

Guangzhou Morning Tea's Cultural Symbols Reconstruction from a Cross-cultural Perspective

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Abstract

Against the backdrop of globalization, Guangzhou morning tea is not only accepted by overseas audiences as a form of cuisine, but also participates in the reconstruction of cultural meaning as an important component of the Lingnan daily lifestyle. However, due to cultural differences, the frequent weakening of symbolic meaning and deviation of cultural connotation affect elements such as the naming of dim sum items, tea house etiquette, and social customs during communication. Based on Peirce's semiotic theory, this paper explores the reconstruction of Guangzhou morning tea cultural symbols from material, behavioral, and symbolic dimensions from a cross-cultural perspective. The purpose of this paper is to explore the connotations embedded in Guangzhou morning tea, promote its inheritance and international communication in the contemporary age, and enable Guangzhou morning tea to become an important cultural bond connecting the local region with the world.

Keywords

Guangzhou Morning Tea, Peirce's Semiotics, Cross-Cultural Communication.

1. Introduction

In global context, cross-cultural communication has become a core topic in the exchange and mutual learning of civilizations. With its unique trait of being perceivable and empathy-evoking by people, food culture can be an important medium for transcending cultural barriers. It also carries the meaning of the national culture and the image of a country's cultural identity. Tea drinking is deeply rooted in Chinese traditional culture and forms an integral part of it. In China, various ethnic groups and regions have developed distinct tea-drinking habits and customs. The Chinese tea cultures have spread worldwide. Breaking them down, Cantonese morning tea is one of the representatives in local cultural tradition. Today, Cantonese morning tea is not only widely recognized in China but also holds a certain international influence. Cantonese tea houses can be seen overseas, with Chinese characters "Yum Cha (Tea Drinking)." This morning tea culture is increasingly popular in the world. As Guangzhou morning tea culture goes global, its connotations may be reshaped. We need understand this reconstruction and interpret it well. Guangzhou morning tea culture possesses duality. From the material dimension, it includes tangible elements such as ingredients of dim sum like har gow (shrimp dumplings), purple clay tea wares, and tea houses, while the intangible dimension encompasses the craftsmanship of dim sum making, the social etiquette of "One pot of tea with two pieces of dim sum" (一盅两件) and the philosophy of slowing down life. Guangzhou morning tea culture embodies the lifestyle and spiritual orientation of the local people and we need to protect it. That means safeguarding our spiritual roots, carrying forward Chinese traditional culture, and showcases its charm to the world.

In previous research, food culture has been viewed as a material practice of daily life. Researchers focus on ingredients, cooking methods, and regional variations. However, since the

rise of cultural semiotics, scholars recognize that eating is not merely a simple act but a structured system of meaning production. According to semiotics, any cultural practice gains symbolic meaning through social interaction. In this process, food serves as both material carrier and a form of signification practice rooted in daily life. Using semiotics can analyze how cultural meanings are created, spread, and understood. Thus, Guangzhou morning tea is more than just food and drink. It is a meaningful system consisted of physical items, social behaviors, and cultural symbols. Analyzing this system is not about the question of “what is eaten” , but “how it is understood” and “how what it truly signifies.”

From Peirce’s semiotic theory, this paper conducts a systematic analysis of the cross-cultural communication of Guangzhou morning tea. The process of this paper is as follows: first, identify how the icon, index, symbols of Guangzhou morning tea operate together to construct a unique local cultural meaning. Second, study how the system changes in cross-cultural communication. The paper traces the process where signs change from “representamen” to “interpretant,” demonstrating how Guangzhou morning tea’s cultural meaning is altered across contexts. Using semiotics, the purpose of this paper is to understand not just “what” but “how” cultural meanings work for different people, and to provide practical guidance for sharing cultural heritage, helping people from different countries grasp its true essence for communication that is both sound in theory and useful in practice.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Studies at home

Chinese researches centered on studying the morning tea cultures of Wuzhong in Ningxia and Yangzhou. Few approached various morning tea cultures from a semiotic perspective to explore its meanings represented by their cultural symbols. Yang Wenbi and He Yang (2025) explore Wuzhong morning tea as a means to promote ethnic interaction, foster collective belonging, and strengthen cultural identity. Li Chunmei (2025) addressed challenges in public participation in grassroots social governance in ethnic regions by investigating the innovative “Morning Tea Discussion” model in Lhasa. This model adapts participatory settings, provides capital support, and shifts behavioral habits, effectively encouraging public engagement and achieving tangible results. Qiu Yujing (2024) studied the formation and evolution of Yangzhou morning tea culture under the influence of regional culinary traditions, socioeconomic development, cultural integration, and market demand. The research highlights its historical value in preserving cultural heritage, noting that as a carrier of traditional Chinese culture, it embodies the lifestyle and values of the people of Yangzhou.

In China, semiotics as a field started relatively late, leading to a limited number of specialized studies on food culture. Wu Jing (2024) applied Peirce’s semiotic theory to the “chicken” in Cantonese cuisine. Wu’s research traced chicken’s shift from a concrete dish to a cultural symbol of meanings like auspiciousness and reunion, and examined its contemporary preservation through avenues.

2.2. Studies abroad

Research on Guangzhou morning tea culture abroad did not initially focus on cross-cultural or semiotic perspectives. Instead, it has evolved from studies of local practice-based research to the analyses of cultural mobility and symbolic meaning. The earliest work directly addressing Guangzhou morning tea was Klein’s (2004) study of traditional tea houses in Guangzhou. Rooted in the urban society of China within a post-socialist context, this study explored the shifts in the role of Cantonese tea houses amid urban transformation from an anthropological perspective. The core focus of Klein’s research was not cross-cultural communication, but how traditional tea houses were reshaped amid marketization and the formation of modern urban

structures. He pointed that tea houses were no longer merely part of residents' daily life, but were gradually becoming cultural spaces. In this process, the meaning of morning tea began to shift from a socially embedded daily practice toward a symbol of traditional culture.

As Chinese culture spread globally, scholarly attention gradually turned from local society to cross-cultural mobility. From a macro perspective, Wu and Cheung (2014) proposed that food acts both as a "marker" of cultural difference and as an important medium for crossing cultural boundaries. They emphasized that Chinese food is not replicated in its original form globally, but is selectively simplified and reinterpreted into cultural symbols understandable and acceptable to other cultures. Under this view, Guangzhou morning tea can be seen as a typical case in the globalization of Chinese food, appearing in cross-cultural contexts under generalized symbols like "Yum Cha" or "Dim Sum," where its original complex social and cultural connotations are condensed into easily transmitted cultural images.

Zhang and Long (2015) further revealed the plasticity of morning tea as a cultural symbol from the perspective of cultural flow and social integration. Through a study of interprovincial migrants in China, they pointed out that morning tea is not only a dietary practice but also a social mechanism that fosters cultural adaptation and identity among relocated populations.

In recent years, researchers have begun to focus on Guangzhou morning tea culture itself. Zhang Wenting (2026) explores how Douyin videos of Cantonese morning tea use spatial, culinary, and ritual symbols to create a media spectacle, foster cultural identity via decoding, negotiation, and bodily practice, and highlight algorithmic-cultural tensions.

However, the analysis of these studies reveals a recurring issue: morning tea culture, rooted on specific social contexts, is often difficult to fully represent in cross-cultural settings. Its cultural meanings are simplified into "local specialties" or "cultural experience," while the mechanisms through which its symbolic meanings are selected, simplified, and reconstructed in cross-cultural communication remain unknown. Therefore, a systematic cross-cultural examination of the reconstruction of Guangzhou morning tea culture symbols not only deepens existing research but also forms a key starting point for this paper.

3. Introduction to Peircean semiotics

Nowadays, as a discipline, semiotics has developed two major theoretical systems. First is the structural semiotics founded by Saussure, whose core is a binary opposition model based on linguistics. Second is the triadic semiotics initiated by Peirce, which emphasizes the dynamic relationships between "representamen", "object" and "interpretant". Peirce's semiotic theory is an important branch of modern semiotics. Its core strength is breaking through the limitations of Saussure's linguocentrism, extending sign studies to all fields of meaning-making activities. Peirce argued that logic is essentially the science of universal laws governing signs; therefore, logic is equivalent to semiotics. He put forward the principle of motivation, claiming that there is an inherent connection between a sign and its referent. This directly challenges Saussure's view of arbitrariness, providing a traceable framework for the generation and interpretation of sign meanings. His famous assertion that "a sign must be interpretable by other signs" reveals that meaning is an endless dynamic chain, constantly evolving through the process of interpretation.

The cornerstone of Peirce's theory is the sign's triadic relationship, an interactive model consisting of object, representamen and interpretant. "Object" refers to the thing or concept that a sign denotes. "Representamen" is the carrier or form of the sign itself. "Interpretant" is the receiver's understanding and explanation of the sign, and it is also a new sign in its own right. The representamen is not directly produced by the object, but determined by some of its properties. The transmission of sign meaning works like this: the object determines the representamen, which then evokes an interpretant in the receiver's mind. However, the

receiver's interpretation is not arbitrary. Peirce further divided the object into immediate object and dynamic object. To accurately understand the dynamic object, communicators and receivers must share a certain life world and knowledge system.

Interpretive behavior is affected by individual experience, and sign meanings possess openness and diversity. The same representamen can trigger different interpretants because multiple connections exist between a sign and its object. For this reason, Peirce proposed the concept of ultimate interpretant. It refers to a stable consensus on meaning through full communication and revision within a specific interpretive community.

Based on the different ways signs connect with their objects, Peirce categorized signs into three basic types: icons, indexes and symbols. Icons refer to their objects based on similarity, like paintings. Indexes guide attention to their objects through actual causal or spatio-temporal links, like road signs or fingerprints. Symbols establish their relationships entirely through social conventions and agreements, such as language or flags. In the real world, pure types of signs are extremely rare. Most signs are hybrids combining all three types.

From Saussure's perspective of signs, specific foods, utensils and behaviors in food culture can be regarded as signifiers, while the lifestyles, social relations and values they embody constitute the signified. The combination of the two is not natural; instead, it is a social convention stabilized through long-term practice in a specific cultural context. Therefore, the same form of food culture may elicit completely different interpretations in different cultural contexts. On this basis, Peirce's tripartite classification further expands the scope for semiotic interpretation of food culture. The visual forms of food have the characteristics of iconic signs. Food-related behaviors themselves perform the function of indexical signs. The act of "drinking tea", which symbolizes daily ethics and social order in Lingnan culture, belongs to symbolic signs. These three types of signs together form the multi-layered meaning structure of food culture.

4. Cultural Symbols Reconstruction of Guangzhou Morning Tea in Cross-cultural Communication

Peirce pointed that a sign consists of an indivisible triadic relation. The Representamen is the perceived form. The Object is the thing it refers to. The Interpretant is the generated meaning. In cross-cultural communication, this relationship is not fixed. While the "Representamen" and the "Object" may remain relatively stable, the "Interpretant", which connects and animates them, can undergo fundamental transformation. This reconfiguration of the triadic relationship reveals that cultural transmission is by no means a mere transfer of content, but rather a holistic shift in meaning. Peirce argued that signs are not static referential relationships, but rather a dynamic process of meaning generation among the Representamen, Object, and Interpretant. Especially in cross-cultural communication contexts, the meaning of a sign does not remain stable simply by moving its physical form; rather, it highly depends on the receiver's existing cultural experiences and interpretive frameworks. Thus, the essence of cultural transmission is not the replication of content, but the reproduction of the Interpretant. The adaptation and continuity of Guangzhou morning tea culture in cross-cultural communication exemplify this theoretical insight. Although its material forms are largely preserved, the social meanings, values, and philosophies it carries are constantly reinterpreted across different cultural contexts. Based on Peircean semiotic theory, this chapter will systematically analyze the semiotic reconstruction of Guangzhou morning tea culture in cross-cultural communication from three dimensions: material signs, behavioral signs, and symbolic signs.

4.1. Material signs: The Foundational Carriers of Guangzhou Morning Tea Culture

Material signs are the most intuitional carriers of culture, and their process of reconstruction directly reflects strategies of cultural adaptation. In cross-cultural communication, the physical forms and referents of Guangzhou morning tea undergo changes to adapt to new environments, thereby generating cultural interpretations, that is new interpretants. Analyzing from the perspective of material signs reconstruction, Guangzhou morning tea has evolved over more than a hundred years since the Qing Dynasty, with its forms, spatial settings, and utensils transitioning from simplicity to richness and from roughness to refinement. This reflects a fusion of tradition and modernity, as well as a combination of practicality and symbolism, making it more accessible to people of all ages and both domestic and international visitors. In the initial stage of cross-cultural communication, material signs often serve as the most direct entry point for foreign visitors to perceive a foreign culture. The appearance and taste of dim sum, the materials and usage of tea utensils, and other such elements are not isolated cultural components but together constitute the holistic representamen of Guangzhou morning tea as a way of life. However, as Peirce emphasized, the meaning of a sign is not inherent in the representamen itself but is generated through the interpretant within specific contexts. Therefore, even if these material forms remain relatively stable in cross-cultural communication, the cultural meanings they carry may still change.

“One pot of tea with two pieces of dim sum” (一盅两件), as the most representative material sign of Guangzhou morning tea, epitomizes this mechanism of meaning generation. A common saying, “One pot of tea with two pieces of dim sum” describes the traditional practice of pairing a pot of tea with two small savory or sweet dishes in Cantonese morning tea culture. Literally, it refers to a pot of tea and some dim sum, but in the local context, it symbolizes a simple yet complete way of life. It emphasizes harmony among the dim sum, the tea, and the rhythm of time, rather than quantity. For locals, this structure is not aimed at being full but rather at creating a relaxed and enduring daily experience through the process of “Tan Cha” (叹茶), which means enjoying tea. However, in cross-cultural communication, outsiders often tend to interpret “One pot of tea with two pieces of dim sum” as a fixed set meal or consumption standard, thereby diluting the life philosophy and relational orientation embedded within it.

In the past, traditional dim sum items mostly had fixed forms and clear functions, such as shrimp dumplings, Siu Mai, Char Siu bread, and egg tarts. (Fig.1) Today, there are over 4,000 varieties of Cantonese dim sum, with 23 major types of wrappers and 46 main categories of fillings alone. In the 1980s, Cantonese dim sum, building upon Lingnan folk snacks, extensively absorbed techniques from northern Chinese regions and Western pastries. Through creative integration of Manchu-Han and Chinese-Western influences, the variety of tea snacks became even more diverse. Cantonese dim sum primarily consists of Lingnan folk snacks, flour-based snacks, and Western-style pastries.

Traditional tea sets were simply a single pot paired with one cup, plain and unadorned, with the paramount pursuit of “boiling water and fine tea”, a standard that calls for premium tea leaves and piping-hot water. Tao Tao Ju, a prestigious time-honored teahouse, used to hire laborers to fetch mountain spring water from Baiyun Mountain every day in the past to live up to the requirement of brewing aromatic tea with quality water. Later on, alcohol stoves, small teapots of diverse materials, fragrance-smelling cups and other utensils came into use, and Chaoshan gongfu tea was also introduced into Cantonese morning tea culture.

Though the forms of tea sets have kept evolving, the core tenet of “boiling water and fine tea” has never been diluted. On the contrary, the refinement of tea utensils has materialized and visualized the value of “meticulous attention to detail”, turning it into a tangible cultural symbol that can be perceived. In cross-cultural communication, tea sets are often regarded as

representative embodiments of Chinese aesthetics. Yet if they are divorced from their practical context and merely appreciated as ornamental items, the ethical norms of daily life and relational order they carry will never be truly understood.



Fig 1 shrimp dumplings, Siu Mai, Char Siu bread, and egg tarts



Fig 2 Simple tea sets and refined tea sets

4.2. Behavior signs: The Dynamic Manifestation of Cantonese Morning Tea Culture

If material signs serve as the perceptual entry point for Cantonese morning tea culture to enter the horizon of foreign cultures, behavioral signs are the internal mechanism sustaining the operation of this cultural system. Unlike tangible forms such as dim sum and tea sets that can be directly seen and experienced, behavioral signs rely more on the tacit understanding and shared consensus among participants, and their meanings are more deeply embedded in

specific social relationships. For this reason, in the process of cross-cultural communication, breakdowns of interpretants in Cantonese morning tea culture tend to occur not at the material level, but rather at the behavioral level.

From the perspective of Peircean semiotics, many behaviors in Cantonese morning tea are not mere actions, but a semiotic system that establishes stable connections with specific cultural meanings through iconic similarity, causal connection, or social convention. These behavioral signs have gradually become fixed through long-term practice.

In Cantonese morning tea culture, many signs that trigger associations through similarity exist in related behaviors. For instance, daily act of pouring tea is not a one-way service gesture in this culture but an interactive process embedded with clear social logic. There are fixed rules for the order and manner of pouring tea such as serving elders before juniors pouring clockwise in sequence not filling the cup too full and never pouring with the back of the hand. In the local context these actions are naturally perceived as manifestations of respect courtesy and propriety without explicit explanation. Yet in a cross-cultural setting lacking relevant cultural experience these behaviors are often reduced to mere operational norms with their underlying social significance hardly fully grasped.

When someone pours tea for you, you may perform Kou Zhi Cha Li (扣指茶礼). In terms of sign types this gesture first features the nature of an icon the gentle tapping of fingers on the table is similar in form to traditional gratitude rituals like kneeling and kowtowing thus evoking associations of thanks and respect. In local culture this gesture signifies more than a simple thanks, it is a way to maintain identity order and interpersonal boundaries in public spaces. However, when introduced to a foreign cultural context without an understanding of its historical origin and social background the gesture itself is easily misinterpreted as random table tapping. Consequently, the interpretant of the sign shifts and its ritual connotation is diminished. Legend has it that this etiquette originated from Emperor Qianlong. Once during an incognito visit, he poured tea for his attendants at a teahouse. Unwilling to kneel publicly for fear of exposing the emperor's identity the attendants had a brainwave and gently tapped their fingers on the table to replace kowtowing in gratitude. This gesture later gained popularity and became a common way to express thanks at tea tables.

Compared with icons indexes in Cantonese morning tea culture more directly fulfill the function of practical communication. Jie Gai Xu Shui (揭盖续水), also lifting the teapot lid to ask for refills is a typical example. Instead of verbally calling the waiter when needing more hot water tea drinkers half-open or fully lift the teapot lid. This action does not explicitly state the demand but forms a causal link with an empty teapot or insufficient water temperature through the change of the lid's state thereby referring to the actual need for refilling. Waiters can understand the tea drinkers' intention and complete the interaction simply by observing this state.

This non-verbal communication reflects the great emphasis on implicitness and order in Cantonese morning tea culture. It avoids potential offensiveness caused by direct orders enabling service interactions to be completed without disrupting the atmosphere of the public space. Nevertheless, this index may fail in cross-cultural communication as foreigners tend to express their needs verbally. This reduces the originally efficient and culturally meaningful interaction to mere functional communication. On a broader level many institutionalized behaviors in Cantonese morning tea embody the characteristics of signs. For instance, the traditional processes of picking dim sum from dim sum trolleys checking the bill and settling the bill in classic teahouses rely not on written rules but on stable consensus formed through long-term practice. This convention is built on a high level of social trust allowing tea drinkers to enjoy their meals at ease without immediate settlement. Even with the growing popularity of electronic ordering and scan-to-pay services in modern times procedures such as stamping

for confirmation and centralized bill settlement are still retained serving as behavioral signs connecting traditional and modern consumption patterns.

4.3. Symbolic Signs: The Core Connotation of Cantonese Morning Tea Culture

From a cross-cultural perspective, tourists are initially drawn to the various exquisite dim sum and teas of Cantonese morning tea. They then try to integrate by learning tea etiquette and tea-drinking culture before they truly understand morning tea and grasp the complete life philosophy. This process refers to gradually understanding the connotations carried by Cantonese morning tea from the three levels of icons, indexes and symbols.

When material signs and behavioral signs are repeatedly used and continuously confirmed in daily life, their meanings are no longer limited to specific objects. They gradually evolve into symbolic signs that bear cultural values and social identity. In Peirce's semiotic framework, symbolic signs do not stand based on formal similarity or direct indexical relations. They are founded on social conventions and cultural acquisition and can only form stably through long-term accumulation. It is through this meaning-generation mechanism that Cantonese morning tea culture completes the transformation from specific dietary practice to an overall symbol of life.

At the symbolic level, morning tea is no longer equivalent to dim sum, tea or any specific intangible ritual gesture. It holistically represents a way of understanding time relationships and the order of daily life. The expression "Tan Cha" (叹茶) is a concentrated embodiment of the symbolic meaning of Cantonese morning tea. It cannot be fully understood through direct observation or a single experience but needs gradual internalization through repeated participation. It is at this meaning level that Cantonese morning tea goes beyond the scope of local cuisine and becomes a lifestyle symbol with stable cultural connotations. From the local cultural context, Cantonese morning tea first symbolizes the active adjustment of time rhythm. Unlike the efficiency and function-oriented dietary patterns in modern society, morning tea emphasizes slowness leisure and gathering. It regards time as a life element that can be shared, lingered over and experienced. Long hours of drinking tea and sharing dim sum are not seen as inefficient or wasteful but as an important way to maintain social relations and adjust physical and mental states. This time concept is solidified through daily practice and gradually becomes a highly recognizable symbolic meaning in Guangzhou's urban life.

Cantonese morning tea also symbolizes a relationship-centered social structure. In the morning tea setting, sharing dim sum, pouring tea for one another and sharing tables with strangers all weaken individual boundaries and strengthen a sense of community to varying degrees. Individuals do not participate as isolated consumers but are always embedded in relational networks of family, neighbors or friends. This relationship-oriented lifestyle constitutes a key feature that distinguishes Cantonese morning tea culture from other dietary traditions at the symbolic level.

Yet this symbolic meaning cannot be naturally understood by foreign audiences in the process of cross-cultural communication. As symbolic signs rely on cultural conventions, their interpretants are the most vulnerable to disruption. For outsiders lacking long-term participation experience, Cantonese morning tea is often first perceived as a local specialty cuisine or a cultural experience activity. They cannot truly grasp its symbolic significance in daily life. In this process, the symbolic function of morning tea undergoes a shift evolving from a practice embedded in daily life to a cultural object for external display.

This shift does not mean the disappearance of the symbolic meaning of Cantonese morning tea but rather the reconfiguration of its interpretant in different cultural contexts. When morning tea is incorporated into tourism narratives or urban brand building, its symbolic meaning begins to serve new social needs. It not only points to the daily life order of local people but is also endowed with urban image connotations such as leisure, inclusiveness and vibrant local

liveliness. At this moment, the symbolic meaning of morning tea gains a broader space for communication but inevitably experiences simplification and selective amplification.

From the perspective of Peircean semiotics, this change is not a distortion of cultural meaning but an inevitable outcome of signs generating different interpretants in distinct interpretive communities. For local residents, Cantonese morning tea remains a symbolic practice embedded in daily life that maintains social relations. For foreign audiences, it exists more as an introductory symbol for understanding Guangzhou culture. The two interpretants coexist without contradiction yet point to different levels of cultural experience.

Therefore, the symbolic meaning of Cantonese morning tea in cross-cultural communication is not a fixed cultural core but a dynamic meaning structure that is constantly activated, reconstructed and reinterpreted in different social contexts. It is through the continuous operation at this symbolic level that Cantonese morning tea achieves in-depth cross-cultural communication while preserving its local cultural characteristics.

5. Conclusion

Based on Peircean semiotic theory, this paper systematically examines the semiotic composition of Cantonese morning tea culture at the material, behavioral and symbolic levels as well as its meaning reconstruction in the process of cross-cultural communication from the perspective of cross-cultural communication. The findings show that Cantonese morning tea is not merely a local dietary custom but a multi-layered, dynamically evolving semiotic system, whose meaning undergoes constant selection, transformation and reinterpretation during cross-cultural communication.

At the material level, the forms of dim sum, teas and tea sets are constantly evolving. They retain traditional visual characteristics while adapting to the needs of modern life, serving as intuitive carriers for cultural identification. At the behavioral level, tea-drinking etiquettes and interaction methods such as the finger tapping ceremony and savoring morning tea leisurely are deeply rooted in the local social context. When these behaviors enter other cultures, the underlying philosophy of slow life and social norms contained therein are prone to be lost, which indicates that the transmission of behavioral signs relies on shared experiences and contextual interpretation.

At the symbolic level, the profound values carried by morning tea, such as harmony in diversity and human connection, are often simplified into superficial “characteristic experiences” in cross-cultural communication. To convey its core connotations, guidance should be provided through storytelling and personal experience. The paper finds that Peircean semiotics can effectively reveal the dynamic process of how meaning is reshaped in cultural communication. To promote the global dissemination of Cantonese morning tea culture, we should shift from merely showcasing food to systematically interpreting the life philosophy and social values behind its signs, thereby achieving a deeper level of cultural understanding and resonance.

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