

# JAPANESE ENGLISH

## LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

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# 2

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

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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

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

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



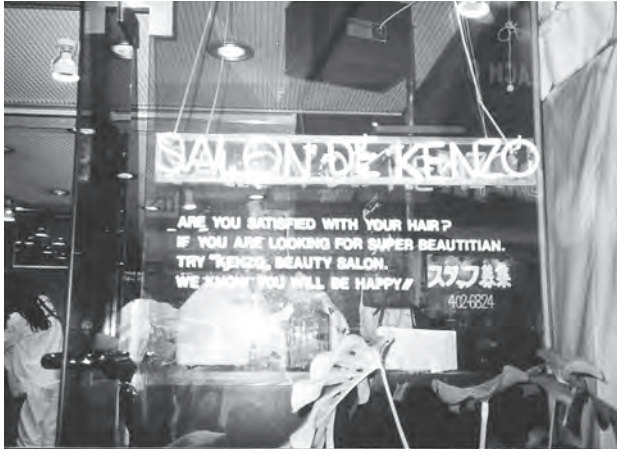


Figure 2.1 Kenzo beauty salon

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 hazusa / 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: *Ichido 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-myuujikku*). 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. *peepaaadoraibaa* '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.<sup>10</sup> 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 Kenkyuujo, 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 ヴヱ; he would sometimes use ヴル 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.

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