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A STUDY OF JAPANESE NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE
SPEAKERS' PERCEPTION OF GAIKYO AND THE
FUTURE OF GAIKO IN THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with language change in Japanese in relation to loanwords. Japan has a tradition of borrowing from other languages, in particular, from the Chinese language. This tradition continues to the present day with borrowing from Western languages. This thesis first looks at the historical background of loanwords in Japanese. It then sets out to ascertain what the current perceptions are of both native speakers of Japanese and non-native speakers of Japanese in regard to *gairaigo* from the English language, and what they predict the future holds for *gairaigo* from the English language in Japanese.

The Japanese will use English more as they become increasingly reliant on international trade due to the downturn in the Japanese economy. This thesis will investigate any effect that *gairaigo* from English might have on Japanese language acquisition by non-native speakers, and determine what effect *gairaigo* have on native Japanese speakers and their acquisition of English as a second language. It is suggested in this thesis that *gairaigo* in Japanese that have come from English will in future be used as English by the Japanese. In other words, this thesis suggests that one main purpose of *gairaigo* may be to facilitate the acquisition of English as a second language by native Japanese speakers.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The following is a study of loanwords in the Japanese language, in particular, loanwords coming from the English language. It investigates how a historical tradition of borrowing words has contributed to language change in Japan. A focus of this study is on the methods the Japanese have used to facilitate the borrowing of words, and what the native Japanese speakers’ opinions are on loanwords in Japanese. Another focus is the perceptions that non-native Japanese speakers have of loanwords, and on both groups’ predictions of what the future of loanwords might be in the Japanese language. This thesis concentrates mainly on loans from the English language, coming mainly from either the United States of America or from the United Kingdom. However, in order to understand the process of borrowing from English, it is necessary to look at the history of loanwords in Japanese as a whole. Therefore, the first section of this thesis deals with the history of loans that have come from the Chinese language, what was involved in this process, and how the experience of borrowing words from the Chinese language relates to the borrowing of words from the English language. It will become apparent to the reader that the recent influx of borrowed words coming from the English language, and the methodology behind borrowing words, is just part of an ongoing historical process of language change in Japan.

Chapter 2 will present a literature review, investigating what previous research has
be on loanwords in Japanese. This chapter is divided into nine sections. Section 1 is the history of loans that have come from the Chinese language, dating from the borrowing of the written language that took place around the 4th century A.D. Section 2 looks at the spoken language and how loanwords have been accommodated into spoken Japanese. This section also deals with the development of the Japanese writing system and how loanwords were at the very core of this development. It then deals with problems separating older loans from Japanese native words. Section 3 looks at Japanese grammatical features, and examines the aspects of the Japanese language that have facilitated the ease of borrowing from other languages. Section 4 deals with the *katakana* script, and Section 5 considers recent Japanese history, specifically the Meiji Restoration, and the influence it has had on loanwords, as well as the reasons behind this. Section 6 examines loanwords that come from languages other than Chinese or English. This section includes discussion on what the other languages are that the Japanese have borrowed from, what types of words have been borrowed, and what percentage of words in present day Japanese come from each language.

Section 7 investigates the possibility of loanwords having an influence on the Japanese people's acquisition of English as a second or foreign language. Section 8 deals with English loanwords as they appear in different types of popular culture, and how they feature in different sports and information technology. Section 9 presents the amount of loanwords present in contemporary Japanese language, and information concerning survey results is shown, as well as the percentage of loanword usage concerning different types of media. This section also provides a
literature review of other surveys that were conducted relating to *gairaigo*.

Chapter 3 contains the methodology. Chapter 4 presents the results of the first survey, and Chapter 5 the results of the second survey. Chapter 6 compares the results of similar questions in the two surveys, and outlines the differences in opinion concerning *gairaigo* between the Japanese native speaker and the non-native speaker of Japanese. Chapter 7 contains the conclusions and implications of this study.

1.1 Motivations for the study

In contemporary urban Japan, you do not have to look far to find evidence of the strong influence the English language has had on modern Japanese. Café-goers in Tokyo can be observed ordering a ロイヤルミルクティー *roiyarumirukutei* (royal milk tea) or a バナナゼーキ *banana seeki* (banana shake). Advertising billboards, shop signs, magazines, and television commercials increasingly are mixing English words and phrases into their Japanese, either written in the Japanese phonetic *katakana* script, or – as commonly seems to be the case more and more these days – directly using the Roman alphabet, in their usual English form. It is not difficult to understand the modern Japanese person’s attraction to English – it is, after all, the language spoken in the United States, a country that has loomed large in the cultural landscape of Japan, and indeed the rest of the world, in the last 50 years. It is also the de facto language of international commerce, and although not the most widely-spoken language in the world (that
honour goes to Mandarin, with over one billion speakers), it is the world’s most
popular second language (The Learning Web 1999-2000). Therefore, English is
the language that people from different countries are most likely to have in
common either as a first or a second language. As international links become
increasingly important, from both a commercial and cultural standpoint, it is not
surprising that in Japan, as in other parts of the non-English speaking world,
English is very hard to ignore.

However, amongst the Japanese, there appears to be something more than this
going on – borrowed words from English are being used in place of perfectly
good Japanese equivalents. Why would the Tokyo café-goer describe their choice
of drink as a ミルクテイ (milk tea) when perfectly good Japanese words already
exist for milk and tea? Or, for more traditional foods, use raisu ライス for rice
or tsuna ツナ and shichikin シチキン for tunafish? Gairaigo use in Japan
continues to increase, yet more English words and phrases are constantly being
introduced into Japanese - not, for the most part, because Japanese is lacking in
equivalent words and phrases, but seemingly for their own sake. Are the Japanese
people deliberately trying to transform their language into something closer to
English? How does the average Japanese person feel about this torrent of new
words being poured into the national lexicon?

In recent years, the Japanese Government has strongly encouraged the teaching of
English at both primary and secondary school levels. Yet, despite this, and despite
the fact that urban Japanese are bombarded with English words and phrases on a
daily basis, the level of facility with English amongst the Japanese public still appears to be fairly low, particularly with regard to speaking ability and aural comprehension. However, at the same time Japanese are being exposed to more and more English, both in the form of *gairaigo* and in its native form. Does the average Japanese person really understand all these new words entering the language? How is it that a Japanese person can be fluent in *gairaigo* use and yet be unable to communicate to any useful degree in English? Do they recognize these new words as being English in origin, or is that connection not being made? What are the links between *gairago* use and the acquisition of English as a second language, and are the Japanese public aware of any connections that may exist in that respect? Could this phenomenal influx of new *gairaigo* be somehow related to the recent drive to increase the level of English facility amongst the general public?

These were the questions that motivated the research underpinning this thesis. Additionally, I was interested in investigating the perspective of others who, like myself, were witnessing this phenomenon from the standpoint of being a speaker of Japanese as a second language – of the non-native Japanese speaker. How were they coping with these rapid upheavals in the language? Assuming that most speakers of Japanese as a second language will possess at least a reasonable level of fluency with English already, does the large amount of English-derived words in modern Japanese facilitate Japanese acquisition, or does it merely serve to confuse the issue? What is their general opinion of the Anglicisation of Japanese? From an outsider’s perspective, are the Japanese really serving their own best
interests with all this new gairaigo, or is it disfiguring the language?

Regarding the history of borrowing words in the Japanese language, I was interested to see what insight could be gained into this phenomenon through the study of what has happened in the past, in particular, with regard to the legacy of borrowed words from Chinese. The influence that Chinese has had on Japanese in the past is, in many respects comparable to the influence that English is exerting at present. This legacy of Chinese influence has, in many ways, enriched the Japanese language, but it has also produced in Japanese a convoluted writing system, infamous for its difficulty and complexity, which in many ways was not at all complimentary to the language at all. Now the language is once again in rapid transition, where will it end up this time? Is the Japanese language on the right track, or is it headed for a train wreck? What does the future hold for Japanese? For gairaigo? For the English language in Japan? This is what I set out to investigate.

Upon researching this subject, it soon became apparent that while there is a great deal of literature devoted to the study of gairaigo in Japanese, these studies often concentrate on the historical adoption and development of gairaigo, and on the amount of gairaigo in the language, rather than giving information about the Japanese native speakers’ present view on gairaigo. Similarly, there has been little research into what non-native speakers of Japanese think of gairaigo in Japanese, and what effect it has on their acquisition of Japanese as a foreign language. Therefore, it was necessary to research this subject directly, and so, two surveys
were created for the purpose of gaining an insight into the perception that both native and non-native speakers of Japanese have concerning gairaigo.

Impetus to conduct the two surveys arose firstly from a general curiosity concerning the differences between how Japanese native speakers perceive gairaigo and how non-native speakers of Japanese perceive it. The realization that the Japanese themselves could often not understand gairaigo raised the question of how much value gairaigo had in the language, and why it is so popular. Motivation to find out more about perceptions concerning gairaigo led to an interest in the predictions of Japanese language speakers on the future of gairaigo in Japanese. Both areas seemed to have been neglected in previous research on gairaigo.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study is significant in that it examines two groups of Japanese language speakers. It investigates both Japanese native speakers and non-native speakers on their cognizance of gairaigo. This study then compares and contrasts the results of the surveys, and in analyzing the results establishes strong patterns that underline the contrariety in gairaigo use between different groups of speakers.

During the researching of this thesis, the central inference that I was able to make, namely, that gairaigo is being used as a medium for the Japanese to learn English as a second language, is also, I believe, of special importance. It is, to the best of
my knowledge, the first time that this hypothesis has been formally proposed, however, the large amount of research data I was able to collect at first hand has supplied plenty of evidence on which to build a case for this proposition. The study also includes estimates on the feasibility of this occurring, and highlights arguments relevant to this estimation. The implications of this, as discussed in the concluding section of this thesis, are of special significance not only to teachers of Japanese as a foreign language but also to teachers of English as a second language who have Japanese students.

1.3 Terminology

Loanwords other than the Sino-Japanese loans are called gairaigo, which has the literal meaning of “foreign coming words”. This includes words originating in Korean, Ainu1, Thai, Indonesian etc, and includes words that have been created that are hybrid words from two different languages. There are two terms used for native Japanese words, these are wago “Japanese Words” or Yamato-kotoba “Yamato Words”, Yamato being the ancient word for Japan. The term kango “Chinese words” is used for loanwords that originated in China. Every other word that has been borrowed from any other country falls under the category of gairaigo “foreign coming words”. This thesis concentrates on gairaigo borrowed from the English language, and survey respondents were required to answer

1 Although Ainu is also native to Japan, being the language of Japan’s earliest inhabitants, and therefore not geographically foreign, it is considered here to be an external influence on the language referred to as “Japanese”.
questions about *gairaigo* from only the English language. The Hepburn system of romanization of Japanese words is adopted in this thesis.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions in this thesis are as follows; for native speakers of Japanese:

(1) Does *gairaigo* from English have a positive effect on the language and does it have a good image?

(2) Does the amount of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language weaken the language or have a negative effect on the Japanese language?

(3) Does your knowledge *gairaigo* have a positive effect on your understanding of English as a second language?

(4) What is the future of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language?

The three research questions for non-native speakers of Japanese are:

(1) What is your general level of understanding of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language?

(2) Does the existence of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language effect your Japanese language comprehension?

(3) What is the future of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language?
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

There has been a lot of previous research on the topic of loanwords in Japanese. This literature review provides a general background on the adoption and development of loanwords into the Japanese language. It is important to remember that the borrowing of words is a continuous and on-going process in Japanese. Most of the literature available on loanwords concentrates on historical developments, however recently there has been increased interest in the contemporary situation of loanwords in the Japanese language.

2.1 History of Loans from Chinese

The historical antecedents of the Japanese language must be examined in order to give a clear picture of the phenomenon of loanwords in the contemporary Japanese language. Therefore, it is important to look at the history of loanwords coming from Chinese because the Chinese language had such a strong influence on early Japanese language. In the fourth century AD, Chinese characters started coming to Japan from the Korean peninsula - Halpern (1990:53a).²

² Some examples of Chinese writing have been found earlier than that. Takeuchi cites Seeley in writing that Chinese characters featured on a coin found dating back to the first century AD, and mirrors and swords with characters on them that date from the third century AD have also been discovered. However, it is thought that these characters were perhaps only decorative - Takeuchi (1999:6).
Initially, the Chinese characters were used almost solely for official documents and for scholarly writing, but after a long time they slowly came to be in use in everyday Japanese. By the Edo period 1603 – 1867 they were in common use in dialects and in colloquial language. (Shibatani 1990:145).

2.1.1 The Spoken Language

*Kanbun* was the name given by the Japanese to Chinese words that had been changed syntactically to make a Japanese interpretation possible. There are two types of *Kanbun*, the first called *Jun-kanbun* (genuine Chinese), and the second *Hentai-kanbun* (abnormal *Kanbun*). This second type became what the Japanese termed Classical Chinese. However, it was Chinese used without correct Chinese grammar. The use of loanwords without the accompanying grammar is one characteristic of language borrowing in Japanese. *Kanbun* were of great importance in the development of culture in Japan, as they introduced Chinese writing to the Japanese, who until this time had no written language of their own. However, *Kanbun* as a language is unlike Japanese, and those who wrote *Kanbun* could rarely speak the language, only write it.

In contrast, as will be seen later, the use of the *katakana* syllabary to write *gairaigo* from English has greatly facilitated the rapid influx of English loanwords into the contemporary Japanese language. The use of *katakana* eliminates the *Kanbun* problem of users not being able to speak the language, only write it. In
this respect it appears that the Japanese were trying to avoid repeating the mistake of importing yet another foreign writing system. Judging from the amount of words written directly in English in contemporary Japanese popular culture, perhaps it would have been simpler to adopt the alphabetical writing system for *gairaigo* use from the outset. However, later we will consider how the use of *katakana* for writing *gairaigo* might be instrumental in keeping English separate from Japanese, and therefore help facilitate a change from *gairaigo* into English by Japanese speakers.

To continue, the writing system imported from China and the development of the *Hentai-kanbun* led to a large increase of words from Chinese being borrowed into Japanese. A borrowed word was typically adapted in one of two ways. The first was to retain the Chinese pronunciation of the character, albeit modified to conform more closely to Japanese syllabary. These words are known as Sino-Japanese words. The second process occurred when Chinese loanwords went through a meaning-based adaptation strategy whereby the Chinese written character was used to represent the equivalent word in Japanese. In addition, many characters were adopted involving the use of both strategies. The result was that many characters eventually had a Sino-Japanese reading as well as a Japanese reading. This is the reason why there are two types of readings in today's language, the *on* reading coming from Chinese, and the *kun* reading influenced by Japanese.

The Sino-Japanese reading is called an *on yomi*, literally “sound reading”, and the Japanese reading is called a *kun yomi*, literally “meaning reading”. For example,
川 “river” is read *sen* as the Sino-Japanese loan morpheme (from the Chinese *chuān*), and *kawa* where it stands for the native Japanese word. Words continued to be borrowed over time, and this, compounded by geographical features such as regional dialect, made for great variance in pronunciation. These pronunciation variances are also reflected in present-day Japanese, with a great variety of *on* readings for many characters.

Concerning *gairaigo* from the English language, features such as pronunciation of borrowed words are also extremely variable. This is due to the changes in phonology that were made to fit the new word to Japanese pronunciation. Without a proper set of conventions governing these changes, the result has been that English words are often translated into Japanese syllabary in more than one way. However, unlike Chinese loanwords, the issue of words from English borrowed over a long period and that of regional dialects has not effected the pronunciation of English loanwords, due to the use of the *katakana* syllabary.

To fully understand the variation of Chinese loans we need to look a little further into the background influences history has had on loanwords from China, in particular, the types of categories of *on* readings for these words. The pronunciation of northern Chinese loanwords up until around the sixth century is called *go on*, and *go on* were associated with Buddhist usage. From the sixth century until the ninth century the dialect where the loanwords originated was that of Ch’ang-an which was the capital of the Tang Dynasty. The pronunciation of words from this time is known as *kan on*. Loanwords from later Chinese periods
are known as tō on. Because the differences in readings caused problems, an attempt was made to make kan on the official pronunciation of Chinese characters (kanji). However, it failed, as the go on readings were too firmly entrenched due to their association with Buddhist use. Unfortunately, the attempt to replace the go readings just eventuated in more pronunciations being added. A lot of characters ended up having multiple syllabic values. Many characters have go readings as well as kan readings, but there are not many characters that have tō readings in addition - Colmas (1989:145). Colmas gives the example of the character 頭, which means “head”, “chief”, “top”, “beginning”, in a general sense. This character has four on readings and six kun readings.

Kanji dictionaries contain many kanji with multiple readings. How one determines the correct reading of the character is outlined below. The correct meaning of a kanji is largely determined by the context in which it appears. Generally, compound kanji usually take the Sino-Japanese readings of the respective compound characters. However some compounds take the kun readings and some combine the on and kun readings. The readings of characters also can vary in compounds, and the meanings change accordingly. There are rules for usage, but these are by no means all-encompassing. Halpern writes, “Unfortunately, there is no reliable rule for determining if a character is to be read in the on or kun, or for deciding which of several possible readings to select in a particular instance” Halpern (1990: 54a). This is a characteristic of Sino-Japanese loans in Japanese.
In addition, many kanji words share their pronunciation with other kanji. Therefore, difficulties also arise with regard to knowing the correct meaning of spoken words. In these cases, the proper meaning is inferred by the context of the sentence. However, because the written language provides a great variety of different kanji, homonymous words pose no problem when dealing with the written language. The word tama for example, has at least ten different meanings, including soul or spirit, blue, good fortune, rare, bullet, a ball used in a sports game, rare occasion, precious stone, gem, and sharp corner. As far as gairaigo from English are concerned, there is no such problem evident, however, later we shall see that there exist semantic changes with some English words that have been borrowed for use by the Japanese. This change in meaning results in non-native speakers of Japanese often finding it difficult to understand English loanwords in Japanese.

There are many synonymous expressions in Japanese, and this is due to the large amount of Sino-Japanese and foreign loanwords. The Japanese have also borrowed words for which a Japanese equivalent already existed. So why would the Japanese have borrowed these words? The borrowed words have acquired shades of meaning different from the existing native words, and in this manner, they complement the Japanese language. The native Japanese word will generally have a meaning that is broader than that of the loans. Shibatani (1990: 144) gives us this example: The native word torikesi can be used to describe many types of cancellation, as wide as even canceling what one has said and taking the words back. The Sino-Japanese loan kaiyaku has the meaning of cancel but it is used in a
more formal sense - such as canceling a contract. The foreign loan **kyanseru** is used solely for the purpose of canceling tickets and appointments.

Shibatani continues on to say that “The S-J words, which generally convey a more formal impression, tend to be used with reference to higher quality objects than do the native equivalents. On the other hand, the foreign words have a modern and stylish flavor”\(^3\) - Shibatani (*ibid.*,144). However, some Japanese speakers feel that there are too many **gairaigo** in present day Japanese, and it is questionable whether it is necessary for there to be so many shades of meaning for a word such as “cancel”. In addition, many **gairaigo** have had their original meaning changed, and this perhaps provides the best argument of all, that the original word was not ever required in the first place. This suggests that the proliferation of **gairaigo** may serve a different purpose, perhaps as a vehicle for English language acquisition by native speakers of Japanese.

2.1.2 Written Language

It is essential when investigating language change through the use of loanwords to investigate the history of the Japanese writing system and how writing systems have come to be adopted with loanwords in Japanese. It is possible to see how the Japanese borrowed Chinese to operate as a written language. The Korean language also borrowed Chinese to use in the same way, however both Japanese

\(^3\) The contention that loanwords convey a modern and high quality image to the Japanese will be investigated in Survey 1 of this thesis.
and Korean are very different languages from Chinese. The borrowing of the Chinese written language resulted in a very complicated system when applied to the Japanese language. “The Chinese system itself pales in comparison with the Japanese when it comes to complexity and seeming impracticality. Indeed, Kanji, as Chinese characters are called, are used in a way so different from their models that only tradition justifies their name” Colmas (1989:145). A parallel can be made here, between the difference between the Chinese language and Chinese characters as used in Japanese, and the difference between the English language and the use of gairaigo from English in the Japanese language. Both are sometimes, as Colmas stated, “used in a way so different from their models that only tradition justifies their name”. This points to a clear historical pattern in the process of borrowing that the meaning of words or kanji go through as they are modified to fit the Japanese language.

It is interesting to note here that native speakers of Chinese seem to have a general understanding of Chinese characters that have been borrowed into Japanese. At the same time, a native English speaker for example, can, once they have come to terms with the katakana writing system, generally understand gairaigo from English.

The fact that words are modified to fit the Japanese language in this manner is a characteristic of borrowing from other languages into Japanese. I would like to suggest at this point that the Japanese seem to have deliberately modified borrowed language to create the impression that they have made the borrowed
item something of their own. Therefore, perhaps they feel that in a way they have not simply copied a word or words but have helped to create something new themselves, that they can state is Japanese regardless of the fact that the word is obviously borrowed. Japanese have, throughout history, tended to view themselves as a unique race of people, separate and incompatible with other cultures, and can go to great lengths to preserve this impression, even if the result amounts to a kind of self-mythologizing self-delusion. It is entirely possible that they may have used the *katakana* writing system to write *gairaigo*, in order to mask the fact that they were borrowing words directly from English.

Section 2.1.1 looked at the adaptation of *Hanzi* (Chinese characters) to Japanese pronunciation. This section looks at written Japanese and the adaptation of adopting *Kango* to Japanese. *Hanzi* were adapted by the following methods:

For Japanese words of the same meaning, the Chinese character for the word was adopted (this is known as the *kun* (meaning based) way of using Chinese characters. For example; the *kanji* 人 (Chinese *jen/ren* meaning “man”), was used for Fito (the old Japanese word for “man”).

With those Japanese grammatical elements that did not exist in Chinese, words with a similar pronunciation to the Japanese grammatical elements were borrowed. This is known as the *On* or ‘sound’ reading. Japanese grammar is very different to Chinese grammar, as Japanese uses suffixes to express grammatical relationships. For example, in the case of the Japanese particle wa, this was written as *puâ* – the middle Chinese character which meant “wave”. In this second process, the
meaning of the borrowed words is completely disregarded. The On syllabic borrowing enabled the Japanese to develop a style of writing known as manyōgana. It was named after the Manyōshu 759AD, which was an anthology of poems. "Using Hanzi to write syllables rather than other units of sound suggested itself because they designate syllables in Chinese. As a syllabic script, however, manyōgana is cumbersome and highly redundant, since the average relation between characters and syllables is more than ten to one" - Colmas (1989:145).

Due to the two types of adaptation, two writing styles eventuated. Kanbun-modified Chinese-style writing, and Wábun – genuine Japanese style of writing. However, combinations of both uses of Chinese characters also occurred. For example the poems in the Manyōshu 759AD featured a combination of both uses of Chinese characters, and it is considered to be the first written document which features present-day Japanese writing conventions. - Colmas (ibid.,145).

As seen above, the experience the Japanese had of borrowing a writing system and adapting it into their language was extremely complicated and convoluted. The recent influx of gairaigo from English into Japanese only adds to the difficulty that non-native speakers have learning Japanese. Historically, however, changing the meanings of gairaigo from their original is the continuation of a similar pattern that developed over centuries of borrowing from the Chinese language.
2.1.3 Problems separating older loans from native words.

Over time, some of the older loanwords have become so entrenched in the Japanese language that it has become almost impossible to establish whether they are in fact loans, or if they were actually native words to begin with - Miller (1967:237). These loanwords originated from the Altaic languages such as Korean, and also from very early Chinese lexical items and words.

2.2 Grammatical features of Japanese and loans.

There are many factors of the Japanese language that point to the ease in which the Japanese have accepted loan words. Shibatani (1990:144) lists the main aspects of Japanese linguistics that have made it easier for loans to be accepted in Japanese. Firstly, Japanese does not have nominal inflections. With regard to nouns in Japanese, the language does not state gender, person, or number. Case is understood by the use of particles, therefore a loan word can fit in where a native nominal would be positioned, and there is no readjustment required morphologically. With regard to verbs, Japanese uses the verb suru “to do” as an attachment to the end of words. Thus, the nominal form of loan words can simply have suru “to do” attached and become verbal expressions. Shibatani gives the example of the Sino Japanese word hukusya “copy” becomes hukusya suru “to copy”, and kopii “copy” from English becomes kopii suru “to copy”.

Adjectives are borrowed in a similar fashion, but instead of using the verbal
attachment, this involves adding a predicative function -da. Shibatani gives the example of the word soft becoming sohuto da “it is soft”. In the attributive function, the ending becomes na to form sohuto na “soft”. The adverbial form can be made by adding the adverbial ending ni to form sohuto ni.

The above features all have made it relatively simple for the Japanese to incorporate loanwords into their language. Little or no readjustment is necessary in these cases. The same linguistic features have also made it easier for the Japanese to borrow words from the Chinese language. The next section of this thesis looks at the syntactic categories that loanwords belong to, both gairaigo and Sino-Japanese words. Most Sino-Japanese words belong to the syntactic category of noun, with some in the adverbial category. The majority of the Sino-Japanese nouns represent abstract concepts. To be used as verbs they take the native verb suru, and thus become compounds. Suru has the ability to create tense, and in this a noun such as kenkyuu “study” which is a noun, changes into kenkyuu-suru “study” which is a verb. In the main, native words are categorized as verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, and smaller categories such as conjunctions. Shibatani (ibid.,146).

Miller (1967:246) notes that “Most completely acclimatized are, presumably, those Chinese loanwords that have ended up being inflected according to Japanese morphology. The Heian texts commonly treat sōzoku “formal dress” in this way, with such forms as the gerund sōzokite appearing; and in the modern language we have zannengaru “to be disappointed about something,” and inflected form built
upon the Chinese loanword *zannen* "disappointment". French *sabot* has also achieved this, in *sabor-u* commit sabotage," as has English *double*, in *dabur-u* "overlap, repeat (something)." A clear parallel can be seen here in the inflection of loans both from Chinese and English, and it is possible to understand the ease and the cleverness in which the Japanese incorporate loanwords into their language.

Morphologically, the meaning of Sino-Japanese words tends to be clearer than native words, and this gives them a semantic advantage. Sino-Japanese words are made of one or two morphemes, with the last morpheme showing the category of the first. Look at the example of the morpheme *ritsu* (率) "rate, proportion" and words that include it:

- *hiritsu* "ratio"
- *kōritsu* "efficiency"
- *riritsu* "interest rate"
- *daritsu* "batting average"
- *kakuritsu* "probability"

Or consider the morpheme *butsu* (物) "thing":

- *genbutsu* "actual thing"
- *kenbutsu* "sightseeing"
- *jitsubutsu* "real thing"
- *fūbutsu* "natural objects"
- *shokubutsu* "plant"
Unlike loan words borrowed from English, for Sino-Japanese loans, due to the intrinsic meaning of the characters, it is possible for the reader to make a guess as to the meaning of a particular word even if one has never seen it before. Look at the example of the word *kihansen* (機帆船). Even if the reader did not know the meaning of the word, they would know the meaning of the separate components that make up the word. For example, *ki* (機) means “machine”, *han* (帆) “sail”, and *sen* (船) boat. One could guess that the combination meant a sailboat with a motor, or a motor powered sailboat.

Shibatani notes that the meanings of words in English that come from Latin are in a similar way often easy to understand. This is because Latinate words in English are more analytic than Germanic words. However, the fact that Sino-Japanese words contain intrinsic meaning gives the Japanese a better chance of guessing an unknown word than an English person would have when faced with an unknown word in English. Shibatani (1990:147). Similarly, when faced with a Sino-Japanese loan, Japanese will have less difficulty understanding the general meaning, whereas with English loans, there is no intrinsic meaning to the written word in *katakana*.

Truncated loanwords from English also exist in Japanese. Miller (1967:250) suggests examples of loans that have been truncated. *Sufu*, *which* is a term for

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*seibutsu* “living thing”

*dōbutsu* “animal”.

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“staple fiber”, “built on the “S” of “staple” and the “f” of “fiber”, each with Japanese –u added”. “Haifuai “hi-fi”, pii āru “public relations”, ōtobai “autobike” (motorbike), suto “labour strike”, interi “intelligentsia”, infure “inflation”, puro “professional athlete” and toire “toilet”. There are also examples of truncated loanwords with their heads, not their tails, taken off. These examples include nisu “varnish”, hōmu “platform” (concerning railway platforms), and teki “beefsteak”.

Miller (ibid.,254) highlights the fact that “when words from any other language enter Japanese they are made to conform more or less to the phonological structure of Japanese”. And then continues to write that “We have seen this phenomenon operating in one way or another ever since the earliest Chinese loanwords, and an English word like fuse is no more distorted in its Japanese version than are Chinese feng as fū or shih as shi. The only reason the English examples may strike us as more remarkable is that we know the originals better, and hence are in a more fortunate position for evaluating them after they have suffered their sea-change”. Judging from the above examples, the degree to which a word can be changed varies greatly from word to word – some have survived the process with their English pronunciation more-or-less intact, while others have become virtually unrecognizable.

Has Japanese given anything back to the languages that it borrows from? Miller (ibid.,259) writes that “Chinese, as we have seen, has given Japanese much. What, if anything, has the Japanese language given back in return? There seems to be no case that can be cited of a Japanese word taken into Chinese bodily as a loanword,
but in spite of this, an important segment of the modern Chinese vocabulary is heavily in debt to Japanese. This consists of Chinese words whose etymological origin is to found in neologisms coined in Japan from Chinese loan morphemes, and then taken over directly into Chinese.” It will be interesting to see how much *gairaigo* taken from English will be imported back to English speaking countries in the future, complete with the Japanese new meaning for the word if it has been changed. We have already seen several examples of uniquely Japanese interpretations of the English language penetrating Western popular culture, such as Sony’s intriguingly nonsensical compound, the “walkman”. Or Nintendo’s famous videogame-starring ape, “Donkey Kong”. This unusual moniker came about when the game’s creator, Shigeru Miyamoto “…and a manager decided they’d call it “Donkey Kong” because “kong” would imply a gorilla was involved, and “donkey” was used because their Japanese-to-English dictionary said it meant “stubborn, wily, and goofy.”” - And I can already think of one recent example of a genuine *gairaigo* being reintroduced into English, thanks to the worldwide phenomenon of “Pokemon” – the word is derived from “pocket monster”.

Word order in Japanese has also been affected by Chinese loans. Miller (*ibid.*,245) points out that “in the area of grammar and syntactic structure the loans are also important. Imitations of Chinese word order introduced significant changes into the word order of Japanese, some of which eventually found their way into the spoken language. To give a single example, in Chinese, expressions of the type “he said, it is said, he thought” and the like begin larger syntactic structures; in Japanese, they conclude them. To imitate the Chinese word order in such
constructions Japanese verb forms in -ku were artificially moved into the place in the utterance that they would have occupied in Chinese; thus shi notamawaku “Confucius said,” iwaku “(anyone) said,” etc., introducing rather than following the statement of what was said.”

It is difficult to find examples of the changes in syntactic structure in Japanese due to English influence, at least at the present time. However, the fact that whole English phrases can be found in Japanese like “my home”, for example in advertising, and whole sentences borrowed into popular music, makes an argument for whole syntactic phrases being borrowed directly from English being more and more prevalent in Japanese in the future. Another point for consideration is that, if the Japanese are only using gairaigo in order to build English vocabulary to be used by them in English in future, then there is no need to borrow English syntax. In fact, if English word order was adopted for use in Japanese, this would defeat the purpose of becoming bi-lingual, and be damaging to both the Japanese language and the English language acquisition prospects of Japanese native speakers.

Some borrowed words can become trapped in a kind of middle ground between languages, where “Chinese literary expressions sometimes also gave rise, through “spelling pronunciations” and other over-literate elaborations, to Japanese forms that were neither Japanese or Chinese. The Chinese graph tsuo “sit” was used to write (as a kun) the Japanese verb owas-u and its expansion owashimas-u “be, exist.” This writing was often further decorated by writing not only the Chinese
tsuo alone but by writing Chinese yū followed by tsuo, since Chinese yū was often associated (also as a kun) with the Japanese deferential prefix o-, which was by this writing then identified as the initial element in o-was-u and o-washimas-u Miller (ibid., 246). The resulting Chinese combination yū tsuo, was meaningless as Chinese, and could stand at all only as a kun-writing for Japanese o-was-u or o-washimas-u. But then this combination began to be read in the go' on pronunciation, as goza-; this element was next inflected as a Japanese verb; and the eventual result was the deferential verb gozar-u “be, exist.”

2.3 The Katakana Script

English loanwords can be easily adapted into Japanese due to the syllabic katakana writing system that exists in Japanese, making phonetics easy for the Japanese to pronounce. Problems arise in this case due to the modification of the loanwords to Japanese phonetic rules, and sometimes the original word is altered in such a manner to make it incomprehensible to the native speakers of the language where the loanword originated Shibatani (1990:145). Despite this, foreign words are more easily adapted into Japanese as there is no semantic interference. In the Chinese language, on the other hand, with its ideographic script, there is more difficulty in the instance of lexical borrowing. In Chinese, loanwords borrowed without semantic connotations have a tendency to not be retained in the language. What happens is that new words created by translating the foreign words replace them.
English loanwords face the same difficulty, however perhaps the general level of understanding of English as a second language facilitates in the retention of gairaigo from English in Japanese. In short, there are advantages and disadvantages of both loans coming from Chinese and those from English. Chinese loans are morphologically easy to understand but those loans without semantic meaning have a low retention rate. Because of *katakana*, English loans fit well into the Japanese syllabary and become easy for Japanese to pronounce, although pronunciation is often altered.

Miller (1967:224) notes, “The historical relation of the Chinese loanword element to the Japanese vocabulary can be summed up in what might be termed the principle of ‘total availability’. This is to say that potentially any morpheme or any word existing in Chinese of any variety at any period of the language has in theory always been available as a potential loanword in Japanese”. The relationship that the English loanword element has to the Japanese vocabulary is on a parallel with the Chinese loanword element in this respect. Miller notes that the principle of “total availability” applied more to spoken than written Japanese when concerning Chinese loanwords.

Today, due to the use of the *katakana* script, the principle of “total availability” as concerns English loanwords applies just as equally to written as to spoken Japanese. Miller (*ibid.*, 249) continues, “It is in connection with English, and particularly since the end of World War II, that the principle of “total availability” has been exercised to its ultimate. Today, virtually any English word in the book is
fair game in writing or in public speaking, sometimes with a word of explanation in Japanese thrown in, sometimes without it”. This is due to the fact that English loanwords can be sounded out phonetically due to the application of the *katakana* script, rather than the cumbersome method of using Chinese characters to introduce a loanword. “If this has consistently enriched the Japanese vocabulary, it has also constantly kept the specter of unintelligibility hovering just over the horizon” Miller (*ibid.*, 224). Again, a definite parallel can be made here with English and Chinese loanwords, with the concept of “total availability” ensuring that the amount of loans borrowed was such that the Japanese had trouble keeping up with the changes in the language.

2.4 More Recent Historical Developments

There was a great shift towards modernization in Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. There was also a dramatic increase in the use of Sino-Japanese loanwords around the time of the Meiji Restoration. This can be attributed to the process of modernization that the new government was engaged in. As well as taking steps to modernize the government, the new government also looked into the modernization of various related academic fields. The modernization of government resulted in many new terms being used. The new terms included words that were translated from words coming from the English language. The translations were written in Chinese characters and due to this, they belong to the group of Sino-Japanese words. Some Japanese words that were borrowed, such as *shakai* “society”, and *kagaku* “science”, were also adopted into the Chinese
Shibatani cites that in J. C. Hepburn’s 1886 dictionary *Wa-ei gorin shūsei* (Japanese-English Glossary), in the years from his first edition published in 1867, he had added more than 10,000 new words. Shibatani then cites Ueno(1980) and writes that the proportion of Sino-Japanese words in Japanese is very similar to the proportion of Latinate words that exist in the English language. In English, the proportion of Latinate words is around 55 percent, while for Germanic words it is 35 percent, with other foreign loans accounting for the remaining 10 percent. Regarding the frequency of words, however, the Germanic words are used around 85 percent of the time - Shibatani (1990:145-146). Shibatani adds that the status of Sino-Japanese words in the Japanese language is higher than that of native words. This can be seen as similar to the Latinate words in English, which are used more in scholarly instances. Native words tend to be used more in a colloquial sense.

A clear parallel can be made between the rapidity of the adoption of early Chinese loanwords and that of the rapidity of English loanword adoption. Miller (1967:245) notes that, “Statistics which have been gathered on the easily identifiable Chinese loanwords in some early texts are both interesting and significant. The *Taketori monogatari* (early Heian period) has 90 Chinese words; a representative section of the *Makura no sōshi* (mid Heian) approximately equal in length to the *Taketori monogatari* has 720 Chinese loanwords; and a similarly representative sampling of the *Konjaku monogatari* (late Heian) has 1,498
Chinese words.”

2.5 Loans not from Chinese or English

Early loanwords also came from languages other than Chinese. Korean, Portuguese, Ainu, Dutch, German and French are the main languages that have provided words that have introduced themselves into the Japanese Language. Loans from Sanskrit are also investigated here. Miller (ibid., 238) offers us the Korean loanword *sakan* which was used in explaining one element in the Japanese official ranking system which followed the adopted Chinese official ranking system of Tang China. Another Korean loanword cited by Miller is that of *Tera* “Buddhist temple” which is in common usage in contemporary Japanese. Miller suggests that because this word has strong cultural correlations, it has not been considered to come from a group of words common to both the Korean and Japanese languages. This however, could provide a topic for future research on loanwords. Consider these examples of loanwords coming from the Ainu language. The word *atsushi* “coarse fabric woven from plant fibers” is believed to come from Ainu word *ättus*, which is their name for the same type of fabric. More common words such as *sake* “salmon trout” from the word *shake*, which originated from the Ainu *cukipé* have been borrowed. *Rákkó* is the Ainu word for “sea-otter” which is called *rakko* in Japanese, and *kobu*, or *konbu* “edible kelp” is also said to be a loanword from Korean - Miller (ibid., 239).

The Portuguese arrived in Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century, and they
brought with them many new items, which the Japanese found worthy of interest. Examples of Portuguese loanwords that are in common use in the contemporary Japanese language include; *pan* “bread” from the word *pao*; *tabako* “cigarette” from *tabaco*; *botan* “button” from the word *botão*; *karuta* “playing cards” from the word *carta*; *kompētō* “sweets” from the word *confeito*; and *kasutera*, a type of sponge cake, from the word *castella* “Castile”. The word *tempura* “deep-frying battered fish and vegetables” from *tempero* “seasoning” in Portuguese is probably the most common Portuguese loanword in contemporary Japan. Interestingly, this word has been so well assimilated into Japanese that it always appears in the *hiragana* script rather than in the *katakana* script, which is used to write *gairaigo*.

As well as these words, words in connection with the Roman Catholic missionary involvement in Japan were also adopted. For example *orashio* “prayer” from the Portuguese *oracio*; and *rozario* “rosary” from the word *rosario*. Most words related to the Roman Catholic missionaries soon disappeared from usage due to the persecution of those who practiced it the religion in seventeenth century Japan (Miller *ibid.*,240).

The Dutch language has given the Japanese words which include; *kohi* “coffee” from *koffie*; *garasu* “glass” from *glas*; *gomu* “rubber” from *gom*; and *arukō* “alcohol” from *alkohol*; *randoseru* “school student’s knapsack” from *ransel*; and *biiru* “beer” from *bier*. From the German language, these words are in common contemporary usage; *sukii* “ski” is from *Ski*; *ideorogi* “ideology” from *Ideologie*; *noirōze* “neurosis” is from the word *Neurose*; and *tēma* “topic, subject” comes from the word *Thema*. The most common loan from German is the word *arubaito*
"part-time job" from the word *Arbeit*. Other German words survive but are considered to be old-fashioned, these words include *gerudo* "pocket money" from *Geld*, and *dōran* "heavy face makeup" which was originally the name of a German theatre makeup manufacturer - Miller (*ibid.*,241).

Many loans came from Sanskrit. Sanskrit words often entered into Japanese through Chinese forms but there are words that did not follow this path. These include *ama* "nun" from Pali *ammā* meaning "mother"; *kawara* "ceramic roof tile", from the Sanskrit *kapāla*, meaning "cup, jar, disk; fragment of brick, skull"; *sara* "plate" from the Sanskrit *śarāva* "shallow cup, dish, plate". Sanskrit loans which have entered through the medium of Chinese include such words as *danna* "husband" from the Sanskrit word *dānapati* meaning "a munificent man"; *hachi* "bowl" from the Sanskrit *pātra* "any vessel or receptacle"; and *Shina* (the common term for China up until the end of World War II) from the Sanskrit word *Cīna*. The principle of "total availability" was also evident with Sanskrit, at least through Chinese translations related to Buddhist teaching - Miller (*ibid.*,248).

2.6 *Gairaigo* and its effect on ESOL and Japanese for Speakers of other Languages

Takeuchi writes that "English is likely to remain Japan’s lingua franca with the outer world in the foreseeable future" - Takeuchi (1999:40). It is difficult to say what language the Japanese would use to communicate with the outside world if not English - perhaps Chinese? In any case, currently, the Japanese are importing
language for their survival in an increasingly international world. In the present day world economic system, the lingua franca is the English language, and the Japanese, as well as people from other non-English speaking countries, have realized that it is necessary to speak English in order to be competitive on the international stage. So, what difficulties are involved in English acquisition in Japan? On the surface Japan appears to be a monocultural and monolingual society. However, according to Maher and Yashiro (1995:1-17), Japan has invented a "tradition of monolingualism and monoculturalism". It is interesting to consider this point of view when discussing the topic of gairaigo, and how this proposed invented tradition might have influenced the recent popularity of gairaigo from the UK or from the USA into Japanese. Consider, for example, that an invented tradition of monolingualism and monoculturalism may have hindered the Japanese from acquiring English as a second language, and to an extent the popularity of gairaigo may have been a result of this.

Would the Japanese have adopted gairaigo if they had a reasonable competence in the English language? Recent government policy requires that the English language be taught in all Japanese elementary schools. In the future, these changes in current Japanese government policy should result in a bilingual society, where the younger generation are bilingual, having English as a second language. In this instance, will gairaigo continue to be adopted in such large amounts, or has the amount of gairaigo in the Japanese language reached a peak around the present day, and will no longer be required by those Japanese who speak English as a second language?
Japanese language learners often find it difficult to understand many gairaigo in Japanese. Semantic specialization and socio-linguistic factors have created difficulties for the learner. There are also differences of opinion amongst the Japanese concerning the use of gairaigo. Survey 2 will research if non-native speakers of Japanese encounter difficulties with gairaigo in Japanese.

2.8 Contemporary culture and gairaigo

Current popular music in Japan incorporates both gairaigo written in katakana, and gairaigo that are written in the Roman alphabet, like in English. Popular Japanese bands often take their names from English words, and write them in the Roman alphabet, even if the result sometimes makes little sense – the phenomenally successful group, “Mr Children”, immediately springs to mind - and the concert guides in Tokyo magazines can be highly edifying reading for English-speaking fans of verbal non-sequiturs. There also seems to be a current tendency to borrow whole phrases from English. The reasons for writing gairaigo directly in English are unclear, however, one may speculate that the use of the English script to write gairaigo is due to the younger audience having had more exposure to the English language through the Japanese education system. The younger audience may be more comfortable with English, and it is interesting to speculate whether this will be one of the mediums through which gairaigo may change into English in the Japanese language. It is also evident that Japanese youth are interested in music coming from the West, and they try to emulate this
in their own music. In general, on Japanese television, there is a larger amount of English and *gairai go* use in shows targeted at the younger viewer, including fashion and music shows.

Again, it is interesting to speculate whether, in the future, *gairai go* will eventually turn into English in the Japanese language. Perhaps popular culture is a stepping-stone to further language change, as English is eventually adopted as a second language by the Japanese.

Sports such as baseball became popular in Japan after World War II, and use of *gairai go* for sporting terms are common. It is interesting to note that concerning traditional sports such as sumo, there is no *gairai go* terminology used. Foreign sumo wrestlers such as Akebono and Konishiki must adopt Japanese names when they join a sumo stable. Sports such as Judo go a step further in having all the terminology in Japanese, not in Sino-Japanese. Using sport as an example, it becomes obvious that *gairai go* is used in relation to cultural concepts imported from overseas. A sport is viewed in its entirety as an imported cultural concept. Thus, *gairai go* will be used in relation to the terminology that accompanies this sport.

So how is *gairai go* used in connection with various sports that have come to Japan from the West, and what type of sports does *gairai go* feature heavily in? Perhaps the most popular sport in Japan is baseball. The Japanese universally use baseball terms such as ストライク *sutoraiku* (strike). Following Western
custom, baseball players’ names are written in romaji (Japanese written in the Roman alphabet) on the back of the baseball shirt. However, on the scoreboard and on the television, the players’ names are written in kanji, with foreign players names written in katakana.

Recently, the baseball player Ichiro Suzuki has been a popular export to the USA, as well as other Japanese baseball players. In the case of Ichiro, examples of the katakana script can be seen on baseball caps with イチロー ichirō written on them. This is an interesting example of the use of katakana in America. American announcers have also been incorporating Japanese words such as さようなら sayōnara into their commentaries when Ichiro is playing. Therefore, baseball facilitates the use of Japanese words being imported to the USA, as well as katakana script.

It is interesting to consider that more gairaigo may be used in connection with sports that are considered prestigious in the West, such as horse racing. With regard to Japanese horse racing, all horses names are written in katakana, with many of the katakana standing for words that have originated in English, but also many standing for Japanese words. Jockeys’ names are given in Kanji, except for foreign jockeys whose names are given in katakana. A possible reason behind the horses’ names being given in katakana is to avoid confusion between original Japanese names, those names coming from English, and the names that contain a combination of both. These combination names feature heavily in the area of racing. Interestingly, popular names combining the English language and Japanese
words with cultural or mythological references are common, for example the name “Princess Momoko”.

In addition, with the amount of homonymous words in Japanese, it could be considered easier to write the names of the horses in *katakana*. Perhaps it is also due to the speed required for the viewer to read the name, where viewers could be disadvantaged by having to make quick *kanji* readings of exotic or complicated names. However, with regard to the dams and sires of racehorses, when the lineage is displayed, racehorses from Japan have their names written in *katakana*, while racehorses from overseas have their names written in *romaji*. This is perhaps to indicate to the viewer or reader that a certain horse is imported.

In the case of information technology, the native Japanese speaker must often use English in the instance of finding web sites and for e-mail addresses. Often large Japanese web sites will have the information translated into English as an option for non-Japanese speakers. In general, however, Japanese language websites are very separate from English web sites, emphasizing the language barrier that exists between English and Japanese users of the Internet. Script inscription poses a barrier between speakers. For example, sending e-mail from a Japanese script to an English-language computer renders it incomprehensible. It will be interesting in the future to see whether new technology such as the use of voice commands will narrow the gap between language users in the information technology field. Computer jargon is sometimes different in Japanese, for example the word
“disupure” meaning display, which is the word used for the computer screen. This is a gairaigo with a meaning that makes sense, but which differs from the original. Additionally, the ubiquitous abbreviation of “personal computer” to “P.C.” in English-speaking countries is not common in Japan, where instead they refer to a “pasokon”, probably because to truncate words phonetically in this manner makes more sense with regard to katakana than the phonetically unclear acronym “pee-see”. Although, interestingly, with regards to more recent technological adaptions such as the asymmetric digital subscriber line, a kind of internet connection, commonly referred to in the West as “ADSL”, the acronym appears to have been imported without any modification, appearing in advertising copy written in Roman letters, even in the middle of sentences written in Japanese script. A possible topic for future research could be a study of computer language and how it has changed as it has been imported for use in the Japanese language.

2.8 Previous surveys and reports involving loanwords

Shibatani (1990:142) cites a survey conducted by The Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Institute) between 1956 and 1964 on the amount of loan words and native words in use in magazines. The magazines chosen were as follows; literary magazines, popular magazines, practical and popular science, domestic and women’s magazines, and entertainment and hobby magazines. The statistics were gained from a sample of around 40,000 different words, and 530,000 counted words. It is possible to see from the survey that native Japanese words have a higher percentage in literary magazines, and a much lower
percentage in practical and popular science magazines where there are more Sino-Japanese words than native words. The percentage of foreign (katakana) words is high in practical and popular science magazines, and also in entertainment and hobby magazines, and is almost double this percentage in domestic and women's magazines. It is possible to ascertain from these figures, that a large amount of Sino-Japanese words are used in more technical fields, and a large amount of foreign (katakana) words are used in domestic related fields such as fashion.

The survey results show that many more foreign words are used in newspapers than in magazines. Many more Sino-Japanese words are used in newspapers than in magazines. (Shibatani *ibid.*, 143) states that in 1959 the proportion of loanwords in the Japanese language was given to be as follows; *wago* 60 percent, and *gairaigo* 1.4 percent, and that the percentage of *wago* in the Japanese Language remains at a mainly constant level. The following chart gives a good idea of the ratio of foreign words existing in Japanese.

(7.4) *Foreign words in ninety varieties of magazine (adapted from KKK report 1964).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>number of words</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2,395</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dutch 40 1.3  
Russian 25 0.8  
Chinese 22 0.7  
Portuguese 21 0.7  
Spanish 21 0.7  
Others 131 5.3  
Total number of words 2,964 99.0  
(Shibatani *ibid.*, 148).

A more contemporary Government survey was undertaken in 1999. One of the public opinion surveys undertaken by the Agency for Cultural Affairs concerned the use of foreign loanwords in Japanese Government offices and other public offices. The results of this survey are shown below.

Figure 2-8-4 Opinions on Foreign Loanwords Used in Publicity Materials and Pamphlets of Government Offices and Other Public Offices


Figure 1: Agency for Cultural Affairs “1999 Public Opinion Survey Regarding the Japanese Language”.

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Currently the National Language Council Subcommittee of the Agency for Cultural Affairs is focusing on the development of a Japanese language policy, including deliberating the issue of the incorporation of gairaigo into Japanese. One focus of the Agency concerns the problem of the amount of gairaigo in Japanese. However, it is fair to say that even if the government acknowledges that there is a problem, if it then wanted to put some limit on the use of gairaigo in Japanese, it would only be possible to do so in government and public offices, and even here only in written materials. It would be almost impossible for the government to set any other limits on the use of gairaigo in Japanese (The Agency for Cultural Affairs:1997).

More recent reports have included one 2000 by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. This report is entitled Kokusai Shakai ni taiō suru nihongo no ari kata (Coping with Japanese in International society). Aspects such as the problem of the increase of gairaigo and other foreign languages, and their present condition in Japanese are considered in this report. For example, the report mentions the problems of those who do not understand gairaigo and foreign words, and other problems such as when talking to foreigners, using gairaigo that have lost their original meaning and being misunderstood.

The report then points out three types of gairaigo or foreign words currently used, the first being words that are in general use that can be easily understood, among
examples given are: PTA, ストレス (stress), and スポーツ (sports). The second category included words that are not in such general use, but can be easily understood if converted into Japanese, examples given include: アカウンタビリティ (accountability) 説明責任 (setsumei sekinin) literally, ‘explaining responsibility’. The third category was that of words that are not in general use but can not easily be understood if converted into Japanese, examples given were: アイデンティティー (identity), and アプリケーション (application). The examples in this category included computer terms that often lose intrinsic meaning in English as well. The report goes on to consider the problem of writing Japanese people’s names in romaji. Problems in this section included whether to write the surname or given name first. Overall, the report highlights many problems that could arise, however, it is debatable whether all the problems mentioned in the report are that serious (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2000).

An article entitled Gairaigotte wakarinikui? by the Eigo to Nihongo no Kenkyūshitsu, featured in DAIGAKU 玉手箱 Numbers 26/27. Here, a comparison was made between results of a national survey in 1998, of the percentage of Japanese people who understood certain gairaigo, and the results of the same survey given to students. Results of the student survey showed a much higher understanding of words such as セクハラ (sekuhara), than the national survey respondents who were, on average, older (Matsuda:2002).
James B. Brown’s study entitled *Is Gairaigo English?* examines whether Japanese students use their “latent” vocabulary of English. The study found that Japanese students tend to use words that had been borrowed into Japanese from English rather than use equivalent English words that are not used as *gairaigo*. He suggests that the borrowed words could be utilized as reading texts to improve Japanese students’ English language acquisition. He also suggests that Japanese teachers of English as a second language could utilize this vocabulary to improve students’ English language skills, and that students could improve their word power by focusing on their “latent” vocabulary of English. This approach seems very sensible, and ties in with the proposal made in this thesis that *gairaigo* is a vehicle by which Japanese native speakers can acquire English as a second language (Brown:1995).

In R. Jeffrey Blair’s article entitled *The Role of English and Other Foreign Languages in Japanese Society*, he cites Loveday 1986 in saying that 47.5% of Japanese language is derived from Chinese, and that 10% of the Japanese language is *gairaigo*, of which English makes up 90%. The author writes about *gairaigo* featured in Japanese commercials and notes “The texts and expressions used in these commercials are not intended to be understood by the ordinary Japanese, and aren’t.” He notes that in this case, *gairaigo* are just used to create an image and give a product prestige. This statement is not entirely true, as Japanese people must understand some *gairaigo* in commercials, due to the fact that the *gairaigo* is often not that complicated and not always difficult to understand.
Besides which, if a native English speaker who can read katakana can understand the word or words, why should English speaking Japanese people not be able to understand it? The author is correct in suggesting that sometimes the gairaigo in commercials is not understood, but his suggestion that the gairaigo used in commercials is not intended to be understood is quite distorted (Blair:1997).

Joseph W. Sheperd writes in his article entitled Loanwords: A Pitfall for All Students that loanwords are so changed from their original forms that they are almost impossible to understand. He points out that gairaigo are very difficult for foreign students to learn, and writes that where gairaigo are concerned "the rules of grammar of the original words are often disregarded when the words are used in Japanese. Prepositions become nouns, nouns become verbs, and conjunctions and suffixes just disappear. All in all, for the foreign student confusion abounds". This comment is true to some extent, however, for native speakers of English, the result is often understandable at least to some degree. Perhaps the author should have mentioned that not all foreign students will be as confused as others will, for example, the non-native English speakers may be more confused than native English speakers (Sheperd:1996).

The author continues to write that loanwords "defy logical explanation". This comment may apply to many loanwords, but it is by no means true of the majority of them. Sheperd comments that because of problems with pronunciation and interpretation, "non-native speakers of Japanese should try not to use loanwords any more than is necessary. Even when clearly written in Katakana, they often
don't sound right when used or read by non-Japanese”. This discounts the skill and fluency of many non-native Japanese speakers. Perhaps the author is correct in surmising that native speakers of English will revert to the English pronunciation of a gairaigo, (much as Japanese speakers often revert to the katakana pronunciation of a word when speaking English). Nevertheless, if this is the case, why should non-native speakers of Japanese who do not speak English revert to English pronunciation of gairaigo? Even with regard to native English speakers, it seems rather defeatist to propose that it is preferable to give up altogether, rather than run the risk of mispronunciation. Stating that non-Japanese should refrain from using gairaigo may be misleading for students of the Japanese language, as well as creating yet more artificial barriers between Japanese people and the wider world. However, if the ultimate purpose of gairaigo in Japanese is as a means for Japanese native speakers to learn English, then perhaps it is correct to suggest that non-native speakers should not use so much gairaigo, when its status in the Japanese language in future is uncertain. Later on in this thesis, the opinion of non-native Japanese speakers on gairaigo will be considered.

Sheperd states that the use of gairaigo in Japanese may cause Japanese people to lose appreciation for their own language, and that overuse of gairaigo has weakened the language. But could comments such as these indicate a misunderstanding of the purpose of gairaigo? If the Japanese are using gairaigo as a kind of bridge to learning English as a second language then gairaigo may well work as a positive by highlighting the differences between the two languages. After all, the majority of the borrowed words do retain their original meaning, or
vestiges of it. With the addition of English sentence structure and grammatical functions, even with some semantic differences, could it be that the Japanese have supplied themselves with a kind of ready-made English word bank for future use? Why else would such a large amount of words have been borrowed, many unnecessarily? It may seem far-fetched, but it certainly could happen that gairaigo changes first into English written alphabetically, and then is removed from the language and used as straight English separate from Japanese. This possibility is discussed later in this thesis. As regards the student of Japanese as a foreign language, perhaps the necessity to understand so many gairaigo is not that great, considering that the popularity of gairaigo could fade as the Japanese people become increasingly bi-lingual.

The following survey component of this thesis concentrates on the native and non-native Japanese language speakers' opinion of gairaigo, and their predictions of the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language.
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Site

Residents of Tokyo completed the majority of the surveys, with some surveys also being completed in New Zealand. Many of the surveys were completed in institutions, such as a foreign language school and a school for tour guides. In addition, many surveys were completed by individuals independent of any institution.

3.1 Materials

A 30 item multiple-choice survey (see Appendix 1) was created for Survey 1. It contained the following main categories; a) a background questionnaire, b) the positive view of gairaigo (PVG), c) the negative view of gairaigo (NVG), d) the effect of gairaigo on their English language acquisition (EGELA), and e) the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language (FGJL).

The background questionnaire asked for the following information: (a) the age of the participant, (b) the participant’s gender, (c) the participant’s business, (d) the total length of time the participant had spent abroad, (e) the total length of time the participant had studied English as a second language, (f) what types of media the participant regularly uses, and (g) the participant’s perceived level of difficulty of understanding gairaigo appearing in mass media. Only Native Japanese speakers were asked to complete this survey. In the main, the respondents
completed the survey under general observation; with any questions the respondents had that related to the process of filling in the survey answered immediately during this period.

A 24 item multiple-choice survey (see Appendix 2) was created for Survey 2. It contained the following main categories; a) a background questionnaire, b) the general understanding of gairaigo (GUG) c) gairaigo and its effect on Japanese language comprehension (GEJLC) d) the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language (FGJL).

The background questionnaire asked for the following information: (a) the age of the participant (b) the participant’s gender (c) the participant’s home country (d) the total length of time the participant had spent studying Japanese (e) the estimated level of Japanese language ability (f) whether the participant is a native speaker of English. Only non-native speakers of Japanese were asked to complete this survey. In the main, the respondents completed the survey under general observation; with any questions the respondents had that related to the process of filling in the survey answered immediately during this period.

3.2 Participants

Participants in Survey 1 ranged in age from fifteen to over seventy years old, and they came from a wide variety of backgrounds and different professions, including school children, exchange students, retirees, office workers, freelance workers, housewives and some native Japanese teachers of the Japanese language.
Participants in this survey had all studied English as a second language. Survey 1 was also conducted with private students of English as a second language and with Japanese friends, and friends of colleagues, in Japan, and also completed by some Japanese native speakers living in New Zealand. Of the questionnaires completed within Japan, respondees included people who had lived outside Japan in the past, and some who had never lived or traveled outside Japan. This survey was administered to 215 native Japanese speakers ranging in age from teenagers to retirees. The purpose included ascertainment of the native Japanese speakers’ view on whether gairaigo has helped their English language acquisition.

Participants in Survey 2 ranged in age from fifteen to over seventy years old. The large majority of participants are students who live in Japan and who study Japanese as a foreign language. Other participants included non-native Japanese speakers who have a parent who is Japanese, and also some Hawaiian Japanese participants. English was the first language of all these participants. The remainder of the participants of Survey 2 were people who live and or work in Japan, and who have studied the Japanese Language. Many of these participants were teachers of English as a foreign language, including Europeans whose native language is a language other than English. The participants in this study consisted of 174 non-native speakers of Japanese, of which all were currently living in Japan. Respondents included those from America, Hawaii, Canada, Europe, Britain, China, Hong Kong, Thailand, Taiwan, and New Zealand. Japanese language ability ranged from basic to fluent, and respondents had been studying
Japanese for periods varying from one year to over fifteen years. Respondents were not required to be native English speakers, but were required to answer the survey questions, which were written in English.
Chapter 4: Results and Discussions Survey One

4.0 Research Categories

This study focused on the following four research categories:

Research Category 1: Does gairaigo from English have a positive effect on the language and does it have a good image?

Research Category 2: Does the large amount of gairaigo in the Japanese language weaken the language or have a negative effect on the Japanese Language?

Research Category 3: Does your knowledge of gairaigo have a positive effect on your understanding of English as a second language?

Research Category 4: What do you think is the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language?

4.1 General Results

Analyses of the evaluative criteria and gathered comments yielded the following general results.

a) Gairaigo does not have a positive effect and does not have a particularly positive or high-class image with respondents.

b) Respondents did enjoy using gairaigo.

c) Respondents do not have a negative view of gairaigo.

d) Results were mixed concerning the effect of gairaigo on English language
acquisition (EGELA) category.
e) Respondents believe that the amount of gairaigo will not decrease in future and that there will be an increase in English words in the Japanese language.

4.2 Survey 1: Research Category 1: Results and Discussions

Research Category 1: Does gairaigo from English have a positive effect on the language and does it have a good image?

The results of the positive view of gairaigo (PVG) category are displayed in the stacked column chart below. Precise percentile rates are given in Appendix 3 of this thesis. Please note that Statement 1 corresponds to Question 7 of the actual survey. Therefore questions in Category 1 correspond to Questions 7-14 of the survey, Category 2 to Questions 15-20, Category 3 to Questions 21-26, and Category 4 to Questions 27-30.
By viewing the graphed results it is apparent that the majority of respondents had a generally neutral opinion in regard to all the statements in this category, with the exception of Statement 1. This may in part be attributable to a general tendency amongst Japanese to avoid sticking their necks out and voicing a strong opinion if they have any uncertainty regarding their position - even within the context of an anonymous survey - overall the results of Survey 1 contain a much higher percentage of neutral results than Survey 2. However by concentrating on the
sections showing the amount of agreement and disagreement it is possible to analyze the data to detect patterns.

A positive result is clearly apparent for Statement 1 (Question 7 on the survey) “I always enjoy using gairaigo”, which indicates that overall the respondents have a favorable opinion of using gairaigo. Indeed, very few respondents disagreed with this statement, although there was a typically strong neutral response. Not one respondent strongly disagreed with it, and this was the only statement in this category where this occurred. Many respondents strongly agreed that they always enjoy using gairaigo. It should be noted that the use of the term “always” (いつも) heightens the feeling of agreement here, suggesting that the neutral respondents may be expressing that they do enjoy using gairaigo, but perhaps just not always.

The results of Statement 2 (Survey Q.8) “I like to be the first one amongst my friends to use gairaigo”, indicates a slight tendency for the respondents to like to be the first to use a gairaigo. However, over 7% of respondents declined to answer this statement altogether, the only instance of omission in the two surveys. This perhaps indicates that they have never considered themselves to be in this position, or that they do not consciously use gairaigo. Perhaps the very idea of viewing gairaigo in this way was so baffling to some respondents that omitting the question was a way of voicing a “strongly neutral” opinion. Although it should be noted that around 25% of respondents agreed that they did like to be the first amongst their friends to use gairaigo. This would indicate that, amongst some
respondents at least, there is perhaps a certain element of glamour associated with being seen to be *au fait* with the latest *gairaigo*, although the fact that very few respondents strongly agreed may indicate that it is not a particularly important concern. Around 17% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed, although this does not necessarily mean that they would hate to be first to use a new *gairaigo*. Perhaps they only meant to imply that they really, really did not care either way. Regardless, it appears from the results of this statement that the majority of respondents were not motivated to acquire new *gairaigo* for this purpose.

Looking at Statement 3 (Survey Q.9) “I often use *gairaigo* when I could use a Japanese word with the same meaning” it seems that respondents were in stronger disagreement. Although it can be argued in this case that respondents simply could not think of situations where they consciously did this. This result also points to a separation in Japanese respondents’ minds between *gairaigo* and Japanese. Results could indicate that they were aware of discrepancies in meaning between a Japanese word and a *gairaigo*, but perhaps psychologically a native Japanese speaker does not see *gairaigo* and Japanese words that have the same meaning as being interchangeable. This could be an interesting topic for future study.

Statement 4 (Survey Q.10) “I use more *gairaigo* when talking to my friends” results showed that generally, respondents did not do so, but some respondents strongly agreed that they did. The fact that more respondents disagreed with this statement could indicate that they use *gairaigo* indiscriminately. However, in
contrast, Statement 5 (Survey Q.11) results show that respondents agreed with the statement that they did use less gairaigo when talking with their superiors, perhaps indicating that gairaigo is not seen as being acceptable as formal Japanese language. Or, conversely, if gairaigo has a high-class image then it may seem immodest to use too much in front of one's superiors. Authority figures such as Japanese government departments use a lot of gairaigo themselves, so this seems to support the idea of gairaigo having a high-class image. Also perhaps respondents did not want to make a mistake while speaking to superiors, and they felt unsure of the correct use of gairaigo. In any case, results of these two statements shows that respondents do consciously use less gairaigo when talking to their superiors but that this does not necessarily equate to making a deliberate effort to use more gairaigo amongst friends.

With Statement 6 (Survey Q.12) “I enjoy it when I hear my friends using new gairaigo”, respondents answers indicate that there is a mostly even split between those who enjoy hearing their friends using new gairaigo and those who do not. Around 50% of respondents replied to this statement neutrally, and almost a quarter of respondents disagreed with the statement. Perhaps those who disagreed felt disadvantaged and uncomfortable when they were unable to understand new gairaigo. Therefore, they would not enjoy hearing their friends using new gairaigo. Around 28% of respondents did agree with the statement, so this indicates many do enjoy hearing their friends using new gairaigo. Perhaps these respondents felt that they could learn new gairaigo from their friends, and they found this enjoyable. Or that they enjoyed having newly acquired gairaigo
reinforced through use in conversation.

Strong disagreement was apparent in reply to Statement 7 (Survey Q.13) "I read articles that introduce new gairaigo". Results showed that most respondents did not read articles that introduced new gairaigo, and there was a smaller neutral percentage concerning this question. Therefore, even though respondents may enjoy using gairaigo these results show that they generally do not go out of their way to accumulate more. Interestingly, a much larger than usual percentage of respondents (65.1%) chose the neutral category for Statement 8 (Survey Q.14) "I think the use of gairaigo makes a product seem more attractive". These results could perhaps indicate that many respondents are not aware of the systematic use of gairaigo in advertising to achieve this very end. Certainly, very few respondents disagreed with the statement. However, 25% of respondents were in agreement, showing that not only are they aware that gairaigo is used by advertisers, but that they are conscious of a positive effect on them as consumers.

Apart from the fact that many respondents expressed a neutral opinion concerning gairaigo, the largest percentage of agreement in this category was in connection with Statement 1 "I always enjoy using gairaigo", and this statement had the smallest percentage of respondents disagreeing with it. Most respondents did not answer negatively to the statements in general, so we can say that overall, for this category, respondents do have a positive image of gairaigo. The strong neutral response to all statements gives the impression that many respondents may have had trouble considering gairaigo as a concept, and that they may not use gairaigo
in a conscious manner. Several respondents were initially confused upon presentation of the survey, as they seemed to not to make any distinction between *gairaigo* and regular Japanese. This would be an interesting area for future studies.

4.3 Survey 1: Research Category 2: Results and Discussions

Research Category 2: Does the amount of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language weaken the language or have a negative effect on the Japanese Language?

The results of the negative view of *gairaigo* (NVG) category are displayed in the stacked column chart below with precise percentile rates given in Appendix 3.
A lower percentage of respondents chose to answer neutrally in this section so stronger results are apparent than in the PVG category, particularly the overwhelming disagreement demonstrated in Questions 17-20.

Statement 1 (Survey Q.15) “I feel annoyed when I do not understand new gairaigo” results showed that there were more respondents who did not feel annoyed than respondents who did. This may indicate that some respondents accept the fact that there are sometimes going to be gairaigo that they do not
understand. However, over a quarter of respondents agreed that they did feel annoyed. In any case, responses indicate that there are many Japanese native speakers who cannot understand new *gairaigo*. There were slightly less respondents who answered neutrally concerning this statement.

Thirty-eight point one percent of respondents agreed with Statement 2 (Survey Q.16) “I think Japanese use too much *gairaigo*” so overall it can be ascertained that respondents agreed with this statement, and that Japanese believe themselves to be using too much *gairaigo*. It would have been interesting to see if respondents had answered in the same manner to a slightly differently worded version of the same question “I think that I use too much *gairaigo*”. This perhaps would avoid respondents simply reiterating what they may have read or heard regarding the amount of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language. There was a fair amount of disagreement too, with 17.2% disagreeing and 8.8% of respondents answering that they strongly disagreed with the statement. This could imply that these respondents think that Japanese people could use more *gairaigo*, or at least that the amount of *gairaigo* in current usage is complimentary to the Japanese language.

Statement 3 (Survey Q.17) showed the strongest results in the survey up to this point, with almost sixty percent of respondents either strongly disagreeing or disagreeing with the statement, “I don’t like using *gairaigo*”. Less than five percent of respondents agreed with this statement. This strongly indicates that overall respondents like using *gairaigo*, or that they do not dislike using it, and
this backs up what we saw in Category 1. In any case it is obvious respondents felt strongly that the statement was not correct in relation to themselves. Even stronger results are also apparent in respondents answer to Statement 4 (Survey Q.18) "I think most gairaigo are unnecessary". Over seventy-five percent of respondents disagreed with this statement, indicating that they think that most gairaigo are necessary in Japanese. This is an interesting finding, perhaps showing that Japanese people think that gairaigo are needed for technological terms and the like. On the other hand, it seems surprising if one inverts the question to mean that respondents think that most gairaigo are necessary in Japanese. Just taking into consideration the amount of gairaigo used in advertising and all the gairaigo used in conjunction with popular culture, it could be argued that the majority of these words are not necessary at all. Add to this the semantic changes that many gairaigo have undertaken in the process of being borrowed, and the doubling up of gairaigo with Japanese words of the same meaning, and it would seem difficult to claim that most of these words are necessary. Nevertheless, it is clear that a large proportion or the Japanese public are convinced that this is indeed the case.

Strong results are again apparent in respondents answer to Statement 5 (Survey Q.19) "I think the Japanese government should try to limit the use of gairaigo". Over 80% of respondents disagreed with this statement, almost 50% strongly, indicating that they think that the government should not set limits, and possibly that they do not want the government interfering with anything. Only 2.8% of respondents agreed with this statement. In Statement 6 (Survey Q.20) the last in
this category, we see even more overwhelming concordance - just over 90% of respondents disagreeing with the statement “I hope that gairaigo will eventually disappear from the Japanese language”. Only 1% agreed with this statement, and a mere 8.8% remained neutral. Obviously respondents are happy to have gairaigo as a feature of Japanese language, and they would strongly dislike if it was to disappear from the language altogether.

By examining these results in general, it seems that respondents do not hold the opinion that the amount of gairaigo in the Japanese language weakens the language or has a negative effect on it. Results show that even if respondents feel that the Japanese use too much gairaigo, they still feel very strongly that they do not dislike using gairaigo, and they do not think that most gairaigo are unnecessary, and they most certainly would not like to see the Japanese government try to limit their use. The strongest reaction of the survey was apparent in the percentage of respondents who disagreed with the statement that they hoped that gairaigo would eventually disappear from the Japanese language. These results indicate extremely forcefully that overall, respondents do not have a negative view of gairaigo at all.

4.4 Survey 1: Research Category 3: Results and Discussions

Research Category 3: Does your knowledge of gairaigo have a positive effect on your understanding of English as a second language?
The results of the effect of *gairaigo* on English language acquisition (EGELA) category are displayed in the stacked column chart below with precise percentile rates given in Appendix 3.

**Percentage of Respondents for Each EGELA Category**

![Survey One: Percentage of Respondents for Each EGELA Category](image)

Figure 4: Survey One: Percentage of Respondents for Each EGELA Category

As with the results in the PVG category it is apparent that the majority of respondents again had a generally neutral opinion concerning all the questions in this category. Certainly, a much higher percentage of respondents chose to answer neutrally in this section than in the NVG category. However, many respondents
answered that they strongly agreed or strongly disagreed with some statements in this category, indicating that there was a strongly polarized response to certain statements.

With regard to Statement 1 (Survey Q.21) “I can more easily understand gairaigo because I have studied English” over 30% of respondents agreed with the statement. This indicates that some Japanese native speakers believe that there is a connection between gairaigo and English. This result is interesting in that Japanese native speakers have a tendency to think that gairaigo is Japanese and not English. Therefore, in saying that using gairaigo helps them learn English indicates that they think there is a strong connection between gairaigo and therefore Japanese language, and learning English as a second language. Around 38% of respondents agreed with Statement 2 (Survey Q.22) “Using gairaigo helps me learn English”. Of these over 12% strongly agreed that using gairaigo helps them learn English. While this result means for some respondents that using gairaigo helps them learn English, it does not necessarily mean it helps them speak English. Japanese native speakers often are stronger with written English while their spoken English tends to be very poor by comparison. This ties in with the next statement in this category.

There was a very strong result for Statement 3 (Survey Q.23) with over 50% of respondents disagreeing with the statement “I can pronounce English better because I know gairaigo”, with a very high 33% strongly disagreeing with this statement. This indicates that Japanese native speakers are aware that their
pronunciation of English may be jeopardized by the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese, or at least, that it does them no favours in this respect. Perhaps a native Japanese speaker may resort to the comfort zone of *gairaigo* pronunciation when trying to speak English, instead of the correct English pronunciation, which contains so many sounds that are difficult for native Japanese to intone. For example, it might be more comfortable for the speaker to say *conpuuta* (コンピュータ) rather than computer. In this manner, *gairaigo* may place a hazard on a Japanese native speaker learning English as a second language. Certainly, by insisting on conforming to the fairly restricted syllabary of Japanese, *gairaigo* does nothing to help native Japanese expand their sonic palette to the level required in order to speak clearly in English.

Results for Statement 4 (Survey Q.24) “I think that *gairaigo* are Japanese and not English” were mixed with a more-or-less equal weighting of respondents agreeing and disagreeing. Still, almost 45% of respondents chose to remain neutral, but of those that did express an opinion, over 10% strongly disagreed with the statement, while 16.7% strongly agreed. So there were strong feelings both ways, and this indicates that there is considerable disagreement amongst Japanese native speakers concerning how *gairaigo* should be categorized in their language. It might be useful here to consider that teachers of Japanese as a foreign language tend to stress the fact that *gairaigo* are Japanese. However, it appears that many Japanese native speakers themselves strongly dispute this.

Results for Statement 5 (Survey Q.25) “Using *gairaigo* helps me communicate
with native English speakers” gives similar mixed results with around 35% responding positively and around the same percent responding negatively. Nevertheless, while 8.4% strongly disagreed with the statement, 18.6% strongly agreed that it helps them. Again, the gairaigo and English as a second language connection is apparent, while the large percentage of respondents that felt gairaigo to be unhelpful, may suggest, once again, that problems arising from the use of gairaigo pronunciation while speaking English are a large factor in the difficulties that Japanese face, when attempting to communicate with native English speakers.

Concerning Statement 6 (Survey Q.26) over 50% of respondents disagreed with the statement that “I avoid using English, but I can easily use the same words in gairaigo”. Only around 14% of respondents agreed with this statement. This result ties in with the previous question, in that respondents are helped by gairaigo when they are speaking English. However, results here indicate that if they know the English word that they need they will not resort to the use of gairaigo just to avoid saying the word in English. In other words, they will only use gairaigo when speaking English if they do not know the correct English word.

These results indicate that overall gairaigo has a very strong effect on English language acquisition with native Japanese speakers. It has been seen that many respondents believe that because they have studied English they know gairaigo better and that using gairaigo helps them learn English. Although other results suggested that knowledge of gairaigo did not help with English pronunciation,
and may in fact even be a hindrance in this respect, overall, the survey still indicates that, either positively or negatively, the use of gairaigo does contribute to the native Japanese person’s acquisition of English language skills.

4.5 Survey 1: Research Category 4: Results and Discussions

Research Category 4: What is the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language?

The results of Category 4 the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language (FGJL) are displayed in the stacked column chart below with precise percentile rates given in Appendix 3.
It is interesting to note that fewer respondents replied neutrally to the first and last statements in this category. Eighty percent of respondents disagreed with Statement 1 (Survey Q.27) in this category “The amount of *gairaigo* in Japanese will decrease in the future”, while 46.5% strongly disagreed. This indicates that respondents believe that whatever *gairaigo* there are in the Japanese language today are here to stay, and will in all likelihood increase in the future (regardless of the expressed opinion that Japanese already use too much). This raises the question of what Japanese people expect will happen to the Japanese language.
For example, if the amount of gairaigo does not decrease, and by implication continues to increase, where does that leave those native Japanese words, or earlier loans from Chinese? With a further increase of gairaigo, would we start to see a loss in regular Japanese words? In other words, is there a saturation point for the Japanese language where native words lose out to new imports and disappear simply because there is a finite amount of words in general use? Conversely, could gairaigo branch off into regular English when a point is reached where there is so much gairaigo from English in Japanese?

Statement 2 (Survey Q.28) “In the future the Japanese will use English instead of gairaigo” provided an interesting result. About 22% disagreed with the statement, but only 5.1% disagreed strongly, indicating that respondents considered the statement was plausible. Nevertheless, even considering that 40% of respondents remained neutral, it is remarkable that 19.5% strongly agreed and another 17.7% agreed with this statement. Therefore, even if respondents disagreed that the amount of gairaigo would decrease in future, they think that the Japanese will use English instead of gairaigo. This seems contradictory, but it could be taken to mean that respondents believe that English will be used separately to Japanese, but gairaigo will still feature as a part of the Japanese language, albeit less frequently used. Response to this statement again confirms that respondents see a direct connection between the use of gairaigo and the use of English.

Results for Statement 3 (Survey Q.29) showed a similar connection, with 17.7% of respondents in strong agreement that “Japanese who speak English well do not
need *gairaigo*”. In total 27.9% agreed with this statement, 40.5% were neutral, and 31.6% disagreed including 9.3% who strongly disagreed. Results show that some respondents could have a realization that there is a kind of double up between *gairaigo* use in Japanese and the use of English. Perhaps the respondents who disagreed with the statement do not see the connection and view *gairaigo* in Japanese as being very separate.

Finally, almost 80% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with Statement 4 (Survey Q.30) “There will be an increase in English words in the Japanese language”. Only 4.7% disagreed with this statement. This should be taken to mean that there will be an increase in the amount of words coming directly from the English language without going through the process of being put into the *katakana* script. The process (mentioned earlier in this thesis) is now seen in advertising or in aspects of popular culture and it appears it will continue to grow. One supposes that technically these words would be considered to be *gairaigo*, however, if they are written in English it seems that Japanese would not be able to label the words as *gairaigo* but would have to say they were English. Semantic shift could allow some leeway in this respect, but it would be difficult for Japanese to claim that these words were Japanese simply due to the fact that they were used in the Japanese language, as has been claimed with *gairaigo* from English. Considering the semantics of English words written alphabetically appearing in the Japanese language, there is no change in spelling.

To summarize, the results in this category strongly indicate that respondents
believe that there is a connection between the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese and in English words in the Japanese language. Respondents believe not only that *gairaigo* amounts will not decrease, but also that the amount of English words will increase, and that it is highly plausible that Japanese will use English instead of *gairaigo* in the future. Results of this category are placed in an even more interesting light when compared to results of the same category in survey two, when Japanese non-native speakers opinions are considered on these topics.
Chapter 5: Results and Discussions Survey Two

5.0 Research Categories

This survey deals with the non-native speaker of Japanese, their view of *gairaigo* and their opinion on the future of *gairaigo* in Japanese. This study focused on the following three research categories.

Research Category 1: What is your general level of understanding of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language?

Research Category 2: Does the existence of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language effect your Japanese Language Comprehension?

Research Category 3: What is the future of *gairaigo* in the Japanese language?

5.1 General Results

Analyses of the evaluative criteria and gathered comments yielded the following results.

a) That non-native speakers of Japanese find *gairaigo* difficult to understand.

b) That non-native speakers of Japanese find *gairaigo* make Japanese a more difficult language.

c) That non-native speakers of Japanese avoid using *gairaigo* when writing Japanese.

d) That non-native speakers of Japanese think there should be limits on the use of *gairaigo* in Japanese, and they hope that *gairaigo* will not be used in Japanese in the future.
e) That non-native speakers of Japanese believe that if Japanese people could speak English better they would not need gairaigo.

5.2 Survey 2: Research Category 1: Results and Discussions

Research Category 1: What is your general level of understanding of gairaigo in the Japanese language (GUG)?

The results of the general understanding of gairaigo (GUG) category are displayed in the stacked column chart below. Precise percentile rates are given in Appendix 4.
A strong neutral result figures in Statement 1 (Survey Q.7) "I always understand gairaigo in Japanese". Not one of the respondents said they strongly agreed that they always understand gairaigo in Japanese, with just over 17% of respondents agreeing with the statement. Almost 30% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. It is safe to say too that judging from the strong neutral response of 53.4%, that these respondents also could not always understand gairaigo in Japanese, and therefore could not agree with the statement.
Results for Statement 2 (Survey Q.8) “I have difficulty in understanding what language a gairaigo comes from” show that just less than 14% of respondents disagreed, while over 50 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. This clearly shows that non-native speakers of Japanese find understanding what language a gairaigo comes from to be a problem. If it is possible to understand where a gairaigo originates, then it is possible that it will have a higher chance of being understood. Not understanding where a gairaigo originated means that non-native speakers must refer to a dictionary or ask a native speaker what the word means.

A third option would be for the non-native speaker to memorize all gairaigo, even if the words may have originated in a language that the non-native speaker has proficiency in, but may have been changed and not easily recognized. This raises two questions. The first concerns the problem of the longevity of gairaigo in Japanese. Would it be worthwhile for a non-native speaker to memorize a gairaigo that may only be in popular circulation in the language for a short time? The second is the question of association. Since many gairaigo are introduced to Japanese via advertising media, does the Japanese language speaker have to be around at the time a gairaigo is imported, and therefore be able to associate the meaning with a particular advertisement etc, to understand the particular shade of meaning that a gairaigo will have in Japanese? For example, would a native speaker who never watched television or rode a train, so had less exposure to advertisements, have a much lower gairaigo vocabulary that one who did? Or could native speakers miss out on semantic changes that may have taken place
with a *gairaigo* through lack of exposure to advertising?

Results for Statement 3 (Survey Q.9) "I often ask a Japanese person to explain the meaning of a *gairaigo*" indicate that almost half the respondents often asked a Japanese person to explain the meaning of a *gairaigo*. This illustrates the fact that there is a low level of general comprehension of *gairaigo* amongst non-native speakers of Japanese. It should be noted that almost 10% of respondents strongly disagreed with this statement. This could indicate that those respondents were reluctant to ask Japanese questions on *gairaigo* rather than that the respondents knew meanings well and never felt compelled to ask.

Statement 4 (Survey Q.10) results showed that around 15% of respondents strongly disagreed with the statement "Japanese people think that because I am a foreigner, I will understand *gairaigo*". Just over 45% either strongly disagreed or disagreed with this statement. This shows that in the respondents' experience, Japanese do not expect that non-Japanese will understand *gairaigo* simply from the fact that they are non-Japanese. However, 30.4% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the same statement, which indicates that the Japanese often do expect some foreigners will understand *gairaigo*. One possible explanation for this result may be the country of origin of the respondent, with more native English speakers finding themselves expected to know the meaning of *gairaigo* compared to a respondent of Asian background. Another possible explanation is that Japanese think that *gairaigo* are Japanese so they do not expect non-Japanese to understand *gairaigo* any more than they would expect that person
to understand a regular Japanese word.

An extremely strong result was evident in Statement 5 (Survey Q.11) of this category, with almost 80% of respondents either strongly agreeing or agreeing with the statement “I think that the Japanese often change the original meaning of gairaigo words”. The word ‘often’ in this statement provides further emphasis to this result, indicating that non-Japanese speakers of Japanese feel very strongly that the Japanese do not hesitate to change the original meaning of the words. Not only are gairaigo meanings sometimes changed - in fact, it is a feature of many gairaigo. Awareness amongst non-native speakers that Japanese often change the meaning of gairaigo also points to the fact that non-native speakers have had direct experience and perhaps trouble with gairaigo comprehension due to this.

In Statement 6 (Survey Q.12), the last question in this category, over 57.4% of respondents agreed “Sometimes I mistake a Japanese word written in katakana for gairaigo”. Nineteen percent of respondents disagreed with this statement, which indicates that the large majority of respondents have on occasion mistaken a word written in katakana for gairaigo. This result brings up issues of comprehension; again, it is difficult to understand a word if one does not know the language origin of that word. Using katakana for purposes other than writing gairaigo, for example to emphasize something that is said in Japanese, only confuses Japanese language learners more. It would be interesting to pose this question to native Japanese to find if a similar result was evident, or if native speakers never made similar mistakes.
By viewing the graphed results, it is apparent that the majority of respondents had a varying degree of understanding of *gairaigo* in Japanese, and there was a wide range of different opinions in this category. Overall, the results in this section show that a large number of non-native Japanese speakers do not always understand *gairaigo*, and that respondents have trouble understanding what language a *gairaigo* comes from. Respondents often have to ask a Japanese person to explain the meaning of a *gairaigo* and respondents mistake words written in *katakana* for *gairaigo*. Almost all agree that the Japanese often change the meaning of a *gairaigo*. Therefore, results of this category show strongly that non-native Japanese language speakers do have trouble generally understanding *gairaigo*. All these points also indicate that instruction concerning use and comprehension of *gairaigo* to learners of Japanese as a foreign language needs revising and upgrading.

5.3 Survey 2: Research Category 2: Results and Discussions

Research Category 2: What effect does *gairaigo* have on Japanese language comprehension? (GEJLC)

The results of the *gairaigo* and its effect on Japanese Language Comprehension (GEJLC) category are displayed in the stacked column chart below. Precise percentile rates are given in Appendix 4.
Statement 1 in this category (Survey Q.13) provided an extremely strong result. Over 40% of respondents strongly agreed, "I think gairaigo make the Japanese language more difficult to understand". Overall, around 65% of respondents agreed with this statement, with a very low number choosing to respond neutrally to this statement. This shows very clearly that non-native speakers of Japanese have more difficulty understanding Japanese because of gairaigo. Considering the fact that Japanese is traditionally considered a very difficult language to learn, gairaigo appears to be making the Japanese language student's task even more
daunting. It would be interesting to find out to what extent Japanese language teachers understand about the difficulty non-native speakers have in understanding *gairaigo*. Perhaps there would be more emphasis placed on the teaching of *gairaigo* if there was greater awareness of this problem. If so, it is apparent that there is a need to promote the use of *gairaigo* dictionaries in contemporary Japanese language classrooms. A point worth considering here is whether Japanese language teachers consciously or subconsciously believe *gairaigo* to be a temporary phenomenon in the Japanese language, and therefore do not place great emphasis on teaching it.

For Statement 2 (Survey Q.14) the result is more mixed, with almost 45% agreeing or strongly agreeing “I think it’s easier for English speakers to understand *gairaigo*”. Around 30% of respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with this statement. It is fair to say that these respondents were mostly English speakers, as it may be difficult for a non-English speaker to disagree with this statement. Considering most *gairaigo* come from English, even with semantic changes it follows that the presence of *gairaigo* in Japanese should make Japanese less difficult for English speakers to understand. This correlates with the 20.7% of respondents who answered negatively to the first statement in this category “I think *gairaigo* make the Japanese language more difficult to understand”.

Almost 35% of respondents either strongly disagreed or disagreed with Statement 3, (Survey Q.15) “I often need to use a *gairaigo* dictionary”. Another 42% said that they did often need to use a *gairaigo* dictionary. This seems to tie in with
Category 1 Statement 3 (Survey Q. 9), of the need to often ask a Japanese person
to explain a gairaigo. Perhaps it is easier for respondents to consult a dictionary
than to ask a native Japanese speaker to explain the meaning. This statement also
raises the question of whether, if confronted with a gairaigo that they did not
understand, the respondent would bother to consult a dictionary. For example,
they may not bother to look up the word unless it was especially important that
they understood a particular gairaigo, for example if the meaning of the gairaigo
was the topic of the particular passage or article, or if the reader was working as a
translator.

The next two questions in this category are concerned with the non-native speaker
writing gairaigo. Of respondents, 55.3% agreed with Statement 4 (Survey Q.16)
“When I write Japanese, I do not like to use gairaigo”, compared with 27.6% who
disagreed or strongly disagreed. So it seems that a fair percentage of respondents
do not have any problem with using gairaigo in their written Japanese. For the
majority, however, it is clear that the use of gairaigo in writing is something they
take care to avoid, with 17.3% strongly agreeing that they did not like to use it. To
find reasons for this it is necessary to consider the results of Statement 5.

For Statement 5 (Survey Q.17), 65.6% of respondents agreed, “I often do not
know the correct katakana to write gairaigo”. Of this number, 25.9% of
respondents said that they strongly agreed with this statement. Only 16.7%
disagreed. This perhaps accounts for the large percentage of respondents agreeing
in Statement 4 that when they write Japanese they do not like to use gairaigo.
Results show that there is a lack of confidence because non-native Japanese speakers cannot figure out what the correct katakana is to write a word. No doubt the amount of variation evident in the writing of gairaigo in katakana is a factor in this. In any case, this result shows that teachers of Japanese as a foreign language need to place far more emphasis on the teaching of students how to spell gairaigo in katakana. It also points to a need for a greater emphasis placed on the use of gairaigo dictionaries in the Japanese language classroom, particularly perhaps in the case of students who come from non-English speaking backgrounds.

In Statement 6 (Survey Q.18) "I think gairaigo are useful words in the Japanese language", surprisingly, more respondents did not agree that gairaigo are useful words in Japanese than agreed. A total of 39.7% of respondents considered gairaigo to be less than useful, compared to 33.9% who could see a need for them. Naturally, those respondents who cannot use gairaigo correctly, as seen in Statement 5, had more trouble seeing the usefulness of these words in the language. However there may well be other reasons for this disagreement. These reasons could include the questionable value of some gairaigo, in advertising and other non-essential fields. It is interesting to compare this result with the opinion of the Japanese respondents in Survey 1. The comparison is made in the following chapter of this thesis.

Another very strong response was evident in the last question in this category. Fully half of respondents did not agree with the statement, "I think gairaigo make
Japanese a more interesting language”. Of these 22.5% strongly disagreed, while 31% felt that gairaigo does make Japanese more interesting. As mentioned above, it is difficult for a non-native speaker who lacks confidence in gairaigo usage to believe that gairaigo is useful or makes the language more interesting. That said, this result conveys a strong disagreement with the statement, showing that while gairaigo is an undeniable factor of the Japanese language, many non-native speakers do not find this aspect of Japanese interesting and so may lack motivation to learn gairaigo, or to put effort in to this area of their language studies.

Regarding the results for this category, it is apparent that the majority of respondents had strong feelings concerning gairaigo and its effect on Japanese language comprehension, with several results showing strong agreement or strong disagreement. There was a very low neutral response in this category, and overall, a generally negative view on gairaigo was expressed by many respondents. This category highlights the need for a review of how gairaigo is taught by teachers of Japanese as a foreign language. In particular, a study could be done on how non-native speakers are taught to write gairaigo in katakana, as well as a study made on the use of gairaigo dictionaries in the Japanese language classroom.

5.4 Survey 2: Research Category 3: Results and Discussions

Research Category 3: What is the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language? (FGJL)
The results of category the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language (FGJL) are displayed in the stacked column chart below with precise percentile rates given in Appendix 4.

**Percentage of Respondents for Each FGJL Category**

![Stacked column chart showing the percentage of respondents for each FGJL category](chart)

Figure 8: Survey Two: Percentage of Respondents for Each FGJL Category

For Statement 1 (Survey Q.20), 35.1% of respondents strongly agreed “I think there will be more gairaigo in Japanese in the future”. Of respondents 68.4% agreed with this statement. There was a very small neutral response for this
question indicating respondents felt able to make a strong prediction. Only 17.3% of respondents disagreed with the statement. A more detailed analysis of the results of this statement is carried out in the next chapter, where results are compared to those of native Japanese respondents results on the same statement.

There was a stronger neutral response (31%) to Statement 2 (Survey Q.21), "I think the Japanese government should limit the use of *gairaigo*”. However, 42.5% agreed with this statement, and 20.7% strongly agreed. From this we can ascertain that many non-native Japanese language speakers would indeed like to see the Japanese government to put limits on *gairaigo* use. Again, this response could be the result of lack of proficiency in *gairaigo* use. Only around one quarter of respondents disagreed with the statement. These results are investigated further in the next chapter of this thesis, when comparisons are made between native and non-native speakers responses to this question.

Concerning Statement 3 (Survey Q.22), more respondents disagreed than agreed with the statement “I think that English and not *gairaigo* will be used in Japanese in the future”. Of respondents, 37.9% disagreed with this statement, while 28.7% agreed. Thirty three point three percent responded neutrally to this question, indicating that they did not feel they were able to predict the outcome. However, judging from the high percentage of respondents who disagreed, this could indicate that non-native Japanese speakers have a tendency to think that there will be less emphasis on English, and therefore less proficiency of native Japanese in the area of English language acquisition. Therefore, these results could point to a
lack of confidence in native Japanese speakers’ ability to learn English.

A surprising 51.1% of respondents agreed with Statement 4 (Survey Q.23), “I think if Japanese could speak English well they would not need gairaigo”, with 26.4% of respondents strongly agreeing with the statement. This result shows that non-native speakers of Japanese also feel there is a strong connection between the native Japanese speaker’s ability to speak English and the use of gairaigo in Japanese. This result again highlights a possible lack of confidence by non-native speakers in the English language ability of the native speaker of Japanese. It is also important to consider that non-native Japanese speakers can speak another language and may have English language skills superior to a Japanese native speaker. For this reason the non-native speaker of Japanese could find the sheer amount of gairaigo in Japanese excessive, and view it as unnecessary. They may compare Japanese with their native language, which perhaps has much lower percentages of foreign words, and again conclude that large amounts of gairaigo are not useful or needed. Of the 22.9% who disagreed with Statement 4, 12.6% did so strongly. This indicates that some non-native speakers of Japanese do see a use for gairaigo in the language that does not relate to the English language ability of native Japanese speakers.

With Statement 5 (Survey Q.24), 48.3% of respondents agreed “I hope that gairaigo would not be used in Japanese in the future”. Of these 16.7% strongly agreed. Amongst those 34.5% respondents who disagreed, 16.7% did so strongly. Again, we see a generally negative view of non-native speakers concerning
gairaigo in Japanese, perhaps related to the respondents’ difficulty in using gairaigo. For further discussion and analysis of this section, please see the following chapter of this thesis “A Comparison of Survey Results”.
Chapter 6: A Comparison of Survey Results

6.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the Japanese native speakers' perceptions of gairaigo and their opinions on the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language in comparison to the perceptions and opinions of non-native speakers. Many of the statements in both surveys were presented to both sets of respondents, as well as some very similar statements were used. Therefore, it is possible to make detailed comparisons of the results of the two surveys, comparing the opinions of native Japanese speakers with their non-native-speaking counterparts, and analyzing these results. The final category in both surveys dealt with the future of gairaigo in the Japanese language, so we are able to compare directly in this category. The other categories did not feature the same degree of equivalency, however, several of the questions in these categories were similar, so we will concentrate on these questions, leaving out the questions that are not applicable to both survey groups.

6.1 Comparison of results

Part one of the comparison of results is displayed in the stacked column chart below. Precise percentile rates are given in Appendix 3 and 4. Please note that questions marked with a # have had their results inverted to make clear the comparison. So in the case of inverted results, the 'strongly disagree' section which normally appears in white will equal the 'strongly agree' section which
normally appears in black on a non-inverted graph. The N positioned below the columns represents Native Japanese speakers, and the NN represents Non-Native Japanese speakers.

**Comparison of Native and Non-Native Speakers’ Results (pt 1)**

N.B. Questions marked with a # have had their results inverted in order to make clear the comparison.

![Comparison of Native and Non-Native Speakers' Results](image)

Figure 9: Comparison of Native and Non-Native Speakers’ Results (Part 1)

A similar statement was given in both surveys concerning the usefulness of *gairaigo*. The two statements were in survey one in the NVG category Statement 4 (Survey Q.18), “I think most *gairaigo* are unnecessary” and in survey two in the GEJLC category Statement 6 (Survey Q.18), “I think *gairaigo* are useful words in
the Japanese language". Interestingly, over 75% of native Japanese speakers disagreed with the statement "I think most gairaigo are unnecessary", indicating that they think that gairaigo are very necessary in Japanese. However, for non-native speakers of Japanese, there were more respondents who felt that gairaigo were not useful (around 40%) than those that did (around 35%). Furthermore, over 20% of respondents strongly disagreed with the statement "I think gairaigo are useful words in the Japanese language".

So it appears that while native Japanese believe that gairaigo are necessary in Japanese, non-native Japanese speakers often do not think they are, with many non-native speakers strongly believing gairaigo are not necessary. Perhaps one can look at the two different groups of respondents' overall impression of gairaigo to make sense of this. While native Japanese speakers tend to have an generally positive view of gairaigo, non-native speakers often have difficulty in understanding gairaigo and therefore may have a less positive view of it, and so could feel that it is not necessary. Another important point relevant to this discrepancy is that often non-native Japanese speakers have higher proficiency in English than their native speaking counterparts, therefore this may affect their opinion on whether gairaigo is necessary, as they can speak English and so do not need gairaigo. Similarly, non-native speakers struggling to master an already difficult language may simply feel that Japanese with gairaigo is simply too much to manage – obviously the native Japanese speaker does not suffer this to the same degree. It is also important to consider that non-native speakers may be exposed to a lot of seemingly unnecessary gairaigo in the form of advertising and other
aspects of popular culture, but they may have had less exposure to gairaigo in the form of medical terminology, and other specific technological terms needed in specialized fields. It can be argued that the latter type of gairaigo is more necessary than the former.

Another similar statement was given in both surveys concerning the Japanese government limiting the use of gairaigo. The two statements were in survey one in the NVG category Statement 5 (Survey Q.19) “I think the Japanese government should try to limit the use of gairaigo”, and in survey two in the FGJL category Statement 2 (Survey Q.21) “I think the Japanese government should limit the use of gairaigo”. Over 80% of native Japanese respondents disagreed with the statement, indicating that they strongly believe that the government need not place limits on its use. Conversely, almost 45% of non-native respondents thought that the Japanese government should limit the use of gairaigo.

The survey results have already established that native Japanese speakers like gairaigo, so this is one obvious reason for them not wanting limits set on its use. On the other hand, since many Japanese do agree that there is too much gairaigo in their language, this result could simply represent a lack of faith in their government’s ability to solve the problem, or reluctance amongst Japanese to see the government interfere with language issues. As concerns Japanese non-native speakers, results indicate that they often do not see the necessity of gairaigo in Japanese, and they therefore may feel it to be beneficial that the government should place limits on its use. Non-native speakers could be comparing the
amount of *gairaigo* in use in Japanese to the amount of loanwords in their own language and questioning the necessity for so many loanwords from English in the Japanese language. In any case, it is not surprising that non-Japanese are far more receptive to the idea of the government interfering with the ways Japanese choose to communicate. It is easy to tell somebody else to do something for their own good, however I am sure that most non-native respondents would be far less enthusiastic about similar restrictions being imposed by their own governments.

The next two statements for comparison were in survey one in the NVG category Statement 6, (Survey Q.20) “I hope that *gairaigo* will eventually disappear from the Japanese language” and in survey two in the FGJL category Statement 5 (Survey Q.24) “I hope that *gairaigo* will not be used in Japanese in the future”. The strongest reaction of survey one was of respondents who disagreed with the statement “I hope that *gairaigo* will eventually disappear from the Japanese language”. Almost 55% of respondents strongly disagreed with this statement, and overall, over 90% of respondents disagreed with it. Only 1% of respondents agreed with the statement. The statement also had the lowest number of neutral replies in the survey of native Japanese respondents.

In this light, it is very interesting to compare the response of non-native Japanese speakers in survey two, with 48.3% agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement “I hope that *gairaigo* will not be used in Japanese in the future”, 34.5% disagreed and 17.2% remained neutral. So compared to the Japanese response, where almost 90% did not hope that *gairaigo* disappear, we see almost 50% of
non-native speakers hoping that *gairaigo* will not be used in Japanese in the future. There is a very large discrepancy here between native and non-native speakers. Again, the non-native respondents’ generally negative view of *gairaigo* is the probable reason for this response. It will be interesting to see whether, if *gairaigo* is replaced with English, how much of the *gairaigo* common in present-day Japanese will be seen in the Japanese language in the future.

Part Two of the comparison of results is displayed in the stacked column chart below. Precise percentile rates are given in Appendix 3 and 4. As in Part One, please note that questions marked with a # have had their results inverted to make clear the comparison. Again, the N positioned below the columns represents Native Japanese speakers, and the NN represents Non-Native Japanese speakers.
The next two statements for comparison were in survey one in the FGJL category Statement 2 (Survey Q.28) "In the future the Japanese will use English instead of gairaigo" and in survey two in the FGJL category Statement 3 (Survey Q.22) "I think that English and not gairaigo will be used in Japanese in the future". Thirty seven point nine percent of non-native respondents disagreed with the statement that English and not gairaigo would be used in Japanese in the future, 28.7% agreed and 33.3% were neutral. With native Japanese respondents, in answer to the statement "In the future the Japanese will use English instead of gairaigo,"
21.8% disagreed, 37.2% agreed and 40.9% remained neutral. Large neutral responses indicate that many in both groups feel unable to predict either way on this statement.

Surprisingly, around a third of respondents in both groups replied that English would be used instead of gairaigo in Japanese in the future. This indicates that respondents think that this is not just a possibility, but that it is likely to occur. In fact, more native speakers agreed than disagreed that English will be used instead of gairaigo in the future. This result is very interesting, and brings up the question of the purpose of gairaigo in Japanese. Could gairaigo have been functioning as an intermediary between the Japanese language and English language acquisition by Japanese native speakers? Was this the underlying purpose of gairaigo all along? It also brings up the question of transition. If gairaigo is to change into English in future, how smooth will the transition be? Will there even be a transition, or will gairaigo fade out as quickly as it appeared? Concerning the results of the non-native speakers, more non-native speakers than native speakers disagreed with the statement. As mentioned earlier, this may be due in part to the fact that non-native speakers of Japanese may have low expectations concerning native Japanese speakers’ English ability. The response to these statements also consolidates the connection that both native and non-native Japanese speakers perceive between gairaigo and English.

The following is a comparison of results of survey one in the FGJL category Statement 3 (Survey Q.29), “Japanese who speak English well do not need
"gairaigo" and survey two in the FGJL category Statement 4 (Survey Q.23), “I think if Japanese people could speak English well they would not need gairaigo". In the native Japanese case, 27.9% agreed and 31.6% disagreed, but there was a large neutral response of 40.5% to this statement. In contrast, 51.1% of non-native respondents agreed that if Japanese could speak English well they would not need gairaigo, with 26.4% strongly agreeing. 22.9% of non-native respondents disagreed with this statement, and 25.9% remained neutral. There is a large contrast in results between native and non-native Japanese speakers, the results again suggesting that non-native Japanese speakers do not think that gairaigo is necessary, while native Japanese were more inclined to see the merits of gairaigo. Perhaps, once again, the non-native speakers are less likely to appreciate the more subtle or specialized aspects of gairaigo use in Japanese, while conversely, the native Japanese speakers, lacking English fluency, are less able to imagine how English could substitute for gairaigo. However, this result again shows that both sets of respondents see a clear connection between English and gairaigo, with many respondents of both the surveys believing that gairaigo is a kind of substitution for English.

To compare Statement 4 (Survey Q.30) in the FGJL category of Survey 1, “There will be an increase in English words in the Japanese language” with a similar question in Survey 2 in the FGJL category Statement 3 (Survey Q.22) “I think that English and not gairaigo will be used in Japanese in the future”, only 4.7% of native Japanese disagreed with the first statement, while 78.6% agreed, and 16.7% remained neutral. Therefore the vast majority of native speaking Japanese
respondents believe that there will be an increase in English words in Japanese. As we saw earlier, around 40% of non-native respondents disagreed with the statement that English and not *gairaigo* will be used in Japanese in the future, which I hypothesized was because of the perception amongst non-Japanese that English acquisition amongst the Japanese to date has been generally rather poor. Amongst the Japanese themselves there seems to be little doubt that things are changing in this respect.

The last two statements for comparison were, in Survey 1, Statement 1 in the FGJL category (Survey Q. 27), “The amount of *gairaigo* in Japanese will decrease in the future” and in Survey 2, Statement 1 in the FGJL category (Survey Q.20), “I think there will be more *gairaigo* in Japanese in the future”. Eighty percent of native-speaking Japanese respondents disagreed that the amount of *gairaigo* will decrease, with 46.5% strongly disagreeing. In the non-native Japanese category, 68.4% of respondents agreed and 35.1% of respondents strongly agreed that there would be more *gairaigo* in Japanese in the future. 17.3% of non-native speakers did not believe that the amount of *gairaigo* would increase. There was a very small neutral response in both surveys with this statement, indicating a strong belief between all Japanese language speakers, native and non-native, that, for good or ill, *gairaigo* will figure strongly in the Japanese language in the future.
7.0 Conclusions

The surveys uncovered many differences between native Japanese speakers’ perceptions of gairaigo and the non-native speakers’ perceptions. Japanese native speakers feel comfortable with using gairaigo and have a positive attitude towards it. Non-native speakers however, have much greater difficulty understanding and using gairaigo, and they have a more negative attitude towards gairaigo.

The Japanese generally see no reason to place any limits on the use of gairaigo, while many non-native speakers of Japanese believe some restriction would be beneficial, perhaps because they have trouble understanding gairaigo and difficulty in knowing how to use it, and perhaps because they see many gairaigo as being unnecessary. Most native Japanese speakers, contrastingly, think that gairaigo are very necessary in Japanese.

Respondents in both groups agreed on many statements in the surveys. The surveys highlighted the fact that both sets of respondents see a clear connection between English and gairaigo. Results indicate that many respondents of both surveys believe that gairaigo may be a kind of substitution for English. Most respondents agree that there will be an increase in English words in Japanese and many from both groups agree that there is a possibility that English will be used in place of gairaigo in the future. Almost all respondents agree that gairaigo will
have a strong presence in Japanese in the future. Respondents believe that the level of *gairaigo* in Japanese will not fall, but that the level of English in Japanese will rise. This indicates that English words written using the Roman alphabet will increasingly be used in Japanese. Results indicate that this will happen regardless of the effect *gairaigo* has on the present-day Japanese language.

The results highlight two factors. Firstly, that the number of English words in Japanese will increase considerably, and secondly, because of this, we could see many synonymous words appearing, possibly with the English equivalent of the *gairaigo* word being used simultaneously in the Japanese language. The following could be a possible method of transition. For example, after a word has been introduced in *gairaigo* and its meaning and usage established, the English version could then be introduced, with no difficulty regarding its comprehension. Of course, if this were to occur there would be some problems. For example, a problem would be posed with what to do with existing words in *gairaigo* that had semantically been changed to differ from the original English word. This could lead to incorrect usage of the imported English words, but this does not currently seem to be a common feature of English words written in Roman letters used in the Japanese language.

In any case, most respondents in both surveys agreed that English words would increase in the Japanese language, indicating that English words written in the Roman alphabet will be used in Japanese regardless of the effect that *gairaigo* has on this or on the Japanese language. The increase in English words used directly
in Japanese would be the second phase of the acquisition of English by Japanese
speakers, the third phase being the use of the Japanese and the English languages
separately when Japanese speakers become bi-lingual.

Another point in favor of *gairaigo* being a stepping stone to English usage is the
fact that *gairaigo* has mainly been used in conjunction with commercials and
advertising (as are words written directly in English). As stated by many of the
non-native Japanese speakers, this makes many *gairaigo* seem unnecessary in
Japanese. Furthermore, *gairaigo* has been kept in a separate category of the
language by being written in the *katakana* script. It is apparent from this that the
inclusion of *gairaigo* in the language may have been intended, consciously or
unconsciously, to be temporary from the start. Consider too that most of the
existing *gairaigo* in Japanese already have a perfectly good Japanese equivalent.

One reason behind the Japanese keeping *gairaigo* on such as superficial level, is
that the Japanese language will not suffer when English takes over from *gairaigo*,
in that there will be no gap that needs to be filled. The Japanese will have the
option of using either Japanese or English and so will have two perfectly good
languages to choose from and not need to use *gairaigo*. This also could explain
the native Japanese speakers’ insistence that *gairaigo* was necessary in Japanese -
it might not always be strictly necessary in vocabulary terms, but rather in terms
of the Japanese transition to becoming bi-lingual as speakers of English as a
second language. *Gairaigo* in Japanese today will provide Japanese young people
with a ready vocabulary in English. It can be argued that learning English
grammar and sentence structure is difficult. However, learning English vocabulary is a mammoth undertaking as well, considering that there are over 500,000 words in the English language. Furthermore, it is considerably easier to pick up sentence structure through observation, providing you already understand the meaning of the words the sentence is constructed from. Because gairaigo in itself provides a type of ready made vocabulary, therefore it is a great head start for Japanese learners of English as a second language.

One could question why, in the past, the Japanese were be able to borrow so many words from Chinese, but not end up speaking Chinese? What is the difference between their borrowing from Chinese and borrowing from English? Why would the English not be assimilated just as the Chinese has been assimilated into the Japanese language? The answer lies in internationalization and in the present-day economic situation. The fact that Japan must internationalize to survive is the key. Traditional isolationist policies and trade barriers no longer function positively for Japan. English language skills play an essential role in the future success of Japan in the global marketplace. Perhaps in future, gairaigo will become as unfashionable as it is fashionable today. Young bi-lingual Japanese will have no use for gairiago, and perhaps view it as an embarrassment and as a type of Pidgin English. It could be that only older Japanese people who are not proficient in the English language will continue to use it. Gairaigo may well become a symbol of the past, as one step in the process of Japan’s internationalization.
7.1 Implications for Students of Japanese as a Foreign Language

Students of Japanese as a foreign language appear to have difficulty with the understanding and use of gairaigo, therefore it is apparent that teachers of Japanese as a foreign language have not concentrated enough on teaching gairaigo. Teachers may, consciously or unconsciously, not feel the need to teach gairaigo to students, as they might consider it to be a transient part of the Japanese language. But if teachers are serious about teaching gairaigo they will need to concentrate more on writing gairaigo and they should encourage the use of gairaigo in the Japanese language class. Students should be aware of the Japanese native speaker and the amount of gairaigo that is used in normal conversation, and the student needs to try to incorporate a similar amount of gairaigo to ensure that they are speaking Japanese as naturally as possible. Conversely, Japanese native speakers learning English as a second language can utilise their latent English vocabulary that stems from their knowledge of gairaigo.

7.2 The Future of Gairaigo in Japanese

Judging from the popularity of gairaigo with native Japanese speakers, the future of gairaigo in Japanese looks very strong. Research questions showed that the majority of native Japanese respondents strongly believe that the government should not place limits on its use, and while non-native Japanese language speakers see sense in trying to place limits on gairaigo use, their opinion is not
likely to hold much weight. Almost all native Japanese speakers surveyed did not hope that *gairaigo* eventually disappear from the Japanese language, compared with just under half of non-native respondents agreeing that it would be a good thing if it did. Again, the view of a comparatively small amount of non-native speakers is hardly likely to affect the general popularity of *gairaigo* in Japanese. In any case there was a strong belief between all Japanese language speakers that *gairaigo* will figure strongly in the Japanese language in the future.

*Gairaigo* has been blamed for many things, such as being an unwanted feature of the Japanese language and for weakening the language. It has been accused of making Japanese young people less literary. It has been said that it makes no sense, that it makes it harder for Japanese to learn English and for others to learn Japanese. Lets hope in future, that *gairaigo* will turn out to be very worthwhile as an intermediate phase between monolingual Japanese native speakers and their eventual acquisition of full bi-lingual facility.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

One very interesting topic for future study could be to compare and contrast the methods by which *gairaigo* has been adopted into other Asian languages, in particular, those of Japan’s neighbors, China and Korea. It is also necessary to continue to follow the Japanese government’s opinion on the use of *gairaigo*, and whether they intend to introduce any policies limiting its use in the Japanese language in the future. Another topic for future research could be a study of
computer language and how it has changed as it has been imported for use in the Japanese language, and what kind of influence it has had on Japanese, since computing, being such a highly technical and fast-evolving science, generates new technical terms with extreme rapidity, many of which end up penetrating the popular consciousness through technological products. In addition, a research topic could be to ascertain if there are less semantic changes occurring in the gairaigo that has been imported into Japanese recently in comparison to the past. In other words, it could be of interest to monitor if the level of semantic change in gairaigo decreases in conjunction with the improved English language proficiency of the Japanese people.

Further research could be done on the psychology of script selection on the Japanese. For example, the aesthetic of the angular katakana script appeals to Japanese sensibilities, but does the English alphabet look as appealing to a Japanese person? On the other hand, is the katakana script more appealing written vertically than horizontally? Issues such as these would be interesting to research and may give further insight into the popularity of gairaigo.

A study of the methods of teaching gairaigo in the Japanese language classroom would also be an important area for future research. This would include a study of existing Japanese language textbooks and how gairaigo is featured in these texts. It would also be of importance to make a study of the non-native Japanese language learners’ gairaigo acquisition and the reasons why non-native Japanese language learners are reluctant to use gairaigo. In addition, it would be useful to
conduct a survey of Japanese language teachers to see if they deliberately avoid emphasis on gairaigo in their classes due to possible factors such as a belief in the impermanence of gairaigo in the Japanese language.

It would be very interesting to do a study on the English words that are now appearing in the Japanese language, on the process by which they are appearing and the transition surrounding their appearance in Japanese. This study could include investigating whether these words existed already in gairaigo, or if they have appeared in the language separately. If the words have the same meaning as existing gairaigo, an investigation into the use of the new words would be of interest. Points for consideration could include, for example, if the English words supersede the gairaigo, if there is any semantic shift in the English words, if the English words disappear over time, or if a possible gairaigo counterpart disappears. The effect of these words on native Japanese speakers' English language acquisition, and the effect on non-native speakers' acquisition of Japanese as a foreign language would also certainly be an interesting topic for future research.
APPENDIX 1
Survey One

Questions 7-17 Positive View of Gairaigo (PVG)

Code (コード)
1. Strongly disagree (大変反対する)  2. Disagree (反対する)
3. Neutral (中立)  4. Agree (賛成する)  5. Strongly agree (大変賛成する)
次の文を読み1から5まで一つだけ選んで下さい

ここで外来語と言うの意味は英語から日本語になったカタカナ語を指します

7. I always enjoy using gairaigo. (私は外来語をいつも使うことが楽しい)
   1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

8. I like to be the first one amongst my friends to use gairaigo. (私の友達の中で、
   私は新外来語を最初に使うことが好きだ)
   1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

9. I often use gairaigo when I could use a Japanese word with the same meaning.
   (同じ意味の日本語より私は外来語をよく使う)
   1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

10. I use more gairaigo when talking to my friends. (友達と話す時私は外来語
    をよく使う)
    1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

11. I use less gairaigo when I talk to my superiors. (目上の人と話す時私は外来
    語をあまり使わない)
    1.  2.  3.  4.  5.
12. I enjoy it when I hear my friends using new gairaigo. (友達が新外来語を使う時私は楽しい)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

13. I read articles that introduce new gairaigo. (私は新外来語についての記事を読む)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

14. I think the use of gairaigo makes a product seem more attractive. (外来語の製品は良い感じがする)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Questions 15-20 Negative View of Gairaigo (NVG)

15. I feel annoyed when I do not understand new gairaigo. (新外来語が分からない時私はイラつく)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

16. I think Japanese use too much gairaigo. (日本人は外来語を使いすぎる)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

17. I don't like using gairaigo. (外来語を使うことが好きではない)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

18. I think most gairaigo are unnecessary. (外来語は必要ないと思う)

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
19. I think the Japanese government should try to limit the use of *gairaigo*. (私は日本の政府は外来語を制限する必要があると思う)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

20. I hope that *gairaigo* will eventually disappear from the Japanese language. (私の希望は日本で外来語がなくなることだ)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

Questions 21-26 The effect of *Gairaigo* on English language acquisition (EGELA)

21. I can more easily understand *gairaigo* because I have studied English. (英語を勉強したので外来語の意味がよく分かる)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

22. Using *gairaigo* helps me learn English. (外来語を使う時英語の練習もできる)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

23. I can pronounce English better because I know *gairaigo*. (外来語がわかるので英語の発音が上手になる)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

24. I think that *gairaigo* are Japanese and not English. (外来語は英語じゃない、日本語だ)

1.  2.  3.  4.  5.

25. Using *gairaigo* helps me communicate with native English speakers. (外来語
26. I avoid using English, but I can easily use the same words in gairaigo. (私は英語を使うことが嫌いだけど外来語の同じ言葉は使い易い)

Questions 27-30 The future of Gairaigo in the Japanese language (FGJL)

27. The amount of gairaigo in Japanese will decrease in the future. (将来、外来語は減る)

28. In the future the Japanese will use English instead of gairaigo. (将来、日本人は外来語より英語を使うだろう)

29. Japanese who speak English well do not need gairaigo. (英語を上手に話す日本人は外来語がいらない)

30. There will be an increase in English words in the Japanese language. (将来、日本語に英語の言葉が増える)

COMMENTS
(コメントがある人は下に書いて下さい)
APPENDIX 2

Survey Two

Questions 1-6 (Background Information)
Please circle the correct information.

1. Age

15-30yrs
30-45yrs
45-60yrs
60-over

2. Gender

Male
Female

3. Country

America/Canada
Europe/UK
Asia
Australasian
Other

4. How long have you studied Japanese?

Less than 1 year
1-2 years
3-5 years
6-10 years
10-15 years
Over 15 years

5. Japanese language ability

Basic
Intermediate
Advanced
Fluent

6. Native English Speaker

Yes
No
Questions 7-12
General Understanding of Gairaigo (GUG)

Code
After you have read the question please circle a number 1-5.
The word Gairaigo in the questions means words in Japanese written in katakana that have come from other languages.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

8. I have difficulty in understanding what language a gairaigo comes from.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

9. I often ask a Japanese person to explain the meaning of a gairaigo.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

10. Japanese people think that because I am a foreigner I will understand gairaigo.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

11. I think that the Japanese often change the original meaning of gairaigo words.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

12. Sometimes I mistake a Japanese word written in katakana for gairaigo.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Questions 13-19

Gairaigo and its Effect on Japanese Language Comprehension (GEJLC)

13. I think gairaigo make the Japanese language more difficult to understand.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

14. I think it is easier for English speakers to understand gairaigo.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

15. I often need to use a gairaigo dictionary.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

16. When I write Japanese I do not like to use gairaigo.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

17. I often do not know the correct katakana to write gairaigo.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

18. I think gairaigo are useful words in the Japanese language.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.


1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Questions 20-24

The Future of Gairaigo in the Japanese Language (FGJL)

20. I think there will be more gairaigo in Japanese in the future.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

21. I think the Japanese government should limit the use of gairaigo.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

22. I think that English and not gairaigo will be used in Japanese in the future.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

23. I think if Japanese people could speak English well they would not need gairaigo.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

24. I hope that gairaigo will not be used in Japanese in the future.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

COMMENTS
If you have any comments please write them here.

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

__________________________________________

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__________________________________________

## APPENDIX 3

Percentage Results for Survey 1 (Questions 1-6 were personal data)

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### APPENDIX 4

Percentage Results for Survey Two (Questions 1-6 were personal data)

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