

Original Paper

Japanese and Chinese Lexical Borrowing as an Outcome of Language Contact and Influence

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Abstract

As a commonly observed phenomenon, no language has not borrowed lexical items from some other language(s), just as no culture has developed with no influence from some other culture(s). There have been numerous studies of linguistic borrowing to explore why a particular language incorporates some linguistic elements from another language into its linguistic repertoire. This is known as a phenomenon of linguistic transference. Abundant research findings provide strong evidence that such a transference most commonly occurs in the realm of vocabulary because the borrowing language (i.e., the recipient language) incorporates some cultural items or conceptual elements and the names along with them from some external source. More specifically, this particular linguistic phenomenon is recognized as lexical borrowing. From some cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives, this study describes and explains lexical borrowing in terms of linguistic transformation as an outcome of language contact. Linguistic transformation is defined as 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-linguistic and cross-cultural levels. Based on the representative examples as observed in contemporary Japanese and Chinese lexical borrowing, this paper presents a case study of such a particular language contact phenomenon by categorizing the borrowed lexical items into several areas of language contact. It describes linguistic transformation in terms of phonological/morphological adaptation and semantic transfer/creation/substitution. Thus, this study presents a model of lexical borrowing through language contact and its linguistic outcome.

Keywords

lexical borrowing, language contact, influence, lexical-conceptual, linguistic transformation, adaptation, cultural borrowing

1. Introduction

There have been numerous studies of linguistic borrowing focusing on why a community of speakers incorporates foreign language features into its existing language. Linguistic borrowing is recognized as a global phenomenon of cross-linguistic influence and transference. Abundant research findings indicate that linguistic borrowing is most common in the realm of vocabulary. The phenomenon that one language borrows vocabulary items from another language is commonly referred to as “lexical borrowing”. From some cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives, this study describes and explains lexical borrowing in terms of linguistic transformation as an outcome of language contact and influence. “Linguistic transformation” is defined as the process of one language transforming (i.e., adapting) certain linguistic forms from an external language (i.e., a foreign language) to its existing linguistic system (Appel & Muysken, 1989; Romaine, 1995; Liu, 2012; Wei, 2015). “Language contact” is defined as the phenomenon when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact and influence each other. When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other. What needs to be emphasized in this study is that languages may come into contact at various cross-linguistic and cross-cultural levels without any physical contact between speakers of different languages. In other words, language contact may occur at a rather abstract level through global influence. “Global influence” is defined as influence through various areas of globalization in today’s world. The study of language contact is called *contact linguistics* (Myers-Scotton, 2002; Winford, 2003; Wei, 2024).

Based on the selected representative examples of lexical borrowing as observed in contemporary Japanese and Chinese, this study presents a case study of lexical borrowing as an outcome of language contact. Thus, it explores the sources of lexical borrowing. In so doing, the lexical items as borrowed into Japanese and Chinese are categorized into several areas of language contact in terms of global influence, and linguistic transformation of borrowed items is described in terms of phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and semantic substitution. This study aims to answer four specific questions: What does it mean by saying that lexical borrowing is an outcome of language contact? What are the most important motivations of languages for borrowing lexical items from other languages? What are the most common linguistic constraints on borrowed lexical items (i.e., linguistic transformations)? What are the most important theoretical implications for understanding the nature, form and function of lexical borrowing? Starting from some established theories of language contact and linguistic borrowing, this study presents an analytical and explanatory model of lexical borrowing through language contact and its transformed linguistic products.

2. Linguistic Borrowing as an Outcome of Language Contact

Language contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages or varieties interact and influence each other. The study of language contact phenomena and linguistic effects of language contact is

called “contact linguistics”. As has long been observed and predicted, when speakers of different languages interact closely in various forms of communication, language contact occurs, and such a language contact may occur at a rather abstract level. When different languages have been in contact over the course of time, it is typical for them to influence each other. As languages are viewed as independent linguistic systems, it becomes interesting to investigate what may happen to them as linguistic outcomes when they come into contact with each other. Most commonly observed linguistic outcomes of language contact include pidgins, creoles, codeswitching, lexical borrowing, mixed languages, and interlanguage (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Thomason, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Winford, 2003; Wei, 2024). The study of language contact investigates the ways that language communities interact and impact of that contact on the languages.

Language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties interact resulting in different outcomes in different contact situations. One of the most important notions of contact linguistics is “influence”. Actually, it was philologists who were the forerunners in investigating rather intricate and complicated etymologies of certain lexical items in a particular language in terms of its historical development by considering the cross-linguistic influences that the other language(s) had on the language being investigated. As commonly recognized now, languages in various contact situations must have influenced one another with various intensity. As observed in various languages, the result of such influences is that each language possesses quite a number of linguistic features originating in another language or other languages. Some of the major etymological topics are now also among those of contact linguistics. Weinreich uses the term “interference” to replace the once traditional term “interlingual influence”. “Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 1). Haugen (1953) uses the same term to describe the cases where bilinguals cannot or will not keep two language codes apart. Thus, interference is defined in a rather negative way as a deviation to the norm of both languages which occurs in the speech of a bilingual speaker, and such a deviation may appear on any language levels: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical. It is undeniable that interference is always present when a bilingual speaker may consciously or unconsciously switch or transfer certain elements of another language into the language he is currently speaking. Thus, interference implies the act of conflicting in such a way as to hinder something from happening. Different from the notion of interference, influence implies a force that brings about a change as in nature or behavior. This study uses the term influence in discussing some particular linguistic features of lexical borrowing to avoid any potentially negative implication of the term interference.

Contact linguistics studies various linguistic outcomes resulting from different language contact situations. Since Weinreich’s work, the term “languages in contact” has been widely used by many scholars dealing with problems of language contact. Since Haugen’s work, the term “linguistic

borrowing” has been commonly used by many scholars describing particular language contact situations which cause particular linguistic outcomes. One of the most commonly observed linguistic outcomes is the borrowing of words resulting from language contact or, more specifically, cross-linguistic influence. According to Sapir (1921), the simplest way one language can influence another is the borrowing of words resulting from inter-linguistic influence. Bloomfield (1933) deals with the issues of linguistic borrowing by identifying three specific types of borrowing: cultural borrowing, intimate borrowing, and dialect borrowing. What is most relevant to this study is the notion of “cultural borrowing”. According to Bloomfield, by cultural borrowing one language borrows some particular words from another for new concepts, things and ideas. In other words, lexical borrowing is driven by cross-cultural elements. Although the term “borrowing” has been commonly used for years for studying various types of linguistic borrowing, the term itself may be inadequate or somehow misleading. As noticed by some scholars, borrowing cannot be understood in its strict semantic sense as it would imply that the source language only lends its linguistic forms and/or items to the receiving language temporarily and expects them to be returned. As a matter of fact, the linguistic forms and/or items borrowed from the source language will become the new or added members in the receiving language. In other words, the borrowed linguistic elements should be regarded as the particular products or outcomes of language contact.

Lexical borrowing is one of the most carefully studied areas in contact linguistics, which focuses on the foreign origins of lexical items in a receiving language. It becomes overwhelmingly revealing that it is the process of lexical borrowing which transfers certain lexical items from one language to another, resulting in the receiving language’s lexicon containing foreign elements. By language contact or languages in contact, linguists generally mean where groups of different language speakers are in contact and thus, over a long period of time, their original languages become modified. It has now been commonly recognized that as a major part of such a process, lexical borrowing may occur in different ways. For example, English has borrowed many vocabulary items from Latin, Greek, French, Portuguese, and many other languages in the course of its history without the speakers of different languages being in actual contact. Also, lexical items of a foreign language can be passed to speakers of other languages through book learning, via world-wide websites or global mess media. Many other language contact situations, such as international business, international politics, global education, and cross-cultural exchanges, will unavoidably lead to language transfer of various types, often so extensive that new lexical items with foreign origins are created and established in the receiving language.

The borrowing of vocabulary items is one of the outcomes of language contact resulting from the process of taking a word from one language to replace an unknown word in a different language. That is, the borrowed word is an addition to the vocabulary of the receiving language. It is the transmission from one language to another of a label to name a new concept or identify a concrete or abstract

existence. Lexical borrowing is such a natural process of any human language's vocabulary development that native speakers of a language do not recognize many of their native words in their language are actually of foreign origin. According to Haspelmath (2009), lexical borrowing is actually a completed language change through a diachronic process that has been propagated throughout the entire speech community. Lexical borrowing is also an ongoing process during which the transmission from one language to another of a lexical item with which to name a concept or identify a concrete or abstract existence can be obviously observed. As observed in today's cross-linguistic influence, lexical borrowing becomes prevalent. For example, English lexical items (i.e., English borrowings) are entering languages throughout the world, and in more domains than just science and technology.

Bloomfield identifies one of the common types of lexical borrowing as "*cultural borrowing*, where the borrowed features come from a different language" (1933, p. 444). Cultural borrowings are particular words that fill gaps in the recipient language's lexicon (i.e., store of vocabulary). This is because such words stand for concepts or objects new to the recipient language's culture. Thus, the term "cultural borrowing" specifically means the importation of a source language's words for cultural novelties to the recipient language's culture. Unlike lexical borrowing, cultural borrowing does not require intensive or intimate contact between speakers of the source and recipient languages and is not necessarily one-side oriented (Bloomfield, 1933; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Winford, 2003; Wei, 2024).

In situations of bilingualism, the reasons for lexical borrowing are more complex.

The motivations in these situations depend on a range of macro- as well as micro-sociolinguistic factors that vary from one community to another. The macro-level factors include those relating nations like "intensity of contact", "cultural pressure" and language attitudes. (Winford, 2003, p. 41)

What becomes directly relevant to this study is the notion of language contact, whether intensive or not, in describing the outcomes of lexical borrowing in general. Thus, cultural borrowing is regarded as one of the motivations for lexical borrowing. As a universal linguistic phenomenon, languages do not exist in a vacuum but are always in contact (Hock & Joseph, 2009). It is the linguistic contact that influences what loanwords are integrated into the recipient language's lexicon and which certain words are chosen over others as needed in the recipient language. Once such loanwords and phrases are borrowed into a recipient language, they become an indispensable part of its vocabulary repertoire. This is because such borrowed items are "phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated" into the recipient language and are "recurrent and widespread" (Sankoff, Poplack, & Vanniarajan, 1990, p. 74). 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 recipient language. Structural configurations include phonological structure (i.e., adaptation to the sound patterns of the recipient language), morphological structure (i.e., adaptation to the morphological patterns of the recipient language), syntactic structure (i.e., adaptation to the syntactic patterns of the recipient language), and

semantic structure (i.e., adaptation to the semantic patterns of the recipient language). In addition to sociolinguistic and sociocultural 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 (Romaine, 1995). What becomes most relevant to the present study of is the recognition that the best type of cross-linguistic influence is represented by lexical borrowings or established loanwords. Established loanwords are content words (i.e., words containing lexical meanings). “Major-class content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives are the most likely to be borrowed” (Poplack & Meechan, 1998, p. 127).

3. Worldwide Communication and Cross-cultural Influence

The term “globalization” has been used by many scholars to describe the phenomenon of the westernization of weaker nations by spreading western values and dominance in various areas, such as politics, economics, science and technology, language, and culture (Mufwene, 2003). The traditional notion of globalization implies that it is the frequent contact of languages that causes the weaker or endangered language to be threatened and influenced by the powerful or dominant language (Laponce, 2004). This study claims that language contact occurs as a rather relatively new global phenomenon in various ways and languages in contact are unavoidably and significantly affected by the global rapid growth and exchange in worldwide communication and computer technology. It emphasizes that it is contemporary advanced technology that opens the doors for immediate spreading and exchange of new concepts or ideas across boundaries between countries. This study further claims that it is language contact that promotes lexical borrowing, leaving more room for choices, decisions but less room for language dominance and endangerment. In other words, lexical borrowing through language contact is defined as a result of the worldwide spreading and exchange of the new ideas or concepts and cross-cultural influence, rather than the relationship between the weaker or endangered and the powerful or dominant languages. Thus, lexical borrowing through language contact is regarded as being strongly motivated by both conceptual influence and acceptance, which becomes beneficial and everlasting to the recipient language and culture.

The major claim of this study is that the areas greatly affected by language contact tend to import relatively new ideas or concepts from other languages, and such imported ideas or concepts are lexically realized by the words borrowed from the source language. In other words, it is language contact that bridges the lexical-conceptual gaps between the source language and the recipient language. Thus, in this study, the representatively selected borrowed lexical items are categorized into several areas of language contact: technology, world market, education, and culture. The other major claim of this study is that all borrowed lexical items through language contact must go through linguistic transformations or adaptations to fit linguistic structure of the recipient language. According to the representative examples of lexical borrowing for this study, five linguistic transformations are

identified: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and substitution.

Along the lines of the above thinking about the relationship between language contact and lexical borrowing and outcomes of borrowed lexical items through linguistic transformations, this study offers a model of lexical borrowing as an outcome of language contact as illustrated in Figure 1.

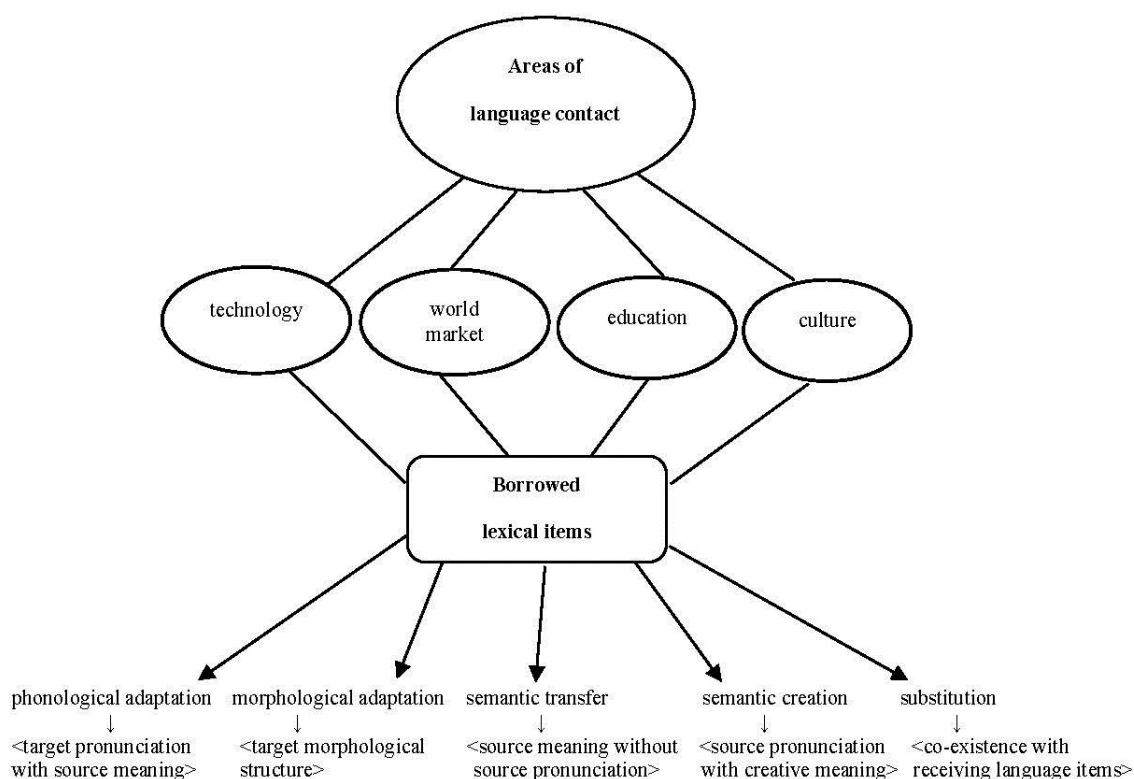


Figure 1. Lexical Borrowing through Language Contact and Linguistic Transformations

(Adapted from Liu (2012a))

“Areas of language contact” on the top of the figure are regarded as the driving force for lexical borrowing, which include four specific areas where languages come into contact: “technology, world market, education, and culture”. It is cross-cultural and cross-linguistic influence that motivates lexical borrowing, and thus “borrowed lexical items” are outcomes of language contact. As claimed and predicted in this study, lexical borrowing is a worldwide phenomenon, and it occurs mainly for lexical-conceptual reasons. This study shows that five linguistic transformations may become necessary depending on language-specific linguistic structures and mechanisms of the receiving language, as indicated at the bottom of the figure: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and substitution.

“Phonological adaptation” is a transformational procedure for the receiving language to employ the original pronunciation of the word/phrase of the source language with some necessary adaptation to fit the phonological structure of the “target pronunciation” (i.e., the receiving language). The original meaning of the word/phrase of the source language remains unchanged. “Morphological adaptation” is a transformational procedure for the receiving language to adapt the borrowed lexical items to its “target morphological structure” (i.e., the special morphological structure of the receiving language). “Semantic transfer” is a transformational procedure for the receiving language only to translate the meaning of the word/phrase of the source language without borrowing its source pronunciation. “Semantic creation” is a transformational procedure for the receiving language only to employ the pronunciation of the word/phrase of the source language, usually with some necessary phonological adaptation, and add some meaning to it (i.e., make the borrowed pronunciation meaningful). “Substitution” is a transformational procedure for the receiving language to borrow a lexical item for a concept which already exists in the culture of the receiving language, and such a borrowed lexical item co-exists with the equivalent lexical item of the receiving language.

4. Cases of Lexical Borrowing

As illustrated in Figure 1, language contact is regarded as one of the major driving forces for lexical borrowing. This study focuses on three typical cases of lexical borrowing: English to Japanese, English to Chinese, and Japanese to Chinese. The representative instances of lexical borrowing are categorized into the four areas of language contact as directly affected by global influence. As illustrated in Figure 1, through the five linguistic transformations, the borrowed lexical items are necessarily transformed into the receiving languages to meet their language-specific structural requirements. In other words, different receiving languages may adopt different linguistic transformations to make borrowed lexical items fit their existing linguistic structure so as to make borrowed lexical items become part of their lexicons.

Table 1 includes such instances of relatively recent borrowed lexical items from English to Japanese (Sasaki, 2001; Liu, 2012). It 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: *uebbupeiji* (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: *intānsshipu* (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

internet: *intānetto* and internship: *intānsshipu*, since in Japanese, N is regarded as a mora (i.e., a syllable), no vowel addition becomes necessary. 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 *kanakana* and *kanji* (i.e., Chinese characters). 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 (Romaine, 1995; Wei, 2002; Myers-Scotton, 2002).

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 (-do)) structure to produce a compound verb, that is, a noun of the Chinese origin (*kango*) plus “*suru*” to form a compound verb (Shibatani & Kageyama, 1988). For example, in *shuzaihōmon-suru* (interview), *benkyō-suru* (study), *gōkaku-suru* (pass), *kakunin-suru* (check), *hukusha-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. 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 (Liu, 2005, 2019).

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 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 (Appel & Muysken, 1989). 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.

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 for the 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 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 receiving languages but not necessarily to other receiving languages. The description and analysis of the English → Chinese lexical borrowing provides such evidence (Shangwu Cishu Yanjiu, 2003; Liu, 2012).

Table 1. Lexical Borrowing: English → Japanese (Liu, 2012a)

Areas of language contact	Source language (English)	Receiving language (Japanese)	Phonetic spelling (Romanization)
Technology	1. Webpage	ウェブページ	uebbupeiji
	2. Computer	コンピューター/電子計算機	konpyūtā/denshikeisanki
	3. Laptop	ラップトップ	rappu toppu
	4. Email	メール/電子メール	meiru/denshi+meiru
	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	hurasshu memori
	9. Save	セーブする/保存する	seibu+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	karejittokādo
	14. Mortgage	住宅ローン	jūtaku+rōn
	15. Loan	ローン	rōn
	16. Conveni (Convenience store)	コンビニ (コンビニエンスストア)	konbini (konbiniensusutoa)
	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	intānshipu
	23. Fulbright	フルブライト	huruburaito
	24. Panel discussion	パネルディスカッション	paneru deisukasshon
	25. Symposium	シンポジウム	shinpojūmu
	26. Fellowship	フェローシップ	huerōshippu
	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/shaken
	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 geimu
	36. Popular	ポピュラー/人気	poppyurā/ninki
	37. Single mother	シングルマザー	shingurumazā
	38. Image	イメージ/印象	imeiji/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	hausukipā/kaseihu

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 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: 网页, 13. Credit card: 信用卡, 25. Symposium: 专题研讨会, and 39. Mistress: 二奶, only the meaning of the borrowed item is semantically transferred into Chinese without its source pronunciation. 二奶 is translated from 'mistress' meaning that 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 for Chinese to borrow the word "mistress" 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. Another interesting example of meaningful translation is that in 23. "Fulbright", a proper name without its lexical content, is translated into 富布赖特 with the addition of 奖学金 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 麦克风 with its source pronunciation, and "talk show" is translated into 脱口秀 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 奥巴马, "New York" is translated into 纽约, and "Fulbright" is translated into 富布赖特, 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 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.

Table 2. Lexical Borrowing: English → Chinese (Liu, 2012a)

Areas of language contact	Source language (English)	Receiving language (Chinese)	Phonetic spelling (Pinyin)
Technology	1. Webpage	网页	wǎngyè
	2. Computer	电脑/电子据算计	diànnǎo/diànzǐ jùsuànjì
	3. Laptop	笔记本电脑	bǐjìběn diànnǎo
	4. Email	邮件	yóujiàn
	5. Digital camera	数码照相机	shùmǎ zhàoxiāngjī
	6. Internet	因特网/互联网	yīngtèwǎng/hùliánwǎng
	7. Network	网络	wǎngluò
	8. Flash memory	U 盘/闪盘	upán/shǎnpán
	9. Save	存盘/保存	cúnpán/bǎocún
	10. Update	更新	gēngxīn
World market	11. Internet market	网络市场	wǎngluò shìchǎng
	12. Online shopping	网上购物	wǎngshàng gòuwù
	13. Credit card	信用卡	xìnyòng kǎ
	14. Mortgage	房贷/房租贷款	fángdài/fángzū dàikuǎn
	15. Loan	贷款	dàikuǎn
	16. Convenience store	便利店	biànlìdiàn
	17. Hotdog	热狗	règǒu
	18. Coca-Cola	可口可乐	kěkǒu kělè
	19. Pepsi-Cola	百事可乐	bǎishì kělè
	20. Supermarket	超市/超级市场	chāoshì/chāoji shìchǎng
Education	21. TOEFL	托福	tuōfú
	22. Internship	实习	shíxí
	23. Fulbright	富布赖特奖学金	fùbùlǎitè jiǎngxuéjīn
	24. Study abroad	国外留学	guówài liúxué
	25. Symposium	专题研讨会	zhuāntí yántǎohuì
	26. Fellowship	伙伴关系	huǒbàn guānxì
	27. Online course	网络课程	wǎngluò kèché
	28. Semina	研讨会	yántǎohuì
	29. Visiting scholar	访问学者	fǎngwèn xuézhě
	30. Sister school	姐妹学校	jiěmèi xuéxiào
Culture	31. Rap	街舞	jiēwǔ
	32. Hip Hop	说唱/嘻哈	shuōchàng/xīhā
	33. Tip	小费	xiǎofèi
	34. Privacy	隐私	yǐnǐ
	35. Online game	网络游戏	wǎngluò yóuxì
	36. Popularity	人气	rénqì
	37. Single parent	单亲	dānqīn
	38. Talk show	脱口秀	tuōkǒuxiù
	39. Mistress	二奶	èrnǎi
	40. Housekeeper	家政/家政员	jiāzhèng/jiāzhèngyuán

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: 可口可乐 (delicious/tasty and enjoyable/pleasant), 19. Pepsi-Cola: 百事可乐 (everything enjoyable), and 21. TOEFL: 托福 (thanks to you), “Coco-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: 宝马 (bǎomǎ), 宝 (bǎo) means “treasure” and 马(mǎ) means “horse”, two together meaning “treasure horse”, and in Benz: 奔驰 (bēnchí), 奔 (bēn) means “running” and 驰(chí) means “quickly”, two together meaning “running quickly”. Although these two German automobiles are recognized as being world-top class, but 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.

5. Lexical Borrowing through Cross-cultural Contact

As often observed in language contact situations, a great number of Japanese kanji (i.e., Chinese character-based lexical items), including some *wasei-kango* (i.e., original classic Chinese words with Japanese concepts and meanings) have been borrowed “back” into the contemporary Chinese language through cross-cultural contact. This study raises several questions about this particular phenomenon of lexical borrowing: Why have Japanese kanji-based lexical words and *wasei-kango* been borrowed into the Chinese lexicon? Why, when some Chinese characters have been borrowed back into Chinese, are their Japanese meanings not only maintained but also extended to mean something else in the Chinese context? Why are codeswitching and substitution regarded as necessary linguistic adaptation resulting

from lexical borrowing? To answer such questions, it becomes necessary to describe the general socioeconomic and cultural background of such a lexical borrowing phenomenon and some particular paths through which lexical borrowing from Japanese into Chinese becomes possible. Based on the characterizations of some recently borrowed lexical items, this study explores the Japanese socioeconomic and cultural influence on today's Chinese society and life as reflected in its contemporary language. To do so, some background information about Chinese lexical borrowing from Japanese becomes necessary and explanatory.

(1) Japanese economic and cultural influence

According to the statistics in 2006 alone (Komori, 2008), about 14,115 Japanese firms and companies have been established in 13 economically vigorous cities in China. In addition, the 21st Century China Research Institute's 2007-2008 report listed 17,000 Japanese companies operating in China (CCRI, 2009). Furthermore, Teikoku Data Bank company published its recent survey results, which included the increased number of 17,780 Japanese companies doing business in China (TDB, 2010). These figures indicate that China became an important production and business operation base for Japanese companies.

As China launched its modernizations and economic reform in 1978, during the 1980s and early 1990s, many Japanese firms and production companies adopted a long-term global economic strategy to lower their labor costs so as to raise their profits by shifting production from high labor cost locations in Japan to low labor cost locations in China. Many Japanese companies moved some of their factories and even their whole production lines to China. In the last few decades China has become a new and important production and business operation base for Japanese companies. China's "open door" policy and its dramatic and large-scale economic reforms have gained momentum, and Japanese companies have formed joint ventures with China's state and local enterprises and have even built Japanese owned factories in various locations in China (Li & Li, 1999). Japanese companies have taken full advantage of a huge supply of inexpensive labor in China, which enables them to cut their labor and production costs. Due to China's economic ambition to become one of the world's strongest economic powers in the 21st century, Japan-China cooperation and Japanese investment in China have become very important for reviving Japan's economy from its recession. Furthermore, shifting products overseas is not new to Japanese companies. Now they can manufacture various products in China and then put them on China's and other countries' markets or send some of them back to Japan for its own consumers. Because of China's attractiveness as a huge market to Japan, many Japanese companies, such as "Rakuten Ichiba", Japan's largest online shopping company, have also opened online stores particularly targeted at Chinese consumers (People's Daily Online, 2009).

Along with the Japanese companies and factories established in China, for the families of Japanese expatriates, Japanese have established their own special residential communities, Nikkei (Japanese) business locations, living environments, Japanese restaurants, Japanese elementary and junior high

schools, Japanese massage shops, and Japanese entertainment clubs. Such Japanese business and living facilities will most likely increase in China to meet needs of Japan's further economic expansion. In order to design and manufacture products to meet real interests, needs and demands of Chinese customers, Japanese companies need more and more Chinese employees with Japanese language skills. Many Chinese young people compete with each other for jobs in Japan-China partnership companies because of better income than Chinese companies can offer. The huge number of Japanese companies not only need to hire and work with Chinese employees but also need to bring Japanese culture to their working environment and, unavoidably, to the Chinese society. Since Japan is so close to China, and since the two countries enjoy a similar culture and share a great number of Chinese characters, many Chinese college students seek opportunities for scholarships to study in Japan, a great number of Chinese young people decide to receive education or professional training in Japan at their own expense, and more and more Chinese young people want to get jobs in Japan for good income and working experience.

(2) Japanese boom and educational exchange

According to Japan Foundation Survey Report on Japanese-Language Education Abroad data (Japan Foundation, 2006), there were 684,366 Chinese college students who have educated Japanese language education Compared with the number in 2003, the increase was 1.8 times. As recently reported by Tianjin News (Xiu, 2011), there is a Japanese boom in China, more than 1 million (100 万) Chinese college students have learned Japanese as a second or foreign language. In addition, there are 87,533 Chinese students in Japanese universities and colleges, and there are 17,354 students in Japanese language schools (Zhou, 2012). That is, total 104,887 (about 10 万 5 千) Chinese students study abroad in Japan. They learn Japanese to the educational and/or professional motivations for acquiring Japanese language knowledge and skills, another reason for such an increase is that more and more Chinese young people become very interested in Japanese popular culture like Anime. The Japanese Anime culture, which has a huge market in China, attracts many Chinese young people who love Japanese Anime movies to the extent that many of them want to understand their original Japanese language even though most Anime DVD's offer Chinese subtitles. As observed and predicted, Japan's economic expansion in China has unavoidably influenced the Chinese language and culture. The phenomenon of language borrowing to be described and explained in the following section is one of the outcomes of languages and cultures in contact.

(3) The path of loanwords through Taiwan, Hong Kong and returners_

As noticed that many Japanese loanwords are imported into mainland China through Taiwan and Hong Kong since 1978. However, there are few Japanese loanwords through Taiwan and Hong Kong into mainland China with some difference of the reproductions, for instance, the Japanese term 宅急便 (*takkyūbin* (express delivery)) is used as it is just left Japanese sound and read it Chinese as 'zháijíbiàn' in Taiwan and Hong Kong, the kanji 便 in Japanese 宅急便 means "mail and delivery" but in

modern Chinese means “handy”, Thus, the kanji 便 is switched to 送 “delivery” in mainland China. The phrase 宅急送 (express deliver company) containing the switched, word was produced by a Chinese man who came back from Japan and used the term for his company in 1994. 宅急送 by delivers who use their own transportation means such as cars, motorcycles or bikes is now very popular in Chinese metropolitan cities. Another term 自动贩卖机 (*zì dòng fàn mài jī* (vending machine)) which is adopted from Japanese 自動販売機 (*jidōhanbaiki*) in Taiwan, but 自动售货机 (*zì dòng shù huò jī*) is used in mainland China, because of the negative meaning ‘贩卖’ (*fàn mài*, traffic’ or ‘peddle’ in Chinese. The Japanese phrase 販売 (*hanbai* (sell)) is switched to ‘售货’ or ‘售卖’ (*shù huò* or *shù mài* (sell)) in mainland China due to its bad implications such as 贩卖毒品 (*fàn mài dú pǐn* (traffic in narcotic drugs)). As observed, many Japanese loanwords borrowed into Taiwan or Hong Kong mandarin such as 地下铁 (*dì xià tiě* (subway)), 宅配 (*zhāi pǎi* (home-delivery)) but 郵便 (*yóu biàn* (post)) is imported in Taiwan only during Japanese colonial era (Ching & Hsu, 2006).

(4) *China's economic reform*

This study claims that China's on-going modernizations and economic reform provide an encouraging and sufficient economic and cultural environment for Japanese economic expansion in Chinese markets, and the Japanese socioeconomic power becomes a source of language influence and borrowing. Modern technological developments also helped Chinese to exchange new ideas and cultures with its neighborhood and other many counties. Unprecedented in China's economic system before 1978, the government's “planned” economy (i.e., the economy entirely planned and controlled by the government without knowing the real demands and needs in markets) is now reformed to the “market” economy (i.e., the economy meeting the productivity for the real markets). Foreign investments, management and operation of personal businesses are not only permitted but also become a significant and indispensable part of China's modernizations and economic recovery and advancement. Based on the field observation and investigation of the Japanese economic power and expansion in various Chinese markets and its language influence, this study relates the two in terms of the relationship between language and economy and the relationship between language and culture. In recent years various Japanese businesses appear in Chinese popular markets, such as companies, restaurants, shops, entertainment clubs, services, popular media, and so on. It is such Japanese businesses that dramatically influence Chinese living standards, daily lifestyles, socioeconomic expectations, and cultural appreciations. Such a cross-economic and cross-cultural influence is reflected in the Japanese language influence on the contemporary Chinese language.

As demonstrated and discussed under “Cases of Lexical Borrowing” under the section 4 above, it seems true that it would be impossible to describe cross-linguistic influence at the lexical level without also accounting for the fact that in order to be used, borrowed items must be adapted to the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic structure of the receiving language (Romaine, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 2002; Wei, 2024). This part of the study focuses more on the cross-cultural

influence on borrowing without including any specific analysis of linguistic transformation or adaptation at various linguistic levels. The lexical items recently borrowed from Japanese into the contemporary Chinese language are linguistically categorized as following with their cross-cultural influence and implications.

Japanese kanji-based words in the contemporary Chinese language

The collected examples were from various newly edited Chinese dictionaries (e.g., Liu, 1984; Suzuki, 1998; Luo, 1994; Zhou, 2003) and some recent online resources, newspapers, magazines, and articles (e.g., Ding, 2010; Wang, 2010). Most of the collections were examined by authoritative Peking University Center Chinese Linguistics (CCL) Corpus, which is funded by the Chinese Ministry of Education (CCL, 2009). The lexical items listed in Table 3 and Table 4 are among those loanwords directly borrowed from Japanese into the contemporary Chinese language after 1980s. Since this part of the study is focused on the new lexical borrowing phenomenon in mainland China, traditional Chinese characters as originally borrowed from Chinese into Japanese and simplified characters for the contemporary Chinese language are listed in each table. So-called *wasei-kango* are also *on'yomi* kanji-based words but are not Sino-Japanese which are made in Japan by using Chinese characters, and some of them are made by Japanese through the translation of Western civilization during the Meiji period, such as 安樂死 (*anrakushi* (peaceful death)), 自動販売機 (*jidōhanbaiki* (vending machine)), 物流 (*butsuryū* (physical distribution)) which are no longer regard as equivalent borrowings in Japanese. However, there are some returned classic Chinese terms with Japanese concepts and meanings which are also re-borrowed into Chinese, and also a few old Japanese loanwords, such as 法人 (*hōjin* (corporate rights)), 年金 (*nenkin* (annuity)), 不動産 (*hudōsan* (immovable property)) 特許 (*tokkyo* (patent)) are revived their 'identities' because of the Chinese political and economic system reforms (cf. Liu, 1984; Ding, 2010; Wang, 2010).

As listed in Table 3 and Table 4, some original Chinese terms are now borrowed back from Japanese to Chinese but appear in their simplified forms, which are standardized Chinese characters for use in mainland China. Some classical Chinese terms and recreated *wasei-kango* are derived from Chinese, though some terms were coined through the translation of Western documents and have been embedded in the Japanized lexicon. Such kanji-based words are not back to their home with Japanese-specific meaning and concepts for expressing newly adopted Japanese lifestyle and culture in China, and such words as borrowed back from Japanese are often used for advertisements and mass media to attract customers. Many Chinese scholars (e.g., Shen, 1993; Chung, 2001; Luo, 2003; Guo, 2005; Hsieh & Hsu, 2006) have recognized kanji-written Japanese loanwords, including some *ateji* and *kun'yomi* (*wago*) (*ateji* are the items used phonetically without regard to the meanings of the Chinese characters; *wago* are native Japanese words).

Table 3. Classical Chinese Terms with Japanese Concepts Borrowed into Chinese (Liu, 2012b)

English meaning	Japanese	Kon'yomi	Chinese	Pinyin
Cuisine	料理	<i>ryōri</i>	料理	<i>liàolǐ</i>
Photo	写真	<i>shashin</i>	写真	<i>xiězhēn</i>
Front door	玄関	<i>genkan</i>	玄关	<i>xuánguān</i>
Popularity	人気	<i>ninki</i>	人气	<i>rénqì</i>
Expert	達人	<i>tatsujin</i>	达人	<i>dārén</i>
Appearance of products	登場	<i>tōjō</i>	登场	<i>dēngchǎng</i>
Housekeeping	家政	<i>kasei</i>	家政	<i>jiāzhèng</i>
Sluggish market	低迷	<i>teimei</i>	低迷	<i>dīmí</i>
Excursion	修学	<i>shūgaku</i>	修学	<i>xiūxué</i>
Disappearance	蒸発	<i>jōhatsu</i>	蒸发	<i>zhēngfā</i>
On the market	発売	<i>hatsubai</i>	发卖	<i>fāmài</i>
Broadcasting	放送	<i>hōsō</i>	放送	<i>fàngsòng</i>

written in kanji with *kun'yomi*, which is Japanese reading). In other words, Japanese coined new words using borrowed Chinese characters and classical Chinese usage, although some of them are mixed with Japanese word formation, resulting in Japanized *kengo*. Japanese is known as a peculiar language with many loanwords from Chinese in the ancient times, accounting for a sizeable fraction of the language. Many Japanese loanwords whether they came into being through free translation or transliteration (i.e., semantic transfer and kanji combination), were written in Chinese characters. Thus, it is linguistically adaptable for Chinese to borrow kanji-based words as *wasei-kango* into its contemporary language with an easy fit. Though the items listed in Table 3 and Table 4 look the same as the Chinese original, they are actually Japanese, which are made in Japan with their particular socio-cultural meanings. The instances of lexical borrowing as listed in these tables indicate that when Japanese terms are borrowed back into Chinese, they may not contain their lexical content as in the original Chinese but carry different meanings. In other words, such Chinese characters took a round-trip back to their home with different semantic content for particular Japanese concepts. For example, 中国料理 (Chinese cuisine) with its Japanese lexical content, 寿司 (sushi) and 刺身 (sashimi) are the names of typical Japanese food, which now become popular on the Chinese menu in China's Japanese restaurants, 便当 (lunch box) is a rather new type of lunch for busy Chinese people, 人气 (popularity) is a new word among those describing the Chinese personal character in society, 物语 (story) and 写真 (photo) are borrowed into Chinese because of the Japanese Anime stories and electronic technology, and 过劳死 (death from overwork) is borrowed into Chinese because the "death from overwork" phenomenon now also occurs in today's China. All the other examples can be explained in a similar way. It becomes important to note that cultural dominance is one of the major factors in language borrowing. Although some of these Japanese loanwords may disappear along with the fashion, but most of them will end up being a relatively permanent part of the Chinese lexicon, which may not be recognized by many Chinese as being borrowed from Japanese.

In addition, as evidenced in Table 5, the lexical content of some Chinese characters borrowed into Japanese goes through semantic change, and when such Chinese characters are borrowed back into Chinese, their Japanese meanings are not only maintained but are also extended to meaning something else in the Chinese context (Ding, 2010; Wang, 2010).

Table 4. Wasei-kango Borrowed into Chinese (Liu, 2012b)

English meaning	Japanese	Kon'yomi	Chinese	Pinyin
Japanese descent	日系	<i>nikkei</i>	日系	<i>rìxì</i>
Corporate rights	法人	<i>hōjin</i>	法人	<i>fǎrén</i>
Physical distribution	物流	<i>butsuryū</i>	物流	<i>wùliú</i>
Delivery	配送	<i>haisō</i>	配送	<i>pèisòng</i>
Volume sales	量販	<i>ryōhan</i>	量販	<i>liàngfān</i>
Financing	融資	<i>yūshi</i>	融资	<i>róngzī</i>
Workplace	職場	<i>shokuba</i>	职场	<i>zhíchǎng</i>
Bargain sale	特売	<i>tokubai</i>	特卖	<i>tèmai</i>
Patent	特許	<i>tokkyo</i>	特许	<i>tèxǔ</i>
Dealer	業者	<i>gyōsha</i>	业者	<i>yèzhě</i>
Market condition	市況	<i>shikyō</i>	市况	<i>shìkuàng</i>
Manager	店長	<i>tenchō</i>	店长	<i>diànzhǎng</i>
Signboard	看板	<i>kanban</i>	看板	<i>kànbǎn</i>
Annuity	年金	<i>nenkin</i>	年金	<i>niánjīn</i>
Tourist home	民宿	<i>minshuku</i>	民宿	<i>mínsù</i>
Shopping district	商店街	<i>shōtengai</i>	商店街	<i>shāngdiànjiē</i>
Vending machine	自動販売機	<i>jidōhanbaiki</i>	自动售货机	<i>zìdòng shòuhuòjī</i>
Affinity	親和力	<i>shinwaryoku</i>	亲和力	<i>qīnhé lì</i>
Full of Confidence	自信满满	<i>jishinmanman</i>	自信满满	<i>zìxìn mǎn mǎn</i>
Airport	空港	<i>kūkō</i>	空港	<i>kōnggǎng</i>
Commuters	通勤	<i>tsūkin</i>	通勤	<i>tōngqín</i>
Bullet train	新幹線	<i>shinkansen</i>	新干线	<i>xīngànxiàn</i>
Passenger car	乗用車	<i>jōyōsha</i>	乘用车	<i>chéngyòngchē</i>
Real property	不動産	<i>fudōsan</i>	不动产	<i>bùdòngchǎn</i>
Housing complex	団地	<i>danchi</i>	团地	<i>tuándì</i>
Resident	住民	<i>jūmin</i>	住民	<i>zhùmín</i>
Lunch box	弁当	<i>bentō</i>	便当	<i>biàndāng</i>
Year-end party	忘年会	<i>bōnenkai</i>	忘年会	<i>wàngniánhuì</i>
Reckless driving	暴走	<i>bōsō</i>	暴走	<i>bàozǒu</i>
New human beings	新人類	<i>shinjinrui</i>	新人类	<i>xīnrénlèi</i>
Join adult society	社会人	<i>shakaijin</i>	社会人	<i>shèhuìrén</i>
Parent and child	親子	<i>oyako</i>	亲子	<i>qīnzǐ</i>
Low birth rate	少子化	<i>shōshika</i>	少子化	<i>shǎozǐhuà</i>
Aging society	老龄化	<i>rōreika</i>	老龄化	<i>lǎolínghuà</i>
Death from overwork	過勞死	<i>karōshi</i>	过劳死	<i>guòláosǐ</i>
Easy death	安樂死	<i>anrakushi</i>	安乐死	<i>ānlèsǐ</i>
Amusement park	遊園地	<i>yūenchi</i>	游园地	<i>yóuyuándì</i>
Flower arrangement	花道	<i>kadō</i>	花道	<i>huādào</i>
Tea ceremony	茶道	<i>sadō</i>	茶道	<i>chádào</i>
Performing arts	芸能	<i>geinō</i>	艺能	<i>yìnéng</i>
Weight reduction	瘦身	<i>sōshin</i>	瘦身	<i>shòushēn</i>
Training	研修	<i>kenjū</i>	研修	<i>yángxiū</i>

Table 5. Semantic Extension through Borrowing (Liu, 2012b)

Japanese	English meaning	Chinese	Original meaning as borrowed	Extended meaning in Chinese context
放送 hōsō	Broadcasting	放送 fàngsòng	Broadcasting	On sale e.g., 优惠大放送 (on sale)
封殺 fūsatsu	Force out	封杀 fēngsā	Force out	Blocking/prohibition e.g., 网站封杀 (blocked website)
日系 nikkei	Japanese descent enterprise	日系 rìkì	Japanese enterprise	Japanese style/Japanese product e.g., 日系发型 (Japanese hair style) e.g., 日系手机 (cell phone made in Japan)
蒸发 jōhatsu	Evaporation/disappearance	蒸发 zhēngfā	Evaporation/disappearance	Property value/financial resource decrease/disappearance e.g., 财产蒸发 (property value decrease/disappearance)
写真 shashin	Photo/picture	写真 xiězhēn	Photo/picture	Star photo, sexy photo e.g., 性感美女写真 (photo of sexy beautiful woman)
新幹線 shinkansen	Bullet train	新干线 xīngànxiàn	Bullet train 高铁/高速铁路	Fastest way e.g., 消费新干线 (latest product information for consumers) e.g., 新干线学校 (most intensive schools for college entrance examination)
暴走族 bōsōzoku	Motorcycle gang	暴走族 bào zǒu zú	Motorcycle gang	A group of people doing tremendous and fast work e.g., 白领暴走族 (a group of company/office staff doing tremendous and fast work)
御宅 otaku	People with obsessed interests	御宅 yù zāi	People obsessed with Anime, computer games, etc.	Staying home without going out for social life e.g., 宅男宅女 (man and woman staying home without going out for social life)

The selected examples of recently borrowed lexical items from Japanese reflect the fact that when two languages and cultures are in contact, one of the linguistic outcomes is that one language borrows

certain lexical items from the other. The evidence indicates that Japanese cultural influence on contemporary Chinese lexical borrowing may not be caused by lexical gaps per se (Haugen, 1953; Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller, 1988) but by conceptual needs as influenced by cross-cultural factors. Social factors also play an important role in the extent and type of interference which would occur in any language contact situations, and it is the social value of particular linguistic items in the dominant language that causes interference (Romaine, 1995). As observed in this study, the lexical items borrowed from Japanese do not seem to simply fill lexical gaps but to express certain concepts rather new to the Chinese culture. Many instances of lexical borrowing observed in this study point to the linguistic phenomenon that Chinese borrows certain kanji (i.e., Chinese characters) from Japanese even though its lexicon already contains them. As exemplified in Table 3 and Table 4, certain lexical items are borrowed back into Chinese because of the recent Japanese cultural influence, and, as exemplified in Table 5, certain borrowed lexical items may go through lexical extension in the Chinese context. The above typical instances of Chinese lexical borrowing from Japanese can be recognized as “cultural borrowing” (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 234).

6. Conclusion

This study regards today’s language contact phenomenon as one of the most important factors in linguistic transference. Different from most studies of contact linguistics, this study defines the notion of language contact at a rather abstract level beyond geographical contact. This is because new ideas and 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 between countries. One of the most important claims presented in this study is that lexical borrowing is an unavoidable linguistic outcome of language contact on global grounds. In other words, it is language contact in various areas of contemporary human life that makes relatively new ideas or concepts acceptable and accessible to different countries. If lexical borrowing is understood as an outcome of language contact, it becomes predictable that more and more lexical borrowing will occur across boundaries of countries so that more and more ideas and concepts will be shared universally. Thus, the linguistic concept of lexical borrowing as caused by language dominance alone is insufficient in explain such a global linguistic phenomenon.

As also claimed in this study, borrowed lexical items must go through various linguistic transformations, and such transformations are language-specific linguistic strategies for different receiving languages in order to embed borrowed items in their existing linguistic structures. As illustrated in this study, while phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation and substitution apply to Japanese as the receiving language, only semantic transfer and semantic extension 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 order to make 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. Also, while Japanese may borrow certain lexical items to substitute its existing lexical items, Chinese may borrow certain lexical items and create or extend their meanings to enrich its lexicon.

This study also offers a general observation and some explanations of the particular kanji-based Japanese words borrowed into the contemporary Chinese language through cultural contact or cross-cultural influence. Thus, it is in this sense that lexical borrowing can be viewed as cultural borrowing, which is a natural and unavoidable outcome of language contact. The representative instances of Chinese lexical borrowing from Japanese reflects the Japanese socioeconomic and cultural influence on the contemporary Chinese socioeconomic change and everyday life.

This study offers a new window into the nature of lexical borrowing and linguistic solutions of borrowed items by providing some 0linguistic observations, descriptions, and explanations of lexical borrowing through language contact, necessary language-specific linguistic transformations of borrowed items, and semantic creation and extension of borrowed items.

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