

INTRALINGUAL INTERNATIONALISM
English in Japan and 'English Made in Japan'

Master's Thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tämä tutkielma käsittelee englanninkielisiä lainasanoja japanin kielessä. Japanissa on havaittavissa huomattava englanninkielisten lainasanojen läsnäolo, jonka lisäksi japanin kielen sisällä luodaan uusia sanoja englanninkielisen sanaston pohjalta.</p> <p>Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan, uhkaavatko lainasanat japanin kieltä ja sen sanastoa, vai onko kummallakin kielellä oma alueensa japanissa. Lisäksi, koska Japanissa luodaan pseudo-englantia, joka ymmärretään vain japaninkielisessä kontekstissa, on tärkeää tutkia, mikä on näiden sanojen asema normaaleihin lainasanoihin verrattuna. Etenkin kielenoppimisen kannalta on tärkeää, että sanan alkuperä tiedetään.</p> <p>Tutkimusta varten kerättiin aineisto kyselyllä, johon vastasi 37 japanilaista opiskelijaa. Kysely käsitti kolme osaa, joista ensimmäisessä kysyttiin vastaajilta, osaavatko he sanoa ovatko sanat oikeita lainasanoja vai Japanissa luotua "pseudo-englantia". Toisessa osassa vastaajilta tiedusteltiin, käyttävätkö he annetusta sanaparista japaninkielistä versiota vai englanninkielistä lainasanaa. Kyselyn kolmas osa koostui avoimista kysymyksistä, joiden avulla pyrin saamaan kuuluviin vastaajien mielipiteitä lainasanoja ja "pseudo-englantia" kohtaan.</p> <p>Tulokset viittaavat siihen, että sanojen alkuperästä ei ole riittävästi tietoa. Monenlaiset englantilaisperäiset sanat hämmentävät japanilaisia, mutta etenkin Japanissa luotu "pseudo-englanti" lasketaan lähemmäksi japanin kieltä kuin englantia. Englannin kielellä on selkeä funktio japaninkielisen sanaston laajentajana ja uusien asioiden kielenä, eikä se sinänsä ole uhka paikalliselle sanastolle.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

Different languages employ different means of adjusting loanwords into the local vocabulary. With many languages it is common only to match the pronunciation to the target language. In Western languages (written in Latin alphabet), it is customary to adjust the pronunciation to match the target language (e.g. 'printer' becomes *printteri* in Finnish).

In East Asia the situation is quite different. Languages such as Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Korean and Japanese all have different means of adjusting the loans into the native vocabulary. The case of Japan is the most interesting, as it is possible to define that a word is a loan only by looking at it, as Japanese employs a separate writing system used mainly for loanwords.

The presence of English in other languages and its effect on these languages has been widely studied. The language that appears to be mostly studied and researched on is Japanese (Stanlaw 2004: 290). An example of researchers' interest towards Japanese and English language contact is the amount of articles in *World Englishes* journal, and the statistics presented in Stanlaw (2004: 290). According to the statistics, there have been 23 published articles about English in Japan from 1996 to 2000, followed by India and general South Asia (20 articles), and Nigeria/Yoruba and South Africa (both 11 articles).

One of the problems encountered while studying the presence of English in another language is the question of how to measure it. In the case of this study, the question is what counts as a loanword? Despite its popularity among the researchers, few studies actually define whether the presence of English in Japan in their study refers to actual loanwords that have been adopted into local dictionaries and thereby given an established status in the language, or whether they analyse colloquial use, slogans, or English use in advertising.

Even though English loanwords are visible in advertising in Japan and other countries, it should be examined if the language of advertising is the same

language that is used in daily life. Many researchers have paid attention to English in Japan, but mostly discussed only the language used in advertising and media. This study aims to find out what kind of English is really used in everyday communication.

Furthermore, a phenomenon peculiar to Japan is the creation of English-based “pseudo loans” that make sense only in the Japanese context. This kind of word creation may be confusing for the people, as they are not only puzzled by the foreign words flooding from outside, but also by those created within Japan.

In this study I aim to find out what the Japanese people themselves think about the influx of loanwords, and what is their knowledge about the origins of foreign elements in Japanese. I attempt to paint a realistic picture of Japan as a linguistic environment, as Japan can be a strange and unfamiliar country to many people. English is a very visible element in Japanese communication, and in this thesis I will try my best to give an accurate background for the phenomena related to Japanese and English without the reader of this thesis having to travel to Tokyo oneself.

In the transliteration of Japanese words into Latin alphabet, the principles of Hepburn system will be used, as it is the most commonly used. The mark ^ˉ on top of the vowel indicates a long vowel, for example in the word *rōmaji*, 'Roman letters' (Latin alphabet).

Regarding this study the term “Western” will be used as an antonym to things referring to East Asia. Therefore, “Western” refers to Europe and America, and linguistically to languages written in Latin alphabet, and languages and cultures with their roots in Europe. In East Asia the cultural influence has mostly come from China, which has also had a remarkable effect on the languages of its neighbouring countries.

Compared to Western countries, that mostly employ the Latin alphabet, East Asian languages have different systems to adapt foreign words into their

vocabularies. The cases of Korea, China and Japan are different from each other, even though each language and culture has been influenced by China and Chinese language, and also by English.

Regarding the structure of this thesis, as this thesis will focus on East Asia, the languages of Korea and China (Mandarin and Cantonese) will be discussed regarding English loanwords in those cultures. After that the focus will shift to the Japanese language. Japanese differs from Western languages in many ways, and even though not all of the aspects need to be known, I think that as much knowledge of the language as possible is necessary to understand the phenomena discussed in this thesis. After that the history of English contact Japan and Japanese have had will be discussed, followed by an analysis of the uses and values English has in present-day Japan.

In section 5 I will discuss the creation processes that are used to create new lexemes into Japanese, using English as a language of origin. The creation of “English made in Japan” will also be discussed, as it is a peculiarity of Japan, and one of the main focuses of this thesis. After that, I will move on to pragmatics of Japanese English, and discuss the meanings and uses of loanwords in Japanese society. The last part of the background regarding this topic will be section 7 that discusses the problems regarding loanwords in Japan.

In section 8 the particulars of this study will be discussed, starting from the methods used for gathering the data, and moving on to section 9 the findings will be introduced. Finally, in section 10 the findings will be discussed in relation to the background introduced previously.

2 ENGLISH IN EAST ASIA

This thesis will consider China, Korea and Japan as an area influenced by English differently from South-East Asian countries (such as The Philippines, Malaysia). The reason for this is that these three countries never were under English (British or American) rule, outside the American occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1952, but in this case English did not gain an official status. In South-East Asian countries English has been an official language in many countries, but the situation is different when facing north from The Philippines.

The origin of cultural and linguistic influence in East Asia has long been China and Chinese, and it shows in Korean and Japanese languages as well. Japanese and Korean have the roots of their writing systems in Chinese characters, and the cultural values, attitudes and arts in both Japan and Korea have a lot in common with China.

One could say that in Asia, English is the opposite of tradition. English is used to express things that could not be said in the native language. English is the language of new technologies, fashion, culture, and of the international community.

Many researchers have studied the different uses English has in foreign cultures, Japan being one of the most prominent, and one of the most peculiar employer of English. In Japan, just like in many other countries, English promotes Western attitudes, tells East from the West, introduces new technologies and arts, and gives a new nuance to things that have existed hundreds of years.

English loanwords, slogans and phrases are widely used in advertising in attempt to make a positive effect on the consumers. English is seen as modern, sophisticated, advanced and fashionable in Japan and also in other Asian countries. For example in Thailand Thai language names for products are seen as traditional and of inferior quality compared to products with Western names

(Masavisut 1986, quoted in Takashi 1992: 140). This is in accordance with the images of English and Japanese in Japan, which I will discuss later in this thesis.

2.1 English in China and Taiwan

Chinese is written with *hanzi* (汉字 or 漢字), characters that in themselves carry meaning. In Chinese-speaking countries loanwords are given a matching Chinese *hanzi* character phrase, which resembles not only the pronunciation, but also the meaning of the word or phrase. An example of this could be World Wide Web, which translates into Mandarin Chinese as 万维网 (*wànwéiwǎng*, 'ten-thousand dimensional net').

The case is similar for brand names. For example, the brand name Max Factor is read *mìsīfóutóu*, and written 蜜丝佛陀, meaning 'honey silk Buddha'. Takashi (1992: 142) offers the same example in her article, but translates the meaning into 'lady Buddha'. Other trade names, even the most visible ones are given a *hanzi* word, for example Coca-Cola becomes 可乐 (*kělè*, 'cola'), which in itself means 'enjoyable'.

In Taiwan some domestic products are named in a way that sounds English to Chinese speakers, but means nothing in either language (Takashi 1992: 142). Some English loanwords have different forms in Taiwan and in mainland China. An example of this is the word 'hamburger'. In Taiwan, the preferred form is 漢堡 (*hànbǎo*) rather than 汉堡包 (*hànbǎobāo*) that is used in mainland China. The meaning of the characters is however not related to the actual meaning of the word, as it would literally translate into 'Chinese fort' in case of Taiwanese, and 'Chinese fort wrap' in Mandarin Chinese.

Some instances report cases of truncation of loanwords similarly to Japanese (to be discussed further). Luke and Lau (2008: 347-348) report short forms of words, using only the first sound of the loanword, for example 伊 (*yī*) referring to 'email' instead of the longer form 伊妹儿 (*yīmèier*).

2.2 English in Korea

The writing systems of Korean language are Chinese-based *hanja* (漢字), and Korean *hangul* (한글) characters. The *hangul* characters are alphabet-like, whereas *hanja* are similar to *hanji* and *kanji* characters and carry meaning within themselves.

Historically, the language of the educated in Korea used to be Chinese from the time the contact with China began in 108 BC (Jonghak Baik 1992: 15). Even though the native *hangul* characters were created in the 15th century, they were fully adopted as the writing system only towards the 19th century. As the language written in *hanja* did not represent spoken Korean, but rather loanwords from China and Chinese-influenced Korean, some aspects of spoken language disappeared (Jonghak Baik 1992: 17).

Korean contact with English began in 1882, when Korea established a treaty with the USA (Jonghak Baik 1992: 23). The years after this until 1919 have been called the first phase of Korean-English contact, and also the influx period.

Coinciding and following this period, in addition to English, Japanese has been an important language of borrowing. Japan occupied Korea from 1890 to 1945. During this period many words from Japanese were adopted to the Korean vocabulary, some of these words already being loanwords from English or other languages. During the Second World War English was the language of the enemy, and teaching the language was illegal (Jonghak Baik 1992: 24).

After the Second World War, however, the American influence grew, and English became an accepted language. The three year American Military rule brought with them the Western jargon and the language became valued in Korea. Japanese was still the language of the educated even in the 1960's, as many Koreans went across the Korea Strait to Japan to receive higher education (Jonghak Baik 1992: 24).

English has had an effect on Korean grammar too, as the Koreans who went to America to study came back with new sentence structures and tenses (Jonghak Baik 1992: 25-26). The increased language contact has also spawned English-Korean code-switching and made English visible at all levels of communication. In addition to reading English and using it as an academic language, it has been important for the Koreans to learn to use English also as a spoken language (Jonghak Baik 1992: 26). This is different from Japan, where English as a foreign language is mostly read, not spoken.

In contrast to the strong influence Chinese has had on both Japanese and Korean, nowadays there seems to be an interesting tendency for the English loanwords adapted into Japanese to transfer further into Korean, making them loanwords of loanwords (Kang, et al. 2008). There also appears to be many coexisting forms of loanwords, which have gone through different stages of Japanization before entering Korean. In some cases, however, the English borrowed via Japanese has been corrected to match the original English pronunciation (Jonghak Baik 1992: 25).

Furthermore, the adaptation of English loanwords into Korean is a different process from the Japanese. Korean language allows syllables that end in a consonant, while Japanese mostly does not. Therefore, the word 'helmet' borrowed into Korean is simply *helmet*, whereas the Japanese version would be *herumetto*. It can be said then, that at least some way English loanwords in Korean would resemble the original more than in Japanese.

There has been some resistance in Korea towards the foreign languages affecting Korean. The language has been under the Chinese, Japanese, and English influence, and each of these languages brought changes to Korean. The language purifiers have been rejected, though, as the language reform and unchanged status reminds too much of the language situation of North Korea, and the users of influence-free Korean have been seen as communists (Jonghak Baik 1992: 27-28).

In this section I have illustrated the history and present status of English in China, Taiwan and Korea. Next I will discuss the situation in Japan, starting with the features of the language focusing on the visual aspects, in other words, writing systems.

3 JAPANESE LANGUAGE

In this section I will offer a brief explanation of the visual aspects of the Japanese language. The language is a mix of different sets of characters, and this makes it a very visual language. English loanwords also play a crucial part in this visual mix. Since this thesis focuses on vocabulary rather than grammar, I will not discuss grammatical elements here.

There are three writing systems coexisting in Japanese, and they are all needed in order to communicate in the language. A mix of three systems may appear difficult for a foreign learner of Japanese, and in post-war Japan (during the American occupation, 1945-1952) there was some discussion of changing the writing system to Latin alphabet (Honna 1995: 56). Stanlaw (2004: 65-66) points out that abandoning Japanese for English was a widely discussed option in early modern Japan in the late 1800's, and it was suggested that at least the writing system could be simplified by switching to Latin alphabet, or at least give up the use of *kanji* characters. These plans never came to being, and Japan still has three writing systems.

First there are the *kanji* (漢字) characters which originate from Chinese. These are occasionally quite complicated characters, which in themselves carry a symbolic or concrete meaning. They are used to express Japanese and Chinese ideas and ideals. Japanese school system from primary to secondary school teaches 1,945 characters, and by learning these characters it is possible to read newspapers. The actual number of characters used in daily life is far more than that, however, and the largest *kanji* dictionaries list up to 50,000 entries (MacGregor 2002: 18).

Secondly, there are *hiragana* (ひらがな, 平仮名) characters, which consist of 45 syllables (5 vowels, 39 consonant-vowel pairs, and one consonant). *Hiragana* can be combined with *kanji*, and they are used for expressing grammatical features (e.g. inflections, prepositions, style), and words that do not have a *kanji* writing, such as most adverbs. All Japanese words can be written in *hiragana*,

but because many words have similar pronunciation, the *kanji* characters that give the right meaning is preferred.

Thirdly, the point of interest in this thesis is the syllabary similar to *hiragana* called *katakana* (カタカナ, 片仮名). The *katakana* characters represent the same phonemes as *hiragana*, but their use is different. Whereas *hiragana* is used for grammatical features of everyday language, *katakana* is used mostly for loanwords and foreign names. Other uses are visual effect and spelling of *kanji* words and names. Further uses for *katakana* are emphasis, compared to writing in italics in Western languages, although rather rarely employed. In comics and other informal texts it is used for writing onomatopoeia or sound effects that resemble onomatopoeia (such as ペラペラ, *pera-pera*, onomatopoeia for speaking a foreign language fluently) (Nishimura 2003). (See Appendix 1 for a table of *hiragana* and *katakana* syllables.)

Hiragana and *katakana* are visually very different from each other. *Hiragana* is round and soft, whereas *katakana* is angular. In the old days *hiragana* was regarded as “women’s writing”, *kanji* being “men’s writing” (Nieminen 1994: 294). *Katakana*’s association with science and civilization has been known from early on, and men were regarded more worthy of writing loanwords and difficult Chinese words (Nieminen 1994: 294).

In addition, a possible, although unofficial, way to write Japanese is Latin alphabet, *rōmaji*, (ローマ字, literally ‘the letters of Rome’). *Rōmaji* is mostly used for product names, acronyms and numbers (as opposed to *kanji* numerals). If a word is written in *rōmaji*, it is usually pronounced the same way it would be as a *katakana* loanword (Stanlaw 2004: 172). Honna (1995: 54) suggests that writing a loanword in *rōmaji* is simply rewriting the expression, and therefore no closer to the original language than the *katakana* loanword.

An example sentence employing all Japanese writing systems would be for example the following:

昨日、BUCK-TICK のライブへ行きました。
Kinō, BUCK-TICK no raibu e ikimashita.
('I went to BUCK-TICK's live [concert] yesterday.')

In this sentence, the time deixis for 'yesterday', *kinō*, is written as a *kanji* word, as well as a part of the verb *ikimashita*. Only a part of the verb is in *kanji*, which means 'to go' (行), after which the inflectional endings are added, and a polite-form past tense verb is formed. BUCK-TICK is the name of the band, and given in *rōmaji* by the band even though the Japanese pronunciation of the band name is *bakuchiku*, which is a reading of 爆竹, 'fire cracker'. In this case writing the name in *rōmaji* is a way of separating the pronunciation from the meaning, and creating a new word play. *Raibu* 'live concert' is a loanword, and therefore written in *katakana*.

In order to write present-day Japanese one must be able to master all the aforementioned writing systems. For a foreign learner Japanese might sound and appear like a mess of different things that could be done with just one writing system (*hiragana*). Still, as all of the different ways of writing have a specific function in the language they are all needed to be able to communicate in Japanese.

4 ENGLISH IN JAPAN

The contact with English in Japan does not go as far back as contact with other Western cultures. In this section I will discuss the background of Japanese and English language and culture contact, moving from historical perspectives into present-day situation.

4.1 Historical context

The first contact Japan had with Western cultures was that of Portuguese in 1543, who brought Christianity to Japan (Fält 1994: 73). Christianity was banned in the country in the late 1500's, however, and in 1640 publication of Western literature regardless of its relation to Christianity was also banned. The publication of Western books was allowed in the country again in 1720, but the language was Dutch (Stronach 1995: 34).

After persecuting Christians, and refraining from further contact with Western influence, Japan secluded itself from foreign trade (Fält 1994: 113). During *Sakoku* ('closed country') era (1633-1853) Japan traded only with Dutch, Korean and Chinese traders. There was little Western knowledge let into the country via Dutch traders, and in Dutch language. At the time Dutch was the language of medicine and technology in Japan, and Dutch loanwords constituted an important amount of loanwords in Japanese.

The first contact with English was in 1853, when Commodore Matthew Perry of U.S. Navy and his "black ships" arrived in Kanagawa and demanded Japan to be opened to international trade. The Kanagawa Treaty between the United States and Japan in 1854 established trade relations between the countries (Fält 1994: 125). After being opened to Western influence, Japan started its massive and fast change from feudal society into a modern capitalist state (Fält 1994: 125-126). In the Japanese people's view, English was the language of Western learning, technologies and societies that were seen as modern and sophisticated, and in contrast Japan and Japanese were regarded as inferior and

outdated (Stronach 1995: 38).

When the Japanese started to interact with Westerners, mainly Americans and other English speaking peoples, an English pidgin called Yokohama dialect developed (Stanlaw 2004: 56-57). The dialect died out in early 1900's though, as English gained popularity as a real language, and the people who had until that time valued Dutch, had let go of their suspicions about English, and started to adopt it as an important global language.

During Meiji era (1868-1912) that followed the age of seclusion, new concepts were brought to Japan from abroad, and these were mostly in English. That time most of the imported ideas and phenomena were translated into Japanese, but especially after the Second World War there were more foreign words flooding into Japanese, and people started using them immediately without translating them into Japanese (*kanji*) words (Honna 1995: 55).

According to Igarashi (2007: 27), some words were adjusted to the Japanese pronunciation and meanings like English loanwords in Chinese, but this did not produce that many lexemes. Furthermore, Igarashi (2007: 27) points out that in some cases a Japanese translation was added after the loanword, for example フリートレード (自由商売) (*furītorēdo [jiyūshōbai]*, 'free trade'). Also, during Meiji era most of the words were terms for modernization, technology and Western ideals, whereas after that the words that started to enter Japanese were mostly everyday items (Stanlaw 2004: 68).

There has been some resistance against English loanwords, however. During the Second World War the Japanese government aimed to decrease the amount of loanwords, and to replace them with Japanese equivalents and loan translations. The reason behind this was that English was the language of the enemy, and it was thought that it should not be accepted into the vocabulary so easily (Morrow 1987: 50, Stanlaw 2004: 69). One of the few surviving newly created Japanese words is *yakyū*, (野球, 'baseball'), which literally means 'field ball', and is used instead *beisubōru* to describe one of the most popular sports in

the country.

After the Second World War Japanese economy started to grow with previously unseen speed, and the country was soon one of the most advanced industrialised countries (Turkki 2005: 17-18). According to Kubota (1998: 295), Japan was one of the few countries to achieve a high stage of industrial development without losing its national and cultural traditions and values.

Japan regarded English as an important asset in the entrance to the international field, and invested significantly on English teaching in schools. The English education in Japan has long aimed to give students not the ability to communicate in English, but the language skills needed for entering university. English is one of the subjects tested in university entrance examinations, and therefore teaching grammatical knowledge and vocabulary are preferred over communication skills (Morrow 1987: 57). When it comes to actual English language skills, Japanese students' performance in TOEFL exams has been among the lowest (Honna 1995: 57). It appears that despite the importance and prestigious image of English, the English language is only popular within the Japanese language, not as a tool for intercultural communication (Stanlaw 2004: 168).

Interestingly, Honna (1995: 56) points out that by limiting the number of *kanji* taught in schools to 1850 in 1948, the Japanese language became too limited. Because all the *kanji* available could not be taught at schools, loanwords had to be imported instead. If Japan had continued to use more *kanji*, the language could have been equipped to accept foreign ideas with the vocabulary it already possessed, and use more loan translations.

According to Morrow (1987: 56) English language has also affected Japanese grammar, but that aspect will not be discussed in this thesis.

4.2 English within the Japanese language

In Japanese loanwords are called *gairaigo* (外来語, literally 'words that come from the outside'), and Japanese people have adopted these loanwords as a special part of their daily vocabulary and a source for creating new entities to the vocabulary.

One aspect worth mentioning when thinking of English in Japan is what actually counts as a loanword. Stanlaw (2004: 168-171) points out that there are several Englishes within Japanese. There are the more transparent Englishes, that are still written in *rōmaji*, but nevertheless pronounced as they were *katakana* words, as well as loanwords listed in Japanese dictionaries. It should be questioned what is a loanword in Japan; is it a word that has been established in *katakana* or a word that is used as a *katakana* word, but is often written in *rōmaji*? Furthermore, if there are two coexisting orthographies (in *rōmaji* and *katakana*) of the same word, should we treat both of them as English or "Japanized English"? Stanlaw further discusses how it is difficult to define loanwords within the Japanese language, as the context where English words are used is created by the Japanese for the Japanese, and original English contexts and meanings have little to do with it (Stanlaw 2004: 168-171).

Tamaoka and Miyaoka (2003: 70) studied the processing of loanwords in Japanese, and divided the words into three categories. The first category was that of well-established loanwords that were listed in Japanese dictionaries, the second category loanwords listed in loanword dictionaries, and the third category was that of words unlisted in dictionaries. They called the last type of a loanword "unadopted" (Tamaoka and Miyaoka 2003: 70).

Stanlaw (2004: 166-168) mentions the difficulties in telling the different Englishes apart in the Japanese linguistic environment. He divides the two extremes into "pure English", which is understandable for native English speakers, and into "domesticated Japanese English", which is not. The latter is called *wasei eigo*, "English made in Japan", in this study. The continuum between

the “pure” and “domesticated” English is, however, full of grey areas. Moody (2006: 212), for instance, makes no distinction between normal loanwords and “domesticated Japanese English”.

Moody (2006) analysed the educational English language programmes on Japanese television as well as English in Japanese popular music, but he made no difference between loanwords and *wasei eigo*. He presented a chart of language mixing in Japan (Moody 2006: 212), on which the following Figure 1 is based on. My additions are the category for *wasei eigo* terms, as well as the continuum arrow that illustrates the use (everyday speech versus advertising) and orthography (*katakana* or *rōmaji*) of loanwords.

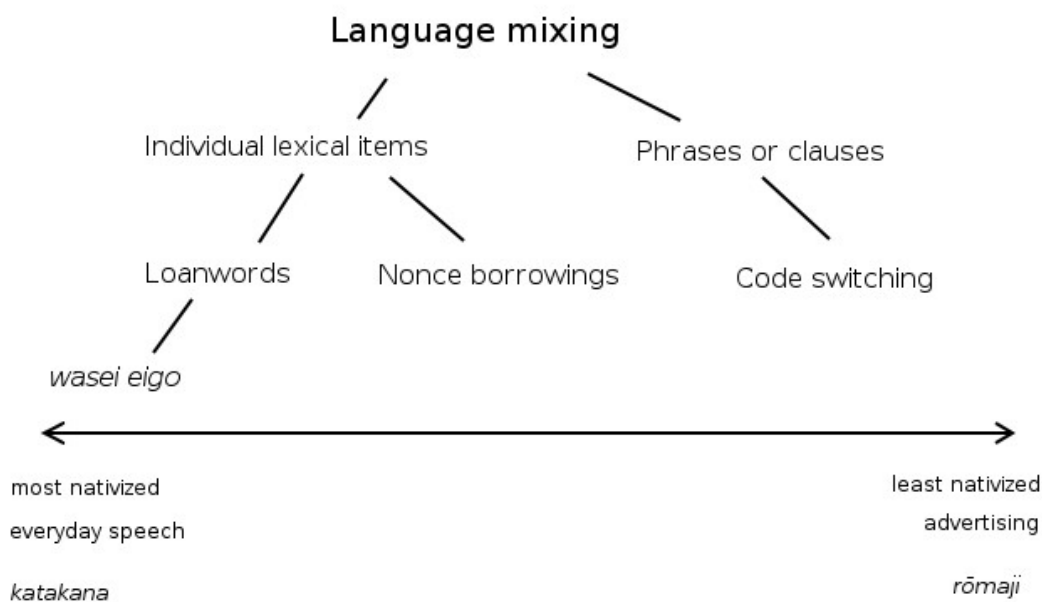


Figure 1. Language mixing in Japanese, Adapted from Moody (2006: 212)

In his original chart, however, Moody did not put *wasei eigo* into a separate category, but had a combined “loanwords/*wasei eigo*” category. I found it important to tell regular loanwords and *wasei eigo* words from each other, as *wasei eigo* terms represent a different kind of lexeme and a different way of borrowing, as well as a different level of nativization.

The continuum of orthography is, however, always not clear. Usually

advertising slogans can be written in *katakana* or *rōmaji*, and therefore the orthography continuum should be thought to be a line more flexible and vague than the nativization continuum. MacGregor (2003) studied the language of shop signs in Tokyo, but grouped *katakana* loans into the same category with native Japanese words. English words in *rōmaji* were analysed as a separate category, suggesting that the degree of nativization is based on the orthography. It can be observed that in the writings of native Japanese speakers in the Internet some words may be written in *rōmaji* as well, even though the most common orthography for foreign words would be *katakana*.

I found it important to add a category for the use of language in Figure 1, as the language of advertising does not necessarily reflect the daily use. It has often been found out in studies that for example English names for colours are used in advertising to promote a product, but it does not mean that the consumers would switch to using the loanword term. The context of advertisements as the major employer of foreign words will be discussed further in section 6.1, where the uses of loanwords will be discussed in depth.

4.3 Intracultural English

An interesting aspect of English in Japan is that Japan never was an anglophone country, and therefore there never has been any reason to use English as anything other than as a tool for intercultural communication. This, however, is not the case in present-day Japan.

As I have previously pointed out, the actual language skills of the Japanese people are rather low, making the situation rather peculiar: the only way English *should* be used in Japan is intercultural communication, but instead the Japanese people have adopted English as a tool for *intracultural* communication within the Japanese framework. Both Stanlaw (2004: 4, 8) and Haarmann (1989: 1) point out that English in Japan is used for intralingual communication among monolingual people, and that English in Japan is created by the Japanese for the Japanese.

Japan can be seen as a monolingual country with an enormous English presence, which is nowadays true for many other countries too. The case of Japan is, however, that despite the visual presence of English in the streets and media, and the use of English loanwords in daily communication, the actual communicative English skills of Japanese people are very low. They are not afraid to use English among themselves, but using it as a tool for intercultural communication is not so common (Honna 1995: 57). Bhatia (2006: 609) points out that English in Japan is aimed for language users who are actually not fluent in the language.

Internationalization in Japan, as expressed by Stronach (1995: 55-56) is convenient: something that is cute, but can be put aside when not needed. Furthermore, being international means having a bit of a foreign language here and there, watching Western films, travelling abroad for a holiday and so on. There is not necessarily a stable function in internationalization, or it does not change the way people think, and even a tiny piece of something non-Japanese is regarded as international.

According to Haarmann (1989: 2), there are two Englishes used in Japan. One is the English used in the media, which gives the image of a multilingual and intercultural Japan. The other is the way English is used in monolingual communication in colloquial speech. The use of English in Japan makes the Japanese feel like a part of the global community even though their English (loanwords and *wasei eigo*) may not be understood in the actual English context at all.

4.4 Western popular culture in Japan

What it comes to English in its original English context, Japan is a country where it is hard to come by. TV programmes and films imported from the USA are often dubbed into Japanese, making the voice actors more popular in the country than the original English speaking actors. With the arrival of digital television, however, it has become possible to choose between dubbed Japanese

and original English audio.

In the Japanese music charts by Oricon the last time a Western artist was number 1 on the singles chart was in 1997, when Elton John re-released *Candle in the Wind* (Oricon 2010). In addition, among the three recent Western artists topping the singles charts were Celine Dion (in 1995) and Irene Cara (in 1983). Album charts have been divided into Japanese and Western charts, but because only the Japanese albums chart offers details of the amount of albums sold, a comparison cannot be made.

Using the English language is common among Japanese artists, though. In Japan it is common to use both *katakana* loanwords as well as romanized English in the lyrics. As Moody (2006: 219) and Stanlaw (2004: 101-126) illustrate, English can be used for word play within the Japanese lyrics as well as loanwords or English inserted for the English meaning only.

In this section I have discussed the history of English language in Japan, and shed some light on the present situation. It should not be assumed that an enormous English presence would mean that the people would have language skills strong enough to be able to use the language fluently. Related to this, the next section will discuss the kinds of English lexemes in the Japanese language.

5 CREATION OF LOANWORDS IN JAPANESE

In this section I will introduce the ways in which English loanwords enter the Japanese language, and the changes the words undergo when being adapted into the Japanese lexicon. First, I will discuss the ways to borrow English words into Japanese that do not necessarily change the meaning of the word or expression. After that I will discuss the word creation processes used to make *wasei eigo* words, in other words “English made in Japan”, that have a different meaning or no meaning at all in the original English context.

An important point is that due to the Japanese syllabic structure, foreign words often become distorted when adjusted into Japanese. Japanese language only allows consonant-vowel pairs or single vowels (see Appendix 1 for *katakana* syllabary). For example the name 'Elvis Presley' becomes *elubisu puresurī* (エルヴィス・プレスリー) and one-syllable word 'stress' becomes a four-syllable *sutoresu* (ストレス). Furthermore, a study by Kubozono (2006) suggests that the accentuation of the word changes when the word is borrowed into Japanese, and in some cases disappears completely. It is also common that the final consonant in a loanword becomes a double, for example *baggu* (バッグ, 'bag') and *rapputoppu* (ラップトップ, 'laptop').

Another change worth mentioning is the lack of different sounds for /l/ and /r/ in Japanese. The Japanese pronunciation of /l/ is closer to [r] than [l], which has spawned a phenomenon called “English”: mocking the incorrect Englishes in East Asia. In this thesis the Japanese words that would have been pronounced with an [l] in English, but with an [r] in Japanese, are transcribed with /r/, for example *rakkī* (ラッキー) for 'lucky'.

According to Yule, there are nine ways to create new words in a language. These are coinage, compounding, blending, clipping, back formation, derivation, conversion, acronyms, and borrowing (Yule 2002: 64-70). Within borrowing, there is loan translation, which means literally translating the word into the target language. Loan translation was a popular way of borrowing in the early

stages of English-Japanese contact, creating words such as 自由商売 (*jiyūshōbai*, 'free trade'). Due to the increase in the amount of loanwords, loan translation has lost its popularity.

Japanese is a very creative language in a way that it uses many word-formation techniques to create new Japanese words of existing English words. The only word creation processes not used in adjusting English words into Japanese and creating Japanese English are back formation, derivation and conversion. This is because the structure of the Japanese language is different, and for example suffixes do not exist in the way they do in English.

In this section I will discuss the techniques that relate to borrowing from English. I will start with the techniques that are used to create transparent or near-transparent loanwords, and in section 5.3 I will go deeper into *wasei eigo*, “English made in Japan”. Direct borrowing is not discussed in this thesis, as it does not need to be explained. Examples of direct borrowing are for example previously mentioned 'bag' (バッグ) and 'stress' (ストレス).

5.1 Loan translation

In addition to direct borrowing, loan translations from English exist in Japanese, but they are less transparent. They were most commonly created before the Second World War, when the government tried to have some control over the words entering the language (Stanlaw 2004: 36, Morrow 1987: 50). Numerous loan translations might exist in Japanese, but they are not as visible in the lexicon as *katakana* loanwords, and therefore they are more difficult to come across. One example of a loan translation from English to Japanese is 'wildcat strike', which translates into Japanese as 山猫スト (*yamaneko suto*), with *yamaneko* meaning 'mountain cat', or 'wild cat' and *suto* being abbreviated from *sutoraiki*, 'strike'. Another example is 空港 (*kūkō*, 'airport'), literally 'sky harbour', or 'air harbour'.

5.2 Compounding with native Japanese words or elements

Affixation does occur in Japanese, but as the elements can be used on their own as single words, it would be more accurate to talk about compounding. Kay (1995: 70) calls these kinds of compounds loanblends, whereas Tomoda (2005: 11) uses the Japanese term *konshugo* (混種語), 'words of mixed variety'.

Stanlaw (2004: 75) gives an example of *sābisu-ryō* (サービス料, 'service fee') and *amerika-jin* (アメリカ人, 'an American person'). More examples can be found in for example *goshikku-shiki* (ゴシック式, 'Gothic style' [in architecture]), *vijuaru-kei* (ヴィジュアル系, 'visual style' [a genre of music where the band puts emphasis on make-up and outfits]) and *buraidaru-sangyō* (ブライダル産業, 'bridal industry' ['wedding industry']). Some instances of prefix usage can also be found. Examples are *ha-burashi* (歯ブラシ, 'toothbrush') or *gaijin-būmu* (外人ブーム, 'foreigner boom') (Honma 1995: 50).

When English verbs enter Japanese, they are most likely to become so-called *suru*-verbs. *Suru* (する) translates into 'do', or 'make, and it is used as its English counterpart 'do laundry', 'make lunch'. Therefore, many loanwords can be used as a structure [word] *suru*. Most often verbs borrowed from English can be used as Japanese verbs by adding *suru*. Examples include *sukī suru* (スキーする, 'to ski' [note: refers to downhill skiing]) and *doraibu suru* (ドライブする, 'to drive'). Other possibility is to take the noun that signifies the action and add *suru*, for example 'jogging' to *jogingu suru* (ジョギングする, 'to go jogging') and 'training' to *torēningu suru* (トレーニングする, 'to train [sports]').

A curious instance is when an English word is borrowed into Japanese and the Japanese pronunciation ends with a syllable *ru*. Many native Japanese verbs end in *ru*, and therefore, when for instance the word 'trouble' is borrowed into Japanese, it can be used as such as a noun *toraburu* (トラブル) as well as a verb *toraburu* (トラブる, 'to trouble', 'to be troubled'). Note that in the case of a verb, the word's final syllable is written with *hiragana* instead of *katakana*. A similar case is with the word *gūguru* (グーグル), 'Google', which can be used as a verb 'to

google' with the verb form shortened to *グぐる* (*guguru*).

Slightly different from this, the word *demoru* (デモる, 'to demonstrate') has been shortened from the longer version *demonsutorēshon*, which does not have *suru* verb form, but an affix *ru* is added to the clipped word *demo*. In either case, a native word for demonstration appears to be lacking from the Japanese dictionaries. This could reflect the socio-economic and historical contexts, as in Japan for instance trade unions came to being after the Second World War, and were brought to the country by the American occupiers (Nishikawa, 2009).

Another example of a similar verb creation process is *makkuru* (マックる, 'to eat at McDonald's') (Stanlaw 2004: 36), where the abbreviation *makku* (マック, 'Mac') is given a *ru*-ending. These kinds of words are relatively rare, and most loanword verbs are used with *suru*. They are also probably closer to *wasei eigo*, 'English made in Japan' than actual loanwords, that will be discussed next.

5.3 English made in Japan

The focus of this thesis and phenomenon specific to Japanese is the creation of new “English” words within the Japanese language by Japanese speakers. This phenomenon is called *wasei eigo* (和製英語). *Wasei* (和製) stands for 'Japan-made', and *eigo* (英語) stands for 'English'; the direct translation would be 'English made in Japan'. *Wasei eigo* means words, word combinations and word forms that have a different meaning or no meaning at all in the original English context. Other names used by researchers are “pseudo-English” or “pseudo-loans”. In Stanlaw’s terms, *wasei eigo* is the “domesticated Japanese English”, as compared to “pure English” (Stanlaw 2004: 166-168). The meanings of *wasei eigo* are not transparent to a native English speaker.

An example of *wasei eigo* is *wanrūmu manshon* (ワンルームマンション, 'one room mansion'), which means a studio apartment, usually in a fairly new Western style apartment complex. In the original English context this kind of word would be an oxymoron, but when Japanese takes the words and puts them

together to form a new Japanese word, the original meaning does not matter. *Wanrūmu manshons* are sold or rented by *apaman shoppu* (アパマンショップ, 'apa[rtment]+man[sion] shop'); 'real estate agent'. Words like this originate from English, but have little to do with the original meaning, and can thus be even contradictory or impossible in the English context.

There has not been extensive research about *wasei eigo* words, but they have been mentioned in almost every article dealing with Japanese-English language contact and English loanwords in Japanese. Miller (1997: 123) argues that traditional ways to analyse language contact have become outdated or even useless in analysing the English-based words in Japanese. *Wasei eigo* words are not normal loanwords, but lexemes constructed in Japan by the Japanese. They carry Japanese values and ideas that are only understood in the Japanese context (Koscielecki 2006: 29).

Wasei eigo words have been manipulated and deliberately invented by the Japanese. Miller (1997: 125) illustrates the word-creation process as changing the semantics of words and also the pronunciation when the word is borrowed into Japanese from English. As Koscielecki (2006: 29) puts it, "one should never assume therefore that one can understand a Japanese borrowing from English on the basis of the meaning of the English original".

Since the phenomenon is common, but not that widely studied, and possibly difficult to approach in brief explanation, this part will deal with the processes of creating new "English" in Japan. In the next section 7 I will discuss the uses of the newly-created lexemes.

5.3.1 Compounding, clipping and initialisms

Compounding is a very popular way to create new words in Japanese, and this also works with English loanwords. If a loanword from English is combined with another English word, the result is most likely something that can only be understood within Japanese context, in other words *wasei eigo*.

The previously mentioned example of *wanrūmu manshon* is an example of such a compound that is made of English words, but does not mean the same thing or means nothing in the original language. Honna (1995: 48) calls this a process in which the structure is English, but the semantics are Japanese. Most compound words are noun+noun, but adjective+noun combinations also occur. An example of an adjective+noun compound is *gōrudenawā* (ゴールドデンアワー, 'Golden Hour'), referring to TV prime time.

Some *wasei eigo* find their way back to English in the form of product names and brands. One rather famous one is Sony's Walkman (ウォークマン, *wōkuman*), which is indeed an nonsensical English word, but has after its launch become known in the Western world (Bhatia 2006: 606). It has even been used as an umbrella term for portable cassette and CD players.

Honna (1995: 48) calls the process of shortening words tail abbreviation, and Morrow (1987: 53) refers to the phenomenon as truncation, but in this study the word clipping is used. The process of clipping is very common in borrowing English words into Japanese. The main reason for this is that English words tend to become long when fitted into the Japanese pronunciation. Most Japanese words consist of two, three or four syllables (Honna 1995: 50) and English words, even though short in English, may turn really long when transferred into Japanese. Therefore it is possible to shorten a word, for example 'illustration' into *irasuto* (イラスト) instead of saying *irasutorēshon*.

Examples of clip compounds are *pasokon* (パソコン, 'personal+computer') or *sekuhara* (セクハラ, 'sexual+harassment'). These short words are created mainly because the Japanese syllabic structure would make the words long and bothersome to use, as previously mentioned. Without clipping *pasokon* would be *pāsonaru kyonpyūtā*, and *sekuhara* would be *sekushuaru harasumento*. The long versions of words are understandable in Japanese, but for reasons of convenience, the shorter versions are preferred. The long versions of the words would be regular loanwords, but as the short versions are not understood in the English context, they are classified as *wasei eigo* words.

Acronyms and initialisms are often used in Japanese because an acronym or initialism is relatively shorter, and therefore easier to fit to the daily vocabulary than the long version. Most acronyms are pronounced as sets of letters, which are called initialisms. An example of this is OL (pronounced *ōeru*), that stands for 'office lady', and means any kind of female office worker. Further acronyms include LDK (*erudikē*), that stands for 'living-dining-kitchen', which means an apartment with the aforementioned rooms. Usually Western-style apartment types have an English-based acronym describing its size. However, if an LDK is accompanied by a number, for example 3LDK ('apartment with living room, dining room, kitchen, and 3 bedrooms'), the '3' is pronounced as *san*, 'three' in Japanese. Interestingly, Japan Airlines has its worldwide acronym JAL, which is in English speaking countries pronounced as an initialism, but in Japanese as an acronym *jaru* (ジャール).

A more complicated way of producing new initialisms into Japanese is taking a Japanese word, writing it in *rōmaji*, and using the English pronunciation of the first letter of the *rōmaji* to refer to the item. An example of this is a widespread euphemism for having sex; *ecchi suru*, where *ecchi* is H, the first *rōmaji* of *hentai* (変態, 'pervert', 'sexual'). Further examples include *keiwai*, in other words KY, that comes from the initials of *kūki yomenai* (空気読めない, 'can't read atmosphere'), which refers to a person who's unable to read the situation, and therefore does something inappropriate. The thing linking these to English is the pronunciation of the alphabet.

5.3.2 Semantic change and metaphoric meaning

What is the case for many loanwords and *wasei eigo* words is that the word appears to be a completely unchanged English word borrowed into Japanese. This is not, however, the case with many of the words, as it is likely that there has been a semantic shift into a wider or narrower meaning of the word.

Semantic narrowing can be seen in for example in the word *sain* (サイン, 'sign') referring most likely to signature or autograph, not a sign that informs about

something. Also, *baiku* (バイク, 'bike') refers to a motorbike or a scooter, not to a bicycle. A previously mentioned example of *manshon* falls to the category of semantic change as well. Kay (1995: 71) adds *furonto* (フロント, 'front [desk]', 'reception') to the list.

A curious case is the word of Dutch origin *garasu* (ガラス, 'glass'), which refers only to the material, not to drinking glass, which is called *gurasu* (グラス, 'glass') and originates from English (Kay 1995: 72). This is not necessarily a word creation process used to create *wasei eigo* words, but it still indicates a shift away from the original semantics of the word.

Furthermore, brand names can become used as ordinary lexemes. A curious instance is a Japanese phrase *sebunirebun* (セブンイレブン, 'seven-eleven'), which refers to both the chain of convenience stores originating from America, but also people working long hours (Hayashi and Hayashi 1995: 60). The same lexeme pointed out by Miller (1997: 125) is given the meaning of a woman who is always ready for sex; a meaning that is totally different from the meaning suggested by Hayashi and Hayashi.

Other cases of similar process is *tappā* (タッパー) and *hotchikisu* (ホッチキス、ホチキス). *Tappā* originates from Tupperware brand ('tupper'), but is used to describe any kind of plastic container for food stuffs, and *hotchikisu*, meaning 'stapler' comes from the name of an assumed inventor and marketer of staplers, B.B. Hotchkiss (Breen 2010).

In this section I have illustrated the main techniques to create new words based on English, as well as offered some insight to types of semantic shift in the case of some words. In the next section I will discuss by whom the loanwords and *wasei eigo* terms are used, and who are behind their creation.

6 USES OF LOANWORDS IN JAPAN

In this section I will discuss who creates and who on the other hand uses the loanwords in Japan, and what is accomplished by using these words. It can be assumed that the young people who are aware of the current trends and technology are the most likely to create, encounter and use English loanwords.

6.1 Creators and users of loanwords

Takashi (1992) argues that advertising is one of the contexts where loanwords are most present in. She also claims that copywriters as creators of advertisements and appealing to consumers' behaviour are crucial actors in creating new concepts, ideas and therefore introducing new words to the language (Takashi 1992: 134). Also in Daulton's view copywriters are one of the most active borrowers, but he also lists media personnel, journalists, academics and translators as creators and importers of loanwords (Daulton 2004: 286). Furthermore, Miller (1997: 133) points towards advertising business in creation of *wasei eigo* terms. In total, the mass media appears to be the most prominent source of neologisms.

Stanlaw (2004: 90) puts emphasis on the individuality aspect of Japanese loanword creation. As English is a language that is available, anyone can create a new word and start using it. Japan has been a culture where it has been common to live according the norms of the group, but increasing Western influence is slowly affecting ways of thinking as well as the language. It can be said that the modernity of English makes the attitudes modern and puts emphasis on individualism, but it also works vice versa; new attitudes need a new language.

The uses of loanwords are not restricted to any specific context or age group, but they are used by all speakers, by all age groups and in all registers (Morrow 1987: 51). In practice it means that it is impossible to have a conversation in Japanese without using a loanword. It has been noted, though, that young

people are the most eager to accept new loanwords (Koscielecki 2006: 25), and that older people have difficulties in understanding them, as they are most eager to write complaint letters to editorial boards of newspapers over the excess use of foreign words (Tomoda 2005:105). It is also true that in advertising that is targeted to a specific group, advertisements aimed for middle-aged and elderly people include less loanwords than advertising aimed for younger people (Takashi 1990: 333-335).

6.2 Motivation for use of loanwords

From the earliest days of Japanese and Western culture contact, loanwords have been regarded of high value (Nieminen 1994: 294), and the similar trend continues in present-day Japan, too, according to recent research. In Stanlaw's (2004: 168) view English is the language of prestige. Kay (1995) and Takashi (1990) suggest that loanwords are used for expressing Western ideas and lifestyle, as opposed to Japanese traditions. Takashi (1992: 140) also points out that in historical perspective, Japanese products were seen as inferior to the ones imported from Western countries, therefore giving domestic products Western (mainly English) names gave them a desired advanced image.

A study by Takashi (1992) shows that out of the 5,556 loanwords analysed in advertising, the majority were special-effect givers (45.1%) or brand names (25.3%), and only 15.3% were actual lexical gap fillers. This illustrates the Japanese advertising scenery where the main function is to introduce the product in the so-called desired Western light, mostly via English.

Honna (1995: 52) divides the uses of English in Japan into three categories: technical terms, neologisms denoting new or semi-new ideas, and euphemisms. Rebuck (2002) also uses three categories of lexical gap-fillers, special effect givers, and euphemisms. In the following subsections I will tell more about the different uses English loanwords have in the Japanese language.

6.2.1 Filling a lexical gap

When the language contact and cultural exchange between Japan and English speaking cultures began, it was obvious that many words were for items and ideas that had not existed in 19th century feudal Japan. The amount of lexical gaps to be filled was enormous, and all the words could not have been translated into Japanese. Even after the initial exposure to Western cultures, Japanese language has had to borrow many terms from English. Examples of lexical gap fillers are *terebi* (テレビ, 'television') and *pen* (ペン, 'pen') (Takashi 1990: 330).

In recent years, however, the lexical gap fillers are common in technology and science. Honna (1995: 52) suggests that there is no slightest intention to translate many of the technical terms of English origin into Japanese. The aim has been to create a common vocabulary with the West, especially in the areas of science, business and culture.

6.2.2 Telling the East from the West

Loanwords are usually used to refer to the Western version of things. In Japan several things have the same function, but different shape and origin. An example of this is the word for 'rice', which in Japanese is *gohan* (ご飯) when referring to the dish or *kome* (米) when referring to the ingredient. Especially in Western-style restaurants, however, 'rice' is referred to as *raisu* (ライス).

English can often be seen in compound words, such as *appurupai* (アップルパイ, apple pie), but the actual 'apple' is called *ringo* (林檎), and therefore the loanword refers to the taste, and most often to a Western type of food (Kay 1995: 71).

Furthermore, in Japanese houses the sliding door and Western door on hinges are both presently called *doa* (ドア, door), but previously only a door with hinges was a *doa*, and a Japanese sliding door was called *to* (戸) or *tobira* (扉), or more

precisely *shōji* (障子) or *fusuma* (襖), which refer to types of Japanese paper doors with wooden frames. *Gādeningu* (ガーデニング, 'gardening') refers to tending to a Western-style garden with lawn and flowers, whereas *engei* (園芸, 'gardening') is used to refer to Japanese-style gardens with neatly cut trees, small ponds and lanterns (Rebuck 2002: 59).

Other way to use English is reverse from admiring the Western cultures. Haarmann (1989: 13) suggests that referring to Japanese things and ideals in English in advertising, the advertiser is taking the point of view of a foreigner, and the viewer of the advertisement is also made to see Japan through the eyes of the foreigner, to whom Japan is an exotic and interesting culture. Undoubtedly this kind of advertising is rarer than using English to praise Western ideals.

6.2.3 Additional shades of meaning

There are two kinds of nuances expressed in English within Japanese. The first is the one that changes the image of things that do not change, and is used mostly by advertisers. An example would be calling a 'blue sweater' *burū sētā* (ブルーセーター, 'blue sweater') instead of *aoi sētā* (青いセーター, 'blue sweater'). The second is a situation when there is an existing Japanese word for a thing, but a loanword is used to express either a more concrete change in nuance, and not necessarily replacing an existing word. This is used in telling Japanese ideas and concepts from Western ones, as explained in the previous section.

The way English is most present in Japanese advertising is basically expressing a thing in English even though it could be just as well said in Japanese. This is what Kosciellecki (2006: 28) calls "linguistic pollution". In Takashi's study from 1992 the majority of the English words found in advertising were special effect givers, that is, words used instead of available Japanese words (Takashi 1992: 136-137). Especially in advertising English loans are used to appeal to the consumers, and to make the product appear to be sophisticated and admirable.

English is used for modern and sophisticated images outside advertising as well. For example, the opening ceremony of a new shop or hall can be called either *kaikaishiki* (開会式, 'opening ceremony') or *ōpuningu seremonī* (オープニングセレモニー, 'opening ceremony'), depending on the intention to give the event a hint of modernity or treat it more like a traditional happening. The content of the event does not necessarily vary at all from *ōpuningu seremonī* to *kaikaishiki*, but if the modernity can be expressed by words, that is enough.

6.2.4 Euphemisms and social change

Loanwords and *wasei eigo* terms can be used to express social change, for which Japanese language on its own would be ill-equipped. Words such as *mai kā* (マイカー, 'my car') and *mai hōmu* (マイホーム, 'my home') can be seen to be expressions for individuality against the traditional collectivism in Japanese society. Miller points out how this concept of “My” against “the group” is used in advertising, creating products such as My Coffee or My Cheese (Miller 1997: 128).

Concepts such as *puraibashī* (プライバシー, 'privacy') have recently become more popular among Japanese people (Rebuck 2002: 54). In my previous study regarding loanwords (Oksanen 2008), two of the respondents told me that their favourite loanword was *aidentiti* (アイデンティティ, 'identity'), because such a concept could not be expressed in Japanese.

Rebuck (2002: 55) points out the way in which with the increasing individualism the authorities previously thought to be god-like, have been proven to make mistakes, and after certain medical scandals it is possible for the patient to ask for a *sekando opinion* (セカンドオピニオン, 'second opinion') from another doctor. Honna (1995: 46) points out a difficulty in creating Japanese equivalents for medical terms, and how an English loan is used as an euphemism, but also because the Japanese term might be too complicated to understand. In colloquial speech euphemistic terms are almost joke-like and metaphorical, for example calling vasectomy *paipu katto* (パイプカット, 'pipe cut').

It can be said that English has brought with it somewhat liberal attitudes. With English loanwords and euphemisms people are able to discuss things that would be too embarrassing or serious to talk about in native Japanese words. Now that there are lighter English words for taboo things, it is easier to talk about them, and it can be even seen trendy to be aware of those things.

Regarding words and contexts of sexual tone, Japanese uses English terms as euphemisms. For example, the colour pink in combinations such as *pinku eiga* (ピンク映画, 'pink film') refers to pornography, as well as *pinku saron* (ピンクサロン, 'pink salon') refers to clubs that offer sexual services (Miller 1997: 127). These euphemisms on the other hand reflect the social change in Japanese society, because euphemistic words allow these taboo things to be discussed.

Also, as Japan is notorious for not stating anything directly, using loanwords as euphemisms is popular (Kay 1995). Therefore, instead of referring to a priority seat for the elderly as *yūsenseki* (優先席, 'priority seat'), the word used in daily communication is *shirubā shīto* (シルバーシート, 'silver seat'), with the silver referring to the hair colour of the elderly people. Interestingly, grey hair is usually called 'white hair' (白い髪, *shiroi kami*) in Japanese. In this case and many others the Japanese version of the word or phrase may sound too direct or too severe, and because of that a word with less strong connotations is chosen in order to prevent anyone getting insulted by the wording.

During the era of economic growth from 1950's onwards, people started to apply for loans to tag along with the increased consumption. The Japanese word *shakkin* (借金, 'loan') had negative connotations, and therefore the English loan *rōn* (ローン, 'loan') was introduced to change the image of being in debt from economic poverty into being a consumer.

All in all, English loanwords are used in multiple ways in many different contexts. Even though Japanese language itself would be equipped to express the new concepts and ideas flowing to the country, people have adopted English as a source language that is used for different ideas and ideals.

7 PROBLEMS REGARDING LOANWORDS IN JAPANESE

In this section I will discuss some problems related to the massive influx of English terms and pseudo-English created in Japan. Loanwords account to about 10% of Japanese vocabulary, and 90% of loans come from English (Stanlaw 2004: 13-14). According to Stanlaw (2004: 13-14) the share of English loans in the Japanese vocabulary is 8% (data from years 1970-1973). Loveday (2008: 124), however, estimates it to be more than 12% in present-day Japan.

Honna (1995: 45) illustrates the trend in Japan in the 1990's like this:

Fact 1 is that foreign words, mostly English, constitute 10% of the lexicon of a standard Japanese dictionary. Fact 2 is that 13% of the words ordinary people use in daily conversations are foreign words. Fact 3 is that 60%-70% of new words in the annually revised dictionaries of neologisms are from English. (Honna 1995: 45)

Honna continues to draw a picture of readers writing complaint letters to newspapers for using too many of these new words that are misleading, unnecessary and undesirable.

Out of previous studies, many are analysing the types of loans found in different contexts, such as advertising. Many studies also deal with the creation of loanwords and their popularity in daily vocabulary. Takashi (1990) studied the English loans in Japanese advertising, and found out that only 79 of the 919 advertisements analysed did not contain loanwords. The advertisements lacking English were advertising traditional Japanese products, and therefore the use of English-origin loanword was not needed to make the product desirable.

A study carried out by Daulton (2004) revealed that only 75.5% of the 1231 loanwords tested were recognized and understood by the Japanese students. In the same article Daulton (2004: 288) refers to a study conducted by NHK (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation) which showed that 81% of the Japanese citizens have encountered loanwords they did not understand in the media. On

the other hand, Iwasaki (1994: 265) points out that most variation of English is found in advertising texts, whereas newspapers and literature use well-established loans or offer glosses of the unfamiliar loans.

Tomoda (2005: 101) refers to an NHK study from 1991, repeated in 1995, 1996 and 2000, where people were asked about whether they encounter loanwords that they do not understand. The percentage of “often” grew from 16.1% in 1991 to 28.1% in 2000. A conclusion can be made that in the recent years the amount of loanwords has increased, and people find it hard to tag along.

Also other studies conducted by NHK have been quoted by researchers. A survey quoted by Koscielecki (2006: 28) showed that foreign words are most easily accepted by young people, who thought that loanwords are useful in expressing a certain nuance. The same article points out an important factor in studying loanwords; whether new ideas or terminology is introduced or whether an existing Japanese word is being replaced by a Western equivalent.

According to Kay (1995: 73), loanwords are not a threat to Japanese language and its structure, because they are written in a separate system from the native Japanese words. The different writing systems appear to create a barrier that prevents loanwords from completely taking over, but there are many problems with the understanding and overuse of loanwords.

There appears to be a lack of research done on the attitudes towards loanwords, and also on *wasei eigo* as a separate form of loanwords. Taking into account the influx of loans into Japanese, it can be questioned whether the average Japanese people can understand and use the words effectively.

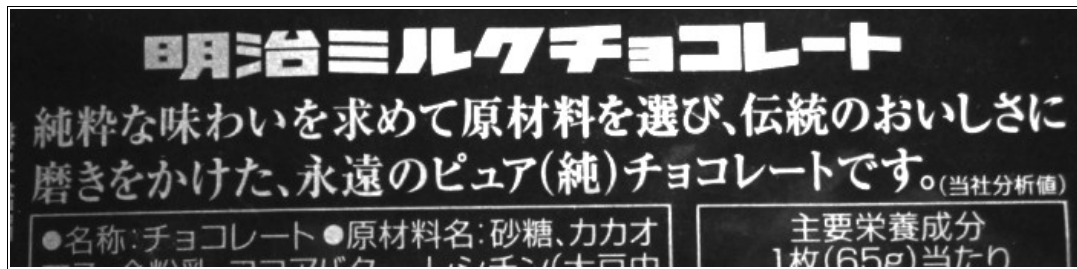


Figure 2. A chocolate wrapper with a loanword followed by translation.

Apparently, the comprehension of loanwords is also questioned by different stakeholders, as Figure 2 shows: a chocolate wrapper that says "...永遠のピュア(純)チョコレートです" (*eien no pyua (jun) chokorēto desu*, '[it is] eternally pure (pure) chocolate'). This piece of text actually offers a translation of the loanword right after it has been used. Similar convention of instant translation was used in the beginning of increasing English-Japanese language contact (Igarashi 2007: 27).

Further problems arise when people are not aware of the origins of loanwords. When the origin of the majority of the loans is in English, it can be easily generalised that all the loans come from English or are translatable back to English. An example of this is found in Kay (1995: 74): "I have to go to my arbeit after classes finish". Arbeit (pronounced *arubaito* in Japanese) in this context means part-time work, a loan derived from the German word 'die Arbeit' which means work. Another example is a Japanese woman in a US grocery store asking for *pīman* (ピーマン, 'bell pepper'), which is actually a French loan, originally 'piment'.

Another threat is that *wasei eigo* is put in the same group with real English. This could be a hindrance for students who are unsure whether an English-sounding word actually is English or not. In Japanese schools *wasei eigo* is briefly discussed in one Japanese or English lesson depending on which study material mentions it. It is not an obligatory thing to teach in Japanese schools, though.

In addition to confusion in word origins, because of the use of fragmented English in advertising and an inefficient language teaching curriculum, many Japanese use Japanese grammatical structures when speaking English. This kind

of cross-linguistic reference is common among L2 learners all over the world, but I would think that in Japan the fragmented English in the media, and the lack of real English input makes the mistakes more common.

In this section I have discussed some problems that loanwords cause in Japan. Despite being creative language users and active borrowers, the Japanese English works only in Japan. It should also be considered that the influx of new items in the vocabulary is bound to make it difficult to keep up with the latest additions. As this section concludes the background part, the next section will start with the introduction of the present study.

8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA

In this section I will introduce the research questions and the approach to the study at hand. I will tell about the data and give some background information about the study participants.

This study aimed to find out native Japanese speakers' opinions about English loanwords. In addition to that, the knowledge about *wasei eigo* was tested, as it as a phenomenon is quite crucial in the creation of loanwords (or rather, pseudo-loans) in Japanese.

8.1 Research questions and the questionnaire

In this section I will introduce the study questions. After that I will discuss the questionnaire that was aimed to find out answers to these questions.

The study questions were:

- Can native Japanese speakers tell *wasei eigo* words and regular English loanwords from each other?
- Are English loanwords replacing native Japanese words in daily discourse?
- What are the attitudes towards English loanwords (including *wasei eigo*) among the Japanese people?

These questions were chosen because they form a whole and complement each other. Japan is a culture of different languages and different Englishes mixing, and it is important to know what the relationship of these Englishes to each other is. *Wasei eigo* is a phenomenon rather unique to Japan, and it can also be seen as posing a threat to the language skills of the Japanese people. One might think that creative use of English would enhance the language skills of the people, but the phenomenon has its reverse side; mistaking *wasei eigo* for real English in English conversation makes it difficult to deliver the message.

Also, as other researches have studied the increasing presence of English in Japan, I found it important to try and find out if English words were replacing Japanese ones in certain contexts, or whether there were different contexts for loanwords and native Japanese words as some researchers (e.g. Stanlaw 2004, Honna 1995) have suggested.

A questionnaire was created to find answers to these questions, and it consisted of three parts. In the first part the participants were presented with 20 words (8 loanwords and 12 *wasei eigo* words), and were then asked if they were normal loanwords or *wasei eigo*, or if they did not know which category the word belonged to.

The words in this part were randomly looked up in the 7th edition of Gakken's *Dictionary of Katakana Words* (カタカナ新語辞典, *Katakana Shingo Jiten*) published in 2008. The dictionary includes 15,000 loanword entries and marks *wasei eigo* with a symbol 和 (*wa*, used to refer to Japanese concepts and language) to distinguish them from normal loanwords. The amount was decided to be 20 items, as 10 appeared too little for this study, and more would have been unnecessary.

The basic format was the following (translations and romanization not included):

エコライフ (*ekoraifu*)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語) (*gairaigo* [English written in *katakana*])

[] 和製英語 (*wasei eigo*)

[] わからない (I don't know)

In addition, the participants were asked to give or explain the meaning of the word in question in English and Japanese, but because only a handful of the participants filled in their translations, they will not be taken into account in the analysis.

The second part consisted of four lists of 10 synonymous word pairs in English

loanwords and corresponding native Japanese words. The participants were asked which one they used more in their daily life. They were also free to comment on them if there was a specific context to use either one. The categories were nouns, verbs and adjectives. In addition, the category of colours was added as a separate group, because colours have been widely used in advertising and marketing instead of native Japanese terms.

In the third part the participants were asked to answer ten questions about how they feel about loanwords and *wasei eigo*. The questions aimed to find out how the Japanese people saw the English presence in their own language; whether they felt English being useful or threatening, or both depending on the context. The last question to the participants was about their favorite loanword. The questionnaire can be found in the appendices in the end of this thesis.

8.2 The participants

The questionnaire was distributed in spring 2009 to 50 Japanese students of Kanazawa University in Japan, of whom 37 replied to the questionnaire. This group was selected as participants for this study because they were participants in international student activities. The group formed a defined group that shares many common factors (age, educational background, interests).

Kanazawa University is a national university with about 11,000 students. It ranks to the range 301-400 in the Academic Ranking of World Universities and range 11-17 on national level in Japan (ARWU 2010). Kanazawa city has 450,000 inhabitants, and it is regarded as a mid-size city, ranking 44th nationwide. The home town of the participants was not asked in this questionnaire.

In order to create a profile of the participants, they were asked their age, gender and field of study. 17 of the participants were female, and 20 were male. Their ages were from 18 to 27, and their fields of study ranged from literature to medicine, law, natural sciences, economics and engineering. The most common field of study, however, was international studies: 13 of the participants were

enrolled on an international studies course. All the participants reported having studied English for more than 6 years, the average study years being 7.64 for female participants and 8.4 for male participants.

In addition they were asked to give a self-evaluation of their English language skills. Speaking, writing, reading and listening were separate categories, and they were also asked to give an overall evaluation of their language skills. No scale was used, so the participants answered in their own words.

In this section I have introduced the structure of the questionnaire. In the next section I will examine the results, starting with the participants' language skills self-evaluation, after which the answers to the questionnaire will be examined in detail.

9 RESULTS

In this part I will introduce the results. The findings will be presented in the same order as in the actual study. I will first introduce the results of the self-evaluation of the participants' language skills, after which I will move on to the actual questionnaire.

Because the amount of participants was only 37, the approach to the data analysis will be qualitative instead of quantitative. Qualitative approach also serves the purpose to find out opinions and explanations in people's own words, and therefore it is suited for this study. Based on the format of the parts 1 and 2, statistics can be made, but only to find out the trends in the answers. The percentages of the answers, along with the participants' own explanations and comments will be used in the analysis.

9.1 The participants' English skills

Most of the participants felt that their speaking skills were average; they were able to talk about everyday things, but they had problems finding the right words to express what they really would like to say. Only 5 participants answered that their speaking skills were good, whereas 13 out of 37 said that their spoken English were bad. When asked about listening skills, the participants found fast speech and native speakers' conversation difficult to follow. Most felt they were able to follow everyday conversations. 6 participants answered that their listening skills were good, and 12 said that theirs was poor.

4 participants answered that their writing skills were good, and 4 said that their skills were poor. The remaining participants said that they can write simple sentences, or simple reports and compositions. Many participants pointed out that they could write better if they could use a dictionary. When it came to reading, 5 participants answered that their reading skills were good, with only 2 directly pointing out that theirs was bad. Most participants felt that their skills were average, but still limited to simple texts.

In conclusion, the participants saw their English skills as average in Japan: speaking and listening was more difficult than reading and writing.

9.2 Origins of English loans

The participants were presented with a list of 20 words, 8 of which were normal loanwords (*gairaigo*) and 12 were *wasei eigo* words. The participants were asked if the word was a normal loanword or a *wasei eigo* word. The options were *gairaigo*, *wasei eigo*, and “I don’t know.”

In the analysis of the result the types of answers were divided into 3 categories:

- correct answers
- wrong answers (mistaking *gairaigo* for *wasei eigo* and vice versa)
- “I don’t know” answers

Dividing the answers only to the categories of correct and incorrect would not have given the answer to the question whether *wasei eigo* was mistaken for a normal loanword, and therefore wrong answers and “I don't know” answers represent different categories of answers. The main focus in this study is the category of wrong answers, as it represents the confusion of loanwords and *wasei eigo*.

In the following is the list of words tested, followed by their rough translation into English, and a notion whether the word is a *wasei eigo* word.

<i>pēpādoraibā</i>	(paper driver, person who has a driver’s license but does not drive) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>pēpātesuto</i>	(paper test, written test) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>nonkarorī</i>	(non-calorie, light/sugar-free) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>sukinshippu</i>	(skinship, physical closeness) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>ekoraifu</i>	(ecolife, ecological lifestyle) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>sukaisukurēpā</i>	(skyscraper)
<i>masutākōsu</i>	(master course, master’s program/graduate school) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>nonsutoppu</i>	(non-stop)
<i>furīsaizu</i>	(free-size, one-size) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>monosekkusu</i>	(monosex, unisex) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>hairaito</i>	(highlight)
<i>masutāpuran</i>	(master plan)
<i>furusukēru</i>	(full scale)
<i>sabaibarugēmu</i>	(survival game)

<i>kanningupēpā</i>	(cunning paper, cheat sheet) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>yunittobasu</i>	(unit bath, combined bathroom and toilet [which in Japan are usually separate]) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>afutāsukī</i>	(after ski)
<i>nyūmedia</i>	(new media)
<i>shirubāhaushingu</i>	(silver housing, housing for elderly people) (<i>wasei</i>)
<i>furontogarasu</i>	(front glass, windscreen) (<i>wasei</i>)

Total percentage of correct answers, *gairaigo* known to be *gairaigo* and *wasei eigo* known to be *wasei eigo*, was 46.64%. Of the incorrect answers, 30.85% were wrong choices, and 23.51% “I don’t know” answers. “I don’t know” answers substituted into the incorrect answers category in the following Table 1. Answers with a remarkable amount of “I don’t know” answers are marked separately.

Table 1. Correct and incorrect percentages per word. (In Table 1 the words that had a remarkable amount of “I don’t know” answers are mentioned.)

	Correct %	Incorrect %
<i>kanningupēpā</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	89.2	10.8
<i>pēpādoraibā</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	75.7	24.3
<i>sabaibarugēmu</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>)	75.7	24.3
<i>ekoraifu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	67.6	32.4
<i>hairaito</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>)	62.2	37.8
<i>pēpātesuto</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	54.1	45.9
<i>nyūmedia</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>)	54.1	45.9
<i>nonsutoppu</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>) [note: no I don’t know answers]	51.4	48.6
<i>shirubāhaushingu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	48.7	51.3
<i>furīsaizu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	45.9	54.1
<i>furusukēru</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>)	45.9	54.1
<i>nonkarorī</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	45.9	54.1
<i>furontogarasu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	37.8	62.2
<i>sukaisukurēpā</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>) [note: all incorrect answers I don’t know]	32.3	67.7
<i>yunittobasu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	27.0	73.0
<i>sukinshippu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	24.3	75.7
<i>masutāpuran</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>) [note: 21/37 I don’t know answers]	21.6	78.4
<i>afutāsukī</i> (<i>gairaigo</i>) [note: 27/37 I don’t know answers]	18.9	81.1
<i>monosekkusu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>) [note: 18/37 I don’t know answers]	16.2	83.8
<i>masutākōsu</i> (<i>wasei eigo</i>)	8.1	91.9

Based on the findings listed above, it can be seen that there is a great variation regarding the familiarity of word origins. When it comes to the high percentage of “I don’t know” answers, the answers should be analysed taking into the account all the percentages; correct, incorrect, “I don’t know”.

The words with most wrong answers were *wasei eigo* words. That is, most of

the *wasei eigo* words with incorrect answers were not “I don’t know” answers, but the words were thought to be real English words. Among the 9 words with more than 25% wrong answers (excluding “I don’t know” answers), there is only one normal loanword (Table 2). The majority are *wasei eigo* terms that are thought to be real English.

Table 2. The words with most incorrect answers.

	Incorrect %
<i>masutākōsu</i>	75.7
<i>sukinshippu</i>	62.2
<i>yunitobasu</i>	62.2
<i>furontogarasu</i>	51.4
<i>nonkarorī</i>	45.9
<i>nonstoppu (gairaigo)</i>	48.6
<i>furīsaizu</i>	37.8
<i>monosekkusu</i>	35.1
<i>pēpātesuto</i>	35.1

On the other hand, the majority of words with more than 25% of “I don’t know” answers were real English words. Among the 7 words that had an “I don’t know” percentage over 25, there are only two *wasei eigo* terms. Table 3 illustrates the words that the participants were most unsure of.

Table 3. The words with most origin unknown.

	I don't know answers %
<i>afutāsukī</i>	73
<i>sukaisukurēpā</i> [note: all incorrect were I don't know answ	67.6
<i>masutāpuran</i>	56.8
<i>monosekkusu (wasei eigo)</i>	48.7
<i>shirubāhaushingu (wasei eigo)</i>	37.8
<i>nyūmedia</i>	29.7
<i>furusukēru</i>	29.7

The total percentage of correct answers was 46.64%, leaving more than 50% of the words unfamiliar to the participants. It is not known, whether the participants have heard all the words being used, as in some cases the high “I don't know” percentage suggests that the word was unfamiliar to the participants.

The percentages for correct answers ranged from 89.2 to 8.1. The least well known word appears to be *masutākōsu* ('master course'), which interestingly is

a word the participants might be very familiar with, as it stands for 'post-graduate programme'. Still, only 8.1% of the participants could tell that this lexeme was a *wasei eigo* word. Familiarity of the word and taking it for granted as a word of English origin might be one of the reasons the participants were fairly sure of it being real English. Also, as it is a word used by universities, it is thought to be a word issued by a higher authority, and therefore automatically authentic English.

On the other hand, the word with least wrong answers was also school-related. *Kanningupēpā* ('cunning paper') is a *wasei eigo* word that means cheat sheet. This is a well-established *wasei eigo* word, and therefore many people know the origins of it.

The *wasei eigo* words the participants were most familiar with were *kanningupēpā* ('cunning paper'), *pēpādoraibā* ('paper driver') and *ekoraifu* ('eco-life'). *Pēpādoraibā* is also a very common example of a *wasei eigo* word, which must explain the amount of correct answers. Still, only $\frac{3}{4}$ of the participants recognized it not to be real English.

Among the most unfamiliar words *sukinshippu* ('skinship'), *yunitobasu* ('unit bath') and *monosekkusu* ('unisex') received more than 70% of incorrect answers. Especially *sukinshippu* is a curious word, as it looks like English words 'friendship' or 'championship'. As most of the *wasei eigo* words are combinations of English words or shortened English words, but in the case of *sukinshippu*, an English derivational suffix 'ship' is added to the word 'skin'. These kinds of words are rather rare, but as they resemble real English, they may be misleading for the learners of English.

The *wasei eigo* word *monosekkusu* ('monosex') does resemble its English equivalent 'unisex', which may be a misleading factor. Both 'uni' and 'mono' are prefixes that refer to 'one', but from different languages; 'uni' comes from Latin whereas 'mono' comes from Greek. Why have the Japanese created such a word when there was an English existing word to borrow? Furthermore, the word

'monosex' has a colloquial meaning of masturbation in some English cultures.

The words with most "I don't know" answers were *sukaisukurēpā* ('sky scraper') and *afutāsukī* ('after ski'). Regarding *sukaisukurēpā* it could be the case that the Japanese equivalent *matenrō* (摩天楼) is more prominent, although calling tall buildings *takai biru* (高いビル, 'tall building') is also common. *Afutāsukī* being less known could be because despite Japan being a country where skiing is a popular sport, the term 'after ski' is mostly used in Europe and America, despite being listed in the loanword dictionary. It is interesting, too, that the word originally comes from French (*après ski*), but the Japanese version is its English equivalent.

Altogether there are many factors that lead to misunderstanding of *wasei eigo*. In some cases it is the unfamiliarity and low frequency of the word (for example *afutāsukī*). However, the creation of *wasei eigo* words that resemble English words could be misleading. The words might be a mixture of only word elements (suffixes or prefixes) and not only two words compounded. There are no specific patterns for *wasei eigo* creation or a way to analyse them using traditional methods as Miller (1997) suggests. Despite Japanese people being able to create English-based words, it is not a given that the words will be understood by them, or that there would be a foolproof way to define the origin of a word other than checking it from a reliable source.

9.3 Preference in use of similar terms

In the second part of the questionnaire the participants were asked about 40 word pairs; a native Japanese word and its similar synonymous counterpart of English origin. The words were three different types – nouns, adjectives, and verbs – in addition to which colours were examined as a separate category. Loanwords for colour terms have been used widely in advertising, which is why the terms were chosen as a separate category.

The participants were asked which version of the word they would most

probably use, or if they used both as much, or if they were used in different contexts which made them less synonymous. They were also given the possibility to comment if there was something to be taken into consideration.

9.3.1 Nouns

Concrete nouns were the second easiest group of words to come up with, as there is a concrete context for most of them in which they are used, and they are clearer to understand to be near-synonyms. The words in the noun category are listed below. The original Japanese word as well as its reading is given, then the *gairaigo* word. Both are accompanied by transcription.

速度 <i>sokudo</i>	スピード <i>supīdo</i>	speed
航空便 <i>kōkūbin</i>	エアメール <i>eamēru</i>	air mail
百貨店 <i>hyakkaten</i>	デパート <i>depāto</i>	department store
髪の毛 <i>kaminoke</i>	ヘア <i>hea</i>	hair
うちの車 <i>uchi no kuruma</i>	マイカー <i>maikā</i>	one's (family's) car
さくらんぼ <i>sakuranbo</i>	チェリー <i>cherī</i>	cherry (fruit)
ご飯 <i>gohan</i>	ライス <i>raisu</i>	rice (as a dish)
料理 <i>ryōri</i>	フード <i>fūdo</i>	food
机 <i>tsukue</i>	テーブル <i>tēburu</i>	table
切符 <i>kippu</i>	チケット <i>chiketto</i>	ticket

Of the words listed, there were certain word pairs that were clearly synonyms, and some pairs that were clearly divided into Japanese and Western. Based on the answers, the following Table 4 was created.

Table 4. Percentages of the answers in 'nouns' section.

		Japanese term	No preference	English term	
speed	<i>sokudo</i>	5.4	2.7	91.9	<i>supīdo</i>
air mail	<i>kōkūbin</i>	32.4	5.4	62.2	<i>eamēru</i>
department store	<i>hyakkaten</i>	5.4	2.7	91.9	<i>depāto</i>
hair	<i>kaminoke</i>	97.3	0	2.7	<i>hea</i>
one's car	<i>uchi no kuruma</i>	75.7	0	24.3	<i>maikā</i>
cherry	<i>sakuranbo</i>	75.7	2.7	21.6	<i>cherī</i>
rice	<i>gohan</i>	91.9	2.7	5.4	<i>raisu</i>
food	<i>ryōri</i>	100	0	0	<i>fūdo</i>
table	<i>tsukue</i>	46	13.5	40.5	<i>tēburu</i>
ticket	<i>kippu</i>	48.7	16.2	35.1	<i>chiketto</i>

Table 4 illustrates the variation among the different nouns. It is seen that in some cases the English term was clearly preferred over the Japanese one

('speed', 'department store', and 'air mail'), but in most occasions the situation was reversed; Japanese equivalent was preferred over the English loan. Only the concept 'table' had almost equal preference in Japanese and English.

The word pairs in which the Japanese word was preferred were 'hair', 'one's car', 'cherry', 'rice', and 'food'. With these word pairs the Japanese word preference was above 75%, and 'food' being referred to solely with the Japanese term. Surprisingly, three terms were mostly used in their English form. These were 'speed', 'department store', and 'air mail', each reaching over 60% preference, and speed and department store having an English preference of over 90%. With the remaining two word pairs, 'ticket' and 'table', the distribution of the preference was strong, and the grey area was bigger as well. The reasons behind this are discussed later in this section.

Many participants offered additional explanations of common use or personal preference of loanword versus Japanese word use. For the first item, 'speed', the respondents said that the Japanese *sokudo* (速度, 'speed') would be used for measuring for example wind speed, whereas *supīdo* (スピード) would be used for cars and trains. The third concept on the list, 'department store' is usually called *depāto* (デパート), but certain older chains with a long history call themselves *hyakkaten* (百貨店). The word *hyakkaten* is according to the respondents used for older stores, although they can also be called *depāto*.

Despite being popular in compound words (for example *heakatto*, 'hair cut'; *heamēku*, 'hair and make-up'; *headoressā*, 'hair dresser'), *hea* (ヘア) is not used as a single word to refer to 'hair', mostly because of its euphemistic value; the word *hea* (also *heā*) is also used as a colloquial term for pubic hair. One participant said that the word *hea* may be used by beauticians and other professionals on the field. The word to describe hair on one's head is *kami* (髪, 'hair') or *kaminoke* (髪の毛, 'hair').

Furthermore, the word for 'food' was with no exception referred to as *ryōri* (料理), but one participant pointed out that the word *fūdo* can be used to refer to

pet food. This suggests an interesting division between the uses of the different languages, as the meaning is semantically narrowed to only a specific type of food. The word *fāsuto fūdo* ('fast food') has been well established in the language, but the words *fāsuto* and *fūdo* are not used separately. In addition to that, the word *fāsuto* matches with the Japanese pronunciation of *first*, in for example *fāsuto kurasu* ('first class'). One factor that should be taken into consideration is that if a compound word or a phrase has entered Japanese from English, it is not necessarily the case that the parts of those combinations would be used on their own.

An interesting fact was offered by many participants, when asked about the word 'cherry'. The participants said that the loanword *cherī* (チェリー) is used mainly for cherries produced abroad, but the cherries produced in Japan are called *sakuranbo* (さくらんぼ). The meaning is roughly the same, but the country of origin divides the lexeme into two, as it has been discussed earlier with division into Western and Japanese items (Kay 1995). In the case of cherries, however, Japanese and foreign cherries are roughly the same. It should be investigated if similar word pairs exist.

Further comparisons between Western and Japanese things can be found in the next word for 'rice', which refers to rice served with a main dish. According to the participants they use the Japanese word *gohan* (ご飯, 'rice'; also 'food'), which is the word encountered in Japanese restaurants. On the other hand, 'rice' is called *raisu* (ライス) in restaurants that sell Western foods. In both cases the rice is likely to be produced in Japan, so in this case it is only the setting in which the food is served that determines the use of a specific lexeme.

Similarly, the division between East and West can be seen in the word for 'table'. In Japanese style room a table is usually called *tsukue* (机), but a Western room has a *tēburu* (テーブル). *Tsukue* refers to the low table, around which people sit on cushions, whereas *tēburu* is more likely to be accompanied by chairs. On the other hand, it seems that a dining table is more likely to be *tēburu*, and a desk is called *tsukue*. In daily life, it is common to use either term, however, which

might be the reason behind the participants' opinions being less unanimous than with the other word pairs.

The last item in the list of nouns was 'ticket'. According to the participants, the native Japanese word *kippu* (切符) is used for train and bus tickets, and the English loan *chiketto* (チケット) is used for concerts, air planes, and hotels, for example. The case seems to be similar to 'table', as these words appear not to be either-or, but rather a flexible continuum where the message can be got across using either term.

In this section I have presented the results of the first part of the word preference questionnaire. It has been pointed out that the reasons for using a specific native Japanese word or a loanword are multifaceted and depending highly on the context in which the word is used.

9.3.2 Adjectives

The second part of section 2 of the questionnaire was about adjectives. Finding synonyms or near-synonyms was a challenge, and some word pairs are clearly divided into those used in Japanese contexts and those used in Western contexts.

辛い <i>karai</i>	スパイシー <i>supaishī</i>	spicy
幸運な <i>kōun-na</i>	ラッキーな <i>rakkīna</i>	lucky
簡単な <i>kantan-na</i>	シンプルな <i>shinpuruna</i>	simple
満 <i>man</i>	フル <i>fulu</i>	full
鋭い <i>surudoī</i>	シャープな <i>shāpuna</i>	sharp
特別な <i>tokubetsu-na</i>	スペシャルな <i>supesharuna</i>	special
創作的 <i>sōsakuteki</i>	クリエイティブな <i>kuriētibuna</i>	creative
速い <i>hayai</i>	ファーストな <i>fāsutona</i>	fast
うれしい <i>ureshii</i>	ハッピーな <i>happī</i>	happy
劇的 <i>gekiteki</i>	ドラマチックな <i>doramachikkuna</i>	dramatic

The results for this part are presented in the following table (Table 5). A surprising finding was the clear preference of Japanese terms. At the same time, the “no preference” category was quite small.

Table 5. Percentages of the answers in 'adjectives' section.

		Japanese term	No preference	English term	
hot, spicy	<i>karai</i>	91.9	2.7	5.4	<i>supaishī</i>
lucky	<i>kōun-na</i>	0	2.7	97.3	<i>rakkī-na</i>
simple	<i>kantan-na</i>	48.6	5.7	40.5	<i>shinpuru-na</i>
full	<i>man</i>	56.8	0	43.2	<i>furu-na</i>
sharp	<i>surudoī</i>	83.8	0	16.2	<i>shāpu-na</i>
special	<i>tokubetsu-na</i>	83.8	2.7	13.5	<i>supesharu-na</i>
creative	<i>sōsakuteki-na</i>	56.8	2.7	40.5	<i>kuriētibu-na</i>
fast	<i>hayai</i>	100	0	0	<i>fāsuto-na</i>
happy	<i>ureshii</i>	70.3	2.7	27	<i>happī-na</i>

It can be seen in Table 5 that there was certain variation among the words, and with one word 'fast' the Japanese preference is 100%. On the other hand, the English word 'lucky' has 97.3% preference against its Japanese equivalent. Furthermore, 'simple' seems to divide the opinions into two, as well as 'full' and 'dramatic'.

In the case of adjectives, it seems that the Japanese words are more commonly used. In total, the participants had less to comment on the adjectives. Some interesting things were pointed out, however. Only two terms had a remarkable English word preference: 'lucky' and 'dramatic'. *Rakkī* (ラッキー) is a widely used term in spoken Japanese, and it has been used to describe both fortune and happiness. There are many terms in Japanese used to refer to different kinds of luck, and finding a word that would be the most suitable counterpart for *rakkī* was difficult.

Food appears to be an easy genre to divide things into Japanese and the other. In the noun section rice and cherries were discussed, and in the adjective part I asked about 'spicy'. The Japanese word *karai* (辛い) means hot, strong flavour or spicy, and its Western equivalent is *supaishī* (スパイシー). Yet again, in this case, the Japanese word is used for Japanese food, and *supaishī* for Indian food, and foods that are more spicy than strongly flavoured.

The word for 'simple' divided the participants' opinions clearly in two. The Japanese word *kantan* (簡単) got only three votes more than the English *shinpuru* (シンプル). The participants pointed out differences in nuances, though.

Whereas *kantan* is the antonym of 'difficult', *shinpuru* is seen as the antonym of 'complicated'. It also seems that *shinpuru* has a more positive nuance than *kantan*.

In this section I have presented the results for the second part of the second part of the questionnaire. Next I will introduce the third part of part two, colours.

9.3.3 Colours

Colours were chosen as a separate group to be inquired in the study, because they form clearly matching pairs. Furthermore, many researchers have paid attention to the presence of English colour terms in Japanese, for example Stanlaw (2004).

The colour word pairs chosen for this study were the following.

青い	<i>aoi</i>	ブルー	<i>burū</i>	blue
黒い	<i>kuroi</i>	ブラック	<i>burakku</i>	black
桃色	<i>momoiro</i>	ピンク	<i>pinku</i>	pink
白い	<i>shiroi</i>	ホワイト	<i>howaito</i>	white
銀色	<i>gin'iro</i>	シルバー	<i>shirubā</i>	silver
緑	<i>midori</i>	グリーン	<i>gurīn</i>	green
紫	<i>murasaki</i>	パープル	<i>pāpuru</i>	purple
赤い	<i>akai</i>	レッド	<i>reddo</i>	red
橙色	<i>daidaiiro</i>	オレンジ	<i>orenji</i>	orange
茶色	<i>chairo</i>	ブラウン	<i>buraun</i>	brown

The results of the colour section of the questionnaire can be seen in the following. As Table 6 indicates, the either-or preference was very strong with colour terms. Most of the colours were almost entirely referred to in Japanese ('blue', 'black', 'white', 'green', 'purple', 'red', and 'brown'), whereas two were referred to mostly in English ('pink' and 'orange'), and there appeared to be only one colour 'silver' that divided the opinions in two.

Table 6. Percentages of answers in the 'colours' section.

		Japanese term	No preference	English term	
blue	<i>aoi</i>	91.9	2.7	5.4	<i>burū</i>
black	<i>kuroi</i>	97.3	2.7	0	<i>burakku</i>
pink	<i>momoiro</i>	10.8	2.7	85.5	<i>pinku</i>
white	<i>shiroi</i>	94.6	0	5.4	<i>howaito</i>
silver	<i>gin'iro</i>	40.5	2.7	56.8	<i>shirubā</i>
green	<i>midori</i>	94.6	2.7	2.7	<i>gurīn</i>
purple	<i>murasaki</i>	97.3	2.7	0	<i>pāpuru</i>
red	<i>akai</i>	97.3	2.7	0	<i>reddo</i>
orange	<i>daidai-iro</i>	2.7	0	97.3	<i>orenji</i>
brown	<i>cha-iro</i>	94.6	2.7	2.7	<i>buraun</i>

The colours 'orange' and 'pink' were most likely to be referred to with loanword terms. The percentages were 85.5% for pink, and 97.3% for orange. A few participants pointed out that especially *daidaiiro* (橙色, 'orange') had such a difficult *kanji* that it was likely people could not read or write it. With people starting to prefer a loanword over a native Japanese word, the Japanese word slowly drops away from the daily vocabulary, and becomes rarer and eventually archaic.

One more term that was used more in its loanword form was 'silver' (*gin'iro*, 銀色), which does not necessarily belong to the list of natural colours. One of the reasons why the loanword would be used more than its Japanese counterpart could be the presence of *wasei eigo* terms using the word *shirubā* ('silver') to refer to elderly people. The remaining colours, however, appear to be referred to in their native Japanese words.

In this section I have presented the results of the colours section of the questionnaire. The results do not indicate that loanwords for colours are used actively in daily discourse, whereas research suggests that they are present in advertising and other contexts. It is clear, however, that the linguistic world of advertising and slogans is not reflected in the everyday speech.

9.3.4 Verbs

Verbs as a category was the most difficult one to find suitable pairs to analyse. The words were either used in different contexts, or were not as nearly as

synonymous as nouns or adjectives. When it came to verbs, there appears to be a stronger division between Japanese and English words. It also seems to be that loanword verbs carry more of an euphemistic value, and are more likely to be used in casual contexts. As mentioned in section 5.2, it is possible to form verbs from English and other nouns just by adding the verb *suru*. Many words have come to Japanese from English via this route, but it should be taken into account that not all nouns can act as verbs, or vice versa.

The verbs included in the questionnaire were the following. Some Japanese words were given two options, to give the participants the correct context or image in order to make the loanword fit into the context.

性交する <i>seikō suru</i>	セックスする <i>sekkusu suru</i>	to have sex
確かめる <i>tashikameru</i>	チェックする <i>chekku suru</i>	to check, to confirm
得る/手に入れる <i>eru / te ni ireru</i>	ゲットする <i>getto suru</i>	to get, to obtain
出発する/始まる <i>shuppatsu suru / hajimaru</i>	スタートする <i>sutāto suru</i>	to start
探す <i>sagasu</i>	サーチする <i>sāchi suru</i>	to search
練習する <i>renshū suru</i>	トレーニングする <i>torēningu suru</i>	to practice, to train
予約する <i>yoyaku suru</i>	リザーブする <i>rizābu suru</i>	to reserve
案内する <i>annai suru</i>	ガイダンスする <i>gaidansu suru</i>	to give guidance
交じる <i>majiru</i>	ミックスする <i>mikkusu suru</i>	to mix
鍵をかける <i>kagi wo kakeru</i>	ロックする <i>rokku suru</i>	to lock

For practical reasons, in Table 7 some of the words appear in shorter forms, or only other of the words is given in the case the loanword was given two translations in Japanese.

Table 7. Percentages of answers in 'verbs' section.

		Japanese term	No preference	English term	
to have sex	<i>seikō suru</i>	0	2.7	97.3	<i>sekkusu suru</i>
to confirm	<i>tashikameru</i>	27	5.4	67.6	<i>chekku suru</i>
to get something	<i>eru / te ni ireru</i>	59.5	0	40.5	<i>getto suru</i>
to start	<i>hajimaru</i>	70.3	2.7	27	<i>sutāto suru</i>
to search	<i>sagasu</i>	97.3	2.7	0	<i>sāchi suru</i>
to practice	<i>renshū suru</i>	75.7	2.7	21.6	<i>torēningu suru</i>
to reserve	<i>yoyaku suru</i>	100	0	0	<i>rizābu suru</i>
to guide	<i>annai suru</i>	100	0	0	<i>gaidansu suru</i>
to mix	<i>majiru</i>	64.9	2.7	32.4	<i>mikkusu suru</i>
to lock	<i>kagi wo kakeru</i>	70.3	2.7	27	<i>rokku suru</i>

It can be seen in Table 7 that there were three verbs that did not seem to be used at all in the English loanword form ('to search', 'to reserve', and 'to guide'). Also one word ('to have sex') was used only in the English form.

Altogether the trend in the results was quite similar to the results in previous word categories. Some words had mostly English preference, but the majority preferred the Japanese term of the word pair. Only two terms had an English preference over 50%: 'to have sex', and 'to confirm'.

The words in this part of the questionnaire have certain pairs that are used in euphemistic way. The word *sekkusu suru* is merely an euphemism of *seikō suru*, which is a rather formal term used in textbooks. This explains the English preference, and also makes it clear that these two words are used in different contexts and even though they are synonymous, they cannot be mutually interchanged. Another term to refer to 'having sex' is *ecchi suru*, which has its etymology in the Japanese word *hentai*, as mentioned previously in section 5.3.1.

The concept 'to confirm' or 'to check' is an interesting case. I was not expecting the participants to be for the loanword to this extent, as the word *chekku suru* does not serve any euphemistic purpose. A further analysis in corpora would be needed to give contexts in which *chekku suru* is actually used, and if it in these cases is replacing *tashikameru*. In Sanseidō's Dual Corpus, which is based on Japanese-English and English-Japanese dictionaries with about 78,000 example sentences in both languages, the word *chekku* appears in 10 example sentences of which 5 are in the context of 'to check' as in opposed to 'chequered'. In most cases the context is 'to check for mistakes' or 'to inspect' instead of 'to confirm'.

It appears that some words are more like umbrella terms that can be used in casual contexts. An example of this is *getto suru*, which means 'to get' or 'to obtain' something. It is usually used in positive contexts, and is often associated with luck or effort to achieve something. Therefore the Japanese equivalent offered in this questionnaire was not the most suitable one to find out how

much the word *getto suru* is actually used.

In the case of verbs there were a few instances in which the loanword is not widely known and therefore not used, even though it is listed in dictionaries. Examples of these unknown words are *sāchi suru* and *rizābu suru* for 'to search' and 'to reserve'. It appears that these words are recognised, but as they are not used, they have not become widely known.

This section illustrated the findings of the second part of the questionnaire. In the next section I will introduce the results of the third part of the questionnaire.

9.4 Opinions about loanwords

The last part of the questionnaire was about opinions towards loanwords. The questionnaire sheet had ten open questions in Japanese and English, which the participants could answer in Japanese or English. Most of them replied in Japanese. In this section I will introduce the opinions and views of the participants.

Some questions offered more to discuss, and some questions were answered by one word, which did not leave much to discuss, but offered a rather direct or unanimous opinion. As most of the participants replied in Japanese, I have translated their comments into English.

9.4.1. Contexts for loanwords

The first question was about in which contexts the participants encountered loanwords. Many offered specific contexts, but the most common answer was that the foreign words were used in daily lives and conversation (Examples 1, 2, and 3). This supports the facts that it is impossible to use Japanese without resorting into use of loanwords.

- (1) 普段の生活でたくさんあるすぎてあまり気にしてないのでわかりません。
I don't know because there are too much of them in normal life so I don't really pay attention to them.
Female, 18, international studies.
- (2) 特に決めた場面ではなく、いつも使います。
There isn't a set context, I use them all the time.
Male, 23, literature.
- (3) 会話の中で自然に使っている
街中の看板によくある(ヘアーサロン、レストランなど)
I use them naturally in conversation.
They are common in the signs around town (*heāsaron, resutoran* etc)
Female, 19, international studies.

More specific contexts where loanwords were encountered were technical terms, names of food, signs of shops, signs at the station and other public places, menus in restaurants, fashion related topics, and commercial messages.

Some participants, however, mentioned less specific, but linguistically relevant contexts. These were notions how and when the loanwords were used, and by whom and why. The way Japanese is occasionally felt to be too stiff or formal was brought up by a couple of respondents (Example 4).

- (4) 日本語のままだと意味やニュアンスがかたくなるような時
When the Japanese meaning and nuance would be too stiff
Female, 19, international studies.
- (5) 友達とのくだけた会話で強調表現に使う。日本語として定着したものもある。
They are used in informal conversation with friends for emphasis. There are words established in Japanese as well.
Male, 18, mathematical and physical sciences
- (6) カタカナの方が格好いいと感ぜられる時
When using *katakana* would be cooler.
Male, 22, literature.

When used in visual conversation, such as in email or instant messaging, loanwords might offer a different visual aspect, but in oral communication it is possible that they are used in the way English would use a change in word stress when intending to put emphasis on a specific word. In any language written in Latin alphabet the emphasis can be expressed by italics or in bold print, but in Japanese you can change a word into another language, and that acts as emphasis (Examples 5 and 6).

The differences between Japan and Western countries are also evidently familiar to the respondents. In these two examples (7 and 8) the participants pointed out that loanwords are used to refer to things not originating from Japan.

- (7) 西洋から日本に入ってきた文化、物に対してよく外来語が使われている気がします
It feels that loanwords are used for culture and things that come to Japan from the West.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (8) 日本に無かった物、事表現する時
When discussing things that are not originally Japanese.
Male, 27, natural sciences.

In this section it has been pointed out that English loanwords are used for everyday communication, in addition to which they are known for their ability to either make things smoother or more emphasised. Furthermore, the underlying distinction of East and West is and can be expressed with the language.

9.4.2. Loanwords and other Japanese words

The second question aimed to discuss the participants' perception of the assumed distinction of loanwords from Japanese words. The majority of the participants answered that they did not see loanwords being different from other Japanese words. 23 of the participants gave a direct answer that they do not see loanwords as a different part of the vocabulary. Only 11 participants said that they see them as a separate entity.

Some of the participants pointed out difficulties and opinions about how many things affect if the words are regarded to be Japanese or foreign language. Men were more likely to differentiate loanwords and Japanese words from each other than women; only two female participants said directly that in their view loanwords are different from Japanese.

- (9) 生活の中でよく使う外来語はほとんど日本語とみなしている。
The loanwords used in daily life are mostly Japanese.
Female, 19, international studies.

- (10) 外来語と和製英語が入りまじっていて、外来語だとわかるものが少ないので、区別していません。
Because loanwords and *wasei eigo* words have been mixed, there are only a few words that can be understood to be loanwords, so I don't try to separate them from each other.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (11) 意味を知っていてよく使うものなら別のものとみなさない
If I know the meaning and use the word a lot, I don't think of it as a different thing.
Female, 20, literature.

One point supporting the view that loanwords are a part of the Japanese lexicon is undeniably their popularity and amount (Examples 9, 10 and 11). The speakers of Japanese are used to referring to things in foreign words, and the English words have been adopted to the Japanese language as a full-fledged part of it. Interestingly, the last example above points out how meaning and frequency of use define the status of the word in the vocabulary. It is true that a word such as *kēki* ('cake') is regarded to be more established in the Japanese vocabulary than for example *ōsodokkusu* ('orthodox').

Some participants mentioned the visual aspect in differentiating loanwords and native Japanese words. The different writing system has been used to describe the loanwords as being *katakana* language, which suggests that they are a different language within Japanese (Examples 12 and 13).

- (12) Yes, they are sort of カタカナ語. (*katakana*-language).
Male, 19, international studies.
- (13) やはりカタカナだから平仮名や漢字とはちょっと違う感じがする。
Of course, being in *katakana* gives a different feeling from *hiragana* and *kanji*.
Female, 19, international studies.

The misunderstandings and criticism in front of the ever growing flood of words was also brought into discussion by a couple of participants. Misunderstanding often leads into criticism, but in the case of the extensive English and other foreign language presence in Japanese the criticism could be because the phenomenon is easily recognized and present in everyday life (Examples 14 and 15).

- (14) はい。外来語の中には日本語として定着し、共通して使われているものがありますが、外来語のスペルで辞書を引いて調べるまでわからないものもあります。
Yes. Even though there are words that are established in Japanese and used commonly in Japanese, there are words I don't understand even if I look them up in a dictionary.
Male, 20, international studies.
- (15) ほとんど別だと思っています。なるべく使わないようにしてます。
They are mostly a different thing. I try not to use them.
Male, 20, education.

While it is possible to avoid using loanwords in daily life, it is a difficult task. Of course, when there is a native Japanese term and an English loanword term for the same concept, the language user has the possibility to make a choice.

9.4.3 Opinions about *wasei eigo*

The opinions regarding *wasei eigo* varied between highly positive and critical, and the fact that *wasei eigo* is not real English was also brought up by the participants. The most common answer to the question "What do you think about *wasei eigo*?" was "変です" (*hen desu*, 'it's strange'), which very well describes the phenomenon in all its aspects.

The positive side of *wasei eigo* was that it could be used to express things that did not have a suitable expression in Japanese. *Wasei eigo* is often associated with the 'image' (イメージ, *imēji*) and feeling of things, as illustrated in Examples 16, 17, and 18. It could be far-fetched, but the assumption that the foreign-sounding words are used to convey images could be somehow related to the visual aspect in Japanese language.

- (16) 日本語だけではイメージしにくいので和製英語はがあると便利だと思う
Wasei eigo is convenient because it is difficult to give the right image by just Japanese.
Female, 18, international studies.
- (17) 新しい印象や格がいい、素敵だなど良いイメージがある。
There's an impression of novelty, and cool and stylish image (about *wasei eigo*).
Female, 21, law.
- (18) 自分の気持ちにぴったりする言葉もあり、便利だと思います。
There are words that match my feelings, therefore it's convenient.
Female, 18, international studies.

Wasei eigo was recognized to be a phenomenon that could not be avoided. Like

normal loanwords, *wasei eigo* is present in many domains and the amount of terms is increasing. It was seen as strange and typical to Japanese, and it occasionally causes misunderstandings even within the linguistic environment where it is created (Examples 19, 20, 21, and 22).

- (19) 今や私達の生活の中になじんでおり、欠かせない言葉だと思う。
They are words adopted in our lives nowadays, they cannot be missed.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (20) 少し変ですが、何となく使っていることが良くあります。
It's a bit strange, but I somehow use it a lot.
Female, 21, education.
- (21) 特に気にせず使っていた。
I've used it without paying attention.
Male, 19, economics.
- (22) 新しいものが増えすぎてたまに理解できない。
There are too many new things, occasionally I don't understand.
Female, 20, literature.

Wasei eigo is related to 'new' and present society. It is easy to imagine that this kind of new 'language' is likely to be created in Japan that has been under the Western influence only for 150 years, during which it has had to create names for all the new phenomena both flowing in from abroad and also being created within Japan.

The relationship between English and *wasei eigo* was seen as a mutually exclusive: What is *wasei eigo* cannot be real English. Because *wasei eigo* is created in Japan by the Japanese for the Japanese, it is often regarded as a linguistic tool closer to Japanese than English (Examples 23 and 24). The relationship between English and *wasei eigo* seemed to be more problematic than the relationship between Japanese and *wasei eigo* (Example 25).

- (23) 日本語の一部として定着していて、自分自身もよく使っている。
It has been established as a part of Japanese, and I also use it often.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (24) 日本語自体と同じだと思う。
I think it's same as Japanese itself.
Female, 20, economics.
- (25) I am wonder when it come from, how it was created, because it is not English actually.
Female, 18, information technology

Many participants also pointed out the fact that when using this pseudo-English in English conversation it is easy to be misunderstood. It is not hard to imagine what kind of difficulties the Japanese face when they are trying to define whether the word they have in mind is actually English or *wasei eigo* that will not be understood by the person they are communicating with (Examples 26, 27, and 28).

- (26) 英語でも同じ言い方だと思って使ってみて通じないことがよくあります。でも、感覚的に、本当の英語より、和製英語のほうがしっくりきます。
Often I think there is a similar word in English, and when I use it I'm not understood. But I feel that *wasei eigo* comes more naturally.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (27) 日本で使うのは良いが、外来語と区別があいまい。外国で通じなかったりするので、外国では不便。
In Japan *wasei eigo* is used often, and the differentiation from loanwords is vague. Because the words are not understood in foreign countries, they are inconvenient abroad.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (28) 便利といえば便利だが、英語を学習する際に間違いやすくなる。
It is convenient, but when studying English it's easy to make mistakes.
Male, 22, literature.

As it has been previously mentioned, the distinction between real English and pseudo-English is vague, and having this set of incorrect English present in every day life can also affect the study of English. The critical participants saw *wasei eigo* as a mixture of incorrect: A wrong language used in the wrong country in the wrong way. *Wasei eigo* was seen as malformed and even dangerous (Examples 29, 30, and 31).

- (29) 日本語的、そして英語的にも正しくない言葉なのでなるべく特に外国人の前で使いたくない言葉だと思います。
They are words that are not correct in Japanese or English. Because of this I avoid using them in front of foreigners as much as possible.
Male, 20, international studies.
- (30) 英語だと思ってしまうややこしいもの
A complicated thing mistaken for English.
Male, 19, engineering.
- (31) 英語を正しく使う時のじゃまになることがある。和製ではなく、正しい意味で英語を使いたい。わざわざ英語を使わなくても、日本語で話した方がいい。（日本人だから。）
They may become a hindrance when I'm using English correctly. I would like to be able to use real English, not *wasei eigo*. We shouldn't especially use English but speak in Japanese. (Because we are Japanese.)
Male, 21, engineering.

Male participants were more against *wasei eigo* and brought up several problems about the relationship between English and Japanese. Some put emphasis on the fact that *wasei eigo* should be used only within Japan by the Japanese (Example 29), and some even went as far as to ban English from Japan, because Japanese people should speak Japanese (Example 31).

(32) 日本語の乱れにつながると思います。
It is connected to the disorder in Japanese language.
Female, 20, law.

(33) きもちわるい。品がない。
It's unpleasant. There is no class.
Male, 20, education.

The criticism towards *wasei eigo* saw the phenomenon as unpleasant and being a reason for the deterioration of Japanese language (Examples 32 and 33). In the worst case Japanese was being corrupted by the English vocabulary. On the other hand some participants pointed out that *wasei eigo* is created by the Japanese, but absorbing a language was just a part of the entire repertoire of cultural 'exchange' (Examples 34 and 35).

(34) 好きではありません。日本人が間違えて他の文化をとらえているみたいで。
I don't like it. It's like Japanese people take things from other cultures and misunderstand them.
Male, 19, international studies.

(35) 日本人がしそうなこと（文化を取り入れて自国文化に組み込む）
It's something Japanese are likely to do. (Take parts of other cultures and make it their own.)
Male, 19, international studies.

In this section I have presented the answers to the question 'What do you think about *wasei eigo*', and as it has been pointed out, the opinions and views range from highly positive to highly negative.

9.4.4 Distinguishing loanwords from *wasei eigo*

The fourth question inquired if the participants were able to tell loanwords and pseudo-English *wasei eigo* from each other. As in the previous section it became clear that *wasei eigo* is a disturbance when using English with foreigners, it should be found out if *wasei eigo* can be distinguished from the usable English.

The answers ranged from 'it's impossible' to 'I think I can', the most common answer being 'No, I can't'. Only three participants replied that they feel that they can tell normal English loanwords and *wasei eigo* from each other.

- (36) 区別は本当に難しいです。ほとんど不可能です。
It is really difficult to tell them from each other. Almost impossible.
Male, 20, international studies.
- (37) 明らかなものもあるが、判別しにくいものもある。
Even if there are words that are more clear, there are also some that are really hard to distinguish.
Male, 18, mathematical and physical sciences.
- (38) I have some 和製英 [*wasei-ei*] that I can tell from loanwords, but I often use it wrong.
Male, 20, international studies.

The above Examples 36, 37, and 38 were among the few where the participants gave an answer that was not only a straight 'no'. The relationship between English and *wasei eigo* appears to be a complicated one, and perhaps even more Japanese people are afraid or insecure about using English because they cannot tell which is the correct English and whether their favourite expressions would only be understood by other Japanese people.

- (40) 授業で教えてもらったもの(コンセント、ホッチキス、カンニング etc.)は分かりますが、分からないものも多いです。
I understand the words taught in class (*konsento*, *hotchikisu*, *kanningu* etc.), but there are a lot of words I don't know.
Female, 19, international studies.

Some of the words are taught at school to be *wasei eigo*, but it may not be the case with most of the words. The words *konsento*, *hotchikisu*, and *kanningu* mentioned in Example 40 above mean 'electric socket', 'stapler', and 'cheating in an exam'. The word *konsento* has its origin in a 'concentric plug', which has been shortened into 'concent' in Japan. *Hotchikisu* refers to stapler by the name of an inventor and marketer of staplers, B.B. Hotchkiss, even though in Western countries the name is associated with firearms rather than office supplies (Breen 2010). *Kanningu* has its origin in the English word 'cunning', but the meaning is completely different in Japanese.

9.4.5 The appearance of loanwords

To observe the visual aspect of the foreign language presence in Japan, I found it important to include the question 'What would it be like if loanwords were written in *hiragana* or *kanji*?' in the questionnaire. In China and Korea there is no different system for loanwords, and in theory loanwords in Japanese could be written in *hiragana* as well.

Most of the answers to this question were negative; adjectives used to describe the feeling were among the lines of 'uncomfortable', 'strange', 'unnatural' or 'bad' (Examples 41 and 42). Other points were that if all the text was written in same scripts, it would be difficult to read, and the pronunciation of the words would not match the *kanji* characters.

- (41) すごく不自然な感じがする。漢字にするはすごく難しいと思う。
It feels really unnatural. It must be difficult to change them to *kanji*.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (42) おかしいと思う。外来語はカタカナで書くのが自然。
It would be weird. It is natural that loanwords are written in *katakana*.
Male, 18, mathematical and physical sciences.
- (43) 日本人の感覚として、ひらがなや漢字で書かれたことばは、日本でつくられたことばというイメージがあるので、違和感があります。
Because the words written in *hiragana* and *kanji* have the image of being created in Japan, it would feel really uncomfortable [if loanwords were written in *hiragana* or *kanji*].
Female, 19, international studies.

It appeared to be natural for the Japanese to differentiate the words. *Hiragana* and *kanji* were seen as the proof that something is Japanese and in the in-group (Example 43). The words written in *katakana* come from the outside (hence being called *gairaigo*, 'words from the outside'), and they appear to have a different status in the Japanese lexicon despite being a well-established part of it.

But how would it be done if one wanted to introduce a loanword into Japanese using *hiragana* or *kanji* scripts? When it comes to *hiragana* it would be simply writing the word the same way one would write it in *katakana*. This is sometimes used for emphasis or other effect. The case of *kanji* is more complex,

but it has been done in the old days when the flow of the foreign words was not as massive as it is nowadays.

- (44) あて字なの？ 分かりにくいし、読みづらくなる。
Do you mean *ateji*? It would be difficult to understand and hard to read.
Male, 22, literature.

Ateji (当て字, 'matching symbols') is a way of giving foreign words *kanji* characters to match the pronunciation, and only sometimes the meaning (Example 44). It is similar to the Chinese way of importing loanwords, but it is used very rarely. Most of the *ateji* were created in Meiji era when the first foreign words were flowing into Japan (Igarashi 2007: 27). An example of an *ateji* word is 珈琲 (*kōhī*, 'coffee', from Dutch), still sometimes seen in the signs of cafés instead of the *katakana* コーヒー.

Ateji is used also for names for countries, but nowadays it is getting rarer, although the *kanji* 米 (*kome*, 'rice') is widely used to refer to the USA in newspapers and other texts. This originates from the *ateji* to the word 'America', which is 亜米利加 (*amerika*, 'Asia', 'rice', 'profit', 'add'). The USA is because of this also referred to as *beikoku* (米国), and for example in news headlines 日米 (*nichi-bei*, 'sun'-'rice') refers to Japanese-American relations, 日 standing for Japan (日本, *Nihon*). These kind of abbreviations are used for convenience's sake only. In the same way the word 英語 (*eigo*, 'English') originates from 英吉利 (*igirisu*, 'United Kingdom', from Portuguese 'Inglez') and is actually an abbreviation. Finland's *ateji* is 芬蘭 (*Finrando*), with the meaning of 'fragrant orchid'.

Another way to express foreign words in *kanji* is to use *jukujikun* (熟字訓, 'special reading') or *gikun* (義訓, 'meaning reading') readings, which basically means taking a word pair that carries the desired meaning, but not the pronunciation, but still use this word as it was pronounced like the loanword. An example of this is the Portuguese loan *tabako*, meaning 'tobacco', which is written with the characters 煙 (*kemuri*, 'smoke') and 草 (*kusa*, 'grass').

Using *ateji*, *jukujikun* or *gikun* with foreign words is difficult, and the words

would indeed be difficult to read, as all the characters do carry meaning in them. With the enormous amount of loanwords, coming up with *ateji* for all of them would be impossible, and rather pointless as the words can be written in *katakana*.

To conclude this section, writing foreign words in other scripts than *katakana* was seen as strange and unfamiliar. The loans have a well-established status, and it is natural that a part of the established lexicon will bear traces of being brought from the outside. If *katakana* had not been used in writing loanwords since the beginning, the case might be different, though.

9.4.6 Understanding loanwords

When asked about difficult loanwords, a handful of participants stated that they felt there were no words they did not understand. The others defined certain contexts in which the difficult words were most likely to be encountered.

The contexts that the participants came up with were different, but some contexts came up more than twice. The most common contexts for difficult words according to the participants were books about a specific field, possibly their own university text books. Other contexts were newspapers, television, restaurants and music.

A few participants pointed out that loanwords are used by “smart people”, critics and professors (Examples 45, 46, and 47). It can be that in Japan it is the loanwords that make a person “talk like a book”, and the words used are like a business card as a proof of being authorized to comment and criticize. Other possibility is that the person is supposed to use specific vocabulary because of one's profession.

- (45) 新聞や偉い人が使っているので、そこで目にする。
In newspapers, and smart people use them.
Male, 27, natural sciences.

- (46) あります。評論家の意見だどで出てくる。
Yes, there is. They come up in critics' opinions.
Female, 21, law.
- (47) On some TV programs, professors' loanwords are always difficult. It is really specific, so I don't know the word.
Female, 18, information technology.

Media was a common context for encountering loanwords, but academic texts were also mentioned as a context for many loanwords. Some participants brought up less academic contexts, which suggests that as previously found out, loanwords are used by all groups of people in all contexts (Examples 48 and 49).

- (48) ある。例えば、レストランやサービス業で。
Yes. For example in restaurants and service industry.
Male, 22, literature.
- (49) 沢山あります。ヒップホップの人がよく使ってます。
There's a lot. Hip-hoppers use them a lot.
Male, 20, education.
- (50) パソコン操作のときに沢山出てくる。
A lot come up when I'm using the computer.
Female, 20, literature.

An obvious context of loanwords was computers (Example 50). It appears that the rapidly developing and renewing language used to describe the programs, features, hardware and so on moves on too fast for the vocabulary to be translated into any other language than the common English.

One participant mentioned the difficulty of expressing certain things in Japanese, and found that even though the loanwords are difficult, they might be more convenient to use than translating the word into Japanese (Example 51).

- (51) 本の中で目にするが、日本語だとうまく説明できないと思う。
I see them in books, but if they were in Japanese they could not be explained well, I think.
Female, 19, international studies.

All in all, according to the participants, the contexts for loanwords are wide and multifaceted. English loanwords are visible in all domains, as pointed out by the participants, but mostly they are come across in books, studying, and media.

9.4.7 Effect of loanwords on Japanese

Regarding this study and this questionnaire, the question about the effect English loanwords have on Japanese brought up most individual opinions and answers. Only 5 participants did not really have anything to say about the issue. Some participants remarked how the language changes towards a more flexible set of expressions, but some were clearly worried about the comprehension of loanwords by older people. Also the danger of Japanese being forgotten and “becoming English” was mentioned by some.

A couple of participants felt that the English language changes Japan into a more international culture by deleting some linguistic barriers (Examples 52 and 53). These answers do not, however, say if the internationalization or changing towards a Western culture is seen as a positive or a negative thing.

(52) 日本の生活を欧米化させていると思います。

I think it changes the Japanese lifestyle into Western (European-American).

Male, 22, law.

(53) 外来語は日本を国際化してくれていいことだと思う。しかし、和製英語は、英語ではなく、外国では通じない。和製はよくない。

Loanwords allow Japan to internationalize. But *wasei eigo* isn't English, and it isn't understood abroad. *Wasei* isn't good.

Male, 21, engineering.

The change is visible, however. In advertising the desired image is leaning towards the West, especially North American culture, and the language is a tool for that. Furthermore, as technologies advance and information and opinions are shared more easily, the establishment of common vocabulary is crucial.

With the increase of loanwords Japanese language is seen as becoming more flexible. With new vocabulary it is easier to express new ideas that are becoming more universal. Whereas Japanese words would not be appropriate to express the nuance or the meaning, or the word would be a combination of difficult characters, a loan from English makes it possible to convey the message.

- (54) もともと日本にあった物、なかった物の区別がつけやすいと思います。また、おしゃれな感じもします。
It is easy to tell apart the things that are originally Japanese from the ones that were not.
I think loanwords make the language fashionable.
Female, 21, economics.
- (55) 良いもの、新鮮なものというイメージを与えていると思います。
I think it has the image of good and fresh things.
Female, 21, law.
- (56) 日本語のままだと難しかったりする言葉をオシャレにしたり、かっこよくしたりしている。
It makes the words that would be difficult in Japanese cool and fashionable.
Female, 19, international studies.

Furthermore, as it has been found out in earlier studies, loanwords seem to carry a fresh and fashionable air with them (Examples 54, 55, and 56). I did not assume that the image of fashion would be transferred to the opinions of everyday users, but the examples above describe English loanwords as fashionable and cool. As Japan has been entitled a country of fashion and commercialism (for example, Turkki 2005), it is not surprising that language can be viewed as a part of the fashion culture, and as the consumers of the fashion culture, the participants titling loanwords as fashionable were female.

One of the most common views about the impact loanwords have on Japanese was that it becomes possible to talk about things not possible to refer to in Japanese. English expressions were associated with variation in the language, and expansion in meaning and images the words can convey. In total 12 participants responded that the foreign words bring variation to the language.

- (57) 日本語でなやんだ時の、逃げ場になっている。
It becomes a place where you can run if you can't find the right expression in Japanese.
Male, 20, education.

As pointed out in Example 57 above, sometimes the Japanese word exists, but might be too difficult, or the speaker might have forgotten the word, and therefore the use of two different lexicons allows the speaker to talk about things by using a borrowed word to complete his or her message.

Furthermore, introducing ideas and concepts that did not exist in the Japanese language become easily discussed. Two different vocabularies may have similar uses or some words might be used in their Japanese form in some context, and

as loanword in another. Whichever the case, if a loanword is introduced, the idea or thing can be discussed more easily (Examples 58, 59, 60, and 61).

- (58) 日本語で表せないものを表すことができる。
It makes able to express thing that can't be expressed in Japanese.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (59) 言葉の種類を豊かにする。日本にない概念を取り入れることができる。
It increases the types of words. It enables the introduction of ideas that don't exists in Japan.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (60) It widens the expression of Japanese, but sometimes it makes Japanese more vague.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (61) 日本語にバリエーションをもたらしてくれると思います。日本語が豊かになると思います。
It brings variation to Japanese. It makes the language rich.
Female, 19, international studies.

It can be debated whether it is good for Japanese language and its speakers to rely on a foreign language in order to be able to express new ideas and things. A source for a new expression could be found in Japanese language itself, but English has already established its status as the new linguistic medium. Would it be too late to cut down the problematic *gairaigo*?

Some participants saw the presence of English on the level of what the language would look and sound like (Example 62 and 63). More loanwords would mean Japanese language changing towards English (Example 64). Also the Japan-created English would increase as the source words would become easier to accept in the language.

- (62) 和製英語をさらにふやす
It increases the amount of *wasei eigo* even more.
Female, 19, international studies.
- (63) 元々の日本語を混同して和製英語をつくり出すという影響
The effect of mixing with original Japanese and creating *wasei eigo*
Male, 19, international studies.
- (64) 日本語が英語っぽくなる
Japanese becomes like English.
Female, 18, international studies.

Loanwords have their advantages too. One participant pointed out that a loanword is easier to spot from the text, and also easier to understand (Example

65). This does depend on the background of the person, one's language skills and the degree of the particular lexeme being established in the Japanese lexicon. A complicated explanation or a difficult *kanji* compound is not always suitable, and therefore a loanword is the only way to explain the thing.

- (65) In my opinion, a loanword is sometimes more easier to understand than Japanese. If I read two same sentences, the one is written in 漢字 (*kanji*) and ひらがな (*hiragana*), the other is in 漢字, ひらがな and loanwords, the latter is sometimes more easier to understand.

Male, 20, international studies.

Another possibility is that the loanwords being different from the rest of the characters stand out, and spotting the loanword within the sentence might make it easier to understand what is being said. As previously said, *katakana* script stands out like italics in the text, and therefore it could be easier to grasp the meaning of the sentence.

The presence of a foreign language in the daily lexicon might affect people's language skills. This is a double-edged sword for the people, who on the other hand might become interested in English, because it becomes familiar in daily lives (Example 66). On the other hand, the malformed English and *wasei eigo* might make the language skills deteriorate as the English used in Japan in the form of loanwords is not the real English that should be taught and studied (Example 67).

- (66) 英語に興味を持ついいきっかけになると思います。
It becomes a good motive to get interested in English.

Male, 23, literature.

- (67) 日本人の英語力低下
Japanese people's English skills deteriorate.

Female, 19, economics.

Furthermore negative effects of loanwords include people splitting into two groups; those who know and understand loanwords, and those who do not (Example 68). Usually this division has been to young people who learn new things easily, and elderly people who are not able to learn the new expressions (Example 69).

- (68) なじみのない人々に通じない
 それまで使われていた言葉を忘れる
 外来語と和製英語の違いを混同してしまう
 People who are not used to it won't understand.
 The words used before them can be forgotten.
 People confuse the difference between loanwords and *wasei eigo*.
 Male, 20, international studies.
- (69) 若者の言葉っぽくする(年寄り英語を話せないから)
 It makes Japanese into young people's speech (because old people can't speak English)
 Female, 22, education.
- (70) 難しい日本語、漢字を組み合わせた英語を使わなくなる恐れが出てくる。
 I fear that difficult Japanese and *kanji* joined with English becomes unused.
 Female, 20, literature.
- (71) 日本語の出番を少なくする。
 It makes Japanese's turns fewer.
 Female, 20, international studies.

As English has become established as a source language for new expressions, it may seem as if there was not that much Japanese left (Examples 70 and 71). In advertising especially it is possible to have entire sentences built of loanwords.

Going to extremes and assuming that Japanese language will change because of English is a thought a few participants mentioned (Example 72). It is possible, although unlikely, that Japanese language would change drastically because of English. So far the changes have been visible in the vocabulary (Example 73), but the changes can affect the grammar as well. Japanese is very strongly bound to the culture it is almost exclusively used in, and changing the language would mean changing the speakers and their history (Example 74).

- (72) すでにある日本語が外来語におきかわることがたまにありますが、あまり影響はないと思います。
 Some Japanese has already been rearranged by loanwords, but I don't think there is any specific effect.
 Male, 20, literature.
- (73) 日本語から外来語への呼び換え.. *tsukue* 机 → デスク desk...
 It changes the names things are referred to with from Japanese to loanwords.. *Tsukue* (table) → *desuku* (desk)...
 Male, 19, international studies.
- (74) もとものの日本語の意味が変わる可能性がある
 It is possible that the meaning of original Japanese changes.
 Male, 19, humanities.

As seen in the above examples, most of the changes and reconfiguration of

Japanese affect the vocabulary. It can be said that it is more likely for the Japanese to twist English grammar to fit their needs than Japanese grammar to change. The increase of loanwords and the mixing of English and Japanese is occasionally seen as a threat to the integrity of the language. With English loanwords Japanese turns into an incomplete mix of Japanese and English, where English that is not really Japanese or English is used as a part of the vocabulary (Example 75).

- (75) 日本語と外来語が混じって、日本語でないのに日本語のように話されていたりするので、日本語が変化して、言葉がきたなくなったりすることもあると思います。
Japanese and loanwords mix, and the Japanese that isn't Japanese is spoken, Japanese changes and the language gets unclean.
Female, 20, law.

All in all, the loanwords were seen as useful in expressing new things. New words that can be combined with native Japanese words or other new words could really expand the scope of expression and increase the items to be able to be discussed in Japanese. On the other hand, the increase of foreign words was felt to be a threat to the native Japanese words.

9.4.8 The use of loanwords in studying English

The ninth question in the questionnaire was about how useful or misleading English loanwords were in studying English. Most of the participants who answered that loanwords were useful in studying English answered in one word, and did not give much reasons to why they thought so. All in all, compared to male participants, female participants were more positive about loanwords regarding language study. Many participants felt that the degree of usefulness varies from time to time (Examples 76, 77, and 78).

- (76) はい、なじみやすくなると思いますが、一方で、誤解を生じます。
Yes, it becomes easy to get used to [English], but on the other hand, there is misunderstanding.
Female, 21, law.
- (77) 簡単にする時もあれば、難しくする時もある。どちらかといえば簡単にする。
Occasionally it makes it easy, occasionally difficult. If I have to choose either, I'd say it makes it easy.
Male, 22, literature.

- (78) 外来語は日本語であり、外国語であるものなので、良い橋になると思う。
Because loanwords are foreign language words in Japanese, I think they are a good bridge [to learning languages].
Male, 18, mathematical and physical sciences.
- (79) あまりそうならない。本物の英語とは別のものに感じられるから。
Not really, because real English feels like a different thing.
Female, 20, literature.

English loanwords were seen as useful from time to time, but they were also felt to be a clearly different thing from real English (Example 79). One of the clearest differences between English and loanwords was pronunciation (Examples 80, 81 and 82). Once a learner gets used to the Japanese pronunciation, it is difficult to start using the correct English one.

- (80) 発音が違うため余計に分からなくなる。
Because the pronunciation is different, unnecessary misunderstanding occurs.
Female, 18, international studies.
- (81) 少しはある。けど、カタカナ発音で覚えると、修正が難しい。
A little. But if one remembers it with the *katakana* pronunciation, it's hard to correct.
Male, 20, education.
- (82) けっこう発音が変わってしまっているものが多いから、あまり理解を助けてはいないと思う。
I don't think it helps understanding English, because many words have different pronunciation.
Female, 19, international studies.

Other factors were the presence of *wasei eigo* which could be mistaken for real English (Examples 83 and 84). The fear of mistaking *wasei eigo* for real English could prevent the students from learning and decrease the self esteem of the language user (Example 85).

- (83) Sometimes it makes easy, but if I misunderstand a word of 和製英語 (*wasei eigo*) as one of loanword, it makes difficult.
Male, 19, international studies.
- (84) For me not useful, because 外来語 used in Japan often dont have the original meanings. So, I use a English word wrong because I mix up English and loanword and use it without knowing the original meaning.
Male, 20, international studies.
- (85) きいて理解の助けとなるが、和製英語かもしれないと思うと、自身をもって使えない。
It can help understanding, but the words can be *wasei eigo* as well, so I can't use them with confidence.
Male, 20, international studies.

It is indeed problematic to use English that is made in Japan, as it can be

confused with real English. Whereas normal loanwords can offer a stepping stone towards English, the confusion between English and *wasei eigo* can bring the student back to the beginning without a clue whether the language that seems like English is real English or not.

9.4.9 Favourite loanwords

The final question in the questionnaire was about the participants' favourite loanwords. This could mean the words they use the most, or words they find interesting. In four cases the answer was a Portuguese or French loanword, and they are not included in the list of answers. The participants mostly mentioned foods and everyday items, but in some cases a more abstract concept was mentioned.

The words brought up by male participants were concrete terms such as *toire* ('toilet'), *supūn* ('spoon') and *pen* ('pen'). Others were less concrete items; *sekkusu* ('sex'), *rokku* ('rock'), *enjoy* ('enjoy'), *tenshon* ('tension'), and *bān'auto* ('burn-out'). *Shinpuru* ('simple') and *naisu* ('nice') were adjectives.

Two words were mentioned by two or more participants. *Fakku* ('fuck') was pointed out by three participants, and *sankyū* ('thank you') by two. The other participant who mentioned *sankyū* wrote the word in the form of '39', which is read in Japanese *san-kyū*. This abbreviation is popular in short messages.

Female participants pointed out more positive and concrete words in their answers. No word was mentioned twice by different participants. Among the favourite loanwords for female participants were the concrete terms *terebi* ('television'), *furenzu* ('friends') and *dotto* ('dot'). More abstract favourite words were *puraido* ('pride'), *rabu* ('love'), *faito* ('fight') and *gibu-ando-teiku* ('give-and-take'). *Happī* ('happy'), *riaru* ('real') and *rakkī* ('lucky') were adjectives, and *rirakkusu* ('relax'), *shea suru* ('to share'), *wōkingu* ('walking') and *faito* ('fight') refer to actions. In addition to these, many food-related terms were mentioned: *jūsu* ('juice'), *sūpu* ('soup'), *dōnattsu* ('donut'), *kēki* ('cake'), *suītsu* ('sweets') and

chokorēto ('chocolate').

In comparison with the same question in my previous study (Oksanen 2008), this study produced more concrete items than markers of social change. *Puraido* could be considered as an expression for social change and a change in attitude, but the study subject who chose this word said it came from the name of her favourite Japanese TV drama.

In section 9 I have presented the results of this study. The familiarity of loanwords as well as loanword preference in contrast to the native Japanese word varied quite extensively. The answers to the open questions in part 3 of the questionnaire gave some additional information about the phenomenon of English in Japan. The answers to all three parts of the questionnaire will be discussed in the next section.

10 DISCUSSION

In this section the results of the study will be discussed and analysed in relation to the previously introduced background. I will start the discussion by answering to the first study question that asked whether the Japanese people were able to tell normal loanwords and *wasei eigo* words from each other, and what issues or problems arise because of these different Englishes. After that I will discuss if loanwords are replacing the native Japanese words in daily discourse. Lastly, the third study question about attitudes towards loanwords is discussed. In the discussion I will combine the findings in all three parts of the questionnaire.

10.1 Issues surrounding *wasei eigo*

In this study it was found out that despite the popularity of *wasei eigo* and the participants' view of the words being convenient and creative, the words are often confused with real English. All the participants knew what *wasei eigo* is, and the majority thought it was a strange phenomenon, but apparently the actual knowledge about the words is limited. The relationship between English, *wasei eigo* and Japanese was regarded as complicated. *Wasei eigo* was on the other hand seen as a difficult form of malformed English, and on the other hand not English at all, because the context in which it is used is Japanese.

The first part of the questionnaire revealed that less than half of the words tested were recognized correctly to be either real loanwords or *wasei eigo*. It was more likely to confuse *wasei eigo* for real English than vice versa. On the other hand, the words with most "I don't know" answers were normal loanwords. This supports the view that *wasei eigo* is often thought to be real English, but at the same time the presence of *wasei eigo* makes the participants unsure of the rest of the English-like words too. In the open questions in the third part of the questionnaire only three participants stated that they were able to tell *wasei eigo* words from normal loanwords.

As the participants put it, *wasei eigo* could not be avoided, and people have adopted it as a natural part of their vocabulary. It is regarded to be closer to Japanese than English, despite having its roots in English. The different meanings *wasei eigo* might have in English were also pointed out by the participants. As Koscielecki (2006) writes, the “pseudo English” has little to do with the original English. The cultural context is lost along the borrowing process, and because the Japanese speakers appear to be unaware of whether their English is real or not, it affects their English skills, and can also pose a threat to language learning.

Honna (1995: 52) claims that there is “no linguistic barrier in accepting English vocabulary for advanced knowledge”. There should be a line drawn, however, between the “real” English and English made in Japan. In addition to importing actual loanwords, the English language has a new role in Japan – it is the source for new material. It is the linguistic medium which is used to create new words that are understood only in the Japanese context.

Taking new lexemes of other languages and fitting them into the target language and culture is a part of cultural exchange. It would not possibly be too far-fetched if I assumed that by acquiring English loanwords Japanese people are changing the linguistic relativity of their culture, bringing new names and ways of thinking into their language. The same way that English speakers can create new terms by combining words that exist in the language (Yule 2002: 247-248), the Japanese are taking English as an extension to their vocabulary to discuss non-native ideas and things.

It appears that *wasei eigo* words are seen as a complicated mix of English language and Japanese attitudes. They are added to the normal loanwords and it is impossible to tell them from each other. If a word sounds foreign it does not necessarily mean that it is foreign, and such a rule should not be applied in the Japanese linguistic environment. Japanese English is best understood in Japan by its Japanese creators.

Wasei eigo is supposed to be used within the Japanese framework, although it was originally borrowed from somewhere else. The amount of loanwords is quite extensive, and being able to predict each one's origin would require effort and awareness of the linguistic climate. It is understandable that there is misunderstanding, but with some words the rate of misunderstanding was quite high.

The presence of different Englishes (real and *wasei*) is confusing to the Japanese people. Many participants said that they cannot use English with confidence because despite knowing many words in English, they cannot be sure whether the person they are communicating with understands. English loanwords can be a gateway to language skills, but in Japan the problem is the phenomenon that has been described as liberating – *wasei eigo*. It gives the speakers an opportunity to use new and exciting words to discuss new and exciting things in Japanese, but using these words in intercultural communication could become a problem and even a hindrance for further language learning if the learner feels confused because he or she uses “unreal” English.

English usage in Japan is an intracultural phenomenon. It increases the feeling of being international, it allows people to play with the language and create new words, but this does not necessarily extend outside Japanese borders. As Haarmann (1989), Stronach (1995: 55-56), and Stanlaw (2004: 4, 8) point out, English in Japan is meant for Japanese people within Japan, and English presence does not necessarily mean communicative competence.

To improve the situation, the Japanese school system should be revised. Until recently, the students have started studying the first foreign language (practically always English) as late as in junior high school, but from year 2011, foreign language study becomes compulsory in Japanese elementary schools. To avoid confusion between English and *wasei eigo*, the differences between these two should be taught in class in greater extent than until now.

10.2 Word preference

This study found out that out of the synonymous word pairs it was mostly the Japanese version that was preferred. Some English words were also quite common, but the majority of the preferred words were Japanese. This does not suggest that English loanwords were threatening the Japanese language, which is a hazard mentioned by many researchers. It has been pointed out by Kosciielecki (2006), Daulton (2004) and others that the amount and use of English loanwords in Japanese is getting out of hand, but on the other hand it appears that the words are used in excess only in the media. The media has been identified as a source of loanwords, but it does not seem that loanwords would be present to a similar extent in normal language use.

When it comes to preference between an everyday English loanword and a native Japanese word, there are multiple factors that justify the use of a foreign loan, or the use of a native word. It should be noted that the words tested in this study are not completely synonymous, as the contexts in which the words are used vary.

As explained by the participants in the second part of the questionnaire, the contexts in which the loanwords are used are different from the contexts in which native Japanese words were used. Usually this was due to division to East and West, which is introduced by other researchers too (Kay 1995, Stanlaw 2004, Morrow 1987). The English equivalents in the vocabulary allow people to talk about things that did not previously exist without creating confusion with native Japanese concepts.

Words of different origins serve different purposes and fill different gaps in the language. Nakamura (1995, quoted in Rebeck 2002) found out that the images and connotations of English loanword colour terms were different from the Japanese words. According to Nakamura, the connotations loanword colours had were more positive, and can be a reason why copywriters choose to use them in advertising. It can be seen based on the results of this study that the

language of advertising does not necessarily invade the language people would use in daily interactions, as the majority of the words tested were used in their Japanese form. There appear to be two sets of English loanwords; one for only looking at or listening to, and other one for actual communication. The fact that these sets seem to be different from each other and are used in different ways is very interesting.

Regarding colour terms, Stanlaw (2004: 221) studied which were the most salient colour terms in the Japanese language. He found out that among the Japanese colour terms loanwords *pinku* and *orenji* rank higher than their native counterparts, and several other colour terms. The native term *momoiro* (桃色, 'peach colour') for pink, and *daidaiiro* (橙色, 'orange') for orange ranked the lowest in Stanlaw's study. In Stanlaw's study, however, the participants were asked to name the most salient colour terms in the Japanese language, and there was not any comparison with other synonymous terms than pink and orange. This is relevant to this study, however, as the only English loanwords for colours that ranked higher were namely 'pink' and 'orange'. This suggests that these two loanword colour terms have been adopted into the daily vocabulary whereas the others are not.

According to the participants, the Japanese language was seen as stiff, and English loanwords brought variation to the language. This is in accordance with English loanwords being used as softer and euphemistic words (Honma 1995: 46). Japanese is apparently regarded as a language filled with strict social values and traditions. Using a different language may be a way for a freer self-expression, as well as to introduce new concepts to the language.

10.3 Other opinions and language learning

Loanwords were seen as an integral part of the Japanese vocabulary, but at the same time a separate thing that is used to describe and discuss things that are not native to Japan. English presence was seen as an international touch in the vocabulary and as a tool that was changing Japanese culture towards Western.

Loanwords were used by the participants in conversation with friends, and for emphasis. The words were seen as a possibility to be international, and discuss things and nuances not present in native Japanese. English is a source language for change and modernism, new attitudes and foreign things, just as it was when Japan first started interacting with English speaking cultures.

English loanwords were regarded as a danger that made the Japanese language appear less in the daily discourse. On the other hand, the loanwords, especially *wasei eigo* words were seen as a phenomenon that stands half-way between Japanese and English, not really belonging to either group. Loanwords were felt to be a treat by some of the participants, but also as a possibility to express new and fresh things. On the other hand loanwords and Japanese are not mutually exclusive, because the contexts in which the words are used are different, and therefore they enrich the vocabulary.

One point worth discussing related to the presence of loanwords is the way the English loanwords and the “pseudo-English” affect language learning. Daulton (1999) writes about the difficulties and advantages an English-based lexicon within the Japanese language can bring to the learners. He points out how despite going through changes in pronunciation and even semantics, loanwords can help the students to learn English. When a student gathers knowledge of basic English words in Japanese, they can master a lot of English only based on that. The participants in this study also felt that the presence of English can be a good start for getting interested in studying the language, but the dangers were well known as well.

Among the problems, in addition to the previously discussed confusion between loanwords and *wasei eigo*, are the differences in pronunciation. As stated in the description of Japanese language in section 3, Japanese spelling system is quite ruthless and inflexible in fitting loanwords into itself. Going back to the correct pronunciation in the source language can be a difficult task for the language learner. If one gets used to the Japanese pronunciation, the correct English pronunciation needs a lot of work to fix. The participants in this study also

pointed out that the Japanese pronunciation is a hindrance in learning the proper English pronunciation. The difficulty of letting go of the incorrect pronunciation could be because of the lack of input, and the lack of English usage as a tool for intercultural communication (Honma 1995: 57).

According to the participants, loans are used often, and using them could not be avoided. The contexts of television and newspapers brought up by the participants agree with the viewpoint offered by Daulton (2004: 288) who points out that mass media uses words that are not established in loanword dictionaries. While the broadcasters and copywriters are aware of the meanings of the words they have created or borrowed, the general public comes across new words in the media without an explanation.

The difficulties in explaining things in Japanese could be because of the *kanji* characters, which have been used for a long time and have strong associations and tones. The characters simply are not flexible enough to accommodate new concepts, products, and ideas. Using a *kanji* character might mislead the reader, but in the case of a new loanword an explanation or a synonym in Japanese could be in order. Newspapers offer glosses for new words, but advertising does not.

Many researchers have seen the influx of English words into Japanese as useless and too massive in number of words adopted into Japanese. For example Kosciielecki (2006) regards the phenomenon as pollution that replaces Japanese words with English ones, without any particular reason. Honma (1995: 45-46) also describes the people's responses to the excessive use of loanword as "inconsiderate".

On the other hand, whereas the influx of loanwords is seen as an attempt of being international, there is also a reverse side. The division between in and out, us and them, surface and reverse that is present in the Japanese way of thinking, is also present in the language. There are words that are 'ours', and there are words that are from the outside. But as Japan has started to adopt Western ideas

and ideals, it has also sucked in numerous Western words. This has brought the discussion of *us* and *them* also to the present society.

As mentioned in the history of Japanese and English contact (in section 4), it has been clear that Japan has always had a very strong sense of being a unique nation with a unique language. The new words being borrowed (and never really returned) are representing “the other” that has landed in the Japanese discourse.

11 CONCLUSION

This study attempted to find out what the status of English loanwords in Japanese is, and what the Japanese people thought about the phenomenon. The opinions of the study participants and their answers in the questionnaire suggest that the relationship between English and Japanese is not straightforward or simple. English presence in Japanese is on the other hand seen as a way to freer self-expression and a richer vocabulary, but on the other hand the “pseudo-Englishes” originating from Japan are seen as dangerous and harmful in studying English.

The results also suggest that English loanwords are not threatening the Japanese vocabulary, as the English loans have often have a specific function in the language. Usually the loanwords are used to refer to things and ideas not present in the Japanese language.

As this study was limited to a specific group of students, it does not represent the general public in Japan. A wider scope in the participants' age, profession and education would give a more accurate picture of the opinions about English in Japan. As also Daulton (2004) studied students' knowledge about loanwords, another age group would be interesting to analyse in the same way as in this study.

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APPENDIX 1: *Hiragana* and *katakana* syllables.

		<i>Hiragana</i>					<i>Katakana</i>				
		a	i	u	e	o	a	i	u	e	o
		あ [a]	い [i]	う [u]	え [e]	お [o]	ア [a]	イ [i]	ウ [u]	エ [e]	オ [o]
k		か [ka]	き [ki]	く [ku]	け [ke]	こ [ko]	カ [ka]	キ [ki]	ク [ku]	ケ [ke]	コ [ko]
s		さ [sa]	し [shi]	す [su]	せ [se]	そ [so]	サ [sa]	シ [shi]	ス [su]	セ [se]	ソ [so]
t		た [ta]	ち [chi]	つ [tsu]	て [te]	と [to]	タ [ta]	チ [chi]	ツ [tsu]	テ [te]	ト [to]
n		な [na]	に [ni]	ぬ [nu]	ね [ne]	の [no]	ナ [na]	ニ [ni]	ヌ [nu]	ネ [ne]	ノ [no]
h		は [ha]	ひ [hi]	ふ [fu]	へ [he]	ほ [ho]	ハ [ha]	ヒ [hi]	フ [fu]	ヘ [he]	ホ [ho]
m		ま [ma]	み [mi]	む [mu]	め [me]	も [mo]	マ [ma]	ミ [mi]	ム [mu]	メ [me]	モ [mo]
y		や [ya]		ゆ [yu]		よ [yo]	ヤ [ya]		ユ [yu]		ヨ [yo]
r		ら [ra]	り [ri]	る [ru]	れ [re]	ろ [ro]	ラ [ra]	リ [ri]	ル [ru]	レ [re]	ロ [ro]
w		わ [wa]				を [wo]	ワ [wa]				ヲ [wo]
ñ		ん [n]					ン [n]				
g		が [ga]	ぎ [gi]	ぐ [gu]	げ [ge]	ご [go]	ガ [ga]	ギ [gi]	グ [gu]	ゲ [ge]	ゴ [go]
z		ざ [za]	じ [ji]	ず [zu]	ぜ [ze]	ぞ [zo]	ザ [za]	ジ [ji]	ズ [zu]	ゼ [ze]	ゾ [zo]
d		だ [da]	ぢ [ji]	づ [zu]	で [de]	ど [do]	ダ [da]	ヂ [ji]	ヅ [zu]	デ [de]	ド [do]
b		ば [ba]	び [bi]	ぶ [bu]	べ [be]	ぼ [bo]	バ [ba]	ビ [bi]	ブ [bu]	ベ [be]	ボ [bo]
p		ぱ [pa]	ぴ [pi]	ぷ [pu]	ぺ [pe]	ぽ [po]	パ [pa]	ピ [pi]	プ [pu]	ペ [pe]	ポ [po]

APPENDIX 2: The questionnaire

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Master' s thesis questionnaire

オクサネン アンニカ
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卒業論文の研究のアンケート

アンケート - Questionnaire

(日本語、英語どちらを使って答えてもよいです。辞書を使わないで答えてください。)
(You can answer in Japanese or English. Please do not use a dictionary.)

性別：

年齢：

学部：

★ 何年間英語を勉強していますか？

★ 自分の英語の力はどのくらいだと思いますか？

☆ 会話？

☆ 書く？

☆ 読解？

☆ 聴解？

☆ 一般的な言語力？

I. 外来語と和製英語の原因について

外来語の言葉は英語ですか、日本で作られた和製英語ですか？

正しいと思うものに○をつけてください。

1. ベーパー ドライバー

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

2. ペーパーテスト

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

3. ノンカロリー

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

4. スキンシップ

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

5. エコライフ

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

6. スカイスクレーパー

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

7. マスター コース

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

8. ノンストップ

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

9. フリー サイズ

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

10. モノセックス

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

11. ハイライト

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

12. マスター プラン

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

13. フルスケール

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

14. サバイバル ゲーム

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

15. カンニング ペーパー

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

16. ユニット バス

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

17. アフター スキー

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

18. ニューメディア

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

19. シルバーハウジング

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

20. フロントガラス

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

2. 外来語と和語や漢語の使い方について

☆ どちらの方をよく使いますか? 場合によって変わりますか? 自分の意見によって○で囲んで、意見があったら、言葉の後ろに説明してください。

名詞

1. 速度 - スピード
2. 航空便 - エアメール
3. 百貨店 - デパート
4. 髪の毛 - ヘア
5. うちの車 - マイカー
6. さくらんぼ - チェリー
7. ご飯 - ライス
8. 料理 - フード
9. 机 - テーブル
10. 切符 - チケット

色

1. 青い - ブルー
2. 黒い - ブラック
3. 桃色 - ピンク
4. 白い - ホワイト
5. 銀いろ - シルバー
6. 緑 - グリーン
7. 紫 - パープル
8. 赤い - レッド
9. 橙色 - オレンジ
10. 茶色 - ブラウン

形容詞など

1. 辛い - スパイシー
2. 幸運な - ラッキーな
3. 簡単な - シンプルな
4. 満 - フル
5. 鋭い - シャープな
6. 特別な - スペシャルな
7. 創作的 - クリエーティブな
8. 速い - ファーストな
9. うれしい - ハッピーな
10. 劇的 - ドラマチックな

動詞

1. 性交する - セックスする
2. 確かめる - チェックする
3. 得る/手に入れる - ゲットする
4. 出発する/始まる - スタートする
5. 探す - サーチする
6. 練習する - トレーニングする
7. 予約する - リザーブする
8. 案内する - ガイダンスする
9. 交じる - ミックスする
10. 鍵をかける - ロックする

3. 外来語についての意見

1. どのような場面で英語に由来する外来語を主に目にしますか? In which context do you encounter loanwords?

2. 外来語を他の日本語（日本や中国を起源とする）と別のもつとみなしていますか? Do you think loanwords as different from other Japanese words?

3. 和製英語についてどう思いますか？ What do you think of 和製英語？

4. 英語から来た外来語と日本製の和製英語を差別できますか？ Can you tell loanwords and 和製英語 from each other?

5. 外来語がひらがなや漢字で書かれていたらどう思いますか？ What would it be like if loanwords were written in hiragana or kanji?

6. 日本語のかわりに使われているオシャレな外来語はありますか？ Are there loanwords used instead of Japanese words?

7. 意味を知らない外来語がありますか？それはどのような言葉で、どこで目にしますか？ Are there loanwords you don't understand? Where do you encounter them?

8. 外来語は日本語にどんな影響を与えますか？ What kind of effect loanwords have on Japanese?

9. 英語に由来する外来語は英語学習や英語の理解を簡単にしますか？ Are English loanwords useful in studying English?

10. なにかお気に入りの外来語はありますか？ What is your favourite loanword?

記入が遅くなったら、国際交流会館の506のメールアドレスに返してください。
ご協力ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX 3: Translation of the questionnaire

Annika Oksanen
 University of Jyväskylä, Finland
 Department of languages (English)
 Master' s thesis questionnaire

オクサネン アンニカ
 ユバスクラ大学、フィンランド
 言語学部（英語）
 卒業論文の研究のアンケート

アンケート - Questionnaire

(日本語、英語どちらを使って答えてもよいです。辞書を使わないで答えてください。)

(You can answer in Japanese or English. Please do not use a dictionary.)

性別：(Gender)

年齢：(Age)

学部：(Major subject)

★ 何年間英語を勉強していますか？(How long have you been studying English?)

★ 自分の英語の力はどのくらいだと思いますか？(What do you think about your English skills?)

☆ 会話？(Speaking)

☆ 書く？(Writing)

☆ 読解？(Reading)

☆ 聴解？(Listening)

☆ 一般的な言語力？(General language skills)

I. 外来語と和製英語の原因について

(About the origins of loanwords and *wasei eigo*)

外来語の言葉は英語ですか、日本で作られた和製英語ですか？ (Are the following loanwords real loanwords or *wasei eigo* made in Japan?)

正しいと思うものに○をつけてください。(Please choose the right option.)

1. ペーパー ドライバー (paper driver)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語) (*gairaigo* [English written in *katakana*])
 [] 和製英語 (*Wasei eigo*)
 [] わからない (I don't know)

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)
 (How do you say this in English? [If there is no word in English, please give an explanation.] [in Roman letters])

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

(How do you say this in Japanese? [If there is no Japanese word, please give an explanation].)

2. ペーパーテスト (paper test)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

3. ノンカロリー (non-calorie)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

4. スキンシップ (skinship)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

5. エコライフ (ecolife)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

6. スカイスクレーパー (skyscraper)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

7. マスター コース (master course)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

8. ノンストップ (nonstop)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

9. フリー サイズ (free size)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

10. モノセックス (monosex)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

11. ハイライト (highlight)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

12. マスター プラン (master plan)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

13. フルスケール (full scale)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

14. サバイバル ゲーム (survival game)

- [] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)
 [] 和製英語
 [] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

15. カンニング ペーパー (cunning paper)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

16. ユニット バス (unit bath)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

17. アフター スキー (after ski)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

18. ニューメディア (new media)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

19. シルバーハウジング (silver housing)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか? (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか? (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

20. フロントガラス (front glass)

[] 外来語 (カタカナで書かれた英語)

[] 和製英語

[] わからない

★英語で何と言いますか？ (英語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください) (ローマ字で)

★日本語で何と言いますか？ (日本語の言葉がなかったら、説明してください)

2. 外来語と和語や漢語の使い方について (About the usage of *gairaigo* and *wago* [native Japanese words] and *kango* [words of Chinese origin])

☆ どちらの方をよく使いますか？ 場合によって変わりますか？ 自分の意見によって○で囲んで、意見があったら、言葉の後ろに説明してください。(Which do you use more often? Does it change depending on the context? Based on your opinion, circle the right option. If you have comments, write after the words.)

名詞 (Nouns)

1. 速度 - スピード
2. 航空便 - エアメール
3. 百貨店 - デパート
4. 髪の毛 - ヘア
5. うちの車 - マイカー
6. さくらんぼ - チェリー
7. ご飯 - ライス
8. 料理 - フード
9. 机 - テーブル
10. 切符 - チケット

色 (Colours)

1. 青い - ブルー
2. 黒い - ブラック
3. 桃色 - ピンク
4. 白い - ホワイト
5. 銀いろ - シルバー
6. 緑 - グリーン
7. 紫 - パープル
8. 赤い - レッド
9. 橙色 - オレンジ
10. 茶色 - ブラウン

形容詞など (Adjectives)

1. 辛い - スパイシー
2. 幸運な - ラッキーな
3. 簡単な - シンプルな
4. 満 - フル
5. 鋭い - シャープな
6. 特別な - スペシャルな
7. 創作的 - クリエーティブな
8. 速い - ファーストな
9. うれしい - ハッピーな
10. 劇的 - ドラマチックな

動詞 (Verbs)

1. 性交する - セックスする
2. 確かめる - チェックする
3. 得る/手に入れる - ゲットする
4. 出発する/始まる - スタートする
5. 探す - サーチする
6. 練習する - トレーニングする
7. 予約する - リザーブする
8. 案内する - ガイダンスする
9. 交じる - ミックスする
10. 鍵をかける - ロックする

3. 外来語についての意見 (Opinions about loanwords)

11. どのような場面で英語に由来する外来語を主に目にしますか? In which context do you encounter loanwords?

12. 外来語を他の日本語（日本や中国を起源とする）と別のものとみなしていますか? Do you think loanwords as different from other Japanese words?

13. 和製英語についてどう思いますか？ What do you think of 和製英語？

14. 英語から来た外来語と日本製の和製英語を差別できますか？ Can you tell loanwords and 和製英語 from each other?

15. 外来語がひらがなや漢字で書かれていたらどう思いますか？ What would it be like if loanwords were written in hiragana or kanji?

16. 日本語のかわりに使われているオシャレな外来語はありますか？ Are there loanwords used instead of Japanese words?

17. 意味を知らない外来語がありますか？それはどのような言葉で、どこで目にしますか？ Are there loanwords you don't understand? Where do you encounter them?

18. 外来語は日本語にどんな影響を与えますか？ What kind of effect loanwords have on Japanese?

19. 英語に由来する外来語は英語学習や英語の理解を簡単にしますか？ Are English loanwords useful in studying English?

20. なにかお気に入りの外来語はありますか？ What is your favourite loanword?

記入が遅くなったら、 国際交流会館の506のメールボックスに返してください。

ご協力ありがとうございました。(If you finish late filling in this form, please return it to the International House mail box 506. Thank you for your co-operation.)