LEXICAL BORROWING: A CASE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENON IN JAPAN AND CHINA

Xuexin Liu
Spelman College

Introduction

There have been numerous studies of linguistic borrowing that focus on why a community of speakers incorporates some linguistic element into its language from another language. This is known as the phenomenon of "linguistic transference." Research findings provide strong evidence that such transferences are most common in the realm of vocabulary in that the borrowing language may incorporate some cultural item or idea and the name along with it from some external source.[1] More specifically, this particular linguistic phenomenon is recognized as "lexical borrowing." Different from previous researches, from cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives, this paper describes and explains lexical borrowing in terms of linguistic transformation as an outcome of language contact. "Linguistic transformation" is defined as transformation (more commonly called "adaptation") of one linguistic form in one language to another linguistic form in another language. "Language contact" is defined as the phenomenon where two languages come into contact at various cross-cultural and cross-linguistic levels.

Based on the selected representative data of lexical borrowing as observed in contemporary Japanese and Chinese, this paper presents a case study of the language contact phenomenon. In doing so, the borrowed lexical items are categorized into several areas of language contact, and linguistic transformation is described in terms of phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and semantic substitution. The study raises and answers three specific questions: What is meant by lexical borrowing through today's language contact? What are the most common linguistic constraints (i.e., grammaticalization) on borrowed lexical items? What are the most important theoretical implications for understanding the nature, form and

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[1] René Appel and Pieter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1989); and Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

function of lexical borrowing? Starting from some established theories of linguistic borrowing, this paper presents a model of lexical borrowing through language contact and its linguistic consequences.

Linguistic Borrowing as an Outcome of Language Contact

Linguistic borrowing is generally defined as transference of linguistic elements from one language into another, and it has been recognized as a universal linguistic phenomenon. Whenever a speech community incorporates some linguistic element into its contemporary language, linguistic borrowing occurs. Such a phenomenon has been long studied by scholars in various fields of linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, contact linguistics and historical linguistics.[2] As most frequently observed in all studies of linguistic borrowing, linguistic transferences are most common in the realm of vocabulary, and this type of borrowing is specifically referred to as "lexical borrowing." A number of linguists have proposed various hypotheses about the kinds of items which may be borrowed in situations of language contact.[3] It has generally been argued that lexical material is the most easily borrowed.

As the term "lexical borrowing" suggests,[4] the borrowing language may incorporate some items from some external source, that is, from some

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[2] Einar Haugen, "The Stigmata of Bilingualism," in Anwar S. Dil, ed., *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 307–344; Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); Uriel Weinreich, Shana Poplack, David Sankoff and Christopher Miller, "The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation," *Linguistics* 26 (1988): 47–104; and Carol Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[3] Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language* 26 (1950): 210–231; Pieter Muysken, "Linguistic Dimensions of Language Contact: The State of the Art in Interlinguistics," *Révue Québecoise de Linguistique* 14 (1984): 49–77; and Edith A. Moravscik, "Language Contact," in Joseph Greenberg, ed., *Universals of Human Language*, vol. 1. *Method and Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 93–123.

[4] René Appel and Pieter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*; and Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism*.

other language, to meet its lexical-conceptual needs. However, lexical borrowing may go beyond the actual needs of a language.[5] Weinreich believed that the primary motivation for core borrowing was prestige.[6] If one of the languages is of greater prestige than the other, then speakers tend to use more loanwords to display social status.[7] According to some findings and explanations, the number of loans that could be ascribed to lexical-conceptual needs was negligible. The words that did seem to fill lexical-conceptual gaps were concentrated into semantic fields where influence from Anglophone culture was strong, such as sports and computers. The assumption is that the extent and type of interference that will occur in any particular instance of language contact cannot be predicted solely on linguistic grounds. The social value attached to particular forms in the dominant language can lead to interference.[8]

After this, As a general and commonly accepted linguistic principle, when lexical items are borrowed, they are generally made to conform to the existing structural configurations of the borrowing or receiving language, including phonological structure (e.g., adaptation to the sound patterns of the borrowing language), morphological structure (e.g., adaptation to the morphological patterns of the borrowing language), syntactic structure (e.g., adaptation to the syntactic patterns of the borrowing language), and semantic structure (e.g., adaptation to the semantic patterns of the borrowing language).[9] In addition to sociolinguistic and sociocultural

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[5] Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavio*r (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953).

[6] Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

[7] Carol Myers-Scotton and John Okeju, "Neighbors and Lexical Borrowing," *Language* 49 (1973): 871–889; and Raymond Mougeon and Édouard Beniak, "The Extralinguistic Correlates of Core Lexical Borrowing," in John R. Rickford, ed., *Proceedings of NWAV–XV* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

[8] Leslie M. Beebe, "Sociolinguistic Variation and Style Shifting in Second Language Acquisition," *Language Learning* 30 (1980): 433–448; and Raymond Mougeon, Édouard Beniak and Daniel Valois, *Variation in the Phonological Integration of Loanwords in a Bilingual Speech Community* (Toronto: Center for Franco-Ontario Studies, Ontario Institute of Education, 1985).

[9] Appel and Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*.

motivations for lexical borrowing, one of the most significant findings of the previous studies is that lexical borrowing is one of the primary forces behind changes in the lexicon of many languages.[10]

It may be true that the filling in of lexical-conceptual gaps is not the only reason for lexical borrowing, but that there are various sociolinguistic and sociocultural motivations for lexical borrowing. What makes this study of lexical borrowing similar to, but also different from, the previous ones is that it describes and explains the phenomenon in terms of cross-linguistic variations in language-specific structural (i.e., grammatical) constraints on borrowed items as well as in terms of language contact as one of the major driving forces for lexical borrowing.

A Model of Lexical Borrowing through Language Contact

The traditional term "globalization" has also been used to describe the phenomenon of the westernization of weaker countries by spreading western values and dominance in politics, economics, science and technology, culture and language.[11] Different from the traditional notion of globalization, which is the frequent contact of languages that causes the weaker or endangered language to be threatened by the powerful or dominant language,[12] the current study claims that languages in contact are significantly affected by the worldwide rapid growth and exchange in communication and computer technology. Modern technology opens the doors for immediate spreading and exchange of new ideas or concepts across boundaries between countries. It is language contact that promotes lexical borrowing, leaving more room for choices and decisions but less room for language dominance and endangerment. In other words, lexical borrowing through language contact is a result of the introduction or, to some extent, exchange of new ideas or concepts, rather than the relationship

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[10] Romaine, *Bilingualism*; and Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*.

[11] Salikoko Mufwene, "Globalization and the Myth of Killer Languages: What's Really Going On?," Presentation at The Second Annual International Conference of the Graduiertenkolleg Postcolonial Studies (November 4–6, 2003): http://www.vwl.uni-muenchen.de/postcolonialstud ies/program/PoE.htm.

[12] Jean A. Laponce, "Minority Languages and Globalization," (2004): http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2004/Laponce.pdf.

between the weaker or endangered and the powerful or dominant languages. Thus, lexical borrowing through language contact becomes beneficial and lasting because such linguistic borrowing is strongly motivated by both conceptual and cultural influence and acceptance.

One of the major claims of this paper about the nature and function of lexical borrowing is that certain areas that are directly affected by language contact may import relatively new ideas or concepts from other languages, and such imported ideas or concepts are linguistically realized in the lexical items borrowed from the source language. Lexical borrowing through language contact bridges the lexical-conceptual gaps between the source language and the receiving language. This paper proposes that it is the specific language contact areas that impel lexical borrowing. Thus, borrowed lexical items are categorized into several areas of language contact: technology, world market, education, and culture.

One of the other major claims presented in this paper is that borrowed lexical items acquired through language contact must go through various linguistic transformations, and such transformations are language-specific. According to the representative instances of lexical borrowing investigated in this paper, five particular linguistic transformations as observed in those instances are identified: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and substitution.

According to the idea above about the relationship between language contact and lexical borrowing and outcomes of borrowed items through linguistic transformations, a model of lexical borrowing developed through language contact. Figure 1 illustrates this model.

"Language contact" is on the top of the figure, symbolizing its driving force for lexical borrowing, and refers to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic influence in four specific areas: technology, world market, education, and culture. "Borrowed lexical items" include words and phrases that contain lexical content in each of these four specific areas of language contact. This paper claims that lexical borrowing occurs mainly for lexical-conceptual reasons. Such borrowed lexical items may go through five linguistic transformations: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, or substitution, depending on language-specific linguistic mechanisms of the receiving language.
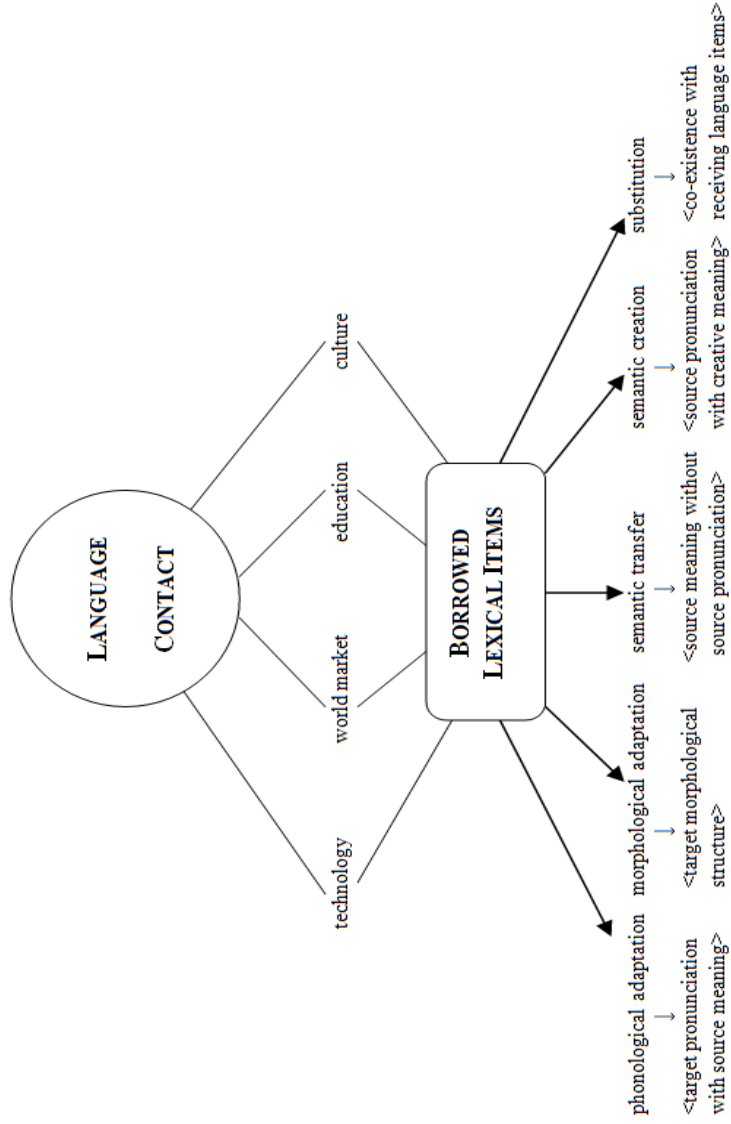
Figure 1. Lexical Borrowing through Language Contact and Linguistic Transformations

"Phonological adaptation" means that the receiving language employs the original pronunciation of the word or phrase from the source language with some necessary adaptation to meet the phonological structure of the receiving language, called "target pronunciation." The source meaning (i.e., original meaning) of the borrowed items remains unchanged. "Morphological adaptation" means that the receiving language adapts the borrowed items to its special morphological structure, called "target morphological structure." "Semantic transfer" means that the receiving language only borrows the meaning of the word/phrase from the source language without borrowing its source pronunciation. This is done by meaningful translation. "Semantic creation" means that the receiving language only employs the pronunciation of the word or phrase of the source language, usually with some phonological adaptation, and adds some meaning to it. Thus, such an added lexical meaning is actually created rather than borrowed from the source language. "Substitution" means that if the borrowed item is used for a concept which already exists in the culture of the receiving language, rather than "addition" if it is a new concept. Thus, the borrowed item co-exists with the equivalent item of the receiving language.

Lexical Borrowing and Linguistic Transformations

As mentioned earlier, this study recognizes language contact as one of the major driving forces for lexical borrowing. The representative instances of lexical borrowing are categorized into the four areas directly affected by global influence. Table 1 includes such instances of relatively recently borrowed lexical items from English to Japanese.[13]

Table 1. Lexical Borrowing: English → Japanese

Areas of Language Contact	Source Language (*English*)	Receiving Language (*Japanese*)	Phonetic Spelling (*Romanization*)
Technology	1. Webpage	ウエッブページ	*Uebbupēji*
	2. Computer	コンピューター/電	*Konpyūtā/denshikeisanki*

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[13] Mizue Sasaki, *Yoku tsukau kakakanago 5* [Academic Japanese Expressions Handbook Series 5] (Tokyo: Aruku, 2001).

		子計算機	
	3. Laptop	ラップト ップ	*Rapputoppu*
	4. Email	メール/電 子メール	*Mēru/denshi+mēru*
	5. Digital camera	デジタル カメラ	*Dejitaru kamera*
	6. Internet	インター ネット	*Intānetto*
	7. Network	ネットワ ーク	*Nettowāku*
	8. Flash memory	フラッシ ュメモリ ー	*Furasshu memorī*
	9. Save	セーブす る/保存す る	*Sēbu+suru/hozan+suru*
	10. Update	アップデ ートする/ 更新する	*Appudēto+suru/ kōshin+suru*
World Market	11. Internet market	インター ネット市 場	*Intānetto+shijō*
	12. Online shopping	オンライ ンショッ ピング	*Onrain shoppingu*
	13. Credit card	クレジッ トカード	*Kurejittokādo*
	14. Mortgage	住宅ロー ン	*Jūtaku+rōn*
	15. Loan	ローン	*Rōn*
	16. Conveni(ence store)	コンビニ (コンビニ エンスス	*Konbini* (*konbiniensusutoa*)

		トア)	
	17. Hotdog	ホットド ッグ	*Hottodoggu*
	18. Coca-Cola	コカコー ラ	*Koka kōra*
	19. Pepsi-Cola	ペプシコ ーラ	*Pepushi kōra*
	20. Supermarket	スーパー マーケッ ト	*Sūpāmāketto*
Education	21. TOEFL	トーフル	*Tōhuru*
	22. Internship	インター ンシップ	*Intānshippu*
	23. Fulbright	フルブラ イト	*Furuburaito*
	24. Panel discussion	パネルデ ィスカッ ション	*Paneru deisukasshon*
	25. Symposium	シンポジ ウム	*Shinpojiumu*
	26. Fellowship	フェロー シップ	*Ferōshippu*
	27. Online course	オンライ ンコース	*Onrain kōsu*
	28. Seminar	セミナー	*Seminā*
	29. Test	テスト/試 験	*Tesuto/shiken*
	30. Course	コース/課 程	*Kōsu/katei*
Culture	31. Rap	ラップ	*Rappu*
	32. Hip Hop	ヒップホ ップ	*Hippuhoppu*
	33. Tip	チップ	*Chippu*

34. Privacy	プライバシー	*Puraibashī*
35. Online game	オンラインゲーム	*Onrain gēmu*
36. Popular	ポピュラー/人気	*Popyurā/ninki*
37. Single-mother	シングルマザー	*Shingurumazā*
38. Image	イメージ/印象	*Imēji/inshō*
39. Kiss	キスする/接吻する	*Kisu+suru/seppun+suru*
40. Housekeeper	ハウスキーパー/家政婦	*Hausukīpā/kaseifu*

As illustrated in Figure 1, five linguistic transformations may result in transforming borrowed items into the receiving languages, depending on the language-specific structural (grammatical) constraints on borrowed items. Language-specific structural constraints means that different receiving languages make borrowed items to fit into their existing linguistic structures, including phonological structure, morphological structure, and semantic structure through necessary linguistic transformations. In other words, different receiving languages may adopt different linguistic transformations to make borrowed items become part of their lexicons. Such cross-linguistic variations in transforming borrowed items into the linguistic structure of receiving languages are clearly reflected in the instances of lexical borrowing from English to Japanese and those from English to Chinese.

Before we examine the instances of lexical borrowing presented in Table 1, it becomes necessary to mention briefly about the Japanese writing system and phonological structure. Around the 9th century, the Japanese developed their own writing system based on syllables: hiragana (ひらがな, 平仮名),\ and katakana (カタカナ, 片仮名). Hiragana and katakana each consist of 46 signs, which originally were kanji but were simplified over the centuries. Even though one can theoretically write the whole language in

hiragana, it is usually used only for grammatical endings of verbs, nouns, and adjectives, as well as for particles, and several other original Japanese words which are not written in kanji. The katakana syllabary was derived from abbreviated Chinese characters used by Buddhist monks to indicate the correct pronunciations of Chinese texts in the 9th century. At first there were many different symbols to represent one syllable of spoken Japanese, but over the years the system was streamlined. By the 14th century, there was a more or less one-to-one correspondence between spoken and written syllables. The word katakana means "part (of kanji)" syllabic script. The "part" refers to the fact that katakana characters represent parts of kanji. Since the 20th century, katakana has been used mainly to write non-Chinese loan words, onomatopoeic words, foreign names, in telegrams and for emphasis. Before the 20th century all foreign loanwords were written with kanji. In addition to hiragana and katakana, kanji (漢字) are the Chinese characters that are used in the modern Japanese logographic writing system along with hiragana, katakana, Arabic numerals, and the occasional use of the Latin alphabet.

The Japanese sound structure is made of moras instead of syllables (as the katakana and hiragana phonetic writing systems explicitly do). The Japanese mora may consist of either a vowel or one of the two moraic consonants, /N/ and /Q/. A vowel may be preceded by an optional (non-moraic) consonant, with or without a palatal glide /j/.

Mora Type	Example	Japanese	Moras per Word
V	/i/	*i* 胃 'stomach'	1-mora word
CV	/te/	*te* 手 'hand'	1-mora word
CjV	/kja/	*kya* きゃ ('surprised' or 'scared scream')	1-mora word
N	/N/ in /jo.N/ or /jo.n/	*yon* 四 'four'	2-mora word
Q	/Q/ in /mi.Q.tu/ or /mi.t.tu/	*mittsu* 三つ 'three'	3-mora word

(Note: V = Vowel, CV = Consonant + Vowel, CjV = palatal glide + Vowel, N = moraic consonant, Q = moraic consonant. The period represents a division between moras, rather than the more common usage of a division between syllables.)[14]

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[14] "Mora and Syllable Structure," Wikipedia, accessed January 30, 2010, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_phonology#Mora_and_syllable_structure.

In the writing system, each kana corresponds to a mora. The moraic /Q/ (i.e., the first half of a geminate cluster) is indicated by a small "tsu" symbol called a *sokuon* (subscript っ in hiragana or ッ in katakana). Long vowels are usually indicated in katakana by a long dash following the first vowel, as in *sābisu* サービス (service). In Japanese, all moras are pronounced with equal length and loudness. Japanese is therefore said to be a mora-timed language.

It becomes obvious that the fundamental Japanese sound structure is CV with the possibilities of V only, N as the word final moraic consonant or Q as the word internal moraic consonant. Otherwise, the Japanese sound structure (e.g., phonological structure) requires every sequence of sounds to end in V.

Table 1 shows that all the lexical items borrowed from English are adapted to the target (i.e., Japanese) phonological structure and written in katakana, except few instances with the possibility: katakana and kanji (to be discussed later). The adaptation to the target phonological structure is clearly indicated in all the instances of the borrowed lexical items. Once a lexical item is borrowed from English into Japanese, an extra V is added to the word final position, for example: 1) Webpage: *uebbupēji* (vowels /u/ and /i/ are added), 2) Computer: *konpyūtā* (vowel /a/ is added), 6) Internet: *intānetto* (vowel /o/ is added), 13) Credit card: *kurejittokādo* (vowel /o/ is added to each word), and 22) Internship: *intānsshippu* (vowel /u/ is added). This word final vowel addition is observed in every borrowed item. Thus, phonological adaptation, as one of the basic linguistic principles governing lexical borrowing, is fully observed in the Japanese data. It should be noted that in the instances of the words "Internet" (*intānetto*) and "internship" (*intānsshippu*), no vowel addition becomes necessary since, in Japanese, N is regarded as a mora (i.e., a syllable). It should also be noted that the original lexical meaning of each of the borrowed items remains unchanged after the phonological adaptation.

It is interesting that sometimes a borrowed item may be written in katakana and kanji. For example, in 4) Email: 電子メール, 11. Internet market: インターネット市場, and 14) Mortgage: 住宅ローン, one part of the word or phrase is written in katakana and the other part is written in kanji. It is observed that if a certain part of the meaning of the word or phrase already exists in the receiving language, this part is written in kanji. This provides evidence that only "borrowed" items or meanings are written

or recorded in katakana. Such a linguistic phenomenon can be analyzed as a type of so-called code-mixing.[15]

In addition to phonological adaptation, some instances in Table 1 show that morphological adaptation comes into play. Morphologically speaking, in modern Japanese there is a special "kango-suru" (-する, "to do") structure to produce a compound verb, that is, a noun of the Chinese origin (kango) plus "suru" to form a compound verb.[16] For example, in *shuzaihōmon-suru* (interview), *benkyō-suru* (study), *gōkaku-suru* (pass), *kakunin-suru* (check), *fukusha-suru* (copy), *kaisetsu-suru* (comment), and *chōsen-suru* (challenge), a noun is in combination with "suru" to form a compound verb. Accordingly, a borrowed noun which contains the verbal meaning of its equivalent verb must be adapted to this special morphological structure called the "katakanago-suru" structure, that is, a borrowed noun written in katakana is combined with "suru" to form this particular compound verbal structure. This morphological adaptation is shown in 9) Save: セーブする/保存する, 10) Update: アップデートする/更新する, and 39) Kiss: キスする/接吻する. In Japanese there are many other borrowed items that are morphologically adapted to this structural pattern.[17] For example, in *adobaisu-suru* (advise), *intabyū-suru* (interview), *kyanseru-suru* (cancel), *pasu-suru* (pass), *chekku-suru* (check), *kopī-suru* (copy), *komento-suru* (comment), and *charenji-suru* (challenge), such borrowed nouns are all combined with "suru" to form so-called compound verbs.

In addition to phonological adaptation and morphological adaptation, another peculiar phenomenon is under observation: during the process of lexical borrowing, although all borrowed items are written or recorded in katakana, certain borrowed items are also written in kanji, that is, katakana and kanji are both used for the same borrowed items. For

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[15] Romaine, *Bilingualism*; Longxing Wei, "The Bilingual Mental Lexicon and Speech Production Process," *Brain and Language* 81 (2002): 691–707; and Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics*.

[16] Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama, "Word Formation in a Modular Theory of Grammar: Postsyntactic Compounds in Japanese," *Language* 63 (1988): 451–484.

[17] Xuexin Liu, "A Lexicon-driven Approach to 'Suru' in Japanese Lexical Structure," Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of the Southeast Association of Teachers of Japanese: 34–45.

example, in 2) Computer: コンピューター/電子計算機, 9) Save: セーブ
する/保存する, 10) Update: アップデートする/更新する, 29) Test: テス
ト/試験, 30) Course: コース/課程, 36) Popular: ポピュラー/人気, 38)
Image: イメージ/印象, 39) Kiss: キスする/接吻する, and 40)
Housekeeper: ハウスキーパー/家政婦, both katakana and kanji are used
for the same borrowed item. This phenomenon can be understood as
substitution. "Substitution" occurs if the borrowed item is used for a
concept which already exists in the receiving language or culture, and
addition occurs if the borrowed item is a new idea or concept. [18] As
commonly observed, while "addition" is driven by lexical-conceptual gaps,
substitution is driven by the co-existence of the "imported" foreign idea or
concept and the equivalent "native" one. The choice between the two is
more stylistic (e.g., formal vs. informal and traditional vs. modern) than
linguistic. The issues of stylistic variations in linguistic choices and subtle
semantic differences between borrowed items and their equivalent native
ones are beyond the current scope of discussion.

Table 2. Lexical Borrowing: English → Chinese

Areas of Language Contact	Source Language *(English)*	Receiving Language *(Chinese)*	Phonetic Spelling *(Pinyin)*
Technology	1. Webpage	網頁	*Wǎngyè*
	2. Computer	電腦/電子計算機	*Diànnǎo/diànzǐ jìsuànjī*
	3. Laptop	筆記本電腦	*Bǐjìběn diànnǎo*
	4. Email	郵件	*Yóujiàn*
	5. Digital camera	數碼照相機	*Shùmǎ zhàoxiāngjī*
	6. Internet	英特網/因特網	*Yīngtèwǎng*
	7. Network	網絡	*Wǎngluò*
	8. Flash memory	U盤/閃盤	U+*pán/shǎnpán*
	9. Save	存盤/保存	*Cúnpán/bǎocún*
	10. Update	更新	*Gēngxīn*

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[18] Appel and Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*.

World Market	11. Internet market	網絡市場	*Wǎngluò shìchǎng*
	12. Online shopping	網上購物	*Wǎngshàng gōuwù*
	13. Credit card	信用卡	*Xì yòungkǎ*
	14. Mortgage	房貸/房租貸款	*Fángdài/fángzū dàikuǎn*
	15. Loan	貸款	*Dàikuǎn*
	16. Conveni(ence store)	便利店	*Biànlìdàin*
	17. Hotdog	熱狗	*Règǒu*
	18. Coca-Cola	可口可樂	*Kěkǒu kělè*
	19. Pepsi-Cola	百事可樂	*Bǎishì kělè*
	20. Supermarket	超市/超級市場	*Chāoshì/chāojí shìchǎng*
Education	21. TOEFL	托福	*Tuōfú*
	22. Internship	實習	*Shíxí*
	23. Fulbright	富布賴特獎學金	*Fùbùlàitè jiǎngxuéjīn*
	24. Study abroad	國外留學	*Guówài liúxué*
	25. Symposium	專題研 討會	*Zhāngtí yántǎohuì*
	26. Fellowship	伙伴關系	*Huǒbàn guānxì*
	27. Online course	網絡課程	*Wǎngluò kèché*
	28. Seminar	研讨会	*Yántǎohuì*
	29. Visiting scholar	訪問學者	*Fǎngwèn xuézhě*
	30. Sister school	姐妹學校	*Jiěmèi xuéxiào*
Culture	31. Rap	街舞	*Jiēwǔ*
	32. Hip Hop	說唱/嘻哈	*Shuōchàng/xīhā*
	33. Tip	小費	*Xiǎofèi*
	34. Privacy	隱私/私密	*Yǐnsī/sīmì*
	35. Online game	網絡游戲	*Wǎngluò yǒuxì*
	36. Popularity	人氣	*Rénqì*
	37. Single-parent	單親	*Dānqīn*

38. Talk show	脫口秀	*Tuōkǒuxiù*
39. Mistress	二奶	*Èrnǎi*
40. Housekeeper	家政/家政員	*Jiāzhèng/ jiāzhèngyuán*

The above description and analysis of the English → Japanese lexical items provide the evidence that borrowed items must go through necessary linguistic transformations, such as phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, and substitution. However, as claimed in this study, different receiving languages may need different linguistic transformations in order for borrowed items to be embedded in its existing linguistic structure. Although the current study only makes a comparison between Japanese and Chinese in linguistic transformations, the assumption that particular linguistic transformational rules governing lexical borrowing are required for the linguistic structure of a particular receiving language. In other words, some linguistic transformations must be applied to some particular receiving languages but not necessarily to other receiving languages. The description and analysis of the English → Chinese lexical borrowing provides such evidence.[19]

Table 2 includes some typical instances of relatively recently borrowed lexical items from English to Chinese. The instances immediately indicate that though those borrowed items are mostly the same ones as borrowed into Japanese, there is no phonological adaptation in order for those items to be embedded in the Chinese language. Almost all the borrowed items are in fact semantically translated into Chinese. This phenomenon is called "semantic transfer," that is, the receiving language only employs the source meaning of the borrowed item through translation without keeping its source pronunciation. Take a few for example, in 1) Webpage: 網頁, 13) Credit card: 信用卡, 25) Symposium: 專題研 討會, and 39) Mistress: 二奶, only the meaning of the borrowed item is semantically transferred into Chinese without its source pronunciation.[20]

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[19] Shangwu Cishu Yanjiu Zhongxin, *Xinhua xinciyu cidian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003).

[20] 二奶 is translated from "mistress," meaning a woman who has a continuing extramarital sexual relationship with a man, especially, a man who provides her with financial support, such as food, dwelling place and money. The reason why the Chinese language borrows the word "mistress"

Another interesting example of meaningful translation is that in 23) "Fulbright," a proper name without its lexical content, is translated into "富布賴特" with the addition of "獎學金" to make the word semantically meaningful.

However, it is possible that the source pronunciations of certain words or phrases may be kept if Chinese does not possess the relevant or appropriate words or phrases in Chinese literal translation to reflect their original meanings. For example, with few exceptions, "microphone" is translated into "麥克風" with its source pronunciation, and "talk show" is translated into "脫口秀" with its source pronunciation.

Semantic transfer does not include the proper names (i.e., names of individual persons and names of countries, cities, institutions, etc.). For example, "Obama" is translated into "奧巴馬," "New York" is translated into "紐約," and "Fulbright" is translated into "富布賴特," all of which are translated into Chinese with their source pronunciations.

Different from phonological adaptation as observed in English → Japanese lexical borrowing, Chinese, as a receiving language, relies on semantic transfer thorough meaningful translation. This special phenomenon should be explained in terms of the nature of the Chinese language. Most Chinese characters during the initial phase are logographic signs, indicating both the sound and meaning of the morphemes they represent. More specifically, Chinese is recognized as a "pictographic" and "ideographic" language ("pictographic" characters bear a physical resemblance to the objects they indicate, and "ideographic" characters employ more diagrammatic method to represent more abstract concepts). In such a language, both concrete and abstract meanings are represented by particular characters. In other words, characters themselves contain their lexical content. It is for this particular language-specific reason that

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from English lies in the fact that in the "old" China (i.e., before the communist liberation of the mainland China in 1949) a man was legally allowed to have more than one wife (the second wife was called "二奶," and the third wife was called "三奶," and so on), and the English word "mistress" reflects a relatively new and spreading phenomenon that some rich or powerful men have 二奶 for a continuing extramarital sexual relationship. This social phenomenon is called "包二奶," meaning that such a man is financially responsible for his mistress' life.

phonological adaptation does not apply to Chinese as a receiving language; otherwise, the original foreign sounds through Chinese phonological adaptation will make semantic transfer meaningless or even ridiculous.

In addition to this very special phenomenon of semantic transfer, another interesting observation of English → Chinese lexical borrowing is called "semantic creation." Contrary to semantic transfer, which is a translation of the lexical content of the borrowed item, semantic creation is to "create" or "add" an arbitrary meaning to the borrowed item which does not contain any specific semantic meaning or lexical content in its original form. For example, in 18) Coca-Cola: 可口可樂 (delicious/tasty and enjoyable/pleasant), 19) Pepsi-Cola: 百事可樂 (everything enjoyable), and 21) TOEFL: 托福 (thanks to you), "Coca-Cola" and "Pepsi-Cola" are the names of the products, and "TOEFL" is an abbreviation for "Test of English as a Foreign Language." The Chinese translation makes each of them arbitrarily meaningful, as shown in the brackets. The purpose of semantic creation is to make certain products attractive to potential consumers. It should also be noted that such semantic creation exploits the source pronunciation for the selection of meaningful Chinese characters (see Figure 1).

Semantic creation also applies to the items borrowed from other languages into Chinese. For example, from German to Chinese, in BMW: 寶馬 (bǎomǎ), 寶(bǎo) means "treasure" and 馬 (mǎ) means "horse," two together meaning "treasure horse," and in [Mercedes] Benz: 奔馳 (bēnchí), 奔 (bēn) means "running" and 馳 (chí) means "quickly," two together meaning "running quickly." Although these two German automobiles are recognized as being world-top class, their names are simply those of the automobile companies without any specific lexical content about the products themselves. It is through such a particular linguistic transformation (i.e., semantic creation) that such names become semantically meaningful and attractive. Of course, it is possible that such borrowed items may retain their source pronunciation without semantic creation depending on the translator's intention.

It also becomes clear that although "morphological adaptation" applies to Japanese, it does not apply to Chinese. This is because all lexical items borrowed from English can easily fit into the Chinese morphological structure, and thus no such adaptation becomes necessary. A further difference between Japanese and Chinese lies in the fact that while "substitution" may occur in Japanese, it does not occur in Chinese. As

explained earlier, Japanese has three components as the composition of the language: hiragana, katakana and kanji, each playing its own specific role in the Japanese linguistic realization. Fundamentally different from Japanese, Chinese does not possess any other means to write or record borrowed items. In other words, all borrowed items go through either semantic transfer or semantic creation and are written in Chinese characters even though Chinese may possess similar concepts of the borrowed items.

Conclusion

This case study of lexical borrowing regards today's language contact phenomenon as one of the most important factors in linguistic transference. This is because new ideas or concepts in certain common areas, such as technology, world market, education and culture, can easily spread across boundaries between countries, especially in today's worldwide interaction and exchange. One of the major claims presented in this paper is that lexical borrowing goes beyond the lexical-conceptual needs on linguistic grounds and is an unavoidable outcome of languages in contact on global grounds. The typical instances of lexical borrowing observed and discussed in this study indicate that it is language contact in various areas of contemporary human life that makes relatively new concepts accepted by different countries. If today's lexical borrowing is understood in terms of language contact, it can be predicted that more and more lexical borrowing will occur across boundaries of countries and thus more and more concepts will be shared universally. Lexical borrowing in terms of language dominance alone becomes insufficient in explaining such a global linguistic phenomenon.

This case study also relates global lexical borrowing to linguistic transformations. The other major claim is that borrowed lexical items must go through various linguistic transformations, and such transformations are language-specific linguistic rules for different receiving languages to embed borrowed items in their existing linguistic structures. Although such transformational rules are universal in the sense that they may apply to various receiving languages, they may not necessarily apply to all receiving languages. As illustrated in this paper, while phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation and substitution apply to Japanese as the receiving language, only semantic transfer and semantic creation apply to Chinese as the receiving language. Although both Japanese and Chinese borrowed the same lexical items from English, they adopt different universally available linguistic transformations in making borrowed items

part of their respective languages. Thus, while Japanese makes borrowed items sound "foreign" through phonological adaptation, Chinese makes borrowed items sound "native" through semantic transfer. In addition, different receiving languages may exploit borrowed items to serve their own special purposes. Thus, while Japanese borrows certain lexical items to substitute its existing lexical items, Chinese borrows certain lexical items and create their meanings to enrich its lexicon.

Based on the observations and explanations of lexical borrowing through language contact and language-specific linguistic transformations from different perspectives, this case study offers a new window into the nature of lexical borrowing and linguistic solutions of borrowed items.