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

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of East Asian Studies

Submission Date: February, 2006

Year of Acceptance: 2001

VOLUME 2

6.2.2 DOMESTICATION

Introduction

In this second phase, the agent of introduction changes the lexical material that he has extracted from the foreign language so that it is acceptable to the Japanese consumer. In this thesis, this process is referred to as domestication. So the agent of introduction who extracted is the same person that domesticates the borrowing. After being extracted, excepting in the cases where it is left in foreign code (see Section 6.2.2.2), the lexical material is contained in the form and meaning of a foreign language and cannot be used as it is and must undergo the domestication processes before being disseminated into the language. The journalists in the interviews made clear that they carry out these processes which include: phonological, orthographic, semantic, morphological and syntactic alteration.

While it is recognised that English is not, of course, the only language to have had contact with Japanese, the number of English derived loans does far outweigh the others, principally because of its favoured status in both government and business sectors, internationally and domestically. Therefore, the domestication of English derived loans shall generally be the only L2 investigated here.

6.2.2.1 PHONOLOGICAL DOMESTICATION

The study of loanword phonology is the study of the frequently occurring conflicts between different phonological systems of the source and target languages as the former is made to conform to that of the latter. The lexicon of many natural languages can be divided into so called strata with accordingly different morphological and phonological behaviour. The fact that Japanese contains primarily two Chinese strata (go'on and kan'on) and an English stratum, can only be understood in the light of the history of their respective language contacts. We could say that these strata are a synchronic reflex of a diachronic influence of Chinese and English (adapted from Van Oostendorp, 1998:1).

The foreign morpheme that the agent of introduction has extracted can either be in the written or spoken form. If it is in the written form, it has been graphically borrowed and the agent will ascribe a reading to the roman alphabet in accordance with the reading rules that have been laid down during language education in school. If the foreign morpheme has been acoustically received, the agent will assimilate the perceived non-native sound structures to ones that are well-formed in the native language at the point of reception (Kiriloff 1969, Halle et al. 1998, Pitt 1998 and others cited in Smith, 2004). This is dealt with at the end of this section. The loanword phonology between Japanese and English which forms the basis of the reading rules shall now be examined.

6.2.2.1.1 Segmentals (individual sounds or sound combinations)

Phoneme Inventories

Selectional Rules and Restrictions

6.2.2.1.2 Supra-Segmentals

Stress, Syllable Weight and Accent Shift

6.2.2.1.3 The Phonology of Graphic and Phonological Borrowing

6.2.2.1.1 Segmentals

Phoneme Inventories

In attempting to make sense of L2 speech, learners rely heavily on the phonemic

categories of their L1. The process by which they imitate and approximate L2 sounds

involves a 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. This

is all the more apparent in the case of English loans in Japanese due to the considerable

mismatch between their phoneme inventories and when in attempting to find a close

equivalent through 'interlingual identifications' (Winford 2003:212), reinterpretation of

the L2 has consequential effects on the phonotactics and prosodic features of the L2.

Many English phonemes do not occur in Japanese (such as ð and æ etc), additionally,

many phonemic combinations are not allowable even though they are on their own. In

his diagram below, Ohata clearly reveals the degree to which the five vowels of

Japanese, /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/ must accommodate the fifteen English vowels

(including several diphthongs) of the English vowel system (Ohata (2004:4).

Japanese Vowels	front	central	back	English Vowels	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/	high	/i/		/u / /U/
mid	/e/		/o/	mid	/e/ /ɛ/	/ə/ /ʌ/	/o/ /ɔ/
low		/a/		low	/æ/	/a/	

Table 5: Comparison of Japanese and English vowels

As with the differences in the vowel systems, there are also noticeable differences in consonantal distributions between Japanese and English. In table 5, we see for example in the vertical column of manner of articulation, that there are no affricates found in Japanese. /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, / ʃ /, / ʒ /, /ʧ/, and /ʤ/ do not exist in the Japanese consonantal system while the voiceless bilabial fricative /Φ/ and voiceless palatal fricative /Ç/, as in the Japanese words [fujisan] (Mt. Fuji) and [hito] (person) respectively do not exist in English. Accordingly, we can see that Japanese does not distinguish between the phonemes æ and θ, hence |bath| /bæθ / (US English) and |bus| /bæs/ are both identically pronounced as [basu].

Japanese Consonants

Place of Articulation / Manner of Articulation	bilabial	alveolar	alveopalatial	velar	glottal
stops	/p/, /b/	/t/, /d/		/k/, /g/	
fricatives	/ɸ/	/s/, /z/	/ç/		/h/
nasals	/m/	/n/			
liquids		/r/			

English Consonants

Place of Articulation / Manner of Articulation	bi-labial	labio-dental	inter-dental	alveo-lar	alveo-palatial	velar	glottal
stops	/p/, /b/			/t/, /d/		/k/, /g/	
fricatives		/f/, /v/	/θ/, /ð/	/s/, /z/	/ʒ/, /ʃ/		/h/
affricatives					/ʧ/, /ʤ/		
nasals	/m/			/n/			
retroflex liquid				/r/			
lateral liquids				/l/			

Tables 6: A comparison of the diversity between the consonants in Japanese and English.

It is essential to understand that most loanwords enter graphically from the written language and irrespective of the originating dialect of the loan, the English-Japanese vowel correspondences are based upon the sound system in precisely articulated British English. Although American English has become the prestige variety of English since the second world war and that is preferred in language academies across Japan, it was British English that was prestigious when Japan first opened to the West in the mid 19th century because of the supremacy of the British Empire. It was therefore that the

reading-pronunciation rules of roman characters was based upon British English and the legacy of which continues today. For example, even a word such as 'hot-dog' which although most probably borrowed from American English, carries a phonetic adaptation according to British English of [hottodoggu] rather than an American variety such as [hoddodoggu] or [haddadaggu]. Similarly, the word 'battery' is borrowed as *batteri* rather than *barari* which is the form we would have if it were based upon American English (Quackenbush, 1974:71).

Selection Restrictions

Vowel Epenthesis

The primary cause why native English listeners fail to recognise Japanese domesticated English loanwords on hearing them is because of a completely transformed prosodic structure due to the extensive resyllabification involving vowel epenthesis. Japanese syllabic system primarily consists of open syllables, consisting of a single onset consonant followed by a nuclear vowel. Excepting those terminated by the consonant coda /n/ or in the case of the first half or a geminate (whose final coda associates with the preceding syllable), closed syllables are not tolerated nor are consonant clusters apart from palatalised consonants which only appear before the nuclear vowel (but not in the coda) such as /myaku/ (pulse) and /kyû/ (suddenly) (Kubozono, 2002:81).

In order to maintain a faithful representation of the segmental structure of the English source words, epenthetic vowels, usually, /u/ and /o/ must be added depending on the

context. The structure of the source word is thus converted to Japanese moraic timing.

The terms 'mora' and 'syllable', while similar in meaning, are not always the same and thus need to be distinguished. Japanese is composed of morae, each with the same approximate time value and stress and may consist of either a vowel, or one of the two moraic consonants, /N/ and the geminate consonant /Q/. A vowel may be preceded by an optional (non-moraic) consonant with or without a palatal glide /y/. A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. For example, the word, もも [momo] (peach), is composed of two morae or two syllables, here the mora is the same as the syllable. However, しゃしん [sha shi n] (photograph) is composed of three morae: しゃ, し and ん but two syllables: [sha] and [shin]. Similarly, きって [kitte] (stamp) can be moraically written as CV/Q/CV, having three morae but with only two syllables.

Blair and Ingram stated that competing phonological constraints within Japanese are partly responsible for native speaker indecision as to how one may construe or parse the phonetic input (Blair and Ingram, 2003:103). A good example that may be presented here to illustrate this is that of the variation between two competing ways to epenthise the phoneme /t/ in a consonant cluster. In terms of distribution, /u/ is the weakest vowel in Japanese in the sense that it is the most prone to devoicing, therefore its insertion will maximise perceptual similarity between input and output sounds. In optimality theory terms, a candidate with the /u/ more faithfully preserves the salient features of the source without violating the native language phonotactic constraints of NoCODA

(syllables not ending in a vowel) and NoCOMPLEX (no more than one consonant or vowel may associate to any syllable position node) (Kubozono, 2002:80). A common example is ミルク /miruku/ (milk) in which /u/ has been epenthetically inserted between the /l/ and the /k/. However the selection rule is that after the stops /t/ and /d/, the vowel of insertion is /o/. To explain this, we must again look at perceptual grounds to understand the dilemma in this selection rule. On one hand, in native Japanese phonology, a phonotactic constraint would cause [tu] and [du] to affricate to [tsu] and [dzu] respectively giving a word such as [shîtsu] for 'seat'. On the other hand, faithfully preserving the salient features of the source phoneme by retaining the stop /t/ would mean choosing the rather marked vowel, /o/, and would give /shîto/ (Kenstowicz, 2003:19). Japanese chose the latter but interestingly, a few exceptions of older borrowings of [tsurii] (tree) and [shatsu] (shirt) are used with 'country' having two renditions of [kantsurî] and [kantorî].

Geminates

The Japanese language contains long consonants or geminates in which the first part of a geminate belongs to the preceding syllable while the second part belongs to the following syllable. Interestingly, while there are no voiced geminates in native words, voiced obstruents are geminated in borrowed morphemes. Ito and Mester (1995) (cited in Shirai, 2001:7) argue this deviation in terms of a typology of lexical strata (also Tateishi (2003:1) in which Japanese is categorised into four lexical strata: Yamato, Sino-Japanese, Mimetic and Foreign (loans other than Chinese). Unlike Yamato

existing at the core of the Japanese language, borrowings in the Foreign category, being located at the periphery, are consequently exempt from the total conformity to the constraints imposed on Yamato lexemes. The major constraints which govern the formation of geminates are as follows (Shirai, 2001:8):

(1) Gemination occurs only if the vowel preceding an obstruent is lax in English input (Kawagoe & Arai (2002) cited in Hirayama (2004:1).

Example: alphabet > arufabetto, tulip > chûrippu

(2) Gemination tends to occur if an English source word ends with a single obstruent but not a cluster.

Example: track > torakku

(3) Shirai's research reveals that there is tendency for ambisyllabic consonants (i.e. post-stress consonants) to be geminated. (in her corpus of 499 loanwords, approximately 20% contained geminated ambisyllabic consonants)

Example: cushion < kusshon

Long Vowels

Since Japanese does not contrast a lax vowel with a tense vowel, tense vowels in English are domesticated to Japanese long vowels. English tense vowels and diphthongs are usually treated as two-morae units, whereas lax vowels are assigned to a single mora

(Jones 1960, Crystal and House, 1988, cited in Takagi and Mann, 1994:345). Indeed, Japanese is a mora counting language in which bimoraic syllables have greater duration than monomoraic ones (Archibald, 1997:179). Experience with this durational distinction has led to a tendency to perceptually assimilate English tense vowels as long and lax vowels as short (idem).

Example: show > [ʃoː] but shot > [ʃotto]

An interesting exception of a single lax vowel being transliterated as a long vowel is in the case of |oliːbu| (olive) > [oɾibu]. Quackenbush (1974:72) noted however, that this could be due to culturo-linguistic influence exerted by its predecessor from the Dutch, oliːfu.

Glides

Hiatus, or a sequence of vowels without any intervening consonant, while existing in Japanese (such as [aoi] (blue)), is nevertheless disfavoured. The Optimality Theory has isolated two constraints which militate against hiatus, as follows (Kubozono, 2002:83).

(1) NoCOMPLEX: No more than one C or V may associate to any syllable position node, that is, the formation of complex vowels is forbidden.

(2) Onset: every syllable must begin with a consonant

Cascali (Resolving Hiatus, 1996) (cited: Kubozono, 2002:83) has isolated four independent repair strategies, all of which exist in Japanese. However, only the first two are applicable to loanword phonology. Furthermore, these two processes occurring in loans are optional, for example, both [piyano] and [piano] are possible alternatives.

Consonance Insertion VV > VCV e.g. (pi.a.no (piano) > /pi.ya.no/)
Glide Formation VV > GV (:) e.g. (ba.ri.u.mu | (barium) > /ba.ryu:.mu/)

The choice of the glide depends on the preceding vowel; the palatal [i] and [e] take [y] while [u] and [o] take [w]. So a palatal glide [i] is inserted after a palatal vowel and a velar glide [y] inserted after a velar vowel.

6.2.2.1.2 Suprasegmentals

A suprasegmental is a vocal effect that extends over more than one sound segment in an utterance, such as pitch, stress, or juncture pattern.

Stress Shift, Syllable Weight and Accent Shift

English and Japanese differ in accentuation in that the former employs stress accents while the latter, pitch accents. In spoken English, accent functions to divide the chain of sounds in a sentence into its compositional parts, and to distinguish between the meanings of words having the same speech sounds.

In the native accentuation system, accent is marked by a drop in pitch immediately after the accented syllable (Shinohara, 2002:2) which is located in the antepenultimate position in the case of light syllables ((C) (y)V) such as tama'go (egg), and in the penultimate position in the case of heavy syllables ((C) (y)VV, (C) (y)VN or (C) (y)VQ (in which, y is the semivowel such as in /ya/; N is the syllabic nasal; and Q is the moraic consonant or the first half of a geminate obstruent;) such as in ko'omori (bat). Kawagoe's (2003:1), Tanomura's (Tanomura, 1999:70-71) and Sato's (Sato, 2002:68) study reveals that in response to an acoustically transmitted input, Japanese learners develop a stress computation system by modifying their native system in which, similarly, stress is computed to be in the penultimate position if the word contains heavy syllables and in the antepenultimate accent position in the case of light syllable weight. As most loanwords are transmitted through written forms, it is not surprising that the stress patterning of loans does not reflect that of their originating English form, but rather, reflects the default accent patterning used in native Japanese phonology (Shinohara, 2002:5), as shown below.

Containing light syllable
Hotél > /ho'teru/ (antepenultimate accent positioning)

Containing heavy syllable
élevator > /erebe:'eta:/ (penultimate accent positioning)

Interestingly, in long term well nativised loans, over time, the accent pattern shifts resulting loss of accentuation. This phenomenon was the subject of research by

Hyunchoel Choi of Tohoku University who carried out analyses of the diachronic shift of the accent nucleus in Japanese loanwords. Dividing the post-war period into three periods in which period one is from 1951-1966, period two from 1966 -1985 and period three from 1985-1995, he observed a diachronic shift of the accental nucleic centre away from the central mora in the first period, to the first mora of the morpheme in period two, and finally, to a flattened no-accent configuration in period three where the nucleic centre occurs antecedent to the morpheme (Choi, 2001:28-32). In the example taken from Choi (ibid:32) of the loanword [puragu] (plug), the arrow represents the diachronic accentual shift in which 'a' is the accentual position in period one, 'b' in period two, and 'c', occurring before the morpheme, in period three.
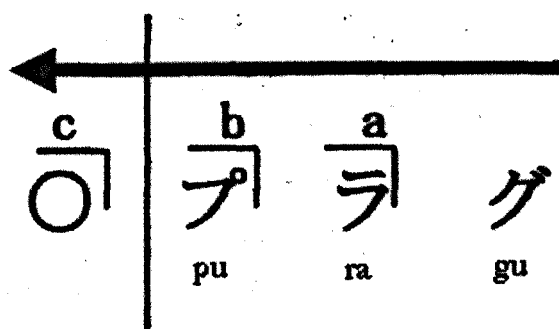
6.2.2.1.3 The Phonology of Graphic and Phonological Borrowing

Graphic Borrowing

The phonology of the adaptation processes that apply to graphic and to phonological loans differs widely and bears illustrative analysis at this stage. The process in which foreign words enter Japanese through the written form involves a process of graphic loaning where pronunciation is assigned based upon pre-existing rules and analogies

principally laid down in classroom based EFL education. Epenthesis is particularly

pervasive in loanword domestication because the vast bulk of loanwords entered

Japanese as graphic loans from written materials.

In the case of the adaptation of the word, *cream* to クリーム [kurîmu], the following

processes apply.

Rule	Adaptation	Comment
No complex onset	|kr| →/ku/	Constraint against onset clusters
Tense vowels treated as two morae units	|ri:| →/ri:/	
NoCODA except nasals	|m| →/mu/	Perceptual similarity maximised using the epenthetic vowel /u/

Table 7: Graphic Adaptation

Competing phonological constraints, new orthography and psycholinguistic forces

operating within some sectors of the community are responsible for indecision on the

part of the agent of introduction as to how to parse extracted loans. This shall be taken

up in the following sections.

Phonological Borrowing

Phonological borrowing involves direct copying of the L1 into the L2 according to what

the hearer perceived the speaker to have said. Phonological borrowing must be

understood as a process utterly dependent upon the hearer's (mis)perception which in

turn depends upon the phonotactic constraints within the L1. Based on psycholinguistic

evidence, Peperkamp and Duproux (2003) (stated in Smith (2004:5-8), Vendelin and

Peperkamp (2004:2-5) and a number of others have stated that all (phonological) loanword adaptations involve phonetically minimal transformations in which all aspects of non-native phonological structure, including segments, suprasegments, and syllable phonotactics, are systematically distorted during speech perception. That is, acoustically perceived non-native sound structures are assimilated to ones that are well-formed in the native language (Kiriloff 1969, Halle et al. 1998, Pitt 1998 and others cited in Smith, 2004). When applied to my model, we see a Japanese agent of introduction who, based on a Japanese internal constraint-influenced domestication, parses the English phonemes that he perceived forming the most minimal transformation. This process using actual examples shall be looked at with reference to Peperkamp and Duproux's (2003) model.

(1) Utterance of the L2 phonetic form

'White shirt' is acoustically transferred, having the English form of wáyt.ʃ3: t, to a native Japanese listener.

(2) The L2 phonetic form parses into the listener's phonetic decoding module (Peperkamp and Duproux's parlance) and is mapped into a surface representation according to his perception of the utterance. Hence, | wáyt.ʃ3: t| is mapped to /wai.ʃa. tsu/. In the decoding process, the acoustic input (including syllables, segments and suprasegments) is decoded according to a goal of maximum auditory similarity to input (Fleischhacker, 2000:38) but which is particularly prone to unfaithfulness due to the

considerable disparity between source and native phonetic categories. In this example, four processes containing epenthesis, alteration and deletion can be discerned, as follows. The first phoneme /t/ of |wayt.ʃ ɜːt| is not perceived due to the Japanese constraint against non-nasal codas and hence deleted. So here, perception led to deletion. Next, the open-mid vowel /ɜː/ does not exist in Japanese and is parsed as /a/. Thirdly, the second phoneme /t/ violates the constraint against closed syllables and so the shortest epenthetic vowel /u/ is added, as, opposed to others, more faithfully preserves the salient features of the source. Here, perception led to epenthesis. Fourthly, in accordance with the above mentioned phonotactic constraint, /tu/ affricates to / tₔu /. The suprasegments are also decoded, the stress patterns of the English |wt.ʃɜ't| are mapped to [wai. ʃ'a. tₔu]. Peperkamp and Duproux offer psycholinguistic proof that epenthesis is actually perceived by Japanese listeners while listening, and should not be considered as being the product of a subsequent process. Compared with French listeners, Japanese have more difficulty in distinguishing the difference between the auditory stimuli of CC and CVC, the cause being due to both CC and CVC forms being mapped as CVC by the Japanese decoding module. (Smith 2004:4). Arguing in terms of perception grammar, Broselow states that the acoustic signal is mapped on to underlying phonological representations as an input to production grammar. Furthermore, failure to decode CC as CC does not imply that Japanese speakers cannot hear acoustic cues which function to signal contrast with their native language, only that their perception grammar determines those cues which are not linguistically significant (Broselow, 2003:3).

We can be sure that this transfer was phonemic and not graphic due to existence of the graphic doublet /ho.wai.to/ as used in /ho.wai.to. hau.su/ 'the White House' and 'ho.wai.to ku.ri.su.ma.su/ 'white Christmas' (Smith, 2004:5).

Another example showing medial cluster and final coda deletion:

ɔːl.rayt (alright) > /oːrai /

6.2.2.1.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

Clearly, the requirements under Research Objective 1 have been satisfied in this process. That is, the above documentary evidence reveals that borrowed foreign morphemes undergo phonological domestication. It is also clear that this would be the first step of the domestication as he would receive the morpheme in romanised form and read it according to the conventional reading rules. That this is carried out by the agent of introduction was confirmed during the interviews with the agents themselves.

Research Objective 2

Concerning Research Objective 2 however, there does not appear to be any phonological evidence that would suggest that the agents working in professional culture carry out a phonological domestication in a way that would set their work apart from that carried out by agents in the other two cultures. We can therefore assume that

phonology is one area that is so basic to the whole of the language that there has to be

complete uniformity.

6.2.2.2 ORTHOGRAPHIC DOMESTICATION

Background

Modern Japanese is written predominantly in a combination of three scripts: Chinese characters and two syllabaries of kana or Japanese syllabic characters. The Chinese ideographic script was originally adopted in Japan early in the first millennium AD because the Japanese had no native writing system at that period. This script, (both as logograms and phonograms) number some 48,000 characters with about 3,000-3,500 in general use, and are used to represent many nouns and the stems of verbs and adjectives. The kana having a total of 92 characters, 46 in each syllabary, is composed of hiragana, used mainly for inflectional suffixes, grammatical particles, some nouns, and katakana, used for representing Western loanwords, biological names, onomatopoeic expressions, and for semantic emphasis. As shall be later discussed, there exists a fourth script of borrowed roman letters and/or arabic numerals that have become used ever more increasingly. These romanised forms are used mainly to represent foreign languages in their native script and have a number of specialist functions. They are also used to express native Japanese words in romanised form. We shall now look at the processes whereby agents of introduction determine which of the four scripts to use: that is, a logogrammatic calque, a phonetic transliteration into katakana, a romanised form by leaving the borrowing in its native script or, some type of hybrid form of the above, such as a heterogeneous calque.

6.2.2.2.1 Script Selection Determinants

After extraction of the foreign lexeme, followed by application of his acquired reading

rules to render it compatible with the Japanese sound-system (as described in a previous

section), the agent of introduction must now choose which of the four scripts to be the

most appropriate. This is not to say that this process is consciously performed by the

agent of introduction on every occasion, writing in a specific audience-determined genre

and using personal prior analogy would tend to serve as an overlying directive. Working

backwards from an examination of loanwords in my corpora, it was possible to discern

six key determining factors, which shall be called the Script Selection Determinants.

They are:

(1) He must first identify the target audience to whom he wishes to introduce the

neologism. This determinant and the sixth determinant are linked in that they set the

overall mood of the writing.

(2) He must determine the potential degree of its accuracy of comprehension of each

script to the audience. Unless comic miscomprehension or code selection for the

purpose of semiotic attraction is the effect intended, script comprehension is an

important factor. Indeed, during the interviews, both professional magazine editors and

television programming staff emphasised the need for comprehension

(3) He must determine the potential degree of ease of comprehension of each script.

Prior lexical familiarity with a segment of a word to be introduced greatly influences the degree of ease of comprehension of the new word.

(4) He must take into account the desirability of having loans that are morphemically streamlined with ease of writing. This implies an avoidance of bulky, verbose expressions, an estimation of which can be obtained by counting the number of morae.

(5) Particularly in the current age of increased international communications, there has recently been a strong desire to have commonality of terminology to facilitate inter-communication. This is especially so in the area of technology where the accepted English language form acquires immediate acceptability status by Japanese working in the same field. Hence in the case of an agent working in professional culture, recognition of the original form is one of the factors that would influence his determination of script.

(6) He must consider the stylistic effect that this choice would have in the context of the textual style into which it is to be introduced.

The Script Selection Determinants are essentially a process involving a compromise or a kind of trade-off in which the form having the most positives and fewer negatives, that is, the best compromise, is selected. However, it is sometimes the case that one of the six factors carries considerably more weight in the determination and as such, can

override the others. This process shall be observed for each script.

6.2.2.2.2 The Scripts

1) Calques

As mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, the borrowing of only the meaning of an item from the source language and translating this into Japanese logograms was the principal means for the introduction of foreign concepts from the mid-nineteenth to early 20th centuries. This was essentially because the transfer from the source language of totally unfamiliar concepts together with the linguistic forms that represent them presented too much of a hurdle to comprehension (Bynon, 1977:232). For example, when the concept of a lift in a multi-storey building first arrived, Japan had only just emerged from a feudal society where electricity, multiple storey occupancy and so forth were very foreign entities, hence the word, 'lift' was calqued to 昇降機 [shôkôki] (lit. a rising falling machine) as a key to aid comprehension. However with passing time and increasing societal sophistication, the advantages of the use of kanji as a crutch to aid comprehension started to be compromised by the feeling that strings of kanji were linguistically complex with the high incidence of homonymic overlapping. Additionally, this came at a time when the pre-eminence given to classical Chinese studies and the concomitant linguistic and cultural desirability accorded to kanji started to wane in the face of increasing political and social favour being shown to Western culture and English.

Script Selection Determinants - Calques

A typical example will be chosen in order to investigate this process. When the expression, 'human resources management studies' was introduced in the 1970s, we can surmise that the agent of introduction would have gone through the following evaluation and selection processes.

(1) Target audience identification: Professional/Scholarly

(2) Determination of potential comprehension of each script

The calqued form: 人的資源管理学

The katakana form: ヒューマン・リソース・マネージェメント・スタディー（ズ）

A hybrid (heterogeneous calque or loanblend) such as: ヒューマン・リソース・マナ ジェメント学 (after the style of ウイルス学 or virology)

The romanised form: Human Resources Management Studies

(3) Potential ease of comprehension

The calqued form: good

The katakana form: poor

A hybrid: poor

The romanised form: poor

(4) Morphemic streamlining:

The calque: 7 morae

The katakana: 19 morae

The hybrid: 16 morae

The romanised form: 10 syllables

(5) Recognition of the original form

The calque: poor

The katakana: good

The hybrid: good

The romanised form: good

(6) The stylistic effect of each of these forms: Here, in the context of an academic textbook or journal.

When creating the calque, the agent would have substituted for each of the constituent morphs in 'Human Resources Management Studies', its semantically closest morph in Japanese and the result combined together in accordance with Japanese native word formation rules. Hence, 'human' was translated into the logogram, 人的 [jinteki], 'resources' into 資源 [shigen], 'control' in 管理 [kanri] and 'studies' into the suffix, 学 [gaku] in which the pronunciation of the calque is totally unrelated to that of the donor language.

It was a calque that he chose and which has still retained its currency. The presence of multiple kanji strings always imbues a text with a scholarly air which would have been appropriate for both (1) the audience and (6) the stylistic context. Furthermore, in consideration of (2) and (3), it would have been the most accurately and easily understood form for a 1970s Japanese audience in which the concept of people being evaluated as a resource was very foreign (as 'elevator' would have been to Meiji Period people). The katakana version would have been eliminated because it would have lowered the academic tone and the phonetic characters would have given no clue to the meaning of the new expression. Judging on past analogy, hybrid forms had generally been used in morphemically short expressions, typically bi-moraic fusions such as in the case of 輪ゴム [wagomu] (rubber band) and would not have appeared appropriate here. The romanised form would have been seen to have the same incomprehension problem as the katakana, all the more so as the level of English awareness and acceptance thirty years ago was a lot less than now. This would have been alleviated to a certain extent by the prestige afforded to the English expression (5), especially as it was a foreign concept. However in consideration of (4), even though there were only seven morae, as it was in the pre-word processor age, the tediousness and laboriousness in having to write the total of some 64 strokes might have mitigated against the logogram candidate in favour of the katakana expression. Accordingly, the Script Selection Determinants would have favoured the homogeneous logogrammatic expression, having advantages in four out of the six categories.

	Calque	Katakana	Hybrid	Romanised
(1) Target audience suitability	√			√
(2) Potential accuracy of comprehension	√			
(3) Potential ease of comprehension	√			
(4) Morphemic streamlining		√		
(5) Recognition of the original form		√	√	√
(6) Stylistic effect	√			√

Table 8: Analysis of the Script Selection Determinants for the expression 'Human Resources Management Studies'

I would argue that these evaluation and selection conditions not only apply in the initial creation stage but also continue throughout the period in which the loan is used. Additional factors that can explain why 人的資源管理学 was retained and 昇降機 died include such as: changing audience attitudes towards an orthographic form, increased foreign language awareness, the retentive power of an established form (years of continuous use), ease of pronunciation and ease of writing.

In conformity with the agent of introduction profiles that were established in Section 6.1 above, one would expect to see a higher incidence of writers working in the professional genre introducing calques than those in the youth genre due to the former writing to an older, more sophisticated target audience who expect, welcome and can understand a more learned discourse.

2) Katakana

Revision and Guidelines for New Katakana Characters

In the post-war period, the katakana characters underwent two revisions as follows. The first was borne of a National Language Inquiry Commission convened in 1954 which recommended that the standard katakana list, comprising the equivalents to the hiragana list, should be allowed to suffice for use in the newspapers, textbooks, broadcasting and other media (The Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japanese Language Division). 1997, New Word Series, No. 6:42-45). It did however approve the release of a supplementary list of thirteen characters, included below as List 1, which were prescribed for occasional use in exceptional circumstances.

List 1

		シェ she	
		チェ che	
ツァ tsa		ツェ tse	ツォ tso
	ティ ti		
ファ fa	フィ fi	フェ fe	フォ fo
		ジェ je	
	ディ di		
	デュ dyu		

Hence, a word such as 'general' should preferably be transliterated as ゼネラル [zenararu] with the form closer to the original English of ジェネラル [jeneraru], to be

reserved for only special use. Some of the older words have retained the older forms, such as ゼリー [zerî] (jelly) being the preferred alternative, even for younger people. However generally, the newer forms have replaced the older with only very elderly Japanese persisting in using them, such as in the case of テーシャツ [tê shatsu] for 'T shirt' instead of the newer form of ティーシャツ [tî shatsu]. In the second revision in 1991, the characters in List 1 were regarded as having spread through out the Japanese community and were judged as being acceptable for general use. Thus it may be seen that the conservatism of the government was not shared by the Japanese public who have hailed the new characters as being indispensable. The characters included in List 2 were designated for use primarily for place-names and people's names or in other occasions when strict adherence to the original pronunciation or spelling is required. While their use was not forbidden in other areas (The Agency for Cultural Affairs: idem), it was thought that the standard katakana list plus List 1 should suffice in most circumstances. It is this imprecision that has given rise to the existence of multiple forms for the same word. In the case of セパード [sepâdo] and シェパード [shepâdo] for the English word, 'shepherd', the research published in 1998 by the Japanese Language Division of The Agency for Cultural Affairs (New Word Series, No. 8:58) reveals that the latter has become more accepted. Indeed, in its official capacity, it recommends that as Japanese people have an awareness of the English sound and that they can pronounce シェ [she], its use should be mandatory (The Agency for Cultural Affairs: idem). For example, in an NHK survey carried out in 1988, 52% of the respondents preferred the newer form of ヴァイオリン [vaiorin] to the traditional

orthography of バイオリン [baiorin] for the word, 'violin' (A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, 1988 Vol. I:30). Interestingly, in 1974 only 24% of people even recognised the new form at all. This is a measure our how efficacious the forces of lexical dissemination are in Japan and how well the Japanese people receive such orthographic innovations. Thus it may be seen that the Agency for Cultural Affairs is more progressive than the government's National Language Inquiry Commission.

List 2

イ エ ye

ウ イ wi ウ エ we ウ オ wo

ク ア kwa ク イ kwi ク エ kwe ク オ kwo

ツ イ tsi

ト ウ tu

グ ア gwa

ド ウ du

ヴ ア va ヴ イ vi ヴ vu ヴ エ ve ヴ オ vo

テ ュ tyu

フ ュ fyu

ヴ ュ vyu

Older established katakana characters became modified to take a form of a diacritic, that is, a katakana vowel written in smaller form and set off to the bottom right of the original character. For example, when f-sounds were used more and more in Japanese, the symbol for fu (フ) was paired with smaller vowel signs. Hence, [fa] is now written

as [fu] plus a smaller version [a] (ア), thus, giving (ファ). While no paper has been published that reveals a definitive answer as to the creator of these innovative characters, an interesting conclusion can be drawn from the Agency for Cultural Affairs publication (ibid:61). It notes that there are no fewer than six forms for the katakana transliteration of the Italian word 'quartetto' listed throughout the twenty different dictionaries they researched: カルテット [karutetto] (the original version using List 1 characters), クアルテット [kuarutetto], クァルテット [kwarutetto], クォーテット [kwôtetto] (from the English 'quartet'), クワルテット [kuwarutetto] and クヮルテット [kwarutetto]. The last one of which uses a character ([ku] with a [wa] diacritic, クヮ, which does not even appear in List 2, confirming that katakana character creation is an innovative process in which public use precedes official recognition. Furthermore, a thorough search of the Japanese internet discovered no existence at all of this character which would indicate that lexicographers are, at least, one of the creators of innovative katakana.

The Six Determinants for Competing Katakana Orthographic Variants

As can be clearly seen in the case of the six orthographic variants of 'quartetto', the appearance of the new characters have caused a prolific rise in the incidence of multiple competing orthographic variants for the same foreign morpheme. As explained below, there is a total of six factors or determinants which influence which of the orthographic variants for the same morpheme gain community acceptance and popularity, This selection causes at least a minimalising, if not the virtual replacement of the other

candidates. These six shall now be looked at.

Stanlaw (2002:538) noted that both Japanese (e.g. Kindaiti et. al. Nihongo Hyakka-daijiten (An Unabridged Encyclopaedia of the Japanese Language. 1995:111) and western writers (e.g. Miller, The Japanese Language 1967: 255–256) acknowledge that these new syllabaries have increasingly developed as Japanese people have grown more sophisticated in pronouncing new sounds. This should be appreciated against the fact that Japanese clearly enjoy pronouncing foreign language phonemes in a way as close as possible to the original language. Accordingly, new phoneme familiarity is the first determinant. Next, while the 1991 revision recommended use of the List 1 characters, the Japanese Language Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs noticed however, that older sequences of phonemes such as [hon] continued to be used despite the existence of the newer [fon] form. They accordingly conducted an investigation, subsequently published in 1997, to determine the status of the two competing forms for the word 'telephone': the older form, first appearing in 1886, being テレホン [terehon] and the newer form being テレフォン [terefon] (Agency for Cultural Affairs, No. 6:48-9). After compiling the data found in nineteen sources, comprising, Japanese language dictionaries, character dictionaries and a newspaper language reference guide, they found that fifteen sources stated that the older form was standard but accepted the newer form, one source accepted them equally, two sources regarded the newer form to be standard but accepted the older form and one source listed only the newer form. Researching independently, Stanilaw (2002:ibid) not only confirmed their findings but

expanded it to argue that the words related to the device of the telephone itself, such as: telephone accessories, types of telephones, headphones, and earphones are usually written with the [hon] form, whereas non-device related words, such as: telephone advice and telephone quizzes and so forth tended to be written in the newer [fon] form. An example appearing in the magazine, PC User is:

> 'YAHOO! BB/BB フォンサービスにはFAX情報サービスが便利だ！
> [YAHOO! BB/BB **fon** sâbisu ni wa FAX jôhô sâbisu ga benri da!]
> The fax information service is a useful part of YAHOO! BB/BB's telephone service'.
> PC User (October, 2003:72

One could therefore say that a semantico-orthographic relationship develops in which people associate the semantic classification of a referent with a specific orthographic rendering. In other words, here, it is possible to say that the presence of device related referents serves to legitimise both the continued use of the older [hon] form in existing words and also, its use in future appearing similar referents. An illustrating example is the spelling of キャッチホン [kyatchi hon] (catch phone) for 'call waiting'. Hence, we can say that the second determinant is the existence of a semantico-orthographic relationship in which semantically related items tend to carry the same phoneme. In a note concerning the difference between the written and spoken forms, Stanlaw (2002:ibid) mentioned the interesting fact that although there is about a 60%/40% ratio in the preference for the newer variant in the written language, informants attested to

saying [terehon] more frequently. It would therefore seem that Japanese have a preference for speaking the sounds that naturally occur in their own native language.

A similar example may be seen in the two forms of the English word, 'film'. The traditional spelling of フイルム [fuimuru] always refers to photographic film used in a camera while the innovative form of フィルム [firumu] can depict things not purely photographic, such as a "film library" フィルムライブラリー [firumu raiburarî] and the hybrid, フィルム集配 [firumu shûhai] (collection and delivery of films). Again, we can see a semantico-orthographic relationship however, unlike the case of the stable [terehon] which is managing to hold its own against [terefon], it appears that in this case, the newer form is gaining ascendancy (Stanlaw, 2002:31). Indeed, proof that it is increasingly ousting the older form may be evidenced from dictionaries such as the current edition of the great Japanese reference standard, the Kôjien, giving only the newer spelling. Before the appearance of the [fi] phoneme, all [fi] containing morphemes, such as [finrando] (Finland), must have had the older form so why did the semantico-orthographic relationship not protect the [fui] phoneme? The answer lies in the existence of a competing determinant. Stanlaw argues that ease of pronunciation is a contributing factor to the choice of spelling, hence as the phoneme [fi] is easier to pronounce than the older [fui] diphthong, it has increasingly made inroads on its competitor. The same could be said for the all but complete disappearance of the older palatalised キャメラ [kyamera] (camera) in favour of the simpler カメラ [kamera]. Hence, we can say that the third determinant is ease of pronunciation.

The fourth important factor in variant determination is the effect of prolonged usage of established loanwords in which a particular form is used. Clearly, the more established a variant is, the harder it is for a competitor to oust it. In the case of older loans such as the 19th and early 20th century borrowings of: ゼネラル [zeneraru] (general), ゼネスト [zenesuto] (gene(ral) st(rike)), ゼリー[zerî] (jelly) and ゼラチン [zerachin] (gelatine), their continued popularity, even amongst young Japanese, gives evidence of the retentive power of the orthographic form contained within the loan in the face of opposition by newer competitor of ジェ [je]. This factor legitimises the continued use of the ゼ [ze] phoneme for both (ze) and (je).

As mentioned above in Section 6.1, 'English reading rules' by which Japanese people can understand English pronunciation is based upon formation of an acquired stratum of English morphemes comprising conventional Japanese pronunciations. This formation is heavily influenced by analogy and so although they would have learnt that the phonemic segment lviCel (C = consonant) such as in the word, 'invite', is spelt using バイ [bai] and thus acquired the pronunciation of [baiC], if the new orthographic representation of ヴァイ [vai] with its pronunciation of [vaiC] is seen to be widely disseminated, this can cause the hitherto acquired reading rule of lviCel →バイ to change to lviCel →ヴァイ. The term, 'wide dissemination' can be understood to mean the combination of two factors: (1) depth of lexical penetration of morphemes containing the new orthography (that is, a proportionally much lesser incidence of morphemes containing the traditional variant) and (2) a high frequency of repetitive

usage of examples. Accordingly, the fifth determinant is wide dissemination.

The stylistic genre in which the agent of introduction is to use a new borrowing is the sixth and final factor affecting which variant is chosen. For example, there are two variants for the word, 'computer': the first, コンピューター [konpyûtâ] has a final long vowel and the second コンピュータ [konpyûta] does not. The 1954 katakana revision prescribed that a long vowel should be used when a word ends in a schwa, a ruling that has been taken up by newspapers and the NHK. The scientific world however, virtually always uses the truncated form, indeed, this form is prescribed for use in the influential JIS (Japan Industrial Standards) nomenclature rulings. Accordingly, if a writer is addressing members of professional culture, the latter form is mandatory. These are cases of writers writing in a professional milieu. However, even in general and youth culture, the truncated form has started to appear. An example which illustrates genre specific orthographic selection can be seen by examination of the loan, プレイする [purei suru]. In modern Japanese, プレイ and プレー are virtually of identical pronunciation however, while プレー for 'play' is used in the context of 'play a game' or 'a theatre play', プレイ does not conventionally exist at all (Shogakukan Japanese English Dictionary: 1986). It would seem that プレイ has become the popular variant in youth culture, being used in forms such as DJプレイ [DJ purei] (a DJ playing music), プレイステーション [pureisutêshon] (play station) and プレイする [purei suru] (to play (live) music) (from Burrn, a youth culture heavy rock magazine, December 2001:65). It has since spread into general and professional culture,

as may be seen in the respective examples of: プレイグループ [pureigurûpu] (a play group (kindergarten)) and プラグ＆プレイ [puragu & purei] (plug and play, (computing)). In the 1990s when the youth culture agent of introduction introduced this variant, he consciously conformed to the linguistic expectation in his genre in which 'youthful, innovative modernity' is desirable and thus deliberately chose an orthographic representation appropriate to his genre, albeit non-existent. This will be taken up in detail in the Dissemination Section.

Based on the above findings, it is now a possible to collate the factors which influenced the usage patterns of firumu / fuimuru and jerî / zerî. They appear below in Table 9.

Orthographic Selection Determinants	zerî	jerî	fuimuru	firumu
(1) Increased English pronunciation sophistication, concomitant with usage desirability		√		√
(2) The effect of semantically related analogous morphemes (the semantico-orthographic relationship)	√	√		√
(3) The effect of ease of pronunciation	√√	√		√
(4) The effect of prolonged usage of a phoneme in established loanwords	√		√	
(5) Wide dissemination	√	√		√
(6) The effect of stylistic genre	√	√		√

Table 9: Orthographic Selection Determinants in Katakana Words

The table clearly reveals the reason for the ascendancy of firumu at the expense of its

predecessor fuimuru. Increased foreign language awareness and phonetic sophistication has paved the way for the [fi] phoneme dissemination in which it is used in morphemes which cover a broad semantic application such as [fîrudo] (field), [firutâ] (filter) and [finrando] (Finland) and so forth. It has also achieved wide dissemination as fuimuru is the only case left in which the older orthographic representation is used. The reason why [fui] has all but totally disappeared can be understood by the fact that only one of the six determinants is acting in its favour. The situation regarding the two forms for 'jelly' is, however, quite different. They both contain five of the factors present The vocalic acquisition of the phoneme [je] and its innovative pronunciation is offset by more than a century of use of loan words whose original [je] phoneme, such as 'gelatine', was domesticated to [ze]. The deciding factor which has ensured the survival of zerî and so forth, is probably the fact that the native phoneme is slightly easier to pronounce than the imported one.

It must however, be clearly understood that, even as important as the first five orthographic determinants are, the 6th has the ability to override all of them. There are a number of cases, of which two examples are mentioned below, where a specific orthographic representation is the preferred representation in a stylistic genre. Moreover, writers working in this genre, conform to the standards within, irrespective of any other conditions that may prevail. In the table below, although each form for the word 'computer' shows an almost identical profile, the fact is that in professional and scientific writings, the truncated form is exclusively used due to its standardisation

within the Japanese professional culture.

Stylistic Genre	Professional	General/Youth	Youth	Prof/General
The 6 determinants	konpyûta	konpyûtâ	Purei suru	Purê suru
(1)	√	√	√	√
(2)	√	√		√
(3)	√	√	√	√
(4)		√		√
(5)	√	√	√	√
(6)	√√√	√	√√√	√

Table 10: Illustration of the overriding effect of stylistic genre within the Orthographic Selection Determinants

An investigation of recent popular scientific magazines reveals that agents of introduction working in the scientific genre are starting to render other scientific English morphemes having the same final schwa, into katakana without the final long vowel, such as in 'processor'→プロセッサ [purosessa]. Even more extreme is the case seen in youth culture of the innovative replacement of the phoneme [ê] conventionally used in the word [purê suru], by [ei], thus creating a non-existent word, [purei suru]. Here, the agent of introduction totally overrode the complete profile for [purê suru] to achieve his stylistic objective of innovative and creative writing.

I posit that this table of Orthographic Selection Determinants may be used for any pair of competing loanword orthographies to understand retrospectively why one of the forms has gained ascendancy over the other.

Importantly, this evidence proves the assertion contained within Research Objective 2, namely, that agents of introduction borrow and modify foreign morphemes in a genre-specific linguistic environment, consciously conforming to the pre-set expectations and requirements of the genre.

Script Selection Determinants -Katakana

As used above in the above calques section, the Script Selection Determinants shall be employed to illustrate cases where the agent of introduction would typically use katakana. The expression, 'catch phrase' 'catch ball' and others containing the word, 'catch' had been used in Japan for some time when the morpheme, 'catch', used on its own, was borrowed from English with the idiomatic meaning of, to 'detect', 'pick up' or express 'cognisance of a situation'. It is now being used in this meaning in recent magazines aimed at young females. The agent of introduction would have gone through the following evaluation and selection processes.

(1) Target audience identification: young females interested in fashion, appearance and so forth in which prestige is important .

(2) Determination of potential comprehension of each script:

Calque: 気付く [kizuku], 発見する [hakken suru]

　　　　native words therefore complete comprehension

Katakana: キャッチする [kyatchi suru]

> Has been used in the sporting world for many years. Proposed new meaning is a logical extension of the existing meaning and should not present an impediment to comprehension.

A hybrid form: n/a (see following section on hybrid forms)

Romanisation: Catch

> Generally, good graphic recognition and comprehension (taught in school English syllabus)

(3) Potential ease of comprehension

The calqued form: good

The katakana form: good

The romanised form: good

(4) Morphemic streamlining:

The calque: 3 morae [kizuku] & 4 morae [hakken suru]

The katakana: 4 morae

The romanisation: 2 syllables

(5) Recognition of the original form

The calqued form: poor

The katakana form: good

The romanised form: good

(6) Consideration of the stylistic effect.

Kizuku: This is a very commonly used native Japanese verb and would impart no special stylistic effect at all. It is also laden with connotations.

Hakken Suru: This SJ compound is typically used for detection of a major item/event and so its use here would lift the tone to an inappropriate level.

Kyatchi Suru: Imparts a light and airy tone, suitable fir use in contemporary youth culture texts.

Catch: A very possible alternative, especially if it was to be used in advertising or in a prominent position (a magazine cover or article headline) where the functions of advertising would apply.

An example of its actual use was taken from a magazine published in 2004 as follows:

> あなたの変化を敏感にキャッチしてくれて、「へえ、髪の色変えたね」なんて言ってもらえるかもしれません。
> [anata no henka wo binkan ni kyatchi shite kurete, "hê, kami no iro kaeta ne" nante itte moraeru kamoshiremasen]
> (He will please you by sensitively picking up the change in you and will get him saying things like, "Oh, you've changed your hair colour, haven't you?"
> (Extracted from 'Misty', March, 2004:17)

When these results are compared in tabular form, it is clear that the katakana form is most favoured with romanisation a possibility depending on the stylistic effect required by the agent.

	Calque	Katakana	Romanised
(1) Target audience suitability		√	√
(2) Potential accuracy of comprehension	√	√	√
(3) Potential ease of comprehension	√	√	√
(4) Morphemic streamlining		√	√
(5) Recognition of the original form		√	√
(6) Stylistic effect		√	(√)

Table 11: Analysis of the Script Selection Determinants for the expression, 'catch'

In addition to the linguistic functions of katakana, of which being a means to codify foreign morphemes is the foremost, there is also another very important function: being an acculturation means for incoming foreignisms. Pierce (1971:57) noted that, 'Japanese are unusually prone to look at a word written out before they attempt to pronounce it. Hence they look to the katakana as soon as they hear the word'. To the Japanese mind, katakana has a cultural familiarity from which we could say that foreign morphemes, when 'clothed in the katakana script', enjoy a considerably increased acceptability compared with the foreign script in which it arrived.

In conformity with the agent of introduction profiles that were established in Section 6.1

above, one would expect to see a proportionally higher incidence of writers working in the youth genre introducing katakana than those in the professional genre due to the former writing to a younger, less mature audience who are expecting to be entertained above all else. Quirky katakana expressions are one way to entertain.

3) The Hybrid Form

The hybrid form consists of either loanblends or heterogeneous calques. The lexical incidence of hybrids stands at 2.2% of the lexicon according to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs (1997:27), so its occurrence is accordingly much less frequent than the other forms. Morphologically, loanblends can have the forms of: stem + stem, prefix + stem or stem + suffix. Two examples are: あんパン [anpan], an <J. truncation of anko (bean paste) + pan < Port. pão (bread) = a bean paste bread roll and バイト先 [baito saki], baito < Ger. truncation of arbeit (part-time employment) + saki < J. destination = place of part-time employment. Heterogeneous calques are essentially a translation as in pure calques but in which the agent of introduction uses two scripts, not one. The case of 電話ボックス [denwa bokkusu] (denwa < J. telephone + bokkusu < E. box = public phone booth), is a translation of the English, 'telephone booth' into two scripts, logogrammatic kanji and katakana.

Script Selection Determinants - Hybrids

On the basis of analysis by the process of Script Selection Determinants, one could hypothesise that hybrids are derived out of an attempt by the agent of introduction to

create a hybrid morpheme which represents the best possible compromise, a compromise which is either morphological or a semantic. An illustrating case would be that of the heterogeneous calque: 液晶ディスプレイ [ekishô disupurei], ekishô < J. crystal + disupurei < E. display = liquid crystal computer display monitor) which illustrates this hypothesis. A homogeneous calque, such as 液晶電子板 [ekishô denshiban], a translation of 'electric board', would not have been possible because disupurei is the accepted word for a computer screen and introduction of another term would lead people to think that it was a completely different object altogether. Furthermore, the five character sequence is at the limit of acceptable length and would be considered by many to be verbose. The homogeneous katakana representation would have been morphologically wordy (リクイッド・クリスタル・ディスプレイ) [rikuido kurisutaru disuprei] and the semantic opaqueness of the scientific jargon 'liquid crystal' may have had a detrimental effect upon sales to non-technical buyers. Hence, to the introducing agent, the heterogeneous calque would have represented an acceptable compromise between the unfamiliarity and verbosity of the homogeneous calque and the morphological wordiness and semantic opaqueness of the homogeneous katakana form. This compromise hypothesis can also be applied to loanblends such as in the case of 光ファイバ [hikari faiba], hikari < J. light + faiba < E. fibre = optic fibre.

(1) Target audience identification: general /technical

(2) Determination of potential comprehension of each script

The homogeneous calque: 光繊維 [hikari sen'i] < J. [hikari] (light) + [sen'i] < J.

(fibre) = optical fibre

The katakana form: オプティカルファイバ [oputikaru faiba] < E. [oputikaru] (optical) + [faiba] (fibre)

The heterogeneous calque: 光ファイバ [hikari faiba] < J. [hikar]i (light) + [faiba] < E. (fibre)

The romanised form: optical fibre

(3) Potential ease of comprehension

Note: oputikaru is not widely known but faiba is well known due to its use in ファイバーグラス (fibre glass) and in expressions concerning dietary fibre.

The homogeneous calque: good

The katakana form: poor

The heterogeneous calque: good

The romanised form: poor

(4) Morphemic streamlining:

The calque: 3 morae

The katakana: 8 morae

The heterogeneous calque: 4 morae

The romanisation: 5 syllables

(5) Recognition of the original form

The calqued form: poor

The katakana form: good

A hybrid: good

The romanised form: good

(6) Consideration of the stylistic effect.

If contained in text to be read by a general or professional audience, the Japanese rendering of the word 'optical fibre', should have at least some link in with the original English as well as be linguistically comprehensible.

	光繊維	光ファイバ	オプティカルファイバ	Optical Fibre
(1) Target audience suitability	√	√		√
(2) Potential accuracy of comprehension	√	√		
(3) Potential ease of comprehension	√	√		
(4) Morphemic streamlining	√	√		√
(5) Recognition of the original form		√	√	√
(6) Stylistic effect		√		√

Table 12: Orthographic Selection Determinants for the various forms of 'optical fibre'

As can be seen from the table, the inappropriateness of the word 'optikaru' is a major barrier to the use of 'oputikaru faiba'. However, as it is a technological term, there is a significant need for the original English form to be recognised. Hikari faiba is the best compromise.

4) Romanisation

The fourth script used in Japanese is that of the roman alphabet. As native Japanese does not use the roman script, Loveday (1996), has regarded the incidence of Western languages written in roman script, when used against a Japanese language backgrounding matrix, as constituting examples of code switching.

> There often exists a clear boundary between Japanese and the language with which it is switched ... This code based differentiation is most clearly symbolised in the use of different scripts.
> Loveday, 1996:124

Loveday clearly defines code switching as the use of non-Japanese scripts. However, a majority of researchers working in bilingual societies including Weinreich (1970), Haugen (1950), Myers-Scotton (1989), Muysken (1997), concur with Poplack and Meecham (1998:129) in defining code switching situations as those having an alternation between two (or more) language systems in which the foreignisms show little or no morphological or phonetic integration into the recipient language In other words, they defined code switching as,

> The juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally phonological) rules of the language of its provenance.
>
> Poplack (1993, cited in King, 2000:85)

Furthermore, in response to the debate over a working definition by which code switching could be differentiated from borrowing, Poplack and Meecham have defined a borrowed word (including a nonce borrowing (ibid:137) as one which shows at least some degree of integration. The difference between the two definitions is that the latter is based on bilingual discourse studies model in which linguistic interference arises out of bilingual, interpersonal and intercultural interfacing. While discourse originated Japanese/English code-switching does occur, it is only evident in societies having Japanese/non-Japanese cultural and linguistic interference. An example is the case of code switching in second generation Japanese-Canadians in Canada, researched by Nishimura (1995). In Japan itself, the three factors of monolingualism, monoethnicism and ethnocultural barriers, mentioned in Section 6.1 above, actively prevent interlingual discourse. Accordingly, code switching, arising out of interlingual interference as defined by Weinreich and others, does not occur. It was probably for these reasons, combined with the particularly salient presence of roman code in the written language that led Loveday to reject their definition and instead, define code switching to be a written language only phenomenon evidenced by the presence of non-Japanese script. If one were to regard code switching not as meaning merely the presence of a foreign code, but rather, that resulting from the act of switching code, then in the case of Japanese, one could not assume from the simple presence of romanised script that any switching

had occurred. Consider the example of fully integrated loanword that is written in romanised script, such as 'manual' (as in a user's manual). It would not be clear whether agent of introduction switched back from the katakana マニュアル [manyuaru], used his prior knowledge of the English word or relexified it, that is, reborrowed it again from the originating English source. Accordingly in this thesis, in place of the term code switching, 'romanised script' or 'romanisation' shall be used.

Texting Patterns of Romanised Script

An investigation of the linguistic corpora reveals two main texting patterns: (1) Monoscripted Texting and (2) Biscripted Texting. Monoscripted Texting shall refer to the existence of the foreign language morphemes used on their own without any explanatory or supporting Japanese. Biscripted Texting shall refer to the situation when one of the three native Japanese scripts is used in conjunction with a foreign language (usually English). Sub-groups within these classifications are based upon usage function and spatial arrangement.

In Monoscripted Texting, no translation is needed because the foreign language is deemed to be: (1-1) generally understood by the target audience, or (1-2) its function is to convey ornamentally the foreign ambiance engendered by the foreign words rather than its textual meaning. Section (1-1) can be further divided into three groups: (1-1-1), (1-1-2-1) and (1-1-2-2) according to spatial arrangement and function, as follows.

(1-1-1) Romanisations which are used within the body of a Japanese text are always intended to be understood by the target audience. Either they are words (usually short single morphemes or acronyms) that are generally known within Japanese society such as 'yes', 'no', 'hello' 'OK' 'up' and so forth or else, they are words typically known by members of the specific targeted audience such as 'hard drive' by those in professional culture. Importantly, in either case and in (1-2), these loans are not the result of direct borrowing from English just prior to introduction but are words that are already familiar to the reader. The following example of the use of 'good' is a case of a word generally known within Japanese society.

一台のPCで、複数のカードや複数のザウルスとでもシンクロできてしまうのもgood。
[ichidai no PC de, fukusû no kâdo ya fukusû no zaurus to demo shikuro dekiteshimau nomo good]
(On one home computer, it is good that it can be synchronised with several cards or several Zaurus' (a computer related product))
Extracted from the magazine, Nikkei Mobile (January 2002:130)

(1-1-2-1) Romanisations that occur outside Japanese sentences are marked off spatially and constitute autonomous units (Loveday, 1996:121). When in the function of an information source, as an aid to comprehension, multi-worded presentations are often in a notice-board style. A good example can be seen below, taken from a full-page advertisement for a new music CD and an accompanying concert:

SABER TIGER
NEW MAXI SINGLE "ETERNAL LOOP"

2001.11.21 OUT

LIVE: THE ETERNAL 2001
DECEMBER 14TH (FRI)
OPEN 18:00 START 19:00 TICKET ON SALE
Extracted from the magazine, Burrn (December, 2001:134)

(1-1-2-2) Spatially marked off romanisations can also have an ornamental decorative function in which it is intended that they be understood. Most are of single or double morphemic structure such as 'NEW', GET' 'NEWS & INFORMATION', banners in supermarkets saying, FISH, FRUIT and so forth.

(1-2) Researchers investigating Japanese advertising culture in the 1980s frequently report the incidence of what Haarmann referred to as ethnocultural stereotypes (1984:6). Positive stereotypical scenes of foreign cultures (usually Western European or American) were used to convey a mood or an ambience and the role of any accompanying foreign language texting was not that it should be understood but that it act as an adjunct to the mood creation process already established by the foreign models, the music and the setting. Haarmann noted the following example:

'What better way to greet the new season than to feel enveloped in clothes that best express the feeling of warmth, comfort and luxury'.
Haarmann, H 1986:115

However, in the twenty years that have elapsed since then, inspection of the corpus material reveals that in the world of printed advertising, the incidence of foreign

languages being used as ethnocultural stereotypes in which the language was not intended for comprehension) has become markedly less. Possibly due to constant exposure to foreign linguistic and cultural material such as foreign language films, radio broadcasts and the commonality of foreign travel, the exoticness that was once evoked by foreign languages and cultures has faded somewhat. Namba (2003) reports that television advertising has become considerably more sophisticated, concentrating on the symbolic meanings of the products or lifestyles associated with the products (Namba, 2003:5). Interestingly, in step with the general improvement in English proficiency and Western cultural awareness, the English language texting in product commercials aimed at professional culture is not only designed to evoke images of Western sophistication as formerly, but also now, has the appearance as if it is meant to be understood, at least in part. An example can be seen in a Japan Railways campaign for a new express train service from central Tokyo to Narita airport which features American businessmen talking, in natural English, about the difficulties of travel to Narita which the new train service solves (Kilburn, 1992:1).

Biscripted Texting can be further divided into four categories depending on the role of the associated Japanese morphemes: (2-1) the Japanese provided is a translation of the foreign borrowing, (2-2) the Japanese is simply a katakana rendering of a romanisation, (2-3) the Japanese is in an inter-morphemic script mixing relationship with the roman morphemes in which the phrase is composed of a fusion of separate roman and Japanese scripted morphemes (in either kanji or katakana), and (2-4) the Japanese is in an

intra-morphemic script mixing relationship, occurring within a single morpheme.

(2-1) This group can be further divided into two sections according to function. The first (2-1-1) is the situation in which a Japanese translation is appended to aid comprehension of borrowed items. This was the original reason for calquing that was used in the Meiji and Taisho periods. Here is an example that appeared very frequently in newspapers in the mid 1990's.

主要国首脳会議（G7サミット）
(G7 summit meeting)

The explanatory calque of 主要国首脳会議 [shuyôkoku shunô kaigi], translated from 'summit of principal country leaders', was placed first followed by the loan, G7. As a result of integration however, by the year 2000, either simply 'G8' was used on its own or was placed first with the calque following in brackets. When English is used as a romanisation within the body of Japanese text, the use of brackets is frequent indicator of this explanatory function. The form in brackets is the inferior or supporting form.

(2-1-2) Additionally, calquing also occurs for a purely decorative reason. An example of this decorative ornamental use may be seen in the following extract from the business magazine, "Big Tomorrow" (March, 2004:82): with reference to instructions on how to reply to a questionnaire being conducted by the magazine. On the immediate left of the centrally placed English phrasal title of 'The requirements for application', is written

the Japanese translation of 応募要項 [ôboyôkô]. It has the appearance that the English is central and the translation is there to aid the comprehension of those who do not understand. However, it is clear that this is a case of purely decorative ornamental use as 'The requirements for application' is an unnatural English phrase to use in this situation. Had it actually been a foreign borrowing, an expression such as 'How to reply' or some such more natural phrase would have been used. What has happened is actually the reverse phenomenon: the agent of introduction has translated (probably with the aid of a Japanese-English dictionary) his desired Japanese expression of 応募要項 into English to achieve an ornamental stylistic effect.

(2-2) The second kind of Biscripted Texting is similar to the first in that a Japanese version of the original borrowing is provided but the difference is that here, a phonological adaptation is provided which provides a guide to the pronunciation only and not the meaning. In addition, as noted above, the katakana provides a cultural frame of reference, increasing its grounds for acceptability. An example taken from the magazine Misty (March 2004:11) contains an advertisement in which immediately underneath the English title of, 'Grand Cross', is given the katakana translation of: グランドクロス [gurando kurosu].

(2-3) The third kind involves inter-morphemic script mixing in which the phrase is composed of a fusion of separate roman and Japanese. An example is:

ネイティブ American Dr.

[netibu American Dr.]

(native American doctor).

Misty, 2004:34)

(2-4) The fourth kind is the most rare and innovative of all and consists of a fused script of roman characters and katakana. It is also the most playful of all the kinds and is used typically in domains where such playfulness is tolerated. Loveday (1996:121) gives an example of 'ゴルフING' [gorufu ing] (golfing).

Source of Romanised Morphemes

From the above texting patterns of romanisation, it may be seen that there are more situations when the agent of introduction does not borrow directly from a foreign language at the time of use, but rather, merely changes the script of a well known word to romanisation. The table below well illustrates this differentiation.

	Borrowing of foreign morphemes for immediate use in their original code	Use of well known items
(1-1-1)		√
(1-1-2-1)		√
(1-1-2-2)		√
(1-2)	√	√
(2-1-1)	√	
(2-1-2)		√
(2-2)	√	
(2-3)		√
(2-4)		√

Table 13: Source of romanised morphemes

The agent of introduction borrows from a foreign language for immediate use in three situations: in Monoscripted Texting for ornamental decoration (1-2), and in Biscripted Texting for calquing into kanji for meaning comprehension (2-1-1) and katakana transliteration for pronunciation and acculturation purposes (2-2). An examination of these three categories shows that those working in the professional genre would be more likely to borrow directly from a foreign language for immediate use in its native script. Inclusion of English neologisms from the business or scientific world in their native script accompanied by a Japanese equivalent would simultaneously satisfy professional identity markers and the need for comprehension (2-1-1 and (2-2). In youth culture however, while the agents avail themselves of more texting patterns, a considerable portion are of known words.

Functions of Romanisation

The three Japanese scripts have a legitimate place within the traditional structure of the language and have accordingly well-defined functions. Borrowings written in Roman script however, have much more complicated functions. To understand the domestication processes undertaken by the agent of introduction when introducing words in romanised script, it is essential to understand the reasons why he would choose this script or, what functions he intends them to perform. As in the analysis of functions of loanwords in Section 6.1 above, the functions for code switching can be similarly

analysed according to whether it is concerning a function pertinent to an interaction between Japanese language and the foreign language (linguistic) or whether it is concerned with an interaction between Japanese people and foreign cultures (extralinguistic).

Linguistic	Extralinguistic
• Semiotic attraction • Orthographic imprecision of katakana • International interaction	• Identity markers • Prestige • Ornamental decoration • Creation of feeling of authenticity • Humour and pejorative applications

Table 14: The functions of romanisation

Linguistic Functions

Semiotic attraction

As noted above, the reason why many agents of introduction introduce monolingual code switched foreign languages is to take advantage of the semiotic attraction of Western languages to draw the reader's attention. Setting them spatially apart from the Japanese text serves to heighten this effect.

Orthographic imprecision of katakana

In my own personal experience as a translator in Japan, many Japanese businesses prefer to have foreign place names, people's names and other proper nouns of foreign origin in roman script to avoid the orthographic ambiguity of katakana. For example, in

the case of a proper noun written as サービック [sâbikku] for example, there are at least eight equally possible renderings as follows: Sarvic, Sarvick, Sarbic, Sarbick Servic, Servick, Serbic and Serbick.

International Interaction

Particularly in loans of a scientific, commercial or academic nature, the desire to have commonality of language with which Japanese may more freely communicate with foreign colleagues has increased with the exponential increase in international information exchange. Such exchange typically includes; news reports, corporate progress reports, material concerning technological co-operation, personal one to one letter and E mail exchanges and, of course, the internet. To give an illustrative example taken from the corpus:

> チップセットはnFORCE PRO 150で...最大8GバイトまでのRegistered PC 3200 DIMMが搭載可能だ。
> [chippu setto wa nFORCE PRO 150 de, saidai 8G baito made no Registered PC 3200 DIMM ga tôsai kanô da]
> (The chip set-up is an nFORCE PRO 150 type which can accommodate a maximum of 8 gigabytes of registered PC 3200 DIMM memory.)
> Extracted from PC USER, Oct, 2003:130

Extralinguistic Functions

Identity marker

Loveday noted that (1996:194) 'the exploitation of English lexification for the targeting of specific audiences is obviously bound to its semiotic potential as an identity marker'.

Examination of romanisations in the corpus would reveal the truth of his statement in the presence of two functional classifications, that of identity markers of youth culture and that of identity markers of technical expertise. There is a particular use as youth culture markers which reinforce the concept that the reader who can decode the foreignism is a member of a select in-group, and as such, is privy to information that outsiders are not. Personal identification with a social group and fidelity to that group are particularly strong among youth. Hall-Lew (2002) expressed this very well in her comment,

> The use of these English-based terms by a younger, fashionable population of speakers suggests that the use of English loan words may serve to indicate social status. Although the semantic change is greater for the transliterated words, the communicative function is enhanced by this marker of self-identity.
> Hall-Lew, 2002:17

This fact is the underlying psychological basis that the agents of introduction use when deliberately choosing to romanise as a means of marking off to the decoder (target audience) information that is exclusively in-group. The use of the acronym, SE (sound effects), in a music magazine is a good example of this function.

> そして雑踏にまぎれるようなSEが入って..
> [soshite zattô ni magureru yô na SE ga haitte]
> (Then sound effects appear which give a feeling like being lost in a crowd)
> (Example personally provided by an interviewed magazine editor)

Some of the examples given above testify to the existence of markers of technical

expertise. All technical terms carry the implication of expertise in that specialist understanding by the decoder is required which again, acts as a marker of being a member of an in-group. This is closely related to the prestige value of the source language and to the perception that technical topics can be more appropriately handled through borrowing than through the native language (Loveday, 1996:193-4). The use of romanisation as markers even further confirms the truth of Research Objective 2 that agents of introduction consciously conform to the pre-set linguistic and extralinguistic expectations and requirements of the genre.

Prestige

The use of the prestige afforded to English as a means to assert both youth culture exclusivity and also professional expertise is a major function or reason why agents of introduction use romanisation. A complete discussion on the use of prestige in borrowings can be found in Chapter 6.1 above.

Ornamental decoration

This was discussed above in the sections dealing with Phase 2.

Creation of feeling of authenticity

Particularly in the world of printed advertising, romanisation in the written language can greatly facilitate the impression on behalf of the consumer of the genuineness of a foreign-origin product. Similarly with television advertising, foreign languages create

an emphasis that directs attention towards the item being advertised. As a Dentsu (one of Japan's largest advertising agencies) spokesman commented,

> 'Foreign languages help in getting more viewer attention. ...They can also add authenticity to the products' appeal or message'
> (Kilburn, 1992)

Humour and Pejorative Applications

Here it is used principally by advertising copywriters in more progressive and linguistically sophisticated advertisements.

Choice of Language

While English is the most popular foreign language for commercials, news events can prompt other choices. In view of all the media attention given to the former Russian president's Gorbachev's visit to Japan in April 1991, Menicon, a contact lenses manufacturer chose Russian for their commercial campaign. Similarly, in a personal communication, a Japanese magazine journalist said that because of the recent popularity of football in Japan, Italian words had started to replace what had formerly been English derived loan words. An example is the replacement of ディフェンス (defence, in football) by ボランチ < It. volante to mean a mid-fielder.

Script Selection Determinants - Romanisation

Here, a typical example will be chosen to investigate this process. In an NEC advertisement for a photocopier (PC USER:69), the expression, 'Empowered by Innovation' is placed at the top of the advertisement, on the immediate left of the

manufacturer's logo. Assuming he wanted to have an expression similar to 'Empowered by Innovation', the agent of introduction would have gone through an evaluation and selection process similar to the following.

(1) Target audience identification: Professional

(2) Determination of potential comprehension of each script

A calqued form: 革新による力 [kakushin ni yoru chikara]

The katakana form: イノベーションによるパワー [inobêshon ni yoru chikara]

A heterogeneous calque such as: 革新によるパワー [kakushin ni yoru pawâ]

The romanised form: Empowered by Innovation

(3) Potential ease of comprehension

The calqued form: good

The katakana form: poor

A hybrid: good

The romanised form: poor

(4) Morphemic streamlining:

The calque: 6 morae

The katakana: 12 morae

The heterogeneous calque: 8 morae

The romanised form: 9 syllables

(5) The stylistic effect of each of these forms: In the context of an advertisement in which the location is to be spatially set apart from the Japanese text, and which crucially, is to placed beside the company logo, the only real choice is the roamnised form. As may be seen from the tabular analysis below, while the other forms appear much more advantageous, in this case, it is a stylistic effect that carries much more weight.

	Pure Calque	Katakana	Heterogeneous Calque	Roman
(1) Target audience suitability	√	√	√	√
(2) Potential accuracy of comprehension	√		√	
(3) Potential ease of comprehension	√		√	
(4) Morphemic streamlining	√		√	
(5) Recognition of the original form		√		√
(6) Stylistic effect				√√√

Table 15: Analysis of the script selection process for romanisation

As the table reveals, it is because the agent of introduction desires a professional expertise marker, that the stylistic effect of the Romanised form overrides other scripts which would have otherwise been more appropriate.

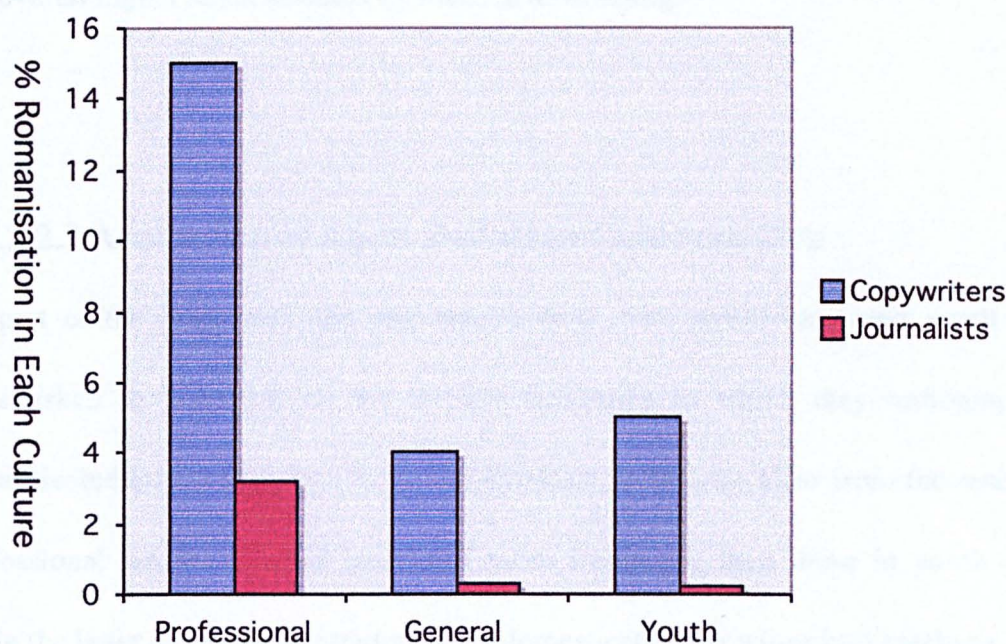Quantitative Analysis of Romanisation Usage

Fig. 6: Distribution of the percentage of romanised English borrowings

The above is a graph showing the distribution over three corpuses (professional, general and youth) of the percentage of romanised English borrowings over all content words used by advertising copywriters and magazine journalists. The professional corpus contained 7130 words, the general corpus 8950 words and the youth corpus 6610 words. From the graph we can see that in the case of the professional corpus, the greatest incidence of romanisation at 15% of the total number of words in advertising texts (480 words) was found. The same corpus, although containing many more words coming from the journalists who created the articles (some 6650 words) contained a far lower percentage of loans. Perhaps contrary to expectation, the results show a considerably higher incidence of professional culture loans however, most of these are names of

devices and testing parameters used in technological fields. What was anticipated was the overall higher result attained by loans in advertising.

6.2.2.2.3 Application of Agent Profiles to Fieldwork Data

As part of the interviews, the respondents from both professional and youth culture were asked to comment on the relative frequency to which they orthographically domesticated borrowings into kanji and katakana. It became clear from the results that professional writers calqued into kanji more frequently than those in youth culture, while the latter tended to orthographically domesticate borrowings into katakana.

6.2.2.2.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

Clearly, the requirements under Research Objective 1 have been satisfied in this process. That is, the above documentary evidence reveals that borrowed foreign morphemes undergo orthographic domestication as the second step in the domestication. After assigning a pronunciation, the agent would then decide, according to the above model, which script to use. That this is carried out by the agent of introduction was confirmed during the interviews with the agents themselves.

Research Objective 2

It is possible now to see patterning that categorises the choices that the agents of

introduction make when deciding which orthographic form to use in domestication. Those working in professional culture, and to a certain extent general culture, would have a considerably higher incidence of calquing and hybrids. Katakana would be used by all three groups but in youth culture, where it functions as a medium of entertainment, one would expect a greater variety of textual applications. Again romanisation would appear in the writings of all three groups, the professionals (especially the scientific and technical branch) making use of its naming function, the youth culture making use of its playfulness and with general culture, medianly disposed.

6.2.2.3 MORPHOLOGICAL DOMESTICATION

Introduction

The third stage in the domestication process actuated by the agent of introduction is that of morphological domestication. It should be understood that the morpho-syntactic model for the domestication of katakana loanwords mirrors and derives from that established for Chinese loans a millennium ago, the difference is merely orthographic (Loveday, 1996:139). The four morpho-syntactic processes (Shibatani, 1990, ch.10) of compounding, truncation, derivation and inflexion are similarly carried out on katakana loanwords. The process of the innovative compounding of pre-existing loan morphemes (wasei eigo) is a completely separate process to borrowing and shall be addressed in Section 6.2.3. The processes of word class conversion by inflection and derivation shall be discussed in the following section (Syntactic Domestication), while the mechanism of truncation and its relationship with the agent of introduction shall form the subject under discussion here. An analysis of the various processes that the agent performs is necessary so that the changes that he makes may be better seen as being an integral part of the whole process by which borrowings evolve.

It should also be noted that not all truncations occur at the hand of the agent of introduction. An example given to me by the journalist Murakami at Nikkei Business Review was the word 'restructuring'. It was borrowed around 1995 by Japanese writers and used in its untruncated form of リストラクチャリング [risutorakucharingu] and

appended with the calque 事業の再構築 [jigyô no saikôchiku] but was apocopically

shortened in the public zone to リストラ [risutora].

6.2.2.3.1 A Typology of Western Loanword Truncation

Unlike languages such as German, Japanese is intolerant towards lengthy words, the

most common morpho-phonological shape for SJ words being two morphemes, of three,

four or five morae which have the distribution percentage over the whole language of

22.7%, 38.3% and 17.7% respectively (Kawamura, 1994:99). The means by which this

ideal can be maintained is by practice of abbreviation or truncation, indeed, Shibatani

(1990:254) suggests that this is a legacy from the bimorphemic phonological preference

within Chinese. For example, the expression, 'Hong Kong style' is abbreviated in

Chinese from 香港式 [xiang gang shi] to 港式 [gang shi] with the first of the

bimorphemic compounds (港) acting as a base. Truncation is also applied to foreign

loan morphemes whose length sometimes far exceeds this preference due to the

phonological processes of domestication, particularly epenthesis. This is evidenced in

the many examples such as リモコン [rimo kon] resulting from the compound

apocopic clipping of its bimorphemic constituents of 'remote' and 'control' and

similarly, アメフト [amefuto] from Ame(rican) foot(ball). The clipping in the former

example represents a reduction from the ten morae of リモートコントロール [rimôto

kontorôru] to the preferential SJ bimorphemic length of four morae. The truncation

patterns observable in loanwords comply with the indigenous SJ compounding process

norms.

The following tabular analysis provides a complete representation of the truncation patterns of Western loanwords observable in Japanese (Sato, 1994:115-143; Matsuda, 1986:50-51; Loveday, 1996:142 and Hoffer, 1990:6). The truncations can be of entire morphemes, of individual morae, or of individual phonemes, with the location of the truncated element being indicated as apocopic, aphaeretic or syncopic according to whether the element has an anterior, medial or posterior positioning respectively. The patterns are also analysed according to whether the truncated element is a single morpheme or a compound in which the latter consists of a double syncopic truncation of the initial foot of the first morpheme being combined with the initial foot of the second (such as the [rimo + kon] given above). This is particularly relevant to computations concerning the location of truncation, the topic of the following paragraphs.

Table 16: Morphemic Truncation (Compounds)

	Western Loanword	Sinogramatic Model
syncopic	endoran < (hit) and run mishin < (sewing) machine	哲学 <(希)哲学 [tetsu gaku] < [(ki) tetsu gaku] (philosophy)
aphaeretic	sofutokurîmu < soft (ice) cream ofu reko < off (the) reco(rd)	東大 < 東(京)大(学)生 [tôdai < tô (kyô) dai (gaku) sei] Tokyo University student
apocopic	Sâdo < third (base)	昼 < 昼飯 (lunch) [hiru] < [hiru meshi]

Table 17: Moraic Truncation (Single / Compound Morphemes)

	Single	Compound
syncopic	hômu < (plat)form	sutando purei < (grand)stand play
aphaeretic	kôdinêto < co(or)dinate	poli baketsu < poli(ethylene) bucket
apocopic	biru < buil(ding)	ea kon < air con(ditioning)
	(SJ Model) 茄 (nasu) < 茄子 (nasu (bi) eggplant)	
double apocopic	angura < un(der)grou(nd)	tore pan < trai(ning) pan(ts)

Table 18: Phonemic Truncation (Single Morphemes)

	Single
syncopic	merika < (a)merica
aphaeretic	seta < s(w)eater
apocopic	purachina < platinu(m)

Table 19: Hybrid Truncation (Compound Morphemes)

Type	Derivation
Apocopic moraic	アル中 [aruchû) < aru(kôru) (alcohol) + 中毒 [chû(doku)](poisoning) = drunkenness
Apocopic phonemic	ロン毛 [ronge] < ron(gu) (long) + 毛 [ke/ge] (hair) = long hair (men only)

Table 20: Truncation of apocopic inflexional/derivational loan suffixes

	Single	Compound
-ed	ホモジナイズ [homojinaizu] < homogenis(ed)	スクランブルエッグ sukuranburu eggu < scrambl(ed) egg(s)
-ing	スペル [superu] < spell(ing)	sutâto rain < start(ing) line
-ment	アパート apâto < apart(ment)	engêji ringu <

		engage(ment) ring
-ness	ホームシック [hômushikku] < homesickness	
-(e)s (plural)	サングラス sangurasu < sunglass(es)	on za rokku < on the rock(s)
-'s (genitive)		ûman ribu < women('s) lib

6.2.2.3.2 The Optimality Theory Approach to Clipping

The most significant morphological change to loanwords is truncation and some mention should therefore be made as to how a decision is made regarding where the point of truncation should be. The Optimality Theory approach provides the best explanation and so a simplified account shall be provided here.

Studies on the morpho-phonological truncation process in Japanese loanwords could not consistently account for the actual length of derived truncated words due to a failure to create a sufficiently strict distinction between simple abbreviated loanwords (SALs) and compound abbreviated loanwords (CALs). The location of a truncation is intimately related to word prosody in the pre-truncated original form (Labrune (2002)) and so accordingly, the different lexical and prosodic properties between SALs and CALs prevented consistent computations. CALs are overwhelmingly four morae long (80.3% of a test sample) whereas SALs display a more balanced representation between the trimoraic pattern (38.2%), the bimoraic one (35.7%) and the quadrimoraic pattern (25.5%) (Labrune (2002: 103). The following table reveals the distribution of prosodic patterns of SALs in Shinya's sample of 197 forms (Shinya, 2002:3), a distribution

confirmed by Ito (1990, cited in Shinya, 2002:3) and in Labrune (2002:99).

No. of morae	
1	L (1)
2	LL (77), H(2)
3	LLL(37), LH(5), HL(32)
4	LLLL(18), HLL(16), LHL(4), LLH(2), HH(3)

Table 21: Distribution of prosodic patterns of SALs

The table above tells us that certain types of heavy / light syllable sequences are highly

disfavoured, namely, L, H, LH, LHL, LLH, and HH. An examination of the scholarship

behind the evolution of theories that explains the ill-formedness of these rare forms and

the factors which determine the exact length (between 2 to 4 morae) of the truncation

for a given prosodic base reveals points of commonality, notably that the bimoraic foot

comprising a single heavy syllable or a sequence of light syllables has been established

as the minimal word for a variety of languages including Japanese (Pater, 2000:269;

McCarthy and Prince, 1986, cited in Ito and Mester, 1992:3). However while Ito (1990)

and Ito and Mester (1992) could account for the ill-formedness of some prosodic forms,

they did not however, shed light on the exact mechanism by which the lengths of

truncated forms may be determined. In addressing this question and reworking their

binarity concept in her 2002 paper, Labrune proposed an OT based system comprising

six constraints, the four major ones are presented below.

In her analysis of apocopes, the most numerous type of SALs, Labrune found that LL,

LLL, LLLL, HL and HLL constitute the only productive patterns. Two observable

properties, identifiable as well-formedness constraints were stated:

(1) The output is prosodically binary (Bin): (LL), (LL)(L), (H)(L), (LL)(LL), (H)(LL),

i.e. no (L), (L)(H)(L), (H)(H)(H), (H)(LL)(L), etc.

(2) The output must not end in a heavy syllable (*H): LL, LLL, HL, HLL, LLLL

i.e. no *H, *LH, *LLH, *HH, *HHH, etc.

(3) Next, in order to determine the length of the truncated form, Labrune proposed a

further constraint, the correspondence constraint (ALIGN-RL). She claimed an

empirical observation that the truncation point is located immediately before the

accented mora and so, as Japanese feet are trochaic, this would be at the left edge of the

head foot (Labrune, 2002:106). Furthermore, this left edge aligns with that the right

edge of the truncated form. For example, in denomi < denominéshon (denomination),

the left edge of the accented mora [né] aligns with right edge of the truncated form,

denomi.

(4) The fourth constraint is called 'All Feet' (ALL-FT). Shinya sees the role of this

constraint in making the truncated form as short as possible (Shinya, 2002:6).

According to OT theory, for every input form, a set of candidate output forms is

generated. Permutations of constraints are tested over the candidature within the corpus to see which hierarchical ranking throws up the least number of exceptions, that is, cases which disprove the validity of a particular ranking. Once the hierarchy is established, the optimal form of a candidature is that candidate which best satisfies the conflicting demands (has the least violations) of the constraints in the hierarchy. This then becomes the attested output form. Labrune's hierarchy of constraints is:

Bin>>*H >>ALIGN-RL>>ALL-FT

This hierarchy shall now be applied to an example.

Interi < interijénchiya (intelligentsia)

	Bin	*H	ALIGN-RL	ALL-FT
(i)	*		$\mu \, \mu \, \mu$	
(in)		*	$\mu \, \mu$	
(in)(te)			μ	*
(in)(teri)				**
(in)(teri)(je)	*		μ	***
(in)(teri)(jen)	*	*	$\mu \, \mu$	****

Table 22: Application of OT based rankings to an example

In the case of interijénchiya (intelligentsia), the hierarchy leads us to the correct truncated form of interi. It is parsed into a unimoraic and bimoraic prosodically binary structure that does not end with a heavy syllable and the left edge of the accented mora

[jén] aligns with right edge of the truncated form, interi. It violates the ALL-FT constraint but this is the weakest of all four and so it is clear which the optimal form is.

Compound Abbreviated Loanwords (CALs).

Although in SJ abbreviation, bimoraic, trimoraic and quadrimoraic compounds are possible such as 入学＋試験→入試 [nyu u shi] (entrance examination), 国立＋大学→国大 [ko ku da i] (public university) respectively, most loanword compounds are shortened to four morae words (Kubozono, 2002:95). Indeed, the greatest difference between the prosodic patterns of SALs and CALs is that the former allows for a diversity of truncation patterns over two, three and four morae long while CALs of four morae overwhelmingly predominate. Most CALs are formed from a fusion of the first bimoraic foot from each of the morphemes such as poke(tto) + beru→poke beru (pocket bell). The constraints that act on SAL truncations are different to those on CALs however, although widely acknowledged as laudable research, there have been no formal studies carried out to date.

6.2.2.3.3 Reasons For Truncation

Linguistic

Many languages exhibit Minimal Word conditions, that is, restrictions on the smallest possible Prosodic Word in a language (McCarthy & Prince 1986). There are also restrictions on the maximum size of Prosodic Words and these are governed by the constraints as noted above. Hence the linguistic reasons for the truncations observed

above in A Typology of Western Loanword Truncation (6.2.2.3.1) can be seen as reflecting Prosodic Word size limits (De Lacy:1-3).

Extralinguistic

The extralinguistic functions of truncation are similar to those investigated in the previous section, that is, the reasons why agents of introduction working in youth culture truncate long loanwords is so that they may serve as identity and prestige markers. These markers serve to reinforce the concept that the reader who can decode the truncated foreignisms is a member of an in-group, and as such, is privy to information that outsiders are not. However unlike in the previous section in which it was determined that romanisation was also used by those working in a professional milieu but in the function of an identity marker of technical expertise, here, the reverse situation applies. For example, the computer term, 'motherboard' is written in scientific journals with the full six morae of マザーボード [mazâbôdo] without any attempt at a truncated form such as [mabo] or so forth. Particularly in loans of a scientific, commercial or academic nature, the desire to have commonality of language with which Japanese may more easily communicate with foreign counterparts has increased with the exponential increase in international information exchange. Such exchange typically includes; news reports, internet articles, technical magazine editorials, and company reports dealing with competition and co-operation in technology. In a personal communication, the editor of a computer magazine confirmed there has been a move away from morphemic truncation of the native form so that Japanese readers may better

communicate with like-minded computer industry workers in other countries. For example, the double truncation in パソコン [pasokon] < (paso)naru + (kon)pyûta) has rendered the original foreign word of 'personal computer' to be incomprehensible to a native English speaker. Indeed, in the last several years, PC (in roman acronyms) has made considerable inroads into the semantic domain hitherto held by pasokon. This is particularly so in the professional and some parts of general culture, with pasokon having been relegated to non-professional applications.

6.2.2.3.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

The requirements under Research Objective 1 have been satisfied in this process. That is, the above documentary evidence reveals that borrowed foreign morphemes undergo morphemic domestication as the third step in the domestication. After assigning an orthographic designation, the agent would then truncate, according to the above model. That this is carried out by the agent of introduction was confirmed during the interviews with the agents themselves.

Research Objective 2

In youth culture, one would expect to find a significantly higher degree of truncated forms as an expression of the need to have youth culture identity markers. Conversely, the agents working professional culture would try to achieve a form as close as possible to the borrowed morpheme. The prestige associated with being able to understand the

loanword in its original morphology (albeit in katakana), would more than compensate for any awkwardness encountered when reading or vocalising lengthy loanwords. So non-truncated forms of Western loanwords would serve as professional culture identity markers.

6.2.2.4 SYNTACTIC DOMESTICATION

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the nature of the syntactic interference that Western foreign words have on Japanese, it is necessary to place such interference in the context of morphosyntactic borrowing systems as applicable to loans. Accordingly, the following is a brief overview of the principal theories proposed thereon. The principal theories concerning such systems were discussed in detail above in Chapter 5. It was argued that the theory of typological distance proposed by Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) and Thomason (2001) linked in the two important structurist lines of thought about borrowing in proposing that typological similarity between two languages is likely to vary according to the structuredness of a particular subsystem. The more internal structure a grammatical subsystem 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 subsystem in the borrowing language (T&K:72). Weinreich noted (1970:34-35) that with cultural considerations apart, morphemes with complex grammatical functions appear to be less likely to be transferred then those with simpler functions. The same conclusion was reached by Heath in his theory of unifunctionality which states that in its most salient uses, unifunctional morphemes have but a single predominant function and as such, have a far higher tendency to undergo morphemic diffusion than bi or poly-functionals (Heath, 1978:106/110). Hence an English auxiliary verb governed by moods of the main verb would accordingly be a less likely candidate for isolation and extraction into Japanese than the main verb itself. Indeed, with the exception of functionally isolated romanisations, auxiliary verbs such as 'have' and

'been' do not appear as loans in Japanese.

An analysis of the various syntactic processes that the agent performs is necessary so that the changes that he makes may be better seen as being an integral part of the whole process by which borrowings evolve.

6.2.2.4.1 Word Class of Borrowed Morphemes

The determination of a 'hierarchy of borrowability' among the word classes has been the subject of investigation from as early as the 19th century (Whitney, 1881, quoted in Winford, 2003:51). Irrespective of the language investigated, the hierarchy consistently reported by researchers including Van Hout, Roeland & Muysken (1994:42), Winford (idem), Haugen (1950b:224) and Kachru (1983:202) is as follows: nouns > verbs > adjectives > prepositions > free pronouns > conjunctions. In a quantitative study of American Norwegian and American Swedish, Haugen (idem) found that approximately 73% of loans were nouns, about 21% were verbs and 3% were adjectives. Other researchers such as King (2000:93) have similarly found nouns occupying a significantly higher percentage. In attempting to account for this disparity, Van Hout, Roeland & Muysken (idem) primarily gave the following lexically orientated explanation, 'one of the primary motivations for lexical borrowing is to extend the referential potential of a language. Since reference is established primarily through nouns, these are the elements borrowed most easily...They are borrowed more easily than functions words such as articles, pronouns and conjunctions'. Myers-Scotton accounted for the preferential borrowability of nouns in terms of a structuralist approach,

'they receive, not assign, thematic roles, so their insertion in another language is less disruptive of predicate-argument structure'.

Myers-Scotton (2002:240, cited in Haspelmath, 2003:6)

Weinreich (1970:37) provided another explanation in arguing that the phenomenon could be understood as being lexical-semantic in that in the languages that have been studied and under that type of linguistic and cultural contact, the items for which new designations have been required have overwhelmingly been nouns. This has been particularly so in the case of European languages where many concrete items are generally indicated by nouns. He noted however that in a cultural setting in which the emphasis in borrowing was on things spiritual or abstract, such as in the case of words borrowed from Hebrew into Yiddish, there is a proportionally much higher incidence of verbs, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. In an application of the hypotheses proposed by Weinreich and Van Hout et. al. (1994) to the case of Western loanword borrowing into Japanese, one would expect a greater representation of loanword nouns due to the linguistic and cultural nature of English in which concrete referents are generally indicated by nouns. Furthermore, as nouns exist as a more loosely bound sub-system within the grammar as opposed to the high degree of structuredness of word classes such as pronouns and prepositions, they would be much more easily isolated and extracted by the agent of introduction. A literature search of the corpus used in the quantitative analysis revealed that this is indeed the case, there is a much higher incidence of nouns than the other word classes. Interestingly, in the last ten years, due to increasing cultural pressure (see Chapter 5), borrowing of traditionally difficult to borrow word classes of pronouns and conjunctions has been appearing. Two common examples

are オール [ôru] (all) and the conjunction 'or', typically appearing in romanised form.

As was observed in the morphological adaptation in Section 6.2.2.3 above, the basic outline of the morphosyntactic patterns according to which Japanese lexically integrates Western borrowings is strongly redolent of the morphosyntactic characteristics by which it borrowed Classical Chinese, a poorly inflected language not indicating distinctions of tense, person, number or voice. Major word classes of nouns (especially abstract nouns), verbs and adjectives exhibited a high degree of word class fluidity with extraordinary freedom to enter into what would be described as atypical syntactic functions were it a European language. We can say that the agents of introduction have adopted the patterns of the syntactic adaptation model for Chinese to incoming Western borrowings in treating them as uninflected nouns or bound bases that do not solely belong to any word class but which are potentially convertible to any word class (See the following section 6.2.2.3). Nouns can function like verbs, verbs and adjectives may be used as nouns (particularly when disyllabic) or adverbs depending on the syntactic and semantic context (Loveday, 1996:140). Hence, in Chinese, a sinogrammic binomial like 実用 [shiyong] can mean 'a practice(s)' (noun), 'to practise' (verb), 'practical' (adjective) or 'practically' (adverb). When 実用 was loaned into Japanese [jitsuyô] < shiyong] (Mandarin), it entered as an uninflected bound nominal base and was syntactically domesticated into the verbal, adjectival and adverbial word classes by suffixation (in modern Japanese) to 実用する [jitsuyô suru], 実用的な [jitsuyôteki na] and 実用的に [jitsuyôteki ni] respectively (Martin,1975:183). This same pattern can be seen in the phonemic and orthographic domestication of the English adjective 'private' into the nominal base プライベート

[puraibêto] (privacy) which is treated as any other noun in Japanese syntax in taking postpositions to form the structures of プライベートが/の/を [puraibêto ga/no/wo]. There as furthermore syntactic domestication into a verb by the addition of the dummy verb [suru]: プライベートする [puraibêto suru], meaning to use time-off for oneself (an innovative Japanese-English construction). An adjectival noun was formed by the addition of [na]: プライベートな [puraibêto na] (a private) and an adverb by the addition of the adverbial suffix [ni]: プライベートに [puraibêto ni] (privately) (Loveday, 1996:139).

6.2.2.4.2 Syntactic Domestication in Japanese

In Thomason and Kaufman's five point scale of borrowing according to the degree of lexical and structural interference (1988), as noted in Chapter 5 above, the situation of Western loanwords entering Japanese would be generally determined to be level 2. This may be determined by observation of syntactic domestication in which conversion of word class proceeds by derivational suffixation with native Japanese suffixes.

A particularly interesting phenomenon is that in the last twenty to thirty years, and in line with the other structural systems of phonology, orthography, morphology and semantics, we have increasingly seen structures belonging to level 3 categorisation of syntactic domestication which is evidence of increasing cultural pressure facilitating higher degrees of interference. Five clear examples are noted below.

Level 2 Syntactic Domestication

Word Class Conversion by Native Suffixation

The following is a typology of word class conversion in which domestication proceeds by

suffixation using native Japanese suffixes. Note that in the case of ~ suru, this verbalising

suffix exists as an autonomous word. The sinogramatic model (Mandarin) after which the

borrowing was modelled is also included.

Conversion	Western Loanword	Sinogramatic Model
N→V	サボる {sabo-ru) (to play truant) < sabo(tage)* ディスカウントする [disukaunto suru] (to discount) < a discount ネックにする [nekku ni suru] (to make a constriction) < a bottle(neck)	語る J. [kataru] (to say) < 語 C. [yu] (an utterance) 結婚する J. [kekkon suru] (to marry) < C. 結婚 [jie hun]
N→Adj	ショックな [shokku na] (shocking) < a shock	安全な J. [anzen na] (safe) < 安全 C. [an quan] (safety)
N→Adv	ショックに [shokku ni] (shockingly) < a shock	速くに J. [hayaku ni] (quickly) < 速 C. [su] (speed)
V→N	サイン [sain] (a signature) < to sign	経験 J. [keiken] (an experience) < 經驗 C. [jing yang] (experience)
Adj→N	ヤング [yangu] (a youth) < young	実用 J. [jitsuyô] (a practice) < 実用 C. [shi yong] (practical)
Adj→Adv	ドライに [dorai ni] (dryly) < dry	広くに J. [hiroku ni] (widely) < 廣 C. [guang] (wide)
Adv→Adj	ナウな [nau-na] (current) < now	新しく J. [atarashiku] (new) < 新 C. [xin] (newly)

Table 23: Word class conversion by native suffixation

* sabo(ru) is a truncation of the French word sabotage
http://gogen-allguide.com/sa/saboru.html

Level 3 Syntactic Domestication

The following are examples of level 3 syntactic domestication.

1. Attachment of Loanword Derivational Affixes to Native Vocabulary

The abstraction of derivational affixes from borrowed words followed by their attachment to native vocabulary. Japanese has a long history of word class conversion by derivational suffixation using logographic suffixes, for example: 生物 (living things) + 学 (study or learning suffix) → 生物学 (biology). However since the 1980s, a new form of suffixation has appeared in which adjectival suffixes have been abstracted from loanword adjectives of English origin and then innovatively added on to Japanese native nouns. For example, the -チック [chikku] suffix was removed from ロマンチック [romanchikku] (romantic) and added on to words like 乙女 [otome] (a maiden) to form 乙女チック [otomechikku] meaning to behave in (an unduly) demure fashion.

Word class conversion: Derivational suffixation by loan suffixes

	Hybrid Suffixation	Sinogramatic Model
-tic (-チック)	漫画チックな [manga chikku] < 漫画 + tic = having a manner of comic obsession	-者 [-sha] (personalizing suffix) e.g. 後継 (to succeed) + 者 = 後継者 (a successor)
- less (-レス)	根性レスな [konjô resu na] <根性 + レス= lacking in spirit	

Table 24: Word class conversion by derivational suffixation

2. Appearance of Inflectional Affixes

The appearance of inflectional affixes but still attached to the borrowed vocabulary item

Native inflexional suffixation is a rarer phenomenon than derivational but has existed in

forms such as in the pluralisation by suffixes of 達 [tachi] as in 友達 [tomodachi]

(friends), and ら [ra] as in 彼ら [karera] (they) respectively. While the above forms are

used, Japanese preferentially indicates number by contextual inference. Accordingly, it

has been the conventional practice that the agents of introduction have shorn any

pluralising suffixes from borrowed plural nouns and having plurality similarly conveyed

by contextual inference. However, although confined to the loanwords in which the suffix

is bound to the root, 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 is another example. Here, the verb, such as ジョ

ッギング [joggingu], is treated as a nominal base and accordingly undergoes word class

conversion by native suffixation with する [suru] to form ジョッギングする [joggingu

suru] (to jog). The English verb 'to jog' was not borrowed which indicates that 'jogging'

was graphically borrowed, probably from a sentence such as 'I go jogging in the park'. A

very recent interesting example substantiates this assertion that the agent of introduction

borrows and then transfers into the public zone an English verb that is already conjugated in the present participle. ブーイング [bûingu] (booing) was a word borrowed and reproduced morphologically intact from English media coverage by Japanese journalists covering the 2004 international Asian cup football match when Japan played against China. An incident occurred when Chinese supporters booed the Japanese team during the playing of the Japanese national anthem (in clear reference to the Second World War atrocity of the massacre of Chinese civilians by the Imperial Japanese army). Similarly, there is no morphological equivalent to the base verb 'to boo'.

Inflexional suffixation by loan suffixes

		Sinogramatic Model
- s	コミュニケーションズ [komyunikêshonzu] <コミュニケーション＋ズ＝ communications	-達 [-tachi] (pluralizing suffix) e.g. 子供 (child)＋達＝子供達 (children)
-ing	ブーイングする [bûingu suru] < ブーイング [bûingu]＋する [suru] = to boo	

Table 25: Word class conversion by inflexional suffixation

3. Appearance of Basic Vocabulary

Not only non-basic vocabulary items that appear in the two lower levels of borrowing intensity such as エンブレム [enburemu] (emblem) リハビリ [rihabiri] (truncation of rehabilitation) etc. etc., but also basic vocabulary items such as ザ [za] (the) and low numerals: ツー [tsû] (two) in ツーピース [tsû pîsu] (two pieces (of food in a fast food outlet).

4. Appearance of Loaned Personal Pronouns

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

6.2.2.4.3 Agentivity

It is important to make some note concerning transfer agentivity in Japanese. Literature sources such as Winford 2003:62-63) 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 blingual 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 or pragmatic inter-influence, that may then lead to internal syntactic change (Sankoff, 2001:13).

6.2.2.4.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

The requirements under Research Objective 1 have been satisfied in this process. That is, the above documentary evidence reveals that borrowed foreign morphemes undergo

morphemic domestication as the third step in the domestication. After performing morphological alterations, the agent would then syntactically domesticate the borrowing in the manner described above. That this is carried out by the agent of introduction was confirmed during the interviews with the agents themselves. It should be noted that syntactic alteration can also innovatively take place after it has reached the public zone.

Research Objective 2

In youth culture, one would expect to find a significantly higher degree of innovatively playful syntactic alterations such as the suffixation by –chikku noted above. A qualitative investigation of syntactically altered words reveals a significantly higher proportion of innovative, playful words that are functioning as identity and prestige markers aimed at youthful readers. This is indicative of an origin from magazine writers and advertising copywriters working in youth culture. Once generated and disseminated in youth culture, there are three possibilities of lexical futures (see Section 6.4).

Firstly, nonce borrowings to be discarded such as; ナウな [nau na] (current) (a 1980s period nonce loan whose original use has disappeared and is only used for pejorative or humorous applications),

Secondly, youth culture bound borrowings whose dissemination is restricted to within the youth culture only, such as; コラボレーションする [koraborêshon suru) (to collaborate), used only in music industry and,

Thirdly, loans that, in dissemination process, have crossed over into general and possibly even professional cultures. An example is; ヤング [yangu] (youth) is now generally used in general culture but only in the written language. The inflexional suffixation with the English pluraliser, 's' which was confined to use within the youth culture has slowly crossed the boundary and appeared in general culture. In 2004, Japan Railways used 'JRコミュニケーションズ' (Japan Railways Communications) in one of their advertising slogans aimed at the 20-30 age bracket of young professionals.

6.2.2.5 SEMANTIC DOMESTICATION

Introduction

The meaning of a given word or set of words can be understood to be that contribution made by a word or phrase to the meaning or function of the whole sentence or linguistic utterance where that word or phrase occurs. A semantic change can be understood to be a change in the concepts associated with a word and is thus, the topic of study in lexical semantics. It is this area that shall be addressed in this section.

In a comparison with the other changes made by the agent of introduction, semantic change is highly unlikely to be as regular and predictable as, say, phonetic changes because the units involved and the constraints on them are entirely different. Sounds are basic and there are relatively few phonemes, while words however, form a much larger and more open class. Accordingly, semantics is the most difficult area in which a sharp delineation can be drawn between domestication made by the agent of introduction and subsequent changes made in the public zone by the Japanese language users. The semantic integration of post-lexicalised loanwords, in particular, the phenomenon of semantic displacement in which a loan displaces some or all of the semantic territory hitherto occupied by a native morpheme such as that of ニーズ [needs > nîzu] and 必要 [hitsuyô] (requirement) will be addressed in Section 6.5.

When foreign words are borrowed, some retain their original meaning, especially those whose semantic bonds to the originating language are strong, such as technical, economic and political words. For example, メモリー [memorî] is semantically locked into the meaning of the original, 'memory' (in a computer only). This is because a Japanese computer is essentially identical to a computer anywhere in the world and so there is no semantically implicating, Japan-specific cultural component that would cause a change in meaning. Furthermore, a change is not desirable as Japanese computer enthusiasts prefer to have consistency of terminology with native English speakers. Indeed, semantic stability is a feature of professional culture borrowings. Others however, undergo some kind of semantic change such as the English word skeleton, which when borrowed

became, スケルトン [sukeruton]. It does not refer to a frame on which something is built such as a bone skeleton covered with flesh etc., but denotes a semi-transparent device through which the internal mechanism of a watch, computer monitor, etc can be seen.

Distinction must be made here between the referential or lexical meaning of a word or phrase in which the meaning of a given word is governed by the object or idea encapsulated by its referent. On the other hand, the same word may equally have a contextual meaning dependent on the use of that particular word or phrase in a particular way, in a particular context, and to a particular effect. Zaky (2000:1) refers to this type of meaning under the generic term of the 'associated meaning' and includes connotative, stylistic, affective, reflected, and collocative meanings. Sato created a taxonomy of loanwords having emotive connotations (Sato, 1994:8-21) based on the findings from a corpus of 3,443 loanwords. Interestingly, loans of a pejorative associated meaning are considerably more numerous.

	% of Sample	Example
Pejorative	70.3	ルーチン [rûchin] (routine)
Humorous	12.6	ウイドー [uidô] (widow, esp. golf widow: a wife ignored by husband obsessed with golf)
Ameliorative	9.1	イニシアチブ [inishiachibu] (initiative)
Pompous	4.0	エンデバー [endebâ] (endeavour)
Euphemistic	4.0	トイレ [toire] (lavatory)

Table 26: A taxonomy of loanwords having emotive connotations

There is also a very large group of Japanese-English or wasei eigo coinings composed of purely loanword roots or hybrids of native morphemes and loanwords in which the meaning is innovatively and collatively ascribed so as to refer to an object or concept native to Japan. An example is a very new hybrid phrase, 沈水検知ペンダント [chinsui kenchi pendanto], which, when broken down morphologically yields: a '/submerged in water/ detection/ pendant'. This neologism was coined to describe an alarm warning device recently invented in response to the problem of the annually occurring ten to

fifteen thousand fatal incidents of aged or infirm people who drown while having a bath (Chen, 2002). The situation concerning the semantics of Wasei coinings shall be a topic in the next section.

6.2.2.5.1 A Typology of Japanese Semantic Change

The categories of semantic change are not necessarily mutually exclusive but frequently in fact, overlap and intersect. Campbell (1998:266) acknowledges that some semanticists consider broadening or extension and narrowing or restriction to be the principal kinds of semantic change with others as merely as subtypes of these two. For example, キャリア [kyaria] (career) has undergone both semantic broadening (as well as amelioration) in that it can additionally mean a person qualified for a position as a high ranking Japanese government official (Sato, 1994:73). The Japanese Language Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (The New Word Series, 1997, No. 6:22-23) has isolated four different kinds of meaning deviation patterns, as follows.

(1) Highly Divergent Semantic Change

A loanword revealing extreme meaning change between foreign word and loanword with either none or etymologically distant points of commonality. This classification can be divided into two groups according to the cause of formation, as follows: (1-1) metonymic relationship and (1-2) commercial aggrandisement.

(1-1) Metonymic Relationship

As will be explained below, it may be seen that those in this group are not without semantic contiguity and indeed, display a metonymic relationship, albeit, somewhat distant in some cases. A metonym is a word, name, or expression used as a substitute for something else with which it is closely associated. Examples include; ハンドル [handoru] (a steering wheel) < handle, ランニング [ranningu] (a sports vest) < running, and リフォーム [rifômu] (clothing alterations) < reform. Hence, a running athlete would very likely be wearing such a garment to allow bodily cooling and ventilation. It is from this association that the meaning transferred.

(1-2) Commercial Aggrandisement.

On the other hand, some loans are characterised by deliberate manufacturing of meanings widely divergent from the original for purposes of commercial aggrandisement. バイキング [baikingu] (viking, meaning a buffet) and マンション [manshon] (mansion) are common examples. In the case of the latter, it was a deliberate attempt by real estate agents to ostentatiously describe a modern block of flats.

(2) Semantic Reduction

A partial reproduction of the original foreign language meaning resulting in semantic reduction or semantic specialisation. For example 'young' in the English can be used to refer to young children and youths however in Japan, ヤング [yangu] is only used in the latter case. Another similar example is the use of the English based word リサイクル [risaikuru] (recycle) in contexts restricted to recycling of household waste such as paper, cans or bottles. The native word, composed of kanji, 再資源 [saishigen] (recycling) is used to denote the reuse of natural resources such as water and timber. This is the most common of all the four patterns. We can argue that this reduction occurred at the hands of the agent of introduction. For example, in the case of リサイクル, similarly to ノードラッグ [nôdoraggu] (no drugs, used in posters in public places), a foreign word was borrowed for the specific purposes of euphemism (to gloss over the unappealing task of rubbish separation) in the former and youth culture prestige in the latter.

(3) Semantic Broadening

A reproduction of the original foreign language meaning except that the meaning is expanded upon giving rise to semantic broadening. An example is ワイシャツ [waishatsu] (white shirt), a loanword taken from English however, whereas in English it only refers to business shirts of a white colour, in Japan, it could equally refer to business shirts of any colour. Hence, the meaning is broadened. Interestingly, unlike in semantic reduction, this occurs only after the word has entered the public domain and proceeds via a mechanism of semantic association. Semantic associations are based on intuitive

notions such as connectivity and semantic similarity (Aleman-Meza et. al. 2003:1). When freed of the semantic restriction imposed by the English word 'white', dress or business shirts, ワイシャツ, became free to embrace associated meanings such as coloured shirts.

(4) Semantic Reduction and Broadening

The fourth kind of semantic change represents the combination of both the above (2) and (3), that is, the loanword has both semantic reduction and broadening. An example is スタイリスト [sutairisuto] (stylist) in which the English could mean a literary person, or a person who carries out or gives advice concerning a design. In Japanese, this first meaning is not used, therefore we can say that it has undergone semantic reduction. However, not only is the second meaning used but it has been expanded upon to include a person who is very conscious about his style of clothing, thus revealing semantic broadening. Here we see a two part process of reduction by the agent of introduction followed by broadening by the agent of dissemination in the public domain.

The loanword, ガス / 瓦斯 (Meiji calque) [gasu] (gas), borrowed from the Dutch in the 19th century, is an interesting example of the four processes as it can collectively mean: a thick fog (not used in English); a gaseous fuel, an anaesthetic, a chemical phase (semantically identical to English); a gas cooking stove (a synecdoche) but is not used to express the slang English meaning of a joke (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1998, (The New Word Series, No. 8:52-53).

6.2.2.5.2 Causes Of Semantic Change

The field of semantics as opposed to other linguistic disciplines, has received considerably less scholarly attention in the last ten years or so. While it is not difficult to determine that semantic change has occurred between the donor language and the borrowing languages or to classify the results of such change, scholars write of the problems encountered in determining precisely why and how these changes occur. Lass (1980; cited in Hall-Lew, 2002:8) concludes that the components of language change are so complex that they will perhaps never be understood (well enough) to state precisely

why a specific change occurred or to predict when one will occur and what it will be. Campbell (1998:267) offers a reason for such complexity in stating that semantic change cannot be explained in a vacuum but requires co-ordination with features of syntax, discourse analysis, pragmatics and social history. Nevertheless, despite the inherent irregularity and predictability of some semantic changes, some generalisations that help to explain how and why meaning changes are possible. We shall now look at some of the models that have been proposed by semanticists to explain semantic change with a view to finding one that is applicable to type of borrowing in Japan.

In early works, such as that by Meillet (1905-6, cited in Ullmann,1962:193) who identified three categories of causes of meaning change (linguistic, social and historical), general mechanisms of semantic change were based upon associative patterns of human thought and approached from a generally psychological-cognitive perspective, with sometimes a sociological and linguistic orientation (Campbell, 1998: idem). All of these factors play a role in work recently produced. Hopper and Traugott (1993; cited in Hall-Lew, idem) assume a cognitive approach to the motivation behind lexical semantic change. They propose three general pathways for the process of semantic change: (1) changes due to child language mistaken acquisition, (2) changes due to community interaction where changes in language are due to communication needs, and (3), changes based on numerous personal interactions where innovations are used repeatedly until they become an accepted form in the lexicon. Frequently, a single term is used with two different meanings in the different speech communities of the L1 and L2, each based on the conventional use in that community. This model generally, is not suited to the situation of borrowing in Japan and specifically, offers no explanation as to the cause of semantic changes executed by a Japanese agent of introduction. The two last causes are of only partial use in understanding the situation in the integration period of loanword evolution due to their being based on the ramifications of contact taking place in a personally interacting bilingual community. Other scholars writing on semantics such as Blank (1999), Traugott (1989) and Campbell (1998) seem to offer little more than a reworking of Ullmann's basic principles. Stephen Ullmann's two books, Principles of Semantics (1957) and Semantics (1962) which have been widely lauded as containing the

most important work in this domain (McMahon, 1994:179-180 and others) and as his analysis offers a clear understanding of semantic change in Japanese with reference to loanwords, (his classifications coincide well with lexical observations), it is this approach that shall be used here as a model. He outlined four principle specific motivations for semantic change; as follows.

Linguistic Causes

These are language internal factors of which several types may be discerned, namely;

1) Habitual collocations may permanently affect the meaning of words involved by a process in which the meaning is transferred from one to the other simply because they occur together in many contexts (Ullmann, 1962:198). Traditionally accounted for by the notion of 'contiguity' or possessing intimate association (Koch, 2004:1), metonymy has been explained as contiguity of meaning. Contiguity is to be taken here in a very broad sense, comprising not only spatial contact, but also temporal proximity, causal relations, part-whole relation and others. Metonymic shift is quite a common cause of semantic shift in Japanese. This concerns a change in the meaning of a word so that it comes to include additional senses which were not originally present but which are closely associated with the word's original meaning. It would seem that it is this same *metonymic shift that was responsible for the semantic change from the Chinese meaning to the Japanese in loans such as* 公害 [kôgai], *originally meaning 'public nuisance' in* Mandarin Chinese to the contiguous 'pollution' in Japanese. Similarly, 迷惑 [meiwaku] semantically changed from 'deception' to 'nuisance'. These shifts can proceed by the following mechanisms.

(1-1) Single Phase Process

(1-1-1) Broadening or Narrowing

The old semantic loans of 皿 [sara] and 窓 [mado] originated in a metonymic shift in that *the meaning of the respective donor language words, 'plate' and 'window' influenced the* meaning of the semantically similar Japanese words so that the latter's meaning extended out beyond the native to include the Western meanings of 'plate' and 'window'. For *example, the original meaning of the Japanese character* 窓 *was of a window consisting*

of a latticework of thin timber cross members (Akasegawa: 1) but has come to include all manner of windows. These are examples of a single phase process of semantic broadening.

(1-2) Double Phase Process
(1-2-1) Double Semantic (broadening then gradual narrowing)
メリット [meritto] (merit) originally had the English meaning of 'a quality deserving praise' but which first underwent broadening to additionally have the associated meaning of something 'being advantageous'. Later, in the second phase, it then underwent semantic narrowing to lose the original English meaning.

(1-2-2) Double Semantic (narrowing then immediate innovative adaptation)
Much more recently, インキュベータ [inkyubêta] (incubator) was loaned and then immediately underwent semantic narrowing to lose the borrowed meaning. We can assert that this was done at the hands of the agent of introduction because the original meaning of 'an apparatus for hatching birds, rearing of prematurely born babies or developing bacteria' was, until very recently, never used in Japanese. Accordingly, we do not have a situation of (1-2-1) above of broadening and then reduction in which there was a period when both words lexically existed. The agent then immediately took the essential original meaning of 'a device having a controlled environment for the purpose for developing something of immature and precarious health' and innovatively adapted it to give a meaning of 'the support given to small and medium enterprises for research and product development' (Chen, 2002).

(1-2-3) Semantic and Morphemic
The loanword expression, アフターサービス [afutâ sâbisu] (after service) was used to mean rendering after sales service to customers after a major contract was concluded, a service which frequently involved giving gifts. This underwent a two phase process, one of a metonymic shift it came to mean the giving of a free gift to a customer after having bought something, even in the more casual sales situation of a retail shop. The second phase was not so much semantic as morphemic in which the first morpheme of

アフターサービス [afutâ sâbisu] was dropped forming サービス [sâbisu] (service), a ellipsis or morphemically truncated synecdoche. Here, we see a process in which one word absorbs all or part of the meaning of another word with which it is linked in a phrasal constituent.

2) Another linguistic cause of semantic change is that of lack of orthographic motivation. The phonetic syllabary of katakana whose most frequent use is to transliterate foreign words, offers no orthographic motivation to protect the original foreign language meanings. For example, katakana could offer no orthographic force to prevent the two phase semantic change experienced by the loanword, スナック [sunakku] (snack). Originally borrowed from the English, it firstly underwent polysemy to additionally include a drinking establishment where snacks are eaten, and then later in the second phase, lost the original English meaning. There was no deep culturo-historical motivation to protectively embed マスター [masutâ] (master) in the language to prevent it from undergoing semantic shift from the original meaning of a leader or a husband into the proprietor of a drinking establishment. This contrasts with logograms, which, having their in-built meanings, function to provide semantic rigidity that assists in the protective maintenance of the meanings of native and SJ words. For example, the logogram 館 [kan] has the meaning of a large hall, a meaning from which it is not possible to semantically deviate. Furthermore, its components of 食 meaning 'eat' and 官, meaning an 'official person or officer', serve to collocatively reinforce the overall meaning, as in ancient times, when the character was formed, officials would have frequently had meals in large halls. This is not to say that logograms do not undergo semantic shift, but compared with loanwords, they are much more semantically stable.

3) Vagueness is also a linguistic cause of semantic shift in Japanese. The lack of familiarity and absence of clear-cut semantic boundaries conspire to facilitate shift in meaning (Ullmann, 1962:193-5). The meaning or usage of a word in its original language is often not well understood. Ishiwata gives the example of トランプ [toranpu] trump. This is a very old loan that originated from Japanese people mistakenly thinking that

'trump' meant cards in general when they heard foreigners exclaiming the word 'trump' when playing a trump card. (Ishiwata, T.1983, cited in The Agency for Cultural Affairs, 1997, (The New Word Series, No. 6:22). The root cause of this miscomprehension can be understood from the fact that in Japan, comprehension of the meaning or usage of a loan in its original language is not required because loans are used without reference to their source words (Kay, 1995:72). A personal communication from a Japanese freelance journalist working for youth culture magazine (Ohashi, M.) confirmed just this fact; many of the semantic errors of non-integrated loans appearing in youth culture magazines are due to a mistaken comprehension on the part of the agent of introduction. Japanese journalists in youth culture publications have generally a poor command of English and are therefore susceptible to mistaking a connotative meaning (or even an idiolect of the foreign writer) for the denotative meaning. The example that this journalist conveyed to me was taken from a popular music magazine with a predominately young audience, as follows. It is a discussion of a song called 'Heartbeat'.

鼓動の後半のフェイクはU２のボノへのオマージュだ

(Lit: the faking in the last half of Heartbeat pays homage to U2's Bono)

She explained that although meant to carry the meaning of 'adlibbing', the use of the loanword, フェイク [feiku] (fake) was not a deliberate attempt to be innovative but rather, was probably due to an agent of introduction who mistakenly borrowed 'fake', thinking that it meant 'to adlib'.

4. Historical Causes: this is a very common cause due to a change in objects, institutions, ideas and scientific concepts gives rise to a change in referent but in which the name remains the same. A simple example can be seen in the English word 'parliament', originally borrowed from Old French (parlement) in the twelfth-century, in which meaning the meaning has changed beyond recognition since its first use 800 years ago. The loanword, フェミニスト [feminisuto] (feminist) was originally borrowed to mean a man who was sensitive to women's needs however, in recent times, due to the slow growth of women's rights in Japan, the word has been relexified to have the same

meaning as the word does in English (both meanings are used.

5. Social Causes: In Japanese, three divisions within Ullmann's classification of Social Causes are discernible.

(5-1) He explained that a word acquires a new meaning due to its use by a particular social group or, a word used in a specific sense by some group comes into a common currency with an extended meaning. For example: when the English world 'broker' was borrowed into Japanese ブローカー [burôkâ] and used by criminals, it underwent pejoration to mean a person who procures often illegal items by illicit means. It was social motivations fuelled by prestige accorded to the Western semantic variant that gave rise to the many synonymic pairs such as スポーツホール [supôtsu hôru] / 運動場 [undô jô].

(5-2) Loans can appear and disappear due to a change or disappearance in the fashion or social situation that spawned them. An example of a very recent appearance is ボランチ [boranchi] borrowed from the Italian 'volante' at the expense of ディフェンス [difensu] (a loan from the English 'defence', to mean a football position of defence midfielder) which has now even become used in news programmes as a response to the popularity of soccer in Japan and the particularly newsworthy success of Italian football teams (a personal communication from a magazine editor).

6. Psychological Causes: These figure largely in loans carrying an emotive impact such as taboo and euphemism, in which unpleasant or distasteful referents are substituted for causing a semantic change in the euphemistic expression. For example, when 'loan' (financial) was borrowed into Japanese, it not only partially replaced the semantic zone hitherto completely occupied by the traditional word, 借金, [shakkin] but also additionally introduced a new semantic element of 'a loan of a relatively insignificant amount of money that does not bring into question the borrower's financial standing'.

6.2.2.5.3 Semantic Change Wrought by the Agent of Introduction

Hall-Lew (2002:3), in her research on English loanwords in Mandarin Chinese, found that all of the loans were highly bound to modern Western culture and fell into the following domains: technology and communication, pop culture and entertainment, and politics. That these roughly parallel the three genres used in this thesis indicates that there are similarities between the borrowing paradigms of Japanese and Chinese. In the Chinese borrowings, because the meaning of the words was bound so tightly to Western culture, none of the borrowings from technology, communication, or politics (professional genre) experienced any semantic change (i.e., the referents are the same). It was overwhelmingly in the domain of pop culture where semantic change was to be found (youth genre) and similarly to the case in Japanese, narrowing occurred more often than broadening (Hall-Lew, 2002:idem). For example, the Chinese loanword, paidui, indicates not just any party but a meeting that is specifically informal, with younger participants, often with only two people, and perhaps romantic.

In the professional genre, as it is precisely semantic equivalence that is sought after by the readers, one would expect to find semantic equivalence. For example, a マザーボード [mâza bôdo] is, of course, identical to its English origin of 'motherboard'. In youth culture, there are fewer restrictions placed on semantic equivalence. Indeed, the desirable qualities of stylishly fashionable innovation would serve to mitigate against a necessity to adhere to the original meaning. It is primarily in the next section, Wasei Eigo, that the remarkable semantic deviations from the originating component words is to be found.

6.2.2.5.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

The requirements under Research Objective 1 have been satisfied in this process. That is, the above documentary evidence reveals that borrowed foreign morphemes undergo semantic domestication as the fifth step in the domestication. After performing syntactic alterations, the agent may then perhaps semantically domesticate the borrowing in the manner described above. More than any of the other domestication processes, semantic alteration is more frequently a process that occurs after it has reached the public zone.

Nevertheless, it was confirmed during the interviews that they do semantically alter borrowings and the above documentary proof confirms this.

Research Objective 2

As clearly shown in 6.2.2.5.3, agents of introduction are indeed genre specific. Those working in professional culture typically leave the borrowings semantically intact while those in youth culture are far more likely to make semantic alterations according to their own specific needs. So clearly, the domestication route taken by loans in the professional genre is quite different to those in the youth genre. Again, the overall tendency of agents of introduction in general culture to semantically domesticate borrowings would be expected to be intermediate placed between the two extremes.

6.2.3 WASEI GAIRAIGO

Introduction

A list of Western derived Japanese loanwords typically includes a number of terms whose existence, although originally due to language contact, are not strictly loanwords at all. With reference to Haugen and Van Coetsem's model for loan formation (refer to Chapter 5), they were not formed subject to imitation of a foreign model, but from a fusion of loan roots secondarily created within the borrowing language (the National Language Research Institute, 1984, cited in Ôtsuka, 2001:79). Essentially, they are characterised in having no lexical counterpart in the donor languages from which they were formed. They are known in Japanese as wasei gairaigo (or Japanese created loanwords). The most common of the donor languages is English and the wasei eigo (or Japanese created English) from which it is formed, is defined by Kajima (1994:74) to be; a combination of Japanese and English, Japanised English or a uniquely Japanese way of using English. While it is recognised that wasei gairaigo, formed either wholly or in part from languages other than English are lexically in existence, such as: テーマ・カラー [têma karâ] < Ger. thema + E. colour = colour theme, many are secondary borrowings that were first borrowed into English and then latterly, into Japanese, for example: セーフティ・ビンディング [sêfuti bindingu] < E. safety + E. binding < Ger. Bindung (Kaku, 1997:124). This section shall be mainly concerned with wasei eigo simply because they are in far greater number than loan creations formed from other languages.

6.2.3.1 The History of Wasei Eigo

As with lexical borrowing of English, wesei eigo started to appear in the latter stages of the Meiji period, however not in large numbers. Examples include: ゴムタイヤ [gomu taiya] < Dutch. gomu (rubber) + Eng. taiya (tyre) = a pneumatic tyre. Due to the exponential rise in the incidence of English education in the Taisho Period, especially in the post world war one period, their numbers started to dramatically rise. Some like オール・バック [ôru bakku] (all back) (Umegaki, 1975:321) have disappeared from modern usage but meant a male hairstyle popularly worn by visiting foreigners in which the hair was brushed straight back from the forehead, a style popular in the Edwardian period. Some however are still used, such as オールド・ミス [ôrudo misu] (old miss) meaning an elderly spinster. The early part of the Showa dynasty, immediately prior to the second world war, saw a dramatic increase in their numbers. For example: some twenty to thirty words were created from affixation with the suffix of ガール [gâru] (girl) such as, ステッキガール [sutekki gâru] (lit. a walking-stick girl), meaning a [young] girl who was paid to accompany men on walks. In step with the huge influx of loans in the post war period, the appearance of wasei eigo exponentially increased with words such as, ベース・アップ [bêsu appu] (wage increse) and アメリカン・コーヒー [amerikan kôhî] (lit. American coffee or standard black coffee). There also appeared some instances when parodies of loans were created such as テクシー [tekushî], a parody of タクシー [takushii] (taxi), meaning to trudge or to ploddingly walk (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, The New Word Series, No.8, 1998:35).

6.2.3.2 Classification of Wasei Gairaigo

The definition of what constitutes wasei eigo is somewhat controversial concerning whether truncations of loanwords such as インフレ [infure] (inflation) and デパート [depâto] (department store) should be taxonomically included or not. Some scholars such as Kaku (1997:125) and Kawamura (1994:99), argue that their status as being truncations of loanwords implies that they should be classified as being Japanese native creations (Kaku: idem). The National Language Research Institute in admitting them to be in a grey zone, has adopted an ambivalent position declaring that 'truncations of loans, in a broad sense, could be said to be wasei eigo (NHK Broadcasting and Culture Research Institute, A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, vol. I, 1988:25). However, following the definition established by Haugen (1950b:221), Loveday (1996:142-3), Winford (2003:46) and Kay (1995:70), I would regard them as merely morphemically altered, ordinary loanwords because they fail to meet the primary condition of being a native creation, that is, of being innovatively formed from loan roots and having no equivalent in the L2.

6.2.3.3 Formation Processes

Recall from Chapter 5 the model depicting the process of lexical borrowing consisted of two successive stages. Firstly, the agent of introduction extracts the foreign word from lexical word stocks and then, adapts or domesticates it to conform to the phonological, orthographic, morphological, syntactic and semantic patterns in force in the recipient language. The resulting loanword is essentially an L1 adaptation of the foreign lexeme.

The Process of Lexical Borrowing (example: radio → ラジオ)

Process 1: Extraction from English: 'radio' (form and meaning borrowed)

Process 2: Domestication

1. radio → /rajio/ (phonemic)

2. / rajio / → ラジオ (orthographic)

By contrast, wasei eigo are formed either by the innovative processes of compounding or affixation. In compounding, the agent of introduction innovatively conjoins together single loanword morphemes according to the meaning of the referent. As noted above in Chapter 6.2.2.3 (Morphology), the morpho-syntactic paradigm for the domestication of katakana loanwords mirrors and derives from the model established for Chinese loans a millennium ago, the difference is merely orthographic (Loveday, 1996:139). Consider, for example, the process for the formation of バスガール [basu gâru] < バス (bus) + ガール (girl) = a female bus conductor. The agent of introduction wished to create a word to express the then novel concept of having a female whose employment had hitherto been reserved for males. He selected two loanwords he knows (and knows will be understood by the intended audience), バス and ガール, then, he semantically arranges them according to the native noun + noun pattern that has been used for centuries in compounding sinograms, such as,鉄橋 [tekkyô] (iron + bridge) (an iron or steel bridge), to form the compound, バスガール. Here, we see the opposite process to that occurring in normal lexical borrowing. That is, loan morphemes are extracted from the recipient language (as opposed to the donor language in borrowing) and then are fused together according to the established native model. As Haugen (1950b:221) noted, native

creations are formed as a result of a process of reverse substitution in which loan morphemes are filled into native models.

6.2.3.4 A Typology of the Creation of Wasei Eigo

Wasei eigo can be formed according to three processes, all of which essentially involve fusion with another element. (1) Morphemic Compounding involves the compounding of two morphemes in which each contributes to the final overall meaning. (2) Synonymic Compounding is a similar process to morphemic compounding except that the second compounded morpheme adds a semantically reinforcing element to the final meaning. (3) Affixation occurs when a prefix or suffix is fused to a morpheme, each semantically contributing to the new collocation. The following typology takes into account the various orthographic, morphological, and syntactic observations concerning wasei eigo, such as whether the creation is composed entirely of loanwords or whether it is of a hybrid orthography containing elements of the native language, or whether it has undergone truncation. The sinogramatic model has been included to reveal the classical morphological origin of the creation.

(1) The Process of Morphemic Compounding

Ex. ダンス [dansu] (dance) + パーティ [pâti] (party) → ダンパー [danpâ]

First Process: Extraction of established loanwords according to semantic requirement: 'ダンス' and 'パーティ'

Second Process: Compounding according to native model, i.e. the sinogrammatic model

of stem + stem, such as in 手帳 [techô] (notebook) < 手 (a stem) + 帳 (a stem).

Hence, ダンス + パーティ → ダンスパーティ

Third Process (optional): Moraic Truncation: Double apocopic truncation of both morphemes to form ダンパー, meaning a party where the guests dance.

	Pure Loan Creation	Hybrid	Sinogramatic Model
Noun + Noun	サイン・ボール [sain bôru] < サイン + ボール = a baseball signed by a famous player) (Wakiyama, 1985:55)	電子レンジ [denshi renji] < 電子 (electronic) + レンジ (range) = microwave oven	石橋 [ishibashi] < 石 [ishi] + 橋 [hashi] = stone bridge
Noun + verb	ドクター・ストップ < ドクター (doctor) + ストップ (stop) = the stopping of a sports game by an attending doctor		物覚え [monooboe] < 物 [mono] (things) + 覚え [oboe] (learning) = aptitude to learning
Noun + modifier	フルオートバス [furu ôto basu] < フル (full) + オート (auto) + バス (bath) = a fully automatic bath (auto temp, water volume etc) Otsuka (2001:83-4)		満員 [man'in] < 満 (full) + 員 (people) = full of people Other examples: 満開 (mankai) (full bloom) 満期 (manki) (full term) etc.

Table 27: Morphemic compounding

Moraic Truncation of Morphemic Compounds:

Morphemic compounds can sometimes undergo moraic truncation as Japanese is intolerant towards lengthy words, irrespective of whether they are native or foreign

derived. The most common morpho-phonological shape for SJ words is from two to four

morae with longer words tending to be truncated (Kajima, 1994:16). As noted above in

Section 6.2.2.3, truncation can occur of the rear morae (apocopic), or alternatively, of the

front morae (syncopic), and may occur in one or both morphemes. In these bimorphemic

compounds, truncation can occur in the first, second or in both component morphemes.

The Sinogramatic model illustrating truncation was adequately shown in the Morphology

Section above and so will not be repeated here.

	Truncated Pure Loan Creation	Hybrid Loan Creation
Apocopic	アビリンピック [abirinpikku] < アビ(リティー) (abi(lity) + (オ)リンピック (Oly(mpics) = the participation of disabled people in the Olympics. (a double apocopic truncation)	懐メロ < 懐 [natsu(kashii)] (romantic) + メロ [mero(di)] = romantic melody (a double apocopic truncation)
Syncopic	フリーター [furîtâ] < フリー (free) + (アルバイ)ター (arubai)tâ) = a person living by part time jobs (a single syncopic truncation)	

Table 28: Truncation of morphemic compounds

(2) The Process of Synonymic Compounding

Here, the second morpheme semantically reinforces the first. It is a wasei eigo as this

construction does not exist in English.

Ex. ラブ・ロマンス [rabu romansu] < ラブ [love] + ロマンス [romance] (Sato,

1994:152)

First Process: Extraction of established loanwords:

ラブ [love] and ロマンス [romance]

Second Process: Compounding according to native model, i.e. the sinogrammatic model

of stem + stem, such as in 破壊 [hakai] (destruction) < 破 (a stem, meaning to tear up,

break) + 壊 (a stem, meaning to break, destroy or demolish).

Hence, ラブ + ロマンス → ラブ・ロマンス

Pure Loan Creation	Sinogramatic Model
ラブ・ロマンス [rabu romansu] < (ラブ) +ロマンス = a romance (the English expression does not additionally include the word 'love')	洗浄[senjô] < 洗(wash clean esp. with water) + 浄 (clean) = wash clean

Table 29: Synonymic compounding

(3) The Process of Affixation

Morphemically similar to the affixation of borrowed foreign morphemes, affixation is a

process where English affixes are innovatively fused on to loan or native morphemes. An

example is the neologisn ティーイズム [tîizumu] (tea culture). This wasei eigo was

created from the loan root of ティー [tî] (tea) to which the English nominaliser suffix

'ism', extracted from well known loans such as コミュニズム [komyunizumu]

(communism), was innovatively added.

Ex.アップ [appu] (up) + ヘヤ [heya] (hair) → アップ・ヘヤ [appu heya]

First Process: Extraction from established loanword morphemic and prefix stocks: 'ヘヤ'

and 'アップ' respectively.

Second Process: Compounding according to native model, i.e. the sinogrammatic model

of prefix + stem, such as in 小瓶 [kobin] (small bottle) < 小 (a prefix) + 瓶 (a stem).

Hence, アップ + ヘヤ → アップ・ヘヤ

Appu (a frequently used prefix meaning 'up') is added to the commonly used loanword

noun, ヘヤ (hair) to form アップ・ヘヤ, collectively meaning a hairstyle in which the

hair is pinned up (Umegaki, 1975:idem). Appu + noun is quite an old structure which has

not been used for about thirty years, however the newer form of noun + appu is quite

common: ベースアップ [besu appu] (wage rise) and アクセスアップ [akusesu appu]

(access up) which means to increase access to one's home page.

The following tables show some of the more commonly appearing affixes.

Prefixation

	Pure Loan Creation	Sinogramatic Model
ノンー (non-)	ノンポリ [non pori] < ノン (non) + ポリ (poli)tical) = apolitical	非常 [hijô] < 非 (non) + 常 (usual) = extraordinary
ノーー (no-)	ノークラッチ [nô kuratchi] < ノー (without) + クラッチ (clutch) = automatic	無意識に [mu ishiki ni] < 無 (without) + 意識 (conscious) = unconsciously
リー (re-)	リ ハ ウ ス [rihausu] < リ	再発 [saihatsu] < 再 (again) +

	(again) +ハウス (house) = moving house	発 (occurrence) = a reoccurrence

Table 30: Prefixation

Suffixation

Interestingly, the ノ一 [nô] has come in Japanese to acquire the sense of "without" or "not have". In English, "no-" is only used this way in exocentric compounds, that is, in accordance with Adams model of word compounding patterns, the compound as a whole has a semantic head that is different from the head within the compound. This seems to be semantic interference from Sino-Japanese "mu-", perhaps mediated by such exceptional English forms as "no comment".

	Pure Loan Creation	Hybrid (Loanblend)	Sinogramatic Model
一チック [chikku] (-tic)	ポテトチックな [poteto chikku na] < ポテト (potato) + チック (in a manner) = in a course peasant like manner	漫画チックな [mangachikku] < 漫画 (comic) + チック (in a manner) = a manner of comic obsession	家庭的な [kateiteki na] < 家庭 (home) + 的 (in a manner) = in a homely manner
一マン [man] (-man)	ガードマン [gâdoman] < ガード (guard) + マン (man) = a security guard	営業マン [eigyô man] < 営業 (sales) + マン (man) = a sales man	掃除係 [sôji kakari] < 掃除 (cleaning) + 係 (person, clerk) = a cleaner
一ア [a] (-er)	アポインター [apointâ] < アポイント [apointo] (appoint) + ア (the agentive English 'er') = someone who makes appointments		後継者 [kôkei sha] < 後継 (succession) + 者 (agentive suffix) = a successor
一アップ [appu] (-up)	レベルアップ [reberu appu] < レベル (level) + アップ (up) = an		賃上げ [chin age] < 賃 (wage) + 上げ (lift) = wage rise

	improvement		

Table 31: Suffixation

Some cases of prefixation are interesting in that at first glance, words like リフォーム [rifômu] and リハウス [rihausu] might appear like ordinarily borrowed loans, coming from the English 'reform' and 'rehouse'. However, an examination of their meanings reveals them to be, in fact, wasei eigo in which the prefix リ [ri] was added to preexisting loans. In the case of rifômu, it was created from the loanword, fômu to which ri (morphemically and semantically modelled after the English prefix 're-', meaning 'again') was added to literally mean 'form again'. It is used in reference to clothing alterations and house renovations, indeed, clothing alterations shops always carry the word リフォーム on their shop fronts. Similarly, rihausu does not have the English meaning associated with the verb rehouse, i.e. in which a local council or government provides a person with new accommodation (especially in times of emergency) but rather, simply means to move house (Ôtsuka,2001:83).

The example of スタンドプレー [sutando purê], meaning a game played in a stadium presents an interesting anomaly. What might first appear like a morphemically truncated and then compounded wasei eigo: スタンドプレー [sutando purê] < (グランド)スタンド (grand)stand + プレー (play) i.e. truncation of the 'grand' and addition of 'play', cannot be the case as グランドスタンド does not exist in Japanese, therefore it cannot have been extracted as a root of the creation. It would therefore appear as if some

particularly innovative agent of introduction borrowed 'grandstand' from the English and then subsequently added the loan morpheme of purê, to form a bimorphemic creation consisting of a borrowing compounded with a preexisting loanword.

6.2.3.5 Degree of Integration

Although discussed more fully in Section 6.5, briefly, it may be said that loanwords with a high degree of integration have acquired a strong claim for the semantic zone that they have come to occupy, whether it be a lexical gap filler for an item or concept previously not expressed in the language or whether it be the case of displacing a traditional lexeme or loanword of an earlier period from semantic territory. A word that maintains a high degree of preferential usage in the face of a semantic competitor may be regarded as having a strong claim for that semantic zone. In wasei eigo, four groups may be discerned, which, in increasing order of level of integration are:

(1) Those which are used occasionally but which have not made much impact in the semantic zone in which they are contesting. The traditional word or integrated borrowing against which it is contesting for supremacy in the semantic zone is dominant with the wasei eigo being relegated to use when a particular effect such as emphasis is required. An example is リスト・アップする [risuto appu suru] (lit. to list up), meaning to add something to a list. An expression such as リストに載せる [risuto ni noseru] is considerably more preferred.

(2) Those which could be easily replaced by a traditional word or integrated borrowing

with no loss of meaning or fluency. For example; ガードマン [gâdoman] (lit. guard man) is used to mean a security man but could equally be expressed by the traditional term 警備員 [keibiin] with no loss of meaning and or fluency as both are interchangeably used.

(3) Those which could be acceptably replaced by a traditional word or integrated borrowing, but would suffer from loss of nuances carried by the wasei eigo and also from some loss of smooth fluency, having a rather 'clunky' feel to the user. Such is the case of the word ペーパー・プラン, [pêpâ puran] which although could be replaced to a certain degree by 机上の計画 (lit. a plan devised at a desk) but would lack the pejorative nuance carried by the wasei eigo of a plan which is impracticable.

(4) Finally, the wasei eigo which has become totally integrated, and having a position as the dominant occupant of a semantic and lexical niche within the language, could be replaced only by a somewhat artificial synonymic construction. Even then however, there would likely be a misunderstanding as the interlocutor would think that because the totally integrated wasei eigo was not used, the speaker was referring to something different. Their high degree of integration is due to their being the term coined to describe a specific object or situation or alternatively, has become the preferred referent with respect to a semantic competitor, due to popular use. A good example is ボトル・キープ [botoru kîpu] (lit. 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 on the premises, with his name written on it for his further use on subsequent visits. It has become so integrated that a semantically approximating expression such as 客私用 の酒の瓶 would either not be understood or misunderstood to mean something quite different as botoru kîpu has 100% occupancy in that semantic zone. This author had an experience in Japan of requesting a shopkeeper for a '電話カード' [denwa kâdo] < denwa (telephone) + kâdo (card), rather than the wasei eigo of テレホンカード [terehon kâdo], only to be greeted with non-comprehension!

6.2.3.6 Functions or Reasons for Creation

There are two reasons for the popularity of wasei eigo that cannot be found in loanwords, that is, (1) being based on creation from well known loan roots, they have a familiarity with Japanese people (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, ibid,:35) and (2) they have a very semantic logicality for example, マイホーム [mai hômu] is composed of 'my' and 'home', words known by almost all Japanese due to the universal English education. The 'mai-' in 'maihômu' is interesting, because it has semantically shifted from 'I/my' in meaning to 'private'. Here again there's a useful example of Sino-Japanese interference, with the 'watashi' kanji being used in compounds with the sense of 'private'. Other reasons for coining them are identical to those mentioned above in Section 6.2.1, dealing with the reasons why agents of introduction extract foreign words for use as loans. Both the degree of integration (in the written language) and the reasons for creation will be investigated using the following slightly facetious account of young man's experience in buying a car (Kajima, ibid:75). It contains many wasei eigo, all of which are in daily use.

They are numbered for later analysis.

A君は念願のマイカー1を手に入れた。どの車にするか迷ったが、メインバンク2の銀行員と相談して、近くに整備工場のあるB社の車に決まった。運転免許が１０年前とったが、ペーパー・ドライバー3だったので、運転にはあまり自信がない。チェンジレバー4の操作がスローモー5で、エンスト6を起こす心配がある。ノー・クラッチ7の車にしてタータンチェック8柄のカバーとエア・コン9もつけた。

[A kun wa nengan no maikâ wo te ni ireta. Dono kuruma ni suruka mayottaga, meinbanku no ginkôin to sôdan shite, chikaku ni seibi kôji no aru B sha no

kuruma ni kimatta. Unten menkyôga 10 nen mae tottaga, pêpâ doraiba data node, unten ni wa amari jishin ga nai. Chenji lebâ no sôsa ga surômô de, enjinsuto wo okosu shinpai ga aru. Nôkurachi no kuruma ni shite tâtanchekku gara no kabâ to ea kon mo tsuketa.

A young man, Mr. A, bought a car that he had been longing for. He was not sure what car he should buy but on discussing the matter with a clerk from his own bank, he decided on a car for sale at the nearby B garage. Although having had a driver's licence for ten years, he was still somewhat a novice behind the wheel and so therefore, was not very confident at driving. His gear changing was reminiscent of someone in slow motion and was concerned about stalling the car. The car was an automatic, had tartan seat covers and had been fitted with air conditioning.

	Degree of Integration	Typological Category	Reasons for Creation
1	(2)	Morphemic compounding	Prestige, emphasis of self
2	(1)	Morphemic compounding	Emphasis (in advertising) and familiarity of components
3	(3)	Morphemic compounding	A compounds with 'paper' meaning devoid of experience-humorous

4	(2)	Morphemic compounding	Innovative synonym
5	(1)	Morphemic compounding + single moraic apocopic truncation	Pejorative and humorous applications
6	(4)	Morphemic compounding + double moraic apocopic truncation	Innovative synonym
7	(2)	Affixation (prefix)	Emphasis (in advertising)
8	(4)	Morphemic compounding	Lexical gap filler
9	(4)	Morphemic compounding + single moraic apocopic truncation	Emphasis (in advertising)

Table 32: Reasons for creation

Morphemic compounding is the most commonly observed of the formation methods with truncation being frequently seen. The reasons for creation appear to be varied. Some started on their road to lexical integration as advertising texts, a good example is メイン バンク [mein banku) (main bank). Advertisers know that the average Japanese consumer knows the words メイン (main) and バンク (bank) and so their innovative association together is immediately comprehensible and draws on the Japanese liking for foreign words. Indeed, morphemic appeal is one of the underlying reasons for creating wasei eigo.

6.2.3.7 Attitudes Towards Wasei Eigo

The attitude towards wasei eigo can be considered from the official, governmental perspective and also from that of the public user. It is the subject of official documented research by the National Language Research Institute as a valid part of the Japanese language. Proof of its status may be additionally evidenced from the signature of an official E mail this author received from a staff member which included the following:

ダイレクトイン : 03-5993-7657

ダイレクトイン is composed of ダイレクト [dairekuto] (direct) and イン [in] (in) and literally means a phone number that will directly bring the call in to the user. Had the researcher preferred a borrowed expression, something like 'dairekuto rain' from the normal English expression of 'direct line' would have been used. Alternatively, the traditional word, 直通 [choku tsû] could have been used but was not. The fact of its adoption by a researcher of so august a body as the National Language Research Institute is quite a point of significance. Although it may be a source of ironic amusement for a Western observer that the watchdog of the Japanese language should use such a blatant foreignism within its own domain, surely however, entertainment was not the intention of the researcher. Rather, it would appear that he simply believed the wasei eigo expression to be the more appropriate alternative. It serves as a powerful indication of the official government attitude towards wasei eigo which clearly, sanctions its use as valid Japanese.

In an NHK survey to assess overall public attitude towards these creations (1988:25), it was found that only 16% of those interviewed gave a negative response. 53% of people felt that they are unavoidable. The attitude of the using public can also be qualitatively determined from the proliferation of advertising texts that contain wasei eigo. Bearing in mind that the ultimate reason for advertising is profit, had professionals deemed that they were socially and lexically unacceptable, they would not have accounted for 29.4% of the total numbers of television advertisements that Gabbrielli encountered in his corpus

(2001:29). In advertising texts, wasei eigo such as: ブレスケア [buresukea] (breath care) abound. Advertising copywriters and magazine journalists frequently create them for use as eye catching headlines such as the following magazine advertisement in which the use of the wasei eigo ビジネスシーン [bijinesushin] (business scene) is a typical example.

あなたのビジネスシーンにコレが効く [anata no bijinesushîn ni kore ga kiku]

(This will work in your business environment).

Extracted from the business magazine, BIG Tomorrow. March, 2004:91

Kawamura noted (1994:102) that one reason for their creation was to express new definitions of gender roles in society. However, when they become integrated in Japanese, their meanings reverted to that which Japanese society traditionally endorses. He gives the example of ワーキング・ガール (working girl) which was originally coined to express a female having a responsible job, whose status was equivalent to that of a man's. It became popular but when subjected to the forces of integration, in time, conformed to that of the traditional view of women being subservient in the work place.

6.2.3.8 Quantitative Research Results

The literature cites advertising as one of the major sources of wasei eigo hence it may be assumed that advertising copywriters are the likely agents of creation. The appearance of wasei eigo usage (% of total content words) has been monitored by this author in a corpus
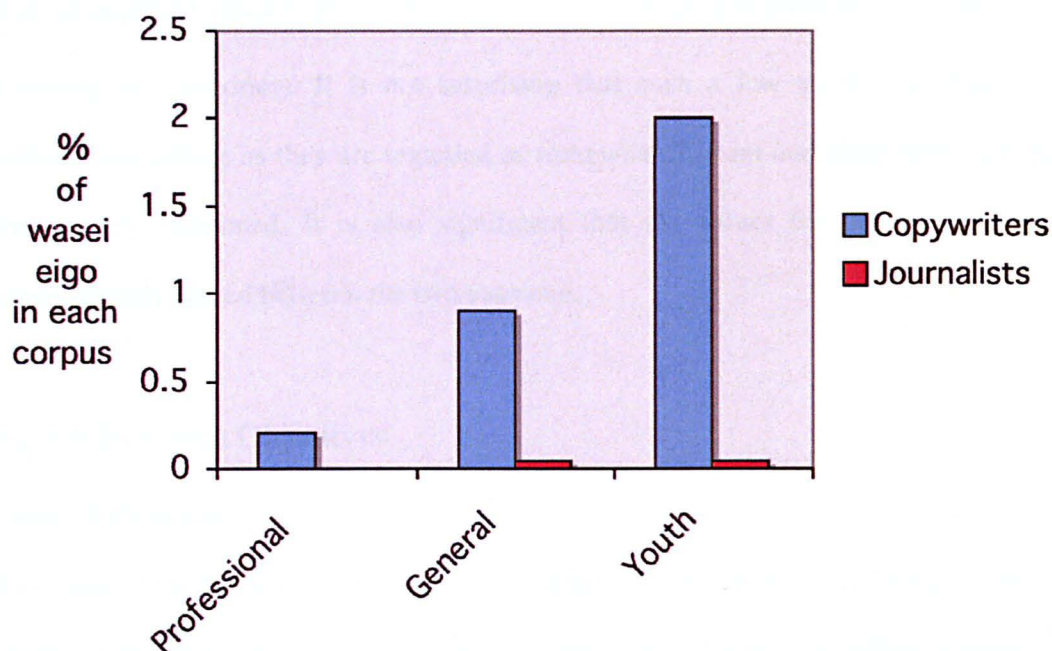
and the results presented below.

Fig. 7: Results of quantitative analysis of wasei eigo use among the three cultures

This is a graph showing the distribution over three corpuses (professional, general and youth) of the percentage of wasei eigo creations used by advertising copywriters and magazine journalists. In the professional corpus, copywriters used 1 wasei eigo out of a total of 480 words in advertisements (0.2%), in the general corpus, 4 out of 460 (0.9%) and in youth culture, 10 out of 510 (2.0%). The figures for journalists revealed that those working in professional culture used 0 out of 6650 words (0.0%), in general culture 12 out of 8490 (0.14%) and in youth culture, 10 out of 6100 (0.16%). Their prevalence is considerably more marked in advertisements than in journalistic articles and in particular, attention is drawn to youth culture advertisements. There was also at the number of the

newly created examples such as; インポートテスト [inpôto tesuto] (imported taste = the style of imported articles) and カテゴリーミックス [kategorî mikkusu] (category mix = a variety of categories). It is not surprising that such a low score was obtained in professional culture as they are regarded as somewhat flippant and those that were there were highly integrated. It is also significant that the values for general culture are intermediately placed between the two extremes.

6.2.3.9 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

It is clear from the above documentary evidence that wasei eigo are being created by agents of introduction from loan roots. It is also clear that a very different process of formation is used to that of domestication of foreign borrowings.

Research Objective 2

The graph shown above in 6.2.3.8 very clearly reveals that the agent of introduction of wasei eigo into youth culture is very different from that into professional culture. Indeed, we could say that the incidence of newly created professional genre to be quite minimal even in advertising and almost nonexistent in professional journalism. In youth culture on the other hand, they constitute a significant portion in advertising and maintained a small presence in journalism. As usual, the general culture is intermediately placed.

6.3 Phase 3: The Domain of the Agent of Transfer

Transfer into the Public Zone by the Agent of Transfer

Introduction

The previous steps in the domain of the agent of introduction have dealt with the various domestication procedures that the agent performed upon the foreign morpheme he borrowed or the wasei gairaigo that he coined. The thus domesticated morpheme now moves on to the next phase which is that when it enters the public domain or the domain of the agent of transfer. It should be noted that this agent is the means by which the inceptive introduction of a previously unknown word/expression occurs and should be strictly distinguished from the following phases when it undergoes mass dissemination and integration. In particular, the means by which this inceptive transfer occurs are much more confined than the means of mass dissemination employed in the dissemination phase in that, transfer proceeds by the written word and then, only those that are receptive to unassimilated or non-integrated words. These are principally the various media containing advertising scripts and magazine articles and headings. Very significantly, in the following phases, dissemination and acceptance into Japanese can additionally proceed via the spoken word of television and word of mouth. As it is impossible for loanwords to become integrated immediately after the agent of introduction has domesticated them, that is, as the agent of introduction can only access some of the media forms, it may therefore be seen that these forms must serve as a transfer bridge between the phase of domestication and the phase of dissemination. This is proof of the existence of this intermediate transfer phase, which in turn serves to validate the loanwords flow

diagram postulated above, the aim of Research Objective 1.

It is the aim of Research Objective 2 is to show that the genre classification of loans predetermines the probable evolutionary outcome through the domains it passes through, culminating in either lexical death or acceptance along a usage continuum. In the above Phase 2 (the domain of the agent of introduction), we showed that genre specific agents of introduction consciously conform to the expectations and requirements of the genre in which they are working. Here in this next step, we will be reviewing the means of transfer with an attempt to show that for each loanword genre, transfer proceeds via agents specific to that genre. To do this, we must first identify who the agents of transfer are. Secondly, we must determine which agents carry which of the three genre of loans, that is, youth culture, professional, and general loans. Thirdly, it is not possible to quantitatively ascertain the numbers of words/expressions that the agents of transfer inject into the Japanese society however, an examination of the relative impact of each agent of transfer upon Japanese society does serve to give an indication of the relative power of each agent in foreign word transfer. Accordingly, in the following section, we shall look at who the agents are and for each, shall discuss what sorts of borrowings they typically carry and their impact.

6.3.1 The Identity of the Agents of Transfer

For the reasons expounded above in the introduction section, Japanese people tend to acquire new vocabulary in the first instance by visual input of the written form. Indeed, Quackenbush noted that Japanese people typically prefer to pronounce a new word by

first looking at its written form (Quackenbush, 1977: 64). This therefore precludes transfer by the spoken-auditory means of radio and television, a fact reinforced by the comments made during my interviews with television station executives of their policy to not use non-integrated loanwords. Idiolectal neologisms are rare and when they do occur, tend to remain within the speaker's interpersonal society as they lack a means of broad dissemination. The one exception that has emerged in recent years is that of internet chat rooms, a phenomenon that will be investigated below. Essentially, the agent of transfer must be; a written form, be accepting of non-integrated foreign words, and be one that has the diffusion power of one of the mass media. The media forms that satisfy these requirements are: the various forms of advertising, magazines (headings and articles), textbooks, technical/commercial television programmes featuring specialists in the field and internet chat rooms. These will now be looked at in succession.

6.3.1.1 Advertising Copy

The study of advertising discourse is a well established research area in applied linguistics, for example, stylistics (Gieszinger, 2001) text-image relationships (Forceville, 1996) and ideology communication (O'Barr, 1994). The effect of advertising language on language contact phenomenon however, has been relatively neglected as a subject of research. Harald Haarmann's three papers (1984, 1986, and 1989) are possibly the best known but which does not detract from the contributions made by scholars such as Piller (2001 and 2003) who investigated the use of stereotypes in advertising and Bhatia (2000) who studied codemixing strategies in advertising. Three works of note in the field of Japanese borrowings are Takashi (1990a), Takashi (1990b) and Gabrielli (2001) who

investigated language and Japanese identity as seen from a sociolinguistic view of advertising, and the functions of loans in modern advertising. The following is a discussion on the various forms of advertising that have an impact on transfer.

Magazine Advertising

In 2002, a Japanese marketing research firm, Video Research Limited, studied a total of 996 advertisements in order to determine which of the popular media forms would have the greatest effectiveness as a means to carry advertising (Video research press release, 2002: http://www.zakko.or.jp/eng/qa/03/index.html). The results have been graphically represented below in which the vertical axis shows a measure of the degree of transmission of the advertisement details. When applied to the situation of loanwords being carried by commercial advertising, it could only represent the situation in the dissemination phase because television, radio and newspaper advertising can only be a minor contributor to inceptive transfer. Nevertheless, this graph is of value here as it indicates very clearly the superiority of magazine advertising which would be all the more remarkable as a carrier of loanwords in the transfer phase due to the relative insignificance of the three forms of television, radio and newspapers.
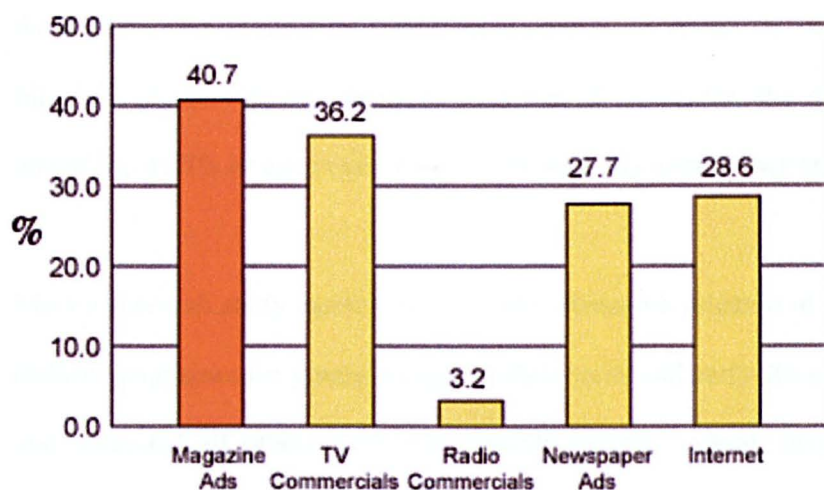
Fig. 7: The degree of transmission of the advertising among various mass media forms

The degree to which magazine advertising has impact on the reader was also assessed, as graphically shown below (http://www.zakko.or.jp/eng/qa/04/index.html).
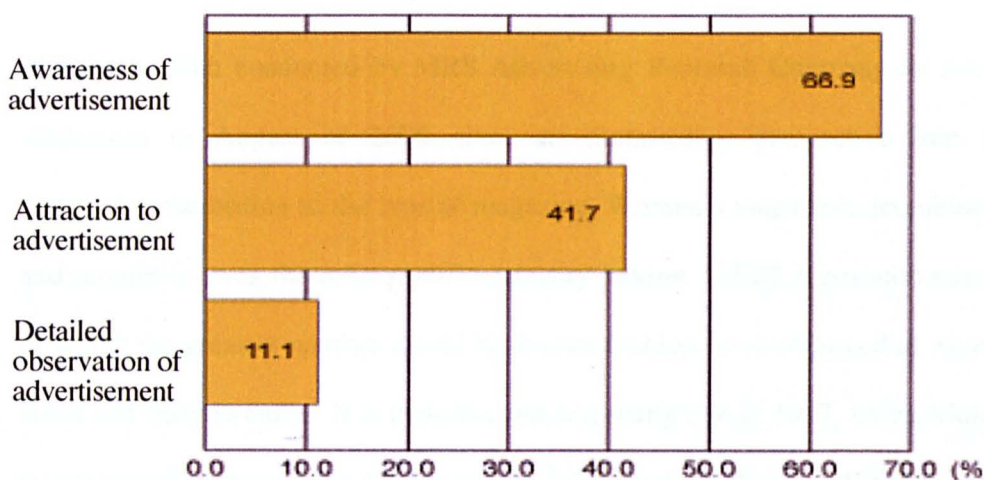

Fig. 8: Degree of the impact of magazine advertising

Here, we see that on average, 66.9% of a magazine's readership was at least vaguely aware of any given advertisement in that magazine. It is this approximately two-thirds of

the readers that advertising copywriters attempt to attract by using loanwords in their functions of prestige and attention attractors. If successful, the reader will then become one of the 41.7% or even one of the 11.1% who pay even closer attention.

Market research study carried out by Video Research released in April, 2005, found that fashion magazines for young women in their teens and early 20s enjoyed the largest sales and exceeded all others by a considerable margin, indeed, they found that 83.7% of young women bought at least one copy per month. Ito and Okabe in their report of mobile phone culture, similarly noted that, 'much advertising and product design still caters to the youth market, particularly girls. Ads for cutting-edge phones tend to feature young women, and many designs feature cute characters and feminine colors' (Ito and Okabe. 2004:7).

Market research conducted by MRS Advertising Research Company on a total of 352 magazines in August of 2005 gives an illuminating perspective into advertising distribution according to the type of magazine. Women's magazines (combined weeklies and monthlies) was the most prolific category having 32,022 pages with advertisements of which the greatest number would have been fashion oriented aimed at women in their teens and early twenties. It is therefore not surprising that in 1997, Laura Miller reported that there were as many as 144 magazine titles (such as Non-no, With, An-An, JJ, Can-Cam, More and Say) aimed at young women (Miller, L 1997:143). The next category was entertainment magazines (22,720 pages) followed by popular hobbies (15,540), youth comics (24,134), general readership (7,054), computer (6,826), economics (4,242), motor

vehicles (3,648) and four other sundry categories of general interest including health and housing (total:7,598) (http://www.mrs-ads.com/mrsrep/mrsrep_m01.html). When these are regrouped according to the loanword genres of youth culture, professional and general, we find figures of about 64,000, 30,000 and 24,000 respectively. Note that the categories of entertainment and popular hobbies embraces youth culture activities, general and some professional interest. In its 1962 analysis of ninety magazines, the National Language Research Institute ascribed thereto the areas of: film appreciation, film stars, television personalities, contemporary music, sports, popular technology, literary appreciation and general lifestyle (The National Language Research Institute, 1962:2). Unfortunately, the relative proportions of each are of little use today due to the enormous changes in Japanese society in the last 40 years so the above three figures are inclusive of an appropriate allocation of these two categories.

These figures serve to give an appreciation of the huge volume of advertising that is being seen by readers. Indeed, the Mass Media pages of Web Japan (sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs), lists that in 2002, the huge figure of 2.4 trillion yen was received from magazine sales. An understanding of the numbers of loanwords passing before the reading Japanese public may be gained by combining these numbers with the numbers of loans to be manually counted in a representative sample and presented in the next section dealing with Integration. Magazine advertising must be seen as constituting the greatest agent of transfer that operates over all three genre of loanwords, particularly, youth culture.

Television Advertising

While loanwords in advertising do not come under the same sanctions imposed against non-integrated borrowings in the programmes themselves, television advertisers tend to avoid those in which the viewers would be expected to derive lexical meaning. This is because the Japanese television commercials are extremely expensive and there is simply not enough time to give an explanation. However loans are frequently used to provide an emotive ambiance in what Haarmann (1984: 6) and Piller (2003: 172) referred to as ethnocultural stereotypes. Positive stereotypical scenes of foreign cultures are used to convey a mood or an ambience that Japanese people associate with the nation being portrayed. The role of any accompanying foreign language texting was not that it should be understood but that it act as an adjunct to the mood creation process already established by the foreign models, the music and the setting. Hence, Italian foreign words are used in sports car commercials, French in perfume commercials and so forth (Haarmann ibid:105-106). Takashi (1990b) has extended Haarmann's argument of ethnocultural stereotypes by stating that in the case of English, the language is not used to index Americanism or Westernism but rather, indexes an ambience of modern sophistication. It is the subjective impression of fashionable modernity and the prestige values associated with English that helps to impart a suggestion that the viewer is a member of a modern cosmopolitan society, or what Piller (2001:180) referred to as a 'transnational consumer'. Ostensibly, the thus generated feelings more than compensate for any feelings of awkwardness due to non-comprehension. However, as these foreign words are generally not understood, they cannot be accessed and therefore have no bearing on loanword transfer. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are cases of

foreign words in advertising texts that have made the transition from non-colloquial commercial textings to colloquial, particularly those of short syllabic length that were repeatedly aired to the public. Words such as ソフト [sofuto] (soft), マイルド [mairudo] (mild) and オフ [ofu] (off) are examples (Haarmann, 1984:120). This shall be dealt with more fully in the next section.

Newspaper Advertising

The significant difference between newspaper advertising and magazine advertising reflects the difference between the two sorts of media. In recent years, magazines have become more focused in their contents, appealing to specific age groups and people with specialised interests, such as collectors, sports enthusiasts, and personal computer users. It is therefore not surprising that a total of about 3,500 magazines are published in Japan (International Federation of the Periodical Press, 2005. No. 1172), in which we see a far greater range of small investor advertising exhibiting great freedom of linguistic choices in the advertising copy. The high circulation national newspapers on the other hand, although 50 million are read daily (Web Japan idem), come from only a handful of giant networks such as Asahi Shimbun, Yomiuri Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun. They tend to carry the advertising of large powerful companies who themselves, tend to adopt a conservative approach, restricting loanword usage to integrated words. For example, Asahi Shimbun (Asahi Shimbun. Website. 2005) lists its top five advertisers for 2002 as, Toyota (1910 advertisements), NTT DoCoMo (960), Dell computers (940), Suntory (740) and Alico Finance (740).

Internet Advertising

It was estimated that in 2004, the internet had a penetration rate of 62.3% of all households in Japan with 79 million users (Ministry, Posts and Telecommunications. White Paper, 2004:12). Lee and Briley (2005:1) note that the potential power of internet advertising as opposed to conventional advertising concerns the phenomenon of repeat exposure in that there is no upper limit to the number of times a user could be exposed to a particular internet advertising form such as a banner or pop-up advertising. Their research showed that younger subjects demonstrated better recall of the advertisement message and with women in particular, excelling in message recall as compared with men (ibid:10). This is of particular significance for the future of internet advertising in view of the very high female youth culture interest in consumer spending.

A search for a report on the situation regarding the use of borrowings/native creations on the internet was unsuccessful and so accordingly, this author conducted an informal study in November, 2005, to gain an overview of the degree and domain of usage. The area chosen for investigation was the home page of the Yahoo search engine, the most popular in Japan. Similar to what was noticed in the case of magazines, there is a very high degree of usage in eye-catching headings of articles. Examples include コンテンツストア [kontentsu sutoa] (contents store), which is a wasei eigo term meaning a sub-listing of purchase categories). Articles of interest to the professional reader are also well represented such as ノークレームノーリターン [nô kurêmu nôritân] (no claim no return). Again, this is a wasei eigo creation meaning that no claims against the seller of

the laptop computer on sale would be negotiable and that the item could not be returned. The operation of a device was listed as being ストレスフリーな操作性 [sutoresu furî na sôsasei] in which ストレスフリー (stress free) is a quite recent borrowing from English. Similarly also in the case of magazines, one could say that the incidence of borrowings is much less in the body of the article than in the heading, indeed, the further one moves away from the heading, the more the author resorts to standard Japanese for the sake of complete comprehension. Interestingly, even in the body of some articles concerning the fashion industry, there is a relatively higher incidence of native creations. Notable examples include: ハートフルな [hâtofuru na] (heart-felt. emotional) and グローバルファッションマーケティングリーダー的な存在を確立しています[gurôbaru fasshon mâketingu rîdâ tekina sonzai wo kakuritsu shite imasu] (established its position as global fashion market leader).

6.3.1.2 Magazine Headings and Articles

From the above, the high volume of sales of magazines can be easily understood. Consumer research conducted over 527 magazines in 2004 revealed the extremely high coverage of magazine reading in Japan of more than 80% over the whole of Japanese society, rising to around 90% of people from teens to those in their 30s (Video Research Press Release, 2004) (http://www.videor.co.jp/eng/press/050415.htm).

Magazine covers and article headlines are of particular importance as magazine editors frequently use borrowings to attract attention and in this way, have a function similar to advertising. Indeed, the editor-in-chief of the women's magazine, Fujin Koron, informed

me during the interview that she did use foreign words/loans for just this purpose. Javalgi et. al. (1995:118), in discussing the importance of headlines in an advertisement, noted that the Nikkei Advertising Research Institute found that Japan had the highest incidence of loanwords in headlines at 39.2% compared with the equivalent in Korea, Taiwan, the United States and France. Furthermore, these headlines are typically used to gain the reader's attention, more specifically, they can act in the roles of a product identifier or introducer of the selling premise. The power of advertising loanwords would then be instrumental in presenting the headline as news, challenging the reader or stimulating curiosity with a how-to statement or a question.

Unlike other written media such as newspapers, magazine editors are required essentially to provide entertainment in accordance with the genre of magazine they are writing for. In her comment on manga (comics), Susan Phillips stated that, 'Manga are designed specifically for different age and interest groups. Depending on the target audience, the terminology, the content of the narratives and the images differ greatly. Due to their popularity, manga provide pertinent information about the opinions and interests of their readership, whilst at the same time creating new trends' (Phillips, 2001:1). Introduction of newly created or borrowed foreign words is one form of entertainment.

6.3.1.3 Product Labelling

In addition to appeal engendered by ethnocultural stereotypes, roman letters also have a semiotic appeal. In a personal communication from a spokesman at Kanebo Cosmetics in response to his request for explanation as to the title on a bottle of shampoo 'Shampoo for

extra damage', Philip Seaton was told, 'there are many cases where we use roman script to enhance product image and design' (Seaton, 2001:238). His own sociolinguistic research reiterates research elsewhere such as NHK, (A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, Vol. I:110), where it is clearly stated that the roman script is synonymous with English which is perceived as being highly attractive and desirable (idem). Haarmann (1989:225) noted that, 'in Japanese mass media, the use of writing systems reflects the outlined duality in that the Japanese systems connote features of the home culture, while the alphabetic writing marks "exotic" modernity'. The same applies to other written language forms where foreign languages are used not for the linguistic content but for semiotic or ethnocultural appeal. Examples include newspaper inserts featuring items on sale at local shops, shop front advertising, billboards and some popular clothing.

6.3.1.4 School Textbooks

The National Language Research Institute conducted an investigation in loanword usage in textbooks in 1974 and found that an average of 6.1% of words were borrowings or hybrids (the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs: New Word Series in 1998: 27) (see table below). The occurrence of words in the sciences were 1.7 times greater than those in the humanities. The three most frequently occurring loans in textbooks for primary, junior high school and high school were respectively, ガラス (glass), パン(bread) and セ ンチメートル (centimetre); イオン (ion), エネルギー (energy) and ガラス (glass); and イオン (ion), エネルギー (energy) and ナトリウム (sodium). (Hashimoto, 2001:126). High frequency words such as イメージ (image, impression) テーマ (theme, topic) and

リズム (rhythm) are regarded as words essential to the study of classical Japanese poetry (ibid:130).

As one might expect, school textbooks are responsible for the initial propagation of general purpose loanwords commonly used in adult life. Indeed, Hashimoto noted that,

教科書で使用されている外来語は、広く使用され、言語生活に浸透していた語である可能性が高い。

(The loanwords used in textbooks are widely used and are highly likely to have penetrated deep into daily language).

Hashimoto, 2001:123

Text	% Wago	% Kango	% Loans	% Hybrid loans	% Place names, people's names
Total	14.7	58.8	6.1	0.7	19.7
Science	24.3	63.3	8.0	0.5	8.9
Social Studies	15.0	57.1	4.5	0.8	22.6

Table 33: Distribution of lexical origin of words used in textbooks

In a modification of the model proposed by McGuire (McGuire, 1985:258) to explain the successive response steps that receivers must take if a communication is to have its intended impact, the process of loanword acquisition in a controlled learning environment may be understood as follows. Firstly, attention in class when the loanword is taught, then comprehension of the spelling, pronunciation, and the usage of the loan. Retention or memory of the word is additionally facilitated by frequent retrieval of the relevant

material from memory in the generation of the same and related cognitions. The degree with which the loans originally learnt in textbooks remain in the vocabulary of the user would also depend upon the degree to which the word interfaces with non-professional lay usage to which he may subsequently come in contact. Extralinguistic factors such as personal/professional need and memory retentiveness would also be important.

6.3.1.5 Specialists Appearing in Technical/Commercial Television Programmes

Here, the agent of transfer is a television programme in which a professional typically appears in the capacity as a specialist in the field under discussion, a field which enjoys broad base public appeal. Being not immune to the appeal of loanwords, particularly the prestige afforded to Western technology and Western social phenomena, they actively borrow foreign words and transliterate them into katakana or calque them into kanji. Often, an explanation of the loanword and its applications to daily life are central features of the programme which gives adequate time for the audience to ascribe a meaning to the new word. Hence, the normal prohibitions against television acting as an agent of transfer do not apply. This agent is different to the above as the transfer occurs via a combination of the spoken and written word and on occasions, the agent of introduction himself uses this agent of transfer as a vehicle to transfer the borrowing. This would be in the situation when the person who borrowed the foreign word or created the wasei gairaigo is the same person who initially discusses the topic using the word on television. Significantly, often in such programmes, the word itself is written to increase comprehension. Indeed, even in this medium, the importance of the written word must still be recalled. In a personal

communication made during an interview, an executive at Tokai Television confirmed that a number of the specialist economic and technical loanwords used in television programmes had had their first appearance in print.

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). The 'education and culture' classification in which technical/commercial specialists would be particularly likely to appear commands 14% of the total broadcasting time.

Non-professional specialists also feature in general audience programmes such as cookery, travel and so forth and introduce nominative nouns which function as lexical gap fillers to give names for a foreign item under discussion. Examples would be the name of a foreign dish or ingredient, an ethnic custom and so forth.

This agent of transfer would be responsible for the transfer of newly appeared, typically English derived borrowings that could be described as belonging to the professional and general genres.

6.3.1.6 Linguistically Innovative Youths in Internet Chat Rooms

The area of internet chat rooms is one particular area that has emerged in the last ten

years that has increased the relative importance of the individual as an agent of transfer (personal communication during interview with Japanese magazine editor). Here, linguistically innovative Japanese youths 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, room-specific themes encourages a like-minded, informal, camaraderie which is ideal grounds for the spawning of borrowings and coinages. The increasing disseminative power of the chat rooms can be appreciated by understanding that as of 2002, about 53 million people used the internet, a figure which represented a 141% increase on the previous year. It has now reached the 79 million mark. Similarly to *the technical specialist, the agent of introduction can use this agent as a vehicle to transfer* this borrowing or creation. That is, when the person who first borrowed or created the word uses it live for the first time in a chat room.

6.3.2 The Relationship Between the Agents of Introduction and Transfer

The following table gives a clear indication of the progression of a foreign word from the time of its selection by the agent of introduction to its initial transfer into the public domain by the agent of transfer. It is based upon the estimation of the significance of the various agents of introduction and agents of transfer to each of the three loan cultures based on the data presented in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.3. For example, the majority of professional genre words are either borrowed or created by advertising copywriters working in that field. Other sources of introduction, but of a lesser significance, include magazine editors, school textbook authors and various other specialists. The agent of

transfer, or the means by which the professional agent of introduction introduces his neologism into the public domain, is of his own choosing and so, an advertising copywriter working for a company which specialises in internet advertising would naturally choose to use internet advertisements as his means of transfer.

Loan Genre	Agents of Introduction	Significance to Genre	Agents of Transfer	Significance to Genre
Professional	Advertising copywriters	√√√	Magazine ads Internet ads Newspaper ads Magazine headings Magazine articles	√√√ √√√ √ √√ √√
	Journalists/editors of technical / commercial magazines	√√√		
	School textbook authors	√√	School textbooks	√√
	Other professional specialists	√	Technical/ commercial television programmes	√
	Popular personages	√	One of the media forms	√
General	Advertising copywriters	√√√	Product Labelling	√
	Journalists/editors of general reading magazines	√√	Magazine headings Magazine articles	√√ √
	Specialists	√√	General television programmes containing specialist	√√
	School textbook authors	√√	School textbooks	√√
Youth	Advertising copywriters	√√√√√	Magazine ads Internet ads Television ads Newspaper ads	√√√√√ √√√√√ √√ √
	Journalists/editors of youth culture magazines	√√√	Magazine headings Magazine articles	√√√ √√
	Popular personages	√	One of the media forms	√√
	Innovative youths	√√√	Linguistically innovative youths in internet chat rooms	√√

Table 34: Table of the relative significance of the agents of introduction and transfer within each genre

The most significant feature that this table makes very clear is that the majority of borrowings and native creations are in the genre of youth culture of which advertising

copywriters are the most significant sources of introduction. The agent of transfer for these words is predominantly magazine and internet advertisements.

6.3.3 Quantitative Research

Since the relative impact of each agent of transfer upon Japanese society serves to give an indication of the relative power of each agent in foreign word transfer, the graph overleaf may be used to show a comparison between the relative contributions made to loanword transfer by advertising copywriters and magazine journalists (the principal agents). The results of the quantitative research clearly support the documentary analysis in showing considerably higher values of the numbers of loanwords in advertising texts right across the board of all the cultures. The vertical axis refers to the percent in the corpus that was represented by that specific borrowing type. In the youth culture corpus, 16% of the total numbers of words were borrowings created by advertising copywriters (1060) and 4% by journalists (260) and in professional culture, the representation was 34% (2430) and 19% (1360). Although documentary evidence would give rise to an expectation of a higher proportion of youth culture loanwords than professional culture loanwords, the graph would seem to indicate the reverse. How might this be explained? The numbers of loan tokens that were counted were the total numbers of loans in the corpus. In the professional magazines, there was a very high incidence of repetition of the same words and if each word was accorded only one token, irrespective of the frequency of occurrence, there would have been a higher relative value for the numbers of youth genre loans.
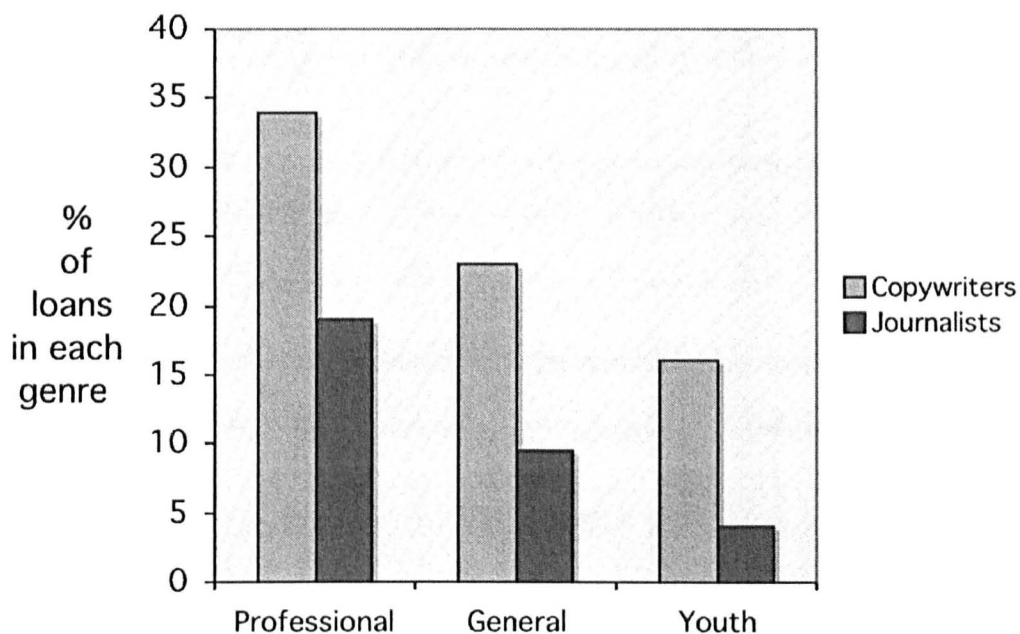
Fig. 9: Comparison between the relative contributions made to loanword transfer by advertising copywriters and magazine journalists

What is particularly interesting is that there are 4.5 times more loans in advertising than in journalism in youth culture, 2.3 times more in general culture and only 1.7 times in professional. This phenomenon can be explained by looking at the differences between the reasons for borrowing. In professional culture, the most significant reason for borrowing is lexical gap filling, typically the names of new inventions, techniques and equipment. While used more often in advertising, they are also frequently referred to in editorial articles. In youth culture on the other hand, semiotic appeal, foreign cultural stimulus and prestige serve as the most common reasons and while important for gaining readership attention in advertising, could actually impede comprehension were they used

in an editorial. This supports the findings of youth culture internet articles noted above where borrowings typically proliferate in advertising and headings.

6.3.4 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

It is clear from the above discussion in the introduction to this section and reinforced by the above table in 6.3.2 of the existence of a sequential relationship between the two phases.

Research Objective 2

Similarly from the above, particularly, 6.3.1.1, we can see that the introduction and transfer routes are specific for each of the genre of loans.

6.4 Phase 4: The Domain of the Agent of Dissemination

Introduction

As may be seen from the loanwords flow diagram, this is the penultimate stage in the evolution of loanwords. Borrowings from the transfer phase enter this next phase where they are disseminated by the twin actions of the media and interpersonal contact which collectively act as agents of dissemination. The final stage (Phase 5) concerns that of changes that come about over long term usage, which, if successful, culminates in integration. These two stages of dissemination and integration constitute separate phases of the process.

The interrelationship between the twin agents of dissemination in the first stage was well expressed by Rao (1971) who reported that students of mass communication have typically found that mass media channels are relatively more important for imparting knowledge about an innovation however, interpersonal channels are more important in persuading the potential adopter to accept the innovation. Indeed, if borrowings are to spread, both the work of the mass media diffusion and the work of interpersonal diffusion are essential. Accordingly, the process involved in both dynamics will be investigated.

6.4.1 Mass Media Diffusion

Japanese audiences are exposed to several hours of media language every day so it therefore forms a large part of daily language use in Japan. In Japan, research into media language is heavily dominated by the public broadcaster NHK's Committee for

Broadcasting, with almost no linguistic research on media language by researchers outside the NHK and established language institutions such as the National Language Research Institute Gatzen, B (2001:1). It is for this reason that interviews were conducted with two researchers from the NHK along with executives from two television stations, CBC and Tokai Television, and the National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in Japan to accurately determine the nature of Japanese mass media diffusion.

In the first volume in NHK's Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, 1987-1990, it is mentioned that the various media forms, especially television, have the biggest influence in people becoming acquainted with borrowings and that accordingly, those people who have a greater contact with these media have a greater knowledge of loans. The above professionals were asked to evaluate the relative contribution of loanword dissemination, for both youth and general culture, in each of the popular media forms. The results appear in the bar graph below.
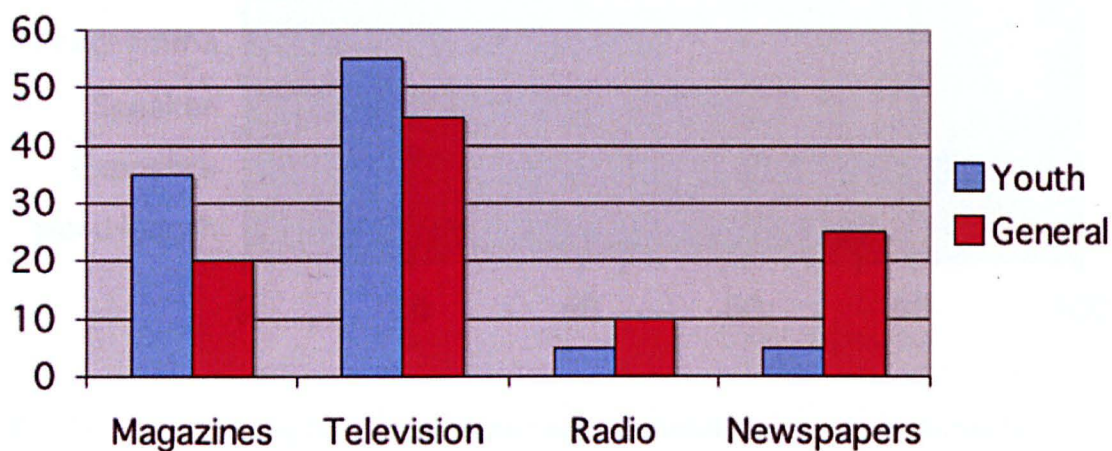
Fig. 10: The relative contribution of loanword dissemination by media forms

The distribution reflects the relative differences over the media forms. Approximately 90% of loanwords that reach the members of youth culture come by television and magazines which contrasts with the lower figure of about 65% for participants in general culture. The difference being accounted for by the much higher readership of newspapers in the latter group. In 1999, the share of total advertising revenue that can be attributed to television advertising is estimated to be 43% (the highest in the world) (from Nationmaster data bank)

As television is the most significant agent of dissemination, it was important to enquire as to which factors had the greatest impact upon the uptake of broadcast borrowings. The results are shown as follows.
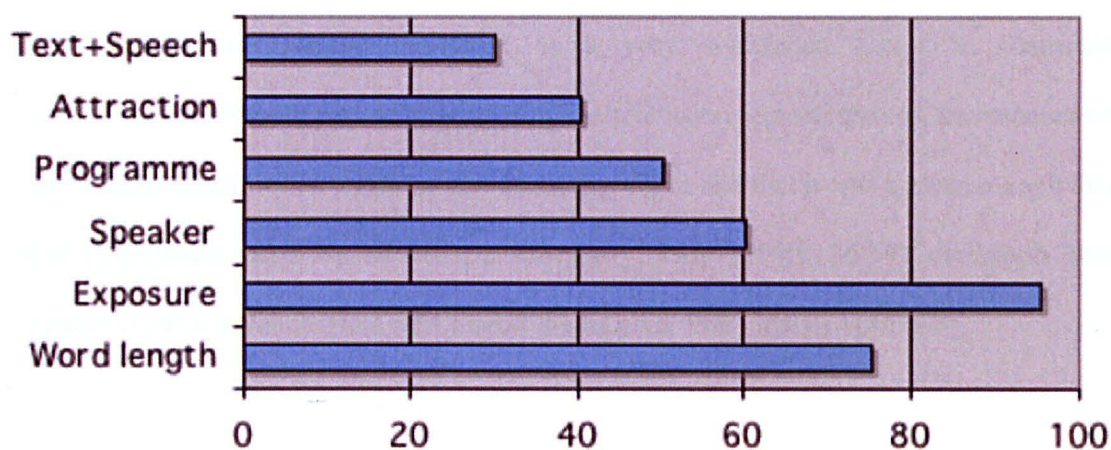
Fig. 11: Factors having the greatest impact upon the uptake of broadcast borrowings

Exposure frequency was unanimously chosen as the most important factor. As mentioned

above in Section 5.5.2.2.1, it is defined as the product of the degree of coverage throughout the L1 community together with intensity of exposure. There is almost 100% ownership of television sets in Japan giving rise to an extremely high degree of coverage (saturation). Intensity of exposure may be understood to mean frequency of repetition, Poplack and Sankoff (1984:101) noted that, 'an important diagnostic for the incorporation of a form into the native lexicon is the increased frequency of its usage. Even the degree to which the loanword is linguistically integrated has been attributed to the frequency of its use within the community'. It was undoubtedly the high frequency of television advertising in the late 1980s used to promote a range of women's close fitting garments that was responsible for the wasei eigo, ボディー・コンシャス (body conscious), having crossed the boundary from television language and entering into many people's idiolect. Similarly, the borrowing, ヘルシー (healthy), which was once used in a television advertisement, now has a high degree of integration. One of the interviewed NHK researchers isolated repetition as a very significant factor in loanword dissemination. Furthermore, as reiterated by the television representatives, he commented that in advertising, it had a kind of brainwashing effect and that it was a phenomenon that was particularly used by advertisers. Similarly, Guy (1990: 56-57) comments that repetition has a psychological effect upon the receiver that induces borrowing.

As expressed during the NHK interviews, there is a decided preference amongst Japanese for morpho-phonological shortness of two or four morae. Kawamura noted that distribution percentage over the whole language of two, three and four morae words was 22.7%, 38.3% and 17.7% respectively (Kawamura, 1994: 99). In a personal

communication from a Japanese colleague, shorter length foreign words possess a degree

of morphemic appeal, an appeal which would contribute to their overall popularity which

in turn would promote the transition from being a foreign word to becoming an integrated

loanword. For example in youth culture, the English word, 'trackback' was shortened to

the ideal three morae, トラバ [toraba] and which now has become integrated in that

culture. Interestingly, it is starting to be used in general culture as well indicating that it is

undergoing vertical diffusion (see next section).

The esteem with which the speaker is held is another important factor in loanword

adoption. Additionally, the speaker's relative position compared with the viewer's is also

significant. If a viewer perceives that a speaker's position (social, technical or academic)

is higher than his, the content of what he says and the words he himself uses, will be held

in accordingly higher esteem. The semanticist, Andreas Blank spoke of prestige of an

innovating speaker as being a significant motivation that urges people to adopt the

innovation (Blank. 1999:61-2). Asama et al. noted that journalists have a tendency to

directly quote what prominent speakers say, so as to add weigh to their reporting.

Naturally, any loanwords they use are included in their reporting (Asama et al. 1998: 4).

A case in point is ドメスティック・バイオレンス [domesutikku baiorensu] (domestic

violence), often abbreviated to DV, was coined and used by politicians in the late 1990s

when the Japanese government moved to enact laws protecting victims of this social

problem for which there was a growing awareness but no name. The elevated social

position of the politicians can be seen to have contributed to its becoming integrated.

Indeed, a search for DV in Japanese Google brought up over three million hits.

Programmes with an audience specific target have a higher degree of usage of technical

loanwords than programmes aimed at a general audience. In research conducted by The

Agency for Cultural Affairs, the Public Survey of the Japanese language (2000:61), the

most significant contributor to the youth language use is television, in particular variety

programmes where celebrities carry on an amusing running banter.

The television executives in the interview also commented on the attractive power of

onkan (auditory appeal) and *gokan* (morphological appeal). While they remain somewhat

nebulous qualities and possibly difficult to quantify as the degree of personal appeal

could be said to vary according to the particular person, broad areas of appeal coincident

with genre type may be discerned. A nonce word such as クールな [kûru na) (cool)

enjoys popularity in youth culture because of its good onkan and gokan. That this is

particularly so for youth culture was emphasized by Masamoto. S (1996:13) who wrote

that if nonce loans have a good sound and a fresh new feel, and are disseminated by the

mass media, they can become very popular and have an extremely high rate of usage.

Even though of somewhat inane meaning, nonce borrowings can enjoy high usage rates

simply because of an appealing onkan and gokan.

Finally, the NHK researchers confirmed the existence of a synergistic effect when

borrowings are both spoken and written. The spoken word assists in gaining popularity

and the written word assists in comprehension and pronunciation.

6.4.2 Interpersonal Diffusion

In Phase 2, we saw how specific agents of transfer had the job of carrying genre specific borrowings from the Phase of the Agent of Introduction to the Phase of the Agent of Dissemination. Now, we will investigate how the dynamic continues when the borrowed morpheme enters the public zone. This may be looked at from broadly two perspectives, the first is the macro level model of social networking and the second is the micro level model of social networking which together, provide a satisfactory explanation for loanword diffusion in Japan. However before this, it is necessary to explain the evolutionary processes, within an individual, from initial awareness of the existence of a borrowing to repeated implementation.

6.4.2.1 The Five Stages of Personal Adoption

A number of models have been put forward to explain diffusion of innovations to individual voluntary receptors. In Japan, researchers at the Agency for Cultural Affairs distinguish between knowledge of popular loans and their use, that is they investigate the diffusion of awareness of the innovation and its correct comprehension. For example, in the 1999-2000 edition of the annual, Survey of the Japanese Language, it is stated that with respect to the loan コメンテーター [komentêtâ] (commentator), 12.1% are completely unaware of the existence of this word and the remainder (those who are aware of the word) is composed of those who understand (51.7%), those who have an incomplete comprehension (22.5%) and those who do not know the meaning (7.5%). Some like Granovetter (1978 and 1982) and Valente (1996) differentiate between early and late adopters in a micro model. The researchers, Rodgers and Shoemaker (1971, cited

in Cooper, R. 1982:11-12) and Rodgers, E. (1995) defined diffusion as the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. Thus, the four main elements of their theory are the innovation, communication channels, time, and the social system. The diffusion dynamic that was proposed consisted of five successive stages: awareness (first knowledge that the innovation exists), interest (acquisition of knowledge about the innovation), evaluation (gaining a favourable or unfavourable attitude), small-scale trial, and finally, decision to adopt or reject. Robert Cooper (1982) created an adaptation of the Rodgers and Shoemaker model suitable to contact linguistics. His proposal consisted of four consecutive stages. A crucial fifth stage of consolidation was proposed by Rogers (1995) and is added here as it concerns long term integration.

1. Awareness

The speaker is made aware that the borrowing exists and that it can (or must) be used for a particular communicative function. This ties in with the role of the mass media as means of conveyance to the general public of the existence of a borrowing.

2. Evaluation

The speaker forms a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the personal usefulness of the borrowing for a particular function. That is, will it assist, even in a small way, towards a furtherance of some valued communicative purpose? If the answer is no, he is unlikely to learn it, or, having learnt it, to use it. The individuality aspects of loanword adoption must always be recognised, indeed, speakers of the same native language may also vary in the degree to which they personally use the loanword, and the degree to

which they consider a loanword to be integrated into their lexicon (Katamba, 1994: 200). However, working against usage based on individual preferences are the powerful forces of conformity. These include: the sheer weight of the frequency with which the loanword is seen to be used, and the status or attractiveness with which other users are esteemed.

3. Proficiency

The speaker is able to use the word for a given communicative purpose. The criterion of spread is defined not in terms of grammatical or phonetic accuracy or in terms of fluency, but rather in terms of the extent to which the speaker can use the language for a given function.

4. Implementation

The speaker uses the word in the way he has been shown.

5. Consolidation

The speaker seeks reinforcement on his decision or rejects it.

6.4.2.2 Loanword Diffusion in Japan-Social Networking

1) The Macro Level Model

In this study, loanwords have been divided into three genres, professional, general and youth culture. It may be discerned that loanwords are disseminated in society according to two dynamic processes; horizontal diffusion and vertical diffusion (adapted from Cooper, 1982). Horizontal diffusion can be understood to mean the spread of each of

these genres of loanwords across that specific sector of society. For example, the diffusion of professional borrowings among the users of this genre, that is, professional culture. Vertical diffusion, on the other hand, refers to the vertical movement of borrowings across the three sectors. This model is diagrammatically illustrated below.
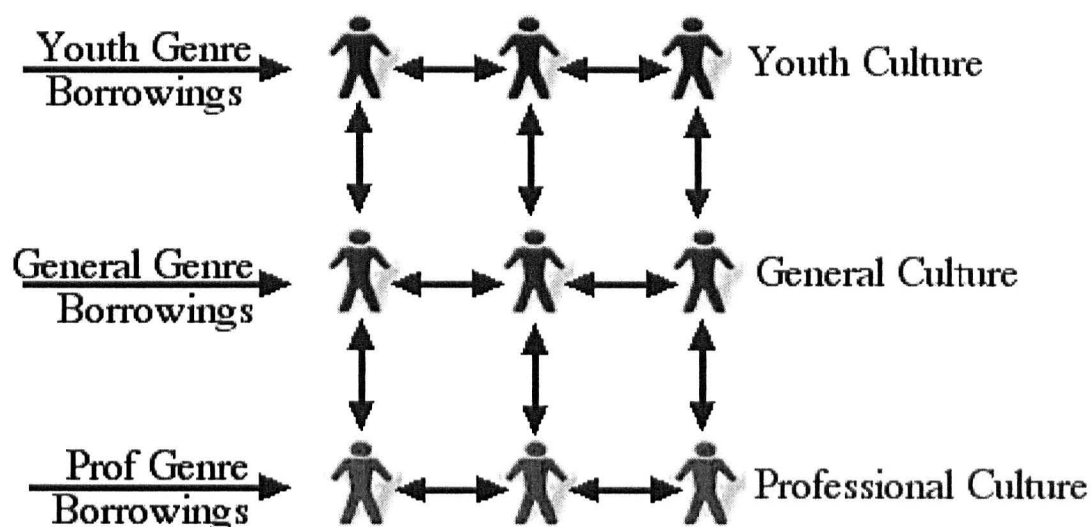

Fig. 12: Communication Networking Diagram

We see members of the Japanese population who are, for example, receptive to professional borrowings as they participate in the horizontal interdiffusion of professional genre borrowings. Professional genre borrowings which have just come from the transfer phase enter from the left and spread horizontally amongst 'professional persons'. Similarly, youth genre and general genre borrowings enter and spread horizontally amongst their respective groups. It should be noted that in the model, these three groups are separated to enable discussion of the dissemination phenomena, however, in real life there would be intermixing. For example, it is possible for a person to be in youth culture

but have a hobby which exposes him to professional genre borrowings and because he is member of general society, he is also receptive to general genre borrowings. While the model has been proposed for the dissemination of borrowings in Japanese society, it can also be applied to dissemination of specific jargon used within the confines of a community such as workplace. The writer of the internet article 外来語の使用について (The Use of Loanwords, 1990) commented on the repeated use of the word アライアンス [araiansu] (alliance) which had undergone horizontal diffusion to the point of integration within his company but there had been no vertical dissemination as it is still poorly known in Japanese society.

The horizontal and vertical diffusion patterns can be thought of as constituting communications networks (Cooper, ibid:19) which are defined as being a set of interaction links (either written or spoken) among persons, with each network set apart from the others because of limited interaction due to poor commonality. Borrowings along the horizontal line spread faster and with greater ease than vertically because of the societal constructs in which persons of one group tend to associate with like-oriented persons.

The factors affecting horizontal diffusion include:
- The number of persons in each group
- The linguistic homogeneity of persons in the group with whom the average member is in contact
- The average frequency and the duration of interaction between members of the

same group

The factors affecting vertical diffusion include:

- The number of persons who are active in two or all three of the groups

- The linguistic diversity of persons in the group

- The average frequency and the duration of interaction between members of the other groups

2) The Micro Level Model

The above model is the macro level of diffusion, however there is also a micro level which shall now be addressed. The basic process by which interpersonal diffusion of innovations occurs has a starting point where a few members of a social system initially adopt an innovation, then, over time, more individuals adopt until all (or most) members adopt the new idea. These are the essential tenets of the Threshold Model of Collective Behaviour, proposed by Granovetter (1978) where a threshold is defined as the proportion of adopters in a network necessary to convince a participant of the same network to adopt. As explained above, a network can be considered from the macro perspective which when applied to the networks of the three genre as shown above, is understood to be the whole of a genre. So for example, the threshold for an innovation in the youth culture network is defined as the proportion of adopters in the youth culture necessary to convince the rest of youth culture participants to adopt. Alternatively, a network can be considered from the micro perspective, that is, a personal network around an individual which is understood to be the pattern of friendship, advice, communication

or support which exists among the members of a network (Valente, 1996:70). It is in the performance of these activities that loanwords are interpersonally carried and diffused. When applied to this research, each person participating in one of the genres can be considered as being a member of a personal network where a threshold is defined as the proportion of adopters in his personal network necessary to convince him to adopt. The model allows for a threshold lag which corresponds to the time necessary for adoption when the threshold is reached (in general the adoption does not occur right when the threshold is reached). The more formal definition of the threshold is the point at which the perceived benefits equal the perceived costs (see diagram below, Granovetter:1422).

The innovativeness of individual adopters can be categorised based on the time of adoption, as follows: (1) early adopters, (2) early majority, (3) late majority, and (4) laggards (Valente, 1996:74). Each individual's innovation-decision is largely framed by personal characteristics and those who adopt early are referred to as low network threshold individuals. They are typically people who are linguistically adventurous and even though early participation in the diffusion carries the risk of linguistic non-comprehension and even social isolation, the perceived benefits of the innovative communication outweigh the costs. Low network threshold individuals typically proceed quickly through the five stages mentioned above in 6.4.2.1. The more conservative the person, the later the adoption, that is, in accordance with their own values and perception, they want to be sure that it has become 'sufficiently acceptable' before using it. They would spend much more time in the evaluation stage than earlier adopters. High network threshold individuals are those who adopt after most of their network have adopted. The

last category is composed of either traditionalists who voluntarily reject the innovation or isolates whose lack of social interaction compromises their probability of becoming aware of an innovation's existence and benefits (Orr, 2003:4). Each participant's threshold moves up and down in response to the success or failure of the collective action and costs of participation (Macy, M.1991:773) and additionally, forms part of the last stage of the evolution of a borrowing in the individual, consolidation. Diagrams of the model adapted from Granovetter's (1978:1438) diagram are shown below.
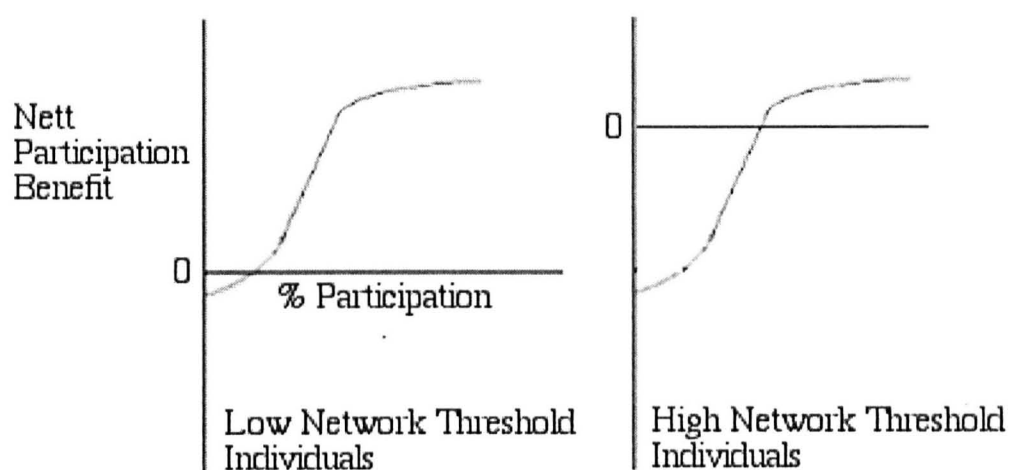

Fig. 13: Diagrams illustrating the difference between individual threshold levels

To facilitate better understanding of this representation of the model, the same analogy as Granovetter (1978:1438) used shall be reproduced here. 'Suppose you are in an unfamiliar town and are deciding whether to enter an unknown restaurant in the evening to have a meal. Whether or not you decide to have a meal there will depend, in part, on how many other people have decided to eat there. If the place is empty or nearly empty, it is probably a bad sign and you would only enter if you were particularly adventurous. At

a certain minimum number of diners however, you would enter with neutral attitude. Beyond this number of people you would enter with a positive expectation as it being clearly a good place to eat judging by its apparent popularity'. The graphs are a superimposition of a set of axes on a loanword usage/integration curve (see below). The adventurous people represent the low network threshold individuals, illustrated on the right diagram, who after a short period of time after the transfer (the point where the curve touches the y axis), quickly reach the point where the perceived benefits equal the perceived costs, that is, where the nett participation benefit is zero. This is his personal threshold, the point where he is ready to adopt the borrowing. In the case of the high network threshold individuals, they have to see the borrowing pass before them many more times before their threshold is reached.

Valente's extension of the model provided for the existence of Opinion Leaders who are typically early adopters (ibid:83) and can be considered as having clout in the network. The idea is that when opinion leaders adopt, the uncertainty decreases for the others and they tend to adopt more easily. Much of the social system does not have the inclination or capability to remain abreast of the most recent information about innovations, so they instead trust the decisions made by opinion leaders. Additionally, much of the social system merely wants to stay in step with the rest. Since adoption of an innovation by opinion leaders is a good indicator that an innovation is going to be adopted by many others, conforming members are encouraged to adopt (Rogers, 1995:319). In this research, opinion leaders are elites within each the genre, those institutions or people who are widely esteemed in the genre and in the macro, include well known and respected

magazines, television and political personalities. In the micro, they include popular contemporaries (see the discussion on Language Bosses in the section dealing with Fad Words, below). So the more people within a genre who witness media adoption as well as contemporaries' adoption of a borrowing, the higher will its usage rate increase. The potential of a loanword to integrate is directly related to the number of opinion leaders who by sustained use of the linguistic innovation give a clear signal to the genre's members of its acceptability.

Valente's model also allows for the opposite phenomenon of failure and rejection. If there are too few opinion leaders who are prepared to carry the borrowing combined with too many high threshold network members, especially in the initial period immediately following the transfer, the dissemination process will stall and the borrowing will inevitably become forgotten and rejected.

Many diffusion studies such as Valente (1996:71) and Orr (2003:2) report S shaped curves that is, the percentage of users rises slowly at first, then gathers speed and then slackens off until it reaches a ceiling. Aitchison and Cooper showed its applicability to linguistic diffusion. (Aitchison, 2001:91, Cooper, 1982:13). The point at which it exponentially gathers momentum is called the point of critical mass.
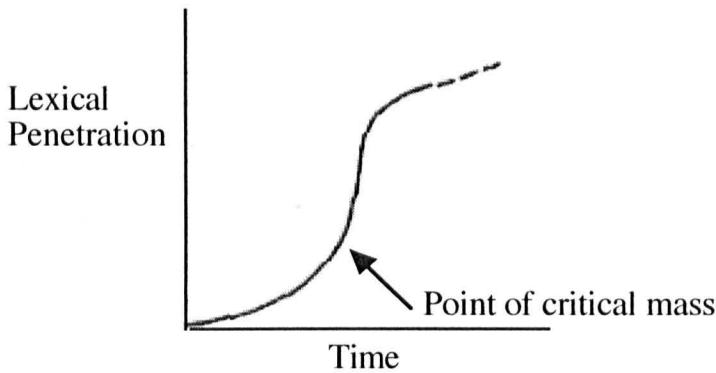
Fig. 14: Diffusion curve

The concept of critical mass is an important application arising out of the threshold model and is the necessary number of adopters needed to self sustain innovation propagation to the rest of the population. (Valente, T.1996, and Macy, M.1991). According to Rodgers (1995), the critical mass occurs at the point at which enough individuals have adopted an innovation that the innovation's further rate of adoption becomes self-sustaining. Once critical mass of usage is achieved, it effectively becomes a standard (Jordan, K et al. 2003:20). Diffusion theory argues that opinion leaders directly affect whether critical mass is achieved or not and the time taken to achieve it (Orr. ibid:7).

Summary

From the above discussion, it is clear that agent of dissemination is composed of two interconnecting sub-agents: the first is interpersonal networking where the transferred borrowing is picked up by individuals, who, being members of interpersonal networks, spread the borrowing from person to person. It is here that people are persuaded to use the borrowing. If it carries or remains in usage, the various mass media forms which bring the knowledge of the borrowing throughout the nation, continue the dissemination

process. In the case of a successful borrowing, this action inevitably leads to the state of critical mass where these two sub-agents continually interconnect as the borrowing rapidly passes backwards and forwards between them, the sub-agents of interpersonal networking and the mass media respectively contributing localised usage persuasion and large-scale dissemination.

6.4.3 Demographic Factors Affecting Diffusion

We shall now investigate the demographic factors influencing diffusion of loanwords in Japan. The factors to be considered are age, gender, type of employment and living environment. Firstly, the relationship between age and awareness, comprehension and implementation of borrowings can be clearly seen in the following graph.
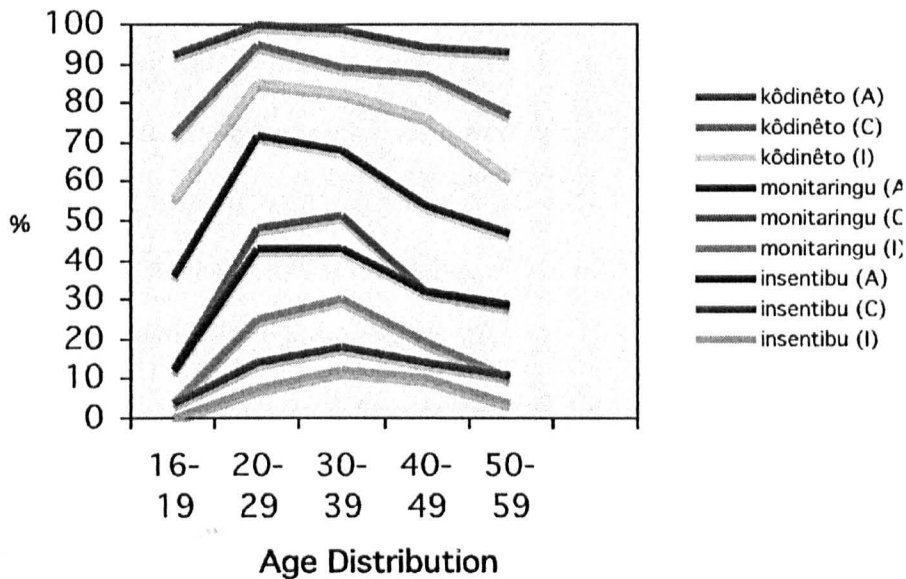
Fig. 15: Graph depicting the relationship between age and diffusion

The above graph is a representation of the 2002 research data obtained by the Agency for Cultural Affairs for three loanwords from which the degree of usage may be understood. The words, インセンティブ [insentibu] (incentive), モニタリング [monitaringu] (monitoring) and コーディネート [kôdinêto] (co-ordinate), were chosen according to their genre classification, professional (commercial only), professional (commercial and technical), and general respectively. Each word was representative of its genre. The agency's data did not include any youth culture or nonce words, undoubtedly because unless there has been vertical diffusion into general or professional cultures, the age range that would be aware of and implement such words would be very narrow, centring around the teens and early twenties. The letter in brackets after each word refers to the percentage of respondents who are aware that the word exists (A), who comprehend the meaning (C) and who have actually implemented the word (I). Note that (I) does not mean 'regularly use the word' but those who 'have used the word' therefore, it cannot be used to measure integration (see next phase). In each case, the number of people who have an awareness is greater than those who comprehend which is in turn greater than those who have actually used it. These results verify Cooper's model for the progression of linguistic diffusion (ibid:12): awareness > evaluation > proficiency > usage. That is, not all the people who are aware that the word exists go on to evaluate it, and then not all who evaluate it proceed on to comprehend it, and finally, an even smaller number progress on to actually using the word. As anticipated by the Communication Networking Diagram, the general genre word received the highest values as it is not subculture specific unlike the other two words. That is, all members of Japanese society are members of general culture and so correspondingly, would give higher values. Although

both insentibu and monitaringu are classified as professional genre, it seemed significant that the latter, used by people exposed to borrowings in both strands of professional culture (commercial and technical), had a significantly higher value than the other which was purely commercial.

As may be also anticipated, the genres are demographically differentiated according to age. With the one exception of monitaringu (A), the peak age group right across the diffusion spectrum for the professional culture words was the 30s while that for the general culture word was the 20s. We can say that the consistency of peaks in the 30s age range is indicative that while these borrowings have diffused horizontally within the professional culture, they evidently had difficulty in diffusing vertically into the general culture.

In youth culture, there would obviously be a much higher proportion of overall comprehension by young people, in 1996, NHK (NHK Broadcasting and Culture Research Institute, A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment, Vol. 3:286) found that the wasei eigo ツーショッ [tsû-shotto] (a double shot of alcohol) had a comprehension of 93% for people in their 20s, 91% in their 30s, 85% in their 40s and 70% in their 50s. Indeed, interest in fad words dropped in inverse proportion to increasing age (NHK ibid. Vol. I:59). Hall-Lew similarly noticed in her studies on loanword diffusion in China that there are some words that are generally only known by youth (Hall-Lew, L 2002:36). As for general and professional culture words, they can also diffuse vertically. The word ライブトーク [raibutôku] (live talk) was a wasei eigo

used in general cultural to mean a speech or a public address but by members of youth culture, it came additionally to mean participating in internet chat rooms.

The same words with the same patterning of stages in the diffusion process have been used to graphically identify any differences between the genders. All other factors being the same, males seem to have a higher overall knowledge of loanwords. NHK testing has confirmed that in the late 19898-1990 period, men had a comprehension of 71% as opposed to 56% for women (NHK ibid. Vol.I:19). The differences roughly reflect their different occupations and thus the probability that they will come into contact with associated words.
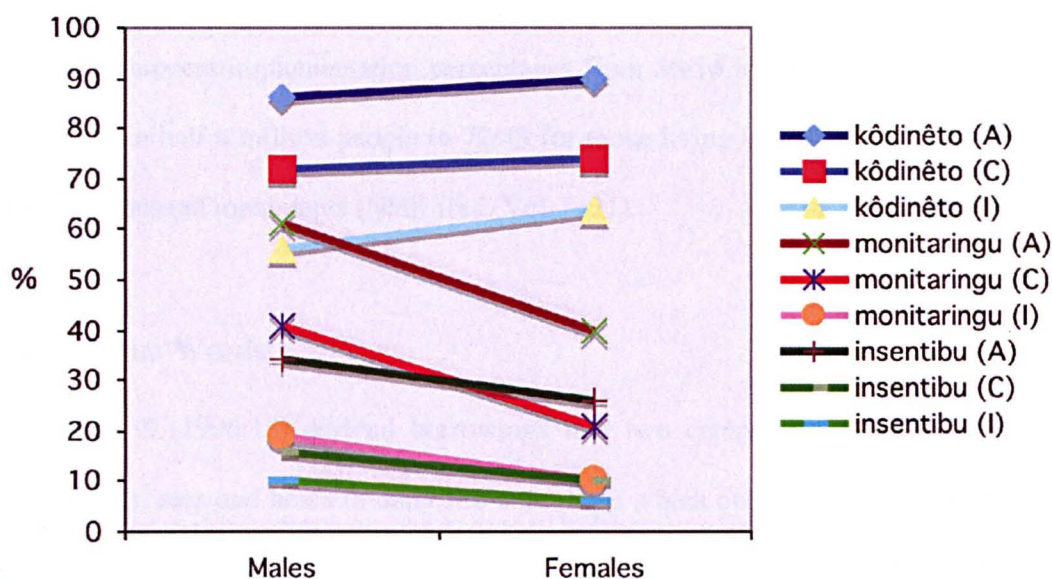

Fig. 16; Graph depicting the relationship between gender and diffusion

The word, monitoring occurs mainly in technology and science where men predominate. Incentive it is mainly used in commerce and business where there are more women present, hence a lessening of the line gradient. Kôdinêto has undergone a semantic

narrowing away from the originating English word, coordinate, to generally mean interior decorating coordination. As it is in general culture, one would expect it to have a higher overall comprehension and furthermore, given its meaning, it is not surprising that women are more familiar with this word. In youth culture, NHK (NHK ibid. Vol. I:59) found that 56% of males and 53% of females had an interest in fad words.

When the relationship between employment and loan awareness/implementation are looked at, we find the highest respective percentages are for those in the management classes (89/68), followed by educated white-collar workers (86/63), then housewives (76/46) and lastly blue-collar workers (72/42). There is a very definite relationship between awareness/implementation and living environment. We see a steady decline in average awareness/implementation percentages from 80/54 for people who live in cities of more than half a million people to 72/43 for those living in places with less than one hundred thousand inhabitants (NHK ibid. Vol. I: 21).

6.4.4 Vogue Words

Masamoto. S (1996:13) divided borrowings into two categories: those that one is in contact with, sees and hears in daily life and; those which one actually uses. The second group is composed of words which are in daily use in both the written and spoken languages and can be divided into general use integrated loanwords, such as グループ [gurûpu] (group) and イベント [ibento] (event) and nonce borrowings or fad words like シック [shikku] (chic) (ibid. 12). The reasons why some words become elevated and are additionally used in the spoken register is the subject of this section.

The NHK has defined fad words as being one kind of ephemeral neologism which is often exaggerated and of a playful nature, that can be used to satirise facets of popular culture and whose usage evokes sentiments of freshness and fancifulness which are attractive to the eye and ear. They possess considerable phonetic appeal and thus find ready use in the banter of the personalities appearing in programmes aimed at youth culture, in drinking establishments, in commercial advertising and in the school yard (NHK, 1997: 57). They further split fad words into three categories, as follows. Type one is typically transferred and also partly disseminated by the written word of one of the printed media and had the form of a critical utterance made by a politician or an advertising slogan. They are not designed to be fashionable or to become popular but that simply people emotively identify with the statement and thus incorporate it into their vocabulary. It typically emanates from some occurrence of social significance (ibid: 58). An example is リストラ [risutora] (truncation of restructuring) was picked up by Japanese journalists from an American academic who was expounding his theories on efforts made by some companies to internally reorganise with a view to corporate strengthening. The loaned word was soon used by business consultants who started to implement the same policies in the form of sacking employees. It very quickly became a fad word with fearsome overtones that entered into general culture (personal communication from the journalist, Fumi Murakami, at Nikkei Publishing, Tokyo). Type two is loaned or created by an advertising copywriter, television personality and so forth with the express purpose of providing entertainment or amusement and has an end of drawing attention to the user. An example is チェック [chekku] (check) which is a

shortened form of the youth expression, 'check it out'. Type three are play words used as emotive expletives. In any case, if the speaker is a famous person, then it is all more likely to be swept into being a fad word.

In his research on the factors that predispose fad words to spread in a classroom situation, Shibata (1999) isolated the presence of language bosses and language non-bosses. The former are children whose personality and manner are such that fad words that are picked up from some media source and subsequently used among contemporaries, are quickly picked up by contemporaries and spread. (Shibata 1999:309). Non-bosses on the other hand, although they may try to spread fad words, their attempts fail and they are soon discarded and forgotten. He identified the personal characteristics which generally predispose a child to be a language boss, as follows (ibid: 317).

- Someone who is good at giving nicknames to others and spreading those names
- The person who is thought to be the most popular in the classroom
- A person who is physically active, is a natural sportsman or who works hard
- A person who is sociable in which sociable has the sense of being someone who is sympathetic towards others and gets along well with people

Children who are language bosses at school have the sort of personality found in opinion leaders and could well become such when they grow up. Children who are typically language non-bosses are those who are; emotionally stable, not impatient, calm, thoughtful, logical and who like being alone. Conversely, these are the sort of personal

characteristics that would predispose one to become a high network threshold individual. The typical pattern of fad word endurance is that they come into fashion and are very popular for the duration that they ride the crest of popularity (Ishiwata, 2001:91). The time period during which they remain in currency varies from word to word and some make the transition into the general genre such as ソフトな [sofuto na] (soft) which was originally used in advertising and セクハラ [sekuhara] (sexual harassment) which was originally a fad word used in youth culture but through media attention, diffused vertically up to general culture. Most however, inevitably fade away when the situation that spawned them fades away. An example is ナウい [naui] (current), popular with women in the affluent bubble economy of the 1980s word but which disappeared along with the disappearance of that ethos.

Concerning degree of usage, somewhat surprisingly, while about 55% of people are interested in nonce words, only 16% are interested to the degree that they use them in speech (NHK ibid. Vol.1:58-60). NHK divided interest in new buzzwords into five categories as follows:

1. Very interested and very readily use them in speech-4 %

2. Interested and have willingness to use them in speech-12 %

3. Interested but will not readily use them in speech-38 %

4. Not very interested and will rarely use them in speech-32 %

5. Totally disinterested-13 %

6.4.5 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

Recall that it is the first research objective of this thesis to establish if the diagram of the loanword evolution model accurately represents the dynamics operating within loanword evolution. The line of the discussion above clearly shows that transferred borrowings are disseminated by the interconnected action of two sub-agents, namely; social networking and the mass media forms. Furthermore, the model clearly explains the process that results in rejection.

Research Objective 2

The second research objective is to prove that each of the three main genres of loanwords undergo separate evolutionary paths due to the existence of genre specific agents acting in each of the phases of the evolution. The discussions related to the first bar graph in 6.4.1 and the Communication Networking Diagram in 6.4.2.2 clearly shows three separate networks by which the three genres of loans are disseminated.

6.5 Phase 5: The Domain of the Agent of Integration

Introduction

The final stage of the lexical evolution of borrowings and native creations is the Phase of Integration. Not all the words that entered Phase 4 will proceed on to Phase 5 as a number will not have had sufficient network support. In this section we will be discussing the criteria that linguists have proposed according to which a foreign word may be distinguished from a loanword. This will be followed by the argument that will be presented in this thesis as being the case in Japanese borrowings. Finally, the means by which integrated loans are rendered obsolete and lose their integrated status will be addressed.

6.5.1 Delineation Criteria

It is widely recognised that the process by which a foreign word becomes a loanword is gradual (Bloomfield, 1933:450) because it must pass through the five stages of personal adoption explained in Section 6.4. The Japan Times noted that, 'when integrated into Japanese, 'gaikokugo' (foreign words) are called 'gairaigo' (loanwords)' (Japan Times, February 15, 2002). However, the criteria governing the establishment of a demarcation level therebetween 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). In 1942, the Japanese linguist and lexicographer, Sobe Arakawa (1942:8), said that even a number of Japanese scholars relied on the presence of a foreign language feel and that when the word no longer had a foreign language feel it had become a loanword, He also added that this judgment is subjective. Kurtboke and Potter (2000) commented that:

The lack of a well-defined set of criteria to establish what counts as foreign material and what does not, makes it difficult to state the number of loanwords in any corpus with precision....It would appear that, although not favoured, the inconsistency regarding inclusion/exclusion of loanwords in dictionaries is based upon the intuition of linguists and lexicographers.

Kurtboke, P and Potter, L. 2000: 86

While true loanwords have been typically regarded as phonologically, morphologically, and grammatically integrated into the host language (Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan. 1990), attempts have been made to recognise and account for a transitional state of integration between totally non-integrated foreign words and true loanwords. Edward Quackenbush (1974:66) initially acknowledged the existence of an intermediate state but confirmed the difficulty in establishing a point of delineation. A number of linguists tried to ascribe levels of integration according to structural observations of loans in corpora such as Fantini (1985:146), who recognised two levels of integration: a pure borrowing, where the word retains all its native features, and an adjusted borrowing, where the word adapts to the structural criteria of the host language. Olmsted (1986) distinguished between three levels of linguistic integration: those retaining foreign phonology, those partially integrated into the borrowing language, and those fully integrated and indistinguishable. Furthermore, some linguists such as Ito (2001:124) and Chen (2002) have cited that inclusion in dictionaries constitutes proof of integration. In the case of the latter, Chen used the 2000-2001 Shingo Jiten (Dictionary of New Lexicon) as well as the 1998 edition of the Kôjien (Comprehensive Japanese-Japanese Dictionary) to determine the period of integration (2002:3). However as noted elsewhere in this study, inclusion in

commercially published dictionaries is often based on subjective notions of feel and driven by the requisites of commercial viability.

The Japanese contact linguist, Ui, when speaking about sociolinguistic tendencies within Japanese people not to differentiate between loanwords and foreign words, said that they simply regard all foreign words appearing in Japanese as being loanwords. This is all more apparent in the case of writers who look favourably upon Western culture (Ui, 1985:22). His criteria for delineation of levels of integration is that if a borrowing obeys native English pronunciations and is used in accordance with English grammar then it is still a foreign word. Ito (2001:123) also stressed adherence to native English form as constituting proof of non-integration when he wrote that foreign words are primarily written in the roman alphabet. Ui explained increasing integration in terms of; if it can be used in accordance with Japanese grammar and has been adjusted to reflect standard Japanese pronunciation, then it has achieved one step towards becoming a loanword. Such words, while they are not completely integrated, are no longer foreign words and so Ui coined the term semi-loanword to describe them. To complete the transformation, they should: have stood the test of time, have a large number of users and should have made considerable inroads into being sociolinguistically regarded as an accepted word (idem).

A useful framework for determination of whether a borrowing has become integrated or not was proposed by Poplack and Sankoff (1984:103-104) and shall be used in this study. They proposed a four point criteria; frequency of use, native language synonym displacement, morphophonemic and/or semantic integration and native speaker acceptability. Thomason (2001:66) and Winford (2003:39) both confirmed the use of

these criteria in determining integration. Additionally however, their extra factor of 'duration of contact', that is, the requirement of enough time for the passive bilingualism to develop and for interference features to lexically manifest, will also be included in this thesis. The results of this discussion shall constitute an answer to Research Objective 3, as outlined in the Methodology Chapter.

6.5.1.1 Frequency of Use

This measure has been used by Murphy (1974), Poplack and Sankoff (1984:103), Bavin (1992:272), Myers-Scotton (1993:182) and Winford (2003:108) who state that the more frequently a borrowing is used in the recipient language and by more people, the more reasonable it is to consider it as having become an accepted term in the recipient language. Indeed, an integrated loan should have made considerable inroads into being sociolinguistically regarded as an accepted word.

Holden, K. (1976:132) stated that, 'the period of exposure and various sociological factors which ultimately influence the frequency of use of a borrowing, also affect the rate at which a given feature is integrated'. Tamaoka and Miyaoka's (2003:1) interesting research allows us to scientifically verify this statement. They examined the cognitive processing of written English origin borrowings to determine whether there is a lexical mental boundary between integrated loanwords and non-integrated borrowings, that is, a demarcation between what people perceive to be loanwords and what they perceive to be still foreign words. The results obtained from the comparative cognitive processing times between high-frequency integrated loans such as レモン |remon] (lemon), low-frequency integrated loans such as スリル [suriru] (thrill) and non-integrated borrowings such as サルート [sarûto] (salute) showed that

the decision making strategy for determining lexicality is primarily based on Japanese people's daily experience of exposure to written katakana words in print (ibid:69), as processing speeds were reduced with increasing frequency of lexical encounter. Moreover, as may be seen in the table below (ibid:74), the fact that increasing lexical unfamiliarity similarly requires an increasingly higher average processing time, and that there is a reproducible three strata pattern (see table), indicates that not only is there a stratified lexical mental boundary between the integrated and the non-integrated, but that furthermore, people can also differentiate between degrees of loanword integration.

Usage frequency	Reaction time
Integrated-high frequency	576ms
Integrated-low frequency	612ms
Unintegrated	757ms

Table 35: Relationship between level of integration and average processing time

This gives clear scientific proof of the proportional relationship between degree of lexical exposure and the degree of integration.

Ito (1993) counted the frequency of appearance of loanwords appearing in both the morning and evening editions of the Asahi Shimbun on a day chosen at random in 1992. The five with the highest frequency of appearance were: コース (course)-219 appearances, ビル (building)-163, ホテル (hotel)-82, センター (centre)-80, and テレビ (television)-64. At the other end of the scale, at one appearance each, were words such as: フルコース (full course), ポジション (position), and レタッチ

(retouch). As a former long term Japanese resident, I know that the ones with the high frequency are, without exception, also used in the spoken language. Furthermore, since the degree of integration increases with increasing degree of lexical exposure, we can therefore deduce that when a borrowing reaches a certain level of integration (in the written form), it starts to also appear in the spoken form. In other words, the more integrated people feel that a word is, the more likely that they are to feel comfortable in using the word in speech. In Japanese, the written language contains far more lexical complexities than the spoken language, indeed the hallmark of speech is the use of readily understood words. This explains why that unless an acceptable level of integration has been reached, it will not be used in speech. While one cannot say that the ones with the low appearance frequency never reach the level of spoken discourse, such occasions would be very few, excepting, of course, conversations amongst persons for whom there is a mutual specific usage need, Once having reached the level of existing as a spoken word, it can then additionally be disseminated through the very high exposure media of television and spoken discourse used in interpersonal diffusion networks which together, could result in very high levels of integration. It is reasonable to surmise that the level of integration where the word enters the spoken register is coincident with the point of critical mass. Furthermore, as was clearly demonstrated in the previous section dealing with the dissemination phase, since the diffusion networks proceed in accordance with the dictates within each of the three cultures, it then follows that integration is culture specific. For example, an internet search reveals that the loanword, エメアド [emeado] (a truncation of the borrowing, e-mail address) has only been integrated in youth culture.

Definition of the difference between a foreign word and a loanword

Recall from the discussion in the previous section that successful dissemination is the result of a combined effort of the mass media and interpersonal networks. The most significant factor of high propagation through the mass media is high exposure or repetition rates and the most significant factor through the interpersonal networks is a large number of low network threshold individuals who quickly spread the borrowing and persuade others to do the same. So we can deduce that attainment of a high level of integration must be facilitated by a large number of favourably disposed individuals who have been frequently exposed to the borrowing, both by the media and by interpersonal networks. In this situation, the usage rate rapidly reaches the point of critical mass and from there, continues to exponentially rise. In this thesis, the essential criterion for having become integrated, that is, having changed from being a foreign word into a loanword is that it must have at least reached the stage of critical mass. Thus, a foreign word is defined as one which has not reached the stage of critical mass and a loanword is defined as one which has. Passing from a written language only word to one that is additionally used in the spoken register is a corollary of the exponential usage rise subsequent to the attainment of critical mass, so therefore it is possible to say that existence in the spoken register is proof of integration.

Establishment of a continuum of integration is theoretically possible as the stronger the forces that lead to integration the greater the usage. However the practical difficulty of quantification to form indices of integration, is due to the problem of inability to accurately determine the degree of usage. Although some of the Japanese government and affiliated agencies have researched recognition, comprehension and

whether one has used a loanword or not, these constitute different measurements and cannot be used to imply regular usage. Simply asking respondents in an interview whether they use certain loanwords or not would not give an accurate result because of the notorious problem facing sociolinguists of the disparity between what people *think* they say when asked and what they actually *do* say. Finally, although the network threshold model does provide a means to quantitatively determine critical mass, this is only when the population under consideration is a finite number that can be accurately monitored (Valente. 1996:71).

6.5.1.2 Native Language Synonym Displacement

This measure is implicit in Weinreich's discussions on lexical integration (1953:34) and mentioned in Poplack and Meecham (1995:200); 'established loanwords typically show full linguistic integration, native language synonym displacement and widespread diffusion'. Synonymic displacement is proof that a foreign word has become integrated as it has received such a level of lexical acceptance that it has the power to displace a native word or an older loan occupying the same semantic zone. This phenomenon 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 and the results forming an answer to Research Objective 4.

Synonymic displacement is a particularly interesting phenomenon that occurs as loanwords become integrated within the language. Tomoda (1999:231) acknowledged that the loaning of a synonymic foreign word is a comparatively new phenomenon as earlier in the 20th century, almost all loans were lexical gap fillers. The fact that a native term already exists and occupies the same or part of the semantic zone of a

borrowing that is undergoing integration no longer presents itself as an impediment to that integration. Lehiste, (1988:21) noted that while a new word may be simply added to the vocabulary, especially if it designates a new item or concept, more frequently however, the lexicon already contains another word with a more or less closely related meaning. It seems that for a while both words may be used to side by side until the old word is discarded or the two words become specialised. In his studies on spoken interaction in bilingual relationships, Labov (1974:162) incorporated a phase he referred to as, The Transition Problem, in his integration model. He spoke of a sequence of three periods, namely: (1) the period when a speaker learns an alternative form, (2) the period when the two forms exist in actuality, and (3) the period when one of the forms becomes obsolete. An interesting case to point can be seen in the displacement of the kanji expression by the katakana in the two expressions for the Olympic Games. When synonymic expressions are used in the Japanese press, the less familiar of the two is usually placed inside brackets. Up to the early '90s, one would see 五輪大会（オリンピック）[gorin taikai, orinpikku] which implies that the Japanese press had decided that lexically, the people were in the first period, the time of learning an alternative form. Towards the end of the '90s and into the early part of the new century, the order was reversed to オリンピック（五輪大会）, showing the progression of the displacement. In many newspapers now, only the loanword is used, indicating progression to the third period.

Most writers on the subject such as Kawamura. (1994:104) and Lehiste (idem), acknowledge only two results of synonymic displacement, complete displacement and dual use with semantic specialisation. However, in this author's observations, there is

a third possibility, continuation of the state of dual use without semantic specialisation. We shall now look more closely at these three.

Complete Displacement

While theoretically, it may be said that no word ever completely disappears because written evidence always remains, in practice however, protracted non-appearance in daily life is tantamount to extinction. One such example is the complete displacement, in all but a few set expressions, of 尺 [shaku] as a unit of linear measure by the metric units of centimetre and metre.

Dual Use With Semantic Specialisation

This section can be divided into two parts, as follows (Kawamura 1994:104). Firstly, a loanword partially displaces a native word from its former position of total occupancy of a semantic zone but in which no new meanings are introduced in the displacement. A common example is that of the partial displacement of ご飯 (gohan) by ライス (rice). Although the usage situations differ, the referent itself is identical. Conversely, at times the loanword brings in additional meetings. For example, スプーン [spoon] not only partially displaced but also added to the semantic zone that was occupied by 匙 [saji] which originally referred to a bamboo spatula-like implement for transferring green tea from a canister to a teapot or, to the porcelain spoon used in drinking the soup that came with noodles in Chinese cooking. The integrated loanword not only partially displaced saji from the semantic zone that was hitherto occupied by these two kinds of spoon, but additionally, came semantically loaded with the meaning of the Western metallic spoon. The use of saji has become

extremely rare, even when referring to the two traditional types of spoon. It is therefore possible to deduce that since its introduction in the Meiji period, the proportion of the semantic zone occupied by 'spoon' has continued to grow until an equilibrium state was reached. It is interesting that Japanese chose to borrow the Western word rather than semantically broadening saji to additionally mean the Western-style spoon as they did with 皿 [sara] (plate) to additionally mean the Western style of plate. Another example is seen in the Asahi Shimbun's dual use of レイオフ [reiofu] (layoff) and 一時解雇 [ichiji kaiko] (temporary unemployment), both having been used in reference to an interval of enforced unemployment. While it might appear that they are in Labov's phase two, anecdotal evidence suggests that semantic specialisation is already starting to appear. With the erosion of the life employment system and the need to economise due to the recession, reiofu is beginning to come into use as a term for people losing their jobs (permanently) while the older word has retained its original meaning.

Dual Use Without Semantic Specialisation

This shall be illustrated below.

Displacement Mechanism

This issue of displacement has been the subject of considerable debate in the Japanese press, much of which couched in emotive language as some people view the displacing Western words as dangerous usurpers robbing the language of its intrinsic beauty. However there appears to have been no research done on the relative degree of usage of the native form and the loanword. For example, the question of: has usage equilibrium been reached or is the loan continuing to encroach on the native word's

semantic territory or is even the native word reclaiming some of its lost ground? During my period of internship at Chubu Denryoku in Nagoya (one of the main Japanese electric power companies), I conducted a small scale research to determine the presence or otherwise of usage equilibrium. Eleven office employees consisting of both sexes with a range of ages from the 20s to the 40s were asked to determine on a scale from 0 to 10, the degree of 'lexical naturalness' of two native/synonym pairs: 必要 [hitsuyô] / ニーズ [nîzu] and 催し物 [moyôshimono] / イベント [ibento]. The small number of the respondents precludes a quantitative analysis however, as native speakers constantly living in Japanese society, their judgement of lexical naturalness could be seen to provide a measure of the displacement trends in these examples. The test was performed in the written medium and then the same words spoken to a different group to see if the medium of delivery was significant or not. The results showed there was virtually no difference. In the first pair, both have meanings corresponding to the English, 'necessity' or 'need', except that the native word is an all-purpose word whereas the loan has been typically used to mean the needs of a large, abstract group such as society or customers in general. The latter furthermore often precedes the expression 'ni ôjite', meaning 'according to'. The displacement has proceeded as illustrated in the below diagram.
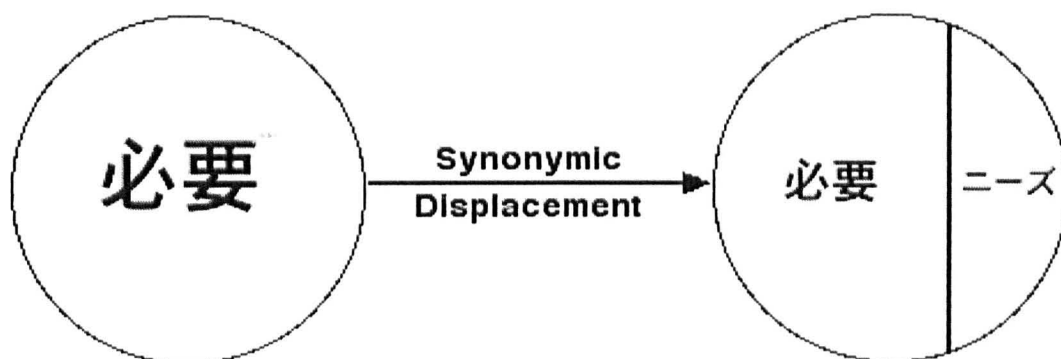

Fig. 17: Displacement diagram

There are two zones within the displaced semantic zone: The zone on the left refers to the nuances of meaning where hitsuyô alone is used, such as in expressing personal need as in the sentence; 'I need a glass of water'. In this zone, the use of nîzu would be typically considered as quite irregular. The zone on the right refers to the nuances of meaning where hitsuyô may be used but where also nîzu is frequently used. This is typically in the expression of: ~ nîzu ni ôjite ~.

In the first two tests, the respondents were asked to evaluate the degree of naturalness of hitsuyô and nîzu in sentences where the native word is typically used and the loan not common.

(1) テレビが壊れているので修理する必要がある。

[terebi ga kowareteiru node shûri suru hitsuyô ga aru]

(The television set has broken down and so it needs to be repaired.)

The degree of naturalness of hitsuyô in this sentence will give a measure of its strength in its own left zone.

(2) テレビが壊れているので修理するニーズがある。

[terebi ga kowareteiru node shûri suru nîzu ga aru]

The same sentence as (1) except that hitsuyô has been replaced by nîzu.

The degree of naturalness here will detect whether the loan has been encroaching on the native word's semantic zone. It will reveal if the loan is pushing the dividing line to the left.

In the last two tests, the respondents were asked to evaluate the degree of naturalness of hitsuyô and nîzu in sentences where the loanword is typically used.

(3) 客の必要 に応じて新規の商品を開発する。

[kyaku no hitsuyô ni ôjite shinki no shôhin wo kaihatsu suru]

(New products are developed that meet the customer's needs.)

The degree of naturalness here will reveal the degree that the native word can still be used in situations where it is frequently displaced. It will reveal if the native word is pushing the dividing line to the right.

(4) 客のニーズ に応じて新規の商品が開発される。

[kyaku no nîzu ni ôjite shinki no shôhin wo kaihatsu suru]

The same sentence as (3) except that hitsuyô has been replaced by nîzu.

The degree of naturalness here will reveal if the loanword is still holding the stronghold that it displaced on the right.

The same test was repeated except with the other pair. The results are illustrated below.
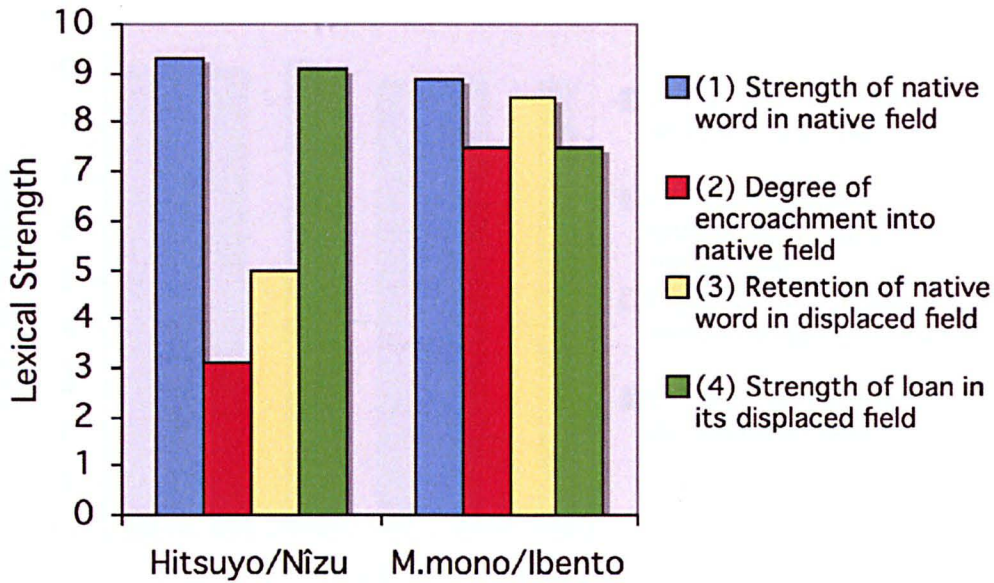
Fig. 18: Degree of displacement in the hitsuyô / nîzu pair

We see from the blue bar on the left that hitsuyô is still almost totally used in the semantic zone where it has not been displaced. Similarly, nîzu is still very much used in the zone that it displaced for itself. Interestingly, the small degree of naturalness of nîzu in the native field that is strongly held by hitsuyô shows the broad legitimising effect upon people of being constantly exposed to the loan. The extent of the yellow bar indicates that by no means was it a complete displacement, even in the stronghold of ~ nîzu ni ôjite ~.

In the situation with moyôshimono and ibento, we see that the acceptability of ibento has risen although not at the expense of the traditional word. They are almost interchangeable. This is the abovementioned third possible result from synonymic displacement, dual use without semantic specialisation.
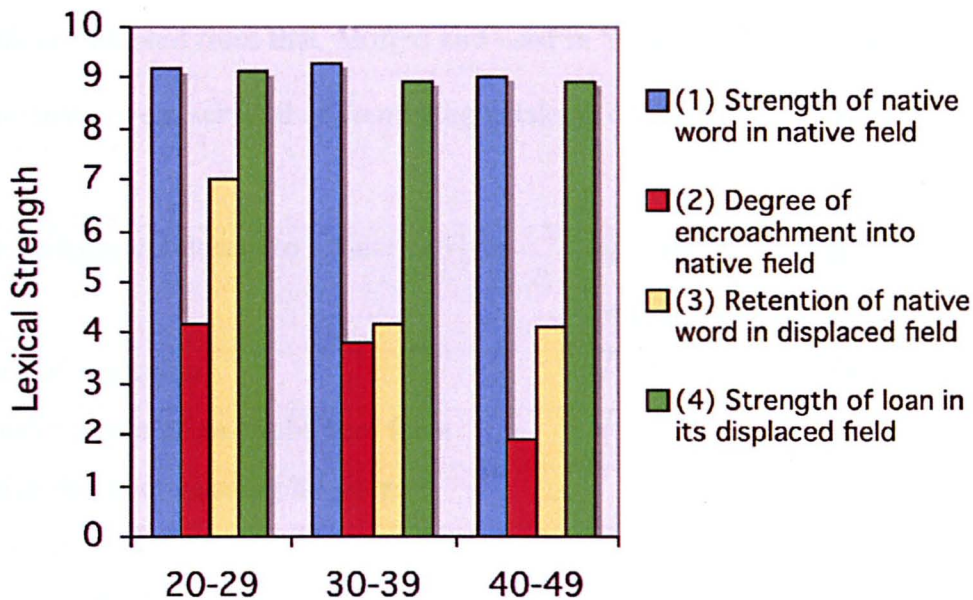
Fig. 19: Relationship between age and displacement

The data for hitsuyô / nîzu was analysed according to age range and we find that with increasing age, there is less fluidity as to what constitutes acceptability in natural usage. Young people are more willing to use words in unconventional ways. Older people are also less likely to use hitsuyô where the loan has become the accepted norm. When looked at from the point of view of the network threshold model, we can see that the lower the age group, the lower the network thresholds and hence, the greater likelihood of there being opinion leaders in their midst who would quickly agree to disseminate, within their personal networks, new meanings of nîzu into other semantic fields hitherto exclusively held by hitsuyô.

When a loanword is competing for semantic territory occupied by a native word or a previously integrated loanword, the success or failure and the degree of displacement depend upon how many and the strength of favourable factors that are conducive to its lexical survival. We shall now look at some of these factors in an attempt to grasp

a better understanding of the experimental data obtained for the two pairs above. The factors are adapted from that verified and used in Section 6.2.2.2 for determining the factors that govern survival of competing katakana orthographic variants.

Determinants conducive to lexical survival	催し物 (moyôshimono)	イベント (ibento)
Degree of repetition	√	√√
Retentive power of an established form	√	
Prestige due to originating language		√
Moraic length		√√
Genre specific dissemination	G	YGP

Determinants conducive to lexical survival	必要 (hitsuyô)	ニーズ (nîzu)
Degree of repetition in dissemination	√√	√
Retentive power of an established form	√√	
Prestige due to originating language		√
Moraic length	√	√
Genre specific dissemination	YGP	GP

Table 36: Factors affecting degree of displacement

In the case of moyôshimono / ibento, we see a strong favouring of the loanword. It is very frequently used in conversation, it enjoys the prestige of being an English origin loan, and has the ideal moraic length of three morae. Accordingly, it is not surprising that it has risen in popularity. It has not semantically displaced the native word but rather the latter has become relegated to primarily the written language. It is also a significant factor that the loanword is used across all three cultures while the native word is used primarily in general culture only. The situation regarding hitsuyô / nîzu

is quite different. The favourable factors for nîzu which might otherwise have caused increased displacement, are counteracted by powerful determinants working to retain hitsuyô and so it is not surprising that its displacement is limited. The combination of these factors creates a semantic equilibrium. However on a final note, if there was a significant move by opinion leaders to expand nîzu's semantic field, it would seem from the experiment that there would be young people with low network thresholds who would support the move.

We can say that if semantic equilibrium has been attained in which a loan semene has displaced, in totality or partially, a native or older loanword, this then would constitute proof that it has become integrated. Similarly as with the above, since the diffusion networks proceed in accordance with the dictates within each of the three cultures, it then follows that synonymic displacement is culture specific. For example, before undergoing vertical diffusion into general culture, PC had displaced パソコン [pasokon] (personal computer) in professional culture only.

6.5.1.2.1 Research Objective 4

The purpose of Research Objective 4 is to find some framework of determinants that could be used to better comprehend the seemingly arbitrary variation in degree of displacement. It would appear from the discussion presented above that an examination of comparative favourability in the areas of degree of repetition, retentive power of an established form, prestige due to originating language, moraic length and genre specific dissemination, would give an indication of what the likely result of the semantic equilibrium between the competing forms would be. Also, the

stronger and more numerous the favourable determinants are, the more likely they are to cause semantic equilibrium to swing in that direction.

6.5.1.3 Morphophonological and/or Semantic Alteration

That the presence of morphophonological and syntactic change constitutes a measure of integration is similar to the argument proposed by Ito (2001:123), Poplack and Sankoff (1984:104) and others. If a borrowing undergoes morphophonological change so that it resembles that of the recipient language and functions in sentences as a native word within a syntactic category, then it can be considered a well established borrowing. While this criteria appears to be substantiated in the case of language contact arising out of bilingual interaction, it must be modified in the case of borrowing in Japan because these are processes that are performed mostly by the agent of introduction. Clearly, just because a borrowing has undergone morphophonological and syntactic domestication at the hands of this agent, does not necessarily mean that it has successfully passed through the subsequent three phases. However it does apply to morphological and semantic changes that occur after integration, as follows.

Morphophonological Alteration

Traditionally, the final [-er] of words such as 'motor' were transliterated with a long final vowel such as in the case of モーター [môtâ]. In the professional genre however, some morphemes that end with ター [tâ], have been shortened by the truncation of the long vowel. The original example as コンピューター [konpyûtâ] / コンピュータ [konpyûta] (computer). This is obviously an innovation that has

become manifest after the word was introduced. Heath (1984: 371) noted that the conflict between borrowing based directly on L2 pronunciations and those based on spelling pronunciations influenced by the L1 orthographic patterns gives rise to a source of variation. It may be surmised that some opinion leaders active in professional culture who had exposure to native English speakers using a short final vowel, started the short vowel variation that spread horizontally throughout their sociolinguistic culture. The existence of the new general culture wasei eigo with a long final vowel, ホームヘルパー [hômu herupâ] (home helper) is proof that the change did not diffuse vertically. Recently however, agents of introduction working in professional culture are tending to domesticate the final [-er] of English words in accordance with the new orthography. An example is プロセッサ [purossesa] (processor), プロセッサー [purossesâ] has become increasingly rare. This is proof that agents conform to the trends and requirements within their culture.

Truncation of moraically long morphemes after integration is frequent. An example is the recently appeared youth culture truncation of エメルアド [emeruado] (itself a truncation from E mail address) to エメアド [emeado]. These two forms are now competing.

Semantic Alteration
Kay (1995) noted that 'loanwords are especially open to modification, both on entering the language, and with time. One reason is that the meaning or usage of a word in its original language may not be fully understood; nor need it be, as loanwords are used without reference to their source words. Another is that, with

words of foreign origin, there are no deep cultural motivations to protect their original meanings. The flexibility of form and meaning of loanwords enables them to adapt easily to the structure of the host language, and current trends and needs'. (Kay, 1995:72). An example is メリット [meritto] (merit) which originally had the English meaning of 'a quality deserving praise' but which after dissemination underwent broadening to additionally have the associated meaning of something 'being advantageous'. However not all new meanings that loanwords come to acquire are the result of semantic shift, many are the result of relexification. An example is パフォーマンス (performance) which now additionally can mean a musical performance. This is not the result of post-integration semantic change from the original meaning of 'ability', but rather are the result of a fresh borrowing from English.

Since the diffusion networks proceed in accordance with the dictates within each of the three cultures, it then follows that the integration of morphologically and semantically altered words would be culture specific. The above example of コンピューター [konpyûtâ] / コンピュータ [konpyûta] (computer) verifies this.

6.5.1.4 Attitudes

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.

Borrowing has occurred on a massive scale, it is estimated that about 10% of the lexicon is composed of Western words (Honna, 1995) and that 11% of total words produced in conversation are from English, (Hoffer, 1980). Tsuda (1989), quoting from Milward (1983), claims that 'such borrowing is unprecedented in the history of human language' while Morrow (Morrow, 1987) similarly claims that probably no language has been so receptive to foreign borrowings than Japanese. Indeed, the fact that in no other country are loanword dictionaries so regularly revised and updated (Fukuzawa, 1986) as Japan is supportive of their statements. The public attitude towards this influx has been extensively researched and both academically and non-academically. Espoused views fall into one of three camps: antagonists, somewhat reluctant realists and protagonists. Tomoda (1999) has stated that there are five main arguments offered by scholastic researchers who are in opposition to the overuse of European loanwords, as follows: the rapid increase is placing the survival of the Japanese language in danger, the use of confusing and vague loans is impeding communication and creating social division, the reliance on borrowing for expanding the language is impoverishing people's 'language life', the influx of English words is facilitating dominance by the West (particularly America), and the use of faddish or nonce loans is leading to a more superficial society. For example, Gabbrielli (2001) states that a number of Japanese scholars are critical of the easy acceptance of loans in

the language. He quotes from Sheperd (1996), "ordinary Japanese may lose their appreciation of the beauty and richness of their own language". One of the areas of opposition that has been a focus of sociolinguistic research concerns the difference in integration rates between the older generation and the younger resulting in a lowering of mutual comprehension with its concomitant social ramifications (Asama et. al., 1998). In an NHK investigation in which referents were asked to rate their degree of opposition out of 100 to various negative characteristics of loanwords/foreign words in Japanese, it was found that compared with the grading of 64 given to 'comprehension difficulty', the grading attributed to 'destruction of native Japanese' was only 27. (NHK, A Survey of the Modern Man's Linguistic Environment Vol. III, 1995).

Researchers such as Kubota (1998) however, steer a middle path through the discourse of *Nihonjinron* which typically champions the definition of a distinctive Japanese cultural and linguistic identity and the discourse of *Kokusaika* (internationalisation) that attempts to harmoniously embrace both the promotion of nationalistic values and Westernisation, an ideology that constitutes the backbone of recent education reforms. Researchers such as Honna (1995) are less concerned about the language's ability to cope with the influx and rather view it as part of an inevitable process of internationalisation. The realists see the language as being self-cleansing, that is, words including borrowings, which serve no function will drop out from the language. Ishino (1983:34-5) noted that loans that were controversial in 1983 have completely integrated such as; オープン [opûn] (open) and グルメレストラン [gurume resutoran] (gourmet restaurant) and so therefore, with passing time, people's attitudes do inevitably change.

Finally, the protagonists of the *gairaigo* influx tend to argue that this is no more than

what has occurred in past, typically pointing out the original massive introduction of

Chinese approximately one thousand years ago. Morrow believes that the warnings

and misgivings of the elite objectors do not greatly influence many speakers (Morrow,

1987), indeed, many loans have become so entrenched in daily conversation that use

of a native term would create confusion. This author tested this by referring to what is

normally called a *terehon kâdo* (terehon < Eng. telephone, kâdo < Eng. card) (a card

used in place of coins in a public telephone) as a *denwa kâdo* (denwa < Jap.

telephone). Despite repetition, the Japanese interlocutor could not understand the

meaning until it was referred to by its correct term of a *terehon kâdo*.

As to whether attitudes to loans actually affect integration, one has to admit the

veracity of the great truism that although scholastic researchers and governmental

bodies may issue warnings and guidelines as to what is considered to be acceptable

language, it is the essentially the speakers of the language who inevitably determine

the survival/rejection of words in the lexicon. For example, as was pointed out in

6.2.2.2.2, although the government had issued guidelines as to the use to the new set

of katakana characters (National Language Inquiry Commission), in particular, that

the characters included in List 2 were designated for use primarily for place-names

and people's names or in other occasions when strict adherence to the original

pronunciation or spelling is required, the attitude of the users prevailed so that

characters such as ヴァ [va] and ウイ [wi] are now in common use. As mentioned

below in 6.5.2, ホームヘルパー [hômu herupâ] (home helper) has become integrated

despite being recommended for removal by the National Language Research

Institute's First Loanword Reform Proposal in 2003. We can therefore say that official attitudes to loans is of some import but that it can take time for official directives to actually take effect on the street level Japanese. Personal attitudes do, of course, affect use however, these are by no means uniform. It follows from the discussion in the previous chapter that members of each culture would have a more positive attitude to intra-culture borrowings but even here, it was demonstrated that high network threshold individuals would need some convincing by other members within the culture to adopt a favourable attitude.

6.5.1.5 Duration of Contact

While Ui (1985:22), Hall-Lew (2002:35), Thomason (2001:66) and Winford (2003:39) mention that the status of having stood the test of time could be used as proof of integration, it needs to be qualified when considering the situation in Japanese. When integration phenomena in Japanese are looked at, it appears that this criterion can only be used in a confirmatory capacity. Simple existence in the lexicon, even over a long period of time, cannot be taken to imply integration. Indeed, in recognition of this fact, Masamoto (1996:13) divided borrowings into two categories: those that one is in contact with, sees and hears in daily life and; those which one actually uses. This is a useful distinction as there are many foreign words used on clothing and shop fronts and so forth which one sees but never understands or uses. For example, アメニティー [ameniti] (amenity) has been in the Japanese lexicon for many years but in 1998, only had a 36.5% recognition rate (The Agency for Cultural Affairs, Public Survey of the Japanese Language, 1999:74). However if it may be shown that it has achieved integration status such as by virtue of its existence in the spoken language or it having displaced a native word, continuation in that capacity

over a number of years would serve to confirm that it has indeed achieved integration status.

Another factor which would prevent it from being used as constituting definitive proof of integration is that the length of time required for integration can vary widely. Furthermore it seems that this length of time varies according to the networks which disseminate it. In a personal communication with the NHK researchers, it seems 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. This is proof of culture specific integration.

6.5.1.6 Research Objective 3

From examination of the five criteria, it would appear that the first three constitute definitive proof of integration. That is, if it exists in the spoken register, has displaced, in totality or partially, a native or older loanword, or if after dissemination, has undergone morphophonological or semantic change, then it could be considered to be a well-established loanword. Official attitudes are of some importance but their existence does not guarantee obedience, at least not in the period immediately subsequent to its promulgation. Personal attitudes are similarly of importance however, the high degree of disparity of opinion would work to impede its recognition as a provider of proof of integration. Duration of contact can only be used in a confirmatory capacity to a loanword that has already achieved integration status by virtue of it satisfying one of the above three definitive proofs.

It may furthermore be seen that integration is culture specific and so for example, if a word in professional culture has become integrated, it will only have that status within that culture unless it has undergone vertical diffusion.

6.5.2 Linguistic Obsolescence

Words die out when the objects they designate are no longer used or the concepts they referred to are considered to be out of fashion. (Cruz Cabanillas et. al. 2002:235). An example is アプレゲール [apure gêru], a borrowing from the French, après guerre (after the war) and colloquially referred to young people in the immediate postwar period who were not affected by old fashioned prewar ideas. The old loan word ランニング [ranningu] from the English word 'running' appears to be obsolescing due to it being displaced by the new loan, タンクトップ [tanku toppu] (tank top). The latter can compete over the whole semantic zone covered by ranningu as they are identical in meaning. It is through the process of linguistic obsolescence that words, both loans and native words, are removed from the lexicon. In the Loanword Evolution Diagram, this is illustrated as the final stage on the right of the integration phase. The arrow should not be taken to mean that this is an inevitable process as some loans never suffer obsolescence.

The work of official organisations is another way in which integrated loans can be rendered obsolete. In 1987, the recommendations of the NHK's Committee on broadcast language concerning all aspects of language usage were published in the end NHK Handbook of Broadcast Language. The publication of such books serves to legitimise their status as the disseminator of correct and acceptable spoken Japanese.

It is an integral part of their language policy and a significant portion of this policy concerns loanword usage (Carroll, T. 1995:282). However their report only serves as a guideline and they have no actual enforcing authority. Similarly, in 1997, when still the health minister, the current Japanese Prime Minister, raised a bill in the diet to change the loanwords and wasei eigo into kanji for the sake of comprehension. In 2003, the National Language Research Institute issued its First Loanword Reform Proposal. According to which, loans such as シンクタンク [shinku tanku] (think tank) and wasei eigo such as デイサービス [dei sâbisu] (day service = a daytime visiting nurse) were to be replaced by 政策研究機関 [seisaku kenkyû kikan] and 日帰り介護 [higaeri kaigo]. However, as a 2003 Shizuoka Shinbun Online article noted, the elderly in old people's homes are quite used to the loans and terms such as, dei sâbisu and ホームヘルパー [hômu herupâ] (home helper) are completely integrated. It may be possible for such official organizations to reduce the incidence of integrated loans but as the above example clearly shows, it will take time.

6.5.3 The Total Process

In a personal communication, the freelance journalist, Mikiko Ohashi who works exclusively in youth culture, informed me of the evolution of the wasei eigo expression プチプリコスメ [puchi puri kosume] used in advertising. From this, we can see the processes composing loanword evolution at work in a real example. It serves to add support to the veracity of this model.

Phase 1.

Prior acquisition of English and French reading rules.

Phase 2.

Prior borrowing of one foreign word from French (petit) and two from English (pretty and cosmetic) All followed by the following processes of domestication.

Petit

Phonemic: petit → /puchi/

Orthographic: /puchi/ → プチ [puchi]

Pretty

Phonemic: pretty → /puriti/

Orthographic: /puriti/ → プリティ [puriti]

Morphological: プリティ → プリ [puri]

Cosmetic

Phonemic: cosmetic→ /kosumechiku/

Orthographic: /kosumechiku/ → コスメチク [kosumechiku]

Morphological: コスメチク → コスメ [kosume]

Phase 2. Innovative Creation from Preexisting Loanwords in 1999 by agent of introduction (an advertising copywriter)

プチ [puchi] + プリ [puri] + コスメ {kosume] → プチプリコスメ [puchipurikosume]

Phase 3. Inceptive Transfer

Couched in expressions such as 'みんな大好き！プチプリコスメ' [mina suki ! puchipurikosume] (Everybody really likes it! Everyone really likes puchipurikosume), it was introduced into the public zone via two late teenage female magazines, More and Non-No.

Phase 4. Dissemination

Spread throughout Japan via the medium of youth culture magazines. It achieved sufficient measure of popularity such that it was still being used five years later in 2004.

Phase 5. Integration

Miss Ohashi has confirmed that it is occasionally used in the spoken language which proves that it has achieved the status of being integrated in youth culture.

6.5.4 Quantitative Research

In a corpus consisting of the first thirty pages of three magazines representing the three classifications of professional culture, general culture and youth culture, loanwords were manually counted (n=22,690 words) in an effort to add credence to the assertions contained in the Research Objectives. Research Objective 2 is supported in that loanwords of a specific genre, preferentially cluster in that culture.

The graph below shows the percentage of each type of loan genre present in each culture. For example, 14% of loans in the youth culture corpus consisted of general genre loans (930) and 8% (530) were youth genre. The figures for the components in

general culture were found to be 11% (980) general genre loans and 5% (450) professional loans.

It could be stated that all the agents operating within each culture would appear to have a synchronous effect so that professional culture nurtures its own borrowings, general culture nurtures its own and likewise youth culture promotes its own. Interestingly, general genre borrowings are the most numerous within each culture. This can be explained from the facts that there has been vertical diffusion as explained in Phase 4 and also that by being members of Japanese society, all people are naturally members of general culture. The difficulty is determining the delineation point between youth / general and professional / general should also be noted as many borrowings that were with professional or youth culture have become generally known through media. Thus for example in professional magazines, a former professional culture but now general culture words like ハードディスク [hâdo disuku] (hard disk) and メモリー [memorî] (memory) would naturally appear more often and in more articles than true professional specific words such as イメージセンサー [imêji sensâ] (an image sensing device).
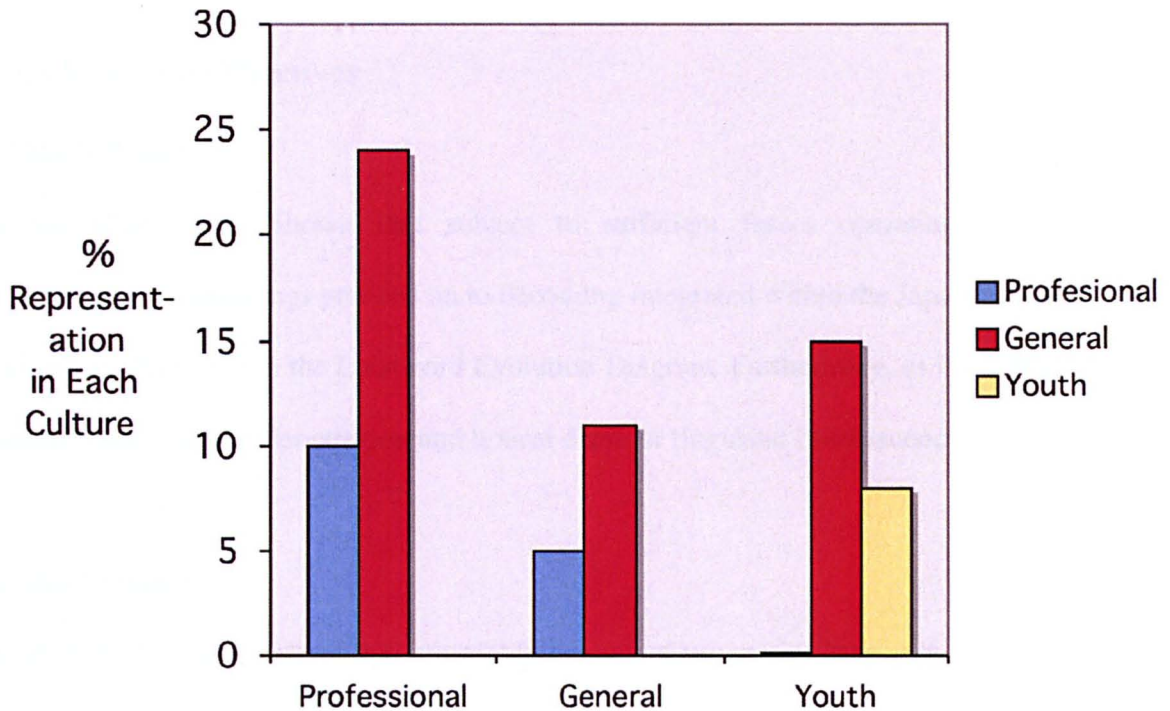
Fig. 20: Distribution of genre specific loanwords

The presence of professional borrowings but not youth culture borrowings within general culture could be understood from the fact that a certain presence of professional genre loanwords would add an element of academic/educated prestige (there was even a smattering of professional borrowings in youth culture). The somewhat flippant and inane youth culture borrowings, on the other hand, would have a detracting effect and therefore did not appear in general culture at all.

As mentioned in Section 6.3 (agent of transfer), the numbers of loan tokens that were counted were the total numbers of loans in the corpus and as there was a very high incidence of repetition of the same words, the values for professional culture loanwords is higher than would be a word was accorded only one token, irrespective of the frequency of occurrence.

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6.5.5 Research Objectives

Research Objective 1

It has been amply shown that subject to sufficient forces operating during dissemination, borrowings proceed on to becoming integrated within the Japanese and lexicon, as illustrated in the Loanword Evolution Diagram. Furthermore, as illustrated therein, some loans suffer attrition and lexical death or linguistic obsolescence.

Research Objective 2

In all of the five point integration criteria; frequency of use, native language synonym displacement, morphophonemic and/or semantic alteration, native speaker acceptability and duration of contact, it was demonstrated that integration is culture specific. The results of the quantitative research served to reinforce this.

Research Objectives 3 and 4

As stated in the pages above.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter addresses the four Research Objectives outlined in the Methodology Chapter.

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. The end of every section within Chapter 6, such as Orthography 6.2.2.2, Semantics 6.2.2.5, Dissemination 6.4 and so forth, address whether the findings of that section support the claims of the Research Objective 1. It will have been seen that all the sections support the veracity of the Loanword Evolution Diagram contained within the Methodology Chapter. That is it has been shown by both documentary and, where relevant, quantitative analysis of a corpus, that:

1. A crucial pre-borrowing phase exists in the formation of English reading rules. Here, a stratum of English morphemes comprising conventional katakana pronunciations is laid down as a result of Japanese children being subjected to six years of classroom English language education.

2. In the next phase, foreign words are borrowed or extracted from foreign lexical word stocks by a person referred to as the agent of introduction. This person, typically an advertising copywriter or magazine journalist, then makes changes to the borrowing so that it conforms to the requirements of Japanese, a process

referred to as domestication. The domestication comprises changes to the phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax and semantics of the borrowed morpheme. Alternative to this borrowing, some agents of introduction innovatively create words from pre-existing loanwords in the language of which there is no lexical equal in the originating language of these roots.

3. In the next phase, the thus domesticated borrowing or creation is transferred in to the lexicon by means of the written language.

4. In the fourth phase, the transferred word is then disseminated throughout Japanese society by the twin agents of dissemination, the mass media and interpersonal networks. Some borrowings, especially nonce borrowings, become early casualties of this process and are soon discarded.

5. In the final phase, favourable forces of dissemination lift the borrowing so that it becomes integrated into the language. They may then either remain in the language or else, suffer linguistic obsolescence.

Research Objective 2

It is a further objective of this thesis to show that the passage of borrowings through the above phases is dependent upon a classification according to the stylistic genre of loans. This stylistic genre used for classifying loans has been established according to three kinds of borrowing culture that have been observed to predominate, as follows: (1) technical/commercial loans, (2) general use loans, and (3) youth culture loans.

In all the stages of the evolution except that of phonology, the work of the agents in each phase can be differentiated according to which all the three cultures he works in. While, of course, some overlap does occur, three dominant streams of the evolution of the borrowings can be discerned. Accordingly, it may be seen that for any given borrowing, there exists a typical passage through the phases, a passage determined according to the cultural genre to which it belongs.

Research Objective 3

The third research objective is to determine a means whereby it may be known whether a borrowing has become a loanword or remains a foreign word. It was shown that five criteria may be used to determine integration status: frequency of use, native language synonym displacement, morphophonemic and/or semantic integration and native speaker acceptability and duration of contact, From examination thereof, it would appear that the first three may be used to provide definitive proof of integration. That is, if it exists in the spoken register, has displaced, in totality or partially, a native or older loanword, or if after dissemination, has undergone morphophonological or semantic change, then it could be considered to be a well-established loanword. Official attitudes are of some importance but their existence does not guarantee obedience, at least not in the period immediately subsequent to its promulgation. Personal attitudes are similarly of importance however, the high degree of disparity of opinion would work to impede its recognition as a provider of proof of integration. Duration of contact can only be used in a confirmatory capacity to a loanword that has already achieved integration status by virtue of it satisfying one of the above three definitive proofs.

Research Objective 4

The purpose of Research Objective 4 is to find some framework of determinants that could be used to better comprehend the seemingly arbitrary variation in the degree with which the phenomenon of synonymic displacement occurs. It was found that in consideration of the competing forms, the strength and numerical superiority of the determinants of; degree of repetition, retentive power of an established form, prestige due to originating language, moraic length and genre specific dissemination, would give an indication of where the semantic equilibrium would be likely to be.

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APPENDICES

Questionnaires

(and their English translations)

presented to:

Chubu Employees

Editors of Popular Japanese Magazines

NHK Researchers

Television Programming Staff

Advertising Copywriters

中部電力社員への質問 (Chubu)

１．伝統語と外来語の比較的な自然性をはかります。
次の文書を読んでください。自然性を点線で０〜１０評価して書いてください。（例：０
＝非常に不自然、 １０＝とても自然な文、 ０〜１０ならどの桁でも結構です）

必要　＜＜＞＞　ニーズ

テレビが壊れているので修理する必要がある。

―――

テレビが壊れているので修理するニーズがある。

―――

客のニーズに応じて新規の商品が開発される。

―――

客のニーズに応じて新規の商品が開発される。

―――

催し物　＜＜＞＞　イベント

着物の新作発表の催し物がある。

―――

着物の新作発表の イベントがある。

―――

今度ホールで音楽会の催し物がある。

―――

今度ホールで音楽会のイベントがある。

―――

2。年令に丸を付けて下さい。
15-19
20-29
30-39
40-49
50-

3。性別に丸を付けてください。
男
女

Questionnaire to the Chubu Employees (English Translation)

This questionnaire is attempting to measure the comparative naturalness of native words and loanwords. Please read the following sentences and evaluate the degree of naturalness. (For example, 0= extremely unnatural, 10= extremely natural).

(1) Comparing hitsuyô and nîzu.

1) Terebi ga kowarete iru node, shûri suru hitsuyô ga aru.

(The television set has broken down and so it needs to be repaired.)

2) Terebi ga kowarete iru node, shûri suru nîzu ga aru

The same sentence as (1) except that hitsuyô has been replaced by nîzu.

3) Kyaku no hitsuyô ni ôjite, shinki no shôhin ga kaihatsu sareru.

New products are developed that meet the customer's needs.)

4) Kyaku no nîzu ni ôjite, shinki no shôhin ga kaihatsu sareru.

The same sentence as (3) except that hitsuyô has been replaced by nîzu.

(2) Comparing moyôshimono and ibento.

1) Kimono no shinsaku happyô no moyôshimono ga aru.

(There is an event on and where new kimonos are being displayed)

2) Kimono no shinsaku happyô no ibento ga aru.

(The same sentence as (4) except that moyôshimono has been replaced by ibento)

3) Kondo hôru de, ongakkai no moyôshimono ga aru.

(There is a (young people's) music event on at the hall)

4) Kondo hôru de, ongakkai no ibento ga aru.

(The same sentence as (6) except that moyôshimono has been replaced by ibento)

(3) Please encircle your age range.

20s

30s

40s

50s

(4) What is your sex?

M

F

編集者の方への質問 (Magazine Editors)

英国シェフィールド大学大学院

サイモン・フォート

これは日本語におけるカタカナ語についてのアンケートです。ご協力をお願いします。

1．故意に外国語を取ってカタカナ語を造語しますか。

_____はい、しています
_____いいえ、していません

2．「はい」の場合、どのような方法ですか。下記の選択肢の中からそれぞれの使用率を０から１０まで付けて下さい。（例：０＝全然使用しない、５＝時々使用する、１０＝非常によく使用する）

_____和英辞典を使う
_____同じ業界の人と相談する
_____日本の雑誌からアイディアをとる
_____外国の雑誌からアイディアをとる
_____自分の知っている英語を使ってカタカナ語を作る
_____外国のラジオやテレビ番組の英語を使ってカタカナ語を作る
_____その他_____

3．従来語があってもどのような理由で新規のカタカナ語を作りますか。
下記の選択肢の中からそれぞれの使用率を０から１０まで付けて下さい。

_____従来語では付け加えたいニュアンスを表せないから
_____印象をよくするため（例：「設備」の変わりに「アメニティ」を使う）
_____軽蔑的な味／ユーモアを付け加えるため
_____西洋の趣を強くするため
_____従来語の堅さを避けるため（例：「強姦」の変わりに「レイプ」を使う）
_____その他_____

４．自分の分野において、現在と１５年前（バブル時代）とを比較した場合、どちらが新規のカタカナ語の創作率が高いと思いますか。（０＝１５年前の方が非常に高かった、５＝同じぐらい、１０＝現在の方が非常に高い）

_____

その理由を御説明ください。

_____
_____
_____
_____

5．カタカナ語についての個人的な意見を評価してください。（例：０＝大嫌いで言葉の汚染である、５＝良くも悪くもなく必然的である、１０＝大好きで国際化に必要不可欠である）

_____

6．パン、ズボン等の古くから使ってきた言葉以外、個人的なカタカナ語についての好き嫌いは仕事上にも影響を及ぼしますか

_____いいえ
_____はい。どんな影響ですか。

_____
_____
_____
_____

7.学問的な資料によると誰よりも雑誌の編集者がカタカナ語を作って言語に導入するとのことです。
（１）同意しますか
（２）他にカタカナ語が大いに入る手段を御存じですか。

_____
_____
_____

----

8. 編集者はカタカナ語が残っていくかどうかに影響力があります。一般に使用されているカタカナ語をわざと使わないことがありますか（カタカナ語の衰退に関する質問）。

_____いいえ

_____はい。なぜですか。

----

9. 将来カタカナ語の使用率が増えると思いますか。御意見をお願いします。

----

10. 英語力を自己評価して下さい。（例：0＝全然理解できない、１０＝英語圏の人と同様）

読む_____

書く_____

話す_____

聞く_____

11。年令に丸を付けて下さい。

15-19

20-29

30-39

40-49

50-

12。性別に丸を付けてください。

男

女

Questionnaire to Editors of Popular Japanese Magazines
(English Translation)

This is a questionnaire concerning the use of katakana in Japanese. Thank you for your assistance.

1. Do you purposefully borrow foreign words and change them into katakana?

---------Yes

-------- No

2. What methods do you use to borrow katakana words for subsequent use in your work as magazine editor?   For each of the following methods, please grade the usage frequency from 0 to 10. For example: (0 = Very rarely, 5 = Sometimes, 10 = Very frequently)

_____   Use Japanese English dictionaries
_____   Consult with colleagues
_____   Obtain ideas from Japanese magazines
_____   Obtain ideas from English magazines
_____   Use personally known English
_____   Use the English acquired from foreign electronic media
_____   Other_____

3. Why do you choose to create a loan if there is an acceptable Japanese term ?
Please assign a grading to the following as above

_____   The desired meaning / nuance of meaning is not available in traditional Japanese
_____   Prestige
_____   To produce a humorous or pejorative effect
_____   To exaggerate the Western flavour
_____   A euphemism when Japanese is too strong
_____   Other(specify)_____

4. In your opinion, do you think there are more newly coined loans used in your field now than

10-15 years ago (before the economic bubble burst)? Please indicate this change on a scale from 0 to 10.

(0 = many more loans used 10-15 years ago, 5 = No change, 10 = many more loans used now)

_____

Why do you think this is so?

----

5. Please assess in a scale from 0 - 10 your own personal feelings about the acceptability of English based loans. (Example: 0 = strongly dislike, a pollutant to the language, 5 = neither good nor bad, inevitable, 10 = strongly in favour, essential for internationalisation)

----

6. Excepting conventionally used loans such as パン、ズボンetc., does this personal feeling about loans influence the number that you use professionally?

No

Yes.   In what way is this?

----

7. Academic journals state that magazine editors are principally responsible for coining the loan words and introducing them into the lexicon. Do you agree?

Yes

No

Please comment on other sources.

----

8. Magazine editors have a lot of influence over whether loans lexically survive or not. Do you ever consciously decide not to use a loan?

No

Yes

If yes, why is this?

_____

_____

9. Do you think the rate of appearance of new loans will change in the near future?

  Why do you think this?

_____

_____

_____

10. Please rate your English ability?

(For example: 0 = no ability, 5 = average, 10 = like a native speaker)

Reading --------------------

Writing --------------------

Speaking --------------------

Hearing --------------------

11. Please encircle your age range.

20s

30s

40s

50s

12. What is your sex?

M

F

NHK研究者・テレビ局関係者・広告代理店の方への質問
(NHK, Television Programming Staff, Advertising Copywriter)

英国シェフィールド大学大学院

サイモン・フォート

これは日本語におけるカタカナ語についてのアンケートです。ご協力をお願いします。

(1)雑誌、テレビ、ラジオ、新聞というマスコミで使われる外来語の一般人・若者への影響力を評価してください。(それぞれの合計が１００％となるように評価して下さい)

一般人	若者
雑誌_____％	雑誌_____％
テレビ_____％	テレビ_____％
ラジオ_____％	ラジオ_____％
新聞_____％	新聞_____％

(2)上記のようなことを研究したことはありますか。

_____はい、あります

_____いいえ、ありません

(3)テレビの場合、どんな要因で外来語が視聴者に受け入れられ、彼らの日本語に導入されると思いますか。

それぞれの要因を０から１０までの度合いで付けて下さい。(例：０＝全然関係ない、５＝少しは関係がある、

１０＝非常に関係がある)

言葉の長さ_____

言葉の使用頻度_____

言葉を使ったタレントの人気_____

番組の種類_____

言葉自体の魅力_____

言葉が口頭だけではなく画面にも現れること_____

その他_____

_____

_____

(4)上記の要因について、視聴者が外来語を使用し始め、彼らの日本語へ導入する現象に関するコメントをお願いします。

言葉の長さ_____

_____

_____

_____言

葉の使用頻度_____

_____

_____

_____

言葉を使ったタレントの人気_____

_____

_____

_____

番組の種類_____

_____

_____

_____

言葉自体の魅力_____

_____

_____

_____

言葉が口頭だけでなく画面にも現れること

_____

_____

_____

(5)誰が番組に使用される外来語を作っていますか

_____

_____

(6)その作られた外来語の使用にあたって誰かが審査しますか

_____

_____

（7）テレビで最初に使われた時から日本語に入る時までどのぐらいの時間がかかると思いますか

_____

_____

8)テレビ局の外来語について、何か方針がありますか

_____はい

_____いいえ

「はい」の場合、ご説明願います。

_____

_____

_____

ご協力ありがとうございました。

Questionnaire to NHK Researchers, Television Programming Staff and Advertising Copywriters

This is a questionnaire concerning the use of katakana in Japanese. Thank you for your assistance.

(1) Please evaluate the influence that the mass media forms of magazines, television, radio and newspapers have on both the ordinary citizen and young people. (The totals in each group should add up to 100%).

	Ordinary Citizen	Young People
Magazines	----------------------	--------------------
Television	----------------------	--------------------
Radio	----------------------	--------------------
Newspapers	----------------------	--------------------

(2) Have you researched the above?

Yes

No

(3) In the case of television, what would be the factors that would be responsible for loanwords being received by viewers and introduced into their language? (Please evaluate on a scale from 0 to 10 in which 0 would be understood to mean 'absolutely irrelevant' and 10 to mean ' extremely relevant').

Word length --------------------

Frequency of exposure (repetition) --------------------

Popularity of the personality who uses the word --------------------

Type of programme --------------------

Attraction to the word itself --------------------

The combined effect of speaking and writing the word -------------------- Others --------------------

(4) For each of the above factors, please comment on the phenomenon of a viewer using a loanword and including it in his vocabulary.

Word length --

Frequency of exposure (repetition) --

Popularity of the personality who uses the word ----------------------------
----

Type of programme --

Attraction to the word itself ---

The combined effect of speaking and writing the word --------------------
----

Others ---
----

(5) Who are the people that devise the loanwords that are used on television?

---

(6) Does anyone govern the use all of these loanwords?

---

(7) Approximately how long does it take between the first appearance of a loanword on television and its appearance in the language?

---

(8) Do television stations have any policy regarding loanword usage? If so, what would that be?