THE EXTRACTION, INTRODUCTION, TRANSFER, DIFFUSION AND INTEGRATION OF LOANWORDS IN JAPAN: LOANWORDS IN A LITERATE SOCIETY

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Abstract

This doctoral thesis seeks primarily to establish a model which shows how loanwords in Japanese evolve through a stepwise process. The process starts well before the actual borrowing itself, when Japanese school children acquire a stratum of English morphemes to which conventional pronunciations have been ascribed. This stratum could be said to be composed of a large set of orthography-pronunciation analogies. Foreign words are then extracted from foreign word stocks by agents of introduction, typically advertising copywriters or magazine journalists. However, since these words are unsuitable for use in Japanese as is, the agents then proceed to domesticate them according to Japanese rules of phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and semantics. The next step involves transference into the public zone, crucially via the written word, before being disseminated and finally integrated. A few researchers have hinted that such a process exists but have taken it no further. Here, proof is evinced by interviews with the agents themselves and together with documentary and quantitative corpus analyses it is shown that lexical borrowing of western words in Japanese proceeds in accordance with such a model.

It is furthermore shown that these agents adhere to one of three broad cultural environments and borrow/domesticate words within this genre. They then pass along channels of transference, dissemination and integration in accordance with genre specific patterns. Investigation of these genre-specific channels of evolution constitutes the second research objective.

Three other research objectives are addressed within the framework of this model, namely genre-specific patterns of transference and dissemination, when a word

changes from being a foreign word to being an integrated loanword, and factors governing the displacement of native words by loanwords.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Like all languages, Japanese, reflects the lifestyle of its speakers: social organisation, political system, economy, philosophy, arts, customs, mores, and so forth, that taken together form the national culture of the speech community. As lifestyles change over centuries so does the language. Some decades ago, Sapir, one of the pioneers of linguistic science, wrote:

> 'Language moves down time in a current of its own making. Nothing is perfectly static, every word, every grammatical element, every locution, every sound and accent is a slowly changing configuration, moulded by the invisible and impersonal drift in the life of a language.'
> Sapir, 1921:160

This thesis concerns primarily lexical change to the Japanese language brought about by the impacting cross-linguistic influences of other languages. While the recipient language permits change to its lexis with a lesser degree of resistance that it does change to its structure, it was the structuralist approach that attracted attention of early researchers. Sapir and Bloomfield (1933) maintained that grammatical systems, in particular, morphology, were resistant to cross-linguistic influence (Winford. 2003:91). The findings of later studies however, notably that of perhaps the most influential work

in contact linguistics, Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953), did confirm the existence of inter-lingual structural interference. Twenty years further on, Labov (1974:162), envisaged the process of change as an initial fluctuation between the old and the new with an intervening transitional phase therebetween. Completion of the process occurs when the new replaces the old (Fromkin et al., 1990:295).

Depending on the research paradigm of the scholar, research into language contact may be approached from a number of perspectives, such as historical linguistic, sociolinguistic, sociological, psychological and others. Against a backdrop of the functional view of language change which postulates that language alters according to both the linguistic and extralinguistic needs of its users, in this thesis we will investigate diachronically the successive stages of loanword evolution in Japanese from its pre-introduction stage of pedagogic familiarisation to lexical integration. Although discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the term 'loanwords' may be roughly understood here to mean, words borrowed from a foreign language or dialect which are then integrated into the recipient language. The needs of its users include some features that exist solely within the Japanese sociolinguistic environment. As the Japanese language sociolinguist Daliot-Bul noted,

> 'Although borrowing is a universal phenomenon with some features being apparent throughout, culturally and linguistically dependent characteristics of selection and nativisation of lexical and structural material ensure that borrowing is a culturally and linguistically bound process that differs uniquely according to the recipient

language and culture.'
Daliot-Bul (1998:2)

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 outlines the methodology to be used and introduces the four research objectives to be undertaken, Chapter 3 is the literature review, Chapter 4 provides the background to the study and includes a typology of loanword categories, Chapter 5 presents the theoretical underpinning that explains the borrowing process in Japanese while Chapter 6 contains the central focus of the thesis, that is, a stepwise examination of the phrases that borrowings pass through. Chapter seven concludes the study in summarising the results of the four research objectives.

Before proceeding on to the methodology used in this study, it is perhaps appropriate here to discuss briefly a history of formation of the three scripts used in Japanese followed by a mention of the extent of loanword acceptance in Japanese. Before the 4th century Japanese had no writing system to speak of. However, due to the demands of an increasingly more sophisticated society, Chinese, which had arrived via educated immigrants from the Korean peninsula, started to be adopted. From about the end of the 8th century, it became the practice to decode Chinese texts by means of the *kundoku* reading method in which the characters were read in the order required by Japanese syntax and where possible, according to their native Japanese readings (Seeley, 1990:63). Japanese was structurally unlike Chinese, and many morphological and syntactic forms could not be easily represented by the characters. Although the major word classes of nouns, verb stems, adjectives and adverbs could be depicted directly (as

they still are today), inflections and verb conjugations (largely absent in Chinese) had to be written in another way, the kana syllabaries. The earliest kana, the hira-gana (common kana) goes back to the late 8th century, and was a shorthand, or cursive form, of certain Chinese characters; this shorthand was used to represent sounds. Thus, hiragana could record poems, and later grammatical inflections, parts of speech, and other words for which no Chinese character existed. The second syllabary, kata-kana (partial kana), was originally used as an aid when Japanese monks read Chinese Buddhist texts. The katakana characters are abbreviated sections of full Sino-Japanese kanji characters, and as such, retain a more angular appearance than the hiragana. Katakana came to be used often by women, as they were denied literacy in Sino-Japanese characters. Today, they are mainly used for foreign places or names, loanwords, plant and animal names and onomatopoeia. By the end of the 10th century, both types of kana were in use (Miller, 1967:123). There is another script that is occasionally used in Japanese and this is romanisation where Japanese is written in roman letters.

The practically universal promotion in Japan of internationalisation and globalisation, coupled with the technological and scientific advances of the preceding decades, has provided a fertile ground for accelerated absorption of lexical neologisms reflecting the rapid changes in the social and material cultures of the different speech communities of the world. Indeed, nowadays Japanese speakers cannot spend even one day without coming across or utilising a great number of English loanwords in everyday

conversation, newspapers, advertisements and television programmes. Ishiwata concluded that there is no language that has accepted as many loanwords as Japanese has (1993:23). A 1989–1990 study by the National Language Research Institute found that Western origin loanwords comprise nearly 10% of Japanese language in current use, and most of these are from English. Loanword dictionary entries continue to grow: the latest katakana dictionary published by Sanseido (2000) contains 52,500 foreign word entries (McGregor, L (2003). As R. A. Miller noted,

> 'It would be difficult to find another language in the world, except perhaps English during the first few centuries after the Norman invasion, which has been as hospitable to loanwords as has Japanese.'
> Miller, 1980:236

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY

2.1 Pure Linguistics vs. Sociolinguistics

In order to determine the nature of loanword introduction and integration into Japanese society, it is necessary to make a choice among various methodological approaches by which this present study is to proceed. As shall be outlined below, since the 1960s, there has been considerable debate amongst linguists regarding claims as to the viability of sociolinguistic based research paradigms compared with that of purely linguistic ones. Firstly, let us consider these two in more depth, commencing with the purely linguistic approach.

Literature indicates that there are two reasons why linguists have attempted to explain language change in terms of purely linguistic content. Firstly, Chomsky (1976) and Hjelmslev (1953:2-3), cited in Romaine (1982:8), have excluded the extralinguistic from the linguistic to facilitate scientific research, the latter commenting that,

> 'To establish a true linguistics, which cannot be a mere ancillary or derivative science, linguistics must attempt to grasp language not as a conglomerate of non-linguistic (e.g. physical, psychological, logical, sociological) phenomena, but as a self-sufficient totality, a structure *sui generis*. Only in this way can language in itself be subjected to scientific treatment.'

The other reason extends out of the view that in a speech community under investigation, linguistic data alone may be used to prove linguistic phenomena. A somewhat extreme view was expounded by Kurylowicz in 1948.

> 'One must explain linguistic facts by other linguistic facts ... explanation by means of social facts is a methodological derailment.'
> Kurylwicz (1948, cited in Weinreich et al, 1968),

By creation of a working model in which the actual complexities occasioned by linguistic and social heterogeneity are ignored, scholars have been able to arrive at pure, albeit theoretical, solutions that are valid within their paradigmatic frame.

The other methodological approach which may be considered is that of the sociolinguistic approach. The difference between pure linguistics and sociolinguistics is that the former concerns itself with an attempt to explain observed phenomena by recourse to language structure while the latter explains it by recourse to language use within society. One of the earliest claims for the role of social factors in social change was that of Meillet, who, in 1906, stated that:

> 'Since language is a social institution, it follows that linguistics is a social science and the only variable element to which one may appeal in order to account for a linguistic change is social change, of which language variations are but the consequences, sometimes immediate and direct, and more often mediated and indirect.'
> (cited in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, 1968:176).

While the term, 'sociolinguistics' was first used in 1939 in the title of an article by Thomas Hobson, "Sociolinguistics in India", it was not until the mid to late 1960s that it became popularised and emerged as a sub-discipline of linguistics in its own right. The very word, 'sociolinguistics', immediately suggests an interconnection between two separate and distinct disciplines, though it is not to be assumed automatically that these

disciplines are sociology and linguistics. Hymes (1974a:84) made the observation that such mixed or hyphenated terms linking linguistics with the social sciences, in particular, anthropology, have quite a long history. In the late 1960s, two terms, 'sociolinguistics' and 'sociology of language' were interchangeably used to describe the interaction and intersection of language and society. With increasing research however, the terms became differentiated, with the former acquiring principally a linguistic identity and primarily studied by linguists and anthropologists. By contrast, the latter term became rooted in a social identity concerning itself with the explanation and prediction of linguistic phenomena in society at the group level and was studied generally by social scientists (Paulston and Tucker, 2003:1). While there are points of overlap between these two, literature indicates that sociolinguistic researchers have had to choose a research paradigm that is grounded in one or the other. For example, in his attempt to establish the relationship between linguistic behaviour and social structure in Japanese society and then to identify the social variables that influence speech forms, the Japanese sociolinguist, Nobuyuki Honna, contributed to the enrichment of sociological theory in terms of language as a social institution and thus, was engaging in a study related to the sociology of language, (Honna, in Peng (ed.), 1975:196). He maintained that as linguistic behaviour is a form of social behaviour, it is reflected in the society it occurs in, and that 'Social variables within a society, more often than not, determine the form of verbal activity (idem). Similarly, Labov, who is widely acclaimed as being the father of sociolinguistic analysis, has widely stated that language is a form of social behaviour (Labov, 1972:111). I concur with Hymes (1974:32) who sees sociolinguistic research as embracing a number of different disciplines such as anthropology and psychology and as such believe that any theory that attempts to

explain linguistic phenomena in Japan, must also necessarily encompass an explanation of the multiple relations between the linguistic and the extralinguistic.

2.2 Research Paradigm

Based on the above, a sociolinguistic approach shall be pursued in this study in which the term 'sociolinguistic' shall be taken to refer to a study in which both the linguistic and their concomitant extralinguistic factors are taken into account and, after Hymes, the latter shall include the historical, psychological, anthropological and ethnographic as required. Furthermore, as sociolinguistic research is drawn from linguistic, sociological and other disciplines, if such an interdisciplinary perspective is to be fruitful, it cannot be merely an 'additive one', but rather, must be integrative (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988).

An analytical principle following along a deductive approach paradigm (Neuman, 1991:41) shall be adopted in this study. A theory concerning the evolution of loanwords (condensed into a diagrammatically represented loanwords evolution model below), was constructed based upon observations of empirical evidence, both extralinguistic and linguistic, gained subsequent to more than ten years of day by day immersion in Japan lifestyle and working as a technical translator. The theory is suggestive of the evidence that should be gathered in order to prove its veracity. The evidence required and the proposed methodology are outlined below.

This present research will be concerning an examination of linguistic and extralinguistic data in order to prove the veracity of the hypothesised total Loanword Evolution Model

which I posit extends from the inceptive stage of the formation of a passive English bilingualism to that of permanent lexical acceptance, as illustrated below.

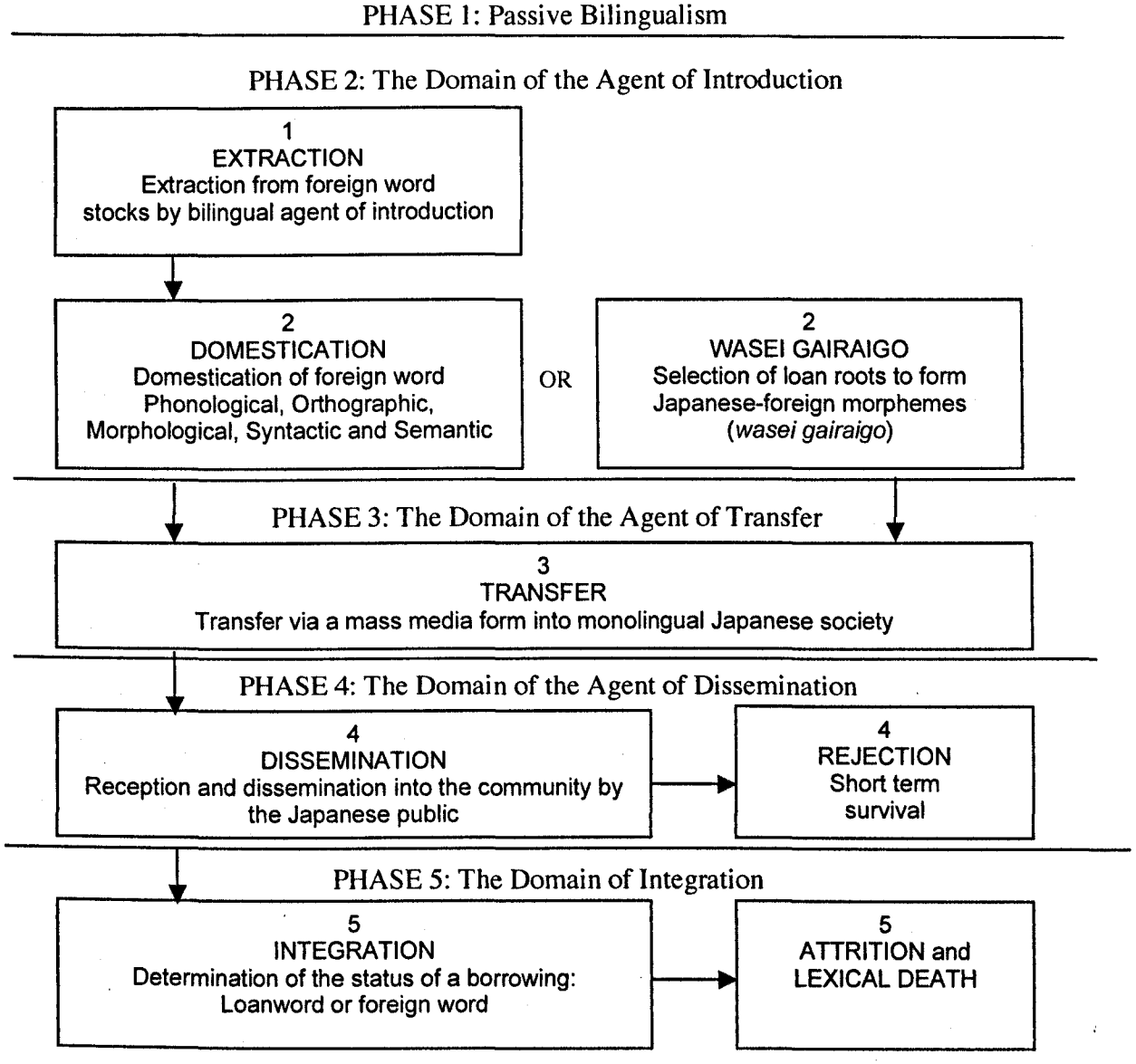

Fig. 1: Loanword Evolution Model

A number of researchers have concentrated on some of these areas in isolation according to a specific research objective as opposed to the integrated process model presented in this thesis. An example is the model proposed by Leo Loveday in his book,

"Language Contact in Japan-A Sociolinguistic History" (1996:78) in which a loanword evolution process is similarly diagrammatically expressed.

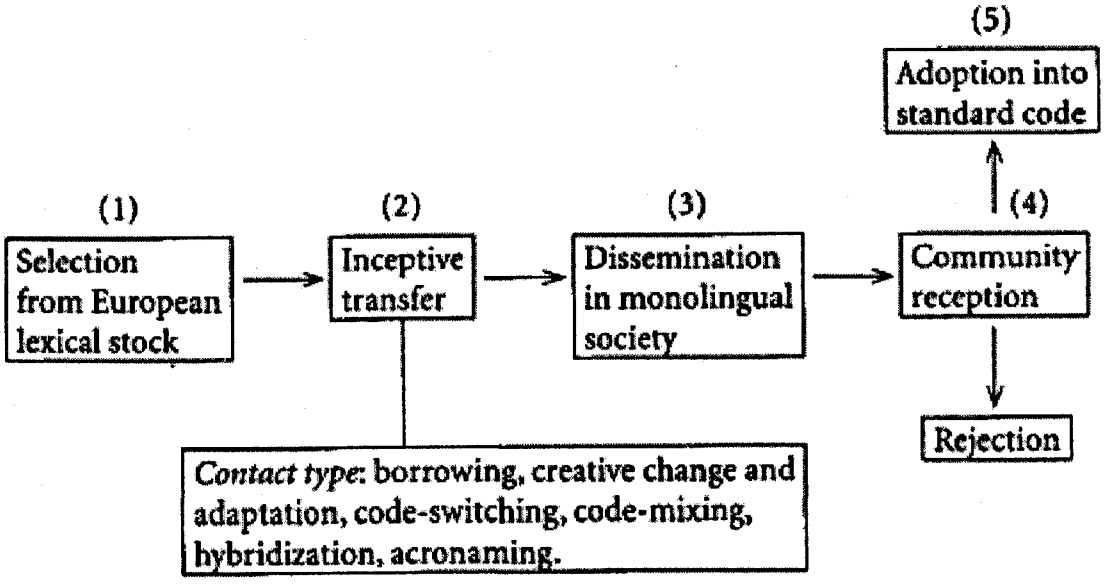

Fig. 2: Loveday's Model

Some of the reasons for its inadequacy include; the diagram was given for information only and soon dismissed with no attempt to develop or prove the diagrammatic hypothesis, in particular, the interrelationship between the phases, and there was no attempt to examine any active agentity in all these steps.

The process embodied by the Loanword Evolution Model could be simply analysed as follows. It should be noted that a full referenced discussion is provided in Chapter 6. Firstly, it is hypothesised that a crucial initial stage or Phase 1 occurs well before Phase 2 in which the inceptive contact with the source language borrowing occurs. In this stage, Japanese children are subjected to English language education in which a degree

of passive bilingualism leads to an acquired stratum of morphemes comprising conventional pronunciations, which could be referred to as English reading rules. This parallels the formation of the Sino-Japanese stratum (see the note regarding phonological decoding in Section 6.1 below). Effectively, the rules by which they learn to pronounce English depends partly on school education and partly on constant exposure to the large number of English words (in roman script) used in Japanese. Together, they have created and reinforced a large set of orthography-pronunciation analogies which constitute the reading rules.

The actual borrowing process itself involves four phases as follows. In Phase 2, the agent of introduction selectively extracts linguistic material from foreign language word stocks, then subjects this to domestication processes under the usual orthographic, semantic, morphological, syntactic and phonological rules of Japanese, stylistically preferred in the text under creation. Alternatively, the agent may innovatively combine morphemes of foreign origin already existing in Japanese to form Japanese-foreign creation or *wasei gairaigo*. At this stage, the domesticated morpheme is then introduced into the public zone, transferred via one of the written media forms such as an advertising text, or magazine headline that used the borrowing or wasei gairaigo. This is the phase of the Agent of Transfer or Phase 3 which, in bringing the new word to the attention of the Japanese public, connects Phase 2 (the work of the agent of introduction) with Phase 4, that of mass dissemination into the language. In Phase 4, the borrowing is received by Japanese people and, depending on a number of factors, is picked up by the mass media engine and grows in acceptance. If this continues, it finally passes into the last phase, Phase 5, that of the Agent of Integration where it is lexically

accepted by at least some if not all sectors of the Japanese public. Many loans however, particularly nonce loans, are soon outmoded and rejected.

As may be seen from the brief outline of the model in the above paragraph, this proposed loanword evolution model is an integrated process with each of the stages being in intimate contact with its neighbour. It is accordingly necessary to consider the inter-relationship between each phase and this discussion, together with the agentivity that drives the borrowing within each phase, will form a major part of the research objectives stated below.

2.3 Methodologies

Three methodologies shall be used to verify the research objectives. Firstly, documentary evidence that support the existence of the phases and the agentivity outlined in the model shall be implemented. This shall form the major type of supportive evidence used throughout the thesis.

Secondly, a textual corpus in which loanword usage patterns can be quantitatively analysed shall be prepared and the results used to augment those obtained from the above documentary analysis. Indeed, as Labov noted:

> Powerful methods of proof proceeds from quantitative studies, and this fact is itself a significant datum for our understanding of language structure and language function.
> Labov (1978:12-13)

Accordingly, word tokens in selected texts from popular magazines (see below for selection criteria), of approximately 22,700 words in total (n=22,700), will be counted to yield quantitative data such as: the ratio of loans to total numbers of words in both advertising texts and journalistic articles, the ratio of the numbers of loans used in advertising texts to those in editorial texts, an analysis of the ratio of roman code borrowings to katakana, and an analysis of the presence of wasei gairaigo. It will be shown that television, followed by magazines, are the greatest means of dissemination of borrowings, especially upon the youth. While an analysis of a corpus of loans used in television programmes and advertisements will not form a part of this thesis due to practical reasons, it will be substituted for by a thorough investigation of the abundant documentary research papers by authors who have carried out analyses of television advertising, including: Gabbrielli (2001), Haarmann (1984, 1986, 1989), Ishii (1999), NHK Surveys (1989, 1992, 1996) and others. The internet is also an important source but the degree of readership of articles and thus disseminative power cannot be determined as readily as can sales of magazines which are well documented. Although the effect of newspapers and radio should not be ignored, they represent a comparatively minor contribution. The results of the quantitative analysis together with the documentary evidence will form the basis of the model that shows the path of loanword evolution.

It should be noted that the possible use of Japanese electronic corpora was investigated and it was found that while newspaper and literary corpora do exist, no software for linguistic analysis exists as does for English corpora, such as; FACT and WordCruncher (the Handbook of Language Variation and Change, Bauer, L, 2002). Therefore, without

software which could be configured to count loanwords, there is no simple electronic method of being able to quickly analyse a corpus of many thousands of words, hence the need to resort to manual counting of word tokens in selected texts.

Thirdly, fieldwork interviews used manily to identilfy the nature and work of the agents of introduction who are respeonsible for the inceptive introduction of borrowings into Japanese will be used. By being fortuitously selected to participate in a training programme offered by the Chubu Power Company in Nagoya, Japan, in the summer of 2002, this author was able to take advantage of their contacts in the Japanese media world and carry out a total of 29 interviews. Of this number, nineteen were with magazine editors, five were freelance magazine journalists, two were NHK language researchers, two were programming staff at two television stations (CBC and Tokai) and one was with a large advertising company (Shinto Tsushin). Acceptance of this post at Chubu solved the problems usually encountered by researchers in this area, such as finding a variety of respondents, the costs associated, and most importantly, the gatekeepers who guard elites (in this case, the editors of commercial magazines). The fieldwork is intended to provide quantitative data which is descriptive, exploratory and supportive of documentary data. Furthermore, employees at Chubu agreed to participate in an exercise where they were asked to assign a degree of 'naturalness' to some texts containing loanwords and their synonymically displaced equivalents. The results of which shall be used in research objective 4.

Purpose of the Interviews

(1) Magazine Editors and Journalists

The general purpose for conducting these interviews was to provide an essential element to the research that had not been attempted by any other researcher, that is, to interview at the source of loanwords. In addition to shedding light on issues such as their means of acquisition of foreign words from which both qualitative and quantitative analysis is possible, a number of those interviewed have given me details of personally known interesting cases of loanword evolution. In conformity with the stylistic genre classifications referred to above in Research Objective 2, journailists and editors working in both professional and youth culture were interviewed. Unfortunately, due to limitations placed on those who could be interviewed, the intermediate grouping of general culture was represented by only two magazines which were insufficient to carry out any meaningful analysis. One of which, Fujin Koron, was included in with professional as the scholarly tone of the publication was redolent of that seen in other professional work. In the corpus analysis however, the three goups are separately analysed.

(2) NHK Researchers and the Television Station Programming Executives

In the interviews with the NHK researchers and the television station programmers, focus was applied to the factors which influence loanword dissemination via the various media forms.

(3) Advertising Copywriter

This individual spoke on the role of advertising in loanword creation and dissemination. Highlights included his personal use of borrowings and information provided, both

during the interview and in subsequent E mail exchanges, included the relationship between the profession of advertising copywriting and the use of loanwords.

(4) Chubu Employees

Lastly, employees at Chubu agreed to participate in an exercise where they were asked to assign a degree of 'naturalness' to some texts containing loanwords and their synonymically displaced equivalents with which they are in compteition. The results of which shall be used in research objective 4.

Data Collection

The interviews were of a semi-formal structure in that they were composed of a formal questionnaire (to supplement quantitative analysis) and some free discussion. Being conducted in a face-to-face situation, the advantages included: 100% response, almost total control over the environment, content and pace of the interview and avoidance of the problems inherent in other interview techniques, such as postal and telephone interviews, namely: non-response and poor response rates, inability to control the interview environment and inability to suppress the distractions. About 60% of the questionnaire questions were of the closed format (questions with specific answers provided), a high figure which was possible due to respondents having a keen awareness of the topic and being professional people capable of expressing professional experience. The remaining 40% of the questions were open ended in which there was no interviewer-created bias, permitted an unlimited number of possible answers, catered for unanticipated findings and allowed the interviewee to express himself creatively and with a richness of detail.

2.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

It is the primary objective of this thesis to establish if the above diagrammatically represented model correctly represents the dynamics operating within loanword evolution. To achieve this objective, a thorough diachronic examination of the whole evolutionary process must be carried out in order to show that subsequent to the processes of the agents active in each phase, each phase sequentially follows on from the previous so that therefore, it can be seen that the whole model coheres together. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, expressed this very well when commenting on integration of English into Canadian French:

> 'Between the time an English word first appears in French discourse, and the time [if ever] it qualifies for dictionary or other word list status, many changes in form, usage and acceptability occur. The focus on borrowing as a process over time rather than as a sudden transition enables us to create a coherent analytical framework for the processes involved'.
> Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988:50)

Research Objective 2

It is possible to discern several different broad classifications of loanwords which differ according to the stylistic genre in which they typically occur: (1) technical/commercial or 'Professional' loans, (2) general-use loans, and (3) youth culture loans. It is a further objective of this thesis to show that the passage of borrowings through the above phases,

that is, the nature of the agentivity encountered in each phase, is related to the genre classification of loans.

I would furthermore posit that the reasons why the genre classification is related to the passage of borrowings are; (1) the influence of genre-specific agents of introduction, who, subconsciously conforming to the above mentioned pronunciation rules for English, domesticate borrowings analogous to their acquired English morphemic strata, and who consciously conform to the expectations and requirements of their genre; (2) the effectiveness of the agents of transfer specific for that genre; and (3) the effective influence of the agents of dissemination specific to each genre. Further, they modify pre-existing loans according to the expectations and requirements of their genre.

Methodologically, as for research objective 1, documentary analysis will be used to reveal the detailed nature of the relationship between genre classification and the nature of the agentivity active in each phase. Quantitative analysis shall also be performed to confirm and augment the documentary results. In order to appreciate the different passage of borrowings, representative sample texts chosen according to the three genre classifications shall be prepared as follows: (1) Technical/Commercial or 'Professional' Texts; (2) General (non-specific) Texts; and (3) Youth Culture Texts. Advertising Texts and headlines shall be counted separately from journalistic texts because we may expect them to contain a significantly higher incident of loans. Aditionally, romanisations and wasei gairaigo shall also be counted to provide quantitative data to support documentary findings in the section dealing with orthographic domestication.

Research Objective 3

It is widely recognised that the process by which a foreign word becomes a loanword is gradual, and so the criteria governing the establishment of a demarcation level between them is controversial mainly because of the tendency, even among linguists, to differentiate the two according to a subjective notion of 'having a foreign feel' (Ito 2001:119). Accordingly, the third research objective shall be to establish a means whereby it may be determined objectively whether a borrowing has become a loanword or remains a foreign word.

Research Objective 4

Finally, the phenomenon in which traditional morphemes are synonymically displaced, either partially or totally, by loanwords resulting in respectively semantic specialisation or lexical loss is a well known phenomenon. This is discussed at length by, among others, Labov (1974:162), Lehiste, (1988:21), and Poplack and Meecham (1995:200). An illustrative example is the displacement of the native term, 野鳥観察 [yachô kansatsu] by バードウオッチング [bâdo uocchingu] (bird watching) in which both have identical meaning (Uno, Y. 1998). This phenomenon which occurs in the process of integration in Phase 5 will be investigated with a view to finding some pattern that can aid in a better comprehension of the seemingly arbitary variation in degree of displacement. The methodology used here shall include documentary analysis to which again, quantitative analysis will provide support, this time in the form of fieldwork interviews.

CHAPTER 3
LITERARY REVIEW

That area of sociolinguistics that concerns itself with language contact or language transfer, while although receiving sporadic attention in the second half of the 19th century, remained largely unexplored until the publication of Languages In Contact by Uriel Weinreich in 1953. This ground-breaking work that is still being quoted in bibliographies, innovatively investigates such phenomena including the psychological and socio-cultural background against which language contact operates and the mechanisms and structural causes of lexical interference. Of particular significance to this study, was his assertion, along with Romaine (1982), Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Winford (2003), that both the linguistic and extralinguistic factors should be taken into account when considering the outcome of language contact. Other researchers such as Jacobson (1938), Aitchison, 1983) and Gillian Sankoff (2001), while agreeing that social and other factors have some importance, believe that overwhelmingly, it is linguistic structure that determines linguistic outcomes. A number of researchers have acknowledged the relationship between intensity of contact and a degree of borrowing. Three researchers, Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Ehlich (1994) and Loveday (1996), have attempted to label the borrowing environment in terms of the presence of interference features. However, it was the first of these who proposed a stratified framework of increasing intensity of structural borrowing from which it was possible to see that in the postwar period, language contact of English upon Japanese has intensified.

The central focus of this study is the loanwords evolution model and the first phase of this concerns the acquisition of English reading rules. The process by which a person deciphers

printed words by recovering the spoken word that a printed word represents is referred to as decoding (Scientific Learning: on line publication) and has been approached by scholars such as a Lovins (1979) with her theory of Phonetic Approximation which was a development of a concept referred to by Weinreich (1953) as 'actual phone substitution'. It was later refined in the form of the Salience and Similarity model, researched by phoneticians including Fleischacker 2000, Kenstowicz 2001/2003, Steriade 2001, Shinohara (1997), Kang (2002) and Takagi and Mann (1994). This model represented an attempt to syllabify the L2 consonants so as to satisfy native Japanese language phonotactics but in a manner that preserves the salient features of the source by departing minimally from the input. Very interesting practical research was performed by Tamaoka and Miyaoka (2003) who examined the cognitive processing times of Japanese katakana loanwords to find a route by which people determine lexicality. The results indicated that Japanese people facilitate comprehension by using their acquired English morpheme layer.

Research as to the nature of who extracts and introduces foreign words into Japanese has been quite insubstantial. Individual researchers such as Quackenbush (1974), Takashi (1990a), Gabbrielli (2001), Haarmann (1989) and Loveday (1996) have mentioned, albeit briefly, that they are generally editors of newspapers and magazines or advertising copywriters. It was necessary therefore to interview these agents of introduction and stemming from the results of which, identifying profiles were set up. Consolidation of these profiles was provided by demographic data gathered by Japanese governmental and quasi governmental agencies such as NHK and the Agency for Cultural Affairs and concerned; exposure of the general public to various forms of the mass media, comprehension of loanwords and so forth.

The basic foundation for a framework to understand the motivation for language change was provided by Blank (1999) who drew upon an earlier work, that of the structural linguist, Coseriu (1958), who isolated two comprehensive motivations that apply well to what is known about the activities of the agent of introduction. Both Loveday (1996) and Kay (1995) presented good typologies for the motivations for borrowing behaviour. Loveday's was the most comprehensive and served as an inspiration in this study. Kay's added the extra dimension of a discussion regarding the linguistic and cultural implications of the causes of borrowing. Takashi (1990) and Gabbrielli (2001) discussed the reasons for borrowing according to the results of a quantitative analysis of television and printed loans with results showing a remarkable concurrence.

Two basic models have been proposed to explain the complex phonological adaptation process whereby a foreign morpheme in roman script is parsed into phonemic structures. Silverman's model (1992) evolved out of earlier works by Lovins (1979) an expanded upon by Blair and Ingram (2003), Paradis (1996), Paradis and LaCharité (1997), Gbeto (1997) and Shinohara (2002). Being able to better satisfy observations concerning native language phonotactics, a more recent model based upon Smolensky's (1993) Optimality Theory was taken up in the study with assistance provided by the later work of Fleischacker 2000, Kenstowicz 2001/3, Steriade 2001, Shinohara (1997), Kang 2002 and Takagi and Mann (1994). Kubozono (2002) and Blair and Ingram (2003) provided an insightful contribution to the understanding of vowel epenthesis/deletion phenomenon particularly characteristic of the phonological domestication process of the English borrowings into Japanese. Shirai's (2001)

work on Japanese segmentals, allowed construction of the major constraints that govern the formation of geminates. Smith's (2004) analysis of the model proposed by a Peperkamp and Duproux's (2003) was helpful in shedding light on the processes involved in speech perception which is of course, an essential component of phonological borrowing.

Loveday's book, Language Contact in Japan: A Sociolinguistic History (1996) contains an excellent analysis of levels of orthographic integration along with some interesting examples of the innovative use of romanised forms. Publications by the official Japanese government agencies were very useful in providing information concerning orthographic reform, especially that concerning the two releases of supplementary katakana lists and been. Here the diachronic studies of public responses to them.

Sato (1994), Matsuda (1986) and Hoffer (1990) explained morphological truncation patterns with Matsuda providing some useful examples. In the area of OT approach to truncation, Labrune's (2002) work shed light on the exact mechanism by which the lengths of truncated forms may be determined, thus improving on Ito (1990) and Ito and Mester's (1992) account of the ill-formedness of some prosodic forms. While Labrune's research served as a base, it had to be modified by Shinya's (2002) study due to her model generating an unacceptably high incidence of exceptions.

The concept of a 'hierarchy of borrowability' in which an order of predisposition to borrowing according to word class has been investigated by a number of researchers including Haugen (1950b), Kachru (1983) and Van Hout, Roeland & Muysken (1994). In

Western languages, irrespective of the corpus under consideration, it was unanimously found that the borrowing rate of nouns was considerably higher than any other word class. Myers-Scotton (2002) accounted for the preferential borrowability of nouns in terms of a structuralist approach which contrast with Van Hout et. al. (1994) and Weinreich's (1953) who approached the phenomenon from the point of view of the borrowing culture. The rest of the section dealing with syntactic domestication explores the level of domestication with respect to Thomasson and Kaufman's (1988) five level scale of Intensity of Contact. In particular, it raises evidence that in the postwar period, the intensity of cultural pressure which is in a proportional relationship to severity of interference features, has actually increased.

The overall typology of semantic change was based around the four different kinds of meaning deviation patterns set out in the New World Series, (1997), published by the Japanese Language Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs. However, the difficulty in semantics lies in being able to state precisely why a specific change occurred or to predict what it will be Campbell (1998). Hopper and Traugott (1993) adopted a cognitive approach to these problems but unfortunately, its central focus was around the bilingual society and its interactions. The basic principles of semantics outlined in Stephen Ullmann's two books, Principles of Semantics (1957) and Semantics (1962) and reworked by Traugott (1989) and Campbell (1998), offered a model of semantic change that was applicable to the situation with loanwords in Japanese.

Sato (1994) contains an excellent morphology based typology of wasei gairaigo and provided the basis for which the section on the process of morphemic compounding could be

constructed. A similar but less well illustrated treatment of the topic was proposed by Kaku (1997) but along with Kawamura (1994) regards truncation of some loanwords as being native creations. Ôtsuka (2001) gave a good account of their reasons for use from which it was possible to see that, in this area, they are similar to loanwords.

An essential part of the discussion on the inceptive transfer (Phase 2) concerned the marketing research carried out by the Japanese firms of MRS Advertising Research Company (2005) and Video Research (2002 and 2005) and that released in the Mass Media pages of Web Japan. In particular, the field data presented by Video Research strongly supported the pre-eminence of magazine advertising as the means by which borrowings are introduced to the Japanese public. In the research carried out in recent years concerning magazine advertising, the work by Takashi (1990b) and more recently, Piller (2001 and 2003) and Seaton (2001 is in many ways of confirmation a what Haarmann (1984 and 1986) had discovered some years previously in his theories concerning borrowings in advertising that are based around ethnocultural stereotypes.

It is the Threshold Model of Collective Behaviour, proposed by Granovetter (1978) and also later in (1982) and then extended by researchers such as Valente (1996), Orr (2003) and Jordan, K et al. (2003) and others which forms the crux of the main argument concerning dissemination in interpersonal networks. In particular, it was the work by Valente which provided for an understanding of the presence of Opinion Leaders within each of the three cultures who are partly responsible for a borrowing reaching critical mass and then proceeding on to integration. It was again the research carried out by NHK Broadcasting and

Culture Research Institute, A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, Vols. I-III, 1989-1996) which formed the backbone of the discussion on the demographic factors affecting diffusion and the phenomenon of fad words. The research by Masamoto (1996) on nonce borrowings and fad words was supportive of that by NHK in his insightful understanding of the factors influential to mass media diffusion.

In the discussion on the final phase of the evolution of loanwords, there are many researchers such as Sobe Arakawa (1942) Quackenbush (1974) Kurtboke, P and Potter, L. (2000) who attest to the difficulty in establishing a definitive point of delineation between a foreign word and a loanword. The problem centres around the apparent inevitability of reliance upon some form of subjective determination. While it was not possible to establish a reliable quantitatively based integration continuum, a five point criteria model based on the research by Ui, (1985), Ito (2001), Poplack and Sankoff (1984) Thomason (2001:66) and Winford (2003) has been proposed to determine whether a borrowing has reached the level of integration. The interesting research by Tamaoka and Miyaoka (2003) enabled the proportional relationship between degree of lexical exposure and the degree of integration to be proved based on clear scientific evidence thus giving weight to the same assertions made by Murphy (1974), Poplack and Sankoff (1984), Bavin (1992), Myers-Scotton (1993:182) and others. The phenomenon of synonym displacement is implicit in Weinreich's discussions on lexical integration (1953) and mentioned in Poplack and Meecham (1995). In his observations on the mechanism of integration (1974), Labov regarded displacement as a phase in the integration process and referred to it as the Transition Problem. It is significant that almost all the studies touching on the somewhat emotionally sensitive relationship

between loanword influx and Yamato culture (*Nihonjinron*) has generally been performed by Japanese scholars including; Tsuda (1996), Uno (1998), and Ishino (1983) with Tomoda dividing national response into a three-tiered analysis of antagonistic, realistic and protagonist (1999). Others such as Honna, (1995) and Tsuda (1989) have confined themselves to a more objective review including the former's discussion on the relationship between the postwar loanwords influx and the government's policy of reducing and simplifying kanji use. Finally, the phenomenon of linguistic obsolescence is looked at with illustrative examples provided by Tejedor Martinez et. al. (2002) and the online version of the Shizuoka Shinbun (the Shizuoka Newspaper).

It should be noted that a full discussion of relevant literature is undertaken in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

CHAPTER 4
BACKGROUND

4.1 The Study of Loanwords

While the phenomenon of borrowed linguistic material has been known since antiquity, it was not until the 19th century when research on language contact became an integral part of historical linguistics that any significant academic study on the phenomenon was carried out. The most important contributing factor that led to an ongoing debate lasting well into the early part of the 20th century concerned the role played by contact induced change in the history of languages. Conventionalists such as Müller (1875) and Meillet (1921) (cited by Winford, 2003) held to the Stammbaum or 'family tree' model of genetic relationships among languages in which it is maintained that a lexicon containing a mixture of contributing languages was a rare occurrence. The opposing view held by an increasing number of scholars affirmed that a number of languages did in fact contain an eclectic combination of foreign elements. For example, in his paper in 1884, Shuchardt, provided numerous cases of structural mixtures and contact induced changes as well as examples of pidgins and creoles.

In addition to pure linguistic approaches, early pioneers such as Whitney (1881) and Shuchardt (1884) proposed that consideration of the socio-cultural factors acting on the groups in contact constituted an essential feature of contact linguistics research, and thereby laid down the foundations for the modern study of the sociology of language. They essentially argued that language contact always presupposes some degree of

cultural contact, however limited. The variety of methods of approach, some pure linguistic, others sociological or anthropological combined to create the new field of contact linguistics. However, it was undoubtedly the contributions made by Uriel Weinreich (1953) and Einer Haugen (1950b), who are still widely quoted fifty years after publication of their work, that the field of language contact as a sub-discipline of linguistics in its own right was created. Clyne (1987) notes that despite all previous research, 'there was before Weinreich, no systemised theory of language contact'. He created a sociological and psychological framework within the linguistic subsystems to explain contact phenomena such as interference and its consequences. His work dealing with lexical interference between two languages focused on the mechanisms by which loanwords are formed, the means by which they are integrated into a recipient language including a discussion on the synonymic displacement of native morphemes by borrowed loanwords, the reasons for lexical innovation and the parameters that act as determinants on the quantification of interference. The sociolinguist, Donald Winford, paraphrased the words of many when he stated (Winford, 2003:25) that while both structural and social factors are contributing determinants governing contact induced change, given conducive extralinguistic factors, practically any linguistic feature could be transferred from one language to another. These social factors affecting a contact situation include the following: community settings, the demographics of the contact, the codes and patterns of social interaction, the ideologies and attitudes that govern linguistic choices, the history and length of the contact, and power relationships operating within the interaction.

A number of other linguists including Hocket (1958) and Lehiste (1988) examined the mechanisms of lexical interference and integration of the donor lexeme into the recipient language and then commented on the consequences of this impact. However, it was not until the influential recent work of, *Language Contact, Creolisation and Genetic Linguistics*, by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that any major advance beyond Haugen and Weinreich was seen. Here we see a typology of a variety of contact phenomena and their outcomes being established accompanied by a theoretical framework for analysis of these results. In particular, they have proposed a linear relationship between degree of borrowing and intensity of contact (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:74-76) in which for each increasing level of borrowing intensity, ranged on an arbitrary scale from one to five, a corresponding stratification of the features of each level of lexical and structural interference is established. They, too, stress the importance of a sociolinguistic approach:

> 'It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. Linguistic interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones. Both directional interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another'
> Thomason and Kaufman, 1998:35

Early studies that attempted to establish a theoretical model to explain contact-induced

loanwords include those by Paul (1886) in the 19th century, and later Seiler (1907) and others in the pre-war period. A significant advance in the science was made by Werner Betz (1949) who established a basic distinction between loanwords and loan creations, namely that loanwords involve the importation of both the form and meaning of a foreign lexeme while loan creations are words secondarily created within the borrowing language from foreign lexical material but which have no counterpart in the source language. This distinction forms the basis of the definitions that are still in use today. In his exceptional paper, Haugen (1950b) created a loanwords taxonomy in which he saw all loans as being formed subject to the dual operations of importation and substitution (ibid:212). Importation refers to the introduction and adoption of a foreign form and/or meaning in which the imported term is sufficiently similar to the donor model to be recognisable to a native speaker, while substitution on the other hand, refers to a process of substituting unacceptable elements of the donor morpheme for acceptable close equivalents in the recipient language. If the substituted elements are native phonemes or morphemes, the process is referred to as phonemic and morphemic substitution respectively. For example, in the case of the importation into Japanese of the English expression, 'drive through', since the Japanese sound system does not allow for consonant clusters, the 'br' of 'brush' undergoes phonemic substitution in which an epenthetic vowel 'u' is inserted to form [burashi]. This model will be referred to in more detail in Chapter 5.

In Japan, however, while there was a huge amount of lexical borrowing from European

word stocks in the early Meiji Period, much of the research into loanwords of this period was carried out retrospectively by scholars such as Arakawa (1942), who discussed the foreign words/loanwords controversy, in particular, their delineation and criteria of integration (ibid:8). Chinen (1996) investigated the morphemic transition with time of a number of Meiji period (1868-1912) calques from their various ideographic representations to their eventual phonemic transliteration into katakana wherein may be seen a reflection of the political ascendancy of English at the expense of Dutch (refer to Section 4.3 (Calques) for an illustrative example). Early researchers from the Taisho period (1912-1926) to the 1960s such as Maeda, Aramura, Arakawa and later, Umegaki (1963), focused mainly on diachronic studies of Western loan etymology since the Muromachi Period (1333-1568). Formal and extensive studies of loanwords by Japanese scholars increased dramatically in the post-war period coincident with the sharp rise in their introduction and dissemination rates (Ishiwata, 1993). The study of etymology gave way to considerations of structural linguistics, notably the phonological, semantic, morphological and syntactical changes brought about by integration of foreign lexical material. Researchers in this area include: Murphy (1974), Miller (1980), Kajima (1994), Kay (1995), Tomoda (1999) and a number of others.

A particularly salient contribution to post-war research was the sociolinguistic surveys performed by government organisations that, unlike in the pre-war period, used quantitative methodologies to determine the existence of any correlation between

loanword use and demographic factors of gender, geographical location, age group, type of employment, living environment and education level. Being government organisations, they typically researched issues that reflect public concern. For example, the NHK Broadcasting and Culture Research Institute carried out *A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment*, 1990-1996 to obtain a better understanding of loanword-related issues such as: degrees of comprehension of loanwords and created lexemes (*wasei eigo* or Japanese English) in the mass media; public attitudes towards the lexical acceptability of the foreign loan influx; and the phenomenon of semantic specialisation/displacement of native words. Similarly, the Japanese Language Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs conducts a diachronic analysis of foreign loan tokens to determine comprehension and the impact of media on word selection choice and annually publishes the results in their Public Survey of the Japanese Language. The National Language Research Institute similarly engages in a variety of pure linguistic and sociolinguistic research, particularly, that concerned with degrees of comprehension of loans used in media and governmental publications, socio-cultural zones of usage and public attitudes towards loans. The reasons for these extensive investigations are well documented in the researches published by the Agency for Cultural Affairs in the *New Word Series, A Collection of Language Related Issues– Loanwords Editions* Nos. 6 (1997) and 8 (1998). Loanwords have penetrated deeply into the language of the nation, in virtually all domains and registers ranging from the level of youth culture magazines (No.8) and prescribed school textbooks (Hashimoto 2001) to that of governmental white papers (Nakayama, 2001) and Tomoda (1999). The problem of the conspicuous

difference between the degree of public recognition of a loan and the correct comprehension of its meaning has created further impetus for governmental research. Indeed, the NHK research, *A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment,* (1988 Vol. I), reports an average discrepancy of 27% with a similar figure of 28% being reported by NHK 11 years later in 1999. Although essentially a broadcasting station, it devotes considerable resources to its own Language Research Group (within the Broadcast Culture Research Institute) and due to its formal and informal long-standing links with commercial and non-commercial organisations, NHK promotes itself in the role of definer of correct and acceptable Japanese (Carroll, 1995). Specifically in the area of loanwords, in 1992, it released its widely publicised new recommendations on katakana usage. The sociolinguistic consequences upon Japanese society of media-propagated loanwords have also been investigated by non-governmental writers including Koyano (1994) who looked at the cyclic phenomenon of the effect of television on loanword usage in youth culture and the effect of loanword usage in youth culture on language usage in television.

The most significant area of loanword usage is that of advertisement texts, a field that received significant attention by Haarmann in his two papers in 1984 and 1986 where he respectively looked at the role of ethnocultural stereotypes in Japanese commercials and introduced the concept of impersonal bilingualism in communicative strategies. The latter of these two papers is particularly interesting in that it exposes a transitional form, intermediate between non-integrated nonce borrowings and integrated loans. What

Takashi (1990:331) later referred to as special effect providers, Haarmann reveals are frequently words in foreign languages that the advertising copywriter knows will be understood by very few, if any of the viewers but which have the essential role of appealing to ethnocultural stereotypes such as prestige (French or Italian) or efficient modernity (English). Such effects are particularly suited to the currently popular 'post modern format' of television advertising, characterised by mumbling and ambiguous styles of narration wherein the content is unrelated to the product being advertised, altered film speeds and purposely blurred or aberrant imaging (Holden 1999a).

The sociological / psychological ramifications of loanword usage has been the subject of considerable study, from the level of lay discussion to that of serious academic research. The studies performed by Tsuda (1996), Uno (1998), Ishino (1983) and others, typically contains a discussion on the relationship between the post-war loanword influx and the culturo-lexical hegemony of English in the modern economic world. This is an area that is still emotionally sensitive to many Japanese people, evoking as it frequently does an introspective discussion on Japanese self-identity, ethnic stereotypes and the Yamato culture (*Nihonjinron*). It is however the sheer numbers of loans in modern Japanese that has evoked such a powerful sociological / psychological reaction.

Many scholars have investigated the phenomenon known by the various terms of; lexical integration, assimilation or nativisation. Weinreich (1970:47) describes the process in which bilingual individuals substitute words from their L_1 into an L_2 context

thus giving rise to lexical and possibly also phonological and syntactic interference. They must then undergo at least some degree of integration if they are to acquire a position of social acceptance in the recipient language or as Sinclair (1996:82 cited in Kurtböke and Potter (2000:89) noted, 'words cannot remain perpetually independent in their patterning unless they are very rare or protected, like technical terms'. Some studies have concentrated on changes wrought by the integration process within the various linguistic sub-systems, namely: orthographic, phonological, morphological semantic and syntactic. Holden (1976:134) and Kajima (1994:15-23) took a phonological approach in their studies on the rates of integration of loanwords in relation to the phonological constraints within the target language. In the same area, Quackenbush (1974:61) demonstrated that foreign words are introduced into the monolingual Japanese society essentially by means of the written word at one specific point in time and that the integration of such words proceeds in accordance with the same phonological and orthographic rules that characterise native Japanese words. Contrastingly, other researchers such as Pierce (1971:57) have depicted a system whereby Japanese people consistently try to pronounce loanwords as they are pronounced in the source language but just as consistently fail because of the 'filtering' effect inherent within the structure of the Japanese sound system.

There have also been a number of studies concerned with the semantics of the domestication process. Satô (1994), for example, concentrated on the character of the semantic narrowing and broadening phenomena. However, it is the topic of semantic

displacement that is the most frequently researched area within integration semantics. Lexical borrowing is a common phenomenon in all languages in the case where the borrowed item represents an innovation, typically technical, commercial or artistic. However what is less common is the introduction and integration of a foreign item despite the existence of a native item of synonymic meaning. In Japan, this frequently results in complimentary native Sino-Japanese/loanword synonymic pairs wherein the native term refers to the traditional and the loanword, the Western. Ogino (1988) carried out quantitative analytical research to determine indices of synonymity, usage frequency and personal preference with respect to the demographic variables of gender and age. Other research in this area includes: the examination of semantic specialisation phenomena arising out of the displacement of native lexemes by English loans (e.g. Umegaki (1975) and Uno 1998), lexical change (e.g. Kawamura, 1994), displacement mechanisms (e.g. Shimizu, 1993), displacement of older loans by recent English arrivals (Miller, 1967), loan function (e.g. Loveday 1996 and Tsuda 1989), socio-cultural impact (e.g. Momose 1988 and Ogino 1988) and demographic distribution (The Agency for Cultural Affairs - Public Survey of the Japanese language, 1999).

A number of authors such as Satô (1994), Higashimori (1998), Morrow (1987), Hoffer (1990) and Honna (1995) have concentrated on the various morphological changes that act on words during processes such as truncation, acronyming and so forth. The work by Hoffer (1990) is particularly interesting as it proposes seven patterns of the changes that include the sophisticated word play found emerging in the late 1980s.

Orthographic changes have been the subject of research by governmental bodies such as the Agency of Cultural Affairs (*The New Word Series*, No. 8, 1998) as to whether loans from English are rendered in accordance with government guidelines on katakana spelling. An example would include that of the word 'computer', which although generally written with a final long vowel コンピューター [konpyûtâ] as prescribed, is sometimes abbreviated to コンピュータ [konpyûta] in the scientific milieu. Orthographic changes have also been analysed by non-governmental researchers such as Loveday (1996) who has established a typology for the measure of loanword integration in accordance with the degree of orthographic deviation away from the script of donor language.

Other integration studies such as that by Poplack and Sankoff (1984) have concentrated on the social dynamics of borrowing with a view to quantitatively determining if a word in question is actually a loanword or not. They worked within a very interesting operational framework in which they recognised four basic types of criteria for the characterisation of loanwords, namely: frequency of use, native languages synonym displacement, morphophonemic and/or syntactic integration and native speaker acceptability. Others such as Ishino (1983) and Loveday (1986) have attempted to measure degrees of integration by a qualitative methodology. Loveday argues that it is appropriate to ascribe the degree of integration of a word in accordance with its proximity to the linguistic system of the receipt language. Hence the truncated form for

'hunger strike' of ハンスト [*hansuto*] reveals a deeper level of integration as it conforms more closely to the native morpho-phonology than the full form ハンガーストライキ [*hangaa sutoraiki*].

A number of researchers have investigated the function of loanwords in the language. While early writers such as Hockett (1958) focused on the two main causes for foreign word importation, namely, lexical gap filling and prestige, more recent work such as that by Loveday (1996) however, have isolated eleven causes for borrowing and ten for romanisation in modern Japanese. The function of loanwords in the media forms of newspaper leaflets, television commercials and advertising texts in general have been respectively researched by Takashi (1990), Gabbrielli (2001) and Ôtsuka (2001). Tsuda (1989) has looked at the function of some specific English origin loanwords in a comparison with their Sino-Japanese lexical equivalents with which they are in semantic competition. Traditional approaches to the motivations for lexical and semantic change have been summarised in Ullman's two books, *Principles of Semantics* (1957) and *Semantics* (1962) which for decades have been regarded as seminal works in the field. Drawing upon a background of pragmatic and cognitive models, Blank (1999) has reworked Ullman's theory to obtain a deeper insight into the reasons why innovations occur within a lexicon. Finally, Hayashi and Hayashi (1995) performed a study based on the premise that one of the strong motivations to accommodate English words into Japanese discourse is the linguistic power associated with the ethnosymbolism of Western culture. They adopted a socio-cultural and a cognitive

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approach to explain purpose-driven loanword usage.

4.2 The Definition of Loanwords

The terms, 'loanword' or 'borrowing' have been defined in a number of ways that reflect factors such as the target language and the research paradigm. With respect to the target language of Japanese, there is a comparatively large number of postulated definitions due to the existence of two grey areas within loanword taxonomies. Firstly, the non-uniformity of academic opinion as to whether Kango (morphemes of Middle Chinese origin, largely imported between 400 – 1300 AD), Korean, Ainu and others that were introduced in pre-modern times should be classified as native or loanword. Secondly, there appears to be an unavoidable degree of subjectivity in determining an acceptable delineation between foreign words and loanwords that have a low degree of integration. Accordingly, I shall look at the various definitions proposed by a variety of linguists and determine a definition that is to be applied throughout this thesis.

The simplest meaning, such as may be found in a standard dictionary, would be something like:

> 'A word taken from another language that is at least partly naturalised. A borrowed or adopted word'
> (Webster's Third New International Dictionary)

While this definition may be of non-academic use, it fails to address issues specific to

the loanword phenomenon in Japan. Winford (2003:10) notes that, 'Every outcome of language contact has associated with it a particular kind of social setting and circumstances that shape its unique character'. It may therefore be postulated that definitions for loanwords used by researchers in contact situations other than that in Japan are of limited use. For example, a number of Western researchers, such as Weinreich, have defined loanwords in the context of contact in bilingual immigrant communities whose speech is characterised by the consequences of persistent personal interfacing with indigenous populations. Excepting the case of the vast emigration to Japan from the Korean peninsula in the 3rd and 5th centuries, throughout Japan's history, such interfacing has been minimal, and therefore a definition based on his observations would be inapplicable to the contact situation in Japan. Although transfer of linguistic material via the spoken word does, of course, exist and has been documented, foreign language contact in Japan has primarily occurred as a consequence of exposure to the written word. Direct contact with speakers of the source language is, as shall be argued later, not the way most loans entered into Japanese in recent decades.

Any definition and framework needs to take into account the following features of foreign language contact in Japan.

(1) What classification should be ascribed to words that have been in the language since ancient times namely; Kango, and words of Sanskrit, Korean, Ainu and possibly South East Asian origin? Despite their clear foreign origins, they are regarded both popularly and in a number of academic writings as Japanese.

(2) There is still considerable elitist and academic debate as to how a definitive demarcation could be established to differentiate between what is still a foreign word and what has crossed a culturo-linguistic barrier to become a loanword (Ito, 2001:110). While inclusion in one of the many loanword dictionaries may be popularly used as proof of integration, unfortunately, 'sufficient degree of integration', ostensibly the main criterion for inclusion in loanword dictionaries, is too subjective for use as a scholarly standard. Furthermore, 'commercially available dictionaries are published for the purpose of profit generation (the greater the number of listings, the better the sales volume and the higher the price per copy) and as such, editors under such constraints may not pay scholarly attention to the inclusion criteria' (personal communication from the NHK researcher, M. Shibata).

(3) Many Japanese people culturally identify text written in kanji characters to be native Japanese (Kajima, 1994:191). Marshall Unger (Marshall Unger, 1996:13) commented that when viewed in accordance with a bimodal scripting typology consisting of languages arranged along a theoretical continuum between pure phonography and pure logography, Japanese with its Chinese characters, many of which having multiple readings, is one of the world's most logographic scripts. He furthermore argues that even in the case of logographic scripts, association of visible symbols with distinctive language sounds (a process referred to as phonological decoding) plays an early and essential part in acquiring reading and writing skills. Katakana on the other hand, have

their principle role as being the means by which other languages can be phonetically transliterated into Japanese. In view of this sociolinguistic acculturalisation, a definition should be established as to whether recent kanji loans from Chinese should be classified as native or foreign.

The most commonly used term in Japanese to refer to loanwords is *gairaigo* which literally mean 'foreign coming words'. The term *katakanago* (words in katakana script) is of functionally equal meaning. However, one also encounters the older term of *shakuyôgo* (lit. borrowed words) which is derivationally closer to the meaning of the English term. While sources such as the Kokugogaku Daijiten (Expanded Linguistic Dictionary) state that the two terms, *shakuyôgo* and *gairaigo*, are of equal meaning, some linguists such as Shibata have drawn a distinction between the two in declaring that strictly speaking, Kango and the introduced terms from Sanskrit which entered Japanese via Chinese are borrowed and should be correctly classified as *shakuyôgo.* These are to be distinct from *gairaigo* which refers to Western loans. His definition (below), seeks to affirm the truth of the foreign origin of Kango, Ainu and the others and adds the element that the loan morphemes additionally come with cultural loading. Tanaka (2002:34) further extends his argument in stating that the difference between the two is dependant upon two factors; the place of origin and the degree of integration.

> 'Gairaigo are words that have come from an outside language as pieces of foreign culture that have secured status within the lexical framework of the receptor language. Although Kango, Ainu and (ancient) Korean are strictly speaking

> shakuyôgo, they are not however, regarded as gairaigo, a term which is reserved for Euro-American borrowings'.
> Shibata, 1993

However, the most common definition in both academic and non-academic writings is as given in the *Nihonkokugo Daijiten* (Japanese Language Expanded Dictionary) below. The National language Research Institute's understanding of what constitutes a loanword is similar except that it also includes *wasei gairaigo* (Otsuka, Y. 2001:79). As will be fully discussed in Section 6.2.3, *wasei* means 'made in Japan' so a *wasei gairaigo* refers to a word that is composed in Japan of foreign loanwords. When these are of English origin, the more specialised term of *wasei eigo* is used. Delineation between native and loanwords is ascribed according to place of origin, period of usage since introduction, and the script in which it is written.

> 'Gairaigo are defined as being words that have been introduced from a foreign language and are used as a part of that language. The term generally applies to words that: were introduced after the Muromachi Period; originated in countries that do not use Chinese characters; modern Chinese and Japanese-English terms (waseieigo). Kanji scripted Kango and words translated into kanji from ancient Sanskrit and other languages are not usually regarded as gairaigo'.
> *Nihonkokugo Daijiten* (Japanese Language Expanded Dictionary)

Japanese words are hereby classified as those that are: native Japanese (Wago) or

Kango, whose arrival predates the 16th century and are therefore so integrated as to be conventionally treated as Japanese rather than as loans despite the clear fact that they are loans in origin. They are generally written in kanji, and, above all, have a high degree of written and phonetic integration. *Gairaigo,* on the other hand, are classified as being of Western origin and were introduced or created after the 14th century. This is the definition that is typically stated or assumed in many academic and non-academic writings such as Shibatani (1990: 142), Ito (1993), NHK (Language Environment Surveys 1987-1996), Tomoda (1999: 232), Sotoyama (2000), and many others. There are still other definitions. The linguist Tanaka divides borrowings into two groups, 義借用 [gishakuyô] (foreign words whose meaning only is borrowed and then translated, or calqued) and 音借用 [onshakuyô] (foreign words whose form and meaning is borrowed). The latter term only is commonly referred to as *gairaigo* or *shakuyôgo* (Tanaka, 2002: 20).

If we observe popularist criteria for classification, however, we enter into a subjective cultural domain in which words written in kanji are not commonly perceived as being foreign (Kajima, 1994:191). Takayama (2000:2) states that Japanese people determine if a word is foreign according to its phonotactic configuration, script and cultural association but that this can lead to mistaken understanding of the origin of a word. He sites the example of イクラ [ikura] < Rus. *ikra* (salmon roe) whose phonotactic configuration is common with that of native Sino-Japanese words although its normal script is katakana, this is not abnormal in the case of marine animals due to common

ignorance of the kanji, and thirdly, *ikura* has no popular cultural association with Russia in the Japanese mind. Therefore, unless having specialist etymological knowledge, it would be regarded as native. Quackenbush (1974:64), Kay (1995:74) and the researchers at the Japanese Language Division of the Cultural Agency (1998:56) note a general cognitive inability to determine; if a word is a loan or not (especially when written in kanji with a high degree of written and phonetic integration); the language of the originating word, its spelling, pronunciation and meaning. Despite the fact that some foreign loans were calqued into kanji (either according to meaning or pronunciation) or entered in the form of graphic loans from Chinese and that, in the other direction, there has been increasing incidence of script switching of native Japanese words into kana or romanised script (for advertising or a special stylistic effect), a significant proportion of the general public determine whether a word is a loan or not depending upon its script.

That is, words in kanji or hiragana (even if ultimately of Chinese origin) are perceived to be native Japanese and those in katakana or roman script are foreign. Interestingly however, Ishiwata (1993) and Shibata (1993), refute the common conception that English is essentially foreign in nature to Japanese but that Chinese is not. Ishiwata (Ishiwata, 1993) argues from the viewpoint that equivalent Japanese integration procedures, such as phonological integration, syntactical redistribution, semantic deviation and so forth that are applied to Kango are also applied to Western borrowings. He cites for example, the similarity between the integration of Chinese and English morphemes by the addition of epenthetic vowels. As the final vowel, 'i', of the reading

for the Japanese kanji '一' (ichi) is not present in the original Chinese so neither is the final 'o' of the English derived loan カード (kâdo) present in the source English word 'card'. He sees the need for a redefinition of the term *gairaigo* back to what had already been traditionally proposed (Ishiwata, 1993), namely that of a three tiered, geographically based taxonomy in which group 1 is composed of Chinese loans (irrespective of when introduced), group 2 of Western loans (irrespective of when introduced) and group 3 of Korean, Ainu and others (irrespective of when introduced). He is proposing a diachronically based classification as opposed to the above synchronic definition given in the Japanese Language Expanded Dictionary in which all the members of the three groups would be regarded as loanwords, leaving only *Wago* as being native.

The above definitions however, do not shed light on the other grey area, that is, the delineation between foreign and integrated loanwords. Indeed, some linguists have accepted subjectivity in categorisation as being inevitable. In the definition postulated by Umegaki below, the mention of social integration conveys a reference to subjectivity with the implication that it is a sociolinguistic integration.

> 'A gairaigo is linguistic material from a foreign language system that has been introduced into another language system and in which its use has undergone social integration'.
> Umegaki, 1963:11

The words in particular that typically resist efforts to classify are those having a low

level of integration. The researcher Ui warns against the popular tendency to regard all words of foreign origin as being loanwords (Ui, 1985:22) and draws attention to the need for a definitive separation between foreign words and loanwords. Although one could argue that, theoretically, delineation between them should be simply based upon a premise that foreign words should not be included in a standard Japanese language dictionary while loanwords should be (Ishino, 1983), in practice, however, the distinction between a word which is foreign and one which has become naturalised is by no means clear and there remains an element of subjectivity in whatever differentiation criteria are adopted (Tomoda, 1999:234). It is the existence of this subjectivity which inhibits the formation of a uniformly accepted definition that would provide definitive judgement as to the status of a word. The problem is rendered particularly complex by widespread non-conformity with the orthographic standard (Kindaichi et al., 1988) that loanwords are written in katakana script while Sino-Japanese words are written in kanji or hiragana. While one might expect this non-conformity in areas such as the mass media where prestige and stylistic effects are important, recently however, even government publications have blatantly revealed a deviation from the standard orthography as may be seen in the use of hiragana to write the words "ぽすたるがいど" [posutaru gaido] (postal guide) on the cover of a booklet containing a list of nationwide postcodes issued by the Bureau of Posts and Telecommunication (Wetzel, 1997). Subjectively estimated degrees of integration were the basis upon which even the National Language Research Institute (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyûjo) determined that some words appearing in roman alphabet such as "about", "across", "August", "be",

"become" etc. were foreign words but that words including, "now", "new" and "part II", were loanwords (Ishino 1983). The NLRI has plainly indicated, at least in this case, that they delineate between loanwords and foreign words according to estimated degrees of integration not script.

The Expanded Linguistic Dictionary implicitly affirms the subjective nature of differentiation in its introduction of the term, 'levels of acceptance', that is 'degrees of integration'.

> 'A gairaigo is linguistic material from a foreign language including: words, phrases, ideograms, letters etc) that have been introduced into another language system and whose use has been socially accepted. Also referred to as shakuyôgo (borrowed word). Note there are various levels of this acceptance in which it is impossible to avoid dual nationality characteristics'.

While Ishino (1983), Masamoto (1996) and others recognise degrees of integration in their definitions for *gairaigo*, Ui has attempted to reduce the subjectivity inherent in the delineation process by proposing a loose typology of integration according to phonological, morphemic, lexical and other factors (Ui, 1985:22) which would serve as a guide.

> The presence of integration to the Japanese sound system
> The presence of integration to Japanese grammar
> The length of time elapsed since appearance
> The number of native Japanese users
> The degree of lexical penetration into Japanese.

He accordingly characterises a foreign word as having: a pronunciation that is similar to the native foreign word. For example in the case of English borrowings, would contain either written or spoken differentiation made between /l/ and /r/ etc.; would show syntactic evidence that English grammatical word order laws were being observed; and would reveal attempts at pluralisation of nouns, either in katakana or in roman script. Although it would possible to determine the first two of the above five factors and possibly estimate the third, it would be impossible to determine the last two due to the problem that even if interviewed, the results would be of limited value as there is a great difference between what people think they say and what they actually say.

In the light of the above, and until further refinement in Section 6.5 below, a Japanese loanword shall be defined as:

> 'linguistic material that has been introduced, or coined at least in part, from any foreign language system after the first European arrival in 1542; and has undergone a degree of social integration such as would distinguish it from a foreign word.

While it is to be acknowledged that Kango, and the other languages that have been translated into kanji and introduced prior to the 14th century are undeniably borrowings, for the sociolinguistic reasons outlined above, they have become totally integrated and are widely deemed to be as such in all but pure linguistic definitions.

4.3. The Categorisation of Loanwords

There are three main types of contact situations (Winford, 2003:11), namely: language maintenance, language shift (partial or total abandonment of a group's language) and those that lead to the creation of new contact languages (such as pidgins and creoles). Language maintenance refers to the lexical situation seen in linguistically stable communities in which the language is maintained from generation to generation with only minor changes, either internally or externally induced. Borrowing into a maintained language is understood to be the process where through lexical or structural interference, L2 foreign features are incorporated into the L1 by speakers of that language. Both Loveday (1996:13) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74-76) have created typologies of intensity of interference ranging from level one, referred to as casual contact (Thomason and Kaufman, ibid:74), characterised by lexical borrowing only, to higher levels in which increasing cultural pressure gives rise to increasing incidence of structural borrowing of orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic items. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, borrowing from Western languages has been generally confined to lexical borrowing of a level 2 intensity with some incidence of structural borrowing at a level 3 intensity. The categorisation of loanwords that is to be discussed here will be confined to a classification of the products arising from various processes of lexical borrowing. The classification used in this thesis follows loosely that which Haugen proposed in his famous work, 'The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing' which, despite its publication of over fifty years ago, is still used as source material in modern loanword taxonomies (Winford, ibid:43-45). The departures that I have made from this model include an

understanding that many of the lexical contact phenomena, such as loanblends, are not direct results of the borrowing process itself but rather are formed from additional processes applied to already borrowed items. These processes are internally present within the recipient language and equally act upon native morphemes as well. This represents a divergence away from the model presented by Haugen in that he integrally classifies them in with the borrowing process. Additionally, the modifications here recognise three possibilities of morphemic fusion in loanblends and hybrid native creations: imported stem + native affix, native stem + imported affix and, imported stem + native stem as well as two kinds of calques, homogeneous calques composed of a single logographic script and heterogeneous calques composed of a blend of logographic and phonographic scripts.

This classification is useful for two reasons, namely: it accurately describes the observed results of borrowing, and conforms to labels commonly used by linguists working in the field of contact linguistics.

4.3.1 A Typology of the Products of Borrowing and Subsequent Processes

Types	Processes	Examples
1 Borrowings	Lexical or structural items borrowed from an external language or dialect.	
1.1 Loanwords	Total or partial importation of morphemic composition of loan from an external source	

	language.	
1.1.1 Pure Loanwords	Total morphemic importation of both the form and the meaning of single or compound words which then undergo various domestication processes.	スピーカー [supîkâ] < Eng. loud speaker
1.1.2 Loanblends	Combinations of native and imported morphemes: Imported stem + native affix or, Native stem + imported affix.	大ストライキ [dai sutoraiki] < Jap. dai "big" + Eng. strike
1.2 Loanshifts (Loan Meanings)	Only the meaning of the lexical item of the donor language is transferred to the receptor language	
1.2.1 Semantic Loans	The meaning of a donor language item influences and changes the meaning of a word in the recipient language.	皿 [sara] < Jap. "plate". Additionally means a western style plate.
1.2.2 Loan Translations (Calques)	The meaning of some lexical item of the donor language (without its form) is translated into a complex expression consisting of linguistic material of the receptor language.	
1.2.2.1 Homogeneous Calques	Calques of a single script.	自主 [jishu], (Lit. self + master, self means) < Eng. freedom, liberty
1.2.2.1 Heterogeneous Calques	Differing orthographic domestication processes lead to script heterogeneity.	カーボン紙 [kâbon shi]. カーボン<Eng. carbon + 紙<Jap. paper = carbon paper
2 Native Creations	Innovative compounding of preexisting loan morphemes	

2.1 Purely Foreign Morphemes	Innovative use of foreign morphemes to express native or foreign concepts, the whole collocation having no equivalent in the originating donor language.	オーダーストップ [ôdâ sutoppu] < Eng. order + stop = last orders
2.2 Hybrid Creations	Morphemic composition: Imported stem + native stem or Native stem + imported affix Imported stem + imported affix.	電子レンジ [denshi rênji] <Jap. electronic + Eng. range = microwave oven 漫画チック [mangachikku] < Jap. Japanese comic) + Eng. – tic suffix = cartoon style ポテトチック [potetochikku] < Eng. potato + Eng. – tic suffix = peasant-like

Table 1: A Typology of the Products of Borrowing and Subsequent Processes

It should be noted that no separate classification has been created for indirect loans, that is for example, when language E receives a loan word from language A by way of languages B, C, D, etc. as opposed to direct borrowing when the borrowing is transferred directly from A to B (Katamba, 1994:191). Japanese has many such cases such as kôhî (Japanese) < coffee (English) < koffie (Dutch) < kahva (Arabic) < kahveh (Turkish).

Pure Loanwords

The first loan category is pure loanwords. Pure loanwords are categorised as being

words or morphemes of total importation or extraction from foreign lexical stocks that subsequently undergo domestication or in Haugen's terminology, undergo substitution.

Loanblends

Loanblends involve a morphemic fusion of an imported and native stems/derivational affixes. That is, a recipient language derivational process applied to a morphemically imported word. Note that these loanblends and hybrid wasei gairaigo are morphemically identical and are classified separately as the latter, like all native creations, has no counterpart in the donor language. Hence, 大リーグ [dai rîgu] is a loanblend in that it has an exact counterpart of 'big league' while 漫画チック [mangachikku] (somewhat exaggerated cartoon style) does not exist in English. Examples can be seen in the table below.

	Example	Derivation
stem + stem	お子様ランチ [okosama ranchi]	Okosama < J. child + ranchi < E. lunch = children's lunch (menu)
prefix + stem	大リーグ [dai rîgu]	Dai < J. large + rîgu < E. league = big league (baseball)
stem + suffix	ページ数 [pêji sû]	ページ < E. page + sû < J. number = number of pages

Table 2: Types of Loanblends

The same affixes of [dai] and [sû] are frequently used in Sino-Japanese compounds so the importation does not represent an innovation but rather the application of an established pattern. This is discussed more fully in the Morphology section of Chapter

6.

Loanshifts

The second category is that of loanshifts or loan meanings in which there is no importation of a foreign morpheme but which exhibits partial or total substitution. For example, when the concept of a Western style of window entered Japan, the morpheme 'window' was not borrowed as a loan but, rather the meaning of the native word for the Japanese style of window, 窓 [mado], was substituted for a broader meaning that encompassed the Western variant. Loanshifts can be further divided into semantic loans and loan translations or calques. The models proposed by Haugen (ibid:214), Weinreich (1970:51) and Winford (ibid:44) for the former of these two prescribe a native word that undergoes extension of its meaning due to the influence of an impacting foreign word with which it has either phonological or a partial semantic resemblance. That is, instead of accepting the donor language lexeme along with the new cultural item as in a standard borrowing, the borrower semantically adapts material already existent in his language under influence from a foreign word with which it has phonological or semantic similarity. While the phenomenon of transfer of additional meaning from a morpheme in one language to a morpheme of phonological resemblance in another linguistically similar language (such as members of the romance languages) does occur, the morphemic and phonological dissimilarity between Japanese and Western languages precludes transfers of this type.

Calques

Loan translations (calques) or literally, 'a tracing copy', refer to the transfer of the meaning of some lexical item of the donor language by translation into a complex expression consisting of linguistic material of the receptor language. Loan translations can be said to be a semantic imitation of the donor language. Specifically, instead of borrowing the foreign word, the semantically closest morpheme in Japanese is substituted for each of the constituent morphemes in the donor language and the result combined together in accordance with Japanese native word formation rules. Syntactic calques, or loan translations on phrase level (verb phrase or prepositional phrase) (Jacobsen, 2000), are particularly common amongst Western languages such as may be seen in the syntactic calquing into English of the idiomatic expression, '*it goes without saying*' from the French idiom, '*ça va sans dire*'. The same phenomenon of calqued verb phrases taken from English has been increasingly seen in Japanese newspapers, an example is 仕事を見つける [shigoto wo mitsukeru] < Eng. 'find a job' instead of the traditional term of 就職する [shûshoku suru] and 予想を上回る [yosô wo uwamawaru] < Eng. exceed expectations. However the more common type of calques are word level calques (composita or noun phrases) consisting of one or two morphemes. Weinreich (1970:51) divides loan translations into three sub-types, namely; Loan Translations Proper, Loan Renditions and Loan Creations. Japanese examples that respectively illustrate these terms include: 美術 [bi+jutsu] (lit. beautiful skill = fine arts or artistic) which is an exact reproduction of the model element by element; 散文 [san+bun] (lit. scattered words = prose) is a loan rendition in which the model

compound only furnishes a general hint and; 陪審 [bai+shin] (lit. attach careful deliberation = a jury) is a loan creation which is stimulated not by cultural innovations, but by the need to match designations available in the contacting language.

Many calques entered Japanese in the Meiji period and consisted of those that represented Western social, technological, political, or commercial innovations. There are two broad divisions within Japanese calques; firstly, translation of the loaned lexeme with Japanese sinograms, of approximate phonemic reading as the donor language, to form a phonogram in which the meaning of the constituent phonemes is irrelevant (also occurs in the native Japanese words). This process is referred to by Japanese linguists as *onyaku* (phonemic translation) or form what is commonly referred to in Japanese as *ateji.* An example would include; 瓦斯 [ga + su] 'gas' where the respective meanings of the two component characters are; 'roofing tile' and the adjective 'this' (among several meanings). The second type is translation of the loaned lexeme by Japanese sinograms, according to their meaning which together form a semantic unit or logogram to approximate the meaning of the loan. In this process, referred to by Japanese linguists as *iyaku* (semantic translation) (Tanaka, 2002:20-26), the pronunciation of the calque is unrelated to the pronunciation that was ascribed according to the conventional reading. For example, when the ideology of 'democracy' entered Japan, it was a totally new concept and so a term, 民衆主義 [minshû shugi] was coined in which the first two characters mean 'the general people' or the 'masses' and the last two mean a 'doctrine' and thus when amalgamated together form, 'the

doctrine of rule by the people'. Additionally, there are calques that have both phonetic and semantic values simultaneously. An example is 倶楽部 (a club) in which the component characters have the readings of [ku] + [ra] + [bu] and in which the respective meanings are 'together', 'pleasure' and 'a group of people'. The two calques for the word 'tobacco', 煙草 and 多葉粉 (archaic use) constitute a rare example in which two forms were created for the same concept. 煙草 is formed from semantic content and literally means 'smoking leaves' while the second contains both phonetic value [ta] + [ba] + [ko] and semantic value: 'many', 'leaves' and 'powder'.

These calques frequently underwent a number of morphemic changes from phonograms to logograms and vice versa reflecting the political and social conditions at the time and also because at that time, there was no official governing body that undertook the task of lexical standardisation. An interesting example of a succession of morphological and phonemic changes that took place prior to final maturation can be seen in the case of the translations for the Dutch word, 'alcool' (alcohol) (Chinen, 1996). It first appeared in written form in 1822 in a treatise on western medical products, calqued from the pronunciation of its Dutch precursor,'亞爾箇兒亞 (アルコール) (鋭烈なる焼酎)' [arukoru (phonogram), arukôru (script change into katakana), and an explanation of the meaning 'a caustic liquor']. Chinen says that this was directly loaned from the Dutch however, two of the components, 爾 and 兒 have had the [ji] or [ni] reading, never the [ru] reading. In Chinese, these characters have an [er] reading which is much closer to [ru] so that it is possible that this was not directly loaned from the Dutch but was a

graphic loan from the Chinese who had previously loaned it from the Dutch (personal communication from Dr. N. Tranter). It was then relexified as a calque meaning, 'liquor spirit', accompanied by a hiragana pronunciation guide, '焼酎精 しょうちゅうせい' [shôchûsei]. The next morpheme appearing in 1882 reveals a change back to using phonograms; '亞爾箇保兒' in which the phoneme 保 [ho] has been added. This anglicisation to approximate the English word of 'alcohol' clearly reflects the political climate in the early Meiji period of embracing English at the expense of Dutch. This represented not only a morphological change but also it came with the semantic loading of the English semene, 'alcohol' as in the early to mid 1880s, its meaning broadened to include a beverage in addition to being a pharmacological term. It was not until the 1920s that the currently used katakana morpheme of アルコール [arukôru] appeared as the only term of currency.

In recent times, calquing is still used, especially to represent a complex scientific item where a borrowing would have no meaning. An example of modern calquing would include; 地球温暖化 (lit. 'earth' 'warm' plus a suffix 'to make') meaning 'global warming'.

Heterogeneous Calques

Heterogeneous calques are essentially a form of loan translation in which half of the morphemic material is logographically translated and the other half phonemically translated into katakana. A number of writers including Kay (1995:70) have incorrectly

included into the category of loanblends what are in fact heterogeneous calques. Loanblends involve a morphemic fusion of stem and a derivational affix in which the two constituents morphemes are innovatively combined, such as in 大ストライキ [dai sutoraiki] (a large strike). Neither should native creations composed of a Japanese morpheme fused with an imported loan morpheme be confused with heterogeneous calques. They do not satisfy the essential requirement of a native creation, that is, the whole collocation must be artificially created from loan roots within the receptor language and its equivalent must not exist in the donor language (Haugen, 1950b:221). If we look at the case of カーボン紙 [kâbon shi] < E. carbon + J. 紙 (paper) = 'carbon paper', we can clearly see the originating English model of 'carbon paper', and therefore, by definition, as the whole collocation of its origin, 'carbon paper', does exist within the donor English language, カーボン紙 is therefore ineligible to be classified as a hybrid creation. 'Carbon paper' entered the Japanese language either as a graphic loan or a phonological loan, and then in the domestication process, underwent a partial morphemic translation in which only the second sememe was sinographically translated, the first being phonemically changed into katakana. Another example is: 電話ボックス [denwa bokkusu] < J. 電話 (telephone) + E. box = 'telephone box'.

Native Creations

The final classification is that of native creations which although not strictly loans in the sense that they have not been imported in-situ from a foreign language but rather, consist of a fusion of loan roots secondarily created within the borrowing language.

They are primarily characterised in having no counterpart in the donor languages from which they were formed. A example is オールドミス [ôrudo misu] < Eng. old + miss (a spinster) which is created for euphemistic reasons to avoid the bluntness of the native equivalent 未婚婦人 [mikon fujin]. Another example is ボトルキープ [botoru kîpu] < Eng. bottle + keep, which is used in a drinking establishment to refer to a bottle of an alcoholic beverage (whiskey, brandy etc.) that is bought by a customer and kept there with his name written on it for further use on subsequent visits. The loan roots, 'bottle' and 'keep' are both used in standard English however, the collocation of 'bottle keep' does not exist. Similarly, the roots of フルムーン [furu mûn] are respectively 'full' and 'moon', both of which exist as separate entities in English as does the collocation of 'full moon' but not in the Japanese semantic context of, 'a journey by a long married couple, or a second honeymoon'. As may be seen from the examples, the reasons for their formation are the same as for imported loanwords, namely: prestige, euphemism, stylistic effects etc. However, in cases like ウオークマン [uôkuman] (Walkman), a cassette player, and many others, the creation was originally coined as a brand-name and then, after being used very frequently, turned into a common noun and is well known throughout the world.

There is a rare phenomenon of reborrowing of these Japanese-English constructions which is analogous to the reborrowing back into Chinese of borrowed Chinese sinograms formed into Japanese morphemes. One such word is ナイター [naitâ] 'nighter' (a baseball game played in the evening) which was believed to have been

coined by an unknown Japanese in analogy to the English word 'homer' colloquially used for 'home run' (Matsuda, 1986). In any respect, it was first used in 1950 by an editor of a sports column of a Japanese newspaper and although it has not reached the level of integration that has warranted its inclusion into an American or a British dictionary, its use has been evidenced in colloquial American English and the researcher, Matsuda notes that "it is entirely possible that the use of 'nighter' in baseball in the United States followed its use in Japan".

Hybrid Creations

When foreign language loan roots are fused with Japanese morphemes (which include integrated loan morphemes), hybrid creations are formed. While this may initially appear to belong to the above mentioned category of loanblends, the fact that they have no foreign language model upon which they are based, reveals that they are indeed hybrid loan creations. Examples include; 輪ゴム [wagomu] < J. 輪 (circle) + D. gomu (rubber) = 'rubber band', カフスボタン (kufusubotan] < E. cuffs + Port. botão (button) = cuff links and the facetious おばタリアン [obatarian] < J. おば (aunt) + E. battalion = a middle aged woman of forceful opinion.

4.3.2 What Is Borrowed: The Borrowing Processes

The above table illustrates the final results of lexical interference between Japanese and other languages. As mentioned above, this should be understood to be the culmination

of not only the borrowing process itself, but also the subsequent domestication procedures acting upon the borrowed lexical material. There are two media upon which the lexical borrowing process acts in contemporary society, the phonological or speaking medium and the orthographic or writing medium. Both may serve as being the source in the donor language and the target in the recipient language. The Japanese language has three types of borrowing processes rather than the usual two found in Western languages having fully phonetic scripts. These are, phonological borrowing; calques; and graphic borrowing.

Phonological Loans

In phonological borrowing, the lexical material is transmitted from the source spoken language to the target spoken language so that the loanword in the recipient language is a direct imitation of the original in the donor language. In these cases the orthographic structure of the loaned morpheme is irrelevant. Phonological loans may be sporadic, and as such, are imitations of actual utterances or alternatively, they may be more systematic due to the existence of at least some degree of bilingualism on the part of the agent of introduction. An example of a phonological loan would be the Japanese word ジルバ [jiruba] (jitterbug) which was borrowed phonologically from US English. It may be seen to be a phonological loan because it does not obey the rules that would have applied had it graphically entered the language. Had this latter been the case, we would have seen an orthographic representation that had come from the spelling of the word, such as [jittâbaggu]. We can therefore say that the word entered by interfacing contact

between Americans and Japanese, the latter may or may not have known how it was spelt but simply, imitated it phonetically. However, as shall be shown, true phonological borrowings from Western languages are rare.

Calques

Calques or translation loans occur when the meaning of foreign lexical material, without the form, is borrowed and then subsequently translated, morpheme-by-morpheme, either partially or fully, into the recipient language. They are classified here with borrowing processes and in the above table of loan types in that the term 'calque' refers to both a type of borrowing and words formed therefrom.

Graphic loans

Unlike the phonological loans described above which were transmitted from the donor to the recipient language via the medium of the spoken word, graphic loans were formed from the process of graphic copying of the spelling of the donor word which entered in the medium of the written form. Readings were then applied to these written forms in accordance with pre-existing rules and past analogies within the recipient language. This type of borrowing is by far the most common as the Japanese lexicologist Higashimori noted when commenting on his research corpora, "the majority of items were acquired from written sources, since their Japanese representation is based on English orthography not pronunciation" (Higashimori, 1997: 26). The graphic loans in Japanese may be termed reading loans in which the pronunciation of particular

graphemic combinations is ascribed in accordance with pre-existing rules and past analogies within the recipient language. In the other words, the crucial written form exists as such in the donor language. An example is the loanword, クローズアップ [kurôzu appu] (close-up). If this word had been borrowed phonetically, we would have expected to see something like クロースアップ [kurôsu appu] which is how it is pronounced. What has clearly happened is that the agent of introduction erroneously ascribed a pronunciation in accordance with preexisting rules and analogies for the transcription of its constituent roman morae into katakana.

In the early Meiji period, to fill a lexical gap within Japanese, a number of words were graphically borrowed from words in contemporary English-Chinese dictionaries such as W. Lobscheid's 'English and Chinese Dictionary, with Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation', the words themselves having been calqued in China by missionaries from Western words. Examples include: 数学 [*sûgaku*] 'mathematics', 電気 [*denki*] 'electricity', 立法 [*rippô*]'legislation', and 合衆国 [*gasshûkoku*]'United States of America' (Seeley, 1991:136).

Graphic borrowing is not only a Chinese to Japanese phenomenon but the reverse also happens as Li notes (2000:9). The integration of Japanese graphic loans into a Chinese L1 occurred when a large number of Japanese logographs entered the Southern Min or Taiwanese dialect during the occupation of the Japanese military in Taiwan from 1895-1945. The choice to borrow ready-made Japanese renderings of foreign concepts

as opposed to calquing was not an automatic one, and scholars coined and promoted original Chinese translations. For example, Yan Fu (1853-1912) attempted to introduce the semantic calque 名學 [ming xue] for the English word 'logic' (lit. name study; now 邏輯 [luo ji], itself a phonetic loan from English word 'logic') to replace the Japanese graphic loan, of 論理學 [lun li xue]. Chinese sensibilities regarding purity of language have it that calques are preferable to foreign loans.

CHAPTER 5
PROMINENT THEORIES ON LEXICAL BORROWING

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to an investigation of loanword theories, with a view to finding the one most applicable to the borrowing situation in Japan. As stressed in the Loanword Evolution Model, borrowings essentially pass though four distinct stages between being extracted and their final integration into the lexicon: firstly, there is extraction and domestication by the agent of introduction, followed by transfer, and then finally, dissemination and integration by the agent of dissemination. However only extraction concerns the actual borrowing process, the rest are language internal processes and so only the models that are applicable to this first stage shall be presented here.

5.2 Typologies of Language Change

Historical linguists working on diachronic issues within language change have found it necessary to create a typology of change that embraces, in particular, any observable facts of agentivity. Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Thomason (2001), Winford (2003), (Sankoff (2001), Van Coetsem (1988), Guy (1990) and others have argued that within any model of language change, distinction must be made between 'spontaneous', to refer to internally induced changes and the two forms of external contact, 'borrowing' and 'substratum interference' or 'imposition'. Van Coetsem (1988) and following him,

Guy (1990), hypothesised a typology in which these three major linguistic types of lexical change are recognised and diagrammatically represented using the labels, respectively of, spontaneous, borrowing and imposition (Guy, ibid: 48). A number of linguists, such as Gillian Sankoff, laud this taxonomy.

> 'The distinction between borrowing and substratum interference with language shift, made so forcefully both by van Coetsem and by Thomason and Kaufman, holds up very well in general'.
> Sankoff, 2001:18

	CHANGE TYPES		
	Internally induced	Externally induced	
	SPONTANEOUS	BORROWING	IMPOSITION
Alternative terms:	untargeted, natural, 'from below'	targeted, 'from above', recipient lang. agentivity	substratum, source lang. agentivity
Language contact involved?:	no	yes	yes
Agents of change:	native speakers	native speakers	non-natives

Table 3: The three major linguistic types of lexical change (Guy:48)

The natural or spontaneous changes occur more prolifically than the other two, that is, those which diachronically occur within the monolinguistic confines of a language, uninfluenced by any external linguistic force such as a foreign language or even dialectic substrata within the language. External contact induced changes are classified into two broad categories: those due to borrowing and those due to substratum interference. They are characterised by more than one language being involved in its

development so that the linguistic features in one language serve as a model or source for alterations in the other. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) define borrowing as 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language in which the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features and affect primarily the least stable domains of the recipient language, above all, the lexicon'. Substratum interference or imposition is defined as that when a group of speakers shifting into a target language fails to learn the target language perfectly. Errors made by members of the shifting group spread to the target language as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language (ibid: 39). It primarily affects the more stable domains, that is, phonology, syntax, and to a lesser extent, inflectional morphology.

5.3 Agentivity

As can be seen from the above definitions, the crucial difference between the two sub-groups within the external contact group lies in the agentivity. In the borrowing phenomenon, we see native speakers importing source language lexical and at times, even structural items into their recipient language while in the imposition change, non-native speakers learning a second language, impose thereon features of their own language which then subsequently become the norm for a community of speakers. This latter case is especially apparent in the case of immigrant societies or militarily conquered peoples. A well studied case of imposition concerned entire communities of Dravidian speakers shifting to Indic, imposing on it assorted Dravidian features such as

a retroflex consonant series (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988:140-143). Here, non-native speaker agentivity may be seen to the active cause. In the contact situation in Japan, there is no substratum contact as this would necessitate an active shifting population operating in the speech community such as non-native Japanese language students imposing the effects of their learning errors on Japanese lexicon and grammar, effects which are taken up by the mainstream population replacing native words and structures. This simply does not occur mainly due to the insular nature of the Japanese which ensures than communication with foreigners is kept to a minimum; according to an NHK survey, (Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment. (Vol.2, 1990:204), 72.4% of people said that they had not had a conversation with a foreigner lasting more than 20-30 minutes in the last one to two years. The terms of 'changes from above' and 'changes from below' refer to the sociolinguistic work by Labov and arose out of his research into language variation within a single speech community, such as the reintroduction of post vocalic /r/ in New York City English as a prestige variation (Aitchison, 2001:42-7). The application of the Labovian contribution of the effect of socio-economic class to the borrowing paradigm cannot be considered in the case of Japanese borrowing because in Japan, successful agentivity is very much dependent upon an agent of introduction having employment that permits access to one of the forms of public dissemination.

Hence, it may be seen that borrowing is the only externally induced contact phenomenon occurring in Japan. As discussed below in Chapter 6, (6.2.1.1-The Identity

of the Agents of Introduction), there are three broad groups of agents, the first, and by far the most significant, consists of the professionals working in one of the media forms. The second includes: professional individuals such as politicians, merchants, clergy, technical and business professionals, scientists, educators, sportspeople and so forth. The third group is that of private individuals such as returnees and linguistically creative youths. It is important to understand that although Japanese people have a degree of bilingualism resulting from classroom English education, it is a passive bilingualism that is used at times for comprehension and apart from members of the above groups, very rarely for lexical production through borrowing or innovative creation. As Quackenbush (1974:64) noted: 'They do not generally create their own loanwords but rather, use those which are provided for them'.

5.4 Linguistic Mechanism of Borrowing

There are two mechanisms of borrowing at work in Japanese, lexical and structural borrowing, which are dealt with below.

5.4.1 Lexical Borrowing

Haugen suggested that the heart of borrowing is attempted reproduction in which every lexical borrowing involves two processes: importation and substitution. Importation into a recipient language is defined to be the process that occurs when a native speaker imports the form and/or meaning of the foreign morpheme when there is sufficient similarity between the original source language model and a reproduced imitation to

render the loan acceptable to a native speaker (Haugen, 1950b:212). Where the loan is noticeably different from the original, it is to be assumed that interference has been responsible for the deviation and that the cause of this interference is the previously established patterns in the recipient language. The second stage is substitution in which a similar pattern from the recipient language acts as a substitute for unacceptable phonemes and morphemes in the reproduced source language model (Winford, 2003: 44). Van Coetsem (1988) similarly proposed a model containing a distinction between imitation (roughly corresponding to Haugen's importation) and adaptation (corresponding to substitution) in which the latter process involves the use of L1 habits in modifying features imported from the L2. The lexical phenomena of pure loanwords, loanblends, loanshifts etc. shown in the table in Categorisation of Loanwords (Section 4.3 above), are not exact imitations, but rather the products of various creative processes applied subsequent to borrowing (Winford: idem). In this transfer type, as Van Coetsem shows, imitation comes first, and then adaptation alters the imported item so that it conforms to recipient language phonology, morphology, and syntax. In other words, lexical borrowing typically adds new lexical items to the recipient language which can affect its structure. All of the categories of lexical borrowing shown in the Categorisation of Loanwords table conform to this pattern. In the situation of borrowing in Japanese (refer to Section 6.2.1), it may be seen that the agent of introduction similarly carries out a two fold process, firstly of extraction of the loan morpheme from lexical word stocks (same as Haugen's importation), followed by domestication of the extracted word to render it suitable for use in Japanese (same as Haugen's substitution).

In this thesis, these terms shall be preferentially used as they closely describe the activities of the agent of introduction. An application of this model to Japanese can be seen in the following examples.

Example 1. Pure Loanword
Process: Extraction from English: 'scrambled eggs' (form and meaning borrowed)
Process: Domestication
1. scrambled eggs → */sukuranburudo egguzu/ (phonemic)
2. */sukuranburudo egguzu/ → /sukuranburu eggu/ (morphemic)
3. /sukuranburu eggu/ → スクランブルエッグ (orthographic)

Example 2. Pure Loanword
Process: Extraction from English: 'sign' (the verbal, to sign one's name) (form and meaning borrowed)
Process: Domestication
1. sign → /sain/ (phonemic)
2. /sain/(verb) → /sain/(noun) (syntactic)
3. /sain/ →サイン (a signature) (orthographic)

Example 3. Loanblend
Process: Extraction from English: 'strike' (to go on strike) (form and meaning borrowed)
Process: Domestication
1. strike →/sutoraiki/ (phonemic)
2. /sutoraiki/ → ストライキ (orthographic)
3. ストライギ → 大ストライキ (prefixation with 大 (large or expansive) to form a compound meaning a large scale strike)

Example 4. Loanshift (Semantic Loan)
Process: Extraction from English: 'plate' (meaning only borrowed)
Process: Domestication

1. 皿 [sara] (a native Japanese style plate) → 皿 [sara] (a native Japanese style plate and a Western style plate) (semantic)

Example 5. Loanshift (Calque)

Process: Extraction from English: '簿記 [boki]' (book keeping) (meaning only borrowed)

Process: Domestication

1. book keeping → /簿/ [bo] (a book or ledger) + /記/[ki] (writing or annotating) (orthographic)

Example 6. Creative Innovation

Process: Extraction from existing loaned morphemes:

ボトル [botoru] (bottle) and キープ [kîpu] (keep)

Process: Domestication

1. ボトル [botoru] + キープ [kîpu] →ボトルキープ [botoru kîpu] (innovative morphemic compounding)

2. Assignment of meaning to mean a bottle of alcohol (usually whiskey) kept at a drinking establishment for on-going sole use by the purchasing patron (semantic)

5.4.2 Structural Borrowing

Literature sources such as Winford (ibid:62-63) and Heath (1984:367-368) differentiate between the three mechanisms, as follows: direct borrowing of structural elements (quite rare), indirect structural transfers via an L2 agentivity and indirect structural diffusion via lexical borrowing (fairly common). The first two methods are applicable only to the linguistic situation in bilingual communities where L2 agentivity is active. Such methods are, of course, inapplicable to the borrowing situation in Japan in which interactive bilingual agentivity is very minimal. We can then understand that syntactic diffusion is mediated by lexical borrowing at the hands of the agent of introduction.

This is the view proposed by linguists such as Lefebvre (1985) and King (2000) who see grammatical change as being subsequent to contact as a consequence of lexical interinfluence, which may then lead to internal syntactic change (Sankoff, 2001:13). Examples of structural borrowing are given below.

5.5 The Primacy of Linguistic or Extralinguistic Factors in Determining Linguistic Change?

A literature search reveals that the importance ascribed to one over the other varies according to the contacting languages under investigation and the research paradigm of the linguist. Arising from their own particular field of research, some stress the importance of linguistic factors and some extralinguistic. However, authors who see the importance of both are in the vast majority, for example, Weinreich (1953:4) noted that, 'purely linguistic studies of languages in contact must be coordinated with extralinguistic studies'. Despite the passage of time since this famous statement was made, Woolhiser, (1995:503) still believes that 'transfer is a consequence of the interplay of linguistic, psychological and social factors'. The proponents of these two arguments shall now be examined accompanied by discussions concerning their application to the contact situation in Japanese.

5.5.1 The Structuralist Perspective

There are two important linguistic or structuralist lines of thought about borrowing, as follows: structural linguists, such as Meillet (1921b; cited in Heath, 1988:68), Haugen

(1950b) and Sankoff (2001), argue from the observation that borrowing has been found to affect most readily the lexicon of a language, an unstructured repository of lexical items, whereas more structured sub-systems (such as the morphosyntax) do not readily permit borrowing. Perhaps the strongest proponent of this argument is Bickerton, 'Languages are systems, systems have structure and things incompatible with that structure cannot be borrowed', (Bickerton 1981:50). He bases his assertions on an investigation of patterns in language contact situations, particularly the evolution of creole languages from pidgins. Arguing that despite a variety of extralinguistic settings, the reproducibility of pure linguistic evidence provided by rules such as; main verbs becoming auxiliaries and prepositions becoming complementisers, is proof of the supremacy of linguistic factors in determining the outcome of linguistic contact (Aitchison, 1983:85). The problems with his theory is that he offers insufficient evidence to make a claim that what may be applied to creoles may also be applied to stable maintained languages and furthermore, he has only carried out a thorough investigation of two creoles, insufficient to make the sweeping conclusions that he has. Sankoff is less dogmatic, 'though conditioned by the social circumstances (in bilingual studies) it is the case that linguistic structure overwhelmingly conditions the linguistic outcomes. Morphology and syntax are clearly the domains of linguistic structure least susceptible to the influence of contact, and this statistical generalisation is not vitiated by a few exceptional cases' (Sankoff, 2001:19). The other approach, that of innate tendency, proposed in 1938 by Jakobson, still remains widely popular with its claim that a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its

own tendencies of development (Heath, ibid:17). By extension, it is possible to say that if a language has accepted foreign structural elements, then it must already have had a tendency to develop in that direction. Weinreich, a proponent of Jakobson' theory, has it that 'it stands very much to reason that the transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures, for a highly bound morpheme is so dependent on its grammatical function that it is useless in an alien system unless there is a ready function for it' (Weinreich 1970:33). Furthermore, 'with cultural considerations apart, morphemes with complex grammatical functions appear to be less likely to be transferred then those with simpler functions' (ibid:34-35). Heath's (1978:105-6) concept of structural unifunctionality is supportive of Jakobson' theory in acknowledging that this is one of the factors that favours lexical diffusion.

5.5.2 Thomason and Kaufman's Model

This is the model that shall be used in this thesis due to its applicability to the borrowing situation in Japan and because of its wide acceptance among linguists.

5.5.2.1 Thomason and Kaufman's Model: Typological Distance

Thomason and Kaufman see the probability of borrowing in a donor–recipient contact situation as reflecting the interplay of linguistic and extralinguistic factors (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Ch. 3), which they refer to respectively as; typological distance between the languages in contact, and cultural pressure (the latter examined below).

The model of Typological Distance proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and referred to in Thomason (1980), Thomason (2001), King (2000), Winford (2003) and others, links in the above two important structuralist lines of thought in proposing that 'typological similarity between two languages is likely to vary according to the structuredness of particular sub-systems. In other words, the more internal structure a grammatical sub-system has, the more intricately interconnected its categories will be. Therefore, the less likely its elements will be to match closely the categories and combinations of a functionally analogous sub-system in the borrowing language' (Thomason and Kaufman, ibid:72-3). One could also say that the more internal structure that a sub-system has, the more intense the contract must be in order to overcome what Weinreich (1953:44) referred to as a language's innate complex resistance to interference. Thomason and Kaufman (ibid:73) and Thomason (2001:71) speak of some pairs of contacting languages (especially dialects of the same language) as having good typological similarity or good typological fit, a combination facilitating ease of borrowing, with even borrowing of traditionally difficult to borrow features of derivational and inflexional morphology. Weinreich (1953:44) similarly acknowledged this same concept, 'the transfers of the individual morphemes of all types is definitely possible under certain favourable structural conditions, such as a pre-existing similarity in patterns'. In her studies on language attrition, Riionheimo (1998:178–194), has also reported on the relevancy of typological distance, 'the externally motivated force in language attrition, L2 interference, is often considered to be virtually absent in the domain of bound morphology, however, the present study shows that when the

contacting languages are typologically closely related, morphological elements are quite easily transferred'.

5.5.2.1.2 Determination of the Typological Distance between Japanese and English

The linguistic factors that act to constrain borrowing in Japanese are complex and are dealt with more fully in Chapter 6 however, it is appropriate here to consider the closeness of typological fit between Japanese and English. This will be done by an examination of the structural sub-systems.

Phonology

In the case of English loans in Japanese, the complex interplay of perception and production in which there is a certain degree of indeterminacy of the correct rendition of the orthography of a loanword is all the more apparent due to the considerable mismatch between their phoneme inventories. Many English phonemes do not occur in Japanese (such as the vowel in 'work') and especially, Japanese is composed of consonant-vowel compounded morae, vowels and one consonant, /N/. Furthermore, when attempting to find a close equivalent through 'interlingual identifications' (Winford ibid:212), reinterpretation of the L2 (English) has a considerable consequence on the phonotactics and prosodic features of the L1.

Orthography

Modern Japanese is written predominantly in a combination of three scripts: 'Chinese character script and the two syllabaries of kana or Japanese syllabic characters. The Chinese ideographic script (both as logograms and phonograms) number some 48,000 characters with about 3,000-3,500 in general use (about 2000 have been released by the Ministry of Education for daily use). The kana having a total of 92 characters, 46 in each syllabary, is composed of hiragana, used mainly for inflectional suffixes, grammatical particles, some content words, and katakana, used for representing Western loanwords, onomatopoeic expressions, and for semantic emphasis. It is difficult to imagine an orthography more complex and divergent from the all-purpose 26 roman letters of English.

Morphology

Two examples will be given to illustrate the difference between Japanese and English morphology. In verbal constituents, Japanese shows a high degree of agglutination of a fair number of suffixes in a row (Shibatani, 1990:306), which is very different to English morphology. An example is:

行かせられたくない [ikaseraretakunai] (do not want to be made to go)
ika - se - rare - taku - na - i
go-CAUS-PASS-DESI-NEG-PRES

Secondly, truncation of segments is common such as 東(京)大(学) [tôkyô daigaku] (Tokyo University) is clipped to 東大 [tôdai].

Syntax

Japanese pronouns and nouns do not generally take plurals and neither do verbs indicate number. In addition to the major lexical categories of nouns, verbs and adjectives and the minor categories such as demonstratives and conjunctions, Japanese has two lexical categories that do not occur in English. One is called the adjectival noun (or nominal adjective) that takes the copula 'da' such as in kirei da (is attractive) and, the other is called the verbal noun which is a noun that requires the dummy verb 'suru' for verbalisation, such as shûryô suru (to do completion = to complete) (Shibatani, ibid:217). Furthermore, there is a relatively large number of Japanese verbs that exist in transitive/intransitive pairs, such as tokasu/tokeru (to melt/to be melted), a phenomenon quite rare in English.

Thus, it may be clearly seen that Japanese and English have very poor typological fit with each other.

5.5.2.1.3 Thomason and Kaufman's Model: Intensity of Contact Scale

Tying in with their typological distance model, Thomason and Kaufman (ibid:75-94) and Thomason (2001:70) have proposed a borrowing scale, called an Intensity of Contact Scale, which is a hierarchical continuum quantified from one to five according to an increasing degree of structuredness in the various grammatical sub-systems. Invariably, the first foreign elements to prevail against Weinreich's resistance to

borrowing and enter the borrowing language are single morphemes (typically non-basic vocabulary items, especially nouns) however, with strong, long term cultural pressure structural features may also be borrowed as well, that is, phonological, phonetic, and syntactic elements and even (though more rarely) features of the inflexional morphology.

Thomason (2001:71) tells that the borrowing scale has been structured in accordance with interference phenomena found in contacting languages with poor typological fit and have found great reproducibility in the adherence of the interference phenomena of various contacting languages with poor fit to this framework. According to their model, the purpose of this scale is predictive: to predict which types of borrowed elements can be expected to appear in increasingly intense contact situations. For example, if interference features listed in level 3 are observed, one can expect other level 3 features to be similarly observable. However arguably, it could also be indicative, that is, to serve as a marker of attainment of a level of interference severity in a system that is in contact with a language with which it has poor fit. It is in this second function that this scale will be used here, that is, to determine the degree of severity of interference in Japanese by correlating the observable interference patterns with those tabled in the scale.

Thomason and Kaufman's Five Level Scale of Intensity of Contact

(1) Casual contact

(2) Slightly more intense contact

(3) More intense contact

(4) Strong cultural pressure

(5) Very strong cultural pressure

	Level 1: Casual contact: lexical borrowing only
Lexicon	Content words: preferential borrowing of non-basic vocabulary items before basic vocabulary. Structural borrowing not expected.

	Level 2: Slightly more intense contact
Lexicon	Function words: conjunctions and various adverbial particles
Structure	Minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features. Phonological borrowing is likely to be confined to the appearance of new phonemes with new phones but only in loanwords. Syntactic features will probably be restricted to new functions and new orderings that cause little or no typological disruption

	Level 3: More intense contact
Lexicon	Function words: Adpositions: At this stage, derivational affixes may be abstracted from foreign words and added to native vocabulary, inflectional affixes may enter the borrowing language attached to, and will remain confined to, borrowed vocabulary items. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals, which belong to the basic vocabulary, are more likely borrowed at this stage.
Structure	Slightly more major structural borrowing than in level 2. In phonology, borrowing will probably include the phonemicisation, even in native vocabulary, of previously allophonic alternations. Easily borrowed prosodic features and syllable structure features such as stress rules and the addition of syllable final consonant (in loan words only). In syntax, a complete change from, say, SOV to SVO syntax will not occur here, but a few aspects of such a switch may be found, such as, borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional language or vice versa.

	Level 4: Strong cultural pressure
Lexicon	Function words: Widespread lexical borrowing of even basic vocabulary items
Structure	Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change. Phonological borrowing includes introduction of new and distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in native vocabulary; loss of some contrasts, and new syllable structure constraints. Fairly extensive word order changes. In morphology, borrowed inflexional affixes and categories will be added to native words, especially in the case of good typological fit

	Level 5: Very strong cultural pressure
Structure	Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption: added morphophonemic rules; phonetic changes; loss of phonemic contrasts and of morphophonemic rules; changes in word structure rules such as adding prefixes in language that was exclusively suffixing or a change from flexional towards agglutinative morphology; categorial as well as more expensive ordering changes in morphosyntax.

Table 4: Thomason and Kaufman's Five Level Scale of Intensity of Contact

Two other researchers have attempted to label the borrowing environment in terms of the presence of interference features, as follows. In a scale ranging from one to ten, Konrad Ehlich proposed a typology of language contact settings in which the situation in Japan would be considered to be at level three, a level characterised by what he refers to as a reduced individual bilingualism (Ehlich,1994:109-112). According to Loveday's sociolinguistic typology of 'Language Contact Settings and their Corresponding Contact Phenomenon' (Loveday, 1996:13-20), the situation in Japan is accorded the second

lowest ranking (out of a possible six) of 'distant but institutional' in which acquisition of foreign languages is not part of a personal interactive communication such as in an immigrant society, but rather, is promoted through scholastic institutions such as schools, adult education academies and so forth. While Thomason and Kaufman's typology is more comprehensive in that it ties in the concept of typological distance, Loveday's is useful as sheds some light on means by which the contact takes place.

5.5.2.1.4 Determination of the Intensity of Contact between Japanese and English

As will be discussed in the following chapter, an examination of the products of linguistic contact between Japanese and English in the pre-war period reveals an intensity of contact that has predominantly given rise to level 1 interference patterns. Examples include calquing to form non-basic vocabulary items such as; 民衆主義 [minshû shugi] (democracy), graphic loaning of simple nouns such as バロメータ [baromêta] (barometer), verbal nouns shorn of all derivational and inflection morphology to form nominal bases such as ダンスする [dansu suru] (to dance) and, no structural borrowing. However in the post-war period, there has been an increasing appearance of level 2 and even level 3 interference patterns, such as:

Phonology

Young Japanese studying English phonemicise [C, J] from allophones (level 3).

Orthography

In the post-war period, the katakana characters underwent two revisions as follows: A National Language Inquiry Commission convened in 1954 approved the release of a list of 13 characters (supplementary to the equivalents of the hiragana list), which were prescribed for occasional use in exceptional circumstances (The Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japanese Language Division). 1997, New Word Series, No. 6:42-45). Examples include: /シェ/ [she] and /ディ/ [di]. In the second revision in 1991, these thirteen characters were seen to have spread throughout the Japanese community and were accordingly adjudged as being acceptable for general use. In the same revision, a further twenty characters such as; ウオ [wo] and ヴァ [va], were officially released.

Morphology

The appearance of inflexional affixes, but still attached to the borrowed vocabulary item, is a level 3 interference phenomenon. Since the 1980s, innovative morphemes in which the English 's' has been additionally borrowed in a relexification of an older loan morpheme have appeared, e.g. the replacement of コミュニケーション [komyunikêshon] (communication(s)) by コミュニケーションズ [komyunikêshonzu] in which the 's' is transliterated by ズ [zu]. The borrowing and subsequent use of English verbs conjugated in the present participle (–ing) with the inflexional suffix intact, such as ブーイング [bûingu] (booing) is another example.

Lexicon

The appearance of loaned personal pronouns, which as yet, occur only in innovative compounds such as (マイファミリ) [mai famiri] (my family) (level 3).

Syntax

In his seminal work, A Reference Grammar of Japanese (1974), Samuel Martin states that the passive, formed by the verb stem inflexional ending of /-rareru/, is traditionally only used to express a situation of suffering. However, due into the influence of teaching Western languages having no such suffering passive, constructions having no such element of suffering have become common (Wallace 1977:944) (level 3).

Although not specifically related to loanwords, this is included here as despite the very poor typological fit between English and Japanese in all structural systems, and especially as syntax is, generally speaking, the least likely component of a language to be borrowed (Romaine, 1995:64), this interference has occurred as a direct result of increasing cultural pressure in the post war period.

5.5.2.1.5 Cause of Linguistic Changes

To what may these radical changes be attributed? According to Thomason and Kaufman's model, 'cultural pressure', may be understood as being the extralinguistic component that drives or provides motivation which in turn brings about the interference. The greater the cultural pressure brought to bear on a contact situation

between two languages having a certain typological distance between them, the greater the severity of interference (ibid:67, 76-77). Although this relationship is not mathematically realised by Thomason and Kaufman as such, we could express this relationship by the simple equation:

Severity of Interference = (Typological Distance) x (Cultural Pressure)

Typological distance must be understood as being a constant value specific to the pair of contacting languages, as it is a measure of the unchanging degree of congruence between their structural systems. Therefore, in the above equation, as typological distance is a constant, we can logically argue that this observed increase in severity of interference must have been directly caused by an increase in cultural pressure. Does demographic data confirm this? Observation of an increase in lexical absorption is an effective means by which the increase in cultural pressure may be measured as the greater the Western omnipresence, the greater the Western cultural pressure that is brought to bear upon the society and language. Statistics state that between the 1955 and 1972 the proportion of English loans used in the language increased by one third (Loveday, 1996:77). This includes the 1960s, the period of Japan's great economic expansion when there was great political, industrial and social pressure to conform to Western models. Therefore, we can confidently say that cultural pressure has indeed increased remarkably and extralinguistic factors are the cause of the linguistic changes in the last forty years.

5.5.2.2 The Extralinguistic Argument

Historical linguists had traditionally been strongly prejudiced in favour of internal explanations for linguistic changes. In particular, the methodological inclination had been to consider the possibility of external causation only when all efforts to find an internal motivation failed. However, due to the advancement of the discipline of sociolinguistics from its beginnings in the 1960s by the work of eminent sociolinguists such as Labov and others, a literature search now reveals that most researchers in contact linguistics agree that extralinguistic factors definitely act to constrain lexical borrowing but that the role of linguistic factors is a point of controversy. King (2000) expressed this very well:

> 'while all linguists would probably acknowledge that social factors play some role in determining the linguistic effects of language contact, there is considerable disagreement as to whether linguistic factors are important or not'.
> King (2000:44)

Just as there were a number of linguists who favoured internal structural features as being the forces that primarily constrain interference, so there are many who see the extralinguistic, that is, the social, the psychological, the historical and the political forces as being the predominant determinants of the severity of interference. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001) are the strongest proponents thereof;

> 'It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language

> contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. Linguistic interference is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones. Both directional interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another'
> Thomason and Kaufman, 1998:35.

They are by no means alone in this stance, for example; Romaine stated that 'cultural contact supersedes linguistic factors in affecting the borrowing process. (Romaine, 1982:95). In her PhD dissertation on contact in the Faetar speech community in Italy, Nagy tested frameworks which had been posited concerning the relationship between sources and effects of contact-induced changes. In particular, it is claimed that while certain types of linguistic elements are more easily borrowed than others, patterns of contact-induced changes exhibited a dependency on social factors (Nagy, N. 1996).

The concept of cultural pressure can be understood to be the accumulative effect of the various extralinguistic factors that promote borrowing. The greater the poorness of the typological fit between the L1 and L2 structures, the greater the degree of cultural pressure needed to bring about the same lexical and structural changes that would otherwise occur between contacting languages having a better typological fit. A good example can be seen in the case of structural borrowings into Meglenite Romanian from Bulgarian. Weinreich (1970:32) notes that despite the difficulty of a transfer of highly bound morphemes, Meglenite Romanian has borrowed the first and second person singular Bulgarian verb endings of /-am/, replacing the original /-u/. That this transfer

occurred is due to the closeness of typological fit, or the congruence in structure, afforded by the already present Romanian category of first person singular present indicative that was sufficient to overcome the quite considerable difficulty of borrowing highly bound inflexional morphemes (T&K ibid:52).

5.5.2.2.1 The Extralinguistic Factors that Constrain Borrowing in Japan

What then are the extralinguistic factors that promote borrowing in Japan? It should be noted that as for the above section 5.5.1 on the Structuralist Perspective, some of the literature that is used here is that resulting from classic bilingual studies between daily-interfacing native-immigrant communities of which some parts are not relevant to the non-interfacing contact situation in Japan. For example, extralinguistic factors quoted in such literature that can, of course, be ignored include: the ratio of number of source language speakers to borrowing language speakers, degree of social solidarity, and bilingualism in mixed marriages or other social settings. The extralinguistic factors that comprise cultural pressure in the Japanese contact setting are, (Thomason 2001:66) and (Winford, 2003:39):

- Duration of contact, that is, the requirement of enough time for the passive bilingualism to develop and for interference features to lexically manifest;
- Degree of linguistic and cultural exposure to the L2 which may be understood as being the product of intensity of exposure together with the degree of coverage throughout the L1 community;
- Attitudes towards loans;
- Attitudes towards the L2, notably its socio political pre-eminence;
- Need for the L2, principally, vocational and social.

Duration of contact

In the historical sense, Japan has been exposed to Western loanwords since the arrival of a Portuguese in the 16th century and English origin loans started to appear with the Meiji Reformation in the mid-19th century. The Meiji era wave was succeeded by two subsequent waves in the Taisho period and the post war period. In the sense of period of contact to a particular borrowing, a personal communication from NHK researchers revealed that a youth culture fad word can take as little as three months to spread throughout Japan, a general culture loan approximately half a year, and a scientific loan could take over a year.

Degree of Linguistic and Cultural Exposure to the L2

a) Intensity of Exposure

Clearly, the cultural pressure being exerted in a contact situation is directly related to the environment in which the contact takes place. Japan is a non-bilingual society in which contact is promoted through scholastic institutions. The first stage of the loaning process starts with the laying down of a morphemic layer of English from which the reading rules are acquired. In the 1890s, a system of language teaching was established and English education became compulsory in the middle and higher secondary schools. The intensity of this education can be appreciated by the number of hours devoted to its instruction per week, junior high school students and high school students respectively study three hours and five to nine hours depending on elective subjects (personal

communication from currently practicing Japanese teacher).

That there is a high level of exposure can also be understood from the fact that loanword use is indispensable in modern day Japanese domestic, social and professional life. Two factors in particular are responsible for intensity of exposure: firstly, the vast increase in the number of new commercial and scientific terms (especially computing and communications) and also, the increase in the phenomena of displacement of native words or older loans by loanwords resulting in the former's partial attrition to semantic specialisation or even total demise. The replacement of traditional units of weights and measures by their metric counterparts is a particularly good example. The second factor is the tremendous power of the Japanese media in disseminating these new words and then repeatedly exposing people to them, thereby serving to reinforce the memory and creating an ambience of acceptability. This dissemination and repeated exposure are particularly efficient in Japan, a geographically small but highly populated, modernised, and largely urban society.

b) Degree of Coverage

English education is studied by all students in virtually 100% of all junior high schools (3 years) and high schools (3 years). However some schools, since the late 1990s, have been offering English to primary school students for three years from the age of eight. Indeed, according to a report issued by the Education, Science and Technology Ministry (Asia New Network, February, 2005), 88.3% of about the 23,000 public

primary schools in the nation offered some form of English activities during the April 2003 to March 2004 school year. Loanwords are also studied as part of their Japanese language and literature studies.

In addition to scholastic institutions, the various media forms of television, magazines, newspapers, radio broadcasts and the internet ensure that loanwords have a particularly high degree of dissemination throughout the community. An example of the degree of coverage of public media can be appreciated from the results of an NHK survey (A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, 1988 Vol.1:12-3) carried out in 1988 concerning media coverage: a full 90% of respondents reported watching between one and five hours of television per day and 85% reading a newspaper from between half to two hours per day). In Japan, as of 2003, there were 679 television sets per 1,000 people, well over one set per family. (http://www.nationmaster.com/country/ja/Media)

So while this universal coverage is a significant factor in the continuation of loanword use, the population of Japan has not remarkably increased in the last forty years (11.0% since 1975) (National Social Security and Population Problem Research Institute) and media coverage has not increased in the last 30 years (excepting the influence of the internet since the mid-late 1990s). For example, the average newspaper reading time has remained at 20 minutes per day (Watanabe, 1996), television ownership has remained at over 90% of households since the 1960s (Kogawa 1988:1) and average television viewing time (Hashimoto, 2005), (Kogawa: idem) has remained at

approximately three hours per day. Accordingly, coverage by traditional media forms cannot be considered as being a factor behind the rise in the numbers of loans in the last 30 years. It is certain that the internet has dramatically increased media coverage in Japan, in 2002, there were 53,000 internet users, 69.6% of which used it for less than one hour per day (White Paper on the Internet Use in Japan, 2002). Please refer to Section 6.4 for a fuller discussion.

Attitudes Towards Loans

It could be said that Japanese have a fondness for loans and enjoy using them. At all times in their history, the Japanese have avidly introduced new vocabulary items into their own lexical stock, where great numbers of them have remained as permanent evidence for many of Japan's contacts with the always remote outside world' (Miller 1980:236). While there is a voice that expresses concern about loans being a form of lexical pollution and are a cause of miscomprehension, in an NHK survey conducted in 1990 (NHK Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, vol. 2), two thirds of the respondents expressed at least a positive attitude towards the further increase in loanwords in the future and, three quarters said that they were not concerned about the high degree of usage of loanwords or foreign words appearing on television. This topic of the receptivity of loans in Japanese society shall be more fully explored in Chapter 6.

Attitudes Towards the L2

It is undoubtedly the attitudes towards English that are the other main motivating force

behind their popularity and use. Attitudes can be divided into three sections, government attitudes, corporate attitudes and public attitudes.

a) Government Attitudes

It is clear that the extremely positive attitude expressed by the Japanese government can be understood from a number of different aspects. Crystal (1997:5) argues that what makes a language dominant is the cultural power that it is associated with. Thus it is not the population of English speakers, nor is it the ease of learning the phonetics, syntax or other features of the language that is responsible for elevating its desirability but rather, it is the political power of its people, especially their military and economic power (ibid:7). The combined military and economic power of the native English speaking world of the United States, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand guarantees the globally favourable position of English as a language to be acquired. During the early decades of the 20th century, English was mainly perceived as a "language for businessmen" (ibid:50) and one could venture to say that this commercial motivation is certainly a crucial aspect behind Japan's enormous investment in English education. Indeed, Chiba, a city to the East of Tokyo, allocated a sum of 56.5 million yen for the furtherance of primary school English instruction in 2002 (Japan Times Online, July 19, 2002)

White, approaching the issue from a cultural perspective, believes that the Japanese government invests so much in English language education, especially given the minor

place of English within Japanese society itself, because of 'internationalisation' or the creation of children who know how to work productively with foreign counterparts (White, 1987:173). She assumes that Japan's foreign counterparts (specifically Americans) are representatives of the dominant world culture, and so it is the Japanese who must adapt to foreign ways of working. McConnell assumes that the adoption of distinctly 'Western norms and expectations' (1999:49), gained through conversational fluency in English, is necessary for Japan to join the international community as an equal.

b) Corporate Attitudes

The attitudes of Japan's corporate sector towards English is very well expressed in a report by the Japan Economic Institute (JEI) (Report No. 7, February, 2000): 'While companies are working to cultivate English proficiency among their employees, students entering the work force are struggling to boost their English comprehension scores on employment tests. Both groups realise that Japanese employers need competent English-speakers to work in an increasingly competitive global market. This effort is taking place despite being in the midst of Japanese companies' recession-induced, cost-cutting measures and the general feeling among workers that it is time to tighten belts and reduce consumption'.

In 1998, the construction equipment giant, Komatsu, began requiring all workers seeking promotion to *kacho* (division manager) or higher positions to take the TOEIC

exam (Test of English for International Communication). This year, all candidates for *kacho* must score a 500 (out of a possible 900) or more and any worker who fails to sit for the exam is automatically disqualified from promotion (ibid:5).

c) Public Attitudes

The attitudes of the Japanese public must be seen from the perspective of the dichotomy between the attitudes concerning the need of English and those concerning learning English.

c1) Attitudes concerning the need of English

Weinreich (1953:56) recognised that most of the borrowing associated with distant contact seems to be motivated by the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts. Winford (ibid.37) noted that the range of social factors upon which lexical borrowing depends varies from one contact situation to another, however two factors repeatedly stand out; need and prestige.

Kachru (1986b) identifies attitude toward the language among its users as a vital factor for understanding the manifestation of the power of English through its global spread. The attitude, according to Kachru, is determined by perceptions that its users have toward the language. English is a tool to access social and economic power and prestige in the given society, and plays a significant role in identity shifts of its users. Therefore, the attitudinal factor is believed to be vital for 'creating 'identity' with the language

(1986b:137). The very widespread use of English based loans in Japanese youth culture and among technical jargons stems from their functioning as youth culture/technical expertise markers. They serve to reinforce the concept one of being a member of a select in-group by virtue of being able to decode foreign expressions, and as such, being privy to information that outsiders are not

The need for English is principally centred around certain vocational and social requirements. The former closely reflects the attitudes expressed by the government and corporate sectors in that Japanese people widely recognise the supremacy of English proficiency as a means whereby one can secure a prosperous future in a successful company. In the wake of the recession hitting Japan in the 1990s, in particular its effect on the gradual destruction of the long cherished lifetime employment system, fears about employment have accordingly risen. In 1990, there were 2.86 openings for each job-seeking university graduate, however this number fell to 1.25 in 1998 and to 0.99 in 1999 (JEI.ibid:8). Indeed, a survey carried out by the JEI on private school graduates in 1999 showed that students' primary fear was being unable to find a job and by way of increasing their chances, 27% attended a vocational school to obtain some type of technical training or other employment-enhancing certification, of which language studies were the second most popular choice.

There is some need for English for travelling purposes. As the number of Japanese people who travel abroad has enormously increased: 160,000 in 1965, 2,470,000 in

1975, 4,950,000 in 1985 and 15,300.000 in 1995 (Abe, 2005:10), the need for 'travel English' has accordingly grown. Finally, of course, some Japanese study English for personal acculturation.

c2) Attitudes concerning the learning of English

C. Kwan, a senior fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan, states there are two basic reasons why people study foreign languages: For those people who derive pleasure from learning the language, the effort is an act of consumption. At the other end, for those who study it as a means to advance a career, the acquiring of English skills serves as an investment. However, Kwan maintains that 'the majority of Japanese do not belong to either category. English is merely a mandatory discipline in a university entrance test, one of many fields of study that a student must score adequately in order to enter a university.

Similarly, the researchers LoCastro (1996:47), Cogan, Torney-Purta and Anderson (1988) and Abe (2005), found that informants almost overwhelmingly cited passing exams as the primary motive for studying English, particularly during junior and senior high school. Norris-Holt (2002:1), found that 89.4% of both junior and senior high school had a negative response to English classes, the root cause of which being that instructors taught English as a subject and not as a language for communication. As long as English examinations, as they currently exist, remain a requisite subject for university entrance, there will be no basic change to the above attitudes that have been

engendered by the teaching styles that Lado observed in 1972, 'the traditional idea of using reading in appreciating another culture's literature has never been challenged and certainly should not be diminished' (Lado, R.1972:102).

5.5.2.2.2 Summary

In the above section, 5.5.2.1.5 (Cause of Linguistic Changes), we deduced that the observed increase in Severity of Interference must have been caused by an increase in cultural pressure. From the above discussion, the increase in cultural pressure may be seen to be due to two main causes. Firstly, there was an increased intensity of exposure in the wake of the waves of borrowing to hit Japan in the boom periods of the 1960s and 1980s. The second cause is the positive prestigious attitude towards English engendered by the government, corporate business and society in general. This period saw the social culmination of all the fruit of the intensive labours exerted in Western-style modernisation during the great period industrialisation of the 1960s that transformed Japan. It was essentially an intense modernisation that was enviously and intimately linked with the success of Western nations wherein English had become the language of international inter-communication. Conversely, one could argue that the poorness of English ability and the distaste of reading based English classes, has fostered the growth of loanwords. Students do not see English text as a flowing comprehensive semantic unit but rather as a sequence of discrete morphemes which thus being unbound, are more readily incorporated as loans into Japanese.

CHAPTER 6
VALIDATION OF THE LOANWORD EVOLUTION MODEL

This chapter is the heart of the thesis in that it examines and provides evidence to validate the flow diagram for loanword evolution. This chapter comprises five sections covering the five phases of the evolution, namely: the Morphemic Acquisition of Loanwords, The Domain of the Agent of Introduction, the Domain of the Agent of Transfer, the Domain of the Agent of Dissemination and the Domain of the Agent of Integration which are numbered accordingly as 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5.

6.1 PHASE 1: ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH READING RULES

In the stage before the actual borrowing begins, an acquired stratum of English morphemes comprising conventional pronunciations is laid down as a result of Japanese children being subjected to six years of classroom English language education. Effectively, these pronunciations lay the foundation of 'English reading rules' by which Japanese people can understand English pronunciation of the foreign words they encounter. It should be understood that this is not a case of classic contact bilingualism, the subject of research by Weinreich and many others simply because there are so few opportunities for interpersonal contact and even fewer for sustained contact needed for integration of loans. Until quite recently, the focus of Japanese classroom English teachers has been on grammar and reading, at the expense of listening, pronunciation, and speaking. This is not only due to the latter's non-inclusion in the syllabus but also because of their professional inability to teach the skills that they are typically lacking in themselves (personal communicaton from a Japanese English teacher, Mrs. Yoko

Shinoda) . Accordingly, the skills that might otherwise enable full bilingual contact, that is, listening, pronunciation, and speaking are not taught. Furthermore, there are so few native speakers in Japan who could otherwise compensate for this lack. A Japanese colleague informed me by personal communication that at about eleven years of age, in a formal classroom teaching situation, they are taught the pronunciation of English consonants and vowels by using their own katakana table as a phonetic standard. For example, they are taught that the English morpheme written 'car', is expressed as カー [kâ], therefore, the 'ar' phoneme could be pronounced as [â] and so when another morpheme such as 'card' is encountered, the same phoneme could be used to make カードー [kâdo], カーニバル (carnival) and so forth. So 'car' √ カー would constitute one reading rule. This process is called decoding and is the ability to decipher printed words by recovering the spoken word that a printed word represents. More specifically, decoding a word involves realising that a printed word reproduces the spoken word as a written sequence of phonemes, recognising the individual phonemes that the printed word represents, and then blending those phonemes to form the sound of the word (Scientific Learning, May 2001). *Decoding: The Connection to Reading Skills*). Decoding involves many skills, including; phonemic awareness (the ability to distinguish amongst and manipulate the smallest sounds in language that can change meaning) and understanding letter-sound correspondences (the principle that each letter represents a unit of sound (a phoneme).

The basis upon which loanword phonology was developed was the theory of Phonetic Approximation (Lovins, 1979:240, LaCharite, D and Paradis, C. 2005 and others) in

which a speaker of the recipient language, in perceiving and reproducing the sounds of the donor language, substitutes for them for those that he/she perceives to be closest in his/her own language. Weinreich referred to this as 'actual phone substitution' when two sounds are identified as equivalent in the two languages in contact. As shall be discussed in greater detail in Section 6.2.2.1 dealing with the phonology of domestication, a better model than Lovins' has been recently developed in the theory of Salience and Similarity. Here, the goal is to syllabify the L2 consonants so as to satisfy native Japanese language phonotactics but in a manner that preserves the salient features of the source by departing minimally from the input.

This leads us on to the area of phonic interference or the phonic outcomes of the collision of two sound systems. Unfortunately the phonic correspondences between the donor language and the recipient language is not an exact science, especially when there is a marked disparity between the extent of the respective sound systems. Such is the case when the donor language is English or Chinese and the recipient language Japanese. Nevertheless persistent lexical borrowing over many years does reveal a strong consensus among speakers of the recipient language (L1) as to acceptable ways to pronounce loanwords originating in the donor language (L2) within the confines of their sound system. It is this consensus which has become the English reading rules. Heath (1984:372-4) refers to such rules as routines, or, productive processes by which speakers with at least some bilingual competence can introduce new borrowings from L2 into L1. These processes do not consist of automatic structural adaptation rules but rather are based upon regular processes that are typically applied. He cites an example of, 'routines for introducing L2 verbs into L1, are based on the speaker's observation of

how earler L2 borrowings were handled' (idem). Similarly in Japanese, the rules by which they learn to pronounce English depends on school education which is subsequently reinforced by constant exposure to the large number of English words (in roman script) encountered in daily Japanese life. Together, they have created and reinforced a large set of orthography-pronunciation analogies. It is indeed a linguistic axiom that language change generally tends to be heavily influenced by analogy. Tamaoka and Miyaoka's very interesting research (2003) indicates that these rules could continue to be used. They examined the cognitive processing by young university educated Japanese of Japanese loanwords borrowed from English and written in katakana. In particular, they attempted to see whether interlexical activation occurs, that is, if native Japanese speakers make use of lexical representations of known English words when they encounter non-integrated English origin foreign words in katakana or simply, rely on the presence or otherwise of the katakana form in their memory registers. The results showed that while the decision making strategy for determining the lexicality of foreign words such as ソイル (soil) and サルート (salute) was primarily based on their daily experience of exposure to written katakana words in print, in some instances, significantly longer processing times taken to reject them as being foreign words was indicative that they could be additionally activating the supplementary processing strategy of lexical representations of English (ibid:79). That is, they could be facilitating comprehension by using their acquired English morpheme layer with its English-to-katakana correlations except in the reverse mode, from katakana back to English.

6.2 PHASE 2: THE DOMAIN OF THE AGENT OF INTRODUCTION

This section examines what occurs in the initial stage of the borrowing process when the agent of introduction extracts the foreign lexeme from foreign word stocks (6.2.1) and then carries out the various domestication processes (6.2.2) or alternatively, creates a morpheme from pre-existing loan roots (6.2.3). While the foreign word stocks considered here shall be mainly referring to English, other languages are, of course, used but on a considerably smaller scale.

6.2.1 EXTRACTION

In the extraction process, the agent of introduction extracts lexical material from foreign language stocks, or morphemes in the language. As stated as the first research objective in the methodology chapter, it is a primary objective of this thesis to establish if the diagrammatically represented model correctly represents the dynamics operating within loanword evolution. Accordingly, a thorough examination of this step must therefore be carried out in order to understand the mechanisms at work here in order to later be able to reveal a sequential relationship with the next step, domestication. Additionally, in accordance with the second research objective, we shall be investigating the patterns that govern the extraction of foreign lexical material, in particular; the identification of the three kinds of agents, and providing proof that they introduce genre specific loans. From information on who the agents of introduction are and what the characteristics of their work are as it pertains to the loaning/creation process, it will then be possible to form agent profiles for each agent in which the relationship between genre specificity of agents and type of loan can be identified.

I would state in advance what Weinreich has noted (1970:61) that words semantically or morphemically associated with a loanword which one might otherwise think as being suitable candidates for borrowing are often, in fact, never transferred. For example, while 'watch' has become integrated into Japanese, 'clock' has not. It is not possible to predict with certainty whether a word in question will be extracted and borrowed. There will always be some element of chance of a favourable disposition of factors occurring at a time that were 'fortuitous to borrowing'.

6.2.1.1 The Identity of the Agents of Introduction

There has been very little research done on understanding who in particular the agents of introduction of loanwords are and the precise nature of the work they do. Those that have touched on this subject, albeit briefly, include: Gabbrielli (2001:27) Haarmann (1989), Loveday (1996:201) and Quackenbush (1974:60-61) who simply made mention of the fact that they are generally editors of newspapers and magazines or advertising copywriters. Accordingly, it was necessary to go back to the origins by interviewing professionals in the field from which it was possible to gather primary research data.

The evidence suggests that there are three broad groups of agents, the first, and by far the most significant is composed of advertising copywriters and journalists/editors working in one of the magazine publishing companies who deliberately borrow from foreign lexical stocks or create from existing loan morphemes to enhance their writing. To a much lesser extent, this group also includes some television scriptwriters and popular (especially media) personalities. The second goup are specialists who, although

they do not generally introduce foreign words or create wasei gairaigo to deliberately innovate, use foreign origin terms accepted within their field. They include groups such as school textbook authors, scientists, technical and business professionals, politicians, sportspeople and so forth. Such domain specific terms would remain as internal jargon within the boundaries of that domain unless transferred and disseminated into the community by one of the agents of transfer and dissemination. With the exception of school textbook authors, for this to happen, the topic must have at least some measure of non-professional or lay interest for it to be taken up by one of the media forms. Domains that typically capture the lay interest include; popular electronics such as mobile telephones, computers and audio equipment, business strategies, marketing, sports and the like. The third group is that of private individuals such as linguistically creative youths and Japanese returnees who have spent lengthy periods overseas. While the consideration of the individual person as an agent is of some import once the word has passed into the public zone, especially in youth culture, their effectiveness as agents of introduction is limited for the following two reasons. Most importantly, as Quackenbush (1974), Takashi (1990a) and Gabbrielli (2001:27) noted, the average Japanese citizen is a cultural consumer not an innovative cultural creator.

> 'They do not generally create their own loanwords but rather, use those which are provided for them'.
> Quackenbush (1974:64)

The other reason is that they are not in an environment conducive to foreign language acquisition. There are three reasons for this, as follows.

(1) Japanese society is essentially monoethnic. The 1995 census found that less than 1% Japan's residents are non-Japanese (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau, 1995 census). In 2001, the total number of registered native English-speaking residents was just 89,095 out of the total Japanese population of 127 million (International Federation of the Periodical Press, 2005).

(2) Japanese society is monolingual which can be evinced from the fact that while English is the only foreign language officially sanctioned and widely taught, it is very poorly understood. Despite the six years compulsory nationwide English education within the school curriculum, the average person's working knowledge of English is so poor that it precludes any effective ability on their part to extract English from the abounding written and audio resources available (foreign language broadcasts, films, conversation with native foreign language speakers and the like). Indeed, Loveday's (1996:167) research conducted in the mid 1990s found that in response to a question as to a self evaluation of their English ability, 93% of respondents judged their overall ability to be 'none' to 'fair'. This result was corroborated by the research done by NHK in 1991 in which they found that as many as 70% of people in their 20s and 82% in their 40s did not think that their spoken English could be adequately understood by an English native speaker and a further 22% and 13% respectively felt that it 'may be comprehensible' (NHK Broadcasting and Culture Research Institute, 1991, (A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment). Vol. II:135)

(3) Ethnocultural barriers between Japanese and non-Japanese actively reduce the incidence of inter-cultural intercourse. Visiting Professor Namba of Kwansei Gakuin

University, in a paper presented to media studies students at Stirling University in 2003, attested to ethnocultural barriers which gave rise to the frequent incidence of anti-foreigner prejudice. The same NHK research (ibid:134) found that in the last one to two years, a full three quarters of the respondants confirmed that they had not even had a short conversation with a foreigner. Therefore, it is possible to assume that those that have had a relationship sufficient to have enabled language diffusion must be extremely few.

While it is recognised that there could be a small degree of localised loanword coinage and borrowing by individuals such as, returnees (children of Japanese parents who were educated in the West but who returned with their parents to Japan), foreign language learners and foreign residents, their numbers are relatively too small to have any real lexical impact. Moreover, they lack the crucial mouthpiece of media dissemination without which, lexical diffusion is impossible. There is however, one particular area that has emerged in the last ten years that has increased the relative importance of the individual as an agent. This is that of internet chat rooms where linguistically innovative youthful Japanese introduce and re-use their latest youth culture nonce loanwords in conformity with the communications strategies within the specific subculture of each room. Appealing to the Japanese sense of anonymity and with their 24 hours a day operation, this has become a significant venue for nonce loan introduction. The subsequent spread due to the disseminative power of the internet can be appreciated by understanding that as of 2002, about 53 million people or slightly under half the population use the internet, a figure which represents a 141% increase on the previous year.

The feature that binds these three together is that they all must possess at least some degree of bilingualism so as to be able to know in Japanese what the meaning of their borrowed foreign lexeme is. That bilingual speakers are the bearers of loanword transference between languages has been widely attested (Andrews, 1999; Haugen, 1953; Poplack and Sankoff, 1984; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, 1988; Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan, 1990). It should be noted that despite this understanding, the agent may not necessarily use his borrowed lexeme in the linguistic manner prescribed by the foreign language.

Magazine Journalists

In order to prove the existence of journalists who work within specific genres and borrow/create genre specific loans, the data obtained from the interviews shall be analysed and profiles established for the writer working in the professional domain and in the youth culture domain (as outlined in the Methodology Chapter). Journalists who worked in professional culture included those from the following publications: Nikkei Business, President, Mac Fan and Fujin Koron while those from youth culture included: Off, Say, Moc, Pachi Pachi, and Spike and five freelance magazine journalists.

Firstly, the data concerning the writers' ages was looked at in order to confirm an expectancy that those working within youth culture would probably be of a similar age group to the target audience.

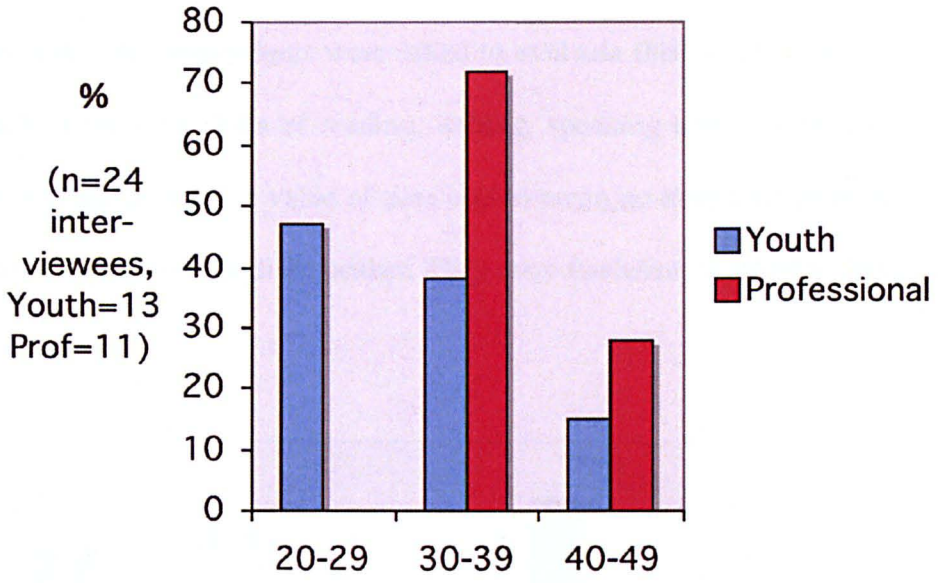

Fig. 3: Comparison of the ages of writers in youth and professional cultures

As may be clearly seen, the above expectations have been confirmed in that there is a tendency for journalists writing for magazines aimed at a youthful audience to be quite young themselves. Indeed, just under 50% were in their twenties (about 6 people) as opposed to 0% in the professional group. Judging qualitatively from aspects such as choice of language, the content of the conversation during the interview (including the small talk both before and after the main topic), those writers who were older also seemed to have a noticeably youthful outlook. Although the sampling was limited to only twenty individuals, an observation of the other journalists in the offices revealed the same spread of ages. The ages of those working in the professional group were noticeably older as the graph clearly shows. Furthermore, the same qualitative estimation as above revealed individuals in most part, to be of a more mature, conservative and businesslike outlook.

Secondly, the respondents were asked to evaluate their English proficiency abilities in each of the four skills of reading, writing, speaking and hearing across a range from zero to ten in which a value of zero was to mean no ability whatsoever and ten, that of an average native English speaker. They were furthermore asked to refrain from the

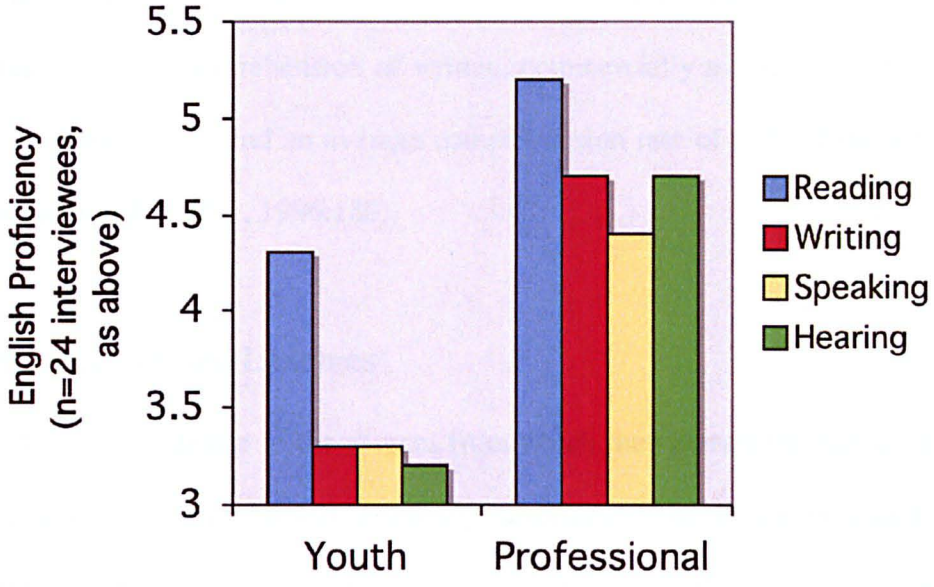

Fig. 4: Comparison of English language ability

Japanese tendency to understate personal performance. The data of average English proficiency in each group over the four skills was then looked at in order to confirm an expectancy that those in the professional group would need higher English skills, especially, reading, so as to be able to read articles in foreign language magazines and thus be in a position to borrow.

As may be anticipated from the fact that English education in the Japanese classroom is heavily focused on reading and translation, the reading abilities in both groups were higher than for the other skills. However right across the board, the writers in the professional group had a higher overall ability. Indeed, it would have been possible to have conducted the interview in English with at least one of the interviewed editors working for Nikkei Business Publications. To place this in context against national averages, Loveday conducted field research over all sectors of Japanese society concerning the comprehension of written, commercially available English morphemes (in isolation). He found an average comprehension rate of 33% of the total number of morphemes (Loveday, 1996:180).

Source of Foreign Lexemes

Finally, their response to the sources from which they extract the foreign lexemes shall be graphically represented to reveal any patterning. Here, they were asked to assess the usefulness to them of each source on a scale from zero to ten. There is an expectation that those working in professional culture would avail themselves of foreign language primary materials to a greater extent than those in youth culture. As fashion is such an important commodity in youth culture, one would expect journalists working in this area to keep a finger on the pulse of any innovation appearing in other magazines. We may therefore anticipate that they would have greater recourse to same-genre Japanese publications.

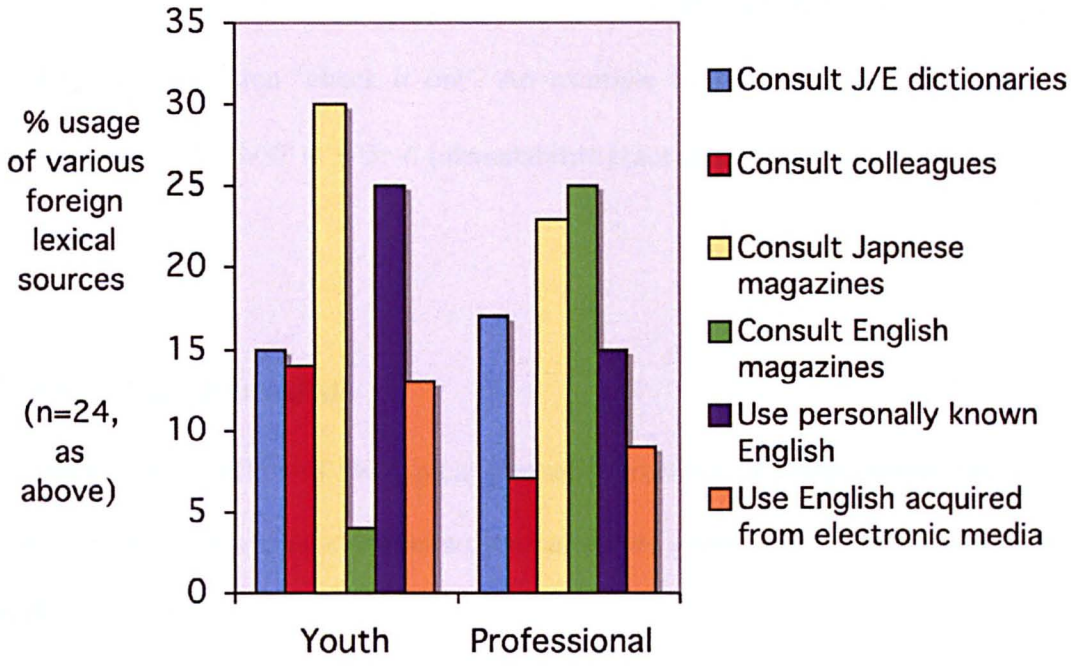

Fig. 5: Comparison of sources of foreign language borrowings

The journalists working in youth culture were most likely not to borrow from primary L2 sources but rather, to simply re-use the loanwords that other Japanese journalists in the same genre were using. Especially on magazine covers and article titles, there was a much higher incidence of English code, morphemic, semantic and syntactic alteration, and wasei eigo. Those in the professional group however, were more likely to extract their words from English language magazines. This is due in part to their higher English skills, and also, their response to the increasing desire on the part of the technical and business sectors of society to use the terms that are currently being used in the English speaking world without morphemic, semantic and syntactic alteration. There is a much higher incidence of calquing into kanji to add a scholarly air to the article and the use of wasei eigo and roman alphabet is typically confined to magazine covers and article titles.

Examples of youth culture loans include: チェック [chekku] (check), a truncation from the English expression 'check it out'. An example from professional culture is the untruncated アカウンタビリティ [akauntabilriti] (accountability).

Profiles of the Journalists

Creation of the profiles of the typical journalist working in youth culture and in the professional world will reveal whether journalists are genre specific as hypothesised in the Research Objective 2.

The journalists in the professional group are characterised by being typically in their thirties, conservative people whose relatively superior knowledge of written English is reflected in the fact that foreign language magazines are their preferred source of foreign lexemes. These magazines contain far fewer difficult to comprehend non-standardised slang expressions thus enabling them to keep abreast of new developments and trends overseas, an awareness of which is expected by their readers, particularly those of computing, and business publications. The journalists bear a similarity with their readers who, if judged by context of the magazines, are individuals of a reasonably high education, are socially aware and possess specialist knowledge. Out of a desire for intercommunication with their western counterparts and enjoying a feeling of prestigious Western modernity, there is a relatively high incidence of roman code in scientific publications (but rarely in business/current affairs magazines) and those that have been domesticated into katakana, would typically not have undergone morphemic

truncation or semantic alteration. Very recent examples that were introduced by journalists in the professional group include: ライフワーク [raifu wâku] < E. 'life work' (Nikkei Business Publications), and エンプロイアビリティ [enpuroiabiriti] < E. 'employability' and タスクフォース [tasku fôsu] < E. 'taskforce' in President (a business/current affairs magazine). As shall be comprehensively explained in Section 6.5. some loans can undergo vertical shift from one culture to another, especially from profesional or youth to general. Such was in the case of リストラ [risutora] (truncation of restructuring), which started as a business culture borrowing but which dramatically shifted vertically to general culture in the late 1990s.

Conversely, the writers working in youth culture magazines are typically of an age similar to that of their readers. Their relatively poor English proficiency precludes them from using English magazines as a source of borrowing, indeed, it was the least popular source of loans. Contrary to the above group, they are far more likely to use preexisting loanwords that they have picked up either from Japanese magazines of a similar genre or from conversation with their peers in the course of normal life. When new borrowings are introduced, rather than being directly borrowed from a foreign language, as in the case of their professional counterparts, they are more likely to be wasei eigo, or words that they coined based upon preexisting loans. Roman code is also used and may have both ornamental and practical functions. In some cases, there is deliberate alteration of meaning and form to suit the idiosyncratic requirements of the writer and at other times, as communicated by a freelance writer for a youth culture music magazine, deviation is due to a miscomprehension of the English meaning of the borrowed word.

There is a tendency to consciously conform to the linguistic expectation of the genre in which 'youthful, innovative modernity' is desirable and thus semantic, and morphemic alterations are commonly observed. Very recent examples that were introduced by journalists in the youth culture group include:

> 「鼓動」の後半のフェイクはＵ２のボノへのオマージュだ
> [(kodô) no kôhan no feiku wa U2 no bono he no omâju]
> (The adlibbing in the latter part (of the song) 'Heartbeat' paid homage to the work by Bono of the band U2).

Here we see a case of deliberate alteration of meaning to suit the idiosyncratic requirements of the writer. フェイク [feiku] is used in compounds such as フェイクファーのコート [feiku fâ no kôto] (a fake fur coat) and フェイクジャズ [feiku jazu] (a jazz imitation) in which it has the English meaning of an imitation. However, the agent of introduction innovatively altered the meaning to mean 'adlib'.

Analysis of the fieldwork data revealed quite a remarkable difference between writers who work for magazines of a scientific, business or social ethos and those who write in the youth culture. These findings will be confirmed against the results of the quantitative analysis.

While it is recognised of course, that new loanwords belonging to cultures other than youth and professional have recently come into existence, their numbers individually are much fewer and for the sake of this study, can be collectively grouped into general culture. Unfortunately, only one of the editors that were interviewed (Fujin Koron)

could be regarded as working in general culture, and so it is impossible to create a profile from fieldwork data. However as general culture embraces a wide range of subjects such as sports, hobbies and so forth. we can assume that editors working in general culture would be less polarised than those in youth and professional culture.

Advertising Copywriters

An advertising copywriter of the middle sized Nagoya firm, Shintô Tsûshin, confirmed that this separate profiling that we saw above in the case of magazine journalists was not typically seen within his profession. Rather, for those entering the profession, there has apparently been an increasing demand for general cultural awareness. Foreign language ability was not particularly seen as being a prerequisite quality which should not be surprising as the respective professions differ markedly. The advertising copywriter's sole object is to produce a relatively short piece of text that makes the product appear attractive and desirable to the targeted buyer. It is the job of the copywriter to have an intimate knowledge of the various advertising strategies combined with an innovative sales-oriented writing style. Yamanaka (1993), in creating a framework for the analysis of the advertising genre, states that the following strategies are typically used: opaque meaning, eulogy, euphemistic rewording, embellishment and overt/covert inducement (persuasion) (cited in Gabbrielli, 2001:27). Loans are also frequently used to convey double meanings or puns that are intended to amuse the reader and thus hopefully, act to reinforce the memory of the product. An example used by a copywriter (Mr. Mochizuki) in the above firm was 'E-Support' in which the E stood for 'ecology, 'energy' and 'electricity' but in Japanese, the word for 'good' is also pronounced [ii] so there was a pun on words.

The magazine journalist, on the other hand, writes a much longer piece of text which should ideally be informative, interesting, thought provoking and amusing, as these things are defined by the readers reading within the specific genre. Here, personal genre specific knowledge and experience is of paramount importance.

Technical/Commercial Specialists

These are professionals typically appearing on television programmes in the capacity as specialists in the fields under discussion. Being not immune to the appeal of loanwords, particularly the prestige afforded to Western technology and Western social phenomena, they actively borrow foreign nouns and transliterate them into katakana or calque them into kanji. An example is 衛生植物検疫措置 [eisei shokubutsu ken'eki sôchi] as a calque from Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS Measures) which concerns safe importation of botanical material. This orthographic integration can be confirmed as the new loans are often presented in the written form somewhere in the programme as well as used in speech. In 1999, the National Language Research Institute conducted research to determine the amount of broadcast time devoted to each of the seven content classifications of nationwide television broadcasts (Ishii, M. 1999. A Quantitative Analysis of the Language of Television Broadcasting in National Language Research Institute Reports, No. 115). These classifications included: general information, variety performance, news casting, films, education and culture, sports and music. Technical /commercial specialists would be particularly used in the education and culture group which commands 14% of the total broadcasting time.

Television and Radio Personalities

The agents of introduction that are responsible for loans appearing on television programmes are scriptwriters, directors, the personalities themselves and specialists in a field. Although television is known as a major route by which loans are disseminated into the community, no data was available on the use of television and radio as a means whereby the above people could introduce words that they have borrowed or created. Upon being asked this question, the programming executives at the two television stations confirmed by personal communication that while slang Japanese expressions are coined, very few Western origin loans are introduced. There are three reasons for this, the first two of which can be understood by an appreciation that television and radio are essentially media of the spoken word and thus carry a very different dynamic to the media of the written word. Firstly, in youth culture, variety programmes are a popular type of television programme in which established loans are frequently used and disseminated, especially amongst teenagers and people in their 20s. Here, the bulk of the entertainment is by stand-up comedians who entertain by off-the-cuff repartee, a genre which clearly does not lend itself to borrowing/native creation. The second reason is linguistic. The SLA (second language acquisition) researcher, White, noted that:

> 'A number of SLA researchers have pointed out that learners must attend to linguistic features in the input as well as the messages. Hulstijn (1989) proposed that attention to form at the point of input encoding is the necessary condition for learning to take place.'
> White (1998:86).

In other words, for a foreign word to be learnt and understood, attention must be paid to its written form. In the specific case of Japanese, Quackenbush noted that: Japanese people typically prefer to pronounce a new word by first looking at its written form (Quackenbush, 1977:64), indicating a fundamental reliance upon the written form for acquiring pronunciation. The dynamics of the written word is that a sentence can be read and reread at leisure until comprehension is achieved. In a conversation however, depending on the circumstances, the meaning of a word may be enquired of the speaker, a fact which is, of course, not possible when listening to a broadcast utterance. Thirdly, as an executive with Tokai Television informed me, the role of introduction of borrowings by magazines is far greater than television because of the latter's policy that all language must be able to be understood by even the elderly and children.

Newspaper Editors

Newspaper journalists typically use only very widely accepted and clearly understood loans that have become completely nativised into Japanese. This is to be expected as the primary function of a newspaper is to articulately and denotatively convey news. Furthermore, as shall be discussed later, the meaning of some loans is imprecise and some even undergo semantic shifts in the process of their evolution, both of which render evolving loans as unsuitable for newspapers. It should be noted that Japan does not have the newspaper equivalent of the British tabloids with their somewhat scurrilous articles, this is a niche occupied by certain magazines. Chen (2002).

> 'the vocabulary used in the (newspaper) articles conforms to the rules of the standard language, so it can be safely assumed that any new word used on its pages is already well established in the language. In other words, a reputable newspaper

> like *Asahi* is not the right vehicle for "fashion" words which might occur in a less controlled environment and which might not survive in the language for long'
> Chen (2002:1)

Interpersonal Transfer

As noted above, the only non-professional group within Japanese society who could be regarded as agents of introduction are the youth. With their natural proclivity towards innovative speech that expressly differentiates them from their elders, the more imaginative ones both borrow and coin new words to form wasei eigo. Such words frequently undergo morphemic, semantic and syntactic alteration. The origin of the process is in the written word and the mechanism is indicated below. It became clear in the interviews that internet chat rooms had emerged as a significant source of youth culture loanwords. This is due to factors such as the anonymity of the participants and that each room has a specific theme which all the more encourages a like-minded, informal, camaraderie, grounds ideal for the spawning of theme specific borrowings and coinages. A Japanese colleague informed me of the formation and subsequent transformation of the youth culture words, トラバ [toraba] and トラバる [torabaru]. These loans were originally borrowed from the English expression 'back track' and had the meaning 'to go back to an earlier point in a sequence'. It subsequently underwent the linguistic operations of:

(1) Word order reversal: 'back track'√ 'track back'
(2) Orthographic change into katakana: 'track back'√ トラックバック [torakku bakku]
(3) Morphemic truncation: トラックバック [torakku bakku] √ トラバ [toraba]

(4) Semantic narrowing: the full English meaning of 'back track' of 'to retrace one's steps' is not used, only in the single sense of to return to a previously point in posted article.
(5) Syntactic adaptation: Evolution from only being a noun to additional use as a verb indicated by the final 'ru' in hiragana.

6.2.1.2 The Relationship between Agential Genre Specificity and Loan Type

The relationship between the genre specificity of the agents and the type of loans they make can be clearly seen from the table below. In a qualitative estimation based upon the information provided in the interviews, the number of ticks, from one to three, indicates the degree with which a characteristic is manifested within a specific agent. We can say that technical and commercial magazine journalists, and specialists are almost exclusively writing in professional culture. They are both engaged in borrowing from foreign languages, mainly English, with magazine journalists having a slightly less incidence thereof due to a few magazines preferring to avoid non-nativised loans. The incidence of wasei eigo is found only very rarely, and here, confined mainly to magazine covers and titles of articles. The use of English code would be used in scientific but rarely in business/current affairs publications. Domestication though alteration of the L2 morphemic, semantic and syntactic structure is minimal. Accordingly, we can say that these agents are indeed genre specific, generally introducing only professional type foreign words by lexical borrowing.

Youth culture loans were introduced by youth culture magazines, individuals, and to a much lesser extent, television and radio personalities and directors. As opposed to the

above group, all agents here are active in altering the semantics, morphology and syntax of existing loans, indeed, this is the principal linguistic activity of this group. As noted above in the profiles of the youth culture agents, there is lesser incidence of borrowing from foreign languages, but is remarkable in the use of native creations. Accordingly, we can say that these agents are also genre specific, responsible for introducing only youth culture type foreign words.

Advertising copywriters are the only group to extensively borrow and create loans into both the professional and youth culture.

	Loan genre	Borrowing	Creation of Wasei Gairaigo	Roman Code
Magazine (Prof culture)	Prof	√√√	X	√√√
Magazine (youth culture)	Youth	√√	√√	√√√
Technical and commercial specialists	Prof	√√	X	√√
Individuals	Youth	√√	√√	√√
Television	Youth	√	√	√
Advertising copywriters	Both	√√√	√√√	√√√

Table 5: Relationship between Agential Genre Specificity and Loan Type

6.2.1.3 Motivations For Language Change

Language contact has historically taken place under conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery, and migrations in which the language of the militarily and numerically superior society was forced upon that of the inferior society (Sankoff 2001:3). Such was the case during the fifty years of Japanese colonisation of Taiwan around the first half of the 20th century when Taiwanese people were required to study Japanese. On the other hand, in the cases of language contact not

occasioned by military imposition, such as in the case of European language contact in Japan, examination of the loanwords reveals reasons for borrowing that stem out of a linguistic or extralinguistic need which was not being met in the L1.

The model of the motivations for language change proposed by Andreas Blank (1999) is of particular interest as his approach acknowledges and differentiates between the separate roles of an innovating agent of introduction and an agent of dissemination. The motivations a speaker or writer feels while he is innovating is contrasted with that of the receiver of the innovation, who, can choose to adopt the introduced form based on motivations such as the prestige of the innovating speaker or the adequacy or persuasive character of the innovation itself (Blank, 1999:61). In the fourth phase of the Loanword Evolution Diagram, the Domain of the Agent of Dissemination, adoption into native code shows sociolinguistic, pragmatic and cognitive factors. That is, adoption of a word requires a pragmatic decision by the agent of dissemination based on the innovation's good cognitive performance, in conjunction with favourable sociolinguistic forces. This is precisely what may be seen to be occurring in the dissemination and integration phases (see Sections 6.4 and 6.5), and so Blank's paradigmatic framework can be applied to changes caused by external borrowing in Japanese. The inspiration for this framework originated from the structural linguist Coseriu's dynamic view of language (Coseriu 1958:44-46, cited in Blank, 1999:62) from which two comprehensive motivations on the part of the agent of introduction may be deduced, namely: (1) the general motivation for language change; (2) the specific motivation for a concrete innovation.

(1) The general motivation for language change may be understood as the driving force behind the speaker's/writer's expressive and communicative purpose. This can be divided into speaker-oriented strategies and hearing-oriented strategies. Geeraerts (1997:116-119) discussed the speaker's/writer's innovations with regard to either self-focus or the interlocutor-focus. In self-focus, the aim is generally to reduce linguistic effort by making speaking more efficient. When working in the area of discourse strategies, Sperber/Wilson (1986:157-159), noted that interlocutor-focus or hearing-oriented strategies generally aim to increase communicative efficiency by techniques such as enhancing relevance. In Sperber/Wilson's model of the relevance theory (1995:118-171), improvement of relevance is directly related to receptivity of the communicated word and is constrained by 'minimal effort' and 'adequate contextual effects' that guide and coordinate the audience's interpretation efforts with the communicator's intention. By producing an ostensive stimulus, the communicator communicates that he believes he has something to convey that will be adequately beneficial to the audience: it will satisfy them in terms of the contextual effects to be expected. In the mutually shared cognitive environment, as human beings tend to work on a minimal effort principle, it is manifest that the audience will seek to recover the information offered with minimal effort. Therefore, the communicator will be trying to communicate 'adequate contextual effects' in consistency with the receiver's requirement of minimal effort. This is Sperber/Wilson's revised principle of relevance (1995:155-162). Hence we could say that in Japan, the agent of introduction introduces a loanword with a communicative objective of achieving optimal relevance to the receiver by offering adequate contextual effects that requires minimal effort to process the information. These two constraints attempt to ensure both efficient understanding of

what the speaker/writer wants to express and also, to influence the hearer in favour of the speaker/writer's viewpoint (Coseriu 1958:116, cited in Blank, ibid:64). They consitute the general motivation behind the choices the agent makes.

(2) Specific motivations for borrowing are directly related to specific reasons/functions of borrowing that the agent intends. A discussion of which follows.

6.2.1.3.1 The Reasons/Functions of Borrowing

The term, functions of loanwords, is used by a number of researchers such as Hoffer (1990:12), Kay (1995:74), Ôtsuka (2001:77) and Loveday (1996:189) however, as establishment of the link between a personal agent and his work is fundamental in this thesis, the relationship between functions of loanwords and reasons for borrowing should be mentioned. I would define the reasons for borrowing to be referring to the motivation for borrowing, whereas the functions of a loan are concerned with its role in a spoken utterance or written text. However, the reason that an agent of introduction has for borrowing can be discerned from an examination of the role a loan has within the spoken utterance or written text. For example, if a loan has a role of being a lexical gap filler for a previously non-existent concept, we could then state that the reason that it was introduced was to express a previously non-existent concept.

A study of the functions of loans is intimately connected with the underlying purpose behind their use in plan-directed discourse strategies. Accordingly, loanword functions can be additionally considered within a cognitive analysis of loans in discourse and a relationship shown to exist between function and the speaker or writer's discourse plans

and goals. In particular, the use of loanwords to achieve the discourse goal of power shall be investigated towards the end of this chapter.

6.2.1.3.2 An Examination of Loanword Functions in Magazines

In the case of European language contact in Japan, examination of the loanwords reveals reasons for borrowing that stem out of a linguistic or extralinguistic need which was not being met in the L1. Indeed, throughout the world's languages, one of the most common reasons for importing loanwords is that they serve as linguistic embodiments of needful or desirable foreign items. Indeed, Thomason (2001:66) and Winford, (2003:39) allude to the pivotal underlying reasons for borrowing of need and desire. Aitchison similarly proposed three socio-linguistic causes for borrowing: 'fashion, foreign influence and social need' (Aitchison, 1991:89). The causal relationships that govern the borrowing of lexical and structural material from a recipient language into a donor language can be deduced from an isolation and examination of the extralinguistic relationships that exist between the donor and recipient societies and the linguistic relationships between their respective languages. In the following section, we shall be categorising the functions of loans (or the reasons for their introduction into Japanese) according to whether they represent an extralinguistic relationship between the donor society and the Japanese or a linguistic relationship between their respective languages. The reasons that motivate agents of introduction to borrow lexical material has been studied by a number of researchers such as: Weinreich (1970), Guy (1990), Ehlich, and others, with writers such as: Loveday (1996), Yanabu (1976), Hoffer (1990), Tsuda. Y (1996), and Ôtsuka (2001) focusing in particular on the Japanese situation. Takashi

(1990a) and Gabbrielli, (2001) adopted a quantitative methodology and examined the reasons for borrowings used in advertising.

Logically, it would be possible to classify the functions of borrowed foreign lexical material into two broad distinctions, those which had no counterpart in Japanese up to the time of their introduction and are thus, 'lexical gap fillers' and those which did have a counterpart (whether semantically exact or within close vicinity) and as such, regarded as synonyms. Here, a synonym shall be taken to mean two words which have what might be considered to be semantic proximity. Two categories of lexical gap fillers and synonyms however, would create great typological complexity due to the many varieties of synonyms and so it was necessary to further divide the synonymic group down into smaller categories.

It should be understood that while sometimes, there exists only one function for a loan, there are times however when they can be seen to be having two or occasionally more functions of equal or subordinate importance within a specific text. For example, マネジャー [manejâ] (manager) contains the two elements of the extralinguistic motivation of prestige due to its attractive Western business ethno-symbolism as well as the linguistic motivation of semantic broadening, which allows a variety of Japanese corporate managerial levels to be simultaneously addressed.

As may be seen from the table below, textual functions or reasons for extraction can be categorised according to whether they have are extralinguistic, linguistic or dual causes.

Linguistic	Extralinguistic	Dual Linguistic and Extralinguistic
• Semantic broadening • Simplification • Phonetic and morphemic appeal	• Lexical gap fillers • Prestige • Foreign cultural stimulus • Conformity to an accepted (Western) standard • Euphemism or tone softener • Entertainment / humorous and pejorative applications • Accidental transfer by intensive bilingualism	• Prestige / Western referent differentiation

Table 6: Analysis of reasons for borrowing

The following is a documentary analysis of the functions of loans, functions which indicate the reasons that the agent of introduction had for extracting them from foreign word stocks. The reasons shall also be categorised according to whether they are at work in primarily youth, professional or general culture.

Linguistic Functions

1. Semantic Broadening

In this reason for borrowing, one loanword comprehensively and collectively acquires the meanings that are occupied by semantically narrower synonymic native lexemes. There are three situations in which semantic broadening is used: when the referent occurs along an overlap between the semantic zones occupied by separate native alternatives, when none of the alternatives seem to fit, or when there is a surfeit of possible alternatives. These three shall be looked at in turn.

The first use of semantic broadening allows for considerable convenience of usage. For example, the semantic field covered by リスト [risuto] (list) combines the semantic fields covered by the synonyms of; 一覧表 [ichiranhyô], 名簿 [meibo], 目録 [mokuroku] and表 [hyô] which have the respective meanings of a table, a list of names, a catalogue or inventory and a general purpose list (also has other meanings of a table, chart, or diagram). When faced with the choice of whether to use a traditional expression or alternatively, the loanword risuto, one would first have to see which of the three traditional expressions is appropriate to the type of list concerned, a process that may prove troublesome if any of the above three situations exists. Clearly, there would be many situations when a user such as a journalist or editor would opt for the loanword because it is semantically comprehensive, is understood by almost all Japanese and is therefore an acceptable alternative, and can be immediately accessed due to its semantic comprehensiveness. Indeed, these are the reasons why it became integrated into the language and retained its integrated status. It should be understood that here, we have a situation where risuto and the three native morphemes are in a form of a superordinate-hyponym relationship, as diagrammatically represented as below.

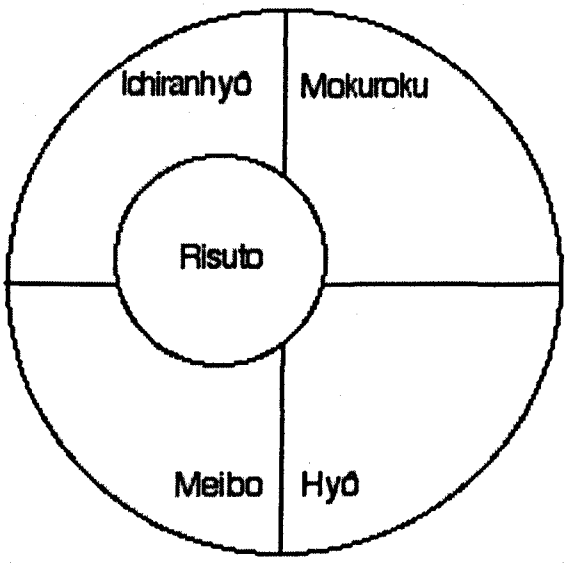

Fig. 4: Illustration of superordinate-hyponym relationship in loanwords

The total area within the outer circle represents the total semantic field that is occupied by the concept of a list. The inner circle occupied by risuto shows that while it is present in all of the semantic fields covered by the native alternatives, it does not cover them completely as would occur in a classic superordinate-hyponym relationship. The native synonyms are all co-hyponyms however, by application of Field's model, the relationship between the superordinate and any one of the co-hyponyms depends upon the strength of the association (Field, 2004:219). This means that while it is true that risuto could be acceptably used in place of any of the native alternatives, in practice however, it is much more likely to replace ichiranhyô due to the strength of their semantic affinity. Next likely is meibo followed by mokuroku and hyô (personal communication with Japanese colleague). The usage of the native forms is not mutually exclusive. For example, if a list of names was in tabular form, either ichiranhyô or

meibo or even hyô could be used. It is here, that the usage probability risuto increases as there is a situation of a semantic overlap.

A good example of semantic broadening of the second type, that is, when none of the Japanese alternatives seem to fit, as can be seen when Japanese executives frequently use the loan マネジャー [manejâ] (manager) because Japanese corporate managerial rankings of 係長 [kakarichô], 課長 [kachô], 次長 [jichô] and 部長 [buchô] poorly fit the Western corporate managerial system.

Thirdly, due to the bewildering array of traditional alternatives with their fine shades of meanings, the loan of システム [shisutemu] (system) is frequently used. Some of the shades of meaning expressed by close semantic equivalents include; 組織 [soshiki] (an organisation), 制度[seido] (an institution), 系統 [keitô] (a network) and 体制[taisei] (a structure). For example, shisutemu appears eleven times with different semantic usages in one page (Asahi Shinbun Weekly, 29/4/2002:22), and presumably, the journalist, unable to choose between the array of traditional alternatives such as [jôhô seido] or [jôhô keitô], logically opted to use the loanword alternative.

2. Linguistic Simplification

There are three kinds of situations in which loanwords are seen as being a relatively easy to use, simple alternative form. Firstly, there is a simplification which has come into usage due to falling literacy rates, especially amongst the youth of Japan; secondly, there is simplification to compensate for the rarity of the native form and thirdly; we see

katakana loans being used as a means to provide morphemic economy, or a simplification of long complex Kango strings. These shall now be looked at in some detail.

By observation of linguistic trends in Japan, one sees in some sectors of the community, a difficulty in recognition, let alone usage, of some of the more complex syntactical structures and kanji orthography that characterised speech and writing of three or four generations ago. When commenting on the great distinction between the spoken language and the written language, Marshall Unger (1996) noted that:

> 'in the pre-war period, the heavy influence of written Chinese had created and maintained a surfeit of written styles in Japan, some so distant from the day to day speech of ordinary citizens as to verge on being foreign languages'
> Marshall Unger (1996):27

Although considerably more relaxed today, the legacy of this period is till evident in the written language. However use in the written language, particularly by the youth of Japan, of the considerably simpler lexical, orthographic and syntactic structures found in the spoken language is a good example of linguistic simplification. As further proof, one could cite the increasingly prevalent use of furigana (phonetic kana written alongside kanji script to aid comprehension) on television programmes of commercial networks, especially those aimed at a primarily young adult audience. Additionally, this author has noticed the increasing incidence in the last five years, of name badges written in hiragana (not kanji as was hitherto standard), of staff in shops whose clientele is predominantly young Japanese. Loanwords have also increasingly been making inroads

even into the enclave of the formal written composition by acting as simplified semantic equivalents for complex Kango typically found therein. An example is エキゾチック [ekizochikku] (exotic) which is used as a simple alternative to the complex expression of 異国情緒 [ikoku jôcho] and which could be used equally in both the spoken and written languages. This and the many similar expressions are functioning as a lexical bridge between the two separate registers.

The second reason why loanwords are used in their role of providing a simple alternative is when the usage frequency of a traditional word has fallen resulting in it becoming rare in that language. This can be seen the reason why the loanword イベント [ibento] (event) is frequently chosen in preference to 催し物 [moyôshimono] as the latter is a word that is relatively rarely used in the spoken language and only sometimes in the written. Such an observation is supported by the Cultural Agency's 1999 survey on language usage (The Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japanese Language Division), 1999:79). They quote that 51% of all people asked thought that ibento, is more comprehensible than moyôshimono. 33% were of the other opinion and 15% thought them to be equally understandable. When analysed according to age of the respondent, it is clear that young people greatly favour ibento with 77% finding it more understandable. As age increases however, the figures for moyôshimono increases, the cross over age range is 50-59, ending with 67% of people aged 70 or over finding moyôshimono more comprehensible (ibid:171).

Thirdly, katakana loans are used to achieve economy of form over a verbose L1 form, typically multi-character Kango compounds. Hall-Lew (2002:34) similarly found in her investigation of Western loans in Chinese, a significant reason for the preference of loans is that they are less cumbersome to manage. Ever since the Meiji Restoration, there has been a slow and progressive drift away from the pre-eminence given to the study of Chinese classics and its concomitant replacement of Kango clusters by loanwords. This was particularly so shortly after World War Two when there was a strong move to rid the language of lengthy kanji strings imposed by the nationalistic government as anti-Western propaganda (Matsuda, 1986:49). Marshall Unger noted that:

> 'the military continued to pepper its reports in civilian newspapers and magazines with obscure and hard to read kanji, presumably to cow the general public'.
> Marshall Unger, 1996:36

Examples include the replacement of the translated calque 昇降機[shôkôki] (lit. a rising falling machine) by エレベータ [erebêta] (a lift in a building). Similarly, メーカ [mêka] (manufacturer), originating from the English word 'maker' has not only become a replacement alternative for the whole generic form of 生産業者 [seisangyôsha] (manufacturer) but also for all the separate specialist industries such as 製鋼業者 [seikôgyôsha] (steel manufacturer) in which a hybrid structure of 鉄鋼 のメーカ [tekkô no mêka] is used to produce a completely comprehensible and simple to form expression. Reasons other than politics and expediency could explain the replacement of these expressions. Loan translations calqued on a Latin model in Old English were

often replaced in Middle English by a Latin based borrowing from Norman French. It could be argued that when the concepts conveyed by these words had become so well established that the initial value of the calque as a teaching aid had become redundant. For example, 恒常的物価騰貴 [kôjôteki bukka tôki] (lit. constant price rise) was replaced by インフレ [infure] (inflation) (Matsuda 1986:47) not only because of its economy of form but also when the concept was popularly known, its use, while tolerated because of its initial value as a teaching aid and because the target audience in the early 20th century was receptive to such formal language, was rejected when the concept of inflation became commonplace.

3. Phonetic, Morphemic and Semiotic Appeal

A further reason for the success of loanwords, as emphasised by the editing staff of CBC Television, is the possession of pronunciation appeal or morphemic appeal. Broad areas of appeal coincident with genre type may be discerned. For example, as noted above, truncation is a very common feature of youth culture loaning indicating that words of two or three morae are desirable. The two NHK researchers that I interviewed confirmed that word length is a major factor influencing the probability of their becoming nativised. It is therefore admissible to state that short morphemes have comparatively more morphemic appeal and therefore constitute a reason for borrowing, especially in youth culture texts and advertising. An example may be seen in a nationwide advertising appearing on soft drink bottles in the summer of 2004:

> Coolなケータイボトル缶 (a trendy looking, easy to carry bottle-can).
> Here the English code Coolな has morphemic appeal.

Kay (1995:74) includes a classification for 'special affects' in her typology of loan functions in recognition of the attractive power of the angular katakana script in a text which is otherwise filled with Sino-Japanese characters and the curvilinear symbols of the hiragana syllabary. Ishiwata also stated that the use of katakana has a powerful effect of drawing the reader's attention (Ishiwata, 1992:18). In the following example sentence taken from a popular magazine (Asahi Shinbun Weekly Magazine), the two loanwords ストレス (stress) and テーマ (topic, theme) are particularly conspicuous. The advertising industry which is particularly concerned with attracting the attention of the reader, typically makes great skilful use of katakana, often in article titles.

> 世界が狭くなった女達のストレスが、結婚、離婚そして何と言っても嫁姑というテーマの人気を押し上げていると思います。
> (Stress on women in a shrinking world has increased the popularity of topics such as marriage, divorce, and even mothers-in-law).
> Asahi Shinbun Weekly Magazine, April 29, 2002:32

Extralinguistic Functions

4. Lexical Gap Fillers

The category of 'lexical gap fillers' has been defined as a 'designation of new things, people, places or concepts' (Stanlaw, 1987). One of the most frequently occurring functions of loanwords in any language is to provide a word for an object or concept which had hitherto not been expressed in the L1. There is some doubt among sociolinguists as to whether the motivation for lexical gap filling is linguistic as Van Coestem states or the result of a social motivation as Guy contends. I concur with the

latter in believing that speakers develop words to talk about things their cultures deem significant, the borrowing of a word simply for the sake of having the word would not compel them to borrow (Guy, 1990:61). Lexical gap fillers reveal an extralinguistic relationship between the donor society and the Japanese society in that the former contains an item of value to the latter. It is easier to borrow simultaneously both the form and meaning of a foreign item that ascribe a name afresh from indigenous lexical materials. Weinreich expressed this pragmatically:

> 'lexical borrowing of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using ready made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets'.
> Weinreich (1970:57)

Currently in Japan, if a potential candidate for borrowing has been accepted within the context of US/UK English, this is usually more than sufficient to satisfy all the acceptability protocols. Such words have typically come from the ranks of new inventions, business practices, ideologies or catch phrases that had not been practiced in Japan. Many foreign loanwords, particularly those of English origin, have been introduced to give a name to both easily definable objects of concrete meaning such as モデム [modem], as well as to abstract concepts that have that had been foreign to Japan such as プライバシー [puraibashî] (privacy), 自由 (freedom) and 民衆主義 (democracy). Recent examples of lexical gap fillers include: インターネット [intânetto] (the internet), ATM (automatic telling machine), システム工学 [shisutemu kôgaku] (systems engineering) and レトロ [retoro] (retro, especially in fashion goods).

In an attempt to gauge public opinion regarding positive aspects of loanwords, NHK conducted nationwide surveys from 1987 to 1996. The results for 1996 revealed that the ability to be able to express nuances of meaning that could not be expressed in traditional Japanese received the highest rating of 59.6%. (NHK Broadcasting and Culture Research Institute, A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment). 1996, Vol.III:339). It seems that even if the name of the katakana-designated newly introduced item is not completely understood, this is more than compensated for by the fascination engendered by the katakana title. A fact not lost by advertisers who frequently resort to this ploy in a bid to stimulate sales (Ôtsuka, 2001:88).

5. Prestige

Prestige is only one reason for borrowing, yet it is a general pattern that less-prestigious languages tend to borrow the terms of more prestigious languages (Bloomfield, 1933:476 and Romaine, 1995:47). Even if the borrowing process is complicated by other factors (e.g., speakers who want to keep their native language pure), the prestige of the interacting languages is a likely factor (Hill and Hill, 1986: 103-117 cited in Hall-Lew, 2002:14). Borrowing words because of prestige is logically practical for the speaker; a prestige language is presumably spoken by people of wealth and power, so facility in that language is advantageous to the borrower for personal advancement. Trask (1996:20) notes that English itself has become the most prestigious language on earth and that the acquisition of English is a status symbol among much of the world's youth (Andrews, 1999: 41). As of January 1, 1975, English was the official or co-official language of 37 countries (Fishman et al. 1977:7).

Particularly when advertising loans are considered, prestige remains the greatest reason why agents borrow words and other lexical material from foreign languages. Such an appeal typically centres around their impartation of a sophisticated Western lifestyle ambiance. Many were used formed as a result of a need to distinguish between the native and an imported item in which the loanword exists as a Westernised counterpart to a native semene forming a native/western synonymic pair such as in the case of 設備 [setsubi] / アメニティ [ameniti] (amenity) in which the latter refers to an up-market, trendy variety of Western amenities such as may be found in a modern gymnasium while the traditional would be used to refer to standard amenities. This group however, also functions in a linguistic capacity as the katakana orthography serves to differentiate between what is foreign and what is native. Words in this group are accordingly given a special hybrid extralinguistic/linguistic status and treated separately under the category of Prestige/Western Referent Differentiation. Words that were borrowed under a purely prestige motivation include エプロン [epuron] (apron), ウオッチ [uotchi] (watch) and コラボレートする [koraborêto suru] (to collaborate). They have traditional counterparts but do not belong to the above Prestige/Western Referent Differentiation category as their referents are identical to the traditional. There is no difference between an エプロン and a 前掛け [maekake] or a ウオッチ and a 時計 [tokei].

It has been argued by many scholars (Kay, 1995:74; Loveday, 1996, Haarmann, 1984) that Japanese have an adulation of Western things particularly those portraying fashionable modernity and innovation. Prestige loaded Western loanwords and foreign words can be exploited for many purposes but the most prolific is that which is designed

to improve product sales, including, product names, product descriptions and mood enhancers. Loanwords of prestigious impact are deliberately chosen by elite professionals, especially those working in advertising, to create an ambience of power texting or power speech. An example taken from Rebuck for a Toyota advertisement is: 白いクラウンは幸せなハイライフの象徴 (My white Toyota Crown is the symbol of my 'happy high-life'). Here 'crown' and 'high-life' are prestige loans functioning as, in Haarmann's research terminology (Haarmann 1984:104), 'sophisticated images of life'.

There is an obvious psycho-linguistic relationship between loan usage and the degree with which they are seen as being linguistically desirable. In surveys conducted by the National Institute of Language Research from 1987 to 1996, it became clear that feelings of prestige and approval that were being accorded to loanword users has been increasing. For example in 1988, only 4.7% of respondents thought that users appeared trendy and 6.9% thought they looked educated. In 1996, these had increased to 15.2% and 11.1% respectively.

It is important to realise that an evaluation of being prestigious does tend to fade to normality with continuing acceptance and widespread use within the community. For example, マンション [manshon] was once a high class type of accommodation but has now been downgraded to standard accommodation and has thus lost much of its initial prestige. Weinreich noted that a common reason for lexical innovation is related to the well-known tendency of affective words to lose their expressive force (1970:58). Hence, there is a constant need for synonyms to replace outmoded words which have lost

impact, especially in youth culture. It is precisely because of this that non-integrated foreign words which exude ambience without meaning are the most used in advertising texts.

6. Foreign Cultural Stimulus

This section deals with the borrowing of foreign words that come loaded with a heavy Western cultural loading but which have cultural significance for the Japanese as well, albeit, at times, a different one from that of the import. The reason why a separate category could be established for these loanwords is due to the large cultural acceptance of Western lifestyles and values and these loanwords all fall into the resultant zone of cultural commonality between the West and Japan. In some cases, the borrowing finds an immediate cultural parallel with Japanese society and therefore, becomes loaned with little loss of meaning. In others, possibly, the agent of introduction used it in its correct sense but on being disseminated, finding no immediate cultural parallel in which it could assume a semantic and lexical position in the language underwent semantic shift.

A good example of full cultural parallel is ストレス [sutoresu] (stress). Its usage should be understood to be fundamentally different to that of the native lexeme 緊張 [kinchô] which is an all-purpose term that may be generally used to refer to strain and tension. Sutoresu, on the other hand, implies a strain and tension resulting from the daily pressures which build up in modern lifestyles, particularly urban lifestyles. I posit that this loanword has gained acceptance because of foreign cultural stimulus. The precursor of this stress is the modern lifestyle, that is, getting up in the morning, going to an office

by commuter transport, spending long hours in the office and so forth, and this is seen as a lifestyle which is essentially of Western origin. Sato, K (1983:172-3) noted that Western borrowings were perceived as having an attractive invigorating feel.

An example of a morpheme which has gradually acquired full cultural parallel is セクハラ [sekuhara] (sex (ual) + hara (ssment). The general acceptance of the concept of equality of the sexes in the workplace has, in the West, some twenty or thirty years of application and a full century of backgrounding history starting with the suffragettes. On the contrary, Japan has no such history of female emancipation activism, with stereotypes of female office workers still perpetuating now in which they perform duties little removed from tea-making, document filing and so forth. When it first entered Japan in about the late 1980s, it was largely used as a piece of either entertainment or derision. It was frequently lampooned in cartoons in which females, who attempting to take it seriously, became the butt of male jokes. However towards the end of the 1990s, it was starting to be taken more seriously by society in general, eventually culminating in a successful courtroom prosecution.

The final example reveals the other extreme of a loanword undergoing semantic shift due to its inability to find a repository within Japanese culture where it could semantically embed. The word is フェミニスト [feminisuto] (a feminist). Originally, this referred to a woman who promoted female self-identity and supported that concept that women should have equal opportunities as men. Due to foreign cultural stimulus, this entered Japanese but lacking a popular sociocultural base from which it could find

purchase within Japanese culture, inevitably underwent semantic slip. Its normal meaning in Japanese is usually that of a man who is sensitive in nature and understands the female perspective. It appeared in an advertisement for Tokyo Gas:

> 東京ガスってフェミニストですね.
> (Tokyo Gas is a feminist company, isn't it)
> Tanaka (1994) cited in Hayashi and Hayashi, 1995:196.

The meaning here has become removed even one stage further. This company advertises products containing several new devices such as sensors and micro-computers that are designed to prevent gas leakage and as such, they lay claim to being 'feminists' due to their products being designed with devices that protect housewives from accidents. They are clearly either oblivious to, or are unconcerned about, the irony of linking feminism with its antithetic concept of 'a woman's place is in the kitchen'!

7. Conformity to an Accepted (Western) Standard

This constitutes an important reason for adoption of foreign words. It applies equally to words that have been adopted for general use throughout all usage sectors of the community and also to those which have been adopted for use within a specific field of expertise, or loaned jargon. This group concerns those foreign words that have become standardised throughout the world, particularly units of measure. The complete disappearance of traditional units of measure of weight, distance and so forth is an example of the first type. The *kan* (3.75 kg.) and the *ri* (3.93 miles) have disappeared out of common daily usage (Loveday, 1996:82) and replaced by キログラム [kiroguramu] (kilogram) and キロ[kiro] (kilo) respectively. The use of パーセント

[pâsento] (percent) is an example of a partial replacement as the traditional Japanese lexeme of 割 [wari] and 分 [pun], meaning 10% and 1% respectively, are still in use, particularly the former. Similarly, the loans, プラス [purasu] (plus) and マイナス [mainasu] (minus) have partially replaced traditional alternatives. ルアー [ruâ] (lure) is used in the fly fishing industry in Japan but remains within this field as an intra-domain loan jargon.

The almost total replacement of 日めくり [himekuri] (lit: day turning) was replaced by カレンダー [karendâ] (calendar) because people have largely stopped using the style of calendar where one turns pages day-by-day. It is interesting that Japanese chose to borrow the Western word rather than semantically broadening 日めくり to additionally mean the Western-style calendar as they did with 靴 [kutsu] (shoe) to additionally mean the western style of shoe.

8. Euphemism or Tone Softener

Foreign loanwords do not have the deep undertones of meaning as that carried by more ponderous Chinese characters and can be thus more easily used to express sensitive topics or describe taboo subjects which may be otherwise difficult to broach. Hence, one rarely sees the word 強姦 [gôkan] (rape) being socially used, having been replaced by the Western loan of レープ [rêpu]. The native word has been largely been relegated to official legal uses when its semiotic power works in its favour such as in 強姦罪 [gôkanzai] (the crime of rape). Similarly, the word ミス [misu], meaning a mistake, can

either exist on its own or in compounds with other nouns such as in プログラムミス [puroguramumisu] (a programming mistake). It has the function of providing a softening effect compared with the more direct 間違い [machigai] and could be translated as a 'silly little mistake'. Katakana loanwords meet the needs of people who wish to minimalise the fact that they had taken out a loan from a bank or a money-lending organisation. Although identical in terms of financial commitment, there is a very different perception between hearing that someone has a 借金 [shakkin] and a ローン [rôn] (a loan). The former has all the severe implications of being in debt and having financial difficulties whereas having a *rôn* carries a feeling that the borrower is really only facing a (short) period of mild impecuniousness (Otsuka, 2001:87). Euphemisms are often used by advertisers such as the following one in which reference to deafness was avoided.

> 耳にハンディのある人 [mimi ni handi no aru hito]
> (people with a hearing handi(cap).

The recently particularly conspicuous use of the loan prefix マイ [mai] (my ~) such as in マイホーム (my home) and マイカー (my car) reflects the move away from group consciousness to the individual. This is still a relatively new social phenomenon and accordingly, users are still subject to feelings of being self-centred.

9. Entertainment / Humorous and Pejorative Applications

As has been noted by a number of researchers (Loveday, (1996), Haarmann (1984, 1986), Goldstein-Gidoni, and Dalliot-Bul (2002), loanwords or more frequently foreign

words, are used in their original script as a piece of entertainment, revealing that playfulness is one reason for importing foreignisms which can then evolve on to become fully nativised words. An example from the magazine (Asahi Shinbun Weekly Magazine April 29, 2002:45) is in the appearance of the non-nativised foreign words, "zoom-zoom" in an advertisement for Mazda cars, used to evoke a feeling of effortless speed. Part of their appeal would also be that they have phonetic and morphemic appeal.

The deft use of wordplay and bilingual puns is a key feature of advertising on Japanese television. This is especially so when used in combination with the stylistic devices such as assonance, metaphor and rhyme. ウルトラパワーズクリーナ [urutora pawâzu kurîna] (Ultra powers cleaner) A washing machine cleaning product with clear cultural reference to the Japanese cartoon super-hero Ultraman (Gabbrielli, 2001:34). Another example is トイレクイックる [toire kikkuru] (clean the toilet quickly). A lavatory cleaning product in which the innovatively created kuikkuru is amusingly derived from the widely known loanword 'kuikku' (quick) plus the verb forming suffix 'ru' and thus entertains.

Loanwords have been used within the framework of the established Japanese sense of humour to amuse readers or an audience and to provide light relief. Loveday (1996:198) has commented that mishonourification is one of these established modes of Japanese sense of humour in which ignorance of linguistic conventions results in the mistaken honouring of an item. He observed that the use of おジュース [ojûsu] (juice), in which the native honorific 'o' is adding an element of respect, provoked laughter in a studio

audience watching a comic drama because of the attachment of the honorific prefix to a drink considered to be ordinary and associated with young people who do not want any special respect. Part of the humour may be attributed to the fact that sometimes Japanese does provide honorifics for common items as part of the linguistic culture of the country, such as お砂糖 [osatô] (sugar). Another form of humour arises when particularly long foreign phrases create a tongue-twister effect and still another is when loanwords impart an exaggeratedly aggrandising effect. In still another form, humour is derived from the innovative combination of Japanese morphemes and English suffixes such as 漫画チック [mangachikku] < manga (Japanese comic) + the English adjectival suffix '–tic' such as in the words 'romantic' or 'despotic', literally meaning 'like a comic' or 'something being comic'.

Loanwords are also used in a number of pejorative applications in the form of slang or even anti-language. An example is the innovative wasei eigo construction of ポテトチック [potetochikku] (peasant-like) in which the meaning of [poteto] is metaphorically linked to unrefined, boorish ruralism. –resu is another case of a suffix frequently used in pejorative uses such as, 根性レス [konjôresu] (lacking courage), composed of konjô meaning 'courage' and the English adjectival suffix '–less' (Loveday 1966:194). Alternatively, they could be in the form of an innovative metaphoric transfer such as スパゲッティの人 [supagetti no hito] (spaghetti person) meaning a confused or mixed person or マネートーク [mane tôku] (money talk), literally meaning 'money talk' but is used to mean bribery (ibid).

According to Hallidayan linguistics (Halliday, 1978), an anti-society is a society that is set up within another society as a conscious alternative to it. It is a mode of resistance, resistance which may take the form either of passive symbiosis or of active hostility or even destruction. An anti-language is not only a parallel to an anti-society, it is in fact generated by it. Sociologically, many of these forms will remain within the anti-society that spawned them. However some, do not only make the transition upwards into the language of the mainstream society, but also become nativised therein. Sinister uses of the English derived loans have been found to been borrowed and then semantically altered. Two examples include ペーパ [pêpa] (paper) which is used by Yakuza gangs and the like to mean forged money and アナウンサー [anaunsâ] (an announcer), having the underworld meaning of an informer.

10. Accidental transfer by intensive bilingualism

Loveday (1996:192) has reported the phenomenon of foreign posted Japanese journalists using words of the local language to which they have been culturally exposed, in news broadcasts designed to be aired in Japan. This would not be broadcasts that are planned in advance in which the reporter reads from a prepared script, but rather would occur in a live coverage at the scene of a news event when the reporter subconsciously uses foreign words that have become part of his idiolect. The Japanese listeners, although attracted by the novelty of the foreign word and incorporate it into their speech, often do so with a mistaken understanding of its meaning. Unfortunately, he did not quote an example.

Dual Extralinguistic and Linguistic Functions

11. Prestige / Western Referent Differentiation

This group comprises those loans that were formed as a result of a need to distinguish between the native and an imported item. This section can be divided into two parts; that in which the loanword; exists as a Westernised counterpart to a native semene forming a native/western synonymic pair (11-1), or that which is in the form of a compound structure that has undergone semantic modification and adaptation to conform to the dictates of a popularly held Japanese notion of Westernisation, forming a pseudo-Westernism (11-2). This group constitutes a separate category as it is a clear case of the dual indwelling of an extralinguistic function (prestige) and also, a linguistic function (orthographic labelling of the Western variant).

11-1

The Westernisation of Japanese culture is startlingly evidenced from the many semantic pairs of native/foreign loan in which the borrowing typically refers to a newly appeared Western item that is in complement with a traditional word having a similar referent in the native Sino-Japanese culture. Two examples include: おかし[okashi] / ケーキ [kêki] (cake) and 借家 [shakuya] / マンション [manshon]. In the first pair, while both semenes refer essentially to cakes, the Japanese semene refers to a cake prepared from traditional Japanese ingredients according to a traditional Japanese method while the Western version refers to cakes such as are found in the West and made from Western ingredients. A 'shakuya' is an older style type of rented accommodation with Japanese-

style tatami flooring and traditional style of sliding doors or shôji, while a 'manshon' is much newer, is in an attractive block of flats and usually contains Western-style flooring and swing doors. The semiotic relationship between the script and its signification can be seen in the semantic triplet of やど [yado] (native Japanese), 旅館 [ryokan] (Sino-Japanese), and ホテル [hoteru] (loanword), all roughly meaning a guesthouse. The native Japanese carries the flavour of a common person's lodging, the SJ version denotes a more formal establishment catering to the more wealthy and the loanword is based on a Western design of hotel (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, The New Word Series, No. 8, 1998:42). As Loveday noted (1996:82), it is important to realise that this form of contact behaviour is separate to that of filling a lexical void which is a classification for loanwords where there has been no native equivalent in the past. They and other examples such as ライス [raisu] (rice) and シャツ [shatsu] (shirt) and so forth may initially appear to be totally superfluous however, they constitute an attempt by Japanese people to differentiate culturally and linguistically between Western and native culture. The referents are not only concrete nouns but also abstract items as well such as the newly loaned, コンピタンシー [konpetanshî] (competency) which is replacing 能力 in some business circles and エンプロイアビリティ (employability) which captures the western ethos of performance based employee evaluation that is rapidly replacing the traditional Japanese corporate axiom of 年功序列 [nenkô joretsu] or seniority service.

As Japan has moved into a post-modern industrial society, the appearance of the Western variation of the synonymic pair has become increasingly more commonplace at

the expense of their traditional counterpart which has either disappeared or been relegated to specialised uses within the culture. 筆 [fude] (a calligraphic brush) is one such example. The average Japanese stationery shop contains many racks of pens but only a couple of varieties of *fude* which has become largely relegated to calligraphic uses such as in the writing of wedding invitations, new year's cards and the like.

11-2

The second group is that of loan compounds. At first sight, it may appear extraordinary that loans such as パンプキンスープ [panpukin sûpu] (pumpkin soup) and ウェディングドレス [wedingu doresu] (wedding dress) have become totally integrated within the Japanese lexicon despite the presence of native terms of かぼちゃ [kabocha] (pumpkin) and 結婚 [kekkon] (wedding). They are used to distinguish them from native equivalents, such as 婚礼衣装 [konrei isô] or the Japanese wedding kimono. Essentially however, these loans only exist within the morphological confines of the collocation. When the fundamental item of the referent, here, 'pumpkin' and 'wedding', are referred to on their own, the native Sino-Japanese morphemes are always used, such as in a sentences of:

輸入されたかぼちゃが高い (Imported pumpkins are expensive)
二年前に彼らは結婚した (They were married two years ago)

Moreover, not only are the loans in this group collocationally specialised, but also semantically and sometimes psychologically as well. The Japanese uedingu doresu only helps to create the illusion of a Western wedding in that it is only worn as one of the

bride's typically many costume changes at the reception, simply for the sake of visual sensationalism (Loveday, 1996:84). Furthermore, it tends to be a particularly sumptuous crinoline style garment in order to fulfil popular preconceived notions of the 'romantic Western wedding'. Hence we can see that what may initially appear to be an emulation of Western referents is in fact a modification and adaptation of a western concept which is in conformity to a popularly held Japanese notion of Westernisation.

It should be understood that these loans do not occur unilaterally across all semantic divisions, but are however, generally seen applying to non-abstract material nouns, frequently related to food, clothing and entertainment.

6.2.1.3.3 The Cognitive Function Of Loans

A study of the cognitive function of loans is essentially a study of psycholinguistics in which the focus is on the relationship between the exertion of linguistic power to an utterance or text by the medium of loanwords. Power is a relational entity in that it emerges when one is compared with other persons involved in a social interaction and reveals the locations of relative dominance, authority and status. Hayashi and Hayashi (1995:199) cite a reference from Gumperz (1982:6-7) who goes as far as to say that the use of different linguistic codes, 'creates and maintains the subtle boundaries of power, status and, role and occupational specialisation that make up the fabric of our social life'. Linguistic prowess (fluency in one or more foreign languages or the ability to switch between a local dialect and the standard language as the situation demands) constitutes capital that the individual may use to attain social status, an identity and/or power in relation to others. The symbolic power of language, however, is interpretive

and involves esteem and prestige. Those persons who traditionally have power accorded them within the fabric of Japanese society such as teachers, doctors, business executives, politicians and the like make strategic use of loanwords to display their power and to subdue opposition by novices. An example adapted from Hayashi and Hayashi perfectly illustrates this. This situation is that of a university professor who is attempting to gain currency for her proposal of a revision to the current academic curriculum:

> つまり、選択科目と専攻科目の間に見ていただければ分かると思いますが、グレーゾーンという考え方を取り入れたわけです。
> [tsumari, sentakukamoku to senkôkamoku no aida ni mite itadakereba wakaru to omoimasu ga, gurê zôn to iu kangaekta wo toriireta wake desu]
> (In other words, my proposal is for a *grey zone* to be set up composed intermediately between the elective and core subjects).
> Hayashi and Hayashi, 1996:201

The use of the English loanword provides her with a perlocutionary effect of displaying an identity badge. With this word, she gains power over her listeners by the revelation of her linguistic competence in using a largely non-integrated foreign word and also by borrowing the power contained within the symbolism of modernisation associated with English words. She will gain admiration from those who know the meaning of the loan and those who dȍ not will remain silent lest they publicly reveal their ignorance and incur embarrassment.

The strategic and repeated use of prestige loanwords and English romanisations powerfully evoke Western ethnosymbolism which in turn equates with notions of

modernity, technical sophistication, high quality items and so forth. When skilfully worked into Japanese discourse at the hands of a professional advertising copywriter, discourse goals of conceptual manipulation, argumentation and persuasion can be effectively realised.

6.2.1.3.4 An Examination of Loanword Functions in Advertising

Two researchers, Takashi (1990) and Gabbrielli (2001) have written papers on the quantitative analysis of English borrowings in advertising texts used on television and magazines. In descending order of prevalence (with percentages according to Takashi's data (1990:331), functions of loanwords in advertising are: special-effects-giver (45%), shop/brand/product name (25%), lexical gap filler (16%), technical term (13%) and euphemism (0.4%). Takashi (1990:331) defined special-effects-givers as those which impart a new and cosmopolitan image to the product advertised, such as スキンケア [sukinkea] (skin care). Haarmann (1984, 1986) noted that loanwords used in advertising constitute a different register to other styles because they are frequently used in the function as ethnocultural prestige transmitters not as verbal communicators. The advertisers frequently use foreign words and expressions whose verbal content is not intended to be understood but whose ethnocultural ambience is. Secondly, partly to appeal to the buying youth, a high proportion of product and shop names are based on borrowings or created loans, for example: レゲインン (regain, a sports drink). This discussion will be taken up more fully in Section 6.3.

6.2.1.3.5 Qualitative Analysis of Functions of Loanwords

Eleven different classifications could be discerned for the reasons why foreign words are borrowed of which approximately two thirds are extralinguistic. In accordance with the second research objective which is to prove that the passage of loanwords is characterised according to cultural genre, it is important to draw a correlation between the reasons for borrowing and cultural genre. The following table has been constructed to illustrate the patterning of borrowing reasons according to cultural genre.

General	Professional	Youth
• Semantic broadening • Simplification • Phonetic and morphemic appeal • Lexical gap fillers • Foreign cultural stimulus • Conformity to an accepted (Western) standard • Euphemism or tone softener • Entertainment / humorous and pejorative applications • Prestige / Western referent differentiation • Prestige	• Semantic broadening • Lexical gap fillers • Prestige	• Prestige / Western referent differentiation • Simplification • Phonetic and morphemic appeal • Entertainment / humorous and pejorative applications • Prestige

Table 7: Classification of reasons for borrowing according to borrowing genre

From the table it is possible to discern that of the reasons for borrowing by the agents of introductions working in general culture cover the full spectrum. While the reasons for which those working in professional culture borrow are few, prestige and lexical gap fillers are, judging by the literature sources, the two most significant. The reasons for borrowing in youth culture can be seen to be markedly different from professional with only one point of mutuality. We could therefore say, in the greater part, that there is

differentiation of the reasons for borrowing according to cultural genre which upholds the assertion of the second research objective.