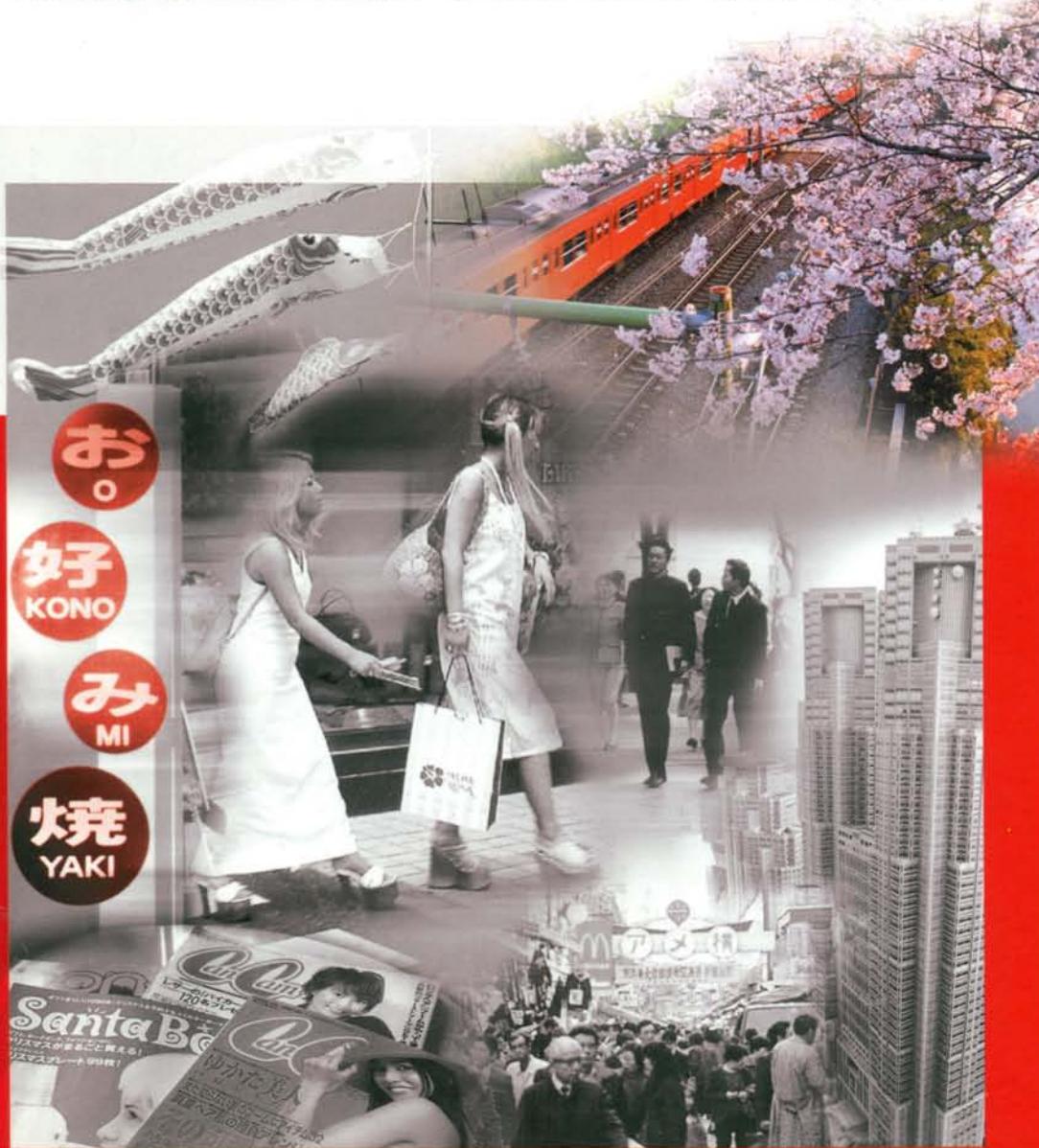


Asian Englishes Today

JAPANESE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT



JAMES STANLAW

JAPANESE ENGLISH

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

To Nobuko, with all my love . . .

I could not have done this without you, so please, this time,
leave this sentence be.

JAPANESE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

JAMES STANLAW



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Series editor's preface

The history of European contact with Japan starts in the mid-sixteenth century, when Spanish and Portuguese explorers began to arrive in the Japanese islands. These were followed by the Dutch and English from around 1600. From the 1630s, the Dutch came to dominate European contact with Japan, and, over the following two centuries, Dutch was the only European language studied in Japan. The study of English and other European languages dates from the early nineteenth century, but it was not until the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (following the intrusion of the United States in the previous decade) that the study of English became widely established.

Today, the study of English in Japan is an educational industry as well as a national passion, pursued by millions of Japanese within the public education system and in private language schools. Despite the popularity of the English language in Japan, however, the recognition of a distinct variety of 'Japanese English' has long been problematic. Many previous studies have emphasized the absence in Japan of an identifiably localized variety of English on a level with such other Asian Englishes as Indian English and Singaporean English. Other studies have highlighted those 'monocultural' and 'monolingual' aspects of Japanese society that have contributed to a restricted sociolinguistic space for English in the society. At the same time, linguists have also attempted to account for the voracious 'borrowing' of tens of thousands of English words and phrases into the Japanese language, notably (although not exclusively) through the use of the *katakana* syllabary to incorporate (and 'nativize') such items within the Japanese language system. Today it is estimated that around five to ten percent of high-frequency Japanese vocabulary are loanwords from English, including such items as *biiru* ('beer'), *terebi* ('television'), *nyuusu* ('news'), *karaa* ('colour'), *suportsu* ('sports'), *basu* ('bus'), *rajio* ('radio'), etc. In modern Japan, the nativization of English has thus been crucially accompanied by an 'Englishization' of Japanese that has crucially influenced the dynamics of contact linguistics within society.

James Stanlaw's considerable achievement in this volume is to unravel the

complexities of Japanese English with reference to the history of English in Japan as well as the contemporary dynamics of language contact. His discussion, which includes much original research, moves across a range of domains in contemporary Japanese society, including advertising, colour nomenclature, food packaging, pop music, and literary expression. As an anthropologist whose work on Japanese language and society has spanned three decades, the author brings an interdisciplinary perspective to the subject which adds greatly to the understanding of the unique characteristics of the Japanese situation. A central argument here is that the analysis of 'Japanese English' today involves the recognition of a range of English forms that constitute a 'created-in-Japan' variety of the language, and that this variety has extended the range of the Japanese language itself as well as its cognitive and symbolic systems. This volume has an obvious appeal to anthropologists and sociologists, but will also serve as an informative and insightful guide to many scholars in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and cultural studies with a particular interest in world Englishes and the status, functions, and features of English in Japan.

Kingsley Bolton
November 2003

Acknowledgements

I once said that finishing a dissertation is like getting an Academy Award: one person holds the Oscar, but he or she really represents the combined efforts of many behind the scenes. I then went on for four pages trying to thank all those who helped me, still not getting everyone. I promise this time to be more brief, even though it is really hard to know just where to begin in giving credit to people who have helped me work on a topic for over a decade. Of course, there are by now probably several hundred people in Japan who have kindly given me their time and concern. These range from Higa Masanori (my dissertation Fulbright advisor at Tsukuba University) to scores of librarians, research assistants, informants, and just plain friends. Stephen Leary and Keiko Unedaya start the top of a very long list. I have tried to thank them each personally, and specifically in previous publications, but I know I have not done them justice in the past, and I know I cannot do any better now. But had it not been for their patience with a blundering — and often illiterate and inarticulate — foreigner, I could never even have begun to study how English is used in Japan.

In the convoluted progress from a research project to a book, I am equally indebted. First, Braj Kachru has been not only my professional inspiration and guide, but a true friend as well. His words of encouragement and advice were always what was needed, when needed. His faith in me never let up, in spite of my many false starts and detours. Kingsley Bolton, the series editor, has also been simply terrific, both as a critic and colleague. His friendship, and very meticulous care in going over the draft of the book, are things for which I am truly grateful. Clara Ho, with her patience, careful editing, and good cheer, made working with Hong Kong University Press a true delight. If only all linguistics scholars had such editing. Michelle Woo and Susanna Chow, Dr Bolton's assistants, also were very conscientious in helping with graphics and proofreading. Three anonymous reviewers carefully read the complete manuscript and gave many valuable comments and criticisms, which improved the final arguments and presentation. I also need to give special thanks to Dr

Yasukata Yano, Professor of Linguistics at Waseda University, who went well beyond anyone's possible expectations when reading the manuscript. Not only were his thoughtful remarks substantive and beneficial, he also prevented me from making an embarrassing number of not only Japanese-language, but also English-language, mistakes. I thank them all very much.

Anthropologists have a fetish about kinship, and I suppose I am no different. Thus, I have several 'families' I need to thank. My initial professional family got me started in the right direction (though some now may have their second thoughts). In graduate school Cecil H. Brown and Stanley Witkowski introduced me to linguistic anthropology and cognitive science, and Joseph Casagrande, Rudolph Troike and F. K. Lehman expanded my knowledge in several important directions. David Plath taught me as much about life and maturity as he did about Japanese culture, and I still every day wonder at these marvellous lessons. Seiichi Makino — although he may not want to accept the blame — gave me my foundations in Japanese and Japanese linguistics; without his early training I could never have begun the work for this project. Finally, I could not have asked for a better PhD dissertation advisor or better friend than Janet Keller. I am certain that she can supervise students much better now after all the problems I have caused her. Still, as always, my debts to her are large, and I can only say *Fafetai, Tianit*.

My family at Illinois State University (past and present) show that 'work' is really not a four-letter word. I am proud to call fellow anthropologists Robert Dirks, Gina Hunter de Bessa, Martin Nickels, Charles Orser, James Skibo, Nobuko Adachi, Susan Gillespie, and Linda Giles both friends and colleagues. Though they might not be aware of it, I do listen to their comments, and their advice (both peripheral and direct) has been of great help. My best friends and Japan-specialist colleagues Louis Perez and Roger Thomas have been subjected to all or part of these materials — either orally or in writing (of sorts) — literally dozens of times. The wonderful thing about friends such as these is that not only do they keep you from saying stupid things (no mean task in my case), they help you to say the occasional smart thing now and then. Even though one is an administrator now, I cannot thank them both enough for their patience and comments, and for their kind generosity in gladly taking responsibility for every one of the book's failures and shortcomings. I also wish to thank my chairs Nick Maroules and Robert Walsh who have also offered much support (verbally and sometimes otherwise) at various times. The colleague who has been the biggest help, however, is another linguistic anthropologist, Nobuko Adachi. It is only because of her modesty that her name does not appear on this book's cover. Her comments and suggestions have been invaluable, and I could not have written this book without her.

My domestic family — Betty Stanlaw, John Stanlaw, Karen Stanlaw and Gilbert Sandgren — have always been there for me in every possible way. Their many sacrifices for me have often been ignored, but never unappreciated. I

am not sure I can ever pay all of them back for what they have done for me — or express to them how I feel — but their love has been unconditional, even if often undeserved. But once more, they must accept my IOU.

Deep gratitude must also go to my Japanese extended family: Kikuji and Chieko Adachi, Kumiko and Haruhiko Yamamoto, and Osamu, Yooko, Jun, and Mai Adachi. They graciously opened their homes to me, and offered me hospitality, kindness, and support. I am flattered that, in spite of all common sense to the contrary, they took me into their circle, letting me share their joys and sometimes sorrows with them.

Finally, I want to tell my neolocal family that they have been my source of joy and confidence ever since they came into my life. I cannot adequately express my feelings to you — Nobuko, Max and Annie — but someday I hope you can understand how you have made it all worthwhile for me. I thank you from the bottom of my heart (regardless of what language I say this in).

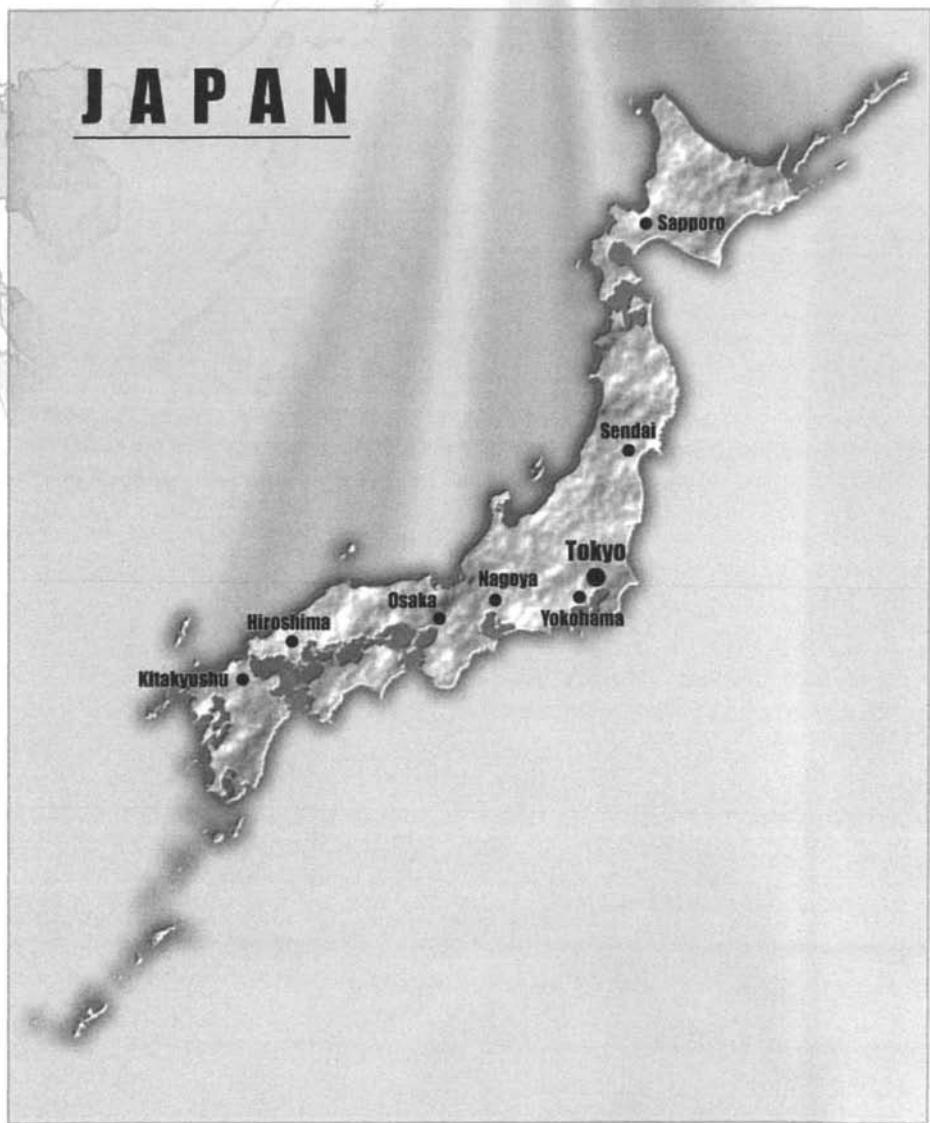


CHINA



Myanmar

J A P A N



Anyone who has ever even had an airport layover in Tokyo — or even a cursory exposure to Japanese people — will instantly realize that English in Japan is like air: it is everywhere. It is not clear if this English is a ‘problem’ (Ishino, 1977), a ‘puzzle’ (Yokoi, 1973), a ‘barrier’ to communication (Hirai, 1978), something ‘fashionable’ (Kawasaki, 1981), or some kind of ‘pollution’ (Kirkup, 1971; Morris, 1970). But as the commentator Matsumoto Toru (1974: 5) says, even a rudimentary conversation in the Japanese language could not be conducted without resorting to at least some English linguistic devices:¹

We, that is, the Matsumoto family, live in a *manshon* ('mansion') too.² At this moment, I am watching *beisu-booru* ('baseball') on *terebi* ('television'). My wife is out shopping at a *depaato* ('department store'), and later she will stop at a *suupaa* ('supermarket') to get *pooku choppu* ('pork chops'), *pan* ('bread'),³ *bataa* ('butter'), *jamu* ('jam'), and perhaps some *sooseiji* ('sausage') for breakfast. My daughter has gone to the *byuutii saron* ('beauty salon') to get a *paama* ('permanent'). Oh, the *terehon* ('telephone') is ringing. We cannot live a day in Japan today without these loanwords. Language purists lament the fact. The nationalists would wipe out all foreign-sounding words from our vocabulary. But where will they be without *takushii* ('taxi'), *terebi* ('television'), *rajio* ('radio'), *tabako* ('tobacco', i.e., 'cigarettes'), *biiru* ('beer'), *shatsu* ('shirts'), *beruto* ('belt'), and *meetoru* ('meter')?

According to Japanese statistical surveys, English ‘loanwords’ and phrases account for between 5 and 10 percent of the daily Japanese vocabulary (though much of this is not transparent to native English speakers). But what does this really mean? According to the historian Louis Perez (1998: 4–5), Japan is a mental state as much as physical entity: The ‘contrasts in the rhythms of everyday life in Japan can boggle the mind. ... Japan has a national collective respect for its cultural traditions almost unrivaled in the entire world. ... And yet Japanese go to extraordinary lengths to copy and patronize Western culture at the expense of their own.’ At first glance, language seems to be one more example of this.

2 Japanese English: Language and culture contact

However, I believe that those who dismiss the use of English in Japanese as mere imitation are missing all the dynamics of an important language-contact situation. This book, then, is an analysis of the use of the English language in modern Japanese society. I will try to examine just why a supposedly monolingual and homogeneous population not only tolerates the presence of a foreign language such as English, but indeed, seems to encourage it. I will explore the many ramifications this language and culture contact situation has for not only Japanese themselves, but also for others in the international community. In order to do that, I will examine Japanese-English language contact from an anthropological linguistic perspective, but, as we will see, the case of English in Japan is so subtle and sensitive that it must be viewed from numerous angles.

Claims

I will make the following dozen arguments throughout the course of this book:

- that Japanese today cannot adequately be spoken without the use of English loanwords or English-based vocabulary items;
- that English is a creative — and necessary — force in Japanese sociolinguistics and artistic dynamics;
- that the English used in Japan is not really borrowed, as is commonly thought, but instead is motivated or ‘inspired’ by certain English speakers or English linguistic forms; it is a created-in-Japan variety for use by Japanese in Japan;
- that the presence of English is hardly cultural or language pollution (again, as sometimes thought); nor is it a reflection of a Japanese ‘copycat’ mentality;
- that English has a critical place in the Japanese symbol system — both public and private, linguistic and social;
- that English loanwords are used by many people — such as Japanese women in many circumstances — as a means to circumvent certain linguistic and social constraints in the Japanese language;
- that the presence of English has affected Japanese phonology and morphology in very unusual (and sometimes subtle) ways; I suggest that the primary force behind this mechanism is visual, graphic, and orthographic, rather than only auditory;
- that English plays a very important role in Japanese cognitive, emotional, and perceptual processes;
- that Japanese ideas of race and national identity are crucially tied to language;
- that, ironically, English plays a critical role in the reification of the sense of self in Japan;

- that the Japanese ‘loanword’ phenomenon is a unique and special case, defying any of the proposed sociolinguistic continuums used to describe such situations;
- that the Japanese case also demonstrates certain universal features found in all places where languages and cultures meet, and in that sense, has much to contribute to a general theory of language and culture contact.

Theoretical perspectives

Along with these various claims, I will focus on four major theoretical linguistic and social issues:

- the place of the Japanese English case in the larger context of ‘World Englishes’;
- the place of the Japanese English case in a general theory of language and culture contact (processes of nativization, pragmatics, language change, communicative strategies, the interrelationships of language and culture);
- how the Japanese English case informs problems of categorization, meaning construction, and cognition;
- what the Japanese English case says about the social construction of identity and sense of self, nationalism, and race.

Data for this book has been gathered off and on for the past decade, using anthropological ethnographic fieldwork, augmented by archival sources, written materials, and items from popular culture and the mass media. As an anthropological linguist by training, I, of course, am informed by the sociolinguistic literature, and examine much of the data through this lens. However, also being a cognitive anthropologist, I also want to incorporate the approaches of cognitive science and symbolic anthropology with the approaches of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. My intent here is to take a truly interdisciplinary approach in this exploration of language and culture contact in Japan.

Caveats: What this book is not

There have been a few other studies of borrowing and language contact in Japan (e.g., Haarman, 1989; Loveday, 1996).⁴ However, previous works have not looked at English-Japanese language contact the way I do here, from a cognitive, symbolic, semiotic, and ethnographic framework. Apart from the formal processes of phonological, morphological, and grammatical nativization, I take a much broader approach by also looking at music, orthography, colour nomenclature, poetry, food, race and national identity.

Also, aside from topical differences, I bring an anthropological approach to the problem of English language contact in Japan. I should say at the onset that I — unlike some other authors — do *not* believe that the English used in Japan is actually *borrowed* per se; most ‘English’ found in Japan — to my mind at least — is created in Japan for Japanese purposes. Thus, I do not spend too much time trying to place various pieces of discourse into ‘clines of acceptability’ or ‘scales of assimilation’, or attempt to place Japanese varieties of English in some framework of code-switching/code-mixing or other such typologies. I do not necessarily disagree with such analyses, but I believe that the language contact situation merits study in other ways.

Preview

In Chapter 2 (‘The dynamics of English words in contemporary Japanese’), I will introduce the role of English and English loanwords in modern Japanese. I will give statistics showing that up to 10 percent of the daily vocabulary in Japanese is English-based. I will show that the whole notion of ‘loanword’ is misleading, as many of these so-called English words are actually made in Japan, for Japanese purposes. I will also show that native English speakers might be hard pressed to identify many of the common Japanese-English-inspired vocabulary items used in everyday life. My students, for example, are always fascinated when they find out that ‘baby car’ is actually a stroller, or that a ‘virgin road’ is the aisle a bride walks down at a wedding ceremony.

In this chapter, I will also give a sociolinguistic and grammatical overview of the use of English in Japan. I will address how English words become phonologically nativized, and how they are incorporated into the Japanese morphological and syntactical systems. I will also explain how English can be used by Japanese people for a variety of social purposes, in a variety of contexts and rhetorical registers. I claim that in sociolinguistic theory Japanese English occupies a unique place, being neither simply on a cline of proficiency nor any other commonly proposed continuum. That is, Japan is certainly not a country where everyone is bilingual, nor is there more than one official language. Everyone in Japan has *some* degree of command of *some* kind of English, but not in the traditional sense that ‘fluent’ or ‘borrowing’ is usually used. Here I will show some ways that English is incorporated into the Japanese symbol systems, both private and public (say, using English for *beautiful human life* when applying toiletries). I will also take up several of the perceived ‘problems’ of English loanwords, such as intelligibility, and what constitutes an English loanword. The semantics of English loanwords in Japanese will be discussed, as will be some theoretical issues in the sociolinguistics of language contact (relations of form and content, loan shifts, loan blends, and others).

In Chapter 3 (‘The history of Japanese English language contact’), I will

describe the meeting of English and Japanese in historical perspective. I will show that, contrary to popular belief, English has been used in Japan ever since the first contact with British and Americans. Borrowing has been taking place for well over a century, although in rather different forms. I will argue that some of this contact, including the development of several 'pidgins' at different periods. I will examine the growth of English borrowing in the Taishoo and early Shoowa 'roaring twenties', and see how the government (rather unsuccessfully) tried to repress English during the Second World War. I will also describe the language contact situation during the American Occupation, and discuss the status of current Japanese English language contacts.

In Chapter 4 ('The Japanese writing system and English'), I will discuss the Japanese writing system and the effect English has had on it. As the Japanese use a separate script to write foreign names and places, the effect of orthography on borrowing — as well as the effect of borrowing on orthography — is hardly trivial. I will show how the pronunciations of English words become nativized when taken into Japanese. Here, however, I will demonstrate how the presence of English has actually modified the Japanese writing system as well. For instance, several dozen new Japanese 'letters' have recently been developed for writing some of the borrowed English sounds more accurately (that is, accurate in terms of what is believed to be closer to a native English speaker's pronunciation). In other words, this attempt to approximate some of the English sounds not present in Japanese, for better or worse, has forever changed native Japanese phonology. The implications of these orthographic and phonological changes will be discussed here.

The next two chapters discuss the influence of English in Japanese and poetics — particularly music and verse. In Chapter 5 ('The poetics of English in Japanese pop songs and contemporary verse'), I will discuss some aspects of Japanese contemporary popular music. I do so in order to show — in this chapter and the next — the role of English loanwords in Japanese song and verse. For instance, I have claimed that probably 75 percent or more of all the (native Japanese language) song titles in the Japanese hit parade have English loanwords in their titles (Stanlaw, 1990b) — for example, *Sapphire no Kugatsu no Yuugata* ('The Sapphire of the Dusk of September'). Inoue Hisashi (1981: 244–55) believes that it is even higher. I argue that Japanese pop music, with all its use of English, is not just a poor attempt to mimic American or British rock; instead, I believe that it is a means to express Japanese concerns in a Japanese voice. Many of these same claims can also be applied to Japanese verse. Apart from presenting other cases of lyricists and songwriters, I will show how English now pervades much of Japanese poetry, even its traditional forms. For example, I argue that the 'Tawara Machi phenomenon' of the 1990s — the instant success and tremendous popularity of an average young high school teacher writing poems in the classical *tanka* form — was due in large part to her creative and humorous use of English loanwords. Even traditionalists, such

as the new critically acclaimed *haiku* poet Mayuzumi Madoka, are using English loanwords in artistic and imaginative ways (earning the begrudging approval of the poetic orthodoxy).

However, the most important discussion, I feel, centres around how English influences women in the arts in Japan. In Chapter 6 ('A new voice: The use of English as a new rhetoric in modern Japanese women's language'), I will show how many sophisticated Japanese female singers and songwriters are using English to explore issues that are socially and artistically very difficult (if not impossible) for them to do in the Japanese language. For instance, Takeuchi Mariya in one of her more famous tunes directly asks her boyfriend in the song to marry her (using the usual English phrase). It is doubtful such sentiments would be expressed so directly to a man by a Japanese woman using Japanese. The implications of this 'new voice' or new rhetoric for Japanese women — that is, using 'English' loanwords or English-inspired vocabulary items — are explored in this chapter.

In Chapter 7 ('Using the graphic and pictorial image to explore Japan's "Empire of Signs"'), I will extend the orthographic examinations in Chapter 4. Many influential semioticians and critics (such as Roland Barthes) have called Japan a vast 'Empire of Signs'. In this chapter, I will show that the use of English is hardly restricted to spoken mediums. Billboards, T-shirts, television commercials, and hundreds of everyday articles (from book bags to name brands) use English extensively in some form or other. I claim that the variety of scripts used in Japan allow for some very visually exciting (or often intentionally humorous) uses of English.

In the next two chapters, I will focus on cognition and the senses. In Chapter 8 ('Is it *naisu* rice or good *gohan*?'), I will look at English in the Japanese palate. It indeed seems that in Japan, 'it is not what you eat, but how you say it', at least some of the time. For example, whether something is '*Naisu* (nice) Rice' or 'Good *Gohan* (rice)' depends on a complex interaction of several linguistic and pragmatic variables, including venue, physical dish, and perceived type of food. In this chapter, I will explore the use of English loanwords in the realm of taste, particularly in the area of fast foods and packaged snacks, where the use of English names or terms is almost compulsory. I claim that English is used not just to give these products some chic Western mystique or glamour, but instead is used in highly creative and useful ways. Indeed, it appears that certain flavours or tastes are inspired by some of these English loanwords.

In Chapter 9 ('Language and culture contact in the Japanese colour nomenclature system'), I will show that the Japanese colour system actually consists of two groups of terms; that is, a set of native Japanese words and a set of English loanword equivalents. I will argue that in some cases the English loanwords are actually replacing the native Japanese ones (e.g., orange, pink, and grey) as shown in saliency tests and colour mapping tasks. I suggest,

however, that many times the native terms and loanwords are affectively and cognitively different, rather than just being mere substitute labels for each other.

In Chapter 10 ('Sense, sensation, and symbols'), I will discuss perception, culture, and language in Japan, elaborating some of the points made in the previous two chapters. I claim that there is a strong relationship between the senses and many English loanwords, articulating off certain 'basic' stimuli (such as pure or 'fire-engine' red). I will also argue that for non-dominant sensations (such as ambiguous tastes or colours) Japanese speakers often create English terms themselves to describe them (e.g., a *grey purple* colour, or a *dry ice* candy). This use of English in the face of uncertainty appears to be prevalent in a number of sensory domains.

I will conclude some of the discussions started in previous chapters by focusing on language change. 'We don't say *the city* anymore,' explained one informant as she told me some of the newer ways of referring to Tokyo. Certain English loanwords in Japan are remarkably robust, while others only have half-lives comparable to physics' most exotic elements. In this chapter, I will examine some of the ways that English loanwords in Japan have changed over time.

However, lexemes and grammatical forms alone do not tell the whole story; the relationships between language change and culture change need be addressed. Here, I will discuss the processes of how symbols might change in a language/culture. I argue that a very common way symbols are being altered in Japan is by 'symbolic innovation', where a new sign is created and a new set of attributes applied to it. (This is opposed to other devices of symbolic change, such as 'symbol replacement', where old symbols became redefined with new meanings.) English loanwords seem to be some of the most common candidates for this type of innovation.

In Chapter 11 ('Images of race and identity in Japanese and American language and culture contact'), I will discuss the attitudes that both Japanese and Americans have had about the mutual superiority or inferiority of their languages. A century ago, some high Japanese government officials advocated abolishing their language in favour of English, as Japanese 'would be of little use outside the islands'. Today, however, in spite of borrowing thousands of English vocabulary items, there is a new Japanese linguistic self-confidence. However, I will point out that the conflation of race, language, and culture which seems embedded in some of the rhetoric of Japanese nationalism gives us reason for caution.

Finally, in Chapter 12 ('Japan, English, and World Englishes'), I will address the question of what 'kind' of English is the variety found in Japan? Although it is not an official or auxiliary language, Japanese today cannot be spoken without English. Yet, many — if not most — Japanese claim little fluency in the language in spite of some six to ten years of schooling in it. In

this chapter, I will discuss both ‘English as an Asian language’ and ‘English as a Japanese language’. I will also discuss the issues of English hegemony in a Japanese (and world) context.

In this last chapter, I will also make summary and concluding remarks. I will connect the use of English in Japan to other language contact situations, and address some of the similarities and differences. However, for a variety of reasons (such as the peculiarities of the Japanese writing system, the extensive teaching of written English grammar in the Japanese schools, the Japanese curiosity about the West, and the long history of US-Japan culture contact) I believe this situation is unique. I suggest that the appropriate question we should ask is not why Japanese borrow so much English, but rather, why don’t we find even more of those mysteries we call ‘English loanwords’ in Japan?

In terms of audience, I am assuming that many readers of this book will be fellow linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, cognitive scientists, and others interested in language contact, sociolinguistics, and categorization. I hope, however, that this book will also appeal to scholars and students in applied linguistics, such as those specializing in English as an international language, or Asian Englishes. I am hoping, too, that my non-linguist Asian Studies colleagues will find much of interest here. If nothing else, I hope to show my many friends in Japanese history, ethnography, and literature that the ‘puzzle of Japanese English language contact’ — as I have often called it at conferences — is an important and significant area of investigation that merits closer scrutiny. However, that said, I hope many others might become as intrigued by this language contact problem as I have been. I have always tried to write for the interested non-specialist whenever possible (although my students have often begged to differ). I believe, though, that readers who are interested in Japan, or those who are Japanese language teachers or students, or others studying popular culture — Japanese or otherwise — might find much of interest in this book (while admitting that some technical portions might not be as appealing as other parts).

Significance of the book

While many nations of the world, such as India or some of the countries of western Europe, are certainly more *bilingual* in English than Japan, none finds such an extensive *presence* of English within their native language itself. Indeed, there is no non-Anglophone nation where English is so pervasive. Various suggestions have been made to account for this phenomenon: English is chic and prestigious; American popular media have penetrated and permanently altered Japanese culture; the Japanese have a penchant for borrowing foreign things; modern technology and the information age have forced the Japanese to re-evaluate the place of their language in the world. People also argue that

especially since the Second World War — with the changing roles and place of individuals in Japan — language, culture, and society have changed forever.

All these points are valid in some ways and to some degree, but none, even in combination, tells the whole story. The uses of English in Japanese are extremely varied and often quite subtle; a sophisticated and multifaceted way of looking at this phenomenon is thus required, incorporating methodologies and theories from not only linguistics and anthropology, but also semiotics, cognitive science, poetics, and visual literacy. In this book, I hope to make a first such attempt.

The Japanese case also offers great general theoretical interest in a number of fields, in particular, worldwide English, language and culture contact, and semantics and cognition.

First, 'World Englishes' is now a well-studied subject, but Japan offers something that is different from other language and culture contact situations. Japan was never an Anglophone colony (with the possible exception of the seven-year postwar American occupation). Still, the presence of the English language is extraordinarily voluminous, which is rather unusual for a country where English was never official or imposed.

Second, as is well known to all linguists and anthropologists, there are very few truly homogeneous and monolingual societies in the world. Most speech communities are quite multilingual, and language contact is a matter of course. A few places, such as Japan (while never as homogeneous and monolingual as commonly thought), offer an interesting counterexample to language-contact situations in multilingual societies. Thus, Japan has much to say about a theory of language contact that goes beyond continuums of community bilingualism or degrees of intelligibility.

Finally, the presence of English in Japan has some important insights to offer on how people construct, apprehend, and perceive the world. Why is it, for example, that all Japanese people have available to them not only their native Japanese number or colour terms, but also complete sets of basic English terms? Do Japanese and English terms label different categories? Are the English terms used merely as synonyms? Do they carry different symbolic or connotative messages? Are they used in different communicative strategies? Do people think about the world differently when using them? How do people acquire the meanings of these English words and phrases (many of which are constructed right on the spot)? What are the 'right' meanings if many of the sociolinguistic rules allow for extreme individual creativity? What processes of semantic negotiation, then, are taking place when Japanese people use these forms? In other words, when Japanese people use English, how should they sound? 'American-ly?', 'Japanese-ly'? (Baxter, 1980), or something completely different? While I admit that I am not able to offer the final word on all these ambitious questions, I hope that the Japanese data presented in this book give some intriguing first answers.

2

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

Introduction¹

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

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

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

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

Table 2.1 Types and tokens of Japanese newspaper vocabulary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Inoue, Kyoko (1985).

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

Japanese English in daily life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One very real source for English words and the English language

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

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

Japanese English as a linguistic resource

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are many other instances where the meanings of English terms

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

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

Japanese English and the 'beautiful human life'

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

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

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

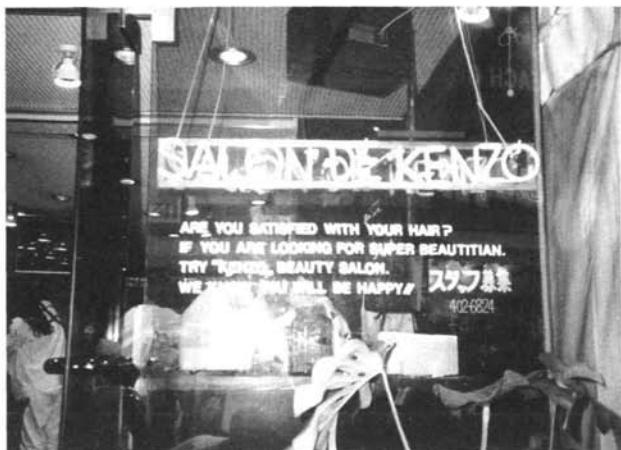


Figure 2.1 Kenzo beauty salon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 2.3 Amateur rock and roll musicians in Yoyogi Park

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

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

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

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

Table 2.4 The relationships between symbols and exhibitions

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

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

The intelligibility of Japanese English

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kaasonaritii [Nissan]

'carsonality' (versus 'personality')

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

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

kuuru minto Guamu [Japan Airlines]

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

Uesuto saizu sutoorii [Keio Department Stores]

'West Size Story'

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

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

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

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

The issue of 'loanwords' and Japanese English

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

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

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

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

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

Borrowing revisited: Loanwords and Japanese English

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bonus question:

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

Answers:

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

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

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

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

3. *beteran* ‘veteran’
 - c. a professional or expert

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

4. *gettsuu* ‘get two’
 - c. a double play in baseball

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

5. *daburu kyasuto* ‘double cast’
 - c. two people assigned the same role in a play

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

6. *saabisu* ‘service’
 - c. complimentary extras for customers

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

7. *roodo shoo* ‘road show’
 - c. first-run films showing in large theatres

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

8. *sukin redii* ‘skin lady’
 - c. a woman selling prophylactics door to door

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

9. *oorai* ‘all right’
 - c. the sound someone yells as he/she helps guide a vehicle to back up into a parking space

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

10. *bebii kaa* 'baby car'

c. a stroller

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

11. *kurisumasu keeki* 'Christmas cake'

c. a spinster

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

12. *konsento* 'consent'; 'concentric'

c. an electric outlet

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

13. *sayoonara hoomu ran* 'Sayonara home run'

c. a game-ending baseball home run

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

14. *baajin roodo* 'virgin road'

c. the church aisle a bride walks down

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

15. *sukuramburu*

c. an intersection filled with pedestrians going every which way

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

16. *dorai* 'dry'

c. a person who is overly business-like, serious, or unsentimental

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

17. *uetto* 'wet'

c. a person who is overly sentimental

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

18. *peepaadoraibaa* ‘paper driver’

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

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

19. *shirubaa shiito* ‘silver seat’

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

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

20. *dokku* ‘dock’

- c. a clinic

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

Bonus question:

1. *rimo kon* ‘remote control’

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

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

Summary

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

3

The history of Japanese English language contact

Introduction

Although many believe that extensive contact with the English language in Japan first began with the American occupation after the Second World War, the history of Japanese English linguistic contact may be traced back to the early seventeenth century. In April 1600, the British sailor William Adams (1564–1620), later immortalized as the fictional John Blackthorne in James Clavell's bestselling novel *Shogun*, came ashore at Bungo (present-day Oooita Prefecture) on Kyushu island, aboard a Dutch ship. Adams eventually became a diplomatic advisor and shipbuilder to the first shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and was given a large estate near present-day Yokotsuka on the Miura Peninsula. He was called Miura Anjin (*Miura* being the name of his estate and *anjin* meaning pilot or navigator), and married a Japanese woman (Blaker, 1932 [1973]). For a while, other British traders worked in Japan, usually with Adams as their agent. However, after the death of Ieyasu in 1616, the days of the English in Japan were numbered, and the British factory at Hirado ceased operations in 1623.

In some senses, this meeting of the English and Japanese was hardly remarkable, for language contact in Japan, in spite of the assumed isolation of the islands, had repeatedly occurred throughout early Japanese history. Scholars such as Loveday call this a 'contact tradition', emphasizing that, throughout its history, Japan has been an enthusiastic borrower of things foreign, including the linguistic resources of foreign languages (1996: 27). Undoubtedly, the initial, and most important, contact was with Chinese at least 1600 years ago, in the fifth century AD. Buddhism, brought to Japan through China and Korea, inspired Japanese orthographic resourcefulness and influenced many aspects of Japanese society. Not only did Chinese contribute thousands of loanwords to the language, it also gave Japanese its first writing system as well as a scholarly tradition that continues to this day. At this time, the influence of Chinese language and culture was established, and for centuries the official language of government and the court was Chinese.¹

Early language contact with European languages: Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch

The first Europeans reached Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century. At that time, Portugal was the leading mercantile nation of the day and had established trading posts or ‘factories’ from Africa to the East Indies (which included present-day India as well as Malacca and Indonesia). Portuguese merchant sailors led by Fernando Mendes Pinto stepped ashore on the southern island of Kyushu in 1544 (Milton, 2002).

The Portuguese brought with them not only European-style mercantilism, but also Christianity, which was soon established in Japan through the efforts of the charismatic Jesuit priest Francisco de Xavier and his evangelical mission. The success of his work is seen by the fact that by 1600 probably at least 2 percent of the Japanese population, some 300,000, had been converted to Catholicism, including a number of powerful *daimyoo* or local lords (Picken, 1983). Portuguese, Spanish and Latin borrowings were not uncommon at this time, and the very first bilingual dictionaries and grammars of Japanese appeared at this time. Portuguese evidently gave Japan its first European loanwords, many of which are still in use today, including such terms as *pan* ('bread' < Portuguese *pão*), *kappa* ('raincoat, slicker' < [derived from] Portuguese *capa*), *rasha* ('cloth' < Portuguese *raxa*), *botan* ('button' < Portuguese *botão*), *tempura* ('food fried in a batter' < Portuguese *tempo*), *shabon* ('soap' < Portuguese *sabão*) and the ubiquitous *tabako* ('tobacco' < Portuguese *tobaco*). Estimates are that some 200 to 400 of such terms still survive (Arakawa, 1931; Loveday, 1996).

Some of the processes of nativization that would later be applied to other foreign borrowings began to be seen at this time. For example, the term *kappa* ('slicker') was often prefixed with the Japanese word for 'rain' (*ame* 雨) to give *ama-gappa* (雨 ガッパ), or 'raincoat' (now a 'grandmother's word' not used by younger generations.) This process of combining a loanword with a native Japanese prefix or suffix became extremely productive as time went on. Other Portuguese examples include the term for 'glass beads', *biidama* (ビー, a combination of the Portuguese *vidro* ['flask, glass'] and Japanese *tama* ['ball' 岸]). The word *rasha* ('cloth') mentioned above has also undergone some interesting affixing and semantic shifts. A term which became popular in the late nineteenth century was *rasha-men*, 'cotton cloth' ('cloth' in Portuguese; *rasha* ラシャ, and Japanese 'cotton', *men* 緿). However, this word does not refer to the cloth but was used instead to describe Japanese women who consort, i.e., covered themselves, with foreign men (Ikawa, 2000). The Spanish loans were fewer, but some are still extant including: *meriyasu* ('knitted fabric' < Spanish *medias* 'stocking'), *kasutera* ('sponge cake', < Spanish *Castilla*, from Castile), and *gerira* ('guerilla' < Spanish *guerrilla*) (Okutsu and Tanaka, 1989; Kaieda, 1997).

By 1637, however, the Portuguese and Spanish heyday was over. Catholic missionaries became involved in numerous intrigues with local warlords and the emerging Japanese central government. At this time, many of the European quarrels were spilling over into Asia and Japan. The fledgling central government was also afraid of the military supplies that local warlords were getting from the Portuguese and Spanish. Finally, in disgust with Portuguese and Spanish intrigues, Tokugawa Ieyasu's son Hidetada banned Christianity, killed all Japanese converts who would not give up the religion, and expelled many of the Europeans. The exception was the Dutch, restricted to the small artificial island of Dejima in Nagasaki Bay. Thus, officially in 1633, almost two centuries of *sakoku*, self-imposed, enforced isolation, began, and was to last well into the nineteenth century, until the arrival of the Americans in the 1850s.

The intrusion of the Dutch language into Japan was very important to the spread of English several centuries later. The groundwork for Western scholarship and learning was established by Japanese scholars who studied and translated Dutch, and there is little doubt that the story of English in Japan would be vastly different if not for the presence of Dutch speakers, both native and foreign, in the country. The period of *sakoku* isolation was never total, and some contacts with the outside world persisted, especially with China (Hall, 1970). During the time of *sakoku*, Dutch was the only European language allowed to be studied in Japan, although this was highly monitored. Knowledge of Dutch was restricted to the *oranda-tsuuji* ('Dutch interpreters'), the hereditary interpreter families living mostly in Nagasaki (Earns, 1993; Saito, 1967).

The main duties of the *oranda-tsuuji* were two-fold: First, they were responsible for overseeing the linguistic aspects of the trade between the Dutch and the Japanese. Dutch ships came about twice a year and these translators acted as customs officials supervising the entry of people and goods. Second, they served as translators for Dutch captains during their annual visits with the shogun, which was an important opportunity for Japanese scholars and the government to gain access to outside information on world affairs. In addition, although this was not an official responsibility, they learnt Western medicine from Dutch doctors from discussions with them and by observing them treat their patients on Dejima Island. Thus began the field known as *ran-gaku* ('Dutch Studies'), the study of Western science and medicine during the *sakoku* isolationist period (Vos, 1963; Earns, 1993).

The eighth shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751) lifted some of the *sakoku* restrictions in the mid-eighteenth century, and Western books imparting secular knowledge began to be imported around that time. The discipline of *ran-gaku* (now seen as 'Western studies') expanded both in terms of access and subject matter, and the first Dutch-Japanese dictionary was compiled in 1796. Some Dutch on Dejima even began to learn Japanese, which was a

practice forbidden one hundred years earlier. Nonetheless, the learning of Japanese by the Dutch and the learning of Dutch by Japanese remained rather a precarious enterprise subject to the whims and sensitivities of the local authorities.

Earns (1993: 38, citing Saito, 1967) claims that more than 700 Dutch loanwords entered Japanese during this period of self-imposed isolation, although others assert the figure was closer to 3,000 (Sonoda, 1975). Phonetic borrowings were particularly common during this period, including: *garasu* ('glass' < Dutch *glas*), *biiru* ('beer' < Dutch *bier*), *miruku* ('milk' < Dutch *melk*), *gomu* ('rubber' < Dutch *gom*; *vlakgom*, or English 'gum'), *renzu* ('lens' < Dutch *lens*) or *koohii* ('coffee' < Dutch *koffie*). Many others were brought in through 'calquing' (or 'loan translation'). For example, for the Dutch term for 'red wine' (*roode wijn*), a literal translation into Japanese was used: *aka-budoo-shu* (that is, 'red'- 'grape'- 'alcohol').

A number of linguists make the case for a direct Dutch influence in Japanese beyond loanwords, on various elements in Japanese grammar. For example, written Japanese began to use many more pronouns like 'this' and 'that', or 'he' and 'she' (*kore* and *sore*, *kare* and *kanojo*) due to direct translations from Dutch sentences, although Japanese is supposedly comparatively free of pronouns (Tsujimura, 1996). The relative pronoun *tokoro no* is thought to be an invention by Japanese translating Dutch texts (Miura, 1979a). One example of this is seen in the sentence below from the 1730s:

<i>koomoo-jin</i>	<i>mochi-wataru</i>	<i>TOKORO NO</i>	<i>seizu</i>	...
noun phrase	verb	relative pronoun marker	noun	
Dutch people	bring in	which		star chart . . .
'The star chart, THAT the Dutch brought in, . . .'				
(Earns, 1993: 53)				

Many other Dutch grammatical influences on Japanese can also be found, including an increased use of inanimate objects as sentence subjects and the appearance of a new copula, the so-called *de aru* forms (Earns, 1993). This last case is particularly interesting. Until the early twentieth century, Japan was highly 'diglossic', with the written style, using erudite classical Chinese expressions, ancient grammatical forms, and often obscure Sino-Japanese characters, constituting a very different language than the spoken vernacular. Learning to 'write', and not just acquiring the stroke order of thousands of ideographs, was an immensely burdensome task (Twine, 1991). When the *oranda-tsuuji* translators found that there was little difference between spoken Dutch and written Dutch, this had a profound impact. Not only could written texts in a language be rendered in the vernacular, and thus become accessible to commoners, but when they translated Dutch into Japanese they did so in a

comparably plain register of Japanese, an innovation that shook accepted literary traditions. As Earns points out, the custom of using a writing style close to the spoken language started with the *oranda-tsuumi* interpreters in Nagasaki. She cites several examples from Sugimoto (1983) of *oranda-tsuumi* pondering which style to use to translate their Dutch works into Japanese:

When translating [this dictionary into Japanese] it is necessary to use words which are faithful to the target language. The dictionary contains many vulgar words. To attempt to translate them into an elegant language is not only difficult, but worse, it will ruin the nuances of the language. [...] Since I am uneducated, I cannot translate [the Dutch language] by using an elegant choice of words. If I am forced to do so, I am afraid that I will not be faithful to the meanings of the original language. Therefore, I do not mind being laughed at by others, but I will translate by using the vulgar dialect of my region. (Sugimoto, 1983, cited in Earns, 1993: 80)

This meant that colloquial forms, such as the *de aru* copula or the *tokoro no* form mentioned above, were used by the *oranda-tsuumi* to directly gloss Dutch equivalents. As Western learning took on more prestige and importance, such styles became gradually more accepted, and Dutch thus contributed directly to the written-language reforms in Japan in the early twentieth century (Twine, 1991). But, more importantly, Dutch learning also set the stage for both the modernization of the late nineteenth century, and the impact of Japanese-English language contact at that time.

Nineteenth-century Japanese and English language contact

In the seventeenth century, the Dutch outmanoeuvred their British rivals in gaining political and economic influence with the shogunate and other powerful Japanese forces, although eventually nearly all Europeans were expelled.² After the time of the *sakoku* seclusion, English was probably not heard again on the islands for around two hundred years. The re-opening of the islands by the American commodore Matthew Perry in the 1850s, however, was not the first occasion when English-speaking Westerners reappeared on the shores of Japan.

In 1808, during the time of the Napoleonic Wars, the English ship HMS *Phaeton* surreptitiously entered Nagasaki harbour flying a Dutch flag. The British raided the Dutch storehouse on Dejima and captured several Dutch residents and held them for ransom for two days. The magistrate commissioner (*bugyoo*) of Nagasaki, Matsudaira Yasuhide, committed suicide after accepting responsibility for the incident and the local *daimyoo* lord was placed under house arrest (Hall, 1970). More importantly, this incident revealed the growing weakness of the Tokugawa shogunate which had ruled Japan for two centuries, and foreshadowed the coming of the Americans forty years later.

This foreign affairs crisis caused the shogun to re-evaluate its language policy. Six *oranda-tsuuji* in Nagasaki were ordered to immediately begin studying English under the tutelage of Jan Cook Blomhoff, the English-speaking Dutch head assistant at Dejima. Later French and Russian were added, and most interpreters had to study at least three languages (Doi, 1976: 32). French was taught by Hendrik Doeuff, the head of the Dejima trading post. Although at first there were no materials to use for study, the *oranda-tsuuji* produced a remarkable output of materials in a short period of time. The first English grammars were written in 1810 and 1811, and in 1814 the first English-Japanese dictionary was compiled with some 6,000 entries (Doi, 1976). The missionary Walter Henry Medhurst wrote his *An English and Japanese and Japanese and English Vocabulary* in 1830 while in the Dutch East Indies, and the *oranda-tsuuji* soon acquired access to this.

Perhaps the most colourful of the Western adventurers who visited the islands in the mid-nineteenth century was Ranald MacDonald, who reached Japan, in 1848. Born in 1824 in Oregon, MacDonald (1824–94) was the son of a Hudson's Bay Company trader and a Native American mother. MacDonald claimed that he was drawn to Japan in spite of the obvious dangers of such a venture:

I resolved within myself, to personally solve the mystery [of who the Japanese were, and why they had built a wall around their country], if possible, at any cost or effort — yea life itself. Mad! or not — I did so — at least in measure of my aim and power. (Lewis and Murakami, 1990: 121)

MacDonald's plan was innocent in its simplicity. He signed onto a whaling ship, and asked to be sent adrift in a small lifeboat about five miles off the coast of Hokkaido, in the far north of Japan. In his possession were provisions for a month, a small bible, and an English grammar and dictionary. On 27 June 1848, he reached Yankeshiri Island and later proceeded to Rishiri Island.

Under the strict laws of the shogunate MacDonald was imprisoned, even though he claimed that he had drifted into the country by accident. However, he taught English to fourteen *oranda-tsuuji* in Nagasaki, and was treated well there. The interpreters, it appears, were overjoyed at gaining access to a 'native speaker' of English. After a year, in 1849, he was sent back to the United States along with other thirteen American deserters who were held in Dejima by the Japanese. However, he left an impressive if under-appreciated legacy. Two of his students, Moriyama Einosuke and Hori Tatsunosuke, later acted as interpreters during Commodore Perry's second visit to Japan in 1854, and a third student, Nomura Tsunenosuke, was the interpreter for the first Japanese delegation to the United States in 1860. Hori Tatsunosuke later went on to edit *A Pocket Dictionary of the English-Japanese Language* in 1862 (a thousand-page tome) at the government's *Bansho-Shirabe-sho* 'School for European Languages' (see Table 3.1 below).

Table 3.1 The evolution of foreign language institutes in Japan from 1640 to the present

c. 1640	Official hereditary <i>Oranda-tsuuji</i> ('Holland interpreters') and their schools, studying Dutch.
c. 1740	The rise of <i>Ran-gaku</i> ('Dutch Studies', or de facto 'Western Learning'). From 1808, other European languages begin to be studied, including English and French.
1811	The establishment of the Official Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books into Japanese, the <i>Bansho-wage-goyoo</i> 番書和解御用 .
1855	This then becomes the Office for the Translation of Western Books/Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books, the <i>Bansho-shirabe-dokoro</i> 番書調所.
1855	A new body is established — The Institute for Western Learning/Institute for Western Studies, the <i>Yogaku-sho</i> 洋学所 .
1856	The former institute is renamed as The School for European Languages/The School for Examining Barbarian Books, the <i>Bansho-shirabe-sho</i> 番書調所 . The range of languages studied now includes Dutch, English, French, and German.
1862	This then becomes The Government School of Western Languages/Institute for the Investigation of Western Books, the <i>Yoosho-shirabe-sho</i> 洋書調所 , and Russian is added to the curriculum.
1863–1868	The former institution is now renamed as The Institute of Progress/Institute for Translation and Foreign Studies, the <i>Kaisei-sho</i> 開成所 .
1869	This is then renamed as The College of Western Studies the <i>Daigaku Nankoo</i> 大学南校 , which specializes in the study of English, French and German. A section of this institute later evolves into the Faculty of Literature at Tokyo University.
1873–1897	In 1873, The College of Western Studies is reconfigured as The Foreign Language School, the <i>Kaisei-gakkoo</i> 開成学校 , and The Tokyo Foreign Language School, the <i>Tookyoo Kaisei-gakkoo</i> 東京開成学校 . Chinese and Korean are added to the curriculum at around this time.
1877	The University of Tokyo, the <i>Tookyoo Daigaku</i> 東京大学 , is established. The English Department of the Tokyo Foreign Language School becomes part of the Liberal Arts College of the university.
1886	The University of Tokyo becomes The Imperial University, the <i>Teikoku Daigaku</i> 帝国大学 .
1897	This former institution is renamed Tokyo Imperial University, <i>Tookyoo Teikoku Daigaku</i> 東京帝国大学 . At the same time, The Tokyo Foreign Language School, the <i>Tookyoo Kaisei-gakkoo</i> 東京開成学校 , is re-established as a separate institution.
1947–the present	Tokyo Imperial University is renamed the University of Tokyo, <i>Tookyoo Daigaku</i> 東京大学 , and currently teaches a wide range of the world's languages.
1949– the present	The Tokyo Foreign Language School is renamed the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, the <i>Tookyoo Gaikokugo Daigaku</i> 東京外国语大学 and currently teaches a wide range of languages.

Sources: Doi, 1976; Shinmura, 1998; Earns, 1993; Dore, 1964; *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (nine volumes; Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1983), *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (two volumes; Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1993), the websites of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and the University of Tokyo.

As noted in Table 3.1 above, one of the first translation bureaux was the Official Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books into Japanese, which later became the School for European Languages. This was established in 1811 soon after the *Phaeton* arrived in Nagasaki Bay, causing all kinds of panic. The Tokugawa government set up the institute to study the main 'barbarian' languages, English, French, Russian and Dutch, in an effort to be able to negotiate equally with the foreigners then intruding into Japan. The bureau was located in Edo, close to Nagasaki. Formal schooling was rare during this time, often little more than what was provided at the local *terakoya*, single teacher classes often held in private residences, so a government-sponsored institution for studying foreign languages was a significant innovation. The changing attitudes towards the European languages are reflected in the various names given this school over time. In its early years, this academy studied 'barbarian books', while at the end of the Tokugawa in the late 1860s, the study of Western languages was conducted at an 'institute of progress'. By the 1870s the languages included English, French, German, Russian, and Chinese. By this time, Dutch was no longer taught, and Korean was transferred to Tokyo Commercial School (later to become Hitotsubashi University) (Doi, 1976). Eventually, this foreign language school combined with Tokyo Medical College to form Tokyo University — the most prestigious university in Japan today.

Nakahama Manjiro (1827–98), a fisherman from Tosa-han (present-day Kochi-ken) in Shikoku island was another unusual character who contributed to the spread of English in Japan. In 1841 the fourteen-year-old Nakahama was in a shipwreck, but was rescued by an American whaler and taken back to the United States. He remained there for ten years, went to school, and acquired a near-native command of English, as well as the American nickname 'John'. Upon his return to Japan, he was made an honorary samurai due to his English ability, and taught English at the government institute mentioned above. When Commodore Perry arrived in Japan, he was summoned to Edo to serve the Japanese government as an interpreter, but his services were never used, presumably because his loyalty was suspect, having been in the United States for so long (Kaneko, 1956; Ike, 1995; Earns, 1993). However, class differences may have played a role here as well, a fisherman's son, John Manjiro never was an insider among the ruling elite or samurai class, and an audience before the shogun for such a person — regardless of his English ability — would have been exceptional. Nevertheless, the books he brought to Japan with him from America (especially his *Webster's English Dictionary*) formed the basis of the *Genkai*, a major Japanese dictionary of the Meiji Period (Earns, 1993).

Commodore Perry and the politics of English in nineteenth-century Japan

In 1853 Commodore Perry came to Japan with a squadron of ships, thus starting the American Pacific colonization process which continued well into

the twentieth century. Ostensibly, the mission was to pressure Japan into joining the world of 'civilized nations'; but Perry also wanted to gain trading concessions, create opportunities to proselytize, and extract a safe haven for American whaling ships to replenish (Neumann, 1963).

The Kanagawa Treaty of 1854 and the Ansei Commercial Treaties of 1858 officially and effectively ended the *sakoku* isolation period. Because of 'Kanagawa', Americans were granted most-favoured-nation trading status, the use of two ports (Shimoda and Hakodate) as supply stations, hospitality for shipwrecked American sailors, and the right to open a consul in Shimoda. The 'Ansei (Five Power) Treaties', between Japan and the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, and the Netherlands, set tariff rates, established official diplomatic relations, and institutionalized extraterritoriality for foreign nationals. After the reopening of Japan in the 1850s, the linguistic landscape soon changed. The *Kaisei-sho* ('Institute for Translation and Foreign Studies') began to enthusiastically support English in its curriculum from 1856 onwards. The *Kaisei-sho*'s first English-Japanese dictionary was published in 1862 (Fukuhara, 1958).

The open-port treaties allowed Westerners access to Yokohama and Nagasaki, and foreign residents began moving in. To deal with this influx of foreigners, the Japanese government opened two new foreign language schools, one in Edo in 1856 (where John Nakahama taught) and one in Nagasaki in 1858. The Edo school had only Japanese interpreters, while the Nagasaki school included native speakers of English, as well as French and Russian (Earns, 1993). But it was soon clear that English was the major foreign language necessary for both commerce and modernization. The rise of English was influenced by the politics of the day. Many Japanese felt the treaties granted foreigners under American pressure were unequal and humiliating. To implement them, the Tokugawa shogunate had to purge over a hundred government officials, placing them under house arrest, forcing them into retirement, or executing them.³ Such conflicts contributed to the fall of the Shogunate government in 1867.

The 'inequality' of the treaties with Western powers was also paralleled by linguistic matters. As the transition from Dutch to English was not easy, Dutch continued to be used in all official Japanese government communications for quite some time, even after the arrival of Commodore Perry.⁴ All treaties were written in Japanese, Dutch, and the language of the Western nation involved, but the authoritative version of a treaty was the language of the American and European powers (Earns, 1993). This led to some serious problems. For example, in the Kanagawa Treaty presented by Perry in 1854, it was stated that:

There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of the treaty; *provided that either of the two*

governments deem such arrangements necessary (emphasis added; cited in Earns, 1993: 247).

The italicized clause above was mistranslated by the Japanese to mean that *both* governments had to agree to establish a consulate, and were thus rather shocked by the sudden arrival in August 1856 of Townsend Harris (1804–78), the first American diplomatic envoy permanently assigned to Japan.

Poor interpretation also caused other problems for Japan in its interactions with the Western powers. In September 1854, Sir James Stirling representing the interests of Great Britain (which had just become involved in the Crimean War) went to Nagasaki in an attempt to deny Russian ships access to the port. He had great difficulty making himself understood because he had no efficient interpreter, and it was unclear to the Japanese exactly what he wanted. In despair, the Nagasaki officials offered him the same terms that had been given to Perry six months earlier, which Stirling accepted in the belief that ‘a foothold in Japan, no matter how limited, was worth having’ (Beasley, 1950: 29). At a stroke, Stirling had opened Japan to Great Britain on the same terms as the USA, the advantages of which would become apparent in the coming decades of the Meiji Period.

Politically, the lessons from China, India, Indonesia, and elsewhere were clear to the Japanese: if left to their own devices, Westerners would carve up Japan just as they had done in other Asian countries. The results of the Second Opium War in China caused great consternation among Japanese politicians and intellectuals. Townsend Harris exacerbated these fears when he implied that the 1862 peace settlement in China, the Treaty of Tientsin, would free up the British and French fleets and forces to invade Japan if negotiations with America did not go well. The impact of the new treaties on everyday life was still unknown. Would the new foreigners bring economic prosperity, as they promised, enchanting goods and knowledge from afar, or simply the foreign domination of a severely weakened Japanese nation?

At this time, many Japanese were repeating *naiyuu gaikan* ('troubles at home, and dangers from abroad'), a Chinese expression predicting the collapse of a dynasty. Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century the Tokugawa government, which had maintained peace and order in Japan for two and half centuries, was facing serious internal and external challenges. One solution was to meet the West head-on and modernize the country, and for that enterprise, knowledge of Western customs and science was necessary. The only way to acquire this knowledge was to master their languages, especially English. Previous experts in 'Dutch studies' now switched quickly to English, for reasons clearly given by Fukuzawa Yukichi in his famous autobiography:

One day [in 1858] I went to Yokohama for sight-seeing . . . the pioneer [foreign] merchants were living [there] and showing their wares. To my chagrin, when I tried to speak to them, no one seemed to understand me at

all. Nor was I able to understand anything spoken by a single one of all the foreigners I met. Neither could I read anything of the signboards over the shops. Nor the labels on the bottles which they had for sale. There was not a single recognizable word in any of the inscriptions or in any speech. It might have been English or French for aught I knew . . . [One shopkeeper named Kniffer] could somehow understand my Dutch when I put it in writing. . . . I had been walking for twenty-four hours, a distance of some fifty miles, going and coming. But the fatigue of my legs was nothing compared with the bitter disappointment in my heart. I had been striving with all my powers for many years to learn the Dutch language. And now when I had reason to believe myself one of the best in the country, I found that I could not even read the signs of merchants who had come to trade with us from foreign lands. It was a bitter disappointment, but I knew it was no time to be downhearted. Those signs must have been . . . in English . . . for I had inklings that English was the most widely used language. A treaty with the two English-speaking countries had just been concluded. As certain as day, English was to be the most useful language of the future. I realized that a man would have to be able to read and converse in English to be recognized as a scholar in Western subjects in the coming time. In my disappointment my spirit was low, but I knew that it was not the time to be sitting still. (Fukuzawa, 1899 [1960]: 97–8)

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) was one of the most outstanding men of letters in Meiji Japan in the last half of the nineteenth century, and was a founder of Keio University. During his lifetime, he was recognized as an important theorist on Japanese modernization, and was a member of the first Japanese delegation to the United States in 1860. Later, however, he discovered that English was not quite as foreign as he had first believed:

After a while we came to see that English was a language not so entirely foreign to us as we had thought. Our fear in the beginning that we were to find all our labor and hope expended on Dutch to have been spent in vain, and that we were to go through the same hardship twice in our lives proved happily wrong. In truth, Dutch and English were both ‘languages written sideways’ of the same origin. Our knowledge of Dutch could be applied directly to English; our one-time fear was a groundless illusion. (Fukuzawa, 1899 [1960]: 103)

Before the arrival of the Americans, there were already many signs of domestic malaise. A major famine in the 1830s had spurred peasant uprisings and unrest, and the economy was in disarray (Hane, 1982). When Perry demanded a treaty, the shogun could not reach a consensus among the local *daimyoo* lords about what to do. Many influential leaders, like Fukuzawa, sincerely believed in the superiority of at least certain Western practices. Others like Sakuma Shozan advocated *Tooyoo no dootoku, seiyoo no gaku-gei* ('Eastern ethics, Western science'), believing in the acquisition of Western knowledge to know one's enemy (Beasley, 1990).

Some Japanese, however, were committed xenophobes who saw the influx of foreigners in the country after the three ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate were opened in 1859 as nothing short of a disgrace. Cries of *Sonnoo jooi* ('Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians') became heard on the streets more and more. Increased foreign trade raised the price of local goods even higher. When the shogun tried to use force to limit the activities of the Westerners, the Japanese military was humiliated. The Tokugawa government seemed unable to meet the Western threat either militarily or diplomatically, and internal civil rebellions broke out. The Tokugawa shogunate sought to strengthen its position by seeking out Western economic and military assistance, and intensifying diplomatic and cultural exchanges. This increased contact with foreigners, however, destroyed the last vestiges of Tokugawa legitimacy, and in January of 1868 a new government was established in the name of the Meiji emperor.

English, enlightenment, and language contact

The Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin*) changed Japan completely, almost overnight. The old caste distinctions of samurai-townsman-farmer were abolished and a new, stronger, central government was established. Compulsory education was started; a military draft was enacted; a constitutional monarchy authorized. Thus began the Meiji Enlightenment (*Bummei kaika*), a concerted effort by the new government to instantly modernize the country.

There were also a number of important changes in language policies. The study of Dutch and English had previously been a rather controlled affair that was usually restricted to civil servants for official, scientific and political purposes. Throughout the late nineteenth century, however, private language academies blossomed. The language monopoly held by the authorities completely disappeared, and more and more commoners could acquire knowledge of foreign languages. Nevertheless, as Loveday (1996) points out, Dutch continued to hold high status in the minds of many Japanese, and although English was intended to be the compulsory foreign language in the new public educational system, no one had the linguistic or financial resources to implement such a programme. At first, the only real students to receive adequate training in English were children of the upper classes who attended schools where English was often the medium as well as the subject of instruction (*ibid.*). The common folk — the merchants, shopkeepers, and members of the entertainment quarters — were left to their own devices. They had to improvise when they met foreign sailors and businessmen in everyday situations in the newly opened international ports of Yokohama and Nagasaki. To communicate with each other, the hosts and their guests developed a pidginized version of Japanese English, the 'Yokohama Dialect', which was named after the major seaport where much of this early contact took place.⁵

Table 3.2 Yokohama Dialect correlates

English	Atkinson	Standard Japanese	
good day	<i>ohio</i>	o-hayoo	おはよう
you, yours	<i>oh my</i>	omae	お前
church, temple	<i>oh terror</i>	o-tera	お寺
nine	<i>coconuts</i>	kokono-tsū	九つ
cold	<i>sammy</i>	samui	寒い
eight	<i>yachts</i>	yattsu	八つ
twenty	<i>knee jew ban</i>	ni-juu-ban	二十番
good-bye	<i>sigh oh narrow</i>	sayoonara	さようなら
three	<i>meat</i>	mittsu	三つ

From 1859, Yokohama was the first Japanese port opened to world trade, and was 'a meeting place for merchants, sailors, missionaries, drifters, adventurers, and globetrotters from a score of nations' who mingled with 'vendors, jugglers, samurai, farmers, [and] girls in bright kimonos, many of them drawn from Tokyo or even points farther to do business, shop, and observe the odd behavior of the foreigners who [had] torn their nation from seclusion' (Rosenstone, 1988: 11). It soon became home to some 1,500 Westerners, 3,000 Chinese, and 25,000 Japanese, and a community served by 4 newspapers, 2 hospitals, 3 churches, a cricket pitch, a racecourse, a men's club, a theatre, and various other kinds of establishments, public and private. It was the scene of 'solid investment and high risk enterprise, of major European trading agencies and shady firms that spring up one week and vanish the next' (*ibid.*: 10). The Yokohama of the day was as expensive as contemporary New York.⁶

The Yokohama Dialect (are other Japanese English pidgins) died out in the twentieth century, and we must now rely on written sources to see how everyday Japanese and foreigners communicated. Fortunately, we have been left with a few documents, albeit rather obscure and rare, which indicate how this speech may have sounded. One of the chief sources for this pidgin comes from a 32-page pamphlet written by Hoffman Atkinson, a long-term resident in the Yokohama foreign settlement. The pamphlet, humorously entitled 'Exercises in the Yokohama Dialect', appeared in various sanctioned and pirated editions through the early 1900s. It was first published in 1874, and was revised in 1879 under the title 'Revised and Enlarged Edition of Exercises in the Yokohama Dialect'. Most editions give no date, place of publication, or author. Vos (1963) and Williams (1963) cite the author as the 'Bishop of Homoco', an inside joke for local foreign residents (*hamakko* being standard

Japanese slang at the time for 'a real Yokohaman'). The copy Daniels (1948) examined was dated 1915, and he claims that some 21,000 copies were allegedly printed. (The copy I cite below is apparently from 1879.)⁷

The most remarkable feature of the Atkinson text is that the Japanese 'transcriptions' are designed to resemble English as much as possible, resulting in many (probably intentionally) humorous correlates, as seen in Table 3.2 above. According to Daniels (1948: 806), who made a study of the vocabulary items in Atkinson, about 80 to 85 percent of the words used came from Japanese. Adachi's dictionary (1988) suggests that this percentage may have even been higher. Many terms were straightforward names for everyday objects (e.g., *mado* 'window'), numerals (e.g., *ichi* 'one'), colours (e.g., *akai* 'red'), verbs (e.g., *arau* 'to wash') or common adjectives (e.g., *muzukashii* 'difficult'). None of the standard Japanese inflections were used, however. The second most frequent source language was English, followed by a few forms that were extant in other English-based pidgins in Asia at this time. However, the English that was contributed is fascinating, and shows much of the linguistic and cultural life in Meiji Japan. There are many straightforward borrowings, especially for those things related to the foreign community, for example, *consul*, *curio*, or *hotel*, although many of these terms had undergone various semantic shifts. For example, the term *house* could mean 'home or place of origin', 'residence or building', or 'store or place of business'.

The term 'curios' is often mentioned in the Atkinson text, and a few additional comments about this term might be germane at this point as it reflects much about the culture, as well as the language contact situation at this time. 'Curios' or 'things Japanese' were now becoming quite popular in the United States. For example, Neumann describes how the fad for Japanese items affected shopping habits of East Coast Americans in the late nineteenth century:

A display of Japanese 'curios' at the Philadelphia Exhibition in 1876 aroused so much interest that the following year Tiffany and Company offered Americans a large selection of articles purchased for this new market. Also, in 1877 a Japanese company devoted to the encouragement of native arts opened a branch in New York to cater to the American connoisseurs who had developed a taste for Japanese creations. (Neumann, 1963: 64)

English also sometimes inadvertently contributed vocabulary when Japanese speakers borrowed words for Western objects, on the basis of their observation of the foreigners' speech habits; for example, the term for European dogs became *kameya* or *komiya*, because Japanese people supposedly heard Americans say 'Come here!' to their dogs (Diosy, 1879; cf. Miura, 1983). Adachi (1988) discusses at some length this 'semantic redefinition', arguing

that the term was heard by Japanese as 'Come here' plus *-ya*, a 'sentimental particle' used to indicate closeness. Thus, *kameya* was thought to be a 'Western breed of dog' + *ya*. The term *kame*, then, became used for any Western or foreign dog in the Yokohama Dialect, and also for 'mutt' in Japanese, at least in some dialects, such as the Tohoku dialect (Arakawa, 1984). Both Atkinson and Diosy cite the term for a British or American sailor as *dam your eye sto* or *damuraisu h'to*, from the English phrase 'Damn your eyes!' plus the Japanese word for person, *hito*. Again, this phrase no doubt came from overhearing the seamen's vernacular speech.

As in many language contact situations, semantic modification is noticeable in the Yokohama Dialect. Often the meanings associated with a term of Japanese origin was extended. For example, *aboorak* (<Japanese *abura*, 'oil') was used to refer to butter, oil, kerosene, grease, and lamp oil. Another example of semantic extension is seen in the Japanese word *sake* ('rice wine'). This term was extended to any alcoholic beverage: *beer sacky* for 'beer', *ah-kye sacky* (*akai sake*, 'red sake') for claret, or *square-face sacky* for 'gin' ('square face' being common sailors' slang for the gin bottle and its contents). 'Champagne' is given by Diosy (1979) as *pom sacky*; although he suggests no derivation for it, this term may have come from the standard Japanese *ponpon* ('bang') or *pon-to* ('with a pop' ポント).

The Yokohama Dialect died out for several reasons, three of which I think are most important. First, the sheer number of English-speaking foreigners in Japan increased exponentially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This made them the dominant economic force, especially in certain areas, of the port cities. Second, standard English increased in prestige while that of the Yokohama Dialect sank. English replaced Dutch as the language to learn about the West, and ambitious young Japanese civil servants, diplomats, scientists, and scholars were anxious to learn it. At the same time, the speakers of the Yokohama Dialect, mere merchants, traders, entertainers, and courtesans, were dismissed by the newly disenfranchised samurai and educated classes as second-class citizens of little merit or status. Finally, there was direct and indirect government support for the learning of English. The Meiji administration brought in a whole cadre of 'foreign experts' to instantly modernize the country. These included many official teachers of English, as well as others who offered their linguistic expertise for fee or favour.

However obscure the Yokohama Dialect may be today, its legacy persisted for some time. For example, items that continued to be used well into the 1920s included: *suto* ('stove'), *hausu* ('house' as mentioned above), *pairo* ('pilot'), *basuke* ('basket'), *bisuke* ('biscuit'), *wada* ('water'), *tomura* ('tomorrow') (Sonoda, 1975; Adachi, 1988).

Other contact varieties and Japanese varieties of English

There is no doubt that other kinds of restricted languages (or ‘pidgins’) were extant throughout the late nineteenth century. Loveday (1996) mentions several, including ‘nurse-talk’ (*ama-kotoba*), ‘merchant talk’ (*shoonin-kotoba*), ‘driver-talk’ (*kurumaya-kotoba*), ‘brothel talk’ (*chabuya-kotoba*), and ‘sailor talk’ (*madorosu-kotoba*).⁸ Another example was found in the foreign churches and international schools, a type of speech that Smout (1988) terms ‘missionary English’. A version of English was also developed by the early Japanese translators themselves, with the help of textbooks or Dutch speakers, called ‘Interpreter’s English’ (Adachi, 1988).⁹ Also, as discussed earlier, in 1811 (not long after the HMS *Phaeton*’s intrusion into Dejima harbour in Nagasaki Bay), Nagasaki *tsuuji* interpreters compiled what was probably the first English-language textbook in Japan. The phrases often sound quaint, even by nineteenth-century standards, as the following example shows (Earns, 1993: 146):

The winter doth not please me
Ware wa fuyu o konomazu
 (I don’t like winter.)

Soon after contact with the Americans began, an 1859 book, entitled *A New Familiar Phrases of the English and Japanese Languages General Use for the Merchant of the Both Countries first parts Nagasaky Sixth Year of Ansay December 1859*, was apparently commissioned by the government for use by Japanese and English speaking merchants (Earns, 1993). Certain peculiarities in style would appear in this, such as translating all English sentences into active forms, even when they were originally passive, as in the example below (Earns, 1993: 148):

That will be done with Japanese letters.
Nihon moji de yoroshii
 (It will be good with Japanese letters.)

After the period of isolation ended in the 1860s, the Meiji government, in its efforts to modernize the country, strived to adopt Western institutions immediately. The influx of British and American technical advisors, teachers, and missionaries gave the English language a high level of prestige, and studying it had immediate practical applications. It became fashionable among Japanese students and *haikara* people ('high collar' sophisticates who emulated Western ways) to intersperse their daily conversation with English borrowings. For example, one might consider the conversation of Meiji university students on p. 61, taken from an 1875 novel and cited in Takahashi (1967) and Sonoda (1975). I have numbered the sentences to make comparisons between the Japanese and English translations easier, but it is actually a monologue written sequentially:

- (1) *Wagahai no uocchi dewa mada ten minyuttsu gurai.*
- (2) *Webster no daijiten — jitsu-ni kore wa yuusufuru ja.*
- (3) *Chotto sono bukku o misete kurenka.*
- (4) *Jitsu-ni nihonjin no anpankucharu niwa osore iru.*
- (5) *Moriyama-kun purei suru-ka.*
- (6) *Ningen no tanoshimi wa ani sekkusu nomi naruya.*
- (7) *Fragility. The name is woman.*
- (8) *That is. Kuwashiku ieба neemuri. Raten de ieба id est.*
- (9) *Moo hitosu ieба to wit.*

- (1) By my *watch* there is still *ten minutes*.
- (2) This 'Webster's Comprehensive Dictionary' is really *useful*.
- (3) Can I take a look at that *book* for a moment?
- (4) I'm sick of these Japanese being so *unpunctual*.
- (5) Does Moriyama [go to the gay quarters to] *play* [around], too?
- (6) Man's only pleasure is *sex*.
- (7) *Fragility* [sic, 'frailty' from Hamlet, Act I, Scene 1] *thy name is woman*.
- (8) *That is*, to say it precisely, *namely*, *id est* in *Latin*.
- (9) In other words, *to wit*. (Takahashi, 1967: 79–80; Sonoda, 1975: 16–7)

It was about this time that certain linguistic attitudes were forming in the minds of both Japanese and foreigners concerning the language of choice to be used in their mutual attempts at cross-linguistic communication. With the increased contact with the West in the late nineteenth century, an increased use of English by Japanese was an inevitability. As the new government made ties with America and Europe, more and more foreigners came to Japan as traders, sailors, officials, and as hired teachers and technical experts. These people did not speak Japanese and had little desire to learn it, which necessitated foreign language study by those Japanese wanting to learn these subjects. Not only were the specialists' lectures in English, but English for a time became the language of instruction in many Japanese schools, and many texts were imported from abroad. These included both elementary school books, like Webster's spellers, and advanced tomes such Darwin's *Origin of Species* (Ikeda, 1968). Natsume Soseki (1867–1916), perhaps Japan's most revered twentieth-century novelist, who learned English at Tokyo University where John Nakahama taught, recalled that 'when we went to school, we were all compelled to study every subject in English; mathematics, botany, geometry, and so on' (Takahashi, 1965).

The English which was taught in schools was usually based on some rendering of Received Pronunciation (RP), and an approximation to this model was used by many Japanese in business and scholarly studies. These people did not use a pidgin, or a code-mixed variety of loanwords; they used a version of English and often studied it long and enthusiastically. However, to the English ear, these attempts were sometimes lacking (Sladen, 1913). For example, the following dialogue is based on text from an official handbook

published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, entitled *The Practical Use of Conversation for Police Authorities*:

(Japanese police officer): What countryman are you?

(English sailor, apparently in some trouble): I am a sailor belong to the Golden Eagle the English man-o'-war.

police: Why do you strike this *jinrikisha* ['rickshaw'] man?

sailor: He told me impolitely.

police: What does he told you impolitely?

sailor: He insulted me saing loudly 'the Sailor the Sailor' when I am passing here.

police: Do you striking this man for that?

sailor: Yes.

police: But do not strike him for that is forbided.

sailor: I strike him no more. (Chamberlain, 1904: 145)

Another view of the contemporary language situation was that seen by the (somewhat naive and innocent) eyes of Clara Whitney, a 14-year-old girl who arrived in Japan with her father William Whitney in 1875. William Whitney had been invited by Mori Arinori (1847–1916), the Japanese chargé d'affaires in Washington DC, to establish the first business college in Japan.¹⁰ In talking with government official and former samurai Oono Yaichi, Clara notes in her diary that she was surprised by his language ability: 'Indeed, I never knew before that he was master of so much English. We talked for nearly two hours without help from anyone, but occasional reference to a dictionary which lay between us' (Whitney, 1979: 49). In another entry on 'Fukuzawa's English', she has this to say about the famous Meiji intellectual, educator and newspaper publisher mentioned earlier (I have added curly bracket translations to her original transcription):

Mr Fukuzawa has a comical way of speaking, using English and Japanese in the utmost confusion, so that it is difficult to understand what he really means. For example, in speaking of the Governor: 'Mr Kuriyama is *hontoo ni* ['really'] kind man, *keredomo* ['however'] he is *taisoo* ['extremely'] busy *kono setsu* ['nowadays']?' [Mr Kuriyama is a very kind man, but he is extremely busy of late]. (Whitney, 1979: 221)

At this time it thus appears that there were a number of contact languages in use, both Japanese-based as well as English-based. Indeed, there were even people who were gradually becoming fluent in the standard versions of each language. However, there were at least two factors that eventually led to the dominance of standard English as the code of choice whenever Japanese and

foreigners met. The first is sometimes called 'Preble's Law' (Frankel, 1963), after a commentary by Lt. George Preble, one of Commodore Perry's adjutants, in 1854:

They have a great aptitude at catching English sounds and ask the American name of everything they see, and so pick up a vocabulary of our language. They generally give us the Japanese, but it sounds so barbarous to our ears, we are not at much trouble to remember it. (Preble, 1926: 140)

Thus, the default parameter came to be that it was English, and not Japanese, that was preferred. Americans decided that it was impossible for anyone but a Japanese to learn Japanese, and the Japanese often concurred.

To be sure, there were foreigners, often missionaries and doctors, who could speak Japanese. An American even wrote several of the first comprehensive Japanese-English dictionaries (Hepburn, 1867; 1872; 1886). However, Japanese-speaking foreigners were hardly the norm, as Basil Hall Chamberlain, a celebrated Victorian observer of Japan, indicates:

At other times seeing that you speak Japanese, they will wag their heads and smile condescendingly, and admit to one another that you are really quite intelligent — much as we might do in the presence of a learned pig or an ape of some unusual attainments. (1904: 383)

In other words, the Japanese themselves, too, thought that their language was too hard for foreigners to acquire.

Figure 3.1 attempts to illustrate some of the dynamics of the language-contact situation in the late nineteenth-century Japan. At the two extremes on the right and the left are standard versions of English and Japanese respectively. Connecting them are circles indicating the various clines of proficiency and register that learners went through to acquire the target language. However, there are some differences between the two paths. First, Interpreter's English, via the influence of Dutch, seems to be a stage in the process of acquiring standard English. That is, Interpreter's English did not so much die out as become absorbed into the language-acquisition continuum. The Yokohama Dialect, however, probably never enabled people to ever actually acquire standard English. While Interpreter's English was a register or version of a standard language (or at least tried to be), the Yokohama Dialect was a pidginized simplification of a standard language (and never tried to be anything else). And, as mentioned above, there were the class and education differences as well.

Pidgins were not the only development that resulted from the contact of English and Japanese. In the later part of the nineteenth century, most of the Japanese people had little contact with the new foreigners, either sailors or dignitaries. Pidgin Japanese seems to have been used only by those living in the port cities of Yokohama, Nagasaki and Kobe, and then probably only by

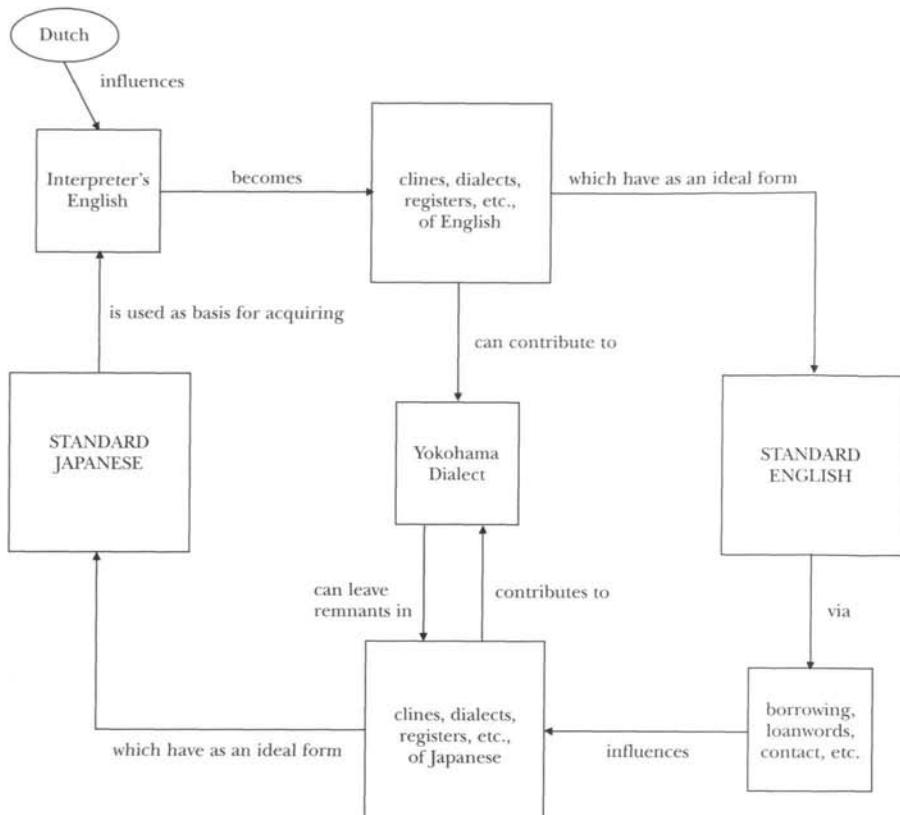


Figure 3.1 The dynamics of language contact in the late nineteenth-century Japan

limited segments of the population. However, this does not mean that English made no intrusions into the Japanese language, or into the daily lives of the rest of the Japanese people. Borrowing, or the nativization and use of English loanwords in a wide variety of registers, has been an important and critical aspect of Japanese communicative strategies from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Language reform in early modern Japan

As we have noted, to achieve the goals of instant modernization, Japan imported many tools and technologies of every kind from the West. One of these was English. Some influential leaders even advocated the elimination of the Japanese language. In the 1870s Mori Arinori, Japan's first minister of education and the architect of the modern Japanese school system (the same

chargé d'affaires who had invited the Whitneys to Japan) preached *kokugo haishi eigo saiyooron* ('Abolish Japanese, Adopt English', 国語廢止英語採用論). He lamented that:

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

Mori even wrote to Yale University professor W. Dwight Whitney, one of the most famous American linguists of his day (no relation to the Whitney family mentioned earlier), asking his opinion of Japan's adopting English:

The spoken language of Japan being inadequate to the growing necessities of the people . . . and too poor to be made, by a phonetic alphabet, sufficiently useful as a written language, the idea prevails among many of our best educated men and profound thinkers, that if we would keep pace with the age we must adopt some copious, expandable and expanding European language [presumably and preferably English], print our laws and transact all public business in it, as soon as possible, and have it taught in our schools as the future language of the country to the gradual exclusion of our present language, spoken and written.¹¹

Although the official adoption of English was never implemented, the fact that this idea was even suggested by men of such influence was significant. However, not only in Japan, but also from abroad, more restrained voices appeared. For example, Professor Joseph Henry (the first Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and a noted linguist in his own right), when asked his opinion on this issue in 1873, replied:

Let the English language be studied as much as possible; let it take in Japan the place so long occupied by Chinese; let it become the learned tongue, the classical language . . . but let the beneficial effect of all this be felt in the Japanese tongue itself (cited in Mori, 1873: 82–3).

Though such extreme measures as abolishing Japanese were never actually adopted in Japan, the point was noted that English was the language of law and commerce, science and medicine, technology and war. English was the language of modernity, and the language of the future. That said, the problem of language reform in a rapidly modernizing society still remained. While those arguing for the adoption of English ultimately failed, such advocates were nonetheless often more successful in promoting the use of the letters of the English alphabet, rather than the English language itself in Japan. In the 1880s and 1890s, language reform in Japan eventually came down to four possibilities: (1) replacing Japanese with English; (2) replacing characters with the *kana* syllabary; (3) adopting a roman alphabet; and (4) limiting the number of

characters. When the replacement option did not work, many language reformers directed their attention to changing the Japanese orthography. Modern Japanese has several writing systems apart from the famous Sino-Japanese characters. There are two phonetic syllabaries based on cursive abbreviations of Chinese characters. The *hiragana* symbols are used for particles, verbal endings, adverbs, and other grammatical functions. *Katakana* symbols are used as a kind of Japanese italic script. Words referring to things considered unique and special, foreign places or names, loanwords, onomatopoeia, are usually written in *katakana*.

Various advocates suggested replacing the Sino-Japanese characters with *hiragana* and *katakana* from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. In 1883, various like-minded individuals banded loosely together to form the *Kana no Kai* (the *Kana Club*). In many ways, using *kana* would have been a natural and logical choice for Japanese language reformers and one certainly less radical than replacing the language with English. However, it appears that this idea appeared prematurely. Until the *Genbun Itchi Undoo* movement, the movement to unify the spoken and the written language, achieved some degree of success, any kind of script reform was next to impossible: those who favoured the use of *kana* had not yet tackled the major problem of style reform. That is, they failed to realize that classical literary Japanese was just as hard to read in *kana* as it was in characters. In some senses, it was actually more difficult, as the characters at least partly indicate word meanings and word boundaries visually. 'Rather than simplifying matters, therefore, their manner of writing actually compounded the difficulty of reading Japanese' (Twine, 1991: 233). This, plus internal theoretical squabbles, doomed the movement.

Proposals to adopt the roman European alphabet were made as early as the 1870s. Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori, aside from pressing for English, were also among the first to see the advantages of using romanized Japanese. For one thing, such advocates claimed, it would naturally take care of a number of stylistic problems, as any dialect or register could theoretically be written in *rooma-ji* ('roman letters'). By the 1880s the Roomaji Club (*Roomanji-kwai* or *Roomanji-kai*) had some 10,000 members (Twine, 1991). By the time of the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, things Chinese were at an all-time low, including Chinese characters and the Chinese readings of characters. Author Ishikawa Takuboku even kept a diary written in Japanese in *rooma-ji* published in 1909 (Ishikawa, 1909 [1985]).

However, there were still many problems to overcome. One, as mentioned, was the issue of adopting the colloquial vernacular, as opposed to classical Sino-Japanese, as the written style. Until this could be accomplished, little in terms of script reform could be done. A second difficulty was the popularity of Chinese and Chinese-like collocations in Japanese among many of the

educated elite. Many intellectuals continued to study the classic Chinese texts, and had a vested interest in keeping the status quo. Finally, there was the problem of romanization itself, and how phonemic it should be. There were at least three systems in use: *Hyoojin-shiki* (the 'Standard System'), *Kunrei-shiki* (the 'Government-Issued System'), *Nippon-shiki* (the 'Japanese System'), each of which differed from the other in various ways. Some examples are shown in Table 3.3.¹²

Table 3.3 Various ways of romanizing selected Japanese syllables

Hiragana	<i>Hyoojin-shiki</i>	<i>Kunrei-shiki</i>	<i>Nippon-shiki</i>
し	shi	si	si
ち	chi	ti	ti
つ	tsu	tu	tu
づ	zu	zu	du
ぢゃ	ja	zya	dya
ぢ	ji	zi	di
ぢゅ	ju	zyu	dyu
ぢょ	jo	zyo	dyo
じゃ	ja	zya	zya
じ	ji	zi	zi
じゅ	ju	zyu	zyu
じょ	jo	zyo	zyo

Each system reflects different linguistic philosophies. The *Hyoojin-shiki* ('Standard System') is also known as the *Hebon-shiki* ('Hepburn System') after the American physician and missionary who used it in the first comprehensive Japanese-English dictionary (1886), and is close to the way Japanese words would be spelled in everyday English. The *Nippon-shiki* ('Japanese System') and the *Kunrei-shiki* ('Government-Issued System') are both phonemic, although less transparent to non-Japanese. To this day, there is no clear consensus on which system is the best. In Japanese school texts the *Kunrei-shiki* system is used, while the Foreign Ministry and the railways use the *Hyooyinshiki* system, as do most libraries and many publishers.¹³ Both systems are quite common in everyday Japanese, but neither has been adopted by the government as the sole official system.

Taisho terms and wartime words

Oddly enough, one could argue that it was probably the Taisho Period (1912–26), the time just before and after the First World War, which was the heyday of Japanese-English language contact and borrowing. This was a time when literary stylistics and script reforms were set aside in a growing love affair with English. Maeda (1995) says that of some 1,500 common loanwords in use during the last year of the Meiji Era (1912), about 75 percent were from English. However, it was the number of loanwords entering Japanese during this period that is significant: in fact, statistics show (compare Table 2.2 above and Table 3.4 below) much more English borrowing has taken place after the Second World War, but the Taisho period established patterns of taking, modifying, and creating English vocabulary items and English-language concepts and cognitive schemas which continue to this day. While many of the previous Meiji Era loanwords referred to abstract notions dealing with Westernization or modernization, many of the Taisho loanwords (which often came directly from the United States) were related to everyday practical life or popular culture (Sonoda, 1975).

Table 3.4 The percentages of loanwords by language acquired in Japanese during the Taisho Period

Donor language	percentage
English	63.0%
Dutch	14.2%
Portuguese	13.0%
French	3.7%
Spanish	2.5%
German	1.8%
other	1.8%

(modified from Sonoda 1975: 26–7; Ueno 1968: 361)

Throughout the 1920s English loanwords continued to be borrowed quite readily, and some of the most commonly used current English loans were introduced at that time. These include *takushii* ('taxi'), *rajio* ('radio'), and *sarariiman* ('salaried-man', or male white-collar office worker). The influx of British and American technical advisors, teachers, and missionaries during the previous Meiji Era had given the English language a high level of prestige and *savoir faire*, and studying it had immediate practical applications. It became fashionable among Japanese students and *haikara* people (the 'high collar' sophisticates mentioned earlier) to intersperse their daily conversation with

English borrowings.¹⁴ One cannot forget one of those most original of Japanese-coinages: the *mo-ga* ('modern girl', or 'flapper'). In fact, according to Arakawa (1977), various *-girl* words were some of the most productive of the times. These included terms like *kyampu gaaru* ('camp girl'), *depaato gaaru* ('department store girl'), *sutekki gaaru* ('stick girl'), *doa gaaru* ('door girl'), *gasorin gaaru* ('gasoline girl') and *ea garru* ('air girl') (Sonoda, 1975). Few of these terms survive today save for *ofisu gaaru* ('office girl'), which lingers through the acronym *OL* (pronounced *oo-eru*) for 'office lady', the term for female office workers.

There was another reason why the Taisho was such a critical period in Japanese-English language contact. During this time, linguistics as a science came into its own in Japan, and increased attention was devoted to English and English-language education. Large numbers of Western novels and scholarly works were translated into Japanese. Ichikawa Sanki was probably the most important linguist of the pre-war period, and he was also one of the first scholars to rigorously investigate the presence of English in Japanese. His prediction was that:

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

The fervent nationalism of the military regimes of the 1930s and 1940s tried, rather unsuccessfully, to eliminate English borrowings in Japanese, but all things Western were held in suspicion, even languages. Movements, both public and private, tried to eradicate all foreign linguistic poison from the *Yamato-kotoba* — the original language of Japan, the language of the gods. Thus, for example, the commonly understood word *anaunsaa* ('announcer') was replaced by the esoteric *hoosoo-in* (literally meaning 'broadcast person'), and the word *rekoodo* ('[grammaphone] record') was supplanted by the strange *onban* (literally meaning 'euphonic board'). Only a few terms, most related to war effort, entered the language: for example, the *B-29* (American bomber), and *reedaa* ('radar') (Sonoda, 1975). The end of the Second World War quickly saw English regain its former level of popularity and prestige. The English terms for the items mentioned above, for example, reappeared at once and the postwar American occupation spurred even more linguistic borrowings. However, the teaching of English during the war was sharply curtailed, leaving a whole generation with little or no English competence. Japanese people during the American occupation (1945–52) were thus left with two choices: either to quickly acquire standard English competence, or to speak to their American occupiers in a pidginized form of English.

That many people tried the former is evidenced by the numerous books and English-language materials that appeared immediately after hostilities

ended. For example, a small pamphlet on conversational English sold three and a half million copies almost as soon as it was printed, and English again became institutionalized in the educational curriculum. The occupation, moreover, provided a rich context for less formal linguistic contact. For example, the US military bases needed local workers to maintain them, and American servicemen spent off-duty time touring and sightseeing. American government officials and private citizens became increasingly involved with Japanese civil and cultural affairs, all of which meant increasing contact between Japanese and foreigners. Many, on both sides, were linguistically unprepared for this meeting.

After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, there then developed an English-based pidgin that was used between local Japanese and the US occupation forces stationed throughout the country. As the US occupiers were culturally, economically and militarily dominant, it is not surprising that American linguistic chauvinism pervaded this pidgin variety. Miller (1967) argues that it is necessary to distinguish at least two varieties of this speech. The first variety was used primarily for communication with shopkeepers, servants, labourers, and employees at US military installations. The second considerably more specialized variety served 'for what verbal communication [that was] necessary between non-Japanese-speaking foreigners and the extensive world of their local lady friends of every variety and description' (1967: 263). Miller cites the Japanese designation for this latter type of speech as *pangurishu*, or 'street-walker English'.¹⁵

The Korean War drastically increased the number of American servicemen stationed in, and passing through, Japan. It also spread a form of pidgin English to the Korean peninsula, and perhaps other places in the East and Southeast Asia as well. These pidgin varieties are often generically referred to as 'Bamboo English' in the literature (e.g. Algeo, 1960; Norman, 1954, 1955; Reinecke et al., 1975; Webster, 1960). The Korean version of this pidgin was almost identical with that spoken in Japan, with only a few local Korean additions. Many American soldiers had prior service in Japan; many words of Japanese origin were supposedly well understood by Koreans (Algeo, 1960; Miller, 1967). As was the case with the Yokohama Dialect, there are few extant published examples of postwar Bamboo English. As Miller points out, 'neither variety of the pidgin is likely to leave the kind of literary records that would ever make possible precise documentation' (1967: 264). Instead, we are obliged to rely on second-hand accounts and memoirs of people who were amateur linguists at best. James Michener, for example, constructed the following dialogue between an American airman, Lloyd, and his Japanese mistress, Hana-ogi, in his novel *Sayonara* (1954). The interlinear glosses and translations are my own:

1. Hana-ogi: *Lloyd-san you takushi please.*
"taxi"
"Lloyd, would you please get a taxi?"
2. Lloyd: *Daijobu, I takushi, get, ne?*
"OK" "taxi" "alright?"
"Fine, I'll call a cab, OK?"
3. H-o: *I like stay with you keredomo I train go honto.*
"however" "really!"
"I'd like to stay with you but I've really got to catch the train."
4. L: *More sukoshi stay, kudasai.*
"a little" "please"
"Stay a little while longer please."
5. H-o: *Deki-nai. Lloyd-san. No can stay.*
"can't"
"I can't do that, Lloyd, I can't stay."
6. L: *Doo shite? Whatsahurry?*
"why?"
"Why not? What's the hurry?"
7. H-o: *Anoo-ne! Takarazuka. My jobu, ne? I jobu go, ne?*
"hey . . ." "right?" "right?"
"Takarazuka theatre troop is my job, right? I have to go to work, don't you think?"
8. L: *Chotto, chotto goddamn matte!*
"a little" "wait"
"Wait just a goddamn minute!"
Takarazuka ichi-ji start now. Ima only 10 O'clock, ne?
"1 o'clock" "now" "right?"
"Takarazuka is starting today at one. It's still only 10 o'clock, right?"
9. H-o: *Anoo-ne! Lloyd-san. You mess my hair, ne.*
"Listen!" "right?"
"Hey, you'll mess up my hair!"
I beauty saron go, make nice, deshoo?
"probably; right?"
"Don't you think I should go get a nice hair style at the beauty shop?"
10. L: *No, no, no, anoo-ne! You takusan suteki now.*
"Listen!" "many; a lot" "pretty"
"No No No! Listen, you're very pretty already!" (Michener, 1954: 170-1)

Other sources for the pidgin English of this era include Algeo (1960), Goodman (1967), Norman (1955), and Webster (1960). Hume and Annarino (1953a; 1953b) and Hume (1954) also provide a number of examples of Bamboo English, although many of these are somewhat racist and sexist, to say the least. Other accounts are found in cartoons from Japanese and US military newspapers, two examples of which are given in Figure 3.2, which reproduces two of the many 'Baby-san' cartoons of the early 1950s.

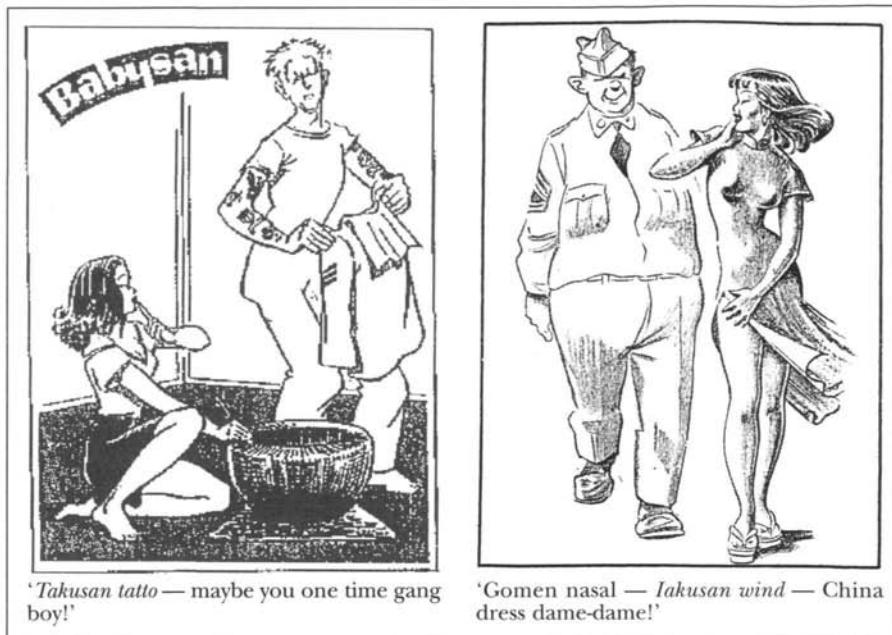


Figure 3.2 Some Baby-san cartoons

Sources: Hume and Annarino, 1953a: 43; Hume, 1954: 95.

Before we leave the Second World War era, mention should be made of one of the last serious suggestions to abolish Japanese, this time from Shiga Naoya (1883–1972), one of Japan's most admired novelists. In the April 1946 issue of *Kaizoo* (Reconstruction), a widely-circulated intellectual journal, he stated that:

More than once during the war, I had occasion to reflect upon the suggestion made sixty years ago by Mori Arinori about adopting English as our national language. I thought about how things might have been if his suggestion had been carried out. One may imagine that Japanese culture would surely have advanced far beyond the point where it is today. It occurred to me that most likely a war of the sort we have just been through would never have taken place. And it also occurred to me that then our scholarship would have advanced more easily, and even that we would have been able to recall our school days as having been something pleasant. We would be like our children who simply have never heard of the cumbersome old Japanese system of arbitrary weights and measures — we would all be speaking English with no consciousness that it was a foreign language — And so I got the idea, how would it be if Japan on this occasion [the defeat of 1945] acted with direct and swift resolution, and simply adopted the best language, the most beautiful language in the world, for its national language! — I am not at all well-informed about the purely technical aspects of the question of switching from

one language to another, but I do not believe it to be all that difficult. Once the necessary teachers have been trained, I believe that the new language can simply be introduced from the first year of elementary education on. (cited in Miller, 1977: 44–5)

As with Mori's proposal in the late nineteenth century, such drastic steps were not implemented, even with the tremendous social and economic upheavals caused by the Japan's defeat. However, as Roy Andrew Miller says, this does not mean that such criticisms were soon forgotten, or 'without continuing influence in the consideration of sociolinguistic questions in the literature in Japan' (1977: 46). Indeed, we will see these issues come up again in our later discussions of race, language, and national identity in Chapter 11.

Contemporary Japanese-English contact: Linguistic features

Since the Second World War and the American occupation, the quantity of English in Japanese, in the form of borrowing, grammatical transfer, or Japanese English neologisms has increased substantially. Today, it is impossible to interact in Japanese, or with Japanese, without recourse to English of one variety or another. In this section of the chapter, I attempt to provide a concise summary of the formal aspects of contemporary linguistic contact through a discussion of a number of salient linguistic features, at the levels of phonology, morphology, and syntax, relating to the 'nativization' of English loans in Japanese.

Phonological nativization

The basic structure of Japanese syllables is consonant plus vowel (CV), and this structure is applied to loanwords. A consonant cluster and syllable-final consonant is usually modified into a CV sequence by the addition of vowels (dubbed 'epenthetic' vowels by linguists) following most Japanese consonants. Thus 'McDonald's' in Japanese becomes *ma-ku-do-na-ru-do*, and 'Christmas' becomes *ku-ri-su-ma-su*. The main exception to this general pattern is the occurrence of syllable-final and word-final /n/, thus, 'companion' is rendered as *konpanion* コンパニオン, 'melon' becomes *meron* メロン, 'run' as *ran*, in *hoomu ran* ホームラン 'home run', and 'woman' as *uuman* ウーマン. This syllabic alteration of words taken from English (or created in English) also contributes to a number of the features highlighted below in Table 3.5, which is intended to summarize a number of the most important phonological modifications that occur in nativization of English in the language:

Table 3.5 English loanwords in Japanese: Major processes of segmental modification

Processes	Examples
1. Vowels	
Insertion of epenthetic vowels	'Ecstasy' becomes <i>ekusutashii</i> エクスタシー, 'festival' <i>fesutibaru</i> フェスティバル, 'McDonald's' <i>makudonarudo</i> マクドナルド, 'Olympics' <i>Orinpikku</i> オリンピック, 'Protestant' <i>purotesutanto</i> プロテスタンツ, and 'strike' <i>sutoraiku</i> ストライク.
The addition of vowel /u/ after most final consonants, i.e. /p, b, k, g, f, ʃ, ʒ, s, z, l, m, ŋ/	'Pipe' becomes <i>paipu</i> パイプ, 'tube' <i>chuubu</i> チューブ, 'rank' <i>ranku</i> ランク, vowel /u/ after most 'dog' <i>doggu</i> ドッグ, 'relief' <i>reriifu</i> レリーフ, 'push' <i>pushu</i> プッシュ, 'potage' <i>potaaju</i> ポタージュ, 'lace' <i>ressu</i> レッス, 'polanaise' <i>poroneezu</i> ポロネーズ, 'rail' <i>neeru</i> レール, 'time' <i>taimu</i> タイム, 'earring' <i>iyaringu</i> イヤリング.
The addition of /o/ after final stops /t/ and /d/.	'Hot' becomes <i>hotto</i> ホット, 'pot' <i>potto</i> ポット, 'target' <i>taagetto</i> ターゲット, 'junk bond' <i>jyanku bondo</i> ジャンクボンド, 'card' <i>kaado</i> カード, 'guide' <i>gaido</i> ガイド.
The addition of /i/ after /č/ and /j/	'Bridge' becomes <i>buriji</i> ブリッジ, 'range' <i>renji</i> レンジ, after 'sponge' <i>suponji</i> スポンジ, 'pinch hitter' <i>pinchi-hittaa</i> ピンチヒッター, 'punch' <i>panchi</i> パンチ, 'watch' <i>uotchi</i> ウオッチ.
2. Consonants	
/θ/ → /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /t/, /ts/	'Theory' becomes <i>seorii</i> セオリー, 'thought' <i>sooto</i> ソート, 'think' <i>shinku</i> as in <i>shinku tanku</i> シンクタンク ('think tank'), 'theme' <i>teema</i> as in <i>teema songu</i> テーマソング 'theme song', 'thulium' <i>tsuriumu</i> ツリウム.
/ð/ → /z/, /j/	'The' becomes <i>za</i> ザ, 'this' <i>jisu</i> ジス
/l/ → /r/	'Ballet' becomes <i>baree</i> バレー, golf <i>gorufu</i> ゴルフ, lighter <i>raitaa</i> ライター, limit <i>rimitto</i> リミット, pearl <i>paaru</i> パール.
Final /r/ → /a:/	'Car' becomes <i>caa</i> カー, colour <i>karaa</i> カラー, 'door' <i>doa</i> ドア, dancer <i>dansaa</i> , ダンサー, muffler <i>mafuraa</i> マフラー, 'owner' <i>oonaa</i> オーナー, 'player' <i>pureeyaa</i> プレーヤー.
/v/ → /b/	'Love' becomes <i>rabu</i> ラブ, service <i>saabisu</i> サービス, video <i>bideo</i> ビデオ, 'vitamin' <i>bitamin</i> ビタミン, silver <i>shirubaa</i> シルバー.

Table 3.5 is intended to represent a number of the most salient features of phonological contact and modification. Perhaps the most distinctive of such processes is the strong tendency to add a syllable-final or word-final vowel to consonants. In most cases this involves the addition of /u/; and in other cases /o/ after final stops /t/ and /d/; and /i/ following /č/ and /j/. In the above table, there is also a list of a number of regularly-occurring consonant substitutions. But there are a number of variations to the general patterning indicated above. For example, the word 'cake', which entered Japanese in the mid-nineteenth century was previously pronounced *keeku* ケーク (as predicted by Table 3.5 above), is now more commonly pronounced *keeki* ケーキ.

The morphology of English loanwords

At the morphological level, a number of distinct processes may be identified, including truncation, acronym formation, affixing and compounding. In the case of **truncation**, many English loanwords are abbreviated or 'truncated' when borrowed into Japanese. Examples of this process of truncation include the following: *homo* ホモ from 'homosexual', *kilo* キロ from 'kilometer', *roke* ロケ from (film) 'location', *puro* プロ from 'professional', *poruno* ポルノ from 'pornography', *reji* レジ from (cash) 'register', and *uran* ウラン from 'uranium'. Other high-frequency truncated items include *suupaa* 'supermarket', *dapaato*, 'department store', *demo* 'demonstration', *maiku* 'microphone', *terebi* 'television', *kiro* 'kilogram', *apaato* 'apartment (building)', and *ea kon* 'air conditioner'. Sonoda (1975) argues that when an English loanword is borrowed, grammatical inflections are often discarded as in *sukii* 'skiing', *sarariiman* 'salaried man', and *koonbiifu* 'corned beef'. It is also worth noting that plural inflections are also invariably dropped, as in *surii sutoraiku* ('three strikes') or *foa-booru* ('four balls').

English-derived **acronyms** and **abbreviations** form a distinctive subset in the contemporary Japanese lexicon, and include such diverse items as: *CM* (*shii emu*) 'commercial message'; *DPE* (*dii pii ii*) 'developing, printing; enlarging'; *J-League* (*jee riigu*) 'Japan [Soccer] League'; *J-pop* (*jee poppu*) 'Japanese popular music'; *J-rap* (*jee rappu*) 'Japanese rap music'; *JAL* (*jaru*) 'Japan Airlines'; *JALT* (*jaruto*) 'Japan Association of Language Teachers'; *LL* (*eru eru*) 'language laboratory'; *OB* (*oo bii*) 'old boy'; *OL* (*oo eru*) 'office lady'; *UFO* (*yuufuu*) 'unidentified flying object', *WC* (*daburu shii*) 'water closet; toilet'. What is striking about many of these acronyms is that while a subset are obviously 'imported' items (*UFO*, *WC*, etc.) many others refer to phenomena that are particularly or uniquely Japanese, and are special 'made-in-Japan' creations, even though there may be other equally applicable loans available for use (for example, *DPE* for photo processing). The nativized Japanese pronunciation may also markedly change how such acronyms are pronounced (e.g., *yuufuu* for *UFO*). A number of these also modify nouns, so that *CM songu* (pronounced *shii em songu*) is a commercial television or radio jingle. The use of the abbreviation 'J' to indicate something Japanese has become extremely common, and there are many related terms in use at present, among which *J-League*, *J-pop*, and *J-rap* are arguably three of the most common expression. In contrast, the abbreviation *H* (*etchi*) 'hentai' [Japanese] now refers generally to erotic material and even to lecherous men (especially when used by women) (Motwani, 1991).

Compounds and **blends** and are also important in this context, and it has been argued that processes of compounding are involved in around two-thirds of all English loanwords entering Japanese. Sonoda (1975) estimates that two-thirds of all English loanwords enter Japanese in this way. Representative

examples of such compounds include *masu komi* ‘mass communications’, *bodi kon* ‘body consciousness’, *waa puro* ‘word processing’, *oorudo misu* ‘old miss’, *ero-guro-nansensu* ‘erotic grotesque nonsense’, *enjin-stoppu* ‘engine stop’, and *gasorin sutando* ‘gasoline stand’. By way of explanation, ‘body consciousness’ was a trend in the early 1990s, involving the promotion of ‘buff’ healthy and sexy bodies, while, predictably, an ‘old miss’ is synonymous with spinster. ‘Erotic grotesque nonsense’ refers to gratuitous explicit sex and violence in popular culture, especially films and comic books. ‘Engine stop’ (*enjin-sutoppu*), or the abbreviated form *ensuto*, means a breakdown, usually an automobile breakdown. ‘Gasoline stand’ corresponds to the American ‘gas station’, and *masu komi* refers to the mass media, especially the press or television news. Hybrid compounds can also be formed by blending Japanese and English terms, as in *nuudo shashin* (‘nude picture’), *denki sutando* (‘standing electric light’), and *uchuu roketto* (‘space rocket’).

Affixation also merits attention. The use of prefixes and suffixes provides another means of incorporating loanwords into Japanese. Native Japanese terms can become affixed to loanwords, and loanword prefixes and suffixes can also be used for both native Japanese and borrowed terms. English loanwords taking native Japanese affixes include *amerika-jin* アメリカ人 ‘American person’, *saabisu-uryoo* サービス料 ‘service charge’, *sutorippu gekijoo* ストリップ劇場 ‘strip show’, *amerika-shiki* アメリカ式 ‘American style’, *amerika-sei* アメリカ製 ‘made in America’, *sairui-gasu* 催涙ガス ‘tear gas’, and *pan-ya* パン屋 ‘bread store’, i.e. ‘bakery’.

English loanwords can also be used as affixes for other terms already borrowed into Japanese. For example, the English ‘one’ is quite productive, and the Horiuchi dictionary (1999) has over one hundred entries with the *wan* prefix, including: *wan-kusshon* ‘one cushion’ (approaching someone through an intermediary), *wan-man* ‘one man’ (a bossy person), *wan-man kaa* ‘one-man car’ (a bus without a conductor), *wan-piisu* ‘one piece’ (a pullover, a one-piece dress), *wan-uei* ‘one way’ (street), *wan-pataan* ‘one pattern’ (one-track mind, repetitive), *wan-ruumu manshon* ‘one-room mansion’ (a studio apartment), *wan-saido geemu* ‘one-side game’ (a one-sided game) (Horiuchi, 1999: 721–3). Other common English-based affixes include the suffixes *-in* ('in'), *roon* ('loan'), and *kompurekkusu* ('complex'); and the prefixes *hai-* (high), *noo-*, and *hoomu*. Examples of the suffixes include *hoomu-in* ('home in', i.e. reaching home base in baseball), *kaa-roon* ('car-loan'), and *inferioriti kompurekkusu* ('inferiority complex'). Examples of the prefixes are *hai-sensu* ('high-sense', having good sense or taste); *noo-taimu* ('no-time', the end of a sports game); and *hoomu-ueaa* ('home-wear', casual clothes worn around the house).

Loanwords and syntax

Loanwords that have been incorporated into the Japanese language system generally follow the morphological and syntactic rules of Japanese grammar. For example, in Table 3.6 below, the first five sentences contain 'native Japanese' nouns while the second five have English loanwords. Each sentence may be glossed as 'Please open (this) ~', and each subject-noun combination (whether loanword or Japanese) takes the same objective case marker and behaves in very similar fashion:

Table 3.6 Example sentences containing Japanese terms
and English loanwords in parallel sentences

'(Will you) please open (this) X?' [here the subject is unstated]			
X	<i>o</i> case marker	<i>akete</i> - verb	<i>kudasai</i> honorific
noun OBJECT 'X'	VERB 'open'	'please'	
<i>mado</i> ('window')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>hako</i> ('box')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>shooji</i> ('paper screen')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>fusuma</i> ('sliding door')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>fukuro</i> ('sack')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>doa</i> ('door')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>shattaa</i> ('blinds', lit. 'shutter')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>uisukii no botoru</i> ('bottle of whisky')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>biiru no kan</i> ('can of beer')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>
<i>purezento</i> ('present')	<i>o</i>	<i>akete</i>	<i>kudasai</i>

Although the vast majority English loanwords in Japanese are nouns, there are also sizeable numbers of adjectives and adverbs. Here, one might note that Japanese adjectives may be broadly classified into two types *keijooshi* or '*i*-type' adjectives, which decline for tense or negation, and '*na*-type' adjectives taking the particle *-na*. Examples of '*na*-type' adjectives include *shizuka* ('quiet'), as in *shizuka-na machi* ('a quiet town'); and *kirei* ('pretty') as in *kirei-na hana* ('a pretty flower'). Generally speaking, English loanwords usually take this particle. Kamiya's concise (1994) dictionary gives scores of examples, including the following:

hansamu na wakai dansei ('a handsome young man'), *naisu [na] heyasutairu* ('a nice hairstyle'), *doramachikku na tenkai* ('a dramatic development'), *chaamingu na onna no ko* ('a charming young woman'), *furesshu na kudamono* ('fresh fruit'), *romanchikku na kimochi* ('romantic feeling'), *derikeeto na mondai* ('a delicate problem'), *karafuru na jinsei* ('a colourful life'), *dandii na fukusoo* ('dandy/gaudy clothes'), *supesharu na hito* ('a special person'), *gurotesuku na kaibutsu* ('a grotesque monster'), *dorai na onna* ('unsentimental woman'), *haikara na hito* ('a high collar person').

There are exceptions to this, however. For instance, the word *nau* ('now') will take the *i*-type adjective markers, as in *nau-i onna* ('a real now girl'). The *-na* particle is also sometimes dropped, creating adjective-noun combinations. This is especially common for loanword-adjective/loanword-noun pairs, as in this example from Kamiya:

Watashi wa tanjoobi ni supesharu dinaa o gochisoo shite moraimashita ga, sore wa otto no isshuukan bun no kyuuryoo ni sootoo shimasu

'I had a *special dinner* for my birthday, but it cost my husband a week's pay.'

(Kamiya, 1994: 329)

English loanword adverbs behave much like native Japanese terms, and usually modify verbs by taking the particle *-ni*, as in *naisu-ni* ('nicely') or *dorai-ni* ('dryly', 'unsentimentally').

At the level of syntax, it is important to note that in Japanese a great many nouns may be verbalized through the addition of the auxiliary verb *suru* ('to do'): as in *unten suru* ('to drive'), *shigoto suru* ('to work'), etc. English loanword nouns are often similarly verbalized through the addition of *suru*, e.g. *gorufu suru* ('to golf'), *sakkaa suru* ('to play soccer'), *tenisu suru* ('to play tennis'), *booringu suru* ('to bowl'), *appu suru* ('to go up, to improve'), *dansu suru* ('to dance'), and *doraibu suru* ('to drive'). Another important feature at the level of syntax relates to the pronominal system and what might be regarded as the 'Englishization' of Japanese syntax, in two senses. First, although personal pronouns such as *kare* ('he') or *kanojo* ('she') do exist in Japanese, traditionally, these were far less frequently used than in Western languages. However, many linguists have noted a substantial increase in their use over the last century or so, an innovation thought by some to be traceable to the influence of English. Second, as was noted in Chapter 2, certain loanword pronouns have also made a noticeable impact, especially the term *mai* ('my'), which occurs in such compounds as *mai hoomu* ('my house'), *mai puraibashii* ('my privacy'), *mai seihin* ('my product'), and *mai sekando kaa* ('my second car').

Finally, at the level of semantics (or 'meaning'), it is significant that for a number of concepts brought into Japan from the West, the older Japanese

calques or 'loan translations' have been replaced by English loanwords. For example, *entaku* ('taxi') became *takushii*; *kooshaki* ('elevator') became *erebeetaa*, and *higyoo* ('strike') became *sutoraiki* (Sonoda, 1975). The analysis of such semantic negotiations and formulations will be explored in detail in later chapters, but here it is worth noting that such issues have long been an issue of concern within Japan.

Other issues relating to the strengths and weaknesses of the Japanese language have also figured in various intellectual debates. In 1950, for example, one of the most influential Japanese philologists and folklorists of his day, Yanagita Kunio, delivered the following, largely negative, assessment of his native tongue:

The vocabulary of modern Japanese is limited; the number of words are plentiful but the types are limited; because of the method of construction of the Japanese language's lexicon, phrases, and grammar, there is a tendency for them to be the same; if a Japanese tries to write a little longer sentence they can get bored; there is no one who does not have this kind of feeling. (Yanagita, 1950 [1963]: 453, my translation)¹⁶

The counter-argument to this view, based on a consideration of the unique history of the language, is that, in fact, Japanese has numerous resources and techniques available for the coinage of new words, as well as translation of semantic concepts from other cultures and languages, due not least to its long history of linguistic association with China, as well as its more recent contact with European languages such as English (cf. Suzuki, 1976).

Due to the language contact with China, especially through the written language, in contemporary Japanese today there are words derived from both the native Japanese language and Chinese. Some words are directly borrowed from Chinese (or carry Sinitic pronunciations of Sino-Japanese characters for native terms), and such lexemes are referred to *kan-go*, or 'Chinese-origin words'. In contrast, 'indigenous' words are called *wa-go*, 'Japanese-based words'. In addition, there are now many *gairai-go*, or 'foreign words', in Japanese, the majority, naturally, based on English. As a result, in communication, many concepts and notions may be expressed by choosing between three sets of vocabulary: native Japanese *wa-go* terms, Chinese-based *kan-go*, or *gairai-go* loanwords. This is illustrated in Table 3.7, which shows some possible terms for various ideas given in the left column and their various counterparts' loanword, native Japanese, or Chinese. Sino-Japanese characters have been given underneath each term in the table; we should note that the words often share characters, although pronounced with a 'Chinese reading' (*on-yomi*) or 'Japanese reading' (*kun-yomi*). Loanwords, of course, are given in the *katakana* syllabary typically used to write borrowed foreign items.

Table 3.7 A comparison of Japanese-based, Chinese-based, and English-based vocabulary items

Reference	<i>Gairai-go</i> item (English-based)	<i>Wa-go</i> item (Japanese-based)	<i>Kan-go</i> item (Chinese-based)
rice	<i>raisu</i> ライス	<i>meshi</i> 飯	<i>gohan</i> 御飯
hotel	<i>hoteru</i> ホテル	<i>yadoya</i> 宿屋	<i>ryokan</i> 旅館
toilet	<i>toire</i> トイレ	<i>kawaya</i> 廁	<i>benjo</i> 便所
language	<i>rangeeji</i> ランゲージ	<i>kotoba</i> 言葉	<i>gengo</i> 言語
letter	<i>retaa</i> レター	<i>tegami</i> 手紙	<i>shokan</i> 書簡
drama	<i>dorama</i> ドラマ	<i>shibai</i> 芝居	<i>engeki</i> 演劇
center	<i>sentaa</i> センター	<i>man-naka</i> 真ん中	<i>chuushin</i> 中心
tour, trip	<i>tsuaa</i> ツアー	<i>tabi</i> 旅	<i>ryokoo</i> 旅行
street	<i>sutoriito</i> ストリート	<i>michi</i> 道	<i>dooro</i> 道路
person, human	<i>hyuuman</i> ヒューマン	<i>hito</i> 人	<i>ningen</i> 人間
bed	<i>beddo</i> ベッド	<i>nedoko</i> 寝床	<i>shindai</i> 寝台
steel	<i>suchiiru</i> スチール	<i>hagane</i> 鋼	<i>kootetsu</i> 鋼鐵

Sources: Okutsu and Tanaka (1989: 222–3), Horiuchi (1999: 297), Maruyama (1992), Kamiya (1994: 135).

Here, however, it should be noted that the degree of correspondence between the three terms in each row is by no means precisely synonymous. As I have discussed in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, the three terms for rice are not exactly interchangeable, but are governed by somewhat subtle collocational and stylistic constraints (see Stanlaw, 1992d). Similarly, the use of all of the other ‘triplets’ set out Table 3.7 appear to be governed by similar constraints, even when there appears to be less than complete consensus among Japanese who agree on the nature of such constraints. Some loans are restricted in meaning or usage, as in the case of *rangeeji* (‘language’), which appears restricted to the phrase *rangeeji rabo* (‘language laboratory’). The word *hyuuman* ‘human’ has a range of reference restricted to affection and warmth, as Kamiya (1994) illustrates with the following example: *Kanojo ni wa hyuuman-na atatakami ga*

arimashita. ‘There was a *human warmth* about her’ (Kamiya, 1994: 135). By contrast, *sutoriito* (‘street’) may be paired with a number of semantically-related items, as in *sutoriito wookaa* (‘streetwalker’), *sutoriito piipuru* (‘street people’), *sutoriito pafoomansu* (‘street performance’) (Horiuchi, 1999). These examples illustrate one important point about the incorporation (and creation) of English words within the Japanese language system. A significant number of these appeared to have existing synonyms within the Japanese language, and yet such ‘synonyms’ are not necessarily isomorphic in terms of their connotational and denotational meanings. Nevertheless, the existence of broadly equivalent items provides the language with added lexical resources including a measure of ‘bilingual creativity’ (Kachru, 1986) which is directly supplied through the addition and incorporation of such ‘foreign’ vocabulary into the Japanese language.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to achieve a number of aims. In the early sections of the chapter I set out to provide the reader with an understanding of the history of linguistic contact between the Japan and Europe from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, and in the later sections I provide a short account of the linguistic processes and linguistic features relevant to a consideration of contemporary Japanese-English linguistic contact. The early European visitors to Japan included the Portuguese and Spanish (from 1554), and the Dutch and the English (from 1600). After the failure of the British East India Company in Japan in 1623, and the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1633, only the Dutch were permitted to continue their residence and trade in the Japanese islands, and were thus able to maintain a singularly privileged presence until the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, the study of the West, including Western languages, became associated with ‘Dutch studies’ as well as the work of the *oranda-tsuuji* (Dutch interpreters) for over two hundred years. The American expeditions to Japan under Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854 not only opened Japan to Western trade, but also to the English language. Following the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate government in 1867 and the era of Meiji Japan, the learning and teaching of English became a national concern that persisted until the 1930s. As well as scholarly varieties of English, a number of restricted pidgins also developed, including the Yokohama Dialect of the late nineteenth century, and the ‘Bamboo English’ that arose in the context of post-Second World War Japan in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Over the last fifty years, the popularity of English in Japan has risen dramatically, but this has found greatest expression not in the creation of large groups of ‘native’ or ‘near-native’ speakers of the language, but rather through the nativization of English loanwords (and English-based neologisms) within

the Japanese language system. Structurally, such loanwords are embedded within the Japanese language through a number of processes, resulting in the phonological modification and morphological modification of loans, as well as in a range of grammatical and semantic features in Japanese. The explication of both the historical aspects of language contact, as well as the contemporary linguistics of Japanese-English language contact in this chapter is intended to inform the discussion of a wide range of cultural and linguistic issues which follows in the succeeding chapters of this book. In Chapter 4, we will move on to consider the impact of English on the Japanese writing system.

4

The Japanese writing system and English

Introduction

In this chapter¹ I will discuss the Japanese writing system, and show how it has been influenced by English. I will discuss the structure of the special *katakana* syllabary used, among other things, as a way to write foreign words or names phonetically in Japanese. I will not give a complete account of its development at this point, however, as much of this story is connected to the role of the woman's 'voice' in Japanese literary history. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Here I will argue that due to the influence of foreign loanwords — mostly from English — the traditional *katakana* syllabary has developed at least 42 new 'innovative' symbols. These changes have occurred not only to accommodate changes in phonology, but also for various other social and cognitive reasons. I will show that even loanwords often have an 'older' and 'newer' way of being written, demonstrating again some of the interesting creativity of Japanese people using loanwords. Finally, this chapter prepares the way for the discussion to follow in the next chapters, where this creativity is found to be exploited in even more graphic areas.

However, this chapter does more than just show how phonological innovation due to English influences the Japanese language. It also shows how the special *katakana* script acts as mediator between things foreign and domestic. *Katakana* words are really representations of blendings, not indicators of boundaries. *Katakana* words are markers of daily emotional content of various kinds, foreign items being just one instance. So using *katakana* to write Japanese English is a special case of how *katakana* is used in the whole Japanese-language social and linguistic schema. And knowing when, and how, to use *katakana* — including the 'innovative' *katakana* — goes deep into the heart of Japanese cognition.

History

Before the fifth century AD the Japanese language had no real writing system to speak of, but by the mid-sixth century, when the Chinese began to bring Buddhism to the islands, Chinese ideographic characters made their first appearance. They soon became applied to things besides religious texts. Thus, a Chinese character could be used for three things: (1) to write and represent some object or idea that was new and brought in from the Asian mainland, using the *Chinese pronunciation of the new item* as a basis for the reading of the character in Japanese; (2) to write and represent some object or idea that was indigenous to Japan, using the *Japanese pronunciation of the object* as a basis for the reading of the character in Japanese; and (3) to write and represent some object or idea that was indigenous to Japan, but using a *Chinese pronunciation of the character* as a basis for reading the character in Japanese.²

Today, remnants of all these usage are still extant, though initially making such a complex system work in practice was quite complicated. To help make the isolating Chinese language match the agglutinative structure of Japanese, over the course of some two hundred years, two syllabary³ systems — based on the structure of selected Sino-Japanese characters — were devised to write Japanese phonetically. The cursive *hiragana* forms were based on abbreviated versions of complete Chinese characters. The angular *katakana* forms were taken from parts of Chinese characters. For example, the Japanese syllable *ru* could be written as follows in *hiragana* and *katakana*,⁴ with their ancestral Chinese *kanji* character given to the right:

katakana	ル	from the character	流
hiragana	る	from the character	留

The Appendix gives a more detailed account of the Japanese syllabary system. I will focus here strictly on the *katakana* symbols, the ones most often associated with foreign and borrowed elements in Japanese.

The appearance of 42 ‘innovative’ *katakana*

The use of *katakana* in Japanese is quite common, and Figure A.3 (see p. 305) shows the complete list of the 107 traditional *katakana* symbols. What is most interesting, however, has been how readily this particular syllabary system can adopt and take in new forms. As can be seen from Figure A.3, there are numerous potential sounds in the chart that do not have any traditional manifestations in Japanese. As Japanese came into contact with other

languages, or as the language changed, new syllabary symbols have been created to accommodate these changes. Generally, what is done is that some older established syllable symbol becomes modified to take a 'diacritic' of sorts — usually one of the other symbols written in smaller form and set off to the bottom right of the original character. For example, when f-sounds began to be used more and more in Japanese, the way to write this was to take the symbol for *fu* (フ) and pair it up with smaller vowel signs. Thus, the syllable *fa* would be written as *fu* (フ) plus a smaller version of *a* (ア), thus, giving *fa* (ヲア). This has been quite a productive system, and has allowed many new forms to be readily brought into the language.

Table 4.1 is again a tabular *katakana* listing of the sounds of Japanese, but it differs quite significantly from the standard 50-sound charts traditionally used in Japan as discussed in the Appendix (Figure A.1, see p. 302).

Across the top run 21 initial sounds (usually consonants like *k*-, *g*-, and so on). Down the side lie the five standard vowels (-*a*, -*i*, -*u*, -*e*, -*o*), and two sets of semi-vowels (-*ya*, -*yu*, and -*yo*; plus -*wa*, -*wi*, -*we*, and -*wo*); these, of course, pair with the initials as before. Instead of the 50-sound table, this is theoretically a 252-syllable array.⁵

In various written sources and discussions with informants I have found at least 42 new syllable symbols which I will call 'innovative' *katakana*. These are new symbols that do not appear on the corresponding chart of *hiragana* syllables, but are restricted to writing loanwords and foreign names. For example, the f-sounds mentioned in the previous paragraph would all be considered to be innovative *katakana*. They have no *hiragana* equivalent.⁶ These new innovative *katakana* forms are shaded in Table 4.1.

Two points should be mentioned. First, in some places, in trying to follow the regularities of the 50-sound system as much as possible, a few syllable symbols could appear in more than one place; in these cases, an arrow points to their appearance in the next row or column. Second, in the final column on Table 4.1 (just before the symbol for the general syllabic n-sound), there are listed a number of smaller *katakana* glyphs. These are the symbols that are generally used to modify the other *kana* symbols across that row; these often produce newer innovative *katakana*.

Table 4.2 is an estimate of the first appearance of an innovative *katakana* form. These estimates are based on reference works and etymological dictionaries, as well as other statistics gathered by the National Language Research Institute (cf. Sanseidoo, 1999; Arakawa, 1977; Yoshizawa and Ishiwata, 1979; Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, 1964, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974). Also, I have taken some from the popular media myself (magazines, newspapers, advertisements, etc.). In any case, as there is no accurate data available as yet, Table 4.2 must be thought of as only an estimate.

Table 4.1 Complete table of innovative katakana

	ø	k-	g-	s-	sh-	z-	j-	t-	ch-	d-	n-	h-
-a	ア a	カ ka	ガ ga	サ sa	↓ (sha)	ザ za	↓ (ja)	タ ta	↓ (cha)	ダ da	ナ na	ハ ha
-i	イ i	キ ki	ギ gi	スイ si	シ shi	ズイ zi	ジ ji	ティ ti	チ chi	ティ di	ニ ni	ヒ hi
-u	ウ u	ク ku	グ gu	ス su	↓ (shu)	ズ zu	↓ (ju)	トウ tu	↓ (chu)	ドウ du	ヌ nu	フウ hu
-e	エ e	ケ ke	ゲ ge	セ se	シェ she	ゼ ze	ジェ je	テ te	チエ che	テ de	ネ ne	ヘ he
-o	オ o	コ ko	ゴ go	ソ so	↓ (sho)	ゾ zo	↓ jo	ト to	↓ (cho)	ド do	ノ no	ホ ho
-ya	ヤ ya	キヤ kyā	ギャ gyā	→ (sha)	シャ sha	→ (ja)	ジャ ja	→ (cha)	チャ cha		ニヤ nya	ヒヤ hya
-yu	ユ yu	キュ kyū	ギュ gyū	→ (shu)	シュ shu	→ (ju)	ジュ ju	チュ tyu	チュ chu	チュ dyu	ニユ nyu	ヒュ hyu
-yo	ヨ yo	キヨ kyō	ギヨ gyō	→ (sho)	シヨ sho	→ (jo)	ジヨ jo	→ (cho)	チヨ cho		ニヨ nyo	ヒヨ hyo
-wa	ワ wa	クワ kwa	グワ gwa	スア swa								
-wi	ヴィ wi	クイ kwi	グイ gwi	スイ swi								
-we	ヴェ we	クエ kwe	グエ gwe	スエ swe								
-wo	ウォ wo	クオ kwo	グオ gwo									

(continued on p. 87)

(Table 4.1 continued)

Table 4.2 The appearances of new 'innovative' *katakana* syllabaries

1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	Later	Most Recent?
ヂエ je	シェ she	ズイ zi	ツア tsa	イエ ye	グイ gwi	スイ si
チエ che	ヴァ va	トウ tu	ツイ tsi	クワ kwi	グエ gwe	フウ hu
ティ ti	ヴィ vi	ドウ du	ツエ tse	クイ kwi	グオ gwo	
ディ di	ヴ vu	チュ tyu	ツオ tso	クエ kwe	スア swa	
ファ fa	ヴエ ve	ヂュ dyu	ヴュ vyu	クオ kwo	スイ swi	
フィ fi	ヴォ vo	フュ fyu		グワ gwa	スエ swe	
フェ fe	ウォ wo					
フォ fo						
ワイ wi						
ウェ we						

Reasons for the 'innovative' *katakana* script reform and changes in Japanese orthography

The development of the new 'innovative' *katakana* syllabaries — and their concomitant new symbols — has actually received little attention in the literature. Histories of the Japanese writing system (e.g. Habein, 1984; Seeley, 1984, 1991) fail to mention anything about *katakana* after their original development a millennium ago. When changes in the writing system or script reform are discussed, it is often in terms of two main themes: the proposals to change or restrict the number of Sino-Chinese *kanji* characters, or attempts to change Japanese completely to a system of romanization, as we have seen in the last chapter.

Both of these can be summed up quickly. Since the Second World War, the number of 'official' characters prescribed by the government has been limited to some 2,000. Attempts at romanization — though revived somewhat

in the 1960s and 1970s with the growth of automated data processing and computers — have remained more of an intellectual curiosity than anything to be taken too seriously. A close analogy might be the advocacy of the use of Esperanto in the West: perhaps a good idea, but destined never to happen. Some (e.g. Unger, 1987) have argued, in fact, that Japan's 'Fifth Generation' computer revolution has not been a sinister plot by 'Japan, Inc.' to financially conquer the information world, but instead is just an attempt to be able to use computers via the very complex Japanese writing system, just as Westerners can use their everyday language and orthography when using their computers.

Little has been said about how the two syllabaries have fared in the face of language change and language contact. *Katakana*, of course — the de facto script used to write foreign names and phrases — bears the heaviest burden. I suggest that there are at least eight reasons for the development of the new 'innovative' *katakana*.

Contact with foreign languages

The general assumption is that 'innovative' *katakana* have developed due to influence from Western languages. That is, as people have tried to more closely approximate the sounds of, say, English, new glyphs have become needed to capture them. There is absolutely no doubt that this is true. Even a brief look at Japanese English textbooks even as late as the 1970s show that trying to accurately write the 'pronunciation' of English in the Japanese syllabary is an impossibility. For one thing, phonologically Japanese is a CONSONANT-VOWEL, CONSONANT-VOWEL language (which of course is reflected in the *kana*). Secondly, however, there are numerous sounds (such as voiced labio-dental [v] sounds) that are not native to Japanese. The use of 'innovative' *katakana* are attempts to ameliorate both limitations. For example, to transcribe the English word (photographic) 'film', historically four syllables were used: *fu-i-ru-mu* (フィルム). The new innovative *katakana* syllable *fi* (フィ), as in *fi-ru-mu* (フィルム), introduces a new sound-syllable into the language, and also attempts to more closely capture the rhythm of the English initial *mora* (where no diphthong is used).

Many believe that is the whole story; I suggest, however, that things are much more complex. For one thing, as we will see shortly, Fukuzawa Yukichi as early as 1860 tried to introduce new *katakana* to reflect pronunciations he felt were closer to native English. However, for various reasons, these innovations were rejected after his 'improvements' had been commonplace in Japanese for decades. But before I discuss this, I want to examine seven other factors that we need to consider as to why innovative *katakana* become incorporated into the language.

Few official restrictions

One important fact about Japanese ought to be mentioned here: there is no Japanese equivalent of the *Academie Française* which establishes language policy or polices usage. Indeed, there are often government statements — either by individual officials or as institutional pronouncements — that regularly condemn loanwords and language ‘pollution’ (usually oddly enough filled with the very borrowings they are condemning). But these have had no legal sanctions or repercussions (except for a brief time during the Second World War), there is really nothing to theoretically stop the creation of new syllabary sounds and the symbols to write them.

Individual creativity and sociolinguistic factors

A third important reason for the use of innovative *katakana* is individual creativity as an agent in the development of new sounds and ‘spellings’. One Japanese colleague, for example, discussed with me at length how some new term they were going to borrow from English should be ‘spelled’ in *katakana*. This was no small concern; after the word would appear in their publication, there was a good chance that this would be *the way* this word might be used by others for quite some time to come. Individuals — such as cartoonists, advertising copywriters, or even schoolgirls writing on their backpacks — are free to be idiosyncratic and artistic in their use of borrowings and their phonetic representations (see Chapter 6). In fact, I am going to argue later that it is these different individual ‘spellings’ that give the Japanese writing system much of its robustness and versatility.

The influence of the syllabary table

As has been shown in the previous sections, Japanese folk and intellectual linguistics has been strongly dominated by the *Gojuu-on* (Fifty-Syllable) chart (Figure A.1). As new symbols have developed (as, say, in the process just described above), new rows and columns have been implicitly added to the table almost by default. Table 4.1, for example — though actually used by no Japanese — might be thought to be the logical result. A glance at such a table reveals quickly that there are many spaces or ‘holes’ to be filled in. Innovative *katakana* could develop as people either intentionally or unintentionally try to develop new symbols to fit in these spaces.

Phonological universals

What is implied in the *Gojuu-on* table (the Fifty-Syllable Sound Chart, Figure A.1) — and its implicit extended *katakana*-version shown here in Table 4.1 — are several assumptions about how sound systems universally operate. Thus, the Fifty-Syllable Sound Chart itself contains many suggestions as to how it might be expanded. For example, in the left column are the theoretical set of consonants in the system matched with all five possible vowels. But as described in the Appendix (see pp. 301–7), the k-row also has a set of voiced equivalents (the g's), and other initial consonants have voiced equivalents as well (that is, the s's become z's; the t's become d's; the p's become b's, etc.).

To expand the original chart, then, is relatively simple. For example, to refer back to the example of 'film' just mentioned above, when the use of the *fi* (フィ) syllable became popular, other f-sounds followed around the same time (cf. the various dictionary entries in Arakawa [1977]): *fa* (ヲ), *fe* (ヲ), and *fo* (ヲ). Likewise, when people later decided to voice this set, they created the syllables *va* (ヲ), *vi* (ヲ), *vu* (ヲ), *ve* (ヲ), and *vo* (ヲ), once again, all happening at about the same time. Thus, the Japanese syllable chart itself can be an impetus for new phonological developments.

The influence of the romanization systems

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, there are several romanization systems used in Japanese. At the same time, Japanese people are often rather indeterminate about how they might 'spell' any given loanword (as, for example, when using a 'conservative' or 'innovative' style to be discussed along with Table 4.3 later, or borrowing 'by eye' or 'by ear' below). Sometimes a loanword may be 'spelled' in *katakana* on the basis of how it appears in one of the romanization systems.

The influence of Japanese exposure to English: Borrowing by eye

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, almost all Japanese people have at least some knowledge of English (usually up to six years in junior high and high school). Most of this knowledge of English, however, is via the written word. Until quite recently entrance examinations for high schools and colleges, for instance, focused solely on the reading of English; there is still no oral or aural parts for most of these exams.

This has important consequences as to how English words are borrowed, especially as it appears that some foreign items have been taken in visually rather than aurally (at least to some degree). For example, the English word

'news' is spelled in *katakana* more closely to how it is written — than pronounced — in English. Though the final consonant of this term in English is actually voiced (i.e. is a [-z] sound), in Japanese this common loanword is written *nyuuusu* (ニュース) with the last syllable being voiceless (based on how it is spelled in English). Likewise, the English loan 'motto' is written as *mottoo* (モットー), with the Japanese 'double' (geminated) consonant, even though there is no actual glottal stop between the two t's in the native English pronunciation (see note 4). Obviously, this is an attempt to mimic English spelling and not pronunciation.

It should be mentioned, too, that Japanese are quick to adopt — and pronounce as real words — various English acronyms. One example is *UFO* (meaning, of course, 'unidentified flying object' in both Japanese and English). This is read by Japanese as *yuufoo* (ユーフォー), pronouncing the English [u] as 'yu', the name of the letter in English.

The influence of Japanese exposure to English: Borrowing by ear

While many of the English loanwords taken into Japanese are brought in by eye, many were — and still are — brought in by ear as well. During the Meiji Period (1868–1912), numerous words were brought in this way (e.g. *kamiya*, 'Come here' for Western dogs, as discussed in the last chapter). Other examples include *sutoraiki* for 'work stoppage' (c. 1895; compare this to *sutoraiku* as in baseball 'strike', c. 1926), *Merikan* for 'American' (c. 1853), *sukaato* for 'skirt' (c. 1884), and *mishin* for 'sewing machine' (c. 1861–1864). The Taisho Period (1912–1926) brought in many as well, including the famous *usutaa soosu*, 'Worcestershire sauce' (c. 1919) (Arakawa, 1977: 133, 598, 625–6, 1362, 1327).

Right after the Second World War the new word *jiruba* (ジルバ), or 'jitterbug', was not spelled as *jitabaggu* (ジタバッグ) as the Japanese would normally do if brought in by the written word. Miura (1979: 78) believes this was due to the fact that it was not intellectuals who brought this term into the language, but prostitutes and others living near US military bases during the Occupation. *Purin* (プリン), or 'pudding', is another example of a word brought in aurally, though the more common way to spell this word in the 1990s is *pudingu* (ブディング). Likewise, a 'U-turn' is said as *yuu-taan* (ユーターン) in Japanese, clearly a loan brought in by ear rather than eye.

However, the connections between visual and aural borrowing are complex, and it is often unclear as to which source has been more influential. For example, as mentioned in the last chapter, in the late nineteenth century James Curtis Hepburn wrote his Japanese-English dictionaries and introduced his system of romanizing Japanese to the world: the so-called Hepburn System — or *Hebon shiki* in Japanese. But Miura (1985: 58) says the fact that the

spelling *Hebon* (ヘボン) was used to transliterate his name indicates that an ‘effort was made by either him or by people around him to preserve the original pronunciation of his name as much as possible’. He goes on to say that a century later when two other famous Hepburns became popular in Japan — Katherine Hepburn and Audrey Hepburn — their last names were put into *katakana* as *Heppubaan* (ヘップバーン) ‘which was definitely a spelling-based pronunciation’.

Another example of a loan that might have been taken in either by eye or ear is that name for one of the most famous Japanese places to have a snack or lunch, McDonald’s. As discussed previously, in Japanese this place is pronounced *ma-ku-do-na-ru-do* (マクドナルド), close to the English written form (with the usual nativization of the [-k] becoming Japanese [-ku-] and the [-l] Japanese [-ru-]). But if this were taken in totally by eye, a likely intuitive and acceptable pronunciation in Japanese could be *mu-ku-do-na-ru-do-su* (ムクドナルドス). On the other hand, if the restaurant’s name had been strictly an aural borrowing we might have had something like *makkudanaruzu* (マックダナルズ), much closer to the way it is actually said in English than the way it is commonly written in Japanese.

So the version we actually find — *ma-ku-do-na-ru-do* (マクドナルド) — is a bit of mystery, being neither obviously borrowed by sight nor obviously borrowed by sound. It is unclear if this spelling came from the name of Ranald MacDonald — whom we met in the last chapter as the first English teacher in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, and whose name was commonly transliterated as マクドナルド (*Makudonarudo*) — or if it was derived by some other fashion. However, it is possible that when Fujita Den opened the first McDonald’s restaurants in Japan in 1971, the written English phrase ‘McDonald’s’ was initially actually seen more often than heard (on signs, and in the Japanese-language magazine for McDonald’s customers at the time, *McJoy*) (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1997: 162, 173). In any case, the *Nihon Makudonarudo* (McDonald’s Co. [Japan], Ltd.) decided on their name, and that is the one now found on the wrapper of the *biggu maku* (‘Big Mac’).

These points indicate that Japanese can bring in loanwords equally well using inspiration from written sources, or by hearing the term spoken (whether in a classroom or by native speakers). This, along with individual resourcefulness in creating new spellings, allows for a plethora of new syllables to be brought into Japanese.

Why have particular innovative *katakana* developed?

The above points clearly indicate that over the course of time, the Japanese orthography has been changing, often in radical ways. In fact, there is still

disagreement about what is the correct ‘spelling’ of a loanword. Actually, it was probably Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Meiji educator discussed in the last chapter, who was the first to develop an innovative *katakana* symbol. He proposed in 1860 in his book *Kaei Tsūugo* (‘The Flourishing of English Translation’) that certain English borrowings had to be written with a new character, the v-sound (ヴ). In this way, he transcribed English words, such as the following (Fukuzawa, 1860 [1958]: 80, 81, 112, 269):⁷

‘vest’	<i>vesuto</i>	ヴェスト
‘heaven’	<i>hiivinu</i>	ヒーヴィヌ
‘sovereign’	<i>souuren</i>	ソグレン
‘seven’	<i>seevinu</i>	セーヴィヌ
‘twelve’	<i>tsuvueruvu</i>	ツヴエルヴ
‘voyage’	<i>vooeji</i>	ヴヨーエジ

Traditionally many other words were written with this glyph for ‘v’. Some of these are:

‘violin’	<i>vaiorin</i>	ヴァイオリン
‘viola’	<i>viora</i>	ヴィオラ
‘vitamin’	<i>vaitamin</i>	ヴァイタミン
‘veil’	<i>veeru</i>	ヴェール
‘veteran’	<i>veteran</i>	ヴェテラン
‘virgin’	<i>vaajin</i>	ヴァージン

These days, however, all of these words have a more conservative spelling alternative using the syllabary for b-sounds:

‘violin’	<i>baiorin</i>	バイオリン
‘viola’	<i>biora</i>	ビオラ
‘vitamin’	<i>bitamin</i>	ビタミン
‘veil’	<i>beeru</i>	ペール
‘veteran’	<i>beteran</i>	ベテラン
‘virgin’	<i>baajin</i>	バージン

Other words have never been ‘spelled’ using the v-symbol, ヴ, but have always used the b-sound in spite of their ‘v’-pronunciation in English. Often these words came into the language in the 1940s and 1950s, a time when phonological simplification was emphasized. Some of these words are:

‘television’	<i>terebi</i>	テレビ
‘observer’	<i>obuzaabaa</i>	オブザーバー
‘service’	<i>saabisu</i>	サービス
‘vanilla’	<i>banira</i>	バニラ

What this means is, even a century and a half after Fukuzawa's first proposals, this new syllabary symbol is not completely widespread (Inoue, 1996: 196–7). That is, for 'television', for example, *terebi* and not *terevi* is still found.

In fact, it appears that, if anything, the trend is becoming less radical. Perhaps one reason for this is that, at least for some Japanese informants, excessive reliance on 'v'-pronunciations sounds affected (e.g. saying *vaiorin* instead of the more mundane *baiorin* can be regarded as slightly pretentious). Momose Chihiro, a specialist in the Japanese national language says that it was between 1945 to 1955 that the b-sound became more accepted and the v-sound waned. In 1952 the influential newspaper the *Asahi Shimbun* organized a committee which included government officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education to propose new 'spellings' of certain foreign terms with v-sounds (H. Inoue, 1996: 197). For example,

'Bolivia'	<i>boribia</i>	ボリビア
'Geneva'	<i>juneebu</i>	ジュネーブ
'Salvador'	<i>sarubadoru</i>	サルバドル

Each of these used to be written in a style closer to a native-speaker's pronunciation:

'Bolivia'	<i>borivia</i>	ボリヴィア
'Geneva'	<i>juneevu</i>	ジュネーヴ
'Salvador'	<i>saruwadoru</i>	サルヴァドル

It should be noted, too, that some Japanese loanword dictionaries do not even have v-sound entries (e.g. Kaieda, 1997).

Inoue Hisashi also points out, however, that at the same time that these advocates were encouraging the use of b- instead of v- syllabaries, they also encouraged the use of other innovative *katakana* (1996: 199), as seen in the examples below:

using innovative <i>katakana</i> デイ	<i>di</i> : 'disc'	<i>disuku</i>	ディスク
using innovative <i>katakana</i> フィ	<i>fi</i> : 'film'	<i>firumu</i>	フィルム
using innovative <i>katakana</i> ファ	<i>fa</i> : 'first class'	<i>faasuto kurasu</i>	ファーストクラス
using innovative <i>katakana</i> フィ	<i>fi</i> : 'feeling'	<i>firingu</i>	フィーリング
using innovative <i>katakana</i> フエ	<i>fe</i> : 'fare'	<i>fea</i>	フェア
using innovative <i>katakana</i> フオ	<i>fo</i> : 'focus'	<i>fookasu</i>	フォーカス

Inoue comments that these new *katakana* are changing the Japanese phonological system, and that the trend towards simplicity is no longer being followed. He asks if after all this time Fukuzawa's v-sounds will finally become permanent members of the Japanese sound system.

While there are at least half a dozen motivations as to how an innovative *katakana* might be introduced into Japanese, we are still at a loss to explain why they have developed as they did, and why some terms become standardized in certain ways. Some terms are written in a newer fashion, while others still use — or are brought in using — a more conservative spelling. At first glance, it appears that there is no real motivation that might be traced back to determine why one form was chosen over the others. Some have speculated that it is mere linguistic or historical accident that is the cause. Anthropologists and linguists, of course, are always suspicious of such cavalier dismissals.

Actually in modern Japanese there are hundreds of *katakana* terms that today can be written in either an older traditional form or a more new innovative style. Depending on an author or an editor, either form might be chosen. Table 4.3 shows just a few such ‘minimal pairs’ of terms that can be spelled in *both* the older traditional way as well as using the newer innovative *katakana*. On the extreme left column is given the English gloss for the pair of terms. The second column gives the term as it is spelled in the more conservative manner. The extreme right column gives the way the term is spelled in the newer innovative way.

I have argued (Stanlaw, 2002) that these data seem to coincide with the semantic relation of co-extension described by MacLaury (1997) for colour naming. That is, two phonologically similar names apparently compete for the same ostensive referent. This is not a case of inclusion; for example, a *hire* (ヒレ) — the Anglo-French word ‘fillet’ written in the conservative style — is not a kind of *fire* (ファイア), but a ‘fillet’ written using innovative *katakana*.

Nor is innovative versus traditional *katakana* a case of synonymy. That might be like asking in English if ‘violin’ is synonymous with ‘fiddle’. Can bluegrass music, then, be played on a violin? Did Bartok write fiddle concertos? In Japanese loanword usage, matters might be even more distinct. For example, a *fuirumu* (フィルム) in the traditional spelling always refers to photographic ‘film’ (not the cinematic kind); the innovative *katakana* word *firumu* (フィルム) literally means the same thing. However, if this innovative ‘film’ spelling is used, it can depict things not purely photographic, such as a ‘film library’ — *firumu-raiburarii* (フィルム ライブラリー). I have even seen this spelling used in *pinku firumu* (ピンク フィルム), ‘pink film’ or erotic movie. These differences are not always clear, even in context; nor are informants always cognizant of their intent when spelling words in a certain way, as seen in Table 4.4.

Conclusion

So what does all this mean? I believe the commonly-accepted notion of *katakana* being a marker of ‘foreignness’ or something on the periphery is

Table 4.3 English loanwords which can be written in both older and 'innovative' *katakana* styles

Term	Older style	'Innovative' style
angel	<i>enzeru</i> エンゼル	<i>enjeru*</i> エンジェル
antique	<i>anchiiku</i> アンチーク	<i>antiiku</i> アンティーク
artist	<i>aachisuto</i> アーチスト	<i>aatisuto</i> アーティスト
bird watching	<i>baado-uotchingu</i> バードウォッ칭ング	<i>baado-wotchingu</i> バードウォチング
body	<i>bodee</i> ボデー	<i>bodii</i> ボディー
bourgeois	<i>burujoa</i> ブルジョア	<i>burujowa</i> ブルジョワ
candy	<i>kyandee</i> キャンデー	<i>kyandii</i> キャンディー
cardigan sweater	<i>kaadegan</i> カーデガン	<i>kaadigan</i> カーディガン
casting	<i>kyasuchingu</i> キャスチング	<i>kyasutingu</i> キャスティング
casting vote	<i>kyasuchingu booto</i> キャスチング ポート	<i>kyasutingu booto</i> キャスティング ポート
catch phone (call waiting)	<i>kyatchi-hon</i> キャッチ ホン	<i>kyatchi-fon</i> キャッチ フォン
cellophane	<i>serohan</i> セロハン	<i>serofan</i> セロファン
colour film	<i>karaa-fuirumu</i> カラーフィルム	<i>karaa-firumu</i> カラーフィルム
concerto	<i>kontseruto</i> コンツェルト	<i>koncheruto</i> コンセルト
cosmetic	<i>kosumechikku</i> コスメチック	<i>kosumetikku</i> コスメティック
curve	<i>kaabu</i> カーブ	<i>kaavu</i> カーヴ
detail	<i>deteeru</i> デテール	<i>diteeru</i> ディテール

* The generally more common form is underlined.

Table 4.4 Examples of loanword writings using 'film'

Term	Older style	'Innovative' style
film	<i>fuirumu</i>	<i>firumu</i>
(photography)	ファイルム	フィルム
colour film	X	<i>karaa-firumu</i> カラー フィルム
microfilm	X	<i>maikuro-firumu</i> マイクロ フィルム
film library	X	<i>firumu-raiburarii</i> フィルム ライブラリー

mistaken. *Katakana* words are core, everyday, expressions. It appears from the examples above that every *katakana* word is — or has the potential to be — a real native Japanese lexeme. *Katakana* words are markers of blendings, not boundaries. *Katakana* words are markers of emotional content of *all* kinds: onomatopoeia, sentence-final particles, slang, tag questions, and loanwords. So using *katakana* to write Japanese English is a special case of how *katakana* is used in the Japanese-language cultural and linguistic schema. And knowing when, and how, to use *katakana* reflects much about Japanese cognition.

There are many examples of the use of *katakana* being a creation of — or a marker of — this blending process. Indeed, we can even see this process at work in the 'invention' of *katakana* a millennium ago described at the beginning of this chapter. We saw in Chapter 3 how containers holding traditional Japanese ingredients (such as soy sauce or vinegar) could be held in a *botoru* (the English loanword 'bottle') or a *bin* (the native Japanese term). I suggest that this indeterminacy shows that *katakana* mark the cultural and linguistic overlap of Japanese and outside cognitive systems. That is, they are blends — of periphery and core, nativeness and foreignness, inside and outside.

A similar thing can be said about the different ways of 'spelling' certain loanwords such as 'violin'. This spelling with a [b-] sound or a [v-] is not just a matter of simplification or trying to make a better approximation of a native sound. It is a creative act, as much as anything, and represents a meeting ground of language contact, acculturation and resistance, and individual resourcefulness. Actually, it could be argued that if more loanwords like 'violin' or 'seven' start getting written (and pronounced) with [v-] sounds, this would be *not* some new, better, appreciation of English phonology, but would be an appreciation of a Japanese response to the introduction of such terms that was already made a century ago.

Indeed, it might be said that one of the reasons *katakana-kotoba* (i.e. 'foreign words', but most of the time meaning 'Japanese English') is so sensitive a subject is that what is being discussed are 'real' Japanese terms, within the Japanese cognitive system. Discussing *katakana-kotoba*, then, means discussing what it means to be Japanese. These issues will be discussed again in Chapter 11 when we examine the role of English in Japanese notions of race and identity. In the meantime, what we are left with, then, are cases of social/cognitive factors interacting with the standards of graphemics and individual creativity. These interactions become even more interesting when we look at Japan's 'Empire of Signs' in Chapter 7.

5

*The poetics of English in Japanese pop songs
and contemporary verse*

Introduction

In the fall of 1995, I was invited to a party held by the Japanese students at my university in the Midwest of the USA, and, as might be expected at any Japanese party, I was asked to sing a song.¹ 'Let's do *Diamonds*,' I said, naming a song which had been a big hit for the pop group *Princess Princess*. This song, like many other contemporary *J-Pop* songs, relies heavily on English words and phrases interspersed in the lyrics. Soon a chorus of voices joined in, with everyone seeming to know the words by heart, and singing along with enthusiasm and joy. As on other occasions, I was forcibly struck by how these young students seemed so moved by these lyrics, and again moved to ponder the role of the English language (and 'Japanese English') in articulating the experiences and desires of these young people.

I was also in Japan soon after Tawara Machi's best-selling book of *tanka* poems, *Sarada Kinenbi* ('Salad Memorial Day'), was released.² The 'salad' phenomenon was sweeping the country, and this young high school teacher became an instant celebrity, attracting thousands of female fans her age. Inside the book, were pre-addressed postcards to Tawara, that her fans could fill in and send to her, with messages of their hopes, fears, and joys. Hundreds of thousands of these *tanka* postcards were mailed back. One of the most striking features of Tawara's poems was the extensive use of English words embedded in this form of traditional verse, with images of a young couple's *coffee time*, the corner *McDonald's*, and lovers standing on the *decks* of cruise ships. Again, I considered the implications of this use of English, this time imbricated in a classic Japanese poetic form.

At first glance, it might appear that this use of English is largely the result of importation; that is, as Western rock music is marketed in Japan, English, in the form of 'loanwords', is also imported. This, I believe, is a simplification. First, I would assert, the English found in Japanese pop music may be explained more accurately by reference to 'nativization' than rather than

'importation' (Stanlaw, 1990a; 1990b). The English words used are often creative and critical Japanese (not American or British) poetic devices which allow songwriters, and even some poets, an access to a wider range of allusions, images, metaphors, and technical possibilities than is available from 'purely' Japanese linguistic sources. Whether it is *Princess Princess* singing about the *diamond* images of Japanese adolescence, or finding the *today-only bargains* in the modern *tanka* poems of Tawara Machi, such examples suggest that English now plays an increasingly important role in contemporary Japanese popular culture.

Traditionally, one of the functions of popular music in Japan has been to express a social consciousness, and to present social commentaries. Early folk songs often lamented the life of the peasant or praised their work. Popular music today is still an instrument of social commentary. For example, in 1979, when the women's liberation movement was beginning to take hold in Japan, the male pop star Sada Masashi released a song entitled *Kanpaku Sengen* ('The Royal Proclamation'), detailing the responsibilities of a dutiful wife, which included getting up before her husband, being a good cook, and always looking lovely. Unexpectedly, the record became a big hit, especially among women, possibly because of the soft sensitive image of the singer. In fact, the song itself was not a male chauvinist rant but a genuine social commentary on roles (and insecurities) of the sexes at the time. In the *J-pop* of recent decades, English has also come to play a role in glossing such concerns, and I attempt to come to grips with this below.

In this chapter, I examine some of the effects of this extensive use of English words in Japanese popular music and poetry. I argue that a mixture of English words to such cultural forms is not a 'distracting' or 'polluting element' (as this has been characterized by some commentators), but is instead a vital part of contemporary Japanese aesthetics, particularly in the realm of popular culture. More specifically, I consider the possible motivations for the use of English by male singers such as Kuwata Keisuke of the *Southern All Stars*, female singers such as Matsutooya Yumi, Matsuda Seiko and Takeuchi Mariya, the pop duet *Wink*, and the group *Princess Princess*. In addition, I shall also examine the 'salad poems' of Tawara Machi.³

English images and metaphors in Japanese pop songs

Contemporary Japanese popular music often uses English words and phrases as images or metaphors to express various forms of social commentary. Kuwata Keisuke, the lead singer of the *Southern All Stars*, is one of the most influential rock songwriters in Japan today and many of his lyrics include English words and phrases, various forms of Japanese English, and forms of 'private' English created individualistically by himself, as when he sings (in English) *I don't want*

to be the one you love / Something's going to be better today (from the album, *Tiny Bubbles*; see also *Southern All Stars Songbook*, Tokyo: Kyogakusha Music Publishers Co., Ltd.).

In another song *C-Choo Kotoba ni Go-Yoojin* ('Be Careful of C-chord Words), he voices the random thoughts of a young man hurt by love, releasing his frustrations, and trying to make sense out of what has happened. The first few stanzas of the song express the singer's frustration both at being jilted by his lover and his sexual frustration, expressing his thoughts in a creative mixture of Japanese and English thus:

<i>Tamanya makin' love</i>	Sometimes I'm <i>making love</i>
<i>soo denakya hand job</i>	but if I don't it's <i>hand job</i>
<i>Yume de I'm so sad</i>	In a dream <i>I'm so sad</i>
<i>Gutto kurushiku all night</i>	It's a stabbing pain <i>all night</i>

Another popular female *aidoru* (idol) in Japan is Matsuda Seiko, who has remained popular for a number of decades, re-inventing herself in pace with the changing fashions of the music industry (Stanlaw, 2000b). One device she uses to continually re-invent herself is English, as in one of her best-selling albums, *Squall*, which was released in the early 1980s and is still selling consistently. The title song in this album skilfully presents a number of romantic tropical-island images, while simultaneously playing with the metaphor of a 'squall' (or *sukooru*), which, perhaps contrary to Western expectations, is used to refer to the brimming over of sexual passion. The song begins with an introduction using two lines of English (*I wish shining days / I wish shining eyes . . .*), and after this, each refrain begins with the phrase *Oh sukooru* ('Oh squall!'). It is interesting that the kind of metaphor used here is drawn from Japanese rather than traditional anglophone culture; rain often douses the flames of passion in English poetry and songs.

Another important female pop star in Japan is Matsutooya Yumi, who has been called the voice of the 'new generation' of Japanese young women from their twenties to their fifties. As one informant told me, 'Yuming speaks to all Japanese women.' As well as writing her own material, Yuming also writes for other performers, including Matsuda Seiko. Yuming's song *Dandiraion* ('Dandelion', see Chapter 2) has a hybrid quality, culturally and linguistically, that is typical of many of her songs. Matsutooya Yumi is now well into her forties, but, despite her age, is still a spokeswoman of her times. According to her 1984 autobiography *Ruiju no Dengon* ('The Message of Rouge'), Yuming was a middle-class girl who had an introverted adolescence, and a quality of introspection certainly manifests itself in her songs. Japanese English finds expression in many of her songs, including *Pearl Pierce* (Japanese English for 'pierced pearl earrings'), from the album of the same name. Two lines in the refrain of this song are: *Broken heart saigo no yoake / Broken heart saigo no jealousy*, / which translate as 'Broken heart the last daybreak' and 'Broken heart [my]

last jealous [moment]'. The song goes on to describe the breakup of two lovers, occasioned by the man's infidelity. Instead of making a big scene, the girl leaves her lover calmly in the morning, but leaves one of her pearl earrings under the bed for the new girlfriend to find. Since the early 1970s Yuming has been instrumental in the *nyuu myuujikku* ('new music') movement, which has reacted against the predictable and often childish sounds of teen pop, to tackle themes in a more adult fashion, as exemplified here.⁴

The motivations for English in Japanese pop music

This section of the chapter attempts to examine the motivations for the widespread use of English in Japanese pop songs. Based on my own research, a number of distinct yet overlapping explanations suggest themselves for discussion, including: (i) the use of English as an 'audacious' device; (ii) as a 'symbolic' device; (iii) as a 'poetic' device; (iv) as an 'exotic' device; (v) as a means of creating 'new structural forms'; (vi) as a means of 'relexifying' and 're-exoticizing' the Japanese language, (vii) the use of English to express aspects of modern Japanese consumer culture; and (viii) use of English words to express images of domestic life in Japan. I shall discuss each of these in turn.

One of the most striking things that English loanwords can do in Japanese songs and poetry is to be 'audacious', and to provide daring linguistic resources, which can sometimes express an expanded symbolic vocabulary. One good example of such use of audacious language is found in the song *Namida-o misenaide* ('Boys Don't Cry') from the female pop duo *Wink*, which employs the repeated English refrains of *Boys don't cry* and *Sick-sick-sick* (see Figure 5.1 on p. 106). This song was a major hit in 1990, and was even voted best pop song of the year at the Japanese equivalent of 'The Grammys'. The song deals with the breakup of a young couple, a heartbroken girl and somewhat callous young man. In an interview, one informant, a Tokyo woman in her thirties, expressed her feelings about the song, and the way English is used throughout the lyrics, in the following way:

This girl was dumped, obviously. But if she was really dumped or *really* hurt, she would be miserable (*kakko-warui*, 'wretched', 'unattractive'). But inserting this phrase *sick-sick-sick, boys don't cry*, it looks like the situation is just some kind of a modern love game. So even if she says, 'I am feeling such pain', she is not really miserable (*kakko-warui*). If this was an *enka*-type of song [a traditional Japanese ballad], she would be really devastated. The feelings would be stronger and deeper. The singer would feel more deeply. This is not the kind of love that they sing about in *enka* songs: 'I'm going to die', or 'I'm, going to kill you' or something like that. The English loanwords give this song a feel that this is a kind of love game — some kind of a new feeling:

I'm dumped, and I'm sad, you know. I'm sad. But this is a *dorai* ('unsentimental' or 'dry') type of feeling. We do not see she is cold or unsentimental (*dorai*) or that she doesn't care; in fact, she says, 'I love you, I love you, I love you.' But, this is for a new type of people — loving and dumping and being dumped. It is a new type of game. For them, this is an adult type of love; actually, a mature love, a Western-type of love. So this Japanese *enka*-feeling is miserable, pitiful (*kakko-warusa*). But this person here doesn't show that she is a miserable person. She does not feel she is unattractive. The English makes me think this. [...] Yes, the meaning here is modern love. She is dumped but she is not *kawaisoo* ('pathetic', 'pitiful'). She is going to go out with another [...] maybe by the next day! [...] because she is a modern girl. I can only keep thinking of that [in this song].

For this informant then, the use of English to describe the girl's view of the love affair is not only 'audacious' (in the sense of 'bold', 'daring' etc.) but is also sufficiently non-Japanese, compared to the traditional *enka* ballad form as to allow for new representational and symbolic modes of expression.⁵ The girl is *sick-sick-sick* when she considers her boyfriend's lack of feelings (*Boys don't cry*), but despite her continual refrain of heartache, the use of English here provides the clue that this is a Western-style romance, and that this modern Japanese Miss will bounce right back and find another boyfriend, 'maybe by the next day', in the words of our informant.

There are other instances in Wink's *Boys Don't Cry* song where English is used to extend the representational and symbolic vocabulary of Japanese. For instance, the girl in the song uses the English pronoun 'you' as a term of address to her boyfriend in line 2 of the song: *You yureru jueru-na hoshi-zora ni* ('you, swaying in the jewel-like starry sky'). The use of an English loanword pronoun suggests two readings. First, that the Japanese equivalent second person pronoun *anata* is too intimate a choice for a situation where a break-up is taking place (*anata* after all is the address term used by a wife to her husband). Second, that the choice of *you* here is to sound conspicuous, or even accusatory, as it opens each refrain of the song. A number of other words in the song may also serve similar functions, including *goodbye* and *my love*. According to my informants, the use of the English loanword *goodbye* here sounds more final than the Japanese *sayoonara*, and they also claim that there is no exact equivalent to a phrase like *my love* available in their 'native' language.⁶ Similar examples can be found in the lyrics of many other pop songs and even poetry. For example, a young woman would rarely say *aishite-ru* to a man that she has become enamoured with, but may use the English 'I love you' instead. Elsewhere I have made the argument that differences in the representational and symbolic content of native Japanese terms compared with their English equivalents account for the presence of English in daily speech, as well as a range of other discourses (Stanlaw, 1992b).

On this page and the next two pages, I present three versions of the song. Figure 5.3 (p. 108) shows the 'original' lyrics that are included in *Wink's* compact disc. Figure 5.2 (p. 107) presents a romanized version, and Figure 5.1 (below) a full English translation (my own).

*You, swaying in the jewel-like starry sky,
Why do you say goodbye so easily?
My love, To stop the tears rolling down my breast
I'll turn my face towards the side as if I'll fix my lipstick
Sick sick sick this yearning
please hold me tight, more, Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick I want to convey something to you
but, Boys don't cry Boys don't cry Boys don't cry*

*You, tonight is just like being in a movie
at the seaside; for the two of us sadness doesn't suit us.
I see you in the rear-view mirror . . . That's no good [I'm a fool/
I can't stop]
Although I try to strike a pose, I still love you
Sick-Sick-Sick one more time
Look at me
Sick-Sick-Sick I can't go back
Hey please! Boys don't cry Boys don't cry
Boys don't cry Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick I still love you so much
(I love you) Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick it hurts so much now Boys don't cry
Boys don't cry Boys don't cry*

*Boys don't cry Boys don't cry
Boys don't cry Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick I am yearning for you
hold me tight (more) Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick want to tell
but Boys don't cry Boys don't cry . . .
Boys don't cry
look at me more (more) Boys don't cry
Sick-Sick-Sick I can't go back
Hey please! Boys don't cry Boys don't cry*

Figure 5.1 *Boys Don't Cry* (English translation)

hu hu hu

*You yureru jueru-na hoshi-zora ni
naze? Good-bye anata wa karuku iu no
My love mune-o tsutau namida tomete
ruuju naosu-furide yokomuku wa
Sick-sick-sick setsunai no
dakishimete (motto . . .) (Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick tsutaetai
demo Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry)*

*You konya maru de eiga no yoo-na
Sea-side futari kanashimi wa niawanai
bakku-miraa utsuru anata dame ne
kakko tsukete mo mada ai-shite iru
Sick-sick-sick moo ichi do
mitsumete yo (motto . . .) (Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick modorenai
nee Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry)
(Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick konna nimo
suki-na no ni (suki yo . . .) (Boys don't cry)
Sick-Sick-Sick itai hodo
ima Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry)
(Boys don't cry)

(Boys don't cry Boys don't cry)
Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick setsunai no
dakishimete (motto . . .) (Boys don't cry)
(Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick tsutaetai
demo Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry . . .)
Boys don't cry
Sick-sick-sick moo ichi do
mitsumete yo (motto) (Boys don't cry)
Sick-sick-sick modorenai
nee Boys don't cry (Boys don't cry)
(Boys don't cry) Boys don't cry . . .*

Figure 5.2 *Boys Don't Cry* (Romanized version)

涙を見せないで (Boys Don't Cry)

Hu-Hu-Hu-Hu

You 摆れる ジュエルな星空に

何故 Good-bye あなたは軽く言うの

My love胸をつたう涙 止めて

ルージュ直すふりで横向くわ

Sick-Sick-Sick せつないの

抱きしめて (もっと) (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick つたえたい

でも Boys Don't Cry (Boys Don't Cry)

(Boys Don't Cry)

You 今夜 まるで 映画のような

Sea-side ふたり 哀しみは似合わない

バックミラー映るあなた だめね

かっこつけてもまだ愛してる

Sick-Sick-Sick もう一度

見つめてよ (もっと) (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick 戻れない

ねえ Boys Don't Cry (Boys Don't Cry...)

(Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick こんなにも

好きなのに (好きよ) (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick 痛いほど

今 Boys Don't Cry (Boys Don't Cry)

(Boys Don't Cry Boys Don't Cry)

Boys Don't Cry (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick せつないの

抱きしめて (もっと) (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick つてえたい

でも Boys Don't Cry (Boys Don't Cry)

(Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick もう一度

見つめてよ (もっと) (Boys Don't Cry)

Sick-Sick-Sick 戻れない ...

Figure 5.3 Boys Don't Cry ('Song-sheet' version)

English in the lyrics of Japanese pop songs also serves a number of creative poetic functions. For instance, in Yuming's song *Sand Castles* she punctuates her choruses with the English locutions *somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love* (see Figure 5.4, p. 110). The repeated phrases always follow a line ending with the sentence-final marker *ne*, seeking the agreement of her listener/lover before expressing her emotional and physical desires. Such emotions might not achieve expression in 'pure' Japanese with such apparent ease. One informant (a woman in her mid-thirties from the Tokyo area) expressed her feelings about this song, and the use of English in the lyrics, thus:

[T]he story in the song is very old: 'Oh, we couldn't get together, we were almost getting married, but we broke up, we thought we were the perfect match' and so on. This always happens. This is a very common story for everyone. But by using these kinds of loanwords, it is not so just a repetition of an old story; this is the singer's own personal new fresh experience. Do you understand? That kind of feeling is created here. Consider *sand castle*. The word *castle* is already Japanese now. Even children know the word. 'I want to be the king in the *castle*.' There are many English words like that here in this song, that are ours [Japanese] now: *nylon coat*, or *goal-in suru* ['to do a goal-in', or 'to achieve the goal of getting married']. Here *goal-in* is like it is for Americans, to get married. [...] These new English sentences, like *somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love*, is a way of personalizing things. This makes it special because the story itself is very traditional. On the other hand, by putting in these kinds of loanwords, I am getting the feeling of seeing a new fresh individual experience. By using these kinds of loanwords, these kinds of things come flashing by. I really should say that we don't really use the word *sand castle*, however. To me, *sand castle* is a word we can figure out. We usually use the Japanese word *suna no shiro* [砂の城] of course. But this [English loanword] is kind of vague, a little different. To us, it carries a feeling like something from a 'fragile dream' [*hakanai yume*, はかない夢]. Isn't it? It is that love is very temporary, or like in a dream; it is not real. It is gone with the wind or waves.

This female informant thus argues that the use of English in the lyrics gives new life and a new emotional personalization to a traditional and clichéd story. The 'fragile' and 'dreamlike' images evoked by the English word *castle* help create a kind of 'fairy-tale' reality, reflecting the fleeting, transitory nature of romantic love. The use of English for such 'exotic' and 'exoticizing' purposes can also be seen in the songs of Matsutooya Yumi, whose latest CD albums bear such unusual titles as *Frozen Roses*, *Delight Slight Light Kiss*, *Alarm a la Mode*, *Tears and Reasons*, *Cowgirl Dreamin'*, and *Wave of the Zuvuya*.

In the morning I went alone to the beach
and I made a *castle*.

I am waiting for the tide to reach the castle,
when it will be knocked over.
goodbye goodbye long love

On the boardwalk where the sun has already faded
that season has returned and it is still cold.

The bottom of my *nylon coat* is flapping
as if it is crying in the wind.

I'm sorry . . . I'm sorry . . . hard love

I believed I was the happiest person in the world.
'You'll be *getting married* soon anytime now,'
they always teased me.

We lived in a sand castle, [just like]
a *princess* and a *prince*, don't you think?
Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love

The leaves of the *plane [sycamore] tree* are falling down where
we used to walk arm in arm.

Arches flowed,
as if it would last for ever and ever.

goodbye goodbye long love

The waves have already come up so close without my
noticing.

Those waves are taking away
even the footsteps within my heart.

We couldn't be the couple
that everybody dreams about.

Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love

The *flares* of the waves within the white *laces* of bubbles,
those sparkling days when we weren't afraid of anything are
now crashing.

We lived in a sand castle, [just like]
a *princess* and a *prince*, don't you think?

Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love

We couldn't be the couple
that everybody dreams about.

Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love

Figure 5.4 *Sand Castles* (English translation)

*hitori de dekaketa sunahama de
kyassuru tsukutta gozenchuu
moo sugu michite kuru shio ni
kuzure-saru no-o matte-ru
goodbye, goodbye nagai koi*

*hizashi ga kagatta yuuhodoo
kisetsu ga modotte mada samui
nairon no kooto no suso ga
so yo kaze ni naite iru wa
gomen ne, gomen ne, tsurai koi
sekai de ichiban shiawase to shinjiteta
moo itsu datte gooru-in ne to
karakawareteta
suna no o-shiro ni sundeta
purinsesu to purinsu ne
Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love*

*kuru-kuru chitte-ta puratanasu
kidotte aruita ude-o kumi
doko made mo tsuzuku-mitai ni
aachi ga nagarete itta
sayonara sayonara nagai koi
itsuka chikaku ni yosete kite ita nami ga
kokoro no naka no ashi-ato sae mo
saratte yuku no
daremo ga urayamu yoo na
futari ni narenakatta ne
Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love
nami no fureaa shiroi reesu no awa ni
kowasa shirazu-na kirameku hibi ga
kuzurete yuku wa
suna no o-shiro ni sundeta
purinsesu to purinsu ne
Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love
daremo ga urayamu yoo na
futari ni narenakatta ne
Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love*

Figure 5.5 *Sand Castles* (Romanized version)

サンドキャッスル

ひとりででかけた砂浜で
 キャッスル作った午前中
 もうすぐ満ちて来る潮に
 崩れ去るのをまつて
 さようなら さようなら 長い恋

陽差し翳った遊歩道
 季節が戻ってまだ寒い
 ナイロンのコートのすそが
 そよ風に泣いているわ
 ごめんね ごめんね つらい恋

世界で一番幸せと信じてた
 もういつだってゴールインねと
 からかわれてた
 砂のお城に住んでた
 プリンスとプリンセスね
 Somebody to kiss, Somebody to hug, Somebody to love

くるくる散ってたプラタナス
 気取ってあるいた うでをくみ
 どこまでも続くみたいに
 アーチが流れていった
 さようなら さようなら 長い恋

いつか近くに寄せて来ていた波が
 心の中の足あとさえも
 さらってゆくの
 誰もがうらやむような
 二人になれなかつたね
 Somebody to kiss, Somebody to hug, Somebody to love

波のフレアー白いレースの泡に
 こわさ知らずな きらめく日々が
 崩れてゆくわ
 砂のお城に住んでた
 プリンスプリンセスね
 Somebody to kiss, Somebody to hug, Somebody to love
 誰もがうらやむような
 二人になれなかつたね
 Somebody to kiss, Somebody to hug, Somebody to love

Figure 5.6 *Sand Castles* ('Song-sheet' version)

English words may also be contributing to the creation of 'new structural forms' in pop music lyrics. Yuming's song, *Dawn Purple*, from her album of the same name, provides a good illustration of this (see Figures 5.7–5.9, pp. 114–6). This song is about separation and parting, as a woman appears to be sending her lover off on a long journey to an unknown destination. It is dawn, and she knows that they must part. In the song, she asks him to return, claiming that her tears are a *pendant*, a proof of everlasting love. In *Dawn Purple*, English loanwords are only twice inserted in the form of individual lexical items, in reference to 'an open *door*' and a special '*pendant*'. Instead, whole independent English phrases and lines are incorporated into the song, as in:

Close to me

motto chikaku kanjiru no anata no koto

Where to be

nagai tabi-e okuri-dasu yoake dakara

Fly away

mezameta toki watashi ga moo mienakute mo

One fine day

shimpai sezu tabidatsu no yo doa-o akete

Not only does Yuming insert English lines, but these lines also carry a rhyming structure, which is usually absent from Japanese verse. In the refrain of the song, four phrases are repeated several times:

Close to me machi-tsuzukeru

Close to me mata au hi-o

Close to me machi-tsuzukeru

Close to me mata au hi-o

Here, each phrase is equally divided, in terms of length of utterance, into an English antecedent (*Close to me*) and a Japanese response. Interestingly, each Japanese part of the phrase begins with a *ma-* syllable (*machi-* or *mata-*), thus alliterating with the final word in the English phrase (*me*), complementing the ending of the English part of the phrase. Although traditional Japanese poetry sometimes uses alliteration and assonance as a technique of versification, it does so in rather different ways from that illustrated here (Brower, 1972). While there is little in the way of rhyme in Japanese poetry, English loanwords and phrases seem to allow the introduction of such schemes, thus creating new structural possibilities and new forms.

The term 'relexification' in linguistics is generally used to refer to situations where vocabulary items in one language become replaced by terms from another language especially during extensive language contact. In the domain of colour, for example, certain basic Japanese colour terms such as pink (*momo*), orange (*daidai*), purple (*murasaki*), and grey (*nezumi-iyo*) appear

to be in the process of being replaced by English loanwords. One example of colour relexification can be found in the song just discussed, Yuming's *Dawn Purple*. The title is given in complete English, that is, in roman letters, while in the text of the song, reference is made to the dawn's *murasaki no sora* (purple sky), in Japanese. While these two items are not always interchangeable, there is little doubt that 'purple' has now become an additional vocabulary item available to Japanese speakers (see Chapter 9). When 'purple-ish' hues need to be named, Japanese has at least sets of two terms at its disposal, and English again provides additional linguistic resources for the Japanese language system.

Close to me

I am feeling closer to you

Where to be

since this is the dawn that I will send you
on a long journey

Although I want to keep your sleepy head on my lap
and want to touch your hair all the time,
Look at the purple sky! It is in flames
for the unknown world that begins tomorrow

Fly away

Even though you don't see me when you wake up . . .

One fine day

don't worry setting off to open the *door*.

The tears falling down my cheek, are a
pendant for that person with whom I could share myself . . .
[They are a] neverending proof,
hanging on my breast.

I want to wave my hand now as hard as I can.

Fly away

Don't forget the things you will have seen.

Some fine day

please tell me some day, all those things
just like you used to do before

Close to me I'll keep waiting

Close to me the day we'll see each other again

Close to me I'll keep waiting

Close to me the day we'll see each other again

Figure 5.7 *Dawn Purple* (English translation)

Close to me

motto chikaku kanjiru no anata no koto

Where to be

nagai tabi-e okuri-dasu yoake da kara

hiza ni sono negao-o nosete

zutto kami ni furete-itai keredo

goran murasaki no sora o moete iru wa

ashita kara no mada minu sekai e

Fly away

mezameta toki watashi ga moo mienakute mo

One fine day

shimpai sezu tabidatsu no yo doa-o akete

hoho-o koboreru namida wa

yurushi-aeta hito e no pendanto

kesshite kienai akashi-o mune ni kakete

te-o furitai ima chigireru hodo

Fly away

anata ga mita dekigoto-o wasurenai de

Some fine day

itsu no hi ni ka oshiete yo mukashi no yoo ni

Close to me machi-tsuzukeru

Close to me mata au hi-o

Close to me machi-tsuzukeru

Close to me mata au hi-o

Figure 5.8 *Dawn Purple* (Romanized version)

DAWN PURPLE

Close to me

もっと近く感じるの あなたのこと

Where to be

長い旅へ送り出す夜明けだから

膝にその寝顔をのせて

ずっと髪にふれていきたいけれど

ごらん紫の空を 燃えているわ

明日からの まだ見ぬ世界へ

Fly away

めざめたとき 私がもう見えなくても

One fine day

心配せず旅立つのよ ドアを開けて

ほほをこぼれる涙は

許し合えた人へのペンダント

決して消えない証を胸にかけて

手をふりたい 今ちぎれるほど

Fly away

あなたが見た出来事をわすれないで

Some fine day

いつの日いか教えてよ 昔のように

Close to me 待ち続ける

Close to me また会う日を

Close to me 待ち続ける

Close to me また会う日を

Figure 5.9 Dawn Purple ('Song-sheet' version)

Running parallel to linguistic relexification, one may also consider what I choose to call the process of 're-exoticization' that may occur in this context. Not all English loanwords replace native Japanese counterparts, and relexification in its classic sense is probably rare. In many cases, English loanwords may be used for their own qualities, but in other contexts their use appears to be designed to attract attention to the corresponding 'native' Japanese lexical item and to relocate the Japanese term from the realm of the mundane to the exotic, so that it is thus 're-exoticized'.⁷

One song that demonstrates this process, I suggest, is Yuming's *Sando-kyassuru* (*Sand Castles*) (see Figures 5.4–5.7). This song describes a woman's coming to grips with a long, deteriorating, love affair. She walks alone along the beach, and she pauses to make a small castle in the sand. The tide comes in, and the castle soon crumbles. She sings that her relationship is like this crumbling castle, and she regrets she and her lover will never be the ideal couple everyone thought they would be. Everyone had expected them to get married and make a good marriage, but they had been just like a *prince* and a *princess* blindly living in a *sand castle*. Throughout the song, one may observe how the use of English words serves to heighten the force of native Japanese terms. For example, *Sando-kyassuru* is used in the title, and *kyassuru* once in the second line, written in *katakana*. But in the climax of the song's message in the fourth stanza, the native Japanese term (*suna no o-shiro*) is used, so that the last three lines of the stanza read: *suna no o-shiro ni sundeta/ purinsesu to purinsu ne / somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love* ('We lived in a sand castle [just like] / a princess and prince, don't you think? / Somebody to kiss, somebody to hug, somebody to love'). The switching in and out of English words helps to create a 'cognitive dissonance' in the minds of listeners. The exotic English word *sando-kyassuru* becomes 'familiar' through its use in the title, and the occurrence of *kyassuru* in the first stanza, but halfway through the song the switch is made to the *suna no o-shiro* 'exotic' familiar of native Japanese. Which takes place, tellingly, at just that part in the song, where the woman is singing of the 'sand castle' they shared together. The exoticness of the Japanese here is further highlighted by the shift back to English in the next line ('We were a *princess* and *prince*, weren't we'). There are several other examples in this song where English words are juxtaposed or contrasted with Japanese items, e.g. *nylon coat + suso* ('hem'); *shiroi* ('white') + *lace*; or *arches + nagarete* ['flowing']. In each case, the native Japanese term seems to take on more force when juxtaposed with the English loanword.

English may also play a cultural and linguistic role in expressing aspects of modern Japanese consumer culture in a society often characterized as both 'consumerist' and 'materialistic'.⁸ Indeed, in discussions of consumerism in Japan, the accusation is often made that consumerism is a Western import, which, like English words, has contributed to the pollution of Japanese society. Whether such claims are justified is debatable, but the issues of consumerism

and materialism regularly find expression in Japanese pop music. One example of this can be found in the song *Daiamondo* ('Diamonds') from the female band *Princess Princess*. The song *Diamonds* is a meditation on life, love, and maturity, even though the band members were just barely into their twenties when they recorded it. In the song, a young woman tells of adolescence, her love for music, and her yearning for life. The conclusion she reaches is that her love of making music is so strong that she will surrender it neither for love nor money / *koin nanka ja urenai / ai-o kurete mo agenai/* ('You can't sell this for any coin/I won't give it to you even though you give me love').

The major symbol in the song, of course, is that of diamonds, which is used in two contrasting ways. The girl's past memories are 'treasures' and 'diamonds' from 'the innocent age of my childhood', but today she's innocent no more and is 'born to be greedy' (*yokubari na no wa umare-tsuki*), 'hooked on having a good time' (*tanoshimu koto ni kugi-zuke*), and is now used to a different kind of present (*purezento*). At the end of the song, she sings that what moves her now are *diamonds* (*watashi-o ugokasu no wa daiamondo*), the indication is that she is referring to the cut and polished variety. One thirty-year-old female informant from Tokyo commented that for her the song evoked the lives of female pop stars:

I don't understand all the English here but it is clear that some young girl is singing some love story. She is a *diamond*. She is a *kawai-ko-chan* ['cute young child']. I don't feel this song very deeply . . . these words *skyscraper*, *handle*, *brown* [the cathode-ray tube in a television set], *diamonds*, *kiss* — and getting good at kissing . . . they're OK. But what about *propeller mawashi* ['turn the propeller']? What is *that*, really? It is nonsense, nonsense, nonsense! But when a *kawai-ko-chan* [cute teenage girl] comes up and sings these kinds of songs, in this kind of way . . . putting in these loanwords . . . we get a certain feeling. That is, this song is just a creation of some kind of atmosphere, a creation of some kind of image. So I don't feel anything especially profound about it.

Another Kanto woman in her thirties said around the same time that she focused on the relationships described in the song and their implications:

I feel like she is talking about living in a small Tokyo apartment, maybe with a boyfriend or someone. Nothing more I feel. Even though I don't understand the loanwords, I feel like I am in a *kissaten* [Japanese coffee shop], probably because I don't listen to the words much, but just hear it as background music.

Consumer materialism is also reflected at several other places in the song, often encoded in English loanwords, as when the girl marvels at *skyscrapers*, sings of flying around the city on golden *handles*, after tightening up her *belt*, and turning the *propeller*. Finally, a male Japanese colleague of mine provided a third perspective on the song, commenting that:

This song feels *sooo* Japan. This type of music is really Japan. Hearing this reminded me of life in Japan. It doesn't matter if I understand the loanwords in it or not. It sounds Japanese! It is that beat; that kind of voice. I feel like I am in Japan, in a small tiny apartment in a *danchi* [a Japanese housing project]. A small place. Tomorrow I am getting on the train to ride one hour to go to work. That structured society, and this song this young girl's singing really reminds of that. I didn't pay attention to the words much; I didn't understand much of anything in the song, but, then, I didn't need to.

I dunk my bare feet in the cold fountain, looking up at the high *skyscrapers*
 I'm just wearing the clothes I like . . . I'm not doing anything bad.
 Let's fly around the city on golden *handles*. I'm hooked on having a good
 time.

I want to see the scenery that I just can't know about from watching the TV
 screen

I remember the beating hearts at the moment the [record player] needle
 goes down.

That's a nice *collection*.

I want to set them out side by side, more and more.

Even though I am sleepy, even though I am disliked, even though I am
 getting old, I can't stop.

They are *diamonds*, aren't they! *Ah (Ah)*

Some scenes, *Ah (Ah)* though I can't say it well, are treasures. I felt them
 then.

Ah (Ah) My hunch, that was genuine *Ah (Ah)*

Ah Something is moving me right now, that kind of a feeling
 I experienced many loves, I remembered all my orders, and I also became
 good at *kissing*,

but every time I make that first phone call I still always tremble.

I am buried in mountains of *presents*, trying to wiggle up to the surface; I
 can't die yet.

I was born to be greedy.

The *party* is just beginning.

Confine the love potion that pours into your [i.e., someone's] ears.

You [i.e., a person] can't sell this for any *coin*.

I won't give it to you even though you give me love.

Tighten your *belt*, turn the *propellor* kick the earth, and jump up and fly.

I don't know anything *Ah (Ah)*

Some evenings I feel I want to return to the innocent age of my childhood,
 and do everything over again,
 but the feelings I felt at that time were real.

What moves me now is *diamonds*.

Figure 5.10 *Diamonds* (English translation)

*tsumetai izumi ni suashi-o hitashite
 miageru sukai-sukureipaa
 suki-na fuku-o kiteru dake warui koto shitenai yo
 kin no handoru de machi-o tobimaware
 tanoshimu koto ni kugi-zuke
 buraun kan ja wakaranai keshiki ga mitai
 hari ga oriru shunkan no mune no kodoo yakitsukero
 sore wa suteki-na korekushon
 motto motto narabetai
 nemutakuttemo kirawaretemo
 toshi-o tottemo yamerarenai*

*daiamondo da ne Ah (Ah)
 ikutsuka no bamen
 Ah (Ah) umaku ienai keredo
 takara-mono da yo ano toki kanjita
 Ah (Ah) yokan wa hon-mono
 Ah (ima) watashi-o ugokashite-ru
 sonna kimochi*

*ikutsumo koi-shite junjo mo oboete
 Kiss mo umaku-natta kedo
 hajimete denwa suru toki-niwa itsumo furueru
 purezento no yama umore mogaite-mo
 mada shinu wake ni ikanai
 yokubari na no wa umare-tsuki
 paatii wa kore kara mimi de tokete nagare-komu
 biyaku-tachi-o toji-komero
 koin nanka ja urenai
 ai-o kurete mo agenai
 beruto-o shimente puropera mawashi
 daichi-o kette tobiagaru zo*

*nanimo shiranai Ah (Ah)
 kodomo ni modotte Ah (Ah)
 yari-naoshitai yoru mo tama ni aru kedo
 ano toki kanjita Ah (Ah)
 kimochi wa hon-mono Ah (Ah)
 watashi-o ugokasu no wa daiamondo*

Figure 5.11 *Diamonds* (Romanized version)

ダイアモンド

冷たい泉に 素足をひたして
見上げるスカイスクライバー
好きな服を着てるだけ 悪いことしてないよ
金のハンドルで 街を飛びまわれ
楽しむことにくぎづけ
ブラウン管じゃわからない 景色が見たい
針がおりる瞬間の 胸の鼓動焼きつけろ
それは素敵なコレクション
もっともっと並べたい
眠たくっても 嫌われても
年をとっても やめられない
ダイアモンドだねAH(AH)
いくつかの場面
AH (AH)うまく言えないけれど
宝物だよ あの時感じた
AH (AH) 予感は本物
AH (今) 私を動かして
そんな気持ち

いくつも恋して 順序も覚えて
KISSも上手（うま）くなったけど
はじめて電話するときには いつも震える
プレゼントの山 うもれもがいても
まだ死ぬわけにいかない
欲張りなのは生きられつき
パーティーはこれから 耳で溶けて流れ込む
媚薬（びやく）たちを閉じこめろ
コインなんかじゃ売れない

愛をくれてもあげない
ベルトをしめて ブロベラまわし
大地を蹴（け）って とびあがるぞ
(*印くりかえし)
何にも知らない AH(AH)
子どもに戻って AH(AH)
やり直したい夜も たまにあるけど
あの時感じた AH(AH)
気持ちちは本物 AH(AH)
私を動かすのは ダイヤモンド

Figure 5.12 *Diamonds* ('Song-sheet' version)

Finally, we might also consider how the use of English words is used to express images of domestic life in Japan. Not only can English words in pop songs be used to depict the habits and eccentricities of a modern consumer culture, but they can also be used to exemplify less unfamiliar scenes, such as domestic encounters and other everyday occurrences. Examples of this occur in a number of songs that we have already mentioned, including Yuming's *Sand Castles*, with the singer mentioning that her *nylon coat* is flapping in the wind, perhaps mimicking the sound of her tears. English loanwords can also be involved in the creation of new metonyms. For example, in the song *Diamonds*, the female voice asserts that some things cannot be bought for either love or money, and here the English word *coin* is used in the phrase *koin nanka ja urenai* (literally, some things can't be sold for coins).

English words in Japanese poetry

In addition to their uses in pop music, English words are also finding a place in modern Japanese literature, notably in the writing of poets such as the *tanka* poet Tawara Machi. Tawara is particularly adept at creating domestic images in interesting ways through the use of English words. For example, in the following poem she uses several loanwords to help promote the ambience of a secure relationship and mellow domesticity.⁹

土曜日はズックをはいて会いに来るサラリーマンとは未知の生き物

<i>doyoobi wa</i>	That <i>salaryman</i>
<i>zukku-o haite</i>	who comes to visit me
<i>ai-ni kuru</i>	on Saturdays,
<i>sarariiiman to wa</i>	wearing his <i>sneakers</i> ,
<i>michi no ikimono</i>	is sure a strange animal.

In another poem, she evokes the world of the office lady who window-shops on her way to work:

通るたび「本日限り」のバーゲンをしている店の赤いブラウス

<i>tooru tabi</i>	Each time
<i>'honjitsu kagiri' no</i>	I pass by
<i>baagen o</i>	I see the red <i>blouse</i>
<i>shite iru mise no</i>	of the store
<i>akai bureasu</i>	that is having a 'today only' sale

The use of English words can be a powerful tool in the construction of new analogies, metaphors, metonyms, in Japanese verbal art of all kinds (Stanlaw, 2000a). One interesting metaphor is found in Tawara Machi's poem about a woman deciding to leave her lover:

ハンバーガーショップの席を立ち上がるよう男を捨ててしまおう

<i>hanbaagaa shoppu</i>	Like jumping out
<i>no seki-o</i>	of your seat
<i>tachi agaru</i>	at a <i>hamburger joint!</i>
<i>yoo-ni otoko-o</i>	That's how I'll leave
<i>suteteshimao</i>	this guy.

Tawara's imagery here is concrete, effective, and humorous. As deliberately as leaving McDonald's after having a *Biggu Makku* for lunch, the woman will simply get up and leave her man. The comparison between departing a fast-food restaurant, and ending a bad relationship is amusingly economical.

In addition to their metaphorical uses, English words also have a potential for the kinds of ambiguities and indeterminacies exploited by poets in their craft (Leech, 1969). English loanwords can simultaneously be both more and less symbolically meaningful than their native Japanese counterparts. Even if no Japanese equivalents exist, the inclusion of English loanwords can be used for a variety of purposes, and often the multiplicity of reference and connotation makes English words particularly effective in poetry and song. We have seen this many times in the above examples.

English loanwords can sometimes be used ambiguously in even other ways. For instance, consider this poem by Tawara Machi:

熱心に母が勧めし「ユースキンA」 という名のハンドクリーム

<i>nesshin ni</i>	Earnestly
<i>haha ga susumeshi</i>	recommended by my mother:
<i>yuu sukin A</i>	the <i>hand cream</i>
<i>to iu na no</i>	named
<i>hando-kuriimu</i>	' <i>Youth Skin A.</i> '

A young woman drops by to see her mother. What she remembers most about the occasion was that her mother enthusiastically suggests that she use a special cream to keep her hands looking young. The implication of this recommendation of course is that the girl's age is beginning to show. One interesting aspect here is the name of the *Yuu sukin A*. There is ambiguity here about how these Japanese English words should be understood or 'translated' into a more standard form of English, or into Japanese. Is this 'You skin A', 'Youth skin A', or even 'Your skin A'? A number of readings are possible: 'Youth' in Japanese (*yuusu*) combines with 'Skin' (*sukin*) to become *yuusukin*. *Yuu* may be read both as 'you' and 'your' (although 'your' is often rendered as 'yua'), and it is difficult to totally discount any of these. Nor need we do so, as *any* or *all* of these meanings are indeed made possible in poetic expression.

Finally, it is also worth noting that there is an important visual dimension in the use of English words in Japanese poetry, as these are often used for visual and graphic effect. Due to the nature of the Japanese and Chinese writing systems, Japanese and Chinese verse have always carried a visual aspect that is lacking in the poetry of many other cultures. Since the earliest poems and songs from the *Manyoo-shuu* 1,200 years ago, Chinese characters have been used by Japanese poets for a variety of illustrative ends, both playful and serious. The use of English words thus contributes another linguistic resource which may be used for graphic and pictorial effects. One example of this is seen in the following Tawara Machi *tanka* poem:

明けてゆくTOKIOの隅の販売機にて購いし二本のコーラ

<i>akete yuku</i>	Dawn breaks
<i>TOKIO no</i>	over <i>Tokyo</i> .
<i>sumi no hanbaiki nite</i>	At a corner
<i>aganai shi</i>	vending machine
<i>ni-hon no koora</i>	we buy two cans of <i>cola</i> .

Graphically, two items vividly stand out when first viewing this poem. First, we notice that the name of the Japanese capital is written in capital roman letters: TOKIO. Not only is the name given in roman letters, but the spelling is according to the archaic norm of the nineteenth century. Another oddity is how the use of romanization actually violates the structure of the poem. As it stands now, the second line of this *tanka* has only six syllables, where seven would normally be required. As it is spelled here in roman letters, TOKIO uses only three syllables (to-ki-o). If normal Japanese orthography were to be used, 'Tokyo' would come out with an extra syllable (to-o-kyo-o) and the offending line would be fine. The second thing to notice is that the poem ends with a loanword in *katakana*, 'cola'. This poem is certainly eye-catching, for the just discussed, but the graphic organization of the poem also seems to contribute to its meaning. One possible reading here is that the couple in question are not 'modern' or 'sophisticated' yuppie types, but a rather old-fashioned couple who have been somewhat chastely out for a stroll. But that is a very personal reading, largely evoked by the archaism of TOKIO. Many alternative readings are also possible, of course, particularly, given the cryptic form of the *tanka* poem.

The visual dimension of the graphic representation of English words may also be seen in *J-pop* song titles and lyrics as well as the names of singers and bands (Stanlaw, 1990b; 2000b).¹⁰ Almost every song examined here indeed uses (i) English song titles (e.g., *Boys Don't Cry*); (ii) English romanized loanwords (e.g., *Dawn Purple*), and (iii) English *katakana* loanwords (e.g., *Sando kyassuru*) in their printed lyrics. The names of singers (e.g., *Yuming*) and rock groups (e.g., *Wink*, *Princess Princess*) also use English and *romaa-ji* extensively. The collection of Tawara Machi's contemporary *tanka* poems, '*Sarada kinenbi*'

(*Salad Memorial Day*) uses the word ‘salad’ in its title. Both her name and the title of the book are transliterated (but, oddly, not translated) in bright pink roman letters on the cover of her book. One area worthy of further research and analysis is the graphic way in which the written representations of English words in Japanese pop song lyrics are guided by a visual linguistic logic that complements the verbal aspects of songs. English words and phrases, as well as roman letters, can combine to create a range of visual effects. Characteristically, Japanese music fans pay particular attention to the words of the songs they hear. On television variety shows, the name of the group and the lyrics of the songs are displayed in caption form as the song is played. When, for example, the roller-skating rock and roll group ‘光 GENJI’ sing on television about their *West Side Story* lifestyles and James Dean-like rebellions, the scene comes alive with the bustle of competing and complementary scripts — native Japanese *kanji*, *katakana* loanwords, and *romaaaji* English phrases all jostle with each other for a place on the screen.

Summary

This chapter began with an exploration of the use of English words in Japanese pop songs, and then raised the question why such words and phrases have gained such a wide currency in this context. One very commonly-held response to this query is that the majority of such words have been ‘imported’ into Japan, through processes of lexical borrowing than operate parallel to the importation of the Western pop music. An alternative view to this simplistic explanation is presented through a discussion of ‘motivations’ for English words in Japanese pop music, which involves a consideration such interrelated factors as the use of English for audacious, symbolic, ‘poetic’ and ‘exotic’ purposes, the creation of new structural forms, as a means of relexifying and re-exoticizing the Japanese language, the expression of modern Japanese consumer culture; and the expression of images of domestic life. In addition, the use of English in contemporary Japanese poetry was also discussed. The consideration of detailed examples of actual texts reveals a much greater degree of complexity than the narrowly one-dimensional view of linguistic contact that relies on a reductive ‘loanwords’ approach to this issue.

The loanwords approach is flawed for at least two broad reasons. First, a majority of English words in current use are not imported, but created in Japan, and, second, such Japanese English words are designed for Japanese, not Western, purposes (Stanlaw, 1991). Most ‘English’ terms in common use in Japan are invented or at least modified in order to comply with the communicative norms of Japanese society as well as for the range of purposes for which they are required. Thus Japanese English words serve different purposes in different circumstances and situations; they have intrinsic value

and use. In the contexts of versification, we have seen that English words serve a number of different poetic functions and it is possible that the increased use of English words will in future radically alter the face of Japanese poetry, providing even this high cultural form with new alternatives and possibilities. English loanwords today may offer a new vernacular for *tanka* and *haiku* poets, as well as novelists, and playwrights, and songwriters. The confluence of the Japanese and Chinese languages fifteen hundred years ago altered Japanese in many ways, both structurally and semantically, but despite this influence, Japanese retained its essential character. It incorporated these imported Chinese features assiduously, but nativized these into the Japanese language system.

Similar sociolinguistic processes are currently at work regarding the current influx of English words into Japanese, and this is reflected in a wide range of language contexts. In Chapter 6, I shall extend this investigation to consider Japanese-English language contact and the issue of gender.

6

A new voice: The use of English as a new rhetoric in modern Japanese women's language

Introduction

In this chapter¹ I will extend the discussion that began in the last chapter. I will examine the innovative uses of English by Japanese women, especially in the creative arts. A millennium ago, Japanese women were deprived of the social and cultural advantages of using imported Chinese linguistic resources (such as writing, or the political or economic vocabulary). Ironically today, however — at least in certain areas of artistic expression such as music, poetry, or fashion — Japanese women seem to dominate the extensive current importation of English. In this chapter, I will argue that the judicious use of English and English loanwords gives Japanese women new rhetorical power and discourse choices unknown to them previously.

It is clear by now that English loanwords in Japanese abound, and have been commonly used in modern Japanese for over a century. As I have said in earlier chapters, no Japanese person today could carry on even the most elementary of conversations without using them; they exist in a variety of registers and domains, and are found everywhere from radio and television advertisements to official government documents. However, as we have seen in Chapter 5, English loanwords and phrasings have proliferated in the linguistics of popular music, especially in songs written by women. I suggest that this is not coincidental. It is likely that Japanese women songwriters are using English to avoid some of the linguistic restrictions placed upon them by the Japanese language. For example, many female Japanese songwriters use English extensively for humorous puns and jokes, and unusual musical and lyrical effects. Similar techniques have also been used by the neo-traditional poet Tawara Machi, whose verse captured the hearts of millions of Japanese women in a national fad a few years ago. Advertising and magazines that primarily aim at women almost always use English extensively.

I believe that this use of English and English loanwords is a technique to assist in the expression of a new feminine voice. In medieval Japan, men and

women in many ways led quite distinctive and separate linguistic lives. Men — the literate and literary half of the population — wrote publicly, in a largely imported idiom of Chinese and Sino-Japanese characters (the medium of religion, government, and classical literature). Women, on the other hand, did not learn Chinese; nor did they learn the Chinese characters and writing system. Women generally wrote private thoughts in an indigenous, that is, Japanese, vocabulary. The result of this separation was the creation of several marvellous literary forms which were unique in world literature at that time. However, in spite of all this artistic creativity, it was not until modern times that women became generally fluent in the standard literary and poetic styles commonly used by men for hundreds of years.

It is well known that there is still a marked linguistic sexual dimorphism in Japan (cf. Shibamoto, 1985, 1987). There are certain modes of linguistic expression in Japanese that are extremely difficult for women to use. English, however, offers new opportunities for poetic representations, individual creativity, and emotional expression. There are also new alternatives and potentials. The use of English loanwords helps circumvent some of these sociolinguistic restrictions, giving Japanese women another voice and, a different symbolic vocabulary, in which to express their thoughts and feelings.

In the following section, I will briefly review the development of the Japanese writing system that has been discussed in Chapter 4. I will also show how script and circumstance have combined to give women a new means to express their emotions and desires. I will then present examples of how similar phenomenon is occurring today with a new 'imported' idiom 'English' in popular song and poetry. I will then conclude with speculations on the future prospects for women in Japan, both linguistic and social.

The origins of the Japanese writing system and the first women's voice

The origins of the Japanese people are clouded in myth, mystery, and politics. According to legend and the official 'historical' chronicles, First Brother and First Sister, Izanami and Izanagi, started the line that gave the Japanese the original Sun Goddess — Amaterasu-oo-mikami, the direct ancestor of the Imperial family (including the current emperor). Archaeologically, it is safe to say that certainly by the fourth century AD those who would become the ancestors of today's modern population were in place. The so-called Yamato court (AD 300–700) formed the basis of the later Japanese historical state, when in the 710s and 720s the first of the famous historical chronicles began to appear. Although the agricultural Yamato people appeared to have had a very complex system of government and ritual, they had no written language until political and religious contact began with the Chinese, perhaps as early as AD 400.

The Chinese writing system was probably introduced into Japan around 594, when Buddhism was declared to be the official religion (Mizukami, 1998, Tetsuji, 1989). At first, the Japanese did not write their own language, but used 'pure Chinese' to record matters of state and consequence. But to say that one single 'Chinese' language was brought in to the islands is somewhat of a misnomer. On the coast of the East Asian mainland, there are dozens of different Sinitic languages even today, and unsurprisingly speakers of every one at some time or other reached Japan. This plethora of available 'Chinese' languages would have important repercussions for both the Japanese writing system and the future development of the Japanese women's speech.

One of the reasons why the early Japanese became literate only in a Chinese language rather than Japanese is that in most ways written Chinese is incompatible with spoken Japanese. For one thing, the Chinese languages are monosyllabic, tonal, and largely uninflecting, making the polysyllabic, atonal, and agglutinative Japanese language extremely hard to write using ideographic Chinese characters (called *kanji*, or 'Chinese letters', in modern Japanese). While nouns could rather easily be borrowed, the Chinese writing system had little to offer in terms of case markers, affixes, indicators of tense, sentence-final particles and the like.

In any case, as discussed in Chapter 4 and the Appendix, the earliest attempt to write down Japanese is found in the *Man'yoo-shuu* ('Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves'), an early poetry anthology of some 4,500 poems (e.g. Levy, 1981). Since *kanji* characters had to be used to record every sound of Japanese, much of the time the Chinese characters were used only for their phonetic value. (To use a simple English example, a drawing of an eyeball might be used if I wanted to write the sound of 'I' or 'Aye'.) Thus, many of the poems in the *Man'yoo-shuu* were rebuses, with characters being used for their sound value in a Chinese language, regardless of their original meanings. These glyphs became known as *Man'yoo-gana* ('*Man'yoo-shuu* script'). At other times, Chinese characters could be borrowed for their meanings alone and be used to represent a native Japanese word regardless of how the character was pronounced in Chinese. Every poet, of course, had their own intention when choosing a character, and few characters were consistently chosen the same way (giving centuries of philologists' active careers). The result of this, as Roy Andrew Miller (1967: 33) says, was that the '*Man'yoo-shuu* script esteemed its own complexities as virtues rather than . . . defects.' Even to this day, some of these peculiar legacies from Chinese still linger in the Japanese language, both in spoken form and the writing system. Almost every Japanese character, for example, has at least two ways of being pronounced, and some of the most common ones have upwards of a dozen or more. Japanese has also been blessed with a multitude of Chinese loanwords or words of Chinese origin, and even today; these often sound sophisticated, erudite, academic, or educated — much like Latin or Greek words in English. However, it is a

completely different matter in the case of the Japanese proto-script, *Man'yoo-gana*. It was almost as if the Japanese decided to create a writing system that was as complex as possible. But again Miller reminds us that it is a mistake to attempt to 'impose our modern standards of practicality and simplicity upon an earlier age or an alien culture' (p. 33).

Even though the advent of *Man'yoo-gana* allowed pure Japanese to be written, albeit in somewhat awkward form, much of the writing was still done in Chinese for the following several centuries. I described some of these processes in Chapter 4, but I will now look at the impact these developments had on Japanese women. In the ninth century during the late Heian Period (794–1192), however, two other forms of writing were developed; both of them were syllabaries based on the *Man'yoo-gana* phonetic characters. In the first case, the *katakana* ('imperfect' or 'angular script'), parts of the characters were taken as abbreviations for the whole character, thereby acting as a kind of shorthand. They were often used for writing particles or inflections, as well as sometimes indicating the intended readings of other Chinese characters themselves. (These are today's *katakana* that loanwords and foreign names are written in, which we have discussed in the previous chapters.) The second syllabary, the *hiragana* ('smooth, plain, simple script'), was a set of cursive forms loosely based on the original *Man'yoo-gana* Chinese characters.

But just what are these different scripts used for? Before this question can be answered, two issues should be noted. First, there was nothing approaching mass literacy in Japan at that time; it was only the aristocracy who had the time and inclination to master the intricacies of the complex Japanese writing system. Second, 'Japanese' discourse at that time was largely diglossic. Impersonal and institutional discourse was largely written by men, using pure classical Chinese or Japanized-Chinese that employed Chinese-based *kanji* characters (such as the square versions of *Man'yoo-gana*). This included government documents and edicts, historical chronicles, and formal and public discourse of all kinds. Keene (1993: 486) uses the term the 'Yamato language', to refer to the other extant code: the native tongue of the Yamato people. This is the non-Sinified Japanese that used words and phrases of native ('Yamato') Japanese origin before the influence of Chinese. Written (Yamato) Japanese probably reflected the spoken language at the time (cf. Takeuchi, 1999). The script used for this was mostly the *hiragana* syllabary, and this Yamato Japanese writing was generally the domain of women.

The *hiragana* syllabary was actually called *onna-de* ('woman's hand') or *onna-mojo* ('woman's letters') at that time, reflecting the penchant of women for using this orthography. Actually, 'for women, it was their only means of expressing themselves in writing' (Habein, 1984: 30). As mentioned, men generally wrote in Chinese or square versions of *Man'yoo-gana*, which was actually called *otoko-de* ('man's hand') or *otoko-moji* ('man's letters'). It was not the case that men were forbidden to use *hiragana*, or had no knowledge of it

(they wrote numerous things to women to be sure, including poems and the like). It was just that women were generally excluded from studying Chinese or Chinese characters, and did not write using Chinese or the *Man'yoo-gana*. As Bowring (1988: 9–10) claims, ‘As one might expect, written Chinese was jealously guarded and from its inception became the exclusive domain of the male. Indeed, in the public arena men were under considerable pressure not to use Japanese, to prove their fitness for office, and ultimately their masculinity, by their command of Chinese poetry and prose. . . . There can be no doubt that the acquisition of Chinese by women was seen as a threat, a subversive act of considerable, if undefined, moment.’

Women, then, were writing in a private sphere, using what was in many ways a private (or ‘non-public’) language. Having not been taught Chinese — as learning the language was considered unladylike or ‘unbecoming’ — women were effectively disenfranchised and excluded from the public male power structure. Indeed, a lot of the earliest women’s writings, such as poems, letters, or diaries, were very personal affairs. However, from these writings ironically emerged an important literary development — the rise of *wa-bun* (literally, ‘native indigenous Japanese writing’), which used Japanese-based vocabulary and Japanese syntax, and was written in *hiragana*. Women were therefore largely responsible for the development of this particular genre, perhaps the greatest contribution of the Heian Period to Japanese and world literature. Some of the major masterpieces of the Japanese literary cannon were created at that time, including *Makura no Suoshi* (‘The Pillow Book of Sei Shoonagon’), *Kageroo Nikki* (‘Gossamer Diary’), *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki* (‘The Diary of Lady Murasaki’), and *Izumi Shikibu Nikki* (‘The Diary of Izumi Shikibu’). Many of these works are autobiographical, and ‘must be some of the earliest examples of the attempt by women living in a male dominated society to define the self in textual terms’ (Bowring, 1988: 11). Table 6.1 summarizes the position that woman and language had during this period.

Table 6.1 Japanese discourse in the first millennium circa 1050

	Women	Men
language	Japanese	Chinese
script	<i>hiragana</i> syllabary	<i>kanji</i> ideographs
genre	poems, diaries, the novel	institutional prose
persona	private	public

The greatest contribution of the genre was undoubtedly *Genji Monogatari* (‘The Tale of Genji’) by Murasaki Shikibu (Lady Murasaki).² This book, a prose narrative and eight hundred poems, is said to be the world’s first novel.

It is generally 'considered to be the supreme masterpiece of Japanese literature . . . and . . . has affected the aesthetic and emotional life of the entire Japanese people for a millennium' (Keene, 1993: 477–8); it 'occupies the place of Shakespeare in English' (p. 508). In its thousand pages lie the story of some seventy years of the tumultuous court adventures of Genji (the 'shining' prince), and the various women in his life. It details the loves and passions of men and women, who were sheltered from each other's view by curtains and screens. They would often become infatuated, in a literal semiotic fashion, through some letter, poem, or other sign, without having a glimpse of the object of their affections. In short, the novel could be considered to be a kind of grammar of sexual relations.

Lady Murasaki herself was precocious and intelligent. She tells in her diary how she learned Chinese by surreptitiously listening in during her brother's Chinese lessons. She had become so proficient that she could prompt him if he got stuck. At this her father (a minor governor in the Fujiwara ruling clan) used to sigh and exclaim, 'If only you were a boy, how proud and happy I should be' (Waley, 1960: vii). It soon became clear to her, however, that not only was it bad for boys to be too fond of books, it was also devastating for a girl, so she soon learned to conceal her linguistic abilities. However, educated and talented women were sometimes sought after by noblemen to entertain and instruct their wives and daughters, and Lady Murasaki eventually found herself appointed as a lady-in-waiting to a consort of the Emperor Ichijoo. Much of *Genji* was probably written in this venue.

Men at the court at this time, who were well-versed in the Chinese classics, had little use for fiction or narrative, considering even the best examples as mere 'diversions for women' (Keene, 1993: 481). However, men themselves were no doubt aware of the story. Yet, what is important here is that in such a social, cultural, and linguistic environment, women necessarily had to resort to Yamato Japanese to appropriate it for their own ends and desires, and use it as a medium to express their own voice. The daughters of the original Sun Goddess had fallen since mythological times; but ironically it was precisely because of their lack of power that they became the chroniclers of Heian Japanese civilization, and caretakers of the Yamato tradition and language.

Women and modern Japanese popular music

Back in primordial times the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, in fit of jealousy and rage, hid in a cave and thus cast the world in darkness. The other minor gods and goddesses coaxed her out by performing an erotic dance and singing ribald songs. These are said to form the basis for traditional Japanese folk music and court chants (of which contemporary music is a direct descendant). Once again, Amaterasu's spell reaches into modern times. Although

contemporary Japanese music is multifarious and complex, as we have seen in the last chapter (see also Stanlaw, 1989; 1990a; 1990b), I will only speak of one singer in one style here. I believe, however, that much of what follows could be applied to many other current Japanese women musicians and songwriters, many of whom are searching for a new rhetoric to express women's concerns and ideas without the constraints of the male-dominated production system (Stanlaw, 2000a).

An example of this can be seen in the following song, again by Matsutooya Yumi. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Yuming — as her fans call her — is said to be the voice of the new generation of Japanese young women in their twenties and into their forties (Hatakeyama, 1990). One of her later ballads from a few years ago is *Dareka ga anata-o sagashite iru* ('Somebody Is Looking For You'), a song with both high-tech melody and lyrics.

The song is about some young Japanese urban professional — perhaps a stockbroker or computer engineer — who is in constant electronic communication with the outside world from his home. One night while he is away, his girlfriend sneaks into his apartment using her extra key. She finds the state of his place typical of many bachelor's quarters, with clothes and pajamas lying on the floor and unfinished beer on the table. However, she also sees that his apartment is a whirlwind of electronic activity. A fax machine is buzzing, the *answering machine* is taking messages, and a *computer* is running with its *monitor* glowing in the dark. The English names of all these gadgets create a mood of modernity and electronic wizardry in the song.

The use of English loanwords, however, also creates a mood of apprehension and intangible fear. There are unseen dangers all around. She finds that someone is electronically *accessing* him, and this makes her nervous: a *code number* is repeating over and over. He is being *edited*. There is a *ghost* in the *program*. She fears that he is trapped in an endless *loop* of programs and *fibre optics*. A *virus* is present, and it must be destroyed:

*Dareka ga anata-o editto-shite iru
puroguramu ni goosuto ga iru wa*

Somebody is *editing* you
There is a *ghost* in the *program*

*faibaa no meikyuu de
ruu pu kara derarenai*

you are in the labyrinth of *fibre* and
unable to escape from the *loop*

She tries to save him, and again, her salvation is presented to us in the form of English loanwords. She uses a *mouse* to *input* her own *code* into the system. She attacks the *virus* with a *laser*, destroying the threat that germinates within:

*mausu o tataite
watashi no koodo-o inputto-shitara
anata ni matowaru koi no uirusu ni
reezaa o abiseru*

I click the *mouse* and
and I *input* my code, while
upon the love *virus* that is hanging
around you
I will beam the *laser*

Somebody is looking for you
In the middle of the night . . .
a glowing *monitor* . . .
a repeated *code number* . . .
Using the duplicate key,
I sneak in, and
In the room
I find your *pajamas*, unfinished *beer*
and a *computer* that is still running.

Somebody is *editing* you.
There is a *ghost* in the *program*.

Somebody is targeting you.
In the dark
an *answering machine* starts to speak . . .
a *fax machine* flashes all of a sudden and turns on.
If I access with the *mouse*
I will find its true character revealed.
Let's quickly erase the love *virus* that's infecting you.

OPEN YOUR FILE
OPEN YOUR MIND
Don't hide, there is a *ghost*
In order to rescue you,
who is lost in the labyrinth of *fibre* and
unable to escape from the *loop*, . . .

I hit the *mouse*, and
while I *input* my *code*, . . .
upon the love *virus* that it is hanging around you,
I will beam the *laser*.

OPEN YOUR FILE
OPEN YOUR MIND
I can still be in time, there is a *ghost!*

OPEN YOUR FILE (somebody is looking for you)
OPEN YOUR MIND
Don't hide,
There is a *ghost!*

OPEN YOUR FILE (somebody is targeting you)
OPEN YOUR MIND
I can still be in time,
There is a *ghost!*

OPEN YOUR FILE (Somebody is looking for you)
OPEN YOUR MIND
Don't hide,
There is a *ghost!*

OPEN YOUR FILE (Somebody is targeting you)
OPEN YOUR MIND
I can still be in time,
There is a *ghost!*

Figure 6.1 *Somebody Is Looking For You* (English translation)

*Dareka ga anata o sagashite iru wa
kono yofuke ni
nagareru monitaa
kurikae sareru koodo nanbaa
ai-kagi-o tsukai shinobi-konde mita
anata no heyu niwa
nugisuteta pajama nomi-kake no biiru
tsuketa mama no konpuutaa*

*Dareka ga anata-o editto-shite iru
puroguramu ni goosuto ga iru wa
Dareka ga anata-o neratte iru wa
yami no naka de
shaberi-dasu ansaa-fon
kyuu ni hikatte ugoku fakkusu
mausu-o tataite akusesu-shita-nara
shootai ga wakaru
anata-o ga wakaru
anata-o mushibamu koi no uirusu
hayaku keshite-shimao*

OPEN YOUR FILE

OPEN YOUR MIND

*kakusanaide goosuto ga iru wa
faibaa no meikyuu de
ruupu kara derarenai
samayoeru anata-o sukui-dasu tame ni
mausu o tataite
watashi no koodo-o inputto-shitara
anata ni matowaru koi no uirusu ni
reezaa o abiseru*

OPEN YOUR FILE

OPEN YOUR MID

mada ma-ni-au goosuto ga iru

OPEN YOUR FILE (dareka ga anata-o)
OPEN YOUR MIND (sagashite iru wa)
kakusanaide
goosuto ga iru

OPEN YOUR FILE (dareka ga anata-o)
OPEN YOUR MIND (neratte iru wa)
mada ma-ni-
goosuta ga iru wa

OPEN YOUR FILE (dareka ga anata-o)
OPEN YOUR MIND (sagashite iru wa)
kakusanaide
goosuto ga iru

OPEN YOUR FILE (dareka ga anata-o)
OPEN YOUR MIND (neratte iru wa)
mada ma-ni-
goosuto ga iru wa

Figure 6.2 *Somebody Is Looking For You* (Romanized version)

誰かがあなたを探してる

誰かがあなたを探しているわ
 この夜更けに
 流れるモニター
 くり返されるコードナンバー
 合鍵を使いしのび込んでみた
 あなたの部屋には
 ぬぎ捨てたバジャマ 飲みかけのビール
 つけたままのコンピューター
 誰かがあなたをエディットしてる
 プログラムにゴーストがいるわ

誰かがあなたを狙っているわ
 窓の中で
 しゃべり出すアンサーフォン
 急に光って動くファクス
 マウスをたたいてアクセスしたら
 正体がわかる
 あなたを蝕む恋のウイルスを
 早く消してしまおう

OPEN YOUR FILE
 OPEN YOUR MIND
 かくさないでゴーストがいるわ

ファイバーの迷宮で
 ループから出られない
 彷徨えるあなたを救い出すために

マウスをたたいて
 私のコードをインプットしたら
 あなたにまとわる恋のウイルスに
 レーザーを浴びせる

OPEN YOUR FILE
 OPEN YOUR MIND
 まだまにあうゴーストがいるわ

OPEN YOUR FILE (誰かがあなたを)
 OPEN YOUR MIND (探しているわ)
 かくさないで
 ゴーストがいるわ

Figure 6.3 *Somebody Is Looking For You* ('Song-sheet' version)

Structurally, almost every line of the song ends in an English loanword (or, occasionally, an English loanword with a verbalizing suffix attached). This is interesting considering that Japanese is a verb-final language. A 'pure' English refrain punctuates the choruses and the end of the song:

<i>OPEN YOUR FILE</i>	(somebody is looking for you)
<i>OPEN YOUR MIND</i>	
<i>Don't hide,</i>	
<i>There is a ghost!</i>	
<i>I can still be in time,</i>	(somebody is targeting you)
<i>There is a ghost!</i>	

She warns, 'There is a ghost,' but tells him not to hide, as she still can be there in time to help him. In the background a voice sings in Japanese, 'Someone is looking for you . . . someone is targeting you.' Making an equation between the English words 'file' and 'mind' allows Yuming to make a joke using the metonymic pun of an open mind and an open computer file.

One informant, a woman in her late thirties, described the unique feeling that this song conveys, even if it is not a particularly 'catchy' tune:

This song is very very interesting, even though I might say I am not sure if I especially like it. To me, this song creates a special '*space*', a modern computer-created type of *space*. It is not really a virtual reality type of thing, but something spooky and mysterious, like in a movie. You can almost hear the sound effects. The main character who is singing to me seems to be an intelligent professional management woman . . . neither too young nor too old. That is the type of person who is singing this love song; that is the kind of feeling that is created through the selection of these loanwords. Maybe I don't understand lots of things when I hear it the first time, but I can understand a lot of it . . . like *computer*, *mouse*, *monitor* . . . we use those in our daily lives all the time, so that is nothing new. *Word processor* is another familiar term. So I can tell this is about automation or *computers*. The woman must be a career woman and be smart to know how to run all this kind of equipment, and know all these words like *fibre*, *laser*, and so on. She is also probably well off. She is not necessarily rich, but is independent and self-supporting. She is not too old, of course, because she is using all these things. But she is not too young, either, as she must be in some kind of management position. That is the feeling the song gives me.

The girl is afraid the man is having an affair? Hmm, Maybe. But I think in the song here his mind is a *computer*, or maybe better, his mind is a *file*. She is saying if she can control his *file* she can control his mind. She wants to open his *file* so she can open his mind. She wants to open it. That was she has a *code-number*, the answering machine is talking . . . 'I want to know, I want to know everything'. If I just *click* it, I can do it. And then I can delete that virus — those other desires, wills — from his *mind*, from his *file*. That's why she says *koi no uirusu ni* ['to the love-virus'] or *reezaa o abiseru* ['to delete with a *laser*']. I can delete it. Bing! Bing! Then he is all mine again. Just like the Japanese computer say to you: the file has been trashed!

Yuming's song is fraught with unusual tropes and metaphors from English. The most obvious one is probably *puroguramu ni goosuto ga iru*, 'there is a ghost in the program'. This seems to be an interesting combination of the pure English idioms, 'a bug in the program' and 'a ghost in the machine'. As far as I know, Japanese has neither of these notions, and the concept of a real Japanese ghost (say, an *o-bake*) inhabiting a computer would probably strike most Japanese as ludicrous.³ Other cases from this song include someone editing you (*anata-o edito-shite iru*) to mean to change a lover's mind, and 'love virus' (*koi no virusu*), meaning to become smitten by another woman.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, expected and unusual English loanword metaphors abound in many songs and poems by Japanese women. *Wink* talks about the jewel-like starry sky (*jueru-na hoshi-zora*) out on the night the couple breaks up in 'Boys Don't Cry'. *Princess Princess* tells of the 'party is just beginning' (*paati wa kore kara*) to describe the rest of a young girl's life in 'Diamonds'. Yuming portrays the flare of the crests of the waves (*nami no fuureaa*) and the white lace of bubbles (*shiroi reesu no awa*) during her walk along the beach in 'Sand Castles'.

However, the images in this song, about the computer and the missing boyfriend, are especially creative. Yuming sets her context — the room and its equipment — using English loanwords; she describes the danger and fear using English loanwords, and she offers her solutions again with borrowed terms. The impressions here are more than just of a high-tech Frankenstein running amok. The woman's main concern is that a rival may infect her boyfriend with a 'love virus'. No doubt she is speaking of computer viruses here, and not the medical kind. However, it is possible that Yuming is being even more metaphorical: one Japanese person suggested to me that the virus may actually be the computer itself, which takes up too much of the boyfriend's time and attention. She may actually regard the computer, then, as her main rival.

In any case, it is unsettling that all this modern equipment cannot offer her some security even when her boyfriend is alone. With her typically gentle humour and clever use of language, Yuming has created an exotic world, but one that we can understand, and even be drawn into.

Tawara Machi: The modern woman's poet

This use of a 'new rhetoric' is also seen in the works of Tawara Machi, the pop-poet sensation whom we also met in Chapter 5.⁴ As I have mentioned earlier, she has almost single-handedly revitalized the Japanese classical *tanka* poetry form (Stanlaw, 1993a; 2000a), and I believe the tremendous appeal of Tawara's work is due to her fresh language and images many of which are parented in English. She brings to her poems an almost conversation tone, and discusses

common everyday subjects and contemporary themes that most people can relate to. Consider the venue in the following poem (Tawara, 1987: 156):

『元気でね』マクドナルドの片隅に最後の手紙書きあげており

'genki de ne'	'In the corner
<i>Makudonarudo no</i>	at <i>McDonald's</i> ,
<i>katasumi ni</i>	writing
<i>saigo no tegami</i>	'Take care, OK!' in my
<i>kaki-agete ori</i>	last letter to you'

In more traditional *tanka*, instead of a woman writing her goodbye letter in a corner at McDonald's, other author might place her at the foot of some famous bridge or mountain, or in some obscure remote inn of special significance. More importantly, Tawara's poems abound in English images and loanwords, as we have seen in almost every example of hers in the last chapter.

English: A second importation and a second women's voice

In medieval Japan, men and women occupied separate worlds physically, linguistically, and psychologically. Today vernacular Japanese and literary Japanese are not so different, and the linguistic sexual dimorphism is by no means as distinct. Sino-Japanese characters and 'Chinese' readings are used universally by all, as are the imported and created-in-Japan English loanwords. While there are differences in topic and register (1992b), both men and women seem equally adept and prone to use the thousands of English resources available to most native Japanese speakers.

However, many differences still exist, and are well-documented (e.g. Adachi and Stanlaw, n.d.; Cherry, 1987; Endo, 1995; Shibamoto, 1985; 1987). One area, to use just one example, is 'politeness'. Polite forms in Japanese — for both genders — can be quite complex, and *keigo* ('honorific language') syntactically incorporates exalted, humble, and plain linguistic forms (Mizutani and Mizutani, 1987). However, there are also several other ways that politeness can be expressed, and most of the time these co-vary with markers for gender in Japanese.

Female members of one of the nationally-known Japanese debate teams told me a few years ago that it is almost impossible for women to be argumentative in Japanese; and as far as they knew, all debating contests in Japan that involved women were conducted in English. Although this is just an anecdotal case, there seems to be little doubt that Japanese women are restricted in certain ways when saying certain things.

I believe that it is not accidental that the songs, poems, and other examples presented here involve the extensive use of English loanwords. In the area of

verse, it is likely that English loanwords provide Japanese people with another voice — a symbolic vocabulary — in which to express their thoughts and feelings. Sometimes there are feelings that women cannot express in the medium of Japanese, and the use of loanwords may circumvent some of these sociolinguistic restrictions. For example, consider the following excerpt from a recent song by the veteran singer Takeuchi Mariya, *Honki-de onrii yuu* ('Seriously, Only You'), where she describes an action that few women would probably undertake directly in the Japanese language — the proposal of marriage:

Now let's get married
 No need to wait and waste our time
 Why do we have to carry on this way?
 No one can keep us apart
 So, let's get married right away

I'll wake you up
 in the morning, my baby
 Sweeten your coffee with
 my kiss
 And in the night
 And in the night
 Whisperin' the words you
 long to hear
 So, let's get married

The song is totally sung in pure English (compare this to the pure classical Chinese of the men's voice a thousand years ago, which was almost pure Chinese). Frankly, it is hard to imagine a more explicit marriage proposal than this; I doubt that the same thing could be said in the same way in pure Japanese. Later in the song, she even directly asks for any affection she might need, another emotion not readily expressed by many Japanese women:

I'll give you a smile to cheer you up
 But if I get sad and lonely
 Please hug me close
 and wipe my tears
 So, let's get married

Again, needless to say, such candid and heartfelt sentiments are rarely uttered in the normal Japanese language, especially by Japanese women. However, there are certain times and registers where we can indeed find such expressions. Jealousy is one; *enka* music is another. For instance, in *enka* music we hear famous female singers like Ishida Sayori, Mori Masako, or Miyako Harumi say things like *daite daite* or *namida was fuite* ('Hold me, hold me!', 'Wipe away my tears!'). But there seems to be a different kind of feeling in this older 'country-western' style. As one informant said, 'In *enka* the mood is

heavy, and it always sounds as if the woman is going to be dumped. In *kayookyoku* [Japanese popular music] we don't get that feeling. English doesn't have this "umpy" feeling!"

Conclusion: Japanese women's voices, then and now

Any group that has restricted access to the dominant modes of expression will in some sense always be 'muted'. Women in many societies are one such group, with Japan being just one example. These non-dominant groups are not necessarily silent or unnoticed; women often speak a great deal, to be sure. As we have seen, Japanese women actively invented a number of literary forms in medieval times, including the poetic diary and personal narrative novel. These non-dominant groups are 'muted' because their model of reality and world-view cannot be symbolized, represented, or imparted in the dominant discourse. The subordinate group, then, is forced to structure their understanding of the world through the model of the dominant group. However, it is through ritual, art, and other symbolic expressions of performance that these groups may express themselves in ways apart from, or in spite of, dominant group standards.

Table 6.1 shows how Japanese men and women differed in terms of language use about a thousand years ago, depicting the private sphere of women using the indigenous Yamato Japanese vocabulary written in the *hiragana* syllabary. Yet in the twenty-first century, it is likely that differentiation will continue in Japan, as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Japanese discourse in the second millennium circa 2050

	Women	Men
language	Japanese English, Standard Japanese	Standard Japanese
script	<i>rooma-ji</i> , and some <i>kanji, kana</i>	primarily <i>kanji, kana</i>
genre	music, poetry etc. institutional prose	institutional prose, other genres
persona	increasingly public	public; increasingly private

Here I predict that Japanese women will continue to borrow, or create, more and more English-based linguistic forms. It is possible that roman letters might be increasingly used, as Japanese consumer culture and advertising become

even more reified because of the increasingly intensive and ubiquitous effects of advertising and the media (Stanlaw, 2001). As Japanese women become more confident and economically powerful, they may also become more prominent in the public sphere (Tamanoi, 1990). However, it is quite possible that they will do so in their own linguistic terms. It is even possible that they will come to dominate the current importation of English into the Japanese language. Regardless of what the future may bring, the judicious use of English loanwords will give Japanese women greater rhetorical power, more linguistic options, and perhaps even more freedom, than they have previously had.

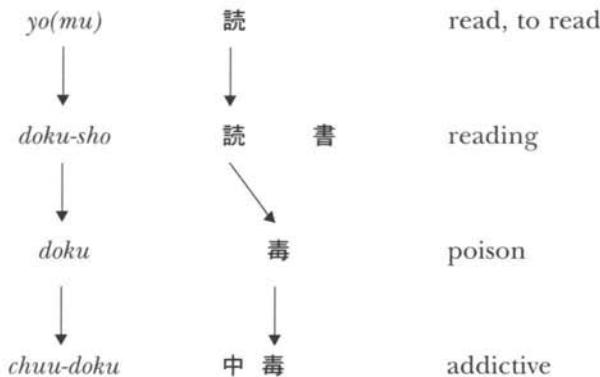
Using the graphic and pictorial image to explore Japan's 'Empire of Signs'

Introduction¹

On the back cover of the June 2001 issue of *Gengo* ('Language') was the following fascinating advertisement for a website for books: これは 読です (*kore wa* '読 desu, 'This is a "読".', and I will explain this character in a moment). At the end of this sentence was the drawing of a foreboding-looking person with a suspicious glass in his hand. The reason why this advertisement was so intriguing is the interesting way the sentence is constructed around the Sino-Japanese character '讀'. The rest of the sentence is in *hiragana*. It is probably the first basic pattern someone learning to read or write Japanese will study: *Kore wa A desu* ('This is [an] A'). Therefore, we could in theory hear or see something like これは「読書」です(*kore wa 'doku-sho' desu*, 'This is "reading".' with the two characters 読書 [*doku* plus *sho*] together meaning 'reading'). Obviously, in both Japanese and English this sentence sounds unnatural (which is why I put the quote marks around 'reading' and wrote *in theory*) but it is the sentence structure I am focusing on at the moment. Now, here is where the verbal and oral puns come in. Another common phrase is これは「読」です *Kore wa 'doku' desu*, 'This is "POISON",,' as in a label or warning on a bottle telling you not to drink it (which is a perfectly fine sentence, theoretically and practically).

As we have seen in the previous chapters, most Sino-Japanese characters have several possible pronunciations. Thus word for 'to read' 読 (usually read as *yomu* when used by itself with the *hiragana* verbal suffix む as in 読む) can be pronounced as *doku* in combination with some other characters. By placing the character in Japanese parenthetical quote marks in the advertisement, however (and not putting it in its normal infinitive form: 読む *yomu*, the verb 'to read'), the pronunciation *doku* (as poison) is suggested as this is the first character in the compound 読書 (which is read as *doku*). That is, the word meaning 'poison' (毒) and the first character in the combination 読書 (meaning 'reading') have the same pronunciation, *doku*. The next step is to

realize that the word for poison, *doku* (毒), can also occur in compounds such as the one for 'addiction': 中毒 *huudoku*. This suggests that 'reading' is not only dangerous, but can also be a poison (as explicitly indicated by the picture in the advertisement with the glass of an unknown substance); reading is also addictive. This long chain of implications, then, goes something like this:



The key to this orthographic double-entendre is not only the way the Sino-Japanese characters are read in phrases or by themselves, but also how they suggest other homophones. The implication of this is not that it is actually deadly to read books, but that books certainly are addictive. It is therefore not just the case that 'This is poison'; it is also the case that 'This [website] is reading' and 'This website is addictive'. In Japanese, this word play — or character play — is very humorous and attractive. It may sound extremely complicated and dull when dissected in this way, but Japanese people instantaneously 'get' the jokes and puns right away. In this chapter, we will examine just such word games — but those in a Japanese English context.

Westerners have long been fascinated by the visual intricacies of Japanese life. The colour of kimonos, the visible texture of foods, the asymmetrical shapes of Japanese paintings and gardens — all these have been noted by those who take delight in reading the text of 'visual Japan'. Roland Barthes, the famous French semiotician, went so far as to label Japan the 'Empire of Signs' (1982), claiming that the simplest of gestures in the country are loaded with significance.

Walking down any street at night in even the smallest village in Japan is certainly a feast for the eyes. Entrées include neon signs with colourful Chinese characters, and shops with wonderful plastic models of their wares. Japan is undoubtedly a visual culture, but perhaps no more so than any other. More important, however, is the fact that much of this visual diet is borrowed. Apart from the Coke signs and cigarette advertisements on billboards, English words and phrases are almost compulsory on television commercials, in books, and



Figure 7.1 A Japanese street at night: A visual feast for the eyes

on shirts, sweaters, handbags, and personal artefacts of all kinds. Thousands of English loanwords are found in everyday speech, and English orthography is found in a multitude of contexts. Such a visual delight as seen in Figure 7.1 can be seen in all Japanese towns and cities.

Here I will explore this extensive use of English borrowings and graphic images that dominate the visual world of Japan. I will again argue that these English signs are not mere imitations of the West, or a kind of linguistic pollution. Instead, I propose that they represent a highly creative use of visual language, both as a linguistic — and artistic — form of communication. English and English orthography have been incorporated into the Japanese symbolic vocabulary, just as Chinese writing was brought in over a thousand years ago. The English writing represents one more resource available to Japanese speakers. In fact, the argument could be made that Japanese and English are treated today almost as if they were the same language, at least in their written form. I will conclude with some comments on how Americans and Japanese view this use of English by Japanese, and how this use of English might help foreigners learn to 'read' a 'visual' Japan.

The ‘pentagraphic’ Japanese writing system

Native Japanese orthographies

The anthropologist Charles Ferguson in his seminal work on language mixing (1959) coined the term ‘diglossia’ to describe a situation where two different varieties of a spoken language can co-occur in a speech community. Each variety seems to have special uses and functions, or different roles and registers. Other linguists, by analogy, have termed situations where there is more than one written version of a language as ‘di-graphia’. In Japan, however, there seem to be at least five written versions which often co-exist in the same text. First, there are the famous Sino-Japanese (*kanji*) characters used to write many concrete and abstract nouns and verb roots. The *hiragana* syllabary is used to write particles, inflections, adverbs, and the many other Japanese nouns or verbs that do not use *kanji* characters. *Katakana* is like a Japanese italics. Finally, Japanese also uses *rooma-ji* (literally meaning ‘roman letters’), one of several romanization systems available. These four orthographies can often appear in the same sentence, as the simple example in Table 7.1 (p.147) shows. ‘Pure’ English can also be used in modern Japanese. For example, Table 7.2 shows five different ways that the name ‘Japan’ could be written.²

All of these renditions, including the English version, might appear in a text, especially in newspapers or magazine advertising copy. These ploughshares of writing systems available to most Japanese allow for some very creative usage, whether in visual or linguistic puns or in the calligraphic arts (Stanlaw, 2001b). Considering the magazine example³ given in Figure 7.2 (p.148) we see: (1) Chinese characters (for much of the text in the paragraph), (2) the native *hiragana* syllabary (for verb endings and so on), (3) *katakana* for nativized foreign words, names, and places, such as *arubamu taitoru* — the English loanword ‘album title’ — in the first line, and (4) *rooma-ji*, Japanese transcribed into the roman alphabet (such as in the young lady’s name, *Mari Hamada*).

Japanese and the Western alphabet

Perhaps a fifth kind of writing might be counted if we wanted to consider ‘real’ English, taken in an unmodified forms (such as *Open Your Heart* in the article heading in Figure 7.2), to be different from romanized Japanese. Japanese might thus be termed ‘quadra-graphic’ or ‘pentagraphic’. The difference I am claiming between Japanese written in *rooma-ji* orthography ‘romanized Japanese’ as Takashi (1990) and others call it, and ‘pure’ English written in a ‘normal’ Western letters is possibly one that not every Japanese would agree with. Both are using the roman alphabet, after all, and Japanese words —

Table 7.1 Sample Japanese sentence with four scripts

Japanese sentence:	JAL	の	フライト	ナンバー	は	何	番	です	か
Japanese script:	roman letters	hiragana	katakana	katakana	hiragana	kanji	kanji	hiragana	hiragana
transliteration:	<i>jaru</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>furai</i> <i>t</i>	<i>nambaa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>desu</i>	<i>ka</i>
glosses:	'Japan Airlines'	possessive marker	English loan: 'flight'	English loan: 'number'	topic marker	'what'	numeral classifier	'is'	question marker
English translation:	'what is the Japan Airlines flight number?'								

Table 7.2 Five ways of writing 'Japan' in various Japanese orthographies

<i>Kanji:</i>	日本	
<i>Hiragana:</i>	にっぽん ,	にほん
<i>Katakana:</i>	ニッポン ,	ニホン
<i>Roomba-ji:</i>	Nippon,	Nihon
English:	Japan	



Figure 7.2 Various scripts in a single Japanese text

depicting Japanese things — can be written with them. (Likewise, English words depicting Western things can be written in Japanese *katakana*.) However, I think that they are sufficiently dissimilar to merit distinction.

First, transcribing things into roman letters — and *how* to do so — has been a highly debated and contentious issue in Japan. As we have seen in Chapter 4 (see also the Appendix), each of the various systems has its own merits and deficiencies, and even the Japanese government has avoided taking an official stand on adopting one particular romanization system over the others. Each person or agency has their own preference. Second, when I am speaking of *roomba-ji* versus 'pure' English, I am trying to distinguish between the 'look and feel' — to borrow a business metaphor — between these two 'products'. Although technically all use the same set of orthographic symbols, each makes different impressions on both native and non-native Japanese speakers.

Thus, for example, if we want to write the name of a famous Japanese newspaper by just using a Latin alphabet, we find that it could be rendered in several ways: 'Asahi Shimbun', 'Asahi Shinbun', or 'Asahi Sinbun' in several romanization systems, or 'The Daily Asahi' or 'The Asahi Newspaper' in 'pure' English. Or to use another example, seeing the words 'Japan' versus 'Nippon' on, say, athletic uniforms, could signify something potentially important, although this is very hard to quantify. I find it more than a little curious that the Japanese national jerseys for the 1964 Olympics used the English name 'Japan' while those in 2002 used the *rooma-ji*-lettered 'Nippon'. While one can certainly make too much of such things, I would not dismiss claims such as 'Nippon' being a reflection of 'new Japanese confidence' or 'Japanese national identity in the twenty-first century' immediately out of hand. In any case, I would have liked to have been in the room to hear the discussion when this decision was made. These differences between Japanese rendered in *rooma-ji* and Japanese written in regular English can also be seen when romanized Japanese terms are used in English. For example, the term 'Nippon' often — at least to me — carries sarcastic or racial overtones, especially in such collocations as 'the Gods of Nippon' or 'Nippone' in books on the Second World War.

Finally, there is the question of accuracy. There are several fine points of Japanese phonology that appear in the *kana* system but which are often ignored in 'regular' English orthography. The best example of this is vowel length, which is phonemic in Japanese. This means that a vowel held for a longer duration (or *mora*) implies a semantic difference from one held for a shorter period of time (e.g. *i-e* 'house' versus *i-i-e* 'no'). There are various ways these might be indicated in roman letters, such as repeating the vowel, using a macron, or placing an 'H' after the long vowel. Thus, the typical Japanese family name *Ono*, with a long initial vowel, could be written as *Ohno*, *Oono*, or *ôno*. I would say that the name of Japan's capital, then, is written as 'Tokyo' in regular English or 'Tookyoo' in Japanese roman letters. As Japanese speakers are aware of this difference, one can easily tell whether something is written in regular English or *rooma-ji*, I think the distinction is worthwhile.

The influence of English on Japanese orthography

One way of trying to sort out the confusion of the intermixing of Japanese and English is to compare orthography with the degree of borrowing. Such an attempt is illustrated in Table 7.3 (p.150). Of course, this table is a mere heuristic device, and vastly oversimplifies a very complex linguistic situation.

The rows on the left side of Table 7.3 label the various types of writing systems used in modern Japanese: *kanji* characters, *rooma-ji* roman letters, and the two syllabaries (*katakana* and *hiragana*). In the two columns on top are

Table 7.3 The relationships between orthography and borrowing in Japanese

	<i>'Pure' English</i>	<i>'Domesticated'</i> Japanese English
<i>roomaji</i> roman letters	Most direct English borrowing, e.g. <i>Clean Up Japan, Diamonds</i>	Some Japanized English phrases, e.g. <i>Big Lowteen, Cover Photojenic, Rumatic</i>
<i>katakana</i> syllabary	Teaching aids in textbooks; phrases, e.g., <i>AI RABU YUU;</i> 'translators', e.g., <i>Diamonds</i>	Most common English loanwords, e.g., <i>Furaido poteto, Gurasu biizu, Hai tiin bugi</i>
<i>hiragana</i> syllabary	[Extremely rare]	A few very old loanwords, e.g. <i>Tabako</i>
<i>kanji</i> characters	Sometimes used phonetically to 'spell' geographic names (e.g., <i>Shikago</i>); used in jokes and visual puns, e.g. <i>I NEED YUU</i>	Used in a variety of unusual and humorous ways, e.g. jokes and puns, e.g. <i>Toropikaru AI-rando</i>
other pictographs	A variety of visual puns and jokes, e.g., <i>MEP SEERAAMAN</i>	A variety of visual puns and jokes, e.g. <i>Hello appuru hippu</i>
other uses	Complete texts used as decorations, e.g., as athletic apparel letters, etc.	A variety of visual puns and jokes, e.g. <i>[IXI:Z], Greek letters, etc.</i>

two types of borrowing: 'pure' English and items of 'domesticated' Japanese-influenced English. These are extremes of a continuum, indicating the degree of closeness a lexical item or phrase may have to forms found in, say, Britain or America. Obviously, phrasing things in this way is to a certain extent biased; both kinds of borrowings are actually *real* Japanese. However, we might presume that some 'pure' English forms would be more easily recognized by most native English speakers, so we might think of them as direct borrowings. 'Domesticated' Japanese-influenced English, on the other hand, are those forms which are most home-grown; they are generally 'made-in-Japan English'. The English here may bear only passing resemblance to anything native speakers are likely to recognize.

By looking at the examples given in Table 7.3, we might gain a better perspective on how the English language and the Japanese orthography are

interacting during language contact. I will now present and discuss examples from all twelve cells (although obviously not all are of equal importance or frequency).

'Pure' English in Rooma-ji

A lot of the English that is directly borrowed into Japanese is brought in with roman letters. Many song titles — such as '*Diamonds*', a hit song by the female rock group *Princess Princess* we discussed earlier — are examples of this kind of borrowing. Other common ways that roman-lettered English is used are in magazine titles and building or company names.

The names of rock and roll musicians, however, are some of the best examples of this type of English. Figure 7.3 shows part of the table of contents from a 1999 music magazine, *Uta-bon*, (that is, 歌 [BON], 'Song-book'), written in both characters and roman letters.



Figure 7.3 Names from a Japanese music magazine

Most of the names of the performers featured in this issue are 'pure' English (e.g. '*Judy and Mary*', '*Puffy*', or '*Speed*'), or some close variant (e.g. the '*Kinki Kids*', meaning not just 'kids' with 'kinky' lifestyles, but also boys from the *Kinki* Osaka-Kyoto region of Japan). The few other names written in *katakana* are (ジャニース Jr. or '*Janice, Jr.*', ロリータ 18号, or '*Lolita No. 18*') Japanized versions of English terms.

English in roman letters is not restricted to commercial or product uses, however. A few years ago, a number of local agencies had an anti-litter campaign centred on the theme *Clean Up Japan*. The Yokohama city government placed *Clean Up Japan* posters in train stations, subways, and other public places (see Figure 7.4).



Figure 7.4 '*Clean Up Japan*' advertising campaign

'Domesticated' English in Rooma-ji

As we have seen, a lot of the English in Japan is the home-grown variety. The 'Japanese-ness' of these 'borrowed-creations' is easily detected, even when the words are written in roman letters. For example, the Japanese divide up the teenaged years into *roo tiin* ('low teens', from around thirteen to fifteen) and *hai tiin* ('high teens', from sixteen to nineteen). In 1989, one magazine did

an interview with a pop *idol* who was just making her debut on the music scene. The *rooma-ji* title was *Big Lowteen Kumiko Takeda*; presumably, she was a fifteen-year-old 'low teen' who was going to make it 'big' soon. The next story was about *Cover Photojenic Yumi Morio*, a young woman (Yumi Morio) who was becoming successful in the modelling field (as a 'photogenic' 'cover' girl, presumably).

As the above examples show, English spelling and semantics are not of primary concern in Japanese 'domesticated' English. In fact, English morphemes in roman letters — of all kinds — are likely to be used for linguistic jokes and visual puns, or attention-grabbing signs or titles. For example, one of the most popular comics for 'high' teenagers and young adults is Takahashi Rumiko's science fiction story *Urusei Yatsura*.⁴ Figure 7.5 shows a back-page advertisement of one issue; its headline reads *Rumic Fantasy World . . . ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU*.⁵ Most of these English words above are using smaller *katakana* symbols, approximating these English sounds. The one exception is the author's name, *Rumiko* (留美子) *Takahashi* (高橋). Here, her first name is broken down into its component syllables, that is, in its component parts, *Ru* (留), *Mi* (美), and *Ko* (子). An interesting word game is played here, combining the English adjectival marker '-ic' written in *katakana* (イック) with the first two Chinese characters of her name (留美), creating the new adjective *Rumic* (留美ック), that is, 留美 (*Rumi-*) plus イック(-ic) allows for the roman-lettered *Rumic* (i.e. *Rumiko + ic*) to be constructed. Not only is this a clever play on the romanized version of the author's name (*Rumiko* in *kanji* becoming *Rumiikkku* in *katakana* and then *Rumic* in *rooma-ji*), the intention is probably also to mean something like a 'fantasy world that is *Rumiko*-like', or 'a fantasy world created by *Rumiko*'.



Figure 7.5 Rumiko Takahashi's Fantasy Cartoon World

An even more interesting example of such ‘punning’ can be found in Figure 7.6. This shows the front cover of the first issue of a popular detective comic book series, *Katsushika Q*, in the 1990s.⁶ On the very top we find the author’s name, written in English, as it says, ‘Chinatsu Tomisawa Presents’. The main title, however, is written in both roman letters on top (with the drawing of a penguin sticking out of the Q-letter) and in Japanese characters in the lower right-hand corner (葛飾Q). (This comic book hero is *not* a cartoon penguin; the reason for this drawing will be apparent in a moment).

Katsushika-ku is a rather seedy ward in old Tokyo, the area where this detective works. Unlike the bars where the hard-boiled private eyes of American film and novel noir hang out, the place out of which this hero operates is a local coffee shop with the unpretentious name Q. English names for coffee houses are *extremely* common in Japan, so this in itself is not unusual. However, the detective’s name is written in *kanji* characters as 九 (literally ‘nine’, but it can be pronounced as either *ku* or *kyuu*). This might be his real name or just a number, like James Bond’s infamous 007 (we are never actually told). However, the story does indicate that this written character should be pronounced as *kyuu*.

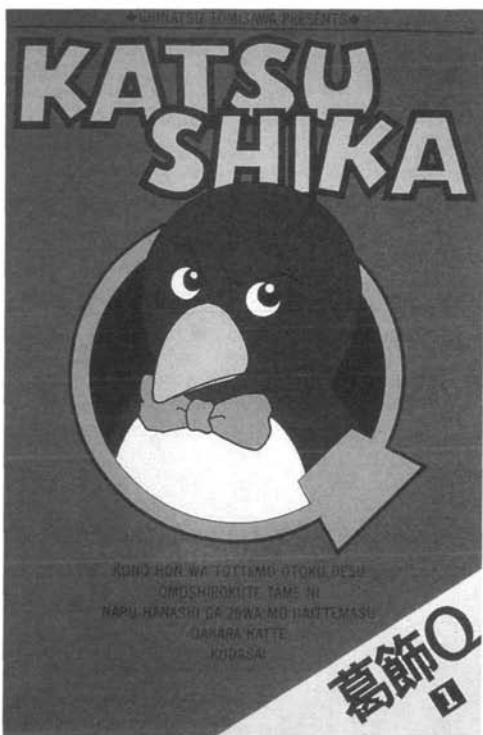


Figure 7.6 *Katsushita Q* cover

The English Q in the title, then, comes from a number of sources. To be sure, it is the name of the coffee house. But it is also a play on words with the Japanese term for neighbourhood or ward, -ku (normally written as 区 using characters). This, combined with the detective's name, Kyuu, 九, makes for a delightful and humorous transformation that goes something like this:

<i>Katsushika-ku</i>	葛 飾 区	(the <i>Katsushika</i> ward in Tokyo)
<i>Katsushika-Q</i>	葛 飾 Q	(the coffee house in <i>Katsushika</i>)
<i>Katsushika-Kyuu</i>	葛 飾 九	(detective in both the <i>Katsushika</i> ward [ku], from the coffee house Q [kyuu], named 'Nine' [kyuu])

To top things off, the picture of a penguin (probably thought of a 'pen-QU-in') on the cover no doubt adds another bit of English visual spice to these Japanese hors d'oeuvres, attracting the reader even more.⁷ This type of visual and linguistic joking is fairly common in many registers of Japanese, and may be seen in product names, advertising, comic books, to name just a few. These graphic-sonic puns, mixing Japanese, English, and writing systems of all kinds, are probably some of the most creative uses of language found anywhere in the world.

However, there are still some other things of interest in Figure 7.6. Even more interesting, in some ways, is the fact that roman letters can even be used to write actual Japanese words and phrases, as this example shows. In the middle of the page, there are several sentences written in normal Japanese, but using *roma-ji* roman letters:

KONO HON WA TOTTEMOKU OTOKU DESU
 OMOSHIROKUTE TAME NI
 NARU HANASHI GA 29 WA MO HAITTEMASU
 DAKARA KATTE
 KUDASAI

A rough translation might be: 'This book is a real bargain. Inside there are as many as twenty-nine stories that are both interesting and good for you. Therefore, please buy it.' The use of roman letters to 'spell' out native Japanese words is actually not as uncommon as one might expect. Figure 7.7 (p. 156), for example, shows socks, with just the word *kutsushita-ya* written on the cuff. *Kutsushita* simply is the Japanese word for sock, in case there was any doubt what you were wearing.



Figure 7.7 Socks, so named

'Pure' English in katakana

Direct borrowings of English in *katakana* appear in a number of different situations. One of the most common uses is seen in foreign language textbooks, dictionaries, or other places where the *katakana* acts as a pronunciation guide of sorts. As in the *ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU* example just presented, the small *katakana* symbols give a clue as to how the English words in the advertisement should be pronounced. Not only is this apparently visually pleasing, it might also be helpful to children, older folks, or others whose English expressions have not been kept up to date.

Historically, such pronunciation guides are not new in the Japanese writing system. For centuries, small *katakana* (termed *furigana*) have often been written alongside Japanese characters to indicate the intended readings. This was important for at least three reasons. First, as mentioned, each Japanese *kanji* character usually has at least two pronunciations, and sometimes many more. Second, the *kanji* inventory has only recently become standardized; before the First or Second World Wars, each person's knowledge and ability to use characters was quite idiosyncratic. Third, until the twentieth century there was a great difference between written Japanese and the spoken vernacular. This was especially true in the use of the Chinese readings of characters, and of Chinese-based loanwords. Being 'literate' in Japanese, then, was problematic. It included more than just being able to read a certain number of characters, or write one's name. When mass-literacy became a national goal, the small *katakana* reading aids were indispensable for many people.

The use of *katakana* in some situations today may be serving similar functions as the *furigana* in historical times. The use of *katakana* in foreign

language textbooks is slowly being phased out for pedagogical reasons. However, the function of *katakana* as a sort of reading aid, if anything, is increasing in popularity. More and more frequently, we see cases like the Takahashi Rumiko comic example above where titles, words and phrases are given in English roman letters while accompanied by small reading-aid or 'translator' *katakana*. Examples of this are commonly found in Japanese music groups, whose names are often all in roman letters. In fan magazines — even ignoring foreign artists — performers' names are often written in both roman letters together with Japanese *katakana*. For example, Figure 7.8 shows the 'index' of a music magazine that has *katakana/kanji* listings next to the roman-lettered/English music group names appearing in that issue.⁸

■◆ 米米クラブ	FM	■◆ KOME KOME CLUB	FM
■◆ プリンセス・プリンセス	FM	■◆ PRINCESS PRINCESS	FM
■◆ ハウンド・ドッグ	FM	■◆ HOUND DOG	FM
■◆ 爆風スランプ	FM	■◆ BAKUFU-SLUMP	FM
■◆ パーソンズ	FM	■◆ PERSONZ	FM
■◆ ジギー	FM	■◆ ZIGGY	FM
■◆ ブルーハーツ	FM	■◆ THE BLUE HEARTS	FM
■◆ ユニコーン	FM	■◆ UNICORN	FM

Figure 7.8 Japanese musicians in both roman letters and Japanese *katakana*

The 'translator' analogy must not be taken too strictly, however. There is also an orthographic aesthetic quality involved because these reading-aids or 'translator' *katakana* are often used with names or words that almost everyone in Japan already knows. It must then be asked: What is the real name of, say, a rock group? Is it *Princess Princess* in roman letters or プリンセス プリンセス in *katakana*? Is it the *katakana* that are the translators of the roman letters, or the other way around?

'Domesticated' English in *katakana*

There is a short anecdote circulating among Western scholars studying Japan that is probably apocryphal, but contains an element of truth: a little girl is standing in line with her mother at the local hamburger shop waiting to be served lunch. She turns and asks her parent, 'Mom, do they have McDonald's

in America, too?' Another anecdote (this one is true) tells of a young Japanese woman in the United States who tried to find 'green peppers' by asking unsuccessfully for *piiman* (the Japanese word for them — a loanword, but from the French *piment*). The point behind these stories is that Japanese people often do not really know — or care — if a certain term is real English, 'made-in-Japan' English, or some other foreign word. Like feral cats hanging around the barn, all seem to become domesticated eventually.

As I have mentioned several times before, the majority of all loanwords present in Japanese are written in *katakana*. This includes most of the common loanwords found in everyday speech, such as *rajio ラジオ* ('radio') or *takushii タクシー* ('taxi') as we have seen in Chapter 3 and the most recent borrowings. Some of these words and phrases, however, are not transparent to native English speakers, as they are 'made in Japan' only for local consumption.

A simple example is found when one goes to *Makudonarudo* (McDonald's). In order to get some starch to go with your hamburger, instead of 'french fries', you must request *フライドポテト* or *furaido poteto* ('fried potatoes') as seen in Figure 7.9.



Figure 7.9 Japanese french fries: 'Fried Potato'

And *gurasu biizu* are not flying insects made of glass that sting you, but are 'glass beads'. A 'silver seat' (シルバー シート, or *shirubaa shiito*) is a spot ('seat') on a train or subway reserved for senior ('silver') folks (see Figure 7.10). This word also merits some more exegesis. In Britain or North America, the word 'silver-haired' is a well-known moniker for an older person. The Japanese word *shira-ga* (literally meaning 'white-haired') also refers to the elderly, but definitely not so euphemistically. So even though some Japanese

know that 'silver' hair is the same as 'white' hair, it was decided that the reserved seats for older people should be called 'silver seats' rather than 'white seats' lest the elderly not use them.

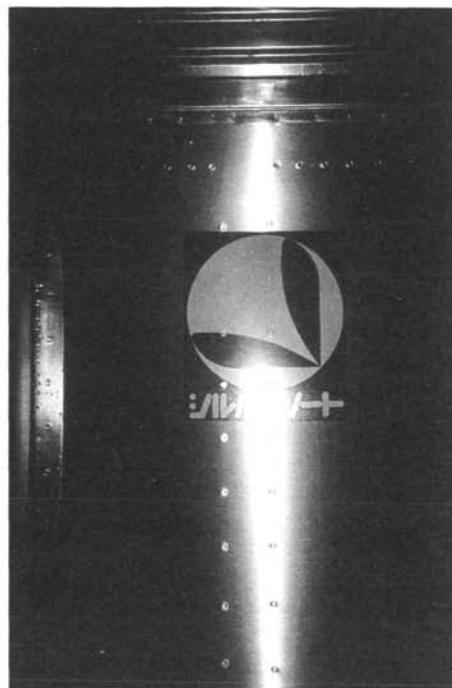


Figure 7.10 A *Silver Seat* for senior citizens

Some phrases are quite local, even though they are written in *katakana* and are based on English words. For example, ハイティーンブギ (hai tiin bugi, or 'high teen boogie') refers to the rebellious attitude of some Japanese teenagers. While 'high teen boogie' has rather widespread usage, other made-in-Japan phrases are created more at the spur of the moment. For example, a magazine spread introducing the model Ai Tomoko was titled ハロー! マイラブ アフェア (Haroo! Mai rabu afea, or 'Hello! My love affair'). Presumably, such an expression emphasizes the woman's attractiveness, and the vicarious pleasures the readers will have seeing her.

'Pure' and 'domesticated' English in hiragana

The *hiragana* syllabary is rarely used to write loanwords; that generally is the province of the italics-like *katakana* ('italics' in the sense that *katakana* tend

to be conspicuous and stand out on a page). A few loanwords, however, have been present in Japanese for so long that they are almost considered to be native terms. For example, the word *tabako* ('cigarette') is usually written in *hiragana*: たばこ. The number of such terms is very small, and they are usually quite nativized. A 'pure' English word is almost never found written in *hiragana*.

'Pure' English in kanji characters

As mentioned, the Chinese often used certain characters for their phonetic value when writing loanwords and foreign place names. Japanese sometimes use characters for similar purposes, such as writing 'Chicago' with the three characters 市俄古. However, today, *katakana* is more often used to write geographical names, as shown in Figure 7.11 (the name, 'Shikago' シカゴ, of a young person's clothes store in the chic Harajuku area of Tokyo). Therefore, English can be written in Sino-Japanese *kanji* characters, but usually for less practical or utilitarian purposes.



Figure 7.11 The *Chicago* Boutique

When Japanese first imported the Chinese writing system over 1,500 years ago, the *kanji* characters were toyed with in games and poetry. That is, the characters were manipulated using their phonetic value, their multiplicity of meanings, and even their shape or form to create a variety of visual and verbal puns. Today, English loanwords are sometimes included in this romp. One such example was found in the slogan of the 1983 advertising campaign of Japan Air Lines (JAL). They were celebrating the twentieth anniversary of

JALPAK, their 'JAL' special 'Packaged' tours. In magazines and posters all over Japan, JALPAK' 84 was hyped with the phrase *I NEED 遊*. This mixing of English and Japanese is quite interesting. The character 遊 is pronounced *yuu*, making one possible reading of this sentence as 'I need you'. However, the meaning of the character is to 'play, take a holiday, be idle'. Another meaning of the sentence might also be 'I need a vacation', which is exactly what the JAL hoped the readers would think. A similar example is as follows: In 1998 the tourist association of the historic Izu Peninsula started a campaign (similar to JALPAK's) using the phrase THIS IS 伊豆 ('This is Izu'; the character 伊豆 [Izu] being pronounced similarly to the English verb). In their flyers, pictures of the many famous places in the area were shown in the background in beautiful colour while this striking phrase jumped right out of the middle of the page. As the Izu Peninsula is a very popular travel spot not far from Tokyo (and, incidentally, the former name of William Adams, the first Englishman in Japan discussed in Chapter 3), this pun is very effective advertising. Ideas of 'THIS is it!', 'This IS Izu!', and 'Izu is IT!' all simultaneously come into mind as this intriguing word play casts a hold on an unsuspecting reader.

'Domesticated' English in kanji characters

In the above example, a Chinese character was used to expand the connotations of a phrase directly imported from English. Kanji can also be used in verbal play for sentences or phrases not directly imported from English. For example, in one magazine there was a layout of a nude model lying in the sand of the South Seas. The title was トロピカル愛ランドモデル田口ゆかり (*Toropikaru Ai-rando Moderu Taguchi Yukari*, or 'Tropical Island Model Yukari Taguchi'). However, the phrase 'tropical island' was not all written in katakana, as we might expect (that is, アイランド or AIRANDO). Instead of the katakana syllable *Ai* in 'island', the character 愛 was used (which has the same pronunciation /ai/). This kanji means love (both physical and mental). Thus, this kind of 'Ai-land' (愛ランド) is both a geographical feature and a land of pleasure and love. The connection to the picture is obvious.

One other interesting example of this type is the name of the teenage rock and roll roller-skaters, Hikaru Genji (which they write as 光 GENJI, using the Japanese character for 'bright' and the proper name *Genji* in roman letters).⁹ Figure 7.12 shows a fan wearing a T-shirt with this logo. What is especially intriguing is that the hero of the famous eleventh-century novel *The Tale of Genji* was also called *Hikaru Genji*, the 'Shining Prince', though obviously he did not spell his name as do these youngsters. As *The Tale of Genji* is to the Japanese what the works of Shakespeare are to English speakers, the connections are readily obvious. The closest English equivalent might be if

Hamlet were 'spelled' in rebus-like fashion with a picture of a pig or ham, combined with '-let' (as, say, in something like *let*). The fun visual play of mixing a Japanese character with a name in roman letters of one of the most famous literary figures in Japanese history no doubt helps account in some way for this group's tremendous popularity.

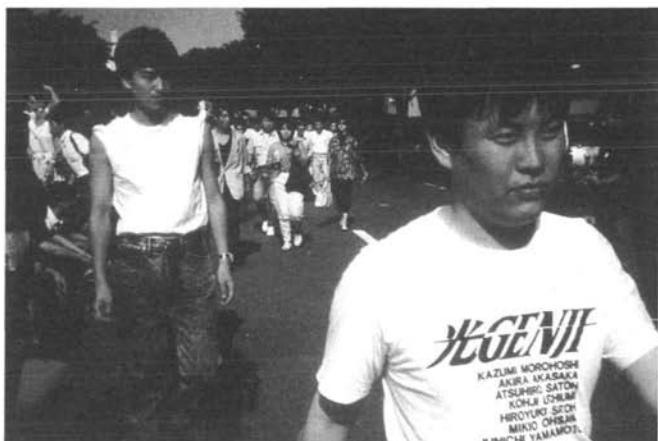


Figure 7.12 An Hikaru GENJI Fan

'Pure' English in other ideographs

English can also be used in a variety of other ways, with other kinds of symbols or pictographs. For example, the 1980s hit song '*Mr. Sailorman*' used an interesting rebus-like device in its title. The first part was written with the English word *Me* in roman letters followed by a star-shape (together making the word '*Mestar*' or '*Mister*'). It concluded with the *katakana* word *seeraaman* ('sailorman'). The whole song title, then, was **Me★セーラーマン**, a rather clever way of writing '*Mr. Sailorman*'. Naturally, such visual puns are not found in every phrase or song title, no matter how chic or hip. However, they do appear with a fair degree of regularity.

'Domesticated' English in other ideographs

Japanese-style English can also be used with, or as, other kinds of visual symbols. For example, the *Wacoal* clothing line once had an advertisement in magazines and billboards showing the back of a lady in red tights slipping into a pair of jeans, as shown in Figure 7.13. The caption read *Hello アップルヒップ*

(*Hello Appuru Hippi*, or 'Hello Apple Hips'), with the initial letter forming the shape of an apple, matching the picture. Although 'apple-hips' might not be a compliment to an American woman, apparently this is not an insult in Japanese English.



Figure 7.13 'Hello Apple Hips' advertisement

Other uses of 'pure' English

A common example of other kinds of 'pure' English borrowing can be seen on clothes, gym equipment, shopping bags, and personal artefacts of all kinds, where some English phrase seems almost obligatory. Here the use seems to be highly decorative, with less attention paid to the semantics of the English, or the appropriateness of the occasion. Off-colour slogans may sometimes be used, but more often what seems to be required is just *some* kind of English sign. Besides American university or product logos, a variety of names or phrases can also be used. On one T-shirt, I once saw a fifty-line encyclopedia entry on the state of Georgia, including comments on its cash crops and state bird.

One other example is found in a health food restaurant/organic grocery in northwest Kyushu. Here, written on their sign, is the rather bizarre phrase

カルシウムをたべますCa (*karushiumu o tabemasu ka*, maybe translated as ‘Don’t you want to eat some calcium [today]?’).¹⁰ The word for the vitamin, calcium, is written in *katakana* (as it is a borrowed term), and the verb *tabemasu* (‘to eat’) is in *hiragana*, the syllabary used for native words. The verb ‘to eat’ is used here to imply that it is the prepared food that they serve that contains the vitamins (as opposed to just taking home a supplement). What is most intriguing, however, is that the Japanese question particle *ka* — which normally comes at the end of an interrogative sentence — is ‘spelled’ here in roman letters: *Ca*. ‘Ca’ is the chemical symbol for calcium from the periodic table, and when it is also used here to represent the sentence-final question particle *か* (*ka*), it reinforces both the sign’s power of suggestion and the store’s claim of offering a wholesome menu.

Other uses of ‘domesticated’ Japanese English

The above samples are just a few of the more common ways English orthography is used in Japanese. A variety of other devices are also found. One example is the advertisements for the interesting [fXi:Z] *Boutique* collections of ANTI-DISESTABLISHMENTALIANISTCAL products (see Figure 7.14).¹¹

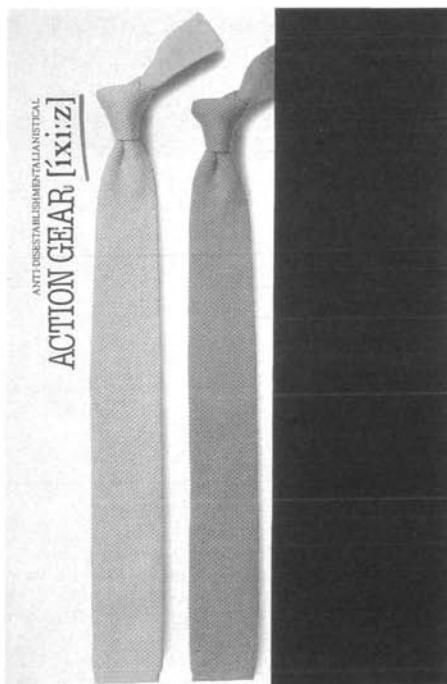


Figure 7.14 Part of the [fXi:Z] collection

This diabolical modification of the supposedly longest word in English is intended to create a chic and non-conformist impression. Other phrases in their advertisements, such as *INDIVIDUALLY BASIC*, seem to support this view. They offer a variety of items, such as *TIME GEAR* (watches) or *ACTION GEAR* (ties). The name is written in both a strange and imaginary phonetic alphabet, [íXi:Z] (presumably, a sort of approximation of the International Phonetic Alphabet), and the *katakana* syllabary, イクシーズ アソシエーション (*Ikushiizu Asoshieeshon*). The *katakana* word *Asoshieeshon*, of course, is 'association' in English. However, what is not so clear is [íXi:Z]. According to the accompanying *katakana* (イクシーズ), this word is supposed to be pronounced as *IKUSHIZU*; apparently the English inspiration for this, then, is something like exceed, excess, excise, or excel. Some kind of play on words is being made with the phonetic symbolism of English 'exce-' sounds, but it is hard to say for certain what exactly this might be. One informant did say, however, that perhaps the English word 'exercise' is now so mundane that its use is simply passé.

Speaking of exercise, one last example of these kinds of word games is found in the lower corner of Figure 7.15, a directory of several shops in a high-rise building in the fashionable Ginza area of Tokyo. Here we see the sign for the 'United Sports Club', a gymnasium. The logo, however, consists of two roman letters capital X's surrounding an upside down capital A (in some way making the shape of two men lifting a heavy object). The *katakana* word associated with this sign is *eguzasu* エグザス, a word that is not transparent; nor is it found in any of the dozens of loanword dictionaries devoted exclusively to borrowed words. This is another created-in-Japan item, again drawing on the various phonetic symbolisms associated with English ex-sounds: 'excess', 'exotic', 'exist', . . . and, of course, the now un-cool 'exercise'. This glyph, then,



Figure 7.15 The United Sports Club Gym

'is a way of saying it, without saying it', to borrow a post-modern semiotic image. One other way of viewing things is to see the x-symbols as 'stick men' (e.g. as \hat{X}), which could represent people exercising: $\hat{X} \vee \hat{X}$. If the upside A could be read as an 'a', then these could be intended to be read as 'eks' 'ah' 'size', which is what you would do at this club.

The cline of orthography

Several comments should be made about Table 7.3 and the above examples. First, when considering orthography, these divisions are rather arbitrary. Placing an example in one cell or another requires a value judgement of sorts. The song title '*Diamonds*', for example, commonly appears in both *katakana* and *rooma-ji* roman-lettered forms; theoretically it could therefore go in either place. Decisions also had to be made about whether a form was thought to be a direct import — but, 'hidden', in the *katakana* writing system, or something made in Japan. The phrase アイ ラブ ユー (*ai rabu yuu*, or 'I love you'), even when written in *katakana*, was obviously taken directly from English even though it appears in *katakana*. However, the song title *Boogie Woogie Lonesome High Heel* was not, even though it is written in roman letters.

The orthographies are often mixed together. For example, グローアップ (Gurooingu Appu JUN, or 'Growing up Jun') was the name of a magazine pictorial on the film star Miho Jun. Here English loanwords are used, written in *katakana*, while her first name is printed in roman letters. Similar things are found for the 'translator' phrases discussed previously. For example, the rock group 米米クラブ (Kome Kome Kurabu, or the 'Kome Kome Club') uses both *katakana* and *kanji* in their name, or sometimes even roman letters or combinations when they write it as 米米 Club or KOME KOME CLUB (see Figure 7.8). However, this interesting use of *kana* and *kanji* deserves more comment. The traditional Japanese word for 'America' is *Beikoku* (or literally 'Rice Country') using the characters *bei* 'rice' and *koku* 'country'). The other way of reading * (the *bei* in *Beikoku*) is *komi*. Thus, this rock group is not talking about rice at all; instead, it is cleverly suggesting America. One could say that here *kanji* is being *katakana*-ized. Everyone can write America in roman letters or *katakana*. In a sense, dividing orthographies into *katakana*, *kanji*, or *rooma-ji* is therefore misleading. There is a blending, if not a cline, of writing systems being used.

The cline of borrowing

The second point to notice about Table 7.3 is the cline borrowing. For simplicity, the columns are divided into 'pure' English and 'domesticated'

Japanese-influenced English. In reality, there is again a continuum. This can easily be seen in the five examples given below:

- (1) The roman-lettered phrase *Clean Up Japan* is no doubt transparent to native English speakers (so it should be placed under the 'pure' column), but it is hardly a directly imported phrase (implying that it is made-in-Japan English).
- (2) As we have seen, many loanwords are hybrid truncations or combinations of English lexical items, making them undecipherable to native English speakers even though they originally were simple loans. For example, the *rooma-ji* lettered *APAMAN*, the name of a Tokyo househunter's magazine, takes its name from the English words 'apartment' and 'mansion' (see Figure 7.16).¹² Are these kinds of words 'pure' borrowed English, or made-in-Japan terms? There are hundreds of such problematic cases.

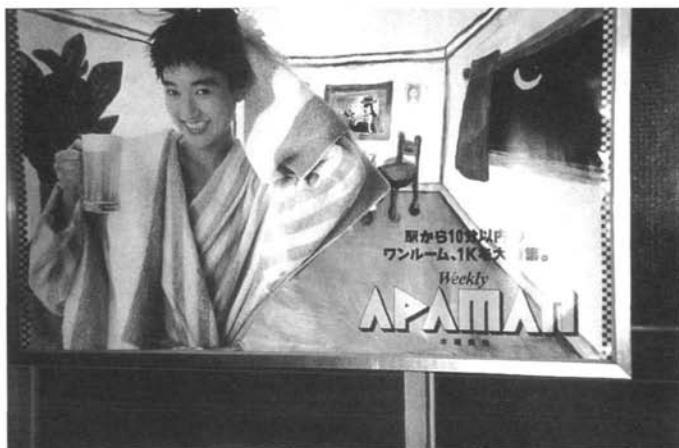


Figure 7.16 An *APAMAN* Apartment Hunter's Billboard

- (3) There are also dozens if not hundreds of roman-letter acronyms used in everyday Japanese, as we have seen in Chapter 3. These are often pronounced as if they were real words. *JAL* (*JARU*, 'Japan Airlines'), *OL* (*O-ERU*, 'office lady', a female clerical worker), and *CM* (*SHII-EMU*, 'commercial message') are but a few. Again, the distinction between imported and domesticated becomes blurred.
- (4) Phrases in different orthographies also show the cline of borrowing. For example, when the roman-lettered phrase *HEAVY METAL GAL MARI HAMADA* (which could be translated into 'Mari Hamada, a Gal [Who is a Real Hot and] Heavy Metal [Fan]') becomes written in *katakana* and *kanji* as in *ヘビーメタル女の子浜田麻里* (*Hebii Metaru Onna-no-ko Hamada Mari*, or 'Heavy Metal Girl, Hamada Mari'), it both feels and appears to be more Japanese English-like.¹³

- (5) Finally, mention needs to be made of the thousands of products in Japan that use English names, or English-derived names. Many of these are taken from items directly imported from America. However, a very large number of these product names are created in Japan. The Sony WALKMAN — one Japanese name that became popular overseas — is but one example.

For all these cases — from product names, to acronyms, to phrases — it is not easy to categorize them as ‘pure’ English or ‘Japanese English’ forms.

Explaining the use of English in Japanese graphology

That English is prevalent in Japanese is obvious; what is not so clear are the reasons for its use. Some linguists (e.g. Pierce, 1971; Quackenbush 1974; Haarman, 1984, 1989; Loveday, 1996) argue that the main reason for the use of English in Japanese is due to prestige factors. That is, foreign elements and Western images are so strong that the mere use of an English phrase or word automatically elevates a discourse register to a higher level. Graphically, this theory could be drawn as:

PRESTIGE ==> ENGLISH

with the more English being used, the greater the feeling of prestige in the text.

Although for some people there are chic and modern aspects of English use, it is blatantly obvious that the situation is much more complex than that. First, not all views of America and the West are complimentary. Negative images are seen in child’s gangster comic books, or in television shows like なるほどザ ワールド (*‘Naruhodo za Waarudo’*, or ‘Indeed, The World’), which specializes in featuring the bizarre and the deviant from other countries, especially from the United States. If English was so prestigious, one would think that there would be more valiant attempts to try and ‘get it right’ (in terms of spelling, grammar, or meaning). Most English, however, is the made-in-Japan variety, with little or no connection to native speaker’s English (and this lack of connection is no concern to most Japanese).

Even when prestige is involved, the more significant effect of English seems to be the creation of a new range of emotional categories in Japanese, as Laura Miller (1998) has suggested. In her study of beauty techniques that involve modifying the body — including everything from plastic surgery to diet drugs — she found that Japanese men as well as women are now great followers of these procedures. The name for this practice is *esute* (shortened from ‘aesthetic’); Miller argues that men are followers of *esute* as they have now come to regard themselves as objects of aesthetic approval, just as women do. I have also argued (Stanlaw, 1992a, 1997a) that in the realm of colour terms, Japanese

might experience the word differently when thought about in terms of loanwords. It is these new emotional and cognitive categories that seem to be more critical than prestige factors.

Table 7.4 (p.170) shows some of the other possible factors involved in the use of English loanwords in Japanese. Economics, the importance of English in the Japanese school system, and various historical circumstances may be as important an influence on the use of English as elements of prestige. However, I would posit that there is another level involved that needs to be examined: a milieu of cultural rules, social standards, and linguistic norms in which Japanese English and the reasons for its use operate. This is shown in the middle 'Mediators' column of Table 7.4. For example, when made-in-Japan forms are created, or English words or phrases are borrowed and truncated, they are not constructed randomly or without constraint. Likewise, when English is borrowed for its orthographic configurations, it is not done so without regard for a Japanese sense of aesthetics or artistic conventions.

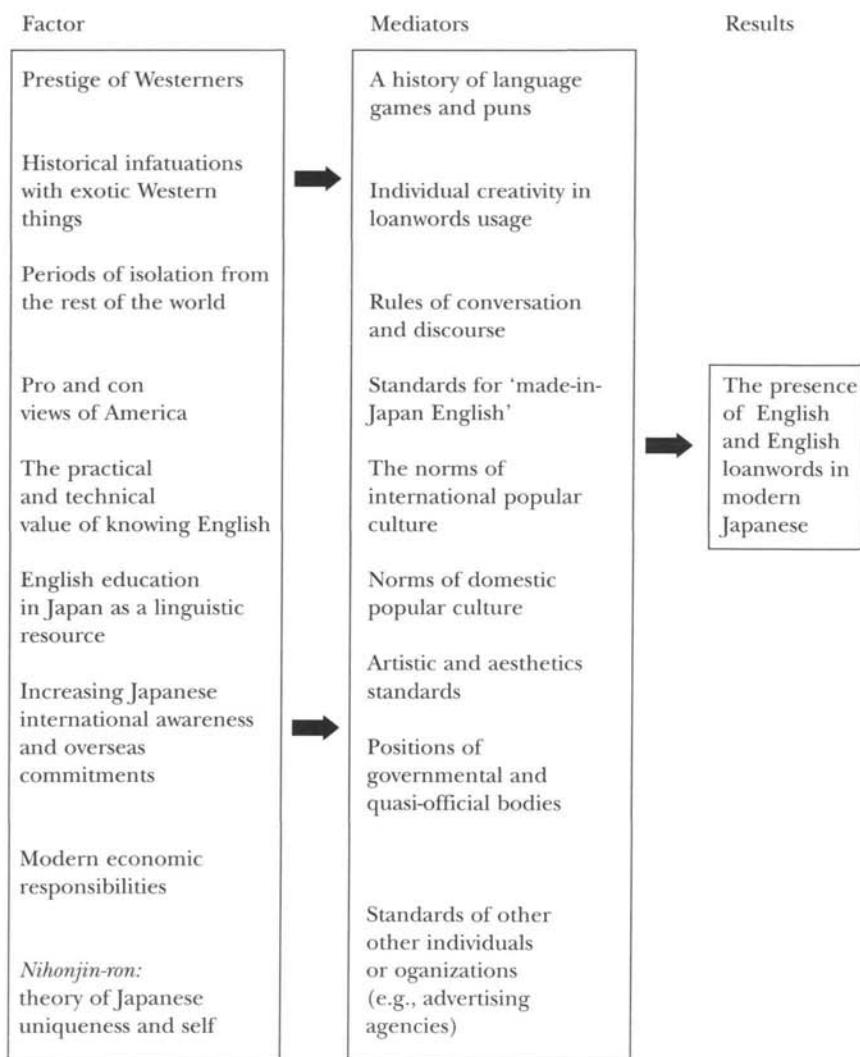
One of the reasons that English and English writing may be so prevalent is that it is somewhat constricting to be bound to a single code or orthography. With the presence of English loanwords and script, the variety and depth of linguistic messages in Japanese can be greatly expanded. Perhaps it is not so simple anymore to communicate solely in one medium or graphic system. New auxiliary signs and symbols may be needed. Using English, the Japanese conversational registers, discourse strategies and written media can be made much richer.

One such case is the latest *CM* ('Commercial Message' or advertising slogan) for Coca Cola, which we have seen in Chapter 2. It is not just the English name for this imported product that is of most interest; from a semiotic and sociological perspective, the intriguing Japanese English phrase さわやか

テイスティ *I feel Coke!* (*Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!*, or 'Refreshing, Tasty, I Feel [like having a] Coke') is fascinating in not only its language mixing, but also its orthography (see Figure 2.2, p. 25).

This jingle uses three scripts and two ways of writing loanwords. The native Japanese adjective SAWAYAKA (it is used here without the expected -na suffix required when modifying a noun) means something fresh or refreshing. The English *teisuti* ('tasty') is written in *katakana*, while the phrase *I feel Coke!* is written in roman letters. The word *sawayaka* also seems to be associated with something that bubbles; it would be strange to say a phrase like *Sawayaka, teisuti, I feel coke!* ('Refreshing, Tasty, I Feel [like having some fruit] Juice'). Perhaps the best way to translate this slogan might be something like 'Refreshing, tasty, I feel like drinking a Coke!', or 'I feel like part of the Coke generation!'. One might even accept 'I feel like having bubbles of Coke inside of my body!' as a valid translation. Whatever native English speakers may think, this phrase has been one of the most successful in Japanese advertising history, and appears in magazines and billboards all over Japan, as well as on radio and television.¹⁴

Table 7.4 Explaining English in Japanese



Treating English and Japanese as if they were the same language:
The mixing of English, *katakana* and characters

The presence of various writing systems in contemporary Japanese has an historical analogy. Miller (1967) notes that during the Heian Period (794–1185), when the co-existence of both Chinese and Japanese became well-established, people began to treat and think about both languages as if they were the same:

If a Chinese text when read and studied sounded just like a Japanese text, it was indeed and for all practical purposes a Japanese text. And if you wrote Chinese and read Japanese, why not go one step further and write Chinese even when the intention from the beginning was to read (i.e. actually to write in) Japanese. . . . With this, the two writing systems . . . became once and for all inextricably entangled with each other, as indeed they remain to this day. (Miller, 1967: 131)

It could be argued that a similar phenomenon is occurring in the twenty-first century with Japanese and English. Anyone with even a cursory exposure to Japanese written works of any kind — whether they be books, magazines, comics, advertising posters, television commercials, or whatever — will soon realize that all four written forms are present together and intermix quite readily. To be sure, English has some aspects of being new, chic, and Western. However, the presence of English words and phrases is hardly due to prestige factors alone. Instead, it appears that English has become another tool available for Japanese people to use in the language of their daily lives. For example, I have argued throughout this book that informants would create new 'English' elements to augment, complement, or even replace Japanese elements in their discourse. Whether or not this new creation is really 'English', or something else, is academic to most Japanese. All nomenclature considerations aside, these are language forms that are spoken by Japanese, in Japanese, for Japanese. In other words, English has become another set of symbols — another linguistic resource — to be used as Japanese people see fit, just as Chinese and the written Chinese language was more than a millennium ago.

Treating English and Japanese as if they were the same language: 'Reading-aids' and multigraphic co-occurrences

This sort of linguistic fusion is certainly not new in Japan. Even before the current vogue of 'reading-aid' *katakana* now found in pop music and magazines, Japanese book publishers often created English versions of their titles to place on the cover of their books, even though the product was meant for consumption at home only. One result of this mixing — whether intended or not — is that the technical and psychological differences between the two languages seem to be muted. Indeed, the identification of English elements as Japanese becomes increasingly reinforced through such exposure. And, if there are new or innovative English elements that some people may not know, these pairings quickly take care of any items that are not transparent. Some might argue that anything that is still written in the Western alphabet should obviously be considered to be borrowed; a *gairaigo* ('loanword'), then, is anything still written in *rooma-ji* ('roman letters'). As shown in the examples above, there are problems with this approach.

First, such thinking assumes that the only medium of linguistic communication is through writing. Although some (e.g. Yotsukura, 1971) have argued that most loanwords today are taken into Japanese by eye rather than by ear, there is no way to know which particular orthographic form is intended during speech. This would, of course, exclude anything as a loanword unless it was written down.

Second, even setting aside the problem of written versus spoken language, the Japanese are often quite nonchalant about which orthography they may use at any given time. As we have seen, the *Princess Princess* song was written as ‘Diamonds’ (in unmodified roman letters) as often as in the nativized katakana-syllabary version of this English loanword, ダイヤモンド (*Daiyamondo*). Is one a loanword, and the other not? Their young Japanese fans seemed hardly bothered by this at all.

Third, sometimes roman letters are used for only apparently visual purposes. This is often the case for items of apparel or personal belongings, where some kind of English word or phrase is almost compulsory. On one sweatshirt that I saw (see Figure 7.17), for instance, there were five words written horizontally with their middle letter in large bold print: *knotHole*, *seabOard*, *schooLhouse*, *praIrie*, *desCant*. Vertically, these letters then spelled *HOLIC* — a faddish catch phrase which was popular a few summers ago.

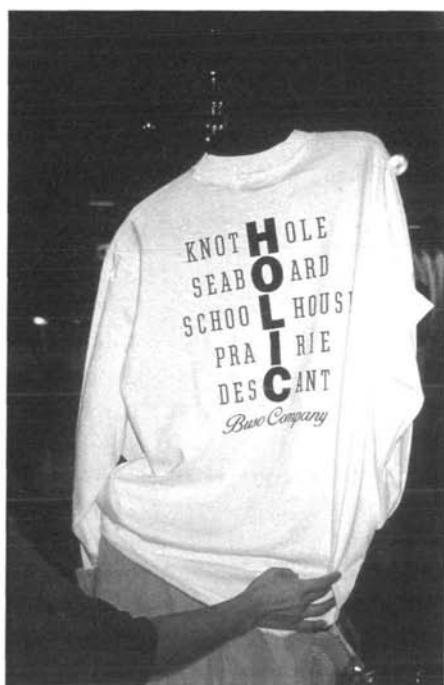


Figure 7.17 A *HOLIC* Sweatshirt

The case may also sometimes be reversed: a Japanese person may write native words or names in *roomaji* to create some kind of artistic effect or visual pun. For example, for the logo of the radical rockers *OTOKOGUMI* (something like 'Men's Club'), they wrote their name in their own very idiosyncratic way using four *kanji*: 男闘呼組. These characters (literally, 男 'men'; *too* 鬪 'fight'; *ko* 呼 'summon'; and *gumi* '組 gang') do not usually occur in the same compound, although they could be theoretically pronounced together as *OTOKO-GUMI*. By using *these* characters in *this* way, the rock group could convey something more than just their name: they are a group of guys called together to struggle for, perhaps, their music, recognition, or even the acceptance of their lifestyle. To tell the readers how this compound is supposed to be pronounced, their name is written below in roman letters:

O T O K O G U M I

男 鬪 呼 組

Another example can be seen in Figure 7.18, the sign outside a restaurant in Kanazawa. Here, the speciality of the house is *O-KONOMI-YAKI*, a kind of famous Japanese layered pizza. The characters and syllabary for this food's name are お 好 み 焼, and, as seen in this sign here, roman letters are used beneath each glyph to indicate its intended pronunciation.



Figure 7.18 *Okonomi-yaki*: A Japanese delicacy

The Japanese, then, seem to be experimenting with different visual aspects of their language and writing systems, just as they did with Chinese a thousand years ago. These romanized items or orthographic play on words may not be truly Japanese, but they are hardly English anymore either.

American views of English in Japanese

Many Westerners, and a surprising number of Japanese themselves (Stanlaw, 1995a), still believe in the 'copycat mentality' of the Japanese. The Japanese are certainly great improvers, they say, and perhaps are even competent engineers, but they lack spontaneity and their culture stifles individual creativity. With all the technical advances made in Japan in just the past decade alone — to say nothing of the Japanese 'economic miracle' — it is hard to imagine that such stereotypes still exist. However, many people mistake a curiosity and fascination with Western items to be the same thing as compulsion or fetish. Thus, for them, this use of English is just one more example of silly Japanese imitation of foreigners and their habits. They could hardly be more wrong.

After some study and patience, when they see a sign like *Cleaning Relation Ship Management . . . KEEP CLEAN LIFE . . . YOUR DRESS* (see Figure 7.19), it will make some sense to them. They will realize that there are graphic and symbolic reasons for such phrasing, and cultural and linguistic motivations for



Figure 7.19 *Cleaning Relation Ship Management:*
A lesson in reading 'visual' Japanese

'borrowing' English loanwords, and borrowing them in this fashion. In short, they will have begun to learn how to read 'visual Japanese'.

Cultures high and low: English, register, and script

Before I conclude this chapter, I want to return to an issue that was brought up in Chapters 2 and 3 (as I think the more nuanced understanding of how Japanese scripts are used together with loanwords — which I have tried to give in this chapter — helps address it). I have so far presented data on the use of English loanwords in Japanese found in advertising, comic books, music, and other areas of 'popular culture'. But one might ask at this point the logical question: Do English loanwords pervade 'high culture' as well? The answer, I would say, is yes, although there are some differences in style, presentation, and register (e.g. see Katayama [1982] for newspapers; see Yoneda [1982] or Sugano [1984a, 1984b] for broadcasting). One area to explore is the various articles and editorials occurring in newspapers.

English in newspaper editorials

In the early 1970s, the Japanese National Language Research Institute began a series of studies on the vocabulary of Japanese newspapers (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, 1971; 1972; 1973; 1974), but one of the earliest investigations devoted only to the use of English loanwords in Japanese newspapers was conducted by Ozawa in 1970 (Ozawa, 1970; 1976). He looked at twenty editions of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, a popular national daily, in February 1970, and retrieved and analysed all the loanwords that appeared in every paper (Ozawa, 1970). He claims that there were around 700 such types (i.e. different loanwords, ignoring repeats), although his tables seem to give a total number closer to 850. Apart from doing the usual phonological, syntactic, and morphological analysis, he also made a semantic classification of 589 nouns into some 18 types, as shown in Table 7.5. It shows that 25.3 percent of these terms were placed in a miscellaneous catch-all category, suggesting that a more robust classification would have been useful. Still, he found that 17 percent of the loanwords applied to the home (the 'Food' and 'Domestic' categories), about 12 percent of the loanwords were 'Technical' terms, and 10 percent referred to 'Sports'. A brief glance at his table of analysed words (1970) indeed shows hundreds of expected items like *apartment*, *guitar*, *democracy*, *whisky*, and so on. Perhaps his list could be thought of a 'basic' English loanword vocabulary that everyone is minimally expected to know (at least circa thirty years ago).

Table 7.5 Semantic Classifications of nouns found in Japanese newspaper circa 1970*

	Number	Percentage
Technical	69	11.7%
Sports	56	9.5%
Domestic	56	9.5%
Food	44	7.5%
Professions	41	6.9%
Economic	29	4.9%
Political	24	4.0%
Building	22	3.7%
Literary	18	3.0%
Measurement	18	3.0%
Materials	15	2.5%
School	14	2.3%
Arts	13	2.2%
Biology	7	1.2%
Emotions	6	1.0%
Animals and pets	4	0.7%
Colours	4	0.7%
Miscellaneous	149	25.3%
TOTAL	589	100%

* Data based on Ozawa (1970: 72-5).

Iwasaki (1994) specifically studied newspaper editorials in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (rather than the whole paper itself). His work, too, suggests that 'typical' loanwords tend to be the norm in this register. He examined 62 editorials from May and June 1992, and classified them into six 'semantic categories'. Table 7.6 shows these six divisions, with editorials on domestic politics being the most abundant. Iwasaki also found that there were 198 English loanwords used in these writings, or 3.19 per editorial. However, as the middle columns in Table 7.6 indicate, there were differences between types of categories. For example, environmental topics used 7.33 loanwords per editorial, while international politics used — surprisingly — only 1.62.

Taken in aggregate, this work suggests that English is used rather infrequently in Japanese editorials. However, Iwasaki did not tell us how many total words were found in each editorial; this was important, as three words

Table 7.6 English loanwords found in Japanese newspaper editorials*

Editorial theme	Number of editorials of that theme	Percentage of editorials of that theme	Average number of English loanwords per editorial	Total number of English loanwords per editorial category
Science	1	1.6%	10.00	10
Environment	3	4.8%	7.33	22
Economic issues	12	19.3%	4.41	53
Social issues	12	19.3%	4.16	50
Domestic politics	18	29.0%	2.05	37
International politics	16	28.8%	1.62	26
Total	62	100%	Average loanwords/all editorials = 198/62 = 3.19	198

* Data based on Iwasaki (1994: 263).

per case could be a rather large, or rather small, proportion of the total. My guess is that these *Yomiuri* editorials were their short commentaries, usually running around 100 to 200 words. Secondly, Iwasaki (1994) says that he intentionally did *not* count place or personal names, weights and measures, or currencies; more importantly he did not tally 'acronyms (e.g. NATO) and initialisms (e.g. CIS)'. As I have argued, however, since such terms play a very important role in the importation of English into Japanese, I think this methodological convention skews the frequencies substantially lower.

Iwasaki also discussed his data in terms of specific words. Table 7.7, for example, presents the eleven English loanwords — which he noted were 'abstract' concepts (1994) — that appeared in three or more editorials. In fact, Iwasaki believes that *most* of the loanwords he examined in his sample were abstract nouns. Table 7.8 lists the only twenty-one English loanwords in the whole corpus that he thought to be 'tangible' or 'concrete'. A few of these concrete nouns no doubt reflect the small sample size and the particular issue of the day being discussed (e.g. the *ozone hole* containing *chlorofluorocarbons*, *trichloroethane*, etc.). But others are, again, the usual suspects of the 'basic' loanword vocabulary: *rajo* ('radio'), *hoteru* ('hotel'), *mansion* ('mansion', or condominium-apartment), or *biru* ('building').

Table 7.7 Eleven English loanwords appearing in three or more newspaper editorials*

<i>ruuru</i>	rule
<i>keesu</i>	case
<i>reberu</i>	level
<i>imeeji</i>	image
<i>shisutemu</i>	system
<i>chekku</i>	check
<i>rejaa</i>	leisure
<i>masukomi</i>	mass communication
<i>saabisu</i>	service
<i>riidaashippu</i>	leadership
<i>samitto</i>	summit

Table 7.8 Twenty-one tangible or concrete English loanwords from newspaper editorials*

<i>terebi</i>	television
<i>rajio</i>	radio
<i>inku</i>	ink
<i>maiku</i>	microphone
<i>memo</i>	memo
<i>kaado</i>	card
<i>posutaa</i>	poster
<i>biru</i>	building
<i>hoteru</i>	hotel
<i>bureeki</i>	brake
<i>manshon</i>	condo, apartment
<i>ozon</i>	ozone
<i>manguroobu</i>	mangrove
<i>furon</i>	chlorofluorocarbon
<i>torikuroroetan</i>	trichloroethane
<i>kuura</i>	air-conditioner
<i>eakon</i>	air-conditioner
<i>fakkusu</i>	fax
<i>pasupooto</i>	passport
<i>tonneru</i>	tunnel
<i>ozon hooru</i>	ozone hole

* Tables 7.7 and 7.8 are based on data in Iwasaki (1994: 264).

Newspaper editorials and advertising compared

Compared to, for example, television and magazine advertising, the English found in these newspapers does seem pretty mundane.¹⁵ For example, Takashi (1990) examined English loanword usage in some 500 television commercials and 400 print advertisements in 1989. She collected 5,556 loans from this sample (even though it is a little unusual to equate the instance of a television advertisement with a page of print advertising). This apparently yields an average of 6.05 loanwords per advertisement (5,556 words/918 advertisements), which is about double the rate of 3.19 loans per editorial found by Iwasaki. Takashi, however, argues that more than 45 percent of these terms were 'special-effects-givers', or loanwords designed to 'give new and cosmopolitan images of the product' or service being advertised (1990: 330). Examples of this are *sukin-kea* ('skin care'), *puresutijii-na* ('prestigious'), or *herushii* ('healthy'). There was little difference in 'special-effects-giver' loanwords in advertising targeting either males or females (p. 332), and she thought 'the penetration of loanword use in the advertisements addressing all age groups' to be quite 'remarkable' (p. 338).

In contrast, unlike advertising, newspapers seem to use few technical terms or 'lexical-gap fillers' (i.e. words used for a proper name, place, or imported item like *beddo* ['bed'] or *shawaa* ['shower'] which have no Japanese equivalent). There seem to be no correlation between the function of a loanword and an intended audience. Also, 'editorials do not exploit the considerable variation in the knowledge of English among Japanese, because they are not aimed at a particular readership' (Iwasaki, 1994: 269). If anything, the loanwords used in newspaper editorials co-exist with Japanese words 'having practically identical denotation' (p. 265).

Do newspapers use loanwords as extensively as other registers?

All the above suggests that English loanwords in 'high culture' newspapers are more staid than in the colourful language of advertising or in the vernacular heard on the street. Or perhaps not. While I grant that loanword usage in high culture is likely to be slightly more conservative, both in terms of the extent of various types and frequency of various tokens, I believe that loanwords *do* have an extensive presence here as well, although in ways that might not be apparent at first glance.

My first reason for this claim is sociolinguistic. Iwasaki himself admits that if English loanwords and Japanese terms have the same referent or denotation, then the loanwords actually *do* end up acting as special-effects-givers, 'providing some special effects which the corresponding Japanese words do not have' (1994: 265). Thus, the native Japanese term and the English loanword are *not*

necessarily synonymous, interchangeable with each other depending on the certain influence of particular usage variables (e.g. topic being written about, age or reputation of the writer, and so on). This subject will be explored in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Acronyms

There are also other more interesting ways to examine how loanwords are used in newspapers than to just make tally counts.¹⁶ As we have seen in this chapter, there are fascinating connections between Japanese scripts, the visual image, and semantic content, especially in the context of English. For example, the use of acronyms in newspapers is extremely pervasive (although some investigators like Iwasaki tend to dismiss them). But the acronyms often play critical roles in newspaper stories — and especially headlines. In 2002, the acronym and *kanji* combination W 杯 (pronounced *daburu hai*) was found everywhere as it referred to the World (W) Cup (*hai*) soccer tournament being hosted by Japan. One headline told of the IT バブル去り厳冬期 (*IT Baburu Sari Gentooki* ‘The Harsh [Winter] Period of IT After the Bubble [Has Burst]’).¹⁷ We are informed parenthetically in the story that IT means 情報技術 (*johooh gjutsu*, or ‘Information Technology’). Informants tell me that often these headline or story acronyms are non-transparent, even for people with a good command of English. (It is little consolation to them when I say that this is often the case for native English speakers as well.) However, people know that these things will be explained to them in the text. In other words, the use of acronyms is intended to attract the reader to the main story.

Another example is found in Figure 7.20. This page-one picture and cover story is concerned with the merger between two of Japan’s major airlines, Japan Airlines (*Nihon Kookuu*) and Japan Air System (*Nihon Eashisutemu*).¹⁸

What is interesting about the headline to this story is its use of proper names and acronyms. Both Japan Airlines and Japan Air System are known by their initial letters to their *English* names (as depicted on the model airplanes in Figure 7.20). Both these acronyms can be pronounced as words — *jaru* and *jasu* respectively. In fact, the same is true for Japan’s other major airlines such as All Nippon Airways. These variations and possibilities are indicated for all three of these airlines in Table 7.9. That is, Table 7.9 shows the great variety of rubrics available to users regarding airline names, and Figure 7.20 demonstrates how such potential resources can be put into practice.

The headline in Figure 7.20 reads 日航JAS経営統合 (*Nikkoo JAS Keiei Toogoo*, ‘Japan Airlines and Nihon Air System [To Form] Business Partnership’), using the *JAS* acronym to refer to Nihon Air System and 日航 (*Nikkoo*) to refer to Japan Airlines. By placing Japan Air System in roman letters and using the Japanese nickname in *kanji* for Japan Airlines, the reader’s eye seems to be



Figure 7.20 JAL and JAS Merger

drawn to the word *JAS*. Perhaps this graphically represents the author's or editor's own surprise that the substantially smaller company would be able to merge with the much larger Japan Airlines. On the next page of the newspaper, when more details of the transaction are given, this other story's headline is written in a similar fashion, but this time using the acronym *JAL* instead of the Japanese characters for Japan Airlines: *J A L • J A S 統合へ Jaru - Jasu Toogoo e* ('Towards a JAL and JAS Merger'). The effect this time seems to be more sober and analytical, with less of the surprise element involved.

Table 7.9 Ways of naming and writing three major Japanese airline companies

• English name/international name:	Japan Airlines	Japan Air System	All Nippon Airways
• Japanese names: (roman letters)	<i>Nihon Kookuu</i>	<i>Nihon Eashisutemu</i>	<i>Zen Nihon Kuuyu</i>
(characters)	日本航空	日本エアシステム	全日本空輸
• Shortened names: (roman letters)	<i>Nikkoo</i>	—	<i>Zennikkuu</i>
(characters)	日航	—	全日空
• Acronym/ (on plane fuselage):	<i>JAL</i>	<i>JAS</i>	<i>ANA</i>
• Pronounced acronym:	<i>jaru</i>	<i>jasu</i>	<i>ana</i>
	ジャル	ジャス	アナ

Katakana as colloquial speech

Another issue we need to consider is the role of *katakana* in newspapers. My colleague, the anthropological linguist Nobuko Adachi (personal communication), suggests that *katakana* is something different from what it is usually claimed to be. Rather than being a Japanese italic script used to write foreign names or places, she argues that *katakana* has really lost much of its ‘foreignness’ and is now a special way to depict in writing particular spoken forms. Words written in *katakana*, then, represent colloquial speech styles rendered on paper. Rather than being just marking the *foreign* or unusual, they mark playful or less serious *Japanese*.

As an example, consider this phrase (also found in the *Asahi Shimbun*): どキレイ *do kirei* (literally meaning ‘super-pretty’ in normal Japanese, using no loanwords here).¹⁹ There are several ways this *might* be written in Japanese. We should first note that as there is really no *kanji* character for *do* (‘super’), Japanese would probably use the character 超 — which is actually pronounced *choo* — and write *furigana* (the little *hiragana* reading-aids mentioned previously) beside it, indicating how the writer intends the character to be read. Such a ‘normal’ script using a *kanji* character (to stand for the word *do*, ‘super’, but usually pronounced *choo* otherwise) and *hiragana* (for *kirei*, ‘pretty’) and little *hiragana* to indicate the intended pronunciation of the character, *do* might look something like this (the Japanese is on the left and the pronunciations are on the right):

ど	do
超 きれい	{choo} kirei
‘super’	‘pretty’

If such mental gymnastics were not enough, there are several other ways to write this phrase. It might also be rendered using a combination of *katakana* and *hiragana*, as in どキレイ (with the *hiragana*-lettered *do* and *katakana* word, *kirei*) or ドきれい (with the *katakana* word *do* and the *hiragana* word *kirei*). Using about the same size and font as the example just given, these two techniques of writing this phrase could appear as follows (I have numbered them, and given an indication of each word’s orthography, as a discussion aid):

1. ど キレイ	2. ド きれい
do kirei	do kirei
hiragana katakana	katakana hiragana

In these last two cases, it is not simply that the *katakana* italics is the marked form: because of the number of symbols in the following word, *kirei* — which

is different from the way the first word *do* is written — the first word *do* is always marked as special and noticeable. Another way of saying this is that the word *do* ('super') focuses on the reader — 'me' — while the word *kirei* ('pretty') focuses on the Other (to use a post-modernist gloss). Things written in *hiragana* are usually more natural and personal; things written in *katakana* are often more distant, hard, or even harsh. The question is, then, how these two phrases — both using words written in *katakana* — are perceived? In the first form ドキレイ, with *kirei* written in *katakana* and *do* written in *hiragana*, there is a feeling of mildness and sensitivity; *do* here even suggests onomatopoeic expressions like *dokin* (ドキン) or *doki-doki* (ドキドキ), the sounds of the beating of one's heart. This, combined with the word *kirei* being written in *katakana*, implies that the women (presumably) is attractive and to be admired. This would be the form that one would want to use, say, if one wanted to sell something like a car or a colour printer. This feeling is more striking if we consider the other way of rendering this phrase: ドきれい (as in Number 2 above). Here the word *do* is written in *katakana*, and it emphasizes the 'supereness' of the term, implying a sexual or sensual connotation. Of course, all of this is very context-specific and conditional. Different words with different ways of writing, in different situations would likely suggest different analyses.

Using English, English loanwords, and katakana for high culture

The point is, words written in *katakana* are *not* necessarily marked as foreign, but are Japanese already. As we have seen in this chapter, Japanese people play with their scripts all the time, in various ways. These things combine to give newspapers a very intriguing look when reporting or commenting on world events, using a mixture of orthographies, loanwords, and acronyms. Figure 7.21 (p. 185), a random section taken from the editorial page of the *Asahi Shimbun*, shows a number of these features.²⁰

First, we can notice that on the right side we see the heading in pure English

opinion @ news project

written vertically, telling us that this is the editorial section (although this is probably not the way *The Guardian* or *New York Times* would phrase things). The centre headline is also interesting: オサマ さまざま エクスキューズ *Osama sama-sama ekusukyuuuzu* (figuratively, 'Because of Osama, We Now All Have an Excuse'). Here we see the name *Osama* and the English loanword 'excuse' written in *katakana*. In pure English we see the phrase *Osama Excuse* in the graphic. However, we also find in *hiragana* the words *sama-sama*. This needs a little explanation.

First, most people know that Japanese people usually use the suffix *-san* attached to a personal name to denote respect when speaking to someone (e.g. *Yamamoto-san*, or Ms Yamamoto). The suffix *-sama* is similar, but is much more laudatory; it is only used for special persons or particular conventions (e.g. *Yamamoto Kumiko-sama*, when addressing a letter). We might think of *-sama*, then, as an especially elevated form of Mr or Ms. This phrase is used in the standard phrase *o-kage-sama de*, ‘thanks to you’, or ‘thanks for your help’. *O-kage* means support, influence, or help, and adding *-sama* to this phrase literally means something like ‘Mr [or Ms] Helper’. The *de* particle just indicates the usage of something. Thus, *o-kage-sama de* literally means ‘Because of [using] you, Honorable Mr/Ms Helper . . . [things went OK for me].’

Now, if you want to be a little sarcastic, you can repeat the *-sama* suffix twice, implying not only that the recipient is not worthy of so much respect, but also that his or her actions provide you with an excuse for something. For example, thanks to [Prime Minister] Koizumi-*sama-sama* I might as well take that vacation to Europe, as there is no sense saving money in such a deflating economy under his administration’s management. But sarcasm is not always necessarily involved. The *-sama-sama* term implies a sense of ‘reason for’ or ‘explanation of’ even if one is not trying to ridicule someone. It can even be applied to inanimate objects. For example, in the 1960s, one could hear that it was *Kankoo-sensoo-sama-sama da* (‘due to’ [-*sama-sama*] the ‘Korean War’ [*Kankoo-sensoo*]) that Japan’s economy grew so rapidly.

In any case, in Figure 7.21 there is an obvious intentional play on words by calling Osama bin Laden as *Osama sama-sama*. What the ‘Osama Excuse’ (i.e., ‘due to Osama’ [*Osama sama-sama*] and ‘excuse’ [*ekusukyuuuzu*]) in this editorial refers to is that now everyone has someone to blame for their problems or shortcomings. The reason for those failed economic policies of Koizumi’s? Osama, of course. Thus, according to the editorial, the ‘Osama Excuse’ is actually a godsend for government officials everywhere.

There are also many other interesting things in Figure 7.21. We find various acronyms common in news reporting and editorials: NATO, MGM, or IMF. These are often translated into normal Japanese, as in ‘NATO (*Kita Taiseiyou Jooyaku Kikoo*)’, or North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In the sections of the two editorials depicted in Figure 7.21, there are a total of about 300 words of all kinds. This selection does not seem to be particularly unusual for the *Asahi*’s editorial pages. However, a great many of the words — about 75, or about a quarter of the total — are written in *katakana*, and this is an apparently higher number than the one given by Iwasaki previously. It is true that if we exclude the proper names, place names, and acronyms — as did Iwasaki — the number falls from about 75 words to about 25, or to about 8 or 9 percent of the total tokens. Although it is impossible to exactly compare this figure to Iwasaki’s, this estimate seems about three times higher than his claim (assuming editorials of approximately equal length). Some of the



Figure 7.21 Osama's Excuse

common English words (excluding proper nouns) found in Figure 7.21 are *tero* (terrorism), *terorisuto* (terrorist), *ekusukyuuuzu* ('excuse'), *toppu* ('top'), *bijinesu* ('business'), and *resutoran* ('restaurant'). Most of these English loans are not abstract nouns, but concrete objects (again, unlike the findings of Iwasaki in 1994).

We cannot leave this topic without at least mentioning one final issue: the use of English and *katakana* in editorial cartoons and other jokes. Figure 7.22 shows one such example.²¹ Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is shown talking to Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat on top of an overturned broken table saying, *Mohaya, giri-giri no dan-kai daze* ('This is already the last step for you'). American President George Bush sits behind Sharon in the background. The intriguing element is the overturned table, with the phrase *Wa-hei no teeburu* ('the peace table' or process) also written upside down. The English loanword *table* — also written this way — is very striking and conspicuous, contributing to the cartoon's total effect.



Figure 7.22 Peace process under the table

The verdict: Loanwords on a higher plane

There is little doubt that advertisers and pop singers are likely to use loanwords and fresh expressions — breaking phonological, morphological, syntactic or pragmatic rules — to be purposefully eye-catching and intriguing. The studies by Ozawa, Iwasaki, and others suggest that it is indeed true that newspaper articles — especially editorials — use rather a drab English loanword fare compared to these experimentalists and innovators. However, I am not totally convinced that the actual numbers of English loanwords are lower than those in other printed registers, but there appears to be at least some evidence that newspaper columnists are being less adventurous — English loanword-wise — than, say, advertising copywriters. However, as the examples in the above sections have shown, I believe, in newspapers English, loanwords, romanized-Japanese, and orthography are all used in very original and prominent — if not ostentatious — ways. The verdict would therefore seem to be that there is no such thing as a plain, conservative, or ‘normal’ loanword; each is a frog waiting to be kissed.

Conclusion

English is hardly a true ‘second language’ for even a significant minority of the Japanese people. Nor does it have any authorized status, as French in

Canada, in spite of some quasi-official sanctions supporting it. However, English appears in various guises in the daily linguistic lives of every Japanese, be it code-switching and mixing, true bilingualism, or the use of loanwords and phrases.

It is obvious that communications technology and improvements in transportation have made the modern world extraordinarily complex and remarkably small. Tokyo and Osaka are now world financial and industrial centres, as well as major influences in a number of cultural areas, such art or fashion. Japanese graphic arts, films, television programmes and commercials rank among the best in the world. Thousands of magazines and comics appear every week and are read by a large audience. There is little doubt about the high degree of visual literacy and sophistication of the average Japanese citizen.

While Westerners have long taken pleasure in reading this 'empire of signs', Japanese have delighted in looking at the West with a semiotic eye as well. 'Reading' the West has long been a hobby and professional occupation for many Japanese for well over a century. What was found useful and aesthetically pleasing was brought in. After certain initiations, and other rites of passage, crystals and impressions of these foreign things coalesced and remained. And as with crystals everywhere, patterns continue to grow in beautiful, complicated, and often unpredictable ways.

8

*Is it naisu rice or good gohan?: In Japan,
it's not what you eat, but how you say it*

Introduction

It was strange to see, but there it was, clearly outlined in red on the plastic dish on my friend's breakfast table.¹ In the letters of the *katakana* syllabary — the writing system that the Japanese use to write foreign words — was the appetizing name *Fatto Supureddo*, 'Fat Spread'.² This butter substitute was ironically named, as it was actually a very healthy, low calorie, margarine made only of the very best 'vegetable oil' (*shokubutsu yushi*) with almost no salt or other debilitating substances. It was a special brand distributed by a nationwide housewives co-op (*Tsukishima Shokuhin Koogyoo*, Tokyo), so the quality was supposed to be outstanding. Yet, I somehow could not get the image of spreading white condensed lard on my toast out of my mind.

Most people are aware that many new foods have been brought into Japan. For example, *Makudonarudo* hamburgers are everywhere, even in outlying areas. There are also numerous American foods like *Tekusasu Suteeki* ('Texas Steaks'), *Aisu* ('ice-cream'), and *Furaiido Poteto* ('french fries'); even *Sunoo Booru* ('snow cones') have come to Japan. However, in this chapter I am not going to look at these obviously imported foods, but instead I will focus on some local kinds. These home-grown varieties that I want to look at have borrowed English names, although most often not an American taste.

To many Westerners, Japanese food is stereotypically associated with curious ingredients, strange preparations (or even lack thereof), and arcane culinary rituals. I believe, however, that one of the most exotic aspects of Japanese cuisine may be the myriad English loanwords used in most of the packaged foods, snacks, and prepared fare found in the typical Japanese grocery store.

In this chapter I will examine, semiotically and sociolinguistically, the packaging of over one hundred of these Japanese prepared foods. I will examine four ways English loanwords are used in these Japanese processed foods, and then look at half a dozen or so communicative strategies that are

used in Japanese food packaging, including some of the elements of graphic design. I will then discuss how these loanwords have actually contributed to the creation of new foods in Japan.

English product names, phonetically nativized and written in the Japanese *katakana* syllabary, provide interesting visual aromas for fare that is often rather mundane. English *Catch Phrases* in roman letters (as in *Look Strawberry Chocolate*) describing the enclosed foods can add an intriguing visual spice. Western-style foods, naturally, are often prone to be associated with loanwords (as in *Hello Panda* [cream-filled biscuits], *China Marble* [jaw-breakers], or *Kiss Mint For Etiquette* [chewing gum to eliminate bad breath]).

These foods are most often designed in Japan, for Japanese tastes. Candies with *Air In Chocolate*, or hot horseradish-spiced peas that are a *Happy Present From The Earth* are not poor attempts to mimic English brand names. Instead, I argue that what is occurring is a synaesthesia of eye and ear, and sight and taste. This makes the native food more intriguing, the borrowed label more domestic, and the consumer more sated.

Western words and Eastern foods

As I have pointed out in previous chapters, English loanwords in Japan are ubiquitous. Most Japanese these days would be hard pressed to carry on even the most rudimentary conversation without them. Loanwords may account for up to 5 to 10 percent of the daily vocabulary, and the vast majority of these are from English. Thus, it is not too surprising that processed and packaged foods use them as well.

However, it should also be recalled that the term 'loanword' is rather misleading, as nothing is ever really taken, nor is anything ever given back. That is, most of these English-like vocabulary items that we find are made in Japan, for Japanese purposes. Even setting phonological problems aside, most Americans find it difficult to discern the meaning of 'virgin road' (see Chapter 2), 'silver seat' (see Chapter 7), or any of the latest Japanese rock and roll slang.

Even when actual products become literally taken in, an interesting metamorphosis also occurs. For example, while the food 'pizza' may have been inspired by Chicago or New York restaurants, no American could have predicted that in a very famous Kyoto pizza parlour a 'Manhattan Mix' pizza would include salami, onions, mushrooms, and corn and cuttlefish as toppings. We would therefore expect that most of these so-called loanwords will be applied to foods that are often only distantly related to things found in America or Europe.

Functions of English loanwords in Japanese foods

English loanwords can often be used by Japanese marketers, nutritionists, or food scientists to emphasize certain aspects of a food. I think there are at least four such functions where English loanwords often play critical roles: (1) acting as food descriptors; (2) giving food instructions; (3) giving food ingredients and value; and (4) presenting a product's history. I will now address each one individually.

English loanwords can be used to tell what the food is

English loanwords are often used to make descriptions of the food, or to tell exactly what the food is. For example, *Dorai Aisu* ('Dry Ice') is a fruit candy — 'orange', 'lemon', and 'green apple' — with a hard outside shell for 'freshness' enclosing a 'dry ice powder' for flavour. (It should be mentioned here that term *kyandee* or *kyandii* or ['candy'] in Japanese is not so inclusive as in English. It usually only refers to hard candy, and not necessarily chocolates.) The Meiji Company's *Strawberry Parfait* is a 'new type of chocolate' having a strawberry and cream centre.



Figure 8.1 *Dorai Aisu*: The fruit candy

Sometimes, these descriptions are more metaphorical than transparent. For instance, *Flower's Kiss Candy* has individually wrapped pieces of milk Sumomo (damson plum) in the following flavours: rose, apricot blossom, and double cherry blossom. The emphasis is on creating taste that approximates the scent of the flower rather than the taste of a fruit.

English loanwords can be used to indicate exactly what it is you are supposed to do with this food

An example of this is seen in one of the most interesting Japanese packaged foods, *One packun Family*. This is a collection ('family') of individual ('one') bites or packets ('packun') of nuts, roasted peas, and little rice crackers. *Packun* probably shares an etymology with the name Pac-Man — perhaps the most famous arcade and computer game of the twentieth century. *Paku* is a Japanese children's onomatopoeic word indicating the sound of biting something (as in *paku paku tabeta!*, 'I ate, chomped it down, [like a pig]!'). Names like *Cashew Nuts* or *Wasabi Green* are given in roman letters on these individual packets. On the back, there is a description in English (not Japanese) telling the purchaser that this product is an assortment of

... bite-sized packs of different snacks made with selected materials. This, not only accompanied with beer & sake, but a good partner of outdoor, and a great relish of children for its fresh taste:

- eat soon when opened,
- keep away from direct sunlight,
- keep cool

thanks

However, it is interesting that one Japanese word — *packun* (or パックン) — actually says almost everything this English paragraph does. If there is any question about what this food is, or how one is supposed to eat it, the above detailed explanation will more than suffice.

Another example of these English loanword instructions can be found in the series of *KissMint* chewing gums produced by Glico. *KissMint For Driver Cherry Mint* has the following properties (again, all are written in pure English):

The fragrant mint, natural caffeine, and delightful cherry aroma wake you up and keep you alert yet relaxed. The perfect treat for drivers, students and workers who must work hour after hour.



Figure 8.2 *Onepackun Family*

Those who use *KissMint For Etiquette Apple Mint* will

Be up on your etiquette! The crisp clean apple fragrance keeps your breath always fresh and clean. Perfect for dates and important interviews.

KissMint for Elegance Jasmine Mint has:

The fragrance that moves around you. With the refreshing harmony of jasmine and vitamin. Take with you for dates and get-together.

KissMint for Relax Forest Fragrance has a different kind of appeal:

The natural taste is like a fresh forest breeze. Perfect for a break after work or study. With chlorophyll and natural flavourings.

KissMint for Refresh Litchi & Lemon has the following properties:

A delicate blend of lemon and litchi flavours is enhanced by chondrotin for a dazzling taste. It's good for refreshing mind and body.

In a sense, all these explanations are superfluous, as the names of the products seem fairly self-explanatory to Japanese. Thus, in terms of information, much of this is package design, giving different feelings towards the food (perhaps new or Western).

English loanwords can be used to emphasize quality or tell of the food's ingredients

An example of this is seen in the packaging of Bonchi's *Mentaiko Arare* rice crackers where it is stated that *Fresh Is Best*, and that

Bonchi always present you fresh goods by excellent productivity and strict quality control



Figure 8.3 *Mentaiko arare*

Likewise, purchasers of Hosoda's *Kaki No Tane* (*Rice Crackers*) are warned that these are *Extra Hot* by the label on the bottom.

Buyers of Kanro's *Koohii Sakan/Coffee Candy* are told in English that the different flavours are *Blue Mountain, Mocha* and *Kilimanjaro*.

English loanwords can be used to indicate what a product consists of, and its origins or history

The packaging often touts the many beneficial properties of the enclosed product. Oddly enough, detailed histories and descriptions of many uniquely 'Japanese' packaged snacks can be found in English. For example, *Soramame Monogatari/Soramame Story* ('The Broad Bean Story') tells us that (in pure English):

Broad beans mainly consist of starch and protein and also contain plentiful Vitamin B1 and Vitamin C and other minerals such as Calcium. These broad beans contain particularly more Vitamin B2. Vitamin B2 has an effect on the growth hormone. Its savory taste makes it the most delicious broad beans.



Figure 8.4 The Broad Bean Story

Another product, *Beano* (roasted green peas), does a similar thing for beans and peas (once more, in English):

Green peas are the product of young immature peas. The utilization value of the immature green pea is quite high. The main elements of the pea are protein and carbohydrates. There are also a lot of vitamins such as B1, B2, B3, and C inside. The taste of the green pea is the flavor of early summer, a taste that you can look forward to. According to experts on the subject, the varieties of vitamins and high fiber found in green peas help the body's metabolism, aids in slowing down the aging process, and helps keep skin young.

The communicative strategies of English loanword usage in Japanese foods

English loanwords can be used in various ways to communicate information to the consumer. Moreover, English loanwords can also be used in strategic ways to make appeals to potential customers. I believe there are at least five such communicative strategies: (1) using English loanwords to make an appeal to a certain image or a customer concern (such as health or sophistication); (2) using English loanwords in face of new or ambiguous flavours or tastes; (3) using English loanwords to make analogies between new foods and other more well-known foods; (4) using English loanwords as alternative lexemes to cover similar, although not synonymous, semantic ranges, and (5) using English loanwords to represent a food in a new way.

English loanwords can be used to make appeals to a certain kind of imeeji ('image') that a consumer might want to be associated with

Fashion

For example, *Jun Kajuu 100 Mix* ('Pure Fruit Juice 100 Mix') is *Fashionable Candy* consisting of 'Fresh grape', 'Fresh peach', and 'Fresh apple'. A description in English says that:

This peach candy is including a lot of peach fresh juice which was plucked freshly. This grape candy is including high quality grape fresh juice harvested in the west coast U.S.A. We can say this is almost raw grape. This apple candy including fresh juice taken from selected apple born in Aomori. We can say it is almost raw apple.



Figure 8.5 *Jun Kajuu 100 Mix*

Not only is the candy said to be fresh and fashionable, the taste is also supposed to be pure concentrate coming from prestigious places like California or Aomori. Aomori is famous in Japan for the delicious apples this northern area produces.

Health and diet

Packaged foods that emphasize health or nutrition almost always make their claims using English or English loanwords. For example, *Isofiber* — *Daietarii Aisofaibaa Pain* ('Pineapple Dietary Isofiber') and *Faibaain 20* ('Fiberine 20') are both high-fiber candies which promise good, if not to say, regular, health. In English, it is said that *Oliga CC* (from Calpis):

revitalizes the Bifidobacterium in your intestines and
also helps to maintain a proper balance in your digestive
processes. In addition, a piece of this candy has as much
vitamin C as two lemons. Therefore, it not only tastes good,
but is also very healthy.

Potential calcium deficiencies can be alleviated by consuming a number of snacks. *Hokkaido* milk soft candies are fortified with calcium and are 'not too sticky'. *The Calcium Black Cream Sandwich* can be used 'to build and keep a healthy body — from children to aged people'.

As mentioned above, there are few 'diet' foods or drinks *per se* in Japan. Instead of 'Diet Coke', there is 'Coca Cola Light'. (Actually, some bottles of American-style 'Diet Coke' can now be found in a few places in Japan.) *Lightjoy Chocolate* is a candy bar for those addicts who want a full-flavoured cream-filled interior but need to be conscious of their calories. However, it should be noted that this is changing. Until recently, Japanese people were hesitant to drink 'diet' drinks or eat 'diet' foods in public, as this was an obvious admission that 'I am fat and I need to consume this kind of stuff'. Now, however, skinny Hollywood movies stars and health-conscious athletes are seen holding diet drinks. To eat and drink diet foods has started to be seen as something smart: I am *avoiding* becoming fat, just like all those people on the Californian beaches. The public stigma seems to be eroding.

A final example is from Calpis's *Air/Ea* citrus soft drink. These days people have become more aware of how unhealthy many cola drinks can be. They



Figure 8.6 Coca Cola Light

are often full of calories, caffeine, and many other unnecessary or harmful ingredients. *Air* does not sound like such a soft drink, and its name certainly implies a light and carefree beverage, perhaps even more than something merely 'light'.

Children's foods

It is very common for children's snacks to use American cartoon characters or superheroes in their packaging. For example, *Pack'n Cho* (chocolate cream packed inside a cookie) uses Disneyland figures such as Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck with English titles on their boxes. Several children's cookie boxes even actually try and expose them to English. For example, Meiji's *Autoland Printed Biscuits* does not only have English names printed on the drawings of the cookies, on the back of the box there is also a glossary of the twenty-four illustrated vehicles inside. *Ginbis's Tabekko Doobutsu Animal Shaped Biscuits* does a similar thing with English animal names.



Figure 8.7 Meiji's *Autoland Printed Biscuits* (front and back)

English loanwords are often chosen in the face of uncertainty or ambiguity

We find extensive use of English loanwords when it is difficult to find an appropriate word in standard Japanese. However, English loanwords are especially useful in describing new textures or flavours, or new kinds of foods.

An example of this can be seen in the name for Morinaga's *Hi-SOFT* strawberry milk candies. In both roman letters and *katakana* terms like 'strawberry milk' or *ichigo to miruku* (strawberry and milk) are used. This candy is a kind of creamy strawberry caramel. What other words could be used to describe the unique taste of these intensely-flavoured tender strawberry creams, other than the loan creation *Hi-SOFT*? As the phrase on the box says (in English):

The delightful harmony of fresh strawberry and smooth milk gives a mouth watering treat.

There are many other such examples. One last case comes from *Purin Ame* ('Pudding Candy'). This candy consists of a chocolate centre surrounded by a 'custard pudding' outside and covered with 'caramel syrup'.

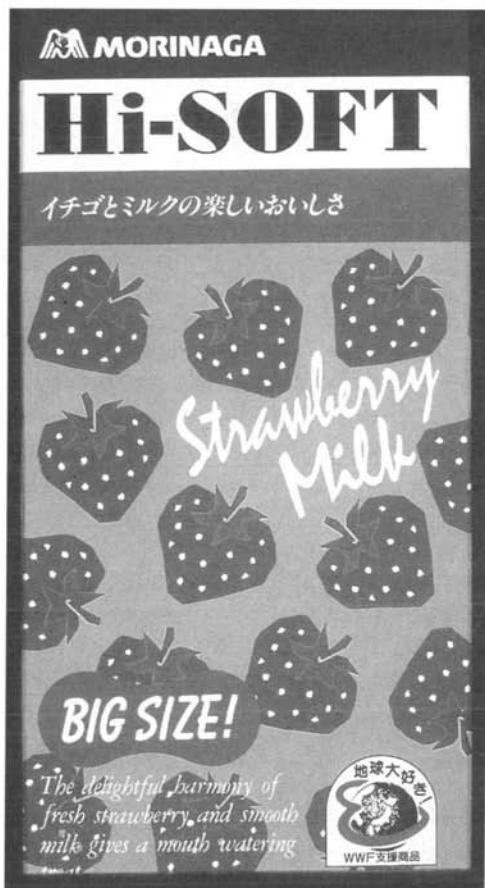


Figure 8.8 *Hi-Soft Candy*

English loanwords can be used to draw analogies or make metonymic connections to other foods or culinary styles

An example of this is found in the several efforts to convert the Japanese popular soft drink *Lamune Soda* into candy form. Both Kanro and Shinozaki corporations have made such attempts, as *Ramune-bin* candy and *Ramune (Soda) Candy* respectively. Both products claim to have captured the carbonated feel and tart taste of the original soft drink, using actual *Lamune* powder or fresh wrapping.

Another example can be found in Bourbon's *Eburi Baagaa* ('Every Burger'). This time, the connection is not made between a snack and some particular brand name. Instead, the association is tied to a type of American food, the one stereotypically most popular: *Every Burgers* are bite-sized miniature hamburgers made of a 'semi-sweet' chocolate patty covered with 'cream' as cheese, and topped with a 'biscuit' sesame seed bun. Although they may not taste like miniature Big Mac's, the connections between these pieces of candy and hamburgers are intentional and obvious.



Figure 8.9a *Every Burger* (front)



Figure 8.9b *Every Burger* (back)

English loanwords can be used as alternative vocabulary items, or else cover different semantic ranges

A perennial question in language-contact and language-borrowing situations is to what extent the old indigenous lexemes and new borrowed items overlap in semantic space (Allen, 1986a, 1986b). I have argued (Stanlaw, 1987a) that in many linguistic domains in Japan, such as colour terminology (see Chapter 9) or numbers, the English loanwords and native Japanese terms label different referents. For instance, *reddo* is not a synonym for *aka* ('red'), nor *wan* for *ichi* ('one'). I believe similar things may be occurring in the domain of foods. That is, there may be similarities — to be sure — between the semantics of native Japanese terms and English loanwords, but they are not synonymous, and do not mean exactly the same thing.

For example, almost all informants told me that they knew that the English loanword *sutoroberii* ('strawberry') was *ichigo* in native Japanese, and that *appuru* ('apple') was *ringo*. Most also felt that 'strawberry' or '*sutoroberii*' were the more appropriate names for most of the packaged foods that were used in the sample I examined. When the non-loanword (*ichigo*) was used, it was always used along with some unusual graphics as in this example of *Kuriimu Ichigo* ('Cream Strawberry') candies, with the Japanese re-written in English and roman letters just below it. This seems to make more of an appeal to familiarity (strawberries) than to the newness or uniqueness of the food.



Figure 8.10 *Cream Strawberry*

English loanwords can be used in the re-presentation of other Japanese foods or styles

English loanwords can be used to offer potential buyers certain food genres or items in reconstituted forms. This is especially prevalent in the *n*-packaging (i.e., the 're-presentation') of some traditional Japanese snacks like *o-sembei* ('rice crackers'). For example, the package of *Nice Economy Ikappe* ('Nice Economy Potato Crackers') tells us that this snack is '*reasonable price and quality goods*'. Thus, this traditional snack has now become a good buy and wise shopping choice.



Figure 8.11 *Nice Economy Potato Crackers*

Another example of how traditional foods can be transformed into some other kind of entity is seen in the packaging of *Azuki Vegetable Snack*. The cover tells us in English the many virtues of the *azuki* (red-brown) bean:

Red-brown beans are one of the important Japanese traditional provisions and its agricultural distribution is found in an historical Japanese chronicle Kojiki. Red-brown beans consist of protein containing sufficient vitamin B which helps the recovery of fatigue and beautifies the skin. . . .

In this way, this old Japanese food (*azuki*) is being put into a modern package (*Vegetable Snack*), while at the same time the English is used to make the reconnection back to the past again (e.g., in telling the story of how these beans were known back to the start of recorded history).

A similar process is found in the example of *Adzuki Candy Mix*. This product consists of three varieties of *azuki* (red-bean) confectioneries: *miruku azuki* ('milk red-beans'), *matcha azuki* ('powdered green-tea-flavoured red-beans'), and plain *azuki*. The package tells us that in each case the red-bean centres are surrounded by these different flavoured hard candies.

Graphic design aspects of Japanese food packaging: *Rooma-Ji*, *katakana*, and *hiragana* writings

Having a variety of orthographies at their disposal — as we have seen in the Appendix — Japanese people can often do interesting things in advertising and graphic design. These different writing systems can transmit several messages — both verbally and visually — at the same time, and thus serve as signifiers with a multiplicity of signifieds.

An example of this kind of graphic word play can be seen in the candy *China Marble*. 'China marbles' are rock-candies shaped into little balls. They are similar to American 'jaw-breakers', although they are larger and harder, and sweet rather than sour. The name on the package uses three orthographies. On top is *China Marble* in roman letters, with the Japanese name, phonologically nativized [*chaina maaburu*] below. However, the Japanese name is not written completely in *katakana*, as would be expected for these kinds of sweets. The word 'China' is neither in the *katakana* syllabary used for foreign terms nor in *kanji* characters. Instead, it is written in *hiragana*, the syllabary used for indigenous Japanese vocabulary.

Japanese people seem to immediately notice the three different orthographic systems being used for this food. The interesting question here is: Why is the form of writing used for the word 'China' in this case? It is likely that the *hiragana* form somehow seems more approachable. Informants told me that if 'China' is written in *hiragana*, people would not confuse it with porcelain (or even the country). It also reminds them of Japanese diminutive expressions, such as '*chitchai*' (a children's way of saying '*chiisai*' ['small']).

Thus, what the manufacturer may be trying to do is convey several messages simultaneously: this candy is new and interesting because it is *china-like* in that it is round and hard, and of similar colour as Chinese ceramics. However, it is *not* really made of glass, and is certainly small enough to be edible, and is actually a quite dainty and sweet food. Using the different scripts allows the consumer to understand these visual analogies more easily.

Figure 8.12 *China Marble*

Another example of graphic word play is seen in foods where names or description are given in actual Japanese, but written in roman letters. One instance is of the *Ramune Kyandi* (a hard candy based on the popular *Lamune* Japanese soft drink) which we have seen before.³ They describe their product in the following way, using roman letters:

Ramune-bin ga kawaii candy ni nacchai mashita.

Shuawatto oishii ramune-powder iri dayo.

(Bottles of *Lamune* have now become cute [little bottle-shaped] candies, and there is real bubbly fresh delicious *Lamune* powder inside them!)

They also give a sales pitch on the bottom of the package, this time using all three orthographies:

oishisa appu new

(a new better taste; or a new product with a better taste)

The reason why these Japanese sentences are given in *roma-ji* might again be that the manufacturer intends to say several things at the same time. Since

this is a *new* kind of food, they want to convey actual information about the product. Thus, it is indeed described — not in English — but in ‘pure’ Japanese. However, as it still is some new kind of food, purely old-style Japanese writing would be inappropriate. The manufacturer therefore makes similar kinds of linguistic and orthographic puns that Japanese people have been doing with writing systems ever since the time of the *Man’yooshū*.

The use of English loanwords in the creation of new foods and products: Which came first, the candy or the loanword?

There is no doubt that English loanwords are intimately connected with new foods and new food packaging styles in Japan. It is not always clear, however, if the English loanwords are used to name a newly-developed food, or if an English loanword suggests the development of a new food in the first place. For example, the fresh apple candies of *Jun Kajuu Fresh Apple* (‘Pure Fruit Juice Fresh Apple’) are described in English as follows:

This candy is including fresh juice taken from selected apples born in AOMORI. We can say it is almost raw apple.

In other words, it is claimed that this candy is not being made from the apples themselves, but from the *juice* of these apples. In a sense, it is like frozen apple-juice concentrate being reconstituted as a piece of candy. Perhaps the English did not inspire the new confectionery, but it certainly took a loanword to give it a name after it was invented. We should notice, too, that the description of *Jun Kajuu 100 Mix* on pp. 196–7 had a similar explanation (most likely because that product also included some of these *fresh apples*). That is, we see English being used in the propagation of a food series, which I will discuss momentarily.

In a similar way, *Cuby Rop Fruits Candy* is an interesting piece of food engineering. Little cubes of seven different flavours — pineapple, melon (cantaloupe), honey-lemon, grapefruit, strawberry, peach, and grape — are paired together in different combinations as a single piece of candy (e.g., grape and peach; strawberry and pineapple, etc.). Presumably, one could place these pieces end to end to make a long rope, or try and solve a Rubik’s Cube puzzle. It is likely that the name comes from a combination of *Cubic* plus *Drop* (following the well-known Japanese penchant for linguistic function and recombination of words). In any case, using English loanwords for this candy seems somehow eminently appropriate.



Figure 8.13 *Jun Kajuu Fresh Apple*

Food 'series' using English loanwords

However a name for some new food develops, a series of spin-offs of similar foods often develop. For example, apple-flavoured candies from several companies are now popular. The Senjaku company also has a hard apple candy, *Straight Apple Juice Candy*, although their apples come from Nagano rather than Aomori. Sweet Candy's *Milk Sumomo Candy* just has an apple flavour that 'spreads in your mouth'. Gooey apple candies also abound. For example, although Bourbon's *Applesoft* sounds like some kind of Macintosh computer application, it really is a candy with an apple flavouring surrounded by a creamy

milk covering. Kasugai's *Apple Gummy* is like Gummy Bears, but in the shape and taste of a slice of apple.

A soft and gummy apple product called *Super Apple* has also been introduced by the Santa Booeki company. However, this company has a whole series of 'super' flavours, including *Super Lemon* and *Super Cola*. Such series phenomena are not limited to candies or snacks, however. *Honey and Lemon* soft drinks are distributed by most of the major beverage brands, including Suntory's *Honey & Lemon*, Calpis's *Hachimitsu Remon C* ('Honey and Lemon C') , and Kagome's *Hachimitsu & Remon* ('Honey & Lemon') .

Conclusion: English loanwords in the packaging of Japanese foods

These examples clearly show, I think, that English loanwords are commonly used for both hybrid 'Western-like' processed new foods (but *not* actually Western), and traditional Japanese snacks and foods. That is, these new foods are not mere poor imitations of American junk food or fast cuisine. Likewise, the use of loanwords is not just an attempt to be cute (or again, to emulate America). Instead, there are many sound logical and linguistic reasons for using English loanwords in each of the examples given above, which are connected to the social, cultural, and economic conditions of Japan.

However, there are also some interesting similarities with the way loanwords are used in foods and the way Japanese people use English loanwords in another sensory domain — colour. While I will examine colour in more detail in the next chapter, I would like to briefly make a few speculations on these resemblances, as I do not think they are coincidental. I first became interested in the loanword phenomenon while examining how English colour terms were used in various Japanese contexts. Many of the same strategies that I have just described for foods are also seen in the domain of colour nomenclature. For example, many of my Japanese informants would 'invent' new English colour terms, like *white blue*, when asked to name unusual colours. As we have seen, to describe peculiar tastes or textures — such as *Hi-SOFT* strawberries — Japanese food marketers also do similar things. In the face of uncertainty, ambiguous colours were often easily named with English loanwords (although often Japanese terms could only be used with some difficulty). Yet, these newly created words are transparent to the consumer, transmitting clear images and feelings. Likewise, what else could you name a candy with a strawberry centre surrounded by a yoghurt cube — like a caramel — besides '*Strawberry Yoghurt Chocolate*'?

To give another example, as I mentioned before, my Japanese informants used English colour terms strategically to achieve sociolinguistic ends. No women wanted to buy a grey dress that was *nezumi-iro* (literally meaning 'mouse-coloured'), but they were more than happy to wear one that was *guree*.

In a similar way, while few *diet* foods or soft drinks are found in Japan (as I have explained before), while *light* foods are common.

It is possible that the English loanword phenomenon found in the domain of food is just the tactile/taste counterpart to the visual responses in the domain of colour. In Japanese, there may be a similar 'linguistic synesthesia' occurring between these two domains. It is not clear if Japanese gourmets 'taste' foods named with English loanwords — like *Blue Dry Ice* candies — differently from those named with native Japanese terms. But the connotations and psychological responses may often be different, and that alone might be enough to influence physiological — and indeed, culinary — response. This linguistic synesthesia will be discussed in Chapter 10, after the discussion of colours in Chapter 9.

Language and culture contact in the Japanese colour nomenclature system: From neon oranges to shocking pinks

Introduction

Colour nomenclature has been an ongoing concern in anthropology for well over a hundred years, ever since ethnographers discovered that exotic peoples all over the world have differing colour systems; that is, ways of naming and labelling colours of the world.¹ It was odd for these early anthropologists and linguists to find a supposedly natural stimulus as the colour spectrum could be divided up, that is, labelled, in seemingly endless different ways. This variation in colour vocabulary provided evidence for linguistic relativism. It was actually the only good solid evidence that seemed to indicate empirically that there was nothing inherent in either human perception or the physical world that would compel a language to name some domain in any particular fashion.

In 1969, however, Berlin and Kay (Berlin and Kay, 1969; 1991) and others demonstrated cross-culturally that there are some severe constraints on colour nomenclature systems; for instance, on the way they operate, how they are used, how they develop, and how they evolve. In short, if certain salient colour terms are assumed to be 'basic', there is a universal ordering to the colour spectrum, and how colours are named. In addition, there are also limitations on which colours can take which label. These eleven so-called 'basic' colour categories — WHITE and BLACK; RED, YELLOW, GREEN, BLUE, BROWN; and PURPLE, PINK, ORANGE, and GREY — were thought to be universal across cultures. As languages and cultures evolve and develop new terms for colours, they will do so approximately in this order. By the mid-1990s, several hundred studies (cf. the World Color Survey, 1991; Kay, Berlin, and Merrifield, 1991) supported the general tenets of the Berlin and Kay model. Although modified and refined, the universalist arguments of Berlin and Kay have remained principally intact, although there have been philosophical (e.g. Saunders and van Brakel 1988; Saunders, 1992) as well as empirical (Lucy, 1992) challenges.

In this chapter, I will discuss some results from Japanese that offer contributions to colour nomenclature theory, the specific claims of the Berlin and Kay findings, and notions of linguistic relativity. Because of their attempt to make an overall cross-cultural comparison, Berlin and Kay understandably neglected several crucial issues related to the specifics of the Japanese colour nomenclature system. They failed, for example, to examine the pervasive use of loanwords in the Japanese language in general and in the colour term vocabulary in particular. For example, several English loanword colour terms are more salient than their native Japanese counterparts. It even appears that the Japanese colour lexicon consists of two sets of mutually exclusive terms, one of native Japanese origin, the other borrowed from English. I will demonstrate in this chapter that English loanwords are replacing native Japanese colour terms, and that they seem to be doing so in reverse order to the Berlin and Kay evolutionary sequence.

Colour nomenclature investigation is a critical issue in linguistics, philosophy, and anthropology (cf. Kay, Berlin and Merrifield, 1991; MacLaury, 1992; 1997; Hardin and Maffi, 1997; Cohen, 2000; Kay 2000;).² It is also one of the most contentious.³ Whatever the final verdict will be in terms of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis or psycholinguistic universals, colour research has repercussions in all areas of cognitive science. For this reason, if for nothing else, the Japanese case study merits close scrutiny.

Berlin and Kay, and basic colour terms

Berlin and Kay tested colour naming by presenting informants with an acetate chart of the spectrum, similar to samples of paint chips found in most hardware stores. The basic idea was to use an array of 320 colour chips taken from a flattened 'Mercator' projection of the three-dimensional colour sphere as given in *The Munsell Book of Color*, varying on the dimensions of hue and brightness. Informants were asked to mark on this erasable acetate which colours would match a particular term (e.g. 'please circle all the chips you call X'); they called this a color term's 'range'. In addition, informants were asked to pick a single chip on the array that was the best example of that term; thus termed a 'focal colour'.

As is well known, there was great variety between languages in how informants would choose colours. Different languages had different numbers of colours, as well as apparent differences in reference. For example, in an earlier similar study of Zuni and English, Lenneberg and Roberts (1956) found that while English YELLOW and ORANGE categories were separate, in Zuni they were one category. They also discovered that in English categories vary greatly in size (i.e. RED being very small and GREEN being very large), but Zuni categories were generally about the same size.

When such an array was presented to informants, it was found that almost any kind of configuration of colour names was possible. Until the late 1960s, colour was taken as the best, if not the only, empirically-grounded evidence for linguistic relativism. That is, it was thought that languages and cultures could vary in their colour nomenclature almost without constraint, and that there would be no *a priori* way of knowing how any particular colour term system might appear. Indeed, the variety found in colour nomenclature seemed to indicate that there is nothing inherent in either human perceptual facilities or the physical world that would compel a language to name some domain in any particular fashion.

However, Berlin and Kay re-examined colours using these techniques but with a slightly different — although ultimately very important — perspective. The critical theoretical insight made by Berlin and Kay was that colour terms need to be restricted and operationalized. There are many local colours in every language, for example, which mostly depend on the particulars of the environment. ‘This shirt is “the colour of the jaguar”’ makes sense, and is a perfectly good term, if everyone in the village has seen a jaguar. Westerners, of course, use thousands of these ‘secondary colour terms’ as well: denim blue, fire-engine red, olive green, birch white, and so on. In fact, much of modern marketing probably depends on the creation of secondary colour terms for products (such as the colours of automobiles or paints) which are appealing particularly because their secondary referents are very vivid and conjure up certain emotions, such as ‘chili pepper red’ for a hot new sports car. But what do you do if there are no fire engines, or jaguars, where you live? Are there some more general abstract notions of colours that all cultures seem to have?

Berlin and Kay decided to operationally define abstract ‘basic’ terms using a number of criteria, including the following (1969: 5–7):

1. The term in question is monolexemic and unanalysable. This means that compound terms or terms that are grammatically or morphologically modified should not be thought of as basic. Thus, ‘red’ and ‘blue’ are basic colours in English, but ‘reddish’, ‘blue-green’, or ‘light red’ are not. Also, a term’s meaning should not be predictable from the meaning of its parts (thus excluding words like ‘sunburst’ or ‘olive green’ as basic in English).
2. The meaning of the term in question is not included in the range of any other term; the focus of a basic colour term should not be included within the boundary of any other colour term. Thus, because ‘khaki’ is ‘a kind of brown’, it would not be an English basic colour term. This also means that subsets of colours are not basic colours. ‘Navy blue’ presumably is a kind of blue, and therefore not a basic colour term in English.
3. The term in question must have wide applicability, and not be restricted to any single referent — or just a few referents — but should exist as an abstract label widely applicable to all objects. Using this criteria, then, a

term like ‘blonde’ is not basic in English because it usually only refers to hair colour.

4. The term in question must be psychologically salient with respect to the number of speakers who use the term, and the number of occasions it is used; that is, the term must be psychologically conspicuous, either in terms of frequency of usage or extensive occurrence and acceptability in a speech community. Thus, ‘sepia’ in English would not qualify as a basic colour term as it is not well known to all speakers. This best way to grasp the notion of psychological salience is do a little experiment yourself. Take a moment and write down the first ten colour terms that come to mind. I suspect your list has words like ‘white’, ‘red’, ‘blue’, and ‘black’ in it. There is probably no ‘mauve’ or ‘chartreuse’ (just as in a box of crayons you would not find these colours unless you bought the giant unabridged set). This psychological salience is one of the most important criteria demonstrating basic colour term status.

They also argued that recent foreign loanwords are suspect, but I will argue that this is actually an important theoretical oversight.

Results

The results of the Berlin and Kay experiments were quite surprising. In brief, their conclusions were as follows:

1. In all languages, there were at least two, but no more than eleven or twelve, colour terms that could be considered as ‘basic’.
2. These basic colour terms were thought to label universal perceptual categories (‘psychological referents’) of which there are probably no more than eleven.
3. These basic colour categories are historically encoded in a given language in one of two possible orderings, as given in Figure 9.1.

This last finding is most intriguing and very important. Languages seem to develop colour categories in severely limited ways, in seven steps or stages (as labelled in roman numerals in Figure 9.1). All languages of the world have at least two terms: one for the whites and light colours (which I will call MACRO-WHITE) and one for the blacks and the dark colours (which I will call MACRO-BLACK). These are found at Stage I in Figure 9.1.⁴ If a language has only three basic colour terms (that is, it lies at Stage II in the chart), these colour categories would almost always cover the same range of chips: MACRO-WHITE (the whites and light colours), MACRO-BLACK (the blacks, purples, and dark colours), and MACRO-RED (the reds, oranges, yellows, and pinks). That is, the

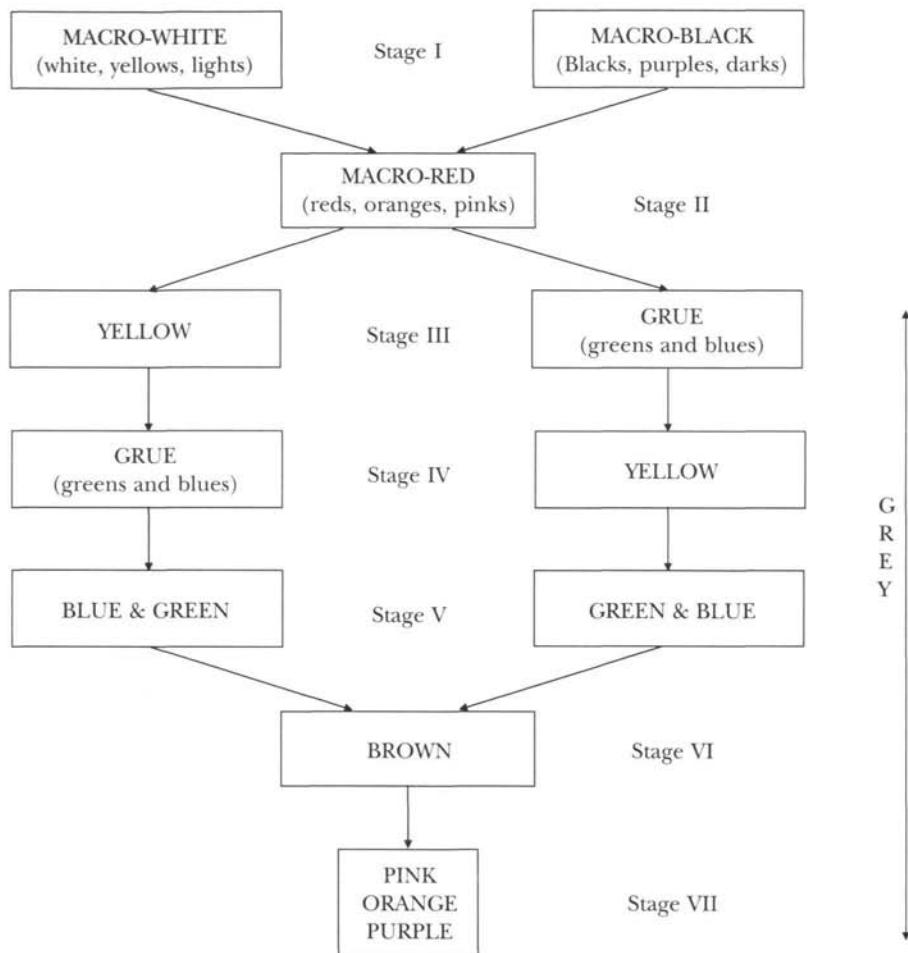


Figure 9.1 The modified initial Berlin and Kay colour encoding sequence

previous MACRO-WHITE category has split, giving up some of its light colours (the reds, oranges, and yellows) to form a new term, MACRO-RED.

Before I describe the next stages in Figure 9.1, I should define the GRUE term. Linguists, anthropologists, and psychologists have long recognized that many language-cultures have a single word that labels the colours that, most English speakers would say, covers all the green and blue hue (that is, they might, for instance, claim that fresh grass and a summer sky are the same colour). These languages are so common, in fact, that a special term — GRUE, a combination of green and blue, obviously — has been invented to talk about them. These speakers are by no means colour-blind; they just do not make

these distinctions in their everyday speech (much like English speakers ignore all the differences in the red and scarlet ranges unless they are compelled to do so). Although this is a simplification, it could be said that it was the ethnographic discovery a century ago that set the foundation for the interest in colour nomenclature that has fascinated anthropologists until the twenty-first century.

The next two stages (III and IV) in Figure 9.1 complement each other, as languages can develop in one of two ways in their growth of colour terminology. For the first case (shown on the right side of the chart), the next term to develop is a GRUE term (at Stage III) followed by a YELLOW term at Stage IV. The other possibility — shown on the left side — is that the YELLOW category will develop (Stage III) followed by a GRUE term at Stage IV. At Stage V, the GRUE term divides and the GREEN and BLUE separations occur; that is, all languages at this stage have six colour terms or categories: WHITE, BLACK, RED, YELLOW, BLUE, and GREEN. The next term to appear is BROWN at Stage VI. At Stage VII, the colours PINK, ORANGE, or PURPLE, could appear in any order or combination. (The GREY term, although usually occurring at Stage VII, is sort of a wild card, occasionally appearing at unusual places in the order at Stage III or later).

The significance of these findings was the discovery that ultimately the way languages divide up the colour spectrum is not arbitrary at all. If we assume for the moment that there are only eleven basic colour terms, there could be 2,048 different possible colour configurations (i.e. 2^{11}) taking these eleven terms and permuting them on their presence or absence in any given language. For example, we could theoretically find languages that have the following set of colour terms: RED, BLUE, PINK, and GREY; or BLACK, BROWN, and PURPLE; or BLUE, YELLOW, BROWN, PINK, PURPLE, and WHITE. But these are never found. If a language has, for instance, six basic colour terms (WHITE, BLACK, RED, GREEN, YELLOW, and BLUE), we know that the term which will always appear next is BROWN and no other.

Berlin and Kay also found a high degree of consistency in the naming of focal colours. For example, the chip that most informants named as the best example of RED in English usually matched closely with chips selected in other languages. Also, later experimental results from the fields by Rosch (1973) and others indicated that even for languages that did not have a particular colour label for a colour, the focal colour chips were always the ones most easily recalled or remembered. Berlin and Kay, then, concluded that these 'basic' colour terms were psychologically special, naming universal perceptual categories.

Language universals

The impact of Berlin and Kay's work was noticed immediately for its challenge to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. In the past three decades, hundreds of other studies seem to support the basic tenets of the Berlin and Kay model. Nevertheless, Berlin and Kay alone did not tap the final nails in the coffin of linguistic relativity.

In the mid-twentieth century, the intellectual climate underwent a real sea change in attitude towards languages and their structures. Until the 1950s scholars were relativists. They were most fascinated by the wonders and plethora of linguistic diversity found throughout the world. Non-Western languages did marvellous things that the Indo-European languages did not; time was counted in different ways, and words were found for concepts that Europeans had not an inkling of. Categories were created almost out of thin air. What did women, fire, and dangerous things, for example, all have in common that made the Dyirbal aboriginal Australians put them in the same class, presumably thinking of them as being all the same on some level?⁵ In many ways this was a holdover from the days of Franz Boas (1940), who made passionate arguments for relativism, mostly in a valiant attempt to undermine the scholarly racist claims popular until even the Second World War. To Boas, a belief in universalism usually led to comparisons that left the non-Western world wanting. Such beliefs were only one small step away from dangerous biological reductionism: people, and their language, are the way they are due to their biology (that is, their race). The rise of Nazi Germany and Nazi science did little to allay his fears.

However in the 1960s, a brilliant young linguist named Noam Chomsky wrote a series of books and monographs showing that 'grammar' across all the world's languages is very much the same, if you peel away at the language onion. On the surface, it at first appears that the almost infinite variety of structures and forms could not possibly be reconciled, much less shown to have the same underlying 'deep' structure, but this is exactly what Chomsky and his students have attempted. They have made a compelling, if at times overstated, case; but there is no doubt that there is much more linguistic similarity in the world than previously thought even a few decades ago. More importantly though, this 'transformational grammar' movement has swayed the court of scholarly opinion to a rejection of relativism in favour of universalism.⁶ The Berlin and Kay findings, coming when they did, were at the proverbial right place at the right time. But does this mean that linguistic relativity is dead (at least in the domain of colour)? We will see later that the theories of Sapir and Whorf, at least in their weaker versions, are still viable theoretical paradigms and still provide promising areas of research.

Cultures in contact: The Japanese case

In brief, I will argue that the Japanese colour lexicon actually consists of two sets of mutually exclusive terms, one of native origin, the other borrowed from English. I suggest that English loanwords are often replacing native Japanese colour terms, and that they seem to be doing so in reverse order in the Berlin and Kay evolutionary sequence as shown in Figure 9.1.

While conducting research on the use of English loanwords in Japan in general (in 1987, 1988, and 1998), I also collected data on colour terms because much of the colour vocabulary in contemporary Japanese is borrowed from English (cf. Stanlaw, 1987a; 1992a; 1992b; 1997a). The methods I

Table 9.1 Most frequently cited Japanese colour terms

Colour Term		Category	Frequency (#)
<i>shiro</i>	白	WHITE	88
<i>kuro</i>	黒	BLACK	84
<i>aka</i>	赤	RED	86
<i>ao</i>	青	BLUE	83
<i>ki-iro</i>	黄色	YELLOW	74
<i>midori</i>	緑	GREEN	70
<i>cha-iro</i>	茶色	BROWN	55
<i>murasaki</i>	紫	PURPLE	46
<i>momo-iro</i>	桃色	PINK	4
<i>daidai-iro</i>	だいだい色	ORANGE	4
<i>hai-iro</i>	灰色	GREY	14
<i>nezumi-iro</i>	鼠色	GREY	5
<i>kon</i>	紺	dark blue	24
<i>mizu-iro</i>	水色	light blue	22
<i>ki-midori</i>	黄緑	yellow-green	23
<i>kin-iro</i>	金色	gold	11
<i>gin-iro</i>	銀色	silver	13
<i>hada-iro</i>	肌色	flesh	6
<i>koge-cha</i>	焦げ茶	dark brown	5
<i>sora-iro</i>	空色	sky blue	5
<i>pinku</i>	ピンク	pink	39
<i>orenji</i>	オレンジ	orange	36
<i>guree</i>	グレー	grey	11
<i>buraun</i>	ビラウン	brown	9
<i>kaaki</i>	カーキ	khaki	8
<i>beedu</i>	ベージュ	beige	7
<i>kuriumu-iro</i>	クリーム色	cream	6
<i>remon</i>	レモン	lemon	6
<i>emerarudo</i>	エメラルド	emerald green	6
<i>guriin</i>	グリーン		

followed were similar to those described by Berlin and Kay, and generally used by most researchers on colour nomenclature. I first collected a list of colour terms by simply asking informants to name what they thought to be the salient colour terms in Japanese. If nothing else, I thought it might be useful to attempt to corroborate Berlin and Kay's original findings (which were collected in English from a single bilingual informant living in California). The results for this first task are shown in Table 9.1 (an expansion of Stanlaw, 1997a: 243).⁷

Table 9.1 presents the frequency counts for twenty-nine Japanese colour terms given as responses, including both native Japanese vocabulary items and English loanwords. Ninety-one people of various ages were asked to write down those colour terms they thought were most common or most important in everyday life in Japan. Participants were encouraged not to deliberate too long over this task (three to five minutes at most), and told that no more than the first fifteen terms would be examined. They were also informed that less than the maximum number of items was perfectly acceptable, and that they should use their own judgement regarding the number of terms they considered sufficient.

Participants in this survey ranged from 8 to 62 years old. For tabulation, informants have been divided into the following five groups: (1) elementary school students (aged 8, 9, or 10); (2) junior high and senior high school students; (3) university students or people in their early twenties; (4) adults aged 26 to 45; and (5) adults over 45. Younger students generally completed the task in groups in a classroom, or a class-like setting. Older students and adults often completed the task individually or in small groups, in locations suiting the convenience of the participants or research (e.g. an office, a private home, a university building). Discussion and instruction was generally conducted in Japanese, except in a few cases where the participants preferred using English. Table 9.2 (a expansion of Stanlaw, 1997a: 244) presents the number of times that participants, broken down by age, cited a particular form as an important colour term in Japanese.

The percentages next to each number indicate the fraction of the informants in that age group who cited that term. For example, 96 percent of the elementary school students (or 22 out of 23 school children) believed *shiro* (WHITE) to be an important and basic colour term. In the 'Total' column the percentages represent responses for all age categories taken in aggregate. For example, 97 percent (or 88 out of all 91 respondents) considered *shiro* (WHITE) to be an important colour term. Note that all percentages have been rounded off and terms that appeared fewer than four times are not cited. To facilitate reading, the data in both Tables 9.1 and 9.2 have been grouped into three sections: the original basic colour terms in Japanese given by Berlin and Kay, other native Japanese colour terms mentioned by informants, and English loanword colour terms given by informants.

Table 9.2 Percentage and frequencies of Japanese colour terms by age groups

		Elem. sch. (=23) %/#	Hi sch. (=9) %/#	Univer. (=35) %/#	Post-univ. (=18) %/#	Older (=6) %/#	Total (=91) %/#
<i>shiro</i>	白	96/22	88/8	97/34	100/18	100/6	97/88
<i>kuro</i>	黒	91/21	88/8	91/32	94/17	100/6	92/84
<i>aka</i>	赤	100/23	88/8	94/33	94/17	83/5	94/86
<i>ao</i>	青	100/23	88/8	91/32	89/16	66/4	91/83
<i>ki-iro</i>	黄色	83/19	77/7	80/28	77/14	100/6	81/74
<i>midori</i>	緑	96/22	66/6	74/26	72/13	50/3	77/70
<i>cha-iro</i>	茶色	65/15	55/5	51/18	66/12	83/5	60/55
<i>murasaki</i>	紫	83/19	55/5	17/6	61/11	83/5	50/46
<i>momo-iro</i>	桃色	4/1	0/0	0/0	5/1	33/2	4/4
<i>daidai-iro</i>	だいだい色	0/0	11/1	0/0	5/1	33/2	4/4
<i>hai-iro</i>	灰色	13/3	22/2	6/2	16/3	66/4	15/14
<i>nezumi-iro</i>	鼠色	4/1	0/0	0/0	5/1	50/3	5/5
*							
<i>kon</i>	紺	26/6	33/3	26/9	11/2	66/4	26/24
<i>mizu-iro</i>	水色	4/1	55/5	31/11	11/2	50/3	24/22
<i>ki-midori</i>	黄緑	13/3	44/4	31/11	11/2	50/3	25/23
<i>kin-iro</i>	金色	17/4	22/2	8/3	5/1	17/1	12/11
<i>gin-iro</i>	銀色	17/4	33/3	11/4	5/1	17/1	14/13
<i>hada-iro</i>	肌色	4/1	11/1	0/0	16/3	17/1	6/6
<i>koge-cha</i>	焦げ茶	0/0	22/2	0/0	11/2	17/1	5/5
<i>sora-iro</i>	空色	0/0	22/2	3/1	5/1	17/1	5/5
*							
<i>orenji</i>	オレンジ	43/10	33/3	45/16	28/5	33/2	39/36
<i>pinku</i>	ピンク	26/6	44/4	60/21	33/6	33/2	43/39
<i>guree</i>	グレー	4/1	22/2	17/6	11/2	0/0	12/11
<i>buraun</i>	ブラウン	0/0	22/2	14/5	11/2	0/0	10/9
<i>kaaki</i>	カーキ	4/1	22/2	11/4	5/1	0/0	9/8
<i>beeju</i>	ベージュ	4/1	22/2	6/2	11/2	0/0	7/7
<i>kuriimu-iro</i>	クリーム色	0/0	11/1	11/4	5/1	0/0	6/6
<i>remon</i>	レモン	0/0	11/1	11/4	5/1	0/0	6/6
<i>emerarudu guriin</i>	エメラルド グリーン	4/1	11/1	6/2	11/2	0/0	6/6

Note: Terms mentioned less than five times by informants are not listed; percentages are calculated on that fraction of those terms appearing above, ignoring terms not meeting the five-term criterion.

Table 9.3 (a expansion of Stanlaw, 1997a: 245) lists the colour terms given in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 in decreasing order of saliency for all informants. This table takes the percentages given in Table 9.2 and puts them in rank order, highest to lowest, regardless of a term's status as 'basic', loanword, or native Japanese colour term.

Most colour-research fieldworkers have noted that it is not always easy to determine the real basic colour terms in a language.⁸ In Japanese, the

Table 9.3 Rank ordering of Japanese colour terms

<i>shiro</i>	白	WHITE	97%
<i>aka</i>	赤	RED	94%
<i>kuro</i>	黒	BLACK	92%
<i>ao</i>	青	BLUE	91%
<i>ki-iro</i>	黄色	YELLOW	81%
<i>midori</i>	緑	GREEN	77%
*			
<i>cha-iro</i>	茶色	BROWN	60%
*			
<i>murasaki</i>	紫	PURPLE	50%
<i>pinku</i>	ピンク	pink	43%
<i>orenji</i>	オレンジ	orange	35%
<i>kon</i>	紺	dark blue	26%
<i>ki-midori</i>	黄緑	yellow-green	25%
<i>mizu-iro</i>	水色	light blue	24%
*			
<i>hai-iro</i>	灰色	GREY	15%
<i>gin-iro</i>	銀色	silver	14%
<i>guree</i>	グレー	grey	12%
<i>kin-iro</i>	金色	gold	12%
<i>buraun</i>	ブラウン	brown	10%
<i>kaaki</i>	カーキ	khaki	9%
<i>beedu</i>	ベージュ	beige	7%
<i>kuriimu-iro</i>	クリーム色	cream	6%
<i>remon</i>	レモン	lemon	6%
<i>emeraarudo guuin</i>	エメラルドグリーン	emerald green	6%
<i>hada-iro</i>	肌色	flesh	6%
<i>nezumi-iro</i>	鼠色	GREY	5%
<i>sora-iro</i>	空色	sky blue	5%
<i>koge-cha</i>	焦げ茶	dark brown	5%
<i>momo-iro</i>	桃色	PINK	4%
<i>daidai-iro</i>	だいだい色	ORANGE	4%

difficulties in defining basic colour terms are compounded by several factors. First, the Japanese morphological system regarding colour terms is rather intricate. Every Japanese colour term can, or must, interact with a number of productive morphemes. For example, there are many complexities regarding colour adjectival forms, and the use of productive morphemes to indicate the degree of saturation of hue (e.g. . . . -gakatta, 'tinged with . . .'; or . . . -ppoi, ' . . . -ish') are often problematic. Almost any Japanese noun can be made into a colour term by simply adding the suffix *-iro* ('coloured') (Stanlaw, 1987a: 85–118).

Such problems are exacerbated even more when we consider the second point: how colour terms are used in the Japanese writing system. Simply put,

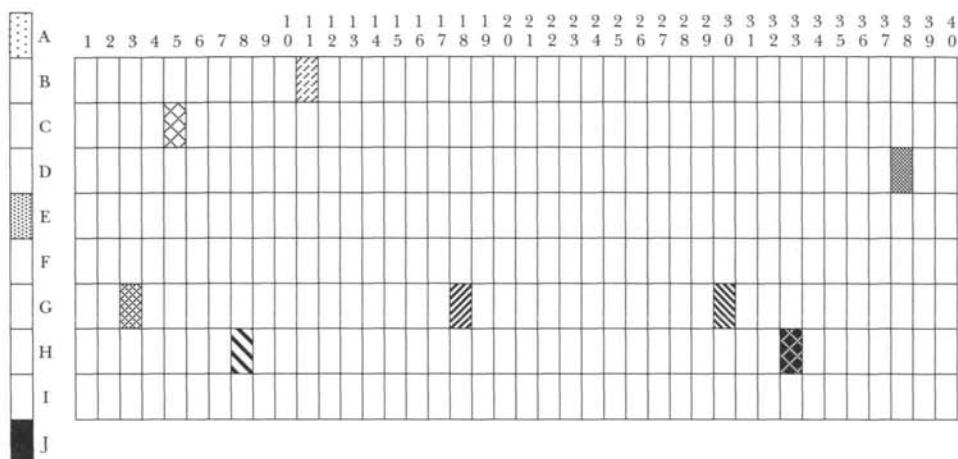
the problem comes down to what actually constitutes a word in Japanese. Is it a spoken set of phonemes? Or is it a written character or set of characters that are the units of analysis? As we have seen in Chapter 4 (see also the Appendix) that, because Sino-Japanese characters were borrowed more than a millennium ago over the course of several centuries, most Japanese characters today have a multitude of pronunciations. For example, if the BLUE colour term is thought to be *ao-iro* (青色), what is the status of the alternate pronunciation of this set of characters, *sei-shokū*?

We see, then, that the traditional Berlin and Kay criteria of unanalysability, productivity, and morphological complexity — as given above — may not be sufficient to determine a lexeme's basic colour term status in Japanese. However, recall that two other criteria remain. Berlin and Kay claim that a candidate basic colour term's signification should not be included in the range of any other term. They also argue that a basic colour term must be psychologically salient for informants. Evidence for this would include occurrence at the beginning of elicitation lists, and occurrence in the idiolects of all informants. Therefore, I used these two criteria as the main determinants of basic colour term status in Japanese: frequency salience, and the evidence of inclusion from the mapping tasks.

The literature suggests that frequency salience is actually a very good indicator of basic-ness. For example, Hayes, et al. (1972) in a statistical analysis of five literary languages (English, Spanish, French, German, and Russian, with additional evidence from Hebrew and Romanian) found that salience — when defined as frequency of use — correlates with the order of the Berlin and Kay evolutionary sequence. That is, in general, the most frequently-used terms in these languages are WHITE and BLACK, the next most frequently-used term is RED, and so on, throughout the evolutionary order. Using later sets of English frequency tables (e.g. from Francis and Kučera, 1982 and Carroll et al.; 1971), I found support for Hayes' conclusions (which used data gathered in the 1940s). Also, evidence, too, from Bolton (1978) and Bolton, Curtis, and Thomas (1980) generally is confirming.

In examining frequency data of Japanese newspapers and magazines gathered by the Japanese National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, 1964; 1970; 1971; 1972; 1973), I found that frequency/salience seems to correlate with the Berlin and Kay evolutionary sequence (Stanlaw, 1987a: 111–6). Thus, there appears to be strong evidence to believe that the salience data given in Tables 9.1, 9.2, and 9.3 reflect basic colour term status in Japanese to at least a fair degree.

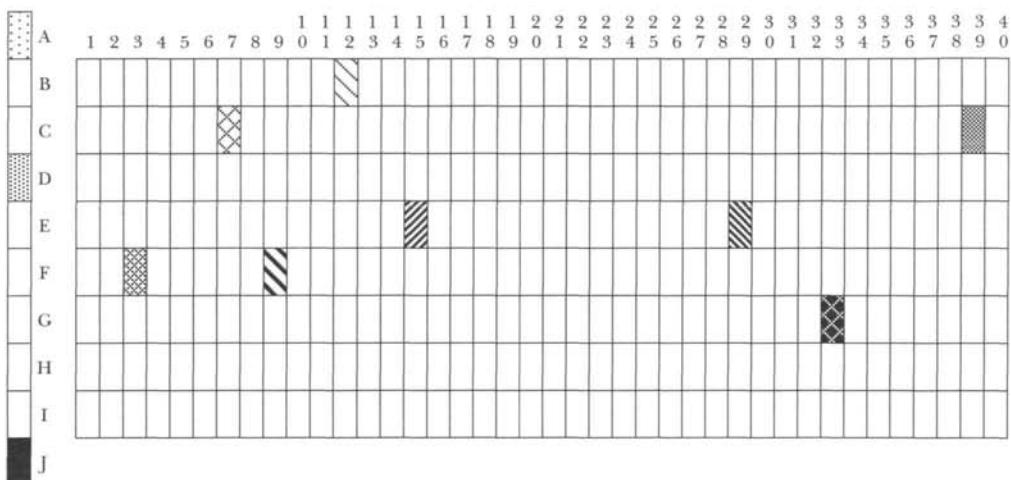
Informants were also asked to perform a mapping task using the most frequently-found terms in Table 9.3. This was an extension of the Berlin and Kay data given for Japanese (p. 123) using both (1) a much larger number of informants, and (2) a greater sample of candidate basic colour terms (namely, English loanword colour terms and some other native Japanese colour terms



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category	Other Japanese special terms
	<i>shiro</i>	WHITE	—
	<i>kuro</i>	BLACK	—
	<i>aka</i>	RED	<i>seki-shoku</i>
	<i>ao</i>	BLUE	<i>sei-shoku</i>
	<i>ki-iro</i>	YELLOW	<i>o-shoku</i>
	<i>midori</i>	GREEN	<i>ryoku-shoku</i>
	<i>cha-iro</i>	BROWN	<i>kasshoku</i>
	<i>murasaki</i>	PURPLE	—
	<i>daidai-iro</i>	ORANGE	—
	<i>momo-iro</i>	PINK	—
	<i>hai-iro</i>	GREY	—
	<i>kon</i>	dark blue	—
	<i>mizu-iro</i>	light blue	—
	<i>ki-midori</i>	yellow-green	<i>oo-ryoku-shoku</i>

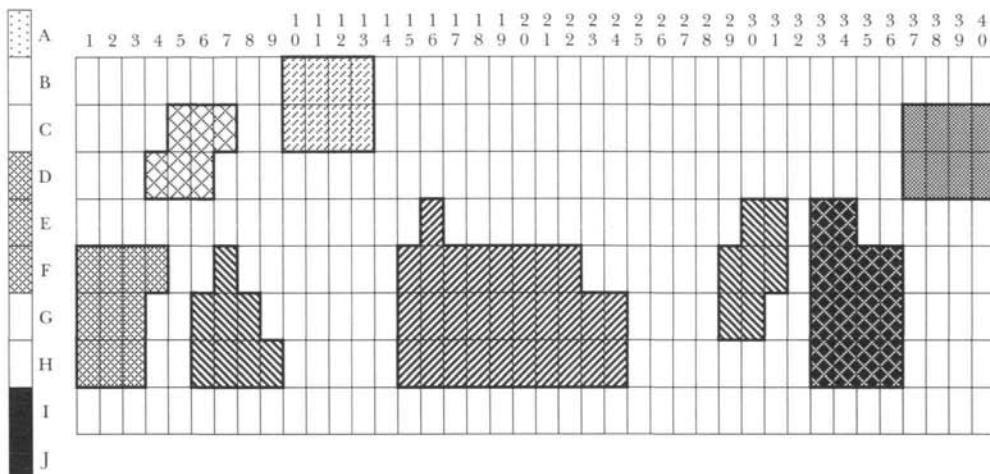
Figure 9.2 Modal foci for native Japanese colour terms



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category
shiro	howaito	WHITE
kuro	burakku	BLACK
aka	reddo	RED
ao	buruu	BLUE
ki-iro	ieroo	YELLOW
midori	guriin	GREEN
cha-iro	buraun	BROWN
murasaki	paapuru	PURPLE
daidai-iro	orenji	ORANGE
momo-iro	pinku	PINK
hai-iro	guree	GREY

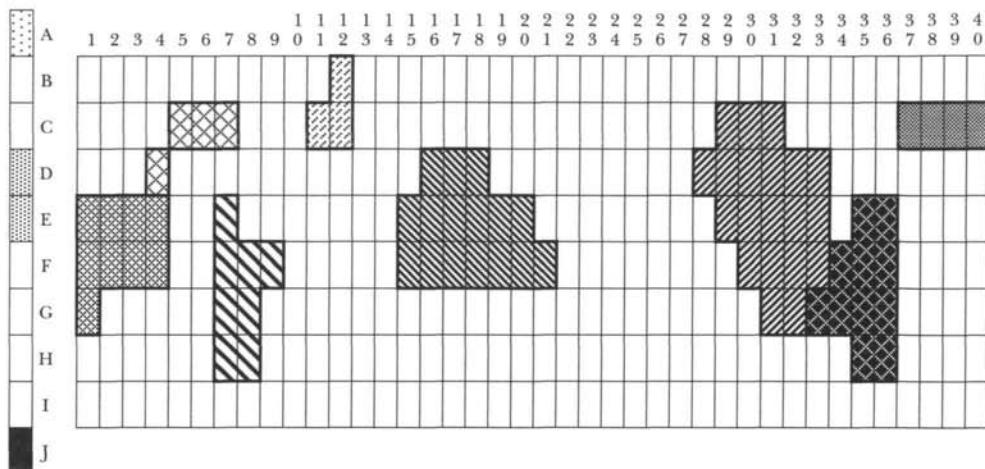
Figure 9.3 Modal foci for English loanword colour terms



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category
	<i>shiro</i>	WHITE
	<i>kuro</i>	BLACK
	<i>aka</i>	RED
	<i>ao</i>	BLUE
	<i>ki-iro</i>	YELLOW
	<i>midori</i>	GREEN
	<i>cha-iro</i>	BROWN
	<i>murasaki</i>	PURPLE
	<i>daidai-iro</i>	ORANGE
	<i>momo-iro</i>	PINK
	<i>hai-iro</i>	GREY

Figure 9.4 Native Japanese colour terms (ranges at the 50% level)



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category
shiro	howaito	WHITE
kuro	burakku	BLACK
aka	reddo	RED
ao	buruu	BLUE
ki-iro	ieroo	YELLOW
midori	guriin	GREEN
cha-iro	buraun	BROWN
murasaki	paapuru	PURPLE
daidai-iro	orenji	ORANGE
momo-iro	pinku	PINK
hai-iro	guree	GREY

Figure 9.5 English loanword colour terms (ranges at the 50% level)

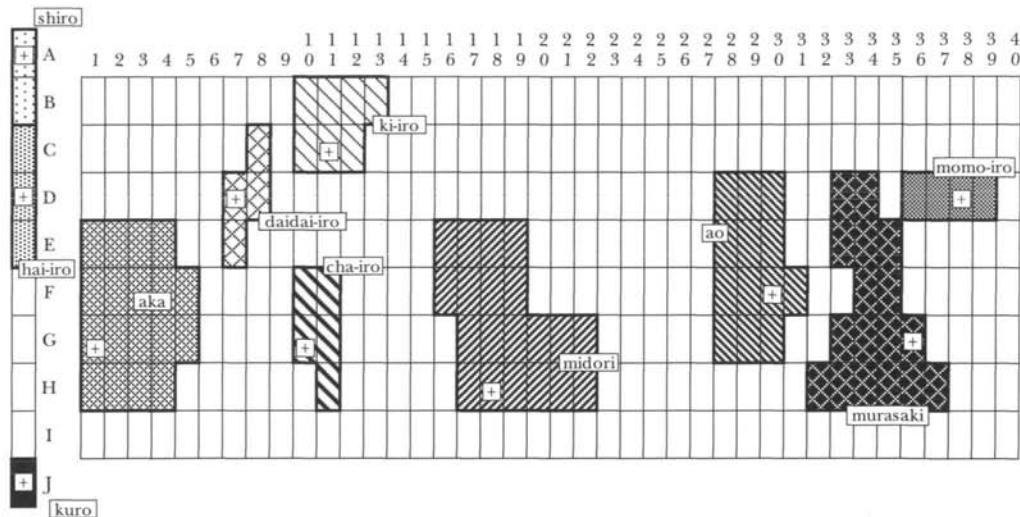
that appear to satisfy many of the 'basic' criteria). Figures 9.2 and 9.3 give the modal focal colours for the eleven Berlin-Kay colour categories in Japanese, both for native terms and English loanwords (Stanlaw, 1997a: 248–9). Figures 9.4 and 9.5 do the same for category ranges (Stanlaw, 1997a: 250–1).

An examination of these figures shows several things. In particular, we should notice that English loanword colour terms are not mapped synonymously with native Japanese colour terms. This was common for most informants interviewed. For example, Figures 9.6 (Stanlaw, 1997a: 252) and 9.7 show the native Japanese and English loanword colour maps for one typical informant, Y. K., a 25-year-old female. Figures 9.8 (Stanlaw, 1997a: 253) and 9.9 show the data gathered from a 21-year-old male (K. E.).⁹ In both cases, it is easily seen that the focal colours (marked with a plus sign) and the ranges vary extensively. In general, the number of chips chosen as focals for native Japanese colour categories is different from those chosen for English loanword colours, and most focals seem to be brighter by at least one step on the brightness level than their native Japanese counterparts. When considering the ranges of the colour terms, a similar phenomenon is found. That is, in general, English loanword colour terms seem to be thought of as brighter than their native Japanese correspondents.

Using the mapping data above, and the salience data given in Tables 9.1, 9.2, and 9.3, a set of basic colour terms might look like that found in Table 9.4 (an extension of Stanlaw, 1997a: 254).

Table 9.4 A possible set of basic colour terms in Japanese

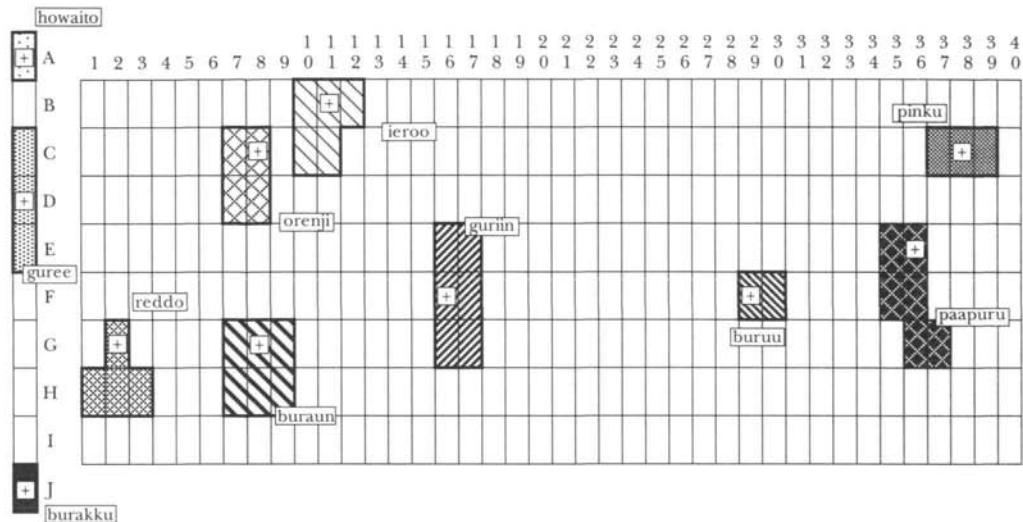
1. <i>shiro</i>	白	WHITE
2. <i>kuro</i>	黒	BLACK
3. <i>aka</i>	赤	RED
4. <i>ao</i>	青	BLUE
5. <i>ki-iro</i>	黄色	YELLOW
6. <i>midori</i>	緑	GREEN
7. <i>cha-iro</i>	茶色	BROWN
8. <i>murasaki</i>	紫	PURPLE
9. <i>pinku</i>	ピンク	PINK
10. <i>orenji</i>	オレンジ	ORANGE
11. <i>hai-iro/</i> <i>guree</i>	はいいろ グレー	GREY
12. <i>kon</i>	紺	[DARK BLUE]



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category	Other Japanese special terms
shiro	howaito	WHITE	—
kuro	buraku	BLACK	—
aka	reddo	RED	seki-shoku
ao	buruu	BLUE	sei-shoku
ki-iro	ieroo	YELLOW	o-shoku
midori	guriin	GREEN	ryoku-shoku
cha-iro	buraun	BROWN	kasshoku
murasaki	paapuru	PURPLE	—
daidai-iro	orenji	ORANGE	—
momo-iro	pinku	PINK	—
hai-iro	guree	GREY	—
kon	—	dark blue	—
mizu-iro	—	light blue	—
ki-midori	—	yellow-green	oo-ryoku-shoku

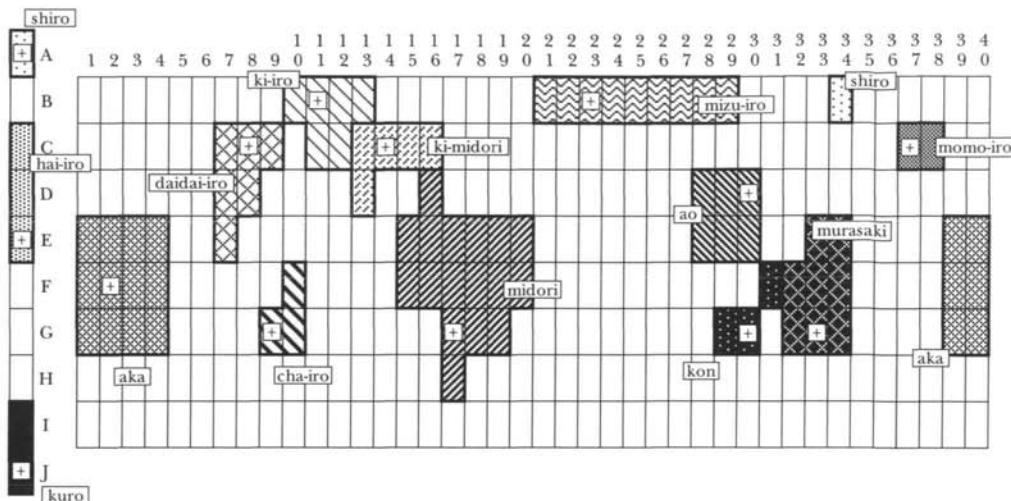
Figure 9.6 Native Japanese colour terms (Y.K.)



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category	Other Japanese special terms
shiro	howaito	WHITE	—
kuro	buraku	BLACK	—
aka	reddo	RED	seki-shoku
ao	buruu	BLUE	sei-shoku
ki-iro	ieroo	YELLOW	o-shoku
midori	guriin	GREEN	ryoku-shoku
cha-iro	buraun	BROWN	kasshoku
murasaki	paapuru	PURPLE	—
daidai-iro	orenji	ORANGE	—
momo-iro	pinku	PINK	—
hai-iro	guree	GREY	—
kon	—	dark blue	—
mizu-iro	—	light blue	—
ki-midori	—	yellow-green	oo-ryoku-shoku

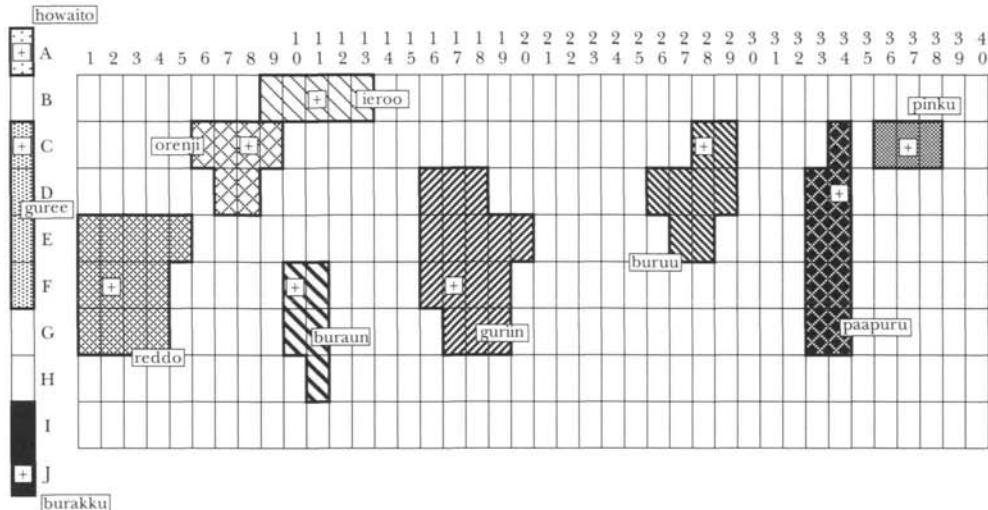
Figure 9.7 English loanword colour terms (Y.K.)



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category	Other Japanese special terms
	<i>shiro</i>	WHITE	—
	<i>kuro</i>	BLACK	—
	<i>aka</i>	RED	<i>seki-shoku</i>
	<i>ao</i>	BLUE	<i>sei-shoku</i>
	<i>ki-iro</i>	YELLOW	<i>o-shoku</i>
	<i>midori</i>	GREEN	<i>ryoku-shoku</i>
	<i>cha-iro</i>	BROWN	<i>kasshoku</i>
	<i>murasaki</i>	PURPLE	—
	<i>daidai-iro</i>	ORANGE	—
	<i>momo-iro</i>	PINK	—
	<i>hai-iro</i>	GREY	—
	<i>kon</i>	dark blue	—
	<i>mizu-iro</i>	light blue	—
	<i>ki-midori</i>	yellow-green	<i>oo-ryoku-shoku</i>

Figure 9.8 Native Japanese colour terms (K.E.)



Key

Native Japanese colour term	English loanword colour term	Berlin/Kay category	Other Japanese special terms
	<i>howaito</i>	WHITE	—
	<i>burakku</i>	BLACK	—
	<i>reddo</i>	RED	<i>seki-shoku</i>
	<i>buruu</i>	BLUE	<i>sei-shoku</i>
	<i>iero</i>	YELLOW	<i>o-shoku</i>
	<i>guriin</i>	GREEN	<i>ryoku-shoku</i>
	<i>buraun</i>	BROWN	<i>kasshoku</i>
	<i>paapuru</i>	PURPLE	—
	<i>orenji</i>	ORANGE	—
	<i>pinku</i>	PINK	—
	<i>guree</i>	GREY	—
	—	dark blue	—
	—	light blue	—
	—	yellow-green	<i>oo-ryoku-shoku</i>

Figure 9.9 English loanword colour terms (K.E.)

The first thing to notice about this list, or the data given in Table 9.3, is that the Berlin and Kay proposed order is closely followed, at least for the first eight Japanese colour terms. The sole exception is that *aka* (RED) is just slightly more salient than *kuro* (BLACK). Apart from this very minor deviation, the rank order does nothing to contradict the theoretical evolutionary sequence. However, from rank eight on, the connections with the Berlin and Kay order are almost completely severed.

In places 9, 10, and 11 of Table 9.4, the Berlin and Kay sequence predicts that we should find *momo-iro* (PINK; literally 'peach-coloured'), *daidai-iro* (ORANGE; literally 'orange-coloured'), and *nezumi-iro* (GREY; literally 'mouse-coloured') or *hai-iro* (GREY; literally 'ash-coloured') as the next colour categories, in any order. Instead, in the next three ranks we find two English loanword colour terms — *pinku* ('pink') and *orenji* ('orange') — and a native Japanese colour term, *kon* (something like 'dark blue'). Interestingly, both loanwords *pinku* and *orenji* appear in the sequence where we would expect the PINK and ORANGE category terms to be. However, the native Japanese *momo-iro* (PINK) was only given by 4 percent of informants, while the English loanword *pinku* was given by 43 percent. Likewise, *daidai-iro* (ORANGE) was named by only 4 percent of informants while the English loanword *orenji* was cited by 39 percent. Apparently, these two English loanword colour terms are, in effect, substituting for the native Japanese terms as labels for the PINK and ORANGE categories.

The next five ranks in Table 9.4 are also in contradiction to the standard model. *Hai-iro* (Berlin and Kay's Japanese GREY term) appears but so does *guree* (the English loanword 'grey') shortly afterward; both were named by about 12 to 15 percent of informants. The other Japanese GREY term, *nezumi-iro*, was only named by 5 percent of respondents. Several English loanword colour terms, then, are highly salient in the minds of most Japanese informants. *Pinku*, *orenji*, and *guree* are used much more frequently than the corresponding Japanese terms *momo-iro* (PINK), *daidai-iro* (ORANGE), and *nezumi-iro* (GREY) which are cited as basic by Berlin and Kay. These native Japanese colour terms do not appear until the very bottom of the list in Table 9.4. In other words, at least these three English loanword colour terms — *pinku*, *orenji* and *guree* — seem to be as basic as their native Japanese equivalents, and in fact, may be replacing them for all practical purposes. Indeed, English loanword colour terms may be in the process of replacing a number of native Japanese colour terms, and I suggest that Japanese may be substituting English loanword colour terms for native Japanese forms in reverse order of the evolutionary sequence. For example, we might predict that native Japanese *murasaki* (PURPLE) or *cha-iro* (BROWN) could be the next colour terms that are replaced (by the loanwords *paapuru* and *buraun* respectively).

One other piece of evidence suggests that these replacements of native Japanese colour terms have become firmly established in the minds of

Japanese. The eminent Princeton linguist Seiichi Makino has recently compiled, along with two colleagues, Seiichi Nakada and Mieko Ohso, an intriguing new kind of English-Japanese dictionary (Makino et al., 1999). As far as I know, this is the first dictionary of its kind, based strictly on bilingual semantics rather than mere glosses. For example, for English PINK Makino and his colleagues show (p. 703) that what this term refers to is 'a pale red colour'. To their way of thinking, the two Japanese terms for PINK — *momo-iyo* and *pinku* — both refer to slightly different ideas ('the colour of peach flowers' and 'a pale bluish red colour' respectively). That is, neither 'peach' nor 'pale bluish red' correspond exactly to 'pale red'. Likewise, there are differences in use. While it is possible to have both terms to modify a sweater — as in {*momo-iyo* / *pinku*} no *seetaa* 桃色／ピンクのセーター 'a pink sweater' — *momo-iyo* cannot be used to modify, say, lipstick: {**momo-iyo* / *pinku*} no *kuchibeni* *桃色／ピンクの口 'pink lipstick'.

Apart from the restrictions on the PINK term, the citations in this dictionary seem to suggest that the replacement hypothesis may be justified. For example, no citation is given for *daidai-iyo*, the traditional native Japanese ORANGE term (and the one used by Berlin and Kay), but *orenji* is given. For GREY terms, it is noted (p. 409) that for fashion and clothes the native Japanese terms *hai-iyo* and *nezumi-iyo* carry negative connotations, with the loanword *geree* being preferred. As dictionaries are intentionally composed by lexicographers, it cannot necessarily be assumed that their citations reflect statistical saliency in the real world. However, there is nothing here that counters the replacement hypothesis.

The significance of the Japanese colour categories, and their effects on language

There are two fundamental questions regarding the Berlin and Kay evolutionary sequence (i.e. the order shown in Figure 9.1): (1) Why does the evolutionary sequence exist in the first place, and (2) what are the mechanisms that cause a language/culture to move along the sequence? As yet, no one has given a definitive answer to the first question, although some (e.g. Kay and McDaniel, 1978) have argued for a physiological or neurological explanation. I will not go further into the first question here, although I have previously argued (1987a) that languages encode colour terms by alternating on extremes of brightness and hue. The second question, however, is no less vexing, and is equally important. The Japanese data again suggests that the standard Berlin and Kay model needs to be extended in several crucial ways.

Berlin and Kay have tried to explain the dynamics of the evolutionary colour term sequence as due to cultural and technological complexity. They argue that in small societies, where the local environment is well known to

everyone, secondary colour terms are not only sufficient but actually advantageous. If all people know 'plant X', then the secondary colour term 'colour of plant X' carries more information than some hypothetical abstract colour name. When technology and group size increase, general abstract colour terms are required to convey information to people who may not have the same referent in their environment. Increasing technology, especially with regards to colour-processing such as dyeing, would also require more emphasis on abstract colour terms.

These arguments no doubt contain some truth. The Berlin and Kay data (1969: 16) indicates that cultures with small populations and limited technologies have few basic colour terms, while complex and highly industrialized societies have the most. But what happens when a culture reaches a certain level of technological sophistication and linguistic development with respect to basic colour terms? Do they stop evolving? There is no reason to assume so, although it might be hard for (say, English) speakers at the pinnacle of the sequence to imagine how subsequent stages would appear. Yet it is probably equally bizarre for the Dani, with only two basic colour terms in their language, to imagine how and for what purpose the Europeans construct their colour world.

The Japanese data suggests at least three techniques which could encourage further development of the evolutionary sequence: (1) a language/culture could create new basic colour categories (such as a 'dark blue' or a 'yellow-green'); (2) a language/culture could increase the number of terms available for basic colour term status through extensive borrowing of loanwords; and (3) a language/culture could replace native terms in the evolutionary sequence with loanwords. All three processes are found in the illustrations in this chapter.

The first case would posit the existence of unanalysable, mono-lexemic, 'basic' terms labelling a distinctly defined colour space. Native Japanese terms such as *kon* (dark blue), and possibly a few others, indicate that Japanese may have twelve or more basic colour categories (as opposed to the maximum of eleven cited by Berlin and Kay) (cf. Stanlaw, 1987a; 1997a). The number of English loanword colour terms found in Japanese is extensive. Besides some of the 'basic' English labels, several borrowed English secondary colour terms, like *kaaki* ('khaki'), *beeju* ('beige'), *remon* ('lemon'), *kuriimu-iro* ('cream-coloured'), or *emerarudu guriin* ('emerald green'), are more salient than many Japanese basic or secondary colour terms. Thus, a pool of abstract terms (i.e. those not as strongly connected to a referent as are many native Japanese labels) could be available for use in creating new colour descriptions or creating new colour categories.

The third mechanism, replacing native Japanese colour terms by English loanwords, could let the native terms become re-lexified, possibly taking new denotative and connotative meaning. They might even eventually come to label a new basic colour category.

Obviously, the presence of every English loanword colour term — basic or secondary — does not imply the existence of a new category in the Japanese colour nomenclature system. However, considering the length of time required for languages to evolve, availability might increase probability. An awareness of English loanword colour terms — presumably known by speakers to be different somehow from native Japanese colour terms — might prompt people to experiment with these auxiliary terms in a wide variety of ways.

Conclusion: Loanwords, universals and particulars

The English loanword colour term evidence shows interesting universalist and particularist interactions when colours and cultures come in contact. General universalist properties, like the Berlin and Kay encoding sequence, are found for the Japanese data, but we have seen also how specific social and linguistic situations, such as borrowing, modified them. That is, the universalist arguments of Berlin and Kay do not necessarily refute all Whorfian considerations under all conditions. Languages can certainly vary semantically, but obviously not without constraint; people cannot just call anything anything, after all. However, these constraints are often a complex interface of both human cognitive universals, and the particulars of cultures and languages in contact. It is on this edge that much of the linguistic and social action takes place.

10

Sense, sensation, and symbols: English in the realm of the senses

Introduction

In this chapter I will first discuss some relationships between perception, culture, and language in Japan. This in itself is hardly original. Semioticians, whether Asian specialists or not, have long been interested in this country. As we have seen in Chapter 7, this so-called 'empire of signs', as one of the most famous French scholars (Barthes, 1982) called the islands, is supposedly fraught with marauding signifiers of every kind, and the humblest of gestures is vested with arcane meaning and Eastern mystery. Much has been said about Japan's infatuation with the West, but the West has been equally fascinated with Japan, whether it be the marvels of a culture in miniature or the quaintness of old temples juxtaposed between modern skyscrapers and bullet trains.

Linguists and anthropologists have also found Japan to be an interesting place. Often, Japanese is chosen to demonstrate different facets of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, where some peculiarity of a language is thought to influence behaviour, cognition, and indeed perception itself.¹ I have also made such arguments myself (Stanlaw, 1987a; 1997a). However, while Japan is unique in many ways, it is important not to carry this notion too far (Dale, 1986). Sometimes, as I hope to show here, Japan can actually be seen as representative of some processes that, I suspect, occur in many other places, albeit in modified and specific forms.

In this chapter, which is an extrapolation of the previous chapters in some ways, I argue that there is a relationship between the senses and many English loanwords found in Japanese. I will make two claims regarding the ways perception influences language. First, it appears that every language or culture has some 'basic' sensations which seem especially prominent. That is, things like certain colours, flavours, smells, or tones seem more salient, and more easily identified, than others. These may be (1) highly biological or physiological (as with the universal colour categories described by Berlin and

Kay [1969], and in Chapter 9); (2) highly cultural (as with the acquired palate of some culture's cuisine, or the appreciation of the sounds of some music system); or (3) an indeterminate mixture of both (as in tactile sensations).

Second, I claim that languages have a number of cognitive or linguistic devices, such as invention, analogy, and making metonymic connections, to handle the more vague, non-predominant, sensations. In Japanese, one common technique is the extensive use of English loanwords. For example, when asked to name unusual or ambiguous colours, Japanese speakers often create English names like 'grey purple'. In another instance, a food packager used the English loanword *dorai aisu* ('dry ice') to name their unusual fruit candy that consists of a hard outside shell for freshness enclosing a dry ice powder. I will present other similar cases from the realms of sight (colour), taste (food), hearing (music), and touch (sex). Thus, this chapter examines one particular mechanism, or device, of this innovation in light of current linguistic and anthropological thinking on classification.

I will present in more detail the 'modal sensation hypothesis', and describe a mechanism by which Japanese handles non-dominant or non-basic sensations. Japanese examples of this claim, for all the senses, are given in the following section. Japanese sensory synesthesia will then be discussed in the last section. I will conclude this chapter with a few brief comments about Japanese being representative of linguistic processes common to all languages.

English loanwords as Japanese sensational experiences

As mentioned, I first became interested in loanwords while examining how English colour terms are used in Japanese. Later, I began investigating how English loanwords are also used extensively in packaged and processed foods. I found what I thought were some interesting similarities in how they are used in both contexts. Many of the same sociolinguistic strategies seen in the domain of colour nomenclature are also applied to foods.

As I mentioned in Chapters 8 and 9, many of my Japanese informants would invent new English 'colour' terms when asked to name unusual colours that they could not easily name. Instances of this included terms such as *howaito-buruu* ('white blue') or *peeru-paapuru* ('pale purple'). These are terms that, I think, are rarely used by other Japanese people. That is, in the face of an ambiguous perceptual event, English loanwords — as a sort of default option — were chosen to describe it.

Likewise, in Japanese packaged food, English is often used to describe peculiar tastes, textures, or uses. As an example, consider Sakuma Company's *Sankan Haabu Nodo Ame* ('Sankan-Orange Herb Throat Candy'; *sankan* = a kind of orange; *nodo* = 'throat'; *ame* = a traditional Japanese wheat candy; *heebu* = 'herb'). It uses *Ekinasea* + *Haabu Eksu Haigoo!* ('A combination of *Echinacea*

plus the *Essence of Herbs*; *ekinasea* = 'echinacea'; *ekisu* = 'essence or 'exrtact'; *haigoo* = 'mixture' or 'combination'). The packaging is given below:

さんかんハーブのど飴
エキナセア+ハーブエキス配合！

This product is for those who want to smooth their throats, but it can be taken by anyone. It is a hard candy that is dried syrup of a blend of twenty-one herbs, combined with echinacea.

Another example is seen in Eitaro's *Anmitsu* あんみつ (*Kuromitsu* 黒みつ) summer treat: a 'brown-sugared red-bean paste' fruit cup. The box tells us in both Japanese and English (exactly as punctuated) that this food is named:

あんみつ

黒みつ

This traditional Japanese sweet,
produced by Eitaro, Inc, since 1857 is
made from fresh fruits, pure agar,
fine sugar, and spring water

This use of English is all the more remarkable as foods such as *anmitsu* are typical summer snacks and desserts, with a long history. Thus, in the face of uncertainty, ambiguous colours were often easily named with English loanwords (although often informants could use Japanese terms only with some difficulty). Likewise, what else could you name a candy with a strawberry centre surrounded by a yoghurt cube, like a caramel, besides *STRAWBERRY YOGHURT CHOCOLATE* as we have seen in Chapter 8?

Another sociolinguistic strategy I found that Japanese informants employed was to use English colour terms judiciously for prestige effects, or as euphemisms. No women, as I mentioned, would want to buy a grey dress that is *nezumi-iro* (literally meaning 'mouse coloured'), a standard Japanese term for 'grey'), but they are more than happy to wear one that is *guree*. In situations such as these, an English loanword colour term could often be used in place of a more normal 'basic' colour term. In a similar way, while few 'diet' foods or soft drinks are found in Japan, 'light' this and that are everywhere. This is because 'diet' is often understood by Japanese to mean something negative; dieting is thought to be something that obese or fat people must do, rather than something normal people do as part of a regular health regimen.

I also found that English loanwords can be used as alternative vocabulary items, or cover different semantic ranges from their native Japanese counterparts. A perennial question in language-contact and language-borrowing situations is to what extent the old indigenous lexemes and new borrowed items overlap in semantic space (Allen, 1986a; 1986b). I have argued

(Stanlaw, 1987a; 1997a) that in many linguistic domains in Japan, such as colour terminology or numbers, the English loanwords and native Japanese term label different referents. For instance, *reddo* is not a synonym for *aka* ('red'), nor *wan* for *ichi* ('one'). I believe similar things may be occurring with foods or other domains. For example, almost all informants told me that they knew that the English loanword *sutoruberii* ('strawberry') was *ichigo* in native Japanese, and that *appuru* ('apple') was *ringo*. However, most felt that *strawberry* or *sutoruberii* were the more appropriate names for most of the packaged foods that were used in the sample I examined.² In other words, there may be some similarities between the semantics of native Japanese terms and English loanwords; but they are not synonymous, and do not mean exactly the same thing.

It is possible that the English loanword phenomenon found in the domain of food is just the taste-counterpart to the visual responses in the domain of colour. In Japanese, there may be a similar 'linguistic synesthesia' occurring between these two domains. It is not clear if Japanese gourmets 'taste' foods named with English loanwords, like *BLUE DRY ICE* candies, differently from those named with native Japanese terms. However, the connotations and psychological responses may often be different, and that alone might be enough to influence physiological, and indeed, culinary, response. I will argue in the following sections that similar kinds of responses are also found in the areas of hearing, touch, smell, and mental-psychological states.

The modal sensations hypothesis

In every culture-language, there are certain sensations that are somehow more salient or important than others. Backhouse (1994) shows us that Japanese is no exception. Some colours, tones, tastes, flavours, or scents seem to be more readily perceived and identified than others. I will call this the modal sensations hypothesis. Due to the nature of cross-cultural research, and the problems of translating terms across languages, this claim is obviously very difficult to be actually established experimentally. It may ultimately be that such a premise is as much philosophical as it is empirical.

That said, there is nonetheless qualitative and ethnographic evidence that at least suggests this possibility. I will mention two cases. Stoller (1989), for example, shows the importance of certain tastes (among other things) in Songhay culture in Niger. A cook's meeting, or not meeting, the expectations of how some sauce should taste sends very clear messages to the guests at dinner. Feld's (1982) ethnography of sound in Kaluli culture in Papua New Guinea shows that particular bird calls permeate the society, reify the cycle of life and death, and become encoded in the language and the poetry of the Kaluli.

It is probable that these more salient percepts derive from at least three sources. First, they may be highly determined by human biology, physiology, or psychology. Perhaps the best example of this is the universality of the 'basic' colour terms discovered by Berlin and Kay (1969). True fire engine red, for example, is more readily attended to, or more easily remembered and recalled later, than some pale or light off-red colour. This seems to be true even in languages that do not have actual names for these basic colours. Berlin, Kay, and many other researchers in colour nomenclature theory believe that the structure of the eye's rods and cones, and the way the brain processes these stimuli, explain why certain colours are more salient than others.

At the same time, these modal sensations might also be highly determined by culture. Anyone who has ever sampled the real cuisine of another society can easily attest to this. While human physiology probably operates the same way in all humans, what a Midwestern American may consider spicy to the point of excess, a Pakistani or Thai might consider bland to the point of inedibility. Likewise, musical systems differ radically from culture to culture. Sound forms that are considered pleasant in one culture may do nothing for someone from somewhere else. In Western music, when people start hearing a so-called five-one cadence winding down, they know the end of the piece is about to occur and they get ready for the appropriate aesthetic response. This anticipation cannot be made, say, if listening to Indonesian music, where cycles within cycles are the temporal factor. For Westerners, almost all classical and popular music is constructed on the same principle of the 'key': using certain sounds gravitating around a particular note at prescribed intervals. Thus, in this way, Bach and the Beastie Boys have much in common, and might even be heard as the same by those with no experience in this idiom.

Finally, sensations may be defined by a combination of both culture and physiology. For example, tactile sensations, sex, or sensations of hot or cold are undoubtedly highly determined by physiology. However, what is considered to be actually cold, ticklish, or erotic is given a cultural filter. In fact, probably no sensation is completely determined by either just culture or just biology. Yet some, like those mentioned above, seem to contain relatively equal amounts.³

A means of describing non-modal sensations

While cultures may have any number of modal sensations in quite a few domains, it is clear that most stimuli being processed by individuals are not of this nature. The dominant modal stimuli will stand out and be most readily attended to, but there are many others present which must also be processed, and at times, socially described and discussed. Examples of these would be the 'secondary colour terms' described by Berlin and Kay and other colour

theoreticians, such as ‘olive’ (vs. basic GREEN), ‘blond’ (applying only to hair colour), or ‘reddish’ (as opposed to true RED). Traditionally, these secondary sensations have received less attention than the dominant or ‘basic’ sensations, even though they are by far the vast majority of stimuli present.

One characteristic of these non-dominant stimuli, almost by definition, is that there is usually less clear consensus on how to describe them. Ambiguous colours (is this chip light or pale blue?), uncertain tastes (was that food too bitter or just too spicy?), or unusual smells (was that aroma sweet or pungent?) are all examples of things that are not basic or modal sensations. If speakers want to talk about them, it is often difficult to do so; they must come with other devices than simply using basic terms that everyone more readily agrees upon.

Figure 10.1 depicts one possible model for how these non-modal sensations might be described.

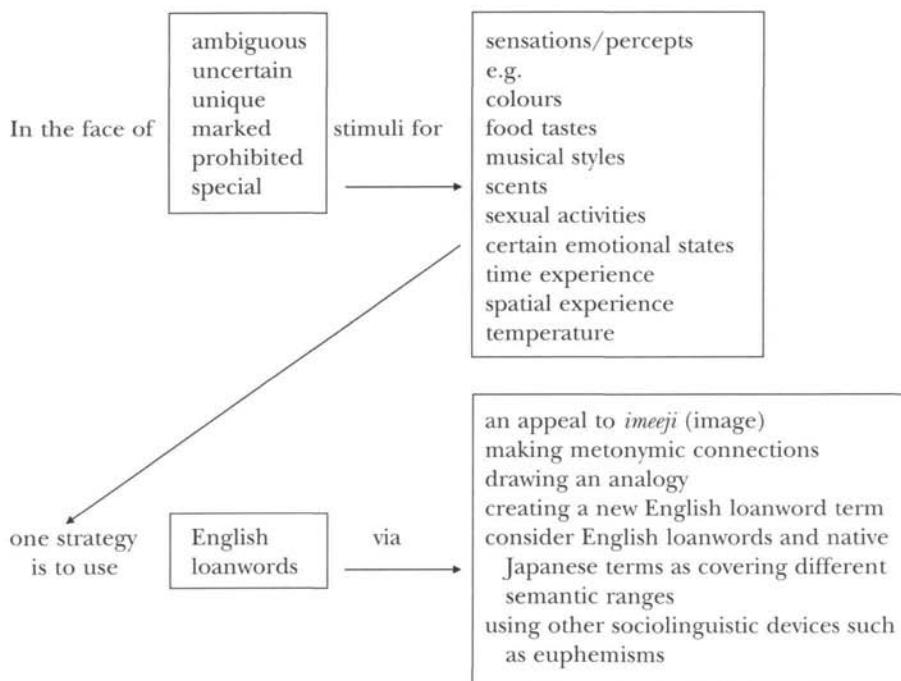


Figure 10.1 A model of non-modal sensory description

I will discuss the general model here, and give particular examples from the Japanese case in the following section. Basically, the figure suggests: in the face of some **special/unusual property or characteristic** of some **sensory stimulation or perception**, speakers can use **English loanwords** to describe them, via some **mechanism or sociolinguistic device**.

The first column of Figure 10.1 lists some of these unusual properties: ambiguity, uncertainty, new or prohibited forms, marked or special features. The second column gives examples of different sensory stimuli: colours, food tastes, musical styles or sounds, smells, and tactile activities such as sex. Other phenomenological experiences such as the perception of time, space, heat, or cold could also be placed here. I have also tentatively included here some things which are not, strictly speaking, sensations. These include certain emotional states (e.g. anxiety, sentiment, moods), at least to the extent that they are determined by perception. The third column lists one particular technique — the use of English loanwords — which Japanese people use to a great extent, to address these anomalous perceptions. Other techniques, of course, are possible, but I will restrict my discussion to the use of loanwords in Japanese. The last column lists how the English loanwords in the third column can be utilized to accomplish the desired communicative tasks. These include drawing analogies, making metonymic connections, inventing ‘new’ terms using loanwords, or appealing to certain images that loanword terms have.

Some other Japanese examples

I will now give some examples of how English loanwords are used in Japanese to describe these non-modal sensations. I will give instances from all the senses and a few emotional states.

Vision

The best examples here probably come from the domain of colour, a domain that I have discussed at length in Chapter 9 and in other places (Stanlaw, 1987a; 1997a; 2000b). I have previously mentioned how informants would sometimes create new colour terms based on English loanwords (usually with no connection to any native English word) for non-basic colours. Other sociolinguistic devices include appealing to a certain kind of *imeiji* (or ‘image’) that term might have. For example, the first-class car on the Japanese National Railways is called a *guriin-sha* or *green car* as opposed to the more mundane native Japanese *midori no sharyoo* (‘green train coach’). An incidental comment could be made here about the interaction between the senses and society. In the Meiji Period, there were certainly first-class, second-class, and third-class coaches on the Japanese railways. After the Second World War, with the American advocacy of egalitarianism, such terms of ‘class consciousness’ were eliminated from the vocabulary of many domains. Still, there were people who preferred a more comfortable morning train ride, and were willing to pay extra for it. Hence, the appearance of the *green car*. Green apparently conveys

feelings of peace and tranquility. As one rider said, 'It's universal, isn't it? Green is gorgeous and peaceful and quiet.'

Taste

I have also mentioned in Chapter 8 how the ambiguous tastes of certain snack foods and candies in Japan very often take on an English loanword descriptor. Other devices are used as well. One other example will probably suffice: Bourbon's *Eburi Baagaa* ('Every Burgers'). Here a metonymic connection (or analogy) is attempted between the taste (or at least the shape) of this snack food and another famous food, the one stereotypically most popular in America, the hamburgers. Japanese *Every Burgers* are bite-sized miniature hamburger-shaped cookies made of a *semi-sweet chocolate* patty covered with *cream* as cheese, and topped with a 'biscuit' sesame seed bun. Although they may not taste like miniature Big Mac's, the connections between these pieces of candy and hamburgers are intentional and obvious.⁴

Hearing

English loanwords are quite common in the aural domain. In fact, the term *hiyaringu* (from the English 'hearing') is used to describe the abilities one has in listening comprehension, say in a foreign language laboratory. *Hon* (from the English 'phon') is the Japanese term for 'decibel'. However, it is in the realm of musical style that we find English loanwords extensively used (Stanlaw, 1989; 1990a). When the new rock and roll bands became popular in Japan in the 1960s, the term used to describe them was *guruupu saunzu* ('group sounds') (Yoshizawa and Ishiwata, 1979). Most of the new music genres that have developed in Japan are also named and described by using English loanwords. For example, in the late 1970s, when singers and songwriters such as Yazawa Eikichi and Yellow Magic Orchestra reacted against the predictable and teenage-oriented Japanese pop and rock styles, they called their movement *nyuu myuujikku* ('new music'). (This is still one of the most important and influential styles of Japanese popular music today.) *CM songus* (a pseudo-loan from 'Commercial Message song') describe the very popular genre of tunes that are used originally in television advertisements. But beyond genre names, current popular music song titles, group names, and lyrics are dominated by English loanwords, even though all of these are home-grown, not imported, products (Stanlaw, 1992d; 2000b).

Touch

The use of English loanwords in the domain of tactile sensation is most readily apparent in sexual vocabulary. English loanword terms are probably used for

at least two reasons. First, it is often the case that Japanese does not have a word for a particular activity or experience (except for perhaps a clinical or medical term). For example, before borrowing from Western languages there was no term for 'orgasm' in Japanese except some indirect euphemisms like *saikoochoo* ('climax' or 'zenith'). Thus, the English loanword *oogasumu* at the very least fills a semantic void. Another reason for their extensive usage is that English loanwords are likely to carry different semantic loads from their Japanese counterparts. For example, the English loanword *fakku* ('fuck') can be frequently heard, even on occasion in academic contexts. It can be used both as a noun and a verb, and occurs in compounds, as in *fakku eiga* ('fuck film', or pornographic movies). I saw a discussion of sexual advice and techniques in a popular Japanese men's magazine (the equivalent to the American *Esquire* or *Playboy*) a few months ago. One of the survey questions was '***Basuto aibu no pointo wa doko da?***' ('Where is it that [at what *point*] do you caress the *breast*?'). Constance (1992) claims that (although I have never heard this myself) one of the words for female masturbation is *suicchi o ireru* ('flip on the *switch*'). The most common word for *fellatio* is *fera*, obviously an English loanword (other English loanwords, such as *ooraru sekkusu* ('oral sex'), have also become quite popular.)

Olfaction

The sense of smell is certainly one of the underappreciated senses among anthropologists (although there have been studies by Stoller [1989]; LeGuerer [1994]; and Classen et al. [1994]). I certainly am no exception in my lack of expertise. Dorland (1993) argues that there are nine basic scents, and claims that olfaction is similar to colour, being highly physiological and cross-culturally universal.

Japan might be a culture that values smells more than many others. The Japanese have long valued *kooryoo* (fragrances, aromatics, perfumes, scents) as not only one of the senses, but also an art form. Although not as well-known as the famous Japanese tea ceremony, the *koodoo* 香道 ('way of incense') or incense appreciating ceremonies and contests probably goes back to the time of earliest recorded history in Japan (K. Morita, 1992), and are on par with tea ceremonies and formal poetry gatherings in terms of sophistication. Many Japanese in the United States have told me that they are uncomfortable with having bath-tubs and toilets together in the same room for reasons of odour and visual aesthetics.

Unsurprisingly, English loanwords are also found in this domain, as in *sumooku suru* (for example, 'to *smoke* [say, a salmon or squid]'). However, one of the problems with researching olfaction is that smell and taste are often conflated (anyone with a cold knows the importance of the nose in identifying foods). It is therefore difficult to make separate comments about scent from those made previously about food.

Emotions, mental-psychological states, and other sensations and percepts

There are a few comments I would like to make about emotional states and other sensations that are not strictly part of the five classical senses. Psychological conditions might also be considered sensations, at least to some degree. For example, shaking from being scared is a sensation resulting from a stimulus; it is a sensory reaction to strong *shokku* or fright. These psychological states are often described using English loanwords. For example, an overly sentimental person who weeps over something is called *uetto* ('wet'). The opposite, one who is rather rational and unemotional, is *dorai* ('dry'). Someone who is *muudii* ('moody') is not necessarily nasty or ill-tempered, but just someone 'full of mood', either extremely good or bad.

Synaesthesia 'in the realm of the senses'

Before the fifteen minutes of fame of John Wayne Bobbit, in 1976 controversial avant garde Japanese film director Ohshima Nagisa released his *Ai no Koriida*, known in the West as *In the Realm of the Senses*. Famous for its explicitness, the film was based on a true incident of strangulation and castration in the 1930s. Visually stunning, and still very popular, the film seems to imply that there is an underlying strain of subliminal sensuality running through Japanese aesthetics and culture. A case, at least a linguistic one, might be made for such a claim, considering the plethora of Japanese nature terms or the thousands of expressions of onomatopoeia. So in terms of making sensory metaphors, it might be expected that this 'empire of signs' in its 'realm of the senses' would do so often, and with ease.

In addition, I would suggest that perception and sensation influence Japanese in other ways as well. Synaesthesia, in its classical sense, is the blending of stimuli from two different domains. For example, the jazz musician who can 'hear' colours or the painter who 'sees' a picture when she or he attends a symphony presumably is experiencing synaesthesia. As in all cultures, metaphors and synaesthesia abound in Japanese, and English loanwords are often involved. For example, one of the packaged candies that is popular in Japan is called *Flower's Kiss Candy*, written in English in roman letters. Inside the package there are individually wrapped pieces of *milk sumomo* (*milk* or [or creamy] damson plum or prune) in the following flavours: *rose*, *apricot blossom*, and *double cherry blossom*. The emphasis seems to be on creating a taste that approximates the scent of a flower rather than the taste of a fruit.

According to Ikegami (1982), this phenomenon of synaesthetic or metaphor in Japanese is based upon the way the human senses are structured. This arrangement is shown in Figure 10.2. Ikegami believes that these also approximate an evolutionary ordering of 'high' senses to 'low' senses. Little

evidence exists to actually support this, but the overall ordering is still of interest. Of course, metaphors in Japanese are made all the time in all these senses, such as *hageshii honoo no yoo na koi* ('a love like an ardent flame'), and so on. But instead of just comparing something sensory (like a visual flame) to something concrete or abstract (like love), metaphors can also be synaesthetic. In such a case, one expression is associated with one sense, while another is also associated with a sense (rather than something abstract). An example, consisting of two expressions from the same kind of sensory domain, could be *akarui iro* (a 'bright colour'), where both parts are associated with the vision. Likewise, a *yakamashii koe* (a 'noisy voice') connects two auditory senses.

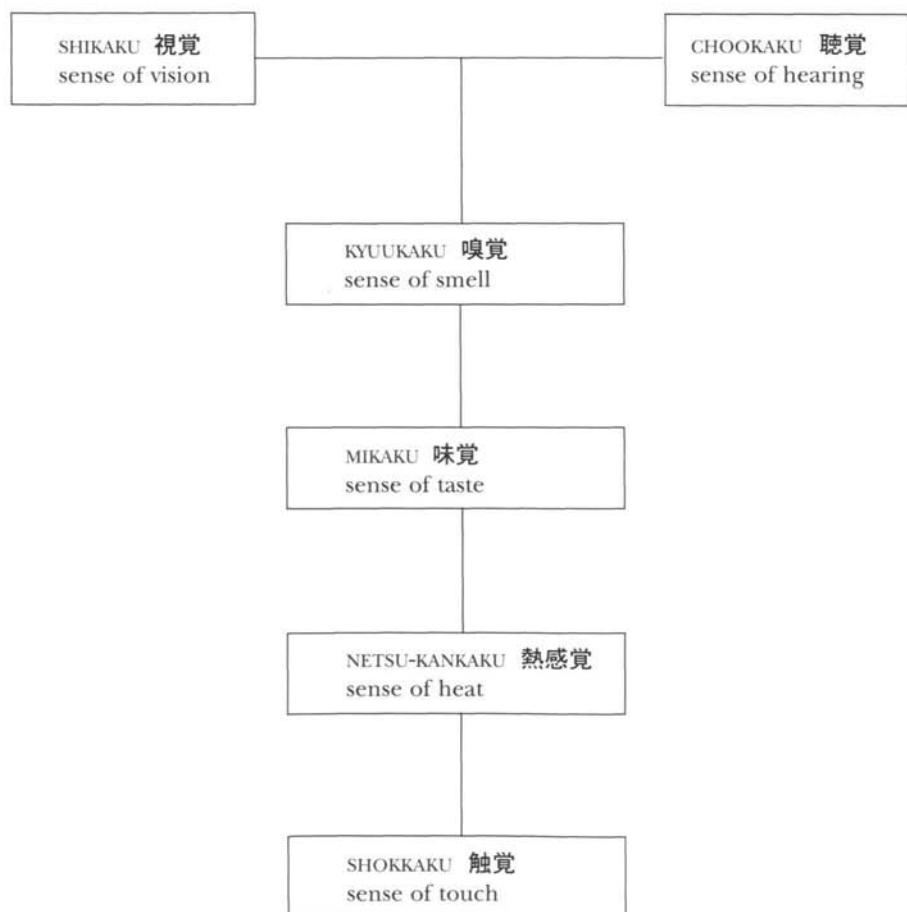


Figure 10.2 An ordering of the senses in Japanese

Table 10.1 Some examples of Japanese synaesthetic metaphors

Japanese term	English gloss		Synaesthetic transformation	
<i>amai koe</i>	sweet voice	taste	—>	hearing
<i>tsumetai iro</i>	cold colour	heat	—>	vision
<i>nameraka-na koe</i>	smooth voice	touch	—>	hearing
<i>biroodo no shita zawari</i>	velvet-like taste	touch	—>	taste
<i>iro no haamonii</i>	harmonious colour	hearing	—>	vision

Sometimes expressions can be made connecting two different senses. For example, consider a well-known *haiku* by the famous poet Bashoo:

鳴や 黄色な声 親を呼ぶ

<i>uguisu ya</i>	the Bush Warbler
<i>ki-iro-na koe</i>	with a yellow voice/call
<i>oya-o yobu</i>	calls for its parents

Here a connection is made between 'yellow' (a visual sensation) and voice (an auditory sensation). Likewise, an expression like *shibui iro* ('a sour, astringent colour') connects something from the realm of taste with the realm of vision. Ikegami believes that normal synaesthetic metaphors can be made between expressions from down to top in Figure 10.2. That is, sensory expressions like taste can modify those of smell, sight, or hearing; touch can modify taste, and so on. Auditory and visual expressions can modify each other. So Bashoo's 'yellow voice' would be a normal and expected synaesthetic metaphor. Some other examples might be those given in Table 10.1. Anecdotally, these also seem to hold in English.

But we are not restricted to constructing only expressions of the above type. We can make expressions such as *buraito na aji* (or *akarui aji*) for 'bright taste', taking the form of vision —> taste (top to down). The actual meaning of this phrase is probably not very clear. However, we most likely would think that it is certainly more pleasant tasting than *daaku na aji* or *kurai aji* ('dark taste'), though saying *daaku chokoreeto* ('dark chocolate') has a *daaku teesuto* ('dark taste' might be an exception). We are also certain that it is something new and different. It is for these reasons that advertisers like to use such expressions. To add to the attraction, English loanwords are also often used in these contexts. For example, to return once again to the very popular *catch phrase* ('jingle') described in Chapter 2, in the Coca Cola advertising campaign the theme was *sawayaka, teisuti, I feel Coke!* ('refreshing, tasty, I feel coke'). Here we see some 'normal' synaesthetic comparisons being made (touch or taste –

→ taste in *sawayaka* → *tasty*). But we also see taste going down to touch (i.e. taste → touch) when *tasty* modifies *I feel Coke* ('I feel a Coke', or 'I want to have a Coke'). Of course, the ambiguity in these English phrases makes the slogan much more effective.

Classification, categorization, and English in Japanese

Although not every cognitive scientist or anthropologist would agree, I believe that symbols, senses, and cognition are inexorably linked. Some cognitive scientists, however, are indeed interested in making such connections (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson [1999], Lakoff and Núñez [2000]). In this section I will try to tie these issues together in Japanese via an English context.

The classical theory of categorization, based on the notion that things are grouped together on the basis of what they have in common, has increasingly come under attack in recent decades. That is, under the old theory, category membership is determined by claiming that all members share a certain number of 'necessary and sufficient features' needed to define the class. However, while all winged, feathered, flying creatures may be 'birds', some birds are better representatives than others. Thus, linguists, philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists, and others interested in cognition now believe that best examples, or prototypes, play a large part in our processes of determining category membership.

Lakoff (1987) and others argue that the problem of determining category membership could be thought of as consisting of four parts:

1. concrete basic objects which have names ('linguistic labels')
2. things that are included in the above-named category ('extensions') that are not basic objects
3. connections between the basic objects and the extensions through various cognitive or sociolinguistic devices, such as metaphor or metonymy.
4. a theory of motivations which allows for these connections between extension and basic object to occur

This is an oversimplification of a very complex argument, but according to Lakoff (1987), Werner, and others, there is some sort of reason why people can apply the name of a basic level category to an extension. That is, calling something a 'cup' entails a whole (albeit) unspoken theory of 'cupness'. Thus, we can get a 'cup' of coffee from McDonald's, even though the container is styrofoam and has no handle, because in many native English speakers' view of the world, hot drinks come in cups. Such a rationale could be called a 'motivated convention'. It is important to notice how these motivated conventions differ from others, namely completely productive universalist conventions, and arbitrary unpredictable one.

Plastic cups and paper glasses

To give an example of the discussion above using English loanwords in Japanese, consider the following very interesting experiments conducted by Kronenfeld (1996) among native Hebrew speakers, English speakers, and Japanese speakers. For the Japanese part of the experiments, twenty-one Japanese students taken from an ESL class at the University of California at Riverside were asked about names for thirty-five items which might be called 'drinking vessels' in English (a set of mugs, cups, and glasses of various sizes, shapes, and materials). 'Prototypical' objects (that is, the best exemplars of a domain) were elicited, and then informants were asked to sort the items into groups based on how similar they thought they might be. Informants were then asked to label these grouped categories into which they had put items. Multidimensional scaling was used to quantitatively determine degree of similarity of sorting by item and informant.

Three overriding terms for drinking vessels for these Japanese informants appeared: *koppu*, *kappu* and *gurasu*. Figure 10.3 (modified from Kronenfeld, 1996) shows how the informants in this experiment divided up this domain of things to drink out of. That is, what English speakers might call coffee mugs, metal cups and tea cups, were categorized as *kappu* in Japanese. Tumblers, large and small paper cups, styrofoam cups, restaurant glasses, 'regular' glasses, and paper cups with handles were catalogued as *koppu*. Things like wine glasses were classified as *gurasu*.

In terms of ideals, Kronenfeld found from his statistics that the prototypical glass was an English 'brandy snifter'; *glasses* for this group of informants are something with stems (an attribute of shape). Cups (*kappu*) for these Japanese were similar to 'cups' in English, except that more emphasis was put on the presence of a handle as the defining feature. *Koppu* are all the vessels made of non-traditional materials. Cylindrical shape seems to be the most defining attribute for this group. The exemplar *koppu* was a non-disposable plastic cup.

However, it is important to note that all three of these terms are loanwords (although Kronenfeld did not pay much attention to this fact, as he was concerned in making a different kind of argument). The earliest of the three is *koppu*; it probably came from Portuguese *copo* around the 1670s, although Dutch *kop* was extant in the islands at this time as well (Arakawa, 1977). *Gurasu* (from the English 'glass', although German and Dutch may have been competing forms) was apparently first used by Fukuzawa Yukichi (see Chapter 3) in 1876, at least in written form (Arakawa, 1977). The term *kappu* (from the English 'cup') made its first appearance in the 1880s (Arakawa, 1977). It became much more popular, apparently, after the Second World War.

The notion of motivations versus attributes is easily seen if we examine things in more detail. Kronenfeld's data takes on more depth if we look at (1) what kind of term is being used (i.e. an English loanword), and (2) when

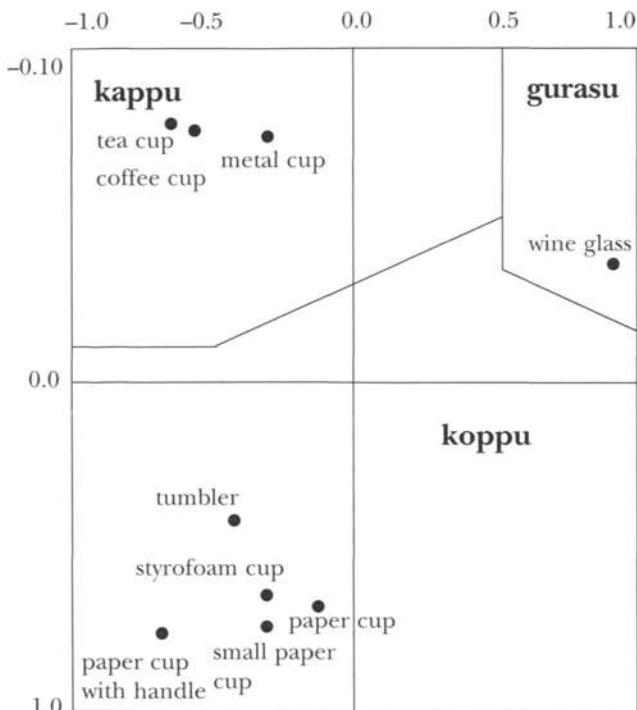


Figure 10.3 Japanese drinking vessels

and how it is being used. While there is a fair degree of indeterminacy in the usage of English 'cup', 'mug', or 'glass' by native English speakers, Japanese has some ambiguity as well. There are at least several dimensions that can be used to decide which term is appropriate at a given time. One is the temperature of the liquid. The informants to whom I have talked about this say cold items (e.g. milk, water, Cokes) tend to go in *glasses* while hot items (e.g. *koohii* [coffee], *koocha* [Japanese 'Western' tea], *cocoa* [hot chocolate]) go in *cups*. Others say height is a factor; *glasses* are tall, *cups* are short, and *koppu* are in between.

Materials that go inside the vessel are also important: alcohol almost always goes in *glasses* (e.g. *beer*, *wine*, *whisky*, *champagne*). Tea and coffee go in *cups*, and other things like juice, milk, Coke, or water go in *koppu*. However, some say it is not just any coffee that can go in a *cup*: only American-style weaker coffee; Vienna coffee or Kenyan coffee usually go in a *kaappu*. Hot soups and hot milk have to go into a mug (*magu*). Most loanword and regular dictionaries say it is the handle that is important (which is why trophy prizes are also *cups* in Japanese). Some say it is level of elegance or detachment from the mundane that determines usage: *glass* sounds sophisticated while *koppu* is very ordinary.

Then there are the numerous special cases: *mejaa kappu* (measuring cup; also *keiryoo kappu* is used, using the native Japanese term for 'measure' *keiryoo*), *kami koppu* (literally 'paper' *koppu*: or 'paper cup'), or the ubiquitous *kappu raamen* (cup of instant ramen) or *kappu nuudoru* ('cup noodle', a cup of instant noodles). Finally there is inter-informant ambiguity and intra-informant variability. Water (*mizu*) can go in both *koppu* and *glasses*, and *kora* (Pepsis and Cokes) can go in both *glasses* and *koppu*.⁵

The important point to keep in mind through all this, however, is that these terms, although by now quite nativized, are English, and carry many of the connotations that loanwords and such already carry. Choice, then, cannot simply be relegated to attribute (shape, size, handles, etc.). Instead, a whole vast array of collective social forces and individual creative motivations are at play in such a seemingly simple task as choosing a label for a container. These issues will appear again in the rest of this chapter.

Reasoning and rabbits

In transformational grammar (TG) or government and binding theory, or even most of the other mainstream theories in autonomous linguistics, for that matter, there is great concern with 'universals' of all kinds. This means that they are most concerned with phenomena that are completely 'productive' and therefore ultimately totally predictable. These are often thought to lie in the realm of the physical structure of the environment or the biological structure of the human mind. Examples of this might be the TG grammarians' search for universal grammar, or the evolutionary colour sequence posited by the anthropologists Berlin and Kay.

Earlier, structural linguists and functional anthropologists, on the other hand, were convinced that much of human behaviour was simply 'arbitrary' and therefore largely unpredictable. Many of the Sapir-Whorf arguments were presented in this rhetoric. In fact, colour terminology was taken as one of the best examples of how language-cultures can divide up a domain in hundreds of different arbitrary ways. A motivated convention is something less strong; it shows how an extension can make sense and explain why people use it, but it cannot say that it will always happen. As an example which has now become somewhat famous among linguists and cognitive scientists, Lakoff shows how 'women', 'fire', and 'dangerous things' such as spears are put into the same noun category by Dyirbal Australians. The process works like this: Basically the world is divided into two domains, males and females. In Dyirbal myth, the first husband was the moon and the first wife was the sun. Thus, women get associated with the sun, and hence, with fire. Fire itself is painful and dangerous, so dangerous things are in turn associated with this category. Thus, the association of woman, fire, and dangerous things exists for some reason,

and is not completely arbitrary. However, there is also no way to produce a rule which would predict ahead of time that they would all be so grouped.

An example from Japanese is counting rabbits. Most adult Japanese, at least theoretically, will count rabbits using the classifier *wa*, the counter used to refer to birds. Why is this? One interpretation might be as follows (although not every informant agrees completely with the analysis given here): At first glance the grouping of rabbits together with all different kinds of birds seems to be a freak of linguistic nature or an historical accident. It is neither. At the time of the introduction of Buddhism in Japan, the usual prescriptions against eating animals (i.e. 'four-legged creatures') were also imported. After some time, however, legend has it that Buddhist monks wanted to eat the plentiful and common rabbits (or perhaps were used to eating them already). Thus, they decided that rabbits only have two legs (because they hop), and could therefore be eaten without violating Buddhist dietary taboos. Thus, to this day, rabbits are counted as birds, using the counter *wa* (Stanlaw and Inoue, 1994).

Language and symbolic change: Symbol creation and use

Many, if not the majority, of the symbols in a language or culture remain relatively static. Indeed, a certain amount of 'symbol stasis' is necessary for culture to adequately function and for communication to take place. Obviously, at the same time too, symbolic change is also necessary to a culture, if nothing else, just to keep par with the inevitable physical and environmental changes which occur. However, what we often call 'symbolic change' in a language or culture really involves at least three or four logical possibilities, as outlined in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Types of symbolic change

	symbol element	symbol features
symbol stasis	stays the same	stays the same
symbol replacement	changes	stays the same
symbol redefinition/ modification	stays the same	changes
symbol innovation (creation or importation)	changes	changes

First, in what we might call 'symbolic replacement', the meaning features of a symbol can remain the same while the symbolic element or label is replaced. Thus, if it is true that the native Japanese colour term *momo-iro* is

being replaced by the English loanword *pinku*, then this would be an example of this first kind of change. Theoretically, all the physical-perceptual properties of *momo-iro*, as well as all the feelings of affect, would be taken over by the new symbol *pinku*. Also, *pinku* would have to be a completely free symbol itself initially, and should not bring into the system any new or outside features.

The second way the system might change is through the attribution of new meaning features onto an old symbol. We might call this 'symbol replacement', or 'symbol modification', or 'symbolic readjustment'. This may be the most common kind symbolic change, and we can see it all the time as old word items take on new meanings (e.g. 'gay', the swastika, etc.).

The third type of symbolic change, also common, might be called 'symbolic innovation'. In this case, a new symbol is introduced into the symbolic inventory of a language or culture, and a new set of attributes applied to it. These new symbols could be either created locally or borrowed from some other source. The following example, using the enhanced-feature approach of motivated conventions shows how this might come about.

Purple, Part 1: Dancing in the park, and dancing in the dark

As we have seen in Chapter 2, from the early 1980s to mid-1990s, among some Tokyo-area teenagers a new dancing fad had been quite popular. Hordes of young people, dressed in a variety of outlandish costumes, would go to a park bordering on a fashionable chic area of the city and dance to American rock and roll music of the 1950s. The dancers usually moved in unison while in a group of about a dozen people, listening to music playing from a large portable stereo tape deck placed in the centre of the street. Although such spectacles have now largely disappeared, for many years on any given Sunday (the one day such events occur), there may have been fifty to a hundred such groups dancing in the park.

Although these teenagers put on quite a spectacular free show every Sunday and always attracted large crowds of tourists, mainstream Japanese people, including most other non-participating teenagers, seemed to have little respect for them. First, these people were at that crucial age in the Japanese educational system when they should be home cramming for the university entrance exams. Mainstream teenagers would have no time to waste Sunday after Sunday making spectacles of themselves in public. But in some ways these were people who were no longer part of the Japanese dream. As one 21-year-old *boosoo-zoku* informant once mentioned to me, he knew six or seven years ago that he was not going to go to a good high school, so that he could get into a good university and get a job at a good company and become a successful *sarariiman* ('white collar worker', generally with a large firm). He was then unloading trucks and found support and companionship with motorcycle gang members.

Secondly, these non-conformists are somehow perceived as a threat to mainstream Japanese society. Hardly a day goes by without someone in the popular media decrying the new youthful decadence and the young people's lack of respect for traditional moral values. The various *-zoku* ('groups' or 'gangs') are often cited as prime examples. Many of them are indeed sometimes noisy, impolite, and bothersome. For some reason, the colour purple has generally become associated with some of these groups, especially for female members. Many motorcycle bikers wear flowing purple scarves as they fly down the narrow side streets just missing dogs, children, and old people. Many of the colours of the various tribes of *takenoko-zoku* (literally 'bamboo-shoot gang') dancers in the parks are also purple or purplish-pink.⁶

In any case, a new word had been introduced into the current Japanese vocabulary in the 1980s: *paapurin*, from the English loanword colour term purple and the English *-ing* gerund form. This word means to be bad, to be annoying, to create a nuisance, to be 'purple'.⁷ Now making verbal puns using English morphemes is not unusual in Japanese. For example, a few years ago Japan Railways used the word *training* — a combination of the English word 'train' and '*-ing*' form — in one of its popular advertising campaigns. In this case, by adding the English *-ing* form to the English loanword colour term, the Japanese seem to be emphasizing that those persons are literally being 'purple' (that is, being silly or foolish).⁸

The English loanword *paapurin* is quite interesting for several reasons. Firstly, most English loanwords which are taken into Japanese are nouns, and they generally behave as nouns in the host language (although they may sometimes follow a productive Japanese grammatical pattern and take the Japanese verbalizing suffix *suru* to become verbal, as in *tenisu suru*; literally 'to do tennis' or 'to play tennis'). However, 'purpling', certainly is not a noun in English (or is questionable at best). However, in Japanese *paapurin* may sometimes show some nominal characteristics.

Secondly, the English loanword *paapurin* is created by taking an English *-ing* form and adding to it a word ('purple') that does not usually take this grammatical form in English. Creating loanwords in this manner is rare in Japanese, and the only other times I have heard such constructions have been in jokes (e.g. *shaberingu*, or 'to be a chatterbox', from the Japanese verb *shaberi*, 'to chatter or gab' plus the nativized form of the English *-ing* ending). However, because the *-ing* form is one of the earliest constructions learned in English classes, the majority of Japanese people know the grammatical meaning of such words: 'We can enjoy playing these kinds of games . . . playing with language like this is an intellectual game.'

Thirdly, this is a completely new and unique way of using an English loanword colour term in Japanese. Other English loanword colour terms have been used metaphorically (e.g. as in *reddo hotto sekkusu*, 'red hot sex'), but they

usually carry at least some of the connotations that were found originally in English.⁹ Fourthly, as far as I know, this English loanword had no origin at all in the popular media or in advertising (which may be unexpected by the many commentators who believe that English loanwords breed in such an environment). Finally, we can note that even though this form, ‘purpling’, seems to be nominal, this loanword apparently has great flexibility. It can even be inflected like a normal Japanese *na*-adjective (*keiyoo-dooshi*) (e.g. compare *Kare-wa paapurin da mon*, ‘Boy, he is really “purpling” / “He is really dumb”’ with *paapurin-na koto shita*, ‘He really did a “purple” thing” / ‘He created quite a nuisance’).

The way a new symbol might be created by using English loanwords is outlined in Table 10.2. Each of three original concepts in Japanese: (1) *boosoo-zoku* motorcyclists who wear purple scarves; (2) the English loanword colour term *paapuru*; and (3) an attitude towards English and America (perhaps one that all Japanese students have been exposed to in school) have some of their possible features listed. Note that some of the features of one concept or symbol are actually symbols themselves. These features (i.e. symbols) under a concept can then in turn draw their own subsequent features into the set of this first concept. An example of this is seen in Figure 10.4 where the feature ‘English loanword’ is listed under the symbol *paapuru*.

Now, many of the associations that English loanwords have in general can be brought into the feature list of *paapuru*. Note, that these feature ‘definitions’ are not closed. People can add to them as they see fit or ignore certain features if required or desired. Likewise, concepts, in turn, define other concepts. For example, the folk theory of who is thought to be a *boosoo-zoku* and why, is usually far richer than any single symbol or list of its possible features.

The new symbol, *paapurin*, arises by making a connection with features from several original or established symbols. For example, the hue dimension comes from the English loanword colour term, the idea of being a public nuisance comes from *boosoo-zoku* which includes the purple hue in its definition, and the notion of being special probably comes from all three symbols. Apart from features of metaphor and connotation, note also that even formal morphological features might be contributed by each symbol, such as the root from the colour term and the final *-ing* form from English. Although I have not heard *paapurin-zoku* (‘the purpling tribe’), I would be surprised if this obvious connection were not soon made.

Purple, Part 2: Vantage theory, categorizations, and motivations

The cognitive anthropologist Robert MacLaury has developed a theory of how humans categorize the world and apprehend experience which he calls vantage theory (MacLaury, 1992; 1995; 1997; 2002; Taylor and MacLaury, 1995).

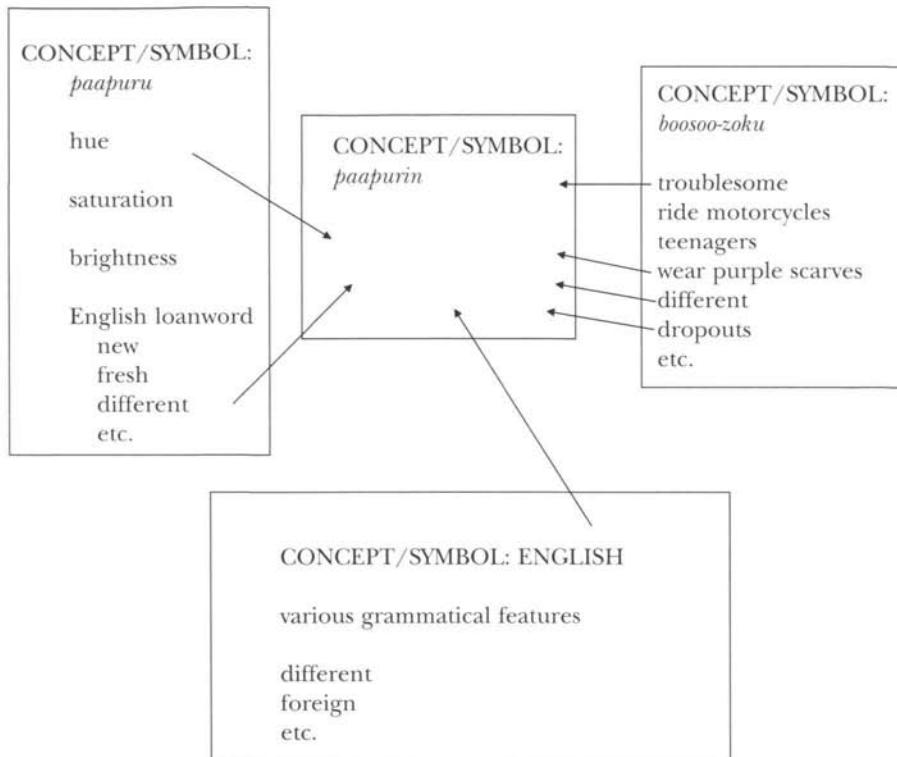


Figure 10.4 Using features from three previous symbols to create the new symbol *paapurin*

Vantage theory incorporates some of the formal aspects of classification with the social variable of sociolinguistics, and provides a new and important way of looking at problems of denotation versus connotation, metaphor, and theories of categorization. As the use of English in Japanese is inexorably connected to all these things, and because vantage theory has been used to examine English loanword colour terms, it merits discussion at this point.

In 1997 MacLaury wrote a new book on the colour terminology systems found in 100 Mexican and Central American languages. This is a ground-breaking study on how the human mind apprehends the physical universe, and is the most important work on colour nomenclature theory to appear since Berlin and Kay's study thirty years ago. MacLaury's colour research began in the 1970s at the University of California, working with Berlin and Kay on several studies in Latin America. Eventually, Berlin and Kay along with researchers at the Summer Institute of Linguistics finished the World Colour Survey, an investigation of 111 'exotic' languages in Asia, Africa, the Americas, New Guinea and Australia, while MacLaury and his co-workers finished the

Meso-American Colour Survey, an investigation of 116 languages in Mexico and Guatemala. These two vast studies, together with MacLaury's later work in the Pacific Northwest, have now provided a sufficiently large and comparable set of data to allow for the analysis of the intricacies of colour nomenclature in great detail. MacLaury's recent book (1997) was the first attempt at such a broad synthesis.

Co-extension: A new semantic relation

MacLaury attempted to do many brilliant things in his Meso-American study, and only a few high points can be described here. Perhaps the most important discussion for linguists and cognitive scientists — as well as anthropologists, obviously — is his interpretations of the processes of human categorization. MacLaury examines in depth the semantic relation of 'co-extension', an association 'that did not fit our preconceptions of synonymy, near synonymy, inclusion, or complementation' (1997: 111). During the course of his field investigations, MacLaury and others found that informants would often use different words to label the same colour. That in itself, of course, is not surprising, as anyone researching colour nomenclature in the field can tell you; but informants would sometimes use these two terms in rather peculiar ways that would only become apparent in mapping tasks. As an example (I do not mean to imply here that this analogy actually applies to the basic English colour term system), let us assume that a native English speaker labels the same several dozen colour chips presented to them individually as either TAN or KHAKI, with maybe KHAKI being also applied to a few more colours.

From a naming point of view, it appears that the two terms either label the same category (with TAN or KHAKI being used in free variation), or that TAN is included within the KHAKI category. However, if we asked informants to do a mapping task such as those discussed in Chapter 9 (see Table 9.3), we might find that some of these terms are hardly synonyms. Figure 10.5, displaying the brownish colours from the Berlin and Kay larger array, shows the condition just described. That is, this informant seems to label most of the shaded chips in the chart as either TAN or KHAKI (with just a few colours in the C or D rows only being called KHAKI).

However, a step-wise mapping task (where informants are asked to delineate which colours in the array of chips belong to some colour term, and are then asked to do so successively in several steps until there are no more chips which correspond to the label) might reveal that this informant places different attention to each term. For instance, KHAKI terms might centre around a light yellowish chip and disseminate outward from it (as shown in Figure 10.5, Part 2). Likewise, the TAN colours might be focused around some darker brown colour chip and proceed from there (as shown in Figure 10.5, Part 3). Thus, the name of some particular colour category is contingent upon

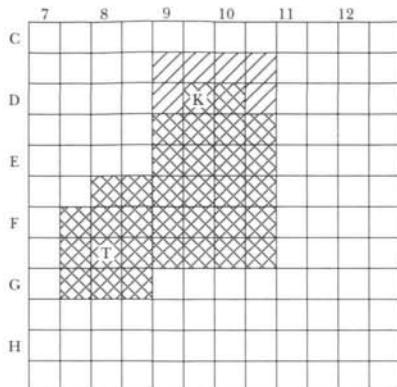


Figure 10.5 Part 1. Apparent synonymy of TAN and KHAKI

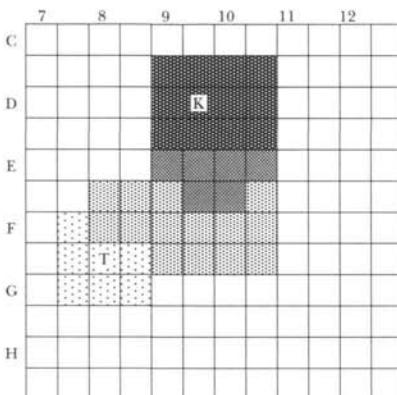


Figure 10.5 Part 2. KHAKI terms centring around the 'K' chip and disseminating downward

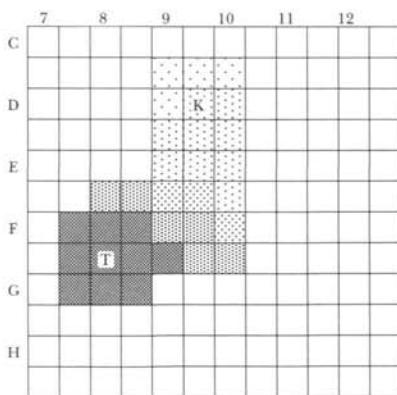


Figure 10.5 Part 3. TAN terms centring around the 'T' chip and disseminating upward

Scale of the degree of commitment to a colour category:



KHAKI only



TAN and KHAKI

(chip is definitely a member of the colour category)



(chip is less likely to be a member of the colour category)

the point of view or perspective taken by an informant. If the informant calls the category KHAKI, he or she is coming at it from the light or yellowish side and extending it down into the darker brownish TANS. If it is called TAN, the category focuses around some ideal tan-ish colour and extends upwards towards the yellows. This is not a mere case of two terms simply being applied to the same referents; presumably the two experiences are, psychologically or experientially, somewhat different.

Vantages

While this type of phenomena is found in many of the world's languages, it is especially prevalent in the Meso-American WARM (red and yellow) category, where most of these colours are used co-extensively. The ethnography and formal experiments clearly demonstrate that co-extension in this case shows a 'dominant-recessive' pattern, with one range generally larger and more centrally focused than the other. MacLaury interprets these results using what he terms 'vantage theory', the method by which 'a person makes sense of some part of his world by picking out specific points of reference and plotting their relation to his own position, a process that is spatial and temporal in the first order but incidentally visual' (1997: 138–9). In other words, MacLaury claims that (1) the processes of categorization are constructed by analogy to space or time dimensions, and (2) colour categorization itself is ultimately predicated upon various shifting figure-ground relations (similar to those famous optical illusions where either a face or table might appear to an onlooker, depending on which part of the picture is being attended to at any given time). Colour categories arise, then, by alternating shifts of emphasis: at first colours are grouped together with an elemental hue on the basis of similarity (e.g. yellows are being included in the category RED, as many yellowish colours seem *similar* to some light reds). After that, the category YELLOW may be developed on the basis of how distinctly *different* these hues may appear to be from the reds. While others (e.g. Stanlaw and Yoddumnern, 1985) have argued that taxonomies and other methods of classification are based on spatial analogies, MacLaury's detailed linguistic and ethnographic data makes the most compelling case to date.

Vantage theory seems to have the potential to resolve a number of perplexing issues in colour nomenclature, including the multiplicity of Russian BLUE terms, or the problems of the GRUE (green and blue) categories. MacLaury reminds us that the work on classification and colour nomenclature belongs to neither the universalists nor the relativists, but is necessarily a blend of the two approaches. Current research on colour vocabulary is at a theoretical crossroads, giving advocates of both persuasions an opportunity

to finally understand that no culture is limited only to biological or psychological universals, while at the same time realizing that no culture can vary without constraint. We can now see how vantage theory might approach the analysis of *paapuru* we have been discussing in this chapter.

The English loanword 'purple'

In 1987 I examined the denotation and connotation of English colour term word-pairs in Japanese in some detail (Stanlaw, 1987). As we have seen in Chapter 9, it appears that every basic native Japanese colour term has its English counterpart. To things in terms of vantage theory, most of these word-pairs name categories co-extensively (as described above). However, I also found that these terms differed significantly in terms of feeling and association. Loanword colour terms seemed to be lighter and more focused in terms of hue (see Figures 9.2 to 9.9), and also carried feelings of modernity. Native Japanese colour terms were more focused, darker, traditional, and cultured than the loanwords. Men often thought loanwords to be associated with the notion of 'clever' while women often viewed them as 'silly' on Osgood's Semantic Differential Scale (see note 8). In the nomenclature of vantage theory, choice of term at given time, then, is dependent on selecting a word from a dominant-recessive pair according to context. MacLaury (1995) analyses the particular.

The hierarchy of meaning and associations shown in Figure 10.6 indicates options and perspectives that people take when choosing a term. The parameters of traditional versus modern and clever versus silly are treated as any coordinate in vantage theory (like brightness or similarity discussed above). Making a choice, then, entails focusing — zooming in or out at different levels. Thus, in this model, it is not just features of physical colour that are attended to at any given time. Instead, there is an interaction with context, connotation, and denotation at any moment. People can move up and down the levels as needed depending on the situation. As MacLaury says:

Nuances of meaning become increasingly subjective, subtle, and culture-specific at depths of the hierarchies. First and top-most is the perception of strong purple, a neural reflex. Second down are the universal cognitive emphases of similarity and distinctiveness, which further determine category width. Third are dark and light, which are open to a number of symbolic associations . . . Fourth are the culture-bound values of traditional and modern. Fifth is the socially governed gender difference in emotional response. The hierarchic descent marks no divide between denotation and connotation, but places extremes of denotation and connotation at opposite ends of a cline. (MacLaury, 1995: 268)

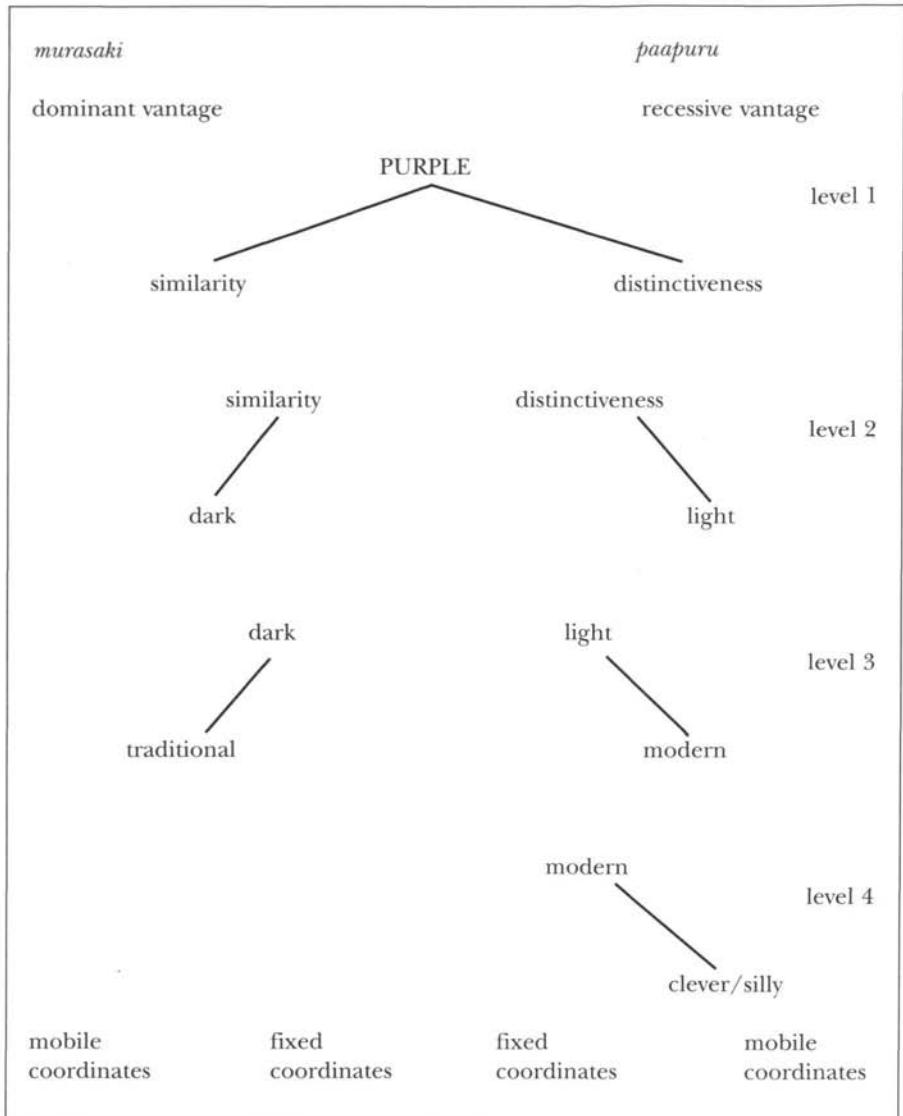


Figure 10.6 Vantages of the native Japanese colour term *murasaki* and the English loanword colour term *paapuru* (based on MacLaury, 1995: 267)

Conclusion

The arguments made here for Japanese may probably be applied to most languages and most cultures. All cultures are faced with devising techniques for describing non-dominant sensations. Various devices are available, and while Japanese may utilize their extensive and readily available set of English loanwords, other languages obviously may use other stratagems.¹⁰

Finally, it should be mentioned again that the arguments made in this chapter are not Whorfian. That is, I am not claiming here that the use of English loanwords affects perception (creating new foods, altering how people might see colours, etc.). However, I have made these arguments in the past, and I still remain convinced of much of their validity. I do not think this is a contradiction, as what is going on is a very complicated interactive process involving several (if not many) domains, code systems, and sociolinguistic parameters. The Japanese language (like all languages) contains multitudes. Language sometimes influences perception, while at other times — as in the instances cited here — it is sensation that influences language. Metaphors based on English enter Japanese but the loanwords used to symbolize them are slightly different from those that native English speakers might expect. Examples mentioned previously include what Americans call 'spaghetti westerns'; the Japanese name these *makaroni uestan* ('macaroni western'). *Dokutaa sutoppu* ('doctor stop') is the prohibition on certain activities, such as smoking or drinking, that are prescribed by physicians (e.g. *Tabako o suu koto ni dokutaa sutoppu ga kakatta*, 'My doctor had me quit smoking').

I have argued in this chapter that manipulating the open-ended nature of symbols is one device used for these creative ends; and I claim that a theory of classification based on motivated conventions accounts for this. Considering the extensive education Japanese people receive in formal English, the historical interest and curiosity the Japanese have always had with things Western, and the increasing physical and economic contact among all countries of the world, it is no longer valid to ask, 'Why do the Japanese borrow so much English?' A more appropriate question might be: 'Why is it we do not see more Japanese English or English loanwords?'

Images of race and identity in Japanese and American language and culture contact

Introduction

The founding totemic figure in American anthropology, Franz Boas (1858–1942), taught us about the dangers of conflating notions of race, language, and culture.¹ Being a wise if cantankerous old sage, he instilled in most linguists and anthropologists a healthy respect for this problem and gave many reasons to keep race, language, and culture separated, both in theory and in practice (Boas, 1940). Although anthropologists may be aware of these warnings, we also know too well that most people in the world care little for such cautions. Ethnic and racial identity is often, if not always, expressed in language, and such expressions become compounded in language contact situations.²

The Japanese-American encounter has gone on now for well over a century and a half. Naturally, both Japanese and Western views of self, race, and language are encoded and reified in the discourse generated by this contact. In this chapter I will briefly trace this path of language contact and blending, and discuss how the respective language attitudes have changed. I argue that the beliefs that the Japanese and the Americans have had about the mutual superiority and inferiority of their languages have gone through several metamorphoses, and, in a sense, have become reversed. These changes in attitudes that we will examine are outlined in Table 11.1.

The names of the English and Japanese syncretism alone, I think, make a fascinating sociolinguistic document; the monikers given at various times to the Japanese-English mixture of codes reflect changing attitudes and positions:

- ‘English as she is Japped’ (Chamberlain, 1904)
- ‘Janglish’ (Morris, 1970)
- ‘Japlish’ (Pierce, 1971)
- ‘Japanized English’ (Sibata, 1975)
- ‘Japanese English’ (Morita, 1978)
- ‘Japangurishu’ (Kashima, 1981)
- ‘Japalish’ (Pereia, 1983; Watanabe, 1983)

- ‘made in Japan English’ (Miura, 1985)
- ‘“English” in Japanese’ (Miura, 1985)
- ‘*Katakango*’ (Abe, 1990)
- ‘*Japaniizu-Ingurishu*’ (Kamiya, 1994)
- ‘English in Japanese’ (Miura, 1998)
- ‘Jinglish’ (Rosin, 2002)
- ‘the Japanese variety of English’ (World Englishes proponents, circa 2000)

Table 11.1 Stages in the development of Japanese-English language attitudes

American attitudes towards the Japanese language

- Stage I: The ‘Preble’s Law’ stage (1860s)
- Stage II: The ‘English as a world language’ stage (1950s to 1980s)
- Stage III: The ‘We need to speak Japanese, too’ stage (1990s)

Japanese attitudes towards English

- Stage I: The ‘We need English’ stage (1960s)
- Stage II: The ‘Japanese is OK, too’ stage (1980s)
- Stage III: The ‘Japan that can say no/linguistic nationalism’ stage (1990s)

The story, in brief, goes something like this: Americans initially believed the Japanese language to be too barbarous or too difficult to master; and besides, even if one could do so, for what purpose could it be used? Japanese, of course, felt that English must be studied if the country was ever to modernize. But today more Americans than ever are studying Japanese, and the number is increasing at an exponential rate.

More interesting, however, is the new self-confidence the Japanese are feeling regarding their own language. Gone are the days when Japanese statesmen like Mori Arinori in 1873 would claim that Japanese is ‘doomed to yield to the domination of English’, as we have seen in Chapter 3. Instead, Japanese linguists, Diet members, and corporate presidents now say that Japanese is a superior language that should be learned by everyone. I would, in fact, claim that much of this linguistic pride is due to economic progress and success. That in itself is a rather pedestrian remark. What is significant, however, is the nationalistic reasoning behind such linguistic chauvinism. Ultimately, this is one special manifestation of what anthropologists call the Boas Problem, the confusion resulting from confounding race, language and culture. The consequences of this remain to be seen.

The language attitudes of the Meiji (1868–12) and Taisho (1912–26) Periods: The Japanese and American views

As we have seen in Chapter 3, in spite of what many Westerners believe, English in Japan is hardly a post-Second World War phenomenon that was brought over by occupying GIs along with their baseball, hot dogs, and swing music. Instead, it was the naval expedition of the American Commodore, Matthew Calbraith Perry, which brought English irrevocably to the islands in 1853.

'Old Bruin', as Perry's seamen affectionately called him, shocked the Japanese by landing his 'black' steamships near the Izu Peninsula, not far from the heart of the government. The Tokugawa shoguns, in an effort to consolidate their newly-won power, had effectively closed off the country around 1640, ostensibly in an attempt to ban Christianity from the islands. Several centuries later, however, Americans decided they needed an economic presence in the Far East, and to this end dispatched Perry's squadron supposedly to seek protection and reprovisioning for American whaling ships. But as Perry wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, '[t]he real object of the expedition should be concealed from public view . . .' (quoted in Wiley, 1990: 72).

To the Japanese, Perry's 'open door' policy was more akin to having the foyer kicked in by the uninvited drunk than entertaining a welcomed guest. For the Tokugawa government the lessons of China in the 1840s was clear: Westerners would carve up a weak Eastern country if given half a chance, and there were many in Japan who were determined not to give the Westerners that opportunity. The arrival of the Americans precipitated the downfall of two and half centuries of rule by the Tokugawa shoguns, leading to the re-establishment of the emperor system, the so-called Meiji Restoration, of imperial rule and power.

The vision of the new government was to meet the Westerners on their own terms. Japan would become as modern a power as any in the Pacific, and they would industrialize and arm themselves with the latest technologies available. The country was instantly modernized, and within a decade the social and economic fabric of the nation was completely changed. To achieve these goals, Western technologies of every kind were imported. Naturally, this also brought in Western languages. The very legitimacy of the Japanese language itself was questioned by influential Japanese leaders and educators. English was the language of modernity. English was the language of the future. During the years of the Meiji Restoration, English therefore became the foreign language of choice for those who wanted to modernize Japan and build a society that emulated the West.

While the Japanese were beginning their infatuation with English, the Americans were discovering a linguistic minefield. A commentary by Lieutenant George Preble, one of Commodore Perry's adjutants, showed the

prevailing attitude at the time, which was Preble's Law, dictated that any communication that was going to take place between Americans and Japanese would have to be done in English (Chapter 3).

To be sure, there were foreigners, often missionaries or doctors, who could speak Japanese. An American was even able to write the first comprehensive Japanese-English dictionary in the 1870s (Hepburn, 1867; 1872; 1886). However, Japanese-speaking foreigners were hardly the norm.³

The language attitudes of the Shoowa Period (1926–89): The Japanese and American views

Language contact in the ensuing years continued unabated. Colourful interlanguages like the Yokohama Dialect in the nineteenth century and Bamboo English during the American Occupation eventually met their demise. The Second World War was only a short hiatus in Japanese-English language contact. However, until relatively recently, the old Preble's Law seemed to be etched in stone. Americans were reluctant to learn Japanese, and Japanese themselves also seemed to think this is impossible for them to do so. As one critic, the influential linguist Suzuki Takao, stated in 1978:

Naze gaikokujin ni Nihongo o oshieru ka? . . . Gaikokujin niwa Nihongo ga wakaru hazu ga nai. (Suzuki, 1978a: 176)

Why teach Japanese to foreigners? . . . There is no reason to expect them to understand Japanese.

This is a loaded statement, obviously. Indeed, we have not heard the last from Suzuki Takao, an eminent and outspoken commentator.

By the 1980s the symbiotic relationship between Japanese and English had become well-established. By then, the average number of commonly used loanwords in Japanese range was probably somewhere from 3,000 to 5,000 terms, or perhaps as high as 5 to 10 percent of the daily vocabulary. The vast majority of these borrowed words came from English. However, this Japanized English has always had its share of detractors. For example, we have seen in Chapter 2 that the blending of Japanese and English together did not always make hybrid vigour.

As any sociolinguist knows, issues of language are often some of the most volatile that a society faces. The use of English in Japan was not a major political problem as in, for instance, Africa or India. Still, the use of English in Japan was tied to notions of national identity, the individual's notion of self, and problems of Japan's place in the modern world, and indeed still is. Is a person who uses an exorbitant number of English loanwords being modern and cosmopolitan, technical and scientific, or merely affected and pretentious?

Is a person who uses less English old-fashioned and backward, or perhaps affected and pretentious in a different way? Can Japanese be spoken today without the use of loanwords? Because of the extent of borrowing, Japanese people face such issues every day in their personal conversations and impersonal encounters with the mass media.

The 'problem' of English in Japan has thus a number of aspects which are all interrelated. In particular there are the perceived problems of pollution and the perceived problem of the 'copycat mentality' of the Japanese.

The problem of pollution

In the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper on 27 May 1963, the following exchange between a reader and the editors occurred:

I can remember coming across the following words in your paper: *low-teen*, *morale*, *instant*, *start*, *hospitality*, *trouble*, to mention but a few. Could these not have been expressed equally comprehensively in Japanese?

The Asahi's reply:

Words we feel to be strange to the average reader and words which in our estimate are still unfamiliar to the public are usually withheld; the newspaper should try to reach as wide a range of readers as possible by using a vocabulary easy to grasp. Of late the use of foreign words has grown by leaps and bounds. . . . For all intents and purposes we appear to be a foreign-loving people. Anything in *katakana* looks sweet and fresh. We bow to it, and value it too much.

This exchange is interesting for several reasons. First, the reader chides the newspaper for choosing English words when native Japanese equivalents might have sufficed. The newspaper also points out that care is taken to use only those words which they feel are in the general vernacular and readily understood. Finally, the newspaper believes that the Japanese reading public is apparently enamoured with foreign terms, and concedes that they 'value [them] too much'.

As one might expect, there are many purists who bemoan the use of English in Japanese today. These critics range from schoolteachers to grandmothers, from politicians to respected academics. Although there is no Japanese equivalent to the Academie Française (the Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, or 'National Language Research Institute', notwithstanding), some official government agencies often denounce English loanwords and proscribe their use. Ironically, however, these memorandums often contain an above-average number of borrowed words. As the *Asahi Shimbun* commented in an editorial some time ago:

I did not realize English words had been added to the 'officialese' used in government offices. . . . In these reports *kokoro* [heart] becomes English 'mind', *henka* [change] becomes 'shift', *kooyaku* [promise] becomes 'commitment', *chooten* becomes 'peak', *soko* becomes 'bottom', and *akichi* [vacant lot] becomes 'open space'. . . . There is a certain charm to affectation when it goes only as far as this, but it becomes tiresome to read such terms as 'crowding out effect', 'portfolio shift', 'impact loan', 'the scale merit of family finances', and 'reschedule request'. After a time one cannot continue reading under the pretence that one understands all these words. . . . Why do they use so many English words? Do they want people to feel that their work really must be the compositions of 'bureaucrats' at the 'centre' of an 'economic superpower'? Do they feel that in order to create a 'high-level' 'academic' and 'international' mood, they must have the help of English words that people find difficult to understand . . . ? (28 August 1984)

Many Westerners, too, as early as the turn of the century, have lamented the presence of so much English in Japanese. Basil Chamberlain (1904: 137–46), one of the eminent interpreters of Meiji Japan to the West, expressed curiosity at 'English as she is Japped'. No less an authority than the late Ivan Morris cried that:

Unless something is done to curb the pollution of the vocabulary by English and pseudo-English words, the Japanese language will soon become as ugly and unpotable as the Sumida and those other great rivers whose fresh waters have been irretrievably contaminated by poisonous foreign matter. (Morris, 1970: 454)

Apparently, both Japanese and Westerners of this persuasion want to preserve some kind of pristine Japanese language of the past, uncontaminated by outside influences.⁴

Miller (1977, 1982, 1988) has argued that the Japanese, as a nation and culture, tend to define themselves in terms of their language: those who are Japanese, and only those who are Japanese, can speak Japanese. As several have pointed out (e.g. Unger, 1987), Miller certainly overstates his case. However, there is no doubt that many Japanese feel a close tie between their language and culture. The problem is therefore one of identity: if speaking Japanese is so important to being Japanese and maintaining Japanese culture, what should be done about the mass importation of English, and its being readily accepted? We will come back to this issue in the following sections.

The alleged 'copycat' mentality of the Japanese

During the Shoowa Period, many Westerners and a surprising number of Japanese parroted a mantra that is still with us today: the copycat stereotype. A surprising large number of people still believe in the 'copycat myth', which

basically goes something like this: The Japanese are certainly great improvers, and perhaps even competent engineers. However, they lack spontaneity; their culture stifles individual creativity and they are not original thinkers. Thus, they can make better cars and cameras after they have been invented, but do not look to the Japanese for innovation or basic research.

With all the technical advances made in Japan in just the past few decades alone, it is hard to imagine that such stereotypes are still being perpetrated. However, many people mistake a curiosity and fascination with Western items to be the same thing as admiration and infatuation. Thus, for some, using English is just one more example of silly Japanese imitation of foreigners and their habits. Obviously this stereotype is ridiculous, often spouted by American commentators whose national pride was hurt or by politicians looking for a scapegoat during times of economic difficulties. The copycat mind is even harder to apply to language. Hopefully, the examples presented throughout this book have demonstrated the creative ways that Japanese apply and use English.

With the decline of the 'Japanese Miracle' and the 'Bubble Economy', we have heard less about copycats but more about how the Japanese government might take steps to jump-start their industrial productivity. Still, by the 1990s users of Japanese English were felt to be either vile polluters — language slobs who cared little for either Japanese-language national pride or development — or mere copycats who were simple consumers of linguistic fashion and cultural chic.

The language attitudes of the Heisei Period (1989 to present): The American views

With the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989, a new imperial era, the Heisei Period of Enlightened Peace, has begun. The contemporary American view towards the Japanese language has changed significantly from Meiji times. If class enrolments are any indication, Preble's Law has now been repealed several times over. The number of course offerings in Japanese in the United States has climbed dramatically and the number of institutions offering the language has tripled in the past decade. The Japanese language students at my university all wear a pin saying 'Be Prepared, Study Japanese'. Although the number of students taking Japanese still pales by comparison to, for instance, Spanish, it is the fastest-growing foreign language programme in the United States. Not only can Americans learn Japanese, they are doing so in great numbers.

There are also several reasons why Americans now feel they should learn Japanese. While many students who studied the language in the 1980s were attracted by some cultural appeal (poetry or music, Zen Buddhism, martial

arts, and so on), many newer students want to learn Japanese for more pragmatic reasons. It is no doubt useful to be able to tell a prospective employer that you are a Japanese-speaking American who could represent his company. It is also possible that the new graduate may be working in the future for some Japanese company, either abroad or in the United States. To use another example from my university hometown, one of the largest employers is a Japanese automobile manufacturing plant.

The language attitudes of the Heisei Period (1989 to present): The Japanese views

Heisei Japan is quite unlike the Meiji Japan of 150 years ago. Japan, as everybody knows, did industrialize, fight several Western powers, and did fully recover from defeat in the Pacific War. Today, it still has one of the world's strongest economies, in spite of all the current gloating over Japan's recession in American business magazines. In the next century, the Japanese gross national product (GNP) will still approach, if not surpass, that of the United States', not only in relative, but also in absolute terms.

Along with this economic strength has come a new cultural and linguistic self-confidence. Throughout much of the twentieth century, most Japanese believed that learning English was a vital necessity for personal and national success. To be sure, the style of English that many of the Japanese studied placed a strong emphasis on reading and grammar over speaking and listening. Still, this knowledge was considered vital for personal career growth and for Japan's national success as a developing nation.

While English continues to be studied heavily, the Japanese realize that their language is as legitimate as any other. There is no longer the linguistic inferiority complex that plagued the early Meiji intellectuals and leaders. Four trends seem to support this. First, as mentioned above, there are now more people studying Japanese than ever before. Although there has been a tenfold increase in the number of Americans studying Japanese in the past decade, that is only part of the story. The numbers of Chinese, Southeast Asians, Indians, Pakistanis, and people from the Middle East who are studying Japanese have also increased remarkably. This rate of increase is even larger than in the United States. This fact has undoubtedly been noticed by the Japanese.

Second, Japanese have found that their language is not as 'backward' as they had been told. For example, it had been predicted that the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the Japanese writing system would forever hold the nation back from true progress. It was said that no pictographic mass media, much less a *Japanese* pictographic mass media, could ever be as versatile as an alphabetic medium. However, the Japanese are the world's largest per capita

print consumers. Not only are there more newspapers in Tokyo than there are in Chicago or New York, there are even more English-language newspapers. It was also claimed that it would be impossible for the masses to ever become fully literate under such a complex writing system. However, the literacy rate in modern Japan is well-known. Finally, it was said that the computer age would finally show the poverty of the Japanese writing system. This language, it was argued, could never be used for things like word processing, data entry, machine billing, automated mailing, or computer programming. However, all these things can now be routinely done in the Japanese language in the Japanese writing system, albeit still somewhat slower than in Western languages. As I mentioned, the real reason why the Japanese have been so avidly pursuing 'Fifth Generation' computer technology and artificial intelligence is *not* to get a world monopoly on another leading technology (Unger, 1987). They just would like to be able to use a computer and word processor as easily as anyone using a Western alphabetic machine. Undoubtedly, more powerful computing will soon make this a reality.

Third, it appears that the Japanese have become more accepting of the 'made-in-Japan' loanwords that were mentioned earlier. This 'Japanized' version of English is being used with increasing frequency because real 'English' English is not needed by most people for most things. These terms that are inspired by English vocabulary items need not *be* (or *remain*) British or American after they are 'borrowed' from abroad or 'made' at home. For example, as we have seen in Chapter 2, *meeru メール* ('mail') means 'e-mail' in Japanese, and if you use the 'correct English' term *ii meeru イーメール*, it is most likely that you would not be understood. As I have argued before, we should not expect these loanwords to conform to any preconceived contextual or linguistic notions simply because we happen to be native speakers of English. As one informant said to me, 'The important thing is that *we* Japanese understand what is being said, right?'

Fourth, while we see more use of English in general, there are also those who are reacting strongly against this. For example, Loveday (1996) tells of two lawyers in Shimane Prefecture who filed a petition with the local government to have them stop using Japanese English in their official documents. They attacked catch-phrases like the local administration's *Rifuresshū Rizooto Shimane* ('Refresh Resort Shimane') and *Shimanessuku Shimane* ('Shimane-esque Shimane'), which were intended to promote tourism, as corrupting beautiful and elegant Japanese. Koizumi Junichiroo, the current Prime Minister, also came down hard on the extensive use of loanwords in Japanese. While he was Health and Welfare Minister in 1989, he established a task force to eliminate such terms as *taaminaru kea* ('terminal care') or *noomaraizeeshon* ('normalizing' patients back into society after being institutionalized), as he felt that ordinary citizens, especially the elderly, could not easily understand such neologisms (Loveday, 1996).

The fifth trend is one that is probably the most intriguing to anthropologists. For lack of a better name, I will call it the linguistic version of *Nihonjin-ron* (Stanlaw, 1995a). Roughly, *Nihonjin-ron* translates as 'the theory of being Japanese', and is something of a national pastime in Japan. Television talk shows, popular and scholarly magazines, and daily newspapers often discuss the 'problem of who the Japanese are', or 'where the Japanese came from'. In these discussions, it is the stress on the uniqueness of being Japanese that is most often emphasized. One informant told me, perhaps not completely in jest, that the Japanese are so different that they must have come from another planet.

However, such attitudes, which may at first seem slightly amusing, contain some rather significant consequences. As Miller (1982), an important Japanese historical linguist, has warned:

Most foreigners are simply unprepared, either intellectually or by previous experience, for their first encounter with the rampant Japanese racism that results from this essential confusion between language and race. (1982: 146)

That is, this is just the 'Boas Problem' in a different guise.

Interestingly, however, there might be a number of serious and well-respected Japanese scholars who would not be so quick to dismiss the 'Japanese as aliens' hypothesis, Boas' caveat or not. For example, there are at least three well-known linguists — Tsunoda Tadanobu (1978a, 1978b, 1985a, 1985b), Suzuki Takao (1973, 1978), and Kindaichi Haruhiko (1957, 1978, 1988) — who subscribe to rather radical hypotheses about language in general and the Japanese language in particular. The odd thing is that they are often so readily accepted by many Japanese with so little questioning.

Tsunoda Tadanobu's book *The Japanese Brain* raised some controversy when English versions of his work began to appear in translation in the 1980s. Through a number of experiments of playing different sounds in headphones in each ear, Tsunoda argues that the actual Japanese physical brain has become modified over time due to the Japanese language. As Tsunoda says:

The main difference between the Japanese and Western patterns [of hemispherical dominance of language processing in the brain] lies in vowel laterality. The Japanese brain processes vowels as a verbal sound in the left hemisphere, but the Western brain processes them as a nonverbal sound in the right hemisphere. (Tsunoda, 1985a: 45)

Also, these differences are not due to environmental factors. Peruvian Japanese immigrants, who were born in South America and do not even speak the Japanese language, supposedly show similar neurological patterns. In other words, 'Japanese' brains are quite unlike those of Americans, or Britons, or perhaps everyone else in the world. As one might expect, so far there has been little support for this claim found by other experimental psychologists.

Suzuki Takao has made a number of sociolinguistic claims for the uniqueness of the Japanese language. For example, in his discussion of the differences between what anthropologists call terms of referent, terms of address, and terms for self, he says:

No study of this angle [on the differences between terms of referent, terms of address, and terms for self] has been conducted [on this problem] because this problem does not arise within the framework of Western linguistics . . . because such phenomena do not exist in Occidental languages. (Suzuki, 1978b: 128)

Of course, as any sociolinguist knows, this is patently untrue. Also, as Miller (1982) points out, Suzuki has made a number of extreme claims including the following: (1) Japanese writers deliberately try to write prose in as obtuse a manner as possible, and such writing is especially prized; (2) the Japanese writing system is unlike any other in the world, and is a superior orthography; and (3) teaching Japanese to foreigners will help lead to world peace.

Kindaichi Haruhiko has been one of the foremost proponents of the uniqueness of the Japanese language. One of the things, Kindaichi argues, that separates Japanese from other languages is its great difficulty:

The Japanese language, however, seems to be difficult not only for foreigners but also for the Japanese themselves . . . Japanese is often said to be complicated and difficult . . . We could also say that Japanese is a topsy-turvy language and that Japan is a country which always takes the wrong road . . . The great complexity of the Japanese language is said to be weakest point. (Kindaichi, 1978: 23)

These alleged difficulties are many. They vary from the Japanese islands supposedly having so many different dialects, to problems with the writing system, to having a grammar with a strict 'reverse Polish notation' system of word order. Of course, it is hard to say what constitutes the most 'difficult' language; anthropologists would be satisfied in granting this dubious honour to no single language.

Tsunoda says neurologically the Japanese are unlike anyone else in the world. Suzuki says that Japanese sociolinguistics is unique. Kindaichi argues that the Japanese language bears no relation to any other. The message behind all these claims is quite clear: There are certain things that are special about the Japanese language, and particular only to it. Evidence indicates that Westerners and Japanese learn, receive, and process language differently. Ultimately, it is only Japanese who can speak real Japanese. Japanese culture, of course, is encoded and carried within the Japanese language. However, it appears that only someone who is biologically prepared — that is, racially Japanese — can ever really master the language. Thus, only people born into the culture *via race* can ever understand the Japanese. But this is precisely the

warning that Boas made half a century ago: race (Tsunoda), language (Kindaichi), and culture (Suzuki) are separate entities, not to be confused without dire consequences.⁵

Conclusion: The Japanese language, race, and nationalism

One does not usually associate Japanese nationalism with the Japanese language these days. The Japanese nation-state is taken for granted. However, if we look at nationalism in the way sociologists often define it — that is, as an ideology that contributes to the creation of a special kind of group consciousness that legitimates and fosters the creation of an independent political and geographic unit — the role of the Japanese language becomes less obscure.

As mentioned, during the Meiji Restoration radical changes in the Japanese language were seriously suggested. These included script reform (everything from simplifying the Sino-Japanese characters to replacing them with roman letters), changes in literary styles to reflect a more vernacular discourse, and even the abolition of the Japanese language itself. Indeed, after the Second World War, some of these changes (at least in orthography) were adopted. Despite these reforms, until relatively recently, the Japanese have been insecure about their language.

The pidgins that developed in Meiji Japan and after the Second World War reflected some of these attitudes. At first, Americans thought that Japanese could not be learned by Westerners, and besides, the Japanese should learn English. The Japanese were only too quick to agree. However, Americans also believed that English could never really be mastered by Japanese, as seen in the Bamboo English after the Second World War. Even today, among ESL teachers, the inability of Japanese students to be able to actually speak English — in spite of half a dozen years of study — is taken as fact, and commonly joked about.

The extensive Japanese borrowings from English are puzzling both to Westerners and Japanese alike. Westerners criticize the inability of the Japanese to learn ‘correct’ English — with loanwords being just one more example — and mock the many bastardized ‘Japanized’ English phrases heard daily in the country. In many ways, they see this as just one more example of the ‘copycat mentality’ of the Japanese. Japanese purists and government officials also lament this pollution of their language; yet in the very reports in which they present their criticisms, Japanized English phrases may be more frequent, though perhaps slightly more academic, than any fashionable Harajuku teenager talking about rock and roll music. However, neither these Japanese nor American critics seem to realize that this use of English is just one more very creative tool in the linguistic repertoire of the Japanese language, used

by Japanese people for their own communicative purposes (Stanlaw, 1988; 1992d).

Japanese political, social, and linguistic self-confidence is rapidly growing. Japanese as an international language is now taken seriously, an idea thought heretical on both sides of the ocean even a few years ago. There is even the international equivalent of the Japanese 'TOEFL'. In 1989 Morita Akio (founder of the Sony conglomerate) and Ishihara Shintaroo (a journalist and long-time member of the Japanese Diet) wrote a controversial book, '*Noo' to Ieru Nihon: Shin Nichi-Bei Kankei no Kaado*' (A Japan That Can Say 'No': A New Japanese-America Relationship Card). This book (Morita and Ishihara, 1989; n.d.) argues that the relations between Japan and America were politically one-sided, economically unbalanced, and need to be seriously re-evaluated. Aside from making the usual claims of the superiority of the Japanese economic system, the book also argues that racial prejudice is the greatest source of friction between the two countries:

As the modern civilization created by Caucasians come to an end in the last decade of the twentieth century, we are on the verge of a new genesis . . . That Japan, an Oriental country, is about to supplant them in some major fields is what annoys the Americans so much. (Ishihara, 1991: 30)

They also claim that the Japanese language is now a vehicle to disseminate Japanese culture, and to demonstrate the creativity of Japanese individual:

Japan is country where each person is highly creative . . . There has been an increasing number of Americans and Europeans who recognize Japanese [cultural] creativity. For example, the French previously did not recognize Japanese literature at all, thinking it had no value. Recently, however, the French have grown to appreciate Japanese literature . . . and it is due to Japanese high technology. Foreigners who were interested in Japanese technology started studying the Japanese language, and started reading Japanese novels. The foreign literature teachers and translators did not point out these interesting aspects of Japanese literature – it was done by the scientists. (Morita and Ishihara, 1989: 79–80)

Ishihara, with a number of colleagues, completed two more volumes in this series: *Soredemo 'Noo' to Ieru Nihon: Nichibei-kan no Kompon Mondai* (A Japan That Can Say 'No' None the Less: The Fundamental Problem Between Japan and America) (Ishihara, Watanabe, and Ogawa, 1990) and *Danko 'Noo' to Ieru Nihon: Nichibei-kankei no Sookatsu* (A Japan That Can Say 'No' Firmly: A Recapitulation of the Postwar Japanese-American Relationship) (Ishihara and Etoo, 1991). All three books have become bestsellers.⁶

Obviously, much of the controversy surrounding these books, both in Japan and the United States, ultimately centres around economic issues. New words being used in current Japanese newspapers, for example, *ken-bei* or

'loathing America' (from *ken'o* 'to hate' and *bei-kou*, 'America'), shock an American public commemorating the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor or the end of the Second World War. An underground unauthorized translation, supposedly solicited by the Pentagon, of much of the first edition of *A Japan That Say No* (Morita and Ishihara, n.d.) has angered US Congressmen and journalists alike. So controversial was this translation that, before he died in 1999, Morita Akio would not allow the chapters he contributed to be used in the authorized English version which has recently appeared (Ishihara, 1991).

It should, however, be noted that the Japanese reaction has not been unanimously positive. For example, Honda (1990) wrote a scathing refutation of Morita and Ishihara. What often bothered him most was not economics, but racism (1990: 24):

Unless and until he is ready to admit and say 'YES, our racial prejudice is bad enough', Ishihara or any other Japanese has no right to point his finger at what may be happening in some other country on this score.

The continuous denials of the 'Rape of Nanking' and other atrocities committed during the Second World War, Honda says, will forever prevent Japan from completely joining the community of nations, regardless of language or sense of aesthetics.

However, the soundness of Ishihara and others' economic, political or cultural arguments is not the most salient feature of the situation. In spite of the correctness of their position, it is probably no coincidence that when these Japanese revisionists decided to present their arguments, they chose to do so with a linguistic metaphor. The Japanese are now completely self-sufficient, and they are not afraid to talk back to their long-time protector and mentor. The new Japan is a country that can vocalize its new self-assurance: It is the Japan that can *say* 'no' to America (even though ironically this negative lexeme is the English loanword *noo* and not the native Japanese term *iie*).

Introduction

We have seen in Chapter 11 that the Japanese are very cognizant of their position in the world, and the part that language plays in it. In this concluding chapter, I will connect the use of English in Japan to the wider scope of international 'Englishes'. I will argue, as others have done (see Kachru, 1992; Smith and Forman, 1997; Tickoo, 1991; 1995; Bautista, 1997, for example), that English is an *Asian* language, and indeed a *Japanese* language as well. I will examine the critics of the 'hegemony of English' in Japan and other places, but argue that Japanese is hardly oppressed. Instead, I suggest it is a prime example of the colonized co-opting the colonizer. Finally, I will sum up some of the main points I hope I have made in this book.

English as a world language

Although scholars were previously well aware of this phenomenon, it is likely that many others were clueless before *Newsweek* brought things unambiguously into focus: 'English, English, Everywhere' proclaimed a November cover story in 1982, bumping off coverage of the Congressional elections giving a mandate to Reaganomics, as well the Pope's first visit to Spain to preach against divorce, birth control, and abortion. Over '700 million people now speak English . . . and [it is the] key to getting ahead in almost every country' said the introductory sidebar.¹ 'English is the tongue that Japanese businessmen use to negotiate a deal with the Kuwaitis.' Whether some other language is used to talk with Saudis or Egyptians is not stated, but 'Like it or curse it, English has become a new lingua franca and worldwide business.'

In the twenty years since, these claims have become reinforced. There are numerous measures commonly used that indicate just how pervasive English is, but I will mention only a few of them here. These include the following half-dozen facts:

- Precise estimates, of course, are hard to make, but apart from the 300 million so-called 'native' speakers of English, there are at least 700 million who use it as a second language, and up to a billion who acquire English as a foreign language (cf. McArthur, 1992, 1998; Crystal, 1995, 1997),² perhaps as much as 30 percent of the world's population.
- English is the main language of the international media, from journalism to film to music. More books, movies, tapes, CDs, newspapers, video games, and television programmes are produced in English than in any other language. Over 150 million radio programmes in English are received in 120 countries (Alatis and Straehle, 1997: 3; emphasis added).
- English is the official language of air traffic control and merchant shipping at sea; it is also the de facto language at many international ceremonies and sporting events (the Olympics being just one example).
- It is thought that some 90 percent of all e-mail messages are in English (Swardson, 1996; Alatis and Straehle, 1997).
- About three quarters of the world's post ('snail mail') is written in English (Alatis and Straehle, 1997).
- A quick perusal of conference listings in any scholarly journal, regardless of language, shows that English is by far the most commonly used language at international scientific and academic conferences. It also appears that business meetings and conferences also rely heavily, if not exclusively, on English. Although it is probably hard to get accurate figures, a vast majority of the world's scientists probably at least read English; Alatis and Straehle (1997) estimate two-thirds of the world's scientists read English.
- Many 'foreign' journals accept and print scholarly articles written in English. Even journals that are not published in English, as often as not, have English abstracts or precis included.

Finally, the most important point is that The British Council as early as 1986 recognized that the majority of English speakers were not 'native'.³ That is, of the 700 million people cited in the *Newsweek* article above who in the 1980s used English as a first or second language, some 385 million are not citizens of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia or New Zealand, or any of the other places we usually think of as being English-speaking countries. The *Newsweek* article also suggested that as many as two out of five people in the world have at least some facility in the language. These numbers have gone up: Braj Kachru (1997a) estimates that there are now four non-native speakers for every traditionally-defined native speaker of English in the world.

There have been at least two results of this English explosion. First, the 'worldwide business' of English, as *Newsweek* put it, is now a major industry, probably rivalled only by the largest high-tech industries in terms of influence and impact. For countries such as Britain, English has become a major cash-

crop and export commodity: 'Britain's real black gold is not the North Sea oil, but the English language . . . a national resource' (Romaine, 1992: 254). Such sentiments also find a resonance in such other 'inner circle' societies as the USA, Australia, and New Zealand, which also have their own English-leading industries.

The second result has been an increased interest by professional academics in the international spread and usage of English. In the past two decades the study of English as an international language has blossomed, and there have been a plethora of books on the topic, in spite of the fact that what the international English should be named is still very much in debate (Mufwene, 1994). General edited article collections include Bailey and Görlach (1983), Cheshire (1991), García and Otheguy (1989), Greenbaum (1985), Kachru (1992), Pride (1982), Quirk and Widdowson (1985), Smith (1983a, 1983b, 1987), Smith and Forman (1997), and Viereck and Bald (1986). Article collections and discussions on English in specific places — e.g. Asia (Honna, 1990), Singapore (Bautista, 1997; Foley, 1988), Africa (Bambose et al., 1997), Hong Kong (Bolton, 2000), China (Bolton, 2003), Malaysia (Ooi, 2001), or India — are also numerous. Classic and recent theoretical works are Crystal (1997), Kachru (1986), McArthur (1998), Platt, et al. (1984), and Todd (1984). World Englishes have also been examined from an anthropological perspective (Bhatt, 2001). Recent encyclopedias on English (e.g. McArthur [1992] and Crystal [1995], or the massive multi-volume *Cambridge History of the English Language*) have much material on 'English as an inter-national and intra-national language'.⁴ A major journal (*World Englishes*) and numerous conferences, associations and proceedings now complete 'English as an International Language' as a recognized multidisciplinary field.

However, we must remember that this new spread of English in the past few decades — whether, *as a business*, *for business*, or *because of business* — is different from in earlier times. Most significantly, 'English' in all its forms and functions is now increasingly influenced by non-native users, especially those from Africa and Asia.

English as an Asian Language

Braj Kachru (1996; 1997a) astutely remarked that English is often discussed as a language in Asia but not of Asia. He says that doing so is a critical mistake. For even nations that usually see themselves as homogeneous find that, for better or worse, they must come to terms with culturally and linguistically with English, whether it be a lover's embrace or rejection, or seeing an old friend again for the first time. But at the heart of the matter lies the question, 'Just whose language is it, anyway?'

With reference to the discussion of the functions of English as an international language, Kachru (1996a, 1997a; 1997b) and others (e.g. McArthur, 1998) also suggest we take note of the following points:

- In Asia, English is not only found as a first language in Australia, New Zealand and several locales in the Pacific Islands, it is present as an institutionalized additional language in many linguistically plural and multicultural societies. This includes official language status in not only Australia and New Zealand, but also India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, Brunei, Palau, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and Vanuatu. It has semi-official status in Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. It is used as a common auxiliary language throughout the Pacific, and is widely spoken in the American dependencies of Guam and American Samoa. A creole-based version of English (Tok Pisin) is official along with standard English in Papua New Guinea. It is a compulsory, or de facto, second language in Malaysia, Japan, and Korea, and is a highly popular foreign language in China and Taiwan.⁵ In much of Asia, from the Himalayas to Polynesia, it is the lingua franca of choice.
- English is one of the sixteen official languages of India (Kachru, 1983). India probably has well over sixty million speakers of English, making it the third largest English-speaking nation (following only the United States with 250 million and the United Kingdom with 50 million).
- Although not an official language, China has over 200 million students of English as a second language (Yong and Campbell, 1995). This number of students is over two-thirds of the population of the United States.
- Almost every metropolitan city in Asia has English-language newspapers, and radio stations broadcasting in English.
- There is increasing use of English in the arts and literature in Asia. These include various kinds of 'bilingual creativity', such as the innovations of Japanese English loanword usage described here, but also serious writings, such as drama, poetry, and novels (e.g. B. Kachru, 1997b; Y. Kachru, 1997; Abad, 1999; Abad et al., 1997).
- English is of course used for *inter-national* communication among the Asian nations, but it is also increasingly being used for *intra-national* communication. India, for example, uses English for a variety of social, governmental and cultural purposes (Kachru, 1983).
- Finally, we must realize that now 'the initiative in planning, administration, and funding for the increasing bilingualism in English in Asia is essentially in the hands of Asians' (Kachru, 1997a: 68). For example, not only do Asian English speakers write a majority of the pedagogical materials and teach most of the classes, they are also involved in moving the profession in the directions of their choosing.

The case of Japan is a good example of Point 6 above, where locals have procured the 'rights' of access to English. Tanaka and Tanaka (1995) describe some dozen categories of English-language textbooks, dictionaries, and study aids found in Japan in the 1980s. In all, they found more than 1,600 titles, the vast majority written in Japanese by Japanese. There are dozens of important professional language-teaching associations, such as the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET), Japan Association for the Study of Teaching English to Children (JASTEC), and Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT), all with active memberships.⁶ There are also a plethora of magazines for those devoted to English as either a part-time hobby or as an academic career. These include the popular *The English Journal*, *Eigo Kyōiku* ('The English Teacher's Magazine'), *Jiji Eigo Kenkyū* ('Current English Studies') and the *Kenkyusha Yearbook of English*. There is also a new scholarly journal on the use of English as an international language — the *Journal of Asian Englishes* — published and edited by Japanese in Japan.

In many writings Braj Kachru also talks about the 'concentric circles' of English usage, in both Asia (e.g. 1997b) and the world (1986). A major argument here is that besides an 'inner circle' of 'first-language' users of English, there is an 'outer circle' and 'expanding circle' of people whose native language is not English, but nonetheless use — or need to use — English to varying degrees in their daily and professional lives. This outer circle includes nations such as India and Singapore, where English is an official language and is used for many governmental and social purposes. The expanding circle includes nations such as China, the South Pacific islands, and most other Asian nations, where English has become increasingly critical in local and global communication. In which circle a country lies, of course, is somewhat arbitrary, but the idea of the spread of English is not.

Table 12.1 gives some statistics on countries in these various circles in the Asia-Pacific region. Populations are given in the first column, and an estimate on the number of speakers of English as either a first (L1) or second language (L2) is given in column 2. The third column gives the 'users' of English (that is, someone who is either a speaker of English as a first or second language) as a percentage of the total population. The inner circle of 'native' speakers includes the Australians and New Zealanders. In New Zealand, for instance, the total population is about three and a half million; of that, about 3,100,000 (or 93 percent) speak English either natively or as a second language.

What constitutes 'knowing' a second language is almost impossible to define (cf. Lowenberg [1993] just for a start), and I will admittedly finesse the issue here. Where the literature cites a specific estimate of English speakers in a nation, I use that figure. Otherwise, I have followed Crystal's suggestion of using the number of people in a country who have completed secondary education or higher as an estimate. Presumably such people have studied some English, and are 'likely to have English as a reasonable standard' (1995: 109).

This may inflate the true number of English speakers in places like Japan or South Korea, and I will discuss this with reference to Japan later in this chapter.

Figure 12.1 shows these three circles in graphic form. While there are only 20 million native English speakers in the inner circle, once include the English speakers in the outer circle, the total rises to 100 million. If we then add in the 260 million speakers of English from the expanding circle, we find a remarkable fact: the number of English speaker in Asia surpasses the total for the United States. The grand total for the number of English users in all three circles is some 360 million (or more than 13 percent of the population in the region). Other estimates put the overall total as double that, around 600 million in all.

Table 12.1 The 'three concentric circles of Asian Englisher'¹ and the possible number of Asian English speakers

	Approx. population (1990)	Total L1 and L2 ² English Speakers	Percentage of L1 and L2 English Speakers
INNER CIRCLE			
Australia*	17,100,000	16,988,000	99.3%
New Zealand*	3,390,000	3,152,000	93.0%
TOTAL	20,490,000	20,140,000	98.3%
OUTER CIRCLE			
American Samoa	39,600	39,300 ⁺	99.2%
Bangladesh	108,000,000	5,400,000+	5.0%
Hong Kong*	5,900,000	1,577,000	26.7%
India*	844,000,000	60,000,000	7.1%
Malaysia	17,900,000	5,724,000	32.7%
Palau	14,300	14,000	97.9%
Pakistan*	122,600,000	2,450,000 +	2.0%
Philippines*	61,500,000	2,420,000	3.9%
Singapore*	2,700,000	1,090,000	40.4%
Sri Lanka	17,100,000	690,000	4.0%
TOTAL	1,173,853,900	77,827,300	6.6%
EXPANDING CIRCLE			
Bhutan	1,400,000	72,000 +	5.1%
Brunei*	260,000	103,600	39.8%
China	1,100,000,000	200,000,000 +	18.2%
Fiji*	740,000	52,000	7.0%
Guam*	132,000	28,000 +	21.2%
Indonesia	192,000,000	3,500,000	1.8%
Japan	124,000,000	41,000,000	33.1%
Marshall Islands	45,600	23,000	50.4%
Maldives	240,000	?	?
Micronesia*	108,000	19,000+	17.6%

(continued on p. 285)

(Table 12.1 continued)

	Approx. population (1990)	Total L1 and L2 ² English Speakers	Percentage of L1 and L2 English Speakers
Myanmar	44,000,000	?	?
Nauru ¹	9,000	600 +	6.7%
Papua New Guinea [*]	3,700,000	2,400,000+	64.9%
Solomon Islands [*]	319,000	111,600	35.0%
South Korea	44,400,000	4,000,000	9.0%
Taiwan	22,000,000	8,800,000	40.0%
Vanuatu [*]	147,000	129,000 +	87.8%
Western Samoa [*]	186,000	106,000 +	57.0%
TOTAL	1,539,586,600	261,921,800	17.0%
INNER CIRCLE	20,490,000	20,140,000	98.3%
OUTER CIRCLE	1,173,853,900	77,827,300	6.6%
EXPANDING CIRCLE	1,539,586,600	261,921,800	17.0%
Grand Total	2,733,930,500	359,889,100	13.2%

¹ = A conservative estimate^{*} = English is an official language, de jure

¹ Based on a model and terminology proposed in Kachru (1997a, 1997b), and in part, on statistics given in Crystall (1995: 109), as well as Central Intelligence Agency (1999) and Brunner (1999).

² Definitions of L2 speakers are notoriously difficult, so these estimates need to be taken in that light. Crystall (1995: 108) suggests using the percentage of people who have completed secondary education or higher — presumably then having studied English — who are then 'likely to have English as a reasonable standard'. This criterion was used in the table except when actual figures on bilingualism are available for a specific country.

³ A plus sign (+) indicates that the number of either L1 or L2 speakers could not be estimated for a given country; thus, the figure cited was a minimum number (i.e., the known value of either L1 or L2 speakers). Presumably, there would be more L1 and L2 speakers if all the data were available.

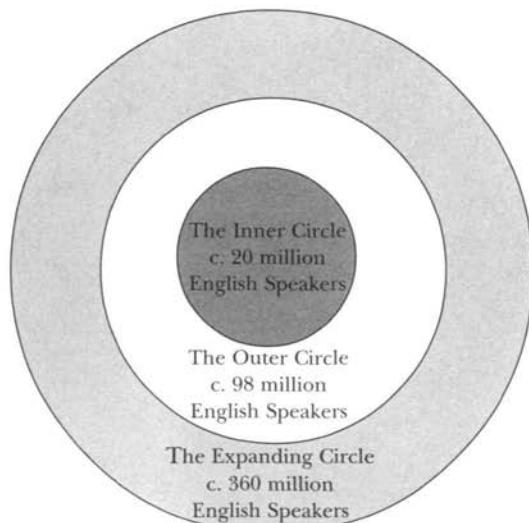


Figure 12.1 The three concentric circles of Asian English and statistics of English in Asia

English as a Japanese language

As I have implied earlier, strictly following Crystal's criteria of secondary education as evidence of English knowledge might be very problematic. By this measure, some 95 percent of Japanese would be considered as English users, as most Japanese people, 95 percent in 1990, enter senior high school (*Asahi Shimbun Japan Almanac*, 1999). I would therefore suggest that college and university attendance is a better benchmark, which gives us a figure of the population in 1990. However, when I asked a Japanese colleague about how they felt about such numbers, the response was 'It sounds high, doesn't it? But if you ask any Japanese [in Japan] a straightforward question in English like "Am I in Tokyo?" they probably could understand you.'

Regardless of the actual numbers of 'truly' bilingual Japanese English speakers, however, we must accept the fact, for better or worse, that English is a Japanese language. At first glance this might appear strange, even to those working in the 'International English' profession. For example, in the two-hundred-odd articles found in those classic edited collections on 'new' or 'world' Englishes mentioned in the previous section, only a few address English in Japan.⁷ But as I have attempted to show in this book, English and Japanese are now as inseparable as the American and Japanese economies. Indeed, I would argue that Japan today could not exist without English, and that, as in India (Dutta, 1967), English is essential for the functioning of Japanese society.

As I have discussed throughout the book, the relationship of Japanese to English is not one easily described. It is not an official language in the islands, nor is it a remnant of colonialism, the American occupation notwithstanding. English was never imposed by a cadre of zealous missionaries urging religious and linguistic conversion. It would likewise be silly and wrong to say that English is anything even close to a national second language in Japan, as in South Asia or parts of Africa. It also does not function as a lingua franca within the polity itself, although as *Newsweek* aptly points out, English is used by Japanese overseas, or for communication with those from outside Japan. It is institutionalized in the sense that it is the de facto foreign language learned in school, and all students are required to have a fair degree of knowledge about English, if for nothing else, to enter a university (as English is one of the major subjects in entrance examinations).

In fact, it might be worthwhile to comment on Japanese 'examination English' at this point. To the dismay of countless native professional English teachers and foreigners, the English in Japanese entrance examinations is always picayune, often Victorian, and usually dull. In the summer of 2001, I had the occasion to see a practice test that a high school student was using to study for his upcoming test. As I was both baffled by the directions and the point of the questions, my friend dutifully helped me take this test, which I barely passed, to the amusement of both his parents and sister. Critics have

long lambasted these examinations as being completely written and archaic, with little measure of the competence of how well Japanese individuals might actually communicate with someone in English. The reluctance to change, I believe, might be precisely because these tests have little connection to spoken native English. Again, if we keep remembering that Japanese English is English for Japanese purposes — and not American or British purposes — we see that features that are important to Japanese, i.e. a concern with grammatical correctness over communicative competence, reading ability over speaking skill, and a touch of British Received Pronunciation (RP) are emphasized the most.

In any case, as evidenced by the amount of English-language teaching and learning materials found in even the smallest rural bookstore, or the English lessons found on the airways of radio and television almost any day of the week, it is at least the hobby of millions. In 1988, 2,361,000 Japanese people took the Test in Practical English Proficiency (Kodansha Encyclopedia, 1993), and 1,310,000 took the first of a twice-a-year STEP (Society for Testing English Proficiency) examination authorized by the Ministry of Education in 1994 (Honma, 1995).⁸

English is, however, more pervasive than just as an academic subject. An example of this might be seen in the number of English-language newspapers found in Japan. Table 12.2 (Part A) shows some statistics on the five national English-language newspapers in Japan (not counting the local or regional papers, special-interest newspapers, or newspapers intended for expatriates). The total circulation of each newspaper is given in the second column from the right, and in the far-right column is the number of copies distributed each issue per 1,000 households. For example, in the top row, almost one copy (0.98) of the English *Asahi Evening News* is printed for every 1,000 households all over Japan. Now, in comparison to the circulation of Japanese-language newspapers (as shown in Table 12.2, Part B), the English-language papers fare a very distant second. For instance, for the *Asahi Shimbun*, of which the *Asahi Evening News* is a rough counterpart, over 300 copies are printed for every 1,000 households.

At first glance, these numbers might not be surprising. After all, if English is the language of international communication, perhaps the readership of these English-language newspapers are the overseas residents living, or travelling, in Japan. At the time these newspaper statistics were collected, the number of foreign residents in Japan was about 760,000.⁹ The 230,000 total copies of all the daily English-language papers (that is, all those listed in the top of Table 12.2, Part A, except the once-a-week *Nikkei Weekly*) might then be thought to be for foreign residents' consumption. However, this is simply not true, as can be revealed in a number of ways.

First, many Japanese nationals can be seen reading these English-language newspapers. Many write opinion-pieces or letters to the editor. Also, as the

Table 12.2 National Japanese-language and English-language newspapers in Japan¹ (and a comparison to national newspapers in the United States and Britain)²

PART A. National English-language newspapers in Japan

Name	Audience	Frequency	Edition	Circulation	Readership per 1,000 households ³
<i>Asahi Evening News</i>	general	daily	evening	38,800	0.98
<i>Japan Times⁴</i>	general	daily	morning	69,425	1.5
<i>Mainichi Daily News</i>	general	daily	morning	46,800	1.15
<i>Daily Yomiuri</i>	general	daily	morning	55,161	1.4
<i>Nikkei Weekly</i>	economics	weekly	weekly	35,000	0.88
<i>Shipping and Trade News</i>	trade	daily	morning	15,800	0.4

PART B. National Japanese-language newspapers in Japan

Name	Audience	Frequency	Edition	Circulation	Readership per 1,000 households ³
<i>Asahi Shimbun</i>	general	daily	morn./even.	12,964,000	325
<i>Mainichi Shimbun</i>	general	daily	morn./even.	6,119,000	15
<i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i>	general	daily	morn./even.	14,474,000	35
<i>Nippon Keizai Shimbun</i>	economics	daily	morn./even.	4,796,000	12
<i>Sankei Shimbun</i>	general	daily	morn./even.	3,104,000	8

PART C. National English-language newspapers in USA

Name	Audience	Frequency	Edition	Circulation	Readership per 1,000 households ³
<i>New York Times</i>	general	daily	NA	1,066,700	4.3
<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	economics	daily	NA	1,740,450	7.0
<i>USA Today</i>	general	daily	NA	1,653,400	6.7

PART D. National English-language newspapers in Britain

Name	Audience	Frequency	Edition	Circulation	Readership per 1,000 households ³
<i>Daily Mail</i>	general	daily	NA	2,387,800	43
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	general	daily	NA	2,330,000	42
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	general	daily	NA	1,047,800	19
<i>The Times</i>	general	daily	NA	767,000	14

TOTAL AVG. DAILY NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION 52,000,000 1240

- Source: Based on data modified from the *Asahi Shimbun Japan Almanac* 1993, p. 253 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1992).
- Source: Circulation figures in each issue; Brunner (1999: 723–4); Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1996, pp. 58–60.
- The number of households in Japan at this time was approximately 40,670,000; and in the United States was 97,000,000, although there are some differences in definition.
- I have not included special versions of these newspapers which are intended for a particular audience (e.g., the international or overseas editions, *The Japan Times Weekly*, *The Student Times*, etc.)

offices of these papers will tell you, at least some parts of their papers are targeted at local audiences. For example, many want-ads for work in foreign companies are written completely in Japanese. Also, the *Asahi* newspaper itself estimates that some 60 percent of the readership is Japanese rather than foreign (cited in Tanaka, 1995: 38).¹⁰

However, I suspect the proportion of local readers is even higher than that. A most impressive fact is the following: If we look at Table 12.2, Part C, we see the circulation of the three major national newspapers in the United States. Seven copies of the *Wall Street Journal*, and four copies of the *New York Times*, are found in every 1,000 households in America. This compares rather poorly to the 325 copies of the *Asahi Shimbun*, but is not drastically different from the English-language dailies in Japan, which range from about one to one and a half papers per 1,000 households. An even more striking figure is per capita newspaper consumption. If we say that the 230,000 English-language newspapers are read by 760,000 foreign residents each day, it means that more than 60 percent of the foreigners are reading a national newspaper. This would be vastly greater than the 3 to 5 percent national readership in the United States, the 10 percent in Britain (cf. Table 12.2, Part D), or even the 20 percent readership in highly literate Japan. One possible inference from this is that many, if not most, of the readers of English newspapers in Japan are Japanese.¹¹

However, this does not imply mass bilingualism, at least in the way it is commonly defined. For example, considering standardized test scores, at least some results appear disappointing. The average 1991 TOEFL score for the 154,609 Japanese nationals who took this examination was 493, compared to a 583 average for Singapore, 571 for India, or 605 for the Netherlands (Honna, 1995). There are, to be sure, fluent college professors or returnee businessmen and students, all of whom are likely to be readers of the *Japan Times* or the *Daily Yomiuri*. But for every one of those there are thousands whose feel that their English is non-existent, although in reality they may actually possess a great deal of competence in several domains or registers.

We can thus say there is a cline of proficiency in this 'performance variety' of English. For example, there are those who can read English well but not speak it, those who use English for specific purposes, those who know only 'examination English' and so on. But all this still leaves us with the problem of how to describe a country where apparently 10 percent of the daily vocabulary used by most people of all ages and backgrounds is English, or at least inspired by English. In other words, what can we call a speech community where 'English' means something more like 'intelligibility' rather than 'language'?

This issue has received increasing attention. For example, in *World Englishes*, the major journal for those active in the discipline of international English, Japan has received a substantial amount of attention. Table 12.3 shows

a breakdown by country of articles in *World Englishes* until the year 2000. In the right-hand column we see that there have been eleven articles on Nigerian-English, eleven on South African English, and so on. Yet, the largest number of articles has been on Japanese English with twenty-three, followed by India in second place with twenty.¹²

Table 12.3 Number of occurrences of studies of 'New' Englishes in selected countries in *World Englishes: Journal of English as an International Language*

<u>Asia</u>		<u>Africa</u>	
Japan	23	Nigeria/Yoruba	11
India/South Asia general	20	South Africa	11
Singapore	8	Africa, general	4
Malaysia	7	Zimbabwe	2
Pakistan	6	Liberia	2
Pacific, general	4	Cameroon	2
Korea	4	Ghana	1
China	4	Tanzania	1
Hong Kong	4	Mauritius	1
Philippines	3	East Africa	1
Sri Lanka	3	West Africa	1
Vietnam	3		
Brunei	2	<u>Europe</u>	
Taiwan	2	Europe, general	8
Indonesia	1	France	4
Nepal	1	Germany	3
Thailand	1	Italy	2
		Sweden	1
		Finland	1
		Spain	1
<u>Pacific</u>		Estonia	1
Hawaii	4	Belgium	1
Papua New Guinea	4	Austria	1
Australia	3	Scotland	1
New Zealand/Maori	3	<u>Middle East</u>	
Samoa	1	Arabic, general	3
Solomon Islands	1	Egypt	2
Fiji	1	Saudi Arabia	1
Guam	1	<u>Latin America/Caribbean</u>	
Marshall Islands	1	Jamaica	2
Vanuatu	1	Puerto Rico	2
New Guinea	1	Brazil	1
South Pacific, general	1	Mexico	1
Melanesia, general	1		

This estimate is based on a tally from Vol. 5 (1996) — when the journal became *World Englishes* and took on its present format — until Vol. 6 (2000); this count is only an approximation, as some articles discussed several venues and languages, and were not recorded; articles on American or British English were also ignored.

This raises an interesting issue that many who have Internet contact with Japanese have noticed. While all students of English may have dreaded the usually dry grammatical exercises of dull textbooks, many Japanese young people have found the joy of communicative English in writing e-mails to foreign friends, or even to each other, or surfing the Web to find out about the latest wonders of youth pop culture. As Tanaka has said (cited in Alatis and Straehle, 1997: 3): 'One of the most challenging research areas which [has] mushroomed in the past one or two years in Japan is how to cope with the variety of English used over the internet by millions of young students.' This English is often 'pidginized', haphazard, or idiosyncratic. For example, I received the following message from a friend who had visited our campus for a dance recital that she performed for us the previous year:

DEAR Jim; How are you doing?? Lately. Hope I see you again some time recently

Unsurprisingly, such a message may drive a professional English teacher to distraction. Indeed, as Tanaka, Alatis, and Straehle point out, a major problem for Japanese English teachers in Japan now is how to correct their students' English when they are less able to monitor it.

There is, however, no doubt that there is a Japanese variety of English. Suenobu (1990: 258; Ono, 1992: 80) defines Japanese English as 'the English which internalizes a Japanese language system and a living system of the Japanese and which grows with Japanese culture'. This is probably as good a definition as any, and reminds us that the Japanese variety of English is connected to notions of self and identity. It is precisely this issue we shall return to now.

Language and Japanese identity

As we have seen in Chapter 11, language is closely tied to notions of race and national identity in the minds of many Japanese; the term *Nihonjinron*, or theory of Japanese-ness, captures this concern with what it means to be Japanese, how Japanese should act, and how Japanese should feel about the Western world. As the famous Japanese novelist Ôe Kenzabûrô says:

There is an element in the Japanese nation and among Japanese that makes us unwilling to accept the fact we are members of the third world and reluctant to play our role accordingly. [...] Because of her wealth, Japan is now a member of the advanced nations, but, to be sure, she is not an independent nation which implements plans of her own to establish world peace. [...] I can think of no people or nation as much in need of a clue for self-recovery as the Japanese, neither among the first nor third world nations; no other people but the Japanese, whose culture evidences a strange blending

of first and third world cultures; no other people but the Japanese who live that reality. (Ôe, 1989: 189, 191, 212)

But how does English fit into this? While in the last chapter we have seen a newly found Japanese linguistic confidence, there are still many associations and responses that using English of any kind — standard RP, loanwords, or the Japanese variety of English — brings to the mind of the speaker and the listener. For example, as Mouer and Sugimoto indicate, there is:

an insistence in much English-language education that one must think like an English-speaker (usually a middle-class American) to speak English. One is told that one requires a cultural transfusion to be able to communicate properly in English. Unfortunately the transfusion often consists of doses of the Western monolith found in most *nihonjinron*. The results are several. One is the myth that to talk in English one must be individualistic and aggressive, and that shy Japanese must be more outgoing in using their English. Foreigners are thus confronted with all kinds of personal questions by probing Japanese individuals on the trains of Tokyo. [...] Rather than communicators, the end-product of this think-Western English instruction is often a technically accomplished interpreter robot, which is aggressive and obnoxiously loud with its own brand of Japanese individualism. [...] there is a belief that it is all right to say whatever one wants in English because one can be one's own self in English. To some extent this practice tends to develop unchallenged, as other Japanese around the individual in question also do not understand the English and share the same myths. (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1990: 399–400)

However, the situation may be more subtle and complicated than this. An alternative argument is that it is English language itself — and not any notions of Japanese-ness of *Nihonjinron* — that causes such feelings. We shall consider this issue in some detail in the next section.

The English language: Hegemony and resistance

We have seen previously (in the last section and Chapter 11) that some Japanese are uncomfortable with the place of the West, and English in particular, in Japanese society, especially American English and culture. This is largely due to notions of identity and sense of self. However, there are others who are concerned about world-wide hegemony of English, and the impact this is having on Japan.

Tsuda Yukio is one of the most articulate critics of the dominance of English (1986, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1997). In his 1990 book, he coined the term *eigo-shihai* (literally, 'English-domination') to describe 'the superimposition of English upon all other languages, creating inequality, inconvenience, and discrimination against the non-English speaking people' (1997: 22). He argues

that the position of English in the world today is nothing less than hegemony, and that there is a linguistic discrimination and communicative inequality between speakers of English and non-native speakers as a result of the 'global superimposition of English as an international language' (1997: 23).

Tsuda sees three problems due to this hegemony: (1) communicative inequality in international communication, (2) cultural domination, and (3) the colonization of the mind.

Communicative inequality

In the first case, he argues that English drowns out the voices of all other languages. That is, it is now taken for granted that in most scholarly or economic activities of a non-local nature, English is the language to be used. It is almost as if the Preble's Law that we have discussed in Chapter 3, the assumption that all discourse between Americans and Japanese will have to take place in English, by default, was passed by the United Nations to apply to all countries of the world. I remember speaking with a physicist colleague a few years ago about discussions he had at international conferences: 'I was, at a meeting in Russia last year,' he said. 'We were talking about some exciting things, and I was winning all the arguments (with my Russian counterparts on scientific issues). But then I realized I was winning them not because my physics was good, it was because my English was good.' This realization, by the way, has made him a convert to the use of Esperanto. As Tsuda says, it is assumed there is no other choice but English, which tends to legitimize its use even more, which, of course, is a vicious circle. As English gains more prestige and power, it mutes other languages even more; and this is all a consequence of the unequal power structures reproduced by America and the Western powers.

Cultural domination

Many have lamented the 'McDonaldization' (Ritzer, 2000), the 'Coca Colonization' (Wagnleitner, 1994), or the 'Disneyfication' (Ritzer and Liska, 1997) of the world. But Tsuda believes that this is more than mere acculturation or borrowing: the Americanization of culture, he argues, is altering the cultural space of each society. As he says:

For example, the introduction of a McDonald's restaurant changes not only the social landscape on the surface but also changes people's eating habits, tastes, and beliefs which constitute the base of each original culture. In short, by buying and eating a McDonald's hamburger, a person becomes not only a consumer of an American meal, but she/he converts into an ardent believer of American culture and consumption-centered way of life. [...] More important, Americanization of global culture legitimates the hegemony of English. And the hegemony of English, in turn, serves to facilitate the Americanization of global culture, thus reproducing the structure of linguistic and cultural domination. (Tsuda, 1997: 24)

Although Tsuda's rhetoric is perhaps slightly extreme, and his case overstated, there is no doubt that Western products — especially American popular and consumer culture — have had a tremendous influence in recent years on other parts of the world, including Japan.

Colonization of the mind

Tsuda believes that the colonization of the mind is the most insidious and treacherous impact of world Englishes. Echoing Phillipson (1992) and others who see the dominance of English as a kind of linguistic imperialism, Tsuda believes that as you become more willing to use English, you tend to move away from your own language. That is, you identify with and valorize English, and you dissociate yourself from and stigmatize your own language and culture. We become enslaved to English, and we are not even aware that our cultural identities have been lost — engulfed in tidal waves of Westernization and America.

As a corporeal example, Tsuda offers the notion of *eigo-byoo* ('Anglomania'), a linguistic epidemic said to be sweeping Japan (1997). As the Japanese become more convinced that English is the key to cross-cultural communication, and become enamoured with the idea of English as the international language for the world, the obsession for learning English has exploded, reaching all facets of Japanese society. Even children are not immune. Mombusho (the Japanese Ministry of Education) is currently introducing English into the primary school curriculum. In 1996, Abe Hajime claimed that up to 18 percent of the vocabulary in children's comics was English, and more than 12 percent of the contents of (adult) weekly magazines are English (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1996; Tsuda, 1997). Abe even suggests the possible death of the Japanese language in the future. While Tsuda does not go that far, he warns that if the Japanese people 'are not critically aware of it, and accept it uncritically, the Japanese Anglomania might possibly escalate into total colonization of their mind' (1997: 25).

Japanese responses to the hegemony of English: Resistance or reinforcement?

Tsuda points out (1997) that there are indeed many in Japan who argue against the alleged hegemony of English. These include television anchors, literature scholars, sociologists, and others who are engaged in various consciousness-raising efforts to curb the growing trend of incorporating more and more English into Japanese life. Tsuda himself offers what he calls an 'ecology of language' approach as a counter-balance and 'counter-discourse to the hegemony of English'. This paradigm is based on theoretical positions like the TESOL Resolution on Language Rights which, among other things,

advocates the protection and preservation of languages and cultures regardless of origin or relocation. In this revolution, it is explicitly stated that English should be learned as a second language and native languages and cultures should be maintained. More importantly, Tsuda asks why we want to learn English, urges language instructors to be aware of the ethics and politics of teaching English, and to be cognizant of the inherently unequal power structures that make English an international language. He suggests (following Phillipson) that the professionalization of English teaching dissociates teachers and students from political realities in favour of a fetishism of technical proficiency. He calls for a 'critical applied linguistics' which examines the political, cultural, economic, and ethical contexts of language teaching and learning (1997: 29).

However, as well-intentioned Tsuda's proposals are, the dominant trend in actual language behaviour seems to be towards the reinforcement and continued 're-exoticization' of Japanese by 'foreign' languages. While the most obvious example here is English, Japanese also borrows from other languages as well.

French or other choices?

Casual strollers on any Japanese street these days might notice a new trend. While English words and phrases abound in both *katakana* syllabary and roman letters, French seems to have become more popular. Many coffee shops, hair salons, restaurants, magazine advertisements, chateaux, apartment complexes, and health spas now are employing a French panache. For example, Figure 12.2 shows a beauty shop named *La Coiffure de EXCEL* ('The EXCEL Beauty Salon') in Hiratsuka, a medium-sized town near Tokyo. Such names are rather typical these days for things dealing with beauty products, exotic foods, and other aspects of 'high culture'. As one informant said:

I am seeing more and more French these days. I see it a lot. Everywhere. I think it sounds really sophisticated . . . kind of European. I think for fancy things, we use French instead of English now. English doesn't sound so fancy to us anymore. Maybe we will stop using so much English and switch to French.

Another young woman said:

In the mid-1990s we had an Italian Boom in Japan. Everything was Italian for a while. Even the apartment building next to where I live had an Italian name — *Erunido* (エルニド).¹³ Of course, my Italian friend laughed when he heard it; he says it means 'nest of love' in Italian! Imagine living in an apartment named that. But the term *Ita-meshi* [literally 'Italian food' or Italian cuisine] was very popular around that time.

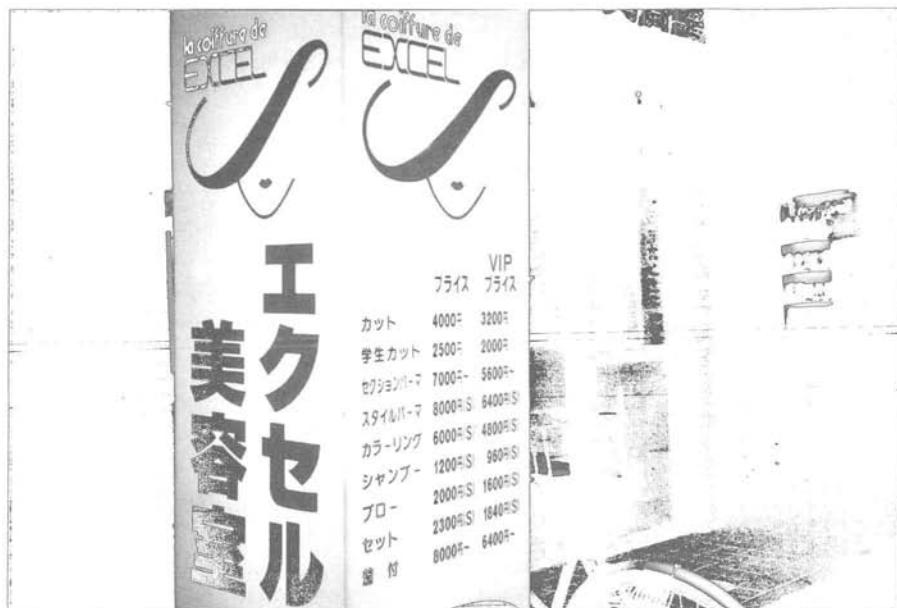


Figure 12.2 EXCEL French Beauty Salon

While these young women may not be representative of all of Japan, anecdotally there certainly is evidence that the use of French names has increased during the last decade. Haarman (1989) has written extensively on the use of French in Japanese advertising. It is possible that English is losing some of its exotic flavour, so that other languages will be used increasingly for eye-catching phrases and unusual names. However, we should also look closer at Figure 12.2. Except for the name, almost all other terms on the sign are in English (written in *katakana*): *price*, *cut*, *section perm*, *style perm*, *colouring*, *shampoo*, *blow [dry]*, *set*. The only non-English is 着付け *kitsuke*; that is the service of helping dress a woman in the complicated kimono for formal occasions.

There seems to be a somewhat cautious use of French here. In fact, under the French name itself is the Japanese rendition, 美容室エクセル (literally, *Biyo-shitsu Ekuseru*). The English is actually more extensive here, even at a French beauty salon. Yet, the idea of the exotic-ness of English mentioned above certainly merits more attention. In fact, it might be said that the English is being *re*-remade in Japan, which is perhaps another possible response to the possible hegemony of English.

Remade in Japan

As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, there is little doubt that English has achieved global status; while perhaps not the world's official lingua

franca, it is rather close. It is perhaps easy to be misled by the triumphalism of World Englishes, to say nothing of the staggering facts and figures that are often quoted. However, sometimes we may miss critical social, cultural and economic factors as well as linguistic factors that may mitigate some of these claims.

'Native-speaker'-ness, of course, has become a more dubious and problematic concept (Paikeday, 1985); one that is hard to define and even harder to substantiate. Even the ability to 'speak' English maybe largely a nebulous notion. For example, Richard Parker (cited in Wallraff, 2000: 56) found that a 1995 study of 4,500 Europeans of their 'perceived' versus 'actual' English-language skills was 'sobering': Fewer than 3 percent of people in France, Spain or Italy had a good enough command of English to follow television programmes. Only in Scandinavia and the Low Countries did the numbers exceed 10 percent.

The Internet, once touted the great boom to English-language spread throughout the world, now seems to be levelling off. More and more speakers of other languages are now using the Internet, and some estimate that 44 percent of these users speak a language other than English at home; some 13 percent speak an Asian language (mostly Japanese) (Wallraff, 2000). Also, no one knows what the technological future holds. In many ways, the popularity of English has been an historical accident. If the Germans had developed atomic energy or the atomic bomb during the Second World War, the language of physics would most likely have been German for the next century, as it was from the 1800s through the 1930s. If the Japanese had invented the Internet, it would be hard to predict just what the world linguistic scene would look like today.

In any case, the current existence and growth of diverse World Englishes brings home a very obvious fact: Just because 'English speakers' all 'speak' the same language does not mean they all understand each other. The evidence seems to indicate that as English becomes more widespread, the greater the variation in norms and standards of communication. In short, the claims made by Tsuda and others about the hegemony of English may be somewhat premature. The domination of English as an international language may be only short-lived, or may be more perceived than real.

In the mid-1990s Joseph Tobin edited a book titled *Re-Made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*. In it were articles which examined how various Western elements became appropriated into Japanese, sometimes going through several initiation rituals. One major point in the final analysis is: it is hard to separate what is 'foreign' and borrowed, from what is 'indigenous' and native in contemporary Japan today.

This book has shown, I hope, that the Japanese people are just as adept at linguistic incorporation as they are incorporating baths and Argentinian tangos into Japanese culture (Tobin, 1992). I believe Japanese language

creativity is beyond question. In fact, I predict we will see more of what could be called re-exoticization. As English phrases and words become more commonplace and nativized, I believe new devices will be constructed to capture some of the surprise and colour that English used to have.

Figure 12.3 shows an example of what this might be like. At first glance, this is a typical advertisement from a weekly news magazine (from the 30 June 2001 issue of *Shukan Gendai*) for an automobile, an IPSUM 240 Series van from Toyota. The big headline on top of the page says: *Minivan, tumoroo ミニバン トウモロー* ['Minivan, Tomorrow']. On the bottom of the page we have pictures telling of features like *supeesu tumoroo スペース トウモロー* ['space tomorrow'], or *seefuti tumoroo セーフティ トウモロー* ['safety tomorrow'], or *doraibingu tumoroo ドライビング トウモロー* ['driving tomorrow'].

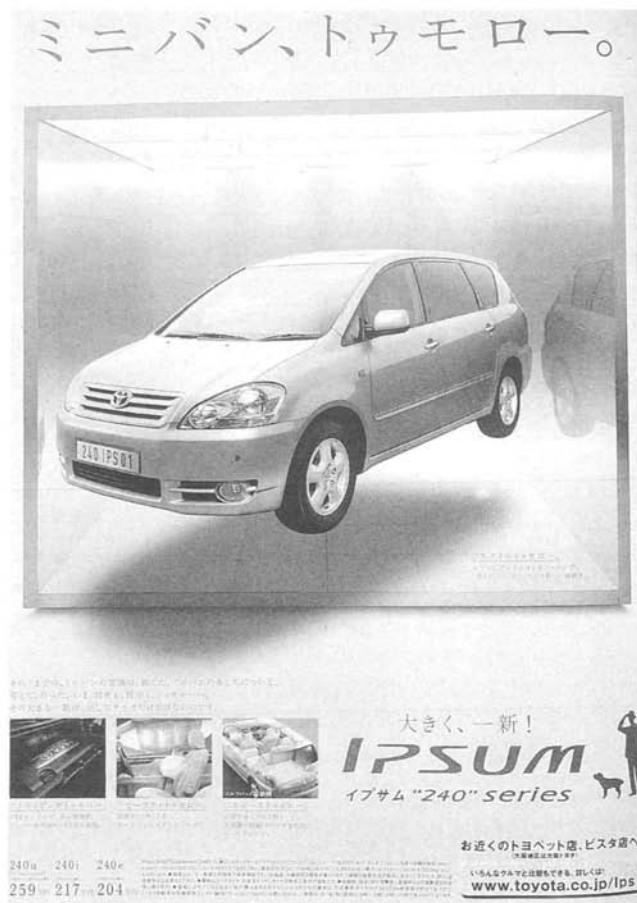


Figure 12.3 Minivan Tomorrow

One interesting aspect of this advertisement is the unusual English word *tumoroo* トゥモロー ('tomorrow') and its spelling. Although this is a fairly transparent loanword to most Japanese, many Japanese loanword dictionaries do not have it, including the exhaustive Arakawa (1977) dictionary; Iida and Yamamoto (1983) do have this entry, however, although most later ones do not. What is especially intriguing is the way this loanword is spelled. Many 'to-' words in English become *katakana*-ized as *tsu-* in Japanese (see Table 3.5 and Chapter 4): e.g. 'two way' *tsuu wee* ツー ウエー, 'tour' *tsuaa* ツアー, 'tweed' *tsuiido* ツイード. Here, however, we see the word 'tomorrow' spelled in a different, innovative way. We would expect something like *tsumoroo* ツモロー or *tsuumoroo* ツーモロー, but instead we get a *tumoroo*.

Why might this be? Why are all these linguistic gymnastics being performed? Is it simply for humour, or the sheer joy of word play? One informant's comments help answer these questions, I believe:

Of course they use it to be eye-catching. Because it is not 100 percent correct or expected, you pause for a moment, right? What is going here? Once you are caught like that you probably spend a little time thinking about what this means. Then it hits you. Oh yeah, it's a pun joke! 'Tomorrow' and 'Too move' . . . something like that. And, you know, once you figure something like that out, you feel good, you feel intelligent. And you feel that ad is really a good one. And, also, I imagine you keep that ad in mind . . . hey, maybe you even keep it in mind tomorrow!

And maybe you will buy the car. What might be happening here is an attempt to suggest the idea of 'two more' or 'too, more' by using this *katakana*. The Japanese word for tomorrow (*ashita*) is used only in the small print. When comparing this car to 'yesterday's' product, the native Japanese word is used ('*kinoo no minivan*'). As the advertisement says, everything we thought about mini-vans until yesterday is now gone.

Conclusion

In short, I believe this book supports the following claims and arguments:

- English is necessary to speak Japanese today;
- English is a creative force in Japanese sociolinguistics, and in various forms of artistic expression;
- English linguistic forms are a created-in-Japan variety for use by Japanese in Japan regardless of how they may appear to native English speakers;
- The presence of English is neither a marker of language pollution nor an indication of cultural colonization;
- English is not a reflection of a Japanese 'copy-cat' mentality;
- English has a critical place in the Japanese symbol system;

- English has a critical place in various Japanese cognitive schemas;
- English loanwords are used by all Japanese people; that said, however, there are often great differences in English usage and acceptability depending on age, gender, education, occupation, social status, class, and personal feelings;
- Certain populations, such as Japanese women, can use English as a means to circumvent certain linguistic and social constraints in the Japanese language;
- The presence of English has affected Japanese phonology and morphology in very unusual ways;
- English is the primary force behind orthographic change in Japan;
- English plays a very important role in Japanese denotative, connotative, and perceptual processes;
- Japanese ideas of race and national identity are crucially tied to language;
- Ironically, however, English plays a critical role in the reification of the sense of identity and self in Japan;
- Japanese English is a unique and special case, generally defying any of the proposed sociolinguistic continuums used to describe language-contact situations;
- The Japanese case also demonstrates certain universal features found in all places where languages and cultures meet, and in that sense, has much to contribute to a general theory of language and culture contact.
- Japanese English occupies a place in the larger context of ‘world Englishes’; that is, English is not only an Asian language, it is also a Japanese language;
- Japanese English has much to say about a general theory of language and culture contact (processes of nativization, pragmatics, language change, communicative strategies, the interrelationships of language and culture, etc.);
- Finally, Japanese, English, and Japanese English are growing and evolving together; the relationships are more symbiotic than parasitic, and their futures now are inexorably and irretrievably linked.

It seems appropriate to end this book with a comment once again from Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Meiji man of letters we met at the beginning of the book, who did so much to bring the English language to the Japanese in the nineteenth century (1899: 214):

From my own observations in both Occidental and Oriental civilizations, I find that each has certain strong points and weak points bound up in its moral teachings and scientific theories. . . . After all, the present is the result of the past. This glorious condition of our country cannot but be the fruit of the good inheritance from our ancestors. We are the fortunate ones who live today to enjoy this wonderful bequest.

Appendix: The Japanese syllabary writing system

Modern Japanese uses several orthographies besides the famous Sino-Japanese characters borrowed from the Asian mainland around AD 560. Two of these scripts (the *hiragana* and the *katakana* systems) are syllabaries — rather than an alphabet — which are used to express things phonetically in the language. As with most syllabary systems in the world, a single Japanese *kana* (syllabary) symbol usually represents a single vowel sound, or a consonant plus a vowel. The traditional ordering of the Japanese sound system is given in Figure A.1. This chart, though modified somewhat over time, is actually very old, going back at least to the sixth century AD. The ordering of the sounds in this chart is basically the same as that found in writing systems based on the Devanagari (and other derivative) scripts, such as Hindi, Burmese, Bengali, and of course, Sanskrit (cf. Nakanishi, 1980: 45–79; Gaur, 1984: 106–17). That is, this analysis was apparently based on a study of Buddhist texts, both directly from Indian sources and secondarily via Chinese.

As Figure A.1 shows, this ‘Indic inspired phonological analysis’ (Miller, 1967: 129) arranged the syllables into five vertical columns (*dan*, or ‘classes’), each named for the vowel which heads it: *A-dan*, *I-dan*, *U-dan*, *E-dan*, and *O-dan*, respectively. The ten horizontal rows were named for the consonant which would precede the vowel (with no consonant — that is, the plain vowel — starting the first row). Thus, the five rows and ten columns produce the so-called ‘50-sound chart’ (the *go-juu on zu*). Reading across and down the chart, from left to right, the ‘alphabetical’ order would be ‘a, i, u, e, o, ka, ki, ku, ke, ko, sa, ...’ and so on until ‘wa’.¹ This is actually the way words are usually ordered in a Japanese dictionary.

At the end of the chart in the last row, I have placed the ‘final-n’ nasal — what Japanese linguists often call the ‘syllabic-n’ — that can occur at either the end of a word or a syllable. This is the only ‘independent’ consonant in Japanese which can appear without a vowel. Thus, this /-n/ sound is the only consonant that can terminate a syllable or word in Japanese (as seen for example, in *Nihon*, the native word for Japan, or in the title *Rashoomon*, the

famous Japanese film). Because of this special property, it merits its own symbol in the syllabary charts.

The syllabary system actually contains a number of symbols beyond the fifty sounds given in Figure A.1. There are a series of 'voiced sounds' (*daku-*

	-a	-i	-u	-e	-o
Ø	あ a	い i	う u	え e	お o
k-	か ka	き ki	く ku	け ke	こ ko
s-	さ sa	し shi	す su	せ se	そ so
t-	た ta	ち chi	つ tsu	て te	と to
n-	な na	に ni	ぬ nu	ね ne	の no
h-	は ha	ひ hi	ふ fu	へ he	ほ ho
m-	ま ma	み mi	む mu	め me	も mo
y-	や ya		ゆ yu		よ yo
r-	ら ra	り ri	る ru	れ re	ろ ro
w-	わ wa				を (o)
-n	ん -n				

Figure A.1 The *Hiragana* syllabary (*Gojuu-on*)

on) corresponding to the k-, s-, t- and h- rows of the 50-sound chart. In other words, where the original chart had 'ka, ki, ku, ke, ko' there is a voiced series of 'ga, gi, gu, ge, go', and so on. These voiced sounds are indicated orthographically by simply adding a voicing marker (written as small quote mark, ") to the first symbol. Thus, /ga/ becomes written as /ka/ plus "(i.e. か + "), with the new symbol becoming が. The Japanese also feel that the voiceless bilabial stops — that is, /p/ sounds — are somehow related to the /h-/ and /b-/ sounds. That is, the 'pa, pi, pu, pe, po' series is thought to be derived from the 'ha, hi, hu, he, ho' series. These /p/ sounds (termed *handaku-on*) are written by adding a small circle to the symbols of the /h/ sounds. For example, /pa/ is written as /ha/ plus a small circle (i.e. ぱ).² All these derived symbols for the *hiragana* syllabary in Figure A.1 are shown below:

orig./voiced	orig./voiced	orig./voiced	orig./voiced; voiceless labial stops
ka か => ga が	sa サ => za ザ	ta た => da だ	ha は => ba ば ; pa ぱ
ki き => gi ぎ	shi し => ji じ	chi ち => ji ぢ	hi ひ => bi び ; pi ぴ
ku く => gu ぐ	su す => zu ず	tsu つ => zu づ	hu ふ => bu ぶ ; pu ぶ
ke け => ge げ	se セ => ze ゼ	te テ => de デ	he へ => be ベ ; pe ペ
ko こ => go ご	so ソ => zo ゾ	to と => do ド	ho お => bo ぼ ; po ぼ

There is one last set of syllables needed to make this way of depicting the Japanese phonological system complete. There are another 36 symbols for the so-called *yoo-on* series, the palatalized consonants. The three basic palatal sounds — ya, yu, and yo — are written in *hiragana* respectively as や, ゆ, and よ (as indicated in line 8 in Figure A.1). Again, to write the other palatal consonant syllables — such as kya, kyu, or kyo — the symbols are derived from the original fifty orthographies of Figure A.1. The initial consonant is taken from the 'consonant plus i-sound symbol', and the palatalization marker written next to it, but written in a smaller way. Thus, /kyä/ is rendered as *ki* き + small *ya* や becoming *kya* きや (that is, using the symbol for 'ki' plus a small symbol for 'ya' written in the lower right-hand corner).³ These *yoo-on* palatalized sounds are given in Figure A.2 (p. 304).

For historical reasons there are actually two *kana* phonetic syllabary systems. Figure A.1 gives the *hiragana* forms, which are used to write most grammatical particles, adverbs, and other things for which Sino-Japanese characters do not exist or would be awkward to use. The second set, termed *katakana*, are alike in every respect to the *hiragana*. In other words, for every *hiragana* symbol there is a corresponding one in *katakana* and everything that can be written in *hiragana* can also be written in *katakana*. Figure A.3 gives the complete *katakana* set, though for this table I have combined all the features (such as voicing, palatalization, etc., that I previously discussed

	-ya	-yu	-yo
Ø	や ya	ゆ yu	よ yo
k-	きや kya	きゅ kyu	きょ kyo
g-	ぎや gya	ぎゅ gyu	ぎょ gyo
s-	しゃ sha	しゅ shu	しょ sho
z-	じや ja	じゅ ju	じょ jo
t-	ちゃ cha	ちゅ chu	ちょ cho
n-	にや nya	にゅ nyu	にょ nyo
h-	ひや hyo	ひゅ hyu	ひょ hyo
b-	びや bya	びゅ byu	びょ byo
p-	ぴや pya	ぴゅ pyu	ぴょ pyo
m-	みや mya	みゅ myu	みょ myo
r-	りや rya	りゅ ryu	りょ ryo

Figure A.2 Hiragana syllabary, palatal sounds (*Yoo-on*)

	-a	-i	-u	-e	-o	-ya	-yu	-yo
Ø	ア a	イ i	ウ u	エ e	オ o	ヤ ya	ユ yu	ヨ yo
k-	カ ka	キ ki	ク ku	ケ ke	コ ko	キヤ kya	キュ kyu	キョ kyo
g-	ガ ga	ギ gi	グ gu	ゲ ge	ゴ go	ギヤ gya	ギュ gyu	ギョ gyo
s-	サ sa	シ shi	ス su	セ se	ソ so	シャ sha	シュ shu	ショ sho
z-	ザ za	ジ ji	ズ zu	ゼ ze	ゾ zo	ジャ ja	ジュ ju	ジョ jo
t-	タ ta	チ chi	ツ tsu	テ te	ト to	チャ cha	チュ chu	チョ cho
d-	ダ da	ヂ ji	ヅ zu	デ de	ド do			
n-	ナ na	ニ ni	ヌ nu	ネ ne	ノ no	ニヤ nya	ニユ nyu	ニヨ nyo
h-	ハ ha	ヒ hi	フ fu	ヘ he	ホ ho	ヒヤ hya	ヒュ hyu	ヒョ hyo
b-	バ ba	ビ bi	ブ bu	ベ be	ボ bo	ビヤ bya	ビュ byu	ビョ byo
p-	パ pa	ピ pi	ブ pu	ペ pe	ボ po	ピヤ pya	ピュ pyu	ピョ pyo
m-	マ ma	ミ mi	ム mu	メ me	モ mo	ミヤ mya	ミュ myu	ミョ myo
r-	ラ ra	リ ri	ル ru	レ re	ロ ro	リヤ rya	リュ ryu	リョ ryo
w-	ワ wa				ヲ (o)			

Figure A.3 The complete *katakana* syllabary

separately for the *hiragana* symbols in Figures A.1 and A.2) — into a single table.⁴

Today the *katakana* syllables are used for a variety of things. In Japanese textbooks language learners are told that they are used to write borrowed words and names, or onomatopoeic expressions, but they are actually much more common than that. They can be used in itemized bills, writing computer software, and for dozens of other things. The list below gives just a few *katakana* examples:

1. Onomatopoeic expressions⁵

wan wan ('bow bow') ワンワン

paku paku (the sound of stuffing yourself while eating) パクパク

gira gira ('glistening; gleaming') ギラギラ

2. Foreign names and places

amerika ('America') アメリカ

san pauro ('São Paulo') サン パウロ

sadamu husein ('Saddam Hussein') サダム フセイン

3. Foreign loanwords

takushii ('taxi') タクシー

basu ('bus') バス

4. Plant and animal names

hasu ('lotus') ハス

raion ('lion') ライオン

banana ('banana') バナナ

5. Special women's (and men's) names

Yuumin (Matsutooya Yumi) ユーミン(松任谷由美)

(Yumi 'Yuming' Matsutoya; a famous singer)

Kyuutii Suzuki (Cuty Suzuki; a porn star) キューティー鈴木

Takeuchi Mariya (Takeuchi Maria; a famous singer) 竹内マリヤ

Juriil (Julie, for Sawada Kenji, a famous male singer) ジュリー (沢田研二)

Gattsu Ishimatsu ('Guts' Ishimatsu, a famous male professional wrestler) ガッツ石松

6. Sentence-final particles and tag questions

ii ne ('This is OK, right??') いいネ

hama-ru ('to become addicted to ~') ハマる

komatta na ('Oh, no!/Goddamn!') コマッタナ

mote-ru ('being popular with the opposite sex') モテる

nan da yo ('What??') ナンだヨ

7. Italics and emphasis

Nobuko-san-wa kimono ga yoku ni aimasu 伸子さんはキモノがよく似合います
 'Nobuko looks nice in a *kimono*.'

oiya お イ ャ

'This is so bad??; i.e., 'You refuse me? Are you sure?'
 (said by a woman to a man)

ya daaa や だ ア ー

'This is REALLY bad!!!'

8. Character substitutions

kaeru-wa donna esa o tabemasu-ka カエルはどんなエサを食べますか
 'What kind of food do frogs eat?' (Mitamura, 1985: 44)

9. Advertisements

Kore, yuu no wagon? これユーのワゴン

'Is this the *wagon* [minivan] for *you*?'

Notes

CHAPTER 1

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

CHAPTER 2

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

- word counts taken from newspapers. This set of studies has never been duplicated, and today the percentage of loanwords would almost certainly be substantially higher.
3. This observation is based on figures given by the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, 1970–4) and Kindaichi, et al. (1995). Although the particular estimates vary, it is clear that loanwords may make up to 10 percent of all Japanese vocabulary, and the vast majority (between 80 to 95 percent) come from English.
 4. This is based on a study that covered the early 1980s by K. Inoue (1985). Note that not *all* the apparently transparent English words might look similar to native speakers of English. For example, サービス often means a discount or 'service' given to regular or good customers.
 5. The oldest loanword dictionary is probably Ueda, et al. (1915), but there have been dozens since. General dictionaries include Ishiwata (1990), Kaieda (1997), Kobayashi (1982), Maruyama (1992), Nikaidoo (1980), Oda (1998), Oka (1980), Sanseido (1979), Shinsei (1978), Tooren-kikaku (1997), Umegaki (1980), Yokoi (1978), and Yoshizawa (1979). There are also many specialized ones, such as Fujimura (1982) for older people. Makino Shinobu (2000) has an accompanying CD-ROM giving correct pronunciations. Loanword dictionaries or glossaries in English include Bailey (1962), Matsumoto (1974), Miura (1979, 1985, 1998), Webb (1990), Motwani (1991, 1994), and Kamiya (1994).
 6. It should be mentioned that this book does not focus on code-switching and code-mixing between Japanese immigrants overseas or Japanese-English bilinguals (as in, for instance, Nishimura's 1977 study of Toronto *nisei*, i.e. second-generation Japanese Canadians). That said, I do not want to give the impression that Japan is a completely homogeneous, monolingual society, as this is not the case (Mahler and Yashiro, 1991; 1995).
 7. There is a fairly extensive literature by Japanese scholars on English in Japan, going back several decades. For example, Hida (1981), Higa (1973, 1979), Honna (1990), Ishino (1977, 1978, 1982), Ishiwata (1978, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1989), Nakayama (1990), Shimomiya (1978), Shinmura (1983), Suenobu (1990), Suzuki (1978a), Tananbe (1981), Umegaki (1967, 1978), Yano (1990), Yokoi (1973), and Yoshizawa (1978) give some Japanese views on English in Japanese.
 8. The death of the Shoowa Emperor (known in the West as Hirohito) merits some comment as it has implications for the term 'Golden Week' as well, showing some of the linguistic creativity of the Japanese people. Hirohito's son, Akihito (the 125th new sovereign) was born on 23 December, a time when few people could take time off before Christmas and the New Year. In this sense, then, the Emperor's birthday was inconvenient, coming at such a cold weather and so close to the New Year (the main holiday in Japan). In order to continue the 'Golden Week' tradition, the old emperor's birthday is still celebrated as *Midori no Hi* (literally meaning 'Green Day'; that is, a spring holiday).
 9. There is a vast literature on English-language teaching in Japan and the use of English in the educational establishment. See, for example, Brownell (1967), Honna, Tajima, and Minamoto (2000), Hoshiyama (1978), Ike (1995), Ikeda (1968), Koike and Tanaka (1995), LoCastro (1990, 1996), and Yano (1992). Tanaka and Tanaka's (1995) bibliography is quite detailed. Many English and Japanese teachers argue about whether or not English loanwords are good or bad for their particular subjects (e.g., Takeshita, 1993; H. Quackenbush, 1997).

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

CHAPTER 3

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

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

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

CHAPTER 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Fukuzawa himself experimented with several *katakana* transliterations for different 'innovative' non-Japanese sounds. For example, for *vo* he sometimes wrote ヴオ or ヴヲ, for *vi* he would use ヴイ or ヴ#, and for *ve* ヴエ or ヴ়; he would sometimes use ヴৰ্ল for English final '-ver' sounds.

CHAPTER 5

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

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

CHAPTER 6

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

CHAPTER 7

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

CHAPTER 8

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

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

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

CHAPTER 9

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

CHAPTER 10

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

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

CHAPTER 11

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

CHAPTER 12

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

APPENDIX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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