得视含焉。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	尚未到古稀之年，就早早将自己的寿材备好了。(BCC)	Referred to a coffin which was prepared long time before one's death. Cf. non-euphemistic name for coffin 棺材
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	过了两天，是十八日，忽传太后传旨着庆亲王奕劻往普陀峪吉地察视寿宫去了。	
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《水浒传：第二一回》：“王公道：‘恩主时常觑老汉，又蒙与终身寿具，老子今世不能报答，后世做驴做马，报答押司。’”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	听爸爸说，他爷爷生前就把自己的寿木选好了。	Referred to a coffin which was prepared long time before one's death. Cf. non-euphemistic name for coffin 棺材
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《西游记：第七十五回》：“将白马卖了，与师父买个寿器送终。”	Obsolete. Refers to a coffin often bought and kept before one dies
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·俞樾《茶香室丛钞：卷十六：寿堂寿神》：“按寿堂，今谓之寿穴。余葬姚夫人，亦自营寿堂。”	Obsolete. Nowadays used in the meaning 'hall for birthday celebrations'
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	王老伯把自己的寿穴选在村口路旁。(BCC)	Referred to a grave which was prepared long time before one's death
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	她的寿衣、寿材都做好了，就差一张遗像还没有备齐。(BCC)	
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异：卷五：堪舆》：“宋公卒，……，兄弟两不相下，因负气不为谋，并营寿域。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Getting Old for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《儒林外史》第二二回：“快替我穿了送老的衣服，我立刻就去了。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·孔尚任《桃花扇：设朝》：“兵燹难消，松楸多志，鼎湖弓剑无人葬。”	Obsolete. Pines and catalpas were typical trees planted next to graveyards
Metonymy	Part for Whole: Trees for Graveyard	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《宋书：袁湛传》：“世祖大明三年，幸籍田，行经湛墓，下詔曰：‘……朕近巡览千亩，遥瞻松隧，缅惟徽尘，感慕增结。可遣使祭，少申永怀。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Departure	Zhu 2018	出殡的那天，成千上万的普通市民涌向街头为他送行。(Zhu 2018, p. 210)	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	为父母尽孝送终。(GF 2014)	The term implies both being physically close to the person who is about to die as well as participating in funeral arrangements afterwards (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Chamber for Mortuary	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	话说，联合医院有建太平间，医院里阴气太重了!(BCC)	Compare with the direct expression for mortuary: 'rooms in which the corpses are placed' 停尸房. Alternatively: 太平房 (Zhang 1996, p. 49)
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	鲁迅《彷徨·在酒楼上》：“就在前天，我在城里买了一口小棺材……带着棉絮和被褥，雇了四个土工下乡迁葬去。”	
Metonymy	Contents for Container: Bones for Tomb; Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·韩愈《饮城南道边古墓》诗：“偶上城南土骨堆，共倾春酒三五盃。”	
Metaphor	Tomb is Food	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	鸿渐指着那些土馒头问：“孙小姐，你相信不相信有鬼？”(Zhu 2018, p. 220)	Similarity of form
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·孟郊《达士》诗：“倾产取一醉，富者奈贫何。君看土中宅，富贵无偏颇。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·杨炯《后周青州刺史齐贞公宇文文公神道碑》：“公少丁外艰，州党称其孝。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《天讨：望帝<四川讨满洲檄>》：“那拉氏万年吉地工程，每年百餘万两。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	老奶奶活到八十八，是喜丧，应该吹吹打打的。(Zhu 2018, p. 234)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Object for Coffin	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	沉从文《边城》：“河街上船总顺顺，派人找了一只空船，带了副白木匣子，即刻向碧溪岷撑去。”	Obsolete
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	GF 2014	笑丧可以采用红色吗？[http://ahkew.blogkaki.net/viewblog-97716/]	Regional (Hong Kong, Guangdong). Also known as 喜丧
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Clothes for Burial Clothes	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·王士禛《池北偶谈：谈献三：重师》：“汉人最重其师，门生故吏，至有弃官行服者。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Object for Coffin	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异：卷三：宫梦弼》：“无何，柳病卒，至无以治凶具。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Store for Undertaker's Store	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	宋·洪迈《夷坚乙志：卷十：余杭宗女》：“父坚忍人也，愈益怒，不俟所择日至，立呼凶肆之人，與薪厝火，斧棺而蒸之。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DF-0656	玄宫	xuán gōng	dark palace	tomb of a monarch	帝王坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0657	悬剑陇	xuán jiàn lǒng	ridge with a hanging sword	tomb of a deceased friend	亡友的坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0658	玄扃	xuán jiōng	dark gate	coffin chamber	墓室	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0659	玄庐	xuán lú	dark hut	coffin chamber	墓室	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0660	玄室	xuán shì	dark chamber	coffin chamber	墓室	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0661	玄堂	xuán táng	dark hall	tomb	陵墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0662	玄宅	xuán zhái	dark abode	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0663	掩土	yǎn tǔ	cover with earth	handle the funeral affairs, bury	送终	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0664	夜台	yè tái	terrace of [everlasting] night	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0665	夜庭	yè tíng	court of [everlasting] night	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0666	义地	yì dì	symbolic ground	public cemetery (usually for the poor)	旧时埋葬穷人的公共墓地。也指由私人或团体购置，专为埋葬一般同乡、团体成员及其家属的墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0667	引绋	yǐn fú	pull a thick rope	participate in funeral procession	送葬	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0668	阴寿	yīn shòu	birthday in [the world of] darkness or dark birthday	age after death	死者在阴间的寿命；已故长辈的年龄	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0669	阴堂	yīn táng	dark hall	tomb	墓穴	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0670	阴宅	yīn zhái	dark abode	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0671	永宅	yǒng zhái	eternal abode	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0672	忧居	yōu jū	reside with grief	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0673	幽坎	yōu kǎn	dark pit	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0674	幽台	yōu tái	dark terrace	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0675	幽墟	yōu xū	dark hill	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0676	幽宅	yōu zhái	dark abode	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0677	在疚	zài jiù	be in grief	be in mourning for one's dead parent	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0678	遭艰	zāo jiān	encounter hardship	death of parents; funerals of parents	父母死亡；父母丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0679	遭忧	zāo yōu	encounter misery	death of parents; funerals of parents	父母死亡；父母丧事	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0680	宅兆	zhái zhào	abode and altar	graveyard	墓地	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0681	真宅	zhēn zhái	genuine abode	tomb	坟墓	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0682	制中	zhì zhōng	during a ritual	be in mourning	居丧	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0683	梓宫	zǐ gōng	catalpa palace	coffin of an emperor or empress	皇帝或皇后的棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS
DF-0684	梓器	zǐ qì	woodware of catalpa	coffin	棺材	02. DEATH: FUNERALS AND BURIALS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	姚合《敬宗皇帝挽词》：“玄宫今一闭，终古柏苍苍。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Anecdote for Category	Zhang 1996	李隆基《过王潘墓》诗： “不观松柏茂，空余荆棘场。叹嗟悬剑陇，谁识梦刀样。”	Obsolete. Originates from a story found in "Historical Records" (《史记·吴太伯世家》) about Ji Zha 季札 and his precious sword which impressed the ruler of Xu 徐君, but didn't express his wish to claim it. When the ruler of Xu passed away, Ji Zha hanged the sword on a pine next to the tomb of the deceased ruler
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	高启《题晚节堂》诗： “人生百年寿，六十未为晚。胡为借玄扁，结亭此山阪？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	三国·魏·曹植《曹仲雍诔》逸句：“痛玄庐之虚廓。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《晋书·卷三十一·后妃传上：武悼皇后传》： “爰定宅兆，克成玄室。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	南朝·齐·谢朓《齐敬皇后哀策文》：“翠帘舒阜，玄堂启扉。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·杨慎《祭黄简肃公文珂》：“乃命司空，载昔玄宅。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《西游记》第五六回：“老者道：‘我待也要送了他，奈何再无以次人丁，纵是不才，一定还留他与老汉掩土。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷三·连琐》：“夜台朽骨，不比生人。”	Obsolete. See 长夜台
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	前蜀·杜光庭《卢蔚大夫助上元斋词·下元》： “释冤债於夜庭，落罪尤於地简。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Plot of Land for Cemetery	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	论理，他对老魏，无论如何，哪能不送到义地看安葬！（BCC）	Alternatively: 义冢
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Pulling a Rope for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·周亮工《宋去损以予累客死都门》诗之四： “引缚无能泪暗挥，桐棺独去雨霏霏。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 执绋
Reversal	Death is the Opposite of Life	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	在浴佛寺替老太爷做六十岁的阴寿，女眷一连串坐着马车到庙里去，招摇过市像游行一样。（BCC）	Originates from the tradition to commemorate the day of one's death and count one's age even after one's death. The tradition to celebrate one's day of death was called 做阴寿 which is related to the term 'celebrate one's birthday (said of an elderly person)' 做寿
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·柳宗元《万年县丞柳君墓志》： “呜呼，铭誌之来古矣，是不可闕，遂勒玄石，措于阴堂。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, Zhu 2018,	中国古人叫活人住的屋是“阳宅”，叫坟墓为“阴宅”。（BCC）	
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《魏书·傅永传》：“（傅永）远慕杜预，近好李冲、王肃，欲葬附其墓，遂买左右地数顷，遗骛子叔伟曰：‘此吾之永宅也。’”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·张知甫《可书》： “僕大父讳问，字昌言，与种世衡有旧，及忧居，世衡遗以汝州田十顷。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·韩愈《丰陵行》： “哭声旬天百鸟噪，幽坎昼闭空灵輿。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·高启《盗发汉侍中许或墓》诗：“长夜俄看月，幽壑不掩泉。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	三国·魏·阮籍《元父赋》：“元父者，九州之穷也，先代之幽墟者也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《仪礼·士丧礼》：“度兹幽宅兆基，无有后艰。”	Obsolete. Alternative Obsolete expressions with the same meaning of a 'dark place' referring to 'grave' or 'tomb': 幽房，幽宫，幽扁，幽居，幽室，幽堂（Zhang 1996, pp. 51-52）
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grief for Mourning	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·刘大魁《翰林侍讲张君墓志铭》： “君之在疚，屏酒肉而不御，独居殯官塋兆之侧，盖二十七月如一日。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·刘献廷《广阳杂记》卷一： “昔某公遭艰归，于轿顶之中，为一小龕，奉纸位一，载而行。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Misfortune for Death	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·朱彭寿《安乐康平室随笔》： “张子虞夫子……光绪癸未进士，由编修官至江苏徐州府知府，遭忧去职。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷五·阳武侯》： “因请于主人为宅兆，构茅而居。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Tomb is a Room [of the Living]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《汉书·杨王孙传》：“千载之后，棺槨朽腐，乃得归土，就其真宅。”	Obsolete. Taoist term
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Rituals for Funerals and Burials	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《红楼梦》第一一四回：“那位甄老爷一见，便悲喜交集；因在制中，不便行礼。”	Obsolete. The term 'ritual' 制 here refers to the old practice of the great (27 months long) mourning 守制
Metonymy	Material for Object: Wood for Coffin	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《三国演义·第八十五回》：“孔明率众官奉梓宫还成都，太子刘禅出城迎接灵柩，安于正殿之内。”	Obsolete, used today to describe the rites and customs of imperial China
Metonymy	Material for Object: Wood for Coffin	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《后汉书·卷七十九·儒林传上：戴凭传》：“在职十八年，卒于官，诏赐东园梓器，钱二十万。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DA-0685	重冥	chóng míng	deep darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0686	重泉	chóng quán	deep springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0687	地下	dì xià	under ground	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0688	黄泉	huáng quán	yellow springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0689	火聚	huǒ jù	fire gathering	hell	地狱	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0690	九重泉	jiǔ chóng quán	nine deep springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0691	九泉	jiǔ quán	nine springs	tomb; netherworld	人死后埋葬的地方; 阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0692	冥国	míng guó	kingdom of darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0693	冥境	míng jìng	world of darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0694	冥路	míng lù	path to the darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0695	冥冥	míng míng	absolute darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0696	冥寞	míng mò	darkness and quietness	Underworld Kingdom	阴曹地府	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0697	溟漠	míng mò	dark and boundless [area]	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0698	冥途	míng tú	dark path	netherworld	幽冥的道途, 地狱饿鬼等的地方	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0699	冥乡	míng xiāng	village of darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0700	冥中	míng zhōng	in the darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0701	泉路	quán lù	path of springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0702	泉世	quán shì	world of springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0703	泉台	quán tái	spring terrace	tomb; netherworld	坟墓、墓穴; 阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0704	泉途	quán tú	path of springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0705	泉下	quán xià	under the springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0706	泉乡	quán xiāng	village of springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0707	三泉	sān quán	three springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0708	西方	xī fāng	West	paradise	极乐世界	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0709	西天	xī tiān	Western Heaven	paradise	极乐世界	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0710	下泉	xià quán	lower springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0711	玄泉	xuán quán	mystic springs	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0712	玄夜	xuán yè	mystic night	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0713	阴曹	yīn cáo	dark department	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0714	阴曹地府	yīn cáo dì fǔ	dark department	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·陆机《驾言出北阙行》：“安寝重冥庐，天壤莫能兴。”	Obsolete. The netherworld was believed to be located in the depth under ground, thus the 'deep' and 'darkness' are usually used to refer to the afterlife
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《文选》：江淹：杂体诗：潘黄门：“美人归重泉，凄怆无终毕。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Place for Category: Under Ground for Tomb	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·太医》：“生不能扬名显亲，何以见老母地下乎！”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	一名女孩突然无缘无故地七孔流血暴毙，一夜之间，就奔赴黄泉。(BCC)	The "Thousand Character Classic" 《千字文》 contains the idea of 'the sky is black and the earth is yellow' 天地玄黄, thus the colour of the springs located under ground are yellow as well (GC 2015)
Metaphor	Hell is Fire	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·张居正《答李中溪有道尊师书》：“而正以退食之余，犹得默坐澄心，寓意方外，如入火聚得清凉门。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term for hell understood as a gathering of souls put in eternal fire
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010	唐·杜甫《送郑十八虔贬台州司户》诗：“便与先生应永诀，九重泉路尽交期。”	Obsolete. See 九泉
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	中山先生当含笑九泉。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	茅盾《色盲》五：“人们象影子、象鬼似的匆匆忙忙赶着走，仿佛就是冥国。”	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李峤《为魏国北寺西寺请迎寺额表》：“弘济深於冥境，薰修入於梵门。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《敦煌变文集·大目乾连冥间救母变文》：“魂魄飘流冥路间，若问三涂何处苦？咸言五道鬼门关。”	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	鲁迅《朝花夕拾·〈二十四孝图〉》：“《文昌帝君阴骘文图说》和《玉历钞传》，都画着冥冥之中赏善罚恶的故事。”	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Death is Quietness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·李复言《续玄怪录·卢仆射从史》：“僕射去人寰久矣，何不还生人中，而久处冥冥？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	前蜀·杜光庭《马尚书本醮醮词》：“泊乎沉潜异质，溟漠殊庭，同沐玄风，咸异道域。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《初刻拍案惊奇·卷十七》：“最下者行持符籙，役使鬼神，设章醮以通上界，建考照以达冥途。”	Obsolete. Buddhist term. Used to describe the place in hell where the hungry spirits preta are believed to reside (地狱饿鬼等的地方, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·鲍溶《苦哉远征人》诗：“李陵死别处，盲昏去冥乡。”	
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	鲁迅《且介杂文未编·死》：“所以年纪一到五十上下，就给自己寻葬地，合寿材，又烧纸锭，先在冥中存储。”	
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·张说《赠广州大都督冯府君神道碑铭》：“朱幡象服，寤及泉路，荣其亲兮。”	Obsolete. GC (2015) defines the afterlife as the "place where people return to after their death" (人死后所归之处)
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《清平山堂话本·张子房慕道记》：“身归泉世，命染黄沙。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	陈毅《梅岭三章》诗之一：“此去泉臺招旧部，旌旗十万斩阎罗。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·谢庄《宋孝武宣贵妃诔》：“皇帝痛掖殿之既闋，悼泉途之已宫。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·孟郊《悼亡诗》：“泉下双龙无再期，金蚕玉燕空销化。”	Obsolete. Alternative contemporary expression - 'under the yellow springs' 黄泉之下 for the world of the dead (GC 2015, XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《宣和遗事》前集：“昨日风流游妓馆，今朝含恨入泉乡。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《后汉书·卷六十一·黄琼传》：“敢以垂绝之日，陈不讳之言，庶有万分，无恨三泉。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is [Western] Heaven	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	唐·杜甫《别李秘书始兴寺所居》诗：“重闻西方止观经，老身古寺风冷冷。”	Buddhist term. Common collocation: 'Pure Land in the West' 西方净土 and 'Western Most Happy [Land]' 西方极乐[世界] both denoting 'Paradise'
Metaphor	Afterlife is [Western] Heaven	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	咱们白刀子进去，红刀子出来，送他妈的一条混蛋狗命上西天。(HDC 2010)	Buddhist term
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《思旧》诗：“再思今何在？零落归下泉。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝梁沉约《奉和竟陵王经刘瓛墓》诗：“玄泉倘能慰，长夜且勿论。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	晋·傅玄《七哀诗》：“杳杳三泉室，冥冥玄夜堂。”	Obsolete. The metaphor of everlasting night is used to describe the afterlife experience
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Afterlife is a Government Department	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	全家同赴阴曹也不是一件多么令人难受的事情。(BCC)	Based on the belief of afterlife organized as a governmental department with its own officials and authorities
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Afterlife is a Government Department	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	吴天一剑五个人，变色急退，退入十里亭，整座巨亭像在狂风中摇摆，在风沙中震颤，声势之雄壮，动魄惊心，似乎到了阴曹地府。(BCC)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DA-0715	阴间	yīn jiān	place of shadows	underworld, death	人死后灵魂所进入的地方	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0716	幽府	yōu fǔ	dark residence	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0717	幽冥	yōu míng	darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0718	幽泉	yōu quán	dark springs	Underworld Kingdom	阴曹地府	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0719	幽司	yōu sī	ministry of darkness	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0720	幽途	yōu tú	dark path	hell	地狱	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0721	幽玄	yōu xuán	mystic [place]	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0722	幽阴	yōu yīn	darkness and shadow	netherworld	阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DA-0723	中泉	zhōng quán	middle springs	netherworld	人死后埋葬的地方; 阴间	03. DEATH: AFTERLIFE
DO-0724	白首	bái shǒu	white head	old	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0725	白发	bái fà	white hair	old	白头发。亦指老年。	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0726	白发浪潮	bái fà làng cháo	waves of white hair	population ageing	人口老龄化	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0727	薄暮	bó mù	twilight	get old	比喻人之将老, 暮年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0728	不惑	bù huò	[reach the age of] having no doubts	60-year-old people	人四十岁	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0729	苍华	cāng huá	grey and white	old	头发花白	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0730	迟暮	chí mù	late at dusk	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0731	春秋	chūn qiū	springs and autumns	age, usually old age	年纪 (多指年纪大)	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0732	从心	cóng xīn	[reach the age when one] is ready to follow [all the desires of] one's heart	70-year-old people	人四十岁	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0733	凋年	diāo nián	withering age	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0734	短景	duǎn jǐng	shadows cast by the sun disappear	old age	喻指时日无多的暮年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0735	耳顺	ěr shùn	[reach the age when one's] ears are ready for the reception [of truth]	60-year-old people	人六十岁	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0736	二丝	èr sī	hair strands of two colours	hair and beard greying (of old people)	人年老须发斑白	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0737	高龄	gāo líng	high age	old age	年纪很大, 多指六十岁以上	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0738	高年	gāo nián	high years	old age	年纪很大	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0739	古稀	gǔ xī	the one who reached an age that is rare for ancient times	70-year-old people	人七十岁	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0740	皓首	hào shǒu	white head	old person	年老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0741	华颠	huá diān	white top of the head	old	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0742	华皓	huá hào	white [hair and moustache]	old age	年老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0743	华首	huá shǒu	grizzled head	old	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	三少爷，鸣凤也是你们的丫头，她服侍了你八九年，让我好好烧点钱纸，免得她在阴间受冻挨饿。(HDC 2010)	Opposite to 'the world of the living' 阳间 (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Afterlife is a Government Department	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·沈德符《野获编·鬼怪·穆象元判冥》：“(象元)被召为冥吏，每以夜分入幽府决事。”	Obsolete. See 阴曹地府
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我们自60年代初挥手一别，长时间音书断绝，犹同生离死别，幽冥永隔，属于两个世界了。(BCC)	Buddhist term
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·江淹《伤别赋》：“伤弱子之冥冥，独幽泉兮而水闾。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness. Afterlife is a Government Department	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《南史·沉僧昭传》：“白云为泰山录事，幽司中有所收录，必僧昭署名……复谓人曰：吾昔为幽司所使，实为烦碎，今已自解。”	Obsolete. Originates from the idea that even afterlife and netherworld has an institutional structure and ruled by lords and officials
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	Zhang 1996	唐·李白《化城寺大钟铭》：“救汤纒于幽途，息剑轮于苦海。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《后汉书·皇后纪下：灵思何皇后》：“逆臣迫兮命不延，逝将去汝兮适幽玄。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is Darkness	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《旧唐书·崔彦昭传》：“尔其坚持正直，允执规程，但畏幽阴，必归公当。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Afterlife is Springs	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·宋·谢庄《宋孝武宣贵妃诀》：“重扇阁兮灯已黯，中泉寂兮此夜深。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	白首齐眉。(GF 2014)	Used in common collocations: 'stay friends till one's old age' 白首同归; 'continue study even in one's old age' 白首穷经
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, GC 2015	杨笑影《赤子之心》：“他想念母亲，甚至看到了她粗糙的双手和鬓边的白发，她慈爱的笑容和温存的眼睛。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	Zhu 2018	中国正在考虑延长职工的法定退休年龄以应对“白发浪潮”。(Zhu 2018, p. 5)	Expression 'white hair' 白发 is used metonymically to describe people of old age
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《文选·塘上行》：“愿君门末光，照妾薄暮年。”	Obsolete. Used in common collocation: 薄暮之年. Alternatively: 薄暮
Abbreviation	Abbreviation of a Quote from Classic Texts	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	嘉颖终于在在不惑之年，获得了内地影视圈的首次认可。(BCC)	See 耳顺
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·徐铉《柳枝词》之七：“年年为爱新条好，不觉苍华也似丝。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	使我老的倒是这北方岁月，偶有所思，遂愈觉迟暮了。(CCL)	Literary. Used in common collocation: 老人迟暮, 迟暮之年
Metaphor	Old Age is a Season of the Year	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	因为于院长长春秋已高，可能要退休了。(CCL)	
Abbreviation	Abbreviation of a Quote from Classic Texts	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	尚未从心之年，神采精健。(HDC 2010)	See 耳顺. Alternatively: 从心所欲
Metaphor	Aging is the Withering of Plants	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·杨万里《再辞免札子》：“伏念某才疏用世，景迫凋年。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南唐·李中《赠重安寂道者》诗：“白髮只闻悲短景，红尘谁解信长生。”	Obsolete. The first character can be interpreted as a spelling variant of 'shadow' 影, thus the expression literally means 'shadows cast by the sun disappear' 日影短 which implies that the end of one's life is approaching, similarly to the end of a day
Abbreviation	Abbreviation of a Quote from Classic Texts	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	湖南画家萧月光已入耳顺之年。(BCC)	Originates from the famous lines said by Confucius in the "Analects" (《论语·为政》): “三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳顺，七十从心所欲，不逾矩。” At 30, I took my stand; At 40, I no longer had doubts; At 50, I knew the will of the heavens; At 60, my ear was attuned; At 70, I follow all the desires of my heart without breaking any rule." (translation by James Legge)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·杨志坚《送妻》诗：“平生志业在琴诗，头上如今有二丝。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Old is Up	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	有没有想到在比赛中输给这么一位‘高龄’的‘中国选手’? (BCC)	
Metaphor	Old is Up	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	高年专业人士的存在也导致对新进人员需求的压缩。(BCC)	
Abbreviation	Abbreviation of a Quote from Classic Texts	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	他年已古稀了，但珍是明知如此而嫁给他的。(BCC)	Originates from the “Two Odes on Meandering River” 《曲江二首》 by Du Fu 杜甫: “Man's life span rarely reached seventy in the old times” 人生七十古来稀. Common collocations: 'seventy years old' 古稀之年, 'be almost seventy years old' 年近古稀, 'be over seventy years old' 年逾古稀.
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014	皓首苍颜。(GF 2014)	Formal / literary. In modern Chinese the expression is mostly used as a predicate, as in the example sentence 'with a gray head and pale face' 皓首苍颜. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 'gray head' 华首 meaning 'old'
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010	鲁迅《集外集拾遗·<哀范君三章>之一》：“华颠寥寥，白眼看鸡虫。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·苏轼《过云龙山人张天骥》诗：“故山岂敢忘，但恐迫华皓。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·杜濬《椰冠道人歌》：“椰冠华首日相亲，人见椰冠识道人。”	Literary. The character 华 can be interpreted as a spelling variant of 花 'white', 'gray', 'grizzled' (cf. 花白)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
DO-0744	黄昏恋	huáng hūn liàn	dusk love	romantic relationship between an elderly couple	老年男女之间的恋爱	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0745	黄昏暮年	huáng hūn mù nián	years at evenfall	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0746	乐龄	lè líng	happy age	be old	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0747	末路	mò lù	end/final path [of the journey]	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0748	暮景	mù jǐng	sunset scene	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0749	暮年	mù nián	sunset years	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0750	暮景残光	mù jǐng cán guāng	sunset scene with the last light left	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0751	年事已高	nián shì yǐ gāo	be already advanced in age	old	年老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0752	年长	nián zhǎng	grown in years	old	岁数大	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0753	秋方	qiū fāng	autumn direction	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0754	桑榆	sāng yú	mulberry and elm	old age	比喻晚年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0755	桑榆暮景	sāng yú mù jǐng	the light of the setting sun is shining on the treetops of mulberry and elm	old age	比喻晚年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0756	上年纪	shàng nián jì	go up in age, reach high age	get old	年岁大, 变老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0757	上岁数	shàng suì shù	go up in age, reach high age	get old	年老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0758	寿斑	shòu bān	skin spots of longevity	age-spots	老年斑	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0759	霜发	shuāng fà	frost hair	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0760	岁暮	suì mù	end of the year	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0761	素秋	sù qiū	white autumn	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0762	晚年	wǎn nián	one's later years	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0763	晚晴	wǎn qíng	late sunny time	old age	老年阶段	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0764	西汜	xī sì	river bank in the West / ditch of stagnant water in the West	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0765	幸福院	xìng fú yuàn	house of happiness	old people's home	我国解放后由国家或集体举办的收养孤独老人而使他们得以安度晚年的机构	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0766	夕阳产业	xī yáng chǎn yè	sunset industry	elderly care industry	为老年服务的产业	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0767	夕阳市场	xī yáng shì chǎng	sunset market	market for old people as its main consumers	以老年人为主要消费群体的市场	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0768	夕阳红	xī yáng hóng	red glowing sunset	old age	老年	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0769	夕阳婚	xī yáng hūn	sunset marriage	marriage between old people	老年人的婚姻	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0770	夕阳恋	xī yáng liàn	sunset love	love between old people	老年人之间的恋情	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0771	须眉交白	xū méi jiāo bái	ache and eyebrows have crossed over	get old	变老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0772	须眉皆白	xū méi jiē bái	stache and eyebrows have all turned	get old	变老	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0773	银发族	yín fà zú	tribe with silver hair	old people	指老年人	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0774	长者	zhǎng zhě	the one who has grown [old]	old people	年纪和辈分都高的人	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
DO-0775	钟鸣漏尽	zhōng míng lòu jìn	the [evening] bell strikes and the water of the clepsydra runs out	get old	年老衰残	04. DEATH: OLD AGE AND AGING
ID-0776	崩症	bēng zhèng	disease of collapse	vaginal bleeding outside the expected menstrual period	妇女血崩之病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	一年前，他们经人介绍相识，开始了黄昏恋。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	CCL	它在我们青春年少之时给我们以快乐和教诲，在我们黄昏暮年之时给我们以慰藉和同情。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old is Happy	BCC	……迄今已有70余年的乐龄。(BCC)	Regional, Singaporean Mandarin (Zhou 2002, p. 44-45)
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016	《文选：谢运灵：酬从弟惠连诗》：“末路值令弟，开颜披心胸。”	Obsolete. The final or last road is interpreted metaphorically as the final or last stage of one's life
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我早已步入暮景，还有什么指望，还有什么指望，还不全是为了子孙辈！(Zhang 1996, p. 127)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhang 1996, HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	烈士暮年，壮心不已。(CCL)	The twilight at the end of the day is interpreted metaphorically as the end of one's life. Alternatively: 'last dusk' 未暮
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	GC 2015	宋·邵伯温《闻见前录：卷六》：“窃以暮景残光，能余几日？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Old is Up	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	虽然年事已高，但他仍然心高气盛，不改当年的气魄。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grown-Up for Old	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	如此年长之人，尚如小孩任性，岂不遭世人讥笑？(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old Age is a Season of the Year	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	隋·卢思道《劳生论》：“余年在秋方，已迫知命。”	Obsolete. Late autumn as the period of decay is metaphorically interpreted as the final stage of one's life
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	当我们步入桑榆之年，因种种原因，烦心之事也不免会接踵而来。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	CCL, BCC	炎夏酷暑，一个已届桑榆暮景的老人，从大老远的地方颤巍巍地赶来，向一位贫病交加的大学生“略尽绵薄”，令我为之动容。(CCL)	Alternatively: 暮景桑榆
Metaphor	Old is Up	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	据调查，其实有许多人，尤其是上了年纪的人，都有不进晚餐的习惯。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Old is Up	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	所以很多人，包括一些上岁数的人，都喜欢《炊事班的故事》。(BCC)	Colloquial (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Age Spots for Old Age	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	她的手干硬干硬，都长了寿斑了。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李咸用《秋夕书怀寄所知》诗：“年华逐浪催霜鬓，旅恨和云拂桂枝。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions with the same meaning of 'grey hair' are: 霜茎, 霜毛, 霜蓬, 霜须, 霜髭
Metaphor	Old Age is a Season of the Year	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《文选：张衡：咏史》：“挥金乐当年，岁暮不留储。”	Formal / literary. Used in common collocations: 'old man' 岁暮之人, 'old age' 年衰岁暮
Metaphor	Old Age is a Season of the Year	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	晋·潘尼《赠陆机出为吴王郎中令》诗之三：“予涉素秋，子登青春；愧无老成，厕彼日新。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Old Age is the End	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	到了晚年，他发表了一部非常厚的书，现在我们国家也有翻译。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	人间重晚晴，在此，我深深地为她和她的理想伴侣祝福。(Zhu 2018, p. 223)	
Metonymy	Place for Category: West for Afterlife	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李白《为赵宣城与杨右相书》：“犬马恋主，迫於西祀，所冀枯松晚岁，无改节於风霜。”	Obsolete. The place where the sun sets is interpreted as the end point of one's life
Metaphor	Old is Happy	HDC 2010	73岁的二等残废军人赵东祥住进“幸福院”不久，患了食道癌。(BCC)	Used euphemistically instead of the direct expressions for housing facility intended for the elderly containing the morpheme 'old': 老人院, 敬老院, 养老院, 安老院
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	民办养老院，夕阳产业的朝阳前景。做好夕阳产业，让老年人安居。(Zhu 2018, p. 232)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	一份报告显示，“夕阳市场”已成朝阳行业。(Zhu 2018, p. 232)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	时代的需要和客观的要求，又促使她走出属于她的那一片安静的小天地，在夕阳红中散发更加辉煌的光彩。(Zhu 2018, p. 232)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	随着老龄社会的到来，夕阳婚也逐渐成为社会关注的问题。(Zhu 2018, p. 232)	
Metaphor	Old Age is Sunset	Zhu 2018	两人相携逛街、买菜、煮饭，俨然一对老夫老妻，开始了浓情蜜意的“夕阳恋”。(Zhu 2018, p. 232)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	CCL	我心中惊叹：好一片槁子花，阅读它又见到了那个须眉交白的渔父。[http://www.zudaq.com/zdq/549.html]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	CCL, BCC	抓住她手腕的玄槐大夫须眉皆白，已七十来岁年纪，她却呼之为“小秃”。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Grey Hair for Old Age	GC 2015	银发族若能善于规划自己的生活，一样可以活得有尊严。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Grown-Up for Old	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	政府捐赠电脑予长者及残障人士。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Old Age is the End	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	我已接近钟鸣漏尽了。(Zhu 2018, p. 281)	Literary. The coming of evening is interpreted as the final stage of one's life. Alternatively: 'the bell ceases and the water clock runs out' 钟漏并歇
Metaphor	Disease is the Collapse	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	他娘当年崩症而亡时，他还不懂事。(Zhang 1996, p. 55)	Term of traditional Chinese medicine. Alternatively: 血崩

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
ID-0777	病毒	bìng dú	illness poison	syphilis	梅毒	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0778	伯牛灾	bó niú zāi	disaster of Boniu	incurable disease	身患不治之症	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0779	不豫	bù yù	not comfortable, displeased	be ill (said of monarchs)	帝王患病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0780	不治之症	bù zhì zhī zhèng	incurable disease	incurable disease such as AIDS	癌等无法治愈的疾病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0781	重落	chóng luò	fall again	relapse	病情好转后又重犯并突然恶化	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0782	出花儿	chū huār	flowers come out	have rashes	痘症	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0783	春病	chūn bìng	spring disease	lovesickness	男女因恋爱不遂或相思过度，导致情绪不稳而生病憔悴的状况	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0784	打摆子	dǎ bǎi zi	swaying, swinging	suffer from malaria	患疟疾	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0785	大肚病	dà dù bìng	disease of a big belly	schistosomiasis	血吸虫病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0786	大疯	dà fēng	great insanity	leprosy	麻风病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0787	大渐	dà jiàn	it intensifies greatly	be critically ill	病危	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0788	邓艾吃	dèng ài jí	Deng Ai stammers	stutter	人口吃	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0789	毒疮	dú chuāng	poisonous sore, poisonous boil	syphilis	梅毒	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0790	肚子痛	dù zi tòng	have stomach ache	have Diarrhoea	拉肚子	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0791	风流疮	fēng liú chuāng	sore of wind flow	syphilis	梅毒	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0792	腹疾	fù jí	abdominal disease	Diarrhoea	拉肚子	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0793	瘡疮	gān chuāng	chancre	suffer from a sexually transmitted disease	性病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0794	挂彩	guà cǎi	wear coloured silk	be wounded in action	流血、负伤	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0795	桂花	guà huā	wear coloured silk	be wounded in action	流血、负伤	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0796	广疮	guǎng chuāng	ulcer of Guangzhou	syphilis	梅毒	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0797	害肚子	hài dù zǐ	get troubles in one's stomach	Diarrhoea	腹泻	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0798	和胜	hé shèng	[find] peace and win [the fight against the disease]	recover from an illness	病愈	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0799	河鱼溃腹	hé yú kuì fù	the rotting abdomen of the river fish	Diarrhoea	腹泻	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0800	还席	huán xí	give a return banquet	vomit after a meal	吃后呕吐	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Disease for Syphilis	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	鲁迅《坟-我们现在怎样做父亲》：“因为父亲的不检，先天得了病毒，中途不能做人了。”	Syphilis has been a stigmatized, shameful disease, thus the euphemism refers to it in a highly generic and vague manner (the meaning of 'virus' is not realized here, this is a euphemistic substitution of the direct term 梅毒)
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal name for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	王维《哭褚司马》诗：“谁言老龙吉，未免伯牛灾。”	Obsolete. Originates from the story of the Confucius' disciple Boniu 伯牛 who was incurably ill. In the "Analects" (《论语-雍也第六》) Confucius went to visit Boniu, held Boniu's hand through the window and said, "We're going to lose him. It must be fate that a man like this is dying and there's nothing which can be done"
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《文选》：王俭：褚渊碑文：“明皇不豫，储后幼冲。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 不愈 (HDC 2010; Hong 2010); 弗豫 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Incurable for AIDS	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	不幸患了不治之症。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Disease is the Fall	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	他的病前几天好一点儿，现在又重落了。(HDC 2010)	Regional (Hebei)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《红楼梦》第二一回：“你们姐儿出花儿，供着娘娘，你也该忌两日，倒为我腌臢了身子。”	Obsolete. Usually referred to smallpox which had a high mortality rate, thus related to death. Also (for smallpox): 'heavenly flowers' 天花
Metonymy	Time for Category: Time for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	曼殊《断鸿零雁记》第五章：“女弟此言非确，实则人传彼姝春病颇剧耳。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	公刘《太阳的家乡》：“我对老百姓说，你们应该扑灭蚊虫，是蚊虫叫你们打摆子。”	Regional (Hunan). The term describes the symptoms of the disease. Alternatively: 发摆子
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	Zhang 1996	江流《还魂草》：“男丁一个一个都得了大肚病。”	Obsolete. The term describes the symptoms of the disease
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	Zhang 1996	唐张鷟《朝野金载》卷一：“泉州有客卢元钦染大疯，惟鼻根未倒。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·苏轼《东坡志林·单骧孙兆》：“仁宗皇帝不豫，诏孙兆与驥入侍，有问，赏賚不费，已而大渐。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal name for Disease	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·李商隐《骄儿诗》：“或詖张飞胡，或笑邓艾吃。”	Obsolete. Originates from the story of the general Deng Ai 邓艾 who is believed to stutter in his speech (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第一百回：“恰好这几天李福在外面打野鷄，身上弄了些毒疮，行走不便。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	CCL, BCC	我肚子痛，想解大手，可是不知道厕所在哪。[https://www.3rxing.org/question/daff1c97fa15358222.html]	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《警世通言》卷五：吕大郎还金完骨肉：“吕玉少年久病，也不免行户中走了一两遍，走出一身风流疮。服药调治，无面回家。”	Obsolete. See 风流 and its reference to sex, since syphilis is a sexually transmitted infection
Metonymy	Location for Category: Body Part for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《左传》：昭公元年：“风淫末疾，雨淫腹疾。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《医宗金鉴：外科心法要诀-疔疮》：“疔疮统名有三原，欲火未透漫淋难，房术涂药痛痒紫，光亮赤肿梅毒疔。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	班长挂彩了。(GF 2014)	The character 彩 might originally denote coloured silk (彩色丝绸, HDC 2010) which used to be displayed or worn on solemn occasions (遇喜庆事披挂彩绸, HDC 2010) as a sign of festivity or honour, cf. the classic idiom 'drape red silk and silks of other colours [over one's shoulders]' 披红挂彩 for 'bestow a favour' (said of monarchs), 'show recognition of services rendered', 'celebrate' (披红绸和彩帛, 以示荣宠、慰劳或喜庆, HDC 2010).
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	他腿上挂过两次花。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《警世通言》卷十七：钝秀才一朝交泰：“终日穿花街过柳巷，在院子里表子家行乐，常言道：『乐极悲生』，嫖出一身广疮。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	她跟方先生吃饭回来害肚子。(Zhu 2018, p. 96)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《南史》：卷四十四：齐武帝诸子传：晋安王子懋传：“子懋流涕礼佛曰：‘若使阿姨因此和胜，愿诸佛令华竟斋不萎。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Diarrhoea is a Rotting Fish	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	宋·苏轼《与冯祖仁书》之三：“又苦河鱼之疾，少留調理乃行。”	Originates from the idea that fish is supposed to begin rotting from its abdomen (GC 2015). Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 河鱼之疾, 河鱼腹疾, 河鱼
Metaphor	Vomiting is Giving a Return Banquet	Zhang 1996	阮朗《十年一觉香港梦：蛇牙》：“他说他差点把吃下去的还席了。”	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
ID-0801	见喜	jiàn xǐ	encounter joy	have smallpox	出痘子	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0802	绝症	jué zhèng	terminal disease	incurable disease	无法治愈的疾病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0803	罗锅	luó guō	arched, in the form of an arch	humpback	驼背	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0804	跑肚	pǎo dù	get troubles in one's stomach	Diarrhoea	拉稀	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0805	平愈	píng yù	find peace and recover	recover from an illness	病愈	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0806	破腹	pò fù	stomach bursts	Diarrhoea	腹泻	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0807	期艾	qī ài	[say] qí[qí] and ài[ài]	stutter	人口吃	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0808	欠爽	qiǎn shuǎng	[one's body] lacks a pleasant feeling	be ill	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0809	怯症	qiè zhèng	horrendous disease	pulmonary tuberculosis	肺结核	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0810	秦痔	qín zhì	piles of the King of Qin	anal fistula	痔漏	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0811	清恙	qīng yàng	light discomfort	be ill	疾病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0812	荣誉军人	róng yù jūn rén	soldier of honour	crippled soldier	残废军人	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0813	弱房	ruò fáng	weak in bedroom [matters]	impotent	阳痿	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0814	时令	shí líng	season	seasonal disease (such as dysentery and heatstroke in summer or malaria in autumn)	时令病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0815	视障人士	shì zhàng rén shì	people with vision impairment	blind (also partially)	失去视力; 瞎	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0816	霜露之疾	shuāng lù zhī jí	disease of frost and dew	a cold	感冒	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0817	兔唇	tù chún	harelip	cleft lip	豁嘴	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0818	违忧	wéi yōu	disturb [the harmony in one's body] and suffer [from illness]	be ill	患病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0819	违豫	wéi yù	disturb one's comfort	be ill	帝王患病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0820	相如渴	Xiāng rú kě	the thirst of [Sima] Xiangru	diabetes	消渴病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0821	阴消	yīn xiāo	yīn-energy is gradually declining	impotent	阴茎不举	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0822	子午痧	zǐ wǔ shā	acute disease of midnight and noon	cholera	霍乱	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0823	暗疾	àn jí	hidden disease	unmentionable disease; a disease one is ashamed of	不好意思告诉别人的疾病, 如性病之类	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0824	暴下	bào xià	it goes down suddenly and violently	acute Diarrhoea	急性腹泻	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0825	抱恙	bào yàng	embrace a small discomfort	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0826	不安	bù ān	not in peace	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0827	不得劲	bù dé jìn	cannot draw enough energy, not supplied with enough energy	feel unwell	不舒适	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0828	不好使	bù hǎo shǐ	do not function well	blind / deaf, mostly partially blind / partially deaf	瞎或聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0829	不佳	bù jiā	not good	feel unwell	身体不舒适, 小病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《红楼梦》第二十一回：“替夫人奶奶们道喜，姐姐发热是见喜了，并非别病。”	Smallpox used to be a dangerous disease. Seeing the pustules was considered to be a sign that the disease is almost gone, thus the association of those with 'happiness'
Metaphor	Death is the End [of a Journey]	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	正当她在事业的征途上如鱼得水时，不料23岁的爱女突然患了绝症！（CCL）	
Metaphor	Humpback is an Arch	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	上了年纪的人，多少总有点罗锅。（GC 2015）	Colloquial (XHC 2016). Can be used dysphemistically if it functions as a noun. cf. 好久没见到那卖菜的罗锅了（GC 2015）, also known as 罗锅子 or 罗锅儿
Metaphor	Diarrhoea is a Running Stomach	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	巍巍《山雨》：“郭祥一开头就讲了几个有趣的战斗故事。特别是中秋夜袭占敌人据点吃西瓜吃得全连跑肚子的事，逗得大家哈哈大笑。”	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 跑肚子
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·白行简《李娃传》：“未数月，肌肤稍腴；卒岁，平愈如初。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Disease is the Collapse	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《水浒传》第三十九回：“却见宋江破腹，泻倒在床。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Producing Sounds for Stuttering	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	他说话本来有些期艾，现在又有老年性疾病在身，说话很费力。（Zhang 1996, p. 61）	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Shortage for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	身体欠爽。（Zhu 2018, p. 169）	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Horrible for Tuberculosis	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《醒世恒言》卷十五：赫大脚遗恨鸳鸯缘：“在庵中得了怯症，久卧床褥，死时只剩得一把枯骨。”	
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal name for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·杨亿《受韶修书述怀感事三十韵》：“秦痔殊杯酒，颜瓢赖半甯。”	Originates from the story described in "Zhuangzi" (《庄子·列御寇》) about the ruler of Qin 秦王 who suffered from this disease: "When the ruler of Qin fell ill, a physician was summoned to him. The physician opened the ruler's boil, cut out the tumour and received one chariot as a reward. The was also one who licked the ruler's haemorrhoids and received five chariots." This story gave another expression 'leak the haemorrhoid and suck the ulcers' 舐痔痛吮 meaning 'seek the favour by any means'
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·娇娜》：“公子曰：‘儿前夜思先生清恙，娇娜妹子能疗之。遣人于外祖处呼令归，何久不至？’”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Honour for Disability	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	张一弓《犯人李铜钟的故事》七：“后来，他们一起回国，进了荣誉军人休养所。”	Common contraction: 荣军
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·李时珍《本草纲目》：曾二：麋：“多食肉令人弱房。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Time for Category: Time for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	闹时令。（HDC 2010）	Regional (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	CCL, BCC	王教授说，他曾访问过欧洲，非常羡慕那里的视障人士受到的待遇。（BCC）	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《史记：平津侯主父列传》：“君不幸罹霜露之病，何恙不已。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 霜露之病
Metaphor	Human Lip is a Hare Lip	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	王立华班里曾有过一个先天性“兔唇”的同学。（BCC）	Instead of the direct expressions 'defective lip' 缺唇
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	唐·韩愈《鸣雁》诗：“违忧怀息性匪他，凌风一举君谓何？”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·陈康祺《燕下乡脞录》卷十三：“康熙二十六年，值太皇太后违豫，上躬侍寝榻。”	Obsolete. Said of monarchs. Alternatively: 违裕 (HDC 2010; Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal name for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·高启《赠医师王立方》诗：“诗人亦有相如渴，愿乞丹砂旧井泉。”	Originates from the story of Sima Xiangru 司马相如 who is believed to suffer from diabetes (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《三国志：魏志：公孙度传》：“初，恭（公孙恭）病阴消为阉人，劣弱不能治国。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	母亲亡故不久，父亲又染子午痧，丢下两个孩子去了。（Zhang 1996, p. 60）	Based on the severe consequences of the disease: if the person falls ill at midnight, she/he might be dead by noon
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	看上去挺漂亮，谁知道她有没有暗疾，狐臭滴虫之类的。（BCC）	Often refers to sexually transmitted infections and diseases (XHC 2016). The morpheme 暗 here refers to 'private', 'not public' (秘密, 不公开, Zhang 1996)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Sudden for Diarrhoea	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《二刻拍案惊奇：卷二十九》：“但阴气相侵已深，奴去之后，郎君腹中必当暴下。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015	因为身体抱恙，接下来的2个礼拜我不在办公室。（BCC）	Formal / literary. See 微恙
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	我身上不安，且在店中调养两日再去。（Zhu 2018, pp. 16-17）	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016	浑身不得劲。（CCL）	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	XHC 2016, GF 2014	我的眼睛不好使，一下没看清。（BCC）	Common collocations: 'the left leg / right leg / left hand / right hand does not function well' 左脚 / 右脚 / 左手 / 右手 不好使 instead of the direct 瘸 'lame' and or the derogatory 瘸子 'lame person'.
Understatement	Litotic Negation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	他最近健康情况不佳。（GC 2015）	Alternatives: 不康, 不祥 (Hong 2010)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
ID-0830	不举	bù jǔ	unable not rise	erectile dysfunction, impotence	男子性器无法坚挺	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0831	不利索	bù lì suǒ	not agile	have physical defects	身体有缺陷	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0832	不灵	bù líng	not agile	have a bodily misfunction	瞎或聋、失去作用	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0833	不灵便	bù líng biàn	not agile	have physical defects	身体有缺陷	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0834	不起	bù qǐ	cannot get up [from bed]	be very ill	病不能愈	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0835	不自在	bù zì zài	not comfortable, not at ease	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0836	彩号	cǎi hào	person wearing coloured silk	person wounded in battle	作战中受伤的人员	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0837	采薪之忧	cǎi xīn zhī yōu	worries of collecting firewood	feel unwell	自称有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0838	残障人员	cán zhàng rén yuán	person with broken [body] and [physical] obstacle	disabled	肢体有缺陷	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0839	带彩	dài cǎi	wear coloured silk	be wounded in action	流血、负伤	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0840	带花	dài huā	wear coloured silk	be wounded in action	流血、负伤	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0841	肚子吃坏	dù zi chī huài	ruin one's stomach by eating	have Diarrhoea	拉肚子	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0842	耳朵背	ěr duo bèi	ears are not sharp	deaf	失去听力；聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0843	二号病	èr hào bìng	disease number two	cholera	霍乱	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0844	粉刺	fēn cǐ	red thorn	acne	痤疮	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0845	妇女病	fùnǚbìng	women's disease	gynaecological disorder, especially in reference to menstruation and childbirth	妇女特有的病症，如月经病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0846	挂红	guà hóng	wear red silk	be wounded	受伤	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0847	花柳病	huā liǔ bìng	disease of flowers and willows	sexually transmitted disease	性病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0848	老二站不起来	lǎo'èr zhàn bu qǐ lai	second brother cannot stand up	erectile dysfunction, impotence	男子性器无法坚挺	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0849	脸色不好	liǎn sè bù hǎo	one's complexion is not good	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0850	闹肚子	nào dù zi	get troubles in one's stomach	have Diarrhoea	拉肚子	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0851	闹跑肚	nào pǎo dù	get troubles in one's stomach	have Diarrhoea	拉稀	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0852	气色不好	qì sè bù hǎo	one's look is not good	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0853	欠安	qiǎn ān	[one's body] lacks peace	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0854	青春痘	qīng chūn dòu	pimples of youth	acne	痤疮	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0855	弱听人士	ruò tīng rén shì	people with hearing impairment	deaf (also partially)	失去听力；聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0856	弱能人士	ruò néng rén shì	people with physical impairment	physically disabled	残疾人	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0857	弱视人士	ruò shì rén shì	people with vision impairment	blind (also partially)	失去视力；瞎	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0858	弱智人士	ruò zhì rén shì	people with intellectual disability	mentally disabled	指智力发育低于正常水平	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0859	身体不适	shēn tǐ bù shì	one's body does not feel comfortable	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0860	身体不舒服	shēn tǐ bù shū fu	one's body does not feel comfortable	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Unable to Get Hard for Sexually Deficient	GC 2015	近一年阳事不举，夫妻关系不和，情绪悲观而求医。(BCC)	Common collocation: 'does not rise in <i>yang</i> -energy matters' 阳事不举 for impotence
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	CCL, BCC	老人手脚不利索，他就把倒垃圾掏煤灰的活儿包了下来。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016	我感到左脚关节像被刺一样痛，脚不灵了。(BCC)	Common collocations: 'deaf' 耳朵不灵，听力不灵者，'lame' or 'having mobility difficulties' 手脚不灵 etc.
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	XHC 2016, GF 2014	老两腿脚不灵便，孩子却又离得远，小地方照顾不到。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	这给母亲的打击太大了，因此忧郁成病，终至不起。(Zhu 2018, p. 23)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	弋女士觉得浑身不自在。(Zhu 2018, pp. 26-27)	
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	重彩号及时转往后方医院。(GF 2014)	Alternative expression for severely wounded people in war is <i>zhòngcǎihào</i> 重彩号
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《荡寇志》第七八回：“实因晚生有探薪之忧，不能侍奉左右。”	Obsolete. Used in reference to oneself being ill. The expression originates from the book "Mencius" 《孟子·公孙丑下》: the speaker was sick, could not collect firewood (= serve) and could not have an audience with a ruler. Being sick also resembles the state of being tired after hard work. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 采薪, 负薪, 负子, 负兹 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	为了让更多行动不便的残障人员了解选举情况和行使选举权，智利14日推出供残疾人投票用的电话专线。(CCL)	Dysphemistic as a noun, cf. 'become a cripple' in 一次车祸，使他成了个残障 (GF 2015).
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	士兵阵亡有多少？同志带彩么？(HDC 2010)	
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	我回到团部后，在激烈的战斗中带了花，出院后又回到部队。[https://www.sohu.com/a/192376472_366532]	
Metaphor	Disease is the Collapse	GF 2014, XHC 2016	不要吃坏肚子，最好带上止泻的药片。(CCL)	Used instead of the direct colloquial expressions 'Diarrhoea' 拉肚子 and 泻肚 or medical term 腹泻
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Shortage for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018	老太太耳朵有点背。(HDC 2010)	Colloquial (GF 2014). Used only as a predicate: 耳朵背, 耳朵有点儿背. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 耳背, 耳沉
Metonymy	Numeral for Category: Number Two for Cholera	Zhu 2018	疫情报告1994年8月4日，怀化市发现自建国以来的首例“二号病”患者。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Acne is Thorns	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	个子不高，满脸粉刺。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Female for Menstruation; Female for Childbirth	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	这位勇敢的探求者被一种最古老、而最寻常的妇女病——产褥热夺去了生命。(Zhu 2018, p. 80)	
Metaphor	Battle Wounds are Coloured Silk	GC 2015, GF 2014	他不小心跌了一跤，挂红了。(GC 2015)	
Metonymy	Cause for Effect: Visiting Prostitutes for Sexual Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	至于随便胡调的男人呢，又有花柳病传染的危险，想来都是很可怕的。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Penis is a Relative	CCL, BCC	他们见我老二站不起来，但淫液却还流出来。[https://stmenmen/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=659152&extra=page%3D1]	Penis' can be substituted by the alternative 小弟弟
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Being Pale for Disease	CCL, BCC	护士见她的脸色很不好，便带她去了门诊。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	微因闹肚子，她歪在床上，身上搭着被子，屋子里的东西散发出霉湿的味道。(CCL)	Colloquial (GF 2014, XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010	天冷了，你别喝凉水，前几天我一直闹跑肚。(HDC 2010)	The verb 'stir up trouble' 闹 often collocates with diseases meaning 'suffer', 'be troubled by'
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Symptom for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	你那时看上去气色不好——你还好吧？(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Shortage for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	听说老人家贵体欠安特来看望看望。(CCL)	Said of an aged or highly respected person. Common collocations: 贵体欠安 'your' precious body lacks peace' for 'you are sick', 玉体欠安 'your' body made of jade lacks peace'.
Metonymy	Time for Category: Age for Disease	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	如果你的油脂分泌旺盛或是爱长青春痘，经常敷清洁控油面膜，可以很有效地控制青春痘的生长。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	Zhu 2018	若娉儿童。(Zhu 2018, p. 180)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	CCL	香港共有各种弱能人士28万余人。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	CCL	队伍中年龄最大的74岁,最小的20岁，其中还包括1名弱视人士。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Weak for Disease	Zhang 1996, CCL, BCC	澳门弱智人士协会成立于1986年。(CCL)	Originally euphemistic expression 'with mental weaknesses' 弱智 (without the addition 人士 'person') is used today as a curse word (pejorative in the sense of 'idiot', cf. 傻子). The term 弱智教育 'education for children with mental disabilities' might be considered outdated
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	近日身体不适，不能饮酒。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	GF 2014, XHC 2016	最近她身体不大舒服，一定要拉回家里，亲自看着加几道漆。(CCL)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
ID-0861	身体不爽快	shēn tǐ bù shuǎng kuài	one's body does not feel pleasant	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0862	身体欠佳	shēn tǐ qiǎn jiā	one's body lacks something good	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0863	肾虚	shèn xū	deficiency of the kidney	weakness of the male sexual prowess	男性丧失性欲; 性欲减退	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0864	失聪	shī cōng	lose sharpness [of hearing]	become deaf	失去听力; 聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0865	失明	shī míng	lose light	get blind	失去视力; 瞎	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0866	视障者	shì zhàng zhě	people with vision impairment	blind (also partially)	失去视力; 瞎	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0867	特奥运	tè ào yùn	special Olympic games	international sporting competition for athletes with intellectual disabilities	国际特殊奥林匹克运动会, 为智障者参与体育活动、开展比赛而设立的综合性运动会	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0868	特殊教育	tè shū jiào yù	special education	education for students with disabilities	以盲人、聋哑人、智障人为施教对象的教育	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0869	听障者	tīng zhàng zhě	people with hearing impairment/obstacle	deaf (also partially)	失去听力; 聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0870	违和	wéi hé	disturb the harmony [in one's body]	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0871	微恙	wēi yàng	tiny discomfort	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0872	小恙	xiǎo yàng	small discomfort	feel unwell	有病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0873	行动受限人群	xíng dòng shòu xiàn rén qún	people with limited limitations	disabled	肢体有缺陷	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0874	阳萎	yáng wěi	withering of yang-energy	impotence	阳痿; 男子性器无法坚挺	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0875	阴萎	yīn wěi	withering of yin-energy	impotence	阳痿, 男子性功能衰败, 阴茎不举的病征	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0876	一号病	yī hào bìng	disease number one	plague	鼠疫	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0877	隐疾	yǐn jí	hidden disease	unmentionable illness (e.g. sexually transmitted disease)	说出口, 不愿意告诉人的病, 如性病、天阉等。	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0878	硬不起来	yìng bu qǐ lái	unable to get hard	erectile dysfunction, impotence	男子性器无法坚挺	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0879	有特殊需要人士	yǒu tè shū xū yào rén shì	people with special needs	physically disabled or mentally disabled	残疾人	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0880	有智力障碍	yǒu zhì lì zhàng ài	have intellectual obstacles	mentally disabled	指智力发育低于正常水平	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0881	有智能障碍	yǒu zhì néng zhàng ài	have intellectual obstacles	mentally disabled	指智力发育低于正常水平	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0882	脏病	zāng bìng	dirty disease	sexually transmitted disease	性病	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0883	肢障	zhī zhàng	obstacle in the limbs	physical disability of one's limbs	肢体残疾	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0884	智障人士	zhì zhàng rén shì	people with intellectual obstacle	mentally disabled	指智力发育低于正常水平	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0885	智障者	zhì zhàng zhě	people with intellectual obstacle	mentally disabled	指智力发育低于正常水平	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY
ID-0886	重听	zhòng tīng	hard of hearing	partially deaf or deaf	听觉迟钝; 耳聋	05. ILLNESS AND DEFICIENCY

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	Hong 2010	她身体不爽快时往往如此。(CCL)	Alternative contracted expressions: 身体不爽, 身体不爽 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Shortage for Disease	GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	他说王厂长身体欠佳在家休息。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Impotence is Deficiency of Energy	HDC 2010	有这10个症状说明你肾虚了。[http://health.people.com.cn/n1/2016/08/08/c21471-28618043.html]	Term of traditional Chinese medicine, which used to call testicles 'outer kidneys' 外肾
Metaphor	Disability is a Loss	Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	双耳失聪。(BCC)	Used instead of the direct expression 'become deaf' [变] 聋, neutral 'deaf person' 聋人 and pejorative 'deaf' 聋子
Metaphor	Disability is a Loss	Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	双目失明。(BCC)	Compare with the direct expression [变] 瞎 'go blind'. The word 盲 can also be used as an adjective 'blind'. The latter has a neutral connotation, as in 盲人 'blind', in contrast to 瞎子 'blind' with a distinct pejorative meaning. Obsolete alternative expression 'lose clarity' with the same meaning 'get blind': 丧明
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	Zhu 2018	我也听说他是个视障者, 双眼看不见。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Special Needs for Disability	Zhu 2018	特奥运的口号是“战胜自己”。(Zhu 2018, p. 213)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Special Needs for Disability	Zhu 2018	号召广大干部职工及爱心人士献出一份爱心, 关爱残疾孩子, 发展特殊教育。(Zhu 2018, p. 214)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	Zhu 2018	我一直都上的听障儿童学校。(Zhu 2018, p. 216)	The term 听障 is a contraction of the expression 'obstacle of one's hearing ability' 听力障碍 (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	前些日子, 听说老伯贵体违和。(BCC)	Common collocations: 'your precious body feels unwell' 贵体违和 'your dragon body feels unwell' 龙体违和 and 'sacred body feels unwell' 圣体违和. The latter two expressions are used in reference to emperors
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015	起床时, 您觉得身体微恙。(BCC)	Formal / literary. 恙 can not only mean a disease, but also any kind of troubles. Thus there was a typical very formal greeting expressing a hope 'I trust you have been well since we last met' 别来无恙. Also used in the honorific expression 贵恙 'your [precious] alignment' (e.g. 贵恙愈否? 'do you feel better?')
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	GC 2015	《儒林外史·第二九回》: “况且那日小弟小恙进场, 以药物自随, 草草塞责而已。”	Obsolete. See 微恙
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	CCL, BCC	英特尔人工智能, 帮助行动受限人群掌控自己的生活。[https://www.xuehua.us/a/5ebbd12086ec4d2e14de37b6?lang=zh-cn]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Yang-Energy for Male Sexuality	HDC 2010, GC 2015	如何治疗阳痿的6种方法。[https://jfk.39.net/yw/140919/4477430.html]	Might be interpreted as a spelling alternative of orthophemism 阳痿, in this case this is hardly euphemistic
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《史记·五宗世家》: “端为人贼戾, 又阴痿, 一近妇人, 病之数月。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Numerical for Category: Number One for Plague	Zhu 2018	记者曾对多位路人进行随机调查, 结果几乎没有人知道“一号病”是什么。(Zhu 2018, p. 262)	Plague used to be classified as 'a category A infectious disease' 甲类传染病
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	不读他书的人, 将患莫名的隐疾, 性情日益压抑忧郁, 至少也会毛发根根脱落。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Being Unable to Get Hard for Sexually Deficient	CCL, BCC	应该要等到五六十岁才会硬不起来啊! [https://health.businessweekly.com.tw/AArticle.aspx?id=ARTL000069573]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Special Needs for Disability	BCC	我们致力改善有特殊需要人士的生活质素。(BCC)	Since the expression is extremely vague, it can also mean seniors, single parents, victims of sexual abuse, etc.
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	BCC	图显示中度不正常且伴有智力障碍者。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	BCC	检查结果表明受试者中60%有智能障碍,并提示这些病人的智能障碍起源于大脑皮质,特别是双侧额叶。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	Zhu 2018	妈, 我过上了他的脏病。(Zhu 2018: 276)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	Zhu 2018	看过唐氏症的孩子吧? 还有先天性心脏不全、肢障、畸形儿、智障、先天骨质萎缩症。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	BCC	这群特殊的学员都是智障人士。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Limitations for Disability	BCC	国际智障者体育运动联合会。(BCC)	Originally euphemistic expression 'with intellectual disabilities' 智障 (without an agent morpheme 者 or additions such as 男子 'man', 女子 'woman', 人士 'person') is used today as an insult (pejorative in the sense of 'fool', cf. 精神病 'insane'). Dysphemistic is the term 智残人 (though included as euphemism in Zhu 2018: 280 and in Zhang 1996: 62)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Trouble for Disease	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	这就是为什么我假设你有点重听。(CCL)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-0887	XXOO / OXXX	-	-	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0888	A片	A piàn	"A" movie	porn movie	内容有色情或性爱成分的成人电影	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0889	爱爱	ài ai	love love	have sex; cuddle; snuggle	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0890	暧昧	ài mèi	dark	illicit sex	有不正当男女关系	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0891	爱情动作片	ài qíng dòng zuò piàn	love action movie	porn movie	色情片	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0892	办事	bàn shì	have things done	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0893	暴露	bào lù	expose	inappropriately nude	过分裸露身体的一部分或大部分	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0894	闭房	bì fáng	close the [bed]room	stop sexual life	停止房事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0895	碧桃花下	bì táo huā xià	under the peach flowers	place where a man and woman meet each other secretly (sexually connotated)	指男女约会的地方	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0896	BL	bl	-	male homosexual	同性恋者	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0897	玻璃	bō li	glass	male homosexual	同性恋者	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0898	炒饭	chǎo fàn	fry rice	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0899	车震	chē zhèn	car shaking	car sex	在汽车上发生性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0900	成人	chéng rén	adult	sex, pornographic	指不适合儿童观看的电影、节目；特指可以增强性欲的用品等	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0901	楚梦	chǔ mèng	Chu dreams	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0902	床上	chuáng shàng	in bed	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0903	床帏	chuáng wéi	behind the bed curtain [of the woman's chamber]	[sexual] life between spouses	夫妻间的事，性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0904	床戏	chuáng xì	bed scene	sex scene	电视剧中性爱情节的称呼	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0905	床第之欢	chuáng dì zhī huān	joys of bed and bamboo sleeping mat	sex	夫妇之间或有性关系的双方之间的做爱活动	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0906	春册	chūn cè	spring album	pornographic pictures	指淫秽的图画	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0907	春风一度	chūn fēng yī dù	a moment of spring wind	sexual life	男女性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0908	春宫	chūn gōng	spring palace	pornographic pictures	指淫秽的图画	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0909	春光	chūn guāng	spring light, spring scene	nudity or erotic/sex scene	身体敏感部位	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0910	春情	chūn qíng	spring feeling	sexual desire	男女情欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0911	春色	chūn sè	spring scenery	sexual, erotic, pornographic	色情	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0912	春事	chūn shì	spring matter	sexual desire	男女情欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0913	春宵	chūn xiāo	spring night	wedding night or night rendezvous between lovers	男女共度一夜时光	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0914	春兴	chūn xīng	spring excitement	sexual desire	男女情欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0915	春药	chūn yào	spring medicine	aphrodisiac	刺激性欲的药物	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0916	春意	chūn yì	spring mood	sexual desire	性爱恋之情	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Graphic Modification	Using Latin Letters instead of Chinese Characters	CCL, BCC	为什么做爱要叫xxoo? [https://read01.com/GP800Am.html]	Internet slang 'play tic-tac-toe' for sex. Alternatively can be explained as borrowing from English Internet slang, where 'x' and 'o' stand for kissing
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Adult for Sexual	Zhu 2018	...还真的一度觉得自己很像在拍A片。(Zhu 2018: 2)	Abbreviation of the English "adult [video]" combined with the Chinese morpheme 'film' 片
Reduplication	Love for Sex	CCL, BCC	爱爱之后抱抱才是最享受的。[https://www.kexiaoguo.com/m/eju84/431/]	Regional (Taiwan)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhu 2018	令读者困惑的秦可卿和贾珍之间的暧昧关系，到底是怎么回事？(Zhu 2018: 1)	Used in reference to dubious, socially illicit relationship, contextually also for adulterous relationship
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Romantic for Sexual	CCL, BCC	医学生用洗手液，有那么一刹那让我想起日本爱情动作片。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Matters for Sexual Matters	CCL, BCC	男人长期不“办事”，当心这四大危害！[http://man.39.net/xmt/190131/6850747.html]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Nude for Sexual	Zhu 2018	你说我穿这游泳衣好看么？是不是太暴露了？(Zhu 2018, p. 10)	Can also refer to clothes which is too revealing. Often used in combination with the morphemes 'addiction', meaning 'exhibitionist', 'exhibitionism' 暴露癖, 暴露狂
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	在这本书中，经学大师们对性问题非常重视，甚至讨论了老年人的性交问题；男子六十闭房何？所以辅衰也，故重性命也。(Zhu 2018, p. 12)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	元·张寿卿《红梨花：第二折》：“俺从那期程，伴着这书生，直吃的碧桃花下月三更。”	Obsolete. See 桃色
Borrowing	Japanese/English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	GAY和BL的区别是什么？[https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/1385318460026296940.html]	Regional (Taiwan). Abbreviation of the English borrowing "boy love"
Borrowing	Japanese/English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	为什么把女同性恋叫玻璃？[https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/17511452.html]	Regional (Taiwan). Derogative. Most likely is a Chinese version of the English abbreviation BL "boy love". Alternatively is coming from a slang expression "glass" which stands for "ass" and its reference to anal sex
Metaphor	Sex is Cooking	CCL, BCC	难道，他说想跟她炒饭，是指.....她的脸瞬间爆红得媲美番茄，目光变得惊愕。[http://m.wuyexs.com/wuyexs.asp?id=719046]	Regional (Taiwan)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Shaking for Having Sex	CCL, BCC	情人节车震事件。[https://www.69shu.com/txt/1466/4057440]	Typical collocation: 玩车震
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Adult for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015	成人用品商店。(HDC 2010)成人电影。(GC 2015)	委婉语。(HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·珠泉居士《雪鸿小记》：“戒囊自守，楚梦犹虚，余友潘子研香亟称之。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	他的床上功夫可是一点不如你。(CCL)	Common collocation: 'sex skills' 床上功夫
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐太宗杀了弟弟元吉，就立即占领了兄弟媳妇的床帏，还把隋炀帝的裤后提入怀中。(Zhu 2018, p. 39)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	有背叛、有爱情、有暴力、有魔法的特效、还有隐形的床戏，我没有什么可抱怨的了。(CCL)	Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 床上戏 or 床上镜头
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014	女人需要学会享受床第之欢。[https://fashion.ifeng.com/emotion/sex/detail_2012_01/06/11791127_0.shtml?_from_ralated]	Literary (GF 2014). Alternatively: 床第 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GC 2015	男女淫褻之图。也称春宫、春册。(GC 2015)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅》：“不是长久夫妻，也算春风一度。”	Alternatively: 春风 (Hong 2010; GC 2015; HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《红楼梦》第二十六回：“昨日我看人家一张春宫，画的着实好。”	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 春宫图
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	虽然透过...挡住了身体的主要部位，只有在岳母弯腰或转身时我才能扑捉到她泄露的点点春光。[https://www.nwxs8.com/news/58609_13.html]	Usually used in collocations with the general meaning 'show one's underwear or genitals' (also unintentionally): 泄露春光, 春光乍泄
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	Zhang 1996, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	鲁迅《准风月谈·男人的进化》：“它们在春情发动期，雌的和雄的碰在一起，难免‘唧唧我我’的来一阵。”	Also 'spring heart' 春心 denoting the (mostly) sexual desire to people (XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GF 2014	童暖暖拍着他的颈子，他愈问她愈想，害她现在满脑子都是春色无边的画面。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·沉仕《偶见》曲之二：“交鸾凤春事无涯，不觉香露滴、牡丹芽。”	Obsolete. The term 'spring' 春 has the meaning 'related to the sexual desire between men and women' (男女情欲, XHC 2016, GF 2014), cf. 'think of the spring' 怀春 denoting the time when people begin to think of love or become sexually awakened (usually said of young girls)
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014	他渴望带她上楼，共度春宵。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《红楼梦》第六十五回：“那贾琏吃了几杯，春兴发作，便命收了酒果，掩门宽衣。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	两老夫妇就跪在地下劝她改嫁给制台作如夫人；寡媳不肯。乃暗中让她吃进一些春药，使她心痒难搔，不得不答应。(Zhang 2018, p. 43)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《白雪遗音·马头调·佳期》：“一个是姣羞满面，一个是春意满怀。”	Obsolete. Also: 'pictures of spring mood' 春意画 for pornographic images (HDC 2010)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-0917	春画	chūn huà	spring picture	pornographic pictures	指淫秽的图画	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0918	CN	cn	-	virgin	处女, 处男	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0919	打撮	dǎ juē	beat and stick up	have sex	男女苟合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0920	打野炮	dǎ yě pào	perform artillery fire in the battlefield	have sex outdoors	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0921	打野战	dǎ yě zhàn	fight in the battlefield	have sex outdoors	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0922	颠鸾倒凤	diān luán dǎo fēng	jolted male phoenix and fallen female phoenix	sex	男女交欢	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0923	断背	duàn bèi	brokeback	homosexual	男性之间的恋爱	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0924	敦伦	dūn lún	strengthen friendship	have sex (said of married couple)	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0925	翻云覆雨	fān yún fù yǔ	[produce] clouds [with one] turn [of the hand] and rain [with another], play tricks	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0926	房内	fáng nèi	in bedroom	have sex	过夫妻生活, 过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0927	房室之事	fáng shì zhī shì	matters of the chamber	sexual life	性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0928	房中术	fáng zhōng shù	the art of the bedroom	the art of love making	男女性交的方术	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0929	房中书	fáng zhōng shū	book of the bedroom	book about sex or sex techniques	性主题的书籍	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0930	发生关系	fā shēng guān xi	establish a relationship	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0931	蜂狂蝶乱	fēng kuáng dié luàn	wild bees and butterflies	rough sex	恣意放荡的性爱	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0932	风流	fēng liú	[free as] wind flow	amorous, romantic, sexual	有关男女私情的, 在男女私情方面轻浮放荡	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0933	风流韵事	fēng liú yùn shì	fun of freedom and elegance	love affairs	男女私情	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0934	蜂帐	fēng zhàng	bee tent	place for sex	男女合欢的场所	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0935	夫妻生活	fū qī shēng huó	spouse life	sexual life between spouses	夫妻间的性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0936	附枕	fù zhěn	put pillows next to each other	have sexual life	过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0937	高唐梦	gāo táng mèng	dream at Gaotang	sex	男女交欢之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0938	媾合	gòu hé	meet	sex	男女交合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0939	滚床单	gǔn chuáng dān	roll in bed	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0940	happy	happy	-	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0941	合房	hé fáng	meet in bedroom	sex	男女交媾	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0942	合欢	hé huān	meet and enjoy	sex	性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	那里是繁华, 灿烂, 鸦片, 妓女, 烧酒, 洋钱, 锅贴儿, 文化。那里有杨梅, 春画, 电灯, 影戏, 麻雀, 宴会, 还有什么? ——有个日本租界! (Zhang 2018, p. 41)	
Acronymy	Using Latin Letters instead of Chinese Characters	CCL, BCC	女朋友不给爱爱, 她还是CN, 说到结婚才能给, 怎么忍? [https://www.douban.com/group/topic/72582466]	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Pushing for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅》第二十五回: “先在山子底下, 落后在屋里打摆, 成日明睡到夜, 夜睡到明。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is War	CCL, BCC	日现在来咖啡馆的怎么不是来吹牛比的要么就是来摸大腿的还有来打野炮的。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Sex is War	CCL, BCC	俗稱打野戰(香港用語)、打野炮(台灣用語)。[https://www.easyatm.com.tw/wiki/打野戰%5B網路流行語%5D]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《金瓶梅》第十三回: “颠鸾倒凤无穷乐, 从此双双永不离。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 倒凤颠鸾, 鸾颠凤倒, 凤倒鸾颠 (Hong 2010)
Borrowing	English for Chinese	Zhu 2018	断背感情。断背的场面。(Zhu 2018, p. 66)	Originates from the name of the American film 'Brokeback Mountain' 《断背山》 focused on a same-sex relationship
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Romantic for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	日记云: 昨夜与老妻‘敦伦’一次。(BCC)	Literary. “敦伦”本义是敦睦人伦, 而夫妇是人伦非常重要的一个方面, 直接决定着人类的繁衍, 民间就把“敦伦”作为夫妻之间性关系的隐语。(Zhu 2018, p. 68)
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	GC 2015, GF 2014	呈祥猛地抽掉她的裤裤, 一面解开自己的裤头, 就在这石桌上与她翻云覆雨、浪情荡漾。(BCC)	Literary. Originally the full expression was 'produce clouds with one turn of the hand and rain with another [- playing tricks]' 翻手为云, 覆手为雨 (Du Fu)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	在中国古代, “房内”即指性交, “房中术”即是性科学。(Zhu 2018, p. 72)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《二刻拍案惊奇》卷三五: “有一个女子陈氏, 年十四岁, 嫁与周世文为妻, 世文年纪更小似陈氏两岁, 未知房室之事。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 房室 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	他所创立的导引术、膳食术、房中术、炼丹术, 是中华民族长寿文化的瑰宝。[https://www.tspweb.com/key/彭祖闭气功.html]	Originally a Taoist term. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 房术
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	房中书在中国是属于方技四门之一。[http://www.swmctcm.com/hcs/old_web/zhnkw/ancientry/9.htm]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	Zhu 2018	我现任的女朋友, 很单纯, 不同意发生关系。[https://www.zhihu.com/question/23340124]	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 有关系
Metaphor	Sexual Partners are Insects	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·王玉峰《焚香记·允诺》: “那淫奔坞, 多少蜂狂蝶乱, 毕竟傍谁虚度。”	Obsolete. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 蜂迷蝶恋, 蜂狂, 蜂游蝶舞 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is Freedom	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我们年轻时, 不用说实际上, 那怕没有一件两件风流奇闻, 可是还顾着脸子。[https://www.dushu.com/showbook/118193/1595420.html]	The term is highly polysemic and can be both positively and negatively connotated. Originally described talented people who were not restrained by any rules, the so-called free thinkers, often extravagant and flamboyant. The meaning was extended from 'free' and 'unrestrained' to 'romantic', 'related to love' and further to 'erotic', 'sexual'. Can be used to describe illicit sexual behaviour or illicit sexual relations, including extramarital affairs (男女私情事, HDC 2010; 有关男女私情的, GF 2014, see also 风流韵事) and licentiousness (放荡轻浮, GF 2014), cf. 'wanton woman' 风流女人 and 'lascivious empress' 风流女皇 (said of the Russian Empress Catherine the Great who allegedly had a voracious sexual appetite)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Unrestrained for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014	巴金《家》三一: “他常常带着 张小桃 进出他的律师事务所。他的‘风流韵事’还多得很。”	
Metaphor	Sexual Partners are Insects	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·陈汝元《金莲记·媒合》: “风传漏滴莲铜响, 且沉醉花屏蜂帐, 只有清话今宵觉夜长。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	夫妻“生活”, 一周几次才算正常? [https://www.163.com/dy/article/G4DDMNBB0532RAXA.html]	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·沉德符《野获编·妓女·刘凤台》: “因抱玉主自随, 昼则供食, 夕则附枕。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	痴情纵有高唐梦, 不作巫山一段云。(Zhu 2018, p. 84)	Alternatively: 高唐, 阳台 (Hong 2010). See 云雨
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《元典章·户部四·丁庆一争婚》: “令吴江洲议拟徐伴哥强取丁阿女媾合。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	CCL, BCC	第一次滚床单, 她下面流血, 吓我不轻。(BCC)	
Borrowing	English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	不过痛苦是暂时的, 我现在跟女友happy起来爽多了。[http://38.103.161.47/bbs/thread-3342933-17-177.html]	English Borrowing 'happy' spelled in Latin letters
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	CCL, BCC	今晚二爷要与新来的女人同房。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Hong 2010	那是八叶和妓女们, 他们在合欢。(BCC)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-0943	嘿咻	hēi xiū	ah, hm	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0944	欢会	huān huì	joyful meeting	sex	男女之间性爱之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0945	荤	hūn	meat [diet]	vulgar, obscene, sexual	有关男女间淫秽事情的	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0946	活春宫	huó chūn gōng	live spring palace [pictures]	sex scene	性爱镜头	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0947	肌肤之亲	jī fū zhī qīn	intimacy of flesh and skin	sexual contact	男女发生性接触	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0948	激情戏	jī qíng xì	scene of passion	sex scene	影视剧里男女情感强烈的爱情镜头, 包括一些床戏、热吻等	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0949	荐枕席	jiàn zhěn xí	offer [the man] a pillow and a woven mat	offer sex	女子陪男子同寝	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0950	交感	jiāo gǎn	mutual feeling	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0951	交媾	jiāo gòu	get together	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0952	交合	jiāo hé	get together	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0953	交欢	jiāo huān	get together and enjoy	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0954	交会	jiāo huì	meet	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0955	交接	jiāo jiē	come into contact	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0956	居室	jū shì	together in [one] room	sexual life between spouses	夫妻间的性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0957	开苞	kāi bāo	burst the bud	have sex with a virgin; have one's first sexual experience as a prostitute	妓女第一次破身接客; 与处女性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0958	KJ	kj	-	oral sex	口交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0959	快活	kuài huó	be joyful	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0960	连床	lián chuáng	connect [in] bed	sex	男女同床媾和	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0961	两性关系	liǎng xìng guān xi	relations between two sexes	sexual relation, sex	男女之间的性关系	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0962	毛片	máo piàn	unedited film	pornographic film	带淫秽内容的影片	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0963	秘戏图	mì xì tú	picture with secret games	pornographic pictures	指淫秽的图画	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0964	ML	ml	-	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0965	那个	nàge	that thing	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0966	男女	nán nǚ	man and woman	sexual desire / contact between men and women	男女之间的性欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0967	内事	nèi shì	internal matters	sex	性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0968	啪啪啪	pā pā pā	bang-bang-bang	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0969	泡妞	pào niū	play with girls	pick up a woman [as a sexual partner]	跟女孩子厮混在一起	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0970	炮友	pào yǒu	artillery friend	sex partner, fuck buddy, friend with benefits	性伙伴	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0971	piapiapia	piapiapia	-	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0972	破壁	pò bì	break the jade disk	not a virgin any more, had sexual contacts before (said of women)	女子处女膜已经破裂, 有过性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0973	破茬	pò chá	break the crop	not a virgin any more, had sexual contacts before (said of women)	女子处女膜已经破裂, 有过性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Onomatopoeia	<i>Hei[Xiu]</i> for Breathing Heavily During Sexual Intercourse	CCL, BCC	他告诉我必须等到婚礼结束才可以嘿咻。[https://m.douban.com/group/topic/13407299/]	Alternatively: 嘿咻嘿
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷十七：“这吴氏正待与知观欢会，吃那一惊也不小，同丫鬟两个抖做了一团。”	
Metaphor	Sex is Eating	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	荤笑话。荤话。荤歌。(GF 2014)	
Metaphor	Sex is Spring	CCL, BCC	床上正上演着妖精打架的活春宫呢。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Carnal for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	袭人是惟一和宝玉有过肌肤之亲的。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Passionate for Sexual	Zhu 2018	不过谈到片中的激情戏，文章用“别扭”二字形容。(BCC)	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《文选：宋玉：高唐赋》：“妾巫山之女也，为高唐之客。闻君游高唐，愿荐枕席。”	Literary. Alternative expressions: 荐枕，荐梦，荐寝
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《二刻拍案惊奇》卷三十：“遂欣然留与同宿，交感之际，一如人道。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Hong 2010	正常的男性性行为应包括性欲冲动、勃起、交媾、精、射精及的满足等。(BCC)	Literary (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	雌雄交合。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014	经商，你当然不懂，因为，你只能卑贱地与不同的男人交欢、利用男人。(BCC)	与人结交而取得对方的欢心；一齐欢乐。(HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷二十：“人之不能生育，多因交合之际精力衰微。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《二刻拍案惊奇》卷三十：“妾于去年七月七日与君交接，已受孕，今当产了。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 交通 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	章炳麟《五无论》：“于是夫妇居室亲族相依之事，必一切度绝之，使人民交相涉入，则庶或无所间介矣。”	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	我不缺女人，这镇上的小女子出阁前都得送上门先让我开苞。(Zhu 2018, p. 126)	Regional. Alternatively: 开包. Nowadays may refer to the first sexual experience of a person without any reference to prostitutes
Acronymy	Using Latin Letters instead of Chinese Characters	CCL, BCC	为什么女友不愿意给我KJ，女人都对这个反感吗？[http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/316732452.html]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	CCL, BCC	听说你昨晚打电话给我？——呀，对不起。扫你的兴了，昨晚和她一起快活吧。(BCC)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·章阿端》：“生喜，禁女勿去，留与连牀。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	Zhu 2018	两性关系是生物个体间最重要的关系，所以也是社会关系和文化形态的基础之一。(Zhu 2018, p. 134)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Raw for Sexual	Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	如果你正在读高中的儿子看不正当的书籍，甚至看“猫片”了，你该怎么办？(Zhu 2018, p. 146)	The initial meaning of the term 毛片 was 'unedited footage'. The first pornographic films in Mainland China were of extremely low quality, both in terms of shooting as well as the methods of distribution (illegally recorded VHS tape cassettes)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015	所谓“秘戏图”就是春官图。[https://www.chinanews.com.cn/cul/2010/12-03/2699798.shtml]	
Borrowing	English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	女人最怕男人在ML时做什么？[https://www.podchaser.com/podcasts/yoyoo-597678/episodes/recent]	Regional (Mainland). Abbreviation of the English borrowing "make love"
Deletion	Taboo word 'sex' is omitted	CCL, BCC	他们有没有.....那个过？(BCC)	Strongly context-based. Also: 那个意思
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Involving Two for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	没有感情的男女之事只能被叫做性，但是有爱情的两个人在一起就叫做做爱了！[https://www.zhihu.com/question/280857062]	Common collocations: 'matters of men and women' 男女之事 for sexual matters and 'relations of men and women' 男女关系 for sexual relations
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhang 1996	《二刻拍案惊奇》第十八卷：“玄玄子道：‘要小人傳內事功夫。小人傳了他些口訣，又與了他些丸藥，小人自睡了。’”	Obsolete
Onomatopoeia	<i>Papapa</i> for Sounds Created During Sexual Intercourse	CCL, BCC	真正的好男人，不會在「啪啪啪」時，只想到他自己！[https://www.storm.mg/lifestyle/118134]	
Metaphor	Sex is a Game	Zhu 2018	怎么精神这么差？昨晚又去泡妞去了？(CCL)	Since the main intension of 'chasing' and 'flirting' is usually a sexual contact, the term is used with a sexual connotation, especially in its derivatives 泡马子和泡男 which also mean 'hit on girl / guy'
Metaphor	Sex is War	CCL, BCC	3种方法来开始一段炮友关系。[https://zh.wikihow.com/开始一段炮友关系]	炮 'cannon' is a euphemism for ejaculation
Onomatopoeia	<i>Piapiapia</i> for Sounds Created During Sexual Intercourse	CCL, BCC	老王约了个MM，两人到了宾馆，一顿piapiapia，完事后老王点了根烟惬意地看电视。[http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_15196e560102wd7h.html]	Imitate the sound of sexual intercourse
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	清·黄轩祖《游梁琐记：易内奇案》：“钱母喜偿夙愿，遣人询之，庞，庞固求之而弗得者，况女已破壁，论亦无益，遂从之。”	Obsolete. Contrasted with the term 完璧 'intact jade disk' meaning 'virginity'
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《醒世姻缘传》第七二回：“这是程木匠的闺女，魏武举娶了去，嫌破茬，送回来的。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-0974	破处	pò chǔ	break virginity	woman's first sex	女子初次性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0975	破瓜	pò guā	break the melon	woman's first sex	女子初次性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0976	破身	pò shēn	break the body	woman's first sex	女子初次性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0977	破体	pò tǐ	break the body	woman's first sex	女子初次性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0978	衾褥事	qīn chóu shì	matters of blanket and bed-curtain	sex	男女性爱之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0979	亲热	qīn rè	intimate and warm	sex	男女肌肤接触, 发生性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0980	衾枕之乐	qīn zhěn zhī lè	joy of blanket and pillow	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0981	情趣用品	qíng qù yòng pǐn	products for pleasure	sex toys	性用品	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0982	情欲	qíng yù	desire	sexual desire	性欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0983	求合	qiú hé	beg for union	ask for sex	要求性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0984	求欢	qiú huān	beg for joy	ask for sex	提出性交的要求	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0985	圈圈叉叉	quān quān chā chā	play tick-tack-toe	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0986	人道	rén dào	human way	sex, have sexual ability	男女性爱之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0987	人事	rén shì	human matter	sex, have sexual ability	男女性爱之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0988	衽席之好	rèn xī zhī hǎo	love of the sleeping mat	sex	男女性爱之事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0989	肉欲	ròu yù	carnal desire	sexual desire	性欲	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0990	入房	rù fáng	enter the room	sex	发生性关系	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0991	入港	rù gǎng	enter a harbour	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0992	桑间濮上	sāng jiān pú shàng	in the thickets of mulberry trees on the river bank	a place of a lover's rendezvous	男女幽会的地方, 淫风流行的地方	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0993	sex	sex	-	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0994	上床	shàng chuáng	go to bed	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0995	睡	shuì	sleep	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0996	睡觉	shuì jiào	sleep	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0997	同床	tóng chuáng	share one's bed	have sex	过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0998	同床共枕	tóng chuáng gòng zhěn	share one's bed, have common pillows	have sex	过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-0999	同房	tóng fáng	share the same [bed]room	have sex (mostly describing married couples)	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1000	同居	tóng jū	live together	live together and have sex	同住一室, 过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1001	通体	tōng tǐ	unite with bodies	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1002	同屋	tóng wū	together in the same room	sexual life between spouses	夫妻间的性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1003	同席	tóng xí	together on the same woven mat	sexual life between spouses	夫妻间的性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1004	同枕	tóng zhěn	[have] common pillows	have sex (mostly describing married couples)	过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1005	推倒	tuī dǎo	push over	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1006	脱星	tuō xīng	a star who strip	celebrity known for her/his nude photos, erotic or pornographic movie scenes	以裸露身体、拍三级片而成名的演员 (多指女的)	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1007	完房	wán fáng	complete [bed]room [matters]	consummate a marriage, begin sexual life	开始同房过夫妻生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	CCL, BCC	那些婚前破处的女孩，后来都怎样了？[https://zhuonian.zhihu.com/p/136883332]	
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《警世通言·卷三十二·杜十娘怒沉百宝箱》：“那杜十娘自十三岁破瓜，今一十九岁，七年之内，不知历过了多少公子王孙。”	Obsolete. The term also denoted a 16-year-old girl (GC 2015)
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	《老残游记二编》第六回：“其实若认真从此修行，同那不破身的处子毫无分别。”	
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·李渔《连城璧》一：“（谭楚玉）一见貌姑就知道是个尤物，要相识他於未曾破体之先。乃以看戏为名，终日在戏房里面走进走出，指望以眉眼传情，挑逗他思春之念。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·沉德符《野获编·内閣三：刘小鲁尚书》：“归刘数年，一日，跌坐而化，若蜕脱者。与所天终不讲衾裯事，竟以童真辞世。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 衾裯 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhu 2018	一个女孩子最不能忍受的事，也许就是一个男人在跟她亲热时，却将她当做了别人。(CCL)	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷十八：“富翁也在那时候，接至书房，极尽衾枕之乐。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 衾枕之爱 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	过去8年间，仅在北京就开了5000家情趣用品商店。(Zhu 2018, p. 172)	Used in common collocations: 'sex shop' 情趣用品店, 情趣商店 or 成年用品店
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Desire for Sexual Desire	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	女性情欲。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·东轩主人《述异记·土像为祟》：“是夕，即有艳妇入室求合，洪心乱不能却。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《红楼梦》第二十一回：“贾琏见他娇俏动情，便搂着求欢。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is a Game	CCL, BCC	女生第一次圈圈叉叉到底有多疼！[http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_9c286ab60102w3s4.html]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Human for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GC 2015	或者告诉我冷落香闺，你甚至可以去告我不能人道。你要离婚是不是？(BCC)	Used predominantly in the negative form 'cannot do it in the human way' 不能人道 meaning 'impotent'
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Human for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	然而，在中國歷史上卻出現了這樣一位皇帝，竟然不能人事。[https://knews.cc/history/4e42qk3.html]	Used predominantly in the negative form 'cannot handle it in the human way' 不能人事 meaning 'impotent'
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	宋·洪迈《夷堅乙志·徐杭宗女》：“每夕与僧饮酒歌笑，旁若无人，通衽席之好。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions: 衽席, 衽席之爱
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Carnal for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	老三晓得，在招弟看来，爱情和肉欲是一回事。(CCL)	Often has pejorative connotation (GF 2014, XHC 2016)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	古人很含蓄地把性行为叫作“房中”，入房就是指做爱。(Zhu 2018, p. 178)	
Metaphor	Sex is Entering a Harbour	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《红楼梦》第八十回：“宝蟾心里也知八九，也就半推半就，正要入港。”	HDC (2010) and GF (2014) insist on the illicit nature of the denoted sexual relations
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	去搜寻一下桑间濮上的爱情。(BCC)	In Classical texts also has the meaning of a place where illicit sexual practices could be found (淫风流行的地方, GC 2015)
Borrowing	English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	我和我前b交往了快两年，期间有无数机会sex，但是我就是没那感觉，我们也有oral，但最后一步我还是没让他进去。[https://w.www.douban.com/group/topic/31247999/]	Used as a verb. Also: 'oral' for have oral sex
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	你跟她上床了吗？(BCC)	Carries disapproval (XHC 2016), often refers to illicit sex
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	好想睡她啊。[https://twitter.com/435Hz/status/306596263166627842]	Transitive verb
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	女人想不想跟你睡觉就看这五个现象。[http://www.sohu.com/a/144116719_619316]	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	我父亲醉酒后异常安静，他往往在醉酒后跟母亲同床。(CCL)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	只因爸爸一句话，她肚子里带着一个人的娃娃，就去跟另外一个人同床共枕。他满怀羞耻。(Zhu 2018, p. 217)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	我民间有一种方法，增加每日同房次数（至少3次），可以增加双胞胎的产生率。(BCC)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	1916年，郭沫若与日本护士佐藤富子（郭安娜）由恋爱而同居。(Zhu 2018, p. 217)	Contextually can refer both to marital sexual relations and extramarital sexual relations (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	汉·司马相如《琴歌》之二：“交情通体心和谐，中夜相从知者谁。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	南朝·梁·武帝《净业赋》：“復断房室，不与嬖侍同屋而处四十餘年矣。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《史记·卷一一八·淮南王传》：“王谋为反具，畏太子妃知而内泄事，乃与太子谋，令诈弗爱，三月不同席。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	自己怎能与这个男人同枕共眠？(CCL)	Often used in collocation 'share pillows and sleep together' 同枕共眠
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Pushing for Sexual	CCL, BCC	如何增加男友推倒的欲望。[https://1applehealth.com/tag/%E6%8E%A8%E5%80%92ptt-1]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Nude for Sexual	Zhu 2018	人家都说你快成“脱星”了，你自己怎么看？(Zhu 2018, p. 222)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	GC 2015	《金瓶梅》第九十五回：“拣了个好日子，就与了来兴儿完房。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-1008	完事	wán shì	have things done	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1009	握雨携云	wò yǔ xié yún	grasp the rain and carry the clouds	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1010	巫山云雨	wū shān yún yǔ	Wushan's clouds and rain	have sex	男女性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1011	戏果戏孙	xì guǒ xì sūn	play with girls and boys	pick up women and men [as sexual partners]	跟女孩子和男孩子厮混在一起	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1012	西斯	xī sī	xisi ( <i>transliteration of English 'sex'</i> )	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1013	献身	xiàn shēn	sacrifice one's body	have sex with a man willingly	自愿跟别人的男人发生性关系	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1014	襄王梦	xiāng wáng mèng	the dream of the ruler Xiang	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1015	邂逅	xiè hòu	meet by chance	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1016	幸	xìng	have luck, have favour (granted by the emperor)	have sex (said of emperors)	特指帝王与女子同房	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1017	行房事	xíng fáng shì	engage into bedroom affairs	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1018	行事	xíng shì	handle matters	have sex	进行性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1019	行阴	xíng yīn	do an <i>yīn</i> -energy [act]	have sex	进行性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1020	行云	xíng yún	do a cloud [act]	have sex	进行性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1021	嗅蜜	xiù mì	sniff at honey	pick up a woman [as a sexual partner]	跟女孩子厮混在一起	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1022	寻欢	xún huān	seek joys	seek sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1023	燕好	yàn hǎo	be happily married	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1024	艳事	yàn shì	beautiful story	erotic story	男女间风流的性爱故事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1025	艳史	yàn shǐ	beautiful story	erotic story	男女间风流的性爱故事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1026	艳诗	yàn shī	beautiful poem	erotic poem	描写男女性爱的色情诗	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1027	燕私	yàn sī	private happy [gathering]	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1028	艳闻	yàn wén	beautiful rumours	sex-related rumours	关于性爱方面的色情新闻	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1029	艳舞	yàn wǔ	beautiful dance	erotic dance	带有淫秽性质的舞蹈	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1030	艳星	yàn xīng	beautiful star	sexually attractive female celebrity	美艳性感的明星, 风流艳丽的女演员	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1031	艳遇	yàn yù	beautiful encounter	love affairs	男女间的风流故事	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1032	艳照	yàn zhào	beautiful photo	erotic picture, nude picture	带有淫秽性质的裸露照片	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1033	一夜情	yī yè qíng	one night love	one night stand	陌生男女基于性欲而发生的性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	CCL, BCC	突然身边的妹子问老王：“怎么你们男人完事后都喜欢抽烟？”[https://zhuannan.zhihu.com/p/371549646]	
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	元·王实甫《西厢记》第四本第二折：“只着你夜去明来，倒有个天长地久，不问你握雨携云，常使我提心在口。”	Obsolete. See 云雨. Alternative expressions and spelling variants with the same meaning: 携云握雨, 携云挈雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	贞娘收拾好了，炆帝便命她上榻相伴，索手索脚地玩笑了一阵，便又巫山云雨，一度春风。(Zhu 2018, pp. 228-229)	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 巫山, 巫云, 巫峡, 巫山楚雨, 巫云楚雨, 楚天云雨, 楚雨巫云 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is a Game	CCL, BCC	北方俗語收得過多，南方流行未曾顧及。比如「沒起子」、「玩兒鬧」、「戲果戲孫」、「耍單兒」、「尖孫兒」。[https://baike.baidu.com/item/漢語粗口手冊/4110874]	Regional (Beijing). In Beijing dialect the term for 'chicken' is 果儿, thus the reference to 'chicks' or 'girls'. The slang term for 'boys' in Beijing dialect is 孙
Borrowing	English for Chinese	CCL, BCC	我老婆的模式：結婚前看起來很像聖女的樣子有一次在公車上想要摸一下她的大腿結果被婉拒結婚當天洞房花燭夜：躺在床上之後主動拍我一下要我和她西廂。[https://www.pt.cc/bbs/sex/M.1408643179.A.2F7.html]	Internet slang. Also: 法克 for 'fuck'. Regional (Taiwan)
Metaphor	Sex is Sacrifice	Zhu 2018	我知道現在江湖上想獻身給你的女人太多了，只要你點頭，幾乎沒有一個女人不想靠近你。(Zhu 2018, p. 328)	
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·胡曾《咏史·阳台》：“何人更有襄王夢，寂寂巫山十二重。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhang 1996	章炳麟《菌說》：“夫如避遺，一滴之精，有精虫十數，入嚙泡蛋而破之，以成妊娠。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《史记·项羽本纪》：“妇女无所幸。”	Obsolete. The term 'have luck' has a particular meaning of 'come, visit, arrive' when said of emperors, which can be metonymically extended to mean 'have sex' if applied to his wives or concubines. Alternatively: 幸御, 御幸, 御, 取 (Hong 2010), whereas 御 stands for 'share bed with somebody' 侍寝 (Zhang 1996, p. 85)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	天天行房会不会影响精子质量和我们的工作? [https://news.bangkaow.com/jyyw/202107/46225.html]	Used in reference to sexual intercourse between spouses (XHC 2016). Alternatively: 行房, 房事 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Matters for Sexual Matters	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷六：“行事已毕，巫娘子兀自昏眠未醒。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 举事 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《灵枢经·口问》：“胃不实则诸脉虚，诸脉虚则筋脉懈惰，筋脉懈惰则行阴用力，气不能復。”	
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	宋·柳永《西廂》词之二：“洞房咫尺，无计枉朝朝。有意怜才，每遇行云处，幸时恁相过。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is Eating	CCL	啖蜜就是泡妞的意思。[http://www.lizhidaren.com/jingdianyit u/8767.html]	Regional (Beijing)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pleasant for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	夜夜至妓院寻欢。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Romantic for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·狐妾》：“俄借一婢，拥垂髫儿来……刘諦视，光艳无儔，遂与燕好。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	Zhu 2018	二姑娘的年岁不大，风流艳事并不少。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016	我们在报纸上再登他几段关于张教授的艳史。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016	[他]也做过一些艳诗。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Private for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	唐·玄奘《大唐西域记·乌仗那国》：“(释种)迎龙女以还都。龙女宿业未尽，餘报犹在，每至燕私，首出九龙之头。释种畏恶，莫知图计，伺其寐也，利刃断之。”	Obsolete. Zhang (1996, p. 83) believes that 燕 in the expression has the same meaning as 'joy, happiness' 宴, 欢乐.
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	GF 2014, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	艳闻韵事。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	跳艳舞。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	Zhu 2018, GC 2015	著名艳星。(Zhu 2018, p. 256)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	GF 2014, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GC 2015	外明星为了树立自己的形象，隔一段时间就要制造一些新闻出来，如艳遇什么的。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	Zhu 2018	拍艳照 (BCC)	
Metonymy	Feeling for Event: Love for Sex	Zhu 2018	英国2万人中62%认为“一夜情”在任何情况下都是错的。(CCL)	Partial calque / loan translation of the English term 'one night stand'

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-1034	隐曲	yǐn qū	hidden bending	sex	男女性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1035	阴阳	yīn yáng	yin and yang	genitals	男女之生殖器	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1036	莺颠燕狂	yīng diān yàn kuáng	orioles tumble and swallows rush about	sex	男女交欢	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1037	有关系	yǒu guān xi	have relations	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1038	幽会	yōu huì	meet secretly	secretly meet (said about lovers)	相爱的男女秘密相会	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1039	幽期	yōu qī	meet secretly	secretly meet (said about lovers)	相爱的男女秘密相会	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1040	尤云殢雨	yóu yún tì yǔ	love cloud and fancy rain	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1041	雨魂云梦	yǔ hún yún mèng	[have] one's soul in the rain, dream in clouds	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1042	欲火	yù huǒ	fire of desire	sexual desire	情欲之火	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1043	雨窟云巢	yǔ kū yún cháo	cave of rain, nest of clouds	place for sex	男女欢合之所	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1044	雨暮	yǔ mù	at dusk while raining	time for sex	男女欢合之时	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1045	御内	yù nèi	drive one's carriage to the inner [room]	sex with one's wife	与妻子交合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1046	雨散云收	yǔ sǎn yún shōu	the rain stops and the sky clears up	sex ended	男女欢合已毕	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1047	鱼水之欢	yú shuǐ zhī huā	joy of fish and water	the pleasure of close intimacy in a couple; sexual intercourse	比喻夫妇好合，和乐融融	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1048	雨席云床	yǔ xí yún chuáng	the woven mat under the rain and the bed in clouds	place for sex	男女欢合之所	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1049	雨羞云困	yǔ xiū yún kùn	shame of rain, rejection of clouds	feel shame and/or aversion toward sex	对男女之事感到羞怯和厌倦	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1050	雨约云期	yǔ yuē yún qī	meeting in clouds and rain	meeting of lovers	男女幽会欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1051	雨沾云惹	yǔ zhān yún rě	get wet under the rain and attract the clouds	sex	男女欢合	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1052	雨帐云屏	yǔ zhàng yún píng	the tent under the rain and the screen in clouds	place for sex	男女欢合之所	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1053	圆房	yuán fáng	complete [bed]room [matters]	consummate a marriage, begin sexual life	开始同房过夫妻生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1054	云情雨意	yún qíng yǔ yì	feelings of clouds and rain	lust, sex	性交; 男女欢会之情	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1055	云雨	yún yǔ	clouds and rain	have sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1056	在一起了	zài yìqǐ le	already be together	have sexual contacts	已经发生性关系了	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1057	造爱	zào ài	make love	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1058	朝云暮雨	zhāo yún mù yǔ	Clouds in the morning, rain in the evening	sex	男女性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1059	枕席之欢	zhěn xí zhī huān	joy of pillow and woven mat	sex	性交	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1060	周公之礼	zhōu gōng zhī lǐ	the rites of Zhou Gong	sex	性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1061	壮阳	zhuàng yáng	strengthen yang	boost male sexual function	增强男子性功能	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1062	走光	zǒu guāng	be exposed to light	unintentionally expose underwear or genitals	不小心把身体隐私部位暴露出来	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《素问·阴阳别论》：“二阳之病发心脾，有不得隐曲，女子不月。”王冰注：“隐曲，谓隐蔽委曲之事也。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	《明律·斗殴》：“若断人舌及毁败人阴阳者并杖一百，流二千里，仍将犯人财产一半断付被伤笃疾之人养赡。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·孔尚任《桃花扇·听梆》：“暗思想，那些鶯颠燕狂，关甚兴亡？”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	CCL, BCC	我觉得她[这位选美比赛参加者]肯定是和评委或者赞助商有关系。[https://www.chinesepod.com/dictionary/赞助商]	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	公司里有一个叫孟山的职员却是这位计小姐的姘夫，时常到她那里幽会。(Zhu 2018, p. 270)	Strongly context-based: sex might be involved
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	他这一生中，也不知和多少位绝色美人有过幽期密会。(Zhu 2018, p. 270)	Strongly context-based: sex might be involved
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	元·王实甫《西厢记》第三本第三折：“强风情措大，晴干了尤云殢雨心，悔过了窃玉偷香胆。”	Obsolete. See 云雨. Alternatively: 云尤雨殢, 殢雨尤云, 殢云尤雨, 殢雨, 尤殢, 尤云殢雪, 尤花殢雪, 雨爱云欢 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	宋·赵令畤《清平乐·春风依旧词》：“去年紫陌青门，今宵雨魄云魂。”	See 云雨. Alternatively: 雨魄云魂, 云梦闲情 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Passionate for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我按住欲火，吻吻她，将枕头、被子抱到客厅的沙发上。(Zhu 2018, p. 272)	
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·洪昇《长生殿·絮园》：“外人不知呵，都只说殢君王是我这庸姿劣貌，那知道恋欢娱，别有个雨窟云巢！”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GC 2015	宋·黄庭坚《昼夜乐》词：“其奈冤家无定据，约云朝、又还雨暮。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·陆以潜《冷庐杂识·却老要诀》：“余尝叩以何术摄生，曰：‘无他，五十岁后不御内，生平不使腹受饿。’”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	明·李日华《南西厢记·堂前巧辩》：“阳臺雨散云收。春意徘徊。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 云收雨散, 雨散 (Hong 2010). See 云雨
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	GC 2015	回想出巡的这几夜，皇上夜夜与己有鱼水之欢，真真是情浓恩深。(CCL)	Water and fish are a common symbol for a couple being inseparable as fish and water
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	元·武汉臣《生金阁》第二折：“我道是楚襄王寄语巫山窈窕娘，也不须遮遮掩掩粧模样，早共晚准备下雨席云床。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	宋·赵崇嶓《如梦令》词：“残月醉归来，长是雨羞云困。低问。低问。独自绣帷睡稳。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Hong 2010, GC 2015	元·关汉卿《望江亭》第二折：“我呵怕甚么天翻地覆，就顺着他雨约云期。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·柳永《洞仙歌》词：“嘉景，向少年彼此，争不雨沾云惹。奈傅粉英俊，梦兰品雅。”	See 云雨
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·石孝友《点绛唇》词：“雨帐云屏，一枕高唐梦。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	坐在那床沿上，她有很长一段时间，等待着新郎从喜宴上回来“圆房”。(Zhu 2018, p. 273)	
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷二：“两个人各自收拾上床睡了，少不得云情雨意，做了一番的事。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 雨意云情 (Hong 2010). See
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Hong 2010	此时，他正与两名绝色女子，在宽大的猩红地毯上行云雨之欢。(BCC)	Song Yu describes in his poems a mystical encounter between a king of Chu and a goddess from the legendary mountain Wu. The king falls asleep on the holy mountain and has an erotic dream from the goddess who says: '旦为朝云，暮为行雨' 'At daybreak I become a morning cloud, in the evening I change into the rain'. Term 'rain and cloud' for sexual intercourse often appears in classic Chinese novels (XHC 2016). Alternatively: 雨云, 楚云湘雨, 楚天云雨, 楚雨巫云 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhu 2018	他要是真的对你一见钟情，他认识你几年啦，你们早就在一起了。(Zhu 2018: 276)	
Borrowing	Calque from English	Zhang 1996	《锤子》1987年第3期：“他们调整位置，正欲造爱，突然，床没来由晃动了一下，他猛然栽倒在地。”	Hong (2010) qualifies 做爱 as a euphemism as well
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	元·关汉卿《望江亭》第一折：“我想着香闺少女，但生的嫩色娇颜，都只爱朝云暮雨，那个肯风只鸾单。”	Obsolete. See 云雨
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《警世通言·卷三十二·杜十娘怒沉百宝箱》：“一旦破人姻缘，断人恩爱，乃我之仇人。我死而有知，必当诉之神明，尚妄想枕席之欢乎！”	Literary. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 枕席之事, 枕席之爱, 枕席 (Hong 2010)
Metaphor	Sex is a Rite	Zhu 2018	镜子中间，都映出两对赤条条的男女，在那里行那周公之礼。(Zhu 2018, p. 282)	Literary
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Yang-Energy for Male Sexuality	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	一些产地不明的伪劣产品则明目张胆地打出“壮阳”、“强壮性功能”的旗号，搞得消费者无法判别。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Nude for Sexual	Zhu 2018	我不喜欢穿裙子打比赛，动作如果太大，就会走光。	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BS-1063	做那种事情	zuò nà zhǒng shì qing	do that thing	sex	发生性行为	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BS-1064	做夜作	zuò yè zuò	do night job	sex	过性生活	06. BODY: SEXUAL DESIRE AND SEX
BN-1065	爱情走私	ài qíng zǒu sī	love smuggling	extramarital affair	婚外恋	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1066	暗度陈仓	àn dù chén cāng	under cover of darkness [enter] Chencang	have illicit sexual intercourse	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1067	包二奶	bāo èrnǎi	keep a second wife	live with a mistress and support her financially	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1068	包二爷	bāo èryé	keep a second husband	live with a lover and support him financially	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1069	不安于室	bù ān yú shì	no peace in bedroom	have extramarital affairs (about a woman who is not sexually satisfied with her husband)	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1070	不妥	bù tuǒ	improper	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1071	不忠	bùzhōng	disloyal	have extramarital affairs	变节	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1072	采花	cǎi huā	pluck flowers	rape	奸污妇女	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1073	插足	chā zú	step in	become a lover	第三者介入他人婚姻家庭的道德行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1074	吃豆腐	chī dòu fǔ	eat tofu	take advantage of women, sexual harassment	男性骚扰女性; 性骚扰	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1075	出轨	chū guǐ	go off the rails	cheat on one's partner	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1076	穿花蛱蝶	chuān huā jiá dié	butterflies flying through in the flowers	playboy	好色者	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1077	串门子	chuàn mén zǐ	visit somebody's home	have illicit sex	乱搞不正当男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1078	戴绿帽	dài lǜ mào	wear a green hat	have a wife who is cheating	妻子有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1079	戴绿头巾	dài lǜ tóu jīn	wear a green headband	have a wife who is cheating	妻子有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1080	到处留情	dào chǔ liú qíng	leave love everywhere	develop romantic or sexual relations with women wherever one goes, lascivious	男子乱搞男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1081	盗嫂	dào sǎo	steal the sister-in-law	have illicit sex with the sister-in-law	与嫂子私通	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1082	登徒浪子	dēng tú làng zǐ	Rascal Dengtu	playboy	好色者	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1083	登徒子	dēng tú zǐ	Dengtu Zi	playboy	好色者	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1084	第三者	dì sān zhě	the third one	lover; mistress	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1085	第一者	dì yī zhě	the first one	married person who cheats to his/her spouse	已婚而又与其他异性有恋情的人	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1086	玷污	diān wū	stain	rape	强奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Matters for Sexual Matters	Zhu 2018	没有一点儿感情就可以做那种事情——你是人，还是野兽？(Zhu 2018, p. 289)	Alternatively: 做那种事 (Zhu 2018, p. 289)
Metaphor	Sex is a Job	Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅词话》：“你黑夜做夜作使乏了怎的？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is a Crime	Zhu 2018	的确，爱情走私所带来的伤害可能是世间最难忍受的痛苦。(Zhu 2018, p. 1)	Alternatively: 感情走私
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhu 2018, GC 2015	他跟那个女人暗度陈仓那么久了，他隐瞒她那么久了，他背叛她那么久了，怎么可以原谅呢？(Zhu 2018, p. 3)	Originates from a historic anecdote found in the "Records of the Grand Historian" (《史记·高祖本纪》) of Sima Qian 司马迁: in 206 BC, Liu Bang 刘邦 captured the city of Xianyang 咸阳, the capital of Qin Emperors, and was proclaimed as the Ruler of Han by general Xiang Yu 项羽. Then he took his men and horses to the city of Nanzheng and burned down the plank road ('gallery roads' 栈道) built on its way. Soon, he secretly detoured northward and defeated the Qin General Zhang Han's 章邯 army in Chencang 陈仓. Finally, he returned to Xianyang. Over time, the metaphor of "entering Chencang in the dark" was used to refer to any kind of an activity carried out in secret, especially regarding hidden sexual activity, including adultery
Metaphor	Lover is a Spouse	Zhu 2018	现在有些人，有了钱以后，又开始故态复萌，什么“包二奶”，什么“养金丝雀”之类的……这些东西非常丑恶。(Zhu 2018, p. 9)	
Metaphor	Lover is a Spouse	Zhu 2018	报刊上不断有“包二爷”的报道。(Zhu 2018, p. 9)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	她是个呆不住、不安于室的人，听说，她和你婶婶都有了男朋友。(BCC)	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 不安其室
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Immoral for Illicit Sex	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《红楼梦》第六四回：“二姐儿又是水性人儿，在先已和姐夫不妥。”	Obsolete
Understatement	Negation	GC 2015	这个女人经常对他不忠，他不能容忍与其他男人分享她。(BCC)	
Metaphor	Non-Consensual Sex is Plucking Flowers	GC 2015, HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	采花大盗。(GC 2015)	Originally used to describe a situation when someone breaks into one's house and rapes women. Mostly used in old-fashioned novels (GC 2015). Common collocations for 'rapist' were 采花贼 or 采花大盗
Metaphor	Lover is an Intruder	Zhang 1996, GF 2014	他们的婚姻破裂是因为第三者插足。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Sex is Food	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	为人要规矩有礼，不要对女生乱吃豆腐。(GC 2015)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Astray	Zhu 2018	偶然一次出轨，也是我迫你上的梁山。(Zhu 2018, p. 37)	
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	Zhang 1996	明·陈汝元《红莲债》第二折：“只为师兄五戒，暗淫女子红莲，戒犯如来，身沉恶道。穿花蝴蝶，暂夺了座右鹦哥；戏水鸳鸯，权当了佛前狮子。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhang 1996	老三串门子啦？- 没有。(Zhang 1996, p. 87)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Wearing a Green Hat for Visiting Brothels	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	刘去最怕女人给他戴绿帽子。(CCL)	XHC (2016) indicates that men are said to have worn a green headscarf in brothels in the Yuan and Ming times
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Wearing a Green Headband for Visiting Brothels	XHC 2016, GF 2014	真正戴绿头巾的丈夫，两部小说中同名罗杰，只是这个罗杰已换上时代新面目，不念圣经只说科学术语而已。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	GC 2015	他生性风流，到处留情。(GC 2015)	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 四处留情
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《诗刊》1980年第1期：“毕竟无兄谁盗嫂，坚持真理任沉浮。”	
Metonymy	Fictional Character for Event	Zhang 1996	我不是什么登徒浪子。(BCC)	See 登徒子
Metonymy	Fictional Character for Event	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	干脆与南子来直格的婚外恋？不，那不是成了登徒子了吗？(CCL)	The term is a name of a fictional character from who was famous for his hypersexuality. The poet Song Yu created a poem about Dengtu (surname) Zi (general term for men) named "Lecherous Dengtu Zi" 《登徒子好色赋》: though his wife was ugly, humpback and gravely ill, he liked her very much and gave birth to five children
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Third for Lover	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	有关“夫妻间最不可容忍的事”一项的回答中，87%的女性填写的是第三者插足、婚外恋。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Third for Lover	Zhang 1996	我看过两部以第一者为主人公的电影。(Zhang 1996, p. 88)	See 第三者
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	HDC 2010, GC 2015	她们嘀嘀咕咕地抱怨男人不放过任何玷污女人的空子，抱怨其他姑娘所搞的一些不正当的把戏。(CCL)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BN-1087	断袖	duàn xiù	cut off one's sleeve	homosexual	同性恋	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1088	非礼	fēi lǐ	[do something] improper	harass sexually	对女性施暴	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1089	绯闻	fēi wén	scandal	sexual scandal	男女不正当关系的新闻	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1090	粉戏	fěn xì	pink play	pornographic play	淫荡的色情戏	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1091	风花雪月	fēng huā xuě yuè	wind, flowers, snow and moon	promiscuous life	花天酒地的荒淫生活	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1092	勾搭	gōu dā	gang up	love affairs	男女私情	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1093	苟合	gǒu hé	[have a] careless union	have sex (mostly adulterous)	性交	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1094	苟且	gǒu qiè	improper	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1095	关目	guān mù	affairs	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1096	好外	hào wài	love the external one	be homosexual	爱男色、男宠	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1097	红杏出墙	hóng xìng chū qiáng	A red apricot reaches over the wall	become unfaithful (said of women)	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1098	胡来	hú lái	run wild, fool around	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1099	胡闹	hú nào	make trouble, fool around	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1100	花心	huā xīn	flower heart	lascivious, adulterous, unfaithful, promiscuous	形容对爱情不专一	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1101	黄毒	huáng dú	yellow poison	pornography	指毒害人思想的淫秽的书刊、音像制品等	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1102	黄货	huáng huò	yellow goods	pornographic magazine	色情刊物	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1103	黄色	huáng sè	yellow colour	pornographic	色情	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1104	黄书	huáng shū	yellow book	pornographic book	传播色情内容的书籍	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1105	黄源	huáng yuán	yellow source	source of producing pornographic books and audio-visual items	制作淫秽书籍，音像制品的源头	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1106	黄灾	huáng zāi	yellow disaster	proliferation of pornography	色情、淫秽内容泛滥成灾	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1107	脚踏两条船	jiǎo tà liǎng tiáo chuán	stand on two boats at the same time	cheat on one's partner; have multiple lovers	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1108	金屋藏娇	jīn wū cáng jiāo	keep a beauty in the golden house	have a mistress	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Anecdote for Category	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《儿女英雄传》缘起首回：“误把些使气角力好勇鬪狠的认作英雄，又把些调脂弄粉断袖餘桃的认作儿女：所以一开口便道是某某英雄志短，儿女情长。”	According to History of the Han (《汉书·卷九三·佞幸传·董贤传》), the emperor Ai of Han 汉哀帝 upon finding his lover sleeping on his sleeve, and having been called to a meeting while lying with him, cut off his sleeve rather than stir the boy from his sleep
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Impoliteness for Non-Consensual Sex	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	他非礼你了吗? (Zhu 2018, p. 74)	Regional (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Scandal for Sex Scandal	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	谁管它是真是假，传言这东西就像影视明星的绯闻一样，只是用来当茶余饭后闲聊的话题罢了，我最关心的还是我自己的事。[BCC]	Strongly context-based. In contemporary usage the term can be applied to any news about celebrities regarding their private life without any association with extramarital affairs (e.g. rumours about potential partners of an allegedly single celebrity etc.)
Metaphor	Sex is White. Sex is Pink	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015	老舍《四世同堂》三十：“好多的粉戏已经禁演了二三十年，他们连戏名都说不上来，也不晓得哪个角色会演。”	Regional (Beijing)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《醒世恒言·卖油郎独占花魁》：“做小娘的，风花雪月，受用已匀，趁这盛名之下，求之者众，任我拣择个十分满意的嫁他，急流勇退。”	Originally referred to imagery found in classical Chinese poetry (wind, flowers, snow, moon), which was later associated with sentimental poetry. The term extended its meaning to denote love affairs and frivolous life, including unrestrained sexuality (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	Zhang 1996	《水浒传》第二回：“他在王婆茶房里，和武大娘子勾搭上了。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Physically Close for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018	谈恋爱的时候躲在公园的黑暗里苟合。(Zhu 2018, p. 88)	The morpheme 苟 has the meaning 'careless' (随便, 马虎 HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Immoral for Illicit Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	周立波《扫盲志异》：“等到稍微定定神，他的头一个心思是要冲进房间去，捉奸捉双，亲手拿住这对苟且的男女，好去打官司。”	Common collocations: 'immoral relationship' 苟且关系; 'immoralities' 苟且之事; 'immoral behaviour' 苟且行为; 'one-night stand' 苟且一晚
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Matters for Sexual Matters	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《古今小说·新桥市韩五卖春情》：“那老妇人和胖妇人看见关目，推个事故起身去了。”	Obsolete. Originally referred to the key events in the plot of Chinese dramas and metonymically extended to any affairs (HDC 2010), particularly to illicit love affairs (Zhang 1996)
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	明·冯梦龙《古今谭概·癖嗜·好外》：“俞大夫华麓有好外癖，尝拟作疏奏上帝，欲使童子后庭生育，可废妇人。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Adulterous Wife is a Tree. Non-Marital Sex is Going Outside	XHC 2016:540	随着为电视剧编写剧本的压力及对已失去新鲜感的夫妻关系的麻木，终于使他“红杏出墙”。(BCC)	Originates from the poem by Ye Shaoweng (c. 1200–1250 AD) 《游园不值》 and initially describes a spring mood that prevails everywhere
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	柳青《创业史》第一部题叙：“他和她没有多深的关系，他们在一块儿的时间很少。他觉得，和那个可怜人在一块胡来，简直是犯罪。”	Strongly context-based. Mischievous behaviour can be interpreted sexually
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	Zhang 1996	康濯《我的两家房东》：“听说也胡闹坏女人哩！”	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	这小子太花心。(GF 2014)	Normally said of men (XHC 2016, GF 2014). Most likely based on the floral imagery of morpheme 花 (the verbal interpretation 'spend' is less probable) which used to describe the female beauty which flowers represent, as well as the romantic and illicit relations, including prostitution
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	XHC 2016, GF 2014, Zhu 2018	扫除黄毒。(CCL)	Apart from the pornographic products, the term can also denote the so-called "psychological harm effects which porn has on individuals" (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	遭遇“黄货”污染。(Zhu 2018, p. 109)	
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	黄色书刊。黄色网站。(Zhu 2018, pp. 109-110)	There are multiple versions why 'yellow' became a symbol of pornography in contemporary Chinese, among which is the resemblance of skin colour and yellow colour (Zhang 1996, p. 90) as well as the reference to the practice of American magazines in the end of the 19th century to publish the vulgar and erotic material on special pages of yellow colour (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	黄片如此，黄书就更加普遍、猖狂。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	Zhu 2018	工商局查禁过一大批坏书，现在比过去好多了，过去这里是“黄源”。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Sex is Yellow	Zhu 2018	4日晚，彭州市委责成文化稽查部门连夜查禁电影院“黄灾”。(Zhu 2018, p. 111)	
Metaphor	Sex is Sports	CCL, BCC	脚踏两条船的男人，常记不清楚曾经和哪一位过生日或节日，和谁看过电影或舞台剧。[https://m.jy135.com/qinggan/20173.html]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Beauty for Lover	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014	他绝不会想到贺一骑也会金屋藏娇。(CCL)	Originates from the text of the "Story of Hanwu" (《汉武故事》) of unknown attribution about young Emperor Wu Han willing to build a magnificent palace for his cousin A'Jiao 阿娇 who is going to become his wife Empress Chen 陈皇后. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 金屋贮娇

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BN-1109	开房间	kāi fáng jiān	rent a hotel room	bring a sexual partner into a hotel	为发生性行为而住进宾馆的房间	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1110	凌辱	líng rǔ	humiliate	assault (a woman)	以猥亵的言行对待女性	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1111	露水夫妻	lù shuǐ fū qī	dew spouses	unmarried couple living together	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1112	露水姻缘	lù shuǐ yīn yuán	dew marriage	unmarried couple living together	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1113	乱搞	luàn gǎo	make a mess	be promiscuous	随便发生性行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1114	乱伦	luàn lún	violate natural laws	commit incest	谓在法律或风俗习惯不允许的情况下近亲属之间发生性行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1115	明铺暗盖	míng pū àn gài	be under bedcover openly	illicit sex without keeping it secret	明目张胆的乱搞不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1116	男风	nán fēng	male wind	male homosexuality	男子同性间的性行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1117	男同	nán tóng	male same	male homosexual	男同性恋者	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1118	女同	nǚ tóng	female same	female homosexual	女同性恋者	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1119	扒灰	pá huī	crawl on ashes	commit incest with a daughter-in-law	公公与媳妇有暧昧行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1120	劈腿	pī tuǐ	do the splits	cheat on one's partner; have multiple lovers	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1121	强暴	qiáng bào	violate	rape	强奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1122	秋胡	qiū hú	Qiu Hu	promiscuous man	对爱情不专一的男子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1123	山头撮合	shān tóu cuō hé	make a match on the top of the hill	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1124	施暴	shī bào	use violence	rape	强奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1125	失花儿	shī huār	lose flowers	be disloyal to one's husband	妇女失节	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1126	失身	shī shēn	lose one's body	be disloyal to one's husband; lose virginity	女人与别人发生性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1127	失行	shī xíng	lose one's path	be disloyal to one's husband	女人与别人发生性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1128	水性杨花	shuǐ xìng yáng huā	[unstable] like water and poplar flowers	wanton woman	形容妇女作风轻浮，用情不专一	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1129	私合	sī hé	secret union	commit adultery	通奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1130	私乱	sī luàn	secret chaos	commit adultery	通奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1131	私情	sī qíng	secret feeling	commit adultery	通奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1132	私通	sī tōng	secret communication	commit adultery	通奸	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1133	私谐欢好	sī xié huān hǎo	harmony and happiness kept in secret	illicit sex	男女间非明媒正娶而发生关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1134	碎璧	sùi bì	break a round flat piece of jade with a hole in the centre	be disloyal to one's husband	妇女失节	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	Zhu 2018	昨天和女神开房间，先是么么哒，然后啪啪啪。[https://www.hao86.com/ciyu_view_99ca2e43ac99ca2e/]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Humiliation for Non-Consensual Sex	GC 2015	南京大屠杀中，日军凌辱妇女到什么程度？(GC 2015)	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Dew	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	《金瓶梅》第十二回：“我的哥哥，这一家都是疼你的？都是露水夫妻，再醮货儿！唯有奴知道你的心，你知道奴的意。”	Originates from the idea of dew which disappears quickly. The unmarried relationships is similarly unstable
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Dew	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《孽缘海花》第四十八回：“昙花朝露浮云重，露水姻缘幻梦多。”	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Chaos	Zhu 2018	您说您不是乱搞，可你们到街道办事处登记过么？没有。有大红结婚证么？没有。你们说这不算乱搞算什么？(Zhu 2018, p. 141)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Unnatural for Illicit Sex	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	父亲不能做儿子的媒人是恐翁媳之间出现乱伦的行为。(Zhu 2018, p. 141)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	他离家不久，保长就和他老婆明铺暗盖了。(Zhu 2018, p. 149)	Alternatively: 明铺夜盖
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Relations for Sexual Relations	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《红楼梦》第四回：“长到十八九岁上，酷爱男风，不喜女色。”	Obsolete. The morpheme 风 here means 'love feeling / attraction' 色, HDC (2010). Cf. dysphemistic term 'sodomy' 鸡奸
Abbreviation	Contraction	Zhu 2018	走进男同酒吧。[https://twgreatdaily.com/zh/BNSrhW4BMH2_cNUgYMqa.amp]	Colloquial, abbreviated from 'male homosexual' 男同性恋者
Abbreviation	Contraction	Zhu 2018	从我们接触的女同来看，人群结构很复杂……。(Zhu 2018, p. 159)	
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	许老太爷想扒灰，晚上摸到媳妇的房门口，被媳妇推下了楼，摔坏了腿。(CCL)	Alternatively: 爬灰. Crawling on ashes is associated with dirty knees. The term is based on the homophony of words 'knee' 膝 and 'daughter-in-law' 媳: get one's knees dirty is associated with the dishonouring of the daughter-in-law
Metaphor	Sex is Sports	GC 2015, XHC 2016	蔡依林曝与周杰伦旧情：因他劈腿才导致分手。[https://www.chinanews.com.cn/yl/2013/07-31/5107282.shtml]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Violence for Non-Consensual Sex	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	苏丹：军方在达尔富尔大肆强暴妇女。[https://www.hrw.org/zh-hans/news/2015/02/11/266737]	
Metonymy	Fictional Character for Event	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GC 2015	唐·李白《陌上桑》诗：“使君且不顾，况复论秋胡。”	Obsolete. Based on the story found in "Biographies of Exemplary Women" (《列女传·鲁秋洁妇》) by Liu Xiang 刘向 about a person named Qiu Hu who molested a woman collecting mulberry on his way home after 5 years of serving as an official in other state. Once returned home, Qiu Hu's mother asked his wife to come and greet her husband. It turned out that Qiu Hu was that person who met her on the road and offended her. The righteous wife couldn't bear the offense and threw herself in the river
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·汤显祖《牡丹亭·圆驾》：“论臣女呵，便死葬向水口廉贞，肯和生人做山头撮合？”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Violence for Non-Consensual Sex	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我还记得，主公跨进了门，她就从床上跳起来，向主公哭诉，说是欺侮她，对她施暴。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Having [Non-Marital] Sex is Losing	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅词话》第五六回：“我做老婆的，不曾有失花儿，凭你怨我，也是枉了。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Having [Non-Marital] Sex is Losing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	女子又差不多是物理外地常常会失身于胆大的能利用极小机会去拥抱她的男子，即使她意中另有理想的丈夫。(Zhu 2018, p. 195)	Alternatively: 输身
Metaphor	Having [Non-Marital] Sex is Losing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·沉德符《野获编·妇女·徐安生》：“曾嫁武林邵氏，以失行见逐，遂恣为非礼。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is Blossoming	GC 2015	周立波《山乡巨变》上十二：“你这是多余一虑，这号女子，水性杨花，哪里会去寻短路？”	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	元·曾瑞《留鞋记》第四折：“你的女儿背地通书约人私合，本该问罪的。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) defines this term as 'adultery' (通奸)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《北史·后妃传上·魏孝文幽皇后冯氏》：“帝频岁南征，后遂与中官高菩萨私乱。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) defines this term as 'adultery' (通奸)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	你还以为我和小冬有私情……？(BCC)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	私通一个丫头。(HDC 2010)	Alternative Obsolete expression with the same meaning: 通奸 (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《醒世恒言·吴衙内邻舟赴约》：“古来才子佳人，往往私语欢好，后来夫荣妻贵，反成美谈。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Sex is Destruction	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·纪昀《阅微草堂笔记·姑妄听之》：“且其月下花前，采兰赠芍，閨人非一，碎璧多年，故儿辈敢通款曲。”	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BN-1135	桃色	táo sè	peach colour	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1136	桃色新闻	táo sè xīn wén	peach colour news	newspaper stories related to [illicit] sex; juicy gossip	有关男女情爱或不正当男女关系的新闻	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1137	通室	tōng shì	exchange bedrooms	exchange wives for sexual intercourse or practice polyandry	互易妻室或多个男子与同一个女子共同过性生活	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1138	偷汉	tōu hàn	steal a man	be disloyal to one's husband	女人与别人发生性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1139	偷欢	tōu huān	have joys secretly	have illicit sex secretly	偷偷地与人发生不正当性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1140	偷鸡摸狗	tōu jī mō gǒu	steal chicken and dogs	illicit sex; commit adultery	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1141	偷期	tōu qī	have a meeting secretly	have illicit sex secretly	偷偷地与人发生不正当性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1142	偷情	tōu qíng	have feelings secretly	have illicit sex secretly	偷偷地与人发生不正当性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1143	偷人	tōu rén	steal a person	be disloyal to one's husband	女人与别人发生性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1144	偷锡	tōu xī	steal tin	commit incest with a daughter-in-law	公公与媳妇有暧昧行为	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1145	偷香窃玉	tōu xiāng qiè yù	steal incense and jade	have sex (with women, mostly extramaritally and secretly)	男子与女人发生不正当关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1146	外宠	wài chǒng	the loved one from the outside	lover; male prostitute	男宠、男色	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1147	外妇	wài fù	external woman	mistress	男子在外私通的女子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1148	外家	wài jiā	[woman from the] external home	mistress	男子在外私通的女子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1149	外面有人	wài miàn yǒu rén	have a person on the side	cheat on one's partner	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1150	外妻	wài qī	external wife	mistress	男子在外私通的女子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1151	外室	wài shì	external wife	mistress	男子在外私通的女子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1152	外遇	wài yù	external encounter	extramarital affair	丈夫或妻子在外面的不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1153	帷薄不修	wéi bó bù xiū	bed-curtains are not separated	promiscuity at one's house	指家庭生活淫乱	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1154	污秽	wū huì	[make] filthy	rape	玷污、侮辱	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1155	侮辱	wǔ rǔ	humiliate	harass, molest	特指以猥亵的言行对待女性	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1156	下流	xià liú	lower course of a river	vulgar, pornographic	引起性欲的或绘声绘色地描述色情的	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1157	相好	xiāng hǎo	be on good terms; intimate friend	lover; mistress	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1158	小蜜	xiǎo mì	little honey	mistress	情妇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1159	小三	xiǎo sān	little third	lover; mistress	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	这年头，男人也不好做，全世界充满了各式各样的桃色陷阱。(CCL)	The extension of meaning 'sexual' might originate from the colour (pink, 粉红色) of the women's rouge applied to their face ('makeup' - 'related to woman' - 'sexual'). It may also be extended from 'beautiful' to 'sexual' (HDC 2010). Cf. 'peach colour case' 桃色案件 for legal cases involving illicit sexual relations
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Attractive for Sexually Attractive	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	不论是大企业或中小企业，若是他们的经营者与桃色新闻有关，这就是其公司进入破产的前兆。(CCL)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·皮日休《鹿门隐书》：“然后世之君，犹有易内以乱国，通室以乱邦者。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	谁要你来多嘴！你这偷汉的小寡妇！（Zhu 2018, p. 218）	Alternatively: 偷汉子
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhu 2018	刘某虽然老实厚道，但亲眼看见父亲与妻子偷欢，他也无法容忍，但又害怕父亲，不敢表示反抗。(Zhu 2018, p. 218)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	对儿媳干了偷鸡摸狗的勾当。(Zhu 2018, p. 218)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	此佳人才子，前以密约偷期，后皆得成秦晋。(Zhu 2018, p. 218)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	有了那段偷情的日子，她开始忍受不了一个人独处的冷寂。(Zhu 2018, pp. 208-219)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	这就是夏梦寒，不要脸的女人，丈夫死了没几年就偷人啊。(Zhu 2018, p. 219)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	Zhu 2018	扒灰偷锡也。锡、媳同音，以为隐语。(Zhu 2018, p. 160)	Obsolete. Based on the similar reading of characters 媳 'daughter-in-law' and 锡 'tin'
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Stealing	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	在今天，年青男女可以自由恋爱，再也不想封建社会那样偷香窃玉了。[https://www.hao86.com/idiom_view_9bc4ef43ac9bc4ef/]	The stealing of incense is associated with a well-known liaison of the Jin Dynasty (HDC 2010): a handsome man named Han Shou had a secret romance with the daughter of his master and court servant. The woman stole a rare incense from the emperor and gave it as a gift to her lover. When the secret was revealed, the court servant married his daughter to Han Shou. There was another story about the stealing of jade which is linked to a man named Deng Sheng, but the details were unknown. Alternative expressions: 盗香, 偷香, 窃玉偷香
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·袁枚《随园诗话》卷九：“板桥多外宠，尝言欲改律文答臂为答背。”	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	GC 2015, HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	他香港尚有夫人，硬想派他作妾，外国没有这名目，宁可外天外妇，倒没有人讥笑的。(Zhu 2018, p. 222)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	赵孙诒《遗兴录》：“你父亲在世之时有一个外家，老身就是你父亲的外老伴儿。”	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	CCL, BCC	我怀疑我朋友的老公在外面有女人，昨天晚上确实看到他跟其他女人一起看电影。(BCC)	Can be specified: 外面有女人, 外面有男人, 外面搞女人, 外面搞男人
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, GC 2015	汉·刘向《列女传·宋鲍女宗》：“女宗者，宋鲍苏之妻也。养姑甚谨。鲍苏仕卫三年而娶外妻，女宗养姑愈敬。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	你娶了那一位小姐，保不住只替赵辛楣养个外室了。(Zhu 2018, p. 222)	The morpheme 室 here means 'wife'. Obsolete alternative expression with the same meaning: 外宅 (Ming and Qing texts)
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	于是丈夫坐不住了，怀疑妻子有了外遇。(CCL)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Sleeping for Having Sex	Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷五·念秧》：“如欲质之公庭耶？帷薄不修，适以取辱。”	The first two characters were used to refer to bed-curtains and a hanging screen which separated the male and female parts of the house. In upper-class families the separation of male and female family members was obligatory
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, GC 2015	《旧唐书·卷一五三·刘乃传》：“苟不能死，以至于斯，宁以自辱膻腥，复欲秽累贤哲乎？”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Humiliation for Non-Consensual Sex	HDC 2010	《中华人民共和国刑法》释义及实用指南：第1款是关于强制猥亵他人或者侮辱妇女的犯罪及处罚规定。	
Metaphor	Sexual is Down	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	下流行为。(GF 2014)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Friend for Lover	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	姜是老的辣，他不动声色，在心里揣摩哪个是小夫人的相好。(Zhu 2018, p. 239)	HDC (2010) and GC (2015) specify the outdated meaning of the word: in ancient China the term 相好 was also understood as a prostitute, to whom a brothel visitor felt a special attachment
Metaphor	Sex is Food	Zhu 2018	她虽非老板的小蜜，确是如此这般地同生意伙伴……合作！我心中非常苦涩。(Zhu 2018, p. 243)	Used mostly in reference to a young woman who also works with the married man. Alternatively: 小秘 'little secret' (derived from 'secretary')
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Third for Lover	CCL, BCC	我允许自己男人外面有小三。(BCC)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BN-1160	新欢	xīn huān	new happiness	(new) lover; mistress	外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1161	养汉	yǎng hàn	keep a man	have a lover (said of married women)	女子与别的男人私通	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1162	养金丝雀	yǎng jīn sī què	raise canaries	have a mistress	已婚男子在婚外供养女子(多指娇美的女子)并为之保持性关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1163	野汉子	yě hàn zi	wild man	lover of a married woman	丈夫以外, 与女方有私情的男子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1164	野合	yě hé	wild union	illicit sex; have sex outdoors	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1165	野花	yě huā	wild flower	mistress	婚外相好的女子	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1166	野食儿	yě shí er	wild food	mistress	已婚男子在外的情人	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1167	野鸳鸯	yě yuān yang	wild mandarin ducks	lovers	具有非法男女关系的双方	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1168	有染	yǒu rǎn	have a stain, get dirty, contaminate	have illicit sexual relations	有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1169	有私	yǒu sī	have a personal [relationship]	adultery	男女私通	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1170	逾墙钻隙	yú qiáng zuān xì	climb over the wall and get through the gap	illicit sex	不正当的男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1171	糟蹋	zāo tà	defile	rape	强奸。女子被奸污	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1172	沾染	zhān rǎn	pollute	have illicit sex	发生性行为(多指不正当的)	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1173	自慰	zì wèi	console oneself	masturbate	手淫	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1174	走野路	zǒu yě lù	take the wild path	have a lover (said of married women)	女人婚后有外遇	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BN-1175	作风问题	zuò fēng wèn tí	problem of attitude	promiscuous life	有时专指乱搞男女关系	07. BODY: NON-MARITAL SEX
BG-1176	鞭	biān	whip	penis of animals	指动物的阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1177	便门	biàn mén	side gate	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1178	不便处	bù biàn chù	place which is inappropriate [to see]	genitals	男女生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1179	产门	chǎn mén	birth door	female genitals, vaginal orifice	女性生殖器, 妇女的阴户, 产时的阴门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1180	尘根	chén gēn	root of the mundane [world]	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1181	丑恶	chǒu è	repulsive [thing]	genitals	人下体	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1182	锤子	chuí zi	hammer	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1183	蛋	dàn	egg	testicles	睾丸	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1184	弟弟	dì di	younger brother	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1185	腐身	fǔ shēn	corrupt one's body	get castrated	指男子去势	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Lover is a Joy	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	近日, 台湾作家林清玄因抛弃患病的妻子, 另寻新欢在台湾引起震动。(CCL)	Bears negative connotation (GF 2014, XHC 2016); normally used in reference to male infidelity
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Man for Lover	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	养汗老婆, 我弄得这样子, 你就一句亲热的话也没有吗? (Zhu 2018, p. 258)	
Metaphor	Lover is a Bird	Zhu 2018	在有些人, 有了钱以后, 又开始故态复萌, 什么“包二奶”, 什么“养金丝雀”之类的……这些东西非常丑恶。(Zhu 2018, p. 258)	Alternatively: 【养】金丝鸟
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	嫁汉嫁汉, 穿衣吃饭, 你不干活, 光串门子, 叫我招野汉子养活你不成? (Zhu 2018, p. 259)	May have sarcastic connotation (GC 2015)
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·玄奘《大唐西域记·乌仗那国》: “释种惊寤, 因即谢曰: ‘鞞旅羸人, 何见亲附? ’遂款殷勤, 凌逼野台。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	谁都这样, 总是此山望着彼山高, 家花不如野花香。(Zhu 2018, p. 260)	Strongly-context based. Opposed to the term 'home flowers' 家花 meaning 'wife'. Famous saying 'don't pick roadside wildflowers' 路边野花不要采 serves a warning against adultery
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	真要找野食儿应该是年轻美貌身材苗条的呀。(Zhu 2018, p. 260)	Common collocation: 'have a mistress' 打野食
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	那么她和她的野男人就是一对野鸳鸯, 懂不懂? (CCL)	Mandarin ducks 鸳鸯 are traditionally associated with a happily married couple. If "wild", the term refers to the "extramarital" (没有正式婚姻关系, GC 2015), "unofficial" (非正式, HDC 2010) sexual relationship
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	布伦基特因与有夫之妇有染和被指控滥用职权而被麻烦缠身。(CCL)	Literary. HDC (2010) defines this term as 'adultery' (奸情). Also 染 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	当初吴越提出这个方案时, 我因与她有私, 又愿半途舍下她, 故不能否定。(CCL)	The morpheme 私 here can be interpreted as 'secret / private', cf. 'in secret' 私下
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷二: 红玉》: “妾与君无媒妁之言, 父母之命, 逾墙钻隙, 何能白首。”	Obsolete. Originates from the text of "Mencius" (《孟子·滕文公下》): "If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents, and the arrangements of the go-betweens, shall bore holes to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and all other people will despise them." 不待父母之命、媒妁之言, 钻穴隙相窥, 逾墙相从, 则父母国人皆贱之。(Translated by James Legge) Alternatively: 逾墙钻穴
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	鬼子糟蹋我娘时, 我娘肚子里怀着我妹。(Zhu 2018: 276)	
Metaphor	Sex is Filth	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	看到姑娘漂亮, 想入非非, 企图有所沾染。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Consolation for Sex	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	而通常男孩比女孩有更多集体自慰的行为。(BCC)	
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Wild	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《喻世明言·卷一〇: 滕大尹冤断家私》: “那少妇熬不得, 走了野路, 出乖露丑, 为家门之玷。”	Obsolete. The shorter form 'go wild' 走野 used to denote the illicit sexual relationship between men and women (搞不正当的男女关系, HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Immoral for Illicit Sex	Zhu 2018	在知道江明早已结婚后, 她一气之下向其单位反映了他的作风问题, 他的单位给了他处分。[http://news.sina.com.cn/s/2003-02-12/094249007s.shtml]	Strongly context-based. Might refer to the so-called "immoral behaviour", which includes extramarital affairs or promiscuity
Metaphor	Penis is a Whip	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	有人还要吃牛鞭。[http://www.ycnaxh.com/index.php?c=show&id=79]	Said of animals (Zhang 1996, p. 120). Often used in texts related to traditional Chinese medicine and traditional Chinese cousin, cf. 三鞭酒 'wine made of the genitals of three male animals' (ox, sheep and dog).
Metaphor	Human Anus is a Door	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《西游记》第七七回: “早被他把我吸下肚去, 我欲从他便门而出, 恐污真身, 是我剖开他脊背, 跨上灵山。”	Obsolete meaning. The modern term (GF 2014) 'side door' or 'wicket' (as in 走便门 'go through the side door') used to have a different meaning 'human anus' due to the old and well-established euphemistic meaning of 便 denoting faeces
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Shameful for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《喻世明言·卷三十六: 宋四公大闹禁魂张》: “嫂嫂, 你看这一块有指甲, 便是人的指头; 这一块皮上许多短毛儿, 须是人的不便处。”	Obsolete. 不便见人处。(Zhang 1996, p. 120)
Metaphor	Female Genitals are Doors	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·李行道《灰阑记》第二折: “那一日产房里, 关得黑洞洞的, 也不见人的嘴脸, 但是我手里摸去, 那产门像大娘子的。”	Obsolete. Traditional Chinese medicine term. Alternatively: 产户
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Roots	Zhang 1996	一进厕所关了门, 那尘根已经勃起, 却没有尿, 闭了眼睛大声喘气。(BCC)	Originally a Buddhist term (Zhang 1996, p. 121)
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Shameful for Sexual	Zhang 1996	晋·王隐《晋书》: “魏末, 阮籍嗜酒荒放, 露头散发, 裸袒箕踞, 其后贵游子弟阮瞻、王澄、谢鲲、胡毋辅之之徒, 皆祖述於籍, 谓得大道之本。故去巾幘, 脱衣服, 露丑恶, 同禽兽。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Penis is a Hammer	CCL, BCC	西南地区把男性生殖器叫做“锤子”。[https://www.zhihu.com/question/37335451]	Regional. Might be interpreted dysphemistically
Metaphor	Testicles are Eggs	GF 2014	为什么我家公狗没有蛋蛋? [http://www.boqii.com/article/216154.html]	Alternatively: 蛋蛋
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Relatives	CCL, BCC	他说他肚子大得已经五年没有看见过他的小弟弟了。(CCL)	Has jocular connotation. Alternative expression 'small brother' 小弟弟
Metaphor	Castration is Fetid	HDC 2010	《后汉书·宦者传序》: “搆害贤明, 专树党类, 其有更相援引, 希附权彊者, 皆腐身薰子, 以自衒达。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BG-1186	腐刑	fǔ xíng	foul-smelling punishment	castration	阉割生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1187	弓弯	gōng wān	bow curved	tiny bound feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1188	宫刑	gōng xíng	palace punishment	castration	阉割生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1189	谷道	gǔ dào	valley path	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1190	龟头	guī tóu	head of a turtle	glans penis	阴茎前端膨大的部分， 男生殖器的前部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1191	行货	háng huò	item	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1192	后门	hòu mén	back door	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1193	后窍	hòu qiào	back orifice	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1194	后庭	hòu tíng	back yard	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1195	后阴	hòu yīn	back yin	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1196	鸡鸡	jī jī	chicken-chicken	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1197	鸡头	jī tóu	chicken head	breast	妇女的乳房	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1198	金莲	jīn lián	golden lotus	tiny bound women's feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1199	净身	jìng shēn	purify one's body	get castrated	男子被阉割而丧失生殖能力	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1200	菊花	jú huā	chrysanthemum	anus	肛	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1201	老二	lǎo èr	second-eldest child in a family	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1202	莲瓣	lián bàn	lotus petal	tiny bound feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1203	莲钩	lián gōu	lotus hook	tiny bound feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1204	卵	luǎn	egg	testicles or penis	睾丸或阴茎<多指人的>	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1205	麻雀	má què	sparrow	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1206	毛鱧鱼	máo lián yú	hairy carp	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1207	敏感部位	mǐn gǎn bù wèi	sensitive part	private parts, including genitals	人体不能让别人看到或触摸的 地方，发生性接触的地方	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Castration is Fetid	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	后来得罪了汉武帝，因禁牢狱，身受腐刑，但他完成《史记》的愿望、意志却更为强烈和坚定。(CCL)	GC (2015) cites the poet and scholar Li Shan 李善 of Tang dynasty who gives the following explanation to the term 'Castration is accompanied by the rotten smell, therefore it is called foul-smelling punishment' [「宫刑腐臭，故曰腐刑。」]
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Bows	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·余怀《板桥杂记·丽晶》：“弓弯纤小，腰支轻亚。”	Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 'jade bow'玉弓, 'three-inch bow' 三寸弓
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Punishment for Castration	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	公元前99年，司马迁因同情降将李陵，被汉武帝处以残酷的宫刑。(CCL)	Cf. the Obsolete direct term 'castrate' 宫 and the still used term 'castrate oneself' 自宫 which can be considered to have certain euphemistic power due to its forgotten meaning. HDC (2010) suggests that both male castration 'punishment of the palace' 宫刑 and female sterilization 'confinement in darkness' 幽闭 are associated with being confined (禁闭) in the palace (宫) as eunuchs, servants and slaves
Metaphor	Human Anus is a Path	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	养库宾的人家，有一种是花钱买来的不满十岁的乞儿孤子，从小就训练他用谷道头夹带银两。(Zhu 2018, p. 90)	Traditional Chinese medicine term. Zhang (1996, p. 121) interprets 谷 as 'cereal' 谷物 which stands for food which is removed from human body through anal canal - the last part of the gastrointestinal tract
Metaphor	Glans Penis is a Turtle Head	HDC 2010, CF 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	因此家长要经常将包皮轻轻地翻开，暴露出龟头，用洁净水洗净。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Object for Male Genitals	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《水浒传》第二四回：“第一件，潘安的貌；第二件，驴的大行货。”	Obsolete. 东西、家伙。(Zhang 1996, p. 121)
Metaphor	Human Anus is a Door	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《醒世恒言·卷九：陈多寿生死夫妻》：“将膝盖紧紧的抵住后门，缓缓的解开颈上的死结，用手去摩。”	Used in common collocation: 'go through the back door' 走后门 for anal sex
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Orifice for Human Anus	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	鲁迅《朝花夕拾·从百草园到三味书屋》：“还有斑蝥，倘若用手指按住它的脊梁，便会拍的一声，从后窍喷出一阵烟雾。”	
Metaphor	Human Anus is a [Back]yard	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《醒世恒言·卷十：刘小官雌雄兄弟》：“临上交时，原来老嫗腰间到有本钱，把桑茂后庭弄将起来。”	Used in common collocation: 'go to the back yard' 走后庭 for anal sex. Alternative expression (Obsolete): 'flower from the back yard' 后庭花 for human anus
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《老残游记》第二回：“前阴可以撒溺，后阴可以放粪。”	Obsolete. Genitals were called 'frontal yin' 前阴, whereas anal hole was called 'back yin' 后阴 (Zhang 1996, p. 121)
Reduplication	Male Genitals are Chicks	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	居住在重庆市彭水县绍庆街道临江社区10组的张天飞怎么也没想到，妻子上街买来的工夫，放在家里1岁零4个月大的女儿，竟被自家养的小狗咬掉了“小鸡鸡”。[http://news.sohu.com/20170508/n492156051.shtml]	Used in reference to a child penis. Alternative expression 'small chicken' 小鸡鸡. Also an acronym JJ.
Metaphor	Female Breasts are Chicken Heads	Zhang 1996	《剪灯馀话：江庙泥神记》：“褪出鸡头带笑捋，夺得鸛篋称娇与。”	Obsolete. Regional. The term 'chicken head' can be interpreted as the name of the plant 'Gorgon fruit' 芡实 resembling the breasts. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 鸡头肉
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Lotus	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016, GF 2014	《孽海花》第六回：“只见一个十七八岁的女子……扎腿小脚管的粉红裤，一对小小的金莲。”	Cf. 'lotus shoes' 莲履 for footwear worn by women in Imperial China who had tiny bound feet
Metaphor	Castration is Purification	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	他虽然年龄不大，却是一个十分聪明有志气的孩子。刚被净身之后，他才九岁，曾几次打算跳井自尽，被大人发觉了，对他看守很严。(CCL)	Cf. the Obsolete direct term 'castrate' 宫 and the still used term 'castrate oneself' 自宫 which can be considered to have certain euphemistic power due to its forgotten meaning. HDC (2010) suggests that both male castration 'punishment of the palace' 宫刑 and female sterilization 'confinement in darkness' 幽闭 are associated with being confined (禁闭) in the palace (宫) as eunuchs, servants and slaves
Metaphor	Human Anus is a Flower	CCL, BCC	爆菊花，通俗说法就是肛交。[https://www.youeryu.com/yingyangshipu/baizezhishi/160046.html]	Slang term which might be used dysphemically
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Relatives	CCL, BCC	老二硬时正常有多大？[https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/574196736.html]	Alternative expression 'small old two' 小老二
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Lotus	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《天雨花》第十三回：“迤邐来到云中阁，莲瓣轻轻细步行。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Lotus	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷一：娇娜》：“画黛弯娥，莲钩蹴凤。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 'hook' 钩, 'fragrant hook' 香钩, 'jade hook' 玉钩 (Zhang 1996, pp. 121, 125)
Metaphor	Testicles are Eggs	GF 2014, GC 2015, XHC 2016	卵某些地区指睾丸。(GF 2014)	Regional. Alternative: <i>luǎnzi</i> 卵子. The original meaning of the term is 'egg' (cf. 'kill the hen to get its eggs' 杀鸡取卵; 'lay eggs' 产卵; 'fish roe' 鱼卵 etc)
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Birds	CCL, BCC	他1岁零4个月大的儿子的“小麻雀”，被自家养的小狗咬掉了。[http://news.sohu.com/20170510/n492396135.shtml]	Regional (Sichuanese). Used in reference to a child penis. Alternative expression 'small sparrow' 小麻雀儿, 雀子
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Fish	CCL, BCC	《现代汉语方言大词典》分卷《成都方言词典》：“毛鳊鱼。”	Regional (Sichuanese)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Sensitive for Sexual	Zhu 2018	那按摩女的手已经滑进他的敏感部位。(Zhu 2018, p. 149)	Strongly context-based

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BG-1208	命根子	mìng gēn zǐ	life root	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1209	男根	nán gēn	male root	penis	男子的阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1210	男阴	nán yīn	male yin	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1211	内具	nèi jù	internal tool	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1212	鸟	niǎo / diǎo	bird	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1213	牛子	niú zǐ	ox	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1214	女阴	nǚ yīn	female yin	female genitals	女性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1215	魄门	pò mén	soul door	human anus	肛门	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1216	铅条	qiān tiáo	[pencil] lead, strip of lead	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1217	前阴	qián yīn	frontal yin	external genitalia	外生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1218	翘	qiào	bent upwards	tiny (bound) feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1219	人道 II	rén dào	human way	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1220	肉棒	ròu bàng	meat rod	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1221	三寸金莲	sān cùn jīn lián	three-inch golden lotus	tiny bound women's feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1222	臊根	sāo gēn	smelly root	penis	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1223	身根	shēn gēn	body root	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1224	身命	shēn mìng	body life	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1225	势	shì	power	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1226	事业线	shì yè xiàn	line of career [on hands]	separation line between breasts, cleavage	女性的乳沟	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1227	私处	sī chù	private part	private parts, genitals	男女的阴部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1228	私密部位	sī mì bù wèi	private parts	genitals	男女的生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1229	酥胸	sū xiōng	butter-soft chest	women's breasts	女子乳房	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1230	外阴	wài yīn	external yin	genitals	外生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1231	下半身	xià bàn shēn	lower half of one's body	genitals	身体下半部, 阴部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1232	下边	xià biān	lower side	genitals	人的私处, 阴部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1233	下载	xià jié	lower section	male genitals	男性的生殖器官	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1234	下身	xià shēn	lower body	private parts, genitals	外生殖器, 阴部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Roots	Zhu 2018	她咬了咬牙，猛地挥拳向文华那勃起的命根子打去。(CCL)	The euphemistic meaning (often with jocular connotation) might be an extension from both the literal meaning of the morphemes ('life root') and the figurative meaning of the expression ('the most precious thing in life' or 'essence of life'). GF 2014, XHC 2016)
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Roots	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	原说一是割掉男根的太监，再就是一辈子没沾过女人的童男子。(CCL)	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·陶宗仪《辍耕录·锁阳》：“鞞鞞田野野马，或与蛟龙交，遗精入地，久之发起如笋，上丰下俭，鳞甲栉比，筋脉连络，其形绝类男阴，名曰锁阳，即肉从谷之类。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Tools	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷三四：“（小和尚）因而出说能会缩阳为女，……人多不疑，直到引动淫兴，调得情热，方放出内具来。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Birds	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	闭上你的鸟嘴！（CCL）	Used as a dysphemistic euphemism to substitute the word 'dick' 屌. In various Chinese dialects the word 'bird' is pronounced with the initial 'd' sound instead of 'n'
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Oxen	CCL, BCC	《东北方言词典》：“牛子。”	Regional (North-eastern Mandarin). Alternatively: 牛牛儿
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	在墓地，考古人员还发现了象征男根和女阴的立木、高大的木雕人像、小型的木雕人面像。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Human Anus is a Door	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《素问·五藏别论》：“魄门亦为五藏，使水穀不得久藏。”林亿等校正：“谓肛之门也。”	Obsolete. Traditional Chinese medicine term. The first morpheme 魄 is homophonous with the word 'waste' 粕 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Penis is a Rod	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·袁枚《新齐谐·采战之报》：“京师人杨某，习探战之术，能以铅条入阴窍，而呼吸进退之，号曰‘运剑’。一鼓气，则铅条触壁，铿然有声。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	Zhu 2018	《素问·厥论》：“前阴者，宗筋之所聚，太阴阳明之所合也。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Bent for Women's Feet	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·江城》：“适公子言，曾于玉筍山见陶家妇，爱其双翘，囑奴招致之。”	Obsolete. Referred to the form of the shoes which were worn on the tiny bound feet
Metaphor	Male Genitals are a Path	HDC 2010	明·冯梦龙《智囊补·明智·唐六如》：“唐六如知其必反，遂伴狂以处。宸濠遣人馈物，则佯形箕踞，以手弄其人道，讥呵使者。”	Obsolete. Nowadays has several other meanings, including 'sexual intercourse' (see 人道 I)
Metaphor	Penis is a Rod	CCL, BCC	缓缓靠向坐在长椅上的诚的腰间，从四角内裤中掏出他的肉棒。(BCC)	Food metaphor which is extended in collocations like 'eat meat sticks' meaning 'blowjob' 吃肉棒 (Sex is Food)
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Lotus	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	可是，正当他用种种幻想来安慰自己的时候，轿门打开了，帷幕后处有一只尖尖的小脚先下轿门：原来是一朵三寸金莲！（CCL）	
Metaphor	Penis is a Rod	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《西游记》第八一回：“那怪把行者使个绊子腿，跌倒在地，口里心肝哥哥的乱叫，将手就去掐他的臊根。”	Obsolete. Zhang (1996, p. 123) interprets 'smelly' 臊 as 'shameful' 羞辱
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Roots	HDC 2010	《观佛三昧海经》卷八：“皆谓太子是不能男，太子昼寝，皆闻诸女欲见太子阴马藏相……是时华中忽有身根如童子形，诸女见已更相谓言，太子今者现奇特事，忽有身根如是渐渐如丈夫形。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Sources of Life	Zhang 1996	元·郑廷玉《后庭花》第二折：“与孩子做一箇单绢裤遮了身命，做一箇布上衣盖了皮肤。”	
Metaphor	Male Genitals are Power	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	印度的佛塔，中国宫廷的华表……无一不是男势的象征。(CCL)	Literary (GF 2014). Cf. 'get rid of the power' 去势 for 'castrate'
Metaphor	Women's Cleavage is a Palm Line	Zhu 2018	女明星在晚礼服里垫胸垫，挤出事业线。(Zhu 2018, p. 200)	The sexist term originates from Chinese palmistry. It implies that women's career depends on the size of her breast and therefore her sexual appeal
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	那帘子正好遮挡在镜子前的人体的私处。(CCL)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	CCL, BCC	陈惠斌的脸被抓伤，身体私密部位也受了伤。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Chest for Breasts	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	电视剧《唐明皇》表现的是中国封建社会的宫廷生活。既然是束缚人性的封建社会，那杨贵妃和众女性怎么会酥胸扮掩，穿着如此袒露的衣裳？(Zhu 2018, p. 210)	Referred to the white soft breast of a beautiful woman (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	外阴奇痒。(CCL)	Usually refers to female genitals or vulva (女阴)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lower Body for Genitals	Zhu 2018	不管是官员还是教授，都要切记管好自己的下半身，以免陷入“下半身门”。(Zhu 2018, p. 235)	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lower Body for Genitals	Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅词话》：“西门庆也不答应，一手接将过来，连亲了几个嘴，一手就下边一摸”。	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lower Body for Genitals	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《金瓶梅词话》第四回：“若不听我说，打下你这个小人下截来。”	Obsolete. Specifically used to denote male genitals (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lower Body for Genitals	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GC 2014, XHC 2016	王相突然伸过手来抓住了他的下身，嘻嘻笑着向李相报告：“李叔李叔，黑娃的牛牛挺得根竹笋！”(Zhu 2018, p. 236)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BG-1235	下体	xià tǐ	lower body	genitals	外生殖器, 阴部	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1236	胸部	xiōng bù	chest	woman's breast	女性的乳房	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1237	羞处	xiū chù	shameful place	genitals	人的外生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1238	阳道	yáng dào	<i>yang</i> -energy path	penis	男性的生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1239	阳具	yáng jù	<i>yang</i> tool	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1240	阳物	yáng wù	<i>yang</i> -energy matter	penis	男性的生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1241	阴部	yīn bù	yīn part	genitals	人类的外生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1242	隐处	yǐn chù	hidden place	genitals	生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1243	阴沟	yīn gōu	yīn trench	female genitals, vaginal orifice	女性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1244	阴核	yīn hé	yīn pit	testicles, clitoris	睾丸或阴蒂	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1245	阴户	yīn hù	yīn door	vaginal orifice	女子阴道外口	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1246	阴门	yīn mén	yīn door	vaginal orifice	女子阴道外口	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1247	隐秘部位	yīn mì bù wèi	secret parts	genitals	男女的生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1248	阴器	yīn qì	yīn vessel	genitals	男女生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1249	阴窍	yīn qiào	yīn orifice	human anus and urethra, vagina	肛门和尿道, 也指阴道	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1250	隐私部位	yīn sī bù wèi	private parts	genitals	男女的生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1251	阴体	yīn tǐ	yīn body [part]	male genitals	男性生殖器	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1252	阴子	yīn zǐ	yīn seeds / eggs	testicles	睾丸	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1253	玉茎	yù jīng	jade stem	penis	阴茎	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1254	玉笋	yù sǔn	jade bamboo shoot	tiny (bound) feet	女子小脚	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BG-1255	紫葡萄	zǐ pú táo	purple grape	breast nipples	女子乳头	08. BODY: GENITALS AND OTHER BODY PARTS
BP-1256	暗门子	àn mén zi	hidden door	unlicensed prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1257	按摩小姐	àn mó xiǎo jiě	masseuse	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1258	白房子	bái fáng zi	white house	cheap brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1259	百媚门程	bǎi mèi mén tíng	a hundred beauties at the doorstep	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1260	半开门	bàn kāi mén	half-open door	unlicensed prostitute; private prostitute; secret prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1261	半门子	bàn mén zi	half-[open] door	unlicensed prostitute; private prostitute; secret prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1262	班子	bān zi	theatrical troupe	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1263	傍柳随花	bàng liǔ suí huā	walk along willow trees and flowers	visit brothels	狎妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1264	鸨	bāo	bustard	procuress	女皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lower Body for Genitals	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	每天坚持用洗液冲洗, 才能保持下体卫生。[http://www.100md.com/html/Dir/2003/07/10/0082.htm]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Chest for Breasts	Zhu 2018	她穿的旧衬衣却分明是她自己的, 多次缩水后已是十分勉强地箍在她丰硕的躯体上, 令人惊诧或者厌恶地觉察到她胸部的早熟……(Zhu 2018, pp. 249-250)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Shameful for Sexual	Zhu 2018	他们都穿着厚厚的羽绒服或者皮大衣, 把钱都藏在身上的羞处和乳房内。(Zhu 2018, p. 250)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Masculine for Penis	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《宋书·卷三十四·五行志五》: “豫章吴平人有二阳道, ”	Obsolete. The can could also denote sperm (HDC 2010). Note that orthophemistic words for penis and vagina in Modern Chinese both have the morpheme yin: 阴茎 and 阴道
Metaphor	Penis is an Instrument	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	有时她们在腰间套上一个假阳具, 代替男人进行性交。(CCL)	Used often in reference to phallic images or cults in human history, e.g. 'phallic cult' 阳具崇拜
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Masculine for Penis	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·薛福成《庸盦笔记·铁闸: 藏狱引律同而不同》: “有一人便旋於路, 偶为妇人所见, 其人对之而笑, 且以手自指其阳物, 妇人归而自缢。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	应该如何清洗阴部? (CCL)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·冯梦龙《古今谭概·非族·鞞鞞》: “鞞妇至中国, 人戏弄其乳则喜, 以为是其子也, 至隐处亦不为意。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《醒世姻缘传》第十九回: “唐氏把阴沟打扫得干净, 恐怕小鸪儿试将出来。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·李时珍《本草纲目·草五·蓼》(集解)引孙思邈曰: “黄帝云: ‘食蓼过多, 有毒, 发心痛。和生鱼食, 令人脱气, 阴核痛求死。’”	Metaphor is ambiguous, thus can refer either to testicles (Obsolete usage) or to clitoris (contemporary usage)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	记载, 大物主神的妻子得知他是一条蛇, 吓得把“箸”插进阴户自杀了。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014, Hong 2010	发情初期阴毛才分开, 显露出阴门。(BCC)	
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	CCL, BCC	婚检显然没有传统习俗的支撑, 同时中国文化中的生理是私密的, 在陌生人面前裸露身体特别是隐秘部位, 并且透露与此相关的一些隐私和信息, 令很多人难以接受, 这也是人们拒绝婚检的原因之一。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	Zhang 2010, Hong 2010	《素问·热论》: “阴脉循阴器而络於肝, 故烦满而囊缩。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·袁枚《新齐谐·采战之报》: “京师人杨某, 习探战之术, 能以铅条入阴窍, 而呼吸进退之。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	[Salient] Property for Category: Hidden for Sexual	Zhu 2018	想想吧, 当时那种情景, 你的下体裸着, 隐私部位暴露在外。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010	《古今小说·梁武帝累修归极乐》: “景阴体弘壮, 淫毒无度。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《医宗金鉴·正骨心法要旨·补遗》: “十不治症……伤破阴子者; 老人左股压碎者。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Penis is a Rod	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《儒门事亲》: “辜丸, 囊中之丸, 虽主外肾, 非厥阴环而引之, 则玉茎无由伸缩。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Women's Feet are Bamboo Shoots	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·织女》: “隐约画帘前, 三寸凌波玉笋尖。”	Obsolete. Can also poetically describe fingers of a beautiful woman. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 'new bamboo shoot' 新笋
Metaphor	Nipples are Grapes	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·冯侍御惟敏《双调水仙子·燕香》: “雪冰肌浅露紫葡萄”	Obsolete. Dark-skinned grape resembles the shape and colour of nipples of woman's breasts
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Gatekeeper	Zhu 2018	她气得直嘍, 顿着脚说: “女人都是苦命。大姑娘也罢, 暗门子也罢, 都捞不着便宜”。(Zhu 2018, p. 3)	Regional (Beijing). A brothel could be called vaguely 'door' or 'entrance' 门子 (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	Zhu 2018	曹某……在接受小姐按摩服务后, 双方因为价格问题发生争议, 曹某拿出随身携带的一把裁纸刀将按摩小姐颈部划伤。(Zhu 2018, pp. 2-3)	Massage service contextually includes sex service
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	像他那个岁数的小伙子们, 即使有人管着, 哪个不偷偷的跑“白房子”? (Zhu 2018, p. 5)	Regional (Beijing)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	Zhang 1996	市門、私門、半掩門、花門柳戶、風月門庭、枇杷門巷、百媚門程等是妓院的代稱。(Zhang 1996, p. 99)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Gatekeeper	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	这些破靴党, 更其是满嘴巴没半句正经, 私门子, 半开门, 越是混账的事情他们越知道得多! (Zhu 2018, p. 9)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Gatekeeper	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	因根子, 一个院里半门子也认不的了, 赶着粉头叫娘起来! (Zhu 2018, p. 9)	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	正经的班子不许你进, 土窑子是什么油水也没有。(Zhu 2018, p. 8)	Regional
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·徐琰《蟾宫曲·会娇娥罗绮丛中曲》: “会娇娥罗绮丛中, 两意相投, 一笑情通, 傍柳随花, 偎香倚玉, 弄月转风。”	Obsolete. Flowers and willows are traditional metaphors for prostitutes, cf. 旧时以花、柳喻指妓女。(Zhang 1996, p. 107)
Metaphor	Procuress is a Bird	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	鸨, 旧指老妓女或妓院的女老板(古人认为鸨是淫鸟)。(GF 2014)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1265	鸨母	bǎo mǔ	bustard-mother	procuress	女皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1266	北里	běi lǐ	Northern neighbourhood	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1267	冰妹	bīng mèi	ice girl	a girl who is accompanying guests in a bar or club, taking drugs together and often offers sex services	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1268	缠头客	chán tóu kè	guest with gifts	client of prostitutes	寻花问柳的人	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1269	倡女	chāng nǚ	female performer, singer and dancer	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1270	长三	cháng sān	double three	high-class prostitute	旧时上海的高级妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1271	倡条	chāng tiáo	soft [willow] branches	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1272	倡条冶叶	chāng tiáo yě yè	soft [willow] branches and pretty leaves	prostitute [and her maidservants]	妓女[及其侍婢]	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1273	楚馆秦楼	chǔ guǎn qín lóu	places of entertainment	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1274	出条子	chū tiáo zi	write a brief note	accept a call (said of prostitutes)	妓女应召出外提供色情服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1275	串花家	chuàn huā jiā	visit flower houses	visit brothels	逛妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1276	春妇	chūn fù	woman of the spring	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1277	词史	cí shǐ	[the one who knows] ci-poems and shi-records	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1278	从良	cóng liáng	follow the good	get married (said of prostitutes)	指妓女脱离卖身的生活而嫁人	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1279	翠红乡	cùi hóng xiāng	hometown of eyebrow tint and cheek rouge	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1280	翠楼	cùi lóu	green tower	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1281	打野鸡	dǎ yě jī	catch pheasants	spend the night with an unlicensed prostitute from the street; visit low-class brothels	嫖宿在马路上拉客的私娼	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1282	带局	dài jú	summon a gathering	summon prostitutes to accompany one's banquet	叫妓女陪饮	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1283	发廊	fā láng	hair salon	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1284	粉房	fěn fáng	powder store	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1285	粉花	fěn huā	pink flower	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Procuress is a Bird	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	鸨母, 旧时开妓院的女人。(GC 2015)	
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Place for Brothels	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第三十二回: “轻性命天伦遭惨变, 豁眼界北里试嬉游。”	Obsolete. Neighbourhood Pingkang 平康里 in Chang'an was located in the north of the city, also known as Beili 北里 where prostitutes resided
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	Zhu 2018	毛某以前当过“冰妹”, 发现这行来钱快, 就决定自己当“老鸨”。(Zhu 2018, p. 15)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·袁枚《随园诗话补遗》卷五: “(颜鑑堂)《题楚莲香》云: ‘蝶蜂也似缠头客, 乱逐游踪上下狂。’	Obsolete. Based on the custom to reward actors, singers and prostitutes with brocade headbands 缠头
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	这就是倡女的命吧, 用才艺打动客人, 然后再被客人欺身。(Zhu 2018, p. 29)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Tile	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第三三回: “他近来发了财, 还到我们这里来么, 要到四马路嫖长三去了。”	Regional (Shanghaiese). One of terms to refer to a prostitute of high class. Probably originates from the jargon of Chinese dominoes (骨牌) players signifying the high-valued double-three tiles
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015	新安山高江水远, 卷旒原不生倡条。贞魂夜号月光晓, 儿童莫赋西陵草。	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	Zhu 2018	唐·李商隐《燕春台》诗: “蜜房羽客类芳心, 冶叶倡条遍相识。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 冶叶倡条
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·刘兑《金童玉女娇红记》: “选甚楚馆秦楼, 长是假红倚翠。”	Obsolete. Both terms in the idiom refer to a brothel. The first term 楚馆 might be connected to the story of Ruler Xiang of Chu 楚襄王 who met the goddess of Wushan in his dream (巫山云雨, see 云雨). The second term 秦楼 refers to the story of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 who built a beautiful palace for his daughter Nongyu 弄玉 known as the Phoenix Terrace 凤楼, where she and her husband Xiao Shi 箫史, a famous musician, enjoyed their life and playing music, see "Biographies of Immortals" (列仙传, 卷上, 箫史). There is a strong association between singers, musicians and prostitutes. Alternative expressions with the same meaning are: 楚馆, 秦楼, 青楼楚馆, 秦楼楚馆
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gathering for Frequenting Brothels	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《邻女语》第十一回: “三位仙姑, 平时看见同巷红信人出条子, 多坐的是极阔的阔包车。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《醒世恒言》卷三: 卖油郎独占花魁: “俏冤家, 须不是串花家的子弟。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	后来他们该换题目, 矜夸地、肉麻地, 谈到法租界的春妇。(Zhu 2018, p. 41)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Knowing Ci-Poems and Shi-Records for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·邹弢《三借庐笔谈》: 李爱珠词史, 住闾门之宋仙洲巷, 佻荡笑謔, 似无甚心机者。”	Obsolete. In Ming and Qing China some of the high-class prostitutes (艺妓, courtesans) were particularly skilled in literature, playing musical instruments, singing, playing chess, calligraphy, dancing etc. (e.g. the so-called Eight Beauties of Qinhuai 秦淮八艳). The term here originates from the idea that high-class prostitutes have wide knowledge of poems (ci) and historical records (shi) (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Illicit for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	清·孔尚任《桃花扇》第二十二出: “娼家从良, 原是好事。”	Obsolete. The morpheme 'good' 良 here refers to the 'common people' 良民 who were opposed to the 'low people' 贱民 (slaves, actors, prostitutes etc)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	你坐中军花柳场, 我领前队翠红乡。(Zhu 2018, p. 46)	The colours in the expression refer to the makeup used to tint eyebrows (emerald green) and cheeks (red)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	唐·王昌龄《闺怨》诗: “闺中少妇不曾愁, 春日凝妆上翠楼。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 翠馆
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《文明小史》第十七回: “姚老夫子见儿子没有同那人去打野鸡, 方才把气平下。”	Obsolete. Pheasants is a common term for streetwalkers, lowest class of prostitutes
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gathering for Frequenting Brothels	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《冷眼观》第二回: “一时伺候的人已将酒席排齐, 云卿便闹了要我带局。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 叫局
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	CCL, BCC	目前的性服务场所多以“发廊”指代, 而性工作者也多称为“小姐”。[https://amp.cn.google-info.com/525648/1/妓院.html]	Therefore, 'hair salon girl' 发廊妹 stays for 'prostitute'
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·无名氏《救风尘》第三折: “周舍云: ‘你来粉房里寻我。’”	Obsolete. The powder is most likely related to the make-up used by performers and prostitutes
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·阿宝》: “世之落拓而无成者, 皆自谓不痴者也。且如粉花荡产, 卢雉倾家, 顾痴人事哉!”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) defines the first meaning as 'a flower-like decoration worn by women on their forehead'

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1286	粉头	fěn tóu	faces with [white] powder	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1287	风尘女子	fēng chén nǚ zǐ	a woman amidst winds and dust	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1288	风月场所	fēng yuè chǎngsuǒ	place of wind and moon[light]	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1289	风月女	fēng yuè nǚ	girl of wind and moon[light]	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1290	勾栏	gōu lán	[place] with carved balustrades	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1291	孤老	gū lǎo	solitary old [man]	lover; client of prostitutes	嫖客、姘夫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1292	姑娘	gū niáng	girl	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1293	鼓子花	gǔ zǐ huā	Calystegia sepium	unattractive prostitute	容色不佳的妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1294	逛窑子	guàng yáozi	visit a kiln	visit prostitutes	到娼家游玩	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1295	行首	háng shǒu	head of a column	high-class prostitute	上等妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1296	行院	háng yuàn	theatre	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1297	喝茶吃鱼	hē chá chī yú	drink tea and eat fish	go to prostitutes	指狎妓; 嫖娼	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1298	红灯区	hóng dēng qū	red-light district	brothels	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1299	花船	huā chuán	boat with flowers	boat with prostitutes	载妓招客的船	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1300	花姑娘	huā gū niáng	flower girl	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1301	花馆	huā guǎn	flower house	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1302	花胡同	huā hú tong	flower lane	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1303	花界	huā jiè	world of flowers	prostitute circles	妓女界	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1304	花街	huā jiē	flower street	place where prostitutes gather	妓女集中的地方	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1305	花魁	huā kuí	blossoming plum	favourite prostitute	有名的妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1306	花柳	huā liǔ	flowers and willows	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1307	花柳场	huā liǔ chǎng	place of flowers and willow trees	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1308	花柳丛	huā liǔ cóng	clumps of willows and flowers	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1309	花柳人家	huā liǔ rén jiā	home of flowers and willow trees	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1310	花门柳户	huā mén liǔ hù	gates of flowers and willows	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1311	花娘	huā niáng	flower girl	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1312	花市	huā shì	flower market	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1313	花台	huā tái	flower terrace	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《警世通言》卷二十四：玉堂春落难逢夫：“他家里还有一个粉头，排行三姐，号玉堂春，有十二分颜色。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 粉团儿
Metaphor	Prostitution is Wind and Dust	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	在欧美只有风尘女子才穿的超短皮裙、在健美场所才穿的健美裤。(CCL)	Alternatively: 风尘女郎
Metaphor	Love Affair is Wind and Moon	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	然而，令人费解的何止是街头风光的山地车，在欧美只有风尘女子才穿的超短皮裙、在健美场所才穿的健美裤，我们不是都拿来在街头风光了吗！(CCL)	Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 风月场，风月馆
Metaphor	Love Affair is Wind and Moon	Hong 2010	有人要见见这位风月女子了。(CCL)	Flowers in the mist, wind and moon' 烟花风月 is a popular metaphor in Classical Chinese for romantic love (HDC 2010).
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异》卷十一：陈云栖：“诚以闺阁之身，膺然酬应如勾栏，所不堪耳。”	Obsolete. Originally described the [temporary] place for performances with a stage, backstage, tent for audience etc. Metonymically extended meaning: the place for actors and singers -> the place for prostitutes, cf. 'buy smiles at the place for performances with carved balustrades' 买笑勾栏. Alternatively: 'market-place' 构肆
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Lonely Man for Prostitute Client; Lonely Man for Lover	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《儒林外史》第五十三回：“那些妓女们相与的孤老多了，却也要几个名士来往，觉得破破俗。”	Obsolete (nowadays is used only in its literal meaning 'lonely old man or woman' 单独生活的老人, GF 2014; XHC 2016). The term could refer to both a lover (姘夫) as well as to the frequent client of prostitutes (嫖客)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	王统照《号声：鬼影》：“他却很自得地夸说他对于妓女们的诱力……他更说与他要好的姑娘还是某一个将军的遗妾。”	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	明·俞弁《山樵野语》卷十：“诗人以妓女无颜色者谓之鼓子花。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Brothel is a Kiln	GC 2015	他洁身自好，从来不逛窑子。(GC 2015)	Obsolete. Regional
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Standing in Front for High-Class Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	元·关汉卿《谢天香》楔子：“不想游学到此处，与上厅行首谢天香作伴。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	《醒世恒言》卷二十：张廷秀逃生救父：“不一日，三场已毕，同举人候榜，拉去行院中游串，作东戏耍。”	Obsolete. Used originally in reference to actresses, singers and performers of Jin and Yuan theatre. Later extended its meaning and euphemistically denoted prostitutes (GF 2014). Also known as 'theatre of smoke and flowers' or 'theatre of flowers in the haze': 烟花行院 (as in 将她卖于烟花行院). Alternatively: 衙院, 衙衙
Metaphor	Frequenting Brothels is Drinking Tea and Eating Fish	CCL, BCC	为何常有人「吃鱼喝茶」被抓？ [https://www.chinatimes.com/hottopic/20171006006278-260803]	Regional (Taiwan). Probably related to the practice of Enjo-kōsai (Japanese 援助交际) or 'compensated dating' - where older men give money or luxury gifts to women for their companionship and sexual favours
Borrowing	Calque from English	Zhu 2018, GF 2014	西方各国的“红灯区”渐渐消声匿迹。(CCL)	Loanword (English)
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	清·嵇璜《东来劫记》：“犹忆前年珠江大火，花船尽付一炬。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	沉从文《主妇集：贵生》：“我们五爷花姑娘弄不了他的钱，花骨头可迷住了他。”	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	明·梁辰鱼《寄怀》词：“花馆贮多娇，冠当筵风度飘飘。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015	元·武汉臣《玉壶春》第二折：“我是个翠红堆傅粉的何郎，花胡同画眉的张敞。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《“五四”爱国运动资料：上海要市实录》：“惟我青楼一无举动，我本我的良心，想出几条办法，劝告我全国花界同胞，各本良心尽我国民应尽之天职。”	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·李渔《慎鸾交：品花》：“琴书落魄无生计，撞花街，日寻佳丽。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 花街柳市，花街柳巷，柳巷花街
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	我奶奶当年也有名着呢，也是北京城的一枝花——八大胡同的花魁。(Zhu 2018, p. 106)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《金瓶梅》第九十六回：“三十上小人有些不足，花柳中少要行走。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《照籍冤魂》第一回：“公子孙同柳寻花，朝欢暮乐，因在花柳场中弄上的。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 'camp of flowers and willows' 花柳营 or 'flower camp' 花营
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷十五：“我陈衍若再向花柳丛中着脚时，永远前程不吉，死于非命。”	Alternatively: 花丛
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《二刻拍案惊奇》卷二一：“王惠与李彪见他出去外边歇宿，只说是在花柳人家，也不查他根脚。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	明·康海《王兰卿》第一折：“谁想这妮子情性贞良，全无花门柳户之气。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 柳门花户 柳户花门
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	元·陶宗仪《南村辍耕录》卷一四：妇女曰娘：“媚妇曰花娘，达旦又谓草娘。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《清平山堂话本：简帖和尚》：“宴罢归来娑游花市，此时方显平生志。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	元·关汉卿《谢天香》楔子：“平生以花酒为念，好上花台做子弟。”	Obsolete. 'Enter the flower terrace' 上花台 denoted 'visit brothels'

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1314	花烟间	huā yān jiān	room of flowers and smoke	low-class brothel	最下等的妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1315	花院	huā yuàn	flower yard	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1316	黄鱼	huáng yú	yellow croaker	prostitute with non-bound feet	大脚妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1317	会所	huì suǒ	clubhouse	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1318	鸡	jī	chicken	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1319	鸡头	jī tóu	head of chicken	procurer	皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1320	贱业	jiàn yè	lowly occupation	prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1321	教坊	jiào fāng	school of musicians and singers	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1322	接客	jiē kè	receive guests	meet the client [said about prostitutes]	妓女接待嫖客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1323	街头女人	jiē tóu nǚ rén	street woman	prostitute	娼妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1324	姐儿	jiě r	sister	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1325	金钗客	jīn chāi kè	person with golden hairpins	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1326	旧院	jiù yuàn	old yard	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1327	老鸨	lǎo bǎo	old bastard	procuress	女皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1328	丽春院	lì chūn yuàn	courtyard of beautiful spring	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1329	柳陌	liǔ mò	road planted with willows	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1330	柳巷	liǔ xiàng	willow alley	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1331	露花风絮	lù huā fēng xù	dewy flowers and willow catkin flying in the air	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1332	路柳墙花	lù liǔ qiáng huā	willows on the curbs and flowers at walls	street girls, prostitutes	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1333	变童	biàn tóng	beautiful child	male prostitute	旧时供人狎玩的美男子	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1334	妈妈	mā mā	mama	procuress	女皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1335	妈妈生	mā mā shēng	respected mama	procuress	女皮条客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1336	卖春	mài chūn	sell spring	engage in prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1337	买春	mǎi chūn	buy spring	visit brothels, visit prostitutes	花钱换取性服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1338	卖身	mài shēn	sell one's body	engage in prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1339	卖笑	mài xiào	sell smiles	engage in prostitution	娼妓或歌女用声色供人取乐	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	鲁迅《中国小说史略》第二六篇：“惟因赵又牵连租界商人及浪游子弟，杂述其沉湎微逐之状，并及烟花，自‘长三’至‘花烟间’具有。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《醒世恒言：卷三：卖油郎独占花魁》：“未识花院行藏，先学孔门规矩。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is Fish	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	《二十年目睹之怪现状》第三回：“那一天带了几块洋钱，走到了四马路野鸡最多的地方，叫做甚么会香里，在一家门首看见一个黄鱼。”	Obsolete. Regional (Nanjing)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	CCL, BCC	现在烂人又多，我们会所就有几个专门找小姐玩炸金花的。 <a href="https://www.9txs.cc/book/81584/680683.html">[https://www.9txs.cc/book/81584/680683.html]</a>	Originates from a common practice to use 'clubhouses' or 'entertainment centres' for 'massage services', meaning sexual services
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	Hong 2010	村里女人暗地里嚼舌根子，都说她是个鸡。 <a href="https://m.baishuku.la/wapbook/135/135344/36197806.html">[https://m.baishuku.la/wapbook/135/135344/36197806.html]</a>	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	CCL, BCC	听仓里的人说，她们是被鸡头买出去卖淫的。 <a href="http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2003-04-29/0946101898s.shtml">[http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2003-04-29/0946101898s.shtml]</a>	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《儒林外史》第二十六回：“他虽生意是贱业，倒颇多君子之行。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《警世通言：卷三十二：杜十娘怒沉百宝箱》：“但教坊落籍，其费甚多，非千金不可。我囊空如洗，如之奈何？”	Obsolete. Originates from the name of the official office that used to administer court music. It was set up in the Tang Dynasty to focus on the teaching, rehearsal and performance of music, dance and acrobatics (as opposed the ceremonial classic music 雅乐). All palace banquets were accompanied by musicians, singers, dancers as well as the so-called 'official prostitutes' 官妓. The latter were also called "jiaofang" 教坊. This practice was abandoned during the Yongzheng period of the Qing Dynasty (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷四十三：“那月娥是个久惯接客乖巧不过的人，看此光景，晓得有些尴尬，只管盘问。”	Alternatively: 拉客
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Standing in the Street for Prostitute	Zhang 1996	巴金《马路的夜》：“她轻佻地笑着，的确象一个街头女人。”	Alternatively: 街头妻
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《金瓶梅》第三十二回：“这位姐儿，乃是这大官府令翠，在下怎敢起动？”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Wearing Golden Hairpins for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	元·武汉臣《玉壶春》第三折：“我本要秦楼夜访金钗客，我与你审问个明白。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	清·孔尚任《桃花扇·余韵》：“那长桥旧院，是咱们熟游之地。你也该去瞧瞧。”	Obsolete. Originates from the name of a place where prostitutes used to gather in Nanjing of Ming Dynasty
Metaphor	Procuress is a Bird	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	不一会儿，老鸨便领进一个十七、八岁的姑娘。(CCL)	Alternatively: 老鸨子
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅词话》第三二回：“伯爵在旁说道：‘乔上尊，你请坐，交他侍立。丽春院粉头供唱递酒是他的职分，休要惯了他。’”	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 'garden of beautiful spring' 丽春园 which is believed to be the residence of the famous courtesan Su Qing 苏卿 (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010	清·黄六鸿《福惠全书：保甲：驱逐娼妓》：“故欲觅盗踪，多从柳陌；欲追赃物，半费花街。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 柳陌花街, 花街柳陌, 柳陌花衢, 花衢柳陌, 柳陌花巷, 花衢
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Willow	HDC 2010, GC 2015	清·孔尚任《桃花扇·却奁》：“人宿平康深柳巷，惊好梦门外花郎。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·龚自珍《暗香》词：“我是瑶华公子，从未识露花风絮。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010, Hong 2010	《警世通言：卷一：苏知县罗衫再合》：“妾等乃巫山洛水之傅，非路柳墙花之比。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Child for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异：卷二：侠女》：“此君之妾童也。我国固之，奈渠定不欲生何！”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Procuress is Mother	CCL, BCC	不过，这里的妈妈却不是代表母亲，而是鸨母。	
Metaphor	Procuress is Mother	CCL, BCC	妈妈生又称老鸨（为妓女撮客的女性）在东南亚以及港澳地区的另一种称呼。 <a href="https://www.163.com/dy/article/FQH2RN9E0543ONNA.html">[https://www.163.com/dy/article/FQH2RN9E0543ONNA.html]</a>	Regional (Hong Kong). Alternatively: 妈妈桑
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	她岂能将女儿许配给一个以“卖春”为生的男人呢。(BCC)	Has specific connotation of the forced prostitution to support one's existence. The 'woman who sells spring' (= sells her beauty, youth etc.) 卖春妇 denotes a prostitute
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	她对他那么好，可他还是去卖春。 <a href="https://freewechat.com/a/MjM5NTc1N1Tg0Mg==/2649260441/1">[https://freewechat.com/a/MjM5NTc1N1Tg0Mg==/2649260441/1]</a>	The 'spring' 春 here originally referred to 'wine' or 'drinks' (HDC 2010), therefore there could be an association between 'visiting inns' 逛酒家 and 'visiting brothels' 逛妓院, often at one and the same place
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	有的是其父母拉皮条，女儿卖身，小儿子为嫖客洗车来赚钱。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	在这条胡同里，充满着各种喧嚣、叫卖、女人詈骂、打情卖笑的声浪。(Zhu 2018, p. 145)	Has specific connotation of the forced prostitution to support one's existence

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1340	买笑	mǎi xiào	buy smiles	visit a prostitute	嫖妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1341	买笑追欢	mǎi xiào zhuī huān	buy smiles and seek pleasure	visit a prostitute	嫖妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1342	买钟	mǎi zhōng	buy hours	pay prostitutes on an hourly basis	按钟点付费，让女子提供色情服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1343	猫儿	māo er	kitten	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1344	妹子	mèi zi	younger sister	female prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1345	门户	mén hù	gateway	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1346	门里人	mén lǐ rén	gatekeeper	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1347	迷楼	mí lóu	labyrinth	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1348	眠花宿柳	mián huā sù liǔ	sleep among flowers and willow trees	visit brothels	狎妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1349	面首	miàn shǒu	[beautiful] face and hair	male prostitute	男宠、男妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1350	MM	mm	younger sister	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1351	拈花惹草	niān (nián) huā rě cǎo	fiddle with flowers and trample the grass	seduce women, go to brothels, have extramarital sexual relations	男子乱搞男女关系或狎妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1352	拈花摘叶	niān (nián) huā zhāi yè	fiddle with flowers and pluck tree leaves	seduce women, go to brothels, have extramarital sexual relations	男子乱搞男女关系或狎妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1353	牛郎	niú láng	cowboy	male prostitute	指从事色情陪酒的男子。男妓的代称	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1354	女校书	nǚ jiào shū	woman of letters [Xue Tao]	high-class prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1355	攀花折柳	pān huā zhē liǔ	break off flowers and willows	visit brothels	狎妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1356	陪花	péi huā	flowers which accompany [a banquet]	prostitutes which accompany a banquet	陪着吃花酒的妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1357	皮肉钱	pí ròu qián	money of skin and flesh	money which a prostitute receives for her service	嫖妓的费用	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1358	皮肉生涯	pí ròu shēng yá	career of skin and flesh	prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1359	皮肉生意	pí ròu shēng yì	business of skin and flesh	prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1360	平康女	píng kāng nǚ	woman of peace and prosperity	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1361	清信人	qīng guān rén	young servant	young prostitute who is still not receiving customers	尚未接客的女妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1362	青楼	qīng lóu	teal house	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1363	青楼女子	qīng lóu nǚ zǐ	woman of the teal house	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1364	曲巷	qū xiàng	crooked alley	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·汪廷诤《狮吼记·访友》：“既远别了娘子，心何忌，挥金买笑任施为。”	Contemporary examples extend the initial meaning: 'spend money in order to get attention of the person one has [sexual] interest in'
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷二十二：“闻得京师繁华去处，花柳之乡，不若借此事由，往彼一游。一来可以索债，二来买笑追欢，三来觑个方便，觅个前程，也终身受用。”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions: 买笑迎欢, 买欢
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	Zhu 2018	那大客户在夜总会迷上个“公关小姐”，要买钟带她去宵夜。(CCL)	
Metaphor	Procuress is a Cat	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅》第三十二回：“因把猫儿的虎口内火烧了两醮，和他丁八着好一向了。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	CCL, BCC	他帮很多妹子卖掉初夜，却从不承认自己是个皮条客。 [https://www.sohu.com/a/144258166_500569]	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Gatekeeper	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《警世通言·卷二四·玉堂春落难逢夫》：“买良为娼，也是门户常事。”	Obsolete. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 门户人家
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Gatekeeper	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	《醒世姻缘传》第四十回：“我看这孩子有些造化似的，不像个门里人，我替俺这个种子娶了他罢。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《白雪遗音·岭儿调·独坐黄昏》：“想当初，何等样的花魁女，接了些王孙贵客，车马迎门。后遇着卖油郎，他说：“茫茫苦海，即早回头，跳出这迷楼。””	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	聂绀弩《论怕老婆》三：“她什么都没有，只有一点点可怜的几乎是滑稽的地位，即她是老婆，也就是老公的性的对象。老公而要眠花宿柳，偷情纳妾，她就连这一点点可怜地位，也发生问题了。”	Alternative expressions: 眠花醉柳, 眠花卧柳
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《资治通鉴·卷一三〇·宋纪十二·明帝泰始元年》：“帝乃为公主置面首，左右三十人。”	Obsolete
Acronymy	Using Latin Letters instead of Chinese Characters	CCL, BCC	帖子里，公会是妓院，MM是妓女。 [http://wov.tgbus.com/emotion/bagua/200812/20081217185920.shtml]	
Metaphor	Women are Flowers	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Hong 2010	阿让古尔出身高贵，但没有教养，是一个平平庸庸的外交官，一个拈花惹草的坏丈夫，象剧中人那样奸滑刁钻。(CCL)	Alternative expressions with the same meaning: 惹草拈花, 拈花摘草, 招花惹草
Metaphor	Women are Flowers	GC 2015, Hong 2010	《孤本元明杂剧·卓文君·第二折》：“倚翠偎红，拈花摘叶。”	Obsolete
Borrowing	Calque from English	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	这位小兄弟，因为自己的女朋友被牛郎抢走了，不甘心，自己便下海了。 [https://m.sohu.com/h/483396232/]	GC (2015) states that the term originates from the American movie name "Midnight Cowboy" (1969), in Chinese - 子午牛郎 which depicted hustlers, one of whom was a male escort. Can be used in the full form 子午牛郎 (GC 2015) denoting gigolos and prostitutes
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal Name and Title for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	清·全祖望《钱尚书牧斋手迹跋》：“黄忠烈公见诸弟子有与女校书诗者，辄戒之。”	Obsolete. Originates from the famous poet and courtesan of Tang Dynasty Xue Tao (薛涛, 768-831) who was praised for her knowledge of literature, thus the title of 'scribe' or 'proof-reader'
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·无名氏《百花亭》第二折：“则为我攀花折柳，致令的有国难投。止望待天长地久，谁承望雨歇云收。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Beauty is Red	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《官场现形记》第十二回：“王黄两位没有叫陪花，周老爷也不想叫。”	Obsolete. The term 'flowers and wine' 花酒 refers to a dinner or banquet which is accompanied by singers and prostitutes. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 陪酒
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Carnal for Sexual	CCL, BCC	如何从一个清纯的小姐姐走向赚皮肉钱的酒店小姐。 [http://www.zd1tj.com/518.html]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	红灯区的皮肉生涯也相当活跃。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	两个女儿做私门子，做点几高档皮肉生意，赚大钱。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Place for Brothels	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·卷十一·香玉》：“妾小字香玉，隶籍平康巷。”	Obsolete. Originates from Pingkang 平康 - a place in the capital of Tang China Chang'an where prostitutes used to reside. Expressions denoting brothels or areas where prostitutes work are: 'Pingkang' 平康, 'Pingkang lane' 平康巷 or 平康里 or 平康坊
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Servant for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《海上花列传》第二回：“况且陆秀宝是清信人。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	他发现身为国民党高官的生父是个极其复杂的人，曾先后娶过三个妻子，而最爱的竟是一个青楼女子。(Zhu 2018, pp. 170-171)	Literary (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	GF 2014	它代表着晚清海上青楼女子所特有的音容笑貌、言谈举止乃至身段神情。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Street for Brothel	Zhu 2018	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·林氏》：“戚不以为丑，爰恋逾於平昔。曲巷之游，从此绝迹。”	Obsolete

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1365	肉金	ròu jīn	money of flesh	money which a prostitute receives for her service	嫖妓的费用	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1366	桑拿会所	sāng nǎ huì suǒ	sauna club	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1367	色府	sè fǔ	residence of beautiful women	place where prostitutes gather	歌妓汇集的地方	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1368	上头	shàng tóu	bind one's hair into a bun	the first experience of a prostitute	妓女第一次接客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1369	失足妇女	shī zú fù nǚ	a woman who took a wrong step [in life]	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1370	梳拢	shū lǒng	comb one's hair	the first experience of a prostitute	妓女第一次接客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1371	堂客	táng kè	female guest	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1372	特殊服务	tè shū fú wù	special service	prostitution	性服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1373	条子	tiáo zi	brief note	outcall prostitute	陪席的妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1374	兔儿爷	tù ér yé	rabbit man	male prostitute	男妓, 供人玩弄的男子	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1375	舞男	wǔ nán	dancing man	male prostitute	男妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1376	洗脚房	xǐ jiǎo fáng	foot spa centre	brothel	以洗脚为主要内容的营业性服务场所, 有的还提供色情服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1377	洗头房	xǐ tóu fáng	hair salon	brothel	以洗头为主要内容的营业性服务场所, 有的还提供色情服务	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1378	洗浴中心	xǐ yù zhōng xīn	bathing centre	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1379	狭邪	xiá xié	side street	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1380	闲花野草	xián huā yě cǎo	wild flowers and wild herbs	prostitute	妓女或作风轻浮的女性	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1381	咸水妹	xián shuǐ mèi	girl of salty water	prostitute who accepts foreign clients	接洋人的妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1382	相公	xiāng gōng	young actor	male prostitute	年轻姣美的男演员。亦指男妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1383	箱钱	xiāng qián	money from the [private] room	money which a prostitute receives for her service	嫖妓的费用	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1384	小信	xiǎo guān	servant	male prostitute	靠出卖色相赚取金钱的男子, 也叫男妓, 和妓女一样	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1385	小姐	xiǎo jiě	miss	female prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1386	歇钱	xiē qián	money for staying overnight	money which a prostitute receives for her service	嫖妓的费用	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1387	性服务购买者	xìng fú wù gòu mǎi zhě	sex service buyer	client of a prostitute	嫖客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1388	性服务业	xìng fú wù yè	sexual services	prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1389	性工作者	xìng gōng zuò	sex work	prostitution	卖淫	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1390	寻芳	xún fāng	look for fragrance	visit prostitutes	嫖妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1391	寻芳客	xún fāng kè	a guest who is looking for fragrance	client of a prostitute	嫖客	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Carnal for Sexual	CCL, BCC	逢年过节外几乎天天都开, 妓女肉金350元, 当中250元上缴集团。(BCC)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	CCL, BCC	大正《龙眼镇恶棍列传》: 她们不再到各大娱乐场, 桑拿会所工作, 而是隶属于一个皮条组织。	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·秦观《妙倡传》: “京师, 天下之色府也。美而巧笑, 雪肌而漆髮, 曳珠玉, 服阿锡, 妙弹吹, 籍于有司者, 以千万计。”	The word 色 refers to the beauty and beautiful women. cf. 'love women' 好色; 'music, women, hunting and racing' 声色犬马 for carnal pleasures
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Binding One's Hair for Sexually Mature	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	下海就是梳拢, 梳拢就是上头。[https://youidict.net/hydc/d/s/梳拢]	At the age of 15 girls were considered to be grown-up and ready for marriage. Binding girls' hair into a bun was a symbolic custom to confirm their adulthood
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	Zhu 2018	开展教育挽救失足妇女工作。[http://fj.sina.com.cn/news/s/2010-12-12/102984426.html]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Binding One's Hair for Sexually Mature	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《警世通言·卷二十四: 玉堂春落难逢夫》: “鸨儿家价太高, 还未梳拢。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 梳弄. Alternatively: 梳梳
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Guest	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	福大爷声明为了不让孩子受委屈, 不再续弦。弦是没续, 但……他那后花园子的五间暖阁从没断过堂课。(Zhu 2018, p. 212)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	Zhu 2018	闪烁的KTV标识, 以及“大巴黎”“新伊甸园”等等霓虹灯字号, 使他意识到可能会提供的“特殊服务”, 但他毫无兴致。(Zhu 2018, pp. 213-214)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gathering for Frequenting Brothels	Zhu 2018	《官场现形记》第二十四回: “(贾润孙)忽然又笑着问黄胖姑道: ‘近来有什么好条子没有?’ 黄胖姑道: ‘有有有, 明天我荐给你。’”	Obsolete. Originates from the custom to ask singers and prostitutes to leave brothels and join banquets. Common collocation: 叫条子
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Rabbit	HDC 2010, GC 2015	在天津, 男娼往往被称作“兔二爷”。[http://www.cnkang.com/dzjk/201507/976515.html]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	CCL, BCC	实际上他什么也不是, 只是一个舞男。(CCL)	Might be a contraction of the expression 'male strip dancers' 脱衣舞男. Interpretation of dancers and strip dancers as prostitutes is disputable
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	Zhu 2018	一些违法经营洗脚房的场所存在严重色情服务及卖淫嫖娼的问题。(Zhu 2018, p. 234)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	Zhu 2018	为什么洗头房跟色情行业会捆绑在一起? [https://www.zhihu.com/question/32019898/answer/55789529]	Alternative regional expression in Hong Kong: 洗头船
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	CCL, BCC	发现男朋友去洗浴中心找了小姐, 嫖娼。[https://zhuatlan.zhihu.com/p/353428042]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Street for Brothel	Zhang 1996	清·王晔《今世说·巧艺》: “(王崇节)生平不饮酒, 喜妇人, 得金即持往狹邪, 立尽。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 狹邪, 狹斜. 'Walking in the side street' 狹邪游 used to mean 'visit brothels'
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	他跟巧云又没有拜过堂, 完过花烛, 闲花野草, 断了就断了。(Zhu 2018, p. 238)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Hong 2010	茅盾《劫后拾遗》二: “这是个什么路数呢? 妖妖怪怪的!” 馨儿听得妈妈低声问他爸爸: ‘自然是咸水妹了。’又听得爸爸这样回答。”	Regional (Hong Kong). The prostitutes for foreign customers used to receive her clients on a seagoing ship (HDC 2010). GC (2015) sees it as a borrowing from English "handsome maid". Alternatively: 盐水妹
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《二十年目睹之怪现状》: “在京城里面, 逛相公是冠冕堂皇的...不算犯法。”	Obsolete. Originally a term for minister, high-ranking official, scholar, husband, later for actors and therefore for prostitutes
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Money for Payment to Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《儒林外史》第五十四回: “丁言志道: ‘我来同你家姑娘谈诗。’ 乌龟道: ‘既然如此, 且秤下箱钱。’”	Obsolete. The term refers to the money spent by the brothel visitors in the private rooms with prostitutes
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Servant for Prostitute	CCL, BCC	同性恋自古就有, 因此世上不仅有妓女, 还有小倌。[https://www.69shu.com/txt/23023/13110810]	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	她偷偷告诉我说, 在中国, 「小姐」是「妓女」的意思。害我一个晚上叫「姑娘」也不是; 叫「小妹」也不对; 叫「同学」也不妥; 叫「女士」更不当, 实在有够郁闷。[http://blog.udn.com/lumugu/12674665]	Common in mainland China as a euphemism (or in some contexts dysphemism) for female prostitutes. HDC (2010) shows examples of this usage for female musicians and prostitutes in the Song and Ming texts. Typical collocations: 'look for prostitutes' 找小姐, 姚小姐. The Obsolete alternative expression with the same meaning was 小娘
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Working at Night for Prostitute	Zhu 2018	明·冯梦龙《醒世恒言》: “不敢动问, 你家花魁娘子一夜歌钱要几千两?”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	CCL, BCC	受访者提到的年龄最小和最大的顾客)的男性都看作是可能的、潜在的性服务购买者。[http://html.rhhz.net/society/html/2005-05-09.html]	Attempt to find an appropriate orthophemism
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	CCL, BCC	泰国妇女中有近3%的人涉足性服务业。[http://k.fjxs.net/208/208570/23398034_3.html]	Also known as 'sex industry' 性产业; common collocation: 'offer sexual services' 提供性服务
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	CCL, BCC	少数民族工作者逐渐认识到职业化程度高意味着更多的优势。(CCL)	Attempt to find an appropriate orthophemism
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	他是……一个很严厉的审判官, 一个一个贯寻芳猎艳的登徒子。(Zhu 2018, p. 251)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	GC 2015	所谓“路边寻芳客”, 是指那些驾驶汽车沿马路旁慢驶以寻找妓女的嫖客。[https://www.china-week.com/html/137.html]	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1392	寻花问柳	xún huā wèn liǔ	stroll among flowers and willows	visit prostitutes	指狎妓; 嫖娼	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1393	鸭	yā	duck	male prostitute	妓男	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1394	烟花	yān huā	smoke and flowers	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1395	胭花	yān huā	rouge flowers	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1396	烟花场	yān huā chǎng	place of smoke and flowers	place where prostitutes gather	歌妓汇集的地方	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1397	烟花柳巷	yān huā liǔ xiàng	alley of smoke, flowers and willow trees	place where prostitutes gather	歌妓汇集的地方	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1398	烟花女	yān huā nǚ	women of smoke and flowers	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1399	烟花市	yān huā shì	market of smoke and flowers	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1400	烟花巷	yān huā xiàng	alley of smoke and flowers	place where prostitutes gather	歌妓汇集的地方	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1401	烟月	yān yuè	smoke and moon; haze moon	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1402	烟月作坊	yān yuè zuò fāng	workshop of smoke and moon	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1403	幺二	yāo èr	one two	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1404	窑姐	yáo jiě	woman of the kiln	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1405	窑子	yáo zi	kiln	low-grade brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1406	夜度娘	yè dù niáng	night girl	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1407	野鸡	yě jī	pheasant	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1408	冶游	yě yóu	go on a hike	visit brothels	嫖娼	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1409	倚翠偎红	yǐ cuǐ wēi hóng	be attracted by [beautiful] eyebrows and rouged cheeks	have sex; visit prostitutes	与女性昵爱, 发生性关系; 喻指玩弄妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1410	一楼一凤	yī lóu yī fèng	Phoenix living in the tower	Prostitute who serves her customers in-house and works independently	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1411	倚门妇	yǐ mén fù	woman leaning against the door	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1412	倚门卖笑	yǐ mén mài xiào	lean against the door and sell smiles	sell one's body; be prostitute	以出卖姿色或身体为生	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, GF 2014	他有妻子八人，却还不满足，经常在外寻花问柳。(CCL)	Originally referred to traveling and enjoying beautiful sceneries and only later became a euphemism for visiting brothels (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	Zhu 2018	再说,你怎么知道他是个鸭呢? [http://www.ffxs8.com/dsyq/5709/index/152.html]	Alternatively: 鸭子. Typical collocations: 'play with ducklings' 玩鸭子 meaning 'go to male prostitutes'. In Ming texts there was another euphemistic meaning of this term - 'a man whose wife is sexually unfaithful', 'cuckold'
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016, Hong 2010	《人民文学》1981年第2期: “快去皇城坝茶馆泡碗茶，专门听烟花小妹唱段清音！”	Terms 'smoke and flowers' (or 'flowers in the mist / haze') 烟花 and 'wind and moon' 风月 depicting spring scenery were classical metaphors of love affairs in ancient China. Common expression 'sink into flowers in the haze' 沦为烟花 for 'end up practicing prostitution'. A list of names of prostitutes used to be called 'a register of smoke and flowers' 烟花簿. A general term for courtesans and prostitutes originated from the Yuan time was 'face powder and eyebrow liner of smoke and flowers' 烟花粉黛
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷二: “吴大郎上下一看，只见不施脂粉，淡雅梳妆，自然内家气象，与那烟花队里的迥别。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) defines the term as 'women with heavy makeup' (浓妆艳抹的女子)
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	清·王晔《今世说·文学》: “安静不读书，如浪子入烟花场中，不知流荡何所。”	Obsolete. Contemporary alternative expressions with the same meaning: 烟花之地, 烟花之所, 烟花场所
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	他不是与烟花柳巷有瓜葛的第一个人。(Zhu 2018, p. 254)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	往她那儿看——她的双颊和嘴唇都涂了脂粉口红——一望可知，就是烟花女的标志。(Zhu 2018, p. 254)	Alternatively: 烟花女子
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《二刻拍案惊奇》卷四十: “舞裙歌扇烟花市，便珠宫蕊殿，有甚参差？”	Obsolete. Alternative expressions: 'village of smoke a and flowers' 烟花寨 and 'rows of smoke and flowers' 烟花阵
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	她在万般无奈之际又误陷烟花巷内，沉入风尘之中备受折磨。(Zhu 2018, p. 255)	
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	GC 2015	元·无名氏《陈州米》第三折: “本是个显要龙图职，作伴著烟月鬼狐缠，可不先犯了个风流罪，落的价葫芦提罢俸钱。”	Obsolete. 'Smoke and moon' or 'moon in the fog / haze' as a contraction of 'flowers in the mist, wind and moon' 烟花风月 is a popular metaphor in Classical Chinese for romantic love (HDC 2010). Metonymical extension from love to sex and from sex to illicit sexual practices at brothels
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Flower	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	宋·陶穀《清异录·蜂巢》: “四方指南海为烟月作坊，以言风俗尚淫故也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Tile	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	因为“八大胡同”的“清吟小班”，犹如上海的“长三”，而“茶室”则相当于“么二”，前者号称“卖嘴不卖身”，非花钱花到相当程度，不能为入幕之宾；后者则比较干脆，哪怕第一次“开盘子”。(Zhu 2018, p. 258)	Regional (Shanghainese)
Metaphor	Brothel is a Kiln	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	徐承宗把妹子卖啦，当了窑姐儿。(Zhu 2018, p. 259)	Alternatively: 窑子姑娘 (GC 2015)
Metaphor	Brothel is a Kiln	HDC 2010, GC 2015	《老残游记》第二回: “这几年来好顽耍的谁不学他们的调儿呢？就是窑子里的姑娘也人人都学。”	Obsolete. Regional
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·蒲松龄《聊斋志异·江城》: “渠虽不贞，亦未便作夜度娘，成否固未必也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Hong 2010	欧阳子倩《车夫之家》: “你为甚么不叫你的女儿去当野鸡？你们都是班强盗，吃人的鬼！”	Obsolete
Metaphor	[Non-Marital] Sex is Going Outside	Zhu 2018	当巴黎从噩梦中醒来的时候，卖笑的女人，穷家妇，劳动妇女，冶游的人，种种色色的人都以不同的方式开始了新的一天。(Zhu 2018, p. 259)	Originally was a spelling alternative for 野游 'to go on a hike' based on the association: 'going outside' - 'going wild' - 'engaging in illicit sexual acts'
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Beautiful for Prostitute	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	元·荆干臣《醉花阴·鸳鸯浦莲开并蒂长套：神仗儿曲》: “偎红倚翠，浅斟低唱，歌金缕韵悠扬，依腔调按宫商。”	In classical texts the expression is often associated with visiting brothels and having sexual contacts with prostitutes, though there are contexts found in more recent examples when the term is applied to sexual contacts without any reference to prostitutes
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Phoenix	Zeng 2008	楼风一般都有自己的住房，而且有很多就是本地人，走上这条道路的原因也是各种各样。(Zeng 2008, p. 93)	Regional (Hong Kong, Taiwan). Can also be used as 藏词 (literally 'hiding words' - abbreviated idiomatic expressions that originally consisted of 4 characters and intentionally "lost" 1 or 2 elements) in the form of '一楼一' (Zeng 2008, p. 93)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	设计娶了他的妻子就可以了，又视她为倚门妇，玷污张家的名声，这实在是太过分了。(Zhu 2018, p. 263)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Business for Prostitution	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	圆圆依附上将军吴三桂后，回想当年倚门卖笑，挟瑟勾栏时，怎能想到有今日。(Zhu 2018, p. 263)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BP-1413	莺燕	yīng yàn	orioles and swallows	prostitute	歌姬、舞女或妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1414	应召女郎	yīng zhāo nǚ láng	call girl	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1415	游女	yóu nǚ	traveling woman	prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1416	玉楼	yù lóu	jade tower	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1417	援交	yuán jiāo	compensated dating	prostitution	一种不正当的性交易模式。通常由需要金钱的少女，以性为条件，向中老年男子寻求援助	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1418	乐妇	yuè fù	female musician	prostitute	娼妓	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1419	乐户	yuè hù	house of music	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1420	月局	yuè jú	moon house	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1421	云雨乡	yún yǔ xiāng	hometown of clouds and rain	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1422	站街女	zhàn jiē nǚ	woman which stands in the street	female prostitute	妓女	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1423	章台	zhāng tái	Zhangtai [street]	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1424	招待所	zhāodàisuǒ	guest house	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1425	姊妹人家	zǐ mèi rén jiā	house of sisters	brothel	妓院	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BP-1426	钻狗洞	zuān gǒu dòng	crawl into the doghole	visit a prostitute	宿娼；偷情	09. BODY: PROSTITUTION
BE-1427	粑粑	bā bā	corn pancake	faeces	粪便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1428	办公	bàn gōng	do [office] work	urinate and defecate	人大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1429	鼻龙	bí lóng	nasal dragon	snot	鼻涕	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1430	便壶	biàn hú	convenience pot	chamber pot	尿壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1431	便利	biàn lì	[make oneself] convenient	urinate and defecate; urine and faeces	大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1432	便盆	biàn pén	convenience basin	chamber pot (e.g. for patients)	尿壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1433	便器	biàn qì	convenience device	chamber pot; urinal; toilet bowl	尿壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1434	便所	biàn suǒ	convenience room	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1435	便桶	biàn tǒng	convenience pot	chamber pot	尿壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metaphor	Prostitute is a Bird	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	如今满眼莺燕，圣上尽自任意乐去，只恐要乐不思蜀了。(Zhu 2018, p. 268)	The motivation of the term can be explained to various reasons: both birds are spring birds, and spring season has a sexual connotation in Chinese. Moreover, orioles are said to be good in singing, and swallows are said to be good in dancing, thus the reference to the singers, dancers and prostitutes. Also: 莺花
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	GC 2015, Zhu 2018	美女科学家为读博士当应召女郎。[https://m.sohu.com/n/268269815/]	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Woman for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	苏曼殊《碎簪记》：“自由之女、爱国之士，曾游女、市侩之不若。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·白居易《听崔七妓人筝》诗：“花脸云鬓坐玉楼，十三弦里一时愁。”	Obsolete
Borrowing	Japanese for Chinese	Zhu 2018	这个17岁的高中女生有着双重身份：父母眼中的“乖乖女”，陌生男人怀里的“援交妹”。[https://lxty528.com/simple/?t48803.html]	Borrowing from Japanese. Abbreviated form of 'compensated dating' 援助交际 (Enjo-kōsai), a practice which originated in Japan where older men give money or luxury gifts to women for their companionship and sexual favours. The person who offers this service is called 援交妹 or 援交小姐
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	《警世通言》卷十五：金令史美婢酬秀童：“船户王溜儿、乐妇刘丑姐，原不知情，且赃物未见破散，暂时讨保在外。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Performers for Prostitutes	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	在乐户中长大的女孩子，十五岁就已经是个发育得很好的女人了。(CCL)	In Old China, the wives and daughters of criminals as well as women who committed crimes could have been deprived from property and could become 'official prostitutes' 官妓 working in brothels which were financially supported by the government. They belonged to the department of music (乐部) as performers and musicians (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Building for Brothel	Zhang 1996	元·无名氏《谢金吾》第三折：“王枢密云：‘国姑！良吏不管月局，贵人不踏鹳地，这个所在便不来也罢。’”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) defines it as 'the place of wind and moon' 风月场, see 风月场所
Metaphor	Sex is a Dream	Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	这里的“云雨乡”“风月所”“烟花阵”，便都带了“颜色”。(Zhu 2018, pp. 275-276)	Alternatively: 雨云乡 (Hong 2010)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Standing in the Street for Prostitute	Zhu 2018	深圳的警方冒着被车撞死等生命危险，抓了一千多站街女和嫖客。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Name of a Place for Brothels	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	明·无名氏《霞笺记：中丞训子》：“章臺试把垂杨折，往事堪悲心欲裂。”	Obsolete. Street name in ancient Chang'an 长安 which was a famous brothel area. Thus, 'willows from the Zhangtai street' 章台柳 stands for prostitutes, 'go to the Zhangtai Street on horseback' 走马章台 for 'visit brothels'
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Salon for Brothel	CCL, BCC	在大陸入住招待所要小心，不然隨時被資資女強闖入房逼嫖娼！[https://www.chinatimes.com/hotopic/20161012003351-260803?chdtv]	Regional (Taiwan)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Girl for Prostitute	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010	清·吴趸人《近世社会齷齪史》：“入得门时，谁知月梅不在家，说是到姊妹人家吃喜酒去了。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Brothel is a Doghole	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《儒林外史》第二十一回：“恐怕这厮知识开了，在外没骨钻狗洞，淘渌坏了身子。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Faeces is a Cake	CCL, BCC	家有宝贝爸爸我要拉粑粑。[https://m.sohu.com/n/454116808/]	Babytalk. Typical collocation: 屎粑粑
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Doing Business for Excretion	Zhang 1996	墙上怎么有窟窿呀！天，谁这么缺德？让人怎么‘办公’呀？(Zhang 1996, p. 63)	
Metaphor	Snot is a Dragon	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	马识途《夜谭十记·亲仇记》：“说到文化，只有孙大老爷和他家那个流清鼻龙的小少爷才有资格享受。”	Regional (Beijing). The metaphor is based on the resemblance of snot hanging out of nose with thin and long dragons (Zhang 1996, p. 71)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	给我便壶，我要方便了。(CCL)	See 夜壶
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《汉书·韦玄成传》：“玄成深知其非贤雅意，即阳为病狂，卧便利，妄笑昏乱。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	我要便盆，那些看护说，等一等，大夫就来，等大夫查过病去再说。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	去哪儿购买蹲式便器？[https://www.taobao.com/list/product/蹲式便器.htm]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014	我对他们说，我要上厕所。(CCL)	Regional (Minnan)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	有一个人因为经常在便桶上看书，所以科举十多次都没有考上。(CCL)	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BE-1436	便旋	biàn xuán	do it quickly	urine, urinate	小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1437	补妆	bǔ zhuāng	freshen one's make-up	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1438	鼻牛	bí niú	nasal cow	snot, booger	鼻腔里乾结的鼻涕	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1439	出恭	chū gōng	go out with veneration	relieve oneself	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1440	出去	chū qù	go out	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1441	出虚恭	chū xū gōng	go out with empty veneration	fart	放屁	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1442	粗纸	cū zhǐ	thick paper	toilet paper	解手时所用的纸	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1443	大秽	dà huì	big dirt	faeces	屎	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1444	大解	dà jiě	big relief	defecate	排泄大便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1445	大洩	dà sōu	big waste	faeces	大便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1446	登厕	dēng cè	ascend the side [room]	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1447	登东	dēng dōng	ascend the East	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1448	登坑	dēng kēng	ascend the pit	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1449	东净	dōng jìng	Eastern cleaning [place]	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1450	东圃	dōng pǔ	Eastern [rest]room	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1451	东司	dōng sī	Eastern chamber	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1452	方便	fāng biàn	comfort	relieve oneself	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1453	芳津	fāng jīn	fragrant fluid	saliva	唾液	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1454	放气	fàng qì	release air	fart	放屁	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1455	粉汗	fěn hàn	powder sweat	woman's sweat	女子的汗水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1456	粉泪	fěn lèi	powder tears	women's tears	女子的眼泪	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1457	伏虎	fú hǔ	crouching tiger	chamber pot	便器	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1458	告便	gào biàn	excuse oneself and [go] to relief oneself	excuse oneself and go to the toilet	向人表示自己将要离开一会儿，多指上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1459	更衣	gēng yī	change clothes	go to the toilet	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1460	恭桶	gōng tǒng	pot of respect	chamber pot; urinal; toilet	马桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Quick for Urination	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	宋·洪迈《夷坚乙志·卷一·庄君平》：“一夕寒甚，叟起，将使旋，为捧溺器以进。”	Obsolete. The morpheme 旋 stands here for 'fast, swift' (Zhang 1996, p. 63)
Metonymy	Sub-Event for Event: Freshening one's Make-Up for Going to the Toilet	CCL, BCC	女孩子经常说我去补一下妆，当然是去厕所补妆的咯。 [https://www.zhihu.com/question/415805335]	Strongly context-based
Metaphor	Snot is a Cow	HDC 2010, XHC 2016	老舍《赵子曰》：“挖了挖鼻孔，掏出小蛤蟆似的一个鼻牛。”	Regional (XHC 2016). Cf. the colloquial direct and non-euphemistic expression 'nasal shit' 鼻屎
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, Zhang 1996	《文明小史》第三五回： “毓生急急的要去出恭，托梅生暂时照应店面。”	Going to the lavatory originates from the Yuan and Ming Dynasty custom to give examinees at state exams special cards or tablets saying 'go out with respect' 出恭 and 'enter with reverence' 入敬, which regulated how examinees had to exit classrooms and enter toilets (GF 2014, Zhu 2018). One might differentiate between 'going out with major veneration' 出大恭 for defecation and 'going out with minor veneration' 出小恭 for urination; between 'major veneration' 大恭 for faeces and 'minor veneration' 小恭 for urine (Zhang 1996, pp. 63-64)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	CCL, BCC	我要出去一下。[https://www.meme-arsenal.com/en/create/meme/2317033]	Typical collocations: 出去一下, 出去一会儿
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	GC 2015	而出虚恭的意思应该就是假上了个厕所, 通俗的来讲就是放了个屁。[https://www.dg-ylwl.com/toutiao/282071.html]	See 出恭
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Thick for Toilet Paper	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	素娥忙把衣服揩垫, 抢了一把粗纸, 替又李揩抹屁股。(Zhu 2018, p. 45)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Large for Faeces	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《儿女英雄传·第三十五回》： “公子一一答应, 又笑道: ‘都好将就, 就只水喝不得, 没地方见大秽。’ 太太道: ‘那可怎么好呢?’ 亲家太太又问: ‘难道连个粪缸也没有?’ ”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Large for Faeces	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	到了路旁的羊圈, 在那里有洞, 扫罗进去大解。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Large for Faeces	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《史记·扁鹊仓公列传》： “臣意饮以火齐汤, 一饮得前渡, 再饮大渡, 三饮而疾愈。”	Obsolete. The word of literary language 'waste' 渡 used to refer to any bodily excretion, especially urine (GF 2014, XHC 2016), cf. 'urinate' 渡溺 (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	GC 2015	《初刻拍案惊奇》卷二十一： “主人托俺将着银子到京中做事, 昨日偶因登厕, 寻个竹钉, 挂在壁上。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, Hong 2010, Zhang 1996	《喻世明言·卷九·裴晋公义还原配》：“也是唐壁命不该, 正在船头上登东, 看见声势不好, 急忙跳水, 上岸逃命。”	Obsolete. Alternative expression with the same meaning: 登东侧
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Pit for Toilet	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	郭沫若 《屈原》第五幕第一场：“卫士甲：是，就是打算要登登坑。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《金瓶梅》第二十三回： “正开房门, 只见平安从东净出来。”	Obsolete. The term "cleaning" refers to 净手 'go to the toilet'. The 'eastern' reference originates from the location of toilet rooms in imperial China in the eastern corner of the residential complex (Zhang 1996, p. 64)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	HDC 2010, Hong 2010	《西游记》第六七回：“但刮西风, 有一股秽气, 就是淘东圈也不似这般恶臭。”	Obsolete. "In old buildings, toilets were mostly in the east corner of the house" (HDC 2010)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《喻世明言·卷十五·史弘肇龙虎君臣会》： “定睛再看时, 却是史大汉踉跄在东司边。”	Obsolete. Alternatively: 东厕
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	那我去方便一下。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Liquid for Saliva	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·韩偓《无题》诗：“柳虚襁沾气, 梅实引芳津。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gas for Flatus	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	老舍《骆驼祥子》十： “这个天, 把屁眼都他妈的冻裂了, 一劲的放气!”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Applying Makeup for Women	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	沉复《浮生六记·闺房记乐》： “余至其后, 芸犹粉汗盈盈, 倚女而出神焉。”	Obsolete. Face powder is associated with women
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Applying Makeup for Women	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《京本通俗小说·志诚张主管》： “粉泪频频, 为忆当年富贵。”	Obsolete. Face powder is associated with women
Metaphor	Chamber Pot is a Tiger	Zhang 1996	晋·干宝《搜神记》卷十七： “道士便盛击鼓, 召请诸神。魅乃取伏虎, 于神座上吹作角声音。”	Obsolete. See 虎子
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	王文奇《新房子》：“当时跟客人告便, 跑到盥洗室。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	正谈话间, 老汤忽托词更衣, 一去不返! (Zhu 2018, p. 87)	Zhang (1996, p. 64) associated the changing/removal of the long clothes worn by the noble with entering the toilet room
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Pot for Chamber Pot	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	他称威尔逊为“黑暗的衰读者”, 整天坐在恭桶上读那些过去有关他所写书籍的评论文章, 以提高自己的信心。(CCL)	See 出恭

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BE-1461	盥洗室	guàn xǐ shì	washing room	toilet	洗脸、洗手的房间；今亦称厕所为「盥洗室」	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1462	红 II	hóng	red	blood	血	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1463	红冰 I	hóng bīng	red ice	tears of sadness	泪水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1464	红冰 II	hóng bīng	red ice	blood and sweat	血汗	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1465	红汗	hóng hàn	red sweat	woman's sweat	妇女的汗水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1466	红泪	hóng lèi	red tears	tears of a beautiful person	美人之泪	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1467	虎子	hǔ zǐ	tiger [cub]	chamber pot	便壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1468	画地图	huà dì tú	draw a map	wet the bed	尿床	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1469	黄金	huáng jīn	yellow gold	faeces	粪便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1470	秽器	huì qì	vessel for dirt	chamber pot	便桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1471	溷藩	hùn fān	dirty hedge	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1472	溷轩	hùn xuān	dirty house	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1473	溷汁	hùn zhī	dirty water	urine and faeces	粪尿等污水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1474	洁具	jié jù	tools for cleaning	bathroom fittings, including toilet	在卫生间、厨房应用的陶瓷及五金家居设备,包括坐便器	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1475	解溲	jiě sōu	relieve[oneself] and waste	urinate and defecate	大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1476	解手	jiěshǒu	release one's hands	relieve oneself	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1477	金汁	jīn zhī	molten gold	faeces	粪便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1478	净手	jìng shǒu	wash hands	go to the toilet	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1479	净桶	jìng tǒng	pot of cleanliness	chamber pot; urinal; toilet	马桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1480	口泽	kǒu zé	mouth water	saliva	唾液	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1481	马子	mǎ zǐ	horse [cub]	toilet	便壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1482	茅厕	máo cè	straw side [room]	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1483	茅房	máo fáng	straw room	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1484	茅坑	máo kēng	straw pit	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1485	茅楼	máo lóu	straw tower	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1486	茅司	máo sī	straw place	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1487	米田共	mǐ tián gòng	rice field together ( <i>character decomposition</i> )	faeces	粪便	10. BODY: EXCRETION



MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Cleaning for Going to the Toilet	Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	第二天清早，我们在电机系学生盥洗室里见了面。(CCL)	Literary (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Red for Blood	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	吐红。(Zhu 2018, p. 102)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Red for Blood	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	郁达夫《自述诗》之十六：“昨夜梦中逢母别，可怜枕上有红冰。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Red for Blood	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	明·洪瀛《乌夜啼》诗：“迭迭银鞍向刃，层层铁鎧裹红冰。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Red for Women's Makeup	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李端《胡腾儿》诗：“扬眉动目踏花毡，红汗交流珠帽偏。”	Rouge applied on a face is associated with women. Once mixed with rouge, women's sweat turned red (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Beauty is Red	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·李郢《为妻作生日寄意》诗：“应恨客程归未得，绿窗红泪冷涓涓。”	Obsolete. According to a legend found in "Shi Yi Ji" (《拾遗记·卷七》) by Wang Jia 王嘉, Cao Pi 曹丕 who ruled as Wei Wendi 魏文帝 fell in love with Xue Lingyun 薛灵芸, a beauty. When Lingyun left her parents, she wetted her clothes with tears and carried her tears in a red jade spittoon. When she arrived at the capital, the tears in the pot coagulated like blood
Metaphor	Chamber Pot is a Tiger	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《喻世明言》卷二十二：木绵庵郑虎臣报冤：“觉腹中痛极，讨个虎子坐下，看看命绝。”	Chamber pots in ancient China used to have a shape of a crouching tiger, mostly made of pottery, porcelain, lacquer or copper, and some aristocrats in the Han Dynasty also had chamber pots made of jade (HDC 2010)
Metaphor	Urination is Drawing a Map	Zhang 1996	在床上画地图。(Zhang 1996, p. 65)	
Metaphor	Faeces is Gold	GC 2015	不可让宠物随地便溺，以免黄金遍地，有碍市容观瞻。(GC 2015)	Jocular (GC 2015)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Dirty for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《南齐书·焦度传》：“度亲力战，攸之众军蒙桶将登，度令投以秽器，贼众不能冒，至今呼此楼为‘焦度楼’。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Dirty for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·沉起凤《谐铎·蛟娜城》：“生失足堕溷藩，撑扶起立，懊闷欲死。”	Obsolete. Toilet used to be surrounded by a bamboo hedge or twig fence
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Dirty for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	宋·孙光宪《北梦琐言》卷十：“马上内逼，急诣一空宅，径登溷轩。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Dirty for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	唐·李匡乂《资暇集》卷下：“北齐文宣帝怒其魏郡丞崔叔宝，以溷汁沃头。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	Zhu 2018	卫浴洁具。(Zhu 2018, p. 121)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	田野《火烧岛》：“天亮了，像已经过去的千百个早晨一样，起床号、穿衣、迭被、解溷、洗脸……然后，坐下来等着开饭。”	Literary
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Making Oneself Comfortable for Urination and Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, Zhu 2018, GF 2014	爷爷，我去解个手，你陪吴团长聊聊天吧。(CCL)	Literary
Metaphor	Faeces is Gold	GC 2015, HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《水浒传》第六十三回：“准备桶木炮石，踏弩硬弓，灰瓶金汁，晓夜堤备。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Cleaning for Going to the Toilet	GF 2014, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, XHC 2016	《金瓶梅》第一〇回：“只见他家使的一个大胖丫头走来毛厕净手。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Cleaning for Going to the Toilet	GF 2014, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, XHC 2016	《西游记》第十八回：“行者跳起来，坐在净桶上。”	Used instead of the direct expression 马桶 which in modern Mandarin refers to the 'toilet bowl'
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Liquid for Saliva	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《礼记·玉藻》：“毋没而杯圈不能饮焉，口泽之气存焉尔。”	Obsolete. GC (2015) notes that this expression was often used in reference to the saliva stains (口水的渍痕)
Graphic Modification	Replacement of Characters	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·汤显祖《还魂记》第二十出：“鸡眼睛不用你做嘴儿挑，马子儿不用你随鼻儿倒。”	It is believed that the original term 虎子 'tiger [cub]' for chamber pot was replaced by 马子 'horse [cub]' under Tang Dynasty due to a common taboo of that time imposed on the word 'tiger' (HDC 2010), see 虎子
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	HDC 2010, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	《醒世姻缘传》第三十四回：“装了解手，摘了出恭牌，走到茅厕里边，把茅厕里边边门了。”	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	张天翼《儿女们》：“他们还把人家的祖宗牌位扔到茅房里。”	Colloquial (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Pit for Toilet	HDC 2010, GC 2015, XHC 2016, GF 2014	厕所已经从当初的茅坑逐渐变成了卫生间、洗手间、更衣室、化妆室。(CCL)	The term can refer both to a pit used as a toilet as well as to toilets in general, usually of bad quality (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	Zhang 1996	往年斗争韩老六，我躲进茅楼，这事不体面。(Zhang 1996, p. 68)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	HDC 2010	清·翟灏《通俗编·居处》：“《传灯录》：赵州谿谓文远曰：东司上不可与说佛法。朱暉《绝倒录》载宋人《拟老饕赋》有‘寻东司而上茅’句。按：俚言毛司。据此，当为茅司也。”	Obsolete
Graphic Modification	Character Decomposition	CCL, BCC	也有的“文人雅士”，想把“粪”的不雅一笔带去，就称此为“米田共”。 [https://zhidao.baidu.com/question/1950087873667781108]	The character 粪 is deconstructed into 3 radicals

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BE-1488	内逼	nèi bī	inner press	urgent need to go to the toilet	急欲上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1489	内急	nèi jí	inner urge	urgent need to go to the toilet	急欲上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1490	内迫	nèi pò	inner press	urgent need to go to the toilet	急欲上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1491	溺器	niào qì	urine vessel	chamber pot	便壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1492	起居	qǐ jū	get up and squat down	faeces, defecate	大便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1493	起夜	qǐ yè	get up at night	get up at night in order to urinate	夜间起来小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1494	去洗手间	qù xǐshǒujiān	go to the bathroom	go to the toilet	指排泄大小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1495	如厕	rú cè	go to the side room	go to the toilet	上厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1496	起旋	qǐ xuán	stand up and [do it] quickly	urinate	小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1497	上大号	shàng dà hào	go big number	defecate	指排泄大便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1498	上小号	shàng xiǎo hào	go small number	urinate	指排泄小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1499	生津	shēng jīn	life fluid	sweat	出汗	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1500	失禁	shī jìn	lose one's restrains	urinal or faecal incontinence	指控制大小便的器官失去控制能力	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1501	湿湿	shī shī	wet-wet	urine	小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1502	手纸	shǒu zhǐ	hand paper	toilet paper	大使用纸	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1503	卫生带	wèi shēng dài	hygienic pad	menstruation pad	月经带	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1504	卫生纸	wèi shēng zhǐ	hygienic paper	toilet paper	解手时所用的纸	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1505	下气	xià qì	emit air	flatulence	屁	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1506	香汗	xiāng hàn	fragrant sweat	woman's sweat	女子的汗水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1507	小解	xiǎo jiě	small relief	urinate	排泄小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1508	小水	xiǎo shuǐ	small water	urine, urinate	尿液	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1509	小溲	xiǎo sōu	small waste	urine, urinate	小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1510	小遗	xiǎo yí	small [thing] left	urine, urinate	小便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1511	秽器	xiè qì	vessel of filth	chamber pot	便器	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1512	泄气	xiè qì	leak air	fart	放屁	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1513	行清	xíng qīng	[place] which has to be cleaned	toilet	厕所	10. BODY: EXCRETION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Urge for Going to the Toilet	GC 2015	明·陆灼《艾子后语·病忘》：“未一舍，内逼，下马而便。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Urge for Going to the Toilet	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	人走在街上感到内急，就不得不上公共厕所。(Zhu 2018, p. 156)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Urge for Going to the Toilet	HDC 2010	《晋书·阮孚传》：“(温嶠)过孚，要与同行。升车……固求下车，嶠不许。垂至臺门，告嶠内迫，求暂下，便徒步还家。”	Obsolete
Borrowing	Classical Chinese for Chinese	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《新唐书·卷二〇二·文艺传中·李适传》：“易之所赋诸篇，尽之问、朝隐所为易之奉溺器。”	The term 'urine' 溺 comes from Classical Chinese and used euphemistically as a more vague term in comparison to the later colloquial word 'pee' 尿, cf. 便溺 instead of 泌尿 (similarly, Latin-based formal words in English 'urine' or 'faeces' sound less direct or inappropriate than the colloquial words 'shit' or 'piss')
Metonymy	Subevent for Event: Getting Up for Going to Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	汉·赵晔《吴越春秋·夫差内传》：“吴王曰：‘何谓养种？’左右曰：‘盛夏之时，人生食瓜，起居道傍，子復生。’”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Subevent for Event: Getting Up for Going to Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GC 2015, GF 2014, XHC 2016	去年冬天她为了不感冒，只好穿着棉衣棉裤、戴着棉帽子睡觉，起夜也方便。(Zhu 2018, p. 166)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Going to the Toilet for Urination and Defecation	XHC 2016	不好意思，我去去洗手间。[https://www.adxs.top/chapter/206/36/10566469.html]	XDC (2016) marks the word 'washing room' 洗手间 itself as a euphemism (婉辞) as well as 'wash hands' 洗手 for going to the toilet
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Room for Toilet	Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	大肠排毒时间养成一觉醒来就如厕的好习惯。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Quick for Urination	Zhang 1996	韩愈的《张中丞传后序》：“巡起旋，其众见巡起，或起或泣。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Large for Faeces	GC 2015	小朋友们，好好听着，想要上小号的话，比一根手指头，如果是要上大号，那就得比两根手指头，知道吗？(GC 2015)	Also known as 'go number 2' 上二号
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Small for Urine	GC 2015	请等一会儿，我去上个小号。(GC 2015)	Also known as 'go number 1' 上一号
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Liquid for Sweat	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《中国民间故事选·两头驴的东西》：“皇上见阿凡提热的遍体生津，满头大汗，便故意戏弄阿凡提。”	Obsolete. In Traditional Chinese Medicine the term 'body liquid' 津 or 津液 could be applied to multiple body fluids, including saliva and sweat
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Losing Control for Incontinence	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	谁知几天后脊背肋部的疼痛加剧，波及腰部颈间，大小便开始失禁，病情日渐恶化。(Zhu 2018, p. 194)	
Reduplication	Liquid for Urine	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·杨文奎《儿女团圆》第二折：“王兽医云：‘娘子，我要湿湿去。’”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Used by Hands for Defecation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	老舍《骆驼祥子》八：“他细细看了看那个小折子，上面有字，有小红印；通共，哼，也就有一小打手纸那么沉吧。”	Can be interpreted as 'paper used for relieving oneself' (解手时使用的纸, XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Hygienic for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	杭素玉突然大叫一声，从裤腰下抽出一条紫红色的卫生带，抡高了朝梁美仙脸上打去。(Zhu 2018, p. 226)	Alternatively: 卫生巾
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Hygienic for Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	你带卫生纸了吗？[https://weibo.com/5321383497/HzuX1aDrc]	Cf. 'sanitary room' or 'hygienic room' 卫生间
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gas for Flatus	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《医宗金鉴·杂病心法要诀·诸气辨证》：“上气逆苏子降，下气陷补中宜。”注：“下气为清气下陷……然清气下陷，下气不甚臭秽，惟伤食下气，其臭甚秽。”	Obsolete. Term of traditional Chinese medicine
Metaphor	Woman is a Flower	GC 2015, Zhang 1996	香汗淋漓。(GC 2015)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Small for Urine	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	鲁迅《朝花夕拾·范爱农》：“他醉着，却偏要到船舷上去小解。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Small for Urine	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	清·姚衡《寒秀草堂笔记·宾退杂识》：“白苳蔻油……能暖脾胃，去食水，下小水。”	Obsolete. Term of traditional Chinese medicine
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Small for Urine	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《史记·扁鹊仓公列传》：“君要肋痛不可仰仰，又不得小溲。”	Obsolete. 撒尿 (HDC 2010). The word of literary language 'waste' 溲 used to refer to any bodily excretion, especially urine (GF 2014, XHC 2016), cf. 'urinate' 溲溺 (GF 2014)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Small for Urine	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《水浒传》第七回：“林冲吃了八九杯酒，因要小便，起身道：『我去净手了来。』”	Obsolete. 撒尿 (HDC 2010), 排尿 (GC 2015). The morpheme 'lose, leave behind' 遗 is still used nowadays to refer to involuntary bodily emissions, including nocturnal emissions 梦遗 or 遗精 and enuresis 遗尿 (XHC 2016).
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Dirty for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《周礼·天官·玉府》：“掌王之燕衣服衽席床第，凡裘器，若合诸侯则共珠槃玉敦。”	Obsolete. 溲便之器 (HDC 2010). 'Filth' here is associated with the bodily waste: 粪, 秽. 便器的婉称。意谓容纳秽粪之器 (Zhang 1996, p. 68)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gas for Flatus	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	清·褚人穫《坚瓠二集·咏洩气》：“三水林观过，年七岁，嬉游市中，以鬻诗自命，或戏令咏洩气诗。”	Obsolete. Nowadays used in its literal meaning 'lose air' = 'deflate' (of a balloon or of a car tire) and metaphorically 'feel discouraged', 'lose hope', 'get disappointed' (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Cleaning for Going to the Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《骈雅·释宫》：“行清，粪厕也。”	Obsolete. Toilet is a place "which waste has to be cleaned often" (因其秽污当常清除, 故称, HDC 2010; Zhang 1996, p. 68)

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BE-1514	夜壶	yè hú	night pot	chamber pot	尿壶, 便壶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1515	夜盆儿	yè pénr	night basin	chamber pot	尿盆, 便盆	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1516	夜香	yè xiāng	nocturnal fragrance	faeces	粪便	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1517	遗矢	yí shǐ	leave an arrow	faeces, defecate	拉屎	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1518	阴精	yīn jīng	yin essence	sperm	精液	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1519	玉汗	yù hàn	jade sweat	woman's sweat	女子的汗水	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1520	玉泉	yù quán	jade spring	saliva	唾液	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1521	玉啼	yù tí	crying with jade	woman's tears	女子眼泪	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1522	畚桶	yú tǒng	bucket with a hole	toilet	马桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1523	余桶	yú tǒng	bucket for waste	toilet	马桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1524	玉箸	yù zhù	jade chopsticks	tears; snot	眼泪; 鼻涕	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1525	浊气	zhuó qì	dirty air	flatulence	屁	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1526	子孙桶	zǐ sūn tǒng	pot of offspring	chamber pot for newlyweds	便桶	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BE-1527	走阳	zǒu yáng	leak out yang	nocturnal emission	遗精; 精泄不止	10. BODY: EXCRETION
BM-1528	姘	bàn	menses	menses	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1529	潮信	cháo xìn	[regular] time of the tide	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1530	陈妈妈	chén māma	mama Chen	woman's sanitary belt/towel (menstrual hygiene product)	月经带	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1531	程姬之疾	chéng jī zhī jí	the sickness of concubine Cheng	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1532	闯红灯	chuāng hóng dēng	run a red light	have sex with a woman while she is menstruating	指月经期做爱	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1533	大姨妈来了	dà yí mā lái le	big aunt (has come)	start menstruating	指月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1534	干好事	gàn hǎo shì	do good things	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1535	庚信	gēng xìn	time-related regularity	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1536	癸水	guǐ shuǐ	water of <i>tianguǐ</i> substance	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1537	好朋友来了	hǎo péng you lái le	old friend (has come) / good friend (has come)	start menstruating	指月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1538	红 I	hóng	red	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1539	红潮	hóng cháo	red tide	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1540	红灯亮了	hóngdēng liàng le	red light went on	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Nocturnal for Excretion	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	原来我们家好玩艺儿多了，比你们有钱，夜壶都是玛瑙的。(Zhu 2018, p. 261)	Usually denotes an old-fashioned chamber pot - a bowl kept in a bedroom and used as a toilet at night (XHC 2016)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Nocturnal for Excretion	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	元·无名氏《争报恩》第一折：“那瓦罐儿少不的井上破，夜盆儿刷杀到头脑。”	Obsolete. See 夜壶
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Nocturnal for Excretion	CCL, BCC	他们用毛巾包鼻，逐家逐户拍门叫“倒夜香”，住户将尿塔（又称为夜香筒）放出户外、楼梯口转角等。 [https://www.5a3q.com/shenghuofangshi/2218464.html]	Typical collocations for collecting sanitary waste and collectors of sanitary waste: 'sewage disposal' 倒夜香, '[female] sanitary worker' 夜香妇
Graphic Modification	Replacement of Characters	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, XHC 2016	《史记·廉颇蔺相如列传》：“廉将军虽老，尚善饭。然与臣坐，顷之三遗矢矣。”	Literary (XHC 2016). The word 'arrow' 矢 and 'shit' 屎 have the same reading. Similarly, 'arrow air' 矢气 refers to flatulence
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Yin-Energy for Sexual	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	旧题汉伶玄《赵飞燕外传》：“阴精流输不禁，有顷绝倒。”	Obsolete. Notably the term 'yin essence' could denote both male sperm and fluid emitted by women during the sexual intercourse (the so-called female ejaculation)
Metaphor	Woman is Jade	Zhang 1996	她已是呼吸加快，玉汗欲滴了。(Zhang 1996, p. 72)	Jade is used metaphorically to refer to beautiful things and beautiful people, mostly beautiful women (XHD 2016)
Metaphor	Saliva is a Water Spring	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	宋·黄休复《茅亭客话·杜大举》：“服玉泉法，去三尸，坚齿髮，除百病。玉泉者，舌下两脉津液是也。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Woman is Jade	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	隋·薛道衡《昔昔盐》诗：“恒敛千金笑，长垂双玉啼。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having a Hole for Toilet	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	清·钱泳《履园丛话·报应·折福》：“（蔡礼斋）最喜在甃桶上看书，乡试十餘科不第。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Waste for Bodily Excretions	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《喻世明言·卷二十八·李秀卿义结黄贞女》：“用细细干灰铺放余桶之内，却教女子解了下水，坐于桶上。”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Bodily Fluids are Chopsticks	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	唐·李白《闺情》诗：“玉箸日夜流，双双落朱颜。”	Obsolete. Based on the form of the traces or lines which tears leave which look like thin chopsticks. In Buddhist texts also may refer to the hanging snot of a monk at the moment of his death
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Gas for Flatus	Zhang 1996	瞿秋白《饿乡纪程》十：“门窗开处冒出一阵阵烟雾浊气。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Pot for Chamber Pot	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	随着时代的变化，子孙桶里装的东西也不不同了。[https://www.jiehun.com.cn/baike/article18219/]	Obsolete. Originates from the practice of including the chamber pot in the lady's dressing case as a part of the bridal dowry and wishing the newlyweds to have many offspring
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Having Yang-Energy for Male Sexuality	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《醒世姻缘传》第二七回：“老年来患了走阳的病，昼夜无度。”	Obsolete. Term of traditional Chinese medicine
Borrowing	Classical Chinese for Chinese	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《汉律》：“见婢变不得侍祠。”	Obsolete, almost unknown character used euphemistically due to its vagueness. Alternatively: 婢变
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Regular for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016, Zhang 1996	《剪灯馀话·江庙泥神记》：“潮信有期应自觉，华容无媚为谁消？”	Refers to the similarity between a tidal cycle and menstruation cycle: 因月经如潮水定期而来，故称 (Zhang 1996, p. 68)
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Relative	Zhu 2018, Zhang 1996	《醒世姻缘传》第一一回：“床背后、席底下、箱中、柜中、梳匣中，连那睡鞋合那陈妈妈都翻将出来。”	Alternatively: 'grandmother Chen' 陈姥姥
Metonymy	Proper Name for Category: Personal Name for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《醒世恒言·隋炀帝逸游召谴》：“（罗罗）因托辞以程姬之疾，不可荐寝。”	Obsolete. Based on a story from "Historical Records" (《史记·五宗世家》) about Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Han dynasty whose summoned his beloved concubine Cheng 程姬. Cheng had periods and therefore sent her maid instead
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Red Light	CCL, BCC	惊！经期房事闯红灯危害大！女人别再无知了！[https://freewechat.com/a/MzA3MzAzMzQ3NQ==/2650009693/1]	
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Guest	Zhu 2018	眼神凄楚可怜，乘务长问是不是大姨妈来了。(CCL)	
Metonymy	Category for Member of Category: Matters for Menstruation	CCL, BCC	当代都市里的妇女对月经来潮这种现象也不直呼其名，“来例假”、“干好事”<...> [https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_9158695]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Regular for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	《红楼梦》第六十九回：“已是三月，庚信不行，又常作呕酸，恐是胎气。”	Obsolete. Menstruation occurs in a timely manner: 庚，天干的第七位，引申指时间。因月经按时而至，如潮有信，故称 (Zhang 1996, p. 69)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stimulating Reproduction for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	清·沉起凤《谐铎·捣鬼夫人》：“自与君春风一度，葵水不復来，倘且晚临蓐，安得復归仙籍？”	Obsolete. Also known as 'tiangu water of peach flowers' 桃花葵水. See 天葵
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Guest	CCL, BCC	女性经期要格外注意，不要认为是“老朋友”来了，就忽视了对自己的呵护。[http://www.cyyaf.com/pzixub/131044.html]	Alternative expression with the same meaning: 老朋友（来了）
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Red for Blood	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《醒世恒言·隋炀帝逸游召谴》：“（罗罗）因托辞以程姬之疾，不可荐寝。”	Usually used in collocations: 'the red [thing] came' 来红 or 身上来红
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Tide	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	清·沉起凤《谐铎·兔孕》：“阿紫出帘下招聚儿私语曰：‘自与君接后，红潮不至者百日矣。’”	Based on the idea that both tidal and menstrual processes happen regularly (GF 2014)
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Red Light	CCL, BCC	在香港则常用M到表示月经来潮。也有人用“女孩子时间”、“红灯亮了”<...> [http://www.sohu.com/a/378976465_120544001]	

ID	EUPHEMISM	ROMANISATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR STANDARD MANDARIN	LITERAL TRANSLATION	MEANING IN ENGLISH	MEANING IN CHINESE	TARGET DOMAIN
BM-1541	夹布子	jiá bù zǐ	cloth pressing from both sides	menstruation pad	月经带	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1542	经信	jīng xìn	regularity	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1543	来潮	lái cháo	tides rise	get one's period	女子月经来的时候	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1544	例假	lì jià	official holiday	menstrual period	指月经或月经期	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1545	骑马带子	qí mǎ dài zǐ	pad [for] riding a horse	menstruation pad	月经带	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1546	身上	shēn shàng	on one's body	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1547	生理期	shēnglǐqī	physiological period	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1548	她的那个来了	tā de nà ge lái le	her one (has come)	start menstruating	指月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1549	天癸	tiān guǐ	substance <i>tiangui</i> , substance of reproduction	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1550	特殊情况	tè shū qíng kuàng	special circumstances	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1551	洗换	xǐ huàn	clean and change	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1552	小红来了	xiǎo hóng lái le	little Red came	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1553	月候	yuè hòu	time of the month	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1554	月客	yuè kè	guest of the month	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1555	月事	yuè shì	matters of the month	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1556	月事布	yuè shì bù	pad for monthly matters	menstruation pad	月经带	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1557	月数	yuè shù	several [days] of a month	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1558	月水	yuè shuǐ	water of the month	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1559	月信	yuè xìn	regularities of the month	periods	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1560	子孙瑞	zǐ sūn ruì	auspicious sign [for having] offspring	menstruation	月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1561	初潮	chū cháo	first tide	first menstruation	第一次来月经	11. BODY: MENSTRUATION
BM-1562	入月	rù yuè	enter the month	menstruation, beginning of menstrual cycle	女子月经来临的时候	10. BODY: EXCRETION

MEANS OF EUPHEMISATION	SUBTYPE	REFERENCES	EXAMPLE OF USAGE	REMARKS
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Pressing Both Sides for Menstruation Pad	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《醒世姻缘传》第十一回：“把那白绫帐子拿下来，待我做夹布子使哩！”	Obsolete. Regional
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Regular for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	明·叶宪祖《丹桂钿合》第五折：“请问婆婆，可是经信迟留一月过？”	Obsolete
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Tide	GC 2015, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	近半年来，王女士月经极不规律，常常来潮推迟，她一直被此事困扰。[http://www.whtv.com.cn/p/884642.html]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Regular for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GF 2014, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	德国研究员：女性来例假前几天可能更聪明。[http://www.xinhuanet.com/world/2016-10/15/c_129322983.htm]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Made for Riding for Menstruation Pad	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	周立波《暴风骤雨》第二部七：“解开那并没有来啥的，没有一点血污的骑马带子。”	Regional. Alternatively: 骑马布
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Body for Menstruation	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	卓云说，你气色不好，颂莲笑了笑说身上了。(Zhu 2018, p. 189)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Body for Menstruation	Zhu 2018	她的生理期常常不准时，也看过妇科医生，医生说她不容易受孕。(Zhu 2018, pp. 214-215)	
Deletion	Taboo word 'menstruation' is omitted	CCL, BCC	一個女孩子告訴我她的那個來了，是什麼意思？[https://www.diklearn.com/a/202105/612380.html]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Stimulating Reproduction for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, XHC 2016	傻大姐天葵未现，不知不识，创造性地想象赤条条“两个妖精打架”。(Zhu 2018, pp. 214-215)	Term of traditional Chinese medicine denoting the so-called 'substance that promotes reproductive function' (一种促进生殖功能的物质, GC 2015)
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Special [time] for Menstruation	CCL, BCC	月经是女人每个月都要经历的特殊情况。[http://www.sohu.com/a/358763296_100024204]	Strongly context-based
Metonymy	Effect for Cause: Need to Change Clothes for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018	《醒世姻缘传》第四回：“珍哥从去打围一月之前，便就不来洗换了，却有了五个月的身孕。”	Metonymically refers to the actions of menstruating women: washing their bodies and changing their clothes (妇女月经来时，需洗身换衣, GC 2015)
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Guest	CCL, BCC	小紅來了！如何調養身體？[https://woman.tvbs.com.tw/fitness/4576]	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	明·李时珍《本草纲目·人·妇女月经附月经衣》(附方)：“小儿惊癩，发热，取月候血和青黛，新汲水调服一钱，入口即瘥，量儿加减。”	Obsolete. Menstrual blood is 'blood of the [certain] time of the month' 月候血
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	《骈雅·释名称》：“天葵，月客、姘变、月事也。”《通雅·身体》引《神仙服食经》：“仙药有阳丹、阴丹。阴丹，妇人乳汁也，妇人十五已上，下为月客，有孕，月客绝，上为乳汁。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhu 2018	陶逸初问：“不是月事来了吧？”(CCL)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《淮南万毕术》：“赤布在户，妇人留连”。汉·许慎注：“取妇人月事布，七月七日烧为灰，置楣上，即不復去，勿令妇人知。”	Obsolete
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Regular for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	元·施惠《幽闺记·抱恙离鸾》：“[净]他犯着产后惊风。[旦]不是。[净]莫不是月数不通。[旦]这太医胡说。[末]他是男子汉，怎么倒说了女人的病症。”	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	宋·欧阳修《又三事》：“虫儿具招虚伪事甚详，云自正月至今，月水行，未尝止，今方行也。”	Obsolete. Alternative expression with the same meaning of 'water coming every month regularly': 信水
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, Zhu 2018	明·汤显祖《南柯记·偶见》：“[老]咳，俺去不得。俺真是个信女，把水月观音倒做了。[小旦]怎么说？[老]月信来了。”	Obsolete. HDC (2010) interprets menstruation as a process 'happening monthly and being regular similarly to tides' (按月而至，如潮有信)
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Blessing	HDC 2010, Zhang 1996	《汉书·王莽传上》：“其秋，莽以皇后有子孙瑞，通子午道。”	Obsolete. The metaphor of blessing is supported by metonymy 'being related to reproduction for menstruation' (Salient Property for Category)
Metaphor	Menstruation is a Tide	Zhang 1996, Zhu 2018, GF 2014, XHC 2016	...初潮的年龄大多数在14岁左右。(Zhu 2018, p. 38)	
Metonymy	Salient Property for Category: Related to Moon and Months for Menstruation	HDC 2010, GC 2015, Zhang 1996	明·李时珍《本草纲目·卷五十二·人部·妇人月水》：“女人入月，恶液腥秽，故君子远之。”	Obsolete