ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN JAPANESE

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References
I. Introduction

This paper describes several issues currently being debated about the use of English loanwords in the Japanese language. First, I explore the nature of English loanwords in Japanese, discussing the current status of English loanwords and giving a brief sketch of their historical background, especially comparing them with kan-go, old Chinese loanwords, which are assimilated in contemporary Japanese usage.

The next section presents some possible reasons for the flood of English loanwords in Japanese. Three kinds of loanwords are noted: nouns, adjectives, and verbs, all of which are used in advertisements and articles in Japanese fashion magazines whose primary readership is both young men and women.

The penultimate section examines the forms and uses of English loanwords in Japanese. I examine the transformation of these words during the borrowing process and analyze them in terms of pronunciation, stress, lexical shift, truncation, compounding, hybridization, transfer from L1 (the first language) to L2 (the second language), and overgeneralization.

The final section considers the influence that English loanwords have exerted on present-day Japanese.

II. The Nature of English Loanwords

Throughout their history the Japanese have steadily added foreign words to their lexical stock. Borrowing foreign words in Japanese started when kan-go, old Chinese, was incorporated into wa-go, old Japanese. Since it was established by law in the seventh century that mainly kan-go should be used for all the archives, old Chinese played a crucial role in the Japanese language for as long as 1200 years or until the Meiji Restoration in 1868'. Even today kan-go exerts a great influence upon the Japanese language, for almost all terms concerning politics, education, industry, or economy are expressed in kan-go. Today kan-go is looked upon as part of Japanese and
is sometimes even difficult to distinguish from wa-go. In this sense words from kan-go, which are assimilated into Japanese, are no longer loanwords.

During the period of the isolationist policy (1639-1858), a number of Dutch words relating to the fields of medicine and machinery flowed into Japanese (Ohno, Matsumura, et al. 1970). However, after Perry's arrival in Japan to open up the country in 1853, English loanwords gradually replaced the Dutch, and today English loanwords outnumber loanwords from other Western languages greatly (Sugimoto 1966). Especially for Japanese, who are extremely curious about things from abroad, English loanwords have already become indispensable for use in the media, and consequently, in everyday conversation, and many have also become generalized in modern Japanese. Though most Japanese probably do not consider kan-go to be a group of loanwords when they use it or hear it, their attitudes toward English loanwords are quite different. English, which has gradually been brought into Japan since the middle of the 19th century (Ohno, Matsumura, et al. 1970), is used in almost all fields today, especially in the fields of fashion, sports, and technology. Nevertheless, most English words used in the Japanese language are still "loanwords" or "foreign" words for the Japanese. One of the possible reasons for this fact would be that English loanwords are written in katakana characters, which the Japanese created by simplifying kan-ji, or Chinese characters, and these writing symbols called katakana may visually - almost tacitly - keep the difference between English loanwords and Japanese or kan-go distinct. Though kan-ji was used for kan-go or wa-go², katakana is reserved for foreign words³ and special purposes such as telegrams and onomatopoea. Another reason may be found in English pronunciation, which is quite different from Japanese pronunciation. There are fewer sounds in Japanese than in English. For instance, there are only five vowels in Japanese while there are sixteen in English including diphthongs (Ladefoged 1982). The total number of Japanese basic sounds is only fifty-one⁴. Therefore, words that include sounds that are unfamiliar
to the Japanese such as "vogue" and "think" may sound foreign to them. Also, such words as "sick" and "deep", which end with a consonant, and "sprinkle" and "couple", which end with a cluster, are difficult to accept as Japanese words because of the fact that all Japanese words end with a vowel except words that end with a velar nasal sound such as "hon" (book) and "boken" (adventure). Another reason could be that it has been only a century or so since English came into Japanese. Kan-go, too, was looked at as a different language from wa-go when it was introduced, as can be observed in women's language of the Edo era and before. In old Japan, where there was a great difference in social status between men and women, it was men who participated in politics or academic discourse, and women were expected and encouraged not to use words pertaining to those fields, which were expressed in kan-go (Tokieda 1978). In those days kan-go was a language that only the intelligentsia could use. English, too, was a "foreign" language that only educated people used when it was first brought into Japan, so even the use of one word of English marked a discourse as something "foreign." English is still recognized as "foreign," though English loanwords are indispensable for present Japanese language.

III. The Flood of English Loanwords

English loanwords are still "foreign" words to the Japanese. So why is Japanese flooded with them, and in what way are they used? Possible answers to these questions may be found in various advertisements and articles in Japanese fashion magazines, which contain a tremendous number of English loanwords.

English borrowed by the Japanese can be separated largely into three kinds: nouns, adjectives, and verbs.
A. Nouns

One of the reasons why English words were introduced to Japan is that products, materials, styles, and ideas which had not existed in Japan, such as "skirts," "jackets," "belts," "cardigans," "bags," "flares," "sunglasses," "satin," "suede," and "models" were brought into the country. It was more convenient to adopt these names as they were than to translate them because names described in another language would be too cumbersome. What is more noticeable, however, is that those which are difficult to translate are only a small portion of the loanwords and that there are a number of words such as "item," "creativity," "top," "bottom," "back," "line," or "balance" which can be easily translated, even though they may not represent exactly the same things or images when translated into Japanese, or which are usually expressed in Japanese in domains other than fashion. Surprisingly enough, most colors, which are possible to translate, such as "white," "blue," "khaki," "purple," "beige," and "brown," are quite often expressed in English in the area of fashion.

According to a survey of consciousness of fashion made on Japanese college students, it is a common and strong belief among the Japanese that many things concerning fashion are born in Western Europe and in the United States and are brought from those areas, and that even if new designs or new concepts of fashion are born in Japan, fashion itself still tends to be considered a product of the West. The survey says that there exists a strong desire among young Japanese to use English to "catch up with Western fashion." Colors especially are one of the most important factors of fashion which directly represent products, and using English expressed in katakana for the colors of products may reinforce the ideas of young Japanese oriented to the West. The survey also says that if these nouns were expressed in kan-go (for example, hinmoku instead of aitemu/"item"), they would sound heavy and stiff to the Japanese, and that if wa-go were used (for example, tsuriai instead of
baransu/"balance"), it would give a historical or national image of Japan
instead of a contemporary or international image of the West. Many of my
informants claim that Japanese things do not match the image of European
fashion. In most Japanese fashion magazines English is used for the title,
and the cover girl will also be Caucasian. The survey says that readers
who are not familiar with the English language can also enjoy the feel of
Western fashion by seeing English words for products, materials, styles, and
ideas in katakana in articles and advertisements in the magazines.

B. Adjectives

Many adjectives are also used in the magazines, and they perform
an extremely important role in the Japanese language used in the field of
fashion. Adjectives such as "simple," "chic," "casual," "elegant," "romantic,"
"contemporary," and "sophisticated" are increasing just as the number of English
borrowed nouns is. Some of these English borrowed adjectives are becoming
assimilated into the Japanese language. Fashion has a connotation of luxury
in every part of the world, and these English adjectives help fashion sound
even more "fancy" to the Japanese. However, unlike English names of products
or styles, which would never disappear unless these products or styles cease
to exist, these English adjectives can possibly fade out after enjoying their
temporary popularity in the Japanese language, for they are all translatable.
Thus, the nature of borrowed nouns is quite different from that of borrowed
adjectives. The English names of products, materials, styles, and ideas which
did not exist in Japan before can be termed "coinages" whereas many English
adjectives may be called "unstable" popular loanwords.

Even if there is a Japanese translation for an English borrowed adjective,
sometimes it may acquire a peculiar meaning within the Japanese language.
In that case it tends to remain as a new "Japanized" word. If it is used
too often and becomes a hackneyed word, it may be replaced with another English
borrowed adjective or even with a Japanese word. For example, an English borrowed adjective, "nau-i," which the Japanese made up by combining an inflection of Japanese adjectives, "i," with an English word, "now," was first produced in the form of nau-na (Inagaki 1988), which is a combination of an English word, "now," and an inflection of Japanese adjective verbs*, "na," which inflect differently from Japanese adjectives. During the Vietnam War young people in America were using a catch phrase, "Freedom Now," for opposing the war, and the Japanese simply lopped off the former word, "freedom," and started to use the latter word, "now," to mean "new" (Inagaki 1988). First, they added "na" to "NOW" spelled in English. Then, the word, "NOW-na," was gradually Japanized, and "NOW" began to be expressed in katakana, which most foreign words except kan-go are written in, with "na" in hiragana, which is totally reserved for native Japanese words. Later, the word, ""nau-na," acquired slightly different meanings such as "neat," "cool," or "groovy."
The form of "nau-na" was again changed into "nau-i," which came to mean "advanced," "ahead of time," or "leading the fashion" (Arakawa 1985). However, the overuse of nau-i especially in such a domain as fashion led to the decline of the popularity of the word, and by translating "now" literally into a Japanese word, the Japanese created "ima-i" (now = ima), and it survived for some time. Today ima-i is replaced with ima-fu no or imappoi, which may possibly be replaced again with the recently borrowed English word, kontenporarii-na/"contemporary." Nau-i, which is seldom seen or heard in present language use is one of those "unstable" popular loanwords that was destined to die out after a while.

C. Verbs

English borrowed verbs are different from English borrowed adjectives in that the number of the former is much smaller, but both are in the same situation in that they are translatable into Japanese. To use English borrowed
verbs has an effect that can coordinate the sentences if other nouns and adjectives are English loanwords. However, neither coordination of sentences nor the use of most of the borrowed verbs such as chekku suru/'to check,' apiiru suru/'to appeal,' and gaado suru/'to guard' relate directly to modernity, beauty, cleanliness, refinement, or luxury that represents fashion. Also, in Japanese there are a number of sentences without verbs that are grammatically correct', which may be one of the reasons why English borrowed verbs are much fewer than English borrowed nouns or adjectives.

IV. The Forms and Uses of English Loanwords

Semantic, phonetic, or syntactic changes often occur when or after words are borrowed from other languages, and those changes can be vital because they reflect the essence of the mother tongue and the influence of loanwords on the mother tongue. In various Japanese fashion magazines a tremendous number of phenomena or changes can be found that occur in borrowing words from English.

A. Pronunciation

1. The number of syllables increases.
   
   cleaning --- ku-ri-i-nin-gu (from two syllables to five syllables)

2. The diphthongs, [ei] and [ou] become the long vowels, [eː] and [oː].
   
   grade --- gureedo *(A set of the same vowels together such as ee and oo shows a long vowel.)
   coat --- kooto

3. Sounds that do not exist in Japanese are replaced with close sounds.
   
   basic --- beeshikku (from [si] to [ʃi])
   music --- myujikkru (from [zi] to [dʒi])
   yellow --- ieroo (from [je] to [ʃe])
   window --- uindo (from [wi] to [ui])
   fork --- hooku (from [f] to [h])
   love --- rabu (from [v] to [b])

4. Some voiced sounds become voiceless sounds, and some voiceless sounds
become voiced sounds.

smooth --- sumuusu (from [θ] to [ʃ])
hose --- hoosu (from [z] to [ʃ])
news --- nyusu (from [z] to [ʃ])
close-up --- kuroozuappu (from [ʃ] to [z])

5. Some words are borrowed from American pronunciation instead of British pronunciation.

cotton [kɔtn] --- katan (instead of [kɔtən])
collar [kɔlər] --- karaa (instead of [kɔlər])
schedule [skedʒu:l] --- sukejuuru (instead of [jedju:l])
cocktail [kɔktəl] --- kakuteru (instead of [kɔktəl])

Some words are borrowed from American English instead of British English. Therefore, their pronunciation is originally from American English.

elevator --- erebeetaa (instead of "lift")
candy --- kyandii (instead of "sweat")
apartment --- apaato (instead of "flat")

B. Stress

1. Stress is put on the first syllable if the loanwords become a two- or three-syllabled word after being borrowed.

camera --- 'ka-me-ra
soft --- 'so-fu-to
dance --- 'dan-su
sense --- 'sen-su
cup --- 'kap-pu

2. The position of stress changes because of the above rule.

glass --- 'gu-ra-su
slim --- 'su-ri-mu
hotel --- 'ho-te-ru

3. There are some exceptions in that stress is not put on the first syllable and yet the position of the stress still changes.

modern --- mo-'dan
biscuit --- bi-su-'ket-to
bucket --- ba-'ke-'tsu

Stress is not put on the first syllable of the loanwords which are borrowed during the period of the isolationist policy.
Gurasu and garasu, kappu and koppu were borrowed from different languages at different times. This shows that each period had its own rules of stress. Also, these words were borrowed to mean different things.

- gurasu --- a drinking vessel made of glass  
- garasu --- hard brittle substance as used in windows  
- kappu --- a small porcelain bowl, with a handle, used with a saucer, for tea or coffee  
- koppu --- a plastic, glass, or porcelain drinking vessel

C. Lexical Shift

1. Semantic Extension

Semantic extension refers to the case in which a loanword has a new meaning which is somehow related to the original meaning of the source word.

- idol --- aido (a popular young singer)  
  An idol is someone to be adored or worshiped.  
- talent --- tarento (an entertainer who appear on TV)  
  A talent is someone who is talented.  
- mannequin --- manekin (a special sales representative)  
  A mannequin is a model who contributes to sales promotion.

2. Semantic Restriction

Semantic restriction occurs when the meaning of the loanword represents only a subset of the source word.

- boat --- booto (a small rowboat)  
- plastic --- purasuchikku (a hard material used for such things as plastic models and plastic cups)  
- bye-bye --- baibai (an extremely casual way of greetings exchanged especially among friends)

3. Semantic Shift (unrelated to the source word)

Semantic shift is the case in which a loanword has an utterly new meaning which is not directly related to the original meaning of the source word.
smart --- sumaato (thin, skinny, slender)
viking --- baikingu (buffets, taking whatever one wants to eat)

D. Truncation

Some loanwords are shortened by lopping off a morpheme or an arbitrary part of the source word.

1. Truncation of the top of the source word

   cosmetic (cosme/tic) --- chikku (gel for men's hair)

2. Truncation of the end of the source word

   permanent (perma/nt) --- paama (to perm)
   variation (varia/tion) --- barie
   make-up (make/up) --- meoku
   technique (tech/ique) --- teku
   traditional (trad/ional) --- toraddo (tendency to care for clothing that was in fashion in the past)
   conservative (conserva/tive) --- konsaba
   retrogression (retro/gession) --- retoro (tendency to care for antiques)

3. Truncation of the latter word of the source compound

   one-piece dress (one-piece/dress) --- wanpiisu
   stainless steel (stainless/steel) --- sutenresu

4. Truncation of the end of each word of the source compound

   body conscious (bodi/i kon/shasu) --- bodikon
   power steering (pawa/a sute/aringu) --- pawasute

5. Truncation of the intervening part of the source compound

   romanticist (romanti/ci/st) --- romanchisuto (a romantic person)
   corded velveteen (cor/ded velve/teen) --- kooruten

6. Truncation of an affix of the source word

   table manners (table manner/s) --- teeburu manaa
   iced coffee (ice/d coffee) --- aisu koohii
   excited (excite/d) --- ekisaito
   sophisticated (sophisticate/d) --- sofisutikeeto
   McDonald's (McDonald/’s) --- makudonarudo

E. Compounding

Some English loanwords are at times combined with other English loanwords to create compounds with new meanings which are not in English language
use.

pair + look — peaa rukku (a style in which a boyfriend and a
girlfriend or a married couple wear the same T-shirts, sweat
shirts, or jackets)
after + recording — afureko (to insert truncation sound into a film or a
tape, to dub) (In this example truncation occurs in the same
process as shown in D. 4.; af/ter + reco/rding — afureko)
love + hotel — rabu hoteru (a hotel where a couple make a date)
live + house — raibu hausu (a coffee shop or bar where one can
enjoy live music)

F. Hybridization

Hybrids are words that consist of more than one element which are derived
from different languages. They are created by combining a foreign word and
a native word, by attaching a morpheme of the native language to a foreign word,
or by attaching a morpheme of a foreign language to a native word.

1. A Japanese free form + an English free form

makura + cover, (makura = pillow) — makura kabaa = a pillowcase
hansode + sweater, (hansode = half sleeves) — hansode seetaa =
a sweater with half sleeves
eigyo + man, (eigyo = business) — eigyo man = a salesman
aijin + bank, (aijin = lover) — aijin banku = an organization
that introduces its male members to its female members, often
for the purpose of prostitution

2. A Japanese free form + an English bound form

otome + tic (as in "romantic"), (otome = maiden) — otomechikku
= naive and innocent in speech and behavior, romantic
otoko + ology (as in "psychology"), (otoko = man) — otokorojii
= study of men's attitudes toward fashion
Sayuri + ist (as in "optimist"), (Sayuri = Sayuri Yoshinaga, a
Japanese actress who was once considered to be one of the most
adorable women) — Sayurisuto = male Sayuri Yoshinaga's fans,
Sayuri maniac

3. A Japanese bound form + an English free form

o + new (o = an honorific prefix) — o-nyuu = something new
(e.g., one's clothes)
o + knife — o-naifu = (honorific) knife (e.g., a knife for
one's guests)

In these cases "knife" is a free form even in the Japanese language
use, so naifu (knife) can be used without the honorific prefix, "o."
However, nyuu (new) is a bound form, which can never be used alone.
4. A Japanese bound form + an abbreviated English loanword

obasan + battalian, (obasan = a middle-aged woman) --- obatarian
= a group of impudent middle-aged or old women

5. An English free form + a Japanese free form

stress + kaishoo, (kaishoo = dissolution) --- suoresu kaishoo
= to relax, to be released from stress
dress + kankaku, (kankaku = feeling, sense, taste) --- doresu kankaku
= a feeling of wearing something formal
date + biyori, (biyori, hiyori = weather) --- deeto biyori = fine weather, ideal for a date
full + kaiten, (kaiten = revolution) --- furu kaiten = the maximum revolution, to do one's best
fit + suru, (suru = to do) --- fitto suru = to fit (e.g., The coat fits you beautifully.)

The process of creating a verb by attaching suru to a loanword is also used to make a verb out of kan-go.

giron + suru, (giron = discussion, "Giron" is a word borrowed from kan-go.) --- giron suru = have a discussion

The first word of kan-go without suru functions as a noun. Therefore, the first word of English without suru such as "fit" (as in fitto suru) can also function as a noun.

6. An English free form + a Japanese bound form

can + zume, (zume, tsume = to pack, to stuff) --- kanzume = canned food
drama + ka, (ka = a suffix to mean changing the form of something) --- dorama ka = dramatization
romantic + na, (na = an inflection of Japanese adjective verbs) --- romanchikku-na = romantic
now + i, (i = an inflection of Japanese adjectives) --- nau-i = ahead of the times (e.g., one's ideas), stylish, fashionable

Almost all English adjectives take the form of Japanese adjective verbs when they are borrowed. Kan-go, functioning as nouns, were also borrowed in the same process. Therefore, English borrowed adjectives that are adopted in the same way kan-go was, such as romanchikku/romantic, can be said to have the function of a noun. Adjective verbs made out of kan-go usually consist of two parts, a noun and an inflection of adjective verbs [darō, dat(ta), de, ni, da, na, nara]. Na as in romanchikku-na/
"romantic" is one of those inflections, and it is possible for any of the other inflections to be attached to romanchikku. There are few examples of English adjectives that remain adjectives after being borrowed. Japanese adjectives without inflections [karo, kat(ta), ku, i, i, kere] can not function as nouns or any other free forms. Nau-i, which is an adjective, can not be separated into nau and i when actually used. Nau is a bound form in Japanese, though it might have acquired the function of a noun if it had been continuously used in the form of an adjective verb, nau-na. A possible reason why nau was connected with i and became an adjective may be found if Japanese adjectives are observed. Most Japanese adjectives consist of three syllables such as omo-i/"heavy," karuru-i/"light," taka-i/"high," hiku-i/"low," atsu-i/"hot," samu-i/"cold," haya-i/"fast," and oso-i/"slow," or four syllables at most, such as hageshi-i/"rough" or akaru-i/"bright," which are considered to be rather short words by the Japanese. This reasoning can also be supported by the formation of Japanese adjectives pertaining to colors. In ancient Japanese there were only four kinds of colors, aka/"red," shiro/"white," awo/"blue," and kuro/"black" (Ohno 1989). People created such adjectives as aka-shi and shiro-shi by simply adding shi after the names of those colors and used each of them as one word. Later, the words such as murasaki/"purple" were made, and then kiiro/"yellow," momoiro/"pink," chairo/"brown," and hairo/"gray" were created. However, when murasaki and momoiro were produced, the custom that shi be attached at the end of a noun to make an adjective did not exist any longer, so, they remained nouns. Thus, in the 18th century in the Edo period, kiiro was often combined with na when it was used in a sentence just like romanchikku-na/"romantic" in the present Japanese use. Later on, the adjectives such as aka-shi and shiro-shi came to be pronounced aka-i and shiro-i, which are used even today. In spite of the fact
that kiiro, "yellow" and chairo/"brown" are not as old asaka/"red" or
murasaki/"purple," there exist adjectives such as kiiro-i and chairo-i.
This is probably because both kiiro and chairo consist of three
syllables and even if i is added to make an adjective, they are four-
syllabled words and do not sound unnatural, compared with other
adjectives. Momoiro-i or hiiro-i would be too long (five syllables)
to be one adjective for the Japanese. The reason why the adjective,
nau-i, was produced, too, would probably be that this word is a three-
syllabled word (na-u-i). Romanchikku-i/"romantic" or ereganto-i/
"elegant" would sound too long as an adjective to the Japanese.

7. An abbreviated English loanword + a Japanese bound form

double + ru, (doub/le + ru) --- dabu-ru = to happen to have two
identical things *(Ru is an inflection of some Japanese verbs)

Just like the example of nau-i there are not many borrowed verbs such
as dabu-ru, each of which is always considered to be one word when
used. Dabu-ru can not be separated into two parts, and the front part
can not be used as a noun as it can in words such as fitto suru/"to fit"
or romanchikku-na/"romantic." A few examples of this kind are also
found in kan-go. Gebi-ru/"to become vulgar," riki-mu/"to strain one-
self," or mokuro-mu/"to plan" can not be separated in their use; gebi,
riki, or mokuro does not mean anything by itself. There once existed
such English loanwords as orugu-ru/"to organize," saiku-ru/"to go
cycling," or negu-ru/"to neglect," but they seem to have disappeared'.
Then, why is only dabu-ru found in Japanese dictionaries and why does
it remain so popular among Japanese speakers? One of the reasons is
probably as follows. There is another loanword, daburu, which is
borrowed from the English adjective or noun, "double," and is pronounced
exactly in the same way as the borrowed verb, dabu-ru, is. This
loanword, daburu, borrowed from the English adjective or noun, "double,"
is very often used with other loanwords as a part of a compound in such ways as daburu purei/"a double play (in baseball)" and daburu beddo/ "a double bed." There are also Japanese words that sound similar to the loanword, dabu-ru, such as dabu tsuku/"overabundant" or dabu dabu/ "loose." So, dabu-ru may sound somehow familiar to the Japanese.

G. Transfer from the First Language to the Second Language

Transfer occurs when a previous item is applied to present subject matter. The previous knowledge of the Japanese language transfers to the use of the English language.

body fit --- bodii fitto = to fit somebody perfectly (e.g., The shirt fits me perfectly.)

The word order in Japanese (in this case, object + transitive verb) transfers. --- Karada ni pittari suru. (karada = a body, pittari suru = to fit)

For Beautiful Human Life (a catch phrase used by a Japanese cosmetic company)

This phrase would be perfectly correct if it were translated into Japanese. --- utsukushii jinsei (utsukushii = beautiful, jinsei = human life) "Human life can be beautiful" in Japanese.

H. Overgeneralization

Overgeneralization is a function of transfer within one language.

romantic dress --- romanchikku doresu = an extremely beautiful dress

In Japanese a person can say, romanchikku na hito/"a romantic person." So, he may overgeneralize the word, "romantic" as usable with all nouns to modify them and make such a sentence as romanchikku (na) doresu.

sexy up --- sekushii appu = to make someone look sexier

Knowing the expressions such as "dress up," one may overgeneralize the word "up" as usable after any word.
V. The Influence of English Loanwords

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, English words kept coming into Japan at an amazing speed, and they do not seem to have slowed down. These English loanwords have more than a little influence upon the modern Japanese language use. First, new vocal sounds came in. For example, [f], [v], [ti], [si], and [du] are sounds that did not exist in Japanese. They were first replaced with preexisting sounds; [f] was replaced with [h], [v] with [b], [ti] with [t̪i], [si] with [i], and [du] with [zu], but today sounds close to the original English sounds tend to be used. Second, new characters and new ways of expressing new sounds in writing have been created. For example, ヴ was made for [v], which is a new character, and ティ was made for [ti], and ドゥ was made for [du], which the Japanese created by combining two preexisting characters. Hiragana did not change, but only katakana used for loanwords changed. Third, loanwords brought about confusion in the writing system. For instance, a problem occurs as to whether to use ヴ/[v] or to use ブ/[b] to write the loanword, rābu/"love." Thus, there exist two ways of writing some loanwords. Fourth, the total amount of vocabulary in the use of Japanese became larger, and at the same time, the number of synonyms became larger. For example, the meaning of the loanword, shirubaa/"silver" is the same as that of the pre-existing Japanese word, gin. Fifth, new English translated words were produced. These are termed "loan translations" (Miller 1967) and can be divided into two groups: literal translations such as tsumetai sensoo/"cold war" (tsumetai = cold, sensoo = war) or koonen/"light year" (koo = light, nen = year), and free translations such as ginkoo/"bank" (gin = silver or coin, koo = to go or to move) or tetsugaku/"philosophy" (tetsu = search for principles, gaku = study). These loan translations also made the number of homonyms increase. For instance, kikan can mean "organ," "engine," "boiler," "steam-pipe," or "trachea." Sixth, the number of English coinages increased, whereas that of Japanese coinages did not increase as much. For example, peaa rukku/
"pair + look," and erebeetaa gaaru/"elevator + girl" can never be expressed in Japanese unless their meanings are explained. Seventh, the number of new abbreviated words increased such as paama/"permanent" (paamanento), meeku/"make-up" (meekyappu), and pawasute/"power steering" (pawaa sutearingu). At the same time, the number of homonyms also increased. For example, puro can mean "professional" (purofesshonaru) or "production" (purodakushon). Eighth, acronyms appeared in Japanese. For instance, ooee/"OA" became more popular than "Office Automation," and esueru/"SL" became more popular than "Steam Locomotive." There are also acronyms made of one word which are used only in writing. For example, SK was made out of the word, "skirt" and JK was made out of the word, "jacket," Finally, new ways of expression emerged. For example, some people say shawaa o toru (toru = to take)/"take a shower," which was changed from the original way of saying it, shawaa o abiru (abiru = to pour). In this example the English verb, "take," was literally translated and put together with the object. The number of passive sentences and the sentences that contain inanimate subjects, which can often be seen in English but which could not previously be seen in Japanese, increased. Also, an adjective such as imappoi was created because the loanword, "nau-i," had existed in the Japanese language, as mentioned earlier.

VI. Conclusion

Countless English words have come into the Japanese language for a long period of time. Most of them have been incorporated into Japanese and have become indispensable for the present Japanese language use. However, English words used in Japanese are not completely assimilated into the Japanese language and are still considered to be foreign words by the Japanese. This attitude of the Japanese toward English loanwords is attributed to the fact that they are written in characters specially reserved for them (katakana) and that they contain sounds quite different from ones in their own language. These
characters and sounds also emphasize the image of the West which is contributing to the flood of English loanwords in Japanese. During the borrowing process, many of those English words have made semantic, phonological, or syntactic changes and have even changed the Japanese language in various aspects, which has led to some confusion in Japanese language use.

Though a great number of English words are used in Japanese today, the number of assimilated loanwords that are incorporated into the fundamental vocabulary of the Japanese language education is quite limited. One reason is perhaps that many English words have for the Japanese merely a decorative value, with connotations of informality, ambiguity, and indirection. Recently, the owners of brothels named their places of business soopu rando (soap land). Perhaps, as in the owners' happy choice of words, the use of English loanwords will increase to express things which are far too direct to be named in Japanese.
Notes

1. In 1868, when the shogunate was completely abolished and the country was unified with the emperor as a sovereign, the Japanese tried to absorb things from the West to modernize their country. During and after this period, a number of English words came into Japan.

2. There are other assimilated loanwords which are written in kan-ji such as Ainu, Korean, and Sanscrit loanwords, though they are much fewer than kan-go.

   (e.g.)
   Ainu loanwords
   sakipe --- sake (salmon)
   rakko --- rakko (sea otter)

   Korean loanwords
   pari --- hari (needle)
   kupa --- kuwa (hoe)

   Sanscrit loanwords (via China and Korea with Buddhist culture)
   kapala --- kawara (roofing tile)
   sarava --- sara (plate)
   danapati --- danna (husband)

   (Tokieda 1978, Miller 1967)

3. Katakana is also used for words borrowed from languages other than English, though they are much fewer than English loanwords.

   (e.g.)
   Portuguese loanwords
   pao --- pan (bread)
   tabaco --- tabako (cigarette)

   Spanish loanwords
   medias --- meriyasu (knitted goods)

   Dutch loanwords
   koffij --- koohii* (coffee)
   gom --- gomu (rubber)
   glas --- garasu (glass)
   bier --- biiru* (beer)
   doek --- zukku (shoes made of duck)
   pomp --- pon-pu* (pump)

   (Tokieda 1978, Ohno 1970)

   *There are some Dutch loanwords which are often mistaken for English loanwords such as koohii, biiru, and pon-pu.

4. Strictly speaking, there are 46 basic and 58 additional sounds. It is generally considered that there are 51 basic Japanese sounds. However, the sounds, yi [ji], ye [ye], wi [wi], wu [wu], and we [we] do not exist in the present Japanese language use any longer.
5. Phonetic symbols for vowels used in this paper are based on the ones Daniel Jones uses in his English Pronouncing Dictionary.

6. The reason why I chose fashion magazines instead of other kinds of magazines like computer or car magazines is that the former has more to do with human beings' everyday life, and therefore, includes more borrowed adjectives and verbs. Sometimes even loanwords concerning fields other than fashion appear while the latter has mainly borrowed nouns which are jargon and names of products.

7. This survey was made on 182 students (male and female) of Nagasaki Wesleyan Junior College.


(e.g.)
Inflection of Japanese adjective verbs
The room will be quiet. --- shizuka daro o
was quiet. --- shizuka dat ta
is quiet. --- shizuka da
a quiet room --- shizuka na*
if the room is quiet --- shizuka nara

Inflection of Japanese adjectives
The room will be bright. --- akaru karo o
was bright. --- akaru kat ta
is bright. --- akaru i*
a bright room --- akaru i*
if the room is bright --- akaru kere ba

* Nau-na and nau-i function as an adjective verb and an adjective respectively.

9. (e.g.)
Sentence with a verb
koori wa tokeru. (Ice melts.)

Sentence without a verb
koori wa tsumetai. (Ice is cold.)

10. In British English "smart" can mean stylish or elegant in dress or appearance.

(Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary 1981)

11. There are English loanwords such as aji-ru/"to agitate" and torabu-ru/"to get in trouble," which are still used by some Japanese. However, they are not listed in most Japanese dictionaries as dabu-ru is.
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