

JAPANESE ENGLISH

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

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Contents

Series editor's preface	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Map of Japan	xii
1 Prologue	1
2 The dynamics of English words in contemporary Japanese: Japanese English and a 'beautiful human life'	11
3 The history of Japanese English language contact	45
4 The Japanese writing system and English	83
5 The poetics of English in Japanese pop songs and contemporary verse	101
6 A new voice: The use of English as a new rhetoric in modern Japanese women's language	127
7 Using the graphic and pictorial image to explore Japan's 'Empire of Signs'	143
8 Is it <i>naisu</i> rice or good <i>gohan</i> ? In Japan, it's not what you eat, but how you say it	189
9 Language and culture contact in the Japanese colour nomenclature system: From neon oranges to shocking pinks	211

10	Sense, sensation, and symbols: English in the realm of the senses	237
11	Images of race and identity in Japanese and American language and culture contact	265
12	Japan, English, and World Englishes	279
	Appendix: The Japanese syllabary writing system	301
	Notes	309
	References	323
	Index	357

2

The dynamics of English words in contemporary Japanese: Japanese English and a 'beautiful human life'

Introduction¹

His demeanour and his Sony company pin indicated that he was an executive who could make people sit up and listen when he spoke. I was listening to him, too, albeit sitting two seats away on the bullet train *Green Coach* heading for Kyoto. 'We import too many of them from the Americans,' he declared authoritatively, eliciting nods of agreement from his two travelling companions. 'If you want to know what I think, that's my opinion!' 'And why can't we stop this invasion?' added the one seated across from him, 'We're really at their mercy.' I wondered just what they were talking about. What were these mysterious American imports that seemed to demoralize these veteran Sony bureaucrats so much? After another five minutes of listening to their conversation, the source of their anxiety was revealed, when I finally realized (with a mixture of interest and guilt) that they were actually lamenting the large number of English words that were being incorporated into the everyday Japanese language.

If words were an item of trade, the Japanese economy would be facing a deep crisis. While Americans have imported Japanese cars, computers, and electronic goods in huge numbers, only a few Japanese words have entered the vocabulary of most Americans, cultural items like *geisha*, *karate*, and *sumoo*, or such food items as *sukiyaki*, *sashimi*, and *sushi*. The sad truth is that most Americans' knowledge of Japanese barely goes beyond the brand name of their latest camera, VCR, or stereo. In Japan, on the other hand, the number of words imported from English (typically American English) is simply astonishing. These include such everyday items as *terebi* for 'television', *tabako* ('tobacco') for cigarettes, as well as myriads of baseball terms (e.g. *hoomu ran* 'home run' or *sutoraiku* 'strike'); many of which reflect the importation of related aspects of Western culture. In addition, however, many other items are uniquely Japanese in their provenance, and might more accurately be regarded as 'made-in-Japan' creations. This domestically-created Japanese

English vocabulary is notable for a wordstock comprising many items which have no real equivalents in US or British English. Examples of these include *kyanpingu kaa* ('camping car') for recreational vehicles, *raibu hausu* ('live house') for coffee shops or jazz clubs with live music, or *afutaa kea* ('after care') for product maintenance.

Estimates of the number of 'loanwords' in daily use in modern Japanese range from around three to five thousand terms, which represents approximately 5 to 10 percent of ordinary daily vocabulary as shown in Table 2.1.²

Table 2.1 Types and tokens of Japanese newspaper vocabulary

	Tokens (percent of <i>total</i> words in sample)	Types (percent of <i>different</i> words in sample)	Noun Types (percent of words in sample which are nouns)	Non-Noun Types (percent of words in sample which are not nouns)
<i>wago</i> (native Japanese words)	53.9	36.7	20.4	16.3
<i>kango</i> (words of Chinese origin)	41.2	47.5	44.0	3.5
<i>kanshuugo</i> (compounds of both Japanese and Chinese origin)	1.0	6.0	4.9	1.1
<i>gairaigo</i> (foreign loanwords)	3.9	9.8	9.3	0.5

Source: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (Japanese National Language Research Institute) (1970, 1971, 1972, 1973).

However, not all loans are created equal. As Table 2.2 shows, the vast majority of loanwords in newspapers are derived from English, while words from other European languages tend to be reserved for restricted purposes.³ For example, most of the Italian loanwords in Table 2.2 deal with music; while German has contributed many medical terms. French loanwords are often associated with high culture, whereas many words of Russian origin came in during the political upheavals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As we will see in the next chapter, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish loanwords came into the language before Japan opened its doors to the West in the 1850s. The distribution of loanwords also varies according to context, as Table 2.3 below illustrates. The left-hand column shows the top twenty loanwords as found in a general newspaper survey, while the right-hand column displays a list of loanwords that are salient in the texts of women's magazines.⁴

Table 2.2 Some estimates of loanwords origins and their presence in Japanese

	Presence (percentage of total Japanese vocabulary)	Origins (percentage of all loanwords)
English	8.0	94.1
German	0.29	3.7
French	0.18	0.9
Portuguese/Spanish	0.12	0.15
Russian	0.12	0.15
Dutch	0.10	0.13
Italian	0.08	0.10

Source: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (Japanese National Language Research Institute, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973).

Table 2.3 Rank order of the top twenty loanwords in two registers of Japanese

Newspapers				Women's Magazines			
1.	<i>biiru</i>	beer	ビール	1.	<i>kappu</i>	cup	カップ
2.	<i>terebi</i>	television	テレビ	2.	<i>bataa</i>	butter	バター
3.	<i>kiro</i>	kilogram	キロ	3.	<i>sekkusu</i>	sex	セックス
4.	<i>nyuusu</i>	news	ニュース	4.	<i>taipu</i>	type	タイプ
5.	<i>karaa</i>	colour	カラー	5.	<i>terebi</i>	television	テレビ
6.	<i>supootsu</i>	sports	スポーツ	6.	<i>bitamin</i>	vitamin	ビタミン
7.	<i>basu</i>	bus	バス	7.	<i>peeji</i>	page	ページ
8.	<i>rajio</i>	radio	ラジオ	8.	<i>dezain</i>	design	デザイン
9.	<i>gasu</i>	gas	ガス	9.	<i>pantsu</i>	pants	パンツ
10.	<i>hoteru</i>	hotel	ホテル	10.	<i>suupu</i>	soup	スープ
11.	<i>meekaa</i>	maker	メーカー	11.	<i>amerika</i>	America	アメリカ
12.	<i>resutoran</i>	restaurant	レストラン	12.	<i>dorama</i>	drama	ドラマ
13.	<i>keesu</i>	case	ケース	13.	<i>mama</i>	mother	ママ
14.	<i>chiimu</i>	team	チーム	14.	<i>soosu</i>	sauce	ソース
15.	<i>puuro</i>	professional	プロ	15.	<i>burausu</i>	blouse	ブラウス
16.	<i>saabisu</i>	service	サービス	16.	<i>oobun</i>	oven	オーブン
17.	<i>reberu</i>	level	レベル	17.	<i>suteccchi</i>	stitch	ステッチ
18.	<i>membaa</i>	member	メンバー	18.	<i>boonasu</i>	bonus	ボーナス
19.	<i>ruuto</i>	route	ルート	19.	<i>kaado</i>	card	カード
20.	<i>peeji</i>	page	ページ	20.	<i>pointo</i>	point	ポイント

Source: Inoue, Kyoko (1985).

Loanword dictionaries of all types and sizes are popular in Japan, with the latest edition of the largest containing over 27,000 entries (Arakawa, 1977).⁵ Each year some publishers distribute linguistic yearbooks and almanacs reflecting the state of the language, which list the new loanwords that have appeared during the previous year. English loanwords are pervasive in Japan, and can be heard in daily conversation, on television and radio programmes, or seen in books and magazines of all kinds. Specialized technical journals also use substantial numbers of loanwords. English terms (usually written in roman letters) are almost compulsory on personal articles such as T-shirts, purses, men's gym equipment or other kinds of tote bags, jackets, or sweaters. There is sometimes a transparent connection between the loanword and the labelled object, such as *champion* or *head coach* on a sweatshirt or tracksuit, or a university logo on a sweater. At other times, the associations are cloudy. Once I saw a T-shirt with fifty lines of an encyclopedia entry on the state of Georgia copied verbatim, listing its major industries and cash crops. Not infrequently, a suggestive or blatantly obscene phrase is written on a garment, the force of which presumably is unknown or ignored by the wearer. I once saw a young girl probably no more than thirteen years old wearing a T-shirt that said *Baby do you want to do it!* She was shopping with her mother, and yet no one around her seemed offended or shocked.

Japanese English in daily life

Explaining the pervasiveness of English loanwords to the casual observer of Japanese society is no easy task.⁶ On my first trip to Japan, I was surprised to find that there were two words for rice commonly used in the language: *gohan*, the traditional Japanese term, and *raisu*, an English loanword that has been phonologically nativized. I found it curious that an English word would be borrowed for something so basic to life in Japan as the main staple food. The word *gohan* itself can actually mean meal ('breakfast', 'lunch', or 'dinner'). As an anthropologist with a background in sociolinguistics, I suspected that there were various motivations for this, and several possibilities immediately came to mind.

First, I considered the possibility that *raisu* was only used when dealing with foreigners, but then I noticed from the media that Japanese people would use the word when no foreigners were present, and I could easily find the term written in newspapers and magazines. My second hypothesis was that *raisu* was used for 'foreign' dishes such as *karee raisu*, i.e., 'curry rice', and that for more traditional Japanese dishes, one would use *gohan*, as in *kuri gohan* ('chestnuts and rice') or *tori gohan* ('chicken and rice'). I found that this was often true, but that there were a number of exceptions, and the term *raisu* was also used

for many domestic dishes in certain restaurants. My third hypothesis was that the choice of term would vary according to type of restaurant. Traditional Japanese-style restaurants (often referred to as *shokudoo*) would serve *gohan*, while more modern or Western types of restaurants (labelled using an English loanword *resutoran*) would serve *raisu*. Again, there was a tendency for this to be the case, but this tendency was not uniformly consistent.

I finally thought I had solved the problem when I noticed that *gohan* was served in a traditional Japanese ricebowl (*chawan*) while *raisu* was served on a flat plate. However, a billboard in Tohoku, an area of Japan not noted for a high degree of Western acculturation, refuted this hypothesis. An older man was shown wearing a *yukata* (traditional Japanese informal robe) holding a *chawan* and smilingly saying, '*Naisu raisu!*' ('nice rice'). Although this was just an advertising technique, it does indicate that people in their homes do sometimes put *raisu* in a bowl or *gohan* on a plate. In the last analysis, it appeared that the tendencies for naming rice that I had observed were simply that; heuristic tendencies rather than any hard and fast rules. My observations of such food-naming practices suggested that many speakers were totally unconcerned about such things, and there were few situations where it was completely wrong to use either term. Yet at the same time, the subject of loanwords is a volatile one in Japan. Whenever the topic is discussed, there are usually anxieties voiced about the 'pollution' of the language, or the 'loss of traditional values', or (from some Westerners) 'the copycat mentality of the Japanese', etc. As my research proceeded, I discovered that the use of English loanwords was a touchstone for a range of social and political anxieties, a number of which I discuss throughout this volume.

Many loanwords are transparent 'phonetic loans' (i.e. direct transliterations) as in *jiinzu* ('blue jeans'), *basu* ('bus'), *koohii* ('coffee'), *kuuraa* ('cooler', or 'air-conditioner'), or *apaato* ('apartment').⁷ Other 'loanwords' refer to objects or phenomena that are particularly or uniquely Japanese. For example, *gooruden uiiku* ('Golden Week') means the traditional week-long series of holidays starting with the Showa Emperor's birthday on 29 April, including Constitution Day on 3 May, and ending on Children's Day, 5 May.⁸ Similarly, many other loanwords have only a blurred resemblance to items in other varieties of English, and it is not unusual for the English loanword to take on a restricted meaning in comparison with that of the American English equivalent. For example, the Japanese English word *kanningu* ('cunning') generally designates cunning in an examination (i.e. 'cheating'). *Sutoraiki* ('strike') refers only to a walkout or labour dispute and has none of the other more basic meanings associated the item in British or American English.

Metaphors based on English enter Japanese, but the loanwords used to symbolize them are often different from those in other varieties of English. For example, a 'spaghetti western' becomes *makaroni uesutan* ('macaroni western'), while a *dokutaa sutoppu* ('doctor stop') is a prohibition on certain

activities under doctor's advice (e.g. *Dokutaa sutoppu de kin'en-chuu nan da!* 'I'm not smoking because of my doctor's orders!'). *Paapurin* ('purpling') refers to young people making a nuisance of themselves, and is derived from the fashion of teenage motorcycle gangs wearing purple scarves. The recently de-nationalized *Japanese National Railways* had a very successful tourist promotion with a *Discover Japan* slogan. In 1983 they started another campaign, *Naisu Midii Pasu* ('Nice Midi Pass'), geared to encourage middle-aged (*midii*) career women to take their nice (*naisu*) vacations on the National Railways, using special open tickets (*pasu*) that allow rail travel anywhere in Japan. Another example is the use of *pinku-firumu* or *pinku muubii* 'pink film' or 'pink movie' for 'blue movie' (such metaphors are sometimes ignored, and the term *fakku eiga* 'fuck film' is also sometimes used).

Japanese English words, just like native terms, can carry a variety of meanings. *Hotto* ('hot') refers to warm beverages, and going to a coffee shop and saying *hotto kudasai* ('Hot, please') will get you a cup of hot coffee. Also heard, however, are the latest *hotto nyuusu* ('hot news') or *hotto-na wadai* ('hot topic'). And there is also the term *hotto-na kappuru* ('hot couple'), which is used by the media to refer to celebrity couples from the film and pop music worlds. Some observers have claimed much of the English now polluting the Japanese language has been spread by the advertising industry, and it is true that advertisements across all media use English words extensively. These are found in such product names as *Cattle-Boutique* (leather goods shop), *White and White* (toothpaste), and *Mimy Fish* (cat food), and some loanwords have even morphed into generic names, such as *shaa-pen* (or *shaapu-pen* or *shaapu-pen shiru*) for 'mechanical pencil' (from 'Eversharp'), or *kurakushon* ('automobile horn', from 'Klaxon').

Even local stores may use English names for eye-catching purposes. For example, one store in the shopping mall at the Yokohama railway station displays the name, *It's DEMO*. To uninitiated observer, this might be understood as 'it is a demo', perhaps a store where new products are demonstrated. But if the name is pronounced with a 'nativized' Japanese pronunciation, it then becomes *itsu-demo*, the Japanese word for 'always', which is entirely appropriate for the actual function of the shop, a 24-hour convenience store that is always open. Nevertheless, the claim that advertising is the prime cause of the spread of English throughout Japanese culture and language is patently false. In fact, as I shall show in Chapter 3, there is a long history of linguistic contact and borrowing from Western languages which stretches back at least four hundred years. If anything, the ubiquity of English words in contemporary Japanese advertising is as much a reflection of their increasing use in contemporary Japan as a cause of their popularity.

One very real source for English words and the English language

generally is the education system. The teaching of English in Japan is both compulsory and extensive, with almost all high schools providing English instruction in a system that employs around 60,000 English teachers nationwide.⁹ According to policies established by the Ministry of Education, all middle school students, and most senior high school students, are required to study a foreign language and usually this is English. Almost all middle school students begin studying English in the seventh grade, about 70 percent of high school students continue studying English, as do 100 percent of university students (English is a required subject for all college and university students). Students who plan on entering a university are required to take an examination in English, and many students spend much of their preparation time studying English in *jukus* (private cramming schools).

Although English is taught as a foreign language throughout the school system, English in the form of 'loanwords', or in the form of English neologisms 'created in Japan', receives no official sanction in Japan. The Ministry of Education has regularly expressed dismay concerning the vast amount of borrowing from English that occurs in Japanese. Ironically, while members of the Japanese government express official anxiety about the issue, actual language use within the Japanese civil service suggests Japanese English words are as widely used as in the private sector.

Japanese English as a linguistic resource

English 'loanwords' and other English words in Japanese do not simply add foreign spice to an otherwise jaded indigenous linguistic palate.¹⁰ Like other linguistic resources, they are used in the communicative strategies of Japanese people to achieve a variety of sociolinguistic ends, and to accomplish certain goals when speaking or writing. These may be as mundane as trying to impress a member of the opposite sex, or as subtle as rephrasing a potentially embarrassing question.

For example, many Japanese English words carry connotations of the speaker or topic being modern, Western, chic, or sophisticated, which may indeed contribute to the popularity of English words in advertisements and in the broadcast media. Radio and television programmes use them continually, and a very high proportion of contemporary pop songs use English loanwords in the text or title: for example, *Rabu izu oobaa* ('Love is over'), *Esukareeshon* ('Escalation'), *Koi wa samaa fiiringu* ('Love is a summer feeling'), and *Tengoku no kissu* ('Heaven's kiss'). In 1981 Tanaka Yasuo's best-selling first novel *Nantonaku Kurisutaru* 'Somehow Crystal' contained what was perceived as a 'hip' glossary of over forty pages of notes, mostly explaining the English words used in the text.

Some English loanwords seem to reflect changing Japanese attitudes and priorities. For example, many commentators have suggested that the English loanword possessive pronoun *mai* ('my') apparently is indicative of the challenge of individualism to the collective group. Examples include *mai-hoomu* ('my home'), *mai-peesu* ('my pace'), *mai-puraibashii* ('my privacy'), and *mai-kaa-zoku* (the 'my car' tribe, or those who own their own cars). In the media this prefix is found on a vast array of products and advertisements: *my juice, my pack, my summer, my girl calendar*. One explanation is that it is difficult to express the individualism of the contemporary world (in contrast to the collectivist notions of moral probity associated with traditional Japanese society) in 'pure' Japanese without sounding offensive. It has been claimed that native terms for 'my' (e.g. *watashi no*) or 'self' (e.g. *jibun*) tend to sound selfish, and that it may be easier to use an English word in expressing one's independence, because it does not carry the same connotations. Similarly, it has been commented that when it comes to matters of the heart and romance, one is able to use English with a greater ease than the native Japanese terms. For example, the modern Japanese habit of taking a girl to a movie, or to dinner, or to a coffee shop is described as *deeto suru*, doing 'a date'.

For some perhaps, English words appear less threatening than their Japanese equivalents, e.g. *mensu* instead of *gekkei* for 'menstruation'; *masu* for 'masturbation', or *reepu* rather than *gookan* for 'rape'. Numerous informants have told me that the English word is less loaded than the native Japanese term, although Wilkerson (1998) tellingly argues that this is not always the case. English loanwords may also serve to excite or titillate, rather than defusing a loaded term. This seems to be especially true in the genre of men's comics, where various activities are routinely described using a brutally explicit variety of English sexual slang. The availability of English loanwords may also provide speakers with a means of circumventing other linguistic and cultural constraints. For example, the loans *hazu* ('husband') and *waifu* ('wife') may convey a lighter symbolic load than the native Japanese terms *shujin* ('husband', 'master') or *kanai* ('wife' literally, meaning 'the one inside the house'). Members of the Japanese National Debating Team told me a few years ago that debates were almost impossible to conduct in Japanese, especially for women. To their knowledge, all these societies in Japan conduct their contests in English.

Finally, another reason for the use of English words in Japanese is that individuals apparently feel free to use them in creative and highly personal ways. For example, one Japanese linguist (Shibata, 1975) describes how a movie scriptwriter invented new loanwords thus:

In the script I found the expression 'flower street.' I then asked the script writer what it meant and where he picked up the expression. The reply was: 'I just made it up myself.' I was subsequently told that the meaning had to

do with the decoration of flowers, a decoration movement that was going on at the time. I no longer recall the exact meaning, but there can be no mistake that Japanized 'English,' such as *happy end* or *flower street*, was introduced into the Japanese lexicon by people . . . in a more or less similar fashion. (Shibata, 1975: 170)

In my own research on Japanese colour terminology (which I discuss in Chapter 9), I often found informants 'creating' their own colour names using English loanwords (such as *peeru paapuru* 'pale purple', or *howaito buruu* 'white blue'). Tanaka, the author of the novel mentioned earlier, also explains that he invented the term *kurisutaru* ('crystal') to describe the attitudes of today's Japanese youth. According to Tanaka, 'crystal lets you see things through a cloudy reflection', and today's crystal generation judge people shallowly, by external appearances, and by 'what they wear and acquire' (Tanaka, 1981).

The issue of the intrusion of English words into the Japanese language is a sensitive topic in contemporary Japan, and discussions of the issue in academic writings and the print media often invoke appeals to notions of cultural superiority and inferiority, national and self-identity, and a range of other social and political issues (as we will see in Chapter 11). Not only Japanese commentators, but also American and other foreign observers have condemned the use of loanwords. At the same time, among linguists and other academics, there seem to be at least three broad approaches to the analysis of English vocabulary in Japanese: first, the 'loanword' approach; second, the 'English-inspired vocabulary item' approach; and, third, the 'made-in-Japan English' (*wa-sei eigo*) approach.

The loanword approach asserts that it is impossible to detach the 'English-ness' of borrowed terms from their source, and therefore the label of 'loanword' is an appropriate one. In this view, such items are essentially 'foreign', which is a major source of their attraction in the first instance. Proponents of this view would tend to deny that these items are ever fully nativized. Although some might argue that many English words are fully integrated into the Japanese cultural and linguistic systems, the advocates of the loanword approach deny this. Their contention is the importation of Western concepts and words carries with it a cultural payload. For example, the use of the English loans *hazu* ('husband') and *waifu* ('wife') mentioned above carry with them a range of connotations, e.g. modern attitudes to marriage, greater equality between the sexes, the changing role of motherhood, etc. In this view words are not simply the building blocks of communication, but are the transmitters of culture, in this case, a foreign culture. In other words, English loanwords *are* English and *are* loanwords.

The English-inspired vocabulary item approach argues that, in many instances of contemporary linguistic contact, English loanwords are not really loanwords at all, as there is no actual borrowing that occurs. 'Borrowing' is thus an inappropriate metaphor, as, in many cases, nothing is

ever received, and nothing is ever returned. The limitations of this metaphor are illustrated by the loanword test given at the end of this chapter. Unless the reader is familiar with the Japanese language and Japanese culture, she will probably flunk the test (see pp. 37–42). As the answer key to the quiz explains, most of these so-called ‘English’ terms are simply not transparent to non-Japanese speakers of English; they are terms made in Japan for Japanese consumption.

Perhaps a more accurate way of referring to such items would be to label these ‘English-inspired vocabulary items’. A word in English may act as a motivation for the formation of some phonological symbol, and or conceptual unit, in Japanese; but no established English lexeme is ever really transferred from the donor language (English) to the recipient language (Japanese). Instead, new words are created within the Japanese language system by using English. Often there may be a conceptual and linguistic overlap between the new term and the original English word, but many such instances often involve radical semantic modifications. In this view then, English words are essentially Japanese items, and their use in Japanese may be very different from their use in other varieties of English.

The third perspective, the ‘made-in-Japan English’ (or *wa-sei eigo*) approach, is actually a stronger version of the second approach. In this view, one that I tend to subscribe to myself, the argument is that most of the English words found in Japanese today are ‘home-grown’, and are items of Japanese-made English or *wa-sei eigo*, as the translated term reads in the Japanese original (Miller, 1997; Ishitoya, 1987; Abe, 1990; Yamada, 1995). One argument against this view is that many of the English words that are used in Japan, in newspapers, television, academic writing, etc., appear to retain their original meanings and their written forms at least are indistinguishable from corresponding items in other varieties of English (as opposed to their spoken forms which are invariably modified to match the norms of Japanese English phonology). One difficulty in responding to this argument directly is that no accurate figures are available to distinguish ‘normal’ English loanwords from *wa-sei eigo* loanwords, for a number of reasons, not least because of the difficulty in distinguishing ‘type’ from ‘token’ in this context (where type refers to distinct words, and token to related items). For example, the 2001 September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center added *teroru* (‘terrorism’) to the language alongside the previously extant *tero*. These terms are not exactly equivalent, as *tero* is a noun and *teroru* can be a verb, and seems to permit a wider range of usage than *tero*. For example, *tero-teroru!* (‘That’s terrorism, I tell you!’) can be applied to situations that are metaphorically, rather than literally violent, such as in clothes with loudly-clashing colours. Thus, the range of meanings associated with *teroru* are very different than those associated with the original English source or even the earlier loan *tero*, the usage of which is arguably somewhat closer to the English ‘terror’.

In addition, it is significant that once English words are brought into the language, whether by scientists importing the latest jargon, or teenagers inventing new skateboard slang, such words often assume a life of their own, and their meanings can change in unpredictable ways. In many instances, if an English word retains a place ‘in the language’ (and is not discarded or forgotten), its range of meanings will become modified and will thus be re-made in Japan. To cite one recent example of this, one might consider some of the various terms for ‘computer’, ‘email’, and ‘PC’ currently used in Japan. The English ‘computer’ and Japanese *konpyuutaa*, despite their obvious linkage, are not always exactly equivalent. If you talk to a Japanese person, or refer to one of the popular glossaries of current phrases, you will indeed find that both terms refer to electronic machines that calculate numbers and process data (Masakazu, 2002). However, while Americans or Canadians may have ‘computers’ on their desks at home, a Japanese likely would not. As one informant said, ‘To me, *konpyuutaa* represents the whole system. It is something big. It is like a computer network or infrastructure.’ Instead, Japanese people would have a *waa puro* (‘word processor’) or *paso-kon* (‘personal computer’), while the Japanese English acronym *PC* would be reserved for ‘political correctness’ or ‘patrol car’ (what Americans call a ‘police squad car’). One of the reasons for this is that until relatively recently, *waa puro*, or dedicated Japanese-language word processors, were more commonly-used than desktop computers for writing documents.

In the case of ‘e-mail’, there are a number of English and Japanese equivalents available to Japanese language-users, including these five:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. eメール | (<i>e'-meeru</i>) |
| 2. メール | (<i>meeru</i> ‘mail’) |
| 3. 電子メール | (<i>denshi-meeru</i> ‘electronic mail’) |
| 4. e-mail, E-mail, Email | (<i>e-mail</i>) |
| 5. イーメール* | (<i>ii-meeru</i>) |

Arguably the most neutral term of the five is number 3, the Japanese-English hybrid, the term most often used in computer instruction books or technical manuals. Number 1 is found in many newspaper and magazine advertisements, while number 2 is the most colloquial and is very popular on the Internet. In emails themselves, a common opening line is *meeru moratta* (‘I got your mail’) or *meeru arigatoo* (‘Thanks for your mail’), and the hybrid is rarely if ever used in this context (*denshi-meeru moratta* for ‘I got your mail’ reads very oddly). Number 4 illustrates the various ways of writing the word ‘e-mail’ on business cards, where an English expression is typically used. Finally, one should note that the last form, with ‘e-mail’ written completely in the *katakana* script, does not, to my knowledge, occur at all.

There are many other instances where the meanings of English terms

become restricted, expanded, or modified in some way. The question that is raised is, then, what is a ‘real’ loanword, and what is ‘made-in-Japan’ English? I would suggest here that almost all the high-frequency English words in everyday use in the country are either ‘made-in-Japan’ or undergo such modifications that we may argue that they are *re-made* in Japan.

At present, the creation and influx of English words shows no signs of diminishing, and a recent study suggested that the proportion of English loanwords in Japanese-language newspapers had increased by 33 percent over a fifteen-year period (Minami, Shinoo, and Asahi Shimbun Gakugeibu, 2002). Few societies in today’s world appear to borrow so extensively, and with such variety and enthusiasm. There may be a number of reasons for this. First, there is a tradition of linguistic borrowing (at both the spoken and written level) that can be traced back to contact with the Chinese language at least sixteen hundred years ago, when written Chinese provided the basis of the Japanese writing system. Second, the minimum of six years of English education that almost every Japanese child receives contributes to a common pool of symbolic and linguistic knowledge that provides an extra resource for many different communicative activities, from casual conversation to intellectual discussions. This, combined with the Japanese people’s strong interest in things western, suggests that the motivations for English ‘borrowing’ and ‘creation’ are explicable only through reference to a range of social and political considerations. I do my best to explore these issues throughout this volume. In the following sections of this chapter, however, I shall elaborate on the notion that Japanese English (as defined and explained above, i.e. comprising both loanwords and created words) functions as a linguistic and cultural resource in a range of subtle and often unexpected ways.

Japanese English and the ‘beautiful human life’

In every Japanese city, an American or British visitor is immediately struck by the ubiquity of English signage in a society where a functional grasp of English (at least for everyday communicative purposes) seems fragmented at best. On a recent visit to Tokyo, I noticed a young *OL* (office lady), standing outside a beauty parlor, reading the neon sign flashing in English before her:

ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR HAIR?
IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR SUPER BEAUTICIAN
TRY “KENZO” BEAUTY SALON.
WE KNOW YOU WILL BE HAPPY!!

After just a few seconds’ hesitation, she walked in order to get a *paama* (‘perm’), or some other hair treatment. On another occasion in Hokkaido, I saw two teenagers approach the *Coin Snack* vending-machine, and look over

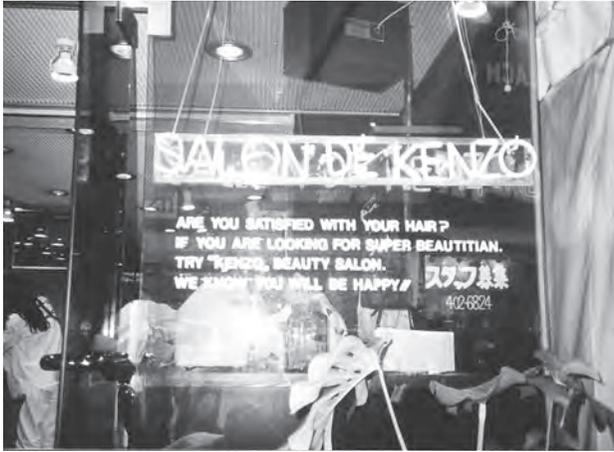


Figure 2.1 Kenzo beauty salon

the available selections. They were standing in a machine emblazoned with a photograph of an American motorcycle cop and a US airman, both staring into the sunset holding their cans *Georgia Kafe Ore* ('Georgia coffee olé'). As the two boys collected their cans from the tray, the machine flashed:

THANK YOU!
 ANYTIME YOU WANT TO TAKE A REST
 PLEASE REMEMBER WE'RE ALWAYS
 HERE AND WAITING FOR YOUR COMING.

Not long ago, in a coffee shop in Kyoto, I sat and listened as the jukebox played a song by Matsutooya Yumi ('Yuming'), a female pop icon in the *New Music* movement of the 1970s and 1980s. I reflected on the creative blend of English and Japanese in the chorus of the song entitled *Sukoshidake Kata-omoi* ('Just a little unrequited love'):

Itsu datte
I love you more than you,
You love me sukoshi dake,
Kata-omoi more than you

This might be broadly glossed as *It's always so / that I love you more than you love me / you only love me a little bit / It's always unrequited love.*

I present these anecdotes here to illustrate the often unexpected ways in which English occurs in Japanese society. However, as I have mentioned earlier, the use of English is not restricted to signage and pop culture, but is imbricated in the fabric of Japanese life in a myriad of ways, from the media to academic life, from advertising to personal conversation. In the next section of this chapter I extend the discussion of Japan English today by considering a

number of the symbolic functions of English, and examining how certain terms have become established public symbols while others are reserved for private purposes, noting the interrelationships between the individual's uses of English and institutionalized displays of the language. Finally, I provide a brief guide to the current language debates on English in Japan (and Japanese English), which find regular expression in the discourse of academics, educationalists, and the media.

The symbols and exhibitions of Japanese English in public and private space

One of the important contributions that anthropologists have made to the study of symbolism has been in the analysis of the relations between the collective and the individual components of symbols. Firth (1973) calls these the 'public' and 'private' aspects of symbolism, terms that refer to the creation of symbols, their presence in the minds of particular individuals, and their collective use 'in the culture'. Symbols also have manifestations, either in personal displays or institutional exhibitions. In this section, I will discuss the symbolic and the performance aspects (or 'exhibitions') of English words in Japanese: how and for what purposes they are created, and how they are displayed or exhibited. Symbols that have group effects, and those that have social appeal and consciousness, or represent the values and aspects of the collectivity, can be termed 'public symbols', whereas the term 'private symbols' refer to those whose use and effect may be more typically observed in the individual and personal lives of people (and may not be shared by everyone in a culture). Leach (1976) claims that public symbols are associated with acts of communication, while private symbols are associated with expression. My argument here is that Japanese English plays an interesting role in both types of symbolism in Japan.

One obvious and emblematic example of the public symbolism of what I am calling Japanese English here is seen in the *commercial messages* (CMs or 'advertising slogans') for that most American of products, *Coca-Cola*. In a recent nationwide campaign, the lead slogan for the campaign has been *Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!*, which might be translated as 'Refreshing, tasty, I feel [like] Coke'. In order to promote their product in this campaign, *Coca-Cola* in Japan devised video campaigns aimed at three distinct groups: young people, older age-groups, and housewives. Casually-dressed youngsters pose for the camera and flash their young smiles, and the background and each person has a coke can in their hand or mouth. Smiles are in abundance as the catchy lyrics of the jingle ring out:



Figure 2.2 I feel Coke: *Swayaka Teisuti Koka Korra*

Itsumo machi ga I feel Coke!
I feel Coke!
kanji no mama
kono toki yo!
Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!

Always the town feels 'I feel Coke'!
 I feel Coke!
 Keeping this Coke feeling
 just like now!
Refreshing, tasty, I feel Coke!

The *imeeji* (images) here are aimed at young people, depicting all the fun to be had when drinking Coke, and how cool you can look. The song also appears aimed at the so-called *shinjinrui* (the 'new generation'), with its visual messages of individualism 'doing your own thing', and 'doing it now'. Linguistically, the jingle is interesting because of the embedded code-switching from Japanese to English throughout and the use of the Japanese English *teisuti* for tasty.

The second commercial is designed to appeal to older folks, and perhaps for those yet to develop a taste for the most successful aerated-dyed-water drink of all time. This time the jingle goes: *Itsuka kimi ni I feel Coke! / I feel Coke! / wakaruru hazu sa / itsuka datte! / sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!*, which translates as 'Someday you'll know as I do, / this feeling of I feel Coke! / I feel Coke! / refreshing, tasty, I feel Coke! / '. Instead of the images of the *shinjuku* generation, we see traditional scenes: people pulling up fishing nets, grandmothers sitting on the steps of traditional country houses, summer festivals, and a young kimono-clad girl smiling holding a can of Coke. Her enticing smile beckons Grandma to try it, to experience the cool and

refreshing feeling of 'I feel Coke!'. The third advertising film is evidently aimed at the average Japanese housewife and mother. Here we see everyday housewives in their aprons doing the laundry, women talking on pay phones, and mothers with babies meeting each other on the street. This time the words of the song ring out: *Itsuka aeba I feel Coke! / I feel Coke! / wakaru hazu sa / itsuka date / Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!* ('Sometime, when we meet, I feel Coke! / I feel Coke! You should know / someday / refreshing, tasty, I feel Coke! /'). The final shot is a Coke machine in front of a Japanese-style home at dusk, with everyone getting ready for dinner.

In all three films, certain Japanese English words and phrases, namely, *teisuti* (tasty), and *I feel Coke!*, are used to complement the visual language of the advertisers. Such phrases may communicate different messages to different speakers and age groups, but they nevertheless invoke a shared frame of reference general enough across such groups. In this context, then, there is direct evidence to support the claim that such Japanese English words and phrases serve as very effective public symbols in the worlds of advertising and consumer culture.

The use of items of Japanese English to express private symbols may be found in colour-naming practices in Japan. As we will see in Chapter 9, the Japanese language has appropriated the basic lexicon of colour vocabulary from English, along with many secondary colour terms (Stanlaw, 1987a; 1997a). This additional Japanese English colour vocabulary creates the space for creativity and innovation when speaking or writing of colours. For example, in my earlier research on this topic, I asked a female informant to name the hues of a number of ambiguously coloured objects. In the face of uncertainty, e.g. when the shade in question was not obviously a simple *aka* ('red') or *ao* ('blue'), she often resorted to English colour terms. When English basic terms did not exactly suffice (which was often), she refined her answer by creating English-based compound and secondary colour terms, using words like *roozu paapuru* ('rose purple'), *hotto buruu* ('hot blue'), and *howaito guree* ('white grey') in our interviews. When asked to explain the origin of such terms; she responded, 'I guess I just made them up.' Further questioning revealed that she had used a number of these 'made-up' terms before: 'Oh yes, in fact, I have used *peeru paapuru* ('pale purple') many times before. My friend has a dress that is almost that colour' (Stanlaw, 1987a). This informant was not untypical as many others responded in similar ways during my interviews. Their accounts suggest that Japanese people often use English loanwords to create new vocabulary items in their everyday speech, or to simply play with the language, a finding supported by other researchers in this field (Sibata, 1975). This example suggests that such new linguistic forms, expressed in a form of Japanese English, can thus serve as dynamic and effective private symbols and, whatever their private provenance, are also readily understandable by other members of contemporary Japanese society.

In addition to the level of private and public symbols just discussed, there is another related dimension of Japanese English use to consider in this context. Having just discussed how symbols originate or are created, we can now proceed to examine how and where such symbols are displayed or ‘exhibited’. There are personal and public dimensions to this as well but here I would argue there is a less obvious distinction between private and public space (given the activity of ‘display’), but rather of a cline of differences between different types of displays and exhibitions. Here, I discuss two examples of such activity: (i) the personal displays of the amateur musicians in a Tokyo park; and (ii) the institutionalized exhibitions of song lyrics penned by a major female pop singer.

I have elsewhere discussed the personal displays of the amateur rock musicians who gather in Tokyo’s Yoyogi Park on Sundays (Stanlaw, 1990a). Most of these performers use English names, and their PR signs, costumes, posters, and so on, are also filled with Japanese English phrases. For example, one group who called themselves *The Tomcats* spray-painted phrases like ‘*We Are Big Bad Cat*,’ ‘*No Money*,’ and ‘*Mad Route*’ on their van. Their performance schedule was titled ‘*Tomcat Live*’. Even solo amateur musicians like ‘St. Kazu’ play their guitars and put up banners reminding the audience that they are playing *Somewhere today out on the street*. Another group in Yoyogi Park were named was *Tokyo Rocan Roller*, written in roman letters which can be read as ‘Tokyo rock and rollers’ (see Figure 2.3 below). However, above the middle word of their name were written two small Sino-Japanese characters, 六感 (which translate as *rokan*, or ‘the six senses’). Thus the name spells out the fact that they are Tokyo rock and rollers, but also makes the claim that they are a delight to the senses. Of course, in this setting, the distinction between the personal and the public is blurred, but it is worth noting that they were not professional musicians, but a group of teenagers in a garage band.

Example of institutionalized displays can be seen in many of the song lyrics of contemporary Japanese pop music (Stanlaw, 1989; 1998; 2000a). For example, the famous female singer Matsutooya Yumi (see also Chapter 5) uses several English images and metaphors in her song *Dandiraion* (‘Dandelion’). In one of the choruses, she sings:

Kimi wa dandiraion
Kizutsuita hibi wa
kare ni de-au tame no
soo yo unmei ga
yooi shite kureta
taisetsu-na rezzun
Ima suteki-na redii ni naru

You are a **dandelion**.
 Those days,
 when your heart was hurt



Figure 2.3 Amateur rock and roll musicians in Yoyogi Park

*fate arranged for you to have
in order to meet him
some important lessons.
You have now become a wonderful woman.*

This song in the original is laced with the lyricism that has made Yuming famous in Japan. She sings that her love floats like dandelion seeds over the water, and will endure to bloom again. The dandelion images in her song seem to be written to express the fragility of romantic love, and the possibility of its survival and growth. For Westerners the dandelion image may appear mundane or trivial, but informants tell me that if Yuming had used the standard Japanese word *tampopo* for dandelion, the song would have sound like a folksong, sung by a country girl in love to a country lad. Instead, the English loanword *dandiraion* lets any Japanese office lady relate to the song. In an interview with me, Yuming told me that she used the title *Dandiraion* because she liked the impression that she felt the word gave of an English hillside, and that she wanted to throw in ‘a little fragrance of Western culture’.

In both cases, we see that personal displays and institutionalized exhibitions are often made by using English loanwords. The signs and songs of the amateur rock musicians had an ad hoc and individual feeling, and were probably intended only for temporary use and immediate consumption. Yuming’s hit song, however, is more permanent and lasting, and has become

part of the enduring history of recorded music. English words and images are readily incorporated in both kinds of manifestations. The two dimensions of symbol creation and display discussed above are interconnected, and these connections (with reference to the four of the language usage examples discussed above) are illustrated by Table 2.4 below:

Table 2.4 The relationships between symbols and exhibitions

	Private exhibitions	Public exhibitions
public symbols	amateur park musicians	Coke TV commercials
private symbols	informant's colour term usage	Yuming's song lyrics

Although it might appear that ordering these cases in tabular form is a somewhat reductive exercise, this may yield some insights. For example, Yuming uses private symbols and institutionalizes them permanently on record. The Coke advertisers coined the slogan '*I feel Coke!*' themselves, but their intent is quite different. Theirs is no private response to personal sensations, but rather a cleverly-engineered marketing pitch. Like Yuming's song, their advertisement became institutionalized, but the words used and symbols invoked are communal and public to a far greater degree. The amateur rock and rollers in Yoyogi Park created their English signs and phrases privately themselves, but these were intended to be read and interpreted by the public. However, despite their wild clothes and extrovert performance, these are largely personal displays not directly intended to become institutionalized. The woman who discussed colour terminology with me created many of these English words and phrases herself, and had little concern whether these symbols became institutionalized or not, save perhaps in conversation with friends. Hers then were the most personal and idiosyncratic of all the examples given, but nevertheless exemplify an increasingly common aspect of Japanese communicative practices.

The intelligibility of Japanese English

In Japan today there are many people who express confusion at the use of English in the modern Japanese language. Some older people lament: *Ichi-do kiita dake de, doo iu imi ka wakarimasu ka?* ('How are you supposed to understand that the first time hearing it?'). Some newer items are no doubt confusing to the older generation, but in many societies in the world, slang and other forms of linguistic innovation is associated with the speech habits of the young. This is also true of Japanese English, which in contemporary society is often regarded as 'hip' and modern.

This is noticeably true in the pop music world, where it is claimed that it is almost compulsory to speak Japanese with a Western flavour. Mashui Masami, a musical booking agent, was interviewed by a magazine called *LIB* a few years ago, and I translate his answer to one question below. The translation shows just how frequent the occurrence of loanwords in his speech is:

New Yorkers' (*Nyuu Yookaa*) select night clubs not only on the basis of 'space' (*supeesu*) but they also care for the 'epoch maker' (*eppokku meekaa*) that is created by the 'policy' (*porishii*) and the 'concept' (*konseputo*). This is especially true as the 'night scene' (*naito-shiin*) is multi-coloured. In the very 'trendy clubs' (*torendii na kurabu*) are the major shows, that is, the 'sound' (*saundo*) called 'house music' (*hausu-myuuujikku*). The kind of clubs are the 'regular club' (*regyuraa-kurabu*) which 'open' (*oopun*) around 9:00 or 10:00 pm, and they 'close' (*kuroozu*) at 4:00 am; or the 'supper clubs' (*sapaa-kurabu*); or the 'after hours' (*afutaa-awaazu*) club which are 'open' (*oopun*) from midnight until lunch time of the following day; or the 'one night clubs' (*wan naito-kurabu*) which open for only one day, [usually] on the same day of the week . . . there are usually some connections required. And they have many 'event nights' (*ibento-naito*) such as 'Korean Night' (*korian-naito*) and 'Plácido Domingo Night' (*domingo-naito*). When I went back this time, I was told by the 'producer' (*pyurodyuusaa*) who owns the 'Dead Zone' (*deddo-zoom*) that he is going to play a 'Pearl Harbor Night' (*paaru haabaa-naito*). For this event he is calling in a Japanese 'DJ' (*disuku-jyokkii*), a Japanese 'staff' (*sutaffu*), and a Japanese 'dancer' (*dansaa*). (Inoue, 1993: 128)

This particular variety of hip Japanese English is simply not accessible to most Japanese, and, when asked for his response, a Japanese colleague fluent in English commented: 'I have absolutely no idea at all what this person is talking about! The only thing I can think of is, it is some guy who is a cool businessman, who wears sunglasses and an expensive black leather jacket.' So the loanwords appear to create an opaque in-group jargon for a specific occupational and interest in-group here, i.e. music industry professionals and pop music aficionados.

The question of intelligibility also arises in sports broadcasting, for instance, which in standard Japanese calls for a vivid play-by-play commentary, marked by such phrases *Utta!* ('It's a hit!'), *Haitta!* ('It's entered the stands!'), or '*Ii atari*' ('A good hit!') (Inagaki, 1995; Maitland, 1991). English phrases are often used in similar situations, in similar ways, e.g., '*Tatchi auto*' ('He's tagged out!' literally meaning 'touch out') or *shooto goro* ('It's a blazing ground ball!', literally meaning a 'shot' *goro goro*; i.e. an onomatopoeic expression suggesting something rolling or rumbling). English words can also be used as adjectives and adverbs: *pawafuru-na battingu* ('powerful batting'), *ijii furai* (an 'easy fly' to catch), *sutiiru shita* ('stolen base', literally meaning 'did a steal'). Inagaki calls such phrases 'noun stops' (a not unproblematic grammatical tag), suggesting that these are short of noun-like locutions of key vocabulary.

Significantly, however, he argues that English loanwords play a similar role in Japanese, with Japanese English phrases accounting for some 34.9% of such phrases in sports commentaries (Inagi, 1995). All of which suggests that many of such phrases must be well-known among the general public.

The issue of intelligibility is also of crucial interest to the advertising industry. Despite the claim by some commentators that some Japanese English in advertising is not easily comprehensible, my own interviews with advertising industry professionals have indicated that the Japanese English in the copy is regularly checked for intelligibility. For example, one informant from the Dentsu company told me that all material was checked with Japanese speakers: 'After all, we couldn't sell something if people didn't understand what we were selling, right?' Executives told me that their campaigns used words that most people could recognize and respond to. Although the intent of using *katakana-kotoba* (foreign italicized words) was certainly to create eye-catching copy, obscure terms were scrupulously avoided; advertisements, they asserted, had to convey information about the product, not confuse the audience.

Examples of Japanese English embedded in advertising slogans and copy include the following taken from Sugano (1995: 841):

kaasonaritii [Nissan]

'carsonality' (versus 'personality')

Rosu e wa yoru tobuto rosu ga nai [Pan American Airlines]

'When you fly at night to Los Angeles [Rosu in Japanese] there is no loss'

kuuru minto Guam [Japan Airlines]

'cool-mint Guam' (advertisement for flights to Guam)

Uesuto saizu sutoorii [Keio Department Stores]

'West Size Story'

Word play and puns obviously play an important role in these examples, although the punning can also extend to the Japanese elements in copy, such as *Guam Guam Everybody* ('Gan Gan Everybody!'), which was a slogan in a Japan Airlines advertisement. *Gan gan* in Japanese corresponds to 'Go! Go!' in English, thus suggesting that consumers should rush to Guam for a vacation. The popularity of Japanese English phrases and the use of English as an added linguistic resource in advertising has led to accusations that the industry is a main instigator of linguistic 'pollution' in society, although, as I have indicated earlier, the empirical basis of such charges is shaky at best. As for the issue of intelligibility, evidence suggests that many of these Japanese English phrases and words enjoy a high level of comprehensibility in the general community.

A wider issue is the problem of 'meaning' in general. One of the conclusions that Haarman (1989) reached in his research on Japanese television commercials was that '[a]lthough a majority of viewers can recognize

catch phrases in English from TV commercials, their meaning is completely clear only to a minority.’ He based this conclusion on the results of a questionnaire given to about eight hundred college students, who were asked to explain the meanings of nine commonly heard slogans, such as *For Beautiful Life* (Shiseido cosmetics), *My life – My gas* (the Tokyo Gas Company), and *Do you know me?* (American Express). According to Haarman, fewer than 50 percent of the respondents gave the ‘right’ explanation of such slogans. However, an approach like Haarman’s assumes that there is an unequivocal ‘right’ explanation of these slogans. This may not be the case. How many Americans, for example, are able to give the correct explanation of such popular US slogans as ‘It’s the heartbeat of America?’ (Chevrolet), or ‘Marlboro Country’ (Marlboro’s cigarettes)? The point surely is that there is no one single ‘real’ meaning of such Japanese English phrases waiting to be discovered, accessible only to those Japanese with an attested high level of proficiency in the English language. As we saw in some examples in the case of the woman creating her own English-based colour terms, in the realm of the personal, meaning is sometimes constructed and negotiated by speakers in a particular context, for particular and private purposes.

Some people in Japan would be loath to accept such an argument. Many English language teachers in Japan, both Japanese and foreign, appear to detest the occurrence of Japanese English, in all its various forms. In one interview, an American teacher commented, ‘[f]or one thing, it makes our job so much more difficult, they come into our class thinking they already know so much English, when in fact they actually have to unlearn a lot’. This again reminds us that much of the ‘English’ in Japan is of the home-grown variety, and the meanings of many ‘loanwords’ are typically modified in the Japanese context to express rather different meanings than their equivalents in other varieties of English. Sometimes these meanings differ in small and subtle ways, while at other times they differ more radically.

The issue of ‘loanwords’ and Japanese English

In the earlier sections of this chapter, I discuss a number of points related to the issue of lexical borrowing and ‘loanwords’. One general point here is that in all languages there is cline of ‘loanwordness’ with respect to borrowed items. For example, most Americans would know regard the word ‘restaurant’ as an item of American English, but might be variably uncertain how to treat such words as ‘lingerie’, ‘rendezvous’, or ‘ménage à trois’. As mentioned earlier, the problem of defining what is a ‘loanword’ in Japanese is not a simple task. Many of these terms are not imported at all, but made in Japan (*wa-sei eigo*). Because of the almost universal presence of English

language programmes in the Japanese education system, the distinction between ‘borrowed’ and ‘indigenous’ items is further blurred. For example, items such as the English number system, the English basic colour term system, and the English body parts system are now part of the speech repertoire of almost every Japanese. In addition, the *katakana* syllabary of the writing system allows both for the somewhat easy importation and the nativization of such items within Japanese. Spelling a word in the *katakana* writing system instantly nativizes any new item by adapting the borrowed item to the Japanese phonological system.

If we go beyond mere individual lexical items and look at whole phrases or sentences which are borrowed, such as *ai rabu yuu* (‘I love you’), a number of other points may be made. First, many of these phrases are created in Japan, and, second, many English items are often incorporated into ‘real’ Japanese collocations, as in the ‘*Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke*’ example already given. Third, we also need to acknowledge that most British and US ‘native’ English speakers would have difficulty in explaining what many of these ‘English’ phrases (e.g. *New Life Scene Creator*, a slogan for *Lebel Shampoo*) are supposed to mean, as would speakers of other varieties of English. Which again supports the claim that many such words and phrases are not ‘loanwords’ in a conventional interpretation, but rather items of a distinct variety of ‘Japanese English’ in the *wasei-eigo* (‘Japanese-made English’) sense.

In response to this, others have asserted that all those items that are regularly written in *rooma-ji* (‘roman letters’) should be classified as *gairaigo* (‘loanwords’, 外来語). One major problem with this, however, is that there is a good deal of variation in the orthography used to represent English words. For example, one hit song in the early 1990s from the female rock band *Princess Princess* was sometimes written as *Diamonds* (in English) and sometimes nativized in the *katakana* syllabary as *ダイヤモンド* (*daiyamondo*). Which raises the question of whether both forms should be regarded as loanwords, or not. A second point is that, in certain contexts, roman letters are apparently used for visual purposes only, as in the case of clothes and many other personal belongings where some kind of English word or phrase is almost compulsory. At the same time, it is not uncommon for Japanese words or names to be written in *rooma-ji* to create an artistic or visual effect.

In brief, Japanese language-users today appear to be experimenting with the orthographic and visual aspects of their language and writing systems in a way reminiscent of their importation of Chinese in the fifth century AD. In the contemporary context, although many Japanese English words are ‘taken’ from English in some instances, in other cases they may never have been ‘in the language’ to start with, at least not in the form that they appear in Japanese. When it comes to deciding what an English ‘loanword’ in contemporary Japan is, I would argue that discussion of this issue has been blurred by the adoption of a false metaphor, that is the notion of ‘borrowing’, which in this context is both misleading and problematic.

Borrowing revisited: Loanwords and Japanese English

Traditionally, many linguists have viewed language contact (correctly or otherwise) in terms of senders and receivers, contributors and recipients, borrowers and givers. This perspective typically involves looking at linguistic contact from the vantage point of the donor language, and in Japan finds expression in what I have called the ‘English loanwords’ approach. An alternative way discussing language contact in Japan is to eschew the term ‘loanword’, and to attempt to analyse and interpret such patterns of linguistic contact from the Japanese perspective. Instead of focusing solely on the convergence or divergence of patterns of Japanese English from the norms of notional British and American standards, we might rather highlight the motivations and purposes supporting the creation of English words and phrases within Japanese society. This approach, I believe, has the potential to offer many insights. By this I am not only referring to the study of *wasei-eigo* (‘Japanese-made English’), but also to the whole range of discourses that attend the acceptance, construction, creation, and even resistance and rejection to the language in its Japanese contexts; so that we may move towards a consideration of ‘Japanese English’ in a much wider sense.

Within the linguistics literature, linguists typically classified lexical borrowings in terms of four processes: ‘loanwords’, ‘loan blends’, ‘loan shifts’, and ‘loan translations’ (or ‘calques’) (see Haugen, 1972; Lehiste, 1988). The differences between these categories depend on how a linguistic unit’s form in terms of the phonological and morphological structure of the word and its meaning originate in the donor language and are manifested in a recipient language. In this framework, a ‘loanword’ is a term where both the form and the meaning are borrowed, as in such items as *geisha*, *blitzkrieg*, or *perestroika*. A ‘loan blend’ is an item where the meaning is borrowed but part of the form retains a characteristic from the donor language. An example of this might be ‘beatnik’, which combines the English ‘beat’ with a Slavic diminutive suffix *nik*. A ‘loan shift’ is where a new borrowed meaning is imposed on a form native to the recipient language, as in the adoption of the native English word ‘go’ to refer to the Japanese board game carrying an orthographically similar name in Japanese *go* or *igo*. A ‘loan translation’, finally, is a morpheme-for-morpheme translation from the donor language into the borrowing language, as in the English word ‘superman’, derived from Nietzsche’s *übermensch*.

The four types of borrowing discussed here represent specific types of lexical transfer. However, the basic general formula is based on a unitary assumption: that there is a concept/meaning unit that is taken (or ‘borrowed’) from a foreign language into the target language. This concept may be encoded totally in the linguistic form of the host language (‘loan shift’ and ‘loan translation’), totally encoded in the form of the donor language (‘loanword’), or a mixture of both (‘loan blend’).

The argument that all such lexical transfers should be regarded as the incorporation of 'foreign elements' in the Japanese language rests heavily on the borrowing metaphor. In this view, words or phrases, i.e. linguistic symbols, are little different from physical objects. Those who take this 'loanword approach' claim that it is impossible to detach the foreignness from the borrowed linguistic elements. For example, ordering a drink *on za rokku* ('on the rocks') conjures up notions of suave, debonair Western men in dinner jackets, far-away places, and so on, and it is these properties of being Western and chic that caused the word to be borrowed in the first place. Similarly, the proponents of such an approach argue that even if such a lexical item has a long history in the recipient language, there is still some symbolic baggage left over. Today, after nearly fifteen hundred years, some commentators still claim that Chinese loans and Chinese readings of characters still sound noticeably different than native Japanese terms, and that their excessive use sounds overly erudite, literary, or pedantic. The bottom line of this argument, then, is that it is impossible to incorporate English elements into Japanese without also accepting a symbolic package with each imported item, and that, as noted above, English loanwords are English and they are loanwords.

An alternative view is that loanwords are not loanwords at all, as nothing is really borrowed, and nothing is given back. 'Borrowing', then, is less an adequate descriptive term than a somewhat vague metaphor used to describe the complex patterning of cultural and linguistic contact. In this view, many Japanese English loanwords are more accurately (if somewhat clumsily) described as 'English-inspired vocabulary items'. Here, the argument is that the 'donor' language, e.g. English, may motivate or inspire the local formation of some new phonological symbol or a new conceptual unit in Japanese, but this is simply not the same process as 'borrowing' an item from a foreign language into Japanese. As I have argued above, my belief is that a large proportion (if not the majority) of Japanese English words are of the indigenous 'home grown' variety, despite a degree of overlap between a Japanese term and a corresponding English item.

In support of this, one may cite specific items. For example, the Japanese English equivalent to air-conditioner is *kuuraa* (or 'cooler') which may be unfamiliar to users of other varieties of English (cf. 'meat cooler' in American English); and the word *saabisu* is used very differently than the US equivalent item (in Japan this typically glosses the custom of giving a regular customer extra attention or additional products). Examples of loan blends include *ita-meshi* for 'Italian food' (*meshi* is 'food'); *ton-katsu* for 'pork cutlet' (*ton* is 'pork'); *doobutsu bisuketto* for 'animal biscuits' (*doobustu* is 'animal'); and *ita-choko* for 'chocolate bar' (*ita* is a 'board'). A great number of imported nouns may also pair with Japanese verb *suru* ('to do') to construct instant hybrid compounds (such as *tenisu-suru*, or 'to play tennis'), and there is a tendency to 'verbalize'

English nouns. This occurs in instances like *makku-ru*, which combines the Mc from ‘McDonald’s’ and the Japanese verbal ending *-ru*, rendering something ‘Mac-ing’ for ‘going to McDonald’s’ (Yonekawa, 1999).

In the Japanese-English language contact situation, both loan shifts and loan translations are relatively infrequent. Loan shifts, where native word forms become applied to borrowed meanings occur when the meaning of some native term becomes applied to a foreign (and ‘new’) concept. For example, using *ai* (‘love’ or ‘affection’) as an equivalent to ‘love’ in the English ‘I love you’ did not enter the Japanese sociolinguistic register until recently. Loan translations, or ‘calques’ were frequent during the Second World War when the government wanted to purge the Japanese language of foreign influences, and it was at this time when the English-inspired *sutoraiku* (‘strike’) was replaced by *ii tama ippon* (see Chapter 3 below).

At this stage of the discussion, two broad points may be made. First, it seems clear that there is only a partial fit between the traditional view of linguistic borrowing and the Japanese situation. The meanings of Japanese English words are not so much borrowed from abroad as created, negotiated, and recreated within Japanese society. Japanese English words and phrases are often utilized for Japanese aims and purposes, regardless of their meanings in the donor language. Second, rather than regarding these as ‘loanwords’, it is more appropriate to consider these as ‘English-inspired vocabulary items’. The term ‘loanword’ seems to imply a given fixed structure and meaning which corresponds to an exact equivalent in the donor language. The alternative view of these as English-inspired vocabulary items opens a perspective which creates a space for the creative and dynamic dimensions of lexical creation (vs. loanword acquisition) in this context.

The sociolinguistic realities underpinning the acquisition and use of this type of English suggest that many of these ‘borrowed’ words and phrases are more accurately regarded as Japanese terms, on a number of different levels. Many such items represent the feelings of Japanese speakers, and thus serve more to express the realities of contemporary Japanese culture than to import foreign cultural concepts into Japan. Regardless of the fears of language purists on both sides of the Pacific, there is every indication that the Japanese and English languages and cultures will come into increasing contact in the years ahead. In this context, language and cultural change appears inevitable, and such patterns of change find linguistic expression in the hybrid forms of Japanese English that we have discussed in this chapter.

There is strong evidence that English now has a permanent place in the linguistic repertoire of the Japanese people. The thousands of English-influenced vocabulary items that have entered the Japanese language have had a contemporary influence similar to that of the Chinese language in the fifth century. In earlier eras of Japanese history, many foreign elements were rapidly incorporated in Japanese life and customs, and became nativized within

Japanese culture. Today, there seems to be a surprising lack of tension between these ‘foreign’, i.e. English, linguistic items, and the indigenous language system, Japanese. Not least, perhaps, because many of these linguistic items are created within Japan and within the Japanese cultural and linguistic matrix. As we shall soon see, Japan has had a long and rich tradition of linguistic contact, and this is reviewed in some detail in Chapter 3, which follows. Before proceeding, however, the reader is now invited to take the following test in Japanese English, which is designed for the non-Japanese speaker of English.

Test in Japanese English: A quiz for non-Japanese speakers of English

Please choose the letter which you feel gives the best definition, as used in Japan, for each English loanword given below.

1. *ron-pari* ‘London Paris’
 - a. a European vacation
 - b. a fashion boutique
 - c. being cross-eyed
2. *baikingu* ‘Viking’
 - a. a Norse Viking
 - b. a men’s aftershave
 - c. a smorgasbord
3. *beteran* ‘veteran’
 - a. a former member of the armed forces
 - b. a retired company employee
 - c. a professional or expert
4. *gettsuu* ‘get two’
 - a. a two-for-one sale at a department store
 - b. an ad campaign encouraging people to buy two 2-litre bottles of Sapporo Beer
 - c. a double play in baseball
5. *daburu kyasuto* ‘double cast’
 - a. a special fly-fishing technique
 - b. a special cast used to set broken bones
 - c. two people assigned the same role in a play
6. *saabisu* ‘service’
 - a. having an automobile fixed
 - b. being waited on at a restaurant
 - c. complimentary extras for customers

7. *roodo shoo* 'road show'
 - a. a travelling theatre company
 - b. a circus
 - c. first-run films showing in large theatres
8. *sukin redii* 'skin lady'
 - a. a striptease artist
 - b. a fashion consultant
 - c. a woman selling prophylactics door to door
9. *oorai* 'all right'
 - a. being 'safe' during a baseball play
 - b. OK! emphatic agreement
 - c. the sound someone yells as he/she helps guide a vehicle to back up into a parking space
10. *bebi kaa* 'baby car'
 - a. a compact automobile
 - b. a special car-seat for children
 - c. a stroller
11. *kurisumasu keeki* 'Christmas cake'
 - a. a cake given to employees at Christmas time
 - b. a cake exchanged at Christmas when visiting relatives
 - c. a spinster
12. *konsento* 'consent'; 'concentric'
 - a. to agree, during a negotiation
 - b. the father giving approval to a prospective spouse
 - c. an electric outlet
13. *sayonara hoomu ran* 'Sayonara home run'
 - a. travelling quickly home during vacation time
 - b. saying goodbye to drinking companions while leaving
 - c. a game-ending baseball home run
14. *baajin roodo* 'virgin road'
 - a. an uncharted trail
 - b. the main street in front of an all-girls high school
 - c. the church aisle a bride walks down
15. *sukuramburu* 'scramble'
 - a. a kind of breakfast, serving eggs and toast
 - b. a football scrimmage
 - c. an intersection filled with pedestrians going every which way

16. *dorai* 'dry'
 - a. the condition of being non-wet
 - b. a condition described in anti-perspirant commercials
 - c. a person who is overly business-like, serious, or unsentimental
17. *uetto* 'wet'
 - a. the condition of being non-dry
 - b. the new, all-day, soft contact lenses
 - c. a person who is overly sentimental
18. *peepaadoraibaa* 'paper driver'
 - a. stapler, or paper clip
 - b. a person who delivers morning newspapers by truck
 - c. a person who has their licence, but rarely actually drives
19. *shirubaa shiito* 'silver seat'
 - a. American-style stools found in bars or short-order restaurants
 - b. a ride at the new Tokyo Disneyland amusement park
 - c. seats on buses and trains reserved for the elderly
20. *dokku* 'dock'
 - a. part of a courtroom
 - b. connecting the Space Shuttle with a satellite
 - c. a clinic

Bonus question:

21. *rimo kon* 'remote control'
 - a. a piece of machinery controlled from afar
 - b. a television selector for use while seated
 - c. a husband who goes straight home after work

Answers:

1. *ron-pari* 'London Paris'
 - c. being cross-eyed

A person who looks towards Paris with his right eye and towards London with his left is bound to have eye problems. Thus, a person who is cross-eyed or squints is sometimes said to be *ron-pari*.

2. *baikingu* 'Viking'
 - c. a smorgasbord

A smorgasbord is a Scandinavian meal, Vikings are Scandinavians, so an all-you-can-eat is called a *baikingu*.

3. *beteran* 'veteran'

- c. a professional or expert

A professional person is presumably experienced and expert; thus he or she is dubbed a *beteran*.

4. *gettsuu* 'get two'

- c. a double play in baseball

A double play gets two men out at the same time, so this is called *gettsuu* in Japanese.

5. *daburu kyasuto* 'double cast'

- c. two people assigned the same role in a play

A double cast is a situation where two actors are given the same role, presumably appearing on different dates.

6. *saabisu* 'service'

- c. complimentary extras for customers

The term *saabisu* in Japanese English refers to the extra benefits given to the regular customers of a shop or business.

7. *roodo shoo* 'road show'

- c. first-run films showing in large theatres

The first-run showing of a new film in Japan is called a *roodo shoo*, by analogy perhaps with plays in the United States which are on the road before they arrive on Broadway.

8. *sukin redii* 'skin lady'

- c. a woman selling prophylactics door to door

Women who sell condoms (*kondoomu*) door-to-door are called *sukin rediisu*. The term presumably comes from the brand names condoms are often given in Japan (e.g. *Wrinkle Skins*, *Skin Less Skins*, etc.).

9. *oorai* 'all right'

- c. the sound someone yells as he/she helps guide a vehicle to back up into a parking space

A person helping a bus or truck back up usually stands off to the side waving his/her hands and slowly says *oorai, oorai, oorai* until the correct position is reached. He/she then raises his/her palms and yells *sutoppu* ('stop!').

10. *bebii kaa* ‘baby car’
c. a stroller

A stroller (American English) or pram (British English) is a *bebii kaa*.

11. *kurisumasu keeki* ‘Christmas cake’
c. a spinster

In Japan it was traditionally believed that a woman older than twenty-five was too old for marriage. Christmas cakes get stale after 25 December, hence *kurisumasu keeki* to refer to an unmarried woman. However, today the average age for marriage for Japanese women is 27.5 years, so this term is less popular than previously.

12. *konsento* ‘consent’; ‘concentric’
c. an electric outlet

The etymology of this loanword is obscure. Some Japanese loanword dictionaries say it comes from ‘concentric’, the shape of early electric outlets.

13. *sayoonara hoomu ran* ‘Sayonara home run’
c. a game-ending baseball home run

When someone hits a homer into the stands in the ninth inning, everyone says ‘goodbye’ (*sayonara*) and goes home.

14. *baajin roodo* ‘virgin road’
c. the church aisle a bride walks down

According to traditional belief, when a Japanese bride walks down the aisle she should be dressed in white and still be a virgin.

15. *sukuramburu*
c. an intersection filled with pedestrians going every which way

The full expression is *sukuramburu koosaten* or ‘scrambled intersection’ (*koosaten* means ‘crossroads, intersection’ in Japanese). This is even used in official documents, and appears in questions in written driving tests.

16. *dorai* ‘dry’
c. a person who is overly business-like, serious, or unsentimental

A person who is a cold fish, too business-like, too serious, or too distant, is said to be *dorai* in Japanese. However, this term and the next now seem to be decreasing in popularity.

17. *uetto* ‘wet’
c. a person who is overly sentimental

The opposite of Number 16 above, of course, is 'wet'. This is someone who is too sensitive, sentimental, melancholy, or teary-eyed.

18. *peepaadoraibaa* 'paper driver'

- c. a person who has their licence, but rarely actually drives

Owning a car in Japan can be quite troublesome, especially in the larger cities where it is difficult to have a garage or find somewhere to park. Thus, many people, young women in particular, have a driver's licence but rarely use it.

19. *shirubaa shiito* 'silver seat'

- c. seats on buses and trains reserved for the elderly

'Silver' has become a metaphor for aging in Japan in the last decade or so. Many seats, cards, passes, or programmes referring to the elderly, take the prefix *shirubaa*.

20. *dokku* 'dock'

- c. a clinic

A ship gets 'dry-docked' when undergoing maintenance; hence, by analogy, clinics can also be termed *dokku*. For example, a *ningen dokku*, or 'human dock' (*ningen* means 'human being' in Japanese), is a complete and thorough physical examination given at the hospital.

Bonus question:

1. *rimo kon* 'remote control'

- a. a piece of machinery controlled from afar
b. a television selector for use while seated
c. a husband who goes straight home after work

All three answers are correct. Answer C is no longer as prevalent as it once was as more and more Japanese young men are spending time with their families after work rather than going out to the bars with their co-workers. Thus, returning home early is no longer quite the stigma that it was a few years ago. The term *rimo kon* now is especially used for the device to control the television set from a chair or floor, if the television is in a traditional Japanese room.

Summary

In this chapter, I have set out to establish a framework for the discussion of Japanese English that follows in subsequent chapters.¹⁰ In particular, I have considered the occurrence and widespread use of Japanese English, particularly Japanese English lexical items, in everyday life in Japanese society. In order to provide the reader with a broad understanding of the status and functions of Japanese English as a linguistic resource, I have also presented a number of detailed examples of language use to illustrate the ways in which the use of English contributes to the 'beautiful human life' of contemporary Japan, drawn from the worlds of advertising, popular music and the sports commentaries. The overarching argument in this chapter is that traditional approaches to linguistic 'borrowing' and English 'loanwords' in Japan are insufficient to account for the dynamics of Japanese-English language contact, and the varieties of 'Japanese English' that have occurred as the result of this contact. In the final pages of the chapter, readers are invited to complete a Japanese English test, which illustrates in detail many of the theoretical issues that have been discussed.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. I have included English glosses here, though they are not given in the original text. A few typographic conventions should be mentioned. All Japanese words, whether borrowed or native, are italicized, with glosses given in parentheses in quotes. The Hepburn system of romanization is used, with Japanese vowel length given by repeating the vowel rather using a diacritic (except for a direct quote): that is, *kuukoo* ('airport') is used here, rather than *kūkō*, as in some other systems. Familiar names or places are cited as they are normally spelled in English ('Tokyo' versus the technically more correct *Tookyo*). An apostrophe is used to separate the so-called syllable-ending /n/ from a syllable starting with an /n/ sound: e.g., *kinen* [i.e., *ki* 記 + *nen* 念, 'anniversary'] versus *kin'en* [i.e., *kin* 禁 + *en* 煙], 'no smoking'). Words and morphemes are not usually separated in normal written Japanese, but I have added spaces and hyphens occasionally for clarity of explanation, or to emphasize how one lexical item is related to another. However, it should be noted that how romanized Japanese words are to be spelled, hyphenated or separated is still somewhat a matter of dispute, and almost every author does things slightly differently. Also, in most cases, all Japanese names are given in the traditional order of family name first. Otherwise, unless stated differently, I have followed the suggestions in the *SWET Guide* (Society of Writers, Editors, and Translators, 1998).
2. A 'mansion' in Japanese English is really an apartment or condominium rather than a huge house as in British or American English.
3. Actually, as we shall see in Chapter 3, this is from the Portuguese loanword for 'bread', going back to the sixteenth century (Arakawa, 1977: 1009).
4. For my views on these books, see Stanlaw (1991) and (1997b).

CHAPTER 2

1. Some sections and examples in this chapter have appeared in Stanlaw (1988) and (1992b).
2. This is based on the data gathered in the 1960s by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973) in their several

word counts taken from newspapers. This set of studies has never been duplicated, and today the percentage of loanwords would almost certainly be substantially higher.

3. This observation is based on figures given by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 1970–4) and Kindaichi, et al. (1995). Although the particular estimates vary, it is clear that loanwords may make up to 10 percent of all Japanese vocabulary, and the vast majority (between 80 to 95 percent) come from English.
4. This is based on a study that covered the early 1980s by K. Inoue (1985). Note that not *all* the apparently transparent English words might look similar to native speakers of English. For example, サービス often means a discount or ‘service’ given to regular or good customers.
5. The oldest loanword dictionary is probably Ueda, et al. (1915), but there have been dozens since. General dictionaries include Ishiwata (1990), Kaieda (1997), Kobayashi (1982), Maruyama (1992), Nikaidoo (1980), Oda (1998), Oka (1980), Sanseido (1979), Shinsei (1978), Tooren-kikaku (1997), Umegaki (1980), Yokoi (1978), and Yoshizawa (1979). There are also many specialized ones, such as Fujimura (1982) for older people. Makino Shinobu (2000) has an accompanying CD-ROM giving correct pronunciations. Loanword dictionaries or glossaries in English include Bailey (1962), Matsumoto (1974), Miura (1979, 1985, 1998), Webb (1990), Motwani (1991, 1994), and Kamiya (1994).
6. It should be mentioned that this book does not focus on code-switching and code-mixing between Japanese immigrants overseas or Japanese-English bilinguals (as in, for instance, Nishimura’s 1977 study of Toronto *nisei*, i.e. second-generation Japanese Canadians). That said, I do not want to give the impression that Japan is a completely homogeneous, monolingual society, as this is not the case (Mahler and Yashiro, 1991; 1995).
7. There is a fairly extensive literature by Japanese scholars on English in Japan, going back several decades. For example, Hida (1981), Higa (1973, 1979), Honna (1990), Ishino (1977, 1978, 1982), Ishiwata (1978, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1989), Nakayama (1990), Shimomiya (1978), Shinmura (1983), Suenobu (1990), Suzuki (1978a), Tananbe (1981), Umegaki (1967, 1978), Yano (1990), Yokoi (1973), and Yoshizawa (1978) give some Japanese views on English in Japanese.
8. The death of the Shoowa Emperor (known in the West as Hirohito) merits some comment as it has implications for the term ‘Golden Week’ as well, showing some of the linguistic creativity of the Japanese people. Hirohito’s son, Akihito (the 125th new sovereign) was born on 23 December, a time when few people could take time off before Christmas and the New Year. In this sense, then, the Emperor’s birthday was inconvenient, coming at such a cold weather and so close to the New Year (the main holiday in Japan). In order to continue the ‘Golden Week’ tradition, the old emperor’s birthday is still celebrated as *Midori no Hi* (literally meaning ‘Green Day’; that is, a spring holiday).
9. There is a vast literature on English-language teaching in Japan and the use of English in the educational establishment. See, for example, Brownell (1967), Honna, Tajima, and Minamoto (2000), Hoshiyama (1978), Ike (1995), Ikeda (1968), Koike and Tanaka (1995), LoCastro (1990, 1996), and Yano (1992). Tanaka and Tanaka’s (1995) bibliography is quite detailed. Many English and Japanese teachers argue about whether or not English loanwords are good or bad for their particular subjects (e.g., Takeshita, 1993; H. Quackenbush, 1997).

10. There is much written on Japanese communicative strategies and discourse in general. Maynard (1990, 1997, 1998) are standard works. Locastro (1987) and Stanlaw (1992c) deal with communicative strategies with special reference to English loanwords in Japanese. Smith (1978), Kunihiro (1979), Taylor (1979), Tanabe (1981) and Ishiwata (1983) focus on Japanese-English contrastive linguistics.

CHAPTER 3

1. For fuller accounts in English of the Chinese-Japanese contact story, see Habein (1984), Seeley (1984, 1991) and Loveday (1996).
2. Some interesting accounts of culture and language contact during the nineteenth century can be found in Heusken (1964), Dulles (1965), Statler (1969), Braisted (1976) and Lehmann (1981). On language contact and linguistics, see Grimshaw (1971), Silverstein (1972), Heath (1984); Heller (1985); Holm (1988, 1989); for pidgins, see Hymes (1971; 1971 ed.) and Valdman (1977).
3. This was the so-called *Ansei no Taijoku* ('Ansei Purge').
4. See, for instance, Nagashima's (1993) discussion of the transition from Dutch-Japanese to English-Japanese dictionaries.
5. See Atkinson (1874), LeLand (1879), Chamberlain (1904), Williams (1958a; 1963); Stanlaw (1987b) and Adachi (1988).
6. For other descriptions of nineteenth-century Yokohama and the lives of foreign residents in the settlements (or 'Concessions'), see Williams (1958a, 1958b, 1963) and Cortazzi (1987).
7. Other sources include a commentary on the Atkinson pamphlet by LeLand (1879) in an American popular magazine, an appendix to LeLand's review (Diosy, 1879), and a few contemporary Japanese plays or novels. Adachi (1988) has compiled what is in essence a dictionary of the Atkinson text, and Daniels (1948) also surveys the vocabulary found in the pamphlet. Some Japanese discussions of the various Yokohama dialects include Horiuchi Katsuaki (1965), Takahashi (1967), Umegaki (1967), Hazawa (1974), Ueda (1901) and Ishiwata Toshio (1981). Although most sources cited are largely concerned with the languages from the Yokohama area, other open ports such as Nagasaki and Kobe apparently used an interlanguage with a very similar structure. For this reason, Daniels (1948) suggests calling it a 'Ports Lingo'.
8. See also Ikeda (1968) and Ike (1995).
9. Adachi (1988) also gives a lexicon of what she believes was the vocabulary of Interpreter's English, circa 1886.
10. This is now Hitotsubashi University.
11. This quotation from Mori to Whitney is from a letter in the Yale University Library Whitney Manuscripts Collection, cited in Hall (1973: 191–2). See also Mori (1973).
12. In many other cases the romanization systems are the same; for example, ㅁ is written as *ma* in all three systems.
13. This book also uses the Hepburn system.
14. The long-running girl's comic book series *Haikara-san ga Tooru* ('Ms High Collar

Is Passing’, which is about love and intrigue in early twentieth-century Japan) has kept the term current. It is still in print and this lexical item therefore remains in the vernacular of even today’s teenagers. However, I have rarely heard anyone use it out of an historical context.

15. Arakawa (1977) gives the first printed attestation of this term as 1954 and claims that the etymology is *panpan* (‘prostitute, streetwalker’) + *ingurissshu* (‘English’).
16. See Kindaichi Haruhiko (1978: 130) and Miller (1982: 115) for other translations of this passage.

CHAPTER 4

1. Some tables and examples in this chapter have appeared in Stanlaw (2002).
2. Indeed, even modern Chinese uses the device of choosing a character with a similar sound to, say, approximate a foreign place name. Ideally, the characters are also chosen to convey some kind of semantic sense as well, as in, for example, America being written as 美國 *Měiguó* (‘beautiful country’), or England 英國 *Yīngguó* (‘brave country’). Many times, however, characters are chosen simply for their phonetic value, as in the case of Chile 智利 *Zhìlì* (whose characters mean nothing).
3. Syllabaries are actually one of the most common writing systems in use in the world; depending on how one counts, about half of the world’s languages use some form of a syllabic writing system. DeFrancis (1984, 1989) argues that it was no coincidence that three places where writing was independently invented (China, Mayan Meso-America, and Sumerian Iran) all, at least initially, based their writing systems on syllabic principles: ‘There can be little doubt that it is easier to conceptualize a syllable than to analyze utterances into smaller phonemic units’ (DeFrancis, 1989: 670).
4. The suffix-word *-kana* (or its phonological variant *-gana*) literally means ‘provisional name’, but I gloss it here as ‘letter’ for simplicity; I also sometimes add a hyphen for clarity. This is the same suffix that is found in *kata-KANA*, *hira-GANA*, or *Man’yō-GANA*, though sometimes its pronunciation changes due to the sounds surrounding it. That is, when a word (or morpheme) starting with a voiceless consonant follows a word (or morpheme) ending with a voiced sound, this initial voiceless sound becomes voiced (e.g. a [-k] becomes [-g] as in the example here). These so-called *rendaku* rules are discussed more fully in the next footnote.
5. Actually, phonological definitions and descriptions become slightly tricky at this point, especially if one holds on too tightly to an English or Indo-European model (cf. Ito and Mester, 1999).

First, it must be noted that vowel-length is phonemic in Japanese (i.e. the period of time a vowel is held can make a difference in meaning).

Next, the reader is reminded that the so-called final syllabic-n sound is discussed in detail in the Appendix.

Third, three other points of Japanese phonology should be mentioned. First, Japanese has so-called ‘long’ or geminated consonants, where a consonant sound is held, stretched, or elongated. (These are usually denoted by repeating the letter in romanization, or using a small ‘*tsu*’ symbol in the *kana* orthography.) For example, the [t]-sound in the English collocation ‘hot topping’ (say, when asking for an additional flavour on an ice-cream sundae) is a kind of geminated

consonant. In Japanese, however, a geminated consonant contrasts with a normal consonant to show a difference in meaning: e.g. *kite* ('please come here') versus *kitte* ('stamp'), or *kakoo* ('let's draw' or 'let's write') versus *kakkoo* ('the cuckoo bird').

The second point is what Japanese call *rendaku*, or sequential voicing. That is, if a word beginning with a voiceless sound follows a voiced syllable, it becomes voiced. For example, the Japanese food *sushi* begins with a voiceless sound (i.e. 's'). When it is the compound *inari-sushi* ('vinegared rice in deep-fried tofu'), the voiceless -s becomes a voiced -z: *inari-zushi*. There is a whole series of voiceless consonants which can become voiced (e.g. s => z, t => d, k => g, etc., as discussed in the Appendix).

A third point is the notion of Japanese *mora* (Ohye, 1976b; Kubozono, 1999) — vs. English 'syllable' — commonly accepted by most Japanese linguists. *Mora* are defined as having three manifestations: (1) a *mora* is one of the vowel or consonant-vowel syllabary units found in charts like Table 4.1; (2) the final syllabic -n is a *mora*; and (3) the first part of the long geminated consonant is also a *mora*. The idea of the *mora* has been introduced by Japanese linguists for both descriptive and theoretical reasons. Theoretically, *mora* can be used to account for — and explain and predict — many phonological phenomena found in Japanese. It is also thought to be a psychologically real unit of time, with each *mora* in a word given the same duration by native speakers. Tsujimura (1996: 64–7) gives a good description of *mora* and syllable differences. For some further discussions of Japanese phonology and English see Ichikawa (1930), Ohye (1976b), Lovins (1973 [1975]), Isshiki (1957, 1965), and Josephs (1970).

6. The following comments apply not only to the text, but all the syllabary charts in this chapter, as well as in the Appendix: it should be noted that the Japanese f-sound is somewhat different from English. It appears only as a voiceless bilabial fricative when it comes before the rounded high back-vowel [u], and is written in roman letters as *fu*. That is, in native Japanese orthography there are no [fa], [fi], [fe], or [fo] sounds appearing in charts like Figure A.1 or Table 4.2 (only [fu]). Also, as [fu] is a bilabial sound made with the two lips (something like the English 'who') the Japanese [f] is not exactly the same as the English labio-dental sound made by putting the bottom lip under the top row of teeth.

The Japanese h-sounds are voiceless and the Japanese word *hito* ('person') sounds much like a hissing or whispered beginning of the sentence 'HE TOW-ed my car away' in English. Furthermore, in the r-rows of these charts the Japanese r-sound is an alveolar flap rather than the English retroflex r-sound.

7. Fukuzawa himself experimented with several *katakana* transliterations for different 'innovative' non-Japanese sounds. For example, for *vo* he sometimes wrote ヴォ or ヴヲ, for *vi* he would use ヴィ or ヴィ#, and for *ve* ヴェ or ヴヰ; he would sometimes use ヴウル for English final '-ver' sounds.

CHAPTER 5

1. Different portions of this chapter were presented at the following conferences and published in their proceedings: The Poetics of Japanese Literature Conference, 3–4 October 1992, Purdue University (Stanlaw, 1993a), and The Fourth Annual Meetings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies: Revisionism

- in Japanese Literary Studies, November 1996 (Stanlaw, 1996a). I wish to thank the participants of these conferences for their kind help and advice, especially Roger Thomas, Phyllis Lyons, and John Wallace.
2. *Tanka* poems are close cousins of the famous sparse Japanese *haiku*. Instead of being a poem of seventeen syllables in lines of 5–7–5, the classical *tanka* poems consist of five lines of 5–7–5–7–7 syllables.
 3. See also Inamasu (1989), McClure (1994, 1998), Yang et al. (1997) and Craig (2000).
 4. See Hatakeyama (1990) and Ren'ai-kajin Kenkyuu kai (1996).
 5. *Enka* has been called the country-western music of Japan.
 6. For similar discussions by other anthropologists, see Dolgin, Kemnitzer and Schneider (1977).
 7. For similar arguments in different contexts, see Field (1989) and Harootunian (1989).
 8. See Tobin (1992) and McCreery (2000).
 9. As mentioned before, most *tanka* poems are not usually written in the five-line form that I have transcribed here, but are written in a single line.
 10. Probably the best summary of J-pop artists and titles can be found in the *Japanese Dream Yearbooks* (Japanese Dream, 1999, 2001, 2002).

CHAPTER 6

1. An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the Fifth Berkeley Women and Language Conference, 24–26 April 1998; portions were published in their proceedings (Stanlaw, 1998). I am grateful to the discussants and panel members who contributed many suggestions to improve this work.
2. There are three excellent translations of this book: (1) Arthur Waley (1960 [1933]); (2) Edward Seidensticker (1976); and (3) Royall Tyler (2001). For a discussion of the continuing influence of Genji, as well as resources and websites, see Kawazoe Fusae, 'Hikaru Genji's Next Millennium', *Japan Quarterly*, April–June 2000, pp. 31–9.
3. Technically, there are at least two kinds of 'ghosts' in Japanese: *yurei*, the frightful remnant spirit of a dead person, and *o-bake*, a more mischievous and benign supernatural creature. *O-bake* became popularized some years ago by the cartoon character *O-Bake no Kyu-chan*, while *yurei* has been presented in numerous *kaidan* ('ghost stories' or 'scary tales') for hundreds of years. Most Japanese do not seem to anthropomorphize machines the way many Americans do, and because they do not have souls; machines such as computers probably cannot be possessed by ghosts. However, among computer specialists there is such a thing as a *moji-bake* ('character ghost', which transposes letters). When something is prepared in a Japanese word processing program and then run on an English word processing system, strange symbols and funny faces often appear instead of normal Sino-Japanese characters. These characters are sometimes believed to have been transformed into the *moji-bake* now on the monitor screen.
4. For other aspects of Tawara's work, see Stanlaw (1996a, 2001).

CHAPTER 7

1. Some sections of this chapter have appeared in Stanlaw (2000b) in altered form.
2. There are two words for ‘Japan’ in *rooma-ji* and the *kana* because the characters (日 and 本) have two possible pronunciations: *ni* + *hon*, or *nip* + *pon*.
3. From the music magazine *BEST HIT*, January 1990, p. 169.
4. Perhaps just ‘Star Guys’ might be the best way to translate this play on words in Japanese, conflating ‘noisy kids’ and ‘children from the stars’.
5. *Urusei Yatsura*, special edition, April 1983, p. 141.
6. *Katsushika Q*, Vol. 1, 1991. Tokyo: Big Comics Shoogakukan.
7. ‘Penguin’ comes out as the *katakana* ペンギン *pengin* in Japanese.
8. *Shuukan FM* (‘Weekly FM’), 11–24 December 1989, p. 78.
9. This group does indeed sing, while performing the intricate choreography on roller-skates and roller-blades for which they are famous. For more on the connections between English loanwords and Japanese music, see Stanlaw (1989, 1990a, 1990b, 2000a); see also Stanlaw (1993a) for more on *Hikaru GENJI*.
10. *Nihongo-gaku*, Vol. 16, No. 6, 1997. The term *tabeyasu ka* in this Kansai dialect is the same as *tabenasai* (‘please eat’) in standard Japanese.
11. *Goro*, April 14, 1981, p. 8 *ff.*
12. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the English loanword *manshon* (‘mansion’) does not mean some stately house on a hill; it basically means an apartment, not much different from an *apaato* (another word for apartment). *Apaman* is a magazine for those trying to find housing, and lists those *apaato* (‘apartments’) and *manshon* (‘mansions’) currently available for rent.
13. That is, Mari Hamada in roman letters changes to Hamada Mari when written in *kanji* and *kana*. The switch of the woman’s name to the traditional Japanese order of last-name first both feels, and appears to be, more Japanese-English-like.
14. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the *sawayaka, teisuti I feel Coke!* phrase has been used in a number of contexts and registers over the past decade. On television for a while, the phrase and jingle were used to appeal to three different audiences — young adolescents, the older generation, and mainstream adults — by making subtle changes in the visuals and English loanwords (Stanlaw, 1992c).
15. For more on the use of English in advertising in Japan, see Haarman (1984, 1986a, 1989) and Loveday (1996). For its use in other places, see Vestergaard and Schroder (1985), Bhatia (1992), and Cook (1992).
16. I will use examples from the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper, not because it is necessarily better than the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, but simply because it is the one we currently subscribe to.
17. *Asahi Shimbun*, 29 November 2001, p. 11
18. *Asahi Shimbun*, 13 November 2001, p. 1.
19. *Asahi Shimbun*, 14 November 2001, p. 5.
20. *Asahi Shimbun*, 12 December 2001, p. 14.
21. *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 December 2001, p. 3.

CHAPTER 8

1. Portions of this chapter were presented at the 92nd Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the 1993 Annual Meeting of the

Midwest Council on Asian Affairs. I thank the participants for their help and comments.

2. As a notational convention reminder, all Japanese terms and English loanwords are italicized as throughout this book; however, I have tried to adhere to capitalization and other orthography as presented in the original packaging or product name as much as possible.
3. According to Arakawa (1977: 1432), the English word ‘lemonade’ came to Japanese through French in the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 9

1. Portions of this chapter were first presented in 1992 at the National Science Foundation (NSF) sponsored conference, ‘Color Categories in Thought and Language’ (Asilomar/Pacific Grove, California), and subsequently published (Stanlaw [1997a], although covering somewhat different material). I thank Clyde Hardin and the NSF for their invitation, and the twenty-three participants for their thoughtful comments (especially Robert MacLaury, Paul Kay, Luisa Maffi, and C. L. Hardin). Much raw data was gathered during my dissertation research (Stanlaw, 1987a). For a different kind of colour examination in Japanese commercials and advertising, see Haarman (1989).
2. Other important approaches include and Hayes (1972), Farmer et al. (1980), Boynton and Olson (1987), Hilbert (1987), Boynton, MacLaury and Uchikawa (1989), Hardin (1988), and Thompson (1995). Japanese colour terminology from the psychological/neurological perspective is discussed in Uchikawa and Boynton (1987).
3. See, for example, the exchanges in recent issues of the *American Anthropologist* (Saunders 1999, 2000; Hardin and Maffi 2000; Kay 2000), and Saunders (1992), Kay and Berlin (1997), Saunders and van Brakel (1997), Stanlaw (1992a, 1993b, 1997c), and Kay and Maffi (1999).
4. From now on, colour terms in capitals will be used to represent basic colour terms or categories. I am following the terminological conventions of my former teachers Cecil H. Brown and Stanley Witkowski in these descriptions (see Witkowski and Brown, 1977; 1981).
5. I have borrowed from the title of one of the most significant books on classification that has appeared in recent years (Lakoff, 1987).
6. This movement has undergone several transformations and nomenclature shifts (e.g. ‘principles and parameters’, ‘government and binding’, ‘move alpha’, etc.). However, the basic philosophical claims have remained unchanged.
7. For more on colours in Japanese, see the references in Kobayashi (1974, 1990) or Stanlaw (1987a).
8. As I have pointed out (Stanlaw, 1987a), it is difficult to do colour term studies by using sources such as the Japanese National Language Research Institute samples because they do not always make distinctions between spoken and written forms; nor do they always distinguish a head noun (say *cha*, ‘tea’) and a colour (*cha-iro*, ‘tea-coloured’, or BROWN).
9. As can be seen from the charts elicited for these two people, there is a fair degree of informant variability between them. As any colour fieldworker will tell you, this is not unusual. For further discussions on this issue, see MacLaury (1997).

CHAPTER 10

1. Such research on Japanese probably began with Bendix (1966) and continues to this day.
2. As described in Chapter 8, when the non-loanword (*ichigo*) was used, it was always used along with some unusual graphics as in this example of *Kurimu Ichigo* ('Cream Strawberry'). These candies have the Japanese being rewritten in English and roman letters just below it. This seems to make more of an appeal to familiarity (well-known strawberries) than to the newness or uniqueness of the food.
3. Researchers have argued in a number of areas that sensations highly based on physiology can also have a strong cultural component (cf. MacLaury's 'vantage theory' [1992, 1995, 1997, 2002]). For views of cognitive anthropologists similar to mine, but focusing more on sensation, see Keller (1992) and Keller and Keller (1998).
4. Backhouse (1994) has made a first attempt to examine taste terms in Japanese; however, it was based solely on data collected from a single informant, his wife. See Stanlaw (1995b) for other comments. For other work on culture and the senses, see Feld (1982), T. Horiuchi (1990), Dorland (1993), and Kohl (1993).
5. There are actually three kinds of measuring cups that can be found in a Japanese kitchen: a *mejaa kappu* ('measuring cup') of about 200 cc; a *keiryoo kappu* (*keiryoo* being the traditional word for 'measure') of about 180 cc mainly used for rice; and an *amerikan kappu* ('American cup') of about 250 cc.
6. The *Takenoko-zoku* was a fad popular in the 1980s and 1990s. Young Japanese adolescents would dress up in odd, colourful, pajama-like frilly costumes, wear heavy make-up, and dance to classic soft popular music, disco, or old ABBA songs (often a perennial favourite for some reason). They often danced in the instant parks that were created on Sundays by closing streets in popular shopping areas like Harajuku in Tokyo.
7. See MacLaury (1995) for his different interpretation of my 'purple' data using vantage theory.
8. The claims for the loanword 'purple' being foolish or silly are based on data gathered from semantic differential scales I administered when conducting my dissertation research (Stanlaw, 1987; see Chapter 9 for a breakdown of informants). The semantic differential (Osgood, 1963; Osgood, May and Miron, 1975a; 1975b) is a technique used to infer emotional response or connotation of informants by asking them to judge a term along a scale of bipolar adjectives. For example, English speakers might be asked to rate the 'hotness' or 'coldness' of 'blue' on a scale from 1 to 7. Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) have found that almost every word in a language has the power to sway informants in very consistent directions, even when the concept/term being tested has no apparent connection to the adjective-pair scale. One test conducted in this study was to rate *paapuru* as either being *rikoo-na* ('clever') or *baka-na* ('foolish'), on a scale from 1 to 7. Informants in aggregate rated it a '4'; Japanese women, however, were especially opinionated, giving *paapuru* almost a '6' on a 7-point scale.
9. Regarding sex and its spellings, there was a girl's guide to growing up and sex called *Onna no ko no esu ii ekkusu* ('A Girl's S. E. X.') in the 1970s and 1980s. Presumably by writing the word 'sex' out in *katakana*, it was less embarrassing for her to buy or be seen reading.

10. Zee (1990), for example, describes the connections between taste and vision in his discussion of food and the Chinese writing system.

CHAPTER 11

1. Portions of this chapter were presented at the 1999 Annual Meetings of the Central States Anthropological Association Meetings, and in 1991 at the 90th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association; parts were also published in Japanese in Stanlaw (1995a).
2. For further discussions of the Boas and the Boas Problem, and its implications for linguistics and anthropology, see Darnell (1999) and Valentine and Darnell (1999).
3. Some exceptions include the colourful Lafcadio Hearn, an American author who arrived in Japan in the 1890s. He married a Japanese woman and took the name Koizumi Yakumo (Colt, 1990). He was the author of some dozen books explaining Japan to the West. He was probably one of the first Westerners to ever become a citizen of Japan, an accomplishment still rather difficult to do.
4. These people are not the only ones. For example, Japanese Brazilians today, who largely still speak Japanese as a first language (Higa, 1982; Adachi, 1997; 1999; 2000; 2001), complain about the extensive use of English (rather than Portuguese) loanwords. Many of these borrowed items are not easy for them to understand, nor are they natural for them to pronounce, given how different Portuguese phonology is from English. For instance, the English loanword *paaku* ('pack') tends to be pronounced as *paaki* in Japanese-Brazilian Japanese, causing problems for Japanese speakers when they are in Japan (Adachi, personal communication).
5. There is no doubt that many still argue over the origins of Japanese, and its connections to the rest of the world's languages. For example, Shibatani Masayoshi, in his excellent popular overview of the Japanese language for linguists in the famous Cambridge Language Series, states that '[I]ndeed, Japanese is the only major world language whose genetic affiliation to other languages or language families has not been conclusively proven' (1990: 94). However, it must be mentioned that scholars such as Tsunoda, Suzuki, and Kindaichi overstate their case and are not representative of all Japanese linguists. For example, as early as the 1950s, Murayama Shichiroo (e.g. 1972) and Oono Susumu (Oono 1957; Ohno 1970) argued for an Austronesian or Uralic-Altai connection, and many others concur showing that Japanese shares similarities with Turkish, Mongolian, many Manchurian and Siberian languages, as well as Korean (for some of these arguments in English, see Ohno, 1970). Western linguists, too, for the most part, agree (e.g. Benedict, 1990; Miller, 1971; 1980).
6. These 'just say no' books have now become popular on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. For example, Nakagawa Susumu (1991) wrote *'No' to ieru bijinesuman* ('The Businessman Who Can Say No') regarding rebellion in the ranks against overwork and total commitment to the company. 'Businessman', of course, refers to the famous *saraiiman* ('salaried man or white-collar office worker') described in Chapter 2; the business here is not devotion to the employees but concern for the poor exploited office drone. Danziger (1993) titled his book of vignettes about his life as a transplanted American in Japan, *The American Who Couldn't Say Noh*. Presumably, both the pun on these book titles and the classical drama are intended.

CHAPTER 12

1. *Newsweek* 15 November 1982, p. 1; articles on pages 32 to 38.
2. These notions of ‘English as a Second Language’ or ‘English as a Foreign Language’ are theoretically quite problematic; many argue that both these terms should be replaced instead by ‘English as a World Language’ or ‘English as an International Language’. Although I will (perhaps carelessly) use all these terms interchangeably, the reader needs to be aware of how controversial (cf. Kachru, 1990), or even schizophrenic (Kachru 1977), they actually are.
3. Of course, who or what a ‘native speaker’ is, is very problematic (cf. Paikeday, 1985). I will ignore most of these nuances here, but remind readers that such questions are actually very subtle and profound.
4. As the name of the department at the University of Illinois calls itself.
5. English is taught in the school system in these countries as a compulsory de facto additional language. That is, English is taught as a *foreign* language rather than as a *second* language (as in, say, Nigeria or Singapore).
6. For a listing, with telephone numbers and addresses, of almost four dozen of these organizations, see Tanaka and Tanaka (1995).
7. Again, Pride (1982), Bailey and Görlach (1983), Greenbaum (1985), Quirk and Widdowson (1985), Viereck and Bald (1986), Smith (1983a, 1983b, 1987), García and Otheguy (1989), Cheshire (1991), Kachru (1992), and Smith and Forman (1997).
8. As of 2002, the Ministry of Education has stopped authorizing the STEP test.
9. An important caveat needs to be made about this figure: I am not counting the number of Koreans living in Japan — about 657,000 at the time of this comparison (Keizai Koho Center, 1997). The reason for this is that most of these Koreans are permanent residents. This can be seen from the relative stability of the numbers over time (e.g. 657,000 in 1996 compared to 664,000 in 1980).
10. This history of English-language newspapers in Japan is itself a fascinating story. S. Tanaka (1995) gives a nice account, in English, from their start as early trade papers in the 1860s to a modern internationalizing force in the 1990s.
11. It should also be noted that most of these readers must not be native English speakers: only 66,000 foreign residents in Japan at that time came from the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or other ‘inner circle’ country.
12. These articles are Stanlaw (1987b), Hayashi (1988), Hino (1988), Atkins and Tanaka (1990), Fukushima (1990), Locastro (1990), Takashi (1990), Ono (1992), Nagashima (1993), Iwasaki (1994), Chiba, Matsuura and Yamamoto (1995), Connor-Lifton (1995), Hayashi and Hayashi (1995), Ike (1995), Kay (1995), Koike and Tanaka (1995), Morrow (1995), Murata (1995), Nishimura (1995), Nishiyama (1995), Tanaka and Tanaka (1995), and Matsuura, Chiba and Fujieda (1999). (A twenty-four article might be included if we count Geist [1991] who examined English in non-Western film.) It should be noted, however, that fourteen of these articles came from a special issue in 1995, and four came from a special section of one volume in 1990.
13. The term *nido* by itself seems to imply *nido de amor*, depending on the context: the phrase *el nido (de amor)* is Spanish and *il nido (d’amor)* is Italian.

APPENDIX

1. Actually, when the 50-sound chart in Figure A.1 was traditionally written in Japanese, the five *dan*, or vowel columns, were written as the rows; the 10 consonants, *gyoo*, were written as the columns. In the tables I have given here, I have transposed the rows and columns for readability so they would fit on an 8 1/2 inches x 11 inches page. Also, as Japanese is traditionally read from right to left, the order of the syllabary columns would of course be in that order as well.

In Figure A.1 there are some unfilled boxes in this grid due to sound changes over time, and some original gaps. Also, in a few places, the predicted consonant + vowel combination is not what we might expect: e.g. /s/ + /i/ giving /shi/ instead of /si/; /t/ + /u/ giving /tsu/ instead of /tu/; /t/ + /i/ giving /chi/ instead of /ti/. There are technical reasons for this phonological pattern which will not be discussed here (cf. Tsujimura, 1996, 1999 for further details).

2. Actually the relationships between the h-, p-, and b-sounds are rather more complicated than implied here. First, orthographically, these three sets of symbols in the syllabary table are odd compared to the others in the traditional chart. Usually voiceless sounds are unmodified glyphs and their voiced equivalents have the *daku-on* quote-mark diacritic attached the original symbol (e.g., *ka* か versus *ga* が). Thus, we would expect that the voiceless *pa* syllable would be written as ぱ and its voiced equivalent *ba* as ば . However, this is not the case. The symbol ぱ represents the *ha* syllable (while *pa* is written ぱ), indicating that all these sounds must have been historically related (cf. Shibatani, 1990: 166). Many Japanese linguists believe that h-sounds developed historically from p-sounds through a process sometimes known as ‘weakening of labiality’ (Shibatani, 1990: 167). That is, original p-sounds in Old Japanese become voiceless bilabial fricatives, which in turn become h-sounds (see Miller, 1967:191–93; McCawley, 1968)
3. Three comments must be made concerning these palatalized sounds. First, note that a word like *kiya* is written as *ki* plus *ya* (きや) while the palatalized *hya* is written with *ki* plus the little *ya* (きゃ). These are two very distinct things in Japanese. Second, note that voiced palatal sounds are just the voiced symbols plus the small y-sounds. For example, *gya* is written as ぎゃ; that is, the symbol *gi* plus a small *ya*. Finally, note that the ways that some of these consonants are romanized are slightly different from what we might anticipate following the rule just mentioned above. That is, the table gives *sha* instead of *shya* or *sya* (i.e. /s-/ plus a small /ya/) as we would expect. This is an artifact of the particular romanization system used; this problem will be discussed later.
4. Two comments need to be made. First, in this table (Figure A.3), due to space constraints, I moved certain symbols away from their traditional places: I placed the syllabic-n symbol to the far right of the n-row, and made special columns for the *-ya*, *-yu*, and *-yo* palatals.

Second, vowel length is actually phonemic in Japanese. For example, the short initial vowel in *ie* (‘house’) distinguishes its longer counterpart *iee* (‘no’). There are a number of ways that vowel length is indicated in the *kana*, and both *hiragana* and *katakana* denote it differently. In the *katakana*, vowel length is simply indicated with a long bar following the syllable to be lengthened. Thus, シ is the short syllable *shi* while the long *shii* is written シー . In *hiragana*, because of historical reasons, the notation is more complex. For ‘a’, ‘i’, and ‘u’ sounds, vowel length is indicated

by repeating the vowel symbol again. Thus *ki* is written き , while *kii* is written きい . Long 'e' sounds are generally rendered as *ei* in *hiragana*: えい. Long 'o' is usually indicated by adding a 'u' sound: おう.

5. The extent of onomatopoeia in Japanese is quite remarkable, and does not necessarily carry the childish connotations that it sometimes does in English. See Kinseido (1985) or Oono (1988) for further details.

Index

- Abad, Gemino 282, 323
abbreviations 75
Abe, Hajime 20, 265, 294, 323
Abolish Japanese, Adopt English (phrase) 65
Academie Française 269
acculturation 293
acronyms 69, 75, 180–1
Adachi, Nobuko viii, 58–60, 139, 182, 311, 318, 323
Adams, William 45, 161
adjective-pair scale 317
adjectives, bipolar 317
advertising 179, 186, 200, 207, 244
 in Japan 307, 316
 English in 16, 31–2
 television 244
aesthetics, Japanese 245
affixes 76
Africa 268, 281, 286, 290
Akihito, Emperor 310
Alatis, James 280, 291, 324
Algeo, John 70–1, 324
All Nippon Airways 180
Allen, Keith 239, 324
alphabet, *see hiragana*; romanization of
 Japanese
 syllabaries 65
Amaterasu-oo-mikami 128, 132
American
 anthropology 265
 English 41
 Occupation of Japan 69; *see also*
 the Second World War
American Express 32
American Samoa 282
Americans
 in Japan 32, 40, 60–1, 63, 65, 70,
 185, 243, 310
 Japanese language and 174, 266–8,
 271; *see also* loanwords, English
ana-kotoba 60
analogy 201, 243
 spatial 260
Anglomania 294
Anmitsu 239
Annarino, John 71–2, 332
Ansei Commercial Treaty 53
Ansei Purge 311
Aoki, Ken 341
Arabic language 290
Arafat, Yasser 185
Arakawa, Sobe 14, 46, 59, 69, 85, 91,
 92, 250, 299, 309, 312, 316, 324
Asahi Evening News 289
Asahi Shimbun 22, 269, 286–8, 315, 324,
 340
Asahi Shimbun (newspaper) 95, 182–4,
 269, 287, 289, 315
Asia 281–2, 290
Asia-Pacific region 282
Atkins, Ronda Kay 319, 324
Atkinson, Hoffman 57–9, 311, 324; *see*
 also Yokohama Dialect
audiences
 mainstream 315
 older-generation 315
 younger-generation 315

- aural domains 244
- Australia 280–2, 290
- Australian languages, *see* Dyirbal
- Austria 290
- Austronesian languages 318
- Baby-sam cartoons 71
- Backhouse, A. E. 240, 317, 324
- Bailey, Don C. 310, 324
- Bailey, Richard 281, 319, 324
- Bald, Wolf-Dietrich 281, 319
- Bamboo English 70, 81, 268, 276
- Bangbose, Ayo 281, 324
- Bangladesh 282
- Bansho-shirabe-sho 50
- barbarian
 - books 52
 - languages 52
- Baron, Naomi 324
- Barthes, Roland 144, 237, 324
- Bashoo 246
- basic colour terms
 - black 214, 222, 232
 - blue 222
 - brown 232
 - grey 232–3, 239
 - orange 113, 232–3
 - pink 232
 - purple 114, 232, 254–7, 261–2, 317
 - red 214–5, 222, 240
 - white 214–5, 219, 222
- Bautista, Maria Lourdes S. 279, 281, 324
- Baxter, J. 9, 324
- Beasley, W. G. 54–5, 325
- Befu, Harumi 325
- Beikoku* (America) 166
- Belgium 290
- Bendix, Edward 317, 325
- Benedict, Paul 318, 325
- Berlin, Brent 211–6, 222, 227, 232–41, 252, 257–8, 316, 325
- Best Hit Music Magazine* 315
- Bhatia, Tej K. 315, 325
- Bhatt, Rakesh 281, 325
- Bickerton, Derek 325, 325
- Big Mac* 244
- bilingual
 - creativity 81, 282
 - semantics 233
- bilingualism 187
 - mass 286
- biiru* 1, 48
- bin Laden, Osama, *see* Osama bin Laden
- biological reductionism 217
- black basic colour terms 214, 222, 232
- Blackthorne, John 45
- Blaker, Richard 45
- Blomhoff, Jan Cook 50
- Boas, Franz 217, 265–6, 276, 318, 325
- Boas Problem 266, 274, 318
- body consciousness 76
- Bolton, Kingsley vii, 325
- Bolton, Ralph 222, 325
- Boogie Woogie Lonesome High Heel* (song) 166
- borrowing 19, 22
 - by ear 92
 - by eye 91
- Bowring, Richard 131, 326
- Boynton, Robert 316, 326, 352
- Boys Don't Cry* (song) 106, 124, 138–40
- Braisted, William 311, 326
- Brazil 290
- British Council 280
- British East India Company 81
- British
 - English 41
 - in Japan 33, 60
 - linguistic standards 34; *see also* received pronunciation
- Broadway 40
- Brower, Robert H. 113, 326
- Brown, Cecil H. viii, 316, 354
- Brownell, John 10, 326
- Brunei 282, 290
- Brunner, Borgna 284–5, 288, 326
- Buddhism 45, 129, 253, 271
- Budikku-sha 326
- Bummei Kaika*, *see* Meiji Enlightenment
- Bunka-choo* 326
- Bush, George W. 185
- businessmen in Japan 318

- C-Choo Kotoba ni Go-Yoojin* (song) 103
 calque 48, 79
 Cameroon 290
 Campbell, Keith 354
 Canada 280
 capitalization 316
 Caputo, Philip 326
 Caribbean 290
 Carrol, Tessa 326
 Carroll, John Davies 222, 326
 catch phrases 190
 categories
 colour, *see* colour naming; colour terminology
 dimensions of space and time 260
 necessary and sufficient features 246
 prototypes 250
 Catholic missionaries 46–7
 Central Intelligence Agency 285, 326
cha (tea) 316
chabuya-kotoba 60
 Chamberlain, Basil Hall 62–3, 265, 270, 311, 326
 characters, *see* *kanji*
 Cherry, Kittredge 139, 326
 Cheshire, Jenny 281, 319, 326
 Chevrolet 32
 Chiba, Hiroko 339
 Chiba, Reiko 319, 326
 Chicago 273
 China 281–3, 290, 312
 Chinese
 Japanized 130
 language 36, 66, 45, 129, 170–1, 174, 222, 267, 272
 in Japan 33, 45, 66, 79, 126–7, 129
 in Japan, pure 129, 222
 loanwords 35, 45, 79
 readings of Japanese characters 35, 79
 writing system 129, 318; *see also* *kanji*
 Christianity 46, 267
 class consciousness 243
 Classen, Constance 245, 326
 classification systems 316
 Clavell, James 45
Clean Up Japan (slogan) 167
 CM (commercial messages) 21, 24, 244; *see also* commercial advertisements
 Coca Cola in Japan 14–26, 29, 169, 248
 Coco Cola Light 198
 Coco Colonization 293
 code-mixing 4, 187
 code-switching 4, 18, 310
 cognition 3, 239
 cognitive dissonance 117
 Cohen, Josef 212, 326
 colloquial speech 182
 colonization, mental 294
 colour
 array 258
 lexicon 218
 theories of processing 234
 colour naming 96, 208, 211–2, 216, 219, 241, 258, 260, 316
 fieldwork 316–7
 informants and 316–7
 universals in 208, 217
 colour nomenclature 211–36; *see also* colour naming; colour terminology
 colour spectrum 211, 216
 colour terminology
 English 26
 Japanese 19, 26, 113, 218–9, 221–2, 213, 227, 233–41 260, 316
 colour terms
 abstract 234
 basic 211, 234, 316; *see also* basic colour terms
 brightness of 227, 233
 co-extension of 258, 260
 evolutionary sequence 211, 233
 in Japanese, English and Japanese word pairs 261
 in Japanese, English loanwords and 6–7, 218–19, 232–5, 238, 261
 in Japanese, neurological aspects 316
 inclusion of 222
 mapping tasks of 222

- mono-lexemic 222, 234
- Russian 260
- saliency 211, 219, 222, 232, 233
- secondary 234, 241
- Colt, Jonathan 318, 326
- comics 187
- commercial advertisements, in Japan 187, 315, 316
- communicative inequality 293
- compounds 75
- computers 89
- Connor-Linton, Jeff 319, 327
- consonant sounds 74
- consonant-vowel languages 89
- Constance, Peter 245, 327
- consumer culture
 - in Japan 17–8, 117
 - American 294
- consumerism 117
- contact tradition 45
- contrastive linguistics 311
- Cook, Guy 315, 327
- copycat mentality of Japanese, alleged 2, 269–70, 276
- Cortazzi, Hugh 311, 327
- Craig, Timothy 314, 327
- Cranston, Edwin 327
- critical applied linguistics 295
- cross-cultural communication 294
- Crystal, David 280, 281, 283–6, 327
- culture
 - contact 211
 - domination of 293
 - identities of 294
- curios* 58; *see also* Yokohama Dialect
- Curtis, Ann 222, 325
- Daily Yomiuri* (newspaper) 289
- daimyoo* warlords 46–7, 49, 55
- Dale, Peter 237, 327
- dandiraion* 27, 103
- Dani 234
- Daniels, F. J. 58, 311, 327
- Danziger, Charles 318, 327
- Darnell, Regna 318, 327, 352
- Darwin, Charles, *The Origin of Species* and 61
- Dawn Purple* (song) 112–6, 124
- de aru* 48–9
- De Bose, Charles 328
- Dean, James 125
- decibels 244
- DeFrancis, John 312, 327
- DeGraff, Michel 327
- Dejima 47, 49–50
- Denstu advertising agency 31
- Diamonds* (song) 33, 118, 122, 138, 151, 172
- dictionaries
 - Dutch-Japanese 47
 - English-Japanese 50, 233, 268
- diet foods 239
- diglossia 48, 146
- di-graphia 146
- diminutive expressions 204
- Diosy, Arthur 58–9, 311, 327
- Disneyfication 293
- Disneyland 199
- Doeff, Hendrik 50
- Doglin, Janet L. 314, 327
- Doi, Toshio 50–2, 327
- donor language 20
- dorai* 38, 41, 246
- Dore, Ronald 51, 327
- Dorland, Gabriell 245, 317, 327
- Dougherty, Janet, *see* Keller, Janet Dixon
- dry, *see dorai*
- dry ice* 238
- Dulles, Foster Rhea 311, 327
- Dutch
 - interpreters 47
 - language in Japan 13, 46–7, 63
 - loanwords 48
 - studies 47, 81
- Dutta, T. K. 286, 327
- Dyirbal language 217, 252
- Earns, Fumiko Fukuta 47–9, 51–2, 54, 60, 327
- East Africa 290
- Eburi Baaga* 201, 244, *see also* *Everyburger*
- Edo 52–3

- Edwards, Walter 328
 egalitarianism 243
 Egypt 290
 Eitaro, Inc 239
 e-mail 21
 emotional states 243
 emotions, response in Japanese 317
Empire of Signs (book) 6, 144, 187
 Empson, W. 328
 Endo, Orié 139, 328
 English 168–85, 244, 258, 261, 263, 265–71
 and Japanese pop culture 22–4
 as a Japanese language 286
 as a second language 250, 276, 279
 as a world language 7, 9, 297; *see also* English as an international language
 as an Asian language 281, 297
 ‘as an Inter-national and Intra-national Language’ 281
 as an international language 3, 282, 294–5
 dictionaries 50, 233, 268
 exoticness of 296
 gerunds 255
 graphic arts and 125, 168, 187, 204
 hegemony of 279, 292–4, 296–7
 idioms 138
 importation of, *see* loanwords, English
 in Japan 60, 63–4, 69, 292
 in Japanese educational system 17
 in Japanese signs 22–4, 125, 205
 in non-Western films 319
 inspired vocabulary items 2, 19–20, 32, 35–7
 interpretations of 21
 Japanese people’s knowledge of 91
 Japanese variety of 291–2
 Japanized 268
 language education 295
 metaphors from 138, 125
 names 189–90
 native speakers of 319
 prestige of 168
 sexual slang 18
 special features of importation 125
 symbolic functions of 3, 24, 125
 translation 106
 words, as Japanese vocabulary 20
 words, as private symbols 102
 words, exhibitions of 24, 125
 words in contemporary popular culture 17
 words, modifications of 21
 words, significance of
 incorporation in 21
 Englishization 78
enka music 105, 140, 314
 Esperanto 89, 293
 Estonia 290
 Etoo, Jun 277, 333
 euphemism 245
 Europe 184, 290
 Japan and 61
 Evans, Toshie 328
Every Burger 201, 244; *see also* *Eburi Baaga*
 evolutionary sequence of colour terms, *see* colour terms
 exchanges 316

 Farmer, Eric 316, 328
 fashion and clothes 233
 Feld, Steven 240, 317, 328
 Ferguson, Charles 146, 328
 Field, Norma 314, 328
 ‘Fifth Generation’ computers 89
 Fifty-syllable Sound Chart 85, 90–1, 301
 influence on borrowing 90
 Fiji 282, 290
 film, Japanese terms for 95–8
 English in non-Western 319
 Finland 290
 Firth, Raymond 24, 328
firumu 96
Flower’s Kiss Candy 246
 focal colours 216
 Foley, Joseph 281, 328
 Forman, Michael 279, 281, 319, 347
 France 290, 297

- Francis, W. Nelson 222, 328
 Francoeur, Robert 336
 Frankel, Charles 63, 328
 French
 language 13, 295–6
 scholars of Japan 237
 Fujieda, Miho 319, 339
 Fujimura, Masao 310, 328
 Fujita, Den 93
 Fujiwara family 132
 Fukao, Tokio 328
 Fukata, Fumiko, *see* Earns, Fumiko
 Fukata
 Fukuhara, Rintaro 53, 328
 Fukushima, Saeko 319, 328
 Fukuzawa, Yukichi 54–5, 59, 62, 66, 89,
 94–5, 250, 300, 313, 328
furaido potato 189
furigana 156

gairaigo 12, 33; *see also* loanwords
 Garcia, Ofelia 281, 319, 329
gashirin gaaru 69
 Gaur, Albertine 301, 329
 Geist, Katie 319, 329
Gekkan Kayokyoku (Monthly Pop
 Music), *see* Japanese popular music
 genetic affiliations of language 318
Genji Monogatari, *see* *Tale of Genji*
 German language 12–3, 290, 297
gettsu 37, 40
 Ghana 290
 ghosts
 Japanese (*o-bake*) 138, 314
 Japanese (*yurei*) 314
Gohan 6, 14–5
Gojuu-on sound chart, *see* Fifty-syllable
 Sound Chart
 Goodman, John 71, 329
 Görlach, Manfred 281, 319, 324
 government and binding theory 250
 Great Britain, *see* United Kingdom
green car 11, 243
 Greenbaum, Sidney 281, 319, 329
 Grimshaw, Allen 311, 329
 GRUE colour category 215–6
 Guam 31, 282, 290
Guardian (newspaper) 183

 Haarman, Harald 3, 31–2, 168, 296,
 315–6, 329, 353
 Habein, Yaeko Sato 88, 130, 311, 329
haikara 60
hai tiin 152
haiku poetry 245, 314
 Hall, Ivan Parker 311, 329
 Hall, John Whitney 49, 329
 Hall, Robert 329
 Hamada, Mari 315
 hamburgers 189, 244
 Hane, Mikiso 55, 329
 Harajuku 276, 317
 Hardin, C. L. 218, 316, 329
 Harootunian, H. D. 314, 329
 Harris, Townsend 54
 Hatakeyama, Kenji 133, 314, 329
 Haugen, Einar 34, 329
 Hawaii 290
 Hayashi, Reiko 319, 330
 Hayashi, Takuo 319, 330
 Hayes, Curtis 330
 Hayes, David 222, 316, 330
 Hazawa, Masatoki 311, 330
 Hearn, Lafadio 318
 Heath, Jeffery 311, 330
 Hebrew language 250
 Heian Period 130–2, 170,
 Heisei Period 271–2
 Heller, Monica 311, 330
 Henry, Joseph 65
 Hepburn, James 63, 67, 92–3, 268, 330
 Hepburn system of romanization 67,
 310–1
 Heusken, Henry 311, 330
 Hida, Yoshifumi 310, 330
 Hidetada 47
 Higa, Masanori vii, 310, 318, 330
High Teen Boogie (song) 159
 Hikaru Genji 161, 315
 Hilbert, David 316, 331
 Hinds, John 331
 Hino, Nobuyuki 319, 331
 Hirado 45
hiragana 66, 84–5, 130–1, 143, 146, 149,
 159–60, 164, 204, 301, 303, 306,
 320–1
 Hirai, Masao 1, 331

- Hirohito, Emperor 271, 310
 Hitotsubashi University 311
 Ho, Mian Lian 344
 Hoffer, Bates L. 331
 Hokkaido 50
 Holm, John 311, 331
 homophones 144
 Honda, Katuiti 278, 331
 Hong Kong 281–2, 290
 Honna, Nobuyuki 281, 287, 310, 331
hoomru ran 11, 73
 Hori, Tatsunosuke 50
 Horiuchi, Amy 331
 Horiuchi dictionary 76
 Horiuchi, Katsuaki 76, 80–1, 311, 331
 Horiuchi, Toshimi 317, 331
 Hoshiyama, Saburo 310, 332
 Howes, David 326
 Hume, Bill 70–1, 332
 Hussein, Saddam 306
 hybrid
 compounds 76
 foods in Japan 189–200, 208
 Hymes, Dell 311, 332
Hyoojun-shiki 67
- ichigo* 202, 317
 Ichijoo, Emperor 132
 Ichikawa, Sanki 69, 313, 332
 Ide, Mayumi 350
 identity
 cultural 294
 ethnic 265
 idol singers 103
 Iida, Taka'aki 299, 332
 Ikawa, Kinji 46, 332
 Ike, Minoru 52, 310, 311, 319, 332
 Ikeda, Tetsuro 61, 310, 311, 332
 Ikegami, Yoshihiko 246, 332
imeeji 25
 Imperial family, Japanese 128
In the Realm of the Senses (film) 246
 Inagaki, Yoshihiko 246, 332
 Inamasu, Tatsuo 30, 332
 incense 245
 India 268, 281–2, 286, 289–90
 individualism 3, 18
 challenge of 18
 creativity and 90
 visual messages of 25
 Indonesia 290
 Inoue, Hisashi 30, 95, 332
 Inoue, Kyoko 13, 310, 333
 International Monetary Fund 184
 Internet, the 291, 297
 Ishida, Sayori 140
 Ishihara, Shintaroo 277–8, 333, 341
 Ishikawa, Takuboku 66, 333
 Ishino, Hiroshi 1, 310, 333
 Ishitoya, Shigeru 20, 333
 Ishiwata, Toshio 85, 244, 310–1, 333
 Israel 185
 Isshiki, Masako 313, 334
 Italian Boom 295
 Italian language 13
 Italy 290, 297
 Ito, Junko 312, 334
 Ito, Masamitsu 334
 Itoh, Mayumi 334
 Iwabuchi, Etsutaroo 334
 Iwasaki, Yasufumi 176–80, 184–6, 334
 Izanagi 128
 Izanami 128
 Izu 161, 267
Izumi Shikibu Nikki (diary) 131
- J-pop 101, 118, 124; *see also* Japanese popular music
 JACET, *see* Japan Association of College English Teachers
 Jacobson, Roman 334
 JALT, *see* Japan Association of Language Teachers
 Jamaica 290
 Japan
 foreign language laboratories in 244
 foreigners in 61, 63
 intellectual debates on language in 79
 marriage in 140
 medieval 127, 139, 141
 physicians in 63
 studies of English in 51, 56–69, 290
 Victorians in 63

- Webster's dictionary in 61, 71
- Western images of 1
- Western institutions in 60, 270
- Westernization of 68–70, 270
- Japan Air System 180
- Japan Airlines 31, 160, 167, 180
- Japan Association for the Study of Teaching English to Children 283
- Japan Association of College English Teachers 283
- Japan Association of Language Teachers 283
- 'Japan, Inc.' 89
- Japan That Can Say No* (book) 277
- Japan Times* (newspaper) 289
- Japan's Economic Miracle 271
- Japanese 61, 63, 64, 114
 - aesthetics 245
 - candy, 189–210, 317
 - citizenship 318
 - costumes 317
 - court chants 131
 - culture and society 2, 34–7, 40–3, 45
 - dance 317
 - educational system 33, 250
 - English in 250, 254, 297, 319
 - university entrance examinations 254
 - English language skills 297
 - feelings towards foods 194
 - folk music, 132
 - food, 189–91, 194–6, 238–9, 317
 - government 148
 - identity of 2, 291–2
 - listening comprehension of English and 244
 - literacy 130
 - loanword usage in 96–7; *see also* loanwords
 - measuring cups 317
 - men (vs. women) 42, 317
 - philologists 79
 - proto-script, *see Man'yō-gana*
 - racial identity 2, 265–78
 - recession 272
 - taste terms 317
 - textbooks 306
 - verbal art 122
 - v-sound series in Japanese 95, 320
 - women (vs. men) 41
 - women, use of English by 2, 127–8
 - xenophobia 56
 - youths 317
- Japanese Brain* (book) 274
- Japanese Brazilians 318
- Japanese Canadian 310
- Japanese Dream General Music Institute Co., Inc. 314, 334
- Japanese Dream Yearbooks* 314
- Japanese English 2, 16, 19–22, 31–7, 40, 43, 212, 309
 - hybrids 21
 - language and culture contact 2, 11, 49, 81
 - lexical borrowing and 2, 125
 - social/cognitive factors in 2, 99
 - synonyms 81
 - tests 43
 - textbooks 89
- Japanese language 2, 31–2, 35, 261, 263, 265–73
 - affixes 76
 - and Western languages 245
 - auxiliary verbs 78
 - communicative strategies 311
 - honorific 139
 - keiyooshi* adjectives 76–7
 - morphology 221, 300, 306
 - na-* adjectives 77, 256
 - native speakers 243
 - old 319
 - origins of 318
 - phonology, *see* phonology
 - sentence-final particles 306, 311
 - sociolinguistic register 36
 - speakers of 36
 - symbolic vocabulary 2, 145, 261
 - syntax 2, 48, 131
- Japanese music groups 157
 - Princess Princess 33, 101–2, 118, 124, 138, 151, 172
 - Hikaru GENJI 161, 315
 - Kome Kome Club 166
 - Southern All Stars 102

- The Tomcats 27
 WINK 102, 106, 124, 138
 Yellow Magic Orchestra 244
- Japanese National Debate Team 18
 Japanese National Language Research
 Institute, *see* Kokuritsu Kokugo
 Kenkyuujo
 Japanese National Railways 243
 Japanese popular music, *kayokyoku* 141
 loanwords and 5, 101, 122
 motivations for English use 27,
 104, 107, 108, 109, 115
nyuu myuuujikku 104, 244
- Japanese phonology; *see also* phonology
 and sound system of 2, 34, 66–7,
 95, 149, 300, 320
 origin of 125, 128
 and sound system, consonants 85,
 320
 and sound system, vowels 85
- Japanese writing system, *see kanji*,
katakana, *hiragana*
- JASTEC, *see* Japan Association for the
 Study of Teaching English to
 Children
- Jesuits 46
 Johnson, Mark 249, 337
 Josephs, Lewis S. 313, 334
- Kachru, Braj B. vii, 81, 279–85, 319,
 334–5
 inner-circle countries 319
- Kachru, Yamuna 282, 335
Kaei Tsuugo (book) 94
Kageroo Nikki (diary) 131
 Kahn, David 335
kaidan (book) 314
 Kaieda, Banri 46, 95, 310, 335
Kaisei-sho 53
 Kaluli 240
kameya 58
 Kamiya, Taeko 77–81, 266, 310, 335
 Kan'no, Hiro'omi 335
kana (Japanese syllabary) 65, 166, 315
 vowel length in 320
- Kanagaki, Robun 335
 Kanagawa Treaty 53
 Kanazawa 73
- Kanazawa, Shoosaburoo 352
 Kaneko, Hisakazu 52, 335
kango 12, 80; *see also* Chinese
kanji (Sino-Japanese characters) 27, 48,
 79–80, 84, 88, 125, 128–31, 139,
 143–4, 146, 149, 156–7, 160–1, 166,
 167, 173, 180, 182, 189, 204, 222,
 276, 301, 315
 character substitutions 307
 official 88
 reading aids 121
- Kanpaku Sengen* (song) 102
 Kanro Corporation 201
kanshuugo 12; *see also* Chinese
- Kanto 118
 Kanzaki, Kazuo 349
 Kashima, Shoozoo 265, 335
katakana 33, 66, 82–5, 89–92, 95–6, 98,
 117, 124, 128, 130, 146, 149, 152,
 156, 157, 159–66, 167, 169–72,
 182–4, 190, 204, 273, 295–6, 299,
 301, 303, 306–7, 317
 innovative 84–5, 88, 93
 invention of 98
- katakana kotoba* 31, 98
 Katayama, Asa 175, 335
Katsushika Q (story) 154
 Kaufman, Terrance 1, 351
 Kaunan, Junjiroo 352
 Kawasaki, Hiroshi 1, 335
 Kawazoe, Fusae 314
 Kay, Gillian 319, 335
 Kay, Paul 211–3, 216, 222, 227, 232–41,
 252, 257–8, 316, 325, 335, 336
- Kayokyoku*, *see* Japanese popular music
 Keene, Donald 130, 132, 336
Keigo, *see* Japanese language, honorific
 Keio Department Store 31
 Keio University 55
 Keizai Koho Center 319, 336
 Keller, Charles 317, 336
 Keller, Janet Dixon viii, 317, 336
 Kemnitzer, David S. 314, 327
 Kempton, Willett 336
ken-bei attitudes 277
 Kenrick, Miranda 336
 Kindaichi Haruhiko 274–5, 312, 318,
 336

Kinseidoo Editorial Staff 312, 336

Kirkup, James 1, 336

Kobayashi, Shigenobu 316, 336

Kobayashi, Tadao 310, 336

Kobe 63

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan 51,
287, 336

Kohl, James 317, 336

Koike, Ikuo 310, 319, 337

Koizumi, Junichiroo, Japanese Prime
Minister 184, 273

Koizumi, Yakumo 318

Kojiki (book) 203

Kokugo haise eigo saiyooron (phrase) 65

Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo (Japanese
National Language Research
Institute) 12–3, 85, 175, 222, 269,
309, 316, 337

komiya 58

Korea, South 282, 284, 290

Korean War 70, 184

Koreans in Japan 319

Kronenfeld, David 250–1, 337

Kubozono, Haruo 313, 337

Kučera, Henry 222, 328

Kunihiro, Tetsuya 311, 337

Kuno, Susumu 337

Kunrei-shiki 67

kun-yomi, *see* Chinese readings of
Japanese characters; *on-yomi*

kurisumasu keeki 38, 41

kuromitsu 239

Kurumaya-kotoba 60

Kusaka, Yoosuke 341

Kuwata, Keisuke 102

Kwok, Helen 325

Kyushu 46

Lakoff, George 249, 316, 337

Lamune

candy 201

powder 201

soda 201

language

borrowing 202

de facto official 319

foreign 319, 267

pollution 2, 90, 269–70

purists 269

visual 145–85

language contact 34, 81, 211, 202

Japanese and Dutch 81

Japanese and English, *see*
loanwords, English

Japanese and Portuguese 81

Japanese and Spanish 81

Japanese with early European
languages 81

Larsen, Sally 337

Latin America 257, 290

Le Page, Robert B. 338

Leach, Edmund 24, 123, 337

Leech, Geoffrey 337

LeGuerer, Annick 245

Lehiste, Ilse 34, 337

lehmman, Jean-Pierre 311, 338

LeLand, Charles 311, 338

lemonade 316

Lenneberg, Eric 338

Levy, Ian Hideo 129, 338

Lewis, William 50, 338

lexicography 233

Liberia 290

linguistic

features 73

puns 206

relativity 211, 213, 217

sexual dimorphism 128

sources, Japanese 102

synaesthesia 209; *see also*
synaesthesia

linguistics and literature 34

linguists

Japanese 65, 318, 320

Western 318

Liska, Allen 293, 345

literacy 130

loan

blends 34, 75

translation 48

loanword

adjective and noun pairs 78

Chinese 35, 129

dictionaries 165

Dutch 48

English 17–9, 31, 32–5, 22, 28, 30,

- 33, 45, 66, 68, 76–9, 983, 0, 92,
113, 114, 117–9, 122–8, 137–40,
145–6, 150, 158, 160, 165, 167,
166, 169, 171–2, 175–9, 183,
185–6, 189, 191–5, 199, 201,
202, 203, 206–8, 212, 214, 222,
227, 232, 234, 235, 237–8, 240,
242–6, 248, 250, 254–6, 263,
273, 276, 282, 292, 300, 310–1
- English, analogies and 196
- English, and food history 192, 195
- English, and food ingredients 191,
195
- English, and food instructions 191
- English, and food made in Japan
190
- English, as alternative lexemes 196
- English, as communicative
strategies 196, 198
- English, functions of 191
- English, to make an image appeal
196
- English, to represent foods 196
- English, use in ambiguous
situations 196
- from European language 46, 306
- morphology of 214, 75
- Portuguese 310
- pronouns 78
- LoCastro, Virginia 310–1, 319, 338
- Loveday, Leo 3, 45–6, 56, 60, 168, 273,
311, 315, 338
- Lovins, Julie 313, 338
- Lowenberg, Peter 283, 338
- Lucy, John 211, 338
- Lyons, Phyllis 314
- MacDonald, Ranald 50, 93
- MacLaury, Robert 96, 212, 256–62,
316–7, 326, 338–9, 351
- madarasu-kotoba* 60
- made-in-Japan English, *see* Japanese
English; *wa-sei eigo*
- Maeda, Taro 68, 339
- Maffi, Luisa 212, 316, 329, 336
- magazines
and English 187
men's 245
- Mahler, John 310, 339
- mai* 16, 18
- Maitland, Brian 30, 339
- make-up 317
- Makino, Seiichi viii, 233, 339
- Makino, Shinobu 310, 339
- Makudonarudo* 73, 189
- Makura no Suoshi* 131
- Malaysia 124, 281–2, 290,
- Malm, William P. 339
- manshon* 1, 315
- man's hand (in medieval Japan) 130
- man's letters, *see* man's hand (in
medieval Japan); *katakana*
- Man'yō-gana* (script) 129–31
- Man'yō-shūu* (book of poetry) 129,
206
- Manchurian languages 318
- Maori 290
- mapping tasks 258; *see also* colour
naming
- Marshall Islands 282, 290
- Martin, Samuel 339
- Marumi, Miyako 140
- Maruyama, Takao 80, 310, 339
- Masakazu, Hahai 21, 339
- materialism, consumer 118
- Matsuda, Seiko 102, 103
- Matsudaira, Yasuhide 49
- Matsumoto, Toru 1, 310, 339
- Matsuo Bashō, *see* Bashō
- Matsutooya, Yumi 23, 27–9, 102–3, 109,
110–4, 117, 122, 124, 133, 138, 306,
339
- Matsuura, Hiroko 319, 326, 339
- Mauritius 290
- May, William 317, 343
- Maynard, Senko K. 311, 339–40
- McArthur, Tom 280–1, 340
- McCawley, James 320, 340
- McClure, Steve 314, 340
- McCreery, John 314, 340
- McDaniel, Chad 233, 336
- McDonald's Restaurant 36, 293
- McDonaldization 293
- Medhurst, Walter Henry 50
- medicine, Western 47
- Meiji administration 59
- Meiji Emperor 56
- Meiji Enlightenment 56

- Meiji Period 52, 54–5, 58, 60, 62, 65, 81, 243, 267, 270–2, 276, 300
 Meiji Restoration 56, 267, 276
 Melanesia 290
 Mendes Pinto, Fernando 46
 Merrifield, William 211, 212
 Meso-American Colour Survey 257–8
 Meso-American WARM category 260
 Mester, Armin 312, 334
 metonymic connections 201, 243–4
 metonyms 249
 metaphors 190, 246
 Mexico 290
 MGM Studios 184
 Michener, James 70–1, 340
 Micronesia 282
 Middle East 290
 Mieko, Ohso 233
 Miller, Laura 20, 168, 340
 Miller, Roy Andrew 70–3, 78, 129–30, 170, 270, 274–5, 301, 312, 340
 Minami, Shinoo 22, 340
 Minamoto, Kunihiko 310, 331
 Ministry of Education, Japanese 287, 294, 319
 Miron, Murray 317, 343
 missionaries in Japan 63
 Mitamura, Yasuko 307, 340
 Miura Anjin, *see* Adams, William
 Miura, Akira 48, 48, 92, 266, 310, 341
 Miyazaki, Kooishi 341
 Mizukami, Shizuo 139, 341
 Mizutani, Nobuko 139, 341
 Mizutani, Osamu 341
 modal sensations hypothesis 238, 240
 modernization 68
mo-ga 69
 Mogami, Katsuyo 341
Mombusho, *see* Ministry of Education
 Momose, Chihiro 95
 Mongolian languages 318
 monolexemes 213
mora 89, 149, 313
 moral probity 18
 Mori, Arinori 62, 64–6, 73, 266, 311, 341
 Mori, Masako 140
 Morieda, Tokashi 341
 Morita, Akio 277–8, 341
 Morita, Kiyoko 245, 341
 Morita, Yoshihisa 265, 341
 Moriyama, Einosuke 50
 morphology 34, 186, 300
 modification of 82
 Morris, Ivan 1, 265, 270, 341
 Morrow, Phillip 319, 341
 motivated conventions 249
 Motwani, Prem 75, 310, 341
 Mouer, Ross 292, 341
 Mufwene, Salikoko 281, 342
 Mulhauser, Peter 50, 342
 multidimensional scaling 250
 multiplicity of meaning 204
 Munsell colour sphere 212
 Murakama, Naotsugu 352
 Murakami, Naojiro 50, 338
Murasaki Shikibu Nikki (diary) 131
 Murasaki Shikibu, *see* Murasaki, Lady
 Murasaki, Lady, 131–2
 Murata, Kumiko 319, 342
 Murayama, Shichiroo 318, 342
 music
 classical 241
 Indonesian 241
 Japanese 124, 133, 186, 241, 244;
 see also Japanese popular music
 special styles 243–4
 music groups, *see* Japanese music groups
 Nagara, Susumu 342
 Nagasaki 47, 49–50, 52–4, 56, 60, 63, 311
 Nagashima, Daisuke 311, 319, 342
 Nakada, Seiichi 233, 339
 Nakagawa, Susumu 318, 342
 Nakahama, John Manjiro 52, 61
 Nakanishi, Akira 301, 342
 Nakayama, Yukihiro 310, 342
Nantonaku Kurisutaru (book) 17, 19
 Napoleonic Wars 49
Naruhodo za Waarudo (television programme) 168
 National Science Foundation 316

- nationalism 2, 69
 nativization 64, 73, 101
 phonological 73, 204
 NATO 184
 Natsume, Soseki 61
 Nazi Germany, science in 217
 necessary and sufficient features 246
 neologisms 17, 273
 Nepal 290
 Netherlands 289
 Neumann, William 53, 58, 342
 New Guinea 290
New York Times 182, 289
 New York 273
 New Zealand 280–3, 290
 newspaper editorials 186
 newspapers
 Japanese 175, 179, 186, 273, 319
 Japanese English-language 175,
 179, 186, 273, 319
Newsweek 279–80, 286, 342
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 34
 Niger 240
 Nigeria 290
Nihon Keizai Shimbun (newspaper) 342
Nihon vs. Japan 310
Nihongo-gaku 315
Nihonjinron 274, 291–2
 Nikaïdoo, Tsuo 310, 342
Nikkei Weekly (newspaper) 287
Nippon-shiki 67; *see also* romanization of
 Japanese
 Nishiguchi, Tooru 342
 Nishimura, Miwa 310, 319, 342
 Nishiyama, Sen 319, 342
 Nissan 31
 nomenclature shifts 316
 Nomura, Tsunenoshige 50
 Norman, Arthur 70–1, 343
 noun, head 316
 Núñez, Rafael 249, 337
nyuu myuujikku 104; *see also* Japanese
 popular music

 occupation of Japan, American 45, 69,
 268
 Oda, Motoi 310, 343

 ôe, Kenzabu 291–2, 343
office lady (OL) 22
 Ogawa Kazuhisa 277, 333
 Ogihara, Toshiyuki 343
 Ohno, Susumu, *see* Oono, Susumu
 Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko 93
 Ohshima, Nagisa 246
 Ohso, Mieko 233, 339
 Ohye, Saburoo 313, 343
 Oka, Michio 310, 343
 Okutsu, Keiichiro 46, 80, 343
 OL, *see* office lady
 Olson, Conrad 326
 Olympics 280
 Ono, Reiko 291, 319, 343
 onomatopoeia 66, 246, 306, 321
on-yomi, *see* Chinese readings of
 Japanese characters
 Ooi, Vincent B. 281, 343
 Ooms, Herman 343
 Oono, Hideichi 321, 343
 Oono Yaichi 62
 Oono, Susumu 318, 343
 Open Door Policy 267
oranda-tsuiji 47–8, 50
 orthography 89, 93, 186, 204, 316, 320
 change 5, 300
 English 145, 149
 Japanese 5, 88, 98–9, 320, 45, 146,
 149–50, 155, 188
 Japanese double-entendre 144
 puns 143–50, 155, 206
 Osama bin Laden 183–4
 Osgood, Charles 317, 343
 semantic differential, *see* semantic
 differential scales
 Otheguy, Ricardo 281, 319
 Ozawa, Katsuyoshi 175–6, 343

paapurin 254, 257, 261–2
 Pacific Islands 267, 282, 290
 package design 194
 packaged foods 194, 240
 Paikeday, Thomas 319, 344
 Pakistan 241, 272, 282, 290
 Palau 282
 Palestine 185

- Pan American Airlines 31
pangurisshu 70
 Papua New Guinea 240, 282, 290
 Parker, Richard 297
 Passin, Herbert 344
 Pearl Harbor 278
Pearl Pierce (song) 103
 Peng, Fred, C. C. 344
 Pennington, Martha C. 344
 Pentagon 278
 perceptions
 anomalous 243
 processes of 300
 Pereira, John 265, 344
 Perez, Louis G. viii, 1, 344
 performance aspects of symbols 141
 permanent residents in Japan 319
 Perry, Commodore Matthew 63
Phaeton, HMS 49, 52–3, 60, 81, 267
 phenomenology, experiences and 242
 Philippines 282, 290
 Phillipson, Robert 344
 phonology 186, 300
 English influence on Japanese 98
 modification 82
 nativization 73, 190, 204
 palatalized sounds in Japanese 320
 Portuguese influence on Japanese 38
 universals 91
 voiceless sounds in Japanese 320
 Picken, Stuart 46, 344
 pidgins 4, 63
 English 58, 71
 Japanese 63
 Pierce, Joe 168, 265, 344
 Platt, John 281, 344
 poetry
 formal gatherings 245
 Japanese, Chinese characters in 124
 Japanese, English in 122–6
 Japanese, visual aspects of English in 124
 pollution, *see* language, pollution
 popular culture, American 294
 popular Japanese media 256
 Ports Lingo, *see* Yokohama Dialect
 Portuguese language 13, 46, 250
Practical Use Conversation 62
 Preble, George Henry 63, 266, 344
 Preble's Law 63, 268, 271, 293
 prefixes 76
 Pride, John 281, 319, 344
Princess Princess (music group)
 see Japanese music groups
 product naming 316
 prototypes 250
 psychological salience 214
 Puerto Rico 290

 Quackenbush, Edward 168, 344
 Quackenbush, Hiroko 310, 344
 Quirk, Randolph 281, 319, 344

 racial identity, Japanese 2, 265–78
 racism 71
rajio 1, 68
Ramune, *see* *Lamune*
ran-gaku 47
 Rape of Nanking 278
Rashomon (film) 301
 rebellion 318
 received pronunciation 61, 287, 292
 recipient languages 20
 reconnection of vocabulary items 204
 re-exoticization 117, 295, 298
 Reinberg, Linda 344
 Reinecke, John 70, 344
 relativism, vs. universalism 217, 260
 relexification, linguistic 117
 Renai-kajin Kenkyuukai (Romance Poets Research Society) 314, 344
 repackaging of Japanese food 203
 representation of Japanese symbols 203
 restrictions on English, official 90
 rice 6, 14–5
 rice crackers 203
 Richman, Barry 326
 Ritzer, George 293, 345
 Roberts, John 338
 rock candies 204
 Romaine, Suzanne 345
 romanization of Japanese 10, 66–7, 88,

- 91, 124–5, 146, 148–9, 151, 155,
166–7, 171, 173, 204–5, 310
influence on phonology 91
roo tiin 152
rooma-ji, *see* romanization of Japanese
Rosch, Eleanor 216, 345
Rosenstone, Robert 57, 345
Rosin, Hanna 266, 345
Rothenberg, Diane 345
Rothenberg, Jerome 345
Rubinger, Richard 345
Russia 293
Russian language 13
Ruuju no Dengon (book) 103 102
- Sada, Masashi 102
Saito, Shizuka 47–8, 345
sakoku 47, 49, 53
Sakuma Company 238
Sakuma, Shozan 55
Samoa 290
Sand Castles (song) 109–12, 117, 122,
124, 138
Sanseido, Henshuu-jo 85, 310, 345
salaryman 68, 75, 254
São Paulo 306
Sapir-Whorf hypothesis 212, 217, 235,
237, 252, 263
Sarada Kinsenbi (book of poetry) 101,
124
saraiman, *see* *salaryman*
Sato, Masaru 345
Saudi Arabia 290
Saunders, Barbara A. C. 211, 316, 345
Sawada, Kenji 306
Sayonara (novel) 70
Scandinavia 297
languages of 40
Schneider, David M. 314, 327
School for European Languages 50, 52
Schroder, Kim 315
Scotland 290
script reform in Japanese 276
Searfoss, Glenn 345
second languages 186, 319
Second Opium War, the 54
Second World War, the 36, 68, 217,
243, 250, 267–8, 272, 276, 297
- Seeley, Chris 88, 311, 346
Seidensticker, Edward 314, 346
semantic differential scales 261, 317
semantic loads 245
semantic ranges 78, 202
semantic redefinition 58
semantic modifications 20
semiotics 187, 237, 204
semi-sweet chocolates 244
sensations
and synaesthesia 237–8, 240, 243,
246, 317; *see also* synaesthesia
basic 242
colours 240
dominant 242
flavours 240
metaphors 246
non-dominant 242
scents 240
secondary 242
sexual vocabulary 244
tactile 244
tastes 240
tones 240
senses 217, 246
sensory domains 208, 217
September 11, 2001 terrorism incident
20
Seward, Jack 346
sexism 71
Sharon, Ariel 185
Shibamoto, Janet S. 128, 139, 346
Shibata, Chiaki 18, 346
Shibatani, Masayoshi 318, 320, 346
Shimoda 53
Shimomiya, Tadao 310, 346
Shinjuku generation 25
Shinmura, Izuru 310, 346
Shinozaki Corporation 201
Shinsei Shuppankai Henshuu-bu
(Shinsei Shuppankai Editorial
Staff) 310, 346
Shiratori, Kurayoshi 352
Shiseido cosmetics 32
Shogun (novel) 45
Shogun, *see* Tokugawa shogunate
Shoogakukan Jiten Henshuubu
(Shoogakukan Editorial Staff) 346

- shoonin-kotoba* 60
 Showa, Emperor 310
 Showa Period 268
Shuukan FM (radio) 315
 Sibata, Takeshi 26, 265, 346
 Siberian languages 318
 signified, English in Japanese 204
 signifiers, English in Japanese 204
silver seat 39, 42, 190
 Silverstein, Michael 311, 346
 simplification, phonological 94
 Singapore 281–3, 289–90
 Sinitic languages 129
 Sladen, Douglas 61, 346
 Slavic diminutive suffixes 34
 Smith, Donald 346
 Smith, Larry 279, 281, 311, 319, 347
 Smith, Michael 311, 347
 Smout, K. D. 60, 347
 snack foods 244
 Society for Testing English Proficiency 287
 Society of Writers, Editors, and Translators, Tokyo 309, 347
 sociolinguistic continuums 300
 sociolinguistic devices 243
 sociolinguistic parameters 263
 sociolinguistic restrictions 140
 sociolinguistic rules 242
 individual creativity and 90
 motivated conventions 249
 Solomon Islands 290
Somebody Is Looking for You (song) 134–6
 Sonhay 240
sonnoo jooi (slogan) 56
 Sonoda, Koji 59–61, 68–9, 75, 79, 347
 SONY Magazines Annex 347
 South Africa 290
 South Asia 286, 290
 Southeast Asia 272
 Southern All Stars 102
 Spain 290, 297
 Spanish language 13, 46, 271
 spin-offs, food packaging 207
 Sri Lanka 282, 290
 Stanlaw, James 5, 26–7, 80, 96, 102, 105, 112, 124, 133, 138–9, 142, 168, 219–22, 227, 234, 240, 243–4, 260–1, 274, 277, 309, 311–19, 347–9
 Statistical Abstract of the United States 288
 Statler, Oliver 311, 349
 STEP, *see* Society for Testing English Proficiency
 STEP test 319
 Stirling, Sir James
 Stoller, Paul 240, 245, 349
 Straehle, Carolyn 280, 291, 324
 strawberry/*sutoroberii* 202, 240, 317
 structural linguistics 252
 Suci, George 317, 343
 Suenobu, Mineo 291, 310, 349
 suffixes 76
 Sugano, Ken 31, 175, 349
 Sugimoto, Tsutomu 49, 349
 Sugimoto, Yoshio 292, 341
 Summer Institute of Linguistics 257
 Sun Goddess, Japanese, *see* Amaterasu-oo-mikami
sutoraiiku 11
 Suzuki, Cuty 306
 Suzuki, Isao 349
 Suzuki, Takao 9, 268, 274–5, 310, 318, 349–50
 Swann, Brian 350
 Swardson, A. 280, 350
 Sweden 290
 SWET, *see* Society of Writers, Editors, and Translators, Tokyo
 syllabaries 89, 204, 320
 syllabary table 320
 symbolic change 253
 symbolic innovation 254
 symbolic replacement 254
 symbolic vocabulary 3, 140
 symbolism 24, 88, 153, 320
 symbol
 katakana and 153
 manifestations of 24, 29
 orthographic 148
 performance aspects of 3, 141
 private 2, 4, 24, 26–7, 102
 public 2, 4, 24, 27
 stasis 253
 transmission of 204

- synaesthesia 209, 246, 317; *see also*
 sensations
 linguistic 240
 sex and 317
 taste and 317
 vision and 315, 317
 synaesthetic metaphors 246
 synaesthetic transformations 246
 Synnott, Anthony 326
- tabako* 11, 46
 Tabouret-Keller, Andree 338
 Taisho Period 68–9, 267
 Taiwan 282, 290
 Tajima, Hiroko Tina 310, 331
 Takahashi, Kenkichi 60–1, 311, 350
 Takahashi, Rumiko 153, 157
 Takashi, Kyoko 146, 179, 319, 350
Takenoko-zoku 255, 317
 Takeshita, Y. 310, 350
 Takeuchi, Lone 130, 350
 Takeuchi, Mariya 6, 102, 306
takushii 1, 268
Tale of Genji (novel) 125, 132, 161, 314
 Tamori, Mariko Asano 142, 350
 Tanabe, Yoji 310, 311, 350
 Tanaka, Akio 46, 80, 343
 Tanaka, Harumi 283, 310, 319, 337,
 350
 Tanaka, Keiko 350
 Tanaka, Sachiko Oda 282, 289, 291,
 310, 319, 324, 350
 Tanaka, Yasuo 17, 19, 350
 tango, Argentinian 298
tanka poetry 101–2, 124, 126, 138–9,
 314
 Tannenbaum, Percy 317, 343
tanpopo 28; *see also dandiraion*
 Tanzania 290
 Tarn, Nathaniel 350
 Tawara, Machi 5, 101–2, 122–5, 127,
 138–9, 350
 Taylor, Harvey 311, 350
 Taylor, John 256, 351
 tea
 ceremony 245
 colour 251; *see also cha*
- television
 and English 187
 Japanese 315
terakoya schools 62
terebi 11, 75
 terminological conventions 316
 TESOL Resolution on Language Rights
 295
 Test in Practical English Proficiency
 287
 Tetsuji, Atsuji 351
 Thailand 241, 290
 Thayne, David 351
 Thomas, Lynn 222, 325
 Thomas, Roger viii, 314
 Thompson, Evan 316, 351
 Thompson, Sarah 351
 Tickoo, Makhan 279, 351
Time Magazine 351
 Tobin, Joseph 298, 314, 351
 Toby, Ronald 351
 Todd, Loreto 281, 351
 TOEFL test 277, 289
 Tohoku dialect 59
 Tok Pisin 282
TOKIO (word play) 124
 Tokugawa, Ieyasu 45
 Tokugawa shogunate 45, 47, 49–50,
 52–4, 56, 81, 267
 Tokugawa, Yoshimune 47
 Tokyo 57, 118, 124, 273, 295
 Tokyo Commercial School 52
 Tokyo University 52, 61
 Tooren-kikaku Editorial Staff 310, 351
 tourism 254
 transformational grammar 250, 316
 Treaty of Tientsin 54
 truncation 75
 Tsuda, Yukio 292–5, 297, 351
 Tsujimura, Natsuko 313, 320, 351
 Tsunoda, Tadanobu 274–5, 318, 352
 Tsutsui, Michio 339
 Turkish languages 318
 Twine, Nanette 48–9, 66, 352
 Tyler, Royall 314, 352
- Uchikawa, Keiji 316, 326, 352
 Ueda, Kazutoshi 311, 352

- Ueda, Kyosuke 310, 352
 Ueno 68
 Umegaki, Minoru 310–1, 352
uetto 39, 41, 246
 Unger, J. Marshall 89, 270, 273, 352
 United Kingdom 280–2, 289
 United Nations 293
 United States 241, 244, 280–4, 289
 universals
 perceptual categories 211, 214, 216, 260
 psycholinguistic 212
 University of Illinois English as an
 Inter-national and Intra-national
 Language Program 319
 Uralic-Altaic languages 318
Urusei Yatsura (story) 153, 315
- Valdman, Albert 311, 352
 Valentine, Lisa 318, 327, 352
 van Brakel, Jaap 211, 316, 345
 Vantage Theory 256–7, 260, 317
 dominant-recessive patterns in
 260–1, 263
 Vanuatu 282, 290
 Vestergaard, Torben 315
 Viereck, Wolfgang 281, 319, 352
 Vietnam 290
virgin road 38, 41, 190
 visual effects of Japanese words 33, 185
 visual Japan 144
 visual literacy 187
 visual perception
 cones 241
 rods 241
 vocabulary
 changes 68, 140, 202, 243
 Japanese-based, see *Yamato-kotoba*
 Vos, Frits 47, 57, 353
 vowel symbols 74, 320–1
 v-sound series in Japanese 95, 320
- Wacoal 162
 Wagnleither, Reinhold 293, 353
wago 12, 80; see also *Yamato-kotoba*
 Waley, Arthur 314, 353
 Wall Street Journal 289
- Wallace, John 314
 Wallraff, Barbara 297, 353
wan prefix 76, 202, 240
 Waseda, Mika 353
wa-sei eigo 2, 16, 19–22, 31–7, 40, 43, 212
 Watanabe, Shooichi 277, 333
 Watanabe, T. 265, 353
 Watkins, Calvert 353
 Watson, James L. 353
 Webb, James H. M. 310, 353
 Weber, Heidi 344
 Webster, Grant 70, 71, 353
 Weinreich, Uriel 281, 353
 West Africa 290
West Side Story (film) 125
 Westernization 263, 265, 271–3, 294
 of Japan 68–70, 270
wet, see *uetto*
 Whitney, Clara 62, 353
 Whitney, Dwight 65
 Whitney, William 62
 Widdowson H. G. 281, 319
 Wiley, Peter Booth 267, 353
 Wilkerson, Kyoko Takashi 18, 353
 Williams, Harold 57, 311, 354
 WZNK (music group) see Japanese
 music groups
 Witkowski, Stanley viii, 316, 354
 woman's voice, Japanese 2, 6, 83, 129,
 138; see also Japanese women, use
 of English by
 women's hand (in medieval Japan)
 130–1
 women's letters, see women's hand (in
 medieval Japan); *hiragana*
 word play 190, 204–5
 World Color Survey 211, 257, 354; see
 also Berlin, Brent; Kay, Paul; and
 Merrifield, William
 World Cup Soccer 180
 World Englishes 297
World Englishes (journal) 289–90
 World Trade Center 20
- Xavier, Francisco de 46
 xenophobia, Japanese 56

- Yamada, Masashige 20, 354
 Yamamoto, Asako 319, 326
 Yamamoto, Kei'ichi 299, 332
 Yamane, Shigeru 349
 Yamato, Chinese contact with 128
 Yamato court 128, 132
Yamato-kotoba 69, 130–1, 141
 Yamato language, see *Yamato-kotoba*
 Yanagita, Kunio 79, 354
 Yang, Jeff 314, 354
 Yankeshiri Island 50
 Yano, Yasukata viii, 310, 354
 Yashiro, Kyoko 310, 339
 Yazawa, Eikichi 244
 Yellow Magic Orchestra (music group)
 see Japanese music groups
 Yip, Wai-lim 354
 Yoddumnern, Bencha 261, 349
 Yokohama 53, 56–7, 70, 152, 311
 Yokohama Dialect 56–7, 59, 63, 81,
 268, 311
 Yokoi Tadao 1, 310, 354
 Yokotsuka 45
Yomiuri Shimbun (newspaper) 175–7,
 315
 Yoneda, Takeshi 175, 354
 Yonekawa, Akihito 36, 354
 Yong, Zhao 354
 Yoruba 290
 Yoshizawa, Norio 85, 244, 310, 355
 Yotsukura, Sayo 172, 355
 Yoyogi park 27
 Yuming, *see* Matsutooya, Yumi
 Zee, A. 318, 355
 Zimbabwe 290