Embrassimilating the Other

Anglicisms in Japanese – A Cultural Pragmatic Model for Loanword Integration

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Meinen lieben Eltern
und Doris, Josi, Christian und Florian
sowie meiner geliebten Eri

The dream: to know a foreign (alien) language and yet not to understand it: to perceive the difference in it without that difference ever being recuperated by the superficial society of discourse, communication or vulgarity; to know, positively refracted in a new language, the impossibilities of our own; to learn the systematics of the inconceivable; to undo our own “reality” under the effect of other formulations, other syntaxes; to discover certain unsuspected positions of the subject in the utterance, to displace the subject’s topology; in a word, to descend into the untranslatable, to experience its shock without ever muffling it, until everything Occidental in us totters and the rights of the “father tongue” vacillate [...]

- Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*

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Introduction

Japan, which Roland Barthes contemplated with such utter fascination and which he referred to as “the empire of signs”, is a land of wonder to many Europeans, and rightly so. Its old temples, its bamboo woods shrouded in mist during the early morning hours, its ancient culture clashing with high-tech megacities with their luxurious restaurants and bars, the thousands of neon lights that turn night into day, the peculiar mentality of the Japanese, their friendliness and hospitality, its silent, beautiful arts like the tea ceremony or calligraphy, they all contribute to the island’s air of enigma and mystery. There is, however, another mystery that engulfs this island nation, embedded in and diffused by its language, which remains hidden behind a complex writing system: a conspicuous pervasiveness of English and pseudo-English.

This pervasiveness has a short, but intense history:

Japan, 1853: The island nation of Japan is forced to open its ports to the rest of the world by American ships of war – the first real contact with the English language.

Number of Western loanwords in the language: negligible.

1873: In the wake of the Meiji Restoration, following the opening of Japan, the later minister of education Mori Arinori argues for the complete discontinuation of the Japanese language and the wholesale adoption of English as the new national language of Japan. Japanese, he argues, is too inflexible for the challenges of industrialization. His vision did not come true, and he paid for it with his life. Number of Western loanwords codified in a Japanese language dictionary: 1,4% (551 items) by 1891 (cf. Tomoda 1999: 234)

1942: In the onset of the Pacific War, Japanese authorities seek to eliminate all English elements from the Japanese language.

1945–1951: Japan lies in ruins and welcomes the American occupation force as victors, seeing the American way of life and its language as superior to Japanese society and to the Japanese language. English became a symbol of success and affluence. A long way of adulation begins. Number of loanwords in a Japanese language dictionary: 3,5% (1,428 items) by 1956 (cf. Tomoda: 234)

2000 and beyond: The proportion of Western loanwords present and codified in dictionaries has exceeded 10%. Almost 140 years after Mori’s bold proposal, looking at the situation of present Japanese, one might be tempted to remark with a twinkling eye that, in a way, Mori’s dream has finally come true. “Anyone who has ever even

had an airport layover in Tokyo,” writes the sociolinguist James Stanlaw, “or even a cursory exposure to Japanese people – will instantly realize that English in Japan is like air: it is everywhere” (2005: 1). No average conversation in Japanese would be conceivable without the use of some linguistic resource from the English language. But ironically, it is through this very adoption of English as an additional resource for the language that Japanese has proven its vitality and flexibility to face modernity, so in this aspect, Aonori’s fears were unfounded. Within only a century and a half, English-derived loanwords have managed to become such an important part of the Japanese language that only nationalistic dreamers could even start to think of making away with them anymore, so much have they been molded into the language’s lexical foundations.

On January 12th, 1965, a simple poem aptly illustrated how far loanwords had by then already made inroads into the language. In the evening issues of Tokyo’s newspapers was printed a New Year’s poem by His Highness, Prince Mikasa, which read:

e o okuru *beruto konbea*
 kaiten shi
 sūsen no hinadori
 muragari tsuibamu
 (cf. Miller 1967: 267, [my emphasis])

The almost scandalous detail in this poem lies not in its content, which merely describes young birds eating food from a conveyor belt, but in the choice of one word – *beruto konbea*, ‘belt-conveyor’. Traditional Japanese poetry, and even more so Imperial poetry, usually only employs ‘native’ Japanese language material, and avoids even Chinese loanwords which have been in the language for hundreds of years; using an English loanword in a poem was unthinkable. Nevertheless, there it was: an Anglicism poised in the center of one of Japan’s most treasured traditions, for everyone to see. The symbolism of this single Anglicism in this tiny poem is more than any numbers can express, because it demonstrates the non-chalance with which Western loanwords are used, and the degree of lexical penetration that they had already reached by the mid 20th century, and the fundamental role they were beginning to play in this far-away country.

A professor once told me that he made a bet with a colleague at a conference that he would be able to do his presentation about a paper of his without using a single loanword. When he was finished with his speech, and went back to his seat, he asked

his colleague: “Well, how’d I do?” “Not bad, not bad,” his colleague answered with a broad grin, “except that you used the loanword *pe-pa-* [‘paper’] to refer to your work.” Apparently, he had been so focused on the content of the paper that he forgot he used an Anglicism to refer to it. What this small anecdote emphasizes is that even a conscious effort to avoid loanwords in Japanese altogether is bound to fail, so much are they already integrated into the basic vocabulary stock of the language. What it also shows, is that the actual awareness of loanwords as being something foreign is not as high as one might think. Most Japanese probably use loanwords without thinking about their origins.

The numbers of English-based loanwords, almost non-existent 150 years ago, first slowly permeated Japanese in the first decades after the opening of Japan in 1853, and then skyrocketed after the end of World War Two with the American occupation of Japan. A count by the National Institute for the Japanese Language from 1970 to 1973 revealed that 8% of the total Japanese vocabulary stock was English-based, and that Anglicisms made up about 94% of all loanwords present in Japanese. What is more, English-based loanwords nowadays by far make up the largest part (almost 60% by 1980) of new words, suggesting that the growth of their numbers is steady and unabated. It can be claimed that, rather than being a foreign element introduced into the Japanese language, therefore ‘tainting’ it, English is being assimilated and used by Japanese to enlarge and strengthen its lexical and semantic pool. As *The Guardian* sarcastically remarked in 1976,

[...] the English word looted by the Japanese can expect to be systematically stripped of its national identity after a series of cruel and little known initiation rites (cited in Loveday 1996: 138).

What this implicates simply is that any word, whatever language it may derive from, on arrival in the Japanese language is remodeled and recreated, reborn as it were, as a Japanese word with just a foreign touch.

The issue of Western loanwords in the Japanese language, despite its fascinating dynamics and intricacies, has been sparsely dealt with in English linguistic literature. Miller (1967) has written extensively on the Japanese language, on its history, its grammar, its dialects, but paid only little tribute to the complex issue of loanwords, but was rather interested in contact varieties between English and Japanese. Others like Hoffer (2002) and especially Loveday (1986; 1996) have discussed the loanword issue more broadly in their works, from the sociolinguistic point of view. Kelley

(1990) has also written on English loanwords in Japanese, but focuses more on its lexical impact, while Stanlaw (2005) has tried a fresh, anthropological approach by showing the many creative uses of Anglicisms in the Japanese language, especially in the fields of music and advertising; his goal was to show that English-based loanwords are, by no means ‘borrowed’ items from the English language, but genuinely Japanese, made-in-Japan English, modeled after and adapted to the Japanese language system. European linguists have been largely ignoring this phenomenon, and even within Japan, the issue is discussed rather one-dimensionally. What has been missing – and what this thesis wishes to provide – is a comprehensive approach combining all the issues touched upon by authors like those mentioned above (lexis, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, sociology, language policy, etc.), and including a current overview on the actual proportions of loanwords present in the Japanese language. By also including many Japanese books and papers in this thesis, I tried to be as authentic as possible and look at this Japanese phenomenon also through a Japanese perspective, thereby adding an illuminating perspective on what I perceived to be the most important aspects of Anglicisms in Japanese.

What I want to accomplish in this paper is to put the loanword situation in Japan within the larger context of the discussions of Anglicisms, especially in German speaking countries, and show that a high number of English-based loanwords neither causes a breakdown in communication nor results in an Americanization of the language. I believe that the case of Japanese, which can be seen as an unparalleled and ingenious example of loanword processing, can serve as an inspiration for successfully dealing with this complex and delicate matter. In order to do this, the loanword issue will be investigated from many different angles, its thesis will be substantiated with an empirical part in which the ability to understand difficult loanwords will be tested, so as to make possible a judgment on the loanword issue based on a sound foundation at the end of this paper. My dissertation will be structured as follows:

Chapter 1 will give a brief overview on the contact history of the Japanese language. Since Japan is an island, contact with other peoples and languages was scarce and, when it happened, always coincided with major changes in politics, society, or language. First was the arrival of Chinese monks in the 8th century, who brought the Chinese characters to Japan which its inhabitants immediately employed

to create their first own writing system modeled after these characters. Next, European explorers mainly from Portugal and the Netherlands found the remote islands in the 15th century, into whose political disputes Japan soon threatened to become entangled and which caused their expulsion and the enactment of a policy of isolation which closed off the island from almost all foreigners. This period only came to an end by the arrival of American warships which forced Japan to throw open its doors to the world.

Chapter 2 will go into the details of the specific language contact with the English language and the changing attitudes that the Japanese have held towards it through the centuries. It will illustrate how English managed to step out of the shadow of Chinese, which had held almost a monopoly for supplying new loanwords to Japanese. Different stages of this development will be outlined, underlining the massive impact that this contact with industrialization, embodied by English, has had on Japan. The World War II period brought a sudden end to the infatuation with all things Western, which rose even stronger from out of the ashes of defeat. The American occupation of Japan and the psychological aftershocks of the devastating atomic bombs infused a sense of superiority of the English language and American way of life embodied through it which were believed to have been the foundation for America's success in war. The growing predominance of the English language and the imitation of Western culture and lifestyle that followed, caused a feeling of loss of identity which resulted in the emergence of nationalist and ethnocentric theories on the identity of the Japanese, in which the uniqueness of the national language was stressed and in which foremost English loanwords were seen with suspicion because they 'threatened' the purity and soul of the Japanese language. As a point of comparison, the history of loanwords in German will be outlined shortly.

Chapter 3, then, will focus on loanwords themselves. I will look at loanword numbers, followed by a discussion on the possible definitions of Anglicisms either as foreign resources or as distinctly Japanese, only English-inspired items. Next, I will provide an outline of the dimensions of lexical penetration by Anglicisms, i.e. how much they have already permeated basic Japanese vocabulary. Consequently, the phonetic, morphological, and semantic features and peculiarities of word formation of loanwords will be presented that distinguish them from their foreign source words and through which they are formally assimilated into the Japanese language. I will also touch on the syntactic footprints (like the introduction of personal pronouns) that

these loanwords have left on the language, and on the manifold creative usages that the Japanese employ this extra-lingual resources for. A final subchapter will be concerned with the criticism of some loanwords' alleged inconsistencies in writing and lexis.

In chapter 4, I will shed some light on the core functions of Western loanwords in Japanese. Some of these coincide with those in other languages, like the import of new concepts and ideas, status upgrading, fashion, prestige and euphemism; some are specific to Japan – at least in their intensity – like for example the function of Westernization (i.e. to give oneself a European or American flair), of stylistic use for creative wordplay, or their role in circumventing gender-related speech restrictions, especially for women.

Chapter 5, then, will concentrate on issues of comprehension and use. First, I will take a look at English for design purposes, which often contains grammatical or spelling errors, and is therefore often criticized by native speakers of English. Next, I will outline some basic criticism of English-based loanwords proper – here, too, by native speakers of English, who are the one of the main origins, actually, of loanword criticism in Japan and who mourn the semantic gaps between English words and their use as loanwords within the Japanese language. This will be followed by a general discussion of comprehension problems encountered by Japanese native speakers when dealing with loanwords, deriving mainly from the fact that the numbers of Anglicism in Japanese are so great and that they evenly pervade all areas of use, regardless of the target audience, and are not 'contained' to particular areas. As a small practical example for a problematic rise of loanwords I will outline their use in foreign movie titles as opposed to translated titles, the comprehension problems and attitudes connected therewith. The chapter will close with some opinions on how to face the challenges that loanwords pose to the average Japanese.

In chapter 6, then, I will present concrete numbers on the increase of loanwords in the Japanese language. In the beginning of the chapter, I will mention some difficulties a foreign researcher is confronted with when studying the extent of this phenomenon, mainly the lack of a comprehensive corpus to use when examining loanword numbers. As a result, I had to rely on already present data mainly from the National Institute for the Japanese Language. I will continue with some diachronic data of word counts from dictionaries of the Japanese language and with the proportions that loanwords hold in new word creations recently, from which the

pervasiveness of loanwords in codified language becomes palpable. This will be followed by comparative word counts from magazines, newspapers, white papers, public information bulletins, and television programs, to provide a broad overview on loanword presence in Japanese media. As a next step, I will present some more detailed data on discourses which have a greater tendency for using difficult loanwords like sports, science and technology. In order to provide a base for judging the dimensions of loanword presence in Japanese (which is more or less identical to Anglicism presence), I will attempt to compare the Japanese data with data from Austrian and German newspapers and magazines.

Chapter 7 will focus on the words behind the numbers, i.e. the most frequently used loanwords in the Japanese media presented in chapter 6. This will serve as proof that in fact the vast majority of loanwords in contemporary Japanese are English-based and can therefore be directly compared with Anglicism numbers in other languages. Japanese white papers, public information bulletins, newspapers, magazines and television will be analyzed, the most frequently used loanwords extracted and classified, their proportions of non-English-based loanwords presented. Based on these word lists, I will compare these most frequently used loans to see whether the different media employ many similar loans which would point to a general usage and comprehensibility of these. In order to establish the degree of naturalization of such frequent loanwords, I will check each loan from each word list diachronically for its entry in loanword and Japanese language dictionaries from 2002 to 2008. This will reveal whether the most frequently used loanwords are already sufficiently familiarized in the Japanese language or whether many difficult and unknown loanwords are used.

In chapter 8, I will present some representative examples of loanword discussions in Japan, focusing mainly on how to deal with these words in order to guarantee comprehension. I will start out with an approach that focuses on alienating loanwords from Japanese by changing their orthography from the Katakana syllabary to the Latin alphabet, with the obvious goal of classifying them as a ‘foreign’ resource, making them stand out from the text and therefore words to be avoided. The second approach is the one employed by the National Institute for the Japanese Language, which has compiled a list of difficult English-based loanwords which it suggests should be paraphrased by words of Japanese or Chinese origin, with various suggestions for every loan depending on the context it is used in. This approach’s pros

and cons will be discussed in detail because it is an official approach by a government institution. As a last theoretical example, I will outline an integrative approach by a Japanese linguist who suggest that, rather than stigmatizing loanwords, they should be gradually integrated and assimilated into the language by three steps to allow for a comprehension by the general public. Towards the end of the chapter, some practical examples of loanword policies from major Japanese newspapers will be provided.

Chapter 9 will take a closer look at the semantic nature of English-based loanwords to draw some conclusions concerning their degree of Japaneseness. Following this discussion, I will illustrate how such pseudo-Anglicisms are often seen to negatively influence the English education of Japanese students because of deceptive cognates and false friends which cause students to use the Japanese meaning of a loanword in an English conversation context. I will then present data on the awareness of Japanese students of English concerning corresponding English expressions to Japanese pseudo-Anglicisms, and of English students concerning the English meaning of Japanese pseudo-Anglicisms, as well as various opinions on how to deal with this inter-language interference that pseudo-Anglicisms may cause.

In chapter 10, I will lay the theoretic foundations for the empirical part of this thesis by discussing the importance of context in the process of understanding and other semantic issues connected therewith, with a special focus on loanword comprehension. After a brief mention of naturalistic approaches which allocate an innate meaning to each word, I will focus on Wittgenstein's idea of 'meaning as use' and other related approaches to the importance of context by various renowned linguists. This variety of opinions will be funneled into a conglomerate theory on the impact of context, which will consequently be interwoven with a discussion on the understanding of new and unknown words, the elusive meaning of loanwords, and their semantic relation (synonymy or not) to 'native' Japanese words.

Chapters 11 through 13 encompass an extensive analysis of a survey I conducted among 155 Japanese university students of four different Japanese universities on the comprehension of 50 difficult Anglicisms in and without context, in order to confirm the theoretical basis that was created in chapter 10. Chapter 11, after formulating the survey's research questions, will be focusing on the survey's development, design, and fundamentals and then continue with the results of each university. The results will be additionally divided according to course of studies (i.e. English and non-English). Chapter 12 will zoom in, first on the overall results of all universities taken

together, and then on the detailed results for each of the loanwords included in the survey, listing which definitions were given, and what changes took place between the definitions of loanwords without context and in context. I will then try to explain the results of each loanword and attempt to reason why in some cases they were contrary to expectations. In chapter 13, finally, I will derive from the results some basic requirements that context has to meet in order to act as a supportive and critical factor in the process of comprehension, as well as answers to the research questions that were formulated before conducting the survey. The chapter will be wrapped up with some concluding remarks on the effectiveness of the survey and on the role that context played in the meaning-realization process concerning the loanwords whose definition was inquired.

The main objective of this dissertation, next to satisfying a personal fascination with the intricacies of the Japanese language, is to show that an increase of loanwords by no means has to lead to a breakdown in communication, nor do they constitute any obstacles or, worse, tainting of the national language; rather, they can be made use of to invigorate the lexical pool, and to multiply the possibilities a language has to represent the outside world, and for individuals to express themselves. I wish to demonstrate that loanwords are a natural phenomenon and can be an enrichment to language if we correct our perspective and attitude towards these linguistic immigrants from other lands. Japanese, it will be argued, does not so much borrow English words as it creates, or recreates them through a very strong integrative force based on multiple assimilative processes that any loanword undergoes on arrival. I will also contend that the Japanese case proves there is no such thing as an ‘overflow’ of loanwords, but that a language suffers only as many loanwords as it can digest; those it cannot find a purpose for are disposed of quickly.

It is my hope that the example of Japan described in this paper can lead to a change in perspectives and attitudes towards the complex issue of loanwords that results in a more open-minded and natural approach towards such words. What I want to illustrate in this dissertation is that the Japanese have found a way to deal with loanwords successively which we Europeans by and large have not yet discovered or wanted to discover – by embracing and assimilating, by ‘embrassimilating’ them.

A note on the transcription of Japanese words and names

This paper will follow the common Japanese transcription of names which mentions a person's last name before their first name (e.g. Watanabe [last name] Shōichi [first name]). Long vowels in words of Chinese origin will be transcribed using the letters 'ō' and 'ū' (e.g. *kyōryoku*; *jiyū*), while long vowels in Western-based loanwords will be transcribed according to their realization in the Katakana syllabary by elongating the vowel using '–', as in *inobe-shon* or *su-pa-baiza-*.

1. *Japanese and its Contact Tradition*

1.1. On the origins of the Japanese language

Japanese is not only a mystery to Westerners who look towards Japan with an air of fascination for the seemingly incomprehensible nature of its people, its culture and its language. Linguists all around the globe, too, have long been wondering about the origins of the Japanese language whose traces have faded in the course of history.

This shroud of mystery has given birth to popular theories indulged in by some Japanese scholars like Watanabe Shōichi or Suzuki Takao, who believe in an outright mythical and unique nature of the language, its essence being encoded in the very blood and genetic pool of the Japanese, by definition making it impossible for foreigners to accurately grasp its meaning in full (Befu 1989: 99). Original Japanese words or *wago* (和語), in this view, are inspired by what is called *kotodama* (言霊), or “spirit of the language”, which is fleeting, not graspable (Watanabe 1974: 16f).

The underlying hypothesis of such and similar arguments is that there exist words completely free, as it were, of any foreign ‘stain’, implying that the language evolved independently from all other of earth’s languages, making Japanese a unique language and its people unconnected, both historically and genetically, from the rest of humanity - a language myth, sugarcoated in scientific terminology. This language approach has been criticized, amongst many, by the American linguist and expert on Japan Roy Andrew Miller, who maintains that

[s]uch attempts are doomed from their onset since they are based on this implausible assumption concerning the origins of Japan and the Japanese. Independent evolution of man in the Japanese archipelago is possible – insofar as anything is possible. But it is so extremely improbable that it must be ruled out of serious consideration (Miller 1977: 21).

On a more serious and scientific basis, several Japanese and non-Japanese linguists like Miller (1971) have argued that the origins of the Japanese language can in fact be traced back to the Altaic language family (like Turkish or Mongolian). According to Kelley (1990: 18, citing Lee 1963) another linguistic closeness can be observed to the extinct Koguryo language once used in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. These findings, for all their merits, have done little to shake the conviction of those still believing in a mythical nature of the language. Still, research by Karlgren (1926) or Miller (1967) (both cited in Kelley 1990: 20) indicates noticeable influence by several different languages the early Japanese had contact with, conclusively

embodied in a number of early loans like *kuni* (国) “nation/state,” *fune* (船) “boat/ship,” or *uma* (馬) “horse.” Kelley in his study remarks that such evidence “reflects a general willingness of the early Japanese to borrow from other peoples with whom they come in contact” (Kelley 1990: 20/1). Such contacts on the mainland and on the Japanese islands later on left distinct traces in the language. Kelley summarizes:

The texture of the language was set, as were tendencies for borrowing and the adaptation of foreign linguistic and cultural material. Also, the texture of Japanese society and thinking were set, as were the tendencies for social and psychological adaptiveness. All of these characteristics, especially the receptiveness of the tribal leaders to new, foreign cultural developments, had prepared the ground for future contacts and future borrowing (Kelley 1990: 29).

In short, it can be said that Japanese does share features with other of the world’s languages and it appears that early encounters with different cultures and languages set the pattern for future language contact. However, from the time of contact with the peoples on the mainland the Japanese language developed into a distinctly different direction which makes it difficult for linguists nowadays to get viable proof on its origins, further adding to the discussion between historical linguists arguing for a genetic relationship to other languages and purists claiming that the Japanese language and its people are unique.

1.2. First contact, lasting impact – the Chinese come to visit

Japan is an island nation. As such, ever since the land bridges that connected it to the Eurasian continent subsided into the ocean many thousand years ago, its natural resources for language contact have been severely limited, as a matter of course. Compared to Europe, for example, where language contact was facilitated, even inevitable, as peoples migrated from north to south and from east to west, as armies swept across the continent in conquest, the islands of Japan lived in relative peace and linguistic homogeneity – until the advent of Chinese scholars from the mainland in the 5th century A.D, a contact that would set the precedent for an outright “contact tradition” (Loveday 1996: 27).

What the Chinese monks brought along with them was not only their extensive knowledge of new agricultural techniques like rice cultivation or metalwork or Buddhist teachings (which led to the adoption of Buddhism in 594), but foremost and above all their system of writing incorporated in their Buddhist scriptures. The Japanese, who did not have a writing system of their own, within a few centuries

adopted this writing system wholesale, and from its complex characters created two distinct syllabic alphabets, the so-called *Hiragana* and *Katakana*. Chinese and its characters, first exclusively used by Japanese scholars and Buddhist priests for reading and understanding religious scriptures, by the time of the Nara period (710-94) had created a diglossic bilingual setting, where it was being used as a high variety in the domains of administration and law. At the same time, Japanese scholars were beginning to employ a method of instant translation of Chinese texts by applying to them a Japanese reading (*kundoku* or *kunyomi*). This method helped the characters to maintain a Chinese surface while at the same time enabling people to write the words in Japanese script. The Chinese pronunciation (*ondoku* or *onyomi*) of whole sentences or word-clusters was, eventually, maintained solely for rituals like the chanting of Buddhist scriptures (cf. Loveday 1996: 26-34). Contemporary Japanese shows a balanced mixture of *onyomi* and *kunyomi* words.

The influence of Chinese was to be dominant until far into the 19th century when successive defeats in the Opium wars permanently damaged the prestige of the Chinese empire in the eyes of the Japanese. In the preceding centuries, however, Chinese was to leave a deep and lasting imprint on the Japanese language.

By the 10th century A.D., as a result of this diglossic bilingual setting, the Chinese writing system had been fully implemented into Japanese and in the following centuries slowly found its way down, from the academic elites and upper class citizens to the common people on the streets. So fully and so smoothly had the Chinese writing system been adopted into Japanese that with time people ceased to think of it as something foreign. It had been perfectly assimilated, along with the words it represented, into the Japanese language, enriching its linguistic pool and effectively altering its overall structure. So perfect was the assimilation that nowadays not a single word of Chinese origin, which after all represent about 47 percent of the vocabulary stock (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo [Japanese National Language Institute], 1970, 1971, 1971, 1973, cited in Stanlaw 2005: 12), features in loanword dictionaries.

In addition, the syllabaries the Japanese had created alongside allowed for complete autonomy from the Chinese model because now the words could also be written without using the proper Chinese characters. A precedent setting had been created, which would influence all future language contact. The next challenge was

already waiting at Japan's doorstep, for the Europeans were getting ready to sail the seas in search for new profits to be made.

1.3. An interlude: the arrival and expulsion of the Europeans

The first Europeans to set foot on Japanese soil were the Portuguese in the 1540s, with far-reaching consequences. Not only did two cultures collide that could hardly have been more different, but also did two linguistic systems clash which seemingly differed in their very fundamentals of language, most visible in the complex Japanese orthography using three different writing systems. The Portuguese and other European merchants introduced a fourth – the Latin alphabet.

The alien people were first welcomed with open arms, with the usual Japanese curiosity for the different and the new. Soon, the Spanish and the Dutch followed suit. The Portuguese and Spanish had brought along not only goods for trade but also Catholic missionaries, above all the famous Francis Xavier, who immediately started proselytizing their faith, with remarkable success. Within only a few decades about 300,000 Japanese, amongst them influential feudal lords (*daimyō*) and generals, converted to Roman Catholicism (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 46).

The missionaries' practice and their success soon caused unease in the higher ranks of the military and political hierarchy. It was feared that the converts might undermine the ruling class' authority with their new creed of personal freedom and salvation in the next world. Also, the firearms that the merchants had brought along with them and which they sold to those favorable to their cause added further alarm and unsettlement to the ruling class' concerns, as did several intrigues that the Spanish and Portuguese became involved in as European disputes started to encroach on Japan, raising fears of a pending colonization. The Japanese leaders' fear of being colonized by European powers was not without grounds, as Asian history would later show.

As a consequence, the central government in 1587 first forbid, then banned Christianity from the Japanese islands, killed all missionaries and followers who refused to renounce their faith, and as a preemptive strike against possible future influence in 1633 imposed and enforced a policy of self-isolation, or *sakoku* (鎖国), which would last for more than 200 years. No foreigners were allowed entrance into Japan, except for some Dutch and Chinese merchants on the remote and artificial island of Dejima off the coast of Nagasaki (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 47).

After only 80 years the Europeans had been expelled from the Japanese islands. But even such a short time span had sufficed to leave a visible linguistic trace in the Japanese language with many loanwords having survived up to today. Portuguese loans loom large in this field, some of which include *pan* (パン, ‘bread’, from Portuguese *pão*), *kappa* (カッパ, ‘raincoat’, from Portuguese *capa*), *botan* (ボタン, ‘button’, from Portuguese *botão*), the ubiquitous *tempura* (テンプラ, ‘food fried in a batter’, from Portuguese *tempero*) and the equally omnipresent *tabako* (タバコ, ‘tobacco’, from Portuguese *tobacco*). Though fewer in number, some Spanish loans also found their way into Japanese, amongst those are *meriyasu* (メリヤス, ‘stockings’, from Spanish *medias*), *kasutera* (カステラ, ‘sponge cake’, from Spanish *Castilla*) or *gerira* (ゲリラ, ‘guerilla’, from Spanish *guerrilla*). The Dutch, however, being allowed further trade with Japan, were the only source of Western loanwords through the 17th, 18th, and part of the 19th century, thus the number of Dutch loanwords is by far the greatest during those times. At least 700 and up to 3,000 Dutch loanwords are believed to have entered the Japanese during this period (Stanlaw 2005: 48, citing Earns 1993 and Sonoda 1975). The ones featuring most prominently amongst these are *garasu* (ガラス, ‘glass’, from Dutch *glas*), *miruku* (ミルク, ‘milk’, from Dutch *melk*), *gomu* (ゴム, ‘rubber’, from Dutch *gom*), *kōhī* (コーヒー, ‘coffee’, from Dutch *koffie*) and *bīru* (ビール, ‘beer’, from Dutch *bier*) (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 46ff).

These Western loans have survived the centuries of isolation and can be said to be among those most ‘naturalized’ into the Japanese language, some of them, like *tempura* or *tabako* have even been assigned their proper *kanji* – 珈琲 for *kōhī*, ‘coffee’, or 煙草 for *tabako*, ‘tobacco’. Western people, however, were not seen on Japan’s main islands for the next 200 years, until something happened which would shake the very foundations of Japanese society and which would cause a major political upheaval and end the reign of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had ruled Japan for over 250 years – the arrival of American war ships in Edo Bay in 1853.

1.4. The Meiji Restoration and beyond: English takes over

When, in 1853, the American Commodore Perry sailed into Edo Bay with his heavily armed gunboats (“black ships”, as the Japanese called them) to forcibly establish trade relations, the Japanese awoke to see that, while they had been living a relatively

peaceful life during their self-isolation, the West had developed industrial and military technology that by far exceeded anything found in Japan. Reports of China's defeat during the Opium War (1840-2) and of other Western colonization efforts in Asia shocked the Japanese and instilled fears that they might be the next in line. China's loss of prestige was one important factor that pushed the Japanese towards an infatuation with all things Western (cf. Loveday 1996: 62).

It became obvious that Japan had to deal with the West and could no longer uphold the national seclusion policy. "One solution," writes Stanlaw, "was to meet the West head-on and modernize the country, and for that enterprise, knowledge of Western customs and science was necessary. The only way to acquire this knowledge was to master their languages, especially English" (2004: 54). Influential leaders agreed, believing in the superiority of the West, and that Japan had to adapt to the West, to assimilate the Western knowledge in order to avert subordination.

Soon after, a treaty was signed with the United States, granting them, amongst other things, access to five ports in Japan and extraterritorial rights for their nationals. It was during these days that the official support for the teaching of the English language started and the first English course was set up in Tokyo in 1857 at the so-called "Translation Office for Barbarian Literature" (cf. Loveday 1996: 63).

This new policy, however, was felt to establish an inequality favoring Western powers and damaging national interests, as well as constituting criticism of feudal practices, all of which were felt to be one of the main reasons for why China had eventually succumbed to Western forces, and caused a major revolt amongst all social classes. This was the climax of a gradually developing feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction, which had been evolving for many decades already. The Tokugawa Shogunate was held responsible for letting the "barbarians" into the country. When the Shogun attempted to drive back foreign influence militarily his forces were humiliated. His reign was seen unable to deal with the new situation and thus an increasing number of citizens and the military rallied behind the Emperor, crying for *Sonnō jōi* (尊皇攘夷), or 'Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians', causing a civil war which was ended in 1868 with the resignation of the last Tokugawa Shogun (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 56; Loveday 1996: 61f).

The 15-year-old Emperor Meiji took over. To the disappointment of those who had expected the emperor to employ an aggressive foreign policy, the so-called Meiji

Restoration led Japan into an age of fierce industrialization and modernization, which relied on increased contact with the West. The portals of Japan had been smashed open and it did not take long for Western technology, ideology and, above all, language, to once again find their way into *Nippon*, the Land of the Rising Sun. Sweeping changes ensued in the following decades, like the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, the development of state education, and the abolition of the feudal class-system (cf. Loveday 1996: 65).

The emperor's policy was outlined in the Charter Oath of 1868 in which he declared that "knowledge was to be sought throughout the world." Rather than expelling the foreigners, this new policy strived for hiring additional foreign teachers and advisors for every sector of Japanese society. It is assumed that about 5 percent of total government expenditure was funneled into paying the salaries of these foreign personnel (cf. Loveday 1996: 65f).

Though Dutch remained the dominant European language and the language of contact with Western powers (due to the Dutch having been the only Europeans allowed trade throughout the *sakoku* period), the 1870ies saw a change of paradigm (cf. Loveday 1986: 26). The key to this was the modern public education system, which was established in 1872. It was based on the American model and made English a compulsory subject in elementary and middle schools. Another factor for the spread of English (especially the American variety of English), according to Ike (1995: 4), was due to the American missionaries that arrived in Japan soon after its reopening. So popular was English among the political and educational elite that some even envisioned the adoption of English as national language or the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the abolishment of the three writing systems the Japanese employed (more on these movements in the following chapter).

Japanese society, however, was strained to the extreme through this sudden infatuation with English and an anti-Western mood started to spread from the 1880s onwards. It was directed against what was seen as "'excessive' and overrapid westernization." There was a nationalistic tendency towards a return to traditional Japanese values and heritage focusing on Japanese uniqueness, which was fueled by Japanese military victories against China and Russia around the turn of the century. The use of English and other foreign languages was curbed decisively in the 1890s, degrading English "to a mere instrument for translation purposes" (Loveday 1996:

67f). Books praising all things Japanese started to boom, warning the Japanese of the dangers of colonialism and emphasizing Japan's national pride (cf. Ike 1995: 5).

However, from a linguistic point of view, the influx of visible loanwords was still negligible compared to the Taishō period (1912-1926) since new words were mostly imported via loan translations.

In Meiji Japan, Western culture was absorbed principally via the printed word, specifically, Japanese translations of Western writings. Meiji intellectuals were well-versed in the Chinese classics and had an extensive knowledge of Chinese ideograms. They applied this knowledge by creating hundreds of new words to translate foreign literature and so helped to advance Meiji culture (Ishiwata 1989: 18).

The Chinese Empire's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/5 and the Qing dynasty's collapse in 1911 marked the definite end of fourteen centuries of Chinese influence. As a consequence, the use of *kango* (漢語), meaning Chinese words and characters, in the creation of new words yielded increasingly to the influence of Western words (cf. Ishiwata 1989: 19). The last years of the Meiji period witnessed the appearance of loans like *purin* (プリン, 'pudding'), *hankachi* (ハンカチ, 'handkerchief'), *burashi* (ブラシ, 'brush') or *airon* (アイロン, 'iron'), whose diverse phonetic shapes, according to Loveday (1996), reflect the fact that contact "occurred through the aural as well as the written medium" (69).

On the long run, even the nationalistic tendencies previously mentioned were unable to stop the advance of Western language and cultural influence, which reached new peaks in the period immediately following the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912. The Taishō period lasted until 1926 and witnessed an unprecedented spread of Western loan words thanks to new forms of technological mass media like the radio or the cinema.

All of a sudden, this far and strange new culture could be witnessed eye-to-eye in every day life, with English being disseminated through newspapers, books, gramophone record, or the transmission of sports events through the radio. Western lifestyle proliferated, and due to this also linguistic contact increased which can be deduced from the many loanwords that stem from that period, above all the ever-prominent *sararī man* (サラリーマン, literally 'salary man' i.e. 'white collar worker') who is still a characteristic feature of modern Japanese life. Arakawa's loanword dictionary of 1931 already featured some 5,018 entries of so-called "Japanized English" (cf. Loveday 1996: 72f). This development is quite conspicuous,

considering that the first modern dictionary of Japanese in 1886 lists only 410 loans (18% of which are of English origin), and the first loanword dictionary of 1912 shows a quadrupling of their numbers to 1,596 entries (75% Anglicisms) (cf. Loveday 1996: 69).

Stanlaw (2005) explains that, while borrowings from the Meiji period were mostly concerned with abstract concepts of Westernization and modernization, the Taishō period loanwords primarily dealt with things of everyday life or popular culture. Besides words like *takushī* (タクシー, ‘taxi’) or *rajio* (ラジオ, ‘radio’), it appears that the word ‘girl’ was used most productively in coining new words (68).

These included terms like *kyampu gaaru* (‘camp girl’), *depaato gaaru* (‘department store girl’), *sutekki gaaru* (‘stick girl’), *doa gaaru* (‘door girl’), *gasorin gaaru* (‘gasoline girl’), and *ea garru* [sic] (‘air girl’) [...] Few of these terms survive today save for *ofisu gaaru* (‘office girl’), which lingers through the acronym *OL* (pronounced *oo-eru*) for ‘office lady’, the term for female office worker (Stanlaw 2005: 69).

It was the Taishō period, which established English as the prominent and dominant Western language, which is well reflected in the following table on the proportion of loanwords during that period.

Donor language	Percentage
English	63,0%
Dutch	14,2%
Portuguese	13,0%
French	3,7%
Spanish	2,5%
German	1,8%
other	1,8%

Table 1: Proportions of donor languages in the early 20th century

(cf. Stanlaw 2005: 68)

This sudden eruption of new loans in Japanese is revealing in that it shows the impact that Japan’s contact with the West had after 200 years of isolation. It also once again illustrates the disposition of the Japanese language to integrate the foreign into its linguistic and cultural system.

The biggest wave of loan words and with it a near-monopoly of Anglicism was yet to come, the basis for it, however, was laid during the first two decades of the 20th

century. The gradual merging of cultures was well reflected in the language. Loveday (1996: 73) remarks:

The interesting pattern for integrating English which first emerged at this time reveal the socio-psychologically closer and more familiar position of English in Taishō society. Thus, hybridization, where one part of a word is Japanese and the other English, is evident in the composition of Japanese and English-derived stems at that time: *modan-go* (<English: *modern* + Japanese ‘words’ = ‘fashionable use of English-derived items’); *onna-boi* (<Japanese: ‘girl’ + English *boy* = ‘waitress’) [...] In fact, well before the wave of Americanization that followed the Second World War, the most typical of Japanese-English lexical patterns had already been established (Loveday 1996: 73).

It would take some time, however, before these patterns were to be fully employed, because clouds of war were gathering on the horizon as Japan’s government was gradually infiltrated by the military through several coups. For about 15 years, Japan entered what would later be euphemized as ‘the dark valley’ (黒い谷 or *kuroi tani*), a period of rampant militarism and expansionism which would eventually culminate in the Pacific War and Japan’s defeat in 1945. This period was above all marked by nationalism, and language was not exempt from its ramifications.

1.5. English becomes the enemy

The roots of Japanese nationalism and militarism go back to the 19th century, however their outburst in the 1930s was initiated among other things by America’s racist Anti-Immigration laws which were also directed against Japanese immigrants (and thus broke the Gentlemen’s Agreement between The U.S. and Japan from 1907¹) and by the Western World’s refusal to let Japan into the ‘White Men’s Club.’ This, along with an economic crisis, was fertile ground for militarists to seize power and they did. Also, it led to a debate for the “abolition of the English requirement in the middle school curriculum” (Ike 1995: 6).

With Japan’s Imperial Army invading and occupying Manchuria in 1931, the country embarked on a course that isolated it ever more from the Western democracies and the English-speaking world. In 1937, Japan plunged into a full-scale war with China, which eventually escalated the tensions with the Western countries who saw their Asian interests threatened. The continuing military build-up brought along, or rather intensified, an already existing virulent anti-Western ideology. The dependency on foreign resources and the embargoes the Western powers set up

¹ In this agreement, Japan agreed not to issue any more passports for Japanese wishing to work in the U.S.. In return, the U.S. promised to accept the Japanese minority in California and to not legally discriminate against them.

against Japan helped to push this ideology to its limits. The attack on the American naval base in Pearl Harbor in December 1941 was an attempt to cut the knot of dependency, and marked the beginning of the end of Japanese dreams of superiority (cf. Loveday 1996: 74).

Already in the prelude to the war, English was held in suspicion. Ichikawa Sanki, one of the most important linguists of pre-war Japan predicted:

The influence of foreign languages – especially English – on Japanese is of such importance that probably not only words and expressions will continue to be borrowed in greater numbers but even the structure and grammar of the Japanese language will be considerably modified (Stanlaw 2005: 69 citing Ichikawa 1931: 141).

Confronted with such opinions, nationalists were highly alarmed. They felt foreign language influence to be a threat to ‘pure’ Japanese, the language of the gods. During the 1930s, English was increasingly seen as a symbol of the enemy. Thus, the teaching of English was continuously reduced. In January 1940, English was dropped from the entrance examination of several military academies, followed by the banning of English stage names in show business in March 1940, then continuing with the banning of English signs in railroad station, of English school names, and finally, in the heat of war, of all public designations in English including popular sport names and product names. Most noticeable was the gradual replacement of Anglicisms by Japanese words coined specifically for that purpose. Thus, *anaunsā* (アナウンサー, ‘announcer’) became *hōsōin* (放送員), literally meaning ‘broadcasting person’, *rekodo* (レコード, ‘record’) became *onban* (音盤), *gorufu* (ゴルフ, ‘golf’) turned into *dakyū* (打球), *marason* (マラソン, ‘marathon’) became *taikyūkyōsō* (耐久競争) and so on (cf. Ōishi 1992: 2ff; Loveday 1996: 74f; Stanlaw 2005: 69). However, public acceptance was low, so only few of these terms survived the war.

Ōishi (1992: 6) mentions several characteristics of these anti-English measures, amongst those the fact that they were neither organized nor systematic efforts. Each ministry appears to have conducted their own campaigns without a major central planning, and at a rather sporadic level. He stresses that “the prohibition of English names took place in relation to English stage names and English school names in 1940 but that of English cigarette names and restaurant and bar names came in 1941. NHK [Japan’s national television] discontinued the use of *anaunsā* (‘announcer’) in 1942 but that of *nyūsu* (‘news’) in 1943.”

These only sporadic efforts, along with the disastrous defeat in a war that had already been considered won because of the Japanese's racial superiority, might have contributed to the quick regaining of prestige that English experienced in the immediate aftermath of the war.

The nationalist ideology of 'Japanism' lay in ruins, and the Japanese people's belief in its strength was shattered. Once again they looked towards the West, to America, the victor, as a model for economic and military success. It was this atmosphere, into which the American troops came to stay, which decisively contributed to the unprecedented success and embracement of English in postwar Japan, and which gave birth to a particular phenomenon of language contact, whose effect can now be seen in every corner of contemporary Japanese society. Japan's postwar years were about to be deeply influenced by the Americans' prestige and language. Thus, ironically, the nationalism of the war-years eventually strengthened the influence of the English language instead of strangling it.

1.6. The postwar linguistic landscape

The years between 1945 and 1952, also known as the Allied Occupation of Japan (a misleading term, since the occupation army consisted overwhelmingly of American troops), saw an increased – and one-sided – language contact as well as a return and boost of pre-war infatuation with all things Western, which now equaled things American.

The Allied General Headquarters under the supreme command of General Douglas MacArthur quickly set out to transform Japan into a Western-style democracy. A new constitution was promulgated in 1946. Interestingly, notwithstanding the fact that it was supposed to be Japan's constitution, it was originally drafted in English by American bureaucrats of the occupation force and with American concepts of state and society, thus shaping Japan's new fundament according to Western wishes. Only afterwards was it translated into Japanese which caused several misunderstandings – some intended, some unintended – in translation (cf. Dower 2000: 370f).

The presence of some 500,000 American troops on Japanese soil made contact inevitable and even desired. The Japanese were surprised that the Americans were not the women-raping, looting barbarians they had been led to believe. The Americans, on the other side, had suspected fanatical emperor worshippers who would fight to the bitter end and instead found an insecure but friendly people who saw in them not only their saviors, but also a superior people. Hence the interest in the English language

flourished as the Japanese sought to mingle with the former enemy. The American Way of Life had proven to be superior to the Japanese way; this was the ‘lesson’ that many people drew from Japan’s defeat. Also, the luxury in which American soldiers lived compared to the poverty of the Japanese, was interpreted as a sign that the American Way of Life along with English were the necessary basis for a good life.

Loveday (1996: 75), too, speaks of an outright “English fever” during the first years of the occupation, “with textbooks of conversational English becoming bestsellers and English classes being taught by American soldiers on a broad scale. Knowledge of English was seen as the key to obtaining social advantages, including access to the black market; English was also regarded as the medium through which to learn about democracy, and it regained its social appeal as a code for liberals and internationalists.”

Increased contact also led to the emergence of contact varieties, of which at least two distinct forms have to be mentioned.

The first variety was used primarily for communications with shopkeepers, servants, labourers, and employees at US military installations. The second considerably more specialized variety served ‘for what verbal communication [that was] [sic] necessary between non-Japanese-speaking foreigners and the extensive world of their local lady friends of every variety and description’ ([Miller] 1967: 263). Miller cites the Japanese designation for this latter type of speech as *pangurisshu*, or ‘street-walker English’ (Stanlaw 2005: 70).

Socio-linguists like Loveday (1996) or Stanlaw (2005) agree that this change of attitude towards Western language and culture is not to be seen as a sudden development, but rather as a continuation of the infatuation with the West that had been sparked in the 19th century and which had survived several periods of fervent nationalism.

The defeat in the World War and the following occupation period, thus, served as a catalyst of an already present and well-developed interest in the West and especially America, whose – literally – groundbreaking victory had elevated the United States to a position of undisputed superiority which at least partially accounts for the overwhelming interest in English in the immediate postwar peaking in the second attempt to replace Japanese with English in 1946.

In only 70 years, English had risen from an unknown language to the most popular foreign language in Japan, quickly replacing Dutch and leaving all other Western languages trailing behind its long shadow. This success story warrants closer scrutiny on the short but turbulent history of Japanese attitudes towards English.

2. *Changing Attitudes*

Between Infatuation and Nationalism

2.1. Deep impact – the role of English before and during the Restoration

As outlined above, Japanese contact with the English language started comparatively late, in the 19th century. Though a number of English sailors and merchants from England did make their way to Japan during the small time frame of 1613 to 1623 and set up a trading company in Hirado in northwestern Kyūshū, there is no ample proof for any deep contact between the two languages (cf. Loveday 1999: 59f). For 200 years thereafter no English was heard on the islands of Japan. Then, however, it celebrated a rousing comeback.

While the first half of the 19th century saw several unsuccessful attempts by British as well as American sailors to establish trade relations with Japan, it was in 1848 that the first documented and intensive contact with the English language took place, still in an atmosphere of indiscriminate hostility towards all things Western.

A man named Ranald MacDonald, drawn to the mysteries of the self-isolated islands, reached the shores of Japan in June 1848 and was swiftly imprisoned on arrival. From then on, he taught English to some interpreters of Dutch in Nagasaki – the first time that the Japanese had direct access to a native speaker of English. And even though he was sent back to the United States in 1849, he still left an impressive legacy, because three of his students later acted as interpreters of English, two during Commodore Perry's second visit to Japan in 1854, and one as a member of the Japanese delegation to the United States in 1860. One of those later on edited an English-Japanese dictionary (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 50).

These first trails into unknown linguistic territory would soon open up into a vast territory for language contact, because with the arrival of American gunboats in 1853, the final proof was delivered to show that a change of policy was urgent. Aside from the political changes, an outright battle was being fought on a linguistic landscape.

Increased contact with the West and especially with English fueled discussions on what Japanese thinkers saw as the “complexity and irrationality of the Japanese language, especially its writing system” (Tamotsu 1989: 26).

One of these thinkers was a certain Mori Arinori (1847-1889). Raised in the final days of the Tokunaga Shogunate, he was amongst the first to be sent overseas to England to study Western knowledge and technology in 1865. From there he went on

to study in the United States before he returned to Japan with new ideas in 1868, on the eve of the restoration. His career led him to become a plenipotentiary minister to Britain in 1879 after which he was named Japan's first minister of education in 1885. As such, he introduced many reforms, which laid the foundations for the modern Japanese educational system (cf. Tamotsu 1989: 27). However, his most prominent proposition was a different one.

In the 1870s, as the political landscape had undergone radical changes and finally regained stability, Japanese reformist thinkers started turning their attention towards the Japanese language whose complex writing systems (Chinese ideograms, *Kanji*, on the one hand and phonetic symbols, or *Kana*, on the other hand) they believed to be, among other characteristics, one reason for Japan's backwardness. While some proposed the abolition of *Kanji* and writing only in *Kana*, others sought the adoption of the Latin alphabet. Mori himself wanted to go one step further – he advocated giving up the Japanese language altogether and adopting English as the new national language (cf. Tamotsu 1989: 28). Under the motto of *kokugo haishi eigo saiyōron* (国語廃止英語採用論) – ‘Abolish Japanese, Adopt English’ – he maintained:

Under the circumstances, our meager language, which can never be of use outside our small islands, is doomed to yield to the domination of the English tongue, especially when the power of steam and electricity shall have pervaded our land...All reasons suggest its disuse (Stanlaw 2005: 65, citing Mori 1873).

Though his position is certainly overstated, even some Japanese linguists like Tamotsu do not completely disagree. “His argument may not have been completely groundless,” Tamotsu writes, “*Religious Freedom in Japan*, which Mori wrote in 1872 in lucid English, was a work of scholarship that could not have been written in the Japanese of that time; the language then lacked the vocabulary needed for such a treatise.” As an example, he continues, “no translation for the word ‘society’ [...] existed in Japanese until [...] the term *shakai* [was coined] in 1875” (1989: 28).

In the process of formulating his proposition, Mori wrote a letter to the Yale University professor and linguist W. Dwight Whitney, asking for his advice.

The spoken language of Japan being inadequate to the growing necessities of the people...and too poor to be made, by a phonetic alphabet, sufficiently useful as a written language, the idea prevails among many of our best educated men and profound thinkers, that if we would keep pace with the age we must adopt some copious, expandable and expanding European language [...] print our laws and transact all public business in it, as soon as possible, and have it taught in our schools as the future language of the country to the gradual exclusion of our present language, spoken and written (Stanlaw 2005: 65).

However, neither abroad nor in Japan did Mori's proposition find major consent, too radical were his propositions of forfeiting the Japanese language. Eventually, Mori was assassinated in 1889 by an ultranationalist who despised his overly pro-Western attitudes. Still, the very fact that this proposition was made by influential men like Mori shows the impact and influence of English on the Japanese language in the late 19th century. And even though his idea was never implemented, English continued to be the language of science, commerce and modernity, until the late 1920s when nationalistic tendencies gained strength and the language was forcibly cleansed from foreign influence. But this movement, too, was doomed to failure, and the end of World War Two saw a return to Japanese infatuation with English and to its self-castigation.

2.2. Reasoning defeat – Shiga Naoya revisits Mori Arinori

Pro-Western sentiment was not popular during the years of the military regimes and so many people who actually harbored positive feelings towards the West readily changed their opinions in the face of consecutive military victories by the Japanese Imperial Army before and during the Pacific War. Shiga Naoya (1883-1971), one of Japan's most popular novelists, was no exception.

Opposed to the militarists' tyranny in the 1930s, he seized the opportunity of military victories during the war to proclaim: "Pro-Western sentiment has no place in Japan today. We, as a nation, should remain humble and united in spirit, taking care not to soil our glorious military achievements in any way. We must not repeat the mistakes of the arrogant British and Americans who have been forsaken by their God" (Tamotsu 1989: 28). The very same Shiga, however, was among the first after the war to look for the reasons of Japanese defeat in its language. In April 1946, he wrote in an issue of *Kaizō* ('Reconstruction'):

Although we may not be aware of it, being accustomed to using Japanese since childhood, our language is egregiously imperfect and inconvenient. To the extent that it has impeded the development of Japanese culture it represents a grave problem, one that we must take this opportunity to solve at all costs. Unless this is done, it can truthfully be said that Japan will never join the ranks of the cultured nations (Tamotsu 1989: 29).

And he goes on to say:

More than once during the war, I had occasion to reflect upon the suggestion made sixty years ago by Mori Arinori about adopting English as our national language. I thought about how things might have been if his suggestion had been carried out. One may imagine that Japanese culture would surely have advanced far beyond the point where it is today. It occurred to me that most likely a war of the sort we have just been through would never have taken place. And it also

occurred to me that then our scholarship would have advanced more easily, and even that we would have been able to recall our school days as having been something pleasant. We would be like our children who simply have never heard of the cumbersome old Japanese system of arbitrary weights and measures – we would all be speaking English with no consciousness that it was a foreign language – and so I got the idea, how would it be if Japan on this occasion [the defeat of 1945] acted with different and swift resolution, and simply adopted the best language, the most beautiful language in the world, for its national language! – I am not at all well-informed about the purely technical aspects of the question of switching from one language to another, but I do not believe it to be all that difficult. Once the necessary teachers have been trained, I believe that the new language can be introduced from the first year of elementary education on (Stanlaw 2005: 73, citing Miller 1977: 44-5).

Different from Mori, however, Shiga was thinking not of English, but of French in which he saw logic and order. This was unthinkable for several reasons. Not only was French much less popular than English, but more importantly, the idea of replacing Japanese with any given language found few friends because the Japanese people realized that, for all the shortcomings their language might possibly have, it was what made them Japanese, and to give it up would equal cultural suicide. Still, the fact that such thoughts were uttered by a respected man like Shiga ensured considerable uproar, if only that, for the proposition went unheeded (cf. Tamotsu 1989: 29).

On an orthographic level, the discussion about the abolition of the complex writing system in favor of the Latin alphabet had never fully subsided since it had emerged in the late 19th century. However, disagreement within the movement as well as practical notions such as ambiguity that would arise among the many homophones within Japanese vocabulary eventually brought such plans to a halt, the postwar linguistic climate to the contrary. What did happen, though, was a simplification and standardization of the writing system, which had been very idiosyncratic. The number of *Kanji* was sharply reduced and the characters themselves were simplified (cf. Tamotsu 1989: 30). Here, too, the underlying supposition appears to have been that the Western writing system, in its simplicity, was to be emulated or at least adapted to.

Not everyone welcomed these reforms. Many critics maintained that to indiscriminately adulate and emulate the West constituted a threat to Japanese roots and culture and that it was at the very least questionable if not plainly insensible to take the Western model as an ideal for every other language and culture in the world. This criticism has not yet subsided. Maruya (1989) contends the legitimacy of the implicit argument that “Western values enjoy an exclusive claim to validity,” saying

that “[i]f in fact Japanese culture is predisposed to a different outlook on written symbols, then the emulation of European attitudes poses a serious threat to Japanese cultural values. I cannot shake the suspicion that language reform has the potential to compromise the entire culture” (32). As much as his criticism of the exclusive claim to validity of Western values deserves attention, his second deterministic claim on the predisposition of Japanese to their present writing system can be easily discarded. It was, after all, only thanks to the probabilities of geographic vicinity that the Japanese adopted and developed their writing system as they did, modeled and based on the Chinese.

The same can be said, of course, of the apologetics of modernization who claimed that the reasons that Japan lagged behind in technology and scientific progress was to be found in the complexity of the language. “This notion,” deplores Maruya, “fueled the movement to simplify and restrict the number of *kanji* in common use and to phoneticize the use of the *kana* syllabary [...] In fact, however, these reforms destroyed the internal logic of the writing system, making it harder to learn and, by many accounts, actually hampering the acquisition of scientific knowledge” (1989: 33). It seems plausible, that a basically iconic writing system like *kanji* is fueled by an internal logic and that therefore any ‘simplification’ of it could result in confusion and an increased difficulty for learners. Maruya also mentions a proposition by the Japanese press for introducing spaces between the words so as to make possible the elimination of more *kanji* in favor of *kana*, arguing that this would make it easier for foreigner to learn the language too. Maruya protests in a rather agitated manner:

Where on earth is there a country idiotic enough to reform its own language for the convenience of foreigners? Japanese is first and foremost for the Japanese. Moreover, to the extent that Japanese find the language structurally consistent and logical, foreigners, possessing the same basic mental faculties, will find it easy to learn [...] [T]he arbitrary restriction of *kanji* is a joke. And as for leaving spaces between words, in an agglutative language like Japanese this is practically impossible. If the newspapers do not believe me, they should try it themselves for just one issue.

[This approach] vividly reveals the basic intent of the postwar language reforms – to coat the Japanese language with a superficial European veneer. It goes on to advise, “the idea of [eliminating the use of *kanji* and] using only *kana* or the Roman alphabet, the subject of earnest debate in the immediate postwar period, deserves to be reconsidered.” [...] Ignoring the way in which the Japanese language functions as a whole and as a part of Japanese culture, they seek to impose on it arbitrarily a more Western-looking writing system. Yet in this their attitude toward language is anything but European. A truly European approach would insist that a given language be respected as an organic whole and as an integral part of the culture that has fostered it through the ages (1989: 34).

Criticism such as of orthographic adaptations to the Western model has been raging equally ferociously on the level of vocabulary, where an increasing number of loanwords are flowing into the language. The fundament beneath such concern is the traditional Japanese conception of their language, namely the concept of a ‘pure’ Japanese, devoid of any foreign influence that lies at the core of the language and only through which the Japanese ‘soul’ can be expressed.

2.3. *Nihonjinron*: the purity theory

Ever since contact with the West intensified, Japan has been confronted increasingly with the question of its cultural identity. The massive influx of new technologies, of new life-styles and new philosophies has been accompanied by a sudden foreign linguistic input to account for each new concept. The restructurings – political, technological, cultural – have left deep imprints on the surface of Japanese identity which was unable to keep pace with change on all fronts and which has left Japanese society deeply confused about its own roots – fertile ground for nationalistic theories that stress Japanese uniqueness and mysticism against an ever more secularized and westernized world. These theories on the characteristic traits of the Japanese in all strata of society, published in books, articles, or on TV, have been subsumed under the term *Nihonjinron* (日本人論) – ‘Theory of the Japanese.’ Kubota explains that,

Nihonjinron as a reaction against Westernization tends to stress the uniqueness of Japanese culture compared to the West. In this discourse, Japan is usually juxtaposed with the West, while non-Western cultures are excluded from the scope (Kubota 1998: 301).

By December 1987, some 1,000 titles had been published in this category (cf. Befu 1987: 97). Some of these have become nationwide bestsellers. At the core of such literature often lies the implicit or explicit supposition that the Japanese language and culture are unique and that its soul lies encoded in the Japanese blood, implying that anyone not a member of the Japanese ‘genetic pool’ cannot fully grasp either language or culture of the Japanese.

While such radical beliefs are fully shared by only a very small fragment of Japanese society, a survey conducted by Befu and Manabe in 1987 reveals that “for less than 30% of those surveyed, ‘Japanese blood’ was considered crucial for competence in Japanese language, for communication, for understanding Japanese culture, or for becoming full-fledged members of Japanese society” (Befu 1987: 99). However, the same survey showed 63% stating that foreigners are incapable of completely understanding Japanese culture while some 35% believed foreigners could

never master Japanese (cf. Befu 1987: 100). This shows a certain ambiguity concerning the nature of the Japanese language and culture – an ambiguity which is welded into “an instrument of nationalistic pride” by many writers of *Nihonjinron* (Befu 1987: 102). These writers, therefore, use a wide range of attitudes within the population and meld them into a conglomerate whole which, in its completeness as such, does not reflect the thinking of the majority.

One of the main problems of *Nihonjinron* from a scientific point of view is its questionable methodology. Many of its writers, a lot of whom incidentally are Westerners, produce what Manabe calls “essays based on individual impressions or reviews based on individual interpretations” (Manabe et al. 1988: 37). There is thus a lack of empiric data which is sacrificed to philosophical treatises appealing more to human aesthetics and nationalistic feelings than to logic, in what Manabe refers to as “barbershop talk” (Manabe et al. 1988: 37).

These scientific objections to the contrary, *Nihonjinron* has had a considerable impact on public opinion until at least the 1990s, if only through the public’s constant exposure to it in the media, and therefore its role in opinion making should neither be under- nor overestimated. The inherent problem of *Nihonjinron*, according to Befu, is that it is a normative model disguised as a descriptive model. “It is probably more effective,” she writes, “though more insidious perhaps, to slip imperative implications in descriptive statements. In this way, people are led subliminally from approval of descriptive statements to espousal of imperative commands. *Nihonjinron* as a model of behavior thus becomes one *for* behavior” (Befu et al. 1991: 104). This is why *Nihonjinron*’s approach to the topic of loanwords, too, deserves closer scrutiny.

Watanabe Shōichi, a university professor of English literature with a doctorate in Western philosophy, argues in an article of the magazine *Japan Echo* in favor of a unique character of the Japanese language. His main argument is about the so-called *koto-dama* (言霊), or ‘spirit of the language,’ which he believes to be embedded only and exclusively in what he calls ‘Yamato words,’ i.e. indigenous Japanese words or *wago* (和語). He maintains that the Western creed of “everyone is equal in the eyes of God” in a Japanese context becomes “everyone is equal before *waka*” (31-syllable odes). For the composition of *waka*, only *wago* was used, therefore, in Watanabe’s opinion, making it accessible even to uneducated people (cf. Watanabe 1974: 9ff).

As for Japan, where “equality before *waka*” has been a basic tenet of life, these verses are supposed to consist of “Yamato” words (ancient Japanese words),

and the use of loanwords is discouraged. Adoption of words of foreign derivation would give rise to a “discrimination by education”. As long as the vocabulary permissible for use in *waka* composition remains restricted to Yamato words, which all Japanese have learned from their mothers on their knees in childhood, there is no danger of verbal discrimination (Watanabe 1974: 15).

Loanwords as an instrument of discrimination by education, this is what Watanabe goes to great lengths to prove in his article. Based on the notion of pureness that indigenous Japanese words are supposedly endowed with, he creates a dichotomy between these Yamato words and, in this case particularly, Chinese borrowings.

It may be said that Yamato words, which are intertwined with *koto-dama* of ancient times, emerge in the mind of men when something pulls at their heartstrings, while borrowing from Chinese are employed at a time when the mind is intellectually at work for external development. In other words [...] the Yamato language is often the vehicle by which to describe the mind moving introversively and yearning for something to embrace, whereas borrowings tend to be indiscriminately used when the mind is extroversive, ambitious and aggressive (Watanabe 1974: 18/9).

This kind of discourse might be what Manabe had in mind when she mourned the lack of scientific methodology in *Nihonjinron* writers, and what she called “individual impressions” (Manabe et al. 1988: 37). Miller (1977) equally criticizes Watanabe’s treatise, saying that the “proposed dichotomy between Yamato forms and loans into Japanese is real enough, when and if it can be established by historical linguistics. But Watanabe [...] has manipulated the dichotomy so that it tends to become almost solely a mystical factor and not at all a criterion of historical linguistics” (Miller 1977: 20). The problem starts at the point where *Nihonjinron* writers imply that there is something like pure Yamato forms. Seeing that there is enough proof of early loans having entered Old Japanese from Old Chinese (cf. chapter 1; Kelley 1990: 20/1), for example, there are abundant reasons to doubt this claim. However, many Japanese language scholars simply deny the possibility of such early loans having taken place (cf. Miller 1977: 25f).

Still, opinions like those expressed in Watanabe’s essay are not to be underestimated. As Miller explains,

[T]he fact that the Japanese diplomatic establishment felt that the article was important enough to be included in the second issue of its *Japan Echo* should also not be overlooked. By providing this prominent and elaborate forum for Watanabe’s discussion on the Japanese language, they document in the most effective manner possible just how seriously contemporary Japanese society takes all the sociolinguistic issues under discussion here (Miller 1977: 27).

Within such frames of thought there is, apparently, much room for a purist approach to language issues, and therefore a tendency to see Western influence as purely damaging. For Miller, such kinds of writing are used as “a metaphor for the rapidly escalating corruption of Japanese life and thought [...] Minds raised in constant confrontation with imported ideas and forced from an early age into repeated contact with imported ideas [...] lose their freshness and have their limpid bloom destroyed.” In this view, “contact with the West exposes the Japanese language to a fatal infection, whether the contact is firsthand or only secondhand, through the reading of translations” (Miller 1977: 65/6).

Such opinions have also seeped through to people outside the linguistic or literary field. One editor of a *haiku* journal wrote in an article called “Japanese Language Runs Wild” published in the newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun* on what he experienced as ‘foreign contamination.’

[W]hen I was in Europe, and using that language they have over there [...] every day, I found that when I tried to use Japanese and write a *haiku*, what do you suppose happened? I myself was startled to find that my own Japanese language had begun to show signs of becoming disordered, or what one might call “foreign-language-style craziness” [...] I was startled to find that my Japanese language as Japanese had lost its potency [...] even in using Japanese for conversation with other Japanese [...] I found that the balance [...] of my Japanese had collapsed [...] Truly, Japanese is a mysterious thing (from Miller 1977: 67/8).

Boyé Lafayette De Mente tells a similar story:

The Japanese say that English and Japanese are so different that they are “processed” in different parts of the brain. This difference makes speaking English exhausting to the Japanese.

According to Dr. Tadanobu Tsunoda, an authority on the functioning of the brain, the Japanese language is processed by the right side of the brain, while English is a “left-brain” language. When the Japanese are called upon to understand and speak English, they must shift to the left side of their brain. Not only is this process extraordinarily tiring, says Dr. Tsunoda, it results in the Japanese not being able to “think like Japanese,” and they find themselves in an alien world. This, Dr. Tsunoda continues, is why the Japanese are so uncomfortable when dealing with foreigners and particularly when participating in international conferences, forums, and negotiation meeting that are conducted in English and other Western languages. Many Japanese who are required to function in an English-speaking environment for an extended period of time – two or three days, for example – require several days to recuperate from the experience (De Mente 2005: 115).

Such discourse, though lacking any scientific foundation, naturally creates the impression that Japanese, and only Japanese, is something so special that it needs a different part of the brain to function and that it takes harm by extended contact to other languages. Other comments are more sober and remind strongly of similar

debates in Austria or Germany. These include comments on the use of loanwords, stating that instead of these borrowings “beautiful words in the Japanese language” ought to exist which should be used, demanding to “respect our own language” first, lamenting that “it is [not] necessary to use English words in advertisements aimed at Japanese people. I cannot think of any other country where propaganda for the native people is in a foreign language” (cf. Miller 1977: 68/9).

In short, there is a strong collective social consciousness concerning the influence of foreign languages – especially English – on Japanese, and its ramifications are being thoroughly discussed, even today. What is clear, however, is that there is no going back. The roots that loanwords have struck in the Japanese language reach far into its core and tearing them out, even if it *were* technically possible, would open a gap that would leave the Japanese linguistically paralyzed for a long time.

Despite these aspects, the *Nihonjinron* myth still looms large, also thanks to what Miller calls “the striking absence of any demythologizing forces within the culture” (Miller 1977: 94). While a many voices reaffirm the myth that has been built up around the language, there are virtually none protesting against it. Different from Western countries, for example, where it is scholars who raise their concern and work to deconstruct any language myths, “[t]he scholars professionally concerned with these topics in Japanese academic life are not the demythologizers; they are the principal perpetrators of the myth and the chief practitioners of the mystical cult” (Miller 1977: 94). However, as Befu (1991: 102) asserts, “Nihonjinron as a folk model is not a folk model of Japanese culture as a whole, but it is a model of a certain segment thereof.”

But even these vanguards of language purism are unable to stop the advance of English-based words in the Japanese language. As Matsuda Yutaka, Professor of English at Kwansei Gakuin University explains,

In fact, the Japanese people cannot possibly lead their daily lives without using words borrowed from Western languages, particularly from English. After getting up, they go to *toire* [...] (toilet) where they consume *toiretto pēpā* (toilet paper), and manipulate *ha-burashi* (toothbrush). At breakfast they eat *tōsuto* (toast) and *batā* (butter), *māgarin* (margarine), *jamu* (jam), or *māmarēdo* (marmalade), washing it down with *kōhī* (coffee) with or without *kurīmu* (cream). If a male Japanese happens to be a *sararī-man* (salaried man), who has risen late for the office, he hops into a *takushī* (taxi), which is propelled by *gasorin* (gasoline), gets off in front of the *biru* (building) where he works, and rushes for the target, *taimu rekōdā* (time recorder). Meanwhile, the wife at home watches the students’ violent *demo* (demonstration) on *terebi* (television) leisurely, though not unapprehensively, or feeds the baby with *miruku* (milk), or tries to

repulse an omnipresent *sērusu-man* (salesman) over the *intāhōn* (interphone). Thus westernization [...] has grown so widespread [...] that the people cannot for anything part with the borrowed English words, let alone the worldly comforts and conveniences which the American way of life offers (Matsuda 1986: 48).

Ishiwata (1989) goes into a similar direction, stating that “[f]ar from being linguistic purists, the Japanese are pragmatic and economical in language as in much else. If a word fulfills its function, they will use it without stopping to consider its origin.” He also sees this openness to foreign linguistic influence reflected in the Japanese writing system, “which mixes together two [...] syllabaries [...] and a large number of ideograms that often have several readings [...] This complex writing system suggests an expedient, flexible, and eclectic attitude toward language, a far cry from the purist, conservative tendency evident in some countries” (Ishiwata 1989: 21).

Still, some linguists like Kelley, who did research on the influence of both early Chinese and English on the Japanese language, claim that the critical or outright hostile position that some Japanese people hold is a matter of course and might even gain momentum. He points out:

[I]t should not be forgotten that, as with the case of early Chinese influence, where the Japanese attitudes changed from an initial feeling of awe to deference to criticism, so too may the attitudes of the Japanese change to criticism of the West as they, again, reassert themselves and the values they associate with being Japanese; they, in fact, must periodically do this to maintain their sense of identity and the continuity of their culture and society in the fact [sic] of foreign (Chinese or Western) influence (Kelley 1990: 130).

Such notions are similarly existent in many countries around the globe; they are not unique to Japan. Fear of losing one’s cultural identity is prevalent among many, if not all linguistic communities of the world, but seems to be especially persistent in Europe. Aitchison (1991: 8) mentions that, “[i]n Europe [...] the feeling that language is on the decline seems more widely spread and stronger than the predictable mood of mild regret.” And he continues: “On examination, we find that today’s laments take their place in a long tradition of complaints about the corruption of language” (Aitchison 1991: 8).

Our own German speaking countries, too, contribute their fair share to purist discussions, even though the position of Germany and Austria in the center of the European continent makes the myth of some abstract and original ‘pure’ German language even less credible.

2.4. A peek around the globe: language policies in Germany, Austria, and France

For German, this discussion dates back as early as the 17th century, a time when Japan's awakening encounter with the world was still more than 200 years in the future. At that time, cultivation of language was tantamount to cleansing the language of unwanted influence, but it was yet limited to breaking the predominance of Latin and French in the language of literature and the sciences (cf. Plümer 2000: 71). From the 19th century onwards, the battle against foreign influences in the language was expanded to the whole German language. It was a period of rampant nationalism epitomized through the struggle for unity by the German states, which resulted in calls to return to the Germanic roots and to do away with the centuries-old influence of Latin and French. This effort was strengthened by the socio-political role the German language played in the unification of the divided country, which eventually happened in 1871 (cf. Kettemann 2002b: 56; Muhr 2002: 20ff; Plümer 2000: 73).

In the wake of unification, societies were founded devoted to the protection of the German language. The most famous of these was the *Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein* (ADSV), founded in 1885, which sought to 'purify' the German language from unnecessary foreign elements and which eventually became an instrument of nationalism and racism against other peoples during the Nazi rule. As a consequence it was dissolved after World War 2. The ADSV postwar successor (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Sprache*, founded in 1947) had to tone down its rhetoric in order not to be associated with its predecessor's involvement in racist politics (cf. Plümer 2000: 74; Busse 2008: 52).

The issue of foreign influence in language entered a new era during the students' revolts in 1968, when the image of English was redefined as a language of opposition to older, conservative generations, and language cultivation was an activity only engaged in by the far right. This changed once more when the unification of Germany took place in 1989; as in the 19th century, the German language once again served as a unifying force to help Germany redefine its identity in a globalizing world (cf. Muhr 2004: 23; Busse 2008: 54f).

In Austria, loanwords became an issue comparatively late owing to the multinational nature of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; only at the beginning of the 20th century did German language purification endeavors affect Austria, whose German variety traditionally had a higher proportion of loanwords (cf. Muhr 2004: 26f). From the late 1930s onwards, the battle against these loanwords intensified,

and was continued, after WWII, by the *Verein Muttersprache* (founded in 1947) which differed from its German counterpart in its radical rhetoric of a ‘purity of the mother tongue;’ the society’s activities continue to the present day, with a special focus on so-called ‘superfluous Anglicisms’ which are seen as the main contaminants of the language and as embodiments of American imperialism (cf. Muhr 2004 29f). Another society, the *Interessensgemeinschaft Muttersprache* (founded 1998), too, specializes in opposition to loanwords and tries to replace ‘unnecessary’ loans with Germanic words (cf. Muhr 2004: 31).

Though both the German and the Austrian societies’ effective impact on modern language politics is minimal, their existence reveals a latent negative attitude of the public towards foreign influences. The battle lines run between lay linguists, whose populist statements have a strong influence on public opinion, and professional linguists, whose arguments are seldom heard (cf. Moraldo 2008: 18f).

Während also Sprachwissenschaftler Sprachwandel und Sprachkontakt als etwas Natürliches und Notwendiges begreifen und dies möglichst objektiv zu beschreiben und zu modellieren suchen, stellt sich für den Laien Sprachwandel, d.h. eine beobachtbare Veränderung des Sprachgebrauchs, die sich vor den Augen und Ohren der Sprachverwender abspielt, häufig als negativ dar, und es fallen Wörter wie *Sprachverfall* oder in Bezug auf den Einfluss des Englischen werden Metaphern wie *Überflutung*, *Überschwemmung* etc. verwendet (Busse: 61).

While in Japan the discussion is largely led exclusively by scholars and writers with relatively little measurable effect on public opinion, German-speaking countries show a different trend; here, public opinion is actively involved, visible in letters to the editor or commentaries in newspapers as well as books, and is boosted by personal opinions of hobby-linguists who criticize the rising numbers of Anglicisms as a bad habit (cf. Busse 2008: 50ff).

Yet, even though there have repeatedly been calls for language regulation by the government to curb the number of Anglicisms and ‘save’ the German language (cf. Moraldo 2008: 18f), never have such attempts been successful. This is different in France, where government regulation of the language have long been institutionalized.

France is probably the most famous example for language regulation by the government, and this regulation has a long history. The battle for the French language started early in the 15th and 16th century against dominant Latin. As soon as the 17th century, France had its first official institution for language regulation and cultivation, the famous *Académie française*. Its goal was to ensure ‘good usage’ (Bon Usage) of

the language used at court. Especially after the French Revolution, the goal changed to bringing standard French into the provinces, many of which still had their own dialects and could not understand the official standard. Only in the 20th century did the *Académie française*'s objective shift from eliminating dialects in France to eliminating English influence from French, from creating language rules to protecting the language (cf. Kubarth 2002: 181ff; Theisl 2006: 21f).

In the 1960ies, the *Académie française* made its first attempts to replace Anglicisms with French word creations, but their proposed neologisms were too artificial and complicated and therefore not accepted by the population. After such failed attempts, the French government founded another institution, the *Commissions spécialisées de terminologie et de néologie*, which was thereafter responsible for creating French neologisms to replace loanwords (cf. Kubarth 2002: 186ff; Theisl 2006: 22f). This paved the way for the first language law, the *Loi Bas-Toriot*, which was passed in 1975, and aimed directly at restricting the use of loanwords in the French language by prohibiting their use in certain areas and limiting their use in others, under threat of punishment. Through the promulgation of this law, the French government ultimately took the loanword issue into its own hands (cf. Kubarth 2002: 188f; Theisl 2006: 23f).

In 1994, a second law followed, which replaced and extended the first one, the famous *Loi Toubon*. Different from the first law, the *Loi Toubon* no longer explicitly *prohibited* the use of loanwords, but rather included an '*obligation* to use the French language.' At the same time, the regulations concerning the proper use of the language were extended, effectively complicating the use of other languages or language resources such as loanwords in public discourse. Violations of this law have to be reported to the authorities and are punished according to criminal law (cf. Kubarth 2002: 188ff; Theisl 2006: 26f).

This law has been severely criticized, and it is dubitable whether this obligation to use French words has had any practical use and whether it is based on any sound theoretical foundations (cf. Kubarth 2002: 191f); it is, however, testimony to a mentality that defines language politically, and even though the circumstances in Japan that have been presented so far do not suggest any similarities in the approaches to language, it is still a fact that nowadays, many people are wondering why Japan has not yet adopted a more restrictive approach to Anglicisms. Sometimes even, comments are heard that call for language laws equal to those employed by France.

This, for several reasons, does not appear to be a viable solution for the Japanese and their language.

2.5. Political and social realities and why a *Loi Toubon* would not work in Japan

Japan has historically had a very liberal attitude towards influences from other countries, though the present discourse on loanwords might sometimes give a different impression. Japan, for all its island character, has always been open, even hungry for new concepts; after all, Japanese more or less imported the whole system of Chinese characters. Japanese with its versatility and richness in vocabulary would be unthinkable without this positive attitude towards things new and foreign.

Still, Japanese books and essays (e.g. Jinnouchi 2007: 116ff) sometimes feature France and its language laws which restrict the use of Anglicisms in the French language and which ignore the language's nature and heritage for the sake of linguistic populism. The question that is being inferred in such writings is why does not Japan adopt similar laws to regulate the influx of loanwords which is, after all, much larger than in the case of France and, from that point, would give much more reason for worry.

Japan, however, handles things differently. Even though the increased use of loanwords especially in government language represents a real challenge especially to elder generations (cf. chapters 5 and 6), the only official act taken to address this issue was to propagate and support the founding of the so-called 'Loanword Committee' (外来語委員会) by the National Institute of the Japanese Language which has since worked out 'suggestions' for paraphrasing loanwords (cf. chapter 8; Jinnouchi: 132), which, however, have no binding status and have thus remained just that: suggestions. Loanwords, therefore, do not appear to be a political topic in the Japanese agenda.

Jinnouchi argues that language laws as in France would never be successfully applicable in Japan for two main reasons. Reasoning that the main reason for France to adopt such laws was to protect its culture and identity from unwanted foreign influence rather than prevent communication problems, he continues:

まず [...] 日本文化はそもそも「雑種文化」であり、外からのものを貪欲かつ柔軟に吸収し、それをわがものとするところにそのアイデンティティーがある。明治維新以降の欧米化、第二次大戦後のアメリカ化は、「自主的」になされた部分が多く、言葉だけがこの流れに逆らうということはありません(陣内 2007: 141f)。

First of all [...], Japanese culture is a 'hybrid culture' to begin with, and has both avidly and flexibly absorbed things coming from outside before turning them Japanese. It is this characteristic of the culture where the Japanese 'identity' lies.

There are many parts of the legacy from both the Westernization following the Meiji Restoration and the Americanization after WW2 which have grown independent, it would be inconceivable only for language to go against this trend (Jinnouchi 2007: 141f). (my translation)

Japanese, to summarize, not only has a heritage of absorbing all things foreign (which it shares with many or most other languages), but also this is considered to be a crucial part of its identity, which distinguishes it from languages like French that consider themselves ‘self-sufficient’ and ‘immune’ to foreign influence. That the fear of Japanese about the downfall of their traditional ways owing to Western loanwords is not of primary concern is shown in the results of a survey by the National Institute for the Japanese Language, in which this answer only took the third place when asked what the bad sides of using loanwords were (cf. Jinnouchi 2007: 143). The answers on the first and second place both addressed concerns about the breakdown of communication. This illustrates that for Japanese pragmatic and practical aspects have priority over concerns for an obscure ‘cultural identity’, though of course there are exceptions, especially in the academic world as could be seen in the subchapter on *Nihonjinron* above. The second reason that language laws in Japan would not be successful, according to Jinnouchi, is the following:

ふたつ目に、日本人は国による言語統制に一種の嫌悪感と危機感を持っていることがある。たとえばNHKが1995年に行った世論調査によると [...]、国による外来語規制に対しては圧倒的に否定的である（反対がおおよそ7割）。個人の言語使用はお上が決めることではないという国民感情があることが分かる（陣内2007：142）。
Secondly, the Japanese people bear a strong dislike and a kind of sense of crisis against language control by the government. For example, in an opinion poll by the NHK [National Japanese Television] in 1995, about 70% of the people strongly opposed a regulation of loanwords by law. This shows that individual language use is not perceived as something to be regulated from above (Jinnouchi 2007: 142). (my translation)

Judging from these two reasons, Jinnouchi concludes that language laws modeled after France would be pointless in Japan and he might well be correct. Stanlaw adds:

[T]here is no Japanese equivalent of the *Academie Française* which establishes language policy or polices usage. Indeed, there are often government statements [...] that regularly condemn loanwords and language ‘pollution’ (usually oddly enough filled with the very borrowings they are condemning). But these have had no legal sanctions or repercussions (Stanlaw 2005: 90).

The government’s criticism feels more like lip service than truly felt anxiety, and does not really transmit to the population.

Free use of language appears to be a hallmark of Japanese language where every writer uses words – known or unknown – as he or she sees fit. Idiosyncratic readings

are sometimes assigned to Chinese characters normally pronounced differently in cases when the connotations of the actual pronunciation are undesirable while the denotation of the characters is wanted (or the other way around), a feature especially prominent in literature.² Miller (1967) critically remarks:

The writer's motto in Japan has always been, "Let the reader beware," and this remains unchanged even today, though in modern times, to be sure, somewhat more concern is being paid to elementary considerations of intelligibility in most writing (Miller 1967: 245).

The Japanese's love for creative language (cf. also chapter 4), hence, would appear to be the greatest obstacle to legal directives aimed at regulating language. In addition, for all the huge number of loanwords present in the language, the Japanese people do not seem to mind and, it can be conjectured, do not see a cause for worry. The NHK, Japan's national television, after conducting a survey on loanwords in Japanese, summarizes:

日本人は全体として、外来語がはんらん状態にあることは認めながらも、そのことに対してそれほど抵抗感を抱いてはいないらしいです。「別になんとも感じない」「別に気にならない」「ある程度はしかたがない」といった答えが通常半数近くを占めている（石野 1982b: 32）。Most of the Japanese feel that there is an overflow of loanwords, but at the same time they seem to hold no antipathy against them. Answers like 'I have no feelings whatsoever towards them', 'I do not really mind them', or 'To some extent, it can't be helped' made up about 50% of the answers [in the survey] (Ishino 1982b: 32). (my translation)

The report does not mention why there is no antipathy towards overflowing loanwords, but it can be assumed that it has something to do both with the history of the language, in which import and assimilation of foreign words and concepts was one of the driving forces, and with the adulation of all things American which arose from out of the ashes of defeat in World War II.

Now, it is time to look at the actual situation of loanwords in contemporary Japanese in order to see the intricacies that interconnect them with the Japanese vocabulary and semantic corpus.

² For example, the characters 他人 are pronounced *tanin* and mean 'another person', 'others'. Now, some people might harbor negative connotations with this word because of its somewhat cold undertones, but they still wish to express 'others', but without its connotations. What is done then, for example, is to take another word with a similar meaning, 人 (*hito*) or 'person' in this case, and assign its reading to the other characters, thus replacing its real reading with its negative connotations. 他人 (*tanin*), thus, by way of idiosyncratic allocation, is suddenly read as *hito* by attaching this syllabic reading above the characters – an often used freedom in writing.

3. Creation, Use, and Presence of Anglicisms in Japanese

3.1. The continuous boom

As the previous chapters have illustrated, the influence of English on Japanese has a comparatively short, but all the more intense history. In only a few decades time, English loans in Japanese did not only overtake the previously dominant Dutch borrowings in terms of numbers, but also they cornered the linguistic market, so to speak, in which elements of other languages gradually subsided to the overwhelming supremacy of the English language.

Especially postwar Japan has seen an unprecedented rise in the number of Anglicisms which has continued ever since and still shows no signs of abating any time soon. Even as the prophets of cultural decay warn of the gradual submission of Japanese to English dominance, English loans or pseudo-loans keep entering the language at an increasing rate.

While the occupation by the mainly American forces as well as the ensuing Security Treaties, which granted the United States several bases on the Japanese islands and thus perpetuated the presence of English there, have certainly played their part in this phenomenon, there are other reasons to the cause. Morrow (1987), for example, explains:

The past 40 years have seen unprecedented industrial growth, and this has been accompanied by increasing trade relations between Japan and other countries, especially the United States. There has also been a substantial rise in the standard of living, which has in turn led to higher levels of education for a larger segment of the population. It has also brought more Japanese into contact with English through the mass media. The present popularity of English in Japan is due in large measure to Japan's economic prosperity, the need for foreign-language skills which industrialization had brought about, and the favorable attitudes toward the west which developed during Japan's industrialization (Morrow 1987: 50).

And indeed, statistics confirm such statements. They all show in overwhelming accordance that not only the attitudes towards English have improved (at least until the 1990s), but also that English influence on the Japanese language has increased drastically. Loveday (1996: 77) quotes several sources (Tamamura 1981; Ozawa 1976), which show that between 1955 and 1972 the proportions of English loans have increased by a third. Additionally, "European-derived single words represented 77 per cent of new vocabulary in 1955, but 82 per cent in 1975 [...] On the other hand, coinages exploiting indigenous (non-Chinese-based) resources, already low in 1955 at

5 per cent, dropped to 2 per cent in 1975; Chinese-based coinages have also significantly declined [single words: from 19% in 1955 to 16% in 1975; compounds: from 52% to 41%] (cf. Loveday 1996: 77).

Another statistic taken from Tomoda (1999: 234) shows the rising number and percentage of Western loanwords included in Japanese dictionaries.

Dictionary Title	Publication date	Total loans	Proportion of loans
Genkai	1891	551	1.4%
Reikai-kokugo-jiten	1956	1,428	3.5%
Iwanami's Kokugo-jiten	1963	2,918	5.1%
Kadokawa-kokugo-jiten	1969	4,709	7.8%
Shinmeikai-kokugo-jiten	1972	4,558	7.8%
Shinmeikai-kokugo-jiten 3 rd ed.	1987	6,675	11.8%
Nihongo-daijiten	1989	13,300	9.95%

Table 2: Diachronic comparison of loanword presence in dictionaries

This table shows that the influx of Western loans is basically a recent phenomenon, and that it has gained momentum in the years after 1945. Another statistic, also taken from Tomoda (1999: 234), indicates a rise of loanwords used in current speech. While the 1960 Edition of the *Gendaiyōgo no kisochishiki* dictionary of current terminology includes 43% loanwords, its 1980 edition reveals an increase to 58% total. It has to be mentioned, though, that due to variations in the spelling of Western loans in the Japanese syllabary (cf. subchapter 3.4 on borrowing by eye and ear) there is a tendency for certain words to be present more than once, which of course slightly inflates the numbers. On the other hand, strict criteria by editors concerning the naturalization-stage of certain loans sometimes curbs down the proportion of loanwords in a dictionary. There is, thus, a certain inaccuracy innate to such dictionaries, even more so since there are many different companies publishing these dictionaries on their own standards.

The amount of loanwords in dictionaries is evidence for its use in writing and speech. There has been extensive research into the presence of these *gairaigo* (外来語) – literally ‘words from outside’, i.e. loanwords – conducted, amongst others by the National Institute for the Japanese Language. Tomoda quotes data from their research, saying that “[i]t is evident [...] that there has been an increase in the proportion of *gairaigo* in print to the extent that it can account for between 4 and 16

per cent of the vocabulary of a text and from 1 per cent to over 20 per cent of total lexical items [depending on the type of text and the topic]” (Tomoda 1999: 236).

Concerning their use in spoken Japanese speech, research is sparse, due to the difficulty of creating true-to-life atmosphere for authentic conversations and the problem of idiosyncrasies in individuals’ speech. Tomoda estimates

that 13 per cent of words used in everyday conversation [are] foreign words. A survey of seven people’s spoken language over 42 hours revealed 10.1 per cent of word types and 3.2 per cent of word tokens were *gairaigo* [...] This suggests that the proportion of loan-words used in speech is similar to that in prose but considerable variation could be expected between different topics and speakers (Tomoda 1999: 236).

It can therefore be conjectured that there is a massive presence of these relatively new loanwords and that their influence is expanding, though into which direction is difficult to say. More on loanword numbers in a later chapter.

3.2. Loanword, English-inspired vocabulary item, or Made-in-Japan English?

Before discussing the different kinds of Anglicisms in Japanese, it seems appropriate to outline three different approaches for the analysis of English vocabulary in the Japanese language – the ‘loanword approach’, the ‘English-inspired vocabulary item approach’, and the ‘Made-in-Japan English approach’ (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 19).

The ‘loanword approach’ sees an impossibility in trying to detach Anglicisms from their original English source and therefore deems the term ‘loanword’ to be appropriate. It claims that such elements are and remain foreign and can never be fully naturalized into the borrowing language. Followers of this theory stress the importance of the underlying concept a word carries around and speak of a “cultural payload.” They argue that, for example, “the use of the English loans *hazu* (‘husband’) and *waiifu* (‘wife’) [...] carry with them a range of connotations, e.g. modern attitudes to marriage, greater equality between the sexes, the changing role of motherhood, etc.” (Stanlaw 2005: 19). Thus, the argument goes, words transcend the culture that imports them and serve as transmitters of a foreign culture, and this function prevents loanwords from ever getting fully nativized (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 19).

The ‘English-inspired vocabulary item approach’, instead, contends that ‘borrowing’ is the wrong term to describe linguistic contact in the first place, since technically no borrowing occurs because nothing is ever returned. Its followers further argue that in many instances there is no reciprocal relation between ‘borrowings’ and their originals. This means that such vocabulary items would be, in our case, English on the surface but Japanese on a semantic level and thus be

incomprehensible to native speakers of English. They are terms created exclusively for speakers of Japanese. Instead of the term ‘loanword’ or ‘borrowing’ Stanlaw suggests the – rather bulky – term ‘English-inspired vocabulary items’ for this approach. While English is acknowledged as motivational force in the creation of an English-inspired term, the transfer of lexemes from donor language (English) to recipient language (Japanese) is denied. English is used by the Japanese language system to create new words. In consequence, there might be a certain overlapping between the original English word and the new vocabulary item, but in essence these would be Japanese items, independent from the English form (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 19/20).

The third approach, the so-called ‘Made-in-Japan English approach’, is a stronger version of the ‘English inspired vocabulary item approach’. People subscribing to this theory argue that actually most of the English words in Japanese vocabulary originate directly from Japan, without any outside influence. These are called ‘Japanese-made-English,’ or *wasei eigo* (和製英語), as the Japanese diction goes. Stanlaw, himself an adherent to this approach, concedes that it is difficult to weaken the counter-argument to this theory, which claims that actually most English words used in the media or in academic writing still retain their original meanings and are therefore indistinguishable from the original items.

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 [...] 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 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’ (Stanlaw 2005: 20).

As a means to weaken the above argument, Stanlaw says that even if an English word keeps to its original meaning, with time it will acquire a wider range of meanings or its range of meanings will be narrowed. Anyway, it will be “re-made in Japan,” thus effectively rendering all English vocabulary items into *wasei eigo* (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 20f). This paper will follow Stanlaw’s approach to English loanwords in Japan, though a distinction will be made between ‘still-loanwords’ and ‘already *wasei eigo*’

to allow for a deeper analysis of the processes of understanding which can be projected to be different in both cases. For the sake of simplicity, however, both will be referred to as ‘loans’ or ‘loanwords’ with explanations added where necessary.

While loanwords remain conspicuous because they are written in the *katakana* syllabary, they are “structurally and semantically treated as Japanese words” (Hoffer 2002: 269). All these loanwords are, upon their arrival in the Japanese language, subjected to what many linguists have referred to as “Nipponicization,” i.e. they are japanized, as it were, to fit into the overall structure of Japanese grammar and phonology. The foreign nails, so to speak, are hammered into the linguistic floor until they are no longer distinguishable from ‘standard’ Japanese. This is also what Hoffer (1990) claims:

In the Nipponicization of loanwords, the absorption of English vocabulary has, it would seem, reached the point where the next step will be the further nativization of the loans so that eventually their uses and functions will be undistinguishable from all other vocabulary. This process may take 50 or hundred years or more, but it appears to be happening now (Hoffer 1990: 19).

In this context it seems to make little sense to cling to the traditional idea of ‘borrowing’, for indeed the dynamics of Japanese loanword creation and adaptation do not allow for such a static description.

3.3. Lexical penetration

Though there are differences of opinion when it comes to the definition of loanwords, their impact on the Japanese language is uncontested. Lexical penetration reaches into every corner of the language, making it increasingly difficult to imagine Japanese communication without the use of its mainly English-derived loans. Loveday (1996) quotes studies showing “that loans are particularly high in the areas of fashion, cosmetics, food, audio technology, sport, housing, music, art, business management, and engineering.” Additionally, he says, “English-based loans have grown conspicuous in a number of Japanese taxonomies: English-derived items make up 52 per cent of flower names, 30 per cent of fruit names, 35 per cent of vegetable names, 24 per cent of animal designations, and 9 per cent of colour names” (Loveday 1990: 79). This gives an indication of just how far loanwords have become a part of the everyday linguistic landscape of Japanese.

In fact, especially in the field of color names, English terms have started to replace the original Japanese terms to such an extent that the latter are starting to drop out of the modern corpus altogether. A survey conducted by Stanlaw (2005) shows that there

are at least three color terms – namely *pinku* (pink), *orenji* (orange), and *gurē* (gray) – which “seem to be as basic as their native Japanese equivalents, and in fact, may be replacing them for all practical purposes” (Stanlaw 2005: 232). The Japanese terms for ‘pink’ – *momoiro* (桃色) – and ‘orange’ – *daidaiiro* (橙色) – were named least amongst all color terms. Stanlaw predicts that this substitution process will continue. Still, he maintains that despite this process, the original color terms still have their own semantic fields, since they match slightly different color nuances (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 211ff).

Matsuda (1986) argues for an even deeper penetration of the language, claiming that Western words reach also far into such diverse fields as politics, society, education, literature, art, religion etc.

Consequently the Socialist Party may issue a *sutētomento* (Statement) that they will support the labor unions’ *sutoraiiki* (strike) demanding *bēsu appu* [...] (Japlish *base up*, a raise of wage base). A critic may say in his *bukku rebyū* (book review) that the book is a *komedi* (comedy) full of *yūmoa* (humor) and points out [sic] that the *hiroin* (heroine)’s true colors are revealed at the *kuraimakkusu* (climax), and a teacher of a *misshon sukūru* (mission school, Christian school) may easily be understood by his students when he advises them to read *baiburu* (Bible) so they can grasp the significance of *kurisumasu* (Christmas) (Matsuda 1986: 47/8).

Even English numerals can be found in everyday use. Especially the numeral ‘one’ is ubiquitous and fondly used in compounds. Words like *wan man* (ワンマン, ‘one man,’ meaning ‘autocrat’, as in *wan man basu* – ‘bus without a conductor’), *wan pata-n* (ワンパターン, ‘one pattern,’ meaning repetitive or insipid) or *wan pi-su* (ワンピース, ‘one piece,’ i.e. a one-piece dress), or in hybrids like *wangiri* (ワン切り, letting the phone ring just once to, for example, let the other person know that one is ready to be picked up etc.) (cf. also Matsuda 1986: 48).

Interestingly, the Japanese government – the very same government which has proclaimed that loanwords have become a threat to Japanese and has promised to curb their use – has recently been known to use an increasing number of English loans in documents or in naming projects. NHK, Japan’s national television channel, in a survey conducted in the 1980ies found out that out of 11,835 names of local government projects some 2,970 (25.2%) contained *gairaigo*, i.e. Western loans (cf. Tomoda 1999: 243). According to Tomoda, loanwords used by local authorities or the national government often show a “a tendency to use unclear but modern-sounding names which do not provide much indication of what the project is actually about”

(Tomoda 1999: 244) while a particularity of *gairaigo* used in documents is “their vagueness of meaning when removed from context. Words such as *haibijon* [high vision] sound ‘good’, ‘modern’ and ‘new’ due to the inclusion of *hai* (high), a word which has long been used to mean ‘modern’, but beyond this its meaning is unclear” (245). Stanlaw (1987), too, maintains that

[t]he curious thing, however, is that, while officially the Japanese government is somewhat negative concerning this encroachment of English, government department names and documents seem to reflect, if anything, a greater use of loanwords than might be found even in the private sector (Stanlaw 1987: 104).

Thus English has pervaded the Japanese language down to almost every level of society. Hoffer (2002) mentions that “[o]ne of the few areas where English has not made an impact is in religious ceremonies where the sacred languages are preserved” (Hoffer 2002: 269). But beyond this, there seem to be no limits to the inclusion of *gairaigo* into even the basics of Japanese life.

3.4. Phonetic features

First off, it should be noted that all English words undergo a process of phonetic adaptation when they are incorporated into the Japanese language system. The Japanese linguistic system only allows for vowels or consonant-vowel couples; there is no way to phonetically integrate mere consonants with the exception of ‘n’. This necessitates that all words that include CC constructions be modified by inserting vowel between the consonant clusters or after consonant-endings. Therefore English ‘bus’ becomes Japanese *basu* (バス, with the vowel ‘u’ inserted to make pronunciation easier), ‘ham’ becomes *hamu* (ハム), ‘goal’ becomes *gōru* (ゴール) and ‘pet bottle’ turns into *petto botoru* (ペットボトル). The more modifications have to be applied to an English word the more it becomes alienated from its original source. Thus, ‘McDonald’s’ turns into *makudonarudo* (マクドナルド, shortened to *ma ku* in informal speech) and ‘Christmas’ becomes *kurisumasu* (クリスマス) (cf. also Stanlaw 2005: 73). This of course makes it difficult for English Native Speakers to recognize such ‘Japanized’ words, but on the other hand helps not only integrate them into the Japanese phonetic system but also naturalize them to Japanese ears.

The intake of English words happens in two ways, through borrowing by eye and borrowing by ear, which sometimes results in the same word being borrowed twice with two different spellings. Examples of words which seem to have been borrowed by eye rather than by ear are *nyūsu* (ニュース), ‘news’, which was imported with a

voiceless syllable ending while in English the ‘s’ is actually voiced, or *motto-* (モットー), ‘motto’, which differs from the English word in the implementation of a double consonant where there is no glottal stop between the two ‘t’s in English. Other words, however, are introduced based on an auditory intake of the original word. The term ‘jitterbug’, for example, was brought into Japanese as *jiruba* (ジルバ), the ‘r’ in which results probably from the American pronunciation of the double ‘t’ as a double ‘d’. *Suka-to* (スカート) for ‘skirt’, *mishin* (ミシン) for ‘sewing machine’, and *usuta-so-su* (ウスターソース) for ‘Worcestershire sauce’ or *purin* (プリン) for ‘pudding’ are other examples for a borrowing by ear (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 91/2).

Another modification concerns vowels and certain consonants unknown to the Japanese.

Roughly speaking, Japanese has only five vowels – [a], [e], [i], [o], [u] – the Japanese [a] substituting for the English [æ], [ɔ], [ʌ] and it is lacking the English consonants [v], [θ], [ð], [ʒ], [l]. Therefore, *barē* stands for both *ballet* and *volleyball*, *basu* for *bus* and *bath*, [*raito*] for *light* and *right*.

Since [l] is always changed into [r], *deadlock* is pronounced [deddo rokku] here, which led [people] to take the second constituent of the original word for *rock*.

This misunderstanding was powerful enough to spawn a curious idiom “deddo rokku ni nori ageru” (lit. go on a dead rock) which actually signifies “come to a deadlock” (Matsuda 1986: 49).

As these examples show, the phonetic assimilation of English words into Japanese leads to several cases of homophonous terms and as a consequence also to misunderstandings, not so much amongst Japanese, whose mother tongue is already full of homophones, as between Japanese and foreigners who are not yet accustomed to Japanese phonetic patterns and loanword assimilation rules. I will not go into all the details of phonetic loanword integration, as they are not of a primary interest here. Suffice it to mention those above since they create semantic ambiguities which have to be taken into account in the research for this paper.

3.5. Morphological features

One step up, on the morphological level, there are several processes of loanword-formation that can be observed; truncation, acronym formation, affixing and compounding are among the most frequent.

3.5.1. Clipping

Loanwords that undergo the process of truncation, or clipping, are abbreviated by cutting off the latter part of the word. Examples given by Stanlaw (2005: 75) include *homo* from ‘homosexual’, *kiro* (キロ) from ‘kilometer’ and ‘kilogram’, *roke* (ロケ)

from ‘location’ (of a film), *puro* (プロ) from ‘professional’, *reji* (レジ) from (cash) ‘register’, *su-pa-* (スーパー) for ‘supermarket’, *depa-to* (デパート) for ‘department store’, *terebi* (テレビ) for ‘television’, *apa-to* (アパート) for ‘apartment’ or *ea kon* (エアコン) for ‘air conditioner’. It has also been argued that English loanwords lose their inflectional endings when they enter the Japanese language. This becomes apparent in words like *sarari-man* (サラリーマン, ‘salaried man’), *ko-nbi-fu* (コンビーフ, ‘corned beef’), or in *suri- sutoraiku* (スリーストライク, ‘three strikes’) (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 75 citing Sonoda 1975). The following table, adapted from Loveday (1996: 143), demonstrates how this process works.

<p>1.) Clipping of single words</p> <p><i>illustration</i> > <i>irasuto</i></p> <p><i>building</i> > <i>biru</i></p> <p><i>guarantee</i> > <i>gyara</i>, ‘performance fee’</p> <p><i>cash register</i> > <i>reji</i></p>
<p>2.) Compound with one clipped element</p> <p><i>taitoru-bakku</i> (< <i>tittle</i> + <i>back[ground]</i>, ‘background scene with titles’)</p> <p><i>omu-raisu</i> (< <i>ome[lette]</i> + <i>rice</i>)</p> <p><i>masu-komi</i> (< <i>mass</i> + <i>comm[unication]</i>)</p> <p><i>nyū-aka</i> (< <i>new</i> + <i>aca[demics]</i>)</p> <p><i>bodi-kon</i> (< <i>body</i> + <i>con[scious]</i>)</p>
<p>3.) Compounds with both elements clipped</p> <p><i>dan-pa</i> (< <i>dan[ce]</i> + <i>pa[rty]</i>)</p> <p><i>han-suto</i> (< <i>hun[ger]</i> + <i>st[rike]</i>)</p> <p><i>en-suto</i> (< <i>en[gine]</i> + <i>sto[p]</i>, ‘engine breakdown’)</p> <p><i>wa-puro</i> (< <i>wo[rd]</i> + <i>pro[cessor]</i>)</p> <p><i>ame-futo</i> (< <i>Ame[rican]</i> + <i>foot[ball]</i>)</p>

Table 3: Examples for loanword clipping

3.5.2. Blends

Compounds and blends are another major category in Japanese loanword-formation. Compounding is being widely seen as the creating force of about two-thirds of all English loanwords in Japanese (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 75). In the case of blends the process overlaps with the process of truncation or clipping described above. This

category is especially prominent with so-called Made-in-Japan-English as the following examples show. The variety of examples underlines the prominence that this process holds in the Japanese language. Again, the table has been taken and adapted from Loveday (1996: 142f).

<p>1.) Noun + Noun</p> <p><i>imēji-chenji</i> (< <i>image change</i>), often truncated to <i>imechen</i></p> <p><i>koin-rokkā</i> (< <i>coin locker</i>)</p> <p><i>gasorin-sutando</i> (< <i>gasoline stand</i>, ‘petrol station’)</p> <p><i>shugā-katto</i> (< <i>sugar + cut</i>, ‘reduction in sugar’)</p> <p><i>furonto-gurasu</i> (< <i>front + glass</i>, ‘windscreen’)</p>
<p>2.) Noun + Preposition</p> <p><i>imēji-appu/daun</i> (< <i>image + up/down</i>, ‘image improvement/impairment’)</p> <p><i>bēsu-appu/daun</i> (< <i>base + up/down</i>, ‘raising/lowering average salary’)</p> <p><i>kosuto-appu/daun</i> (< <i>cost + up/down</i>, ‘raising/lowering of costs’)</p> <p><i>gōru-in</i> (< <i>goal + in</i>, ‘scoring a goal’)</p> <p><i>shīzun-ofu</i> (< <i>season + off</i>, ‘off season’)</p>
<p>3.) Preposition + Noun</p> <p><i>ōbā-dokutā</i> (< <i>over + doctor</i>, ‘surplus of those holding doctorates’)</p> <p><i>ōbā sukiru</i> (< <i>over + skill</i>, ‘surplus of skilled workers’)</p> <p><i>ōbā doraggu</i> (< <i>over + drug</i>, ‘overdose’)</p>
<p>4.) Noun + Verb</p> <p><i>enjin-sutoppu</i> (< <i>engine + stop</i>, ‘car engine breakdown’)</p> <p><i>dokutā-sutoppu</i> (< <i>doctor + stop</i>, ‘doctor’s orders to stop’)</p> <p><i>bebī-sutoppu</i> (< <i>baby + stop</i>, ‘abortion’)</p> <p><i>botoru-kīpu</i> (< <i>bottle + keep</i>, ‘keeping a bottle of alcohol with one’s name on as a regular customer’)</p>
<p>5.) (Clipped) Verb + Noun</p> <p><i>engēji-ringu</i> (< <i>engage + ring</i>, ‘engagement ring’)</p> <p><i>purē-gaido</i> (< <i>play + guide</i>, ‘ticket agency for all entertainment’)</p> <p><i>sutāto-rain</i> (< <i>start[ing] + line</i>)</p> <p><i>setto-rōshon</i> (< <i>set[ting] + lotion</i>)</p> <p><i>furai pan</i> (< <i>fry[ing] + pan</i>)</p> <p><i>sumōku chīzu</i> (< <i>smok[ed] + cheese</i>)</p>

<p>6.) Adjective + Noun</p> <p><i>nō-katto</i> (< <i>no</i> + <i>cut</i>, ‘uncensored’)</p> <p><i>nō-tacchi</i> (< <i>no</i> + <i>touch</i>, ‘nothing to do with’)</p> <p><i>nō-airon</i> (< <i>no</i> + <i>iron</i>, ‘non-iron’)</p> <p><i>hai-tīn</i> (< <i>high</i> + <i>teen</i>, ‘person in late teens’)</p> <p><i>hai-misu</i> (< <i>high</i> + <i>miss</i>, ‘elderly spinster’)</p> <p><i>hai-sensu</i> (< <i>high</i> + <i>sense</i>, ‘stylish’)</p> <p><i>rō-tīn</i> (< <i>low</i> + <i>teen</i>, ‘person in early teens’)</p> <p><i>mai-kā</i> (< <i>my</i> + <i>car</i>, ‘private car’)</p> <p><i>mai-hōmu</i> (< <i>my</i> + <i>home</i>, adjective, ‘a home- and family-centered way of life’)</p>
<p>7.) Verb + Verb</p> <p><i>gō-sutoppu</i> (< <i>go</i> + <i>stop</i>, ‘traffic lights’)</p>
<p>8.) Affixation</p> <p><i>misu-kopī</i> (< <i>mis-</i> + <i>copy</i>, ‘failed photocopy’)</p> <p><i>semi-hando-mēdo</i> (< <i>semi-</i> + <i>hand-made</i>)</p> <p><i>korekusshonā</i> (< <i>collection</i> + <i>-er</i>)</p>
<p>9.) Adjective + Noun + Noun</p> <p><i>wan-man-kā</i> (< <i>one man car</i>, ‘one-man bus, bus without a conductor’)</p>
<p>10.) Acronym + Noun</p> <p><i>NHK anaunsā</i> (< <i>N[ippon] H[ōsō] K[yōkai]</i>, ‘Japan Broadcasting Association’ + <i>announcer</i>)</p> <p><i>CM songu</i> (< <i>C[ommerical] M[essage]</i> + <i>song</i>, ‘radio or TV jingle’)</p>

Table 4: Example for loanword blends

In many of these cases we can observe an immanent lack of syntactic and morphological features necessitated in the donor language, English in this case. The reason for these rather peculiar patterns of loanword integration and compounding can be found in the patterns used for integrating Chinese loans some 1.200 years ago which have since become a paradigm for the way the Japanese deal with foreign words entering the language. Loveday mentions that Chinese words were “almost entirely indeclinable and monomorphemic” (1996: 140). In addition, Chinese was

extremely resistant to any formal word class analysis...extraordinary freedom [was enjoyed by] almost any word...to enter into what one might call atypical syntactic functions; nouns can function like verbs; verbs and adjectives, likewise, may be used like nouns or adverbs, depending on the syntactic and semantic

context...most words [could] function as other parts of speech depending on their place in the sentence (Loveday 1996: 140, citing Norman 1988: 87).

This appears to provide an explanation for the seemingly loose ways in which Japanese handles syntactic and morphological features of English loans, the clipping of morphological features like plural or progressive form, or the tendency to convert verbs into nouns (engl. ‘get’ becomes jap. *getto suru*, ゲットする, literally ‘to make a get’) and similar assimilative processes. Especially the last case, however, is in great part due to the syntactic structures of Japanese which make it impossible to use an English verb in its original form and requires it to be nominalized and applied like a cluster of Chinese characters which in turn can be verbalized by adding the auxiliary verb *suru* (‘to make’). However, it stands as a fact that, once integrated into the Japanese language, the borders of the loans’ syntactical functions start breaking down, making the shift from verb to noun to adjective possible.

3.5.3. Verbalization

Yet another way of assimilation of English-based loanwords to Japanese morphology consists in the direct verbalization of clipped loan-nouns, resulting in the new words being inflected like Japanese verbs rather than being treated as nouns. Examples are *memoru* (メモる), deriving from English ‘memo(random)’ and meaning ‘to take a memo,’ or *demoru* (デモる), from ‘demonstration,’ meaning ‘to demonstrate,’ as well as *makuru* (マクる), from ‘McDonald’s’, meaning ‘going to eat at McDonald’s’. The latter, however, is no longer widely used, but it shows the ingenuity and flexibility of the Japanese language in creating new words (cf. also Hoffer 1990: 8/9).

3.5.4. Hybrids

Another feature of Japanese compounding is the frequent use of hybrids, of compounds, therefore, which are created by melting a Japanese word with an English loanword. This process, too, has become so firmly established in Japanese that it is not seen as strange or unnatural. Examples would be *shirubai* (白バイ, Japanese *shiro* – 白 – ‘white’ + English ‘bicycle’ > *bai*, a white police motorcycle) or *kuchikomi* (口コミ, Japanese *kuchi* – 口 – ‘mouth’ + English ‘communication’ > *komi*, meaning by-word-of-mouth communication). Some of these hybrids have already claimed a lasting place in Japanese vocabulary, like *tonkatsu* (豚カツ, from Japanese *ton* – 豚 – ‘pork’ and English ‘cutlet’ > *katsu*, which is a pork cutlet fried in bread crumbs) or *karaoke* (カラオケ, from Japanese *kara* – 空 – ‘empty, without’ and English

‘orchestra’ > *oke*, that ominous and popular spare time activity in which people sing to recorded tunes of their choice with the lyrics displayed on a screen) (cf. Matsuda 1986: 55).

3.5.5. On Japanese word formation rules

In general, one can say that the word-creation processes for loanwords are modeled closely after the standard word-formation processes from within the original Sino-Japanese linguistic pool. This also explains the Japanese predilection for clippings which we find abundantly in loanword formations. This process is often used in Japanese with long-clustered words to save time or make a text more reader-friendly. The more significant and meaning-defining parts of a cluster of characters are chosen and combined with one another to create a clipped version of the same word. Thus, *Nagoya Daigaku* (名古屋大学), ‘Nagoya University’, becomes *Meidai* (名大) but refers to the same university (*mei* being an alternate – Chinese – reading for *na* using the same character ‘名’), in same way as *Tōkyō Daigaku* (東京大学), ‘Tokyo University’, is shortened to *Tōdai* (東大). Another example would be the longish word *Jidōhanbaiki* (自動販売機) or ‘vending machine’ which is usually used in its clipped version *Jihanki* (自販機). This language ecology is an important factor in Japanese word-formation and usage and therefore inevitably also affects loanwords. The following table – contrasted to the last table – shows some of these parallels in word formation between loanwords and native words (adapted from Loveday 1996: 146f).

1. Noun + noun <i>god</i> + <i>wind</i> : 神風 <i>kami-kaze</i> , ‘suicide plane’ <i>art</i> + <i>person</i> : 芸者 <i>gei-sha</i> , ‘traditional hostess skilled in various arts’
2. Noun + verb ~ prepositional meaning <i>value</i> + <i>up</i> : 値上げ <i>ne-age</i> , ‘increase in price’ <i>value</i> + <i>down</i> : 値下げ <i>ne-sage</i> , ‘cut in price’ Noun + relational noun ~ preposition <i>direction</i> + <i>up</i> : 向上 <i>kō-jō</i> , ‘progress’
3. Relational noun ~ preposition + noun <i>up</i> + <i>person</i> : 上人 <i>shō-nin</i> , ‘exceptional person’

<i>behind + aid</i> : 後援 <i>kō-en</i> , ‘support, patronage’
<p>4. Noun + verb in <i>Kunyomi</i> (Japanese reading)</p> <p><i>person + kill</i>: 人殺し <i>hito-goroshi</i>, ‘murder’</p> <p><i>flower + see</i>: 花見 <i>hana-mi</i>, ‘cherry-blossom viewing’</p> <p>Noun + verb in <i>Onyomi</i> (Chinese reading)</p> <p><i>middle + stop</i>: 中止 <i>chū-shi</i>, ‘cancel’</p>
<p>5. (Clipped/no suffix) verb + noun in <i>Kunyomi</i></p> <p><i>preserve (ike[ru]) + flower (hana)</i>: 生花 <i>ike-bana</i>, ‘flower arrangement’</p> <p><i>sleep (ne[ru]) + sake</i>: 寝酒 <i>ne-zake</i>, ‘nightcap’</p> <p>Verb + noun in <i>Onyomi</i></p> <p><i>see + thing</i>: 見物 <i>ken-butsu</i>, ‘sightseeing’</p> <p><i>enter + hospital</i>: 入院 <i>nyū-in</i>, ‘hospitalization’</p>
<p>6. Adjective (i-stem) + noun</p> <p><i>old + book</i>: 古本 <i>furu-hon</i>, ‘secondhand book’</p> <p>Adjective (<i>na</i>-Adjective) base + noun</p> <p><i>safe + zone</i>: 安全地帯 <i>anzen-chitai</i>, ‘safety zone’</p> <p>Pseudo-prefix adjectival noun + noun</p> <p><i>new + constitution</i>: 新憲法 <i>shin-kenpō</i>, ‘new constitution’</p>

Table 5: Examples of general Japanese word formation rules

3.6. Syntactic impact

It has been argued by many linguists that the exposure to Western languages and especially to English has begun to alter Japanese syntax to a certain extent. The use of pronouns appears to have been significantly affected by the contact to Western countries, their languages and ideologies. Stanlaw notes that

although personal pronouns such as *kare* (‘he’) or *kanojo* (‘she’) do exist in Japanese, traditionally, these were far less frequently used than in Western languages. However, many linguists have noted a substantial increase in their use over the last century or so, an innovation thought by some to be traceable to the influence of English (Stanlaw 2005: 78).

And indeed, personal testimony by Japanese educated in the immediate postwar gives ample proof of that influence.

I still remember vividly how strange and amusing the translation lessons of English into Japanese struck me when I was taught [English] for the first time. The frequent repetition of *kare* (he) and *kanojo* (she) astonished me in that classroom. Then, at age thirteen, I knew the use of these two pronouns, but had never felt the necessity of using them, because we Japanese can rather freely dispense with sentence subjects, especially personal pronouns without causing ambiguity, and besides the two pronouns *kare* and *kanojo* sounded foreign and stilted to me (Matsuda 1986: 72).

Akira Miura, who has written several books on Anglicisms in Japanese, in an article published in the *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* in 1979 suggests there are, in all, 14 grammatical innovations attributable to the influence of European languages, above all English. Amongst those are: inanimate things as subjects, frequent use of pronouns, tense, long pre-noun modifiers, conjunctions, comparisons, relative pronouns, personification, prefixes, suffixes, new idioms (e.g. *kai o motsu* – 会を持つ – literally ‘to hold a meeting,’ formerly exclusively *kai o hiraku* – 会を開く – or ‘to open a meeting’) and punctuation marks (cf. Morrow 1987: 56).

Pronouns, as it were, have also had an impact on the coinage of new words. The English pronoun ‘my’ has been imported into Japanese as *mai* and has hence been used as a prefix to denote individual ownership or individuality in general. It has been attached to many English-derived loans and has created a variety of new expressions like *mai kā* (マイカー, ‘one’s own car’), *mai hōmu* (マイホーム, literally ‘one’s own home’ but referring to someone for whom family is more important than anything else), *mai būmu* (マイブーム, meaning things that one is interested in at the moment) or *mai pēsū* (マイペース, ‘one’s own pace’). The use of *mai* is, by the way not restricted to the first person singular but rather refers to the person talked about, i.e. one can ask a friend what his/her *mai-būmu* is. This prefixation, according to some linguists, has enhanced the possibilities to express individuality in Japanese which had been difficult to do without sounding selfish before. Kelley (1990), too, sees this “introduction of Western ego-centric ideas into Japan” as an “important point of influence.” He adds that “[s]ince in both classical Chinese and pre-modern Japanese there was very little emphasis on the ‘first person’, or indeed, on the use of any of the possessive or other forms of pronouns, the egocentricity implicit or explicit in certain words and concepts coming from the West has had a clear influence” (Kelley 1990: 115/6).

Many words of foreign origin, however, are not visible on first sight, unlike direct loans, and therefore their influence on Japanese life and culture is not so easily discernable, because until the loanword boom started through in the latter part of the 20th century, many new concepts and ideas were imported through loan translations. Words like *minshushugi* (民主主義), ‘democracy’, or *reisen* (冷戦), ‘Cold War’, have been assimilated into Japanese even on the orthographic level and thus make the count of loanwords as well as a conjecture of their true impact a difficult undertaking (cf. also Kelley 1990: 115; 125). These hidden loans, however, will not be part of my research since none of their features are perceived as being even remotely foreign.

3.7. Semantic change

Generally speaking, the influx of loanwords does not stop at the surface level. Its reach goes farther down onto the semantic level where they are altered and adapted to the recipient language’s needs. The same, on much broader scale, is invariably also valid for the Japanese *gairaigo*. The three main processes involved here are semantic restriction, semantic shift and semantic extension.

In the case of semantic restriction the particular word has several meaning in its original language but only one in the recipient language. For example, English ‘machine’ becomes Japanese *mishin* (ミシン), but denotes only sewing machines. Another example would be German ‘Karte’, Japanese *karute* (カルテ), which refers only to a patient’s chart in the hospital.

We speak of semantic shift when there is a slight shift in meaning between a word’s original meaning and its meaning in the recipient language. Thus, Japanese *baiku* (バイク) denotes English ‘motorbike,’ *sain* (サイン) refers to ‘signature’ (originally from ‘to sign’ but now used both as a noun and verb), *sutairu* (スタイル) means ‘figure, shape’, and *suma-to* (スマー ト) denotes ‘slim, slender’. A more radical case of semantic shift took place in the case of the loanword *feministo* (フェミニスト, ‘feminist’), which is not a feminist in our sense, but rather someone who treats women with respect, a gentlemen as it were.

Finally, semantic extension describes loanwords which acquire new and different meanings after their implementation in the recipient language. Japanese *sa-bisu* (サービス, ‘service’), for example refers to a complementary gift given by a business establishment or a restaurant to a customer. Another example is Japanese *dorai* (ドラ

い, ‘dry’), which does not refer to humidity, but means ‘unsentimental’ (cf. Loveday 1996: 79f; Morrow 1987: 52).

Another semantic dimension to the loanword-issue is that of parallel denotative meaning but differing connotations connected with loanwords and their Japanese equivalents. Many loanwords, thus, denote the same concept as a native Japanese word, but are used in different contexts because they carry slightly different, non-predisposed meaning. Sometimes, according to Tomoda (1999), such *gairaigo* are also used for euphemisms.

For example, *rōn* (loan) and *kurejitto* (credit) have very different images to *shakkin* and *geppu*. If I say ‘*rōn de kuruma o kaimashita*’ [I bought a car on credit] instead of ‘*shakkin de kuruma o kaimashita*’, the effect is different. The *gairaigo* seems less embarrassing and does not bring the direct image of financial difficulty that the Japanese word does (Tomoda 1999: 243).

Therefore, *gairaigo* can be used to express things in a way which is not so burdened with acculturated use. Another semantic function of loanwords is that their meaning is not so definite as the meaning of their Japanese counterparts. Tomoda (1999) attributes this to “a feeling of reality which seems linked to the vagueness as well as to the newness of these terms. Since their meanings are not concrete they can stimulate the imagination of the listener or reader while evading the reality which clarity of meaning can bring” (Tomoda 1999: 243). This is a valid point since most *gairaigo* originate from European languages with which there is no immediate historical linguistic connection. This causes a loanword’s meaning to be allocated only after its arrival in the language, sometimes with very little relation to the original meaning. This process along with the vagueness resulting from the newness of the linguistic constituents (i.e. morphemes of a foreign nature) nourishes an idiosyncratic usage of these new terms, thus further adding to their ambiguity of meaning.

It should be added at this point that Japanese is, by its very nature, a semantically ambiguous language whose transmitted meaning depends very much on the context within which it is communicated. The frequent emission of the subject in sentences is a prime indicator of this peculiarity and of the importance of context in Japanese. The ambiguity of *gairaigo*, therefore, appears quite fitting for this language and its context-dependent, evanescent semantics.

Of course, *gairaigo* cannot all be generalized into having an undefined, blurred meaning. Such claims are mostly valid in fields where the imported item is of an abstract nature in its donor language already, and they can not be made to the same

extent for concrete terms like *basu* (バス, ‘bus’), *takushī* (タクシー, ‘taxi’), *kōhī* (コーヒー, ‘coffee’), *doa* (ドア, ‘door’), *beddo* (ベッド, ‘bed’) or *kēki* (ケーキ, ‘cake’) where the original meaning tends to concur (at least in parts) with the applied meaning in the recipient language. These, on the other hand, are seen by many as an intrusion of a foreign culture into the Japanese home-culture, with Western concepts threatening traditional Japanese concepts in present-day society. However, as Loveday (1996) maintains, “since the Japanese have succeeded in preserving – admittedly with changes and adaptations – fundamental aspects of their institutions, norms, and values in the face of Western models and pressures throughout the last and this century [the 20th century], it seems likely that they will continue to maintain certain native cultural ways” (Loveday 1996: 81).

Loveday also argues that in many cases there are “pairs of semantic opposition”, with the *wago* or *kango* referring to a phenomenon characteristic of Japanese culture and the *gairaigo* denoting the ‘Western version’ of the same phenomenon. Such semantic oppositional pairs would be *shōji* (障子, Japanese sliding door) – *doa* (ドア, Western style door), *futon* (布団, quilted bedding) – *beddo* (ベッド, Western style bed), or *tatami* (畳, matting) – *kāpetto* (カーペット, carpet) etc. (cf. Loveday 1996: 81). While there is undoubtedly truth to this statement, in some cases the borders between these semantic opposites have begun to break down. One of the examples often cited is that of *gohan* (ご飯) and *raisu* (ライス, ‘rice’). *Gohan* used to be explained as rice served in a rice bowl in the traditional way as a side dish to Japanese food, while *raisu* denoted rice served on a plate along with Western food. Recently, however, some restaurants have been noted to use *raisu* for Japanese-style food as well. It is difficult to tell whether this is exemplary of a change such semantic opposites are subjected to or whether this is merely the exception to the rule. Considering that the difference between *gohan* and *raisu* is only a situational or contextual one while that of the examples above is also conceptual it is rather likely that most of these opposite pairs will remain in their complementary positions.

3.8. Creative uses of Anglicisms

Given that the creative processes of English-based loans in Japanese are so innovative it seems logical that the use of such resourcefully conceived loanwords would be similarly creative.

The vagueness in meaning of many words in the Japanese lexicon, especially of *wago* (what some people have somewhat elevatedly referred to as the “ephemeral nature” of Japanese), allows their usage in many different and new contexts and generates an atmosphere of creativity. Additionally, the many homophones within the Japanese lexicon have given birth to a tradition of word-puns, which is ubiquitous amongst Japanese people.

Loanwords, therefore, constitute a whole new resource and a new orthographical way for word play, which is an intrinsic part of Japanese culture. Already the Chinese characters, or *kanji* (漢字), offered an almost infinite supply for creativity, through equal readings of different characters several messages could be conveyed with the use of select characters.

Stanlaw (2005) provides an interesting example for this when he mentions an advertisement on the back cover of the June 2001 issue of *Gengo* (‘Language’). The ad says: これは読です (*kore wa doku desu*, ‘This is a “読”’). The pun in this sentence lies in the reading of the Chinese character ‘読’, *doku*. This character is normally not read this way (i.e. the original Chinese reading) when it stands alone, but it is used as a verb with a verb-suffix, *mu* (む), as *yomu* (読む), ‘to read’, but in combination with other characters its Chinese reading applies, as in *dokusho* (読書) – ‘reading’. The reason why the character stands alone here without the verbal suffix is to evoke the Chinese reading to make way for a homophony with another character with the same reading – *doku* (毒), ‘poison’. The sentence would thus mean: ‘This is poison.’ However, within the Japanese reader, this evokes yet another association. *doku* (毒), the character for ‘poison’, is part of a compound, namely *chūdoku* (中毒), which means ‘addict, addictive’. The sentence thus becomes ‘This is addictive’. But thanks to the chain of associations triggered by the use of the character ‘読’ the message is: ‘Reading is addictive’. The chain of implications spans from *yomu* (読む), ‘to read’, via *doku-sho* (読書), ‘reading’, to *doku* (毒), ‘poison’, and finally *chūdoku* (中毒), ‘addictive’, and all of these meanings are included in the final message (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 143/4). For a non-Japanese speaker, these associations may seem a little far-fetched, but for the average Japanese speaker this is a normal process.

The same method that applies to wordplays with homophonous *kanji* also applies to loanwords. The linguistic ambiguities that emerge from their use are cleverly

implemented to generate new layers of meaning. Both Hoffer (1990) and Stanlaw (2005) give several interesting examples of creative use of loanword-*kanji* homophony used in ads or in names, like that of a company with various clubs across Japan which calls itself ‘友&愛’. The *Onyomi* (Chinese reading) for ‘友’ is *yu* and denotes ‘friend’, while ‘愛’ is pronounced *ai* and means ‘love’. The full reading of this name, then, is ‘*yu & ai*’ which is homophonous to English ‘You and I’. Hoffer interprets: “The meaning of the whole is a combination which is mutually reinforcing: you and I, friends who like each other. For places where friends meet, it is an interesting and catchy name” (Hoffer 1990: 10).

Stanlaw mentions an advertising campaign by JAL (Japan Air Lines) in 1983 in which they promoted packaged tours with the slogan ‘I NEED 遊’. The character ‘遊’ – meaning ‘to play, to be idle, to take a holiday’ – is pronounced *yu* and from this derives its double meaning of ‘I need you (i.e. a packaged tour)’ and ‘I need a vacation’, with both messages reinforcing each other (Stanlaw 2005: 161).

The coinciding of *kanji* pronunciation with English vocabulary is a rich linguistic pool for use in the advertising industry, as also the next two examples show, which both revolve around the name of a peninsula southwest of Tokyo named *Izu* (伊豆). Hoffer provides an example of an ad used by the Japan National Railways to promote tourism to *Izu*. The ad reads: “This伊豆Map” (“This *Izu* Map”). What sounds like a case of erratic grammar is actually another example of a reinforced message. The Japanese transcription for the English verb ‘is’ is *izu* (イズ) because of the voiced ‘s’ in ‘is’. Therefore the pronunciation for the peninsula *Izu* overlaps with the pronunciation for ‘is’, the message thus being ‘This is a map of *Izu*’, reinforced through the double meaning of *Izu* (cf. Hoffer 1990: 11). Stanlaw’s example uses the same pattern. In a campaign started by the tourist association of the Izu Peninsula the phrase ‘THIS IS 伊豆’ (‘This is *Izu*’) was used.

[P]ictures of the many famous places in the area were shown in the background in beautiful colour while this striking phrase jumped right out of the middle of the page. As the Izu Peninsula is a very popular travel spot [...] this pun is very effective advertising. Ideas of ‘THIS is it!’, ‘This IS Izu’, and ‘Izu is IT!’ all simultaneously come into mind as this intriguing word play casts a hold on an unsuspecting reader (Stanlaw 2005: 161).

Such examples can be found on an everyday basis and show the Japanese people’s predilection for wordplays and puns and they offer an interesting resource for linguists and semioticians to investigate, as well as for mere passersby who find

pleasure in reading and deciphering these highly creative uses of language. For Hoffer, “these creative uses of English loans signal one of the major late stages in the borrowing process”, and they bear certain similarities to the period of massive Chinese borrowings in the 8th century A.D., for “the proliferation of uses of the loans and their introduction into almost all areas of Japanese language use is similar to if not equivalent to the massive influence of the Chinese language in Japan one and one-half millenia ago (Hoffer 1990: 11). In fact, Western loanwords have reached proportions that this has given rise to fears that Chinese words are being ‘devoured’ by them (「漢語が外来語に食われる」) (cf. Jinnouchi 2007: 130).

3.9. Popular criticism

Despite the widespread use of English-based loanwords and the Japanese’s pragmatic creativity with them, various criticism abound. Japan, different from other countries like France has no laws or official rules concerning loanwords, but rather enjoys a playful freedom with regards to the import and use of foreign material, something which has had a long tradition in Japan and has never been questioned. In the age of mass media, however, the number of people engaging in a critical discourse on loanwords is on the rise. There are several points which are particularly the focus of criticisms.

3.9.1. Inconsistent loanword spelling and pronunciation

As was mentioned above, the spelling of loanwords, i.e. the transliteration of certain foreign phonemes into Japanese varies greatly depending on whether the respective words were borrowed by eye or ear. These different modes of borrowing result in certain phonemes being realized in different ways within different loanwords, and thus in certain inconsistencies which some people perceive as problems. It is very betraying, though, that most of the people who lament the different phonetic realizations of loanwords (exclusively, by the way, of English-based loanwords) as being an impediment are non-Japanese. The following is an excerpt of an essay in the *Mainichi Shinbun* written by a native English speaker. He complains in Japanese:

信じてもらえないかもしれないが、ボクは外来語が苦手なんだ。発音は紛らわしいもん。「猫の図」はキャットのカット。長い単語になると、途中で障害物競走をやらされている気持ちになる。音節ごとに、陥れようと手ぐすねひいて難問が持つ。「語彙」は「vocabulary」もすらすら言えるが、片仮名で言えと言われたら．．．「ボ」を伸ばすか伸ばさないか、「カ」か「キャ」、「ブ」か「ビュ」か、「ラリ」はいいとして最後に音引きが要るかどうか。もういいや。辞書で調べよう。「ボキャ

ブラリー」。日本語を勉強して十五年。一度もちゃんと発音したことがないと思う（大石 2001：205）。

You may not believe it, but loanwords [in Japanese] are my Achilles' heel. After all, their pronunciation is confusing. "A cat's cut" becomes *kyatto no katto*. When the word gets longer it feels like a hurdle race. After each syllable I have to look out for traps. I can say both 'goi' [Japanese for 'vocabulary'] and 'vocabulary' smoothly, but if I was told to pronounce it in Katakana.... Should I elongate the *bo* or not, is it *ka* or *kya*, *bu* or *byu*, and even if *rari* poses no problem, there is still the question whether to lengthen the last vowel or not. I've had enough, let's look it up in the dictionary. It's *bokyaburari*-. I have been studying Japanese for 15 years, and yet I believe I have never pronounced a loanword correctly (Ōishi 2001:205). (my translation)

What on the surface seems like a singular funny anecdote is really but an example of an outright wave of opinions mostly uttered by foreigners to Japan, but which, thanks to the high status that English enjoys in Japan, is quite influential also amongst Japanese scholars who join in the complaints and bemoan the lack of rules for Katakana words. Ōishi (2001), for example, elaborates:

ある単語では「キャ」と発音したり、ある単語では「カ」と発音している。例えば、*ca*-は*cap*（キャップ）、*career*（キャリア）の場合は「キャ」であるが、*casual*の場合はカジュアルで「カ」と発音している（大石 2001：208）。

[The English 'ca'] is sometimes realized as *kya*, sometimes as *ka*. For example, in the case of 'cap' (*kyappu*) or 'career' (*kyaria*) 'ca' is realized as *kya*, but in the case of 'casual' (*kajuaru*), it is pronounced as *ka* (Ōishi 2001: 208). (my translation)

It should not come as a surprise that such incongruities might confuse foreign learners of Japanese, but this is not the point. The point is that this problem of JFL learners is used as a basis for criticizing loanwords altogether (also see chapter 9). No attention is paid to the linguistic reasons for these differences which, incidentally, do not trouble native Japanese speakers who do not bother questioning the underlying reasons. There is no mentioning of different dialect areas from which these words might have been imported to account for different pronunciations, no mentioning of borrowing by eye or ear to explain multiple spellings, but merely a reference to problems encountered by foreign language speakers of Japanese.

As troublesome as such differences might be for foreigners learning the Japanese language, it should be pointed out that *Kango* or Chinese words are equally effected by them, but not involved in a discourse on the problems they pose to foreigners and how to accommodate them by synchronizing their pronunciation. Nozumi (1998) points out the following example:

もっとも日本に入ってきた中国語は、時代により違いがある。その入ってきた時代に応じて日本ではちがう読み方をするので、難しいことにな

る。たとえば「行」という一字は、「修行」というときはギョウと読み、これは<呉音>と言って、中国・揚子江河口地方の中国の発音が百済を通して日本に入ってきたものだ。「旅行」というときはコウと読み、これは<漢音>と呼び、唐の時代に都の長安地方の中国語の発音が入ってきたものだ。「行灯」ではアンと読むが、これは<唐宋音>と呼び、杭州を中心とする地方の中国音が入ってきたものである（野角 1998 : 48）。

In the case of Chinese which entered Japanese in numbers unlike any other language, there are differences [in pronunciation] depending on the period of entry. Each different period resulted in different readings of the same characters, which causes many difficulties. For example, the character 「行」 is read as *gyō* in 「修行」 [*shugyō*], which is called the ‘*Go-on*’ pronunciation. It derives from the pronunciation common at the Yangtze River’s estuary and came into Japan through the country of Paekche [one of the old Korean kingdoms]. In the case of 「旅行」 [*ryokō*] it is pronounced *kō*, which is called ‘*Kan-on*’ pronunciation, entered Japanese during the Tang period, and is the Chinese pronunciation used in the area of Changan in [today’s Xian]. Finally, in the word 「行灯」 [*Andon*], it is read as *an*. This is called the ‘*Tōsō-on*’ pronunciation and derives from the pronunciation common in the Hangzhou region of China (Nozumi 1998: 48).
(my translation)

Considering that beside these pronunciations there is also a Japanese reading of Chinese characters and the fact that this is only one example of a countless number of similar cases which form the lexical basis of the Japanese language, it is understandable that such facets of the language pose considerable difficulties to both foreign learners of Japanese and the Japanese themselves when confronted with unknown or seldom used words. And yet, no one would ever even conceive the idea of criticizing these innumerable incongruities in Japanese and demand a standardization, and rightfully so. Foreign words are not imported arbitrarily; there is a method and a reason for the forms and pronunciations they get in the receiver language, historic reasons which cannot be merely brushed aside for the sake of convenience. This argument aimed at the seemingly random pronunciation and spelling of English-based loanwords in Japanese does not take into account these linguistic factors, nor does it think of the complex language system, but it merely focuses on the pronunciation problems that these loanwords pose to foreigners – a rather unsound and questionable kind of criticism.

3.9.2. Lexical inconsistencies

An equal point of criticism concerns the lexical and semantic level. Thanks to the many sources of import, there are often different words denoting the same concept, but in different contexts. This is what a native English speaker criticizes in the following essay.

いやに細かい使い分けをするから余計こんがらがっちゃう。ガラスでできた飲み物用の容器はグラス。コーヒーはカップで飲むが、ビールはコップで飲む。ビアガーデンで。「コップ」「ビール」と昔オランダ語経由で入ったやつが、後からニュアンスや使用範囲を微妙に変えて「カップ」「ビア」と英語経由で入ってきちゃったわけだ（大石 2001: 206）。

I get too tangled up by these minute differentiations of use. A drinking vessel made of glass is called *gurasu*. Coffee is drunk from a *kappu*, but *bi-ru* [beer] from a *koppu*. In a *biaga-den*. *Koppu* and *bi-ru* are both words which entered Japanese through the Dutch and experienced a subtle change in nuance and in their range of use, while *Kappu* and *bia* both derive from English (Ōishi 2001: 206). (my translation)

This semantic differentiation is apparently seen as a major problem for this essayist. What does not mention, though, is that such differentiation is not only present amongst loanwords but is a major characteristic of the Japanese language which differentiates very much between various uses for the same object, hence also the differentiation of the word ‘rice’ into the Chinese *Gohan* (御飯), the Japanese *Meshi* (飯) and the Anglicism *Raisu* (ライス), or into *Shōji* (障子) and *doa* (ドア) for the dichotomous concept of ‘door’ (Japanese-Western) (cf. also Stanlaw 2005: 14f, 79ff). Yet even though in rough terms these words denote the same universal concepts, each word’s semantic specifics are different.

The case here is identical. The same object is referred to by different loans to denote different purposes of use. The fact that they sound similar, but are written differently is owed to the fact that they derive from two related, but distinct languages, as the essayist mentions. It appears strange that while he mentions their different semantic usage he does not really accept it but sticks to his criticism that this constitutes too much differentiation and unneeded. It may be worthwhile to note that English, too, uses ‘cup’ for coffee and ‘glass’ or ‘pint’ for beer – for a good reason – making this criticism even more bizarre.

Frequently, as the above examples have shown, Japanese loanwords of English origin are criticized by native speakers of English who claim exclusive rights to the English language. Their only goal is to rectify what they see as mistaken use of English-based loanwords in the Japanese language. If they really were concerned about unintelligibilities in the Japanese language for JFL learners, these fervent critics would have to aim equally at all the other seeming ‘inconsistencies’ of the Japanese language which exist at every arm’s length and which cause foreigners more

problems that a few easily confusable Western loanwords. That such criticism is uttered so publicly in Japanese newspapers gives testimony to the influence it has, this criticism of a foreigner struggling with a foreign language whose intricacies he is apparently too ethnocentric to understand. This is consistent with what some Japanese scholars have argued (cf. chapter 2), when they called for a simplification of the language for the sake of foreign learners – a quite unique way of language criticism which ignores native speakers' opinions and problems to accommodate foreign speakers of Japanese.

Having reached this point in the discussion of loanword creation, presence, and critique now warrants a closer look at the various functions that these mostly English loanwords fulfill within the framework of the Japanese language and which give proof to their manifold uses and *raison d'être*.

4. *Functions of Japanese Anglicisms*

4.1. The difficulty of creating a comprehensive model

Loanwords serve various functions. Some of those are universal to all languages, such as the use of loanwords for words that express new concepts unknown to the receiving language or their use for the sake of prestige or group affiliation. These seem to be universal functions of loanwords all around the globe, with different languages being dominant, because of being prestigious, in different fields. Italian, for example, is famous as being the language of music, German used to be the language of medicine, and French is favored by some as the language of love or of philosophy. Other functions are language-specific, depending on the surrounding cultural and sociological context.

Basically, the same holds true for the Japanese, the difference being that such differentiation of loanword-usage according to the prestige of the original language is no longer a valid factor in the face of an almost monopolistic influence exerted by the English language. According to some linguists, this position of strength the English language gradually reached in the decades after 1945 has resulted in a homogenization of loans to the effect that older loanwords from French or German, for example, are prone to being replaced by newer loans originating from English. Miller (1967), for example, argues along these lines saying that “[b]y and large, whenever a loanword from French or German comes into conflict in modern Japan with a loanword from English, the English loan soon pushes it out of the picture” (Miller 1967: 243). His examples include the shift from German *betto* (ベット, ‘Bett’) to English *beddo* (ベッド, ‘bed’), from German *burutto* (ブルット, ‘Blut’) to English *buraddo* (ブラッド, ‘blood’) and finally from French *konku-ru* (コンクール, ‘concours’) to English *kontesuto* (コンテスト, ‘contest’) (Miller 1967: 243f). At least in the latter case, however, he is mistaken, because *konku-ru* is still being used widely, especially in the field of music or movie contests, so instead of one loan eliminating the other, the two have come to cover different semantic fields. Matsuda (1986: 58), too, maintains that Miller’s generalizations go too far and names several cases where the English word was unable to replace the older loans from German or French.

Such circumstantial contemplations notwithstanding, the functions of loanwords in the Japanese language show a great variety and underline propositions by linguists

like Stanlaw (cf. 2005: 2) who maintain that, rather than speaking of loanwords from *outside* the language, English-motivated vocabulary items or English in general should be viewed as but another linguistic resource available *within* the language.

Some of the models describing the functions of *gairaigo*, i.e. loanwords of non-Chinese origin, in the Japanese context concentrate on basic functions common to all languages, which disregards the cultural context almost entirely; others are more elaborate and go deep into Japan-specific details. To focus on the most elaborate models would go beyond the scope of this paper, necessitating a balanced approach to this question, providing a framework that takes into account the peculiarities without getting lost in too much detail.

One difficulty in defining the functions of Anglicisms in Japanese, according to Loveday (1996: 189), is that “borrowing constitutes only one type of contact among many others, such as hybridization, monolingual Anglicization, creative coining, acronyming, code-mixing, so that a complete functional explanation of the Japanese case must treat all these phenomena as a coherent whole”. No comprehensive model has yet been created to explain all implications and functions of loanword use in the rather special Japanese context. To define such a model would be a thesis of its own. It seems therefore sensible to focus on the core functions which are shared by the majority of loanwords.

4.2. The core functions of Japanese loanwords

Some of the main functions of Western loanwords in Japanese differ considerably from, for example, English loanwords in German. Since there is no immediate or even intermediate historic and linguistic connection between the two languages, the important part of loanwords is not so much their original meaning than their often radically newly acquired meaning in the Japanese context and the connotations they carry. Image, thus, is often more important than content. Also, the factor of ‘Westernization’ adds a facet to the whole which is unknown within the European context, as a matter of course.

In some cases, the borders between the various functions are not easy to draw. Almost every linguist tends to group them in a different manner. While some differentiate between, for example, the import of new concept vs. the import of new technologies and their vocabulary or between the function of prestige as against the function of fashion, others group those together into one. While I have decided to combine the former, I have kept the differentiation for the latter, because fashion

words tend to have a shorter life span while prestige words often survive much longer until they are eventually seen as part of the normal corpus. This rarely happens with fashion words.

4.2.1. Import of new concepts and ideas

Naturally, loanwords as an embodiment of new concepts, new ideas, and new technologies have also played an important role in the case of Japanese. Ever since the opening of the secluded country in the mid-19th century and the ensuing Meiji Restoration, Japan had been striving to catch up to the technologically advanced nations of the West. In the process, many new terms denoting newly imported items and concepts found their way into the language, some as direct loans, some as loan translations. Words like *doa* (ドア, ‘door’), *beddo* (ベッド, ‘bed’) or *restoran* (レストラン, ‘restaurant’) allow for a duality of terms, distinguishing between Japanese and Western realizations of similar concepts, while words like *demokurashi*- (デモクラシー, ‘democracy’, also loan-translated into *minshushugi*, 民主主義), *sutoraiku* (ストライク, ‘strike’), or *puraibashi*- (プライバシー, ‘privacy’) introduced completely new concepts formerly unknown to the Japanese. But also simple and everyday things like *fo-ku* (フォーク, ‘fork’), *supu-n* (スプーン, ‘spoon’), *sha-tsu* (シャツ, ‘shirt’), or *ji-nzu* (ジーンズ, ‘jeans’) fall into this category. Loveday (1996: 81) provides the following table of examples for lexical complementarity:

Original Japanese Word	Western-style, English-based loan
<i>tō/shōji</i> (=sliding door)	<i>doa</i> (‘door’)
<i>futon</i> (=quilted bedding)	<i>beddo</i> (‘bed’)
<i>tatami</i> (=matting)	<i>kāpetto</i> (‘carpet’)
<i>zabuton</i> (=thin cushion)	<i>kusshon</i> (‘cushion’)
<i>hashi</i> (=chopsticks)	<i>naifu</i> , <i>fōku</i> , <i>supūn</i> (‘knife’, ‘fork’, ‘spoon’)
<i>kashi</i> (=Japanese cakes)	<i>kēki</i> , <i>bisuketto</i> (‘cake’, ‘biscuit’)
<i>amedama</i> (=gluten sweets)	<i>kyandē</i> (‘candy’)
<i>ryōriya</i> (=restaurant serving only Japanese food)	<i>resutoran</i> (‘restaurant’)
<i>kinoko</i> (=mushrooms)	<i>masshurūmu</i> (‘champignons’)

Table 6: Complementary lexical dualities btw. loanwords and ‘natives’ (adapted from Loveday 1996: 81)

When it comes to new technologies, it is easier to import an already existing designation for a new invention than to create one from scratch in one's own language. Especially since the development in computer technologies and science are so rapid, it would require an unproportionally great effort to render everything into terms of, in our case, Japanese origin. Simply put, it would be impractical. Thus, terms like *ho-mu pe-ji* (ホームページ, 'homepage'), *dejitaru kamera*, often clipped to *dejikame* (デジカメ, 'digital camera') or *inta-netto* (インターネット, 'Internet') are imported unalteredly into the language (except for phonetic changes or clippings, in case of longish words) (cf. Holst 2000: 42f). This process allows for a quick dissemination of new technologies since such terms can be imported without any delay.

These are the most obvious loans and those most likely to be called 'borrowings' since their Japanese meanings tend to be and remain for the most part identical to their meanings in the donor language. Such words are an expression of intercultural contact and exchange.

4.2.2. Status upgrading

This function answers a socio-stylistic purpose; it is an aspect of 'impression management' (Loveday 1996: 202). The important reason for the choice of a loanword instead of a native word is, in this case the more 'estimable' quality of the loanword, its contribution to the "imposition of a 'better' Japanese reality" (Loveday 1996: 202).

Thus, in case of the use of loanwords for status upgrading, the important aspect lies not so much in the denotation (which it often shares with an 'indigenous' word) but in the connotational value of a loanword. The connotation, in this specific case, is the status of the donor language which resonates in such loans, and the air of sophistication it entails. To a certain extent, this functions overlaps with the function of image-building mentioned later on. Thus, *guzzu-puropo-za-* (グズブプロポザー, 'goods proposer', i.e. 'salesperson') is as much an attempt of status upgrading as it wants to communicate a certain image. Above that, such namings are also used to address a certain clientele, a topic which an article in the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* from 1990 discusses.

カタカナで職種のイメージを一新し、若者や女性の関心を引きつけようというのが、企業側のもくろみ。[...] 運送会社のアートコーポレーション[...]は引っ越し作業員の呼び名を「モービングアドバイザー」に改め、求人活動をしている。引っ越しといえ

ば重い荷物を運ぶ「きつい仕事」。どちらかといえば若い人たちも敬遠しがちだ。そこで「アドバイザー」の名をつけ、引っ越しの“専門家”である点をアピールすることにした。

[...]

同じ運送業の共同サービス（東京）は、配送車の女性運転手を「キューポーターレディー」と呼ぶ。クイック（速い）の頭文字Qに、ポーター（運び役）を付けた。「なかなか男性の運転手が集まらず、女性の手を借りなければ仕事が進まない。そのため名前をソフトにして女性受けを狙った」と採用担当者は説明する（野角 1998：21f）。

Companies know that with the help of Katakana, the images of jobs can be renewed, and the interest of young people and women can be aroused [...]

The transportation company *Art Corporation* [...] has replaced the names of their workers to ‘moving advisor’ in their recruitment activities. When people hear house-moving, they think of heavy things to carry, of hard work – to the effect that young people steer clear of this job offering. That is why they added the designation “advisor”, so as to appeal to people by emphasizing that they will be “experts” in house-moving.

[...]

Another transportation company from Tokyo named *Kyōdō Service* calls their female delivery car drivers “Q-porter lady”, a designation that it made up of the first letter of ‘quick’ and ‘porter’. The corporate recruiter explains: “We couldn’t gather enough male drivers, so there was a need to appeal to women, or else we wouldn’t have got the job done. That’s why we made the name softer, in order to appeal to women” (Nozumi 1998: 21f). (my translation)

In these specific cases, this might have been successful; however, as Loveday accurately states, “[i]t is also important to bear in mind that items which originally started with an upgraded status can, over time, lose their positive semantic charging and end up connotatively neutral, or even negative” (Loveday 1996: 202). He gives the example of the fabled *sarari-man* (サラリーマン, ‘white-collar worker’) whose positive connotations have mostly faded especially in young peoples’ usage where it has become something undesirable affiliated with a complete loss of freedom and independence. Therefore, such upgrading words are very much subject to change because eventually a word’s connotation of the new is often overtaken by the concept it denotes, and the changes in the evaluation of this concept is a mirror of a societal change of value. However, even if the process of upgrading is achieved through the use of foreign-language-resources, the possible downgrading of a word with time is mostly unconnected to the origin of the loanword unless the donor language has suffered a severe deterioration of its subjective status value.

4.2.3. Westernization

Kokusaika (国際化), vaguely translatable as ‘internationalization’, is a Japanese trend that has its roots in the 1970ies, when Japan wanted to show the world a more international face than had been the custom before. In its course, among many other

measures, English education was boosted, being regarded as *the* tool for an increased internationalization. This trend has also left its imprints on language in public space, with a large number of English words and phrases being present around every corner.

Loveday (1996) defines this function as seeking “to fuse and blend foreign derivations into the native matrix in order to express and symbolize a new, internationalized Japanese identity that superficially appears to have much in common with the admired and idealized aspects of the prestigious, external model-culture and its members” (Loveday 1996: 202). This means that foreign language material is used in order to create a surface identity which is modeled after, in our case, American identity. Its realization, in most cases, is accomplished through what Loveday calls “monolingual encoding in the foreign language” (Loveday 1996: 202), that is English words or phrases on public signs, shop signs, T-shirts, product descriptions, in advertisements and so forth.

The main characteristic of this feature is that the use of loanwords is mostly purely cosmetic, with no inherent message apparent other than the image that is communicated through their use. The decorative function of ‘romanized’ (i.e. written in the Latin alphabet, called *rōmaji* – ローマ字, or ‘Roman letters’ – in Japanese) loanwords is most apparent in their use on T-shirts in the form of short phrases which lack any sense or even grammatical coherence and are often misspelled, and only serve a visual function that relies on the image of English. Thus, sentences like “What’s going on • I know with you • keep wasting my just time • never happend • made believe something SOMETHING” as seen on T-Shirts are not perceived to be strange in any way, since hardly anyone, except for curious foreigners, bothers to read them and decipher their meaning because they simply are what they are – decoration.

This function, by the way, is one of the most criticized aspects of the use of English resources in Japanese. Especially native English teachers see them as a threat to their students’ English performance because it is both incorrect and often bereft of meaning, and an offense to their eyes (cf. Ōishi 2001: 200ff).

Another aspect of westernization includes the re-naming of companies, either replacing the old Japanese names with acronyms or loanwords. Nozumi (1998) gives an example that of 2413 companies registered in the autumn 1990 version of *Nikkei Kaisha Jōhō*, an information magazine on companies in Japan, 49 had changed their names in the year before, some of which merely re-wrote their names from Chinese

characters into the Katakana syllabary, while others started using Western-sounding names. The reasons for each name change has not been made public; it can be assumed, however, that one reason was that names written in Katakana, the syllabary used for loanwords, or the Latin alphabet stand out and give the company an international flair (cf. Nozumi 1998: 125).

4.2.4. Fashion

Fashion words are mostly constructed of foreign language material because of the connotations of novelty and difference which it emanates. Their function is to make the speaker sound up-to-date, to create a certain image. Especially within youth culture these loans play an important role as a kind of youth jargon, the proficiency in which reflects an up-to-dateness of the speaker.

Words used for reasons of fashion are particularly frequent in youth magazines or in television programs. The life span of these fashion words varies, but is usually short. Because of the sheer numbers of these words created on an almost daily basis, some don't make it very far because they are not picked up by the readers or the audience. Others, however, are disseminated quickly and used by certain age groups or, in some cases, by most of the population, at least for a short while.

Eventually, it is difficult to say when fashion use ends and standard use begins, or whether there was something like a 'fashion use' in the first place or if there was a lexical need which was satisfied by the creation of the new loanword, especially considering the possibility that English-derived loans are only employed as shells to increase the linguistic pool for word creations. This is reflected in the great number of *wasei eigo* (和製英語) or 'made-in-Japan-English' found in this category. One example is the use of 'now' that was common in Japanese until recently, both as *nau-no* (ナウの) and *naui* (ナウい) and which were used as adjectives to denote contemporariness. Another would be the acronym 'OL' in its realization as *o-eru* (オーエル) meaning 'Office Lady' and denoting a female office worker and which replaced the older term 'BG' or 'Business Girl' which continued to be used by the older generation and thus served as a linguistic demarcation line between 'old' and 'contemporary' (cf. Hoffer 1990: 9ff.). Also some features of teenager or university student jargon would fall into this category, like the suffixation of *chikku* (< -tic, as in poetic) to nouns to create creative new adjectives like *poteto-chikku* (ポテトチック, 'potato' + '-tic', 'peasant-like') or *okama-chikku* (オカマチック, 'effeminate man' +

‘-tic’, ‘camp’)) (cf. Loveday 1996: 195). Anyone, therefore, who manages to keep track of these very fast-paced developments of words coming in and out of the language, can claim to be up-to-date and aware of present fashions.

4.2.5. Prestige and image

Sometimes, loanwords have direct equivalents in the Japanese language, but are used preferably because of their associations with a Western lifestyle or because their use is experienced as sophisticated. As most countries around the world do, Japan, too, looks up to the United States of America as a model.

Until not too long ago, however, Chinese used to be the language of the educated person for many centuries and using Chinese loans was a marker of social standing. Nowadays, Chinese-based loans have become common usage owing to the high level of education most Japanese hold, and their existence is no longer perceived as constituting a foreign element but rather they are seen as intrinsically Japanese. Instead, English has risen to replace Chinese as the language from which most new loanwords – and most new coinages – are taken and which holds the highest prestige amongst all foreign languages (although it is in decline), not only thanks to its position as a world language.

Especially during and until fairly after the immediate postwar period, Americans and the American Way of Life were seen as the embodiment of progress, prosperity and freedom. The poverty and plight of the common people after the war as opposed to the affluence of the American soldiers in the occupation force was fertile ground for the formation of a frame of mind that equaled all that was American with a good and successful life. The reason for military defeat was now seen as being due to an intrinsic superiority of the ‘white race’. This inferiority complex that developed from the devastating defeat epitomized in the double shock of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki helped very much in creating the unprecedented appeal that English has in Japan. English was seen as the key to embarking on the famed American Way of Life.

Nowadays, English is especially present in the fields of high technology, where a large number of loanwords are used, serving as a prestige marker for the educational level of the speaker and/or listener. While official documents still use to cling to native words (this, too, however, is changing gradually), and while the vocabulary of Buddhism or the Japanese Shinto religion and of things connected to the High Court and the Emperor is and, for all we know, will forever remain untouched by Western

loanwords, according to Hoffer “English words are making inroads in some areas such as the public media, with less and less reluctance being shown by some stations to use loanwords” (Hoffer 1990: 15). Zapping through Japanese television programs or browsing a Japanese newspaper or magazine, it becomes obvious just how deep this inroad already goes.

Loveday argues that while, for instance, “Chinese-based resources can produce an erudite, classical effect, and purely native vocabulary (*wago*) can also achieve a traditionally respected image in certain contexts,” both of these are felt to be “inappropriate, inadequate, or unappealing in constructing a modern, Westernized image” (Loveday 1996: 203). This is where English loanwords fall into place, their intrinsic appeal helping to construe an image that other native words could not. This prestige function is most easily identifiable in the use of loanwords in advertisements, in product-labeling, shop names, on clothes and many other occasions which foreground representation and appeal over meaning for the sake of image-building, which is “achieved through the symbolic exploitation of the associational value of the donor code as a carrier of an imputed ‘worldliness’, ‘modernity’, and/or ‘sophistication’” (203). Such, as a matter of fact, are encountered in Japan in an abundance that makes European discussions of overflowing Anglicisms appear petty and superfluous. In Japan, however, those are a normal part of everyday life and nothing unusual, let alone reason for heated public discussions.

Loveday also identifies a trend to spice up job designations through Anglicisms (a trend also prominent in German-speaking countries) like *guzzu-puropo-za-* (グズブローパーザー, < ‘goods proposer’, i.e. ‘salesperson’) or *terehon-kondakuta-* (テレホンコンダクター, < ‘telephone conductor’, i.e. ‘assistant conducting market research by telephone’) (cf. Loveday 1996: 204).

Stanlaw, on the other hand, argues that the prestige factor is not of primary importance in importing foreign words. “If English was so prestigious,” he maintains, “one would think that there would be more valiant attempts to try and ‘get it right’ (in terms of spelling, grammar, or meaning). Most English, however, is the made-in-Japan variety, with little or no connection to native speaker’s English (and this lack of connection is no concern to most Japanese)” (Stanlaw 2005: 168). While his ‘made-in-Japan’ argument is certainly convincing, the primary ‘decision’ to use English loanwords as a new resource must have had at least some rooting in the prestige that

the Japanese attribute, or attributed, to the English language (especially its American variety). It has to be added, though, that Stanlaw does not entirely negate the factor of prestige, he only attributes more importance to emotional categories which are created through English-based loans.

4.2.6. Euphemisms

Like in the case of status upgrading, the use of loanwords for euphemistic means relies heavily on their connotational value or, rather, on obfuscating a negative connotation inherent to a native word. In this case, in fact, it is the lack of any deeper connotations that makes the loanword an attractive resource since it allows people to talk about certain issues without having to suffer the consequences of using native words which are imbued with deeply rooted cultural and social values and connotations which are considered undesirable in a certain context. The somewhat blurry nature of loanwords (in that their meaning is not so canonized and culturally ‘burdened’) makes it possible to circumvent directness and say things in an indirect, i.e. euphemized way, thus rendering them more agreeable.

This starts with very basic concepts like ‘toilet’ which has many realizations in Japanese like *benjo* (便所) or *otearai* (お手洗い), the latter of which is already a euphemism which means ‘the place for washing hands’, but also the loanword *toire* (トイレ, ‘toilet’), which Hoffer argues has in most cases substituted the original Japanese names for the room (Hoffer 1990: 14). This, however, is a too simplistic explanation because *toire* tends to imply that it is a Western style toilet, as opposed to the traditional Japanese toilet which has no seat. Therefore, this term has as much the function of euphemism as it is a representative for the imported concept of a Western-style toilet. Another such euphemistic term would be *shirubāshīto* (シルバーシート, ‘silver seat’), which denotes seats for the elderly or physically challenged people or pregnant women, with the ‘silver’ probably referring to the grey hair of elderly people these seats were initially set up for.

A good example for the euphemistic function of a loanword is the replacement of the native word for loan, *shakkin* (借金) with the Anglicism *ro-n* (ローン, ‘loan’).

Shakkin is a word which is quite loaded with cultural background. Hoffer explains,

In Japan, things borrowed were traditionally returned by the beginning of the New Year. Falling into debt was considered disgraceful. A person who wanted to purchase something was expected to save the money for it and to repress his desire until he could afford it. The fairly recent influx of consumerism and commercialism has changed the life-style patterns of many Japanese, but the

shame attached to being in debt is still present. The use of /rooN/ alone for /šakkin/ is not sufficient to avoid the negative connotations. /rooN/ is used in the sense of J /rooN wo kumu/, where /wo/ is the object marker and /kumu/ refers to the formation of something. “Forming” a loan refers to the structured process which involves a bank or other economic organization, a legally binding repayment system, and so on. A /rooN/ has become a well-planned economic activity and a /rooN/ carries not a negative connotation but a connotation that the borrower has a healthy and secure financial future (Hoffer 1990: 14).

Loanwords, thus, thanks to their comparatively neutral meaning at the time of primal implementation, serve to erase negative connotations cultivated throughout history. In commercials, this euphemizing nature of loanwords is intentionally used in order to evade the embarrassment connected to financial matters. Words like ‘money loan’, ‘family lease’, ‘money plan’, or ‘fresh start’ are useful in convincing people to make use of their services (cf. Loveday 1996: 197).

Euphemizing is also an important issue concerning certain taboo topics like sexuality. Japanese makes rich use of Anglicisms in order to obfuscate what is still considered to be an improper subject. Those ubiquitous hotels made for the sole purpose of short-time romantic intercourse (rooms can be rented from one hour upwards, and are often used by unmarried couples or by people engaged in an extramarital affair) are euphemistically called *rabuho* (ラブホ, short for ‘love hotel’), while young and unmarried couples are sometimes referred to as *abekku* (アベック, from French ‘avec’), and young gay males have been known as *shisuta-bo-i* (シスターボーイ, ‘sister + boy’) (cf. Loveday 1996: 197). Things related to eroticism are often euphemized by the use of the color adjective ‘pink’. Therefore, erotic movies are referred to as *pinku eiga* (ピンク映画, ‘pink’ + Jap. ‘movie’), a sizzling erotic atmosphere is called *pinku mu-do* (ピンクムード, ‘pink mood’), and bars also offering services of a sexual nature are euphemized as *pinku saron* (ピンクサロン, ‘pink salon’). Any kind of sexual talk and its vocabulary relies heavily on the ambiguous nature of English loanwords (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 245).

4.2.7. Obscuring

In other cases, it is the very intransparency of loanwords that constitutes the reason for its use. In certain contexts, loanwords are used to slow down the comprehension process or even prevent decoding altogether. According to Loveday, this serves several social functions, namely politeness, rebellion, elusion/derision and group solidarity (cf. Loveday 1996: 206f).

Politeness demands avoidance of undesirable effects on the listener and is therefore one of the main fields of application for the use of indirect and obscuring expressions. One example for a loanword in this context is *ecchi suru* (エッチする, ‘H’ + Jap. ‘do’), where the *ecchi* is the pronunciation of the English letter ‘h’ which, in turn, stands for *hentai* (変体, ‘perverted’) (cf. Loveday 1996: 206). The whole expression therefore denotes sexual intercourse, but the multiple obscuring by abbreviating the word into one letter and then coat it with an English-based pronunciation softens the impact and averts, in most cases, an undesirable effect.

In the case of rebellion, obscuring serves the purpose of shielding off outsiders by using a group-specific jargon which sets the respective group apart from the mainstream. This in-group jargon is often created by clipping, thus rendering already foreign words even more incomprehensible. Loveday gives the example of *torabu suru* (トラブする, ‘trouble’ + Jap. ‘to make’), in which case ‘trouble’ is shortened to ‘troub’ to create opacity (cf. Loveday 1996: 207). This example, however, already shows the fate of many of such in-group words – they become mainstream, since the word *toraburu* (トラブる, ‘troub[le]’ + Jap. verb ending *ru*, ‘to make trouble’) has become widely used and understood. Still, for a limited amount of time such innovations remain group-specific. According to Loveday, rebellion against the mainstream is therefore achieved through two linguistic processes: “First, resources from a foreign language are selected for the negative, instead of the usually positive, evaluation of a significatum. Secondly, deviant lexical innovation is constructed which challenges and breaks away from standard usage” (Loveday 1996: 207).

When loanwords are used for elusive and derisive purposes, the obscurity of the loan helps to soften the direct derisiveness of the content by veiling it into a not immediately transparent mantle. This serves as a protective shield for both the addressor and the addressee in terms of guilt and shame. Examples provided by Loveday include *DC Burando* (DCブランド, DC=‘discount’ + ‘brand’) which was originally a clothes store popular in the 1980s which sold Japanese brands at discount prices and which was at the same time also used to address students whose school records consisted primarily of Ds and Cs. Another example is *seibun irebun teishu* (セブンイレブン亭主, ‘Seven Eleven’, the name of a convenience store, + ‘husband’) which uses the chain store’s name to denote a husband who departs early in the morning (‘seven’) and comes back late at night (‘eleven’) when every one is already

asleep. A prominent feature of such loanwords serving this function is their reference to consumer-related items, and they gain their derisive effect by highlighting certain semantic aspects of these foreign words (cf. Loveday 1996: 207). Metaphorization is also quite common for this purpose.

The function of group solidarity serves the purpose of identification within a certain group and of creating unity amongst its members. Since the access towards decodification methods of loanwords used in group jargons is strictly limited, it strengthens the ties of those happy few who have gained access (cf. Loveday 1996: 207/8).

4.2.8. Stylistic use

An intrinsic feature of Japanese language use is that of wordplay which was already referred to in a previous chapter. This wordplay derives its attraction and its impact mostly from the use of homophones and the ambiguous meaning that results from them. Interestingly enough, while many languages use loanwords in order to avoid homophony, the Japanese often aim for homophony when importing loanwords, and these homophones are then put to use in poems or in songs to create a kaleidoscope of different meanings which complement and reinforce each other. There is a lot of associational force at work in such cases which helps to develop multiple meanings.

Another way of using loanwords in music or in literature is by making use of their connotations, or their lack of fixed meanings to create a certain atmosphere. According to Stanlaw, who has written extensively on the use of English words and loanwords in Japanese pop songs and modern poetry (cf. Stanlaw 2005: 101ff), “[t]he use of English words can be a powerful tool in the construction of new analogies, metaphors, metonyms, in Japanese verbal art of all kinds.” Additionally, they “also have a potential for the kinds of ambiguities and indeterminacies exploited by poets in their craft [...] English loanwords can simultaneously be both more and less symbolically meaningful than their native Japanese counterparts” (Stanlaw 2005: 122/3).

4.2.9. Avoiding gender-related speech-restrictions

Mainly due to Confucian influence, the position of women in Japanese society used to be one of subordination, with women lacking representation in the public sphere and facing restraints in the manners of speaking. Women, in general, were taught to use politer speech than men, thus barring them from openly expressing their opinions. The high level of politeness prevented any direct output and softened the statement to

a degree where it was difficult to deduce the original meaning. Nowadays, this is slowly but steadily changing, with women gaining ground in most segments of society. Stanlaw (2005: 127ff) argues that, actually, women are the dominant force behind the current fad for importing English loanwords because it frees them from the speech limits previously imposed on them.

Stanlaw also maintains that the use of English or English loans especially proliferates in pop music written by women and that it is therefore “likely that Japanese women songwriters are using English to avoid some of the linguistic restrictions placed upon them by the Japanese language” (Stanlaw 2005: 127). Equally, advertisements and magazines aimed at a female audience appear to be much more prone to use English-related items in greater numbers. This data points to the assumption that loanwords might be a tool for women to take a more active part in public discussions. An anecdote told by Stanlaw seems to confirm this. “Female members,” he recounts, “of one of the nationally-known Japanese debate teams told me a few years ago that it is almost impossible for women to be argumentative in Japanese; and as far as they knew, all debating contests in Japan that involved women were conducted in English [...] [T]here seems to be little doubt that Japanese women are restricted in certain ways when saying certain things” (Stanlaw 2005: 139).

Stanlaw predicts that, thanks to the increasing use of English-based loanwords, women will be occupying an increasingly bigger segment of public life while the men’s persona will more and more subside into the private. “[T]he judicious use of English loanwords,” he argues, “will give Japanese women greater rhetorical power, more linguistic options, and perhaps even more freedom, than they have previously had” (Stanlaw 2005: 142). Although this seems an overly optimistic prospect, which ignores other and more severe social reasons for the discrimination of women, it still is an interesting and thought-provoking impulse which deserves further study.

4.3. Summary

These are only some of the functions of loanwords in Japanese. Linguists like Loveday (1996: 189ff) classify these functions into many more categories (Twenty-one, in his case), but to adopt this wholesale would go beyond the scope of this thesis. This is why I have subsumed some under the same heading and left out others which I deemed of less import for my case. The ones that are mentioned here, however, should give the reader an idea of how central loanwords are to the Japanese language

nowadays whose everyday use would be made near impossible were loanwords to be deleted from its corpus.

These important functions that loanwords fulfill, however, cannot conceal that, of course, the constant influx and the huge number of new and non-associable loanwords still pose a challenge to the average Japanese which must not be underestimated. In the following chapter I touch on this subject and show the major problems pertaining to loanwords, both from the perspective of the Japanese and from the English language community.

5. Difficulties in Comprehension and Use

Despite the unquestionable fact that English loanwords are an essential part of Japanese linguistic reality and despite the fact that they also have become so central to everyday conversations and to understanding the media, their very numbers and the speed with which they enter and leave the language bring along great challenges for the Japanese. Their frequency and their seeming ambiguity of meaning sometimes result in severe difficulties of understanding, especially with older generations who are not at all familiar with the workings of the English language. Also younger speakers, however, sometimes seem to have their troubles in handling this newly acquired linguistic resource properly. A further problematic point of the loanword issue, at least from an English speaker's perspective, is the seemingly mistaken use of English words and grammar especially in the sphere of advertisements, product descriptions, or design elements. Since this one is the most eye-catching, and most problematic item – because it is evaluated mostly by voices from outside the speech community – the discussion will commence therewith.

5.1. Mistaken usage or utilizing mistakes?

It is a very frequent observation and complaint by native speakers of English that the usage of English on products and in public places is bristling with mistakes in the lexicon and orthography as well as in syntax. A quick glance into any T-shirts store or one-hundred-yen-shop will reveal a small universe of spelling mistakes and senseless writings which perplex the casual beholder. Owing to this, whole websites have been created revolving around what is experienced as a marvelously ignorant use of the English language (e.g. <http://www.english.com>). Even the most basic articles like notebooks or pencils are adorned with sentences in English which, apart from frequent spelling errors, mostly lack any discernible sense. English speakers are often amused, some dismayed by this – in their eyes – startling ‘abuse’ of the world's leading language. The problem with this perception is that it is irrelevant because it originates from outside of the Japanese speech community for whom such writings are intended. Were these findings from within any given English-speaking country, the commotion would be understandable and indeed necessary. Japan, however, obeys its own rules.

The problem here is twofold. While, for example, English for informational purposes is usually both generated and checked by a native speaker of English, the

English used for promotional purposes, by and large, is not. This suggests that it is basically Japanized English, or Japanese given an English appearance. There seems to be little willingness to have it proofread by an English speaker in general, and even if it is, the issue sometimes is a sensitive matter. Seaton quotes from a personal communication with a native speaker with experience in proofreading who says:

I think much of Japlish [Japanized English] happens because of the Oriental (not only Japanese) 'face'. Let's say a Japanese person in a position of authority believes his English to be good, and it might very well be. So he writes the copy....To question his ability (and, worse, to find it wanting) would cause him to lose face (Seaton 2001: 241).

But this is merely a marginal factor, and not key to understanding the underlying concept and meaning of such 'Japanized English', and to focus only on it would be passing a superficial judgment. Considering that the average proficiency of English, due to inefficient teaching methods (primarily the continued use of the grammar-translation method) is low (cf. Reischauer 1971: 299, quoted in Kachru 2005:74, Ōishi 1990: 65ff; Loveday 1996: 97f) it would seem like wasted time and energy to go through all the lengths of writing, re-writing and correcting promotional texts only to have them in perfect English which is then not properly received by the target audience. Rather, these texts are created by Japanese for Japanese, exclusively, so to judge them by native standards would be misguided and proof of Western ethnocentric thought. The gist of understanding the workings of Japanese promotional usage of English is not to "insist that the Japanese copy is translatable into a system that you understand. That is the tail wagging the dog. When you are marketing in Japan, all that matters is what makes sense to the Japanese consumer" (Seaton 2001, citing Fields 1983: 106).

So if, then, the reason for using English lies not in its transparent meaning, the question remains of why the correct spelling or grammar should be of any concern. As Seaton remarks, "The English is being used only for design reasons and so its meaning and accuracy are irrelevant" (Seaton 2001: 241). Of course, as I mentioned in an earlier chapter, sometimes the English does transport meaning, like in wordplays that rely on English-Japanese homophony, but in most cases of English print on clothes, notebooks, food products etc. it can be safely alleged that the reason for using English is purely for design purposes and therefore subjective concerns by English native speakers about the accuracy of the data used is irrelevant. In the sphere of this 'Domesticated English', as Stanlaw calls it, "English spelling and semantics are not of

primary concern” (Stanlaw 2005: 153). Seaton gives an example of a Japanese shampoo entitled ‘Shampoo for Extra Damage’ which would be a deterring name for an English speaker, but does not seem to bother the Japanese at all. This is, according to Seaton, because its meaning “metamorphosed from ‘extra damage’ to ‘damaged hair’ in the process of being adopted as a loan word. The Japanized English is not so much incorrect English as a grammatically correct English sentence in which two Japanese loan words, which have retained their English spelling, are included” (Seaton 2001: 243). He further argues that “the hermeneutic meaning is more important than the transparent meaning and the people do not look closely at the English. What meaning is to be gleaned from Japanized English is learned by deducing the obviously intended meaning from the key words, rather than the sentence as a whole” (Seaton 2001: 244/5).

When it comes to loanwords proper, such criticism gets even more absurd. Many English speakers of Japanese object to the Japanese language’s use of English loans, which they feel to be semantically and syntactically wrong. The original fault in this is the assumption that a word which is based on English has to be identical in usage in both the donor and receptor language. Based on this assumption, many foreigners in Japan attempt to use English loans in a way identical to what they are used to. This, however, results in serious problems in communication because the meaning of English loanwords in Japanese, for the most part, is not identical to the original meaning, but differs slightly or sometimes fundamentally from the source word.³ Thus, the word *naibu* (ナイブ, from Engl. ‘naïve’) is rather used with the meaning of ‘sensitive’, while calling someone a *feminisuto* (フェミニスト, from Engl. ‘feminist’) means calling him a ‘gentleman’, in which case its meaning would be rather opposed to the original. However, the primary error in the mistaken usage of the word obviously lies not in a mistaken import of the word, but in the ethnocentric usage of people from outside the Japanese speech community, because for Japanese this ‘distorted’ usage makes perfect sense, probably precisely because the original word is not so well known. Seaton (2001), for example, cites Tanaka (1994: 128) who argues:

³ Holst (2000: 46ff), in a preliminary study conducted with students, in which he had them list examples of English loanwords they encountered during the summer holiday, found that only 19% of these samples could be counted as native English, while some 77% were different to the original English either in meaning, form, or usage.

A Japanese audience would understand the use of the lone [sic] word *feminisuto*, whether or not they knew the meaning of the English word ‘feminist’. It would not be necessary for them to know the meaning of the word in advance. An addressee would learn how *feminisuto* should be understood through the context in which the Japanese word was being employed. Even an addressee who knew the English word would quickly realise that the Japanese way of using it was different, not because of her previous knowledge of the English word, but in spite of it (Seaton 2001: 243).

As Loveday elaborates: “[Loanwords] appear to lack the ‘real’ signifiatory force of the Japanese language. It must be remembered that those involved in such deviant innovation [i.e. deviant from the original meaning of the English word] generally lack a working knowledge of the contact language; its forms tend to lack psycho-semantic reality – being studied only through translations and dictionaries in school – and thus some teenagers do not hesitate to ‘play around with’ it” (Loveday 1996: 208). The more a word is ‘played around with’, the more it becomes alienated from the original source, and the more it turns into genuine Japanese.

Therefore, what to an English-speaking non-Japanese might look like mistaken spelling, grammar, or meaning is actually a perfectly fine Japanese form, because – and that is the point – it no longer is an English word, but a domesticated Japanese word only loosely related to its English source. Stanlaw argues along the same lines, saying that “we should not expect these loanwords to conform to any preconceived contextual or linguistic notion simply because we happen to be native speakers of English. As one informant said to me, ‘The important thing is that *we* Japanese understand what is being said, right?’” (Stanlaw 2005: 273). The usage of English linguistic material is therefore not ‘mistaken’, but rather meaning acquired through use, in the Wittgensteinian sense. The only ‘problem’ in this field concerns “the unwary non-native speaker of Japanese armed only with a knowledge of the originals of many such loanwords” (Miller 1967: 252), and thus constitutes a non-problem for the Japanese language community which can be blissfully ignored.

5.2. A stranger in one’s own land – problems in loanword comprehension

The biggest problem with English-based loanwords in Japanese, however, is intra-language confusion. This is a problem shared by all speech communities around the world, and German-speaking countries have had their fair share of discussions about comprehension-related problems with Anglicisms. In Japan, however, the case differs from what we experience in Europe.

Firstly, the numbers of Anglicisms that enter Japanese each year are enormous compared with those few that German speakers have to 'put up with'. And secondly, while German and English both belong to the West-Germanic language group and share a common history and a respectable stock of vocabulary, Japanese and English have no such common ground. Therefore, the possibility of guessing the meaning of Anglicisms by, for example, similarities with words in one's own language is non-existent.

This, of course, inevitably leads to problems in comprehending these new loanwords which get broadcast every day on countless television channels and which almost jump at the reader of any given magazine or newspaper. While some loans are well established and pose little problems, the frequent ad hoc creation of loanwords which might never be used again thereafter (so-called nonce creations), forces many Japanese to their knees.

According to surveys by the National Language Institute of Japan, a great majority of Japanese has already encountered problems because of loanwords they did not understand.

私どもの研究所で、2003年に全国の一般の国民の方を対象にアンケート調査を行ないましたところ、外来語が分からず困ったことがあるという回答をされた方が約8割でした。また、これ以上外来語が増えるのは困ると回答をされた方が約6割でした。（国立国語研究所2006：12。）

In 2003, we conducted a nationwide survey, whose target group was average citizens. In it, about 80% percent of the participants answered that they had already experienced problems with loanwords they didn't understand. Also, about 60% stated that any further rise of the number of loanwords would be problematic (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2006: 12.). (my translation)

One of the reasons for these sentiments is of course the actual and dramatic rise of loanwords in the last decades.

確かに外来語は増え続けてきたようです。研究所が調査をしたところ、1956年の雑誌には外来語の延べ語数が全体の3%だったのが、1994年の雑誌では11%弱になってる。単語の種類（異なり語数）で見ましても、約10%から約30%へと増えている。いずれも約3倍の増加です。（国立国語研究所2006：12。）

Certainly, the numbers of loanwords seem to be on the increase. The surveys conducted by the National Language Institute show that, while in 1956 the magazines contained about 3% of loanword tokens, in 1994 their number had increased to about 11%. Even if we look at types, there is an increase from about 10% to about 30%, in either case a rise by 3 times (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2006: 12.). (my translation)

It is obvious that such a sudden increase of foreign-based vocabulary numbers could result in comprehension-related problems.

The wide diffusion of loanwords throughout all fields is another problem. Whereas in German-speaking countries, the main fields of application of Anglicisms are fashion, sports, promotion, computer- and youth-related issues, Anglicisms in Japanese are spread widely and almost equally between all fields of life except for traditional arts and religion. This broadens the scope of possible misunderstandings, because while a German speaker is relatively safe unless he or she tries their luck with, for example, a teenage magazine, a Japanese speaker cannot enjoy the privilege of ignorance since Anglicisms concern every part of Japanese daily life. As a result, comprehension of English-based loanwords varies according to occupation and education level of the speaker with respect to each field of use. Every age and/or occupational group understands different loanwords to different degrees, depending on which are closest to their daily experiences, including the media they resort to.

NHK (short for *Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai*, 日本放送協会), Japan's national television, regularly conducts surveys concerning the degree of recognition and understanding of Anglicisms. In their 9/2000 issue NHK presents interesting results showing not only different degrees of comprehension depending on age and occupation, but also a corresponding feeling that English-based loans are abundant in the fields the respondents are less concerned with. Thus, for example, young people in their 20ies feel that there is an overflow of Anglicisms in fields of politics and economy, while older participants of the survey pinpointed commercials and mass communication as *the* place for an over-use of such loans. The survey states:

この設問は、各年代が好んで見る番組を反映してるといえる。男女を含めて20歳代が好んで見る番組は、ドラマ・バラエティー番組・音楽番組などで、あまり見ない番組は、ニュース・スポーツ中継などである。よく見る番組に出てくる外来語はある程度理解できるので、多いとも感じないが、政治経済などのニュースは実生活からかけ離れており、理解できないということが、答えに影響しているのだろうか（坂本2001：47f）。

It can be said that this question reflects the kind of programs that the respective age groups like to watch. Male as well as female viewers in their 20ies like to watch TV series, variety shows, music programs and the like, while they do not particularly watch such programs as news or sports broadcasts. Those loanwords which are used in programs they often watch are being understood to a certain degree and their numbers don't feel to be so large. On the other hand, the fact that news programs about politics or economy are rather far removed from their life situations and therefore loanwords used therein cannot be understood, might have had an influence on their answers (Sakamoto 2002: 47f). (my translation)

The survey moreover shows that a large gap exists between recognition and understanding of loanwords. While some loanwords score remarkably high in both recognition and understanding, others, though not seldom used in newspapers or on television, meet with widespread ignorance. In the September 2002 issue of the NHK report, the 17 loanwords tested met with a degree of comprehension ranging from some 93% for *risutora* (リストラ, shortened from English ‘restructuring’) down to only 20% for *haza-do mappu* (ハザードマップ, ‘hazard map’) (cf. Sakamoto 2002: 30).⁴ NHK also took a look at the number of times that these 17 words were actually used in three of Japan’s leading newspapers between 1985 and 2001 which showed that even the least understood loan in the list, *haza-do mappu*, was used some 200 times in these years, while the word *infura* (インフラ, shortened from ‘infrastructure’), which was only understood by 32%, was used between 2500 and 3500 times (cf. Sakamoto 2002: 42).

An interesting point in the loanword issue is that there appears to be a considerable discrepancy between the individuals’ understanding of English loanwords, or his or her impression as to what extent a loan has become ‘Japanese’ and the judgment concerning the use of these in television broadcast. A 1982 NHK study shows that, while words that many people consider being ‘Japanese’ already are not thought to be proper for television use, others which are still felt to be ‘foreign’ are deemed suitable for television. NHK calls these “inevitable loanwords” (「やむをえざる外来語」). Among these are special jargon words which might lose meaning in translation, like *sofutowea* (ソフトウェア, ‘software’) or words which are thought to be practical to use, like *wa-suto* (ワースト, ‘worst’) (cf. The NHK Report on Broadcast Research 03/1982: 25).

Matsuda points to another feature of loanwords which is intrinsically connected to misunderstanding, namely ambiguity deriving from it. She shows parts of a NHK survey in which people had to pick a definition of a loanword that best expressed its meaning. Therein, *echiketto* (エチケツト, ‘etiquette’) was defined by 77% as ‘good manners’, but by 20% as ‘public morality’, *boryu-mu* (ボリューム, ‘volume’) was received by 58% as meaning ‘volume’ but by some 20% as meaning ‘sound’, while

⁴ Another study of 64 loanwords published in the same issue showed an even greater gap between the highest-scoring *borantia* (ボランティア, ‘volunteer’) with 97% and the lowest-scoring *riterashī* (リテラシー, ‘literacy’) with only 3% degree of comprehension (cf. Sakamoto 2002: 40).

jiremma (ジレッマ, ‘dilemma’) was split between only 21% who defined it as ‘dilemma’, 33% defining it as ‘impatience’, and 11% who picked ‘serious suffering’ (cf. Matsuda 1986: 63). Such ambiguity is born, as a matter of course, from poor understanding of a word’s intended meaning, and therefore can be an obstacle to the correct reception of the intended meaning.

5.2.1. Loanwords and foreign words in movie titles

Another small, but interesting example of how much loanwords, and English, have found their way into everyday Japanese life is the naming of foreign movies in Japan. Movie titles were usually translated into Japanese but recently there appears to be a tendency toward direct transcription of the original English title into the Japanese Katakana syllabary regardless to whether these English words already exist in the Japanese vocabulary or whether the titles are non-translatable puns. A survey conducted by Yamada (2005) on movie titles between 1945 and 2002 showed the following results:

Chart 1: Development of numbers of translated and transcribed movie titles

(山田 2005 : 181 [Yamada 2005: 181])

The reason for the sudden increase around the year 2000 is the use of different movie encyclopedias for the years 1945-1999 and 2000-2002 by the author. However, as he comments, 「サンプル数は九九年以前と二〇〇〇年以後で大きく異なっている。しかし、得られた数値からは、明らかに一定の傾向が読みとれる。」 (山田 [Yamada] 2005 : 179) (There is a big difference in sample numbers

between the years until 1999 and after 2000, but the result obviously shows a certain tendency nonetheless [my translation]).

The development of the ratio of Katakana titles, taken from the same statistic, shows the development even more impressively.

Chart 2: Development of the ratio of Katakana movie titles after 1945

The real boom for Katakana titles, according to this graph then, set in around the 1980ies, when the transcribed titles for the first time exceeded those which were translated into Japanese. The problem, in this case, consists in the fact that the titles are transcribed one to one from the original, leaving the Japanese spectator with much to wonder what the content of the movie might be.

これらの題名は、原題を単にカタカナ書きしただけである。外国映画の題名には、いま、このようなものがふえ、輸入映画全体のかかなりの部分を占めている。

カタカナ書きされただけの題名は、わかりにくい。これらの題名から内容を想像できる日本人は少ないだろう。相当な英語力がなければ無理であるし、日本人一般にそのような英語力を期待することはできない相談である（山田 2005：177）。

These titles are simply the original titles written in Katakana. Similar examples can be seen frequently and concern a not insignificant part of imported movies nowadays.

Movie titles which have only been transcribed into Katakana are difficult to understand and those Japanese who can fathom the movie's content from such titles are probably very few. It requires a sufficient proficiency in English and there is agreement that this cannot be expected from the average Japanese (Yamada 2005: 177). (my translation)

Since this phenomenon has been prominent since the 1980ies, it is not surprising that already then some media commented on its effects, like this newspaper article from 1981:

「スフィンクス」とか「ジャズ・シンガー」くらいなら、まだわれわれ一般日本人に、まあなじみのあるカタカナ題名、と言えるのかも知れない。しかし「プライベート・ベンジャミン」とか「アルタード・ステーツ」とか「コンペティション」「マルホランド・ラン」に至っては、舌でもかみそうな発音のタイトルで、一度や二度広告を見たくらいでは、正直なところ、どれがどれやら、作品の区別もつけ難い映画題名とでもいう他ないだろう（山田 2005：178）。

Titles written in Katakana like „Sphinx“ or „Jazz Singer“ even we average Japanese can still somehow understand, I guess. But when it comes to titles like „Private Benjamin“, „Altered States“, „The Competition“ or „King of the Mountain“, I almost bite my tongue by trying to pronounce them. To be honest, such titles make it difficult for me to distinguish the one from the other (cited in Yamada 2005: 178). (my translation)

Here we have an interesting point. Not only does the indiscriminate use of the original title rewritten in the Japanese syllabary pose a noticeable obstacle to understanding and distinction between different titles; but also there are some titles whose Japanese ‘English’ title is different from the original, and as a consequence even more difficult to understand. What was translated in the above citation as “King of the Mountain” reads “Mulholland Run” in Japanese, which would probably make it difficult for even an English native speaker to fathom the content of the movie. This habit of translating the English title into a different English title and then, as it were, sugarcoat it with Japanese spelling, has survived until today. In 2001, a movie called “3000 Miles to Graceland” was mysteriously featured in Japan as 「スコーピオン」 (‘Scorpion’), without this having any apparent reference in the movie. This habit, along with the direct transcription of English titles, can be supposed to represent a reasonable barrier.

Yamada (2005), in a related survey conducted in 1999, examined how such movie titles were actually understood by Japanese people. For this survey, he randomly selected 25 international movies released in Japan after 1970, whose titles were phonetically transcribed into the Katakana syllabary. The participants were asked if they understood the movie title and if yes, to translate it into Japanese. The movie titles which were most understood were 「サブウェイ」 (“Subway”), and 「インデペンデンス・デイ」 (“Independence Day”) which 55,3% of all participants understood correctly. On the other side of the scale were the movie titles of 「リーサル・ウェポン」 (“Lethal Weapon”) and 「リアリティ・バイツ」 (“Reality Bites”)

with only 2,2%. The average value of all 25 titles taken together ranged at merely 16,4% (Yamada 2005: 186). Of course, since this survey was aimed at people of all ages, it goes without saying that the results of people from thirty upwards corrected the total result downwards.

The following graph shows in blue the number of titles which achieved 0% of comprehension amongst the various age groups.

Chart 3: Comprehension levels of movie titles according to age (cf. Yamada 2005: 186)

To assume from this data that the level of comprehension amongst 10 to 30 year-olds is satisfactory, however, is wrong. Their average level of comprehension was a mere 22%. Interestingly, such low levels of comprehension to the contrary, the general opinion does not point towards a wish for change. In a follow-up questionnaire by Yamada, the following answers were given:

Chart 4: Opinions on how movie titles should be transcribed (山田 2 0 0 5 : 1
8 7 [Yamada 2005: 187])

With the wish for a Japanese translation being the least favored among the major choices, these results once more show the strangely ambiguous attitude of the Japanese towards loanwords and foreign words – even though they might have problems understanding some or many of them, they still feel that these words have their place within the Japanese language and society. The fact that most people expressed the wish to keep the original title also suggests that foreign elements do have their function and status in the Japanese context. In the case of movie titles, Yamada argues, this could be their air of specialness, of out-of-the-ordinariness that engulfs them and that helps making a movie more remote from everyday life (cf. Yamada 2005: 188ff).

Despite such facets of style, the fact remains that, much like in ordinary Japanese language, many foreign elements enter everyday situations and not seldom pose a threat to unimpaired communication. And however uncontended they might be amongst Japanese speakers, the question remains to what extent this effects the comprehensibility of communication in everyday Japanese.

5.3. Facing the challenge

Studies as the one by Yamada show the problematic situation of English-based loanwords in Japan and the linguistic challenges that a Japanese speaker is faced with on a daily basis. Matsuda (1986) maintains:

However familiar these terms [fashionable or technical loanwords] are to the speakers and writers themselves, the hearers or readers may be puzzled by the words unfamiliar to them, unable to understand the literal meanings, although they might enjoy the emotion evoked by the expressions. They may even be in danger of misconstruing the crucial points of the statements (Matsuda 1986: 62).

To counter the danger of misunderstanding, newspapers and magazines sometimes provide annotations to explain the meaning of the *gairaigo* they use. NHK, the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, too, has made it a policy “to avoid unfamiliar and opaque foreignisms in the language of its own announcers, and, where necessary, to accompany loan-word terminology with a Japanese explanatory paraphrase” (Loveday 1996: 160). However, this method, too, is problematic and only partly a solution, as the following quote from an NHK report shows:

どの外来語まで注釈をつけるのかという明確な基準いわゆる「線引き」は難しい。ニュースなど原稿にする場合はある程度可能であるが、出演者が話す外来語まで規制することはできない。

たとえ明確な基準を作ったとしても、外来語の理解度は日に日に変化する。基準を作って規制することで、生き生きとした会話やコメントができなくなることさえ懸念される。(坂本 2002: 46)

It is difficult to draw a clear line between loanwords that need annotations and such that don't. In the case of manuscript-based news this is possible to a certain extent, but it is impossible to regulate the loanwords used by newscasters or commentators when they are talking freely.

Even if there were to be clear-cut guidelines concerning their use, the level of understanding of loanwords keeps changing every day. It is to be feared that by using guidelines and restraints it will become impossible to have a natural and lively conversation or commentary [on TV] (Sakamoto 2002: 46). (my translation)

Explanations and annotations, as mentioned above, constitute a major break in the fluency of both reading and speaking, affecting the natural flow of language, and are therefore a method to be employed with care. The effort to constantly create new annotations, make away with redundant annotations or rewrite annotations for a different context might be much too big to be worthwhile. Also, it would raise questions as to the sense of using loanwords if you have to explain them all the way. It would seem to be more sensible to rely on people's natural sense of their mother tongue than to prescribe meaning. Nevertheless, the predicament of comprehension does loom large.

Yet, despite the constant increase of Anglicisms and the problems they entail, daily communication in Japan relies heavily on this additional resource, and it seems to work. If loanwords really constituted a crucial obstacle in communicating, there would be no more loanwords because languages have a tendency to clean themselves

of factors which hinder communication, so words which are neither used nor understood cease to exist over time (cf. Kettemann 2002: 256). This means, that these loanwords, in all their mass, their newness and strangeness, must somehow have their place and be understood, but not thanks to their similarities to native or related words, as is sometimes the case in European languages; the method of comprehension must rely rather on different factors, removed from inter-language similarities. The large number of English loanwords in the Japanese language demands not only a remarkable effort in order to comprehend, but each of them must equally be endowed with an environment that guarantees understanding at least on a minimal level, lest conversation breaks down and loanwords would have long ago been erased from the lexicon. That they have not is proof to their usefulness and to the predilection of the Japanese language for new linguistic resources from outside.

Just how great this predilection of Western loanwords and their current numbers are in the Japanese language will become clear in the following chapter, which will also reveal that, indeed, the term ‘loanword’ or *gairaigo*, in the case of Japanese is almost identical to the term of ‘Anglicism’, and that its impact on the Japanese language is much larger than anything that can be encountered in European languages, especially German.

6. *Loanword-(R)Evolution*

A Diachronic View of Loanword Presence

It is an undisputed fact that loanword numbers in Japanese have been constantly rising ever since the end of World War II. Never before had the country seen so much foreign presence, let alone an extensive period of occupation. Language contact and cultural impact both skyrocketed and resulted in Japanese thrusting open its doors widely to new words, new concepts, and new linguistic resources and tools from outside with which to merge their own language.

It is difficult to fathom the dimensions of the true impact that this development has been having on the Japanese language. However, the loanwords' impact has profoundly altered the outward appearance of the language and allowed new words to enter its linguistic pool on a daily basis with journalists, politicians and even the average person readily creating new loanwords, often nonce words, on the spot. Sometimes they leave the language again almost upon arrival without any trace but also, it appears, without causing any real and lasting confusion or irritation– with maybe the exception of the very abstract loanwords politicians enjoy to employ.

6.1. A few introductory remarks

When dealing with research in Japanese linguistics, a foreigner faces multiple problems. Not only does the multi-layered writing system constitute a notable obstacle in deciphering meaning, but it is also this very system which, in its complexity, has thus far apparently prevented the creation of a comprehensive corpus of written Japanese.

The fact that Japanese uses three different writing systems – four if we include the Latin alphabet – has made it difficult for linguists and programmers to digitalize texts into a feasible corpus, because not only do the Chinese characters have to be recognized correctly but also their reading. Other than Chinese which allocates one reading to one character, the Japanese have multiple readings for almost any character, divided into Chinese reading(s) and Japanese reading(s), the allocation of which depends on the character's position and its syntactic role as either a noun, or a verb, or an adjective. Therefore – and also for more pragmatic reasons of copyrights – the creation of a comprehensive corpus of written Japanese has not yet made a headway comparable to that of Western languages. Gotō (2007) comments:

Linguistics in Japan has failed to develop corpus-based language studies into corpus linguistics, inspite of the long history of computer-based mathematical linguistics dated from the 1960s and sporadic contacts with English corpus linguistics since the 1980s. This is contrastive to the situation in Britain, where corpus linguistics has been established since the early 1980s, with grammatical and lexicological studies as the main foci of studies.

It is noteworthy that there is no Japanese corpus, available to researchers, which could be safely claimed as representative, so that researchers are now obliged to use a haphazardous collection of electronic texts as a corpus. Usefulness of such a corpus is evident [...] but inevitably limited. A representative corpus would serve better to linguistic research (Gotō 2007: 58).

Accordingly, in order to obtain any corpus-based data on the status of loanword numbers in the Japanese language, different paths had to be treaded.

6.2. The *Kotonoha* Project – Japan’s first major step into Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Analysis as a whole is yet in labor, so to speak, and only very few select institutions are seriously concerned with and specializing in it. The only institution generally accessible to the general public concerned with the creation of a national corpus of the Japanese language is the 国立国語研究所, or *National Institute for the Japanese Language* (NIJL).

The NIJL is making an effort in accumulating data for a comprehensive corpus of both written and spoken Japanese from the Meiji period (starting 1868) to the present. In 2006, a symposium was held to introduce what was termed the *Kotonoha* project.

[S]tudy of the Japanese language lags behind as long as modern corpus linguistics is concerned. It is widely acknowledged by those who work in the field that one of the fundamental problems in Japanese corpus linguistics is the lack of a so-called ‘balanced’ corpus, a corpus that represents the whole range of the target language in statistically unbiased manner.

To fill this lag, National Institute for Japanese Language (NIJL) [sic] is going to launch a new corpus creation project this spring. Adopting an archaic Japanese meaning ‘word’ and/or ‘language’ the project is named *Kotonoha* project.

(Maekawa, Kikuo. “Kotonoha, the Corpus Development Project of the National Institute for Japanese Language.” [sic]

http://www.tokuteicorpus.jp/result/pdf/2006_007.pdf [Online], March 26 2008)

This kind of linguistic corpus is a novelty in Japanese linguistics and, as of yet (i.e. 2009), still in preparation. The prospect, of course, is very promising, since it has been announced that the complete corpus will not merely include written data from books, newspapers and magazines, but also a corpus of spoken Japanese which will make it easier for linguists to engage in their research on a digital basis without having to be enrolled in or involved with a university and without having to sift through magazines and newspapers with their own eyes.

The only publicly available corpora at present, according to the NIJL, are the *Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese* and the so-called *Taiyo Corpus*, which is a corpus of text from articles in a magazine called *Taiyo* representing a critical period in the Japanese writing system between 1895 and 1925 when the colloquial modern writing system (口語文, *Kōgobun*) was established (cf. Maekawa 2ff.). These corpora, as valuable as they certainly are for any research pertaining to the development of modern Japanese or language variation, are not particularly useful when researching contemporary written Japanese.

The *Kotonoha* project will be making an effort to represent the entire span of over 150 years of Japanese language development since the days of the Meiji Restoration. The size of the corpus has been set at one hundred million words for the time of publication, with constant enlargements thereof of about one million words per year (cf. Maekawa 7). This corpus would certainly have been ideal for the research of this paper; alas, its publication is pending for 2011, because it will be at least another three years until the whole corpus is completely assembled, all copyrights dealt with, and the database made accessible to the public, as the NIJL revealed on request. This exceeds the time frame set for this paper's completion. There is, however, a demo version of the *Kotonoha* project available online at <http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>, which will be used later on for a concordance analysis of some English-based words in Japanese in chapter 13.

The NIJL, however, thanks to its decades of research also on the topic of loanwords, is in possession of important data on the development of loanword numbers from the postwar times until recently which it is, to some extent, posting on its homepage for download (cf. <http://www.kokken.go.jp>). For lack of viable alternatives, I will rely on this data for my demonstration of loanword inflation over recent decades.

6.3. Diachronic data

The discussion so far has shown that indeed there has been a remarkable increase in the use of Western loanwords over the last few decades. However, the scope of the numbers is astonishing.

In order to illustrate not only the increase in numbers, but also the gap between codified loanwords (i.e. loanwords officially incorporated in dictionaries) and loanwords in actual use, it is useful to first take a look at current counts of word

classes in Japanese dictionaries. Prior to that, however, it is prudent to look at past counts of dictionaries which were made in 1956 and 1982, to show the rise in loanword numbers also within codified dictionaries, before looking at the present situation in the 新選国語辞典 8 版 (*Shinsenkokugojiten*, 8th edition), which the NIJL analyzed. These diachronic counts showed the following results:

Chart 5a: Word count in the *Reikokugojiten* (1956) (cf. 文化庁 1 9 9 7 : 2 7。
[Bunkachō 1997: 27.]])

Chart 5b: Word count in the *Kadokawakokugojiten* (1982) (cf. 文化庁 1 9 9 7 :
2 7。 [Bunkachō 1997: 27.]])

新選国語辞典(*Shinsenkokugojiten*, 2002)

Chart 5c: Word Count in the *Shinsenkokugojiten* (2002) (国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会 2006 : 230。[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai 2006: 230])

As can be deduced from these pie charts, the number of loanwords codified in dictionaries has more than doubled from 3,5% in 1956 to 8,8% in 2002 while at the same time Japanese words and Chinese words have decreased notably. This suggests a shift in new word creations from Japanese or Chinese linguistic resources to Western loanwords, as well as a trend for loanwords to become more than just a temporary phenomenon. And indeed, statistics prove that most neologisms are based on loanwords as the following comparative graph shows:

Chart 6: Proportions of neologisms according to word type (cf. 文化庁 1998 : 30。[Bunkachō 1998: 30])

One reason for the dwindling of Kanji-based neologisms, according to Tomoda (1999: 249), is that postwar “national language reforms limited the number of *kanji* in

use thereby constraining the creation of neologisms by the established method of compounding *kanji*.” This, of course, shifted the power towards neologisms with a Western-based origin.

Loanword dictionaries, too, show a drastic increase of loanwords contained over the last few decades. Hoffer remarks,

The 1965 [loanword dictionary] from Shueisha Publishing contained some 10,000 entries. The Sanseido Publishing Company’s dictionary, first published in 1972, was in its fourth edition in 1987 and contained over 33,000 entries (Hoffer 1990: 3).

Tomoda gives an even more detailed overview:

Dictionary Name	No. of Entries
<i>Nichiyō-hakuraigo-binran</i> 1912	1,500
<i>Nihon-gairaigo-jiten</i> 1915	6,800
<i>Gairaigo-jiten</i> 1916	10,000
<i>Gairaigo-shinjiten</i> 1932	2,200
<i>Bankokushingo-daijiten</i> 1935	29,000
<i>Gairaigo-shōjiten</i> 1959	10,290
<i>Gairaigo-jiten</i> 1966	15,000
<i>Kadokawa Gairaigo-jiten</i> 1967	25,000
<i>Kadokawa Gairaigo-jiten</i> 1977	27,000
<i>Gairaigo-jiten</i> 1990	30,500

Table 7: Loanword entries in loanword dictionaries (adapted from Tomoda 1999: 234)

These numbers suggest a massive rise in loanword numbers over a time span of only a few years. Nevertheless, they are not very telling by themselves, since it is the nature of many loanwords to often be short-lived and a product of present times. As a consequence, many loanwords do not even make it into dictionaries, even if their numbers are rising, as can be seen by the above chart. Therefore, for all their factual numbers, dictionary entries cannot show the true extent of the number of loanwords actually used in discourse. Entries in magazines, on the other hand, can help to get closer to the numbers of loanword actually in use.

6.3.1. Diachronic comparison of magazines from 1956 and 1994

According to a comparative survey conducted by the NIJL juxtaposing data obtained from 90 weekly and monthly magazines published during 1956 and 70 monthly magazines published in 1994, the development of the ratio of word tokens (where every word is counted, even if the same word occurs several times) looks as follows:

Chart 7: Token count of 1956 and 1994 magazines (Yamazaki, Makoto

(yamazaki@kokken.go.jp). (2008, April 4). Re:Re: 日本語話し言葉コーパス. E-Mail to Johannes Scherling (johannes2112@yahoo.co.jp).)

This count ignored auxiliary words, names of people and place names which – by nature of the Japanese language which usually terms names of foreign countries by their original names remodeled into the Japanese Katakana syllabary – would shift the proportions strongly to the advantage of loanwords. Looking at this data, it becomes obvious what changes are going on within the Japanese language: original Japanese words are apparently on the retreat while loanwords, in this count, have multiplied their numbers by almost five times.

While already amazing, a count of the same data based on word types – i.e. every word is counted only once, multiple occurrences are ignored – shows yet a completely different picture, with the ratio of words shifting dramatically in favor of loanwords and Japanese and Chinese words lagging behind in the 1994 count.

Chart 8: Type count of 1956 and 1994 magazines (Yamazaki, Makoto

(yamazaki@kokken.go.jp). (2008, April 4). Re:Re: 日本語話し言葉コーパス. E-Mail to Johannes Scherling (johannes2112@yahoo.co.jp))

This development over almost 40 years clearly shows a growing predominance of loanwords in everyday discourse. While the use of *Wago*, or original Japanese words, has dropped drastically from 36,7% to some 25,3%, the number of *Kango*, words of Chinese origin, has decreased even more sharply from 47,5% to only 32,6% with hybrids being relatively stable at around 6%. The only variable having overwhelmingly increased in this chart are loanwords, which have more than tripled their type presence in magazines since 1956.

In a dictionary called 「分かりやすく伝える外来語言い換え手引き」 (roughly: *For easier communication – How to paraphrase loanwords*) which was published by the NIJL (National Institute for the Japanese Language) from whose Internet page the above data is taken, the differences between the dictionary count in chart 1 and the above count in chart 4 are explained thus:

図1の2002年刊行の国語辞典のグラフと、図2の雑誌のグラフのうち1994年刊行のものとを比較してみましょう。8年の時間差がありますが、単語を正確に調査したデータが得難いものですので、この二つのデータを比較します。それによれば、国語辞典と雑誌とで、語種構成に大きな違いがあることがわかります。雑誌では、外来語の比率が最も高くなり、わずかの差で漢語が続き、3番目が和語、という順序になります。日本語の規範を掲げる性格の強い国語辞典では、外来語の比率が

低いですが、日常の生き生きとした話題や多様な情報を載せる雑誌では、外来語の比率が非常に高くなっているのです。

また、図2の雑誌のグラフにおいて、1956年刊行のものと1994年刊行のものとを比較してもと、そこにも大きな違いが見て取れます。約40年の間に外来語の比率が実に3.5倍以上に増加しているのです。このように、外来語は私たちの日常生活において多く使われ、その数は大変な勢いで増加してきたということが確かめられます（国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会2006：231）。

Let us try to compare the data from 2002's Japanese language dictionary in chart 1 with the data from the 1994 count of magazines in chart 2. We are aware that there is a gap of 8 years between them, however accurate survey data on word numbers is difficult to come by, so we have decided to compare these two.

According to this comparison, then, there is a remarkable difference in the word type composition of these two sources. In the case of magazines, the proportion of loanwords is the biggest, followed closely by *Kango*, with *Wago* on the third place. In the case of the Japanese language dictionary, which attempts to represent a model-language, the ratio of loanwords is naturally lower. However, in magazines dealing with up-to-date topics of daily lives and with many other different news items, the proportion of loanwords grows unproportionally bigger. Also, if we try to compare the 1956 data with the 1994 data [...], we see a great difference. In a span of almost 40 years, the proportion of loanwords has increased by more than 3.5 times.

The fact alone, that loanwords are being used so frequently in our everyday lives amply shows with what great a force their numbers are growing (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai 2006: 231). (my translation)⁵

This growth is all the more observable because loanwords in Japanese are eye-catching in that they have their very own syllabary, *Katakana*, with its characteristic straight strokes and angular corners, which stand out from any text. Their presence, therefore, is more perceivable than that of their counterparts in other languages, which should leave them more exposed to public criticism. Such broad criticism, however, has yet to surface.

It must, of course, be added that the number of loanwords and their ratio within a text varies not only by the source being used but also by the paradigms that underlie such a counting. If, as in the above case, the counting is made by types the loanword numbers are likely to be higher because, as it is, there are many different of them in use but each one is probably only used once or twice within a text or even within an entire issue of a magazine. If, however, the counting is based on tokens, Japanese

⁵ The data this citation is referring to is slightly divergent from the one in chart 3. It is from the same count, however some parameters were different resulting in a variation of 0,9% in the type count. (cf. 国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai] : 231). Since there was no comparable token count available for the same parameters, I chose to use the data provided on the NIJL homepage for this example. Since the differences are negligible, the statement remains valid all the same.

words (*Wago*) and Chinese words (*Kango*) take the lead because they represent the fundamental vocabulary which makes up almost every sentence.

6.3.2. An overview on loanword numbers in Japanese written media

Accordingly, in the subsequent chart based on surveys by the NIJL which counted word tokens in magazines, newspapers, public information bulletins, and White Papers, the ratio between *Wago*, *Kango*, and loanwords differs greatly. The survey – with the exception of magazines – was conducted on data from issues of 36 white papers from 2003, 61 information bulletins from 2003, the 2003 issues of the *Mainichi Shinbun*, and the 70 issues of the above magazines from 1994, and reveals the following results:

Chart 9: Comparative token count among several media publications (2003) (国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会：232。[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai: 232])

It is clear from these results that the proportion of loanwords decreases as the official and public character of the publications increases. It is remarkable, however, that White Papers (themselves, by the way, a loan translation into 白書, *Hakusho*, ‘white’ + ‘writing’) show merely such a small presence of loanwords since Japanese politicians are renowned for their heavy use of difficult and abstract English-derived words. Thus, at first sight, the above chart might surprise a little in that respect. However, as the editors of the book this chart was taken from remark,

こうした媒体の中をもう少し詳しく見ていくと、外来語の使い方に注意すべきところがあることに気がきます。

[...]

使用回数の多い方から 10 位程度までは理解率の高い語ばかりですが、15 位以下では理解率の低いものも目立つことが分かります。公共性の高い媒体でありながら、分かりにくい外来語が多く使われていることを示しています（国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会 2006：234）。

If we take a closer look at the data, it becomes obvious that there is one point we have to pay attention to.

[...]

Amongst the ten most frequently used loanwords are mainly such that are well understood. However, it is striking that the words from place 11 to 15 [and beyond, *my annotation*] are poorly understood. This shows that even public media are often using difficult loanwords (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai 2006: 234). (my translation)

This comment in a way betrays the statistics because it shows that even though the mere numbers of loanwords might seem small and insignificant, the fact stands that their presence alone, no matter what their scope is, represents a challenge to understanding and is therefore not to be ignored. However small the number of loanwords might be, if the context provided is inadequate, even such small numbers can become an obstacle to comprehension, especially as their degree of abstractness increases. Vice versa, however strong the presence of loanwords, if they are embedded into a context that allows for a definition of unknown words in its midst, their numbers have no relation to understanding.

In addition, it must be mentioned that token counts are not as conclusive as they might appear to be. As explained above, token counts very much privilege native words, which are much more entangled with basic syntax and semantics, so that they are required for building even the simplest sentence, thus boosting their numbers to the disadvantage of loanwords. Type counts, in this context, are much more informative since they reveal the variety of words used, making it clear that loanwords already have attained a very large range of use, and seem to be applied to express many different semantic contents. Eventually, this says much more about the influence of loanwords than a token count.

6.3.3. On television discourse

The NIJL has not only examined loanword numbers in written media, but also conducted surveys on television programs. One of these, from 1989, was a thorough survey conducted within a three months' period among 7 channels of 6 broadcasting stations featuring a wide range of programs, and showed the following results:

Chart 10: Mean value of word types in television programs (cf. 文化庁 1998: 28)⁶

This count excluded commercials which are naturally more bound to use loanwords than normal speech. Accordingly, the loanword ratio in the commercials observed during this period is 16,8% for tokens and 15,7% for types – rather high, even more so when the year this data stems from is considered – 1989.

The following count differs from the one in Chart 6 in that it represents not a mean value of the results from the word count of each respective program but that it was extracted from the total of the data observed. This might sound like a formality; the numbers, however, differ tremendously.

⁶ The reason this count does not add up to 100% is that it is based on a mean value of the results of each respective television formats observed.

Chart 11: Overall count of all television programs observed (cf. 国立国語研究所 外来語検討委員会 2000a: 278。[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Gairaigo Kentō Iinkai 2000a: 278])

Compared to the above count, the number of types has almost tripled, representing almost 10% of all words used on TV during that particular period. What is especially salient in this graph is the large number of hybrids in television programs. None of the written media show any comparable tendency towards hybrids. These, it appears, are more a feature of spoken language. While the loanword ratio is not overly high in the overall context of loanword presence in Japanese media, it is still impressive.

Furthermore it must also be kept in mind that many of these hybrids are drawing on loanword resources. Aizawa (2005a: 132f) divides two-part-hybrids into six categories four of which include loanwords and three-part-hybrids equally into six categories, all of which include loanwords. This suggests a much higher rate of loanwords in television programs than can be deduced from looking at plain numbers because the borders between categories like loanwords and hybrids are blurred at best. Regrettably, no surveys of television programs have taken place since, although one is scheduled for the 20th anniversary of the last survey next year in 2009, even if its financing is, as yet, uncertain. It can be conjectured, though, that the number of

loanwords will have increased. By how much, however, is yet more of an educated guess.

Returning to the 1989 survey, the following breakdown into the different programs shows which of them tend to use loanwords more than others.

Chart 12: Proportion of loanwords according to program category (cf. 文化庁 1998: 29). [Bunkachō 1998: 29])

The only value that really catches the eye is the type value of sports programs which, since sports have long been known to rely heavily on American expressions, is not all that surprising after all. Research on technical terms in Japanese sports has shown that in some cases the overwhelming majority of terms consists of loanwords, while especially traditional Japanese sports like Sumo do not use any loanwords at all. Here is a small excerpt:

Chart 13: Count of word types in sports terminology (cf. 文化庁 1997 : 29。
[Bunkachō 1997: 29])

That loanwords are generally high in sports terminology is a widely known fact; that their numbers only barely stop short of 100% in tennis terminology and reaches almost 90% in soccer terminology, on the other hand, is astonishing. Nonetheless, it can be deduced from these numbers that the more a certain sport is rooted in Japanese tradition, the lower the loanword presence becomes. Little wonder, therefore, that Sumo, *the* traditional Japanese sport, employs no loanwords in its terminology. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that, except for Sumo, none of the other examples shows any significant number of *Wago* (Japanese words). It appears that the Japanese language has a tendency to employ loanwords and *Kango* (Chinese words) for such technical terms.

Except for sports, the general levels of loanword numbers might seem low compared to those we find in the written media; their numbers, however, are still well in the average of Japanese loanword usage. Again, it can be assumed that loanword usage in absolute numbers is much higher if those loanwords used in hybrids were included in the count.

Within these programs, the NIJL analyzed whether there was any difference in the loanword use of male and female speakers, visible in the following graph.

Chart 14: Proportion of loanword usage by male and female television speakers

(cf. 文化庁 1 9 9 8 : 2 9 。 [Bunkachō 1998: 29])

While the difference is not eye-catching, it can be gathered from this graph that male speakers tend to use slightly more loanwords than female speakers do. In addition, the data shows that the number of loanwords also depends on the target audience, with a preference for young viewers (around 10% proportion of loanwords) and decreasing steadily when the target audience is 30+ (cf. 文化庁 1 9 9 8 : 2 9 。 [Bunkachō 1998: 29]).

6.3.4. Loanwords in scientific and technological discourse

As a matter of course, the influence of loanwords in Japanese also extends to the areas of science and technology. Like in many other areas, America's progress in the fields of science and technology has resulted in numerous technical terms in these fields being coined in English and exported to the world. Needless to say, Japan is also affected. The headway that English loanwords have made in these areas, however, is more than impressive. The following graph shows a selection of scientific and technological areas ranging from such with a high proportion of loanwords to such with only a few.

Chart 15: Loanword proportion in various scientific and technological fields (cf. 文化庁 1997 : 30。 [Bunkachō 1997: 30])

With the exception of chemistry, where for example the names of chemical elements were imported wholesale from Western science, the fields that comparably employ most loanwords are those related to engineering, all of which are relatively new, and therefore especially exposed to foreign influence because of globalization and the rising influence of the United States after World War II. Those fields with fewer loanword proportions have been practiced in Japan already since the Meiji era (1868-1912), which had a strong tendency towards loan translations. This is why, even though most of these areas of course have been influenced or even incepted by European and American science, this influence is hidden under the cover of Chinese characters (cf. 文化庁 1997 : 30。 [Bunkachō 1997: 30]). In spite of some examples of small loanword numbers, the total sum of loanword proportions of 30,1% amongst the 23 different scientific and technological fields examined suggests a massive loanword presence in most of these.

6.3.5. Stagnation or merely the calm before another storm?

Still, the impression that loanwords are constantly and unabatedly on the rise might not be tenable in the face of another study by the NIJL, which encompassed an 8-year-span (1994-2002) of newspaper issues of the *Mainichi Shinbun*. This count was conducted as a morpheme count and can therefore not be directly compared with the

other data in this chapter. It does show, however, that the number of loanwords seems to be stagnating.

Chart 16: Token count of word types in leading articles (*Mainichi Shinbun*) (cf. 山口 2007 : 381。 [Yamaguchi 2007: 381])

The type count shows a similar development.

Chart 17: Type count of word types in leading articles (*Mainichi Shinbun*) (cf. 山口 2007 : 381。 [Yamaguchi 2007: 381])

These results suggest that a peak in growing loanword numbers might have been reached, at least temporarily – a conclusion that it also reached by Hashimoto (2007:

32ff). His own study, in which he examined the leading articles from the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper between 1911 and 2001 for loanwords, he found that there was a steep rise of loanword usage from the 1960ies to the 1970ies, then again in the latter half of the 1980ies until the 1990ies. From then on, however, the number of loanwords is slightly stagnating, sometimes falling, in leading articles. Based on this data, Hashimoto maintains that loanword growth takes the form of an S-curve with the postwar period being the take-off point and the 1990ies seeing a flattening of the curve. His data confirms this theory, but tendencies of reduced loanword usage can be seen throughout his graph, with the curve tending to a rise towards the end of the graph. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether his projections are accurate or whether his data shows merely a preliminary break in loanword growth (cf. Hashimoto: 32ff).

6.4. On the other side of the world –statistics from Austrian and German media

Having observed these loanword statistics (loanwords in the Japanese context being 90% equivalent to Anglicisms) in Japanese media, it might help evaluating their true scale by comparing them to the presence of Anglicisms in a country that also has a rich history in cultural exchange with foreign countries thanks to its central location in the heart of Europe and which, much like Japan and most other countries for that matter, has been exposed to increasing American influence – Austria. Additionally, some statistics from Germany will also be supplied in order to allow a comparison between German speaking countries, where the debate on English-based loanwords has been led rather agitatedly throughout the population, and Japan, where the debate appears to be led on a more academic level, and see whether the numbers in Austrian/German media compared to the Japanese statistics validate such heated discussions.

6.4.1. Examples from Austrian newspapers and magazines

In Austria – and especially at Graz University – several diploma theses have been written on the frequency of Anglicisms in the various media. Corpora are much more easily available which encourages further study on this topic that, in German speaking countries, has aroused much more attention than is the case in Japan. However, being diploma theses conducted by individual students, the scope of research is obviously much smaller than those presented before in this thesis by the National Institute for the Japanese Language. Nevertheless, they give a glimpse on the actual nature and background of this much debated Anglicism presence in Austrian media. The theses with most interest at this point are those concerned with the numbers of Anglicisms in

daily newspapers and weekly magazines, all of which have a more or less large readership.

One thesis analyzed three daily Austrian newspapers: *Der Standard*, *Kurier* and *Täglich Alles*. All of these are nation-wide newspapers and address different audiences. While *Der Standard* aims at educated readers, and *Kurier* at average readers, *Täglich Alles* addresses low-education readers. The total corpus of this investigation encompasses 336.113 words, whereof *Kurier* holds the largest share (133.966 words), followed by *Der Standard* (115.183 words) and *Täglich Alles* (86.964 words) (cf. Huber-Grabenwarter, 63).

The count of these newspapers brought the following proportion of Anglicisms:

Chart 18: Anglicism ratio in *Der Standard*, *Kurier* and *Täglich Alles* (cf. Huber-Grabenwarter 2000: 63.)

This count (which excluded English movie/book/etc. titles, English citations, names of people and countries, product names) shows only a small difference between the respective newspapers and almost none between token count and type count, which was quite different in Japanese newspapers, indicating that there are a lot more different words in use, albeit with only few instances of use.

The next theses were by Finker (1999) and Fröschl (1995). Finker examined a three months corpus of the regional newspaper *Kleine Zeitung* which is only sold in two provinces of Austria, whereas Fröschl examined one issue of the *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, the most selling national newspaper, and one issue of *Die Presse*, a high quality paper like *Der Standard*. Finker's corpus contained some 1.6 million words and is thus more representative than the corpus mentioned above. Fröschl's corpus

includes about 125.000 words and her results can only be seen as indicators. The following chart shows the results of all three newspapers (both authors only did token counts), ignoring their different corpus sizes.

Chart 19: Anglicism ratio in the *Kleine Zeitung*, *Neue Kronen Zeitung* and *Die Presse* (cf. Finker 1999: 54; Fröschl 1995: 138)

The proportion of Anglicisms does not differ much from the three newspapers analyzed above; the average Austrian newspaper appears to contain between 1,1% and 1,7% of Anglicisms – much less than what the Japanese newspaper count revealed.

Yet another thesis by Würnsberger (1998) looked into Anglicism numbers in three different Austrian magazines: *News*, *Profil* (both news magazines) and *Trend* (an economic magazine). The corpus size was 82.440 for *News*, 54.440 for *Profil* and 81.816 for *Trend*. The results were as follows:

Chart 20: Anglicism ratio in *News*, *Profil* and *Trend* (cf. Würnsberger 1998: 141)

Compared to the newspaper count above, the number of Anglicisms in these three Austrian magazines seems excessively high; if we compare them, however, to the number of loanwords (again, within the context of Japanese, ‘loanword’ equals ‘Anglicism’ in about 90% of all cases), we can see that the number of Anglicisms in current magazines only little exceeds the level of loanword numbers in Japanese magazines in 1956. They do not come close to nowadays’ numbers which by far exceed anything presented by these statistics.

6.4.2. Examples from German newspapers and television

As a point of comparison, let us look at data from German media in order to see whether a general trend can be deduced for the German language or whether the Austrian case is a singular one. The following statistics are taken from Plümer (2000), who wrote a dissertation on the connection of Anglicisms, language purism and linguistic identity.

As a basis for her analysis she examined 6 April 1993 issues (only those parts, however, concerned with politics, excluding for example economy or sports) of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (*SD*) and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*FAZ*) – both well-sold newspapers published in all of Germany – and equally 6 issues of a daily news program on *ZDF*, a big German television channel, also in April 1993. The size of her corpus was 250.055 words for the *FAZ*, 242.965 words for the *SD*, and 22.557 words for the *ZDF* news (cf. Plümer 2000: 100ff). Since the analysis of the two newspapers was limited to articles focusing more or less exclusively on the world of politics (with only a few exceptions on the front page relating to sports or economic topics), the

results cannot claim to be representative or comprehensive; they can, however, give a fraction of insight into the world of German media language and the impact that English has had on it. Further, by comparing these numbers to the proportion of Anglicisms used in articles on politics in Austrian newspapers, at least a tentative conclusion can be drawn.

Chart 21: Token/type count in the German *FAZ*, *SD* and *ZDF* (cf. Plümer 2000: 126)

These proportions of Anglicisms are indeed miniscule, although it must be added that the newspaper sections of domestic and foreign policy naturally have the lowest (or at least are among those with the lowest) number of Anglicisms.

6.5. Comparing numbers

If we compare these numbers to the Anglicisms ratio in the same categories in Austrian newspapers, we get the following result:

Chart 22: Comparative token count between Austrian and German newspapers' political sections

Chart 23: Comparative type count between Austrian and German newspapers' political sections

Clearly, the two German quality papers have a significantly lower number of Anglicisms, even for the political section. Especially the type count reveals a notable gap. Even so, Austrian newspapers, too, have a relatively low rate of Anglicisms in actual use, which becomes very clear when we compare the above count to the count of loanwords in the political and international section of the *Mainichi Shinbun* (2003). Although as a matter of course these sections are not entirely congruent, their comparison still yields interesting results. Especially the section on domestic politics is not easily visible in the newspaper counts. It appears that it is mostly subsumable under the section 「社会」 ('society'). An international section is easily observable.

Chart 24: Comparative token count between domestic politics and international sections in Austrian and Japanese newspapers (cf. Finker 1999: 54; Huber-Grabenwarter: 2000 57; 田中[Tanaka] 2006 : 45)

Naturally, the differences in the content of these sections and the huge difference in corpus size make it difficult to directly compare this data, but it still allows for some basic conclusions to be drawn. Whatever the details of these counts were, it can be said that the proportion of English-based loanwords in Austrian newspapers (and even more so in German newspapers) is low compared to Japanese newspapers. Looking at the count in chart 20, the simplified result is this: the Anglicism proportion in the domestic politics section in the *Mainichi Shinbun* constitutes more than 400% of that in Austrian newspapers, while the proportion in the international section ranges between 200% and 400%, and is therefore much larger. Certainly, since this is merely a comparison of two sections within a whole newspaper, the results leave much to be truly telling, yet the trend that these numbers show provokes conjectures on the overall comparative scope of Anglicism numbers.

Again, it must be clearly said that these number cannot be directly compared because of the differences of scope, of the method of counting and the difference in content of the counts, remembering that the Japanese numbers also include a small percentage of non-English loanwords as well. However, since there is no congruent data available, the data presented here will have to suffice.

The following chart is a direct comparison of entire newspaper counts, which is why the German example will not be represented here. It can be projected, though, based on the data above, that the number of English-based loanwords will be similar, maybe a little smaller, than in Austrian newspapers.

Chart 25: Comparative token count between Austrian and Japanese newspapers

The number of loanwords in Japanese newspapers, thus, exceeds the number of Anglicisms in Austrian newspapers by between about 230% and about 350%. This constitutes a remarkable difference in loanword use and therefore also in the attitude towards the use of loanwords in the national language. A look at the comparative numbers of Japanese and Austrian magazines makes this difference even clearer.

Chart 26: Comparative token count of Austrian and Japanese magazines

Objectivity demands that the differences between these counts be made clear. The Austrian magazines consist of two news magazines and one economic magazine, while the 70 Japanese magazines are a bright mixture of many different genres ranging from fashion to music to housing to literature to news and economics. This means that the 70 Japanese magazines necessarily include some from fields that use a greater number of loanwords to begin with; however, the list also includes some magazines which use almost none, therefore leveling the count to some extent, but even with such differences in detail, it can with all probability be claimed that the use of English-based loanwords in Japanese magazines by far exceeds that their Austrian counterparts.

Since language use in magazines is not always identical to the actual use of language by its speakers, a comparison of loanword numbers in the whole language vocabulary corpus may be more conclusive. As the charts at the beginning of this chapter have shown, the 2002 edition of the *Shinsenkokugojiten* Japanese Language Dictionary contains about 8,8% of loanwords and 8,4% of hybrids, of which the larger part is made up in part by loanwords, too. For simplicities sake, however, only the ‘pure’ loanword count will be used here. For German, Kettemann (2002: 61) calculates that, of the 500.000 vocabulary items that make up the corpus of the German language, about 4.500 to 5.000 (about 1%) are Anglicisms. Since, as was frequently mentioned, about 90% of Japanese loanwords are English-based, the comparison of the two counts brings the following graphic result:

Chart 27: Comparison of loanword proportions in the German and Japanese corpus⁷

⁷ The Japanese count was included unaltered despite the fact that ‘only’ about 90% thereof are Anglicisms. The choice was made to at least partially compensate for the loanwords included in the hybrid count which were not included.

This chart shows the difference in numbers even more drastically than the comparison between the newspapers, for example. Evidently, the Japanese language imports, creates and keeps exponentially more English-based words than German does, without any this causing major impairment in the communication between its speakers and without resulting in a social upheaval and movement to save the language.

As was often pointed out, the Japanese counts always include a small percentage of non-English loanwords. In order to prove that their share of loanword numbers is indeed negligible, the following chapter will be concerned with word lists illustrating that the vast majority, if not all of the most frequent loanwords in the different genres are in fact English-based.

7. *Behind the Numbers*

7.1. What lies beneath

Numbers and statistics alone can only display a rather superficial display of loanword presence in Japanese. Behind those numbers and percentages lies the realm of words and facts which those numbers both represent and blur to the casual beholder.

A peek through the looking glass, and behind the algebraic mirror reveals that, for all the statistics and numbers there are other factors ruling the game. Even if, as in the above case, counts are stripped of auxiliary words, of person and place names, the remaining words are still prone to distort the proportions beyond what an average reader would perceive on reading newspapers and magazines.

Token counts are less reliable than their reputation apparently makes them seem, and the pictures they draw on the relations of word groups can be misleading. Even though it seems sensible to count each and every word before passing judgment on whether there are, relatively speaking, many or not so many loanwords, the truth is that words derived from a foreign language have a natural disadvantage in such token counts – they are content words, not function words; they express certain new concepts or images, not syntactic relations and not basic structures; and they do not usually feature in the numeric system of a language.

7.2. Word orders

These disadvantages are relevant because native words are bound to infiltrate every sentence, because without them even the most simple sentence could not be expressed; because they are essential to syntactic meaning. Therefore, a look at the words hiding behind the numbers shows that, while there are virtually no loanwords amongst the first hundred most used words in the magazines surveyed above, were we to strip the data of such basic words and expressions, the sequence and relation of words might be quite different. Here are some examples of the leading words in these magazines.

The first fifty words alone include twenty-nine numerals, some 60% of the whole. The rest consists of very basic words like する(*suru*, ‘to make’, which is so frequent because it is used to verbalize nouns), 居る(*iru*, ‘to be’), 言 う(*iu*, ‘to say’), 事(*koto*, ‘thing’, also used to nominalize verbs), なる(*naru*, ‘to become’), 有る(*aru*, ‘to exist’), 御(*o* or *go*, Japanese honorific prefix), 円(*en*, ‘Japanese Yen’) or 無い(*nai*, ‘not to be,

to not exist’) – in short, very basic words which build the framework of the language and upon which most, if not all structures are built.

The first loanwords, or rather foreign words, start appearing around the 100th place. They are mostly characters from the alphabet led by ‘F’ (98th place), ‘A’ (99th place) and ‘B’ (116th place). The first real loanword, ミリメートル(*mirime-toru*, ‘millimeter’), takes place 120, followed by ‘S’ (136th place), センチメートル (*senchime-toru*, ‘centimeter’, 138th place), and メートル(*me-toru*, ‘meter’, 180th place). Here is a list of the 20 most used loanwords in the 70 magazines surveyed in 1994:

1. エフ (F)	11. セット (set)
2. エー (A)	12. テル (tel)
3. ビー (B)	13. キロメートル (km)
4. ミリメートル (mm)	14. グラム (g)
5. エス (S)	15. エム (M)
6. センチメートル (cm)	16. サイズ (size)
7. メートル (m)	17. エンジン (engine)
8. アール (R)	18. エイチ (H)
9. シー (C)	19. ジー (G)
10. タイプ (type)	20. モデル (model)

Table 8: 20 most used loans in a survey among 70 magazines (Yamazaki, Makoto (yamazaki@kokken.go.jp). (2008, April 4). Re:Re: 日本語話し言葉コーパス. E-Mail to Johannes Scherling (johannes2112@yahoo.co.jp))

Since this count includes foreign material, as these letters of the alphabet undoubtedly are, it is not as conclusive as it might have been had such material been excluded from the count. The content of such lists, naturally, much depends on what criteria were used in the counting. In the above case, all foreign material was included in the count among magazines. If we take a look at the top 20 of the 1956 magazines, which used a different method of counting, the impression gets rather different.

1. センチ (centimeter)	11. メートル (meter)
2. センチメートル (cm)	12. デザイン (design)
3. パーセント (percent)	13. カメラ (camera)
4. スカート (skirt)	14. ダーツ (darts)
5. エー (A)	15. ミリ (millimeter)
6. ウエスト (waist)	16. ヤール (yard)
7. ページ (page)	17. バス (bus)
8. トン (ton)	20. スター (star)

10.ドル(dollar)	20.スポーツ(sports)
10.ファン(fan)	20.テレビ(TV)
	20.ポケット(pocket)

Table 9: 20 most frequently used loans in magazines from 1956 (Yamazaki, Makoto (yamazaki@kokken.go.jp). (2008, April 4). Re:Re: 日本語話し言葉コーパス. E-Mail to Johannes Scherling (johannes2112@yahoo.co.jp))

This word list can be said to be a lot more significant than the items in the aforementioned list since they show to what extent loanwords had already penetrated everyday vocabulary even in 1956. Needless to say, all of these words are still in frequent use, and many others have joined them, making English-based loanwords already an indispensable part of Japanese vocabulary and expression.

7.2.1. Content-dependent inclinations

It is interesting to note that even written media with a high public characters with only about 2-4 % token count of loanwords still employ their very own loanword corpus, very well distinguishable from other media. In a further study about loanwords characteristic to newspapers, public information bulletins and white papers, Tanaka (cf. 2007: 325ff) found out that each of these media had a quite different list of loanwords inclined to being used to a greater extent in one media than the other. As a database he used random, nationwide samples of public information bulletins as well as 36 digitalized White Papers and a digital database of the *Mainichi Shinbun* Tokyo Edition, all published in 2003. One of the problems he encountered was that the word count (or rather, character count) for all three media was profoundly different, which made it difficult to directly compare them to each other. The character count was 7,003,448 for the white papers, 1,221,318 for public information bulletins, but a huge 52,156,602 for the *Mainichi* newspaper.

In order to be able to make some sort of comparative statement, Tanaka, after counting the number of times each loanword appeared in each medium, employed statistical mathematic formulae to calculate which of all counted loanwords were used in which medium with the highest probability. His results are displayed in the following tables.

While the first two values displayed (‘overall frequency’ and ‘frequency in xy’) are self-explanatory, the latter two warrant some clarification as to what scale they are referring. ‘Proportion of Appearance’ means how many times the respective loanword

is probable to appear, on average, within a sample of one million characters. The rather obscure ‘Specialization Coefficient’ refers to the extent to which a certain word tends to appear in a certain medium, and it is gained by dividing the above mentioned ‘probability of appearance’ in one of the media by the average from all three, meaning that the value of 3 is the highest possible value denoting complete exclusivity of the respective word.

White Papers					
Rank	Loanword	Overall Frequency	Frequency in White Papers	Proportion of Appearance in White Papers	Specialization Coefficient
1	パートタイム (part-time)	331	321	45.835	2.988
2	モニタリング (monitoring)	200	192	27.415	2.983
3	イニシアティブ (initiative)	225	187	26.701	2.920
4	コンテンツ (contents)	304	262	37.410	2.877
5	ユーザー (user)	290	200	28.557	2.829
6	グローバル (global)	348	229	32.698	2.804
7	ガイドライン (guideline)	406	256	36.553	2.781
8	メカニズム (mechanism)	246	142	20.276	2.731
9	データベース (database)	379	236	33.698	2.715
10	シェア (share)	472	264	37.696	2.713
11	ライフスタイル (lifestyle)	216	140	19.990	2.696
12	インフラ (inflation)	438	300	42.836	2.640
13	セキュリティ (security)	365	222	31.699	2.639
14	キャリア (career)	211	104	14.850	2.636
15	バイオマス (biomass)	211	185	26.416	2.632
16	フリーター (freeter ⁸)	326	163	23.274	2.567
17	チャリティ (charity)	262	218	31.128	2.540
18	サイクル (cycle)	250	124	17.706	2.539

⁸ Blend of English ‘free’ and German ‘Arbeiter’ (worker), denoting a person that does several part-time jobs at the same time and often works from the early morning hours until midnight.

19	リスク (risk)	1053	536	76.534	2.539
20	ヘリコプター (helicopter)	339	177	25.273	2.529
21	システム (system)	4354	2475	353.397	2.511
22	ニーズ (needs)	911	694	99.094	2.476
23	プロセス (process)	480	214	30.556	2.461
24	プロジェクト (project)	1010	633	90.384	2.456
25	デフレ (deflation)	1024	397	56.686	2.365
26	アクセス (access)	513	266	37.981	2.358
27	ハイテク (high-tech)	275	88	12.565	2.334
28	ネットワーク (network)	1549	1009	144.072	2.329
29	ノウハウ (know-how)	347	142	20.276	2.286
30	ベース (base)	507	197	28.129	2.264
31	ロボット (robot)	306	101	14.421	2.259
32	グリーン (green)	200	91	12.994	2.230
33	モデル (model)	972	453	64.682	2.220
34	バブル (bubble)	668	195	27.843	2.215
35	メリット (merit)	384	171	24.417	2.200
36	コラム (column)	760	281	40.123	2.192
37	サミット (summit)	341	143	20.419	2.171
38	コスト (cost)	1362	645	92.097	2.155
39	バリアフリー (barrier-free)	502	361	51.546	2.153
40	ミサイル (missile)	1235	313	44.692	2.150
41	メーカー (maker)	1525	418	59.685	2.149
42	ピーク (peak)	559	211	30.128	2.132
43	ブロードバンド (broadband)	244	161	22.989	2.117
44	レベル (level)	1274	485	69.252	2.086

45	データ (data)	1696	585	83.530	2.074
46	シナリオ (scenario)	226	50	7.139	2.037
47	プログラム (program)	931	436	62.255	2.001
48	タンク (tank)	588	118	16.849	1.955
49	ベンチャー (venture)	221	97	13.850	1.904
50	エネルギー (energy)	1631	635	90.670	1.877
51	ダム (dam)	572	146	20.847	1.850

Table 10: Loanwords with an inclination to being used in White Papers (cf. 田中

2007: 329f. [Tanaka 2007: 329])

Public Information Bulletins					
Rank	Loanword	Overall Frequency	Frequency in P.I.Bs	Proportion of Appearance in P.I.B.	Specialization Coefficient
1	コーナー (corner)	559	174	142.469	2.790
2	チャレンジ (challenge)	202	92	75.328	2.768
3	プール (pool)	422	115	94.161	2.739
4	ページ (page)	658	119	97.436	2.654
5	ボール (ball)	957	146	119.543	2.635
6	ギャラリー (gallery)	237	31	25.382	2.596
7	コース (course)	1083	190	155.570	2.542
8	チケット (ticket)	341	54	44.215	2.542
9	センター (center)	5101	1247	1021.028	2.482
10	ポスター (poster)	296	53	43.396	2.480
11	グラウンド (ground)	274	29	23.745	2.462
12	サイズ (size)	220	24	19.651	2.454
13	プレゼント (present)	450	44	36.027	2.453
14	クラブ (club)	1191	178	145.744	2.432
15	バレーボール (volleyball)	309	27	22.107	2.410

16	サポート (support)	239	34	27.839	2.379
17	パネル (panel)	229	43	35.208	2.356
18	リズム (rhythm)	331	29	23.745	2.353
19	ペットボトル (pet bottle)	216	33	27.020	2.317
20	ファクス (fax)	668	49	40.121	2.315
21	チャネル (channel)	224	32	26.201	2.306
22	コンサート (concert)	440	36	29.476	2.299
23	バスケットボール (basketball)	296	21	17.195	2.296
24	ミニ (mini)	365	30	24.564	2.296
25	ピアノ (piano)	315	24	19.651	2.270
26	コンクール (concours)	520	43	35.208	2.262
27	イベント (event)	859	100	81.879	2.240
28	メール (mail)	1455	120	98.255	2.233
29	スポーツ (sports)	1855	261	213.704	2.228
30	メールアドレス (mail address)	278	18	14.738	2.228
31	ステージ (stage)	210	15	12.282	2.214
32	パン (pão)	275	20	16.376	2.195
33	クラス (class)	585	51	41.758	2.195
34	モニター (monitor)	411	47	38.483	2.188
35	メニュー (menu)	240	22	18.013	2.169
36	ホームページ (homepage)	1309	166	135.919	2.163
37	ゲーム (game)	749	47	38.483	2.146
38	パソコン (pc)	1276	123	100.711	2.113
39	テニス (tennis)	762	40	32.752	2.109
40	リレー (relay)	260	15	12.282	2.109
41	ダブルス (doubles)	254	13	10.644	2.092

42	チーム (team)	4475	302	247.274	2.088
43	ジュニア (junior)	277	16	13.101	2.085
44	キャンプ (camp)	550	37	30.295	2.079
45	クリスマス (Christmas)	202	10	8.188	2.070
46	バス (bus)	1721	151	123.637	2.061
47	スキー (ski)	278	15	12.282	2.039
48	ペット (pet)	232	13	10.644	2.017
49	コピー (copy)	206	15	12.282	2.001
50	メッセージ (message)	556	35	28.658	2.001

Table 11: Loanwords with an inclination to being used in PIBs (cf. 田中 2 0 0

7 : 3 3 1 f. [Tanaka 2007: 331f])

<i>Mainichi Newspaper</i>					
Rank	Loanword	Overall Frequency	Frequency in Newspapers	Proportion of Appearance in Newspapers	Specialization Coefficient
1	ソロ (solo)	455	455	8.724	3.000
2	プレーオフ (play off)	380	380	7.286	3.000
3	シード (seed)	372	372	7.132	3.000
4	アンダー (under)	349	349	6.691	3.000
5	パー (par)	342	342	6.557	3.000
6	ラリー (rally)	326	326	6.250	3.000
7	テレ (tele)	318	318	6.097	3.000
8	ドリーム (dream)	285	285	5.464	3.000
9	バディー (body)	277	277	5.311	3.000
10	シュート (shoot)	256	256	4.908	3.000
11	レスリング (wrestling)	246	246	4.717	3.000
12	スライダー (slider)	245	245	4.697	3.000

13	ユース (use)	218	218	4.180	3.000
14	ボギー (bogey)	207	207	3.969	3.000
15	ピンチ (pinch)	206	206	3.950	3.000
16	トレード (trade)	201	201	3.854	3.000
17	マニフェスト (manifest)	1647	1644	31.520	2.960
18	シーン (scene)	226	225	4.314	2.904
19	フル (full)	220	219	4.199	2.901
20	メダル (medal)	1058	1053	20.189	2.898
21	ゴロ (grounder)	731	727	13.939	2.882
22	ヤード (yard)	318	316	6.059	2.865
23	デスク (desk)	289	287	5.503	2.852
24	ヒット (hit)	424	421	8.072	2.849
25	ファン (fan)	1604	1600	30.677	2.823
26	エース (ace)	667	666	12.769	2.819
27	ジャーナリスト (journalist)	349	346	6.634	2.818
28	リーグ (league)	5562	5551	106.429	2.799
29	バット (bat)	302	299	5.733	2.791
30	ストレート (straight)	535	534	10.238	2.778
31	デビュー (début)	493	492	9.433	2.760
32	キロ (kilo)	5181	5158	98.894	2.758
33	ハム (ham)	799	797	15.281	2.710
34	ラグビー (rugby)	811	808	15.492	2.691
35	ランキング (ranking)	298	293	5.618	2.662
36	パス (pass)	337	336	6.442	2.662
37	ドラマ (drama)	1009	1004	19.250	2.626
38	プロデューサー (producer)	499	494	9.471	2.616

39	トライ (try)	439	435	8.340	2.610
40	スポンサー (sponsor)	200	196	3.758	2.604
41	クローズアップ (close-up)	529	523	10.027	2.602
42	アマ (ama)	272	271	5.196	2.592
43	マウンド (mound)	261	260	4.985	2.577
44	プロ (pro)	3652	3633	69.656	2.575
45	セール (sale)	216	211	4.046	2.550
46	スター (star)	228	227	4.352	2.525
47	センチ (centimeter)	1862	1853	35.528	2.524
48	コーチ (coach)	699	695	13.325	2.510
49	コンビニ (convenience store)	333	324	6.212	2.486
50	ライバル (rival)	313	309	5.924	2.478

Table 12: Loanwords with an inclination to being used in the *Mainichi* newspaper (cf. 田中 2 0 0 7 : 3 3 2 f. [Tanaka 2007: 332f])

The above charts have been arranged not according to which loanwords occurred most often in each medium, but according to which of them is most likely to be used in one of these three media. Therefore, even though some words occur several thousand times in one medium, their rank is oddly low. This comes from the fact that not the raw numbers have been assessed in this study, but their comparative values so that a statement can be made not on the relative number of loanwords, which could be accomplished by merely listing the number of appearances each one has in each medium, but their absolute values which are based on a count which takes into consideration the different scales and proportions that each of these media has.

This makes it possible to see from which semantic fields loanwords in each medium tend to originate, thus showing whether there are, as it were, ‘general’ loanwords which are used in all media to a similar extent or whether each medium has their own special loanword corpus that they draw on in their articles, denoted by the ‘Specialization Coefficient’.

In our case, the only medium that can claim exclusive usage of several words is the newspaper thanks to its much bigger scale and its broader range of topics which are

not touched on in White Papers or Public Information Bulletins. The following is a list of semantic fields and their contents which are mostly used in each of the three media:

White Papers	
economy, business	パートタイム(‘part-time’; 1)、ユーザー(‘user’; 5)、グローバル(‘global’; 6)、シェア(‘share’; 10)、インフラ(‘infrastructure’; 12)、キャリア(‘career’; 14)、フリーター(‘freeter’; 16)、チャリティー(‘charity’; 17)、プロジェクト(‘project’; 24)、デフレ(‘deflation’; 25)、ロボット(‘robot’; 31)、バブル(‘bubble’; 34)、コスト(‘cost’; 38)、メーカー(‘maker’; 41)、ベンチャー(‘venture’; 48)、エネルギー(‘energy’; 49)、ダム(‘dam’; 50)
information	コンテンツ(‘contents’; 4)、データベース(‘database’; 9)、バイオマス(‘biomass’; 15)、アクセス(‘access’; 26)、ハイテク(‘high-tech’; 27)、ネットワーク(‘network’; 28)、ブロードバンド(‘broadband’; 43)、データ(‘data’; 45)
security, disaster/damage prevention	モニタリング(‘monitoring’; 2)、セキュリティ(‘security’; 13)、ヘリコプター(‘helicopter’; 20)、ミサイル(‘missile’; 40)、タンク(‘tank’; 47)
welfare	ライフスタイル(‘lifestyle’; 11)、バリアフリー(‘barrier-free’; 39)
diplomacy	イニシアティブ(‘initiative’; 3)、ガイドライン(‘guideline’; 7)、サミット(‘summit’; 37)
environment	モニタリング(‘monitoring’; 2)、バイオマス(‘biomass’; 15)
abstract terms	メカニズム(‘mechanism’; 8)、サイクル(‘cycle’; 18)、リスク(‘risk’; 19)、システム(‘system’; 21)、ニーズ(‘needs’; 22)、プロセス(‘process’; 23)、ノウハウ(‘know-how’; 29)、ベース(‘base’; 30)、グリーン(‘green’; 32)、モデル(‘model’; 33)、メリット(‘merit’; 35)、ピーク(‘peak’; 42)、レベル(‘level’; 44)、シナリオ(‘scenario’; 46)
others	コラム(‘column’; 36)

Table 13: Classification of loanwords used in White Papers (cf. 田中 2 0 0 7 : 3 3 0。[Tanaka 2007: 330])

Many of these terms are indeed very abstract and technical terms that well describe what contents are referred to in these White Papers. The expressions most prominent in White Papers are subsequently also among those most criticized for their opacity, because most of them refer to concepts outside of everyday experience and are nontransparent technical terms that average people have no access to. In fact, 11 of these 50 words are included in the NIJL’s *Guideline to Paraphrasing Loanwords*, because their frequent appearance causes notable problems in comprehension. It

should be noted, though, that the difficulties in understanding these words by all probability stem little from the fact that they are loanwords, but more from the kind of discourse that is dominant in this particular field. It should also be noted that of these 50 words only one is not completely English-based (*furi-ta-* which is a hybrid between English ‘free’ and German ‘Arbeiter’).

A closer look at what areas loanwords cover in Public Information Bulletins make this fact apparent and show that in a different discourse openly aimed at informing the public (something that White Papers obviously are not intended to) completely different kinds of loanwords are found which have more rooting in everyday life.

Public Information Bulletins	
Life	チャレンジ(‘challenge’; 2), バレーボール(‘volleyball’; 15), コンサート(‘concert’; 22), バスケットボール(‘basketball’; 23), サポート(‘support’; 16), リズム(‘rhythm’; 18), スポーツ(‘sports’; 29), ゲーム(‘game’; 37), テニス(‘tennis’; 39), リレー(‘relay [race]’; 40), ダブルス(‘doubles [match]’; 41), キャンプ(‘camp’; 44), スキー(‘ski’; 47), コンクール(‘concours’; 26), イベント(‘event’; 27), クリスマス(‘Christmas’; 45)
Places	コーナー(‘corner’; 1), プール(‘pool’; 3), ホール(‘hall’; 5), ギャラリー(‘gallery’; 6), センター(‘center’; 9), グラウンド(‘[play]ground’; 11), コース(‘course’ i.e. ‘lane’; 7), チャンネル(‘channel’; 21), ステージ(‘stage’; 31), クラブ(‘club’; 14), クラス(‘class’; 33), チーム(‘team’; 42)
Objects	チケット(‘ticket’; 8), プレゼント(‘present’; 13), パネル(‘panel’; 17), ペットボトル(‘pet bottle’; 19), ピアノ(‘piano’; 25), パン(‘pão’ [Portuguese for ‘bread’]; 32), メニュー(‘menu’; 35), パソコン(‘personal computer’; 38), バス(‘bus’; 46), ペット(‘pet’; 48)
Media	ページ(‘page’; 4), ポスター(‘poster’; 10), ファックス(‘fax’; 20), メール(‘mail’; 28), メールアドレス(‘mail address’; 30), ホームページ(‘homepage’; 36), コピー(‘copy’; 49), メッセージ(‘message’; 50)
Qualifications	モニター(‘monitor’; 34)
Abstract Terms	サイズ(‘size’; 12), ミニ(‘mini’; 24), ジュニア(‘junior’; 43)

Table 14: Classification of loanwords in PIBs (cf. 田中 2 0 0 7 : 3 3 2。

[Tanaka 2007: 332])

It is striking that the word fields most used in Public Information Bulletins have very little in common with those of White Papers. Since the audiences addressed and the purpose pursued are fundamentally different, this should come as no surprise; it can, however, serve as an explanation for why Public Information Bulletins use a lot of commonplace loanwords which, for the most part, are already well established in the

Japanese language and can be said to be everyday vocabulary, concerned especially with free-time activities. Therefore, none of these words is found in the NIJL's suggestions for paraphrasing loanwords. In the case of this word list, too, only two of the fifty words are not English-based (*konku-ru* from French 'concoures', and *pan* from Portuguese 'pão').

Newspaper discourse, finally, can be expected to walk a line between those two opposite genres, though naturally leaning more towards technical terms referring to sports or entertainment in comparison to the above media.

<i>Mainichi</i> Newspaper	
Sports	ソロ('solo'; 1), プレーオフ('playoff'; 2), シード('seed'; 3), アンダー('under'; 4), パー('par'; 5), ラリー('rally'; 6), バーディー('birdie'; 9), シュート('shot'; 10), レスリング('wrestling'; 11), スライダー('slider'; 12), ボギー('bogey'; 14), ピンチ('pinch'; 15), トレード('trade [of players]'; 16), メダル('medal'; 20), ゴロ('grounder'; 21), ヤード('yard'; 22), エース('ace'; 26), リーグ('league'; 28), バット('bat'; 29), ストレート('straight'; 30), ハム('ham' i.e. 'amateur radio operator'; 33), ラグビー('rugby'; 34), パス('pass'; 36), トライ('try'; 39), マウンド('mound'; 43), コーチ('coach'; 48)
Public Entertainment	ドリーム('dream'; 8), ユース('youth'; 13), シーン('scene'; 18), ヒット('hit'; 24), ファン('fan'; 25), デビュー('début'; 31), ランキング('ranking'; 35), ドラマ('drama'; 37), スポンサー('sponsor'; 40), アマ('amateur'; 42), プロ('professional'; 44), スター('star'; 46)
Business	セール('sale'; 45), コンビニ('convenience store'; 49)
Information	テレ('television'; 7), デスク('desk'; 23), ジャーナリスト('journalist'; 27), プロデューサー('producer'; 38), クローズアップ('close up'; 42)
Politics	マニフェスト('manifest'; 17)
Abstract Terms	フル('full'; 19), キロ('kilometer', 'kilogram'; 32), センチ('centimeter'; 47)
Others	クローズアップ('close up'; 41)

Table 15: Classification of loanwords in the *Mainichi* newspaper (cf. 田中 2 0 0 7 : 3 3 3。[Tanaka 2007: 333])

Many technical terms from sports can claim exclusive usage in newspapers, as a matter of course; their technicality, however, makes them difficult to understand for anyone who is not so involved in various sports, although such people probably skip the sports section anyway. The same can be maintained for terms pertaining to public

entertainment, where the society segment addressed is primarily young people who are used to such words in their intra-generational discourse.

These lists have shown the disposition of certain media for the use of specific loanwords which are intrinsically connected with their respective field of discourse. While this data is informative in that it shows that also the choice of loanwords in Japanese is subject to inclination and purpose – making a general statement like ‘loanword use’ seem improper – the following subchapter will be concerned with lists of loanwords independent of the specialization coefficient, depicting which loanwords were used most frequently in an overall context.

7.2.2. The big picture

More general data can be observed by looking at the word lists published by the NIJL, on which most of the numbers and statistics referred to in the previous chapter are based. The following lists will show the most frequently used loanwords in various media – White Papers, Public Information Bulletins, magazines and television – and thus make it possible to assess whether the most frequent loanwords can be categorized as difficult expressions or whether the impression that there are many difficult words used stems rather from certain singular, obscure loanwords which leave deeper impressions in readers than those everyday loanwords they are already familiar with.

As for White Papers, the NIJL has published a list of loanwords collected from White Papers from six different fields – environment, science, construction, welfare, commerce and crime – published in 1998. The list shows the 100 most frequently used loanwords within these White Papers.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	サービス(service)	905	"	コミュニティ(communitiy)	47
2	システム(system)	801	52	フロンティア(frontier)	45
3	シェア(share)	590	53	マイナス(minus)	43
4	エネルギー(German: Energie)	560	"	マスタープラン(master plan)	43
5	リサイクル(recycle)	370	55	フロン(JE: fl[uorocarb]on)	42
6	センター(center)	335	56	プロセス(process)	41
7	ネットワーク(network)	333	"	マネジメントシステム(management system)	41
8	ガス(gas)	332	58	イメージ(image)	40
9	コスト(cost)	291	"	セミナー(seminar)	40
10	ベース(base)	279	"	バブル(bubble)	40
11	ダム(dam)	212	"	フォローアップ(follow-up)	40
12	ニーズ(needs)	208	62	ワークショップ(workshop)	39
13	メカニズム(mechanism)	197	"	セメント(cement)	39
14	モデル(model)	179	64	ノウハウ(know-how)	38

15	データ(data)	160	"	ハイテク(high-tech)	38
16	トン(ton)	158	"	アセスメント(assessment)	38
"	レベル(level)	158	"	グリーン(green)	38
18	プロジェクト(project)	154	"	マンション(mansion)	38
19	オゾン(ozone)	148	69	ホーム(home)	37
"	グローバル(global)	148	70	ライフサイエンス(life science)	36
21	ドル(dollar)	142	71	メーカー(maker)	35
"	ダイオキシン(dioxin)	142	72	プラン(plan)	34
23	ストック(stock)	113	"	タイプ(type)	34
24	ルール(rule)	111	"	コース(course)	34
25	ピーク(peak)	110	75	ファイバー(fiber)	33
26	リスク(risk)	107	"	オキシダント(oxidant)	33
"	ライフスタイル(life style)	107	"	パートタイム(part-time)	33
28	エイズ(AIDS)	104	78	ガラス(Dutch: glas)	32
29	テーマ(German: Thema)	103	"	シンポジウム(symposium)	32
30	プログラム(program)	98	"	ルート(route)	32
31	ポイント(point)	87	"	トラック(truck)	32
32	モニタリング(monitored)	86	"	レーベル(label)	32
33	グローバリゼーション (globalization)	85	"	ロケット(rocket)	32
34	データベース(database)	84	84	セクター(sector)	31
35	ガイドライン(guideline)	79	"	ビオトープ(German: Biotop)	31
36	インフラ(infrastructure)	77	86	ライフサイクル(life cycle)	30
37	コンピュータ(computer)	72	87	メタン(German: Methan)	28
38	インターネット(Internet)	67	"	フロー(flow)	28
"	ソフト(soft)	67	"	アウトソーシング(outsourcing)	28
40	プラスチック(plastics)	65	"	マニュアル(manual)	28
41	アジェンダ(agenda)	56	"	カドミウム(cadmium)	28
42	レート(rate)	55	92	シフト(shift)	26
43	グループ(group)	54	"	フォーラム(forum)	26
"	ボランティア(volunteer)	54	"	ホルモン(German: Hormon)	26
"	リクリエーション(recreation)	54	"	マクロ(macro)	26
46	アクセス(access)	53	"	マネジメント(management)	26
47	サミット(summit)	50	97	アルミニウム(aluminium)	25
"	バス(bass; bus)	50	"	ゼロエミッション(zero emission)	25
49	ハード(hard)	48	99	ブロック(block)	24
50	アンケート(French: enquête)	47	"	パートナーシップ(partnership)	24

Table 16: Most frequently used loanwords in White Papers (cf. 国立国語研究所

2000a: 1ff. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 1ff])

Like in the list above, this list too has a very low proportion of non-English-based loans. Only seven out of a hundred (7%) of them come from languages other than English – German, Dutch, French, with one being of Japan making (‘flon’ < short for ‘fluorocarbon’). In general, the list contains a great many difficult words from the fields of chemistry, physics, technology and commerce (like ‘cadmium’, ‘Metan’, ‘fiber’, ‘globalization’ etc.), and it entails numerous words with very unclear meanings, like ‘frontier’, ‘shift’, or ‘life science’. Several of the words with a high

specialization coefficient from the list above can be found amongst these hundred most frequent loanwords, for example ‘needs’, ‘global’, ‘peak’ or ‘monitoring’. This shows that White Papers not only contain their special vocabulary, but that they also use this vocabulary frequently in relation to other, more common, loanwords.

Judging from the list above, Public Information Bulletins, on the other hand, can be conjectured to employ less technical terms and more words related to people’s everyday lives, since their obvious purpose is to inform people on happenings that they might be interested in. The following list of the hundred most frequently used loanwords is based on 31 Public Information Bulletins from 28 cities from all over Japan, all published in 1998.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	センター(center)	10499	51	デイサービス(daycare)	256
2	サービス(service)	2296	52	ピアノ(Italian: piano)	241
3	スポーツ(sports)	1795	53	インターネット(Internet)	240
4	コーナー(corner)	1310	54	グラウンド(ground)	237
5	コース(course)	1244	55	カード(card)	235
6	ボランティア(volunteer)	1206	56	キロ(French: kilometer/gram)	232
7	ページ(page)	1195	57	メンバー(member)	228
8	バス(bus)	1191	"	センチ(centimeter)	228
9	テーマ(German: Thema)	1126	59	ビデオ(video)	227
10	チーム(team)	1094	60	フォーラム(forum)	224
11	ホール(hall)	933	61	ルール(rule)	223
12	クラブ(club)	865	62	ギャラリー(gallery)	220
13	イベント(event)	784	63	バドミントン(badminton)	218
14	リサイクル(recycle)	751	"	トンネル(tunnel)	218
15	メートル(French: mètre)	685	65	ペットボトル(pet bottle)	214
16	グループ(group)	664	"	シリーズ(series)	214
17	ホーム(home)	643	67	イメージ(image)	212
18	プール(pool)	629	"	ホームヘルパー(home helper)	212
19	パーセント(percent)	532	69	モニター(monitor)	211
20	テレビ(television)	508	70	パック(packing)	209
21	コミュニティセンター(communit y center)	468	71	テニス(tennis)	207
22	スキー(ski)	450	72	ソフトボール(softball)	205
23	プラザ(plaza)	448	73	リクリエーション(recreation)	204
24	ファクス(fax)	443	74	チェック(check)	203
25	スタート(start)	432	75	ネットワーク(network)	201
26	パソコン(personal computer)	395	76	デザイン(design)	200
27	オープン(open)	377	"	トレーニング(training)	200
28	システム(system)	374	78	ポスター(poster)	198
"	デイサービスセンター(daycare center)	374	79	ガラス(Dutch: glas)	196
30	エネルギー(German: Energie)	369	80	キャンプ(camp)	195
31	セミナー(seminar)	368	"	ステージ(stage)	195
32	コンサート(concert)	359	"	ホームページ(homepage)	195
33	サークル(circle)	347	83	ビル(building)	193

34	ダイオキシン(dioxin)	332	84	ホテル(hotel)	192
35	カレンダー(calendar)	323	"	プラネタリウム(German: Planetarium)	192
36	ガイド(guide)	319	86	コミュニティ(community)	190
37	クイズ(quiz)	308	87	ゲートボール(gateball, Japanese croquet)	188
38	リハビリ(rehab)	299	88	ストレス(stress)	185
39	ポイント(point)	298	"	シンポジウム(symposium)	185
40	コンクール(French: concours)	287	90	サロン(French: salon)	184
"	サッカー(soccer)	287	91	プラン(plan)	179
42	アンケート(French: enquête)	286	92	クラス(class)	176
43	プレゼント(present)	284	"	パート(part)	176
"	クリニック(clinic)	284	94	パネル(panel)	174
45	バレーボール(volleyball)	281	"	ロビー(lobby)	174
46	トイレ(toilet)	267	"	サービスコーナー(service corner)	174
"	ガス(gas)	267	97	ワープロ(word processor)	173
48	フェスティバル(festival)	266	98	タオル(towel)	168
49	ダンス(dance)	265	"	モデル(model)	168
50	ゲーム(game)	262	100	セット(set)	167

Table 17: Most frequently used loanwords in PIBs (cf. 国立国語研究所 2000)

a : 67 ff. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 67ff])

This list shows a much wider use of everyday expressions, most of which hardly any Japanese will have problems understanding because they represent things that people are confronted with on a daily basis and that they, consequently, are already used to. Many of these loanwords describe free-time activities ('sports', 'course', 'event', 'concert' etc.), while others refer to place designations ('center', 'hall', 'club', 'plaza' and so on), or to entertainment ('television', 'quiz', 'game', 'video'), to sports ('soccer', 'volleyball', 'badminton', 'tennis'), to welfare and health ('rehab', 'clinic', 'home helper', 'volunteer'). There are hardly any complex or abstract loanwords used with a notable frequency, with the exception of 'dioxin', probably in connection with environmental issues. This list also shows only a small share of non-Anglicisms, with only ten out of a hundred (10%) being of German, French, Italian, or Dutch origin. Overall, this list illustrates that Public Information Bulletins have a tendency to employ comparably easy and easily recognizable loanwords that root in people's everyday experience,

For the loanword ranking in newspapers, all December 1998 issues of the *Mainichi Shinbun* were used as a base for counting.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	メートル(French: mètre)	1534	51	ホームページ(homepage)	147
2	キロ(French: kilo)	888	52	シリーズ(series)	145

3	ドル(dollar)	774	53	コース(course)	144
4	リーグ(league)	772	"	クリスマス(Christmas)	144
5	チーム(team)	704	55	シーズン(season)	143
6	テレビ(television)	687	"	レース(race)	143
7	グループ(group)	677	57	イメージ(image)	140
8	プロ(professional)	505	"	エイズ(AIDS)	140
9	メダル(medal)	494	59	ゴルフ(golf)	139
10	システム(system)	410	"	ボール(ball)	139
11	センター(center)	403	61	ファン(fan)	137
12	ユーロ(Euro)	337	"	ツアー(tour)	137
13	メーカー(maker)	331	"	デジタル(digital)	137
14	サッカー(soccer)	319	64	セット(set)	136
15	サービス(service)	314	65	コンピューター(computer)	132
16	スタート(start)	301	66	オープン(open)	129
17	センチ(centimeter)	299	"	ベスト(best)	129
18	テーマ(German: Thema)	295	"	スキー(ski)	129
"	トップ(top)	295	"	デザイン(design)	129
20	ミサイル(missile)	286	70	ロイター(Reuters)	128
21	カレー(curry)	274	71	グラム(gram)	127
22	ケース(case)	266	72	プラス(plus)	126
23	ポイント(point)	248	73	ボランティア(volunteer)	125
24	マイナス(minus)	240	74	カード(card)	124
25	メンバー(member)	239	75	マーク(mark)	123
26	インターネット(Internet)	238	76	マンション(mansion)	120
27	データ(data)	236	77	エース(ace)	119
28	パソコン(personal computer)	235	78	スーパー(super)	118
29	スポーツ(sports)	233	"	コーチ(coach)	118
30	バブル(bubble)	219	"	ネット(net)	118
31	ドラマ(drama)	204	81	デビュー(French: début)	117
32	レベル(level)	199	"	プレー(play)	117
33	ニュース(news)	196	83	ゲーム(game)	115
34	ポスト(post)	179	"	ホーム(home)	115
35	ホテル(hotel)	175	85	ルール(rule)	114
36	クラブ(club)	170	"	ジャンプ(jump)	114
37	ヒット(hit)	169	87	ソフト(soft)	113
"	ホルモン(German: Hormon)	169	88	ダイエー(Daiei: name of a Japanese Supermarket)	112
39	ゴール(goal)	167	"	マラソン(marathon)	112
40	トン(ton)	166	90	ビデオ(video)	111
41	ガス(gas)	163	91	オリンピック(Olympics)	109
42	ホール(hall)	160	"	サラリーマン(Japanese English: Salary Man)	109
43	コスト(cost)	157	93	トラブル(trouble)	108
"	リストラ(restructuring)	157	"	ゼネコン(general contractor)	108
"	バス(bus)	157	95	ページ(page)	106
46	ビル(building)	155	"	ベース(base)	106
47	サイン(sign)	153	97	チェック(check)	104
48	ラグビー(rugby)	152	"	イベント(event)	104
49	ローン(loan)	150	99	トラック(truck)	102
50	エネルギー(German: Energie)	148	100	バランス(balance)	101

Table 18: Most frequently used loanwords in the *Mainichi* newspaper (cf. 国立国語研究所 2000a: 109ff. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 109ff])

This list, which includes several proper names like ‘Reuters’ or the supermarket chain ‘Daiei’, more or less presents a general overview on some of the most frequently used loanwords in all major areas of Japanese society, since newspapers touch on all of them. There are many sports-related terms (‘league’, ‘team’, ‘medal’, ‘soccer’, etc.) amongst them, which underlines the significance of sports in Japan. Overall, there are more than 20 terms directly related to sports within these 100 most frequently used loanwords. Other areas well represented include business (‘maker’, ‘minus’, ‘plus’, ‘cost’, ‘restructuring’, ‘general contractor’), information (‘television’, ‘Internet’, ‘personal computer’, ‘news’, ‘homepage’), and entertainment (‘drama’, ‘début’, ‘game’, ‘video’, ‘event’). Also place designations (‘hotel’, ‘hall’, ‘center’) can be found, next to measures and weights (‘meter’, ‘kilo’, ‘centimeter’, ‘ton’), and terms referring to health and welfare (‘AIDS’, ‘volunteer’). In short, this list is different from the previous ones in that it comprises a greater variety of field that its loanwords represent. Like in the other lists, the number of non-English-based loanwords is minimal, mainly concerning two terms for measures and one for entertainment derived from French and three from German, thus a mere 6% of all loanwords listed here.

A closer focus on sports, fashion and entertainment can be expected from the loanword ranking based on 70 different magazines of various genres published in 1994 that the NIJL examined. This word list was based on incomplete data because it was published while research was still underway. Thus, the data here represents about 1/16 of each page of these 70 different magazines (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 151). Accordingly, the words’ frequency levels appear relatively low.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	タイプ(type)	332	51	ファン(fan)	104
2	サイズ(size)	326	"	メンバー(member)	104
3	セット(set)	298	53	パワー(power)	103
4	エンジン(engine)	293	54	ゴルフ(golf)	102
5	スキー(ski)	252	55	オープン(open)	99
6	デザイン(design)	246	"	キット(kit)	99
7	コース(course)	243	57	ベース(base)	96
"	レース(race)	243	"	ボディ(body)	96
9	モデル(model)	242	59	スタート(start)	95
10	カラー(color)	220	"	トップ(top)	95
11	メートル(French: mètre)	210	"	バッグ(bag)	95

12	シリーズ(series)	204	"	カメラ(camera)	95
"	チーム(team)	204	63	デビュー(French: début)	94
14	ホテル(hotel)	203	64	バイク(bike)	93
15	ポイント(point)	192	65	カタログ(catalogue)	92
16	テレビ(television)	189	"	シーズン(season)	92
17	ビル(building)	188	67	アップ(up)	90
18	プレゼント(present)	181	"	ガン(Japanese: gan, 'cancer')	90
19	システム(system)	173	69	カード(card)	89
20	ページ(page)	168	"	パンツ(pants)	89
21	イメージ(image)	164	71	シンプル(simple)	88
"	シャツ(shirt)	164	"	オリジナル(original)	88
23	バス(bus)	163	73	ライン(line)	86
24	クラス(class)	160	"	エネルギー(German: Energie)	86
25	メーカー(maker)	150	75	ゲーム(game)	84
26	バランス(balance)	147	"	ブロック(block)	84
27	プロ(professional)	144	77	スタッフ(staff)	83
28	センター(center)	143	"	キロ(French: kilo)	83
29	スポーツ(sports)	142	"	パーツ(parts)	83
"	センチ(centimeter)	142	80	レベル(level)	82
31	ピアノ(Italian: piano)	138	81	ベスト(best)	81
32	ケース(case)	136	82	ガラス(Dutch: glas)	79
33	サービス(service)	131	"	カップ(cup)	79
34	スタイル(style)	128	"	サラダ(salad)	79
35	テーマ(German: Thema)	126	85	ビタミン(vitamin)	78
"	データ(data)	126	"	ジャズ(jazz)	78
"	ソフト(soft)	126	87	リーグ(league)	75
38	クラブ(club)	124	88	プラス(plus)	74
39	チェック(check)	119	"	ガイド(guide)	74
40	ボール(ball)	116	90	タイヤ(tire)	73
41	ブラック(black)	115	91	イラスト(illustration)	72
42	ホール(hall)	114	"	レストラン(French: restaurant)	72
43	ジャケット(jacket)	111	"	ブルー(blue)	72
"	アルバム(album)	111	"	スカート(skirt)	72
45	ミリ(French: milli-)	109	95	スペース(space)	70
46	ドア(door)	106	"	コート(coat)	70
47	グループ(group)	105	"	スーパー(super)	70
"	コーナー(corner)	105	98	カット(cut)	69
"	ママ(mama)	105	"	ツアー(tour)	69
"	パソコン(personal computer)	105	100	カバー(cover)	68

Table 19: Most frequently used loanwords in various magazines (cf. 国立国語研

究所 2 0 0 0 a : 1 5 3 f. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 153f.]

Due to the manifold magazine genres this list is based on, there is a wide range of fields that these loanwords belong to. As expected, however, fashion, sports, lifestyle and entertainment loom large. Fashion is largely represented by terms like ‘size’, ‘design’, ‘model’, ‘color’, ‘shirt’, ‘style’, ‘jacket’, ‘body’, or ‘skirt’. Sports, too, are a well covered topic in magazines which is illustrated by terms like ‘ski’, ‘race’, ‘team’,

‘professional’, ‘corner’, or ‘golf’. Both lifestyle and entertainment also frequently mentioned fields of interest, represented by words like ‘type’ (especially denoting a person, like in ‘he is my type’) or ‘image’ and ‘television’, ‘club’, ‘game’, or ‘début’. There are also some terms related to cars, like ‘engine’, ‘power’ or ‘tire’, as well as from music (‘album’, ‘cover’, ‘jazz’). There can be no doubt that this variety originates only from the fact that so many different magazines were selected, ranging from sports to fashion to music to special interest. There are, however, certain traits towards general usage that can also be extracted from this list and which could indicate that at least some of the words on it are rather general usage than adherent to only one magazine discourse. This will be investigated in a subchapter following this discussion. What can be claimed, though, is that this list of loanwords also shows the dominance of English-based loanwords. Again, only 9% of these words originate from languages other than English, and again these are French, German, Italian and Dutch.

In order to allow for a comparison of possible differences in loanword use between written and spoken Japanese, the following list is based on 8 different television programs (information programs, edutainment programs, music programs, variety programs, sports programs, dramas/movies, others) from 1989 (cf. Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 193). The data therefore is relatively old, which makes direct comparison difficult. Still, as a point of reference, and for understanding which loanwords have survived into present use, this will suffice.

Rank	Word	Frequency	Rank	Word	Frequency
1	テレビ(television)	43	"	トイレ(toilet)	9
2	ニュース(news)	42	"	キャッチャー(catcher)	9
3	アイアイ(aye-aye: a kind of monkey)	35	"	バッターボックス(a batter's box)	9
4	ゲーム(game)	32	"	ヤクルト(Yakult: a company owning a baseball team)	9
5	ピッチャー(pitcher)	32	"	ユニフォーム(uniform)	9
6	チャンス(chance)	29	"	リード(lead)	9
7	ファン(fan)	27	"	スピン(spin)	9
8	セクシー(sexy)	25	"	セレクト(select)	9
9	スポンサー(sponsor)	24	"	ゼロ(zero)	9
10	イメージ(image)	23	60	マスター(master)	8
"	ホームラン(home run)	23	"	カメラ(camera)	8
12	ボール(ball)	20	"	ビール(beer)	8
13	バッター(batter)	16	"	グループ(group)	8
"	ヒット(hit)	16	"	スタッフ(staff)	8
15	プラス(plus)	15	"	インタビュー(interview)	8
"	チーム(team)	15	"	システム(system)	8

17	ビデオ(video)	14	"	ドラマ(drama)	8
"	リズム(rhythm)	14	"	マラソン(marathon)	8
"	カーブ(curve)	14	"	カレー(curry)	8
"	ファースト(first [base])	14	"	セーフ(safe)	8
21	ジバン(Portuguese: gibão, 'undershirt')	13	"	ドライバー(driver)	8
"	コーナー(corner)	13	"	プレー(play)	8
"	スタート(start)	13	"	マウンド(mound)	8
24	レース(race)	12	"	セクシャルマジック(sexual magic)	8
"	テーマ(German: Thema)	12	"	タイミング(timing)	8
"	パパ(papa)	12	76	ボス(boss)	7
"	ポイント(point)	12	"	プロ(professional)	7
"	ツーアウト(two outs)	12	"	コレクション(collection)	7
"	マンション(mansion)	12	"	ゴールデンウィーク(Golden Week)	7
"	ストライク(strike)	12	"	ジュース(juice)	7
"	ランナー(runner)	12	"	ストレート(straight)	7
"	リクルート(recruit)	12	"	キャベツ(cabbage)	7
"	ワンアウト(one out)	12	"	タフ(tough)	7
34	マシーン(machine)	11	"	マイナス(minus)	7
"	ゲスト(guest)	11	"	キムチ(Korean: Kimchi)	7
"	コマーシャル(commercial)	11	"	デモ(demonstration)	7
"	レベル(level)	11	"	ピン(pin)	7
"	エネルギー(German: Energie)	11	"	ブロック(block)	7
"	トップ(top)	11	89	ライブ(live)	6
40	ポーズ(pose)	10	"	クラブ(club)	6
"	ショック(shock)	10	"	ケース(case)	6
"	タイトル(title)	10	"	コンサート(concert)	6
"	バス(bus)	10	"	ホテル(hotel)	6
"	アウト(out)	10	"	ママ(mama)	6
"	バランス(balance)	10	"	スタイル(style)	6
"	セカンド(second [base])	10	"	ピンチ(pinch)	6
47	センター(center)	9	"	ボタン(button)	6
"	スタジオ(studio)	9	"	カルシウム(Dutch: calcium)	6
"	メンバー(member)	9	"	キャッチフレーズ(catch phrase)	6
"	コート(coat)	9	100	グリーン(green)	6

Table 20: Most frequently used loanwords in various television programs (cf. 国

立国語研究所 2 0 0 0 a : 1 9 5 ff. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 195f])

Television discourse, too, seems to favor sports. As a consequence, amongst the most frequently used loanwords from the analyzed 8 television programs, there are many terms referring to sports, especially baseball, the Japanese national sport; ‘pitcher’, ‘fan’, ‘home run’, ‘ball’, ‘batter’, ‘hit’, ‘team’, ‘corner’, ‘strike’, ‘runner’, ‘two outs’, they all range among the 30 most used loanwords. There is also a tendency to metadiscourse on the medium of television itself (‘television’, ‘news’, ‘studio’,

‘drama’), but also on the topic of food and drink (‘curry’, ‘Kimchi’, ‘beer’, ‘juice’, ‘cabbage’), on entertainment (‘concert’, ‘game’, ‘video’) and fashion issues (‘style’, ‘pin’, ‘coat’, ‘uniform’). Generally speaking, television discourse utilizes well acquainted and familiar loanwords that the audience can be expected to be accustomed to. Content-wise, they capitalize on fields concerned with entertainment in the widest sense. Here, too, the percentage of non-English related loanwords is low at only 5% of the whole, coming from German, Dutch, Portuguese and Korean.

7.2.3. Comparative view

It is clear that different media with different audiences and different purposes use different vocabulary befitting to the area of discourse they engage in. However, a quick glance at the lists above demonstrates that there are unexpectedly many loanwords that are used regardless of genre and which therefore can be said to be part of the general Japanese vocabulary.

The following list will focus on these commonalities and will try to show just how many of the most frequently used loanwords are actually already common use. To clarify this position, the words in these lists will be compared to contemporary dictionaries to show how ‘naturalized’ most of them already are.

Word (White Papers, PIB, Newspapers, Magazines, Television)	Word Number	Word (White Papers, PIB, Newspapers, Magazines, Television)	Word Number
アンケート(French: enquête)	1	テーマ(German: Thema)	52
アンケート(French: enquête)		テーマ(German: Thema)	
イベント(event)	2	テーマ(German: Thema)	
イベント(event)		テーマ(German: Thema)	
イメージ(image)	3	テーマ(German: Thema)	
イメージ(image)		デザイン(design)	53
イメージ(image)		デザイン(design)	
イメージ(image)		デザイン(design)	
イメージ(image)		デビュー(début)	54
インターネット(Internet)	4	デビュー(début)	
インターネット(Internet)		テレビ(television)	55
インターネット(Internet)		テレビ(television)	
エイズ(AIDS)	5	テレビ(television)	
エイズ(AIDS)		テレビ(television)	
エネルギー(German: Energie)	6	トイレ(toilet)	56
エネルギー(German: Energie)		トイレ(toilet)	
エネルギー(German: Energie)		トップ(top)	57
エネルギー(German: Energie)		トップ(top)	
エネルギー(German: Energie)		トップ(top)	
オープン(open)	7	トラック(truck)	58
オープン(open)		トラック(truck)	
オープン(open)		ドラマ(drama)	59

カード(card)	8	ドラマ(drama)	
カード(card)		ドル(dollar)	60
カード(card)		ドル(dollar)	
ガイド(guide)	9	トン(ton)	61
ガイド(guide)		トン(ton)	
ガス(gas)	10	ネットワーク(network)	62
ガス(gas)		ネットワーク(network)	
ガス(gas)		バス(bass; bus)	63
カメラ(camera)	11	バス(bus)	
カメラ(camera)		バス(bus)	
ガラス(Dutch: glas)	12	バス(bus)	
ガラス(Dutch: glas)		バス(bus)	
ガラス(Dutch: glas)		パソコン(personal computer)	64
カレー(curry)	13	パソコン(personal computer)	
カレー(curry)		パソコン(personal computer)	
キロ(French: kilo)	14	バブル(bubble)	65
キロ(French: kilo)		バブル(bubble)	
キロ(French: kilo)		バランス(balance)	66
クラス(class)	15	バランス(balance)	
クラス(class)		バランス(balance)	
クラブ(club)	16	ピアノ(piano)	67
クラブ(club)		ピアノ(piano)	
クラブ(club)		ヒット(hit)	68
クラブ(club)		ヒット(hit)	
グリーン(green)	17	ビデオ(video)	69
グリーン(green)		ビデオ(video)	
グループ(group)	18	ビデオ(video)	
グループ(group)		ビル(building)	70
グループ(group)		ビル(building)	
グループ(group)		ビル(building)	
グループ(group)		ファン(fan)	71
ケース(case)	19	ファン(fan)	
ケース(case)		ファン(fan)	
ケース(case)		フォーラム(forum)	72
ゲーム(game)	20	フォーラム(forum)	
ゲーム(game)		プラス(plus)	73
ゲーム(game)		プラス(plus)	
ゲーム(game)		プラス(plus)	
コース(course)	21	プラン(plan)	74
コース(course)		プラン(plan)	
コース(course)		プレー(play)	75
コース(course)		プレー(play)	
コート(coat)	22	プレゼント(present)	76
コート(coat)		プレゼント(present)	
コーナー(corner)	23	プロ(professional)	77
コーナー(corner)		プロ(professional)	
コーナー(corner)		プロ(professional)	
コスト(cost)	24	ブロック(block)	78
コスト(cost)		ブロック(block)	
コミュニティ(communitiy)	25	ブロック(block)	
コミュニティ(communitiy)		ページ(page)	79

ゴルフ(golf)	26	ページ(page)	
ゴルフ(golf)		ページ(page)	
コンサート(concert)	27	ベース(base)	80
コンサート(concert)		ベース(base)	
コンピュータ(computer)	28	ベース(base)	
コンピューター(computer)		ベスト(best)	81
サービス(service)	29	ベスト(best)	
サービス(service)		ホーム(home)	82
サービス(service)		ホーム(home)	
サービス(service)		ホーム(home)	
サッカー(soccer)	30	ホームページ(homepage)	83
サッカー(soccer)		ホームページ(homepage)	
シーズン(season)	31	ボール(ball)	84
シーズン(season)		ボール(ball)	
システム(system)	32	ボール(ball)	
システム(system)		ホール(hall)	85
システム(system)		ホール(hall)	
システム(system)		ホール(hall)	
システム(system)		ポイント(point)	86
シリーズ(series)	33	ポイント(point)	
シリーズ(series)		ポイント(point)	
シリーズ(series)		ポイント(point)	
シンポジウム(symposium)	34	ポイント(point)	
シンポジウム(symposium)		ホテル(hotel)	87
スーパー(super)	35	ホテル(hotel)	
スーパー(super)		ホテル(hotel)	
スキー(ski)	36	ホテル(hotel)	
スキー(ski)		ボランティア(volunteer)	88
スキー(ski)		ボランティア(volunteer)	
スタート(start)	37	ボランティア(volunteer)	
スタート(start)		ホルモン(German: Hormon)	89
スタート(start)		ホルモン(German: Hormon)	
スタート(start)		マイナス(minus)	90
スタイル(style)	38	マイナス(minus)	
スタイル(style)		マイナス(minus)	
スタッフ(staff)	39	ママ(mama)	91
スタッフ(staff)		ママ(mama)	
スポーツ(sports)	40	マラソン(marathon)	92
スポーツ(sports)		マラソン(marathon)	
スポーツ(sports)		マンション(mansion)	93
セット(set)	41	マンション(mansion)	
セット(set)		マンション(mansion)	
セミナー(seminar)	42	メーカー(maker)	94
セミナー(seminar)		メーカー(maker)	
センター(center)	43	メーカー(maker)	
センター(center)		メートル(French: mètre)	95
センター(center)		メートル(French: mètre)	
センター(center)		メートル(French: mètre)	
センター(center)		メンバー(member)	96
センチ(centimeter)	44	メンバー(member)	
センチ(centimeter)		メンバー(member)	

センチ(centimeter)		メンバー(member)	
ソフト(soft)	45	モデル(model)	97
ソフト(soft)		モデル(model)	
ソフト(soft)		モデル(model)	
ダイオキシン(dioxin)	46	リーグ(league)	98
ダイオキシン(dioxin)		リーグ(league)	
タイプ(type)	47	リクリエーション(recreation)	99
タイプ(type)		リクリエーション(recreation)	
チーム(team)	48	リサイクル(recycle)	100
チーム(team)		リサイクル(recycle)	
チーム(team)		ルール(rule)	101
チーム(team)		ルール(rule)	
チェック(check)	49	ルール(rule)	
チェック(check)		レース(race)	102
チェック(check)		レース(race)	
ツアー(tour)	50	レース(race)	
ツアー(tour)		レベル(level)	103
データ(data)	51	レベル(level)	
データ(data)		レベル(level)	
データ(data)		レベル(level)	

Table 21: Comparison of commonly used loanwords among various media

This chart shows that amongst the 500 most frequently used loanwords are some 103, which amounts to 20,6%, that are often used in more than one of these media. Many words that have not made it into the top 100 lists, however, are represented in the latter ranks, making the actual number of conjointly used words much larger. Such words include: *akusesu* (アクセス, ‘access’), *intabyu-* (インタビュー, ‘interview’), *engin* (エンジン, ‘engine’), *karenda-* (カレンダー, ‘calendar’), *ju-su* (ジュース, ‘juice’), *shinpuru* (シンプル, ‘simple’), *suka-to* (スカート, ‘skirt’), *gesuto* (ゲスト, ‘guest’), *koma-sharu* (コマーシャル, ‘commercial’), *sarada* (サラダ, ‘salad’), *saizu* (サイズ, ‘size’), *chansu* (チャンス, ‘chance’), and many more. The reason these words do not come up more often is that each of them derives from a certain topical field (like fashion or information) which are not equally represented in all the five media analyzed here, and therefore, while highly present in some, are dwelling in lower ranks in others. This gives reason to assume that many or most of the loanwords used with high frequency are actually quite integrated into the Japanese language. In the following, the respective word lists from all five media will be compared to entries in both Japanese language dictionaries and loanword dictionaries in order to confirm or dismiss this assumption. A confirmation of the above hypothesis would at least partly disprove the widespread claim on the overflow of difficult and non-naturalized loanwords in the media and show that the proportion of

loanwords in the media stands in no direct or exclusive relation to the difficulties that people might have in understanding some news items.

Before doing so, a small diachronic comparison of loanword lists in newspapers shall help in ascertaining whether there is a great mobility amongst the most frequently used loanwords or whether these are relatively stable, a verification of which would also help in showing that there is no overly excessive use of newly created loanwords in the media. This could show that the use of at least the most frequently used loanwords is not as fleeting and short-lived as is often assumed, but that there is a certain continuity to it.

7.2.4. Diachronic peek

In order to do this, the above list from the December 1998 editions of the *Mainichi Shinbun* will be compared with a combined list from the years 1994 to 2003 (which excluded proper names), also conducted by the NIJL. This comparison will clarify whether there were any notable fluctuations in the numbers of the most frequently used loanwords or whether these remained more or less unchanged. For the sake of easier comparability, the lists were rearranged alphabetically and not according to rank.

Rank	Word	Rank	Word
82	アピール(appeal)	3	テレビ(television)
49	イベント(event)	52	テレビ(television)
29	イメージ(image)	54	テロ(terror)
68	イメージ(image)	77	ドーム(dome)
13	インターネット(Internet)	10	トップ(top)
62	インターネット(internet)	57	トップ(top)
88	インタビュー(interview)	50	トラック(truck)
39	エース(ace)	47	トラブル(trouble)
29	エイズ(AIDS)	88	トラブル(trouble)
78	エイズ(AIDS)	16	ドラマ(drama)
67	エネルギー(German: Energie)	71	ドラマ(drama)
25	エネルギー(German: Energie)	53	ドル(dollar)
33	オープン(open)	2	ドル(dollar)
63	オープン(open)	20	トン(ton)
46	オリンピック(Olympics)	80	トン(ton)
99	オリンピック(Olympics)	70	ニュース(news)
37	カード(card)	40	ネット(net)
89	カード(card)	76	ネット(net)
21	ガス(gas)	84	ネットワーク(network)
61	ガス(gas)	23	バス(bus)
11	カレー(curry)	75	バス(bus)
93	キャンプ(camp)	63	パソコン(personal computer)
1	キロ(French: kilo)	14	パソコン(personal computer)
51	キロ(French: kilo)	15	バブル(bubble)

18	クラブ(club)	74	バブル(bubble)
69	クラブ(club)	50	バランス(balance)
36	グラム(gram)	98	バランス(balance)
27	クリスマス(Christmas)	97	ビール(beer)
4	グループ(group)	19	ヒット(hit)
54	グループ(group)	100	ヒット(hit)
11	ケース(case)	45	ビデオ(video)
62	ケース(case)	83	ビデオ(video)
42	ゲーム(game)	23	ビル(building)
75	ゲーム(game)	66	ビル(building)
27	コース(course)	31	ファン(fan)
72	コース(course)	67	ファン(fan)
40	コーチ(coach)	65	ブッシュ(bush; G.W. Bush)
20	ゴール(goal)	36	プラス(plus)
22	コスト(cost)	41	プレー(play)
82	コスト(cost)	4	プロ(professional)
95	コメント(comment)	53	プロ(professional)
30	ゴルフ(golf)	48	ページ(page)
64	ゴルフ(golf)	48	ベース(base)
33	コンピューター(computer)	34	ベスト(best)
79	コンピューター(computer)	81	ベスト(best)
8	サービス(service)	98	ベテラン(veteran)
56	サービス(service)	42	ホーム(home)
24	サイン(sign)	81	ホーム(home)
7	サッカー(soccer)	26	ホームページ(homepage)
79	サミット(summit)	85	ホームページ(homepage)
46	サラリーマン(Japanese English: Salary Man)	30	ボール(ball)
77	サリン(sarin)	72	ボール(ball)
28	シーズン(season)	21	ホール(hall)
89	シーズン(system)	73	ホール(hall)
5	システム(system)	12	ポイント(point)
55	システム(system)	56	ポイント(point)
43	ジャンプ(jump)	17	ポスト(post)
26	シリーズ(series)	18	ホテル(hotel)
71	シリーズ(series)	58	ホテル(hotel)
96	シンポジウム(symposium)	37	ボランティア(volunteer)
39	スーパー(super)	68	ボランティア(volunteer)
90	スーパー(super)	19	ホルモン(German: Hormon)
34	スキー(ski)	38	マーク(mark)
90	スキー(ski)	80	マーク(mark)
8	スタート(start)	12	マイナス(minus)
57	スタート(start)	94	マイナス(minus)
78	スピード(speed)	83	マスコミ(mass communication)
15	スポーツ(sports)	45	マラソン(marathon)
61	スポーツ(sports)	93	マラソン(marathon)
32	セット(set)	76	マンション(condominium)
85	セット(set)	38	マンション(mansion)
47	ゼネコン(general contractor)	10	ミサイル(missile)
86	ゼロ(zero)	66	ミサイル(missile)
6	センター(center)	73	ミス(miss)
55	センター(center)	7	メーカー(maker)

9	センチ(centimeter)	60	メーカー(maker)
59	センチ(centimeter)	1	メートル(French: mètre)
65	ソウル(soul; Seoul)	51	メートル(French: mètre)
44	ソフト(soft)	87	メール(mail)
87	ソフト(soft)	5	メダル(medal)
58	タイ(a tie; Thailand)	97	メッセージ(message)
44	ダイエー(Daiei: name of a Japanese Supermarket)	69	メディア(media)
95	タイトル(title)	13	メンバー(member)
92	タイプ(type)	60	メンバー(member)
3	チーム(team)	100	モデル(model)
52	チーム(team)	6	ユーロ(Euro)
49	チェック(check)	24	ラグビー(rugby)
84	チェック(check)	94	ラジオ(radio)
86	チャンス(chance)	2	リーグ(league)
31	ツアー(tour)	74	リード(lead)
14	データ(data)	22	リストラ(restructuring)
64	データ(data)	91	リストラ(restructuring)
9	テーマ(German: Thema)	43	ルール(rule)
59	テーマ(German: Thema)	92	ルール(rule)
35	デザイン(design)	28	レース(race)
91	デザイン(design)	16	レベル(level)
32	デジタル(digital)	70	レベル(level)
96	デジタル(digital)	25	ローン(loan)
41	デビュー(début)	35	ロイター(Reuters)
99	デビュー(début)	17	ニュース(news)

Table 22b: Diachronic comparison of loanword lists from the *Mainichi*

newspaper in alphabetical order (cf. 田中 2 0 0 7 : 3 3 5。[Tanaka 2007: 335]; 国立国語研究所 2 0 0 0 a : 1 1 1 f。[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2000a: 111f.])

The direct comparison shows a correlation of 69%, that is 69 of 100 loanwords are amongst the most frequently used loanwords in December 1998 and in the overall count of all newspaper issued between 1994 and 2003. Some of the differences derive from the fact that the December 1998 count included proper names; the overall count only does so when their spelling and pronunciation coincide with homonymic content words. Therefore, the 10 year count includes words like タイ (*Tai*, for ‘tie’ and ‘Thailand’), and ブッシュ (*Busshu*, for ‘bush’ and ‘George W. Bush’). Since neither *Tai* nor *Busshu* are often used in their meanings of ‘tie’ and ‘bush’, but rather in their meanings as ‘Thailand’ and ‘President Bush’, it can be assumed that their real position in the ranking would be much lower than expressed here, if their times of use as proper names were excluded. Other words like センター (*senta*-, ‘center’) or クラブ (*kurabu*, ‘club’), too, are partly used in proper names, making their real use in

general discourse difficult to assess. In any case, while some of the differences originate from this difference in counting, others simply can be traced to certain topics which were not important at a certain time, in this case December 1998, but very important at some other points or over longer periods.

Such lists are a product of the times, and reflect certain topics that were much discussed at certain points in time. In the overall count word list, such words include テロ (*Tero*, ‘terror’), which can be surmised to relate to the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, as well as ガス (*gasu*, ‘gas’) and サリン (*sarin*, ‘sarin’), whose frequent use is assumedly due to the Aum sect’s poison gas attack on the Tokyo subway in 1995.

If these factors are taken into consideration, a correlation of loanwords in frequent use of 69% can certainly be seen as a remarkable number which illustrates that over a span of 10 years there has been no significant shift in the kind of loanwords that are used in actual newspaper discourse. There are fluctuations, to be sure, in the ranking and frequency of certain words; this, however, does not affect their presence in the top 100 list.

Judging from this result, it can be supposed that words which are used so frequently over such an extended period of time have become familiarized enough to the readers not to cause confusion over their meaning and use any more. In order to clarify whether this assumption really holds true, the next subchapter will be concerned with examining whether these frequently used loanwords have been assessed as being already a part of the national language by checking if they have been included in a monoglot dictionary of Japanese, or in loanword dictionaries, which would at least show that, although not yet considered completely naturalized, they are not just individual creations but sufficiently widely used and on their way to becoming naturalized.

7.3. (No) Entry – On the extent of naturalization of frequently used loanwords in the media

It is often said that loanwords, in general, have a short life span; that they are an expression of nowadays’ fast-paced life and that many of them fade out as quick as they have appeared. Whether such a general statement is really applicable will be shown by a comparison of the loanwords in the lists above with entries in present dictionaries, a loanword dictionary (edition 2003 and 2007) and a Japanese language

dictionary (edition 2002 and 2008). Since several years have passed since the above data was taken, the entries in present dictionaries will show to what extent these loanwords have survived into present-day usage. By comparing these entries with those in older dictionaries, it will also be possible to reconstruct how many of these loanwords were (relatively) new and have since become standard Japanese. This might allow a judgment on the basic character of loanwords in Japanese and indicate whether they are really just fleeting phenomena or whether the part they play within the language is lasting and their linguistic footprints permanent.

7.3.1. White Papers

Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)	Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)
アウトソーシング (outsourcing)	0	0	x	0	ハード (hard)	0	0	0	0
アクセス (access)	0	0	0	0	パートタイム (part-time)	0	0	0	0
アジェンダ (agenda)	0	0	x	0	パートナーシップ (partnership)	0	0	x	0
アセスメント (assessment)	0	0	0	0	ハイテク (high-tech)	0	0	0	0
アルミニウム (aluminium)	0	0	0	0	バス (bath; bus)	0	0	0	0
アンケート (French: enquête)	0	0	0	0	バブル (bubble)	0	0	0	0
イメージ (image)	0	0	0	0	ピーク (peak)	0	0	0	0
インターネット (Internet)	0	0	0	0	ビオトープ (German: Biotop)	0	0	0	0
インフラ (infrastructure)	0	0	x	0	ファイバー (fiber)	0	0	x	0
エイズ (AIDS)	0	0	0	0	フォーラム (forum)	0	0	0	0
エネルギー (German: Energie)	0	0	0	0	プラスチック (plastics)	0	0	0	0
オキシダント (oxidant)	0	0	0	0	プラン (plan)	0	0	0	0
オゾン (ozone)	0	0	0	0	フロー (flow)	0	0	x	0
ガイドライン (guideline)	0	0	0	0	フォローアップ (follow-up)	0	0	x	0
ガス (gas)	0	0	0	0	プログラム (program)	0	0	0	0
カドミウム (cadmium)	0	0	0	0	プロジェクト (project)	0	0	0	0
ガラス (Dutch: glas)	0	0	0	0	プロセス (process)	0	0	0	0
グリーン (green)	0	0	0	0	ブロック (block)	0	0	0	0

グループ (group)	0	0	0	0	フロン (JE: fl[uorocarb]on)	0	0	0	0
グローバリゼーション (globalization)	0	0	x	0	フロンティア (frontier)	0	0	0	0
グローバル (global)	0	0	0	0	ベース (base)	0	0	0	0
コース (course)	0	0	0	0	ホーム (home)	0	0	0	0
コスト (cost)	0	0	0	0	ポイント (point)	0	0	0	0
コミュニティ (community)	0	0	0	0	ボランティア (volunteer)	0	0	0	0
コンピュータ (computer)	0	0	0	0	ホルモン (German: Hormon)	0	0	0	0
サービス (service)	0	0	0	0	マイナス (minus)	0	0	0	0
サミット (summit)	0	0	0	0	マクロ (macro)	0	0	0	0
シェア (share)	0	0	0	0	マスタープラン (master plan)	0	0	x	0
システム (system)	0	0	0	0	マニュアル (manual)	0	0	0	0
シフト (shift)	0	0	0	0	マネジメント (management)	0	0	0	0
シンポジウム (symposium)	0	0	0	0	マネジメントシステム (management system)	x	0	x	x
ストック (stock)	0	0	0	0	マンション (mansion)	0	0	0	0
セクター (sector)	0	0	x	0	メーカー (maker)	0	0	0	0
セミナー (seminar)	0	0	0	0	メカニズム (mechanism)	0	0	0	0
セメント (cement)	0	0	0	0	メタン (German: Methan)	0	0	0	0
ゼロエミッション (zero emission)	0	0	x	0	モデル (model)	0	0	0	0
センター (center)	0	0	0	0	モニタリング (monitoring)	0	0	x	0
ソフト (soft)	0	0	0	0	ライフサイエンス (life science)	0	0	x	0
ダイオキシン (dioxin)	0	0	0	0	ライフサイクル (life cycle)	0	0	0	0
タイプ (type)	0	0	0	0	ライフスタイル (life style)	0	0	0	0
ダム (dam)	0	0	0	0	リクリエーション (recreation)	0	0	0	0
データ (data)	0	0	0	0	リサイクル (recycle)	0	0	0	0
データベース (database)	0	0	0	0	リスク (risk)	0	0	0	0
テーマ (German: Thema)	0	0	0	0	ルート (route)	0	0	0	0

トラック (truck;track)	○	○	○	○	ルール (rule)	○	○	○	○
ドル (dollar)	○	○	○	○	レート (rate)	○	○	○	○
トン (ton)	○	○	○	○	レーベル (label)	○	○	x	○
ニーズ (needs)	○	○	○	○	レベル (level)	○	○	○	○
ネットワーク (network)	○	○	○	○	ロケット (rocket)	○	○	○	○
ノウハウ (know-how)	○	○	○	○	ワークショップ (workshop)	○	○	○	○

Table 23: Dictionary presence of most frequently used loanwords in White Papers
(LD...Gakken Loanword Dictionary; JLD...Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary)

What is most surprising is that not only all of the 100 most frequently used loanwords in White Papers from 1998 have found their way into the 2007 edition of Gakken's Loanword Dictionary – which might be seen as natural since an entry in such dictionaries does not precondition a wide usage – but that all but one can also be found in the 2008 edition of Shinseido's Japanese Language Dictionary, by definition a much more conservative dictionary. When considering this fact along with the allegations that especially White Papers use many unknown and difficult loanwords, it becomes obvious that even such loanwords that are deemed difficult to understand with time find their way into normal usage, showing that human language and pragmatic abilities are much more flexible than is generally thought and that the notion of non-understanding, too, is only subject to habit and habits change with use.

In addition, most of the words in this list were already present in much earlier dictionaries, the 2003 edition of the Gakken Loanword Dictionary and the 2002 edition of Shinseido's Japanese Language Dictionary. Only 12 words were not yet included in the Japanese Language Dictionary, 1 was missing from the Loanword Dictionary. It can therefore be surmised that, while some of the loanwords used in White Papers in 1998 were yet uncoded and thus not familiar to people in general, these loanwords have proven important and useful enough to survive to the present day and become a part of standard Japanese language. Of course, this does not eliminate the comprehension problems that people at that time might have had reading these loanwords, but it demonstrates that they had a semantic justification to exist which has enabled them to persist to the present day.

7.3.2. Public Information Bulletins

Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)	Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)
アンケート (French: enquête)	0	0	0	0	チェック (check)	0	0	0	0
イベント (event)	0	0	0	0	テーマ (German: Thema)	0	0	0	0
イメージ (image)	0	0	0	0	デイサービス (day-service)	0	0	x	0
インターネット (Internet)	0	0	0	0	デイサービスセンター (day-service center)	x	0	x	x
エネルギー (German: Energie)	0	0	0	0	デザイン (design)	0	0	0	0
オープン (open)	0	0	0	0	テニス (tennis)	0	0	0	0
カード (card)	0	0	0	0	テレビ (television)	0	x(0)	0	0
ガイド (guide)	0	0	0	0	トイレ (toilet)	0	0	0	0
ガス (gas)	0	0	0	0	トレーニング (training)	0	0	0	0
ガラス (Dutch: glas)	0	0	0	0	トンネル (tunnel)	0	0	0	0
カレンダー (calendar)	0	0	0	0	ネットワーク (network)	0	0	0	0
ギャラリー (gallery)	0	0	0	0	パーセント (percent)	0	0	0	0
キャンプ (camp)	0	0	0	0	パート (part)	0	0	0	0
キロ (French: kg; km)	0	0	0	0	バス (bus)	0	0	0	0
クイズ (quiz)	0	0	0	0	パソコン (personal computer)	0	0	0	0
グラウンド (ground)	0	0	0	0	パック (packing)	0	0	0	0
クラス (class)	0	0	0	0	バドミントン (badminton)	0	0	0	0
クラブ (club)	0	0	0	0	パネル (panel)	0	0	0	0
クリニック (clinic)	0	0	0	0	バレーボール (volleyball)	0	0	0	0
グループ (group)	0	0	0	0	ピアノ (Italian: piano)	0	0	0	0
ゲートボール (gateball, Japanese croquet)	0	0	0	0	ビデオ (video)	0	0	0	0
ゲーム (game)	0	0	0	0	ビル (building)	0	0	0	0
コース (course)	0	0	0	0	プール (pool)	0	0	0	0
コーナー (corner)	0	0	0	0	ファクス (fax)	0	0	0	0

コミュニティ (community)	0	0	0	0	フェスティバル (festival)	0	0	0	0
コミュニティセンター (community center)	0	0	X	0	フォーラム (forum)	0	0	0	0
コンクール (French: concours)	0	0	0	0	プラザ (plaza)	0	0	0	0
コンサート (concert)	0	0	0	0	プラネタリウム (German: Planetarium)	0	0	0	0
サークル (circle)	0	0	0	0	プラン (plan)	0	0	0	0
サービス (service)	0	0	0	0	プレゼント (present)	0	0	0	0
サービスコーナー (service corner)	X	X	X	X	ページ (page)	0	0	0	0
サッカー (soccer)	0	0	0	0	ペットボトル (pet bottle)	0	0	0	0
サロン (French: salon)	0	0	0	0	ホーム (home)	0	0	0	0
システム (system)	0	0	0	0	ホームページ (homepage)	0	0	0	0
シリーズ (series)	0	0	0	0	ホームヘルパー (home helper)	0	0	X	0
シンポジウム (symposium)	0	0	0	0	ホール (hall)	0	0	0	0
スキー (ski)	0	0	0	0	ポイント (point)	0	0	0	0
スタート (start)	0	0	0	0	ポスター (poster)	0	0	0	0
ステージ (stage)	0	0	0	0	ホテル (hotel)	0	0	0	0
ストレス (stress)	0	0	0	0	ボランティア (volunteer)	0	0	0	0
スポーツ (sports)	0	0	0	0	メートル (French: mètre)	0	0	0	0
セット (set)	0	0	0	0	メンバー (member)	0	0	0	0
セミナー (seminar)	0	0	0	0	モデル (model)	0	0	0	0
センター (center)	0	0	0	0	モニター (monitor)	0	0	0	0
センチ (French: centimeter)	0	0	0	0	リクリエーション (recreation)	0	0	0	0
ソフトボール (softball)	0	0	0	0	リサイクル (recycle)	0	0	0	0
ダイオキシン (dioxin)	0	0	0	0	ルール (rule)	0	0	0	0
タオル (towel)	0	0	0	0	リハビリ (rehab)	0	0	0	0
ダンス (dance)	0	0	0	0	ロビー (lobby)	0	0	0	0
チーム (team)	0	0	0	0	ワープロ (word processor)	0	0	0	0

Table 24: Dictionary presence of most frequently used loanwords in PIBs (LD...Gakken Loanword Dictionary; JLD...Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary)

In this case, the degree of naturalization is even higher than with White Papers, owing to the nature of Public Information Bulletins which have to be close to the people they address. Only 5 of these loanwords had not yet been codified in the Japanese Language Dictionary by 2002, 2 by 2008; all except for one are present in both editions of the Loanword Dictionary. This suggests that most of these loanwords already were sufficiently naturalized at the time they were used for people to understand their meaning.

7.3.3. Mainichi newspaper

Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)	Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)
イベント (event)	○	○	○	○	テレビ (television)	○	x(○)	○	○
イメージ (image)	○	○	○	○	トップ (top)	○	○	○	○
インターネット (Internet)	○	○	○	○	トラック (truck)	○	○	○	○
エース (ace)	○	○	○	○	トラブル (trouble)	○	○	○	○
エイズ (AIDS)	○	○	○	○	ドラマ (drama)	○	○	○	○
エネルギー (German: Energie)	○	○	○	○	ドル (dollar)	○	○	○	○
オープン (open)	○	○	○	○	トン (ton)	○	○	○	○
オリンピック (Olympics)	○	○	○	○	ネット (net)	○	○	○	○
カード (card)	○	○	○	○	バス (bus)	○	○	○	○
ガス (gas)	○	○	○	○	パソコン (personal computer)	○	○	○	○
カレー (curry)	○	○	○	○	バブル (bubble)	○	○	○	○
キロ (French: kilo)	○	○	○	○	バランス (balance)	○	○	○	○
クラブ (club)	○	○	○	○	ヒット (hit)	○	○	○	○
グラム (French: gram)	○	○	○	○	ビデオ (video)	○	○	○	○
クリスマス (Christmas)	○	○	○	○	ビル (building)	○	○	○	○
グループ (group)	○	○	○	○	ファン (fan)	○	○	○	○
ケース (case)	○	○	○	○	プラス (plus)	○	○	○	○

ゲーム (game)	0	0	0	0	プレー (play)	0	0	0	0
コース (course)	0	0	0	0	プロ (professional)	0	0	0	0
コーチ (coach)	0	0	0	0	ページ (page)	0	0	0	0
ゴール (goal)	0	0	0	0	ベース (base)	0	0	0	0
コスト (cost)	0	0	0	0	ベスト (best)	0	0	0	0
ゴルフ (golf)	0	0	0	0	ホーム (home)	0	0	0	0
コンピューター (computer)	0	0	0	0	ホームページ (homepage)	0	0	0	0
サービス (service)	0	0	0	0	ボール (ball)	0	0	0	0
サイン (sign)	0	0	0	0	ホール (hall)	0	0	0	0
サッカー (soccer)	0	0	0	0	ポイント (point)	0	0	0	0
サラリーマン (JE: Salary Man)	0	0	0	0	ポスト (post)	0	0	0	0
シーズン (season)	0	0	0	0	ホテル (hotel)	0	0	0	0
システム (system)	0	0	0	0	ボランティア (volunteer)	0	0	0	0
ジャンプ (jump)	0	0	0	0	ホルモン (German: Hormon)	0	0	0	0
シリーズ (series)	0	0	0	0	マーク (mark)	0	0	0	0
スーパー (super)	0	0	0	0	マイナス (minus)	0	0	0	0
スキー (ski)	0	0	0	0	マラソン (marathon)	0	0	0	0
スタート (start)	0	0	0	0	マンション (mansion)	0	0	0	0
スポーツ (sports)	0	0	0	0	ミサイル (missile)	0	0	0	0
セット (set)	0	0	0	0	メーカー (maker)	0	0	0	0
ゼネコン (general contractor)	0	0	0	0	メートル (French: mètre)	0	0	0	0
センター (center)	0	0	0	0	メダル (medal)	0	0	0	0
センチ (French: centimeter)	0	0	0	0	メンバー (member)	0	0	0	0
ソフト (soft)	0	0	0	0	ユーロ (Euro)	0	0	0	0
ダイエー (Daiei: name of a Japanese supermarket chain)	x	x	x	x	ラグビー (rugby)	0	0	0	0

チーム (team)	○	○	○	○	リーグ (league)	○	○	○	○
チェック (check)	○	○	○	○	リストラ (restructuring)	○	○	○	○
ツアー (tour)	○	○	○	○	ルール (rule)	○	○	○	○
データ (data)	○	○	○	○	レース (race)	○	○	○	○
テーマ (German: Thema)	○	○	○	○	レベル (level)	○	○	○	○
デザイン (design)	○	○	○	○	ローン (loan)	○	○	○	○
デジタル (digital)	○	○	○	○	ロイター (Reuters)	○	○	x	x
デビュー (French: debut)	○	○	○	○	ニュース (news)	○	○	○	○

Table 25: Dictionary presence of most frequently used loanwords in the *Mainichi* newspapers

(LD...Gakken Loanword Dictionary; JLD...Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary)

There are only two loanwords that did not find their way into neither the 2002 nor the 2008 edition of Shinseido's Japanese Language Dictionary: *Daiei* and *Roita-*, both proper names, the first of a supermarket chain, the second of a news agency. The rest of the loanwords appear to have been well naturalized in the Japanese language – the worry that frequently used loanwords in newspapers are difficult to understand might thus be unfounded, as they seem to be established enough to be included in national language dictionaries. With the exception of proper names, all of the high-frequency loans were present in both the Gakken Loanword Dictionary and the Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary from at least as early as 2002.

7.3.4. Magazines

Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)	Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)
アップ (up)	○	○	○	○	ソフト (soft)	○	○	○	○
アルバム (album)	○	○	○	○	タイプ (type)	○	○	○	○
イメージ (image)	○	○	○	○	タイヤ (tire)	○	○	○	○
イラスト (illustration)	○	○	○	○	チーム (team)	○	○	○	○
エネルギー (German: Energie)	○	○	○	○	チェック (check)	○	○	○	○
エンジン (engine)	○	○	○	○	ツアー (tour)	○	○	○	○
オープン (open)	○	○	○	○	データ (data)	○	○	○	○
オリジナル	○	○	○	○	テーマ	○	○	○	○

(original)					(German: Thema)				
カード (card)	o	o	o	o	デザイン (design)	o	o	o	o
ガイド (guide)	o	o	o	o	デビュー (French: debut)	o	o	o	o
カタログ (catalogue)	o	o	o	o	テレビ (television)	o	o	o	o
カット (cut)	o	o	o	o	ドア (door)	o	o	o	o
カップ (cup)	o	o	o	o	トップ (top)	o	o	o	o
カバー (cover)	o	o	o	o	パーツ (parts)	o	o	x	o
カメラ (camera)	o	o	o	o	バイク (bike)	o	o	o	o
カラー (color)	o	o	o	o	バス (bus)	o	o	o	o
ガラス (Dutch: glas)	o	o	o	o	パソコン (personal computer)	o	o	o	o
ガン (Japanese: gan, 'cancer')	x	x	o	o	バッグ (bag)	o	o	o	o
キット (kit)	o	o	x	o	バランス (balance)	o	o	o	o
キロ (French: kilo)	o	o	o	o	パワー (power)	o	o	o	o
クラス (class)	o	o	o	o	パンツ (pants)	o	o	o	o
クラブ (club)	o	o	o	o	ピアノ (Italian: piano)	o	o	o	o
グループ (group)	o	o	o	o	ビタミン (vitamin)	o	o	o	o
ケース (case)	o	o	o	o	ビル (building)	o	o	o	o
ゲーム (game)	o	o	o	o	ファン (fan)	o	o	o	o
コース (course)	o	o	o	o	プラス (plus)	o	o	o	o
コート (coat)	o	o	o	o	ブラック (black)	o	o	o	o
コーナー (corner)	o	o	o	o	ブルー (blue)	o	o	o	o
ゴルフ (golf)	o	o	o	o	プレゼント (present)	o	o	o	o
サービス (service)	o	o	o	o	プロ (professional)	o	o	o	o
サイズ (size)	o	o	o	o	ブロック (block)	o	o	o	o
サラダ (salad)	o	o	o	o	ページ (page)	o	o	o	o
シーズン (season)	o	o	o	o	ベース (base)	o	o	o	o

システム (system)	○	○	○	○	ベスト (best)	○	○	○	○
ジャケット (jacket)	○	○	○	○	ボール (ball)	○	○	○	○
ジャズ (jazz)	○	○	○	○	ホール (hall)	○	○	○	○
シャツ (shirt)	○	○	○	○	ポイント (point)	○	○	○	○
シリーズ (series)	○	○	○	○	ボディ (body)	○	○	○	○
シンプル (simple)	○	○	○	○	ホテル (hotel)	○	○	○	○
スーパー (super)	○	○	○	○	ママ (mama)	○	○	○	○
スカート (skirt)	○	○	○	○	ミリ (French: milli-)	○	○	○	○
スキー (ski)	○	○	○	○	メーカー (maker)	○	○	○	○
スタート (start)	○	○	○	○	メートル (French: mètre)	○	○	○	○
スタイル (style)	○	○	○	○	メンバー (member)	○	○	○	○
スタッフ (staff)	○	○	○	○	モデル (model)	○	○	○	○
スペース (space)	○	○	○	○	ライン (line)	○	○	○	○
スポーツ (sports)	○	○	○	○	リーグ (league)	○	○	○	○
セット (set)	○	○	○	○	レース (race)	○	○	○	○
センター (center)	○	○	○	○	レストラン (French: restaurant)	○	○	○	○
センチ (French: centimeter)	○	○	○	○	レベル (level)	○	○	○	○

Table 26: Dictionary presence of most frequently used loanwords in magazines

(LD...Gakken Loanword Dictionary; JLD...Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary)

Magazines give a similar picture to the previous media: only 2 of the most frequently used loanwords had not yet been included in the Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary by 2002, but are contained in the 2008 edition; all others seem to have been sufficiently naturalized by the time they were used in the magazines surveyed or at least shortly after. Most of them can be said to be commonly used in contemporary Japanese - another example that shows that a high number of loanwords does not necessarily result in any obstacles in communication.

7.3.5. Television

Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)	Word	LD (2003)	LD (2007)	JLD (2002)	JLD (2008)
アイアイ (aye-aye: a kind of monkey)	0	0	x	0	テーマ (German: Thema)	0	0	0	0
アウト (out)	0	0	0	0	デモ (demonstration)	0	0	0	0
イメージ (image)	0	0	0	0	テレビ (television)	0	x(0)	0	0
インタビュー (interview)	0	0	0	0	トイレ (toilet)	0	0	0	0
エネルギー (German: Energie)	0	0	0	0	トップ (top)	0	0	0	0
カーブ (curve)	0	0	0	0	ドライバー (driver)	0	0	0	0
カメラ (camera)	0	0	0	0	ドラマ (drama)	0	0	0	0
カルシウム (Dutch: calcium)	0	0	0	0	ニュース (news)	0	0	0	0
カレー (curry)	0	0	0	0	ボス (boss)	0	0	0	0
キムチ (Korean: Kimchi)	0	0	0	0	バス (bus)	0	0	0	0
キャッチフレーズ (catch phrase)	0	0	0	0	バッター (batter)	0	0	0	0
キャッチャー (catcher)	0	0	0	0	バッターボックス (a batter's box)	0	0	x	0
キャベツ (cabbage)	0	0	0	0	パパ (papa)	0	0	0	0
クラブ (club)	0	0	0	0	バランス (balance)	0	0	0	0
グリーン (green)	0	0	0	0	ビール (beer)	0	0	0	0
グループ (group)	0	0	0	0	ピッチャー (pitcher)	0	0	0	0
ケース (case)	0	0	0	0	ヒット (hit)	0	0	0	0
ゲーム (game)	0	0	0	0	ビデオ (video)	0	0	0	0
ゲスト (guest)	0	0	0	0	ピン (pin)	0	0	0	0
コート (coat)	0	0	0	0	ピンチ (pinch)	0	0	0	0
コーナー (corner)	0	0	0	0	ファースト (first [base])	0	0	0	0
ゴールデンウィーク (Golden Week)	0	0	0	0	ファン (fan)	0	0	0	0
コマーシャル (commercial)	0	0	0	0	プラス (plus)	0	0	0	0
コレクション (collection)	0	0	0	0	プレー (play)	0	0	0	0

コンサート (concert)	0	0	0	0	プロ (professional)	0	0	0	0
システム (system)	0	0	0	0	ブロック (block)	0	0	0	0
ジバン (Portuguese: gibão, 'undershirt')	x	x	x	x	ポーズ (pose)	0	0	0	0
ジュース (juice)	0	0	0	0	ホームラン (home run)	0	0	0	0
ショック (shock)	0	0	0	0	ボール (ball)	0	0	0	0
スタート (start)	0	0	0	0	ポイント (point)	0	0	0	0
スタイル (style)	0	0	0	0	ボタン (button)	0	0	0	0
スタジオ (studio)	0	0	0	0	ホテル (hotel)	0	0	0	0
スタッフ (staff)	0	0	0	0	マイナス (minus)	0	0	0	0
ストライク (strike)	0	0	0	0	マウンド (mound)	0	0	0	0
ストレート (straight)	0	0	0	0	マシーン (machine)	0	0	0	0
スピン (spin)	0	0	x	0	マスター (master)	0	0	0	0
スポンサー (sponsor)	0	0	0	0	ママ (mama)	0	0	0	0
セーフ (safe)	0	0	0	0	マラソン (marathon)	0	0	0	0
セカンド (second)	0	0	0	0	マンション (mansion)	0	0	0	0
セクシー (sexy)	0	0	0	0	メンバー (member)	0	0	0	0
セクシャルマジック (sexual magic)	x	x	x	x	ヤクルト (Yakult: a company owning a baseball team)	x	x	x	x
セレクト (select)	0	0	x	0	ユニフォーム (uniform)	0	0	0	0
ゼロ (zero)	0	0	0	0	ライブ (live)	0	0	x	0
センター (center)	0	0	0	0	ランナー (runner)	0	0	0	0
タイトル (title)	0	0	0	0	リード (lead)	0	0	0	0
タイミング (timing)	0	0	0	0	リクルート (recrute)	0	0	0	0
タフ (tough)	0	0	0	0	リズム (rhythm)	0	0	0	0
チーム (team)	0	0	0	0	レース (race)	0	0	0	0
チャンス	0	0	0	0	レベル	0	0	0	0

(chance)					(level)				
ツーアウト (two outs)	x	x	x	x	ワンアウト (one out)	x	x	x	o

Table 27: Dictionary presence of most frequently used loanwords in television (LD...Gakken

Loanword Dictionary; JLD...Shinseido Japanese Language Dictionary)

Television discourse being the only oral/auditory amongst the analyzed media, it could be presumed to be the medium with the most problematic lexical stock of loanwords. Japanese television features many talk-show formats which abound with (often idiosyncratic) loanwords and nonce formations. A back check of the high-frequency loans used in the surveyed television discourse, however, demonstrates that either television mostly employs commonly used loanwords or that loanwords used on television quickly find their way into the lexicon. 10 out of 50 most frequently used loanwords were not part of the 2002 edition of Shinseido's Japanese Language Dictionary. Half of these turn out to be proper names and baseball terminology – not exactly common vocabulary. Present dictionaries, however, include most of these terms, which shows both the cultural impact of baseball and the impact of television discourse on language.

In any case, none of the selected media can be said to employ overly difficult and unfamiliar or short-lived loanwords. Those few terms which appear uncommon at the time of their use can be observed to develop into common usage within a few years. Loanwords, too, are subject to the same requirements for survival as any other words; and the fact that they have survived into proper dictionaries of the Japanese language illustrates that they are both a vivid and an important resource in the lexical pool of the Japanese language, and that their presence, by no means, endangers communication or the language itself. Rather, their continued and persistent presence shows a lasting need for new linguistic material to continually enrich the language's already rich realm of semantic nuances. Whether use precedes naturalization or whether naturalization precedes use is, then, only an academic question. Whichever comes first, the fact remains that, by the end of the day, often used loanwords become naturalized because through their frequent use they have proven their functional value and their comprehensibility. Those which are of no use to a language inevitably leak through the lexical filter.

7.4. Commonalities

Seeing only the loanword numbers within Japanese media by themselves is interesting, but giving them a point of comparison, they become more palpable. This will be accomplished by doing a short glimpse at data from research about Anglicisms in Austrian media, meant as an interesting detail, but far from claiming validity. It is merely supposed to give an idea of whether there are, or appear to be, universalities in loanword creation and import between different languages, or whether it is mostly language-specific.

As a point of comparison, the data from Finker's treatment of Anglicisms in the Austrian newspaper *Kleine Zeitung* (1999) will be taken. Since it has been established from the word lists above that 'loanword' in Japanese in over 90% of the cases equals 'Anglicism', and since the data from Japanese media presented above was taken at about the same time, the validity of the comparative data can be presumed to be high. Since the word list from Finker only includes the first 32 high-frequency-words, the scope of the comparative data is somewhat divergent; however, it can still be expected to give an interesting glance into the use of Anglicisms in two countries on the opposite side of the globe. Different from the Japanese word lists, Finker's list also includes loan translations which are not immediately transparent as loans but whose origin can be traced back to – in this case – English words.

1	Problem ('problem')	12	TV ('TV')	23	Manager ('manager')
2	US ('United States')	13	Cup ('cup')	24	Daten ('data')
3	Team ('team')	14	Match ('match')	25	Starten ('to start')
4	Weltcup ('world cup')	15	Medium ('medium')	26	Super- ('super-')
5	Trainer ('trainer')	16	Experte ('expert')	27	Coach ('coach')
6	Start ('start')	17	Gipfel ('summit')	28	Atom ('atom')
7	Fan ('fan')	18	Test ('test')	29	Profi ('professional')
8	Star ('star')	19	Doping ('doping')	30	Handy ('cell phone')
9	Training ('training')	20	Internet ('internet')	31	Nummer Eins ('number one')
10	Partner ('partner')	21	Computer ('computer')	32	Top ('top')
11	Film ('film')	22	Tennis ('tennis')		

Table 28: Most frequently used loanwords in the *Kleine Zeitung* (cf. Finker 1999: 69)

The lists of frequent Anglicisms in Japanese and in German show certain correlations. 9 of these 32 Anglicisms can also be found in the Japanese wordlists: 'team', 'start', 'fan', 'TV', 'Internet', 'computer', 'data', 'super' (though in Japanese it is used as an abbreviation for 'supermarket'), and 'professional'. Most of these stem from the fields of sports and technology, areas where English has obviously been influential around the globe. 8 other words were not among the 50 most frequently used Anglicisms in

Japanese at that time, but are very often used in contemporary Japanese: ‘trainer’, ‘star’, ‘training’, ‘summit’, ‘test’, ‘tennis’, ‘manager’, and ‘coach’. It appears that at least in some cases the same English words have made leeway into other languages and are being used with similar frequencies. Of course, though, the proportions of loanword use in Japanese and German is no matter of comparison. Several Anglicisms might rank similar places, but their absolute numbers of use naturally are completely different. Nevertheless, the results of this comparison indicate that there might be some universals to the import of English loanwords, which are similar in different languages. In the above case, areas of sports, entertainment, technology, and economy are the common ground from which both German and Japanese derive their English-based loanwords. Of course, based on such rudimentary data, this is only speculation. Further research might yield interesting results.

Compared to German, however, in Japanese the loanword issue reaches much deeper and is much more multi-layered because of the sheer number of Anglicisms present and entering the language all the time and their vast scope of usage. Still, the loanword discussion appears to be led much more agitatedly in German speaking countries than in Japan. Nevertheless, Japan also leads its own, albeit mostly academic, discussions on Anglicisms. Thus, considering the huge numbers of Anglicisms entering the language every year, and the challenge they can pose to comprehension, a look at Japanese suggestions on the (dis)use of these loanwords could be revealing of the diverse attitudes that Japanese scholars hold towards this age-old phenomenon. This will be the objective of the following chapter.

8. *From Alienation to Integration*

Recent Discussions in Theory and Practice

In Japan, loanwords do not appear to be a topic of much public interest as in Europe where e.g. nations like France pursue a curious mission to keep all foreign, especially American-English, influence from ‘tainting’ their language. Rather, the Japanese have come to terms with their language, and go along with its new trends without paying too much thought to the linguistic origins of the words they use. Basically, due to the fact that loanwords are on arrival transformed from the alphabet to the Japanese Katakana syllabary gives them an integrated, Japanese feel which might account for the lack of consciousness on the actual presence of loanwords in the language.

Gabrielli (2005), after conducting a survey on English loanwords in Japanese television commercials, noted that “the [...] participants, as non-linguists, seemed unable to spot the English in the commercials unless they were specific words or phrases already in daily circulation. This suggests that the average Japanese person is perhaps unaware of the nativization process because English loanwords and phrases are everywhere to be seen in society” (Gabrielli 2005: 79). Therefore, and possibly thanks the Japanese language’s long history of linguistic import, the discussion on loanwords is not of great importance to the average Japanese.

There is, however, a lot of discussion going on in Japan’s academic circles, on the limits of the need for loanwords. Considering the numbers of loanwords entering Japanese every year, this is an understandable debate. These discussions range from the question of how to write loanwords, of how to distinguish them from foreign words, to how much they interfere with Japanese students’ command of English, or how to make them more understandable to the Japanese people. Some of these discussions will be dealt with now.

8.1. How to make loans look like loans

As was stated above, the basic system of the Japanese language tends towards immediate integration of foreign linguistic material, both phonetically and orthographically. This process guarantees that every loanword is instantly embedded into the Japanese linguistic system, hence its air of the foreign is relatively low and there is no confusion on how to pronounce it once it has been transformed into the Japanese syllabary. Inukai (2002) comments,

語形の発音は様々の変容を加えられて、日本語の音韻体系に大筋で位置付けることが可能なものになる。表記もカタカナで書かれるようになるので、より一層の日本語化がすすむ（犬飼 2002 : 23）。

The pronunciation of the word-form [of loanwords] undergoes various transformations so that it becomes basically possible to position it within the Japanese phonological system. Since the word is then written in the Katakana syllabary, it takes another big step towards integration into Japanese. (Inukai 2002: 23) (my translation)

However, this total integration into the Japanese language is what bothers Inukai.

Since the immersion into Japanese is so complete that, unlike in German, for example, where newly imported English loanwords are often still pronounced in a way similar to the original word, it becomes impossible to discern a loanword from a foreign word, at least from the orthographic and phonetic point of view. All words, upon arrival, look like Japanese words to the casual beholder.

Now, the question of how useful it is to even make a distinction into loanwords and foreign words is open to debate; for Inukai, at least, this is of great importance. He insists to call words of foreign origin, which are not yet naturalized enough to be called loanwords (「外来語と言えるほどには一般に定着していない」 (27)), 'foreign words' (「外国語」 -*Gaikokugo*). His argument is that Japanese has got enough linguistic power to create words from its own pool – he is referring to *Wago* – but that, deplorably, Japan has no such tradition, and he brings an example where a word of Japanese origin – とおめがね (looking glass) – was replaced by a Chinese word – 望遠鏡 (*bōenkyō*). He continues,

その伝統によって、（主として欧米からの）外国語の流入に何の規制も加えられないので、外国語もどきの「外来語」が今、いわゆるカタカナ語として世にあふれている。それらの語は、口頭の会話においても文献においてもcommunicationの成立を妨げ、それらの語を使う人々が自分たちだけで凝り固まる要因の一つになっている。もちろん、技術や学問の進展に伴って、新しい名称や術語がつくられ輸入されるのは必然であるが、それが優れたものであればあるほど、一握りの人々にしか通じない状態が放置されるのは良くない（犬飼 2002 : 27）。

In accordance with this tradition, foreign words (mostly from Europe and America) are entering the language without restraints, causing these foreign-looking loanwords to flood over in our society as so-called *Katakana*-words. These words impede both oral and written communication, and thus become a factor leading to exclusive group building by the people using them. Certainly, along with progress in the fields of technology and learning, it is inevitable that new terms are created and imported, but the more exceptional these are, the higher the probability that they are only understood by a handful of people. To do nothing about this would be problematic (Inukai 2002: 27). (my translation)

This is a common argument amongst language purists and focuses on the unrestrained intrusion of foreign words into the language. The danger of this is demonstrated by drawing a threatening picture of communication breaking down because of a flood of unknown, and unknowable, words. It is also common that loanwords are generously tolerated in special fields where ‘progress’ is concerned, while at the same time warning of the danger of such words leaking through to everyday discourse.

Something that is striking about the citation above is the choice of writing the word ‘communication’ in the alphabet rather than in the Katakana syllabary as it usually is. This is no coincidence, but an early glance at the author’s eventual proposed solution for the perceived loanword/foreign word problem. His proposition is:

本稿の筆者は [. . .] 外国語を表記しなくてはならないとき、できるだけ原語のつづりで書くようにしている。その前に、まず、漢字かひらがなで書ける語を使おうとすることは言うまでもない [. . .] カタカナから正しい語義が得られないことをおそれるのである。もちろん、すでに外来語であるか、まだ外国語であるか、判断に迷うものが多い。その場合、本稿の筆者は、できるだけ外国語寄りに判断している（犬飼 2002 : 27/8）。

When there is a need to write a foreign word, the author of this article tries to write it in its original spelling. It goes without saying that before doing so, he tries to use *Kanji* and Hiragana words [i.e. Chinese and Japanese words] as much as possible. [...] There is reason to be concerned that the meaning of a word does not get properly communicated by using the *Katakana* syllabary [instead of Chinese characters which carry meaning in their orthography]. Of course I often hesitate whether a word is already a loanword or still a foreign word. In the case of doubt, I usually tend towards classifying it as a foreign word (Inukai 2002: 27/8). (my translation)

This rather forced attempt to differentiate between foreign word and loanword does not seem to have any scientific basis. Rather it appears to be an attempt at stigmatizing loanwords as something foreign through the effect of orthographic salience. The distinction is also convincing in that, while foreign words in their ostentatious alphabetic spelling are allowed to linger on in texts as elements not belonging to the Japanese language, those loanwords which Inukai is willing to permit are supposed to stay within their limited fields like technology and not intrude on everyday communication. The whole chain of argument seems to be leading towards a gradual ousting of loanwords by replacing them with ‘foreign words’ written in the alphabet so as to discourage their use because of their labeling as being ‘outside the Japanese language’.

In his attempt to justify his opinion, Inukai – who after all published this article in a collection of research reports published by the National Institute for the Japanese

Language – cites other scholars with similar opinions to his own. One of them, Tamamura, proposes to write loanwords in their Japanese spelling, but using the alphabet instead of the Katakana syllabary.

「意味の正確な伝達を十分に保証するためには、それが外来語であることが表記の上で示されていることが望ましい。そのためには、（中略）そのことを示す特徴を付加した方がよい」として、外来語は欧文活字の字体をかえて書くか、大文字にするか、引用符・下線付きなどで区別し、さらに、“Koodo(code)”のように、多義を回避するために原語のつづりを付記する、外国語は原語のつづりのまま書くべきである、と。

[. . .] 本稿の筆者は、玉村の提案に全面的に賛成する（犬飼 2002: 28/9）。

Tamamura maintains that “in order to ensure a correct transmission of meaning, it would be advisable to identify loanwords by way of writing. Therefore, it would be prudent to add distinguishing features that demonstrate this [i.e. that they are loanwords].” He proposes to distinguish them either by writing loanwords in European font, or in big letters, or by quotation marks or underline. Additionally, as for example in “Koodo(code)”, he advises to include the original spelling in order to avoid polysemy. [...] The writer of this article completely agrees with Takamura’s proposal (Inukai 2002: 28/9). (my translation)

What Tamamura proposes, and Inukai embraces, is yet another step towards an unnatural isolation of loanwords by artificially labeling them as alien material. Also, it is unclear what purpose it would serve to first distinguish loanwords by way of orthography, only to write them according to the changes they would be subjected to had they been written in Katakana. The authors here do not seem to be certain on what they actually want to achieve. What is certain, though, is that by writing loanwords using the alphabet the problem of comprehension would be joined by the problem of pronunciation and a complete confusion on how to write or read a loanword, to the effect that people would either have to stop using them – which is probably both Inukai’s and Tamamura’s goal – or, more likely, many idiosyncratic spellings would emerge, causing even more confusion. As is also visible in the authors’ suggestions to avoid polysemy, they are entirely ignorant to the fact that the Japanese language harbors thousands of homophonic words which may be distinguishable by their use of different characters in the written language, which however could be confused with other words using the same pronunciation in spoken Japanese. If these can be distinguished without their representing characters, then surely loanwords, too, can be distinguished by the same mental faculty.

Evidently, though, Inukai’s goal is not an objective evaluation of the need for loanwords, but rather their disuse.

やはり、中期的には、先にも述べたように、広く受け入れられた外来語はカタカナで、一般性をもたない語は外国語あつかいして原語のつづりで書き、中間のものをできるだけつづらないのが良いと思う。外来語そのものに何らかの制限を加えることも望ましい。それが日本語と日本語の文字の将来のためになると信ずる（犬飼 2002：30）。

As I said before, in the long run widely accepted loanwords should be written in Katakana, all others should be treated as foreign words and be written in their original spelling. A mix between these two ways of writing would be unwise. Also, it is desirable to impose certain restrictions on loanwords altogether, for the good of the Japanese language and its characters (Inukai 2002: 30). (my translation)

Leaving aside the problem of defining which loanwords are “widely accepted” and which are not, the use of such a distinction is more than questionable, and the future of words written in the alphabet more than uncertain, since the author himself later on states that alphabet writing within an otherwise Japanese text feels “out of place” (「違和感がある」) (cf. Inukai 2002: 30). The final purpose, it can be wagered, of this proposition is to isolate and stigmatize loanwords (meaning only English-based loanwords) and thus encourage their disuse by creating an ‘out-of-place-feeling’ in the reader/speaker.

Such positions are not majority opinion, and there are those who have much more moderate and practicable approaches to this matter, which focus more on integration than isolation. The trend, however, to replace at least certain loanwords with Japanese words is one that is also pursued by more official quarters, like the 国立国語研究所 (*Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo*), the National Institute for the Japanese Language (NIJL).

8.2. The Guide for Paraphrasing Loanwords

Since 2003, the National Institute for the Japanese language has been working on a book (published in 2006) focusing on a select number of loanwords – 176 words by 2008 – which are thought to be both hard to understand and expendable, because the linguistic repertoire of *Wago* and *Kango* is felt to offer enough fitting resources to replace them. Most of these loanwords are such that are employed especially in the field of politics, but also words that are used in standard newspapers. These were collected and published as 「分かりやすく伝える：外来語言い換え手引き」 (roughly: *For easier communication: A guide to paraphrasing loanwords*). The books preface says,

国立国語研究所の調査によれば、国の省庁の白書や新聞など公共性の高い文章にも、一般の人々にとってなじみの薄い分かりにくい外来語が多

く使われています。公共的な機関が不特定多数の人々に情報を伝える場合、読み手にとって分かりやすい表現を心がけることが、何よりも大切です。ところが、このような外来語の使用状況を見ると、読み手の分かりやすさに対する配慮よりも、書き手の使いやすさを優先しているように見えます。公共的な機関は、分かりやすい表現を工夫する努力を惜しむべきではありません。また、一般の人々の言語生活でも、話題や場面、伝える相手によって、分かりやすい言葉を選んで使う工夫が必要になるでしょう。

上に述べたような問題意識にもとづき、国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会では、「『外来語』言い換え提案-分かりにくい外来語を分かりやすくするための言葉遣いの工夫-」という提案を、4回にわたって発表してきました。これは、公共性の高い文章で使われている分かりにくい外来語を一つ一つ取り上げ、言い換えたり説明を付けたりする、分かりやすい表現のための具体的な方法を提案したものです（国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会 2006：2）。

According to surveys conducted by the National Institute for the Japanese Language, writings with a high public nature like White Papers issued by national government offices or newspapers use a lot of loanwords whose familiarity among average people is very low. When an institution of high public nature wants to communicate information to a large number of unspecified people, though, it is important to lay a focus on using words which can be easily understood by the reader. However, if we take a look on how loanwords are used [in such writings], it seems as if the convenience of the writer is more important than the understanding by the reader. Public institutions should not be stingy in their efforts to devise easily understandable expression. In the future, also concerning the language life of average people, it will be of import to consider the use of words according to the topic, the situation, and the addressee. Based on the problems mentioned above, the National Institute for the Japanese Language's 'Loanword Committee' has published the *Suggestions for Paraphrasing Loanwords – how to make difficult loanwords more comprehensible* four times already. In this book, from a list of loanwords which are difficult to understand, we select one at a time, and suggest a paraphrase and an explanation of the respective meaning, therefore providing a concrete method for easier understanding (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai 2006: 2). (my translation)

As it says in the preface, this book contains a list of loanwords which, based on surveys by the NIJL, constitute a potential obstacle to trouble-free communication between the Japanese people. In order to anticipate any possible imputations that such actions constitute a prelude to getting rid of loanwords altogether, the NIJL makes clear that

「言い換え提案」と言うと、外来語であればとにかく何でも言い換えてしまおうとする運動のように聞こえるかもしれませんが、決してそのようなものではありません。現状において見過ごすべきではない外来語の問題を、まずはこれだと見定めて、適切な対応策を考えているわけです（相澤 2006：30）。

[h]earing “Suggestions for paraphrasing”, one might think this simply means to paraphrase every loanword, but this is certainly not the case. What we intend is simply to acknowledge the problems people have with loanwords, ascertain

where the problem lies, and then think of ways to solve these problems (Aizawa. 2006: 30) (my translation)

8.2.1. The bone of contention – surveys on loanword awareness

The cause seems reasonable and, indeed, necessary if we look at the NIJL's 2003 surveys on the Japanese people's awareness towards loanwords. When asked whether they had ever encountered problems when dealing with loanwords, a random sample of 4500 people gave the following answers:

Chart 28: Survey “Have you ever had trouble understanding loanwords?” (cf. 相澤 2006 : 31。 [Aizawa 2006: 31])

According to this study, almost 80% of the people surveyed responded that at least sometimes they have had problems understanding loanwords which is a huge number not to be belittled. This can certainly serve as a justification for trying to paraphrase some loanwords into more familiar linguistic material, although the survey shows rather big differences in the results between the different age groups and sexes, as the following charts show.

Chart 29a: Male Respondents of different age groups (cf. 相澤 2 0 0 6 : 3 1。

[Aizawa 2006: 31])

Chart 29b: Female Respondents of different age groups (cf. 相澤 2 0 0 6 : 3 1。

[Aizawa 2006: 31])

The fact that there is a gap in understanding between the young and the old is no news, since the young are by nature more at the source in matters of language change and are more susceptible to new fashion words that are used in their cliques. Additionally, they are not yet exposed to input from sources that are known to use difficult terminology, like White Papers. What does surprise a little, though, is that

there is a notable difference in the self-assessment of male and female respondents. Between ages 10 and 20, 65,4% of the female respondents told that they had at least sometimes had problems understanding loanwords, whereas only 54,6% of all male respondents said they did. With respondents from ages 30 to 40, 79,7% of all female respondents admitted to having had trouble with loanword comprehension, while – in relation – only 69,4% of male respondents did.

Another question concerned the areas in which the participants felt that loanwords should be paraphrased for better understanding, with these results:

Chart 30: Areas in which participants think more paraphrasing to be appropriate (cf. 国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会（2006）：16。

[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Inkai. 2006: 16])

This chart clearly shows that the participants saw an indisputable necessity for clearer and more understandable wording in the areas of politics, economy and medical care – areas that tend to concern elderly people more than young people. Areas in which younger generations show particular interest – like fashion, sports, or music – were seldom named. This seems to confirm that, for all the statistics above, the desire for paraphrasing loanwords is one that, understandably, can be backtracked to elder generations. As was shown in a previous chapter, politics especially are renowned for their use of abstract loanwords (in the overall context of unclear wording) which represents a challenge not only to average people but also to interpreters of the law. However, these surveys warrant no tendency toward an overall policy pertaining to an

‘overflow’ of loanwords in general, though they make it seem prudent to take another approach in areas that directly affect the here and now of people’s lives, like politics and medical care.

Asked whether a dictionary was consulted when encountering an unknown loanword, only 27,8% of the respondents stated that they did, while 47,5% said they did not (cf. 国立国語研究所 2004 : 25 f. [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 2004: 25f]). An interesting statistic demonstrates the main aspects of why people think that using loanwords is good or bad, respectively. The top three in both cases are:

Good	Bad
Loanwords are convenient and make communication easier	Loanwords make communication more difficult
Loanwords convey a feeling of newness	Loanwords cause misunderstandings
Loanwords enable people to talk about new things and ways of thinking	Loanwords destroy the traditions of the Japanese language

Table 29: Opinions on merits and demerits of loanwords (adapted from 国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会 2006 : 236。[Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai 2006: 236])

What is intriguing about these answers is that they are so contradictive. While more than 40% of the people under 30 said that one advantages of loanwords was to make communication easier, the exact opposite answer was chosen as a disadvantage by almost 50% of the people under 30, with 40% saying loanwords cause misunderstandings (cf. 国立国語研究所「外来語」委員会 [Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo “Gairaigo” Iinkai] 2006 : 236 f). This shows that the whole topic of loanwords in the Japanese language is a little schizophrenic by nature and that there is no single, all-solving answer to the problems that are entailed. But what it illustrates is that loanwords do serve an important purpose in the Japanese language because they *can* make communication easier. It is the responsibility of those who use them to make sure that they are understood, so as to avoid obstacles in communication and misunderstandings that are caused by using loanwords irresponsibly.

In short, the growing numbers of loanwords do leave a lot of ground for misunderstandings or, indeed, non-understanding in public media and writings, which

the National Institute for the Japanese Language intends to help overcome with its publication on the paraphrasing of loanwords mentioned above. Therefore, to pick up on this topic and try to provide a method to circumvent future confusion is a worthy cause. Its methods, however, are a matter of interpretation.

8.2.2. Paraphrasing problems

The contents of the *Guide to Paraphrasing Loanwords* are made up of a list of 176 loanwords, each displaying, in a five-star-system, the level of comprehension by those aged 60 and above and by all respondents taken together. This is then followed by one or several suggestions for paraphrasing – depending on how many fields of meaning the loanword covers in the Japanese language. The difference in use is then demonstrated by example sentences, showing in which contexts which of the new paraphrases is to be used. In order to avoid any danger of misunderstanding, an explanation of the loanword's meaning is supplied, followed by a comment on the nature and level of naturalization within the Japanese language. In some cases, several other words are presented as possible candidates for avoiding the use of the respective loanword and, if the loanword was also used as a compound word, then solutions for these cases are also offered.

The purpose is to supply writers (and speakers) with one or more alternatives to the use of difficult loanwords by trying to cover all possible fields of meaning of these words with already existing Japanese or Chinese words and by providing explanations which could be added to loanwords if their use was deemed inevitable for any reason. While the explanations, though lengthy in part, could be put to good use in newspapers or other public writing, the problem lies in the paraphrases that are meant to replace the difficult loanwords. Jinnouchi (2007) comments thus on the paraphrases in the *Guide for Paraphrasing Loanwords*:

野村（2004）では、「外来語のイイカエ」という節でこの言い換え提案に言及している。それによれば、第2回目までの言い換え対象外来語109語に対して、言い換えた語122語の語種をカウントすると、漢語が圧倒的に多いという結果が出ている（漢語104語、和語9語、混種語9語）。そして、その漢語も4字以上の漢語が多く、このような長い言い換え語はあまり意味がないとしている。また、漢語はどうしても同音語や類音語が多く、耳で聞いた時に分かりにくいという（陣内2007：135）。

Nomura (2004) makes a reference to the suggestions for paraphrasing [by the National Institute for the Japanese Language] in his chapter “Paraphrasing Loanwords”. According to this, for the 109 words included in the second publication [note: the *Guide to Paraphrasing Loanwords* was the fourth publication, the first in book-form] there are 122 words suggested for

paraphrasing. Looking closely it becomes clear that the overwhelming majority of these are *Kango* [i.e. Chinese words] (*Kango*: 104 words, *Wago*: 9 words, Hybrids: 9 words). Also, among these *Kango* are many which have 4 characters or more. Nomura remarks that such long paraphrases do not really make sense. Additionally, there are a lot of homophones and assonants present in *Kango*, which makes them difficult to distinguish orally (Jinnouchi 2007: 135). (my translation)

Therein lies the problem of the NIJL's *Guide to Paraphrasing Loanwords*: in order to avoid using difficult loanwords it suggests the use of equally difficult Chinese words which, somehow similar to German nouns, can be combined freely, resulting in very long words which are difficult to understand. According to Jinnouchi, this movement to replace loanwords with *Kango* is the result of a commonplace fear that *Kango* might be 'devoured' by loanwords (「漢語が外来語に食われる」), a fear which, looking at the statistics (see chapter 6), does seem to be justified to some extent. Pragmatically speaking, however, the increased use of *Kango* does not appear to be desirable since, as Nomura was cited above, they can be difficult to understand, have many homophones and are therefore very hard to distinguish from one another in speech and without looking at the meaning-distinguishing characters. Jinnouchi (2007: 136) suggests the use of *Wago*, Japanese words, which are much easier to distinguish and understand. The NIJL, too, has become aware of this problem, as can be seen from this statement from one of its researchers:

The Foreign Word Committee of the National Institute for Japanese Language [sic] is working on the paraphrasing of foreign words. In the process of paraphrasing, Sino-Japanese words are chosen in many cases. Sometimes, it turns out that the meaning of the paraphrased Sino-Japanese words is not easily understood or a paraphrased word can't be used because of the Kanji restriction⁹. In modern Japanese society, there is a generation of people who are strong in Kanji and another generation who are weak in Kanji, but good at English. It is a problem that due to the fast-moving times, gaps in linguistic competence between different generations are showing up. Our institute should not only conduct research on foreign words, but we also need to do surveys on the usage and the comprehension level of Kanji characters (Aizawa 2005b: 144)

This self-criticism gives reason for hope that future publications will consider the problems caused by the present suggestions for paraphrasing. Again, it must be said that the NIJL's approach has nothing to do with purist attitudes in any way – their assessment of the problem is correct; their suggestions, though, fall short of providing a real solution, because they focus more on the symptom than the cause. In addition, nearly none of the proposed loanwords can be rephrased by a single word, but owing

⁹ The use of Chinese characters in Japanese has been limited by the government in order to prevent problems with characters that are rarely used and therefore not known to most Japanese.

to the varied semantic spaces that they cover, various paraphrases are needed to cover the whole range of meanings. This, of course, cannot be claimed to be a step towards better understanding.

Jinnouchi (2007) takes a more offensive approach targeted not so much at paraphrasing, but at the gradual integration by use of difficult loanwords into the Japanese language, aiming at defeating the problem by embracing it.

8.3. Three steps to integrating loanwords

Undeniably, according to many surveys the number of loanwords in Japanese is continually increasing and in some situations poses a threat to understanding (as is shown in the charts above) especially for elder generations (cf. Jinnouchi 2007: 83). In opposition to the approach described in the first subchapter, the one by Jinnouchi (2007) does not concern himself with purist issues of loanwords being a threat to Japanese language, but points out more pragmatic topics pertaining to the recognition and understanding especially of newly created loanwords for some layers of Japanese society. While admitting the natural tendency in any language to keep only those words that fulfill a lexical or semantic need, Jinnouchi maintains that,

社会的な不平等をもたらす危険性に気づかない鈍感な意見ともいえる。カタカナ語が分からないために必要な情報から取り残されたり、社会的サービスを受けられないなどの不利益を被る「カタカナ語弱者」にとっては、現実の生活が問題なのであり、100年後の日本語がどうなっているかということとは関係ないのである。つまり、日本語の「共時態」に焦点があるのであって、カタカナ語の洪水に溺れかけている人をどのようにして救うかが緊急の課題なのである（陣内2007：85）。

This view is insensitive to the fact that there is a danger of social discrimination. People who are poor at understanding Katakana words suffer from being excluded from important information just because they do not understand loanwords, from being unable to use social services and other disadvantages; for them, this represents a real life problem, and it has nothing to do with how the Japanese language will look like in a hundred years. In other words, it has a synchronic focus, and it is a question of immediate concern how to save those people who are drowning in the flood of Katakana words (Jinnouchi 2007: 85). (my translation)

That the constant increase of often very abstract loanwords in areas that closely concern people's lives and where a clear understanding of content is pivotal constitutes a serious problem cannot be denied. Jinnouchi analyzes the problem thus:

最近出現した公共性の高いカタカナ語を眺めていると、現在のカタカナ語問題は、専門用語が日常生活の中にそのまま染み出しているところにあるといえる。それぞれの専門分野で用いられている一種の集団語としての外国語や外来語が、行政を通して一般に発信される際、日常語として流布しているかどうか十分にチェックされていないことが問題なので

ある。ひとつひとつの分野では少量であっても、それが集まると多量のカタカナ語となる（陣内 2007：87）。

If we take a look at those Katakana words which have recently appeared in literature with a high public nature we can say that all sorts of technical terms are seeping through into everyday life. The problem is that when foreign words and loanwords which are used in all kinds of special areas as one form of group jargon are used in a public context by way of the administration, there is not enough attention being paid as to whether these are already circulating in everyday language. Even though the numbers of loanwords coming from each respective field might be low, seen in total they amount to a great number (Jinnouchi 2007: 87). (my translation)

The main problem, as Jinnouchi sees it, is not so much the use of loanwords itself, but the increasing dissemination of loanwords which are used as technical terms in certain fields and whose transparency in meaning is low owing to their high degree of abstractness. Jinnouchi cites a report by the Japanese Language Council (国語審議会), with whose opinion he basically concurs:

外来語・外国語は基本的にその語に対する知識がないと伝達不能になることが多い。そういう意味で、広く国民一般を対象にしている官公庁、新聞、放送等では、簡単に日本語に言い換えられる外来語・外国語や耳慣れない外来語・外国語などは安易に使わないようにすべきである。どうしても使わざるを得ない場合は注釈を付けて使うなどの配慮が必要であろう（陣内 2007：115／6）。

In the case of loanwords and foreign words, usually if you do not know a loanword then communication becomes impossible. In that sense, institutions like public agencies or media like newspapers or television who target a wide, general audience, should avoid using loanwords/foreign words that could easily be rephrased in Japanese or such loanwords/foreign words that people cannot get accustomed to. If, for any reason, there is no way around using a certain loanword/foreign word, it may be necessary to consider adding explanatory notes (Jinnouchi 2007: 115/6). (my translation)

This seems a much more reasonable approach to deal with those loanwords which are difficult to understand than the first approach described in this chapter which added to the problem by additionally writing the difficult word in foreign writing. The Japanese Language Council cited by Jinnouchi classifies loanwords into three categories and differentiates the necessary approach accordingly. These categories are paraphrased below:

- ◆ Loanwords that are widely used by the general public and can be considered to be sufficiently established like ストレス (*sutoressu*, ‘stress’), スポーツ (*supo-tsu*, ‘sports’), ボランティア (*borantia*, ‘volunteer’): these should be used without any change

- ◆ Loanwords that are not sufficiently established and which could be easily paraphrased into Japanese like イノベーション (*inobe-shon*, ‘innovation’, which could be changed into 革新 - *Kakushin*) or インセンティブ (*insentibu*, ‘incentive’, which could be changed into 誘因 [*Yūin*], 刺激 [*Shigeki*], or 報奨金 [*Hōshōkin*], according to the necessitated meaning): these should be paraphrased into Japanese
- ◆ Loanwords that are not sufficiently established, but for which no satisfying paraphrase exists like アイデンティティー (*aidentiti*-, ‘identity’), アプリケーション (*apurike-shon*, ‘application’), ノーマライゼーション (*no-maraize-shon*, ‘normalization’), or バリアフリー (*bariafuri*-, ‘barrierfree’): to make these easier to understand, explanatory notes or similar aids to understanding should be provided (cf. 陣内[Jinnouchi] 2007 : 133).

The problem with this classification is that it makes a differentiation, namely between the second and the third category, which appears to be rather arbitrary. After all, who decides which loanword has a suitable equivalent in Japanese? Other institutions, like the National Institute for the Japanese Language, for instance, have proposed Japanese alternatives to ‘normalization’, which the Council sorted under ‘no equivalent existent’. The borderline between these two categories is very thin, which is why it seems prudent not to differentiate between them at all. Rather, as Jinnouchi himself proposes later on in the text, a consistent method should be applied. He suggests three phases for the gradual integration of loanwords (cf. Jinnouchi 2007: 134):

- ◆ Phase 1: Using the paraphrase, with the loanword in brackets

Examples: ‘recipe’ - 調理法 (レシピ) 、 ‘daytime care’ - 日帰り介護 (デイサービス)

- ◆ Phase 2: Using the loanword, with the paraphrase in brackets

Example: ‘recipe’ – レシピ (調理法) , ‘daytime care’ – デイサービス (日帰り介護)

- ◆ Phase 3: Using only the loanword

Example: ‘recipe’ – レシピ, ‘daytime service’ – デイサービス

This seems to be the most sensible approach among the three cited in this chapter, because on the one hand it takes into consideration the problems that people are having in understanding loanwords while on the other hand it does not attempt to kill

off a natural linguistic phenomenon by artificial and ineffective means. Although the problem remains as for how to measure the degree of naturalization and recognition by the people, this method still promises to be of much more use to the Japanese people struggling with the growing number of loanwords than a method of loanword isolation or one of exchanging loanwords for other difficult terms.

Of course, these are not only academic discussions that are being led on a merely theoretical basis, but they are put into practice every day by those who of all public institutions probably have most contact with people of all layers of society – newspapers.

8.4. Spreading the word – newspaper policies with regards to loanwords

8.4.1. On the general function of newspapers in the distribution of loanwords

Newspapers, whether they are aware of it or not, have a big responsibility towards their readers. It is commonly understood that readers often use newspapers as their reference for current language use as well as for new words or other changes in language. Newspapers are more or less the distributors of new (often equals ‘foreign’) words, also due to the fact that it is them who report first hand on new developments (cf. Plümer 2000: 83f). Plümer (cf. 2000: 83) calls them “multipliers” (“Multiplikatoren”) of neologisms. Their wording and phrasing is usually accepted by readers as standard use, and their lexical influence, their influence on people’s awareness of language, is substantial. In the case of Japanese, this is no different, as Loveday (1986: 28) remarks: “The main Japanese agents of dissemination [of language] are copywriters, journalists, media personnel, translators and academics.” Plümer (2000) explains:

Für den Großteil einer Sprechergemeinschaft gelten Zeitungen nicht nur als reine Informationsquelle, sondern auch als sprachliche Bezugspunkte. Neues Vokabular, neue Sprachformen und neue Sprachinhalte dringen über journalistische Veröffentlichungen oft sehr schnell in den allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch ein (Plümer 2000: 85).

Owing to this responsibility, the treatment of new and sometimes difficult loanwords has to happen using a great deal of sensitivity so as not to cause too much confusion. The way newspapers handle loanwords can be an important factor in whether people fear or embrace these words.

8.4.2. Example: The *Asahi Shinbun* Newspaper

In the 19th issue of its *Shin Kotoba Series* (新「ことば」シリーズ), a magazine focusing on all aspects of Japanese language and answers critical questions by readers

pertaining to language, the National Institute for the Japanese Language investigated the approaches of different newspapers concerning the use of loanwords.

The *Asahi Shinbun* is the second most sold daily newspapers in Japan, with over 8 million copies sold daily (cf. “Asahi Shimbun”. *Wikipedia* [Online]. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asahi_Shimbun [2008, Sept. 19]). This newspaper thus can be said to be very influential in Japanese society. Its main principle concerning loanwords is to use them only when necessary, meaning that they use difficult loanwords only if there is no Japanese word available for a certain context. In general, the *Asahi Shinbun* appears to be following some of the NIJL’s suggestions for paraphrasing loanwords; in some cases, however, they stick to a loanwords that they have paraphrased in other articles, especially when citing someone who has used the respective loanword. In such cases, the *Asahi Shinbun*’s policy is to provide the corresponding Japanese rewording or similar annotations in brackets after the loanword (cf. 福田 2006 : 51 f. [Fukuda 2006: 51f]).

In other cases, like the one cited below, the newspaper tries to embed the respective loanword in a context that makes the loanword’s meaning more or less self-explanatory. The following example shows how the loanword 「ワンストップ」 (*wansutoppu* – ‘one stop’, denoting to be able to complete multiple errands at just one place), is put into context to clarify its meaning.

保育や年金、研修など再就職に必要な情報を1カ所で得られる「ワンストップ窓口」を地域ごとに設ける（福田2006：52）。

The “one-stop counter”, a place where you can get all the necessary information concerning childcare, pension, study training or reemployment, is provided in all districts (Fukuda 2006: 52). (my translation)

Putting a loanword into a proper context is certainly a fruitful approach to this topic. It would appear to be more sensible to use words already in circulation in a self-explanatory way, if necessary, rather than using complicated Japanese rephrasings to express what is can be said with one single loanword. If we take the word *wansutoppu* from above, we realized how economic it is to use the loan instead of a paraphrase, which more or less makes up the rest of the sentence. Of course, loanwords such as *wansutoppu*, which have so much content concentrated into one word, have to be well known amongst the users lest their meanings get lost.

In other cases, when the inclusion of an explanation into the article itself would make the article unnecessarily long and difficult to read, the *Asahi Shinbun* sometimes adds a small article about this loanword, explaining its meaning and use to the reader.

In cases, where certain loanwords are thought to become important in near-future discourse, longer articles concern themselves with the implications of these words and the basic ideas that they are based upon (cf. Fukuda 2006: 52).

The *Asahi Shinbun*, therefore, tries to strike a compromise between paraphrasing and annotating, or explaining, loanwords which probably is the way that a majority of the Japanese feel most comfortable with.

8.4.3. Other comparative examples

Japanese newspapers in general are very much aware of the problems which have arisen from the lasting increase of loanwords in the Japanese language, which is why all newspapers note in their respective glossaries¹⁰: “We try to refrain from using loanwords which are not in general use as best as we can” (「一般化していない外来語は極力、使用を控える」 ; cf. Fukuda 2006: 54). This, by the way, is also how newspapers treat Chinese characters, whose use is generally limited to those included in the list of Chinese characters in common use (常用漢字表 [*Jōyō Kanjihyō*]). Since loanwords by nature are created at a very fast pace, there is often no choice but to use them in order to refer to the new concept they denote. Therefore, no general rules exist, nor would they make sense in a field as dynamic as that of loanwords (cf. Fukuda 2006: 51).

Broadly speaking, other Japanese newspapers, too, attempt to avoid unnecessary loanwords or, if that is not possible, make efforts to make them comprehensible in their own ways. The *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Japan’s best selling newspaper, also tries to adopt the NIJL’s suggestions for paraphrasing loanwords, as the *Asahi Shinbun* does. Interestingly, however, their definitions of which loanwords should be paraphrased apparently differs. While, for example, the *Yomiuri* has been trying to curb the use of the loanword リニューアル (*rinyūaru* – ‘renewal’) by changing it, depending on the context, into 改装 (*Kaisō* – ‘renovation’) or 刷新 (*sasshin* – ‘reform’) and thus managed to decrease the loanword’s use from 171 times in the year 2000 to only 45 times in 2004 (about 500 times in 5 years), the *Asahi* used the loanword about 1000 times in the same five-year-span (cf. Fukuda 2006: 54). The lack of common rules for loanword paraphrasing makes it difficult for readers to adopt the same approach themselves, because there is no specific and fixed method to it.

¹⁰ Many Japanese newspapers publish their own glossaries, or dictionaries, in which they explain technical terms or loanwords that are being used in their articles.

The newspapers' basic approach can be divided into two camps. The one, which newspapers like the *Yomiuri* or the *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, a business newspaper, adhere to, focuses on trying to provide Japanese rewordings for difficult loanwords, either by replacing them completely or at least by adding an explanatory paraphrase in brackets, since at times no fitting paraphrase is available for a loanword in a certain context.

The other approach, taken by the *Asahi Shinbun* or the *Mainichi Shinbun* and several others, is a more liberal one, adapting the method to what the respective situation requires. Sometimes this means that words are paraphrased; at other times an explanation is added. Similarly, the latter newspapers' glossary does not include paraphrases for loanwords, like the one of the *Yomiuri*, but only examples of use, which show the loanword embedded in context. The result of these different approaches, however, does not warrant the conclusion that the eventual extent of use of loanwords is altogether different. Since even the newspapers employing the paraphrasing approach have to admit that there is no magic formula for paraphrasing any given loanword, the comparative results show that no notable difference in the amount of loanword numbers can be detected (cf. Fukuda 2006: 54f). Obviously, a word's meaning slightly changes, depending on the context, which makes a permanent and fixed paraphrase nearly impossible

8.5. Conclusive remarks

The discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of loanwords is being waged quite intensively, albeit only loosely and by official institutions or academic circles. The main topic it revolves around is to what extent and in what form the use of loanwords is necessary and what can be done to preclude any comprehension problems connected to them. The proposals born from this discussion span from more or less expelling loanwords by visually isolating them from the rest of the Japanese lexis to suggestions for gradual integration of difficult loanwords in the light of the fact that loanwords are a natural phenomenon that cannot be simply ruled away.

The impression is that moderate circles are predominating in the actual implementation of methods to anticipate a crisis of comprehension. No doubt, there is a need to deal with the loanword issue in a way that provides means for the average person to be able to understand media discourse. To impose a curfew on loanwords, however, cannot be a solution. To try this seems like an attempt to prevent the wind from blowing. The conciliatory path that most written media are treading – on the

narrow line between excluding and embracing loanwords – is a sensible one, although more unity in the manner of its execution appears desirable. More than trying to paint over loanwords, an increase in awareness on the manifold meanings and uses of loanwords within the Japanese language may be required. The people’s fear of loanwords and their impression that there are so many of them may well originate from the sometimes short lifespan that many loanwords enjoy – as may the argument that there are so many difficult loanwords:

外来語には急に使われるようになり、また急に消えて行く語が目立つようです。この辺りが実際の使用数の割に「分かりにくい語が多い」と感じられる理由ではないでしょうか（福田 2006：51）。

Amongst loanwords, those who suddenly come into use and disappear just as quickly seem to stand out. This might be the reason why people feel that “there are so many difficult loanwords”, in relation to their limited times of use (Fukuda 2006: 51). (my translation)

There might be some truth to that statement. Seeing that many loanwords come into use the one day and fade out of use the other day, it is reasonable to conclude that there is not enough time to get even slightly familiar with a word’s meaning and use. It is only natural that such sudden developments could unsettle members of a speech community, and it is the responsibility of the government and the media who are, as we have established, “multipliers” of new developments in language, to pave the way for a barrier-free understanding – based on a spirit of integration and embracement, not on language regulation.

It is important to raise awareness for the lexical roles and semantic advantages that loanwords contribute to a language. It is, however, just as important to show that loanwords are not so much foreign material as neutral linguistic resources put to use by a language and painted into its proper colors, for the lack of understanding of the differences between loanwords and the words they originated from can lead to considerable problems, when the use of loanwords interferes with the language competence of foreign language students of the donor language who are unable to distinguish Anglicism from English vocabulary. How English are Anglicisms? This is a topic that the next chapter will investigate.

9. *Through Jenglish to English*

On the Influence of (Pseudo) Loanwords on Japanese EFL Learners

Despite all problems accompanying loanword influx and use in the Japanese language, the statistics show that Japan's youth has the least problems with loanwords and, like in other countries too, are the first to embrace them and remodel them into additional parts of the Japanese lexicon. For all their English looks, their core is hence Japanese.

9.1. How English is Jenglish?

Of course, the conclusion that the majority of English loanwords has, at least to some extent, been adapted orthographically, phonetically, morphologically, syntactically and/or semantically to the Japanese language and are therefore really Japanese words with an English shell on the one side helps in combating notions of a corruption of language by foreign words; however, ironically this can also pose an obstacle for foreign language learners of English. Especially differences in meaning and morphology, the existence of pseudo-loanwords, as well as the phonetic differences that originate from the conversion of English words into the Japanese syllabary constitute the critical points when learning English as a foreign language.

Deceptive cognates, for instance, which are similar in form but different in meaning in each language, have been known to be problematic. Kimura (2004) elaborates:

For example, Lado (1972: 285) says "Japanese borrowed the word milk from English but restricted its meaning to canned milk." Miura (1979: 102) also explains that the Japanese borrowed the English word "milk," but "milk" in Japanese means "either warm milk served with sugar at a coffee shop or powdered milk solid in a can." Japanese "milk" does not include the English sense of "fresh milk" (Kimura 2004: 12).

Also others, like the already cited *feministo* and similar words fall into this category. So there appears to be a tendency of EFL learners to define the meaning of an English word that is also a loanword in their own mother tongue based on the meaning in their native language (cf. Kimura 2004: 21f).

However, this linguistic transfer appears only to slow, not hinder the acquisition of the correct range of meaning when learning the English language, because the new meaning is gradually extracted from the context the word is used in. Kellerman (cited in Kimura 2004: 42), for example, argues that the primary meaning of a word is the one most transferable into another language. Kimura, therefore, makes the case that "the most commonly used correct meanings among the primary meanings of English

words tend to become English loanwords in Japanese”, with some exceptions like in the case of ‘milk’ cited above (Kimura 2004: 42f). This, consequently, would mean that English loanwords are helpful in acquiring English vocabulary more quickly, because they are familiar through their use in Japanese and are therefore recognizable more easily in English, too. Also, since primarily the original English words’ core meanings are transferred into the respective loanwords in the receiving language, their correct range of meaning is acquired earlier. The full validity of this supposition, however, is in doubt.

While Lado comes to the conclusion that “loanword knowledge limits the range of English meanings known to learners” (Daulton 1998: 3), Kimura and several others contradict this opinion in their findings. In several studies on the effect of English loanwords in Japanese on EFL and ESL learners (Yoshida 1978, Brown and Williams 1985, Kimura 1989) it was found that not only were L2 words which had basewords (i.e. L2-derived loanwords) in L1 acquired more quickly, but also, as Kimura proposes, “that loanword knowledge can encourage learners to add more meaning to the loanword meanings they already know” (Daulton 1998: 3). All in all, the existence of loans seems to facilitate vocabulary acquisition in the donor language, at least to some extent.

The more serious interference in communication seems to be posed by phonological and morphological differences to the original words. Since all English-based loanwords, upon import, are absorbed and remodeled into the Japanese syllabic system, the eventual pronunciation sometimes differs greatly from the original. Given that in the cases where English is taught by non-native speakers pronunciation is often rendered in the same manner (i.e. adapted to Japanese phonology), these Japanese EFL learners then speak English in a profoundly Japanized way, making it difficult to comprehend for ears not familiar with Japanese phonology. Consequently, Japanese EFL learners not used to native English pronunciation have similar difficulties understanding English native speakers’ speech. The problem here lies in the teaching method which is based almost solely on writing and reading, instead of speaking and listening, which some, like Loveday (1996), attribute to the importance of English tests in university entrance exams which focus more or less entirely on reading and comprehension.

What is more, sometimes English loanwords which have been clipped are used in their abbreviated form in English conversation. Words like *pasokon* (パソコン, clipped from ‘perso[nal] com[puter]’) are tempting to use but are incomprehensible to English speakers. The cause of confusion here, however, is not directly related to the loanwords and their pronunciation, but lies in the educational system which still puts too little weight on teaching native pronunciation instead of transcribing English words into the Japanese syllabary for the sake of easier pronunciation.

Generally speaking, Japanese EFL learners’ difficulties are likely to originate from the following Japanese-specific loanword characteristics:

1. Japanese English – words of English origin which have been transformed into new compounds or phrases that do not exist in English
 2. False friends – English words that have a different meaning and use in Japanese
 3. Katakana words seldom used in daily conversations by native speakers of English
 4. Non-English Katakana words & names
 5. British-derived katakana words that are not used by Americans
 6. Katakana words where the meaning and pronunciation is quite different from the original
 7. Katakana words where the beginning or middle section is omitted from the original
 8. Other katakana words that won’t be understood in English
- (Holst 2000: 45)

Again, this is not a problem caused by the loanwords as such, but it is a problem which could probably be solved by stressing the ‘Japaneseness’ of loanwords embodied in the different pronunciation and morphology which distinguishes them clearly from their English counterparts.

9.2. Anglicisms as an international problem?

A critical field, however, is that of English pseudo loanwords. These are words that look like English because they employ English language material but have no corresponding source word in English. Different from German, where pseudo loanwords are a rather rare phenomenon, Japanese has a great repertoire of these and new ones are frequently created following the logic inherent to the Japanese language. The interference originating from these words is much more relevant than from ‘standard’ loanwords whose meaning only differs somewhat from the original. Generally, the problem is that Japanese appear to be unaware of the nature of these loanwords that they use everyday. Gabbrielli (2005) concluded from his research on awareness of English loanwords in Japanese commercials that “Japanese people may

be unaware of the differences between [a] nativized variety and standard English”

(79). He maintains that

there is some cause for concern as the general public does not seem to be able to discriminate between the English promoted by advertisers and copywriters and the standard English taught as a subject in the school curriculum. Consequently, the potential for communication breakdown is increased when – in an international context – intended and received meanings may not be jointly constructed or shared (Gabbrielli 2005: 80).

This inter-language problem is one of the main arguments by many Japanese and non-Japanese scholars who see the use of loanwords, whose meaning differs from the English donor language, as a bad linguistic habit and embarrassing, and who declare the problem an intra-language problem, that is, a problem within the Japanese language itself. The consequence is that the solutions proposed do not target English education with which they sometimes interfere, but rather the Japanese language itself, within which such loanwords are usually being used without much trouble.

While some see loanwords as both a good starting point for Japanese students of English (see above), helping them increase their vocabulary easily by referring to and starting out from their knowledge of English loanwords in Japanese, others oppose this view and oppose the use of loanwords if their meaning differs from that of the original English expressions.

和製英語に対する否定的な考え方もあり、2001年12月には「通じないカタカナ英語追放シンポジウム」が福岡で開催され、2005年には英語母語話者が書いた「恥ずかしい和製英語」[. . .]という本が出版された。「朝日新聞オンライン記事データベース聞蔵」によれば、2000年1月1日から2005年12月31日の間に「朝日新聞」、「アエラ」、「週刊朝日」に68件の和製英語に関する記事や意見が掲載されたが、「外国では通用しない和製英語を、なるべく速く消し去るほうが先決ではあるまいか」[. . .]のように、和製英語に対する強い反発も見られた。否定的な意見の主旨としては、日本人が英語だと思って使う和製英語が実は日本語であり、英語母語話者に通じることはなく混乱を招くということのようである（柴崎2007：89f）。

There are also negative opinions on Pseudo Anglicisms. In December 2001, a symposium was held in Fukuoka on the topic of “Routing out incomprehensible Katakana English”, and in 2005 an English native speaker published a book entitled “Embarassing Pseudo Anglicisms in Japanese”. According to the “*Asahi Shinbun* Online Database”, there have been 68 articles and opinions published on Pseudo Anglicisms in the *Asahi Shinbun*, *Aera*, and *Weekly Asahi* between January 2001 and December 2005. Amongst these were opinions like “Wouldn’t it be best to get rid of pseudo Anglicisms as quickly as possible if they are not understood in foreign countries?”, i.e. opinions that strongly opposed pseudo Anglicisms. The tenor of these negative opinions was that pseudo Anglicisms are used by Japanese as English expressions when in fact they are Japanese, and that this causes confusion because these are not understood by native speakers of English (Shibasaki 2007: 89f.). (my translation)

The main point here is not a communication problem among speakers of Japanese, but rather a communication problem between Japanese speakers of English and native speakers of English, which stirs up opposition. Interestingly enough, the debate, especially on pseudo-loanwords but also such loanwords whose meaning has drifted from the original English meaning, is being led by taking the vantage point of foreigners, rather than by looking at the situation within the Japanese language community. It is a fascinating aspect, and quite unique, that a language criticizes loanwords based on the problems they pose to foreign speakers of the language or to foreigners who are confronted with loanwords from the Japanese language put to use in English.

9.2.1. When Anglicisms become English

Based on such fears of miscommunication, Ōishi (2001) created a questionnaire concerning the awareness of the differences between pseudo loanwords and loanwords with changed meanings, and the corresponding English expressions. The hypothesis on which he based his questionnaire was that

カタカナ英語は英語学習の障害となってしまうことが珍しくない。それは、英語学習者にとってカタカナ英語と本物の英語を区別することが困難なことが多く、その結果、和製英語やカタカナ英語などを本物の英語と誤解して覚えてしまうことがあるからでしょう（大石 2001：152）。

[i]t is not rare that Katakana-English becomes an obstacle for studying English. It is often difficult for English students to differentiate between this Katakana-English and real English, with the result that many memorize Japanese English or Katakana-English mistaking it for genuine English (Ōishi 2001: 152). (my translation)

In order to investigate his hypothesis Ōishi distributed his questionnaire to 101 university students in 1999. The questionnaire asked for the English translation to a number of Japanese sentences, all of which included a loanword or pseudo loanword. He provided a list of possible answers to choose from, one of which was the one-to-one translation of the (pseudo) loanword without regard to the different meanings it might have in English while one (or more) were meaning-corresponding expressions used in actual English. For example, he would ask if Japanese オープンキャンパス (literally ‘open campus’) in English was either “open campus”, “open house”, or “open day”, or whether Japanese キスマーク (literally ‘kiss mark’) translates as “kiss mark”, “hickey”, or “lovebite” (cf. Ōishi 2001: 152f). Of all the words he inquired about, 19 were mistaken by at least one third of the participants. These were:

Loanword	Comprehension	Corresponding English Expression
キスマーク(‘kiss mark’)	70,8%	hickey, lovebite
ファミリーレストラン(‘family restaurant’)	66,0%	restaurant
タウンページ(‘town pages’)	57,2%	Yellow Pages
オープンキャンパス(‘open campus’)	57,2%	open house
タッチアウト(‘touch out’)	55,3%	tag out
フリージャーナリスト(‘free journalist’)	51,4%	free-lance journalist
キッチンドリンカー(‘kitchen drinker’)	44,6%	closet drinker
マインド(‘mind’)	44,6%	(consumer) desire
ペーパーカンパニー(‘paper company’)	42,7%	bogus company
ブランド(‘brand’)	39,8%	brand-name
リフォーム(‘reform’)	39,8%	remodel
フライドポテト(‘fried potato’)	36,8%	French fries, chips
バージンロード(‘virgin road’)	34,9%	the wedding aisle
ダイヤルイン(‘dial in’)	33,9%	Phone
メリット(‘merit’)	33,0%	advantage
リタイヤ(‘retire’)	33,0%	drop out (of a race)
リニューアル(‘renewal’)	33,0%	remodel

Table 30: Awareness of the English meaning of pseudo-Anglicisms in Japanese
(adapted from Ōishi 2001: 161)

This list therefore represents several examples of loanwords (with altered meanings) and pseudo loanwords in Japanese which Japanese students mistook for being genuine English words and which Ōishi conjectures are used unchanged when communicating in English (cf. Ōishi 2001:161). This could cause problems in direct communications with English speaking people when the intended meaning differs from the received meaning. Due to this problematic side of loanwords Ōishi calls them a “nuisance” (「迷惑」; cf. Ōishi 2001: 162) for students of English. His conclusion is:

ここで扱った表現は、ほんの一例にすぎないが、一見英語らしく見えながら本物の英語でないカタカナ英語表現は、ほかにもたくさん存在する。悲劇的現実、そのような言わば偽りの英語表現が、マスコミなどを通じて日常茶飯に用いられ、日本人英語学習者を迷わせているということである。[. . .]

以上のことから考えると、カタカナ英語の弊害を日本人全体が認識し、正しい英語表現を使うよう努力しなければならない。特にマスコミ、官庁、産業界でカタカナ英語を作り出している人々は、その悪習を即刻中

止し、[. . .] 国際社会で通用している本物の英語を使うことに留意すべきである（大石 2001：162）。

The expressions used here are merely a small example, but there are many more Katakana-English expressions that look like genuine English at first sight. It is a tragic truth that such so-called fake-English expressions are being used in everyday situations through the influence of mass media, and are confusing Japanese students of English [...]

If we think about the above, there is a necessity to raise awareness in all Japanese for the harmful influence of Katakana English, and to make an effort to use correct English expressions. Especially the people creating Katakana English in the mass media, the government, and the industrial world should immediately stop this ill practice and should give consideration to using genuine English expressions instead [...] in order to be able to use them within the global community (Ōishi 2001: 162). (my translation)

This fiery conclusion, though based on serious and alarming facts, seems rather excessive, ignoring the very basics of language which do not yield to human wishes of meaning and use, but which have a momentum of their own. However much Ōishi wishes loanwords to be based and locked on the English model, their meanings would change anyway, as it has done all the time since probably all loanwords in the beginning were used modeled after at least one of the meanings of the original word. What is strange is that he defines a loanword's value not according to its comprehensibility and function in the Japanese language, but according to its usability for international communication.

Although Ōishi's conclusion are radical, the results that he gained from his questionnaire give reason to worry about unfavorable influences that loanwords can have on the acquisition of English. Regulation, however, as always cannot be the answer in language.

9.3. Through the mirror – comprehension of Japanese pseudo-Anglicisms by American students

In order to ascertain what kind of Japanese Pseudo Anglicisms, and to what extent, actually pose a problem for inter-language communication, Shibasaki, Tamaoka and Takatori (2007) conducted a survey among American students in which they asked their test persons the English meaning of several Japanese pseudo Anglicisms. The test persons were divided into two groups of 36 people each, one with students of the Japanese language and one with students who had never studied Japanese. The results were manifold, an excerpt of which is shown in the following chart. The correct answers are in bold.

Pseudo Anglicism	Learners of Japanese	Non-Learners of Japanese	Choice of Answers
ライブハウス('live house')	5,6% 5,6% 75,0% 2,8%	16,7% 13,9% 41,7% 25,0%	a restaurant with live seafood a lovely house a bar with live music a house where lively people live
モーニングサービス('morning service')	2,8% 61,1% 0,0% 33,3%	0,0% 22,2% 2,8% 72,2%	special breakfast in church breakfast special a morning tennis match the earliest mass in a day
ペアルック('pair look')	5,6% 61,1% 11,1% 19,4%	13,9% 30,6% 13,9% 36,1%	to look at each other wearing the same outfit to look at a boy/girl friend twins
ペーパードライバー('paper driver')	0,0% 55,6% 0,0% 44,4%	5,7% 88,6% 0,0% 2,0%	a driver who likes reading a paper a newspaper delivery person a paper doll shaped like a driver a person who has a driver's license but never drives
ニューハーフ('new half')	25,0% 38,9% 16,7% 13,9%	5,7% 48,6% 14,3% 28,6%	transvestite in the morning a fresh half of fruit the first thirty minutes of a day
オープンカー('open car')	2,8% 8,3% 86,1% 2,8%	25,0% 11,1% 61,1% 2,8%	unlocked car doors a car show convertible cars with no owners
デッドボール('dead ball')	80,6% 0,0% 13,9% 2,8%	55,6% 11,1% 27,8% 5,6%	hit by a pitch a black ball a very old ball to die by a ball
ゲームソフト('game soft')	83,3% 13,9% 2,8% 0,0%	47,2% 41,7% 5,6% 5,6%	a software game an easy game soft touch game fishing
テーブルセンター('table center')	13,9% 36,1% 33,3% 16,7%	8,3% 30,6% 52,8% 8,3%	a commercial center a furniture store a centerpiece a central figure
マナーモード('manner mode')	5,0% 16,0% 11,0% 66,0%	13,9% 25,0% 19,4% 38,9%	a good mannered person a good example of manners a trend to respect good manners silent mode on a portable phone

Table 31: Comprehension of pseudo-Anglicisms by American students (adapted from 柴崎[Shibasaki]2007 : 102)

As can be seen in this chart, some of the pseudo loanwords are not so difficult to understand for native speakers of English, because their meaning appears to be

inferable to some extent. Therefore, a general claim that pseudo loanwords impede communication between Japanese speakers of English and English native speakers cannot be made. Rather, there seem to be fine nuances in the degree of ‘Japaneseness’ that make up such words. In an abstract written in English, the authors of the above study summarize their results thus:

In terms of knowledge scores, no significant difference was shown between the learners and non-learners groups [sic]. Nevertheless, the learners group [sic] showed higher scores in inferring the meanings of unknown Japanized English loanwords than the non-learners group [sic]. In addition, item-by-item analysis in the present study showed the likelihood that the meanings of Japanized English loanwords of two-unit compounds were easier for native English speakers to infer due to 1) similarity to English forms, or 2) structures containing secondary words being semantic heads which were modified by initial words. On the contrary, compound loanwords whose meanings were difficult to infer 1) ignored English word order rules, 2) shared a lesser degree of English meanings, or 3) had neither an initial word nor secondary word as a semantic head (Shibasaki 2007: 110).

This explains why, for example, Japanese ‘live house’ was easily understood because its constituents’ respective meanings and the meaning of the whole compound stand in a semantic relation, while Japanese ‘new half’ contains a figurative meaning derived from Japanese ハーフ (*ha-fu*, ‘half’), denoting a person of mixed ethnic origins. The addition of ‘new’ changes the meaning of the word from person of mixed ethnic origins to a person of mixed genders, so to speak, thus ‘transvestite’.

The conclusion drawn by the authors of the study is convincing and shows well that neither loanwords nor pseudo loanwords can be lumped together into one entity to pass judgment on. Therefore – besides that it goes against the natural laws of language – it would make no sense to just ‘abolish’ loanwords that differ in meaning from their English counterparts wholesale. The main reason, and problem, behind this way of thinking is that loanwords are not seen as a part of the Japanese language, but as wrong English. Shibasaki et al. maintain:

以上の結果から、和製英語は英語を短縮したり、文法規則を無視したり、英語の意味概念から離れたたり、実に様々な過程を経て造語された語彙であることがわかる。このような性質を持った和製英語は、しばしば英語表現の誤りとして取り上げられてきた[……]が、間違った英語として見るよりも、日本語の造語生に大らかで豊かなものを見出すという捉え方もありうるのではないだろうか。和製英語は日本語であるというごく当然の見方からすれば、英語母語話者に通じないから恥ずかしいとする主張[……]はむしろ不自然な印象が受ける（柴崎 2007：103）。

From the results above it becomes clear that the hallmarks of Japanese English include abbreviating English words, ignoring English grammar rules, and moving away from the concept of meaning of the original English word and therefore run through various processes in their coinage. Japanese English has

often been identified as erroneous English because of such characteristics; however, rather than looking at them as mistaken English, we could also look at them as making Japanese word creation richer and more plentiful. Observed from the logic perspective that Japanese English words are Japanese, it seems, on the contrary, rather unnatural to allege that they are embarrassing because they are not understood by English native speakers (Shibasaki 2007: 103). (my translation)

This comment illustrates nicely what is basically wrong with this part of the debate on English loanwords in Japanese – that the arguments used do not target loanwords as a part of Japanese and as valid only within its linguistic systems but as an obstacle to communication in English if used outside of a Japanese language context. While the nationalists and purists among the opponents of English loanwords in Japanese concentrate their arguments on either the potential for miscommunication amongst Japanese or the pollution of the Japanese language, the apologists of the opposite view bemoan the negative effects these Japanized loanwords might have on international communication – two contrasting views, whose arguments contradict each other. The purists maintain that loanwords are not understood and therefore a problem; the internationalists, as they can be called, on the other hand contend that loanwords are so integrated into Japanese that they serve as a base for erroneous English communication because of their different meanings and forms. Incompatible viewpoints, however their suggested solutions are similar to some extent, if for different reasons – both would like to proclaim a ban on loanwords. Yet this cannot, and can never be the solution. Concerning the problems that loanwords undoubtedly entail when it comes to English communication, Jinnouchi (2007) has a more sensible, pragmatic approach.

日本語の中の外来語を材料にして、たとえば次のような話題をめぐって、理解を含めることができるのではないかと思う。

- 外来語の発音はなぜ英語と違うのか。どのように変形されるのか。
- 日本人の英語はなぜカタカナ式（開音節）になるのか。
- 和製英語はどこが本物と違うのか。なぜそうなるのか。

つまり、外来語を「鏡」として、そこに現れた日本語の特徴から日本語の「正体」を学ぼうとするのである（陣内 2007：152）。

I believe that it is possible to deepen the understanding [of the workings of language], if we take the loanwords existent in Japanese as material to build with, and cover topics like the following [at school]:

- Why is the pronunciation of loanwords different from English? What modifications are made?
 - Why do Japanese talk English Katakana-style (that is, with open syllables)?
 - How does Japanese English differ from genuine English? Why is this?
- In short, loanwords should be used as a mirror through which to understand characteristics of the Japanese language that become apparent through them, and

through which to learn the true character of the Japanese language (Jinnouchi 2007: 152). (my translation)

This approach takes into account problems that can occur by the incorrect use of loanwords outside the Japanese language as well as the fact that loanwords are a linguistic reality that cannot be forcefully curbed or willfully abandoned. It is useful in that it helps Japanese students realize 1.) that there are English-based words in their language, 2.) that and where these sometimes differ notably in meaning and form from corresponding expressions in English, and that 3.) they have their own logic within the Japanese language system, but only within it. From all of the approaches introduced in this paper, this is the one which is most in accordance with the natural workings of a language because it admits that language cannot be controlled by regulations and that problems that arise in certain areas cannot be ruled away, but that rather awareness has to be raised in order to encourage speakers of a language to avoid such problems. Solutions can only come through a change in language education, which has the responsibility to outline to Japanese students the major difference between English-based loanwords, which are Japanese words, and English vocabulary items, which are English words. A focus has to be laid on underlining the disparity in pronunciation and in meaning, therefore creating a dichotomist consciousness of English-based loanwords in Japanese and their English model-words.

However one sees it, the topic of English loanwords in the Japanese language is a complex issue with many interconnections that make easy solutions impossible. Whether loanwords impede or boost international communication or whether they pose a threat to the Japanese language or enrich it is eventually an ideological discussion, or at least it is led that way in Japan. What is fact, though, is that their numbers within the Japanese lexis are great, as is their use in everyday situations.

As previous chapters have shown, their percentage in newspapers, magazines etc. is at a very high level, especially when compared with the situation in the German language, and it is still increasing. This poses a constant challenge to readers and speakers to understand these loanwords and, for all the discussion on future methods to deal with them, is a very real and present situation.

The question remaining to be answered, thus, is how do Japanese people deal with these loanwords and what factors influence whether they understand them or not. All surveys conducted to this point have shown the problems that people have in understanding loanwords, but all of them have been focusing on the mere word,

disregarding the function of the text surrounding it. Even native words are sometimes difficult to understand without the context they are used in.

This leads us to the main question of this paper: How important is context in the comprehension process of unknown or little known words, in this case, of loanwords in the Japanese language? To help answer that question, the next chapter will provide some theoretical basis on meaning and context as a fundament for the ensuing empirical part of this paper.

10. Meaning, Context, and Related Semantic Issues

Language functions as an interconnected system based on fundamental syntactic rules and endowed with semantic meaning which, in turn, is mainly derived from a constant interplay of words and structures which defines a word's position, function and meaning in a sentence. Language, thus, rather than being a lifeless and rigid corpus of words and syntax, is a living organism frozen in constant flux, which continually redefines itself and its constituents in time through use, re-use and disuse. Within such an ever-changing system, the only constant can be the rules, or faculties, which underlie our patterns of understanding and which enable us to derive meaning even from obscurity and intransparency.

Amongst these faculties lies our ability to deduce meaning from the linguistic, social, and perceptual environment a certain words is set in. The question is only, to what extent does context define the meaning of the words we use.

10.1. Naturalistic meaning

In the discussion about the meaning of words, there are two diametrically opposing points of view in between which many moderate theories have grown, leaning either more towards the one or the other, or trying to be neutral amongst them.

The one, going back to the teachings of Plato in his dialogue with Kratylus, postulates that words carry within them an intrinsic meaning, which is fixed and unalterably decided. This meaning can be found, as it were, within the very fabric of a word, ultimately in its etymology. Consequently, the meaning of a word would also exist outside of an immediate linguistic environment and linguistic boundaries and would not be influenced by context or use, but rather be subject to a definition by learned men.

SOKRATES: Weißt du auch das nicht zu sagen, wer uns die Worte überliefert, die wir gebrauchen?

HERMOGENES: Auch das weiß ich wieder nicht.

SOKRATES: Dünkt es dich nicht der Gebrauch und die eingeführte Ordnung zu sein, was sie uns überliefern?

HERMOGENES: Das scheint wohl.

SOKRATES: Es ist also ein Werk dessen, der die Gebräuche einrichtet, des Gesetzgebers, dessen jener Belehrende sich bedient, wenn er sich der Worte bedient?

HERMOGENES: So scheint es mir (König ed. 2007: 22).

According to Plato, words do not get their meaning by use – because this would randomize their meaning – but by creation and definition by scholars, who derive

their meanings from the words' core, into which they are inherently embedded. This theory implies that there is always a traceable connection between the word's form and the concept it signifies, and that this connection exists outside of text and use.

Hall (1997) calls this "the reflective approach" (Hall 1997: 24).

In the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to *reflect* the true meaning as it already exists in the world (Hall 1997: 24)

This reflective approach, however, evokes many objections, the most evident of which is formulated by Crystal (1995: 101):

Träfe die naturalistische Sichtweise zu, erschlösse sich die Bedeutung von Wörtern beim bloßen Hören. Dies ist jedoch nur bei lautmalerischen Wörtern [...] der Fall, und selbst diese sind von Sprache zu Sprache unterschiedlich (Crystal 1995: 101).

This idea of meaning is of course untenable, and is opposed by the so-called conventionalist position.

10.2. Meaning through use

The other theory, of which, for example, Wittgenstein is a representative, sees the meaning of a word as relatively undetermined in itself, as volatile and in flux.

Meaning, according to Wittgenstein's strong thesis, is determined not by its definition in a dictionary, but by the context it is used in, and by the associations it evokes through its uttering. "Red", he writes, "means the colour that occurs to me when I hear the word 'red'" (cited in McGinn 1984: 28). This is a very radical idea of meaning, since it categorically denies words any inherent meaning but lets the meaning-creating process take place entirely in the mind of the reader/listener. "[M]eaning something," McGinn reformulates one of Wittgenstein's idea, "is having something like an image of it come before the mind" (McGinn 1984: 52).

This, of course, is only a minor offshoot from Wittgenstein's central idea of meaning, namely meaning as use. In his work *Remarks on the Foundation of Mathematics* he states that "only in the practice of a language can a word have a meaning" (cited in McGinn 1984: 36). So for Wittgenstein, the action of understanding and the action of using words are intrinsically connected, so that the one presupposes the other and the other way around. As McGinn puts it: "[T]o know the meaning of a word is to be able to use it; linguistic knowledge is a kind of knowing-how [...] there is a direct conceptual connexion [sic] between the concept of understanding and concepts of action, in particular linguistic action" (McGinn 1984: 122).

In McGinn's opinion, Wittgenstein sometimes provocatively seems to hand the creation of meaning over completely to idiosyncratic use.

The suggestion might be that here Wittgenstein is committing himself to the idea that 'meaning is *created* by use': that is, the meaning of a word is progressively constituted or created by its use over time – determinate meaning is the final *result* of temporally extended use [...] use produces (is the source of) meaning. [...]
[S]ince no entity whose essence it is to be created can exist until the requisite acts of creation have been carried out, meaning (rules) cannot exist unless and until the creative acts of linguistic use have been performed (McGinn 1984: 134).

This thesis of Wittgenstein is certainly a very daring one and one that probably not many linguists would agree with, since its wholesale application would result in a linguistic chaos with words being used idiosyncratically by every speaker. However, in our case, i.e. in the case of Anglicisms, it can be supposed that this theory bears a fragment of truth. Whereas the meaning of so-called 'native' words is, to a great extent, fixed by the rules of meaning already attached to them by definition, words which enter a language from the outside hold none or only a small degree of predetermined meaning to those who are not familiar with the intricacies of the donor language. It seems sensible that such vague words would, to some degree, be used idiosyncratically since their meaning cannot be perceived by merely looking at them. Their respective meanings, therefore, have to be determined by use, and not just by use but by self-explanatory use which provides an environment that allows for a problem-free understanding – in short: context is key to the use and understanding of such words.

Naturally, such ideas have to be pursued with great care, since an overgeneralization or *carte blanche* for idiosyncratic use could endanger communication. For McGinn, thus, Wittgenstein's so-termed 'creative thesis'

undermines the whole idea that words can be wrongly used – indeed it undermines the distinction of truth and falsity as applied to sentences. For, if every application of a word contributes to fixing its meaning by virtue of what it is applied to, then no use could be deemed incorrect (McGinn 1984: 137).

A theory with such far-reaching consequences for meaning and communication would certainly pose a problem. It might therefore be prudent to interpret Wittgenstein's thesis in a weaker way, to avoid such linguistic mayhem, which is also the conclusion McGinn reaches. For him, Wittgenstein's fundamental thesis, eventually, "can be seen as a position which avoids the normative anarchy of the creative thesis while not

falling into the trap of making meaning magically *contain* all of future and counterfactual use” (McGinn 1984: 138).

This appears a sensible enough basis to build upon when dealing with the mechanisms of understanding of such a complex topic as Anglicisms in the Japanese language. Still, it is reasonable to take a look at how other linguists or scholars view the topic of context and meaning.

10.3. In good company - opinions on context

The idea that meaning is derived from and dependent on context is no singular opinion. Especially in language philosophy the concept of meaning through context has been widely embraced. “Meaning must be recognized as bound to contexts of meaning”, writes H.G. Callaway following the thoughts of the philosopher John Dewey (1993: 4).

Similarly, the German philosopher Gottlob Frege maintains that a word without context is without meaning. In his book *The Foundations of Arithmetic*, he states that “we are seriously mistaken to ask after a meaning of a word in isolation. Instead, ‘it is only in the context of a sentence that a word has a meaning’” (Callaway 1993: 34, quoting Frege 1953: x). Therefore, the context is the defining aspect in a word’s meaning without which a word cannot be properly understood. For Frege, “a sense, or meaning, is [...] a special abstract entity, which is ‘grasped,’ when the corresponding expression is understood” (Callaway 1993: 34). We can derive from this that the surrounding words form a network which, in its completeness, gives meaning to an otherwise obscure linguistic entity. No word, according to this theory, can semantically exist in an isolated condition.

This seems only logical, since there is no proven connection between the form of a word and the idea it represents. Therefore, words have to get their meanings from something other than themselves. John Locke wrote the following lines on the meaning of words:

Thus we may conceive how words [...] come to be made of use by men, as the sign of their ideas; not by any natural connexion [sic] that there is between particular articulate sounds and certain ideas, for then there would be but one language amongst all men; but by a voluntary imposition, whereby such a word is made arbitrarily the mark of such an idea (cited in Alston 1964: 23).

Locke’s theory, too, can be summarized as ‘meaning is use’, and therefore subsumed under Wittgenstein’s principal idea of meaning in context. As W.P. Alston says: “It is only because we feel a need to convey our thoughts to each other that we have to

make use of publicly observable indications of [our] ideas [...] A linguistic expression gets its meaning by being used as such an indication” (Alston 1964: 23).

Leonard Bloomfield, at least in this aspect, has a similar idea on the meaning of words. In his book *Language* he says that the “meaning of a linguistic form [is] the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer” (1935: 139, cited in Alston: 26). This, of course, makes the creation of meaning a purely subjective and volatile process which is in danger of relativizing any fixed concepts of meaning. If this train of thought were pursued consequently, there would be no stable meaning and thus no sensible communication possible.

Therefore, some constraints have to be made in order to bring order to chaos while preserving the idea of context-dependence in word-meanings. According to Alston, the following requirements have to be met:

If this is to work, there must be features that are common and peculiar to all the situations in which a given expression is uttered in a given sense, and there must be features common and peculiar to all the responses that are made to the utterance of a given expression in a given sense (Alston 1964: 26).

In a way, the context in which a word is used and received has to be defined in order for the meaning to be stable enough to allow for a communication without a great margin for misunderstanding. The meaning of a word is, so to speak, closely tied to stable associations of the word to a certain context by both the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader. Alston proposes that “in order for an expression to be meaningful in my current use of it, it is necessary that there be a tendency for the word to elicit in me a certain idea and vice versa” (Alston 1964: 66). Again, we can see here that it is essential to have some boundaries to the arbitrariness of word meaning. Only under these conditions can context-dependence of meaning be acceptable. If these conditions are met, then there can be a certain flexibility and idiosyncrasy of meaning within a defined linguistic territory. Jason Stanley (2005), who maintains in his essay “Semantics in Context” that words’ literal semantic content can become deferred to become what he calls “enriched meaning”, argues:

Since [...] virtually any word can have a deferred meaning, it follows that any word could in principle acquire any meaning, via a sense-transfer function. The available sense-transfer functions are constrained only by pragmatics. So, the resulting semantic theory is one according to which semantic content is unconstrained by conventional meaning. The semantic content of the word ‘house’ could be the property of being a dog – the only thing that would prevent it from acquiring this semantic content is pragmatic facts about a context (Stanley 2005: 230).

Yet even within this pragmatic framework, the meaning of words is only defined to some extent. There is always room for ambiguity and misunderstanding. There is no way to ensure that the idea within the speaker's mind is transmitted unalteredly into the hearer's mind. Bronislaw Malinowski, a Polish-born anthropologist maintained that "meaning is not inherent to words or propositions, but is dependent upon what he termed the 'context of situation'. That context is often such that what we traditionally reckon to be the meaning of utterances is not their effective meaning at all" (Joseph 2004: 17). So the meaning of words is sometimes manifold, depending on whoever perceives them in a certain context. This means that it is difficult to precisely ascribe one 'real meaning' to any given word.

[W]hen we isolate language from the people who speak and interpret it and the context in which they speak and interpret it, we are not getting closer to some kind of essential *truth* about language. We are getting further from it, toward a generalization that may well have its uses [...] but can also take the form of a pure abstraction for which the only use is to be worshipped as a kind of fetish (Joseph 2004: 24).

Strictly speaking, this would mean that there is no 'theoretical' meaning, but only a practical one, a meaning through use. If we pursue this thought, it follows that the meaning of a word could be understood even if the linguistic material were alien (i.e. from a foreign language), if only the context provided were adequate to define a certain meaning.

The English linguist J.R. Firth in some of his essays promotes the idea of meaning as "situational relations in a context of situation" (Firth 1969: 19). The defining element for Firth is the function an element has within the structure which in turn defines its meaning within the whole construct. "Meaning", writes Firth, "is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context" (Firth 1969: 19). In Firth's opinion, thus, all other components that make up a word and its function are merely servants to context in its creation of a word's meaning, as it were. They all adapt themselves to the respective contexts, and are put into place to ensure meaning.

So while there are several rather extreme theories on the importance of context – Leisi (1973), for example, cites I.A. Richards (who co-wrote *The Meaning of Meaning* [1923] saying "ein Wort habe an sich überhaupt keine Bedeutung, es empfangt Bedeutung erst in einem gegebenen Kontext" (1973: 21) – the more

moderate theories stress the necessity of a stable basic system of meaning which might be slightly altered and adapted according to the requirements of context.

Noam Chomsky, for example, elaborates his notion that

[t]here is good evidence that words have intrinsic properties of sound, form, and meaning; but also open texture, which allows their meanings to be extended and sharpened in certain ways; and also holistic properties that allow some mutual adjustments (Chomsky 1996: 52, cited in Pietroski 2005: 255).

Similarly, the Swiss linguist Ernst Leisi maintains:

Mit guten Gründen hält man sich heute an die These de Saussures, Gegenstand der Sprachwissenschaft sei nicht der beständig wechselnde individuelle Sprechakt, sondern das dahinterliegende System. Wir müssen deshalb auch unter „Bedeutung“ etwas verstehen, was nicht von Situation zu Situation wechselt (1973: 34/5).

According to Leisi, meaning must be something at least basically predefined because otherwise this would leave the field wide open to a confusingly idiosyncratic definition of meaning which would bring the linguistic system to its knees. Context, in his opinion, is only a mutational force to a core meaning. “Der Kontext”, he writes, “hebt ja die ursprünglichen Bedingungen [des Wortgebrauchs] nicht auf, er variiert sie nur.” Therefore context, in Leisi’s opinion, cannot be the primal force behind the creation and extraction of meaning, it can only be an alternating factor.

However, Leisi also elaborates that in his opinion many factors are crucial in determining the meaning of a word other than the signified alone. His example refers to the sport of cricket, which uses many words that are only understandable within the whole context of the game. He states:

[E]s zeigt sich auch hier deutlich, daß ein Begriff sich durchaus nicht in der Beschreibung des Bezeichneten erschöpft, daß vielmehr eine ganze Anzahl von Faktoren außerhalb des Bezeichneten relevant sein können (Leisi 1973: 87).

These other factors that Leisi refers to all come down to context, which, eventually, is the pivotal force in the comprehension of words, since it alone focuses in onto one single point in the relatively vague scale of a word’s meaning. Use, as the incarnated shape of context, is at the core of what defines meaning. For Leisi, it is therefore clear that “im Prinzip müssen wir deshalb sagen, daß eine Wortbedeutung mehr durch Konvention und Tradition als direkt vom Bezeichneten her bestimmt ist” (Leisi 1973: 93). And, quoting de Saussure: “Ein sprachliches Element soll deshalb nicht für sich allein betrachtet werden sondern als Teil eines Ganzen“ (Leisi 1973: 94).

For Leisi, meaning is tantamount to what he calls “Bedingungen des Wortgebrauchs”, i.e. conditions of word usage. This means that there is no exclusivity

of meaning bound to some theoretical definition in a dictionary, but that rather word meaning is born from the role a word takes within the fabric of a text, but is based on a more or less wide pool of meaning which contains the theoretical span of meaning a word can embrace (cf. Leisi 1973: 134).

The conclusion is obvious, and is well formulated by Alston: “[T]he fact that a linguistic expression has the meaning it has is a function of what the users of the language *do* with that expression” (Alston 1964: 39).

More recently, Wierzbicka (1991) has also stressed the importance of syntax and sentence for the understanding and creation of meaning.

[W]ords or morphemes by themselves cannot really express any meanings: they can only contribute in a certain way to the meaning expressed by a sentence. If we want to identify meanings [...] we must look not for isolated lexical items but for commensurable lexical items used in commensurable sentences (Wierzbicka 1991: 14).

We can conclude from this that only “commensurable sentences” using “commensurable grammatical patterns” can express meaning clearly. Being in context alone is therefore not sufficient, but the context has to fulfill certain criteria, so that all factors – words, sentence, and syntax – work together to create meaning.

From a more sociological perspective, Hall (1997) defines word-meanings as “representations” of cultural and social conventions and negates any fixed meaning of words. He argues that,

if meaning is the result, not of something fixed out there, but of our social, cultural and linguistic conventions, then meaning can never be *finally* fixed. We can all ‘agree’ to allow words to carry different meanings – as we have for example, with the word ‘gay’, or the use, by young people, of the word ‘wicked!’ as a term of approval [...]

[...]

The main point is that meaning does not inhere *in* things, in the world. It is constructed, produced. It is the result of a signifying practice – a practice that *produces* meaning, that *makes things mean* (Hall 1997: 23f).

This constructionist approach (cf. Hall 1997: 25) focuses on the artificial nature of linguistic signs, all of which are constructed by the speakers of a language community. Because of their symbolic nature, their meanings get defined only through their use in a system. “Meaning,” explains Hall (1997: 28), “is produced by the practice, the ‘work’ of representation. It is constructed through signifying – i.e. meaning-producing – practices.” The most important of these “meaning-producing practices” is use in language, through which words are put in place and subjected to definition through their relations to other words in the text. Hall quotes Saussure who

insisted on [...] the arbitrary nature of the sign: ‘There is no natural or inevitable link between the signifier and the signified.’ Signs do not possess a fixed or essential meaning. [...] Signs, Saussure argues, ‘are members of a system and are defined in relation to the other members of that system’ (Hall 1997: 31).

Context, therefore, as the physical representation of these “relations” of signs, is the core and key to the creation, reception, and decoding of meaning of words. Through context, in which the relation of signs is expressed, the process of comprehension gets its most important ally.

10.4. New words in context

Of course, it would mean overly simplifying the issue to yield the inspiration – literally – of meaning solely to context. As Kent Bach (2005) stresses:

[N]o matter how context “determines” the standard that figures in the content of a [...] sentence, the content is not hostage to the context. This content is a proposition that can be expressed in a context-independent way [...] (Bach 2005: 59).

In an excessively codified world, definitions of meaning in such compendia are just as pivotal in that they lend stability to a language by providing a framework within which meaning can be extended or limited in accordance to the overall structure of the respective tongue. Accordingly, J.R. Firth (1969), quoting Erdmann (1922), splits up meaning into these three categories:

- (1) *Begriffsinhalt*, or Hauptbedeutung, roughly our Essential or Central Meaning or Denotation; (2) *Nebensinn* or Applied Meaning or Contextual Meaning; and (3) *Gefühlswert* or Stimmungsgehalt or Feeling-Tone (Firth 1969: 10).

The central meaning is the meaning perpetuated in dictionaries, precisely defined and laid down. These definitions are a necessity, of course, and be it only as an archive of a language’s riches of meaning. However, in immediate situations, when we are suddenly confronted with unknown words and required to make meaning on the spot, these definitions cannot be accessed and are thus useless. It is in such immediate situations that contextual meaning becomes essential, because when all we have to rely on is the context surrounding an unknown word, all we can do is to derive its meaning from the overall construct of the text. This derivation of meaning has as much to do with context as it has with personal experience. Alston writes:

A word gets a meaning by becoming associated with a certain idea in such a way that the occurrence of the idea in the mind will set off (or tend to set off) the utterance of the word, and hearing the word will tend to bring about the appearance of the idea in the mind of the hearer [...] In this way, all meaning is necessarily derived from sense experience (Alston 1964: 63/4).

This, of course, means that even more than defined meanings, the associations we have in our minds between an idea and a word are important – associations we gain

from experiencing words in context. Therefore, it can be assumed that the prime and most important factor in understanding new words is the immediate surrounding they are embedded in. Context is key to gaining access to meaning in as much as it is part of an interconnected and interdependent structure in which any given part is vital to the whole.

J.R. Firth, in his essay “The Technique of Semantics” draws on three guiding principles of word meaning put forth by the *Society’s Dictionary*:

The first principle is that a certain component of the meaning of a word is described when you say what sort of word it is, that is, when you identify it morphologically, and give it what the Dictionary calls a Grammatical Designation. Secondly, the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context can be taken seriously. But what made the Society’s Dictionary different was the third member of the trinity – the Historical Principle [i.e. etymology] (Firth 1969: 7).

In the case of loanwords, which enter languages continuously, only two of these principles of meaning can apply for the average person. Since loanwords are not genuine products of the language that receives them, any attempt at a historical definition (except maybe by a person well-versed in languages) would be futile. To define them only morphologically or through their syntactic function does not help either. And since such often fast-lived words, at least in first contact situations, defy any dictionary meaning by definition because their sudden appearance requires them to be understood on the spot or not at all, the only viable way for meaning, the only common denominator that all words can be subsumed under, is meaning in context, meaning through use. This, it appears, is the only way which allows for understanding even in fast-lived situations where written definitions of word-meaning cannot be called upon.

Jason Stanley (2005) proposes a different trinity for the definition of meaning.

The semantic value of a basic constituent of a sentence is what is determined by speaker intentions together with features of the context, in accord with the standing meaning of that lexical item (Stanley 2005: 226).

This threefold definition relies upon more individual factors in the grasping of a word’s meaning. This seems sensible, since both sides of the communicational process are eventually left with but their own intentions and intuitions in using or perceiving a word, while both have to be based upon a broad ‘predefined’ range of meaning within which utterance and reception can occur. In the case of new words, however, and especially when it comes to loanwords, a “standing meaning” can seldom be presupposed, once again leaving us merely with context.

Undoubtedly, to extract meaning from context is a task with very individual outcomes. Context is not as dogmatic as are entries in dictionaries. It allows for a level of vagueness inherent especially to new or structurally and morphologically unknown words. However, vagueness as such is not as undesirable as one might believe it to be. There are positive, even indispensable facets to it, which underline the importance of foreign words in particular within a homogeneous language such as Japanese.

10.5. Elusive meaning – circumventing conventions

The concept of ‘vagueness’, in general, is not met with much sympathy with regards to language. There is a general notion that precision in language is of the essence and that any trait of vagueness represents an obstacle to understanding and to communication. This rather dogmatic view, however, misinterprets the function of language as much as it over-simplifies it.

Language is not merely about ‘communicating’, but it is equally about obfuscating, about diffusing and circumventing a concrete definition of meaning. “We *need* vague terms,” writes Alster, referring to the field of diplomacy, where directness and completeness is often unwanted, even counterproductive (cf. Alster 1964: 86).

Of course, we do not have to go to such extremes in giving an example for the advantages of vagueness. In everyday life, too, it is of great import. “Often our knowledge is such”, states Alster, “that we cannot formulate what we know in terms that are maximally precise without falsifying the statement or going far beyond evidence” (Alster 1964: 86). Vague terms, in such cases, help to find a way around having to say something for which we do not have enough evidence.

Or even simpler, vague terms help us to navigate around linguistic conventions which would otherwise constrain our way of expression. This is even more valid in a linguistic community whose very foundations are rooted within tight pragmatic rules and conventions which allocate specific linguistic roles to individuals according to their sex and status, and which strongly affirms linguistic taboos – a linguistic community like that of Japanese.

In Japanese, therefore, this semantic vagueness that engulfs loanwords, even in context, can serve an important purpose – that of evading strict conventions and penetrating taboos without actually breaking them. Certainly, this advantage does not come without a price. This linguistic comfort comes at the cost of clear comprehension, but not so much because such words are incomprehensible, but

because their meanings can often not be pinpointed exactly. Alster warns against condemning vagueness in language.

[W]hen we use a word that has the semantic characteristic of vagueness, it may or may not be a liability. The failure to distinguish this semantic characteristic from defects of discourse to which it *may* give rise has led to an unfortunate transference of the negative evaluation of the latter to the former. Thinking about language has often been dominated by the unformulated and unexamined assumption that vagueness as a semantic characteristic is always undesirable and that an “ideal” language would contain no vague words (Alster 1964: 86).

This sad fate has frequently befallen loanwords as well, whose at times inherent vagueness, it can be assumed, has given rise to fears and concerns about mis- or discommunication when in fact they serve an important purpose. Their somewhat vague meaning and lack of any deeply founded connotations make them ideal in undermining conventions and taboos which have outlived themselves in the minds of members of a linguistic community.

Another meaning-related issue that is often brought up against loanwords is that they are superfluous because they only rephrase concepts which are already present in a language. However, in practice it is not as simple.

10.6. Synonymy or non-synonymy? Differences of loans and ‘natives’ in context

Loanwords, in the views of many, are not much more than a stylish upgrade of already existing native language material. Loanwords are generalized into some obscure ‘youth language’ whose main goal is to give language a modern touch by replacing native terms with trendy foreign ones in order to appear up-to-date.

If this were the case, loanwords would necessarily have to bear the same meaning as the original native words they are replacing. How can synonymy be asserted?

[I]t would seem plausible to think of two words as having the same meaning if and only if they make the same contribution to the illocutionary-act potentials of the sentences in which they occur; and whether or not they do can be tested by determining whether replacing one with the other would bring about any change in the illocutionary-act potentials of the sentences in which the replacements are carried out (Alster 1964: 37).

This way of ascertaining whether two words have identical meanings is apt to disprove this major prejudice against loanwords which, in effect, denies them their semantic right to exist. In fact, however, loanwords do take up different places, if not so much semantically then at least pragmatically. Alster distinguishes the following three factors which result in a difference of meaning.

1. The social environment in which the utterance of a word is appropriate. We get something of this difference with ‘sick’ and ‘ill,’ the latter being more

suited to polite discourse. [...] Almost any two “synonyms” will exhibit this difference to some extent.

2. Associations. Any two words will show this sort of difference, but with many pairs it is not easy to give an adequate formulation. Consider ‘earth’ and ‘ground.’ ‘Earth’ conjures up all sorts of associations – earth mother, fertility [...], that are lacking for ‘ground.’ [...]
3. “Emotive force.” We can find pairs of words that seem to be synonymous apart from the fact that one carries a certain attitude or evaluation while the other carries a different one or none at all (Alster 1964: 45).

Considering these factors makes it very unlikely that loanwords even *could* be used as synonyms, since words, once put to use, tend to develop a life of their own and alter their meanings slightly, adapting themselves to whatever context they are put into.

It is therefore unlikely that loanwords carry absolutely equivalent meanings to the original words they are based on, which would make them actual ‘foreign’ linguistic material. If that were the case, people with an educational background in the donor language should have no problems defining their meaning. The empiric part later on will reveal whether English education really is an advantage and whether non-context definitions of English-based loanwords differ significantly according to the test person’s educational background. This will show whether a widespread prejudice against loanwords is founded on facts, namely that their use represents a discrimination by education or lack thereof.

The main goal of the survey, however, will be to demonstrate the importance of the factor of context which, if well used, makes fears unnecessary that loanwords might ‘contaminate’ language and that they might make a language incomprehensible to the average native speaker. Rather, they are a useful, fresh resource which can be used to expand the limits of any language’s linguistic pool, to the advantage of all its speakers. In the words of Peter von Polenz:

Die Beziehungen der Wörter zu ihrem pragmatischen und sozialen Kontext sind der entscheidende Gesichtspunkt, unter dem die Rolle der Lehnwörter in der Sprache und im Sprachgebrauch betrachtet werden muß und unter dem auch heute noch – jenseits puristischer Sprachideologie – eine ‚Fremdwortkritik‘ möglich und notwendig ist. Es kommt sehr darauf an, ob Fachwörter und gelehrte Wörter in einem Kontext verwendet werden, der ihre Bedeutung auf den sprachüblichen Sinn hin bestimmt, und ob sie gegenüber Gesprächspartnern oder einem Publikum verwendet werden, die aufgrund ihrer sprachsoziologischen Voraussetzungen diese Bedeutungsbestimmung nachvollziehen können (Polenz 1978: 29).

To determine whether this is the case in the case of Japanese – which can be seen as *the* model for the loanword phenomenon – is the prime intention of this paper. In a language which is confronted with new English-based loanwords on a daily basis and

beyond any degree familiar to contemporary European languages, what are the factors that guarantee an understanding of new words when no dictionary is at hand and words have to be understood on the spot? Can a well-constructed context deliver people from a fate of unintelligibility?

11. *Testing Theories*

Loanword Comprehension and Context

Meaning, as the last chapter has established, is not a fully autarkic entity that draws its life force merely from itself, but it is interdependent with its surrounding, from the workings of which it gains its full signifying force. Without context, words lose their semantic borders and dissolve, because it is only through context that they are contained to a certain meaning befitting a certain situation. In this sense, no word, not even an unknown word, is without meaning, but it is endowed with meaning by context and the associative and imaginative power of the recipient. As de Saussure (cf. 2001: 89) maintains, there is no reason why any given word cannot be associated with any given idea. This is all the more valid for loanwords, whose newness and relative independence from pre-associated meaning makes them easy material to mould – something which is shown, especially in Japanese, by the great number of pseudo loanwords whose only common ground with the original word often is its shell, sometimes not even that. Therefore, the important step, it seems, is to provide a context which helps to focus the recipient's associative force on the word's intended meaning. To test this hypothesis is one of the main objectives of the survey that will be discussed in the following chapters.

11.1. Research questions

This survey is to be understood within the greater context of loanword discussions (cf. especially chapters 2 and 8) which claim that

- a.) loanwords are basically just 'foreign' words and therefore
- b.) alien to a language, constituting obstacles to understanding, and that
- c.) since loanwords derive from foreign languages, they privilege those familiar with the respective foreign language and exclude those who are not.

The survey, therefore, will serve as an attempt to falsify these assumptions by focusing on the case of Japanese, which, more than any other language, has accepted English loanwords into its lexicon and which should provide an example for other languages on how to deal with the issue of loanwords. The research questions are as follows:

- 1.) Can loanwords be equaled to foreign words?
- 2.) To what extent does an individual's knowledge of English influence his/her understanding of English-based loanwords?

- 3.) How well are loanwords understood?
- 4.) What role does context play in the comprehension process, especially in the case of difficult loanwords?

11.2. Survey basics and methodology

11.2.1. Sources

The methodology for the survey and its analysis was partly based on and inspired by Brown (2001): *Using Surveys in Language Studies*, Bortz (2005): *Statistik für Human- und Sozialwissenschaften*, Bernard (2006): *Research Methods in Anthropology*, and Hatch (1996): *The Research Manual: Design and Statistics for Applied Linguistics*. Though the main survey design was created by the author of this thesis himself, certain ideas as well as the procedures for the survey's implementation and the methods of analysis were derived from these books.

11.2.2. Target audience and sampling method

A national survey with random sampling among all ages and social strata would have been desirable, but would have required much more financial and individual effort than a single researcher has at his disposal. This is why, eventually, university students were selected as the target audience by means of judgment sampling, being the most easily accessible group and also the group being most exposed to loanwords in their daily lives and therefore the group with the most challenges in comprehension.

In order to examine whether loanword understanding is dependant on and proportionate to the knowledge of English, it was attempted to divide the target groups into students of English and non-students of English where possible.

11.2.3. Survey goal

The main objective of the following survey was to prove that even words that are difficult to understand – in this case, relatively little known English-based loanwords – can be adequately understood if a context is provided which is suitable to support the extraction and creation of meaning.

11.2.4. Survey design

The goal being to determine the impact of context on understanding, the survey was designed in a way as to help elicit whether there is a notable difference in loanword comprehension when presented with and without context. For that cause, the survey was divided into two parts: the first asked for a definition of selected loanwords without context, while the second inquired the meaning of the same words – in

different order – this time embedded into context, in both cases from a multiple choice of four possible answers.

11.3. Procedure

11.3.1. Choice of loanwords

First, a sufficient number of useable loanwords had to be recruited. Only English-based loanwords and pseudo loanwords were considered for this survey. At first, loanwords were picked from various select Japanese media, all dating from the time frame of March 2008. These sources included (for details see appendix):

- the *Chūnichi Shinbun*, a major newspaper in central Japan,
- the *Mainichi Shinbun Online*, one of the great national newspapers,
- the *Asahi Shinbun Online*, another major national newspaper,
- the *Shūkan Gendai*, a weekly boulevard magazine,
- the *Shūkan Bunshun*, a weekly political magazine,
- the *Shūkan Josei*, a weekly girls' magazine,
- *What's In?*, a monthly fashion and music magazine,
- *Circus*, a monthly lifestyle magazine,
- *Safari*, a monthly magazine for surfers,
- *Nonno*, a women's fashion magazine,
- several Internet pages selected at random.

From these sources, a list of English-based loanwords was procured which entailed 402 different loanwords. Excluded were such loans that were deemed to be too common in use already, as inquiring their meaning would obviously not have been meaningful or productive to the objective of this survey.

11.3.2. Narrowing down

Since the initial choice of these loanwords was made without consulting a native speaker of Japanese, there was a possibility that several of these words that appeared 'new' or 'unknown' to non-Japanese eyes were actually already well accustomed to Japanese speakers.

Therefore, the next step was to submit this word list to native Japanese speakers, preferably from amongst the target audience, in order to narrow the number of words down to fifty, a viable number for a survey of this kind. For this cause, a preliminary survey was drafted, including the 402 English loanwords found in the media listed above. Participants were recruited from among friends and acquaintances, a total of eight people in their twenties from different parts of Japan volunteered to help. They

were asked to indicate for each word whether they had ever heard/read it before, and whether they knew/somehow knew/did not know its meaning. The results showed that a major part of the 402 words included in the raw list were already remarkably familiar to them; these were then removed. After the elimination process, 50 words remained, all of which had either never been heard/read before or had been heard/read, but without being aware of their meaning. The goal was to use as many unknown or difficult loanwords as possible in the real survey in order to see if they could, in fact, be understood, and to determine the factors important to the comprehension of such unknown words.

11.3.3. Word list and explanation

The following list shows the final choice of 50 loanwords used for the survey with their English equivalent or transcription.

スーパーバイザー(‘supervisor’)	オーバーラップ(‘overlap’)
インカム(‘income’)	プレゼンス(‘presence’)
フリーランス(‘freelance [journalist]’)	ポピュリズム(‘populism’)
アンソロジー(‘anthology’)	ダンサブル(‘danceable’)
インスパイア(‘inspire’)	マイナートラブル(‘minor trouble’)
ダウンタイム(‘down-time’, Japanese English)	ネグレクト(‘neglect’)
トリッキー(‘tricky’)	バイオ(‘bio’)
フィーチャー(‘feature’)	イニシエーション(‘initiation’)
リリック(‘lyric[s]’)	ガバナンス(‘governance’)
ユニバーサル(‘universal’)	アナキー(‘anarchy’)
ミックスダウン(‘mix-down’, Japanese English)	ローエンド(‘low-end’)
ペンディング(‘pending’)	オーバーユース(‘overuse’)
アップチューン(‘up-tune’, Japanese English)	アクチュアル(‘actual’)
カオス(‘chaos’)	インセンティブ(‘incentive’)
アッパー(‘upper’, Japanese English)	ダウンスパイラル(‘down-spiral’)
ポテンシャル(‘potential’)	ロールアウト(‘roll-out’)
メロディアス(‘melodious’)	オンブズマン(‘ombudsman’)
ブラッシュアップ(‘brush-up’)	ベースアップ(‘base-up’, Japanese English)
ハートウォーム(‘heart-warm[ing]’)	マスタープラン(‘master plan’)
インスト(‘inst[rumental]’)	インタルード(‘interlude’)
タイドアップ(‘tied-up’, Japanese English)	ワークライフバランス(‘work-life-balance’)
ラグジュアリー(‘luxury’)	スキーム(‘scheme’)
タウンユース(‘town-use’)	イノベーション(‘innovation’)

トラッド(‘trad[itional]’)	セレブニート(‘celeb(rity) NEET’, Japanese English)
ハイダウェイ(‘hideaway’, Japanese English)	ワーキングプア(‘working poor’, Japanese English)

Table 32: List of loanwords used in the survey

Several of these words hold meanings that are at least partially identical with the original English word; others, however, have either undergone a process of semantic change or have been created in Japanese in the first place. In order to avoid any unclarity, a short explanation of each word with different meaning from the English word will ensue.

a.) Words with – superficially – largely similar or identical meaning and form to the original English word:

スーパーバイザー(*su-pa-baiza-*, ‘supervisor’), インカム(*inkamu*, ‘income’), アンソロジー(*ansoroji-*, ‘anthology’), インスパイア(*insupaia*, ‘inspire’), トリッキー(*torikki-*, ‘tricky’), フィーチャー(*fi-cha-*, ‘to feature’), ユニバーサル(*yuniba-saru*, ‘universal’), ペンディング(*pendingu*, ‘pending’), カオス(*kaosu*, ‘chaos’), ポテンシャル(*potensharu*, ‘potential’), メロディアス(*merodiasu*, ‘melodious’), ブラッシュアップ(*burasshu appu*, ‘brush up’), ラグジュアリー(*ragujuari-*, ‘luxury’), オーバーラップ(*o-ba-rappu*, ‘overlap’), ポピュリズム(*popyurizumu*, ‘populism’), ダンスブル(*dansaburu*, ‘danceable’), マイナートラブル(*maina- toraburu*, ‘minor trouble’), バイオ(*baio*, ‘bio’), イニシエーション(*inishie-shon*, ‘initiation’), ガバナンス(*gabanansu*, ‘governance’), アナーキー(*ana-ki-*, ‘anarchy’), ローエンド(*ro-endo*, ‘low-end’), オーバーユース(*o-ba-yu-su*, ‘overuse’), インセンティブ(*insentibu*, ‘incentive’), ロールアウト(*ro-ru auto*, ‘roll-out’), オンブズマン(*onbuzuman*, ‘ombudsman’), マスタープラン(*masuta- puran*, ‘master plan’), インターлюд(*inta-ru-do*, ‘interlude’), ワークライフバランス(*wa-ku raifu baransu*, ‘work-life balance’), イノベーション(*inobe-shon*, ‘innovation’)

b.) Words which differ morphologically from the original English word, but carry similar meanings:

フリーランス(*furi-ransu*, ‘freelance [journalist]’), リリック(*ririkku*, ‘lyric[s]’),
ハートウォーム(*ha-to uo-mu*, ‘heart-warm[ing]’), インスト
(*insuto*, ‘inst[rumental]’), トラッド(*toraddo*, ‘trad[itional]’)

c.) Words with identical form but restricted or different meanings:

アッパー(*appa-*, ‘upper’, i.e. ‘exaltation’), ハイダウエイ(*haidauei*,
‘hideaway’, i.e. ‘a secluded resort’), プレゼンス(*purezensu*, ‘presence’, i.e.
‘s/o’s presence felt by others’), ネグレクト(*negurekuto*, ‘neglect’, i.e. ‘child
neglect’), アクチュアル(*akuchuaru*, ‘actual’, i.e. ‘current’), スキーム(*suki-mu*,
‘scheme’, i.e. ‘a systematic plan’)

d.) Pseudo-Anglicisms, which share only appearances with English but exist
exclusively in Japanese:

ダウンタイム(*daun taimu*, ‘down-time’, i.e. ‘time needed for wounds to heal’),
ミックスダウン(*mikkusu daun*, ‘mixdown’, i.e. ‘merging several record tracks
into one’), アップチューン(*appu chu-n*, ‘up-tune’, i.e. ‘a song/tune that puts
the listener into a good mood’), タイドアップ(*taido appu*, ‘tied-up’, i.e. ‘a
style of fastening a necktie’), タウンユース(*taun yu-su*, ‘town use’, i.e. clothes
that can be used on an everyday basis for any purpose’), ダウンスパイラル
(*daun supairaru*, ‘down spiral’, i.e. ‘an inescapable plight’), ベースアップ(*be-
su appu*, ‘base-up’, i.e. ‘a salary raise’), セレブニート(*serebu ni-to*, ‘celebrity
NEET’, i.e. ‘living on unearned income without working’), ワーキングプア
(*wa-kingu pua*, ‘working poor’, i.e. ‘lacking the necessary money to live despite
work’)

11.3.4. Drafting the survey

These fifty words were used to draft the survey on the design previously outlined.
Choosing words originating from different derivational processes also constitutes an
important factor in determining whether there might be a difference in comprehension
between words of English origin still carrying (parts of) their original, ‘foreign’
meanings and, for example, pseudo-Anglicisms, whose creation occurs already within
the Japanese syntactic and semantic matrix and which can therefore be supposed to be
more ‘naturalized’ and inherent to the language.

11.3.4.1. Personal data

The survey was conducted anonymously but participants were requested to provide some personal data like sex, age, name of the university, or their field of studies. Additionally, they were asked to give the amount of years that they had studied or had been studying the English language in school or at university and to provide a tentative self-assessment of their English skills from the following scale: excellent, good, moderate, bad. This data was required to classify the results into groups depending on different factors.

11.3.4.2. Part I

As was explained above, the survey was divided into two parts, one containing the 50 loanwords without context and the other containing the same words in context. The loanwords were randomly inserted into the first part, and then their order was changed in the second part so as to prevent easy recognition.

Both parts of the survey offered four multiple choice answers for each word. The possible answers in the first part consisted mostly of (alleged) synonyms from *Kango* or *Wago* words. One answer was true, the other false or misleading. In several cases, meanings which the original English word carries, but the loanword doesn't (i.e. words from category c.) above), were inserted as possible answers in order to examine whether there was any cross-language interference between English and Japanese. Thus, for example, *suki-mu* ('scheme') was supplied not only with the correct answer 'plan', but also with the fake answer of 'plot' – a meaning the word only carries in English, but not in the Japanese loanword version. The same method was used with the loanword *negurekuto* ('neglect'), which is used solely for 'child neglect' in Japanese.¹¹

In general, it was attempted to choose possible answers that either bore a similarity to another loanword or that relied on the inner workings of the Japanese language to lead the participants to the wrong meaning if they did not already know the respective loanword well enough. At other times, associations that might come up in the minds of Japanese speakers when reading a certain loanword were also used. For all these answers, the help of a native speaker of Japanese was acquired to create or check the

¹¹ Japanese loanword dictionaries usually define the meaning of *negurekuto* more broadly, close to the English meaning; actual use, however, shows an exclusive use of the word as 'child neglect'. The choice of multiple choice answers was made after careful consideration and research of each word's use.

multiple-choice answers. The appendix features a translation of the first part of the survey where all multiple choices can be reviewed. Here is one example:

- プレゼンス(*Purezensu*, ‘presence’) had the following four choices:
‘attendance’ (出席), ‘present’ (贈り物), ‘presence’ (存在感), ‘presentation’ (発表). ‘Attendance’ and ‘presence’ are both meanings included in the original English word, but only ‘presence’ is the meaning the Japanese loanword is actually used for. The choice of ‘present’ (‘gift’) played on the two loanwords’ similarity, namely *purezensu* and *puzento*, while ‘presentation’ made use of the fact that it can be expressed in Japanese also by the loanword *puzente-shon*, or its truncated form *puzen*, which can easily be mistaken by one not firm in the knowledge of the loanwords’ respective meanings.

The reason for this answer design was to create good distractors with a high likelihood of misleading all those who were not already familiar with the real meaning of the respective loanword, and to make it more difficult for them to guess the correct answers by providing other choices which also appear probable.

11.3.4.3. Part II

The second part of the survey contained the same loanwords as part one, this time, however, embedded in a context taken from a newspaper or magazine, so as to show the loanword in actual use and see if comprehension of difficult loanwords was in any way facilitated thereby. As a matter of course, the design of the second part had to vary from the first part in several ways.

First, the order of the words was randomly rearranged to minimize the chance that participants could cross-check answers between part one and two. Second, and more important, the answers had to be phrased differently. Providing only a single word, as was frequently the case in part one, would have resulted in any participant with only the fundamental ability to understand a text immediately recognizing the correct answer. Therefore, instead of offering four choices of meaning for the loanword, the meaning of the loanwords and their respective immediate context was rephrased and the correct answer slightly modified in a way that made any answer appear plausible if the real meaning of the loanwords was not sufficiently clear to the participant. The answers in part two were also created with the aid of Japanese native speakers who helped conceive answers as probable to Japanese speakers as possible.

The context was selected from the same sources that the loanwords first collected were taken from. In some cases, the context provided was extensive, in other cases rather rudimentary. This selection was made on purpose in order to see what requirements context had to meet to sustain the comprehension process. It can be presupposed that the mere usage of a word in context does not necessarily suffice to help understand an otherwise unknown word. Rather, the context has to contain some semantic clues or syntactic structures framing the meaning of the word. It can be supposed that the more abstract a word becomes the more clues are needed in order to make the word's meaning sufficiently clear.

The following will provide three examples of English loanwords in context and the choices that were supplied for answers. Clearly, translating the Japanese contexts these words are used in into English is not very meaningful, but in order to clarify the method that was used this was necessary. The in-depth analysis of each word's results in the next chapter, however, will try to translate all contexts provided in order to help explain their impact on comprehension.

- ワーキングプア (*wa-kingu pua*, 'working poor'):

"The daily lives of our population are now in a state of danger. A lot of young people are either 'working poor' or seeking refuge in Internet cafes and have to lead very hard lives."

- a.) Many young people don't have a job
- b.) Many young people don't want to work
- c.) Many young people don't have enough money even though they are working
- d.) Many young people are constantly changing their jobs

- インスパイア (*insupaia*, 'inspire'):

"I have said before that I thought you were a really strong woman, Agnes, but in reality I am inspired by you. Having overcome your illness, you are, in a way, putting your life on the line for the sake of singing."

- a.) The speaker is astonished by Agnes

- b.) The speaker has taken an interest in Agnes
- c.) The speaker is encouraged and motivated by Agnes' story
- d.) The speaker cannot understand Agnes

- ダウンタイム(*dauntaimu*, 'downtime'):

“(After the face-lifting operation) there is almost no swelling and you can immediately do make-up or wash your face, so the down-time is short.”

- a.) The time for doing make-up is short
- b.) The time it takes the wounds to heal is short
- c.) The depression after the operation lasts only shortly
- d.) Wasted time is short

The idea of this design was to make it as hard as possible to wild-guess a loanword's meaning. The choice had to be so as to ensure that most or all possible answers contained a high degree of probability in order to impede picking the correct answer by accident, which was not always easy.

The first draft of the survey contained many uncertain spots, which is why it appeared advisable to subject it to a pilot test to iron out any inconsistencies and ambiguities that did not meet the creator's eyes.

11.3.5. Piloting and reviewing

The participants for this pilot test were recruited in a university seminar which was kindly ceded to me by Prof. Abe Yasuaki of Nanzan University in Nagoya for the purpose of both testing the survey content-wise as well as measuring the time necessary for the students to complete both parts of the survey. All eight students volunteered to help.

The time the students needed to complete the survey varied greatly. The fastest student finished both parts in only 15 minutes while another student took about 50 minutes until handing in the papers. Most other students needed around 30 to 35 minutes, so the time frame for the real survey was set at 40 minutes maximum, with part one, the shorter part, being scheduled ideally with 10 minutes and part two was scheduled with 30 minutes, because it also contained quite some text and thus required time to both read and adequately understand text and answers.

The pilot test showed that there were several weak spots in the survey's content which had to be corrected in order to avoid unintended influence on the choice of answers. Several choices of answers in part 2 were found to be too close in meaning so that they were often mistaken for one another. These were fixed. In other cases, certain loanwords which had been conjectured to be not all too well-known, based on the results of the pre-survey, actually proved to be unexpectedly naturalized to a degree that there was no one who did not know their meanings, even without context. Others, again, proved useless for lack of a useable context because their use was yet too sparse or restricted or because they were used in a too self-explanatory way. These were exchanged for other loanwords that had also scored relatively low in the preliminary survey.

The revised version of the survey was then again checked and corrected by a native speaker and by Prof. Abe from Nanzan University. With the procurement of the above data and its implementation into the survey, the reviewing process was deemed finished and the survey ready for conduction in full scale.

11.4. Conducting the survey

11.4.1. Recruiting

The target audience being university students, universities had to be found which were willing to cooperate in the realization of the survey. This process proved to be unexpectedly difficult, in great part due to the scope and length of the survey. Most negative answers received from universities were argued with the time factor. Lectures and seminars at Japanese universities take 90 minutes and very few universities and professors were willing or able to cede half their class time to a survey unconnected to the rather strict Japanese university curriculum.

Eventually, three universities agreed to allow conducting the survey in two of their classes (English and non/English) and an acquainted professor from a fourth university promised to assemble her students in their spare time. The four cooperating universities and professors were:

- Nanzan University (Nagoya): ABE Yasuaki, SUZUKI Tatsuya
- Kobe University (Kobe): NISHIMITSU Yoshihiro, SAITŌ Shigenobu
- Kinki University (Osaka): SHIMO Etsuko, THORPE Todd
- Prefectural University of Nagasaki (Nagasaki): TOMINAGA Mihoko

11.4.2. Number of participants

Thanks to the cooperation of these universities and professors, the final number of participants was 155 students, 43 male and 112 female, aged between 19 and 22. The number of participants was divided among the different universities in the following way:

- Nanzan University: 31 students of English, 35 non-students of English
- Kobe University: 16 students of English, 17 non-students of English
- Kinki University: 11 students of English, 32 non-students of English
- University of Nagasaki: 13 non-students of English

In summary, the total number of English students included in this survey was 58, the total number of non-English students 97. Comparing these will allow a conservative estimate on the interconnection between knowledge of English and understanding of English-based loanwords.

11.4.3 Testing conditions and procedures

As indicated above, the survey consisted of two separate parts, asking for the meaning of the same fifty loanwords with and without context. During the test run, both parts were distributed and collected together. This, however, proved to be a possible source of interference because the participants could compare their answers in part one with the ones in part two and correct them accordingly (even though they were told not to do that). As a consequence, it was decided to distribute both parts together, but that participants had to hand in part one as soon as they were done with it. Thus, any unwanted interference originating from the common distribution of both parts was eliminated.

The survey, for the most part, was conducted under the supervision of the writer of this thesis and during class time. The students were told that they had 40 minutes to finish the survey and that they should try not to overthink their answers but rather to be spontaneous as they would have to be if they came across the loanword in a newspaper or magazine, or during a conversation. They were also asked to do the survey on their own and not to look at the answers of other students and that they were allowed, even expected to make mistakes. Since the survey was conducted anonymously they did not have to fear losing their face because of a 'bad' result.

There were only two exceptions to this procedure – the English class at Kinki University and the students from the University of Nagasaki. The English teacher at Kinki University agreed to spare class time for conducting the first part of the survey

which was about 15 minutes, but saw himself unable to grant the whole 40 minutes because of a very tight schedule. The second part was then distributed to the students with the request that they do it without consulting another person or a dictionary, and then hand it in to their teacher in the next class. The University of Nagasaki's commitment to help, on the other hand, was only gained shortly before the end of the author's stay in Japan, who was therefore unable to conduct the survey himself; this duty was kindly fulfilled by Professor Tominaga who assembled some of her students during her and the students' spare time. The survey itself was then done in a controlled environment.

11.4.4. Dates

The surveys were conducted in the following order:

- Nanzan University: 2008/6/16 (Non-English students)
2008/6/17 (English, 3rd year students)
2008/6/18 (English, 4th year students)
- Kobe University: 2008/10/24 (English & Non-English students)
- Kinki University: 2008/10/27 (English & Non-English students)
- University of Nagasaki: 2008/11/25 (Non-English students)

The long break between conducting the survey at Nanzan in June and conducting the rest of the surveys in October and November was both due to the length of bureaucratic processes required to get the necessary permissions and due to the busy month of July with all its final exams and the ensuing summer holidays in August and September. Eventually, however, this break made it possible to analyze the results of the survey conducted in June and to implement minor changes in design and instruction wording, without touching on the survey's main content.

11.4.5. Final changes

After conducting the survey at Nanzan University, several minor problems became apparent which were seen as a possible threat to a smooth administration of the survey. One was an unclear wording in the instructions provided at the beginning of every part, especially the second. The first wording instructed the participants to choose the answer which most closely expressed the meaning of the loanword underlined; however, the answers provided did not represent the meaning only of the loanword, but the meaning that it expressed within its immediate context. Therefore, the instructions were adapted to take this into account.

Secondly, there were a few cases where a word's meaning seemed to be understood without context, but not in context. It was then conjectured that the reason for this might lie in the fact that participants did not know the word's exact meaning in the first place, but rather guessed it correctly, so that the wrong choice in part two did not really represent a development from right to wrong. For this reason, two boxes were added next to each loanword in part one, requiring participants to indicate whether they knew a certain word (i.e. they more or less were familiar with its meaning) or whether they did not know it (i.e. even if they had seen it before they were uncertain about its meaning). This made it possible to sort out 'guessers' of the correct meanings in part one to a certain degree. Since this change did not represent a change in content in the narrow sense, it was then implemented for use in the following surveys to provide an additional insight into the reasons for why the answer to the meaning of a loanword turned from 'correct' in part one to 'incorrect' in part two.

Having laid out the preparation process for the survey, the results from the different classes at the different universities will now be presented in full detail.

11.5. Survey results

The survey's results will be analyzed for different aspects: the number of correct answers given in parts one and two, the shifts of answers between the two parts (i.e. correct-correct, correct-incorrect, incorrect-correct, incorrect-incorrect), and, in chapter 12, the development of comprehension of each loanword in order to gain an insight into what development took place, where to and why. The symbol '●' will denote a correct answer, while '×' will signify incorrect answers.

The results were validated using a variance analysis, which focused on the differences and interdependencies between comprehension without and with context, between English and non-English students, and between different universities, and through which the necessary significance of the data procured ($p < 0,05$ for the humanities) will be certified. This was a multifactorial variance analysis with one within factor (with/without context) and two between factors (English/Non-English and university) and the number of correct answers as dependent variable. It was done using the SPSS 15 statistical software at the Department of Psychology at the University of Graz, and was applied to the results of all universities but Nagasaki, where one factor (English) was inapplicable because only a non-English group partook in the survey.

11.5.1. Nanzan University

11.5.1.1. English students (3rd and 4th year)

As mentioned before, the number of English students at Nanzan University who participated in this survey was divided between two groups, one of 3rd year students (16 people) and one of 4th year students (15 people). Since analyzing them separately would serve no purpose, they will be combined and discussed together.

These surveys were conducted personally by the author during two English seminars of Prof. Suzuki on June 17 and 18, 2008.

11.5.1.1.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

Comparing the number of correct answers given in part one and two by all participants yielded the following results:

Participant	○ Part 1	○ Part 2	Difference	Male	Female	English Level
1	20	31	11		x	3
2	23	32	9		x	3
3	27	31	4		x	3
4	29	37	8		x	3
5	24	40	16		x	3
6	27	34	7		x	2
7	33	43	10	x		2
8	27	39	12		x	3
9	20	29	9		x	3
10	15	31	15		x	3
11	31	31	0		x	2
12	21	41	20		x	2
13	25	39	14		x	3
14	17	40	23		x	3
15	23	39	16		x	3
16	30	39	9		x	2
17	24	36	12		x	2
18	32	40	8		x	3
19	34	45	11		x	2
20	19	33	14	x		2
21	27	35	8		x	2
22	20	33	13		x	2
23	25	39	14		x	2
24	31	39	8		x	2
25	33	42	9		x	3
26	33	41	8	x		3
27	32	39	7		x	3
28	34	42	8		x	3
29	32	44	12	x		3
30	28	40	12		x	1
31	25	44	19		x	2
Average	26,4838	37,6774	11,1612			
%	52,96%	75,35%				

Table 33a: Individual results (Nanzan, 3rd year English students)

As this graph shows, the average number of correctly understood loanwords without any context ranged around 24,5 words, which amounts to about half the words included in the survey. The lowest value was 15 words, the highest 34, which is quite a remarkable difference among the participants.

Adding context to the same words resulted in a noticeable improvement of results to an average of almost 38 correctly understood words, some 75%, with an average plus of about 11 words from part one. Here, too, the range varies between 29 and 45, and a plus between 0 and 23 words. Considering that all participants possessed almost the same level of English (according to their self-assessment), this result does not seem to be overly connected to different English skills of the students in these seminars, but rather to originate from other factors. An attempt at a detailed explanation will be made in chapter 13. To some extent, a view at the development of answers between the two parts can give a glimpse at what is behind these summarized results.

11.5.1.1.2. Developments

Looking merely at the numbers provided above, one might get the impression that there sometimes were either only miniscule or, in one case, no changes at all. Behind the numbers, however, there were developments not reflected in the final results which showed great shifts in the answers between the two parts. The following chart will demonstrate, roughly, what shifts lay behind those results.

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×
1	26	13	7	4
2	18	21	6	5
3	14	26	7	3
4	18	21	4	7
5	17	24	5	4
6	18	13	6	13
7	11	20	15	4
8	13	16	14	7
9	23	16	7	4
10	29	14	3	4
11	19	15	8	8
12	21	19	7	3
13	25	12	9	4
14	18	13	10	9
15	15	16	14	5
16	17	15	12	6
17	25	19	6	0
18	25	15	7	3
19	28	16	2	4
20	29	13	3	5

21	25	14	4	7
22	27	15	2	6
23	26	13	6	5
24	20	19	6	5
25	15	18	12	5
26	15	18	13	4
27	31	14	2	3
28	25	15	3	7
29	21	15	11	3
30	18	17	6	9
31	30	11	6	3
Sum	662	506	223	159
%	42,70%	32,64%	14,38%	10,25%

Table 33b: Individual developments (Nanzan, 3rd year English students)

What becomes obvious here is that, in some cases, there was a considerable shift (about 10%) of answers from ‘correct’ in part one to ‘incorrect’ in part two, which accounts for the sometimes low improvement rate with some of the participants. Apparently, some of the words included in the survey had a tendency to be attributed with the wrong meaning in part two of the survey, after having been given the correct meaning in the first part. The following words were showed the highest tendencies toward negative development:

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション (‘innovation’)	22 (70,96%)
バイオ (‘bio’)	11 (35,48%)
オーバーユース (‘overuse’)	10 (32,25%)
ポピュリズム (‘populism’)	9 (29,03%)
インセンティブ (‘incentive’)	9 (29,03%)
アナーキー (‘anarchy’)	7 (22,58%)
インスパイア (‘inspire’)	7 (22,58%)
リリック (‘lyrics’)	7 (22,58%)
ワークライフバランス (‘work-life balance’)	7 (22,58%)

Table 33c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Nanzan, English students)

About 18% of the loanwords in this survey, therefore, had a tendency of more than 20% to be understood incorrectly only when a context was provided. A reason for this might be that a certain word was not known to the participant in the first place and was only by chance answered correctly in part one. This, however, will only be confirmed in the surveys following those at Nanzan, when the respective question box option was added. Another reason could be that the context was not supportive enough of the intended meaning, so that the possible meanings the word carried in context expanded to other areas it does not usually cover.

In order to get at the bottom of this problem, the detailed developments for all loanwords used in the survey have to be more closely scrutinized. This might also help explain why certain words were understood incorrectly in both parts of the survey. As there can be supposed to be many overlaps between the surveys done at the various universities, this analysis will be conducted in the next chapter. To sum up, the survey among English students at Nanzan University showed these results:

Chart 31a: Results and developments (Nanzan, English students)

As is apparent here, the greater part of answers developed, as expected, towards the correct choice of word meaning in context. The variance analysis showed the following increase in mean values of correct answers through the addition of context:

Chart 31b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Nanzan, English students)

The variance analysis also showed a very significant increase ($p < 0,01$) of 23% in comprehension between loanwords with and without context.

11.5.1.2. Non-English students

This survey was conducted among students of Japanese in a Japanese Grammar class of Prof. Abe on June 16, 2008.

11.5.1.2.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

Since the participants in this survey only underwent basic English education at school, it is of particular interest to see whether there are any notable differences in the final results. While a difference in comprehension of loanwords without context might be attributable to English students' better knowledge of English words which allows for a more precise guess, greater differences in understanding of the same loanwords in context would be unexpected, since it is the presupposition of this thesis that an adequate context to a great extent nullifies any advantage gained from knowledge of the loanwords' donor language.

	●Part 1	●Part 2	Difference	Male	Female	English Level
1	23	35	12+		x	2
2	21	34	13+		x	3
3	24	38	14+		x	3
4	27	43	16+		x	3
5	12	24	12+		x	3
6	26	34	8+		x	3
7	25	35	10+		x	4
8	16	39	23+		x	3
9	22	20	2-		x	3
10	30	44	14+		x	1
11	27	37	10+	x		4
12	30	36	6+		x	3
13	29	33	4+		x	4
14	30	42	12+		x	2
15	26	38	12+	x		3
16	24	39	15+		x	3
17	26	35	9+	x		3
18	26	39	13+		x	2
19	17	26	9+		x	2
20	34	45	11+		x	2
21	23	35	12+		x	3
22	28	40	12+		x	3
23	24	37	13+		x	3
24	24	41	17+		x	3
25	21	35	14+		x	3
26	28	46	18+		x	4
27	33	37	4+		x	3
28	30	34	4+		x	3
29	14	32	18+		x	3
30	27	40	13+	x		3

31	20	25	5+		x	
32	18	25	7+		x	2
33	30	42	12+		x	2
34	32	40	8+	x		3
35	21	23	2+		x	3
Average	24,8	35,657	10,771			
Percent	49,60%	71,31%				

Table 34a: Individual results (Nanzan, non-English students)

The average number of correct answers in part one of the survey lies slightly beneath 25 words (49,6%), increasing by about 11 words to 35,6 words (71,31%). The lowest improvement was actually a deterioration of minus 2, the highest improvement ranged at a plus of 23 words. The individual results show a great variety, suggesting that the level of comprehension is very much dependent on the individual's faculty to derive meaning from a sometimes fragmentary context rather than English competence.

Whether this impression holds true, the following surveys will show.

11.5.1.2.2. Developments

The following shifts took place between the answers given in part one and those provided in part two of the survey:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×
1	18	23	3	6
2	21	18	8	3
3	9	14	15	12
4	26	14	4	6
5	27	15	4	4
6	10	15	17	8
7	12	13	17	8
8	22	18	5	5
9	9	23	13	5
10	22	12	8	8
11	27	10	7	6
12	26	20	2	2
13	16	19	10	5
14	24	16	6	4
15	17	18	9	6
16	31	14	2	3
17	12	14	19	5
18	16	19	8	7
19	13	21	8	8
20	19	19	7	5
21	23	20	3	4
22	8	16	22	4
23	18	16	8	8
24	21	14	11	4
25	14	25	9	2
26	10	10	18	12

27	27	17	3	3
28	21	16	7	6
29	21	15	5	9
30	20	13	8	9
31	26	16	4	4
32	22	16	8	4
33	17	20	6	7
34	22	13	11	4
35	21	18	6	5
Sum	668	580	301	201
Percent	38,17%	33,14%	17,2%	11,48%

Table 34b: Individual developments (Nanzan, non-English students)

About 17% of all answers remained incorrect even when context was provided, and a little over 11% shifted from correct to incorrect in part two.

The following words were most affected by deteriorative developments:

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション ('innovation')	24 (68,5%)
ポピュリズム ('populism')	17 (48,5%)
ハートウォーム ('heart-warm')	9 (25,7%)
アナーキー ('anarchy')	9 (25,7%)
オーバーユース ('overuse')	9 (25,7%)
アッパー ('upper')	8 (22,8%)
インスト ('instrumental')	7 (20%)
バイオ ('bio')	7 (20%)
ガバナンス ('governance')	7 (20%)
インセンティブ ('incentive')	7 (20%)
スキーム ('scheme')	7 (20%)

Table 34c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Nanzan, non-English students)

By and large, the same loanwords fill this list as those of the previous surveys, indicating that there might be a problem with comprehension based on an all too rudimentary or too limited explanatory context. 'Innovation', 'populism', 'instrumental', 'bio', 'incentive' and 'scheme' are words whose meaning was easily misunderstood in this and other surveys and which therefore appear to harbor a source of problems, though only a few of them were mistaken by the majority of participants.

The final results of the survey amongst non-English students at Nanzan University were:

Chart 32a: Results and developments (Nanzan, non-English students)

These results represent the following major development of correct answers between parts one and two, verified by a variance analysis:

Chart 32b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Nanzan, non-English)

Here, too, the analysis shows a very significant rise ($p < 0,01$) of 21,71% in comprehension through the addition of context.

11.5.2. Kobe University

Both surveys at Kobe University were conducted consecutively on October 24, 2008.

11.5.2.1. English students

The participants were students of English literature and were asked to answer the survey during the class of Prof. Saitō.

11.5.2.1.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

As a result of the findings of the survey conducted at Nanzan University, this was the first survey that included the additional question in part one if the respective word was known or unknown to the participant. This brought the following results:

Participant	○Part 1	○Part 2	Difference	Unknown	Male	Female	English Level
1	32	41	9	35		x	3
2	29	38	9	22		x	3
3	25	40	15	32		x	3
4	30	36	6	20		x	2
5	29	37	8	32		x	3
6	32	44	12	24		x	3
7	26	41	15	30		x	3
8	28	37	9	35		x	2
9	34	45	11	24		x	3
10	29	37	8	29		x	3
11	32	41	9	29		x	3
12	25	39	14	31		x	3
13	25	40	15	35		x	2
14	30	42	12	29		x	2
15	33	37	4	37		x	4
16	34	45	11	29	x		2
Average	29,5625	40	10,4375	29,5625			
Percent	59,13%	80%		59,13%			

Table 35a: Individual Results (Kobe, English students)

The answers showed that the bigger part of the inquired loanwords was unknown. Their meaning, therefore, had to be guessed either by relying on the knowledge of English or by chance.

Despite this relatively high level of unknown loanwords, the starting point laid by the answers in part one of the survey is quite high, with almost 30 correct definitions (60%) of word meaning, which then increased to an average of 40 (80%) in part two. This constitutes an average increase of more than 10 correct definitions. The lowest increase was a plus of 4, the highest a plus of 15 words which were correctly understood.

11.5.2.1.2. Developments

The following shifts between parts one and two (the numbers in brackets indicate the proportions of words identified as unknown by the participants) led to the result presented above:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×	Total
1	28(18)	13(9)	5(5)	4(3)	
2	24(7)	14(8)	7(6)	5(1)	

3	20(9)	20(17)	5(4)	5(2)	
4	25(6)	11(3)	9(7)	5(4)	
5	23(12)	14(9)	7(6)	6(5)	
6	28(9)	16(12)	2(1)	4(2)	
7	23(12)	18(13)	6(4)	3(1)	
8	22(11)	15(12)	7(7)	6(5)	
9	31(11)	14(10)	2(2)	3(1)	
10	22(10)	15(11)	6(4)	7(4)	
11	29(15)	12(7)	6(5)	3(2)	
12	19(8)	20(15)	5(4)	6(4)	
13	21(11)	19(16)	6(5)	4(3)	
14	25(11)	17(13)	3(2)	5(3)	
15	26(17)	11(9)	6(5)	7(6)	
16	30(15)	15(12)	1(1)	4(1)	
Sum	396(182)	244(176)	83(68)	77(47)	800(473)
Percent	49,5% (45,95%)	30,5% (72,13%)	10,375% (81,92%)	9,625% (61%)	100% (59,125%)

Table 35b: Individual developments (Kobe, English students)

As this chart shows, the number of unknown words is lowest among those words which were attributed correct meanings in part one and part two, which makes sense in so far as words from said category could be expected to have the highest proportion of known words in order to be answered correctly from the start. The number of unknown words is highest among those words whose meaning was identified incorrectly even after context was provided. A little unexpectedly, in this case, is the relatively small number of unknown words within the category of loanwords which were attributed correct meaning in part one and then incorrect meanings in part two. With only 61%, there still remain 39% which were – supposedly – known, and then, through the addition of context, seen as having a different meaning.

The next chart will make clear, which words were primarily affected by this negative development.

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション ('innovation')	12 (75%)
ポピュリズム ('populism')	6 (37,5%)
アナーキー ('anarchy')	5 (31,25%)
リリック ('lyrics')	5 (31,25%)
インセンティブ ('incentive')	4 (25%)
オーバーユース ('overuse')	4 (25%)
アッパー ('upper')	4 (25%)

Table 35c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Kobe, English students)

Once again, the picture is the same as in the other surveys. It seems as though always the same loanwords are incorrectly understood in context. The growing number of participants whose results show identical developments heightens the possibility that this is not only chance, but that there must be a systematic reason for this state. Whether this turns out to be true or not, the ensuing results from the remaining surveys will demonstrate.

For now, here are the graphic results from the survey amongst English students at Kobe University:

Chart 33a: Results and developments (Kobe, English students)

The development of loanwords correctly defined, based on a variance analysis, is thus as follows:

Chart 33b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Kobe, English students)

This, too, represents a very significant increase ($p < 0,01$) of 21%, and the highest level of comprehension yet.

11.5.2.2. Non-English students

This survey was done by students of linguistics during a seminar by Prof. Nishimitsu.

11.5.2.2.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

The survey brought the following results:

Participant	○Part 1	○Part 2	Difference	Unknown	Male	Female	English Level
1	39	44	5	17		x	2
2	33	35	2	16		x	4
3	32	39	7	13	x		2
4	32	47	15	22		x	2
5	24	39	15	47		x	3
6	31	43	12	33		x	3
7	26	38	12	32		x	2
8	27	40	13	43		x	3
9	30	41	11	33		x	2
10	40	44	4	32		x	3
11	21	35	14	38	x		3
12	25	42	17	16		x	3
13	25	39	14	32		x	2
14	24	41	17	32		x	3
15	26	36	10	30		x	2
16	32	35	3	32		x	3
17	30	45	15	33		x	3
Average	29,235	40,176	10,941	29,47			
Percent	58,47%	80,35%		58,94%			

Table 36a: Individual results (Kobe, non-English students)

The survey's first part scored relatively high with about 29 correct definitions (58,47%), a result which then rose to more than 40 (80,35%) in part two, an average plus of almost 11 words. The lowest increase was 2, the highest 17 correct answers. The percentage of unknown words is similar to that indicated by the English students at Kobe University, constituting 58,94% of all words included in the survey. The relatively high score in this survey is surprising in that it does not lag behind any results of surveys by students of English. It might be that the students' study of linguistics created an affiliation to language and therefore facilitated the comprehension process.

11.5.2.2.2. Developments

The following development of answers led to the result outlined above:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×	Total
1	36(9)	8(6)	3(1)	3(1)	
2	25(4)	10(6)	7(3)	8(3)	
3	28(5)	11(4)	7(3)	4(1)	
4	30(11)	17(9)	1(1)	2(1)	

5	21(18)	18(18)	8(8)	3(3)	
6	27(14)	16(14)	3(2)	4(3)	
7	20(8)	18(14)	6(5)	6(5)	
8	22(16)	18(17)	5(5)	5(5)	
9	25(15)	16(12)	4(3)	5(3)	
10	36(19)	8(8)	2(2)	4(3)	
11	17(10)	18(15)	11(10)	4(3)	
12	21(4)	21(8)	4(2)	4(2)	
13	20(12)	19(10)	6(5)	5(5)	
14	19(7)	22(18)	4(4)	5(3)	
15	21(10)	15(11)	9(7)	5(2)	
16	23(12)	12(9)	6(5)	9(6)	
17	28(13)	17(16)	3(3)	2(1)	
Sum	419(187)	264(195)	89(69)	78(50)	850(501)
Percent	49,29% (44,6%)	31,05% (73,8%)	10,47% (77,52%)	9,17% (64,1%)	100% (58,94%)

Table 36b: Individual developments (Kobe, non-English students)

This chart presents a similar trend to the previous surveys. There is always a certain amount of word definitions which shift towards ‘incorrect’ in part two. This part affects around 10% of all words and does not seem to either increase or decrease notably in the different surveys. In this case, the proportion of loanwords declared as ‘unknown’ is highest in the shifts of ‘incorrect’ to ‘correct’ (73,8% of the total sum), and from ‘incorrect’ to ‘incorrect’ (77,52%), a little lower in cases of developments from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’ (64,1%), and lowest in the cases where the correct definition of meaning remained unchanged (44,6%).

The following words frequently underwent negative developments:

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション (‘innovation’)	14 (82,35%)
ポピュリズム (‘populism’)	12 (70,58%)
インセンティブ (‘incentive’)	6 (35,29%)
オーバーユース (‘overuse’)	5 (29,41%)
ハートウォーム (‘heart-warm’)	5 (29,41%)
アッパー (‘upper’)	5 (29,41%)
アナキー (‘anarchy’)	4 (23,52%)

Table 36c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Kobe, non-English students)

The words with tendencies to deteriorative developments appear to be unchanging among the different surveys, with ‘innovation’ at its top with the majority of participants attributing a wrong meaning to it in part two of the survey.

Summarizing, these are the final results from the survey amongst Non-English students at Kobe University:

Chart 34a: Results and developments (Kobe, non-English students)

The development of correct answers is expressed in the following chart and was verified by a variance analysis:

Chart 34b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Kobe, non-English students)

This amounts to a plus of 21,88% from part one to part two, and is therefore well in the average of the other surveys conducted by now, with a total of correct answers that tops even that of English students of the same university. The variance analysis confirmed that this constitutes a very significant rise ($p < 0,01$).

11.5.3. Kinki University

Both surveys were conducted in succession on October 27, 2008.

11.5.3.1. English students

Data for this survey was taken in an English seminar by Prof. Thorpe. Only the first part was conducted directly in class. For lack of alternatives, the second part was

handed to the participants as homework with the request not to consult dictionaries or other people, and was returned in the next class.

11.5.3.1.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

The survey had the following results:

Participant	○Part 1	○Part 2	Difference	Unknown	Male	Female	English Level
1	29	38	9	30	x		2
2	27	33	6	31		x	3
3	25	32	7	20		x	3
4	24	44	20	33		x	3
5	30	40	10	19		x	3
6	18	29	11	30		x	3
7	17	37	20	25		x	3
8	17	23	6	38		x	3
9	20	34	14	9		x	2
10	23	39	16	29	x		3
11	19	32	13	27		x	3
Average	22,636	34,636	12	26,454			
Sum	45,27%	69,27%		52,91%			

Table 37a: Individual results (Kinki, English students)

With an average of almost 23 correct definitions (45%) in part one and about 35 (69%) in part two and an average increase of 12, the result of this survey ranges a little beneath that of non-English students at Nanzan who had a 24:36 ratio. The number of unknown words indicated, on the other hand, was not quite as high as in the surveys at Kobe University, with only a little over 50% of all words being designated as unknown.

11.5.3.1.2. Developments

The chart above was a result of the following shifts between the two parts of the survey:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×	Total
1	23(12)	15(12)	6(4)	6(3)	
2	21(10)	12(8)	11(9)	6(4)	
3	15(2)	17(6)	8(6)	10(6)	
4	21(9)	23(19)	3(2)	3(2)	
5	23(7)	17(10)	3(1)	7(1)	
6	10(4)	19(9)	13(12)	8(5)	
7	15(8)	23(13)	10(3)	2(1)	
8	9(5)	14(8)	19(17)	8(8)	
9	16(2)	18(4)	12(3)	4(0)	
10	21(8)	18(11)	9(8)	2(2)	
11	14(4)	18(13)	13(9)	5(1)	
Sum	188(71)	194(113)	107(74)	61(33)	550(291)
Percent	34,18%	35,27%	19,45%	11,09%	100%

	(38%)	(58,2%)	(69,15%)	(54,1%)	(52,9%)
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Table 37b: Individual developments (Kinki, English students)

It is conspicuous that the category ‘correct-incorrect’ always appears to be broadly around 10%, no matter what proportions the other categories have. In this survey, too, the ratio of unknown words within this category is lower than could be expected, only the one in the ‘correct-correct’ column is lower. This, too, is a result that is in line with that of the other surveys. Considering that the participants were students of English, the results are a little surprising in that they are considerably below those of students of English from other universities. This might be an indication that the effect of English knowledge and competence on the comprehension of Anglicisms is not as strong as is often suggested.

These words had a tendency of more than 20% for negative developments:

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション(‘innovation’)	7 (63,6%)
オーバーユース(‘overuse’)	6 (54,5%)
ポピュリズム(‘populism’)	5 (45,4%)
アッパー(‘upper’)	5 (45,4%)
バイオ(‘bio’)	3 (27,2%)
ハートウォーム(‘heart-warm’)	3 (27,2%)

Table 37c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Kinki, English-students)

Once more, the words in this list are more or less identical to those of previous surveys. By now, it can be ruled out that these words have undergone this development only by incident. A closer analysis later on will attempt to shed some light on this matter.

Before moving on to the next survey, here is a short summary of the findings of this one.

Chart 35a: Results and developments (Kinki, English students)

The percentage of correct definitions made the following development between part one and two, verified by a variance analysis:

Chart 35b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Kinki, English students)

This constitutes a very significant rise ($p < 0,01$) by 24% between the two parts. The score in part two is more or less comparable to the one reached by non-English students at Nanzan. In total, though, the results of this survey were unanticipated, judging from the results of students of English from Kobe and Nanzan University. Nevertheless, they are significant according to the variance analysis.

11.5.3.2. Non-English students

The participants of this survey were students of science and technology and were approached during a class by Prof. Shimo.

11.5.3.2.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

These were their results:

Participant	○Part 1	○Part 2	Difference	Unknown	Male	Female	English Level
1	20	29	9	29	x		3
2	16	31	15	45		x	4
3	21	30	9	43	x		4
4	18	35	17	37	x		4
5	19	27	8	39		x	4
6	21	32	11	34	x		2
7	18	33	15	43	x		3
8	17	31	14	36	x		4
9	20	30	10	35	x		3
10	19	32	13	33	x		3
11	20	31	11	40	x		3
12	21	39	18	38	x		4
13	31	36	5	31	x		4
14	20	28	8	43	x		
15	16	26	10	44	x		4
16	18	31	13	31	x		4
17	21	25	4	27	x		2
18	18	28	10	25	x		3
19	21	27	6	28	x		2
20	14	19	5	47	x		3
21	23	32	9	38	x		3
22	18	28	10	41		x	4
23	19	28	9	37	x		3
24	27	37	10	40	x		2
25	27	33	6	40	x		3
26	17	21	4	45	x		4
27	24	34	10	27	x		4
28	22	30	8	32	x		4
29	12	19	7	49	x		
30	26	36	10	25	x		4
31	24	25	2	33	x		3
32	20	24	4	40	x		4
Average	20,25	29,59375	9,375	36,71875			
Percent	40,50%	59,19%		73,44%			

Table 38a: Individual results (Kinki, non-English students)

The understanding of loanwords without context was relatively low, with only about 20 words (40,5%) defined correctly. The understanding rose to almost 30 correctly understood loanwords (59,19%) with a context provided. In average, this amounts to a plus of 9,4 words when the loanwords were embedded in context. The number of unknown words was relatively high with an average of almost 37, which amounts to 73,44%, and is the highest value yet.

11.5.3.2.2. Developments

In detail, the developments between the two parts were the following:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×	Total
1	13(7)	16(12)	14(5)	7(5)	
2	11(9)	20(20)	14(11)	5(5)	
3	13(9)	17(16)	12(10)	8(8)	
4	14(9)	21(17)	11(8)	4(3)	
5	12(9)	15(12)	16(12)	7(6)	
6	17(8)	15(11)	14(12)	4(3)	
7	10(7)	23(21)	9(9)	8(6)	
8	11(5)	20(14)	13(12)	6(5)	
9	12(6)	18(13)	12(8)	8(8)	
10	14(8)	18(13)	13(8)	5(4)	
11	15(9)	16(14)	14(13)	5(4)	
12	18(10)	21(18)	8(7)	3(3)	
13	23(9)	13(12)	6(5)	8(5)	
14	11(9)	17(12)	13(13)	9(9)	
15	7(6)	19(16)	15(13)	9(9)	
16	10(4)	21(15)	11(7)	8(5)	
17	12(3)	13(9)	16(10)	9(5)	
18	6(0)	22(11)	10(6)	12(8)	
19	12(7)	15(9)	14(9)	9(3)	
20	5(4)	14(13)	22(22)	9(8)	
21	20(11)	12(10)	15(14)	3(3)	
22	10(7)	18(15)	14(12)	8(7)	
23	13(8)	15(12)	16(14)	6(3)	
24	23(15)	14(13)	9(9)	4(3)	
25	19(13)	14(13)	9(7)	8(7)	
26	9(7)	12(11)	21(20)	8(7)	
27	17(9)	17(8)	9(6)	7(4)	
28	19(8)	11(8)	17(13)	3(3)	
29	4(4)	16(16)	22(21)	8(8)	
30	17(6)	19(8)	5(5)	9(6)	
31	13(8)	12(7)	15(13)	10(5)	
32	9(7)	15(11)	15(13)	11(9)	
Sum	419(241)	529(410)	424(347)	228(177)	1600(1175)
Percent	26,1875% (57,51%)	33,0625% (77,5%)	26,5% (81,83%)	14,25% (77,63%)	100% (73,43%)

Table 38b: Individual developments (Kinki, non-English students)

This chart shows an almost equal development between correct answers that stayed correct and incorrect answers that remained incorrect, both about 26%. While the biggest share was filled by incorrect answers which were corrected in part two, the number of correct words turned incorrect is slightly larger than in previous surveys which mostly showed a proportion of about 10-11%. The number of unknown words indicated by the participants is great in three of the four categories. While those words that were defined correctly in both parts of the survey had a relatively low ratio of unknown words of only 57%, the other three categories included unknown words to a greater part of 77-81%.

The following words had the greatest tendency for negative development:

Word	Incorrect Answers
オーバーユース(‘overuse’)	23 (71,8%)
イノベーション(‘innovation’)	16 (50%)
アッパー(‘upper’)	14 (43,75%)
インスパイア(‘inspire’)	13 (40,625%)
ワーキングプア(‘working poor’)	12 (37,5%)
バイオ(‘bio’)	11 (34,375%)
ポピュリズム(‘populism’)	10 (31,25%)
アナーキー(‘anarchy’)	9 (28,125%)
ワークライフバランス(‘work-life balance’)	8 (25%)
インセンティブ(‘incentive’)	8 (25%)
アクチュアル(‘actual’)	8 (25%)
ハートウォーム(‘heart-warm’)	8 (25%)
ロールアウト(‘roll-out’)	7 (21,875%)

Table 38c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development (Kinki, non-English students)

This list is relatively long compared to that of the other surveys, with 12 of the loanwords having a more than 20% tendency for a negative development in part two of the survey after having been defined correctly in part one. This was probably a result of the bigger number of participants in this survey, although the non-English group from Nanzan University, though equally large, showed no similar trend. Different from the other surveys yet, the leading word in this list is not ‘innovation’, but ‘overuse’, which developed from correct to incorrect in part two in the case of more than 70% of the participants.

In short, the overall result of the survey amongst non-English students at Kinki University was the following:

Chart 36a: Results and developments (Kinki, non-English students)

This represents the following overall development, based on a variance analysis:

Chart 36b: Mean values for correct definitions of loanwords in and out of context based on a variance analysis (Kinki, non-English students)

This rise by 18,69% is rather low and results in comparatively low final score. The variance analysis, however, confirms that the result is very significant ($p < 0,01$) nonetheless, with regards to the effect of context on comprehension.

11.5.4. Prefectural University of Nagasaki

This survey was conducted by Prof. Tominaga among her students (all of which are not students of English) on November 25, 2008.

11.5.4.1. Comparison of correct answers part one and two

This survey yielded the following results:

Participant	○Part 1	○Part 2	Difference	Unknown	Male	Female	English Level
1	17	26	9	34		x	2
2	25	35	10	35		x	3

3	19	29	10	28		x	3
4	14	26	12	50		x	4
5	19	33	14	49		x	4
6	22	34	12	24		x	2
7	26	34	8	29		x	3
8	21	34	13	43		x	3
9	15	30	15	41		x	4
10	24	32	8	39		x	3
11	16	36	20	37		x	4
12	25	25	0	39		x	3
13	22	33	11	41		x	3
Average	20,384	31,307	10,923	37,615			
Percent	40,769%	62,615%		75,23%			

Table 39a: Individual results (Nagasaki, non-English students)

With 20 words (40,8%) correctly defined in part one and 31 (62,6%) in part two, this survey had a similar outcome, though slightly better, to the one among non-English students at Kinki University. The average plus of correct answers between the two parts is close to 11 words. Like in the surveys at Kinki University, the number of words indicated as being unknown words is high at an average of 37 words (75,23%), which appears to have had an effect on the overall comprehension of these words.

11.5.4.2. Developments

The following shifts led to the above result:

Participant	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×	Total
1	16(10)	17(15)	11(11)	6(5)	
2	13(10)	12(9)	13(11)	12(9)	
3	11(7)	25(21)	9(5)	5(4)	
4	17(8)	15(14)	11(10)	7(7)	
5	10(7)	20(18)	15(13)	5(3)	
6	15(12)	19(17)	10(10)	6(4)	
7	19(10)	15(9)	9(5)	7(5)	
8	19(7)	15(9)	13(8)	3(0)	
9	13(12)	20(20)	11(11)	6(6)	
10	8(8)	18(18)	18(18)	6(6)	
11	11(3)	18(10)	13(11)	8(4)	
12	20(11)	15(11)	10(9)	5(4)	
13	10(6)	16(11)	17(12)	7(5)	
Sum	182(111)	225(182)	160(134)	83(62)	650(489)
Percent	28% (60,98%)	34,61% (80,88%)	24,61% (83,75%)	12,76% (74,69%)	100% (75,23%)

Table 39b: Individual developments (Nagasaki, non-English students)

The ratio of those words whose definition changed from ‘correct’ in part one to ‘incorrect’ in part two is a little lower than in the comparable value in the survey amongst non-English students at Kinki University and therefore closer to the larger average value. The ratio of unknown words is divided similarly to previous surveys,

with the categories ‘incorrect-correct’ and ‘incorrect-incorrect’ having the largest percentage of unknown words, trailed by those in the category ‘correct-incorrect’ and lastly the category ‘correct-correct’. This could indicate that the reason why some words develop from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’ is not necessarily merely the fact that they are unknown.

The following words were especially affected by a development from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’:

Word	Incorrect Answers
イノベーション(‘innovation’)	10 (76,9%)
アッパー(‘upper’)	6 (46,15%)
アナーキー(‘anarchy’)	6 (46,15%)
ポピュリズム(‘populism’)	6 (46,15%)
インスト(‘instrumental’)	6 (46,15%)
タウンユース(‘town-use’)	4 (30,7%)
トラッド(‘traditional’)	4 (30,7%)
ダサブル(‘danceable’)	4 (30,7%)
ワーキングプア(‘working poor’)	3 (23%)
オンブズマン(‘ombudsman’)	3 (23%)
オーバーユース(‘overuse’)	3 (23%)

**Table 39c: Loanwords with the highest tendency for negative development
(Nagasaki, non-English students)**

The fact that in this last survey, too, the same words run the risk of being defined wrongly after having first been defined correctly, lets it seem probable that there might have been a problem with the context these words were embedded in or with the answer choices provided, which then caused some participants to interpret their meanings in a different way. To go to the bottom of all these developments will be the task of the next chapter. Nevertheless, this group, measured by its size, had a conspicuously large number of loanwords with negative developments in comprehension.

This was, in a nutshell, the result of the survey conducted among non-English students at the University of Nagasaki:

Chart 37a: Results and developments (Nagasaki, non-English students)

This constitutes the following increase in correct definitions of meaning:

Chart 37b: Comparison of correct answers in part 1 and 2 (Nagasaki, non-English students)

This increase of 21,85% creates a slightly better outcome than that of non-English students at Kinki University. Because the lack of a group of English students made it impossible to include this result in the variance analysis, it was omitted. It can be conjectured, though, based on these numbers, that the result would have been equally significant.

Now, the ensuing chapter will provide the combined results of all universities to pave the way for a detailed analysis of each word's results and a general discussion of the overall outcome.

12. Testing Theories, Part II

Analysis

12.1. Combining results

The individual university results sometimes differ from one another in the one or other detail. Combining these single results, however, enables an overall view on general basics and developments that all have in common and therefore supplies the fundament for an in-depth analysis of the survey.

12.1.1. General outcome

The sum of all surveys' results put together produces this final statistic:

Chart 38a: Combined result of all surveys (in numbers of correct answers)

This is a plus of 1655 words (+21,35%), which were correctly understood when context was added. In percent, the result looks like this:

Chart 38b: Combined result of all surveys (in percent)

The increase observable between the comprehension of words without context and then with context is therefore about 21%, which is an impressive indication that context can provide a key to the understanding even of difficult words – as many loanwords certainly are – even if their meaning was unknown up to that point. This result is the gist of 8 surveys conducted at 4 different universities, which yielded different results, as the previous chapter has shown (for possible reason cf. chapter 13). Several test groups had results far above this average value, some far below, but all showed significant improvements in comprehension in context. In order to better judge this overall result, the following is a comparative list of all results, juxtaposed with the average result.

Chart 39: Comparative overview on all survey results based on the mean values of correct answers derived from the variance analysis (excluding Nagasaki)

This comparison demonstrates that five out of eight test groups had results above or far above the average and that three had lower results, though all of them showed very significant improvements ($p < 0,01$). The reason why the average is still comparatively low is owing to the size especially of the Kinki non-English group, which, together with the Nanzan Non-English group, was one of the two groups with more than 30 participants. That and the unarguably lower levels of loanword comprehension (after all more than 20% difference between the highest and lowest score) caused the general result numbers to drop as they did. It can thus be stated that the overall result is not so much due to a general trend than a difference in performance between

different universities and different regions, rather due to the below-average results by a few test groups, which outweighed the far higher results achieved by a greater number of others (cf. chapter 13). But despite all the differences, the impact of context on understanding was equally big.

12.1.2. Overall developments

However low or high the individual results might have been, the fact remains that an unexpectedly high number of word-meanings remained either unrecognized, even in context, or were understood correctly without context but misunderstood when embedded in it. Looking at the summary of developments within each group, the following results can be observed:

	○-○	×-○	×-×	○-×
Nanzan Non-English	668	580	301	201
Nanzan English 3rd year	360	232	89	69
Nanzan English 4th year	302	274	134	90
Nagasaki Non-English	182	225	160	83
Kobe Non-English	419	264	89	78
Kobe English	396	244	83	77
Kinki Non-English	419	529	424	228
Kinki English	188	194	107	61
Sum	2934	2542	1387	887
Percent	37,858%	32,80%	17,89%	11,45%

Table 40: Comparative developments of all surveys

Rendered graphically, the above result yields this chart:

Chart 40: Overall developments of all surveys

In comparison, of course, the number of word-meanings not understood correctly is small. Amongst it, the number of word-meanings which remained unrecognized (17,89%) outweighs the number of those, which were wrongly defined only in part

two of the survey (11,45%). With about one tenth of all included words affected, their number can almost be called negligible, but their existence questions the fundamentals of this thesis' hypothesis – that context is a help in understanding difficult words, not an obstacle which prevents correct understanding. To solve this puzzle, the wrong answers that were given have to be analyzed thoroughly in order to find out whether any characteristics of the context or of the choices of answers provided led the participants to wrongly interpret some of the words' meanings.

12.1.3. Words with a stagnating or deteriorating tendency

The results of the surveys presented in the previous chapter show that some of the loanwords used had a tendency to be continuously defined incorrectly, while others tended to undergo a development from 'correct' to 'incorrect'. It can be wagered that these two separate developments have different reasons: while in the case of the stagnating words, the problem might lie in an insufficient context, the reason for words having a negative development might lie either in an ambivalent context or in an unclear choice of answers. Because of these assumed differences, the two developments will be displayed and discussed separately.

12.1.3.1. Stagnating development

The following 12 words fall into this category and show a strong tendency for a negative, stagnating development, with the highest percentage being close to 50% wrong definitions among all participants. Displayed graphically, this creates the following picture:

Chart 41a: Loanwords with the highest tendency for stagnating negative development

None of these words were defined incorrectly by more than 50% of the participants, and most of them by less than 40%. Reasons might have been that the context did not provide enough clues to allow conclusions on their meanings. Among words with stagnating development, the percentage of words indicated as unknown was the following:¹²

¹² This number excludes the surveys at Nanzan University where this additional information was not solicited.

Chart 41b: Relation of stagnating incorrect definitions and unfamiliarity with a word

This high percentage of unknown words indicates that there might be a connection between the fact that some words are unknown (a term which was defined as ‘not knowing the meaning even though maybe having seen or heard the word before’) and them not being properly comprehended, even in context. Another, more important reason can be suspected to lie in the specific context itself. This will be subsequently analyzed in subchapter 12.2.

12.1.3.2. Deteriorating development

Compared to the words affected by a stagnating development, the number of words whose meaning definitions chronically evolved negatively from part one to part two is relatively small. Yet these select words have a fairly high ratio of participants who defined them incorrectly, one was mistaken by more than two thirds of all test persons. Also, even in small numbers, a negative development runs counter to what context is supposed to help achieve – grasping the basic concepts of meaning behind unknown or difficult words. The most affected word were:

Chart 42a: Word with the highest tendency for deteriorative development

Considering that this development from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’ is contrary to my hypothesis, these are quite unexpected numbers. Different from the words with constant negative results in the previous subchapter, the reason for this development is probably not an insufficiency of the respective context, but a misleading context, or even misleading choices of answers. At times, the reason might be that participants did not really know the meaning of a word in the first place and only guessed it correctly in part one. Therefore, it is important to display the proportions of words affected by this development which were also indicated as unknown.

Chart 42b: Relation of deteriorative development and unfamiliarity with a word

The ratio of unknown words is significantly lower than with words of the previous subchapter (by about 10%), and there is still a notable number of words that were indicated as known and defined incorrectly nevertheless.

12.1.4. Words with a positive development

In contrast to the words discussed above, there were also many words which either were given correct definitions in both parts of the survey, or which showed a positive development from ‘incorrect’ in part one to ‘correct’ in part two.

12.1.4.1. Words with a tendency for being equally understood with or without context

The following words’ meanings had a tendency to be correctly defined regardless of context by more than 50% of participants:

Chart 43a: Words with the highest tendency for a stable, positive development

It can be wagered that at least some of these words are so well known because they relate to the target age's realm, like 'potential', 'income', 'freelance', or 'ombudsman', which connect to the students' status as future work force; others, like 'lyrics', 'danceable', or 'melodious' fit in with young people's affinity to music.

Looking at the ratio of unknown words among this category reveals the following connection:

Chart 43b: Relation between a stable positive development and unfamiliarity with a word

The number of indicated unknown words is notably lower than in the previous cases, which was foreseeable because, as a matter of course, known words succumb less to factors such as arbitrary or fragmentary context.

12.1.4.2. Words with a tendency for positive development

This list is the most important one, since it gives proof to the importance of context in the understanding of previously misunderstood or unknown words. Not by incidence, therefore, the number of words whose meaning definitions took this development is second only to the total number of words with correct definitions in both parts. It is striking that there are many Japanese English words in the top ranks in this list. They might be the ones most easily understandable in context, since they were already created within Japanese morphology, semantics, and syntax. The foremost representatives on this list, with a ratio of at least 50% of all participants, are:

Chart 44a: Words with the highest tendency for a positive development

Even though there are fewer words affected by this development than by the stable, positive development, this result is more revealing, since it tells about the connection of context and comprehension. To highlight this point, here is the ratio of unknown words among those who underwent this development:

Chart 44b: Relation between a positive development and unfamiliarity with a word

The number is remarkably higher than in the preceding case of only 49%. This leaves about 26% of words which were wrongly understood in part one despite the participants' conviction that they knew the meaning, and which were then redefined in context to their correct meaning.

In order to confirm the influence of context on comprehension, and in order to attempt an explanation as to why in certain cases context was not effective or even counterproductive, all words have to be analyzed to reveal what distinguishes the one from the other. According to the words' respective results, different emphasis will be laid on different points of discussion.

12.2. Detailed analysis

Each of the loanwords used in the survey will be discussed with regards to the context they were presented in as well as the choice of answers that were supplied. Only the answers given in part two will be analyzed, since only they are relevant to this paper's hypothesis. Answers in part one were only used as a point of reference to see the effect of context.

The aim of this analysis is to gather clues that could help explain why the results of these specific words so often contradicted one of this paper's main theses, i.e. that context serves as a key to comprehension even of difficult words. Instead, in some cases, context was seemingly rendered ineffective.

The words will be analyzed following their order in the first part of the survey. The percentages provided of participants who had indicated words to be unknown to them in part one excludes the surveys conducted at Nanzan where this option had not yet been implemented. It will therefore serve only as an indicator without a claim to general validity and be marked as a projection.

The contexts for each word were translated by the author of this paper with the help of a native speaker. The original contexts, which are naturally more conclusive than their translated counterparts, can be reviewed in the appendix.

12.2.1. スーパーバイザー (‘supervisor’)

The statistics for the comprehension of the word ‘supervisor’ are:

Chart 45a: Overall result for *su-pa-baiza-* (‘supervisor’)

In terms of development, the figures are:

Chart 45b: Overall developments of definitions for *su-pa-baiza-* (‘supervisor’)

Of the participants who gave a wrong definition in part two, a projected 60% had before indicated the word as being unknown to them, which might account for some of the wrong definitions in part two.

The understanding of the word ‘supervisor’ improved greatly through the embedding into context. The level of comprehension almost doubled with only a few negative developments. The context provided reads in translation:

“There is nothing more frightening than the observation by a supervisor. If you are even a little slow at work, you will be submitted under the strict guidance of the supervisor.”

In detail, the chosen definitions are divided like this:

Chart 45c: Definitions given for *su-pa-baiza-* (‘supervisor’) in part 2

This figure shows an overwhelming majority of participants who chose the correct definition of ‘supervisor’ in part two, with a few who went for a wrong definition, mostly 2b, which defined ‘supervisor’ as a superior at work, while 2a offered ‘a spying co-worker’ as an answer. Since in Japanese company structure there is a very strict hierarchy, the supposition that a supervisor equals a superior at work is not unrealistic, the mistake therefore a minor one.

12.2.2. インカム (‘income’)

The statistics of comprehension for ‘income’ were:

Chart 46a: Overall result for *inkamu* (‘income’)

The figures for development were:

Chart 46b: Overall developments of definitions for *inkamu* (‘income’)

Of those test persons who defined ‘income’ wrongly in part two, a projected 100% had indicated that it was unknown to them. The rate of understanding of this particular word increased 13% from an already high value of 74% to a comprehension rate of 97% through the addition of context. For ‘income’, the following context was provided:

“In my case, if I deduce costs for everyday life and my business from my income, and even if I add the free cash flow after tax deduction to my working assets, it doesn’t feel as though I have more to live on.”

The detailed distribution of answers in this case was:

Chart 46c: Definitions given for *inkamu* ('income') in part 2

The final numbers only show a miniscule number of wrong definitions. This context apparently had enough key words to help those comprehend it who had not understood the meaning of 'income' in part one. Words like 'deduce', 'tax', or 'cash flow' gave enough proof to the nature of the meaning of 'income'. In that sense, even the wrong definitions that were chosen – 'bonus' and 'overtime compensation' – though incorrect, still are not completely unfitting to the context.

12.2.3. フリーランス ('freelance')

'Freelance' yielded the following results:

Chart 47a: Overall result for *furi-ransu* ('freelance')

From the view of developments, the figures were:

Chart 47b: Overall development of definitions for *furi-ransu* ('freelance')

100% of those who chose wrong word definitions in part two can be projected to have previously indicated they were not familiar with the word, which might have been a factor that led them to an incorrect definition. The adding of context resulted in a rise of comprehension of about 29%, to a final comprehension rate of almost 95%. The context for this word was:

“Shinobu Yaguchi, the director who became popular over night with youth films like ‘Water Boys’ or ‘Swing Girls’, comments, ‘Since I am a freelance, there is no place that I have to go to, as company employees do. In a way, I am on a life-long vacation.’”

In detail, the answers given were:

Chart 47c: Definitions given for *furi-ransu* (‘freelance’) in part 2

The great majority defined ‘freelance’ correctly, only a negligible number of people picked wrong definitions. This context, too, provided certain key words which gave clues to the intended meaning of the word. The contrast of the sentence’s subject to ‘company employees’ who have a fixed work place they must go to whereas he does not might have been particularly helpful. The wrong definitions that were given by 8 participants – ‘He is unemployed’ and ‘He lives in luxury’ – can only partly be ascribed to having been induced by context; rather, the cause may lie in a misreading of the text.

12.2.4. アンソロジー (‘Anthology’)

These were the results for ‘anthology’:

Chart 48a: Overall result for *ansoroji*- (‘anthology’)

The following shifts can be observed between parts one and two:

Chart 48b: Overall developments of definitions for *ansoraji*- ('anthology')

While the positive developments are clearly in the majority, a notable number of participants chose wrong definitions when the word was used in context. The ratio of participants who gave an incorrect definition in part two and had before indicated that the word was unknown to them was a projected 92%, which is quite a big number considering that the percentage of wrong definitions in this case was relatively high. Nevertheless, putting 'anthology' in context produced a rise of comprehension by 53% to a comprehension rate of 65%. These shifts occurred in the following context: "The gradually changing concepts of 'husband', 'wife', and 'lover', are different from those usually employed in Japanese novels; the way they are used is more likely to be found in stories contained in an anthology like 'Selected Stories by Foreign Women Writers', next to 'The Lottery' or 'The Yellow Wallpaper'."

These meaning definitions were given in this context:

Chart 48c: Definitions given for *ansoraji*- ('anthology') in part 2

The numbers demonstrate that the bigger part of erring participants chose 2a ('a literature magazine') as meaning definition, followed by 2b ('a dictionary of technical terms'). This context is very fragmented and additionally relies on people's knowledge of famous Western women literature ('The Yellow Wallpaper', 'The Lottery'). Without this knowledge, a wrong reception of meaning is probable to occur. Still, among the wrong definitions, the one defining 'anthology' as a literary magazine was clearly in majority, suggesting that key words like 'novel' or 'writer' at least helped guide the participants' notion of meaning into the right direction.

12.2.5. インスパイア(‘inspire’)

The word ‘inspire’ brought these results:

Chart 49a: Overall result for *insupaia* (‘inspire’)

They were the product of the following internal shifts:

Chart 49b: Overall developments of definitions for *insupaia* (‘inspire’)

Overall, a great majority of participants eventually chose the correct definition, though the development was stagnating, with a rise of only 3% from part one. Only 38 participants reached an incorrect conclusion of the word’s meaning. Of these people, a projected 42,3% had indicated before that they did not know this word. Since this number is much smaller than the ratio of ‘o-x’ developments, the reason for the wrong definitions, at least partly, has to lie within the context itself. The context in which ‘inspire’ was presented was:

“I have said before that I thought you were a really strong woman, Agnes, but in reality I am inspired by you. Having overcome your illness, you are, in a way, putting your life on the line for the sake of singing.”

The following answers were provided:

Chart 49c: Definitions given for *insupaia* ('inspire') in part 2

The bigger part of wrong definitions was placed in answer 2b, paraphrasing 'inspire' as 'taking an interest in', followed by 2a, 'be surprised at'. In this context, some people might have chosen the more general 'taking an interest', which is certainly the gist of the larger context, over the specific definition of the word, while others, who did not know the word, derived a feeling of 'surprise' from the person's statement in the text. Eventually, though, more than 75% delivered correct definitions for 'inspire' through this context, which was supported by the overall tone of awe of the man talking in the text.

12.2.6. ダウンタイム ('down-time')

The pseudo-Anglicism 'down-time' yielded the following results:

Chart 50a: Overall result for *daun taimu* ('down-time')

These were brought about by the following developments between the two parts:

Chart 50b: Overall developments of definitions for *daun taimu* ('down-time')

The number of correct definitions showed an increased of 43% (from 23% to 66%), which represents a significant rise. While the number of people who chose the correct meaning was considerable, 52 participants still provided wrong definitions, the majority of who defined the word wrongly in both parts of the survey. The projected ratio of participants who both had indicated that they did not know this word and chose a wrong definition in part two was 97%. This large percentage might account for at least some of the incorrect definitions. The context the word 'down-time' was embedded in was:

“(After the face-lifting operation) there is almost no swelling and you can immediately do make-up or wash your face, so the down-time is short.”

In detail, the chosen answers were:

Chart 50c: Definitions given for *daun taimu* (‘down-time’) in part 2

The correct answer, which 103 participants chose, read: ‘the time needed for the operation wounds to heal is short’. 2c, chosen by 20 participants, claimed that the meaning was ‘post-operation depression is short’, while 2d stated that ‘wasted time is short’. While the answer 2c was probably chosen because the word-part ‘down’ in Japanese can easily be associated with depression (which the loanword ダウン – *daun* – denotes), 2d might have been favored by those who saw in it the general gist of the context, i.e. that after the operation people can live their daily lives without ‘wasting’ any time healing.

Though short, this context employs the abstract word ‘down-time’ in a way that points quite precisely at its meaning, by using it to summarize (“in other words”) what was said in the preceding sentence.

12.2.7. トリッキー (‘tricky’)

The word ‘tricky’ brought the following results:

Chart 51a: Overall result for *torikki-* (‘tricky’)

They were the outcome of these shifts:

Chart 51b: Overall developments of definitions for *torikki-* ('tricky')

While part one shows only a negligible number of correct word definitions, their number rose 58% to 108 participants – the effect of context. 47 test persons selected an incorrect answer, the majority of who had defined the word wrongly in part one as well, only in five cases did the result develop negatively. A projected 54% of the participants with wrong definitions in part two had before stated that the word was not familiar to them. The context participants were asked to derive the word's meaning from was:

“‘Breathing in the midst of life.’ I think that is a very fitting statement for HY’s music. Recently, his lyrics have become strangely tricky and difficult to understand, with a strong emphasis on powerful sound.”

The answers were provided according to this chart:

Chart 51c: Definitions given for *torikki-* ('tricky') in part 2

The great majority of participants correctly identified the word's meaning as 2d – ‘the lyrics are complex’. About one fourth of the test persons, however, chose 2a, which gave ‘tricky’ the meaning of ‘profound’, which is factually wrong but could – in theory – be semantically correct in this context. It was probably favored because ‘complex’ was seen as identical to ‘difficult to understand’, and thus as a pleonasm to avoid.

Generally speaking, this context includes enough clues to enable observant readers to extract the correct meaning of ‘tricky’, as the numbers prove. Both ‘strangely’ and

‘difficult to understand’ insinuate that ‘tricky’ must be a word for expressing the complex nature of the song’s lyrics.

12.2.8. フィーチャー (‘feature’)

‘Feature’ shows the following final result:

Chart 52a: Overall result for *fi-cha-* (‘feature’)

This was the outcome of these internal developments:

Chart 52b: Overall developments of definitions for *fi-cha-* (‘feature’)

The result in part two constitutes a plus in comprehension from part one of about 38% through the addition of context. However, the majority of correct definitions is only thin (52%), with 74 participants having chosen wrong definitions. From among these participants, a projected 43% had before claimed they did not know the word. Most of the participants who selected incorrect definitions had already done so in part one, only a few changed from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’. The context that had been chosen for this loanword was:

“‘A Long Walk’ features electronic sound, and is a kind of song that hasn’t been heard before.”

The various answers were selected in the following proportions:

Chart 52c: Definitions given for *fi-cha-* ('feature') in part 2

The correct answer 2c defined 'feature' in this context as 'this song is using electronic sound'. The answer mostly chosen by those who selected the wrong definition – 2d – described the word's meaning in this context as 'this song is imitating electronic sound.' Seeing that the context provided was very fragmentary, it was difficult to focus in on the correct meaning for which the text did not provide sufficient clues.

12.2.9. リリック ('lyrics')

The word 'lyrics' had the following outcome:

Chart 53a: Overall result for *ririkku* ('lyrics')

The result was made up of these internal shifts:

Chart 53b: Overall developments of definitions for *ririkku* ('lyrics')

The increase in comprehension was thus minimal, a mere 3%. Nonetheless, the majority of participants identified the correct meaning in both parts of the survey, suggesting that this word's meaning is comparatively well known. Of those who chose wrong definitions in part two, a projected 87% had before stated they did not know the word, a possible factor for incorrect definitions in part two. The choice of answers was adapted to this context:

“At the end of the 3rd song he sings, ‘It takes also courage to run away, and it takes courage to fight.’ I really like these lyrics. It’s not only ‘fight, fight!’, but he says that it’s okay to run away, too.”

The various answers were chosen with the following frequency.

Chart 53c: Definitions given for *ririkku* ('lyrics') in part 2

The wrong definition that was most preferred was 2d, which defined 'lyrics' as 'being poetic', referring to the etymology of the word 'lyrics'. Whether this choice was made consciously because of this connection remains unclear, but possible. 2a, too, was chosen by 20 participants and defined 'lyrics' in this context as 'feeling that is being conveyed by this song'. This choice was most probably made by those who had indicated that the word was unknown to them, since it had the most general statement on the word's meaning in context and might therefore have appeared to be the safest choice.

Nevertheless, the context itself included all factors important to the understanding of this loanword – words connected to music and even the quotation of the lyrics being referred to. The problem, in this case, might have been that the original Japanese version also included the Japanese (*Wago*) version of 'lyrics', namely 歌詞 (*kashi*), which may have prevented some test persons from choosing the same meaning for the loanword – a possible indication that loanwords might be felt to have slightly different meanings from their English originals, otherwise the intended meaning ought to have been grasped by more of the participants.

12.2.10. ユニバーサル ('universal')

'Universal' had the following results:

Chart 54a: Overall result for *yuniba-saru* ('universal')

These were the shifts that caused this outcome:

Chart 54b: Overall developments of definitions for *yuniba-saru* ('universal')

A rise in understanding by 44% compared to part one can be observed, raising the rate of comprehension to 75% and reducing the number of participants with wrong definitions to 38. A projected 44% of these stated that they were unfamiliar with the word 'universal'. Since 34 of these 38 people defined the loanword wrongly in both parts of the survey, it can be conjectured that this factor also influenced the result.

This was the context that this loanword was presented in:

"We are aiming at the realization of a 'universal information society', in which even people who presently have little access to information can easily get hold of it; which is why we are taking the concerns of ordinary citizens seriously."

The answers were chosen in the following proportions:

Chart 54c: Definitions given for *yuniba-saru* ('universal') in part 2

The correct answer was 2a, which defined 'universal information' as 'comprehensive information'. The most frequent wrong definition here was 2d, in which 'universal'

was defined slightly differently as ‘general information’, which is not altogether wrong, but does not fit this context.

This context is also defined by helpful keywords that hint at the meaning of ‘universal’, like ‘easily getting access to information’, ‘all people’, or ‘information society’, which draw the outlines for this loanword’s meaning. The subtle difference of defining the word as ‘comprehensive’ or ‘general’ lies in the mind of the reader; however, as this example shows, most participants were able to extract the right meaning in the Japanese context.

12.2.11. ミックスダウン (‘mix-down’)

The overall statistics for this loanword are:

Chart 55a: Overall result for *mikkusu daun* (‘mix-down’)

This result was constituted by these developments:

Chart 55b: Overall developments of definitions for *mikkusu daun* (‘mix-down’)

These shifts produced a final result of 67% comprehension, which shows a rise of 36% from part one. While two thirds of participants eventually defined ‘mix-down’ correctly, one third chose wrong definitions, even when context was added. A projected 100% of these had indicated that ‘mix-down’ was an unknown word to them. ‘Mix-down’ was embedded into the following context:

“Finally, we entered the last stage of the mastering process in Japan for our debut song ‘Mr. Tanaka’, which we had safely finished recording before. After the mix-down, we went to the record company with this final data.”

The answers provided were divided thus:

Chart 55c: Definitions given for *mikkusu daun* ('mix-down') in part 2

The correct meaning of this pseudo-Anglicism was 2b, 'combining several sound recordings into one' and was selected by the greater part of participants in part two. 33 participants, however, chose answer 2d – 'reediting' – and 27 people opted for 2c – 'recording'. Both definitions are, of course, incorrect, but the reason they were favored to answer 2b might be the abstract nature of the concept of 'mix-down', which is a rather technical term for insiders in the music industry. Therefore, from this context it might not be generally clear what exactly 'mix-down' referred to. It can be conjectured that for that cause some participants chose an answer that referred to something that they could relate to. For those who had not known this loanword's meaning before, the correct answer may have been too abstract and the context too short to allow a correct definition.

These wrong definitions notwithstanding, most participants selected the correct answer, which suggests that this context at least had some clues waiting for the observant and for those a little familiar to the music business to lead to the right meaning, like 'mastering', 'finished recording', or 'final data'.

12.2.12. ペンディング ('pending')

The results for 'pending' were:

Chart 56a: Overall result for *pendingu* ('pending')

The preceding shifts between parts one and two were:

Chart 56b: Overall developments of definitions for *pendingu* ('pending')

The level of comprehension for 'pending', according to these results, increased by 56% to a final 87% through the embedding into context. Eventually, only a small number of participants (20) identified the loanword's definition incorrectly, most of them (17) had already done so in part one. Of these 20 participants, about 90% can be projected to have indicated not knowing the meaning of 'pending' at all. The context used as a basis for the answer choices was:

"The feeling of having really accomplished something was strong as never before', they all said smiling. With this energy, they quickly went on to decide on the titles that were still pending."

The participants opted for the four possible answers in the following fashion:

Chart 56c: Definitions given for *pendingu* ('pending') in part 2

The vast majority of participants chose the correct definition 2b – 'they decided on the yet undecided titles'. A small number of 14 test persons picked answer 2d, which paraphrased the word and its immediate context into: 'They revived previously used titles', which actually does make sense in the Japanese sentence structure, though there are no clues that point to that meaning. It can therefore be wagered that 2d was merely the answer which, in that moment, most appealed to them.

In most cases, however, this loanword was correctly defined. It can be assumed that especially the key word 'decide' as a semantic opposite was a main factor that made participants opt for the correct definition.

12.2.13 アップチューン ('up-tune')

The pseudo-Anglicism 'up-tune' had these final results:

Chart 57a: Overall result for *appu chu-n* ('up-tune')

They were brought about by the following shifts in answers:

Chart 57b: Overall developments of definitions for *appu chu-n* ('up-tune')

These shifts constitute a huge rise in comprehension of 72% to a comprehension rate of 87%. The initial numbers suggest that the word was not well known among participants while the results of parts two demonstrate that through the application of a useful context even such a word could be understood. A small number of 20 people still had problems identifying the correct meaning, a projected 80% of which had stated they did not know this word. The answers provided were created based on the following context:

"The new song that Tsuji Ayano will be releasing under the name of 'Tsuji Ayano and BEAT CRUSADERS', 'Impossible Miracle', is such an up-tune that is full of a feeling of happiness."

The four choices of answers were given in the following proportions:

Chart 57c: Definitions given for *appu chu-n* ('up-tune') in part 2

The above context enabled most participants to derive the correct meaning of ‘up-tune’ from its content. ‘Up-tune’ was, effectively, rendered self-explanatory, especially in the Japanese original, being determined by the relative clause of ‘that is full of a feeling of happiness.’ This context, therefore, is a perfect example for how to introduce new loanwords smoothly by embedding it into an explanatory context that provides for its smooth comprehension.

12.2.14. カオス (‘chaos’)

‘Chaos’ produced these results:

Chart 58a: Overall result for *kaosu* (‘chaos’)

The outcome was subject to the following internal shifts:

Chart 58b: Overall developments of definitions for *kaosu* (‘chaos’)

The difference in understanding of the word in and out of context is rather small, the increase being a mere 8%. The high rate of comprehension in part 1 suggests that the word was rather well known among participants of the target group. The addition of context helped 17 participants to correct their choice and select the intended definition. Of the 21 test persons who still opted for the wrong definition, a projected 87% had before stated they were not familiar with the word and its meaning. The participants were asked to derive the word’s meaning from this context:

“The looks of the city, such a disorderly scene of pure chaos during daytime, undergo a beautiful change when at night the cold neon lamps start to shine.”

The four choices of answers were given with the following frequency:

Chart 58c: Definitions given for *kaosu* ('chaos') in part 2

Most participants chose the correct answer 2c, while ten of the test persons favored answer 2d, which defined 'chaos' as a 'bustling state', and nine went for answer 2b, which expressed the complete opposite of the word's meaning, i.e. 'peaceful atmosphere', a negligible selection.

The context, as such, has all the features needed to enable readers to derive the meaning of 'chaos'. The adverb 'disorderly' associated with 'chaos' during daytime, then the 'change' into something 'beautiful' at night, a definition by adverbial association and semantic oppositions.

10.2.15. アッパ (upper)

The final results for the pseudo-Anglicism 'upper' were:

Chart 59a: Overall results for *appa-* ('upper')

They were the product of the following developments:

Chart 59b: Overall developments of definitions for *appa-* ('upper')

For 'upper', a decrease of 21% is observable. 47 participants chose the wrong definition in part two after having selected the correct answer in part one, and 8 participants had wrong definitions in both parts. Of all these participants, about 74%

can be projected to have declared the meaning of the word ‘upper’ unknown to them. In order to understand these negative shifts, the context and the answers provided for ‘upper’ have to be closely observed. The context was:

“In the end, we are all human. All of us are looking for relationships to other people, all of us want to love and be loved. I think in this album these waves of daily emotions of all people, including me, these uppers and downers are the main focus.”

The answers were given in these proportions:

Chart 59c: Definitions given for *appa-* ('upper') in part 2

While the greater part of participants still reached the right conclusion in answer 2c, which defined the pair of ‘upper and downer’ as ‘exaltation and depression’, i.e. the ups and downs in people’s emotional lives, 22 participants each voted for answers 2b (‘cool and uncool people’) and 2d (‘the successes and failures of people’), and 11 for answer 2a (‘popular and unpopular people’). Once more, the tautology of the ‘waves of human emotions’ and ‘ups and downs’ might have been the reason that prevented some of the participants from choosing answer 2c, although from the context this would have been the logical choice, since they and more closely determine these aforementioned ‘waves’. As a consequence, participants apparently – as the rather scattered choice of answers suggests – randomly chose an answer that seemed fitting to them. The context as such seems suitable for introducing this loanword by first using a Japanese expression which is then rephrased by the use of loanwords.

12.2.16. ポテンシャル (‘potential’)

For ‘potential’ the final figures are:

Chart 60a: Overall result for *potensharu* ('potential')

The shifts preceding these results were:

Chart 60b: Overall developments of definitions for *potensharu* ('potential')

Judging from the number of correct definitions, 'potential' appears to be very well known among university students, and by the addition of context, the level of comprehension rose another 7% to a total of almost 95% of all participants. The reason for this familiarity could be that the word 'potential' is often used in the job-finding activities that Japanese university students have to engage in from their third year onwards. From those few who answered wrongly in part two, 33% can be projected to have indicated that they do not know the meaning of 'potential'. The context for 'potential' was the following:

“What we need in these rough times is to take up the challenge to strengthen people with bold dispositions, which is why we need to unearth the potentials our employees hold. After all, it is people who are responsible for the development of goods and services, and it is people who have the necessary imaginative and problem-solving faculty.”

The four answer choices were picked with the following distribution:

Chart 60c: Definitions given for *potensharu* ('potential') in part 2

147 participants identified 2c as the correct definition. 6 of the 8 participants who picked wrong definitions chose answer 2a which defined 'potential' as 'charm' or 'appeal'. Since the number of test persons who chose wrong definitions was minimal, an analysis of reasons for this choice will be omitted.

For those who had not selected the correct definition in part one, this context provided several keywords which made it easier to derive the word's meaning from, words like 'bold dispositions', 'unearth' or the collocation of 'hold' and 'potential'.

12.2.17. メロディアス ('melodious')

The word 'melodious' brought the following results:

Chart 61a: Overall result for *merodiasu* ('melodious')

Behind this outcome were these shifts in answers:

Chart 61b: Overall developments of definitions for *merodiasu* ('melodious')

This word, which had a high rate of comprehension in part one already, stagnated in part two. While 10 participants improved their answer choices, another 10 shifted from 'correct' to 'incorrect'. The projected 'unknown'-ratio for this word among the 15 participants with wrong answers was relatively high with 80%, one possible reason for the incorrect choices. The following context was responsible for this outcome:

"In contrast to the very abstract lyrics, the sound is very pleasant and melodious."

The following figure shows which answers were chosen by how many participants:

Chart 61c: Definitions given for *merodiasu* ('melodious') in part 2

Most participants chose the correct definition ('the sound is beautiful'), probably for a great part because the meaning of 'melodious' was known all along, since the context does not provide many clues and is rather fragmentary. The stagnation in comprehension in this case, beside the fact that the comprehension levels were already high in part one, can probably be ascribed to the abstract concept of 'melodious' and the rather fragmentary context which lacked useful clues to clearly derive the word's meaning from.

12.2.18. ブラッシュアップ ('brush-up')

'Brush-up' produced these results:

Chart 62a: Overall result for *burasshu appu* ('brush-up')

The following shifts brought these results about:

Chart 62b: Overall developments of definitions for *burasshu appu* ('brush-up')

This development constitutes a rise of 58% from part one, so most of the participants eventually grasped the meaning of the word. Only 18 people chose wrong definitions in part two, a projected 85% of which had ticked the 'unknown' box in the first part of the survey. This word was one of those in which the biggest impact of context was

observable, and with the smallest number of people selecting wrong definitions remaining. The context, in this case, was the following:

“‘Mata ne’ and ‘universe’ are both well-known songs we often use during our live acts, but now we thought how could we express ourselves this time, so we decided to rearrange these songs and present a brushed-up Cure Rubbish.”

The participants chose the answers as shown below:

Chart 62c: Definitions given for *burasshu appu* ('brush-up') in part 2

138 participants, the vast majority, chose the correct answer 2b, which defined 'brushed-up' as 'improved'. Looking at the negligible number of wrong definitions, it becomes clear that the context had a great impact on the comprehension of this previously hardly known word. It is possible that the keywords 'well-known', 'this time', and 'rearrange' triggered the image of something being changed for the better, leading most test persons to the correct definition of the word.

12.2.19. ハートウォーム ('heart-warm')

The results for 'heart-warm' were:

Chart 63a: Overall result for *ha-to uo-mu* ('heart-warm')

The developments behind these final numbers are shown below:

Chart 63b: Overall development of definitions for *ha-to uo-mu* ('heart-warm')

'Heart-warm', too, was one of the words with a negative development in part two (minus 10%). While 19 participants improved their result when asked the word's meaning in context, 34 participants had an opposite development. The projection is that 71% of the 49 people who defined the word incorrectly in part two had previously indicated that they did not know the word. Therefore, a part of this downward movement may be attributable to the fact that participants guessed the word's meaning right in part one and then, when confronted with the word in context, went for the wrong definition. This, of course, necessitates and suggests an insufficient context, which, for 'heart-warm', was the following:

"Every heart-warm word conveys a feeling or message of gratitude to a dear person."

The four choices of answers were selected with the following distribution:

Chart 63c: Definitions given for *ha-to uo-mu* ('heart-warm') in part 2

More than two thirds of the test persons could still identify the meaning of 'heart-warm' as defined in answer 2c ('pleasant', 'heartwarming'). A rather big number of participants (37 people), though, came to the conclusion that the correct definition for 'heart-warm' was answer 2b – 'honest'. The reason may have been an image of 'honesty' as 'coming from the heart', as an expression of respect and gratitude towards a valued person. Another reason may have been that the loanword 'heart-warm' (ハートウォーム) cannot be completely synchronized in its usage – as is often the case with loanwords – with the Japanese word for heartwarming, 微笑まし (hohoemashii), which was provided as paraphrase for the correct answer.

Apart from that, the context supplied for 'heart-warm', though terse and a little fragmented, should have included enough clues ('dear person', 'feeling', 'gratitude') to infuse an idea on the correct meaning for the word 'heart-warm'. That this was not so might have been the result of unclear formulations in the choices of answers, or of a lack of concentration on some of the participants' part.

12.2.20. インスト (‘instrumental’)

For ‘instrumental’, the final results were:

Chart 64a: Overall result for *insuto* (‘instrumental’)

These were caused by the following internal shifts:

Chart 64b: Overall developments of definitions for *insuto* (‘instrumental’)

‘Instrumental’, in its Japanized truncated version *insuto*, showed a rise in understanding through context of about 10%. Nevertheless, the number of wrong definitions (60) still remained comparatively high. 87% of the participants who voted for such wrong definitions can be projected not to have known the word before. The development statistic shows that there was a notable shift also from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’ in part two. The reason for this shift can be conjectured to lie in the context that was provided as a practical example for the use of ‘instrumental’. The context read:

“By adding an instrumental piece at the beginning and the end, we are trying to merge different types of music and songs together.”

Based on this context, four answer choices were provided, which were picked with the following frequency:

Chart 64c: Definitions given for *insuto* ('instrumental') in part 2

Although still the greater part of participants selected the correct definition 2a for 'instrumental', a rather large group of 33 people went for answer 2b, in which *insuto* was defined as 'short' (i.e. 'a short piece of music was added'). This choice of answer may be the result of a mix-up of 'instant' (*insutanto* in Japanese) and 'instrumental' (*insuto*), which caused the association of *insuto* with 'quick', 'short'. Some 23 people opted for answer 2c, in which 'instrumental piece' was explained as 'acapella song', actually the antonym of 'instrumental'. It is very likely that participants who voted for this answer were, in fact, not familiar with the word at all. Since the word *insuto* is a truncated word, its etymology remains unclear and its meaning open, even to those familiar with English.

Taking these ambiguities into consideration, the above context does not seem to supply enough semantic requirements to allow a derivation just from the information in the text. A more explanatory approach would yield better results for such a rather difficult word.

12.2.21. タイドアップ ('tied-up')

The results for the pseudo-Anglicism 'tied-up' were:

Chart 65a: Overall result for *taido appu* ('tied-up')

This development from part one to part two was made possible by the following answer shifts:

Chart 65b: Overall developments of definitions for *tiedo appu* ('tied-up')

'Tied-up' is another word, which experienced a tremendous increase in comprehension through its application in context; a plus of 70%, and a final comprehension rate of 93% is one of the highest among all words tested. With only eleven participants eventually choosing the wrong definition (a projected 78% of which had stated that they did not know the word) and only one whose choice of meaning showed a negative development between the two parts, the pseudo-Anglicism 'tied-up' shows an all-out positive development. The context that made this result possible was:

"Only because you are among easy-going friends does not mean that it's okay to wear any given casual clothes. As an adult, it would be a little out of place to come with just a surfer shirt and blue jeans. Your host might even be a little offended. Still, wearing a suit with a tied-up at a friend's place would be doing too much."

The answers were chosen in the following proportions:

Chart 65c: Definitions given for *tiedo appu* ('tied-up') in part 2

144 participants correctly identified 'tied-up' as 'a special style of tying a necktie'. A negligible number of participants chose answer 2a ('formal/polite behavior') or answer 2b ('to button the suit up to the neck').

The context for 'tied-up' apparently provides the necessary framework for extracting the meaning of the word. In this case, the meaning could be easily derived from the opposition to 'casual', 'shirt', and 'jeans' to 'suit' and 'tied-up' as well as from the complementing nature of 'suit' and 'tied-up'.

12.2.22. ラグジュアリー ('luxury')

'Luxury' had the following results:

Chart 66a: Overall result for *raguajari*- ('luxury')

These were the answer shifts which produced the final results:

Chart 66b: Overall developments of definitions for *raguajari*- ('luxury')

The rather high rate of correct answers in part one suggests a widespread familiarity of the loanword. Nevertheless, context helped 28 participants to improve their answer – a rise by 13% – while 9 participants show a negative development. Of those participants with incorrect definitions, a projected 88% had previously indicated they did not know the word. The context, into which 'luxury' was embedded, was: "When the clothes you wear at home have the same quality as those you usually wear when you go out, then you should be able to feel well-off and rich while you are relaxing in your room. If you choose something plain yet colorful to give yourself an air of maturity, then your feeling of luxury should increase another bit."

The answers were selected in the following fashion:

Chart 66c: Definitions given for *raguajari*- ('luxury') in part 2

Roughly 88% of all participants identified the correct definition, while the number of participants who chose a wrong definition was minimal. The context provided enough clues (‘feel well-off and rich’ then rephrased into ‘the feeling of luxury’ among the general context of fashion) to get an idea of the meaning of ‘luxury’ even if the word was unknown before.

12.2.23. タウンユース (‘town-use’)

The final results for ‘town-use’ were the following:

Chart 67a: Overall result for *taun yu-su* (‘town-use’)

They were the product of the following internal shifts:

Chart 67b: Overall development of definitions for *taun yu-su* (‘town-use’)

The rise observable in this case is 32%, with a final comprehension rate that comprises about 84% of all participants. With a net increase of 50 correct answers, ‘town-use’ can be seen as one of the more successful examples in showing the value of context in the comprehension of not so well-understood words. In the end, the statistic shows 25 participants who still identified the word’s meaning incorrectly, with a slight majority for those whose choice of answer underwent a negative development from part one to two. Of those 25 participants, a projected 94% had before stated they were not familiar with the meaning of ‘town-use’. To exemplify the use of ‘town-use’, the following context was provided:

“By putting on a thin vest, you are protected from the cold wind, which is the best kind of clothing during this season when spring is still weak. This year, the trend is towards nylon clothes. Less outdoor color, and more town-usability are popular today.”

The four choices of answers were selected with this frequency:

Chart 67c: Definitions given for *taun yu-su* ('town-use')

The correct definition of 'town-use clothes', answer 2b ('clothes you can use on any occasion'), was chosen by 130 participants. The wrong definition picked by far by the most test persons was answer 2d, which defined 'town-use clothes' as 'multi-purpose clothes', which is different from the common definition, though not technically wrong, although 'multi-purpose' conjures up images of clothes which can even be used for extreme situations as mountain climbing, which is, of course, not what 'town-use' denotes. Key words like 'protected', 'cold wind', 'when spring is still weak', or 'outdoor' help invoke the word's meaning as 'clothes that fit a season with changing weather conditions'.

12.2.24. トラッド ('traditional')

'Traditional' – in its truncated Japanese version as *toraddo* – yielded the following results:

Chart 68a: Overall result for *toraddo* ('traditional')

These were the shifts that led up to the final statistic above:

Chart 68b: Overall developments of definitions for *toraddo* ('traditional')

Comprehension levels of 'traditional' displayed an average increase of 17%, with a final comprehension rate of 61% of all participants. A projected 91% of the remaining 39% of the participants (60 persons) admitted to not knowing the meaning of the loanword 'traditional', which can be assumed to be a major factor for the negative development from 'correct' to 'incorrect' that 21 participants experienced. The context used as an example of the use of 'traditional' was:

"First off, the whole base is navy-style, so it has a relaxed, mature air about it. Next, as a design element, an emblem attached to it gives it a traditional flair. Also, thanks to the 'Navy X' color pattern, it emits an atmosphere of marine tradition and elegance."

The available answers were selected with the following frequencies:

Chart 68c: Definitions given for *toraddo* ('traditional') in part 2

Next to the correct definition 2c, which was chosen by 95 of the participants, a rather large segment also followed the definitions of answer 2a ('stylish') and answer 2b ('vintage', 'antique'). While answer 2b can, by way of association, be related to the correct meaning of 'traditional' as something having been passed on from olden times and was therefore selected, answer 2a was probably picked by those who had no clear idea on the meaning of 'traditional' (also, possibly, due to its truncated form which makes an identification with the original English word difficult). Their choice then fell on the most general definition which is also arguably semantically included in the other definitions provided – 'stylish'.

The intensive mentioning of ‘navy’ and ‘marine’ might have been a little difficult to associate with the concept of ‘tradition’ from a non-American point of view. Nevertheless, the image of ‘navy’ and ‘marine’ seems to be strong enough even in the Japanese language to guarantee the comprehension of ‘traditional’ by the majority of participants.

12.2.25. ハイダウェイ (‘hideaway’)

For ‘hideaway’, the results were:

Chart 69a: Overall result for *haidauei* (‘hideaway’)

This outcome was based on these internal shifts:

Chart 69b: Overall developments of definitions for *haidauei* (‘hideaway’)

With a plus of 18% in comprehension, ‘hideaway’, too, is an average candidate with regards to the objective of this survey. A projected 95% of those who chose wrong definitions had admitted to not knowing the meaning of ‘hideaway’ in part one. The internal development statistic shows that a great number of participants had a zero development from ‘incorrect’ to ‘incorrect’, insinuating that the context provided might not have included enough clues to derive the loanword’s meaning from. The following context was chosen as an example for ‘hideaway’:

“At noon, I head for the Bulgari Resort Bali, where I have a appointment for lunch. This is a hideaway, which opened in 2006 and is also very popular among people from Europe and America.”

The following chart shows the proportions with which the four answer choices were given:

Chart 69c: Definitions given for *haidauei* ('hideaway') in part 2

The correct definition of the loanword 'hideaway' – 'a secluded resort' – was selected by 88 participants, which is the majority. Of the remaining 67 participants, 64 favored answer 2b, which defined 'hideaway' as 'a popular, exclusive hotel'. Judging from the context which mentions a 'Bulgari Resort' a lot of participants can be assumed to have associated this resort's proper name with the world-famous brand with the same naming, which makes it difficult to evaluate these choices as wrong, since the context did not really provide any additional clues to the intended meaning of the word 'hideaway'.

12.2.26. オーバーラップ ('overlap')

The final results of 'overlap' were:

Chart 70a: Overall result for *o-ba-rappu* ('overlap')

They were produced by the following developments:

Chart 70b: Overall developments of definitions for *o-ba-rappu* ('overlap')

'Overlap' was the loanword with the best comprehension rate in part two, and one of the few that did not have any shifts from 'correct' to 'incorrect'. With only two wrong definitions, 'overlap' had a comprehension rate of almost 99%, with an increase in

comprehension from part one of about 51%. This clear improvement was made possible by the following context:

“As for the song’s content, I’d think that it overlaps with the experience of many people.”

The participants chose the answers with this frequency:

Chart 70c: Definitions given for *o-ba-rappu* ('overlap') in part 2

The outcome of this loanword’s development was exemplary for the objective of this survey. It showed like no other example the impact and influence that context can have on the comprehension of unknown or difficult words. As the case of ‘overlap’ shows, there is not necessarily a need for a long, elaborate context; what is important is that the constituents of the text create a framework which clearly identifies the semantic function that the respective word has to fulfill. In this case, the loanword was required to act as a meaningful connector between ‘content’ and ‘experience’, and to function as a collocating verb to ‘experience’. This made the choice for the correct definition of ‘overlap’ relatively clear, as the example shows. Since the Japanese expression uses the same figure of speech – 経験が重なる (*keiken ga kasanaru*, ‘experiences overlap’) – the correct conclusion was even more facilitated.

12.2.27. プレゼンス ('presence')

The final figures for ‘presence’ were:

Chart 71a: Overall result for *purezensu* ('presence')

The following developments occurred between parts one and two:

Chart 71b: Overall developments of definitions for *purezensu* ('presence')

This constitutes a rise by 44%, to a comprehension rate of 73%. Of the remaining 27%, a projected 64% had before stated that they did not know this loanword. The downward development 'correct' – 'incorrect' is low compared to the 'incorrect' – 'incorrect' stagnating development. The following context was used:

“The view is getting more common, that on a world-wide scale, the presence of Japan is greatly decreasing. One of the reasons for this might be that China or India have both succeeded Japan as the second-largest economy in the world. However, on another level, this might be the result of the state of confusion that the national government is in, due to which we as a nation are increasingly focusing our attention solely on national matters.”

From the four answer choices, the participants picked the following:

Chart 71c: Definitions given for *purezensu* ('presence') in part 2

In contrast to the previous example of 'overlap', this context is very comprehensive and long. Nevertheless, the results are not nearly as high. Though the greater part of participants chose the right definition 2a, a larger number of test persons (27) picked answer 2d, which defined 'presence' as 'appeal'.

Nevertheless, this context can be seen to hold many keywords which point to the correct definition of 'presence' like 'world-wide', 'decreasing', or '[because we are] focusing our attention solely on national matters'. The abstract nature of 'presence' might have caused some participants to choose 'appeal' which they probably were more familiar with from their experience in their daily lives.

12.2.28. ポピュリズム (‘populism’)

The results for the loanword ‘populism’ were:

Chart 72a: Overall result for *popyurizumu* (‘populism’)

This development was a consequence of the following internal shifts:

Chart 72b: Overall developments of definitions for *popyurizumu* (‘populism’)

The comprehension rate of ‘populism’ saw a dramatic decrease through the addition of context. Comprehension levels dropped 35%, from 94 correct answers to only 39. In addition to a vast migration from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’, 51 definitions stagnated at ‘incorrect’. 91% of participants who chose a wrong definition in part two can be projected to have indicated they did not know the meaning of ‘populism’ – a great number considering the number of incorrect definitions in part two. What role the context it was presented in played in this development can be judged by looking at it. “Whatever their motives, increasing the interest of voters in politics is a good thing. However, politicians who get elected only on the basis of ‘good-looking’ or ‘bad-looking’ are bound to degenerate into pure populism.”

The answers were given in the following numbers:

Chart 72c: Definitions given for *popyurizumu* ('populism') in part 2

The main choices of participants who picked wrong definitions were answers 2b ('Politicians who were only elected based on their looks have are short-lived') and answer 2c ('Politicians elected because of their looks tend to get carried away easily'). The correct definition which was supposed to be elicited – 'Politicians elected because of their looks only say what people want to hear' – was only chosen by 39 participants, even though in part one their number was still 94. The difference between the correct answer choice in part one and part two was that part one provided the literal translation of 'populism' into a *Kango* word (i.e. a word composed of Chinese characters) – 大衆迎合主義 (*daishūgeigōshugi*) – while part two offered a simplified paraphrase of the word's meaning. Therefore, there is a good chance that participants who voted for the correct answer in part one actually were ignorant to its real meaning but only chose it because it somehow seemed to fit. This would agree with what was criticized about the obscure *Kango* paraphrases in the *Guide for Paraphrasing Loanwords* in chapter 6. Thus, when the meaning was paraphrased into simpler words, many participants might have been unable to identify this content with the abstract and perhaps empty Japanese word in part one. Thus, they chose answers that appeared to be most logical and associated 'elected by looks' with 'incompetence' and therefore 'short life'.

Despite these negative results, the context holds some clues concerning the meaning of 'populism', by associating it with 'politics', 'elections', and 'good-looking' – 'bad looking'. What might have been missing was a reference that explains that being dependent on superficial judgments for lack of a real political program requires politicians to tell people what they want to hear to get elected. Since, however, the interest in politics among Japanese is close to non-existent, this association, which might be self-evident to some people, was too far-fetched. The result was the evident decrease in comprehension and a rather random choice of answers.

12.2.29. ダンサブル (‘danceable’)

For ‘danceable’, the final statistics show these figures:

Chart 73a: Overall result for *dansaburu* (‘danceable’)

The shifts behind these results were:

Chart 73b: Overall developments of definitions for *dansaburu* (‘danceable’)

An increase by 12% to a final comprehension rate of almost 84% represents a satisfactory result, since the rise originated from an already high level of comprehension; a result, which is a little dimmed by the fact that 18 participants degraded from a correct definition in part one to an incorrect one in part two. A projected 100% of all participants with wrong definitions had indicated that they were not familiar with its meaning, which could explain at least some of these downward developments. The context provided for ‘danceable’ was:

“A danceable song with a non-stop beat is good, too, but a kind of mystic song that makes you feel like you’re floating in outer space is even greater!”

The answers were picked with the following frequencies:

Chart 73c: Definitions given for *dansaburu* (‘danceable’) in part 2

130 participants identified 2c (‘a song that makes you want to dance’) as the correct definition; 23 of the 25 participants with wrong definitions chose answer 2b, which defined ‘danceable song’ as a ‘cheerful song’. The reason for this choice might simply be an identification of a song that makes the hearer want to dance with a cheerful song. The problem, therefore, was probably more the choice of answers than the context itself. Had the choice not included two answers connectable by a causal association, the final comprehension rate might have been even higher, for the context provided enough clues to the meaning of ‘danceable’ by setting it into the general framework of music, and by setting it (in the Japanese version) aside another adjective (‘non-stop-beat’: ノンストップビートのダンスブルな曲), so the semantic conclusion ought to have been obvious.

12.2.30. マイナートラブル (‘minor trouble’)

‘Minor trouble’ had the following results:

Chart 74a: Overall result for *maina-toraburu* (‘minor trouble’)

They were the sum of these developments:

Chart 74b: Overall developments of definitions for *maina-toraburu* (‘minor trouble’)

This loanword’s development showed a great stagnating force; 64 participants selected wrong definitions in both parts of the survey. As a result, the rise in comprehension between part one and part two was lower than expected – 29% - to a final comprehension rate of only a little short of 50%. Of the 78 participants who

chose wrong answers, 84% can be projected to have checked the ‘unknown’ box in part one of the survey. The following context was used to exemplify ‘minor trouble’:
 “Both in cases of emergency, when we have to guide an airplane to a safe landing, and in minor trouble cases when there is a sick person on board, or when because of a technical problem a flight wants to be treated with priority, correct judgment of the situation and swift action are necessary.”

The four answer choices were picked with these frequencies:

Chart 74c: Definitions given for *maina-toraburu* (‘minor trouble’) in part 2

The larger part of wrong definitions (52) fell upon answer 2b which defined ‘minor trouble’ as ‘complicated trouble’, a smaller number (19) was allotted to answer 2a, which contained an antonym of ‘minor trouble’, defining it as ‘major trouble’. The choice of answer 2b can be assumed to be based on an uncertainty concerning the precise definition of the loanword, so an answer was selected that was most generally applicable to the overall context. In this sense, ‘complicated’ appeared to be an acceptable compromise in defining ‘minor trouble’ lightly without risk. Those participants who chose the antonymic answer 2a probably misread or misunderstood the text provided.

The context contained important traits which should have pointed to the correct meaning of ‘minor trouble’ – its opposition to ‘cases of emergency’, and the textual clues represented in the contrast of a life-and death emergency to other, ‘minor’ problems like a sick person or a technical problem onboard.

12.2.31. ネグレクト (‘neglect’)

The results for ‘neglect’ were:

Chart 75a: Overall result for *negurekuto* ('neglect')

The internal shifts behind these results were the following:

Chart 75b: Overall developments of definitions for *negurekuto* ('neglect')

The final result of 'neglect' showed a rise of 31% to a comprehension rate of 76%.

The rate of those participants whose answers had a negative development from part one to part two was negligibly low, although 31 participants could not improve on their definition of 'neglect'. Of the 37 wrong definitions, a projected 80% coincided with the indication of this loanword as unknown. The context that 'neglect' was embedded in was:

"Nami, who came to nursing institution for children because of neglect usually says she hates her mom. 'These children, too, miss their parents,' says her teacher Noriko sadly."

The four answer choices were selected in the following numbers:

Chart 75c: Definitions given for *negurekuto* ('neglect') in part 2

The correct definition of the pseudo-Anglicism 'neglect' ('child neglect'), was picked by 118 participants. Wrong definitions were divided mainly between answer 2b ('parental violence') and answer 2d ('child abandonment'), the second of which was

possibly chosen because of the passage ‘these children, too, miss their parents’, while the first might have been favored because of the girl’s hatred against her mother.

Despite such misleading traits, the context obviously contained enough of a framework for a large majority of people to identify its meaning correctly, also owing to the fact that the denoted phenomenon – not so much the word – is well known. The same clues that led some participants to select answers 2b and 2d, actually point to answer 2a if combined. There is, therefore, enough useful information included in this context to provide for a correct understanding of even an unknown loanword ‘neglect’.

12.2.32. バイオ (‘bio’)

These are the final numbers for ‘bio’:

Chart 76a: Overall result for *baio* (‘bio’)

The result was brought about by these developments:

Chart 76b: Overall developments of definitions for *baio* (‘bio’)

On the surface, there was almost no change in comprehension level. A meager plus of under 1% to a comprehension rate of 54% made ‘bio’ one of the words whose development did not go according to expectations. Even the projected level of participants who had indicated ‘bio’ to be unknown to them and defined it incorrectly in part two was low with only 28%. Looking at the inner shifts, the numbers show an equal division between ‘incorrect’ – ‘incorrect’ and ‘correct’ – ‘incorrect’ developments. To what extent context was a factor in this rearrangement of definitions will now be examined.

“Due to the soaring prices of crude oil, there has been a boom of bio fuel, which is made from corn. As a result, many America’s farmers have given up wheat and shifted their production towards corn.”

The participants chose the four possible answers with the following frequency:

Chart 76c: Definitions given for *baio* (‘bio’) in part 2

While the correct definition 2c (‘a boom for fuel that makes use of the natural energy of plants’) was chosen by 84 participants, 71 participants picked wrong definitions for ‘bio’. Most of these voted for answer 2a (‘a boom for environmentally friendly fuel’) and answer 2b (‘a boom for alternative fuel’). While 2a is an incorrect definition, the confusion of ‘bio’ with ‘environmentally friendly’ is understandable and quite common. Answer 2b, in fact, is almost a tautology of ‘bio fuel’, even if the term ‘alternative fuel’ is nowadays referring more to real alternatives to fuels producing exhaust-fumes. Even so, the near-identical meanings of answers 2b and 2c made them difficult to distinguish which probably kept the comprehension levels lower than they could actually have been. The context itself should have supported the word’s comprehension process with the relative clause explaining the origins of ‘bio fuel’.

12.2.33. イニシエーション (‘initiation’)

‘Initiation’ reached the following comprehension levels:

Chart 77a: Overall result for *inishie-shon* (‘initiation’)

These were the shifts that produced the above results:

Chart 77b: Overall developments of definitions for *inishie-shon* ('initiation')

The increase in comprehension here was rather small, only 15% to a level of 60% overall comprehension in context. Of the participants who chose wrong definitions in part two, about 79% can be projected not to have known the meaning of 'initiation'.

The meaning definitions of about one third of these underwent a negative development from part one to part two. The context for 'initiation' was:

"Both the world of cooking and the world of writing are not defined by decent and innocent rules. Without training and initiation, no one ever makes it to the top."

The answers were chosen in the following numbers:

Chart 77c: Definitions given for *inishie-shon* ('initiation') in part 2

The greater part of the wrong definitions were divided among answer 2b (which defined 'initiation' as 'originality') and answer 2d (where 'initiation' was paraphrased as 'perseverance'). It can be conjectured that most of these answers were chosen in ignorance of the loanword and its meaning; they were solely given on the basis of which answer would fit into context, and since 'training and creativity' as well as 'training and perseverance' make sense much easier than the rather abstract 'initiation', people unfamiliar with the English meaning can be supposed to have avoided the correct definition in favor of another which appealed more to common sense.

The problem with an abstract word like 'initiation' is that the context surrounding it needs much more concrete traits that predefine the unknown loanword's meaning for the recipient. In this case, other than the topic of 'world of cooking' and 'training'

as a word supposed to complement ‘initiation’, there is little support for a word with such an obscure semantic content. It is therefore not surprising that many participants, mostly ignorant of the original English word, chose definitions other than the correct one to make sense.

12.2.34. ガバナンス (‘governance’)

The word ‘governance’ produced the following results:

Chart 78a: Overall result for *gabanansu* (‘governance’)

These were the internal shifts that caused them:

Chart 78b: Overall developments of definitions for *inishie-shon* (‘initiation’)

The comprehension levels of ‘governance’ saw a rise of 18% to a comprehension rate of 70%, a result well in the average of the survey. 46 wrong definitions remained (with a projected ‘unknown’-rate of 59%), 18 of which developed from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’. ‘Governance’ was embedded into the following context:

“Once the company has grown so big, it is simply necessary to exert an overall governance by controlling all parts of the company that can be expressed in numbers.”

The possible answers were chosen with the following frequency:

Chart 78c: Definitions given for *inishie-shon* (‘initiation’) in part 2

109 participants identified answer 2b as the correct definition. 22 participants each picked the incorrect answers 2a and 2d, which defined ‘governance’ as ‘improvement’ (2a) and ‘reconstruction’ (2d) respectively.

The context contained several clues to support the understanding of the abstract loanword ‘governance’. Words like ‘company’, ‘grown big’ and ‘control’ provide a semantic frame that makes it difficult to imbue ‘governance’ with a meaning like ‘improvement’ or ‘reconstruction’; it would seem that a focused reading would leave little choice than to identify the correct meaning of even an abstract word such as ‘governance’.

12.2.35. アナーキー (‘anarchy’)

The comprehension levels for ‘anarchy’ were:

Chart 79a: Overall result for *ana-ki-* (‘anarchy’)

They were the result of these developments:

Chart 79b: Overall developments of definitions for *ana-ki-* (‘anarchy’)

The loanword ‘anarchy’ showed a negative development of comprehension levels, its comprehension rate dropping by 12% to a final rate of 57%. There are a large number of definitions which turned from ‘correct’ in part one to ‘incorrect’ in part two, with a projected ‘unknown’-ratio of 91%. For ‘anarchy’, the context read:

“All of a sudden, it felt as if I was being taken away to a place far away from sound and voice. At this time, I became dizzy with two essentially incompatible emotions – a feeling of anarchy along with a sense of complete exhaustion.”

The participants chose the answers in the following numbers:

Chart 79c: Definitions given for *ana-ki-* ('anarchy') in part 2

88 participants selected the correct definition ('he felt messy'). Two of the three wrong definitions were picked by an almost equal number of test persons, answer 2b ('he felt happy') and answer 2d ('he felt depressed'). Answer 2b ('happy') might be explicable because it fits as a filler for one of the two 'incompatible emotions' mentioned in the text, an opposition to the 'feeling of complete exhaustion'. Answer 2d, however, does not fit the context and can therefore be supposed to have been chosen at random by participants who had problems following this text's emotional trail of thoughts.

Generally speaking, this context does not seem to provide enough clues to derive the intended meaning of 'anarchy' from it. Only mentioning an assumed 'incompatible emotion' to 'anarchy' as a trait obviously is not enough.

12.2.36. ローエンド ('low-end')

The statistics for 'low-end' were:

Chart 80a: Overall result for *ro-endo* ('low-end')

The final numbers were the result of these internal developments:

Chart 80b: Overall developments of definitions for *ro-endo* ('low-end')

'Low-end' shows a dramatic rise by some 64% from an initial comprehension rate of only 12% to a final comprehension rate of almost 76%. The correct definitions given in part one remained relatively stable, with only 5 of them showing a negative trend in part two. The projected 'unknown'-rate among wrong definitions in part two is 93%, so most of these incorrect definitions can be supposed to originate at least in part from the fact that the word was unknown in the first place. The context for 'low-end', which produced this remarkable rise in comprehension, was:

"Selling products on the Japanese market is difficult, because the standards demanded by customers, like technology or quality, are so high. In China, on the other hand, there are many low-end products, and a demand for an immense quantity, so they are being sucked up like water in the desert."

Based on this context, the four possible answers were selected with the following frequency:

Chart 80c: Definitions given for *ro-endo* ('low-end') in part 2

The above context enabled 117 participants to conclude that the correct answer was 2d ('in China there are many low-quality products'). Of those test persons who chose wrong definitions all except for one picked answer 2a – 'in China there are many cheap products'. Judging only from the context, answer 2a should not have been chosen because the contrast of 'low-end' products in China to 'high quality standards' in Japan should have made it abundantly clear that the loanword's meaning was 'low-quality'. Still, it was probably the association of 'cheap' that comes with the image of

low-quality goods that made some participants choose this answer. That aside, this context had a semantic framework that was stable enough to unmistakably point to the correct meaning of ‘low-end’, by putting it into an oppositional relationship with ‘high standards in technology and quality’.

12.2.37. オーバーユース (‘overuse’)

The final results for ‘overuse’ were:

Chart 81a: Overall result for *o-ba-yu-su* (‘overuse’)

The above statistic was a result of these internal shifts:

Chart 81b: Overall developments of definitions for *o-ba-yu-su* (‘overuse’)

‘Overuse’ had an unproportionally great number of definitions with negative developments from part one to part two. 60 participants adopted wrong definitions in part two after having chosen correct ones in part one. Due to this development, the comprehension level dropped by 29% to a final comprehension rate of only 46%. Among the 83 incorrect definitions, the ‘unknown’-ratio indicated in part one was a projected 78%. For ‘overuse’, the following context was used:

“On a mountain like this that is being climbed by some 300.000 people during summer, it is estimated that a phenomenon called ‘overuse’ will make a recovery of the environment impossible, if the number of people increases even more.”

The four answers were picked with the following frequencies:

Chart 81b: Definitions given for *o-ba-yu-su* ('overuse') in part 2

The largest number of wrong definitions can be found in answer 2a, which was chosen by about 75% of all those who picked wrong answers. It defined 'overuse' in the above context as 'it is estimated that this mountain will be polluted by garbage'. It can be assumed that the reason for the choice of this answer was a chain of thoughts that ultimately associated an overuse of the mountain with the logical consequence of pollution by garbage. This was, of course, an unsolicited chain of associations by some participants; some of them might have found the literal translation of 'overuse' too obvious and therefore may have used the passage 'makes a recovering of the environment impossible' as a motive to adopt answer 2a as the intended meaning of 'overuse'. The problem, therefore, lies more in the wording of the answer choices than in the context, whose mentioning of '300.000 people during summer' should have properly introduced the loanword 'overuse'.

12.2.38. *アクチュアル* ('actual')

For 'actual', the figures look like this:

Chart 82a: Overall result for *akuchuaru* ('actual')

The shifts behind these numbers were:

Chart 82b: Overall developments of definitions for *akuchuaru* ('actual')

The comprehension levels for 'actual' improved by almost 40% to a final comprehension rate of about 72%, an averagely positive result. The development was mostly stable, though there was a slightly increased shift to the negative from part one. The projected 'unknown'-rate among the wrong definitions was 67%. For 'actual', the following context was chosen:

"I once was a judge at movie festivals or at the 'Rookie of the Year Award' for literature, and what I realized then was that young people have a huge lack of problem awareness. In our present times, capitalism has intruded far and overly deeply into our daily lives, preventing young people from becoming aware that any meager and trivial thing could in some way be a political and actual problem."

The given answers were selected in the following numbers:

Chart 82c: Definitions given for *akuchuaru* ('actual') in part 2

'Actual', in Japanese, has adopted a different meaning, denoting 'present' or 'current', which 111 people correctly identified in answer 2a. The wrong answers were divided among the three other answer choices, most of these in answer 2c, which defined 'actual' as 'complicated'. As in some of the other cases, some participants appear to tend towards general, not specific definitions; they tend to extract a meaning expressing the overall meaning of word *and* context instead of the word *in* context. Also, the collocation of 'problem' and 'complicated' appears to be widespread.

There are not many traits to derive the meaning of 'actual' from. Probably the only tangible clue is the term 'in our present times' which could be seen to infer the meaning of 'present' into the loanword 'actual'. Despite this, a great part of participants managed to figure out its correct meaning after all.

12.2.39. インセンティブ ('incentive')

The loanword 'incentive' had these final results:

Chart 83a: Overall result for *insentibu* ('incentive')

The developments that caused this outcome were:

Chart 83b: Overall developments of definitions for *insentibu* ('incentive')

'Incentive' is another example of a loanword where comprehension stagnated even when it was embedded into context – positive and negative developments almost counterbalanced each other. The final comprehension rate is only 2% above the initial comprehension rate, with the comprehension level almost stagnating at 40%. The 'unknown'-ratio amongst wrong definitions in part two was 80%, possibly one of the factors for the low comprehension rates; the nature of the context might be another.

For 'incentive', the following context was used:

"In order to preserve the world of Sumo, it has to be set apart from the world of other sports. To achieve that, the Sumo Association of Japan has adopted a system to restrict competition, while at the same time giving the Sumo wrestlers incentives, and has therefore saved the system, which, in a way, was probably the most reasonable thing to do."

The four definitions were selected in the following numbers:

Chart 83c: Definitions given for *insentibu* ('incentive') in part 2

62 participants eventually chose the intended definition 2c (‘strengthen the Sumo wrestlers’ motivation by praise’). Of the remaining 93 test persons, the larger part of 55 people chose answer 2d (‘giving the Sumo wrestlers self-confidence’), followed by answer 2b (‘criticizing the Sumo wrestlers harshly’) and answer 2a (‘raising the Sumo wrestlers’ salary’). In this case, the intended correct definition was formulated a little awkwardly, since the strengthening of the wrestlers’ motivation probably happened in various ways, not merely by praise. Along with the relative ignorance of the loanword’s meaning, this might have been a major factor that caused participants to choose definitions other than the intended one. The context itself was a little lacking in decisive clues concerning the meaning of ‘incentive’, though the opposition of ‘incentive’ and ‘restriction to competition’ infer that ‘incentive’ denotes something that promotes competition. A different formulation of answers might have yielded better results.

12.2.40. ダウンスパイラル (‘downspiral’)

The final results for ‘downspiral’ were:

Chart 84a: Overall results for *daunsupairaru* (‘downspiral’)

These were the developments that led to the above statistic:

Chart 84b: Overall developments of definitions for *daunsupairaru* (‘downspiral’)

The pseudo-Anglicism ‘downspiral’ showed a very stable positive development – only 3 definitions shifted from ‘correct’ in part one to ‘incorrect’ in part two. Part two of the survey saw a rise in comprehension levels of 46%, reaching a final comprehension rate of 91%, which is one of the highest. The ‘unknown’-ratio among

the remaining 14 wrong definitions can be projected to be 100%. These positive developments were based on the following context for ‘downspiral’:

“I am very proud of this last scene. Therefore, when the protagonist finally gets his first job as fund-manager, I thought it was inevitable to let him fall into a downspiral. There is no way that the final scene would be effective with only a slight fall, which is why I decided to make his downfall so hard.”

The answers were given in the following proportions:

Chart 84c: Definitions given for *daunspairaru* (‘downspiral’) in part 2

Almost all of the participants identified answer 2c as the correct definition (‘the protagonist must meet a bitter fate’). Only a marginal 7 participants each went for another definition, 2b (‘the protagonist will be in good fortune’) and 2d (‘the protagonist must die’), only the second of which can be seen to be in any way connected with the context.

The context that was provided for ‘downspiral’ provides a suitable fundament for grasping the meaning of this loanword. Not only the adverb ‘inevitably’ in combination with ‘downspiral’ which stands in contrast to the preceding sentence in which the protagonist’s dream has come true, point to the correct meaning; even more significant is the following rephrasing of the loanword using Chinese characters (転落, *tenraku*) together with the opposition of ‘light fall’ and ‘strong fall’, which identifies the meaning of ‘downspiral’ beyond much doubt.

12.2.41. ロールアウト (‘roll-out’)

‘Roll-out’ had the following results:

Chart 85a: Overall result for *ro-ru auto* ('roll-out')

The shifts between parts one and two were:

Chart 85b: Overall developments of definitions for *ro-ru auto* ('roll-out')

'Roll-out' put into context brought a relatively small rise of 20% to a final comprehension rate of only 40%, which was one of the lowest of all fifty loanwords included in this survey. Rather than showing a downward movement, the comprehension rate of 'roll-out' was defined by stagnation – 75 participants were unable to improve on their results from part one. The 'unknown'-ratio amongst the wrong definitions in part two was a projected 84%. For 'roll-out', the following context was used:

"In February last year, a weakness was found in the rivets used in the manufacturing of a transport aircraft, so the roll-out planned for the end of the assembly process was postponed from March to June."

The frequency, with which the four answers were chosen, was:

Chart 85c: Definitions given for *ro-ru auto* ('roll-out') in part 2

The correct definition, which was intended to be 'deployment', was adopted only by 62 participants. Most of the wrong definitions can be found in answer 2d, in which

‘roll-out’ was defined as ‘test flight’, followed by answer 2a (‘withdrawal of the airplane’). The definition of ‘test flight’ was probably preferred to ‘deployment’ because it is easily understandable; ‘deployment’, which is the correct dictionary definition, is made up of four Chinese characters (運用展開, *unyōtenkai* – ‘effective use’ and ‘deploy’), which make it more abstract and its comprehension more difficult, while ‘test flight’ is a combination of the loanword ‘test’ (テスト, *tesuto*) and the Chinese characters for ‘flight’ (飛行, *hikō*), both of which are in frequent use in spoken Japanese. Also, to some it might have made more sense to first send an airplane on a test-flight before deploying it (that ‘deployment’ can include a ‘test flight’ was not recognized).

If these factors are taken into consideration, the great majority of participants at least selected a definition that was very close to the correct meaning of ‘roll-out’. Keywords like ‘at the end of the assembly process’ used as a relative clause to ‘roll-out’ in Japanese, and the talk of postponement because of flawed rivets are clear traits that help in the understanding of this loanword. The final result, in this case, does not give reality credit.

12.2.42. オンブズマン (‘ombudsman’)

‘Ombudsman’ had the following statistics:

Chart 86a: Overall result for *onbuzuman* (‘ombudsman’)

Behind these numbers happened these internal shifts:

Chart 86b: Overall developments of definitions of *onbuzuman* (‘ombudsman’)

‘Ombudsman’ is another among those loanwords which showed a stagnating development. The rise in comprehension through the addition of context amounted to a mere 2%, resulting in a final comprehension rate of 74%. The initial comprehension levels were high and were not able to improve in context. The indicated ‘unknown’-ratio amongst the remaining 40 wrong definitions was a projected 70%. ‘Ombudsman’ had the following context:

“The second Sendai High Court decided: ‘Since the one-year legal period for approving the demand for inspection has been exceeded, and since there is not even a justifiable reason for it, it is thereby illegal.’ With that decision, the High Court turned down the complaint of the ombudsman.”

The answers were selected with the following frequencies:

Chart 86c: Definitions given for *ombudsman* (‘ombudsman’) in part 2

Most participants appeared already to be familiar with the meaning of the word ‘ombudsman’, so the number of correct definitions in part two is not surprising. Answer 2c accounts for the larger part of wrong definitions; it defined ‘ombudsman’ simply as ‘lawyer’, which is close in meaning, but in reality a hypernym of ombudsman who is a special kind of attorney. In order for participants who were completely unfamiliar with the term ‘ombudsman’ to realize this special meaning, however, there was insufficient semantic data. Based on this context, both answer 2c and 2d could be possible meanings for the word inquired. Of course, it can be assumed that the larger context gave more reference to the particularities of ‘ombudsman’; the context provided in the survey, though, was enough to convey that it had to be some sort of attorney.

12.2.43. ベースアップ (‘base-up’)

The pseudo-Anglicism ‘base-up’ yielded the following results:

Chart 87a: Overall result for *be-su appu* ('base-up')

They were the consequence of these developments in answers:

Chart 87b: Overall developments of definitions for *be-su appu* ('base-up')

'Base-up' is one of those words for which a remarkable rise in understanding could be observed. The comprehension levels without context were minimal; yet they rose by 54% when the word was embedded in context to a final comprehension rate of about 79%. Only 5 participants showed a negative development of word definitions from part one to part two. Among the 33 wrong definitions, a projected 95% were indicated 'unknown' in part one. The context for 'base-up' was:

"Especially Toyota's labor union this year has demanded an improvement of wages by 1500 Yen, which corresponds to a base-up, and exceeds last year's agreement of 1000 Yen."

Based on this context, the answers were given in the following proportions:

Chart 87c: Definitions given for *be-su appu* ('base-up') in part 2

The pseudo-Anglicism 'base-up', with its meaning of 'increase of basic pay', was correctly identified by 122 participants. Most of the wrong definitions fell upon

answer 2d (‘increase in tax rate’). The reason for some of the wrong answers might have been that ‘base-up’ and ‘improvement of wages’ were seen to have similar, if not identical meanings, a seeming tautology that participants might have sought to avoid. Therefore, the next best answer that fitted the context was, without a doubt, answer 2d. Aside from that, keywords like ‘labor union’, ‘improvement of wages’, or ‘demand’ helped to create a context basically suitable to support the understanding of this rather unknown pseudo-loanword.

12.2.44. マスタープラン (‘masterplan’)

The final figures for ‘masterplan’ were:

Chart 88a: Overall result for *masuta-puran* (‘masterplan’)

The following shifts were observed between parts one and two:

Chart 88b: Overall developments of definitions for *masuta-puran* (‘masterplan’)

For ‘masterplan’, the rise in comprehension amounted to 36%, resulting in a final comprehension rate of almost 83%. This loanword was thus one of the better understood ones. With a negative development rate of only 4, it had a stable upwards development through its embedding into context. Of the 27 wrong definitions, projections show a 82% ‘unknown’-rate. The following context was provided for ‘masterplan’:

“In the masterplan proclaimed before the opening of business, the city vowed: ‘We aim for a financing structure similar to other, medium banks’, but due to unsecured and unguaranteed loans granted to small and medium companies, there has been an increase of uncollectible debts.”

The four choices of answers were given with these frequencies:

Chart 88c: Definitions given for *masuta-puran* ('masterplan') in part 2

The vast majority of participants (128 of 155) identified the correct definition for 'masterplan' in answer 2a ('basic plan of action'). Most of the wrong definitions were placed in answer 2b, in which 'masterplan' was defined as 'well-devised scheme'. Of course, the one does not exclude the other, but answer 2b is too general for this context. Keywords like 'proclaim', 'before the opening', 'scale' or 'aim' quite directly narrow down the possible meanings of 'masterplan' to that of a basic plan upon which the project is to be founded. The final results show that this context contained enough traits to enable readers to derive the meaning of 'masterplan' from.

12.2.45. インターロード ('interlude')

The final results for 'interlude' were:

Chart 89a: Overall result for *inta-ru-do* ('interlude')

Those in part two were preceded by these shifts:

Chart 89b: Overall developments of definitions for *inta-ru-do* ('interlude')

The developments depicted above constitute a rise in comprehension of 44%. The final comprehension rate was 68%, a little below the average. Nevertheless, the

positive development was steady, with only 5 definitions changing from ‘correct’ to ‘incorrect’. The ‘unknown’-ratio amongst wrong definitions in part two is projected at 100%. The context provided for ‘interlude’ was:

“By setting up the theme songs in a row and by adding new interludes, we managed to achieve the original’s density.”

Based on this context, the four answers were chosen with the following frequencies:

Chart 89c: Definitions given for *inta-ru-do* (‘interlude’) in part 2

Aside from the 106 correct definitions, the largest group of participants who chose a wrong definition in part two of the survey, favored answer 2a (‘new sound was added’). It can be assumed that participants who chose this answer as the definition of ‘interlude’ were completely unfamiliar with its meaning and as a consequence chose the most general of the possible answers instead of a specific one. Since this context was very fragmentary and did not provide any major keywords from which to extract the meaning of ‘interlude’ except for the overall context of ‘music’ and the hint that ‘interludes’ differ from ‘theme songs’, this choice may be understandable to a certain extent. For most participants, however, those scarce clues seem to have sufficed, possibly because of young people’s affinity to music and familiarity with its technical terms.

12.2.46. ワークライフバランス (‘work-life balance’)

The statistics for ‘work-life balance’ were the following:

Chart 90a: Overall result for *wa-kuraifu baransu* (‘work-life balance’)

As for the shifts in answers between parts one and two, these were:

Chart 90b: Overall developments of definitions for *wa-kuraifu baransu* ('work-life balance')

The comprehension levels of 'work-life balance' stagnated between part one and two. An equal number of definitions took a positive turn as did a negative. The 'unknown'-rate among the incorrect definitions in part two was a projected 89%. The context 'work-life balance' was presented in was:

"The bonus pay rates for workers in the steel industry for working on holidays, according to a survey, seem to be rising from 35% at present to about 40%. In the electronics industry, Toshiba has distributed a priority wage increase to skilled technicians, and Matsushita Electronics is allocating funds for the promotion of work-life balance."

The distribution of answers was as follows:

Chart 90c: Definitions given for *wa-kuraifu baransu* ('work-life balance') in part 2

Looking at this context, the reason why the comprehension levels for 'work-life balance' were stagnating becomes obvious. Those who knew its meaning, knew it no matter what the context. Those who guessed its meaning might have become confused by this context. And those who were uncertain about its meaning might have realized it reading this context. Eventually, 120 correct definitions were given ('Matsushita Electronics is aiming for a balance between work and private life'). Because of this context's relative openness in meaning, however, 14 participants chose answer 2b

(‘Matsushita Electronics is increasing overtime pay’), and 18 picked answer 2d (‘Matsushita Electronics is trying to improve the atmosphere at work’). Answer 2b is understandable in so far as before the topic changes to work-life balance, two examples of pay rise are given. It is therefore not illogical that some who did not know the word, despite its etymology, chose this as the answer that most fitted their impression of the context. Answer 2d was probably chosen because the loanword was misread as ‘balance in work life’ instead of ‘balance between work and life’. The context, here, does not seem to provide adequate clues to determine this loanword’s correct meaning from, because the content of the preceding text does not hold any direct connections to the meaning of ‘work-life balance’.

12.2.47. スキーム (scheme’)

For ‘scheme’, comprehension rates looked like this:

Chart 91a: Overall result for *suki-mu* (‘scheme’)

These were the internal shifts that led to the above results:

Chart 91b: Overall developments of definitions for *suki-mu* (‘scheme’)

The rise in overall comprehension for ‘scheme’ turned out rather small: 22% to a final comprehension rate of only 48%. The statistic above shows that the reason was a large number of definitions which stagnated between part one and two. The ‘unknown’ ratio among these wrong answers was a projected 90%.

For ‘scheme’, the following context was used:

“On the surface, all politicians say that specific funds need to be allocated to the construction of necessary roads. However, in the world of politics and bureaucracy it is also true that profitable, attractive schemes are not parted with easily.”

The answers were selected in the following proportions:

Chart 91c: Definitions given for *suki-mu* ('scheme') in part 2

Looking at this chart, it is obvious that the majority of wrong definitions are concentrated in answer 2b; its definition of 'scheme' in this context was: 'profitable connections are not parted with easily'. The reason for this choice does not seem to be rooted in the overall context, but rather in the Japanese wording of 'profitable' – 利益をもたらす (*rieki wo motarasu*, literally 'to bring profit') – which is frequently used as a relative clause in combination with the word 'connection', i.e. 'a profitable connection'. Therefore, the answer choice of 'connection' might have triggered this automatism and since the word was rather unknown it was therefore selected in such large numbers. The correct meaning of 'plan', a narrowed version of the English word's original meaning, was recognized by 75 participants. Since, however, there was no mentioning of what this 'scheme' actually contained, only few participants found this context helpful.

Nevertheless, had there not been the ambiguous wording of 'profitable', the level of comprehension might have been higher. In fact, the context is more than adequate to facilitate the understanding of this loanword, because the preceding sentence already outlines what is then summarized in the single word 'scheme'. Often-used and familiar collocations, it appears, can come in the way of first-contact comprehension of as yet unknown loanwords – when creatively applied to their semantic matrix – and should therefore be avoided. Rather, collocations that emphasize the loan's meaning should be employed.

12.2.48. イノベーション ('innovation')

The statistics for 'innovation' were:

Chart 92a: Overall result for *inobe-shon* ('innovation')

They were the result of the following shifts:

Chart 92b: Overall developments of definitions for *inobe-shon* ('innovation')

'Innovation' was the only word that showed a negative development that was so dramatic. The comprehension rate dropped by some 62% to a final level of only 25%. The level of familiarity was high for this loanword; among all the wrong definitions the projected 'unknown'-rate was a mere 31%. Despite that, 105 definitions underwent a change from 'correct' in part one to 'incorrect' in part two. 'Innovation' was used in the following context:

"Those enterprises that can bring forth innovations continuously, will become the foundation stone for the next hundred years."

Based on this context, the answers were chosen in the following frequencies:

Chart 92c: Definitions given for *inobe-shon* ('innovation') in part 2

Only a minority of 39 participants adopted the intended meaning of innovation – 'inventing new products'. As the numbers show, the great majority of participants (112) favored answer 2d, which defined 'innovation' in this context as 'innovative', which subtly differs from the sought meaning, because it describes not the word but

the whole context’s meaning which could be summarized as ‘innovative enterprises have an advantage’.

The problem in this case was the closeness of meaning of answers 2a and 2d, between which answer 2d won out because it grasped the general meaning of the context instead of the narrow and specific meaning of the loanword alone. Had this semantic vicinity not existed, it can be supposed that the rate of comprehension for ‘innovation’ would have been close to 100%. In retrospect, different choices of answers ought to have been selected during the design of the survey, but unfortunately the test survey did not reveal this problematic point.

12.2.49. セレブニート (‘celeb NEET’)

The pseudo-Anglicism ‘celeb NEET’ had the following comprehension levels:

Chart 93a: Overall result for *serebu ni-to* (‘celeb NEET’)

These were the internal developments that produced the result in part two:

Chart 93b: Overall developments of definitions for *serebu ni-to* (‘celeb NEET’)

‘Celeb NEET’ showed a rise in comprehension levels of 35% to a final comprehension rate of 81%, well above the average. The projection for the ‘unknown’-rate among the remaining wrong answers is 93%. The context for ‘celeb NEET’ was:

“As I mentioned in my blog, after my retirement I called myself a ‘celeb NEET’, and as such continued to have intensive contacts with presidents from the IT world and with my celebrity friends.”

The four answers were chosen in the following proportions:

Chart 93c: Definitions given for *serebu ni-to* ('celeb NEET') in part 2

The pseudo-loan 'celeb-NEET' is a combination of the truncated version of 'celebrity' and the acronym 'NEET' (Not in employment, education or training), and signifies 'a person living on unearned income like a celebrity'. This correct meaning was identified by 125 participants. Most of the remaining participants favored answer 2c, which defined this loanword as 'party-lifestyle', a judgment that probably originates from the 'intensive contacts' the writer continued to have with company presidents and celebrities and the image that this conveys. Most participants, however, were able to derive from the keywords 'retirement' and the 'celeb'-part of the loanword that the writer was talking about a celebrity life while he was not actively earning money, so the conclusion that he was living on unearned income was not far-off. In conclusion, this context was suitable to support the comprehension process of this rather unknown and difficult loanword.

12.2.50. ワーキングプア ('working poor')

'Working poor' had the following results:

Chart 94a: Overall result for *wa-kingu pua* ('working poor')

The developments behind these results were:

Chart 94b: Overall developments for *wa-kingu pua* ('working poor')

Part two showed a small decrease of comprehension levels, which dropped by 13% to a final comprehension rate of 65%. The development-chart illustrates that there were hardly any shifts from 'incorrect' to 'correct', but mostly such from 'correct' to 'incorrect'. The 'unknown'-ratio among these incorrect definitions can be projected to be 61% - not overly high. The context used was:

"The daily lives of our population are now in a state of danger. A lot of young people are either 'working poor' or seeking refuge in Internet cafes and have to lead very hard lives."

The answers were picked with the following frequencies:

Chart 94c: Definitions given for *wa-kingu pua* ('working poor') in part 2

101 participants picked the correct definition of the pseudo-Anglicism 'working poor', which was 'being poor despite of having a job'. Most wrong definitions can be found in answer 2a, in which 'working poor' was given the meaning of 'unemployed'. A suggested reason might be that the correct meaning of 'working poor' was seen as too close to that of 'refugees in Internet cafes', also a phenomenon particular to Japan. Especially young people who earn too little to rent an apartment spend their nights in Internet cafes which provide beds, showers, and meals for a cheap basic Internet fare in which all other services are included. The spatial closeness of these two terms might have resulted in a semantic dissociation as well, even though in truth they are very close in meaning.

However, the fact that 101 participants were able to identify the correct definition suggests that the context provided did contain sufficient clues to derive the meaning of 'working poor' from. Words like 'dangerous state', 'hard lives', and 'seeking refuge in Internet cafes' can be seen as sufficient for Japanese people to infer the loanword's meaning from, in as much as both 'working poor' and 'refugees in Internet cafes' are both very Japanese phenomena.

13. *Testing Theories, Part III*

Results

13.1. Discussion of Results

It is difficult to draw a comprehensive and consistent conclusion from so numerous and different results. Some of the words were understood very well, and even better in context, some were not so well understood and adding context was no great help either. Then there were those cases in which dramatic improvements in comprehension were observable when the loanwords were put into context and a few others where the opposite effect took place. In order to get a good view on which words had positive developments as far as comprehension is concerned, which words stagnated, and which declined, the following chart will display the fifty loanwords from the survey according to the development they underwent through the addition of context. After all, these numbers are most suitable to judge what kind of context was most adequate in supporting word comprehension.

Chart 95: Increase/decrease of correct answers for all loanwords in the survey when context was added (values displayed in numerals)

Measured on the average comprehension increase of 21,30% of the whole (which correlates to an average plus of 33 correct answers per word) that was mentioned in the beginning of the previous chapter, it becomes obvious that many of the loanwords whose meaning was inquired experienced a higher, or much higher rise in comprehension than is visible in an average value. The average is lowered by a few words below this average and a few which had a very negative development. Eventually, 24 of the 50 words had a lower development rate than the average, 26 were above it. Theirs was an average rise of 64 (or 41% of the whole), which is much higher than the rather unspectacular average. Of course, some of these (like 'income,' 'chaos' or 'potential') started from a high level of comprehension in the first place and therefore did not have many resources left for a high increase.

The loanwords with the highest rises in reverse also had the lowest initial comprehension levels and were the least familiar. The fact that such loanwords received such a broad base of comprehension demonstrates the power of context and the critical force it represents in the process of understanding and in dealing with words as yet unknown. However, as the cases of 'innovation' or 'populism' etc. illustrate, context does not sustain comprehension by its mere existence or by definition, but it has to fulfill certain requirements for it to be an adequate aid in the understanding of difficult, abstract, or unknown words. These requirements of context will be extracted from the most successful examples in this survey, those where context really made a difference and helped participants to grasp the meaning behind a word whose form and content they had previously been unfamiliar with.

13.1.1. Basic requirements of context

Context itself is the most fundamental requirement in the process of understanding unknown words. As part one of the survey sufficiently has proven, words on their own tend to get lost in the vast spaces of the semantic universe. Especially in a language as distant from English in all aspects as Japanese, people need to have a reference point from which to derive meaning, or else loanwords really become a force discriminating by education.

In Japanese, the meaning of words is usually derived from Chinese characters, from whose outward appearances Japanese speakers are able to at least get a notion of what the word refers to; loanwords do not have this iconic character, so the next step would be to compare them phonetically to corresponding words in the donor language and interpret them accordingly. This, however, seldom yields the meaning that they

hold within the receiving language. In order to be able to classify and narrow down the meaning of such a word, its pragmatic use within a text is essential, which shows it as part of the signifying practice within a culture and its language.

From the experience gained from this survey, these are some of the basic requirements a context has to meet in order to be a suitable supporting factor in the comprehension process:

a.) A context in which the loanword's meaning becomes self-explanatory:

The easiest way for an unknown or little-known loanword is for it to be embedded in a context that, as it were, explains the word's semantic function, either by rephrasing it in terms of original or well-established language resources, or by determining it closer by adding an explanatory relative clause. An example for this is 'up-tune':

“‘Impossible Miracle’, is such an up-tune that is full of a feeling of happiness.”

In this case, the relatively little-known pseudo-loanword 'up-tune' is clearly defined by the following relative clause as a 'song that conveys a feeling of happiness'. This construction was the foundation for the spectacular rise of 112 correct definitions – a plus of 72% – to a final comprehension level of 135 (87%).

b.) A context which defines the loanword by means of an antonym or synonym:

Structuralists maintain that a word gains its meaning through opposition to other words in the lexical matrix. This is indeed a valid claim in the case of unknown words, whose meaning can be derived only through their relation to other words in the text. Beside the aforementioned paraphrasing, putting the unknown word into an antonymic relation with a well-known word can be informative and revealing of its intended meaning. 'Low-end' is an example in which this technique was employed successfully:

“Selling products on the Japanese market is difficult, because the standards demanded by customers, like technology or quality, are so high. In China, on the other hand, there are many low-end products”.

Here, ‘low-end’, which like ‘up-tune’ scored low comprehension rates without context, is semantically framed by its opposition to the ‘high standards in technology and quality’ in the preceding sentence, its possible meanings therefore narrowed down by the introduction “on the other hand” to ‘cheap and low quality’. This method of meaning-derivation requires more reading skills than the previous one; it is, however, more effective since it produces a frame of meaning that is more diverse and real, since it shows the word acting in relation to other words, which is more than can be achieved by merely rephrasing it. Thanks to this method, comprehension levels of ‘low-end’ experienced a rise by 99 correct definitions (a plus of 64%) to a final level of 75%.

‘Downspiral’, too, is an example of this method, in combination with paraphrasing.

“I thought it was inevitable to let him fall into a downspiral. There is no way that the final scene would be effective with only a slight fall, which is why I decided to make his downfall so hard.”

The meaning of ‘downspiral’ is derived both by its opposition to ‘slight fall’ as well as by its rephrasing into 転落 (*tenraku*), the Sino-Japanese word for ‘downfall’. The result was an increase by 70 correct answers (46%) and a final comprehension rate of 91%. Introducing synonyms, however, can also be problematic, as some examples in the survey have shown (cf. ‘bio’, ‘tricky’, or ‘base-up’). Apparently, participants tried to avoid synonymy and often gave the loanword a meaning different from the one the Japanese synonym represented. This might be representative of a general attitude that loanword meanings subtly differ from those of ‘native’ words with an allegedly identical meaning. Rephrasing of loanwords, too, has to be done with care, and it has to be made sufficiently clear that there is a synonymic connection between the respective words.

c.) A context that makes use of existing collocations or associations in defining the loanword:

Another way of successfully implementing a little-known loanword into a sentence is by employing collocations that exist for similar or identical and well-established words in the recipient language or by building on associations that are triggered by certain semantic constructions and using them to point to the intended meaning of the loanword. As J.R.Firth said, “You shall know a word by the company it keeps” (cf. Crystal 1995: 105). ‘Tied-up’ in an example for this method:

“As an adult, it would be a little out of place to come with just a surfer shirt and blue jeans. Your host might even be a little offended. Still, wearing a suit with a tied-up at a friend’s place would be doing too much.”

Actually, this is a combination of the antonymic method outlined in b.) and the method just described. The word is first positioned in an antonymic relation to ‘shirt and jeans’, and consequently put into an associated relationship with ‘suit’. Like ‘jeans and shirt’, the couple ‘suit and necktie’ is bound together by common association. This makes it easy for readers to define ‘tied-up’ as a certain style of tying a necktie, proven by the rise of 110 correct answers (an increase by 70%) and a final comprehension rate of 93%. An example for the ample use of an existent collocation is ‘overlap’:

“As for the song’s content, I’d think that it overlaps with the experience of many people.”

In this case, the collocation of ‘experience’ with the verb ‘overlap’ is made use of by exchanging the original Japanese word for ‘overlap’ (重なる, *kasamaru*) with the Anglicism of the same meaning. The familiarity of this expression (‘overlapping experiences’) in Japanese facilitates recognition of the meaning of the loanword, which is reflected in an increase by 80 correct definitions (or 51%) to a final comprehension level of 99%, the highest of all loanwords inquired. Of course, the condition for this kind of usage is that the

word that is being replaced is at least mostly identical with the replacing loanword. When that is the case, it is a highly effective method for familiarizing people with a loanword's semantic function.

Of course, such collocations can also backlash, as the case of 'scheme' has shown. A lot of participants chose the meaning 'connection' for 'scheme' because the collocation with 'profitable' it was presented in – 利益をもたらすスキーム(*rieki wo motarasu suki-mu*), 'profitable scheme' – was deeply associated with 'connection,' which often collocates with 'profitable'.

The choice of expressions, thus, has to be made carefully, because idiomatic expressions are deeply rooted in the minds of the speakers of a language community. Choosing the wrong idiom could result in a mistaken comprehension of meaning.

d.) A context with essential keywords which co-define the loanword:

The meaning of unfamiliar loanwords can also be defined by a concerted effort of surrounding keywords that share the loanword's semantic field and so help identify its semantic function in the respective context. Through their own functions in the text, they help create a network of meaning which is dependent on the loanword's adoption of the intended meaning in order to make sense. 'Income' is such a case.

"In my case, if I deduce costs for everyday life and my business from my income, and even if I add the free cash flow after tax deduction to my working assets, it doesn't feel as though I have more to live on."

The overall context refers to the semantic area of money, of costs and wages. There are 'costs', there is 'deduce', 'business', 'free cash flow', 'assets' which interweave into a structure that leaves little sensible choice than to define 'income' in the intended way. A plus of 36 correct answers to a final comprehension rate of 97% show the effectiveness of this method.

'Down-time' can be seen as another example for this method.

“(After the face-lifting operation) there is almost no swelling and you can immediately do make-up or wash your face, so the down-time is short.”

Here the surrounding words come from the semantic field of cosmetic operations; ‘face-lifting’ and ‘operation’ in connection with ‘swelling’, ‘make-up’ and ‘face-wash’ fused by ‘immediately’ and supported by a syntactic causal construction quite clearly indicate that the meaning of ‘down-time’ must be the time needed for operational wounds to heal because this is the requirement for doing make-up again or for being able to wash one’s face immediately. ‘Down-time’, too, had a respectable result with a rise by 66 (+43%) correct definitions to a final comprehension rate of 66%, which may be below the average, but still a notable rise based on its conjoint formation of meaning by the surrounding words and syntactic constructions.

These are some basic, though by no means comprehensive requirements for the comprehension of unknown and little-known loanwords that can be derived from the results of the survey conducted. The more of these requirements are met, the more likely it is that a loanword or a difficult word is understood and miscommunication or obstacles to communication are prevented. Of course, these are applicable not only to loanwords, but to all difficult words in a language.

13.1.2. Unexpected developments

The survey also showed some unexpected results. As the development chart at the beginning of the chapter illustrates, several loanwords had negative developments, resulting either in a stagnation or in a decrease of comprehension levels, both of which were unanticipated. However, a closer look at the results revealed that these developments in part might have been prevented, while some of them actually were intended.

Those which were unsolicited were mostly caused by ambiguous or problematic choices of the answers provided. In retrospect, it sometimes would have been better to choose answers that were not so close semantically as they eventually were (the objective having been to deflect lucky guesses), and not to phrase them as literal as was done. ‘Incentive’ is a good example for this:

“In order to preserve the world of Sumo, it has to be set apart from the world of other sports. To achieve that, the Sumo Association of Japan has adopted a system to

restrict competition, while at the same time giving the Sumo wrestlers incentives, and has therefore saved the system, which, in a way, was probably the reasonable thing to do.”

Even though ‘incentive’ in this context included more than just motivation by praise, or, in fact, denoted something quite different, the intended correct definition was phrased as ‘the wrestlers were motivated by praise’; that ‘incentive’ in the concrete case was defined differently was only recognized later. Actually, the incentives can be imagined to have consisted mainly of monetary sorts of motivation. As a consequence, participants hesitated to choose this definition of ‘incentive’ since it was too narrow to cover the whole meaning of the context. Therefore, some participants seem to have favored answer 2a where ‘incentive’ was defined as ‘raise of the basic salary’, while others chose more general answers like ‘the wrestlers were given self-confidence’, which to some obviously appeared to fit the context better than the overly specific intended definition. A fitting definition would have been a more general ‘the wrestlers were motivated’, without any closer specification. This might have made it easier for participants to select this answer.

Such or similar were the problems that affected all of those loanwords who had negative or stagnating results. That these problems had not surfaced during the conduction of the test survey was an unlucky coincidence. They are – and this has to be firmly attested – no proof against the possibility of comprehending any given loanword – or native word – if the context is suitable to support this process. If anything, the survey has proven that there is no difference between ‘easy’ loanwords and ‘abstract’ loanwords, but that both can be understood equally if used with care and with the reader in mind.

In some of the cases, fragmentary, insufficient context was selected on purpose to show how vital a factor a well-constructed context is in the comprehension of meaning. Examples like ‘instrumental’ or ‘initiation’ illustrate that random usage of little-known loanwords results in misunderstanding and confusion and is therefore counterproductive both to the comprehension process and to the image of loanwords in general. Granted, the overall context that such examples were embedded in and which is not depicted in full in this survey might have been more conclusive for the meaning of the respective loans, but the fact remains that great care has to be attributed to the employment of such words (especially if homonyms emerge due to

truncation), if it is to be guaranteed that they are understood correctly and without any major problems.

The next step is to analyze the research questions posed before the beginning of the survey and to confirm whether they were verified or falsified by the results of the survey.

13.2. Answering the research questions

Four research questions were presented at the beginning of chapter 11. A close scrutiny of the survey willingly provides answers to all of them.

13.2.1. Can loanwords be equaled to foreign words?

No. The choice of loanwords for this survey reveals that a great part of them only share a superficial identity with the original English words, while their content reflects local usage, i.e. they cover semantic fields that the respective language requires them to fill, while other meanings, which are also covered in their original English usage, are neglected or ignored.

In addition, many of these words do not or no longer conform to English morphological rules, but have been adapted to the Japanese linguistic fabric or have been assigned a different syntactic function than they hold in English. An example is *furi-ransu*, which can either be viewed as a truncated version of ‘freelancer’ or partial rendition of ‘freelance journalist’, both possible because of the strong Japanese tendency for language economy, for truncated words and blends. ‘lyrics,’ too, which is realized as *ririkku*, makes do without the plural ending and has thus been ‘japanized’. *ha-to-uo-mu* (from ‘heart-warming’), *insuto* (from ‘instrumental’), or *toraddo* (from ‘traditional’) are other such examples of morphological assimilation. *Tordaddo* has additionally been adapted semantically to only refer to ‘fashionable’ tradition.

Many of the loanwords used in the survey were Pseudo-Anglicisms which do not exist at all in the English donor language and are the best proof that loanwords do not equal foreign words, but are rather their opposite – an invention and creation of the receiving language. ‘Down-time’, ‘mix-down’, ‘up-tune’, ‘upper’, ‘tied-up’, ‘down-spiral’, ‘base-up’, ‘celeb NEET’, or ‘working poor’ all share their place of origin – Japan – and none of these could probably be understood without help by native speakers of English. This is another indication that the term ‘foreign words’ is inadequate, even unsuitable to designate such words.

Yet other words only focus on one of the many meanings expressed by the original English word. This semantic narrowing shows that languages select words and their meaning according to their own needs and do not import words and meanings wholesale. To emphasize this point, a concordance analysis will be conducted with a few selected words. For the Japanese words, the beta version of the online concordance software *Kotonoha* (<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>, mentioned in an earlier chapter) will be used, while the corresponding English words will be analyzed with the online *Cobuild Concordance and Collocation Sampler* (<http://www.collins.co.uk/Corpus/CorpusSearch.aspx>).

‘Hideaway’, for instance, has a restricted meaning of ‘hidden resort’ or ‘destination resort’. The online concordance software by the NIJL did not yield any results on this loanword, suggesting that it is very rare in use. It is also not present in dictionaries, except for one on the Internet, which defines it as: “a destination resort which is located in an isolated spot”(cf. <http://www.webl.io.jp/content/ハイダウェイ> [Online], 28.01.2009). The context in which it was used in the survey also clearly shows a usage in the semantic field of holiday resorts. In English, however, this is different.

The ‘Boot Bench pound; 149.99, is the perfect **hideaway** for muddy wellies, while the terracotta hose from scratch to create a totally new idyllic **hideaway** [/h] Ursula Hubener first visited Majorica big, wide gate into what he calls his ‘secret **hideaway**’ you are immediately struck by the used to dream about as a child. It was a real **hideaway** with low ceilings and anyone taller than Leamington Pavilion in Barbados, a fabulous **hideaway** and a theatrical setting for entertaining in 1881 as a hunting lodge, this peaceful **hideaway** is situated in beautiful grounds surrounded and one of the most exclusive small **hideaway** hotels in the Caribbean. It perches cosily of a restaurant has long been a favourite **hideaway** with the locals. Fernando's resembles a the final touch of atmosphere to this cosy **hideaway**.' John Eareckson went about building the m. This is what Moro's captors read in their **hideaway**: I write to you, men of the Red Brigades:

Table 41: Concordance analysis of the English word ‘hideaway’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

These examples illustrate that in English the word ‘hideaway’ is used for private places that individuals go to in order to relax, while in Japanese it is, by definition, used for hotels or resorts located in remote places.

‘Scheme’, too, ignores additional English meanings like ‘plot’ or ‘color scheme’ and focuses exclusively on its meanings of ‘plan’, ‘strategy’.

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
は不良債権の処理を進めていくという一連の	スキーム	に従ってやっていく。ただ、市場におきまし
資金を借りて料金を返済していくというこの	スキーム	をとり、税金は一般道路ということで来た流
を行っていく、四十五年で返すという法案の	スキーム	でありますので、本当に四十五年で債務の返
． 6 9 億ドル、二国間援助の 1 0 . 1 %) 、	スキーム	別では、有償資金協力が約 6 % で、残りは無
じゃないんです、今の新規建設のいろいろな	スキーム	について伺いをしても。鉄道と道路が違う

Table 42a: Concordance analysis for the loanword *suki-mu* (‘scheme’)

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

In all of these cases, ‘scheme’ is being used only in connection with politics, money, or construction engineering, and always with the meaning of ‘plan’ or ‘strategy’ – obviously a much narrower meaning, thus, than the English original.

bouquet and head-dress provided a vivid colour **scheme** which Helen co-ordinated with the outfits of
 was one of the pilots trained under this **scheme** and his, and others', personal accounts are
 peoples income. The decision not to adopt that **scheme** is being seen in some quarters as a victory
 onto a committee to oversee the housing repair **scheme**, and houses that need to be repaired are put
 a return visit. A Treasury spokesman said the **scheme** was likely to be restricted due to a lack of
 that they could aspire to, which in Frank's **scheme** was no advancement at all but eternal
 refused?" Regarding the emergency training **scheme** for teachers, 'How many recruits have been
 has helped Gestetner to promote itself. The **scheme** has made people outside the industry aware
 the province's jails under a revised remission **scheme** introduced to try to help the peace process.
 board, provided ample evidence of a dishonest **scheme** in which all the appellants played their

Table 42b: Concordance analysis of the English word ‘scheme’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

Apparently, the English word ‘scheme’ holds a much greater variety of meanings than the Japanese version. While the Japanese meaning of ‘plan’ or ‘strategy’ is also included, other usages pertain to colors, plots, or program, which are absent in the Japanese loanword.

The same is valid for ‘neglect’, whose meaning is narrowed to ‘child neglect’ only, without references to neglecting other duties.

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
をしている親を逮捕することはできますか？	ネグレクト	なども含めて。 児童虐待の防止等に関する

。 第三が養育の放棄・拒否・保護の怠慢（	ネグレクト	: n e g l e c t）です。これは、衣食住を
、身体的虐待が最も多く、次に保護の怠慢（	ネグレクト	）、そして心理的虐待、性的虐待の順になっ
け入れない子育ての極端な形を、放任とか、	ネグレクト	（放置）、あるいは無関心と言います。子ど

Table 43a: Concordance analysis of the loanword *negurekuto* (‘neglect’)

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

As the above concordance analysis illustrates, the word is used only in connection with childcare. The fact that only four hits were displayed might express that the topic is not so present in Japanese, the loanword therefore seldom used.

The English word ‘neglect’, on the other hand, shows a much more diverse use.

fertiliser to encourage flowering. [p] Do not **neglect** your watering as some of your trees will
from fragments of scores after falling into **neglect** soon after its first series of performances
was of a patient that had this left side **neglect**, but a left side neglect of a very
simply on those grounds it seemed foolish to **neglect** them. I rang up Nancy Weston and (in
to flake off in unsightly scabs from months of **neglect**. It looked deserted. [p] Graham, his right
theory by those Marxists who decried its **neglect** of the concepts of MOP and of class
t lavish attention and toys on one child and **neglect** the other. But in all sorts of subtle ways
those of us who are in good physical shape may **neglect** our mental well-being. Don't. For others the
economic environment but to the deliberate **neglect** of the export sector, a neglect encouraged
child protectors began to emphasize child **neglect** as well as abuse, the former encompassing a

Table 43b: Concordance analysis of the English word ‘neglect’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

Besides the fact that ‘neglect’ in Japanese is used only as a noun, its English usage demonstrates that it is used mainly with the meaning of not doing something because of oversight or carelessness. Obviously, the word was only taken into the Japanese language to express the phenomenon of child neglect. It is similar to such loanwords as ‘domestic violence’ (*domesutikku baiorensu*) or ‘sexual harassment’ (truncated into *seku hara*), which were also assimilated into the Japanese language in order to circumvent the difficulty of addressing such phenomena in Japanese. The reason for their use is obviously that of bypassing social taboos.

Toraddo (‘traditional’) is another of these semantically narrowed words. While in English it is being used in a wide array of fields, its Japanese counterpart is strongly associated with the world of fashion and clothes as the following excerpts show:

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
ンチで細身・どちらかといえばかわいい系や	トラッド	系の服が好きです。年は30代半ば。こんな
にしか売ってなくて知らない人が多いですが	トラッド	系ならお勧めです 彼女はうまく着こなして
105●バラクータ イギリスのブランド。	トラッド	少年に人気があります。106●スイング・
名盤を手にした時の感動もないが、その頃は	トラッド	・ジャズ・ファンなどは、古いレコードを手
に、私が、これはいいと感じたレコードを、	トラッド	・ジャズに限り、少し記しておきたい。ま
ト・ハウス 渋谷二丁目にある、異常人気の	トラッド	・ショップ。人が多すぎて、アア。品物も
間もかかる。シックな装いにしたいのだが、	トラッド	だのボディコンだのとファッションセンスを

Table 44a: Concordance analysis of the loanword *toraddo* ('traditional')

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

Most sentences include references to the aforementioned fields of clothes and fashion, two refer to jazz, demonstrating that semantic narrowing has bound this word tightly to these domains.

On the other hand, 'traditional' in English is a very universal word denoting physical or mental concepts that have a longer history behind them.

even more aware that they're not part of a **traditional** family. The extension would provide a site as Heycock Hall, Traherne Hall is a **traditional** hall of residence accommodating 272 s famed seafood restaurant and the more **traditional** menu found in the 'Schoenberger Krug'. [p] Hassan Erraji, who learned the secrets of **traditional** singing and drumming from the cradle. Born coffee, lunches and afternoon teas. [p] **Traditional** Christmas decorations in the restaurant. displaying on its unobtrusive base. With its **traditional** fruits design it conjures images of subtler too than those of printed colors. **Traditional** fit. Machine wash. Made in USA. Orange elegant, the perfect setting for excellent, **traditional** Swiss cuisine. The hotel bar and public pound;9.955 [h] Duvet delight [h] [p] **Traditional** Indian batik in dramatic blue and white sound, blending traditional and non-**traditional** instruments, and their incredible.

Table 44b: Concordance analysis of the English word 'traditional'

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

The collocations of the English word 'traditional' listed above indicate that it can be used in a wide array of semantic fields – architecture, food, music, events, family, etc. The Japanese recreation of the word has its use only in the world of fashion where Western concepts of 'tradition' are probably more attractive to young people than the Japanese ones.

There are, of course, many loanwords which carry narrower, wider or just different meanings from their alleged English originals, obvious or subtle, but their existence

makes it hard to keep arguing that loanwords can be equated with foreign words. Rather, their existence and unconventional usage seems to demonstrate that they are well capable to stand their ground without their etymological forefathers. In order to follow up this argument further, the following will present three more high-frequency Anglicisms from everyday Japanese whose usage differs from their English originals.

‘Sense,’ for instance, is an often-used word in Japanese everyday speech. Its usage, however, is very restricted in comparison to its English counterpart.

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
、商品の価値を見抜くことにかけては抜群の	センス	をもっていた。その呂不韋のアンテナに、人
質問です★ 自分が読んでいて、好きだな、	センス	がいいな、と思うファッション雑誌はなんで
英語ではもう一つの意味があり、ユーモアの	センス	という意味もあるんですよ。これはTVでは
ご覧いただければよく分ります。 小川の	センス	最高！！
あるはず。 式場と提携の写真屋さんで、	センス	のいいところは少ないです。 独自でやって

Table 45a: Concordance analysis of the loanword *sensu* (‘sense’)

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

Sensu (センス, ‘sense’), as a Japanese word, is used exclusively with the meaning of ‘taste’, as in ‘taste in men/women’, or ‘taste in clothes’. This makes the word differ greatly from the English word ‘sense’, whose meanings are manifold.

and he remained calm, buoyed up by a new **sense** of power over his fate. It wasn't final. She
 Haig's rise was fuelled by an all-consuming **sense** of patriotic duty. A child of the British
 which these opposites are resolved and make **sense**. [p] Edgar Cayce defines the purpose of life
 the delusion is a desperate attempt to make **sense** of frightening phenomena, and thus less
 of losing our faculties of memory and reason a **sense** of persecution can result. Deafness also
 in it. When people attain Enlightenment in this **sense**, it means that everything is Enlightenment
 Some new ones have been formed that make more **sense** geographically or from the point of view of
 which is your trouble, but lack of common **sense**, I hope that you will pull yourself out of
 in the same poem (so RSV), then it makes better **sense** from the mouth of the beloved than it does
 time he'd done it in the family home. He had a **sense** of family ethics that you didn't cheat on

Table 45b: Concurrence analysis of the English word ‘sense’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

As can be derived from these examples, the use of ‘sense’ in English differs fundamentally from its Japanese usage. Mostly, it is being used in the collocation ‘make sense’ or ‘common sense’, i.e. in the sense of ‘reason’ or ‘meaning’,

sometimes ‘sense’ is utilized as ‘awareness’. There is not much common ground for these two words except for their shell. They appear to have a common etymology, yet their pragmatic uses are very different in the two languages.

Suma-to (スマート, ‘smart’) is another high-frequency loanword, which differs in usage from its English original.

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
うなスリムサイズのシガレットである。その	スマート	さと、柔らかな香りがうけて、都会人に好評
マシンだった。今のマシンは空力を重視して	スマート	に作られるからこれ以上のタンク増量は無理
たのを思い出してね」 R V車にしては割と	スマート	だが、運転する松浦のハンドルさばきは、少
載してますます巨大化し、より快適に、より	スマート	に車の姿を変えていった。例えばキャデラッ
。ホンダ車って若者が好むようなスタイルが	スマート	でカッコイイ車が多く、日産ってどこことなく

Table 46a: Concordance analysis of the loanword *suma-to* (‘smart’)

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

Though it has to be added that recently the loanword ‘smart’ has also become widely used with the meaning of ‘clever’, its main usage remains with the meaning of ‘slim’ or ‘stylish’, as in the examples above. In English, on the other hand, its main area of use focuses on another meaning:

a cabinet shower, where the pump is housed in a **smart** case which is part of the controls, or a supermodel. She's svelte, sexy, twenty-six and **smart** enough to know she doesn't want this life for feelings were still mixed, [p] If I was really **smart** I could have had Milton Berle's in-drag for a big promotional event in June, as well as **smart** guys nationwide, for lucrative escort work! could say a lot of folk art isn't particularly **smart**, even at times crudely constructed. It may or Handsome Asian Male 30, 5'8 tall, single, **smart**, honours graduate and on executive salary. approach should be. She's like the terrifyingly **smart** headmistress of some school which has very [h] Favourite cakes that are simple to make and **smart** enough for a [/h] celebration. By Nigel with such style and efficiency and form such **smart** premises that it seems the fish and chips- admitted. 'I like your dad, and he's pretty **smart**.' Smarter than I like to think." Chiku

Table 46b: Concordance analysis of the English word ‘smart’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

In English, ‘smart’ is mostly used in connection with mental faculty, with cleverness, only in some cases as ‘fashionable’ or ‘stylish’, while Japanese mostly employs ‘smart’ to denote slim objects or people.

Yet another word which is frequently used in a different meaning from the original word is *rifo-mu* (リフォーム, ‘reform’).

前文脈	検索文字列	後文脈
れる増築・改築工事と、エアコンや家具等の	リフォーム	関連の家庭用耐久消費財、インテリア商品等
、ライフステージに応じた住替え、買換え、	リフォーム	を通じて、消費者が既存住宅ストックを安心
ラリーマンには得といえるかどうか。ただ、	リフォーム	せずにご自分が住むのであれば、裁判所の職
てる？ 職員の家に行ってごらん、大抵	リフォーム	済みだからさ 以前は洋酒飲み放題だったん
つくって裏をかく！これから家を建てる、	リフォーム	をするという場合には、隠し引き出しや隠し

Table 47a: Concordance analysis of the loanword *rifo-mu* (‘reform’)

(<http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp>)

The word is used exclusively under the denotation of ‘remodeling’ or ‘renovation’, mostly in the areas of housing or fashion. The English version of the word denotes something completely different.

Wendy Davies, makes a powerful case for the **reform** of a system which offers rural workers and sport, and that is a commitment to political **reform** in Russia. [p] In a country which rates chess officers, are trying to speed the military **reform** in our country. So I think there's no sign of delegates that the green light for economic **reform** had first been given five years ago at the

Mr Walesa meanwhile demanded faster **reform** because, he said, he feared the beautiful reform. Unfortunately we have no hope for such **reform** - we have no hopes connected with this

The conference will consider Labour's plans to **reform** the employment laws and as Stephen Cape a result of the hardships that are part of the **reform** programme, the resignation of the government Cold War. They described him as a champion of **reform** in Eastern Europe and said he'd played a liability, he has promised a review and **reform**. But this threatens to be a costly exercise,

Table 47b: Concordance analysis of the English word ‘reform’

(<http://www.collins.co.uk/corpus/corpussearch.aspx>)

Obviously the English ‘reform’ is used for the remodeling or renewal of a system, rather than that of a concrete material entity as in Japanese. The loanword, therefore, formally looks like the English word, but contentwise they do not share much common ground. The word is thus no foreign word, and can never be defined as one.

These examples must suffice to show that the only thing that connects most English-based loanwords in Japanese and their alleged English originals is their form, but in fact not even that, since Japanese assimilates all words into its Katakana syllabary upon arrival. Their adoption into a completely different language system

itself guarantees that their meanings cannot be identical to their English model words, because they have different functions to fulfill and roles to play in this new and alien syntax. Even in cases where meanings might be identical, loanword and 'native' word are still seldom identical. Morrow (1987: 51) comments,

[L]oanwords allow speakers to express certain nuances, which would not be expressed by the Japanese word. There are many cases of parallel vocabulary items – Japanese words and English loanwords – which have the same denotative meaning, yet differ in the connotations they convey. The difference of connotation may be one of formality, degree of technicality, attitudinal neutrality, and so on (Morrow 1987: 51).

The answer to this first research question can therefore only be that loanwords can never be equaled to foreign words because even if they also share the original words meaning in full, their use in another language already constitutes them as members, as living resources of that language, and through their use they have embarked on a journey that will invariably alter their semantic structures and nuances to adapt them to the needs of the other language until, like in many cases of Anglicisms in Japanese, merely their form will be a dim reminder to their past origin.

13.2.2. To what extent does an individual's knowledge of English influence his/her understanding of English-based loanwords?

The assumption at the beginning of the survey was that, while even those without any significant knowledge of English can be expected to understand Anglicisms well enough, those with a higher English competence have a slight advantage especially with regards to understanding Anglicisms without context. In order to be able to find a connection between an individuals' knowledge of English and the level of comprehension, participants were asked for a self-assessment of their English skills. This, however, turned out to be fruitless, since the self-assessment (1=excellent, 5=bad) did not vary much among students of English and non-students of English:

Chart 96: Mean value of self-assessment of English competence by survey participants

There is only a small difference in the students' self-assessment, even though obviously the English students ought to have had more confidence in their language competence. Japanese people, however, have a tendency to belittle their knowledge of other languages, to understate their faculties. Hence, the self-assessment did not yield any deeper insights, so the division will have to be made only between students of English and students with another major.

The results divided between English and non-English students look like this:

Chart 97a: Survey results of English students

Chart 97b: Survey results of non-English students

These results speak a clear language: The overall comprehension rates of English students markedly exceed those of students of other majors. This is also confirmed by the results of the variance analysis, which measured the mean value of comprehension of both parts taken together.

Mean value of comprehension of English students	31,848 (63,696%)
Mean value of comprehension of non-English students	29,957 (59,914%)

Table 48: Mean values of comprehension by English/Non-English students based on a variance analysis (excluding Nagasaki)

With a significance value of $p=0,019$, the difference between the results of English students and non-English students can be called significant.

Chart 97c: Comparison of average comprehension values

Both with and without context, the comprehension rates were higher for students of English, by 5,27% (without context) and 6,67% (with context) respectively. This result appears to suggest a clear advantage of English students over students in other fields. However, let us have a closer look.

Even though the surveys among students of other majors at times yielded very low scores, there were respectable results among these also, which were in fact better than some obtained from English students.

The non-English students from Nanzan University, for example, drew even with the 3rd year English students from the same university, while the non-English students from Kobe University even exceeded the English students' results by 0,35%. So even though the remaining results from Kinki and Nagasaki University changed the overall result in disfavor of this group, it is difficult to make a general statement that holds universal validity. There were some English students who performed better than their non-English counterparts and vice versa. A look at the results from Kinki English students illustrates that studying English alone is not sufficient to guarantee a good understanding of Anglicisms; rather than knowledge of English, general problem solving and comprehension strategies of students are of the essence in order to correctly understand Anglicisms.

It catches the eye that, rather than being an issue of English versus Non-English students, the results seem to suggest a difference between universities and regions. While, for instance, a university like Kobe did extraordinarily well in all respects, Kinki had dramatically lower scores, both in case of Non-English students and of English students. Therefore, the pivotal point in understanding Anglicisms does not so much appear to be a matter of English education, but be dependent on the students' place of education.

In Japan, there are fairly great differences in quality between the uncountable universities throughout the country. Regularly, every university's standards are assessed and made public for the people to be able to compare and judge where they want to send their children to. These rankings can be viewed on the Internet page <http://www.yozemi.ac.jp/rank/daigakubetsu/index.html> and show the following rank order for the departments concerned of the universities involved in the survey:

University name	Score	Average Final Comprehension Rate in Survey
Kobe University	63	80,175%

Nanzan University	59	74,07%
Kinki University	53	64,23%
Nagasaki Prefectural University	50	62,62%

Table 49: National rank score of the universities involved in the survey¹³

The results of the survey can be supposed, in a way, to reflect these university rankings – the correlation is indeed astonishing. As a consequence, it becomes even more difficult to categorize the results gained as due to English competence, when detailed results show a correlation of comprehension levels and the level of the educational institution the survey was conducted at. The variance analysis also shows a significant difference between the mean results of the different universities. Nagasaki University was excluded from the variance analysis because it lacked the factor of English students which was a necessary factor in the analysis.

Mean value of correct answers at Nanzan	31,155 (62,31%)
Mean value of correct answers at Kobe	34,744 (69,488%)
Mean value of correct answers at Kinki	26,810 (53,62%)

Table 50: Mean values of correct answers according to university

The differences between the various universities are very significant ($p < 0,01$), and therefore a causal relation can be assumed between the comprehension of Anglicisms and the university the survey was conducted at. By how much this factor influences comprehension, though, is uncertain.

Formulating cautiously, it can be concluded that a higher English competence slightly favors the first contact with and comprehension of Anglicisms in Japanese, though it does not, in any way, appear to be a necessary requirement for apt and quick understanding, as the results from non-English students at Nanzan and Kobe have shown. On the other hand, knowledge of English can become an obstacle when confronted with loanwords that have adapted a different meaning in Japanese than they have in English. In the end, understanding of loanwords – in context – is mainly a matter of well-developed reading comprehension skills. Also in comprehension without context, the advantage of English students is rather small, as the numbers show. The assumed disadvantage of students of English – i.e. that they would pick meanings that the original English word entails but not the loanword – was

¹³ For the purpose of comparison: Tokyo University, Japan's most famous and best university has a score of about 70.

compensated because non-English students picked different wrong answers and had no advantage on this point.

In response to this research question: knowledge of English can, but does not have to be a critical factor in the comprehension of English-based loanwords. There are many other factors which influence understanding, like the overall standard of education or the individual's ability to read and understand texts conclusively. Hence, based on the survey's results, the claim that loanwords constitute a discrimination by language education can be negated.

13.2.3. How well are loanwords understood?

It has often been claimed that loanwords pose a threat to communication, that they constitute an obstacle because of their alien nature which makes understanding difficult, even impossible. Interestingly, many of these discussions have taken place in countries with relatively few modern loanwords compared to Japan. Looking at the numbers of codified loanwords in contemporary Japanese, one would expect such discussions to be led amongst its speakers. This, however, is not so.

Japanese have always accepted loanwords, or all things foreign, for that matter, as a natural enrichment and advancement of their culture and language. Though previous chapters have outlined several purist opinions with regard to foreign influence on language, this is not common public opinion. Are loanwords so well understood that such criticism does not arise?

It is, of course, a little difficult to derive a valid answer from just the data gathered in this survey, but its results do suggest tendencies, even more so since the selection of loanwords for the survey was done with an intended focus on loans that were not so well-known. The responses by the participants concerning their knowledge of the respective loanwords demonstrate that the rate of unknown words was fairly high. The following statistics show the percentage of indicated unknown words from among the students at Kinki, Kobe and Nagasaki University (the surveys at Nanzan University did not yet include this option).

Chart 98: Proportions of loanword indicated unknown

This chart reveals that a high percentage of the loanwords used in the survey were indeed unknown. The actual number can be supposed to be higher, though, because results have shown that although some words were indicated as ‘known’, the answers provided were incorrect. Nevertheless, these numbers alone suggest that the degree of familiarity was low with most words. Accordingly, the rate of incorrect definitions was high in the first part of the survey – 50,7%, more than half of all the loanwords. In part one, the answers were created having in mind the inner workings of the Japanese language, so that if the participants were not familiar with a word they would be tempted to select one of the other answer choices. The purpose was to minimize successful guessing, although it cannot be excluded that correct answers were sometimes picked at random.

Part two, however, showed a remarkable rise in comprehension levels. The overall comprehension rate among all 155 participants reached 70,63%, the rate of wrong definitions thus dropped below 30%.

Chart 99: Increase in comprehension levels between part 1 and 2

The ratio of unknown words was divided amongst the different categories of developments in the following way:

Chart 100: Ratio of unfamiliar loanwords¹⁴

This graph shows that most unknown words were contained within either those loanwords which had been defined wrongly in part one, or which developed negatively in part two. In any case, the fact that a word was unknown under certain circumstances apparently influenced its meaning definition negatively. When presented without context, the ‘unknown-factor’ appears to have influenced answers unfavorably in most cases.

Chart 101: Relation of unfamiliar loanwords and incorrect answers in part 1

This shows that 77% of the words indicated as unknown were consequentially given incorrect definitions – an amount that suggests a correlation between unknown words and incorrect definitions without context. This result is not so surprising, since the

¹⁴ ‘Relative’ means the ratio measured among one category only, while ‘absolute’ signifies the ratio among all categories.

comprehension of an unknown word is almost impossible without any traits or references to rely on (except for the answer choices).

The level of comprehension reached within context becomes much more revealing, for it shows the ability of comprehension against prior lack of knowledge. Knowledge, after all, is only gained through the experience of practical application of use and comprehension. The final comprehension rate in relation to the rate of unknown words was:

Chart 102: Relation of unfamiliar loanwords to incorrect answers in part 2

Only about 44% of the words indicated as unknown in part one were defined incorrectly in part two, raising the comprehension rate to some 70%. The proportions of indicated unknown words to incorrect answers thus shifted noticeably in favor of correct definitions. Context appears to cancel the effect of unfamiliarity of words for the most part.

By putting them to applied use in a text, knowledge and understanding even of previously unknown words has grown respectably and comprehension in general – some exceptions excluded – can be assessed as being very well. The role of the ‘unknown factor’ appears to be diminishing when the respective word is actively employed and semantic traits are provided to show the word’s place in the fabric of the text. Therefore, even though comprehension of loanwords on their own might sometimes be unsatisfactory, comprehension of them in use more than exceeds non-context performance, and in the end this is what counts in the process of comprehension of a written or spoken text. In that respect, even unknown loanwords are ‘well known’ by Japanese students. It might be this daily experience of being confronted with unknown loans which have to be made sense of, and the resulting

ability to deal with this phenomenon that prevents loanword discussions from becoming as fervent as in Germany or Austria. Or it may just be the realization that eventually (loan)words are what you do with them, a philosophy deeply rooted in Japanese thought, which allows a more pragmatic approach to this sensitive issue.

12.4.4. What role does context play in the comprehension process, especially in the case of difficult loanwords?

As the survey's results have shown, the knowledge of the loanwords used rose notably through their embedding into context. While the comprehension of the words on their own, selected according to their low degrees of familiarity, was suboptimal, framing them in context helped participants to see the meaning behind the loans.

The difference in comprehension that is visible between words within and without context is witness to the impact and the role that context plays in the process of understanding, and in the construction of meaning. Whereas in the case of a loanword without context, blind guessing and free association is often the only way to make sense, once the word is contained within the interdependencies of text, the interplay of lexis and syntax helps create the meaning that was previously concealed. The final results of the survey lend support to that view.

Chart 103: Comprehensive overview of results of each loanword in part 1 and 2

7 out of 50 words, according to this chart, developed negatively in terms of definitions by putting them into context. The reasons for these unexpected developments were broadly discussed before, so suffice it to say that they were mostly caused by ambiguous answer choices and fragmentary contexts, and are therefore not to be construed as an argument against the positive and critical role of context in the process of comprehension.

Most of the other 43 words all show stable upward developments of comprehension levels, with a plus in correct definitions of between 1 and 112 participants, a development which was only made possible by showing these often little known loanwords in practical use. While their meanings to a great extent remained unclear in isolation, their application in a meaningful text revealed their semantic status and use and thus enabled participants to recognize their meaning.

A direct comparison of average comprehension values of loanwords with and without context illustrates the difference even more.

Chart 104: Mean value of correct answers in part 1 and 2

This chart reveals an impressive increase of average correct definitions, which was calculated by adding the comprehension values of all loanwords and dividing the result by 50, the number of loanwords used in the survey. The results of the variance analysis equally showed the positive and significant effect of context in the comprehension of the loanwords used in the survey.

Mean value of correct answers w/o context	Mean value of correct answers in context
25,0423 (50,0846%)	35,6972 (71,3944%)

Table 51: Mean value of correct answers w/o and in context for all surveys

The analysis showed a very significant rise ($p < 0,01$) through the use of context. Context was thus a decisive factor in the comprehension of the words used in the survey.

The use of context procured an average rise of 21% from a value of 49% to a mean comprehension level of over 70%. In the case of difficult words, i.e. of relatively unknown words, the development is even more dramatic. The rate of understanding of these words without context is basically very low, because neither are there any extra-lingual associations for these words in the donor language, nor is there an intra-lingual trait that would help to understand its meaning. In other words, neither are participants familiar with the original English word (if one exists), and neither does the loanword itself give any clues because its basic resource comes from outside the Japanese language.

In such cases, the importance of context becomes most obvious, its impact visible, palpable.

Chart 105: Loanwords whose comprehension rates benefitted most from context

What becomes apparent here is that almost all of these low-comprehension loanwords experienced an extraordinary rise by putting them into context. Interestingly, many of

these words are actually pseudo-Anglicisms. This might explain their low ratings when their meaning was inquired without context – there was no frame of reference present for these words since there is no original word which could be referred to for guidance. Eventually, however, these same words scored very high comprehension rates within context, which could hint to the possibility that pseudo-Anglicisms are more easily understandable (at least in context) because they were created by the language to fit its syntax and fulfill its semantic needs. As a result, they fill their place more exactly and comprehensibly than ‘normal’ Anglicisms.

Ultimately, however, the distinction of Anglicisms and pseudo-Anglicisms is dubitable, since by the loanwords’ integration and application in a language, they become part of it and are adapted to its needs. In that sense, all Anglicisms, in fact, are pseudo-Anglicisms, which have at the most been inspired by an English vocabulary item. In any case, the understanding of the low-comprehension loanwords in chart 109 increased between 20% and 70% thanks to context and are thus the most valid proof that there is nothing like ‘incomprehensible’ loanwords or a general obstacle to communication by using loanwords – if the crucial requirements for context are met.

Even these difficult loanwords, which had no chance of being understood on their own, were eventually framed into meaning through their applied use in a context that supported their creation of meaning in the minds of the readers. Their obscure nature was revoked and reshaped into a clear semantic silhouette, their meaning was created – not by something that the loanwords had incorporated in their lexical matrix, but by their active employment in a text, where the other lexical and syntactic players assigned a unique semantic position to them, which attentive recipients were able to decipher with their basic ability to read and comprehend a text. For in the end, dictionary definitions are not helpful in immediate situations of contact with unknown words, they might not even have been created yet if the word is a nonce creation or if it has just been called into existence.

Context, then, is the only instance that can be relied upon in situations where instantaneous comprehension is of the essence. It is the only instance that can help in the creation of meaning in the mind of the recipient, when there are no dictionaries in reach. Therefore, the importance of context cannot be overestimated, and those who like to use loanwords on the spot without considering whether they are already existent or not, must bear in mind that it is their responsibility to create context in a

way that enables readers or listeners to construe a word's meaning merely by listening or reading, without consulting any other authority. If loanwords are used responsibly, in a context that supports them and defines them, then discussions about the danger of loanwords to unimpeded communication will no longer have any fertile ground to grow on. This must be the main objective of users of a language community and especially of the media which are the main propagators of language and language change, because loanwords are a natural and necessary phenomenon which cannot be halted; they have to be employed with due care if they are not to cause unduly confusion.

The case of English-based loanwords in Japanese has demonstrated well that there is not necessarily a connection between a great number of loanwords and a breakdown in communication, neither between knowledge of English and comprehension of English-based loanwords. It is all only a question of attitudes and of adequate usage. What this survey has mainly shown is that meaning does not primarily lie buried in words themselves, but that meaning is part of our signifying practice, is a living entity that is created and recreated within a word through the context the word is embedded in. It has shown that truly "meaning is use," and that meaning is a factor of context, and through this interdependence can be derived from context which it is formed by and which, in turn, it defines. It has shown that loanword-comprehension works like the comprehension of any other, even native word, and that there is no need for an artificial and imposed dichotomy between loanwords and so-called 'native words'. If the context is semantically and syntactically sufficient, any unknown word can be understood and recreated – whatever its origin may be.

Conclusion

Languages are greedy. Probably no language has ever been content solely with the lexical materials available from its own resources; and perhaps every language has from time to time increased the range and span of its vocabulary with what are generally called loanwords [...] (Miller 1967: 235).

As this paper has shown, Japanese is an extraordinary example for this hunger of languages for more than they can provide for on their own. There is probably no comparable case worldwide to the success-story of loanwords in the Japanese language, and there is hardly a language that renders its loanwords so visible for everyone's eyes to see. The Chinese loans – having long ago ceased to be called 'loans' – are salient through their unaltered orthography as Chinese characters, while Western loanwords are highlighted through the use of the Katakana syllabary. Despite this conspicuousness, however, no other language seems to be so at ease with its foreign-based vocabulary stock as Japanese appears to be. Miller remarks,

It would be difficult to find another language in the world – except perhaps English during the first few centuries after the Norman invasion – which has been as hospitable to loanwords as has Japanese. At all times in their history the Japanese have avidly introduced new vocabulary items into their own lexical stock, where great numbers of them have remained as permanent evidence for many of Japan's contacts with the always remote outside world (Miller 1967: 236).

This attitude towards anything foreign or new has enabled the Japanese language to enlarge its lexical corpus to a veritable size that does not stand back to the richness of the English language. In both these languages, it was only thanks to lexical resources from outside the own language that they grew to be so diverse and wealthy in vocabulary, in semantic nuance, and idiomatic expression. Loanwords, therefore, must not be seen as a weakness, as dominance of one language over another, but rather as a sign of strength and vitality, as a strategy to meet the requirements of an increasingly complex world.

The Japanese case has shown that an open attitude towards loanwords, to Anglicisms, does not necessarily have to result in linguistic chaos and does not stop at a simple import and imitation of the foreign. "One thing that seems certain," Hasegawa (cited in Hoffer 2002: 266) maintains, "is that Japan will never stop at out-and-out imitation of the West." What the Japanese do – and do well – is to appropriate a word's function, not its underlying philosophy. This is how they manage to look foreign, but stay Japanese. The slogan from Meiji times "Western technology, Japanese spirit" (Kay 1995: 67) has been adapted to the times, but not forsaken, and

has enabled the country to welcome many thousands of foreign-based words into the language without ever being in danger of losing its identity. Even though some people bemoan the ‘corruption’ of the Japanese language, it has in fact always been the loanwords that have kept it alive and going. Word borrowing, as the wholesale adoption of Chinese characters in the first millennium A.D. has shown, has always been an important method in the creation of new words, which helped propel Japanese language and culture into new ages.

Of course, there are not only bright sides to the increase of English-based loanwords in the Japanese language; especially elderly people complain that they are confused by the many new expressions they are confronted with in areas that concern their lives most, but – as surveys by the NIJL have amply shown – they are not the only ones; people of all ages admit to having already encountered problems in the understanding of loanwords. Interestingly, though, the calls for a restriction of their numbers are manageable. Rather, the Japanese seem to have come to terms with the challenges that loanwords pose, and it might even be suggested that the awareness of what constitutes a ‘loanword’ is rather low, so much have they already become a part of Japanese. Morrow (1987: 55f) presumes,

Probably the Japanese who use English loanwords frequently but have no communicative command of English view the words as being Japanese in the same way American English speakers view French loanwords (e.g. *expertise*, *chandelier*, *chaperone* and *chauffeur*) as being English and no longer French (Morrow 1987: 55f).

This is also an experience that I have personally made during the research for this paper and during my years of studying the Japanese language. Often I would confront Japanese native speakers with Anglicisms that I found intriguing, only to hear them say, “It’s a loanword, you say? Strange, I’ve never thought of it as anything else but Japanese.” This embracing attitude may be what saves the Japanese from open and unconstructive discussions on the *raison d’être* of loanwords in the language. In fact, it is conspicuous that the Japanese themselves rarely use the Japanese term for ‘loanwords’ – *gairaigo* (外来語), meaning ‘words from outside’. Rather, they prefer to call them with reference to their orthography, as ‘Katakana words’ – *Katakanago* (カタカナ語) – which carries connotations of being a part of the language already because it describes loanwords not as something coming from the outside, but as manifestations of Japanese, which, in fact, they are. Yamazaki (2003) comes to a similar conclusion:

We noticed that the term *katakana* rather than the term *gairai-go* or loan words was used by all but one [loanword] dictionary to categorize these words. This does not mean that LWs [loanwords] are treated less importantly but only shows the fact that the term no longer represents the current state of treatment of these words by dictionaries (Yamazaki 2003: 130).

It can be assumed that it is partly due to this orthographic assimilation of loanwords that they are not perceived as foreign and that their huge numbers, though causing problems in understanding for many people, are more or less silently acknowledged and their further rise accepted.

The myth that so many new and difficult loanwords are used can be dismissed, at least for the case of Japanese. As the data has shown, almost all of the most frequently used loanwords in newspapers, magazines, public information bulletins, television, and even white papers are already part of the codified Japanese language; they have found their way into current usage, and can no longer be seen as obstacles because of their non-Japanese origins.

Whatever challenge remains that loanwords pose to native speakers of Japanese, they are not so much founded in the words themselves as they are in their conditions of use, and can therefore be overcome. History has demonstrated that random and forced replacing of loanwords by paraphrases is no solution. The Anglicisms that were removed during the heat of wartimes have found their way back into the language and are still in use today, while their replacements have been forgotten, their existence only documented as a footnote in the maelstrom of history. There is, therefore, no alternative to loanwords, whose survival depends, and always has depended on their usefulness to a language. As long as a word – whether loanword or ‘native’ word – serves a function, it will be preserved; when it ceases to do so, it is disposed of. Thus there is no basis for fears that loanwords undermine and subvert a language. Of course, this does not mean that there are no comprehension problems, especially in first contact situations, but this is valid for all words, regardless of their origin. Doubtlessly, it seems sensible to familiarize members of a language family with unknown or difficult loanwords, and not just throw them at them. For this cause, the approach taken by Jinnouchi (cf. chapter 8) appears to be the most suitable: to gradually integrate loanwords into the language, when necessary, by adding a corresponding Japanese explanation in brackets before, in due time, releasing them into liberty.

An even simpler and more intuitive approach certainly would be to leave the derivation of meaning to the reader/hearer (as is doubtlessly done with neologisms of Japanese or Chinese origin), by providing a framework which enables people to construe the word's meaning through its applied use in the text. The survey conducted in the process of this thesis has clearly shown that the meaning of words that are unknown when encountered in isolation, in most cases becomes sufficiently clear when employed in a context that allows the loanword to unfold its meaning in the mind of the recipient. On the other hand, when the context does not consider the loanword it is supposed to both rely on and define, then – the survey has demonstrated – the comprehension process is inhibited and the word's meaning gets lost in semantic space. There is a need for caution in language, as well as for empathy towards other people by using words with care, and with regard to how they might be perceived by others. This is especially true for written texts where there is no opportunity to ask for an explanation of a word's meaning by the one who uttered it, but also in spoken language where there is rarely a dictionary available to back-check unknown words in.

What the survey has sufficiently proven is that any word can be understood if certain conditions for comprehension are met, and that any word can be misunderstood if the context leaves too much room for semantic ambiguity. If the environment surrounding a word is stable enough to support its meaning, then there is no need to fear an inhibition in communication, because the meaning explains itself. In that sense, it is wrong to differentiate between loanwords and 'native' words in the first place, because ultimately they both depend on and follow the same rules. We only have to think of children, for who technically any word is a 'foreign' word, whose meaning it has to acquire by witnessing and testing out its use.

In a way, words can be compared to tools: whenever we are confronted with a new tool, we have to see it in use first in order to know its function. Sometimes, when the tool is similar to another tool we already know we will probably be able to guess its meaning through association, but in other cases it is so different from other tools that we have to see a practical demonstration in order to be able to use it. In fact, words are not much different. If we know English, for example, we might be able to derive an Anglicism's meaning by relying on the English word we know (if they are near-synonyms, that is), but if we are not familiar with English, or if our vocabulary stock is small, then we will have to see the word used in context to extrapolate its intended

meaning. Naturally, the same is valid for words consisting of our 'native' language material – if we are lucky we can combine the word's meaning by relying on its compound words or derivations, but if the word's meaning has been abstracted from its components literal meanings in any way, we must know its usage in language first. Seen from this perspective, thus, loanword discussions miss the point – if loanwords are not understood it is not because they are foreign, but because they are used with no regard to comprehensibility.

A rather odd aspect of the loanword discussion in Japan is its concern with the loanwords' impact on non-Japanese nationals, especially English-speaking people. One of the most frequent arguments used against loanwords is that they are hardly understood by native speakers of English. Strangely enough, many of the people getting really enraged about Anglicisms are such native speakers, many of them English teachers in Japan. Their irritation with how the Japanese are 'abusing' the English language appears to be the driving force behind such criticism by Japanese scholars and propositions to redefine the meaning of Anglicisms in Japanese according to their English source-words and to abolish pseudo-Anglicisms, as was outlined in chapter 9. The loanword issue, thus, is frequently discussed not from the angle of comprehension by the Japanese people, but from the angle of the problems that loans pose to native English speakers, and the negative interference they cause in English conversations between Japanese speakers and English speakers. This rather queer altruism, rather than the large number of Anglicisms, appears to be a sign of dependence on American opinion and of a lack of self-confidence in the strength of the Japanese language.

What must be reasserted is that Anglicisms as such have nothing to do with their English heritage any longer; they are independent lexical entities that only superficially mimic English words. An increase in consciousness is needed concerning the worldwide market of language: no language, not even English, has a monopoly concerning the exclusive use of its resources; they are at free disposal to any language that would have them and which offers a place and function to them within their linguistic system. What kind of function they are eventually awarded is entirely the matter of the recipient language, and not subject to any endorsement by English native speakers. Therefore, any consideration for the feelings of English speakers towards Anglicisms in Japanese is misplaced and would better be spent for those directly concerned – native speakers of Japanese who have to be made aware of

the fact that they are using Japanized English words which sometimes differ notably from the original English term; teachers of Japanese and of English in Japan both have to make sure that the differences between Anglicism and English word are acknowledged and the two kept apart from the start in order to prevent any undesirable inter-language interference which, in turn, could give rise to an over-generalized critique of loanwords, which could mislead the discussion once more into a territory outside of Japanese proper and misconstrue it as an inter-language problem instead of an internal Japanese matter.

On the other side of the scope is the purist approach of the advocates of *Nihonjinron*. With their nationalistic discourse on the nature of the Japanese they focus on the myth of uniqueness of the Japanese language and people, and create a pseudo-scientific setting that tries to establish a mythological framework for the Japanese language based on unrealistic suppositions of linguistic purity. In this view, loanwords are seen to compromise the soul of the language, destroying its foundations. This is a kind of discourse that is not unfamiliar to German speakers, because it has often been engaged in by apologists of a model of purity of the German language. Luckily for the Japanese, however, both the purist approach and the internationalist approach described above are, for the most part, purely theoretical and academic with little practical rooting in the thinking of the average Japanese who mostly do not even stop to consider whether the words they are using are ‘pure’ Japanese or of foreign origin. This pragmatic approach harmonizes well with the natural flow of language which asks for purpose and not for etymology.

This connects with another major problem concerning loanwords, namely people’s attitude towards them. This paper has tried to show that the Japanese, in spite of some critical comments, are generally very open and tolerant towards loanwords. For many centuries, the Japanese have been experimenting with foreign language material, and molded it into distinctively Japanese lexical items. The easiness – yes, almost impudence – and creativity with which foreign resources are drawn on regardless of their original meaning to express new things or convey subtly different nuances is astonishing. There is a nonchalance about the Japanese’s use of loanwords that is difficult to understand from the point of view of a continent like Europe in which language is politicized and the use of English-based loans is being equaled to American domination. The content of discussions being led in Austria or Germany reveals a small-minded way of thinking and an ignorance of language nature and

history. Trying to stigmatize loanwords as something not belonging to one's mother tongue is where the loanword problem really becomes a problem. Seeing loans as basically something alien gives way to nationalistic ways of discourse on 'corruption' in language, which takes the issue to an emotional level where it is difficult to argue on a logical and factual basis. The Japanese language has an advantage in this field, because even though its orthography of loanwords in the eye-catching Katakana syllabary clearly identifies words as loans, the very process of remodeling their orthographic and phonetic shapes on arrival imparts a Japanese identity on them. Especially the phonetic adaption to the Japanese system can be thought to be one of the corner stones of the success of loanwords in Japanese; their pronunciation follows the general pronunciation rules of the language and therefore makes them inconspicuous in an auditory manner, which is a little different from Anglicisms in German which have a tendency to retain their original pronunciations to some extent (including such employing sounds not part of the German phonetic system), making them easily identifiable as 'foreign' and wide open to criticism. The Japanese model of immediate phonetic and orthographic assimilation seems to be the more productive approach in this matter.

This paper set out to prove that loanwords, and in the case of Japanese especially Anglicisms, are a valuable linguistic resource which can and should be made use of by all languages. Japanese, as we have seen, has managed to not merely import and create words based on the English language, but to fully appropriate them as well. By adapting these words orthographically, phonetically and morphologically, they are rendered completely Japanese, and the semantic changes that many of the established Anglicisms have experienced suggests that the assimilation of loanwords happens in their entirety; they are morphed, clipped, and combined almost ruthlessly and regardless of their original status – if there was any – in the English language. The Japanese are professionals at appropriating foreign linguistic material, as the case of Chinese characters shows which have been perfectly embedded in the language and which have come to live a life of their own, independent of their Chinese heritage. There are many *Kanji* words that Chinese cannot understand, and vice versa; Japanese *Kanji* have been adapted, gradually, to the semantic needs of the national language, some being discarded, some being created by the Japanese, which do not exist in Chinese at all. Japan's relation to the English language appears to be embarking on a

similar path of assimilative appropriation, which guarantees that Japanese will stay well and alive in the future as well. As Hoffer says,

The basic features of the English borrowings are indeed similar to language borrowing in other languages. Yet the grammatical features and some of the functional uses of the borrowings are particular to Japanese. In other words, just as happened with the Chinese borrowings earlier, the English borrowings are being “Nipponicized” into the Japanese language (Hoffer 2002: 272).

There is, therefore, no reason to fear that the sudden influx of English-based words will follow any other path than that treaded by all other loanwords before. It is this spontaneous and positive attitude towards the foreign that appears worth imitating also in European language communities. Awareness must be raised that there is hardly a linguistic phenomenon more natural than the adoption of words from other languages and that all languages as we know them would not exist were it not for occasional vitalizing refreshments through the injection of foreign lexical material. Rather than looking at loanwords with suspicion, they should instill us with awe at the sheer power of language to mold and adapt anything to its own linguistic fabric. We should contemplate language with fascination, enthralled by its almost living, organic nature which evolves as a whole and which has the faculty to create, change, and dismiss meanings as it sees fit to ensure its vitality.

Realizing how much their own language has been depending on foreign-based resources might awaken people to the fact that the current trend to employ English-based words at an increasing rate is but a single wave within a constantly moving tide that washes against the shores of languages, enriching the soil with its waters. A look at the Japanese case, too, might help to see that even if loanwords enter the language in huge proportions and at an astonishing rate, the digestive forces of language do not fail, communication does not break down, and the language does not perish; rather, the new resource slowly succumbs to the workings of the recipient language and with the loss of its original identity is awarded with new meaning and new purpose to work in the new surroundings it has been thrust into. There are also problems, yes, but they can be mastered – by a careful use of loanwords and a meaning-supporting framework around them. But the fear of Americanization through an increased use of Anglicisms is unfounded, as the example of Japanese shows, which – more than any other language – has literally been devouring English-based words for use in the language. We, too, can learn from the Japanese case, which proves that language is not subject to loanwords, but that loanwords are subject to language. To speak with Hasegawa,

“[T]he real question is not whether the new elements [loanwords] would change Japanese culture, but rather the real question is how Western civilization would be Nipponized” (cited in Hoffer: 266).

This perspective on loanwords is the key to a healthy relationship with this phenomenon, and can only be recommended for other languages as well, for sometimes changing the angle by just a little bit, reveals that what we thought of as a problem is really a chance in our grasp. Whether we take this perspective or not is up to us, but Japanese has powerfully demonstrated that the best way to deal with loanwords is by embracing them.

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APPENDIX I

Sources used in the survey

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APPENDIX II

外来語アンケート (Loanword Survey)

性別(Sex) ☐ 女(Female) ☐ 男(Male)

年齢(Age) _____歳 _____年生

大学名(name of university) _____

学問(field of study) ☐ 英米学・英語教育学・英語学など(English) ☐ その他
(_____)(Other)

英語教育(English education) _____歳から(from)_____歳まで(until) _____年
間(years long)

英語レベル (自己査定) ☐ 優 ☐ 良 ☐ 可 ☐ 不可

1. 下記の単語についてそれぞれ最適な定義を選んで「**X**」印を付けて下さい
(Choose the fitting definition for each of the words below)

*注意：「未知」とは聞いたことがあっても意味がわからない、「既知」とはもう既に意味がわかるという意味で使われています。

1. スーパーバイザー(<i>su-pa-ba-za-</i>)	☐ 未知(unknown)	☐ 既知(known)
○特別なサンバイザー(special kind of sun visor) ○監督者(supervisor) ○新しいビールの種類(a new sort of beer) ○特別なアドバイスをする人(s/o who gives special advice)		

2. インカム(<i>inkamu</i>)		☐ 未知	☐ 既知
○入り込むこと(to enter)	○固定カメラ(built-in camera)		
○内視鏡検査(endoscopy)	○収入(income)		

3. フリーランス(<i>furi-ransu</i>)		☐ 未知	☐ 既知
○翻訳者(translator)	○自由契約者(freelancer)		
○自由主義者(a liberal)	○現代画家(a contemporary painter)		

4. アンソロジー(<i>ansoroji-</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○新しい宗教(a new faith)	○作品集(<i>anthology</i>)	
○哲学の宗派(a philosophical school)	○草花の肥料(a fertilizer for plants)	
5. インスパイア(<i>insupaia</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○靈感を与えられること(to be given inspiration)	○監視されること(to be under observation)	
○気持ちが奮い立たせられること(to be inspired by s/o)	○幽霊に呪われること(to be possessed by a spirit)	
6. ダウンタイム(<i>dauntaimu</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○落ち込んでいる時間(time being depressed)	○治癒にかかる時間(time it takes for wounds to heal)	
○日が暮れてからの時間(time of sunset)	○発酵される時間(fermentation time)	
7. トリッキー(<i>torikki-</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○欺かれないよう注意を要するさま(tricky)	○狂っているさま(crazy)	
○トリックのあるさま(having a trick)	○意気地なしの人(a timid person)	
8. フィーチャー(<i>fi-cha-</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○将来(future)	○一緒にやること(doing sth. together)	
○人や楽器の独奏を呼び物にすること(to feature an instrument or artist)		
○感情豊かであるさま(being rich in emotions)		
9. リリック(<i>ririkku</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○声の種類(a type of voice)	○歌詞(lyrics)	
○高い鐘の音(the sound of a high bell)	○百合の様な姿(being like a lilly)	
10. ユニバーサル(<i>yuniba-saru</i>)		☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○宇宙的(cosmological)	○映画スタジオ(a movie studio)	
○多国籍の(having multiple nationalities)	○全ての(universal)	

11. ミックス・ダウン(<i>mikkusu-daun</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○混ぜることによって栄養価が下がること(decreasing the nutritional value of food by mixing it) ○多重録音を1つのものにまとめること(to merge several sound records into one) ○違う植物を交配した時に生じやすい障害(a disorder that tends to emerge when crossing different plants) ○種類の違う海流が混ざって、波が穏やかになること(the phenomenon that waves get calm when different ocean currents mix) 	
12. ペンディング(<i>pendingu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ペンで書くこと(writing with a pen) ○いちゃいちゃすること(petting) ○振り子が揺れるさま(the swinging of a pendulum) ○未決定であること(pending) 	
13. アップ・チューン(<i>appu chu-n</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○音程を上げること(increasing the sound volume) ○何かを改善すること(to improve sth.) ○良い気分になさせてくれる曲(a song that makes you happy) ○速いテンポの曲(a fast tune) 	
14. カオス(<i>chaos</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○柑橘系果物(a citrus fruit) ○自然災害(a natural catastrophe) ○大雨が降ること(heavy rain) ○ごちゃごちゃなさま(chaotic) 	
15. アッパー(<i>upper</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○馬鹿な動き(a silly movement) ○イケているかけ声(a cool exclamation) ○気分が高揚していること(to be exalted) ○人気があること(to be popular) 	
16. ポテンシャル(<i>potential</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○やる気(motivation) ○不断の努力(constant cooperation) ○権力(power) ○潜在能力(potential) 	
17. メロディアス	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○安っぽいメロディ(a cheap melody) ○「音楽は国境を越える」の意(“music exceeds all borders”) ○旋律的(melodious) ○音楽に浸っている人(a very musical person) 	

18. ブラッシュ・アップ(<i>burasshu-appu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○おしゃれをすること(to make o/s look attractive)○歯を磨き終えること(to finish brushing one's teeth)</p> <p>○掃除をし終えること(to finish cleaning)○まつげをあげること(to raise one's eyelashes)</p>	
19. ハート・ウォーム(<i>ha-touo-mu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○ほのぼのとした人のこと(a friendly person)○人に親切なことをすること(to be nice to people)</p> <p>○素晴らしい詩を読むこと(to read a great poem)○暖かい気持ちが込められているさま(heart-warming)</p>	
20. インスト(<i>insuto</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○「インストール」の略(abbreviation for 'install')○「インストルメンタル」の略(abbreviation for 'instrumental')</p> <p>○「インストラクター」の略(abbr. for 'instructor')○車の内部の故障のこと(a mechanical problem in a car)</p>	
21. タイドアップ(<i>taido-appu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○ネクタイを締めるスタイル(a style for tying a necktie)○生活改善(improving one's lifestyle)</p> <p>○新しい価値設定(a change of values)○協力を得ること(to get assistance)</p>	
22. ラグジュアリー(<i>ragjuuari-</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○下着(underwear) ○豪華なお風呂(a wonderful bath)</p> <p>○贅沢なさま(luxurious) ○下着のような洋服(clothes that look like underwear)</p>	
23. タウン・ユース(<i>taunyu-su</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○そこの住民にしか使えない施設(facilities that are exclusively for citizens)</p> <p>○公的機関での使用のみが許されること(facilities for official use only)</p> <p>○普段着(normal clothes)○日常生活の街中などでも使用できるもの(multi-purpose clothes)</p>	
24. トラッド(<i>toraddo</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<p>○洋服の柄(design for clothes) ○トラック運転手のこと(a truck driver)</p> <p>○交換をし終えたさま(finishing a trade) ○伝統(tradition)</p>	

25. ハイダウェイ (<i>haidauei</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○基地(hiding place) ○隠れ家的リゾート(hidden resort) ○立体型高速道路(highway)○高い所から飛び降りること(jumping down from a high place) 	

26. オーバーラップ(<i>o-ba-rappu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○マラソンで速く走り過ぎること(running too fast at a marathon) ○追い越すこと(to overtake) ○重なること(to overlap) ○よく売られているラップ(a well-sold rap) 	

27. プレゼンス(<i>purezensu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○出席(attendance) ○贈り物(present) ○存在感(presence) ○発表(presentation) 	

28. ポピュリズム(<i>popyurizumu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ポピュラーであること(being popular)○協調性のあるさまbeing cooperative) ○洋楽によく使われるリズム(a rhythm often used in Western music) ○大衆迎合主義(populism) 	

29. ダンサブル(<i>dansaburu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○「ダンサー用」の意(only for dancers)○素人にも踊れる音楽(music also amateurs can dance to) ○リズムやビートの効いた音楽(music with good rhythm and beat) ○特別なダンス(a special dance) 	

30. マイナートラブル(<i>maina-toraburu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○妊娠中によく起こる不快症状(an unpleasant condition that often happens during pregnancy) ○小さなトラブル (small trouble) ○あまり起こりえないトラブル(rare trouble)○隠ぺいされがちなトラブル (hidden trouble) 	

31. ネグレクト(<i>negurekuto</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○身体的虐待(bodily abuse) ○怠ること(to be lazy) ○育児放棄(child neglect) ○青春期に不登校になること(to skip school during puberty) 	

32. バイオ(*baio*)

☐未知 ☐既知

- 生物の持っている働きを人々の暮らしに役立てる技術(a technology that uses the power of organisms for the advantage of humans)
- 微生物のこと(microbe)
- 遺伝子組み替えされた食物(genetically modified food)
- 「バイオレンス」の略(abbreviation for ‘violence’)

33. イニシエーション (*inishie-shon*)

☐未知 ☐既知

- 古い町を訪ねること(visiting an old town) ●懐かしい思い出に浸ること(having nostalgic thoughts)
●加入儀礼(initiation) ●可動式(adjustable)

34. ガバナンス(gabanansu)

☐未知 ☐既知

- ナスの漬け物(pickled aubergine) ○政府(government)
 ○統治(governance) ○国会(parliament)

35. アナーキー(*ana-ki-*)

☐未知 ☐既知

- 芸術的なことをする人(an artistic person)○奇抜な色(a flashy color)
○無秩序(anarchy) ○性転換手術を受けた姉の呼び名(nickname for an elder sister
that has undergone a sex-change)

36. ローエンド(ro-endo)

☐未知 ☐既知

- 低価格であること(being of low quality)●盛り上がりにかけた終わり方(an exiting ending)
●悲しい終わり方(a sad ending)●セール期間が終わること(end of the sale season)

37. オーバーユース (*o-ba-yu-su*)

☐未知 ☐既知

- 贅沢なユースホテル(a luxurious youth hostel) ● 26歳以上のこと (being older than 26)
●使いこなすこと (mastering sth.) ●使い過ぎること (overuse)

38. アクチュアル(*akucharu*)

☐未知 ☐既知

○ありのまま(as it is)	○現在の(current)
○最新の(newest)	○格好いいさま(looking good)

39. インセンティブ(<i>insentibu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○においが良いこと(having a good smell)○繊細でないこと(insensible) ○意欲刺激(incentive) ○動機刺激(motivation)	

40. ダウンスパイラル(<i>daunsupairaru</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○人生の失敗(failure in life) ○螺旋階段から転落すること(falling down from a spiral staircase) ○パーマが取れかかって来たさま(the state when the hair's perm has almost worn off) ○あり地獄(downspiral)	

41. ロールアウト(<i>ro-ruauto</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○軍用語で車から降りること(exiting a vehicle in military jargon) ○飛行機が滑走路より外れること(an airplane leaving the runway) ○生地を伸ばすこと(to roll out dough) ○飛行機が完成後、製造工場から出ること(to deploy a plane after its completion)	

42. オンブズマン(<i>onbuzuman</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○内閣官房長官の秘書(secretary to the Chief Cabinet Secretary) ○報道関係者 (journalist) ○大統領報道官(presidential press secretary)○市民の代理人(ombudsman)	

43. ベースアップ(<i>be-suappu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○化粧下地の前に塗るクリーム(a cream you apply before starting your make-up) ○生活水準が上がること(a rise in living standards) ○基準賃金の引き上げ(a rise of basic wages) ○基本的なことを復習し直すこと(reviewing basic things)	

44. マスタープラン(<i>masuta-puran</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○名案(good idea) ○社長による計画(the company president's plan) ○第一案(plan A) ○基本となる計画(a basic plan of action)	

45. インターロード(<i>inta-ru-do</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
○近道(shortcut) ○地下通路(underpass) ○間奏曲(interlude) ○コネ(connections)	

46. ワークライフバランス (<i>wa-kuraifubaransu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○仕事上での精神バランス(mental balance at work) ○誰もが働きやすい仕組みを作ること(creating a motivating atmosphere at work) ○仕事と生活の調和(the balance between work and private life) ○上司と部下の関係(the relationship between superior and subordinate) 	
47. スキーム (<i>suki-mu</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○計画(plan) ○無脂肪(fat-free) ○体にピッタリとフィットしたさま(perfectly fit) ○陰謀(plot) 	
48. イノベーション (<i>inobe-shon</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○純粋なさま(innocence) ○改装すること(renovation) ○新技術について話し合うこと(discussion on new technologies) ○技術などの革新(innovation) 	
49. セレブニート (<i>serebuni-to</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○旦那の稼ぎで優雅に暮らす主婦(living comfortably with one's husbands earnings) ○より良い生活を夢見る、引きこもりの人(staying indoors, dreaming of a better life) ○働かずに不労所得だけで生活している人(living on unearned money without working) ○芸能人が借金まみれになること(a celebrity laden with debts) 	
50. ワーキングプア (<i>wa-kingupua</i>)	☐ 未知 ☐ 既知
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○働いても生活保護の水準以下の収入しか稼げない人(not having enough money to live one in spite of having a job) ○就職できない人(a person that cannot find a job) ○就職口が少ないこと(a low rate of open job positions) ○仕事が忙しすぎて家庭をおざなりにしている人(being busy at work therefore neglecting one's family) 	

Part 2. 下記の文章を読んで、下線の付いている単語と周りの文脈の意味を最も適切に表している選択枝に「X」印を付けて下さい。

1. “生活の中に息づく”。HYの楽曲にぴったりの言葉だと思う。昨今では、妙にトリックキーで理解しづらい歌詞や勢い重視のサウンドがあふれ返っている。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

- 歌詞は意味深い
- 歌詞は感動的である

- 歌詞は面白い
- 歌詞はややこしい

2. 薄手のものをさらりと羽織れば、冷たい風も防げて、春まだ浅い季節には最高の1枚。今季はこんなナイロンアイテムが旬なのだ。しかも従来よりアウトドア色を薄めた、タウンユース性の高いものが人気。（サファリ2008年4月号）

- その町の若者が着るようなものが人気
- その町限定の服が人気

- 日常でもいつでも使えるようなものが人気
- 使い方の多様な服が人気

3. ノンストップビートのダンスブルな曲もいいけど、まるで宇宙空間にいるような、浮遊感のある神秘的な曲も素晴らしい！（サーカス2008年4月号）

- 切ない曲がいい
- 踊る気にさせる曲がいい

- 楽しい曲がいい
- 静かな曲がいい

4. 3番の最後に“逃げるのも勇気戦うも勇気”という歌詞がありますが、ここが今回のキモですね。－そこは結構好きなリリックで。“戦え、戦え”だけじゃなくて、逃げてもいい。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

- その曲に伝えられている気持ちが好き
- その曲のサウンドが好き

- その曲の歌詞が好き
- その曲の詩的さが好き

5. 気がおけない仲間との集まりだし、カジュアルな装いでもOKだからといって、いかにもサーファースタイルなTシャツ&デニムというスタイルで臨むのは大人のマナーとして少々KYといえるだろう。これでは招いてくれたホストに対してもちょっと失礼だ。だからといって、スーツにタイドアップまでは、友人宅なら必要ないかも。（サファリ2008年4月号）

- 友人宅なら別に上品な態度でなくても良い
- スーツを上まで締める必要はない
- ネクタイを締めているスタイルでなくて良い
- アイロンがかかったシャツはなくて良い

6. あそこまで企業が大きくなると、単純に数値化できる部分を抑えることで全体のガバナンスをせざるを得ない。（サーカス2008年4月号）

- 全体の改善が必要である
- 全体の統治が必要である
- 全体の協力が必要である
- 全体の再構築が必要である

7. 映画祭や小説の新人賞の審査員をやったんですけど、若い人たちに問題意識がなさすぎますよ。悪しき資本主義があまりにも広く深く浸透してしまった現在では、どんなささやかなくらいなことでも、ものすごく政治的でアクチュアルなんだ、という認識がまったくない。（週刊文春3月28日号）

- とても現在的だという認識がない
- とても抽象的だという認識がない
- とても複雑だという認識がない
- とても興味深いという認識がない

8. まず、全体がネイビーベースなので、大人っぽい落ち着いた印象がある。次にデザインも、エンブレムが付けられていてトラッド風。しかも、ネイビーX白という配色もあってか、上品なマリントラッドな雰囲気グンとプンとする。（サファリ2008年4月号）

- 服はとてもおしゃれである
- 服は古い感じのするものである
- 服はとても伝統的な雰囲気がある
- 服は派手である

9. このような歌詞の抽象性に対し、サウンドはとことんヌケ良くメロディアス！（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

- サウンドは耳障りである
- サウンドは地味である

- サウンドは贅沢である
- サウンドは美しい

10. ハート・ウォームな詞には大切な人への感謝の気持ちやメッセージが綴られている。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

- 真面目な詞のこと
- 微笑ましい詞のこと

- 正直な詞のこと
- 気恥ずかしい詞のこと

11. 世界的にみて日本のプレゼンスが著しく低下しているとの見方が強まっている。これは、中国やインドの台頭からいずれ日本が世界第2の経済大国の地位から滑り落ちることを読んだ動きであろうし、別の面からみれば、国内政治の混乱もあって、我が国全体が内向き志向に陥っていることへの警鐘でもあろう。（<http://mainichi.jp/select/biz/kansoku/news/20080514ddm008070063000c.html>）

- 世界的に日本の存在感が減った
- 世界的に日本の輸出量が減った

- 世界的に日本のイメージが悪化した
- 世界的に日本の魅力が低くなった

12. 料理の世界も物書きの世界も純粋な堅気のルールではないからね。修行やイニシエーションを経てないボンボンがいきなり表舞台に上がるわけにはいかないんだよ。（サーカス2008年4月号）

- 料理の世界に入るには加入儀礼が必要
- 料理の世界にはコネがないと入れない

- 料理の世界に入るには主に独創力が必要
- 料理の世界に入るには多くの我慢が必要

13. とくにトヨタ自動車労組は今年、ベースアップに相当する賃金改善分として去年妥結額の千円を上回る千五百円を要求した。（中日新聞 3 月 1 3 日）

○労働時間に相当する

○基本給の引き上げに相当する

○残業に相当する

○課税率の引き上げに相当する

14. 次に、原油の高騰によって、トウモロコシを原料とするバイオ燃料ブームが起き、アメリカの農家では、小麦をやめて、トウモロコシを作るようになったんです。（サーカス 2 0 0 8 年 4 月号）

○環境に優しい燃料ブームが起きた

○生物体の持つエネルギーを使用した燃料ブームが起きた

○代替燃料ブームが起きた

○化石燃料ブームが起きた

15. 二番の仙台高裁は「監査請求が認められる一年の法定期間を過ぎており、正当な理由もなく不適法」として、オンブズマン側の訴えを、“門前払い”した。（中日新聞 3 月 1 8 日）

○審判者が訴えた

○弁護士が訴えた

○裁判官が訴えた

○代理人が訴えた

16. 「またね。」と「universe」は昔からライブでおなじみの曲だが、今なら何が表現できるのかを追求しながらアレンジをし直し、ブラッシュ・アップしたCure Rubbishを投影させた。（ワッツイン 2 0 0 8 年 3 月号）

○曲は完全に新しくなった

○曲に新たな歌詞をつけた

○曲は新しく改善された

○曲を違う楽器を使って再録音した

17. ちょうど昼になったので、ランチの予約をしていたブルガリリゾート・バリへ向かう。ここは2006年にオープンした欧米でも人気のハイダウェイ。(サファリ2008年4月号)

- そこには人気の温泉がある
- そこには小さな旅館がある

- そこには人気の高級ホテルがある
- そこは秘境にあるリゾートである

18. 夏季に三十万人が登るとされる山に、さらに人が押しかければ、環境に回復不能な影響を及ぼすオーバーユースと呼ばれる現象が起きることも予想される。(中日新聞3月16日)

- その山がゴミに汚されると予想される
- その山が人に使われ過ぎると予想される
- その山が登れなくなる恐れがある
- 気候変化のため環境に悪影響があると予想される

19. ただ、ラストが自爆のシーンなので、主人公の最初の職業を勝ち組であるファンドマネージャーに決めた時点で、必然的にダウンスパイラルにならざるを得ないとは思いました。[...]軽い転落ではあのラストは成立しないので、必然的に激しい転落の人生になってしまったのです。(週刊現代3月29日号)

- 主人公は体不自由にならざるを得ない
- 主人公は幸運と出逢わざるを得ない
- 主人公は非常に大変な目に遭わざるを得ない
- 主人公を死なせざるを得ない

20. 国民生活は今や危機的状況にある。多くの若者がワーキングプアやネットカフェ難民として、激しい生活を強いられている。(中日新聞3月15日)

- 多くの若者は仕事がない
- 多くの若者は仕事をしたくない
- 多くの若者は仕事しているのに給料が足りない
- 多くの若者は転職しがちである

21. 内容的にも、この歌は自分の体験とオーバーラップする人も多いんじゃないのかな。（サファリ 2008 年 4 月号）

- 自分の体験と異なる人が多い
- 自分の体験と重なる人が多い
- 自分の体験となって欲しい人が多い
- 自分の体験と矛盾する人が多い

22. 前回無事レコーディングの終わった「田中さん」のデビュー曲が、日本最終工程のマスターリングにこぎつけた。ということで、ミックス・ダウンの済んだファイナル・データを持って、レコード会社に大集合。（ワッツイン 2008 年 3 月号）

- 著作権の確認の済んだデータ
- 多重録音が一つにまとめられたデータ
- 録音の済んだデータ
- 再編集されたデータ

23. より恐ろしいのはスーパーバイザーの監視だ。ちょっとでもモタモタすると、対応が終わった後でスーパーバイザーの厳しい指導を受ける羽目になる。（週刊現代 2008 年 3 月 8 日号）

- こっそりと監視する同僚を怖がっている
- 上司を怖がっている
- 仕事の監督者を怖がっている
- 社長を怖がっている

24. 「ウォーターボーイズ」「スウィングガールズ」などの青春映画で、一躍、人気監督の地位を築いた矢口史靖さん。「僕はフリーランスなので、会社員のように行かなきゃいけない場所がないんですよ。言ってしまうと“一生、夏休み”。」

(<http://mainichi.jp/life/cococi/archive/news/2007/20070626org00m100046000c.html>)

- 彼は失業している
- 彼は自由契約者である
- 彼は左うちわで暮らしている
- 彼は仕事を休んでいる

25. 昼間は雑然とした光景でむき出しのカオスを覗かせる街の表情は、夜になると冷たいネオンの灯りとともに美しく変化する。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

○きれいな景色のこと

○町のごちゃごちゃしている様子

○穏やかな雰囲気のこと

○町の賑やかな様子

26. 普段の外出着と同じクオリティの素材なら、部屋でくつろぎながらも気分はリッチでいられるはず。色柄はあえて無地のものを選んで大人っぽさを強調すれば、一段とラグジュアリー感は増やすだろう。（サファリ2008年4月号）

○おしゃれ度が増す

○独特感が増す

○着心地良さが増す

○贅沢感が増す

27. 去年二月、（輸送機の）製造に使う鋳に強度不足が見つかり、組み立て終了にあたるロールアウトが予定の去年三月から六月にずれ込んだ。（中日新聞3月16日）

○製品回収

○運用展開

○販売停止

○テスト飛行

28. 引退後はブログでも明かしていたように、“セブニート”と自称して、IT企業の社長たちやタレント仲間との派手な交流を続けていました。（週刊女性3月18日号）

○芸能人とばかり遊ぶ生活をおくった

○パーティーだらけの生活をおくった

○不労所得だけでセブのような生活をおくった

○芸能人の世話をする生活をおくった

29. 僕の場合、毎年の労働によるインカムから、生活や事業のための経費を差し引き、諸税を納めた結果のフリーキャッシュフローを運用資産に加えても、「なんだか増えた感じがしない」わけです。 (http://www.yuichiro-itakura.com/essay/itakurastyle/itakurastyle_47.html)

- 税金
- 収入

- ボーナス
- 残業手当

30. エレクトロニカ系のサウンドをフィーチャーした「A Long Walk」も、今までにはなかったタイプの曲だし。(ワッツイン2008年3月号)

- そのサウンドを避ける曲である
- そのサウンドが大成功した曲である
- そのサウンドを使用している曲である
- そのサウンドを模倣した曲である

31. 始めと終わりにインスト曲を配することにより、タイプの違う楽曲群をひとつに統合しようとしている。(ワッツイン2008年3月号)

- 歌詞のない曲が配された
- 楽器抜きの曲が配された
- 短い曲が配された
- 合唱が中心となる曲が配された

32. 動機はどうあれ、有権者に政治への感心が高まるのは良いことでしょう。ただし、「美人」か「ブス」かだけで投票されれば政治がポピュリズムに墮落してしまいます。(サーカス2008年4月号)

- 外見で投票された政治家は怠け者である
- 外見で投票された政治家は調子にのりがち
- 外見で投票された政治家は短命である
- 外見で投票された政治は国民の聞きたいことばかりを言う

33. 緊急状態に陥った航空機を誘導で無事着陸させるのはもちろん、機内で急病人が出たとか、航空機の故障などで優先的に扱ってほしいというマイナートラブルでも、正確な判断と機敏な対応が求められます。（サーカス2008年4月号）

- トラブルはより大きいのである
- トラブルはより小さいのである
- トラブルは複雑である
- トラブルは乗り越えられないのである

34. 相撲の世界を維持するためには相撲を他のスポーツから差別化しなければならない。そのため日本相撲協会が力士たちにインセンティブを与えつつも競争制限的なシステムを採用し、組織防衛を図ることはある意味では合理的な選択ともいえるのだ。（週刊文春3月28日号）

- 力士たちの基本給を上げる
- 力士たちを褒めることによってやる気を出させる
- 力士たちを厳しく責める
- 力士たちに自信を与える

35. 都が開業前に公表したマスタープランでは、「他銀中位行並みの規模を目指す」としたが、無担保無保証の中小企業融資で不良債権が増加。（中日新聞3月13日）

- 基本となる計画が公表された
- 予備の計画が公表された
- 名案が公表された
- 分野の名人が作った計画が公表された

36. 最終的には人間なんだから繋がりを求めているし、愛したいし愛されたい。自分も含め、そういう人たちの日常的な感情の波、アッパーとダウンナーが主人公になっているアルバムだと思いますね。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

- 人気者も不人気者も主人公になる
- 人々の気分の高揚と憂鬱が主人公になる
- イケている者もイケてない者も主人公になる
- 人々の成功と失敗が主人公になる

37. 完成したという実感も、以前とは比べ物にならないほど味わえたと、全員ニコニコ。その勢いで、ペンディングになっていたタイトルを急遽最終決定することに。（ワッツイン2008年3月号）

○ カッコいいタイトルを決定した	○ 未決定だったタイトルを決めた
○ なじみのあるタイトルを決定した	○ 以前使用したタイトルを復活させた

38. 夫、妻、愛人の三人がじわじわと変化していく様が、日本の小説離れしなれしていて、なんというか、こう、「海外女流作家綺譚集」みたいなアンソロジー集に「くじ」や「黄色い壁紙」と一緒に並んでいそうな・・・（週刊現代2008年3月8日号）

○ 文学の雑誌に載っていそうな	○ 用語辞典に載っていそうな
○ 文学の教科書に載っていそうな	○ 選集に載っていそうな

39. 情報弱者を含むすべての人々が、容易にアクセス可能な「ユニバーサルな情報社会」の実現へむけ、生活者の視点を大切に活動していきます。（<http://www.harmony-i.org>）

○ 人々に全ての情報をあたえる社会	○ 人々に専門情報をあたえる社会
○ 人々に宇宙に関する情報をあたえる社会	○ 人々に一般的な情報をあたえる社会

40. しかし、これからの疾風怒濤（どとう）の時代に必要なのは、思い切った体質強化への挑戦であり、その要は社員がもつポテンシャルの掘り起こしだ。商品やサービス開発の創造力や問題解決力もその担い手は人だからである。
（<http://mainichi.jp/select/biz/kansoku/news/20080515ddm008070062000c.html>）

○ 社員のもつ魅力を掘り起こす必要がある	○ 社員のもつ意見を明確化させる必要がある
○ 社員のもつ潜在能力を掘り起こす必要がある	○ 社員の努力を生かす必要がある

41. ネグレクトで児童養護施設にきた奈美さんはふだん、母のことを「嫌い」と話していた。「この子もやっぱり親を慕ってるんやね」。典子先生はせつなくなった。
(<http://www.asahi.com/kansai/gyakutai/OSK200801250039.html>)

- その子は育児放棄を経験した
- その子は母に殴られた
- その子は母にいつも責められてばかりだった
- その子は母に捨てられた

42. 急にサウンドと声から一番遠いところへ、一気に持って行かれたということかも知れない。その時、頭の中はもの凄いアナキーな気分とヘナヘナの脱力感という本来相容れないものでグルングルンになってしまう。(週刊文春2008年3月27日号)

- 頭の中は落ち着いている
- 頭の中は幸福な気分である
- 頭の中はめちゃくちゃである
- 頭の中は憂鬱な気分である

43. イノベーションを次々と生み出す企業風土が次の百年のための土台となる。(中日新聞3月13日)

- 新製品を次々と生み出す企業が有利
- 職場転換が容易である企業が有利
- 支店を次々と作り出す企業が有利
- 革新意欲旺盛な企業が有利

44. つじあやのが“つじあやのとBEAT CRUSADERS”名義でリリースする新曲「ありえないくらい奇跡」は、そんなハッピー感が詰まったアップ・チューンだ。(ワッツイン2008年3月号)

- 良い気分にさせてくれる曲である
- 昔の曲が改善された曲である
- 人気の曲である
- ディスコ用の曲である

45. さっき俺、アグネスさんが強いっていったけれど、俺、本当にアグネスさんにインスパイアされてるんですよ。病気を克服して、ある意味、命をかけて歌っているじゃないですか。（週刊女性2008年3月18日号）

○アグネスさんに驚いている	○アグネスさんに関心を持っている
○アグネスさんを見て自分も頑張る気になる	○アグネスさんを見て理解できない

46. 日本の市場にプロダクツを売り込むのは、技術、品質など、あらゆる要求水準が高くて難しい。その点、中国はローエンドの製品が多いけれど、砂漠に水を撒くように莫大な量がはける。（週刊文春3月27日号）

○中国には安い製品が多い	○中国には品質の高い製品が多い
○中国には贅沢な製品が多い	○中国には品質の低い製品が多い

47. そんな中で鉄鋼業界では休日出勤の割増率について現行35%から40%前後に引き上げる回答を得た。電機業界では東芝が賃金改善分を現場の熟練技能者などに重点配分することや、松下電器はワークライフバランス推進に配分するなどの工夫も行われた。（中日新聞3月13日）

○松下電器は残業を増やそうとした	○松下電器は残業手当を増やそうとした
○松下電器は仕事とプライベートの調和を図ろうとした	○松下電器は仕事場の雰囲気
を向上させようとした

48. 国や他方の政治家たちは表向き、必要な道路を造るため道路特定財源は必要だという。しかし、政官業に利益をもたらすおいしいスキームを手放したくないというのが本音だ。（中日新聞3月13日）

○利益をもたらす計画を手放したくない	○利益をもたらすコネを手放したくない
○利益をもたらす秘密の案を手放したくない	○利益をもたらす設計を手放したくない

49. (リフトの手術後の) 腫れが少なく化粧・洗顔もすぐできるのでダウンタイムが短いです。(週刊女性2008年3月18日号)

- 化粧する時間が短い
- 手術後の鬱の時間が短い

- 手術の傷が治る時間が短い
- 無駄遣いの時間が短い

50. 代表曲をズラリと並べ、あらたにインターラードを加えたオリジナル並みの中身の濃さ。(ワッツイン2008年3月号)

- サウンドが加えられた
- 歌詞が加えられた

- 動画が加えられた
- 間奏曲が加えられた