

Make mine *burakku**

John V. Hinds

(Seishin Joshi Daigaku and Tokyo University)

If a language has contact with another language, there is a distinct possibility that that language will make use of loan words from the language with which it has contact. All languages appear to do this, although not all do this to the same extent. There are a number of reasons why a language would use a loan word. There are also a number of reasons why a language would not. In general, it is the case that when a foreign item or concept is introduced into a culture, there is the possibility that that item will retain its original name, with a significant change in phonological (and possibly morphological) features. If we consider the case of English, we see numerous examples of this in recent years. Many Americans eat kimchi, sukiyaki (pronounced/súwkiyæki/), goulash, borst, pulgogi, halupkis, pie a la mode, and eclairs. Not all at the same meal, of course. Many Americans can talk semi-intelligently about karate (pronounced/kəráhtiy/), judo, sumo, or even tekwando. Many also know about haiku, kabuki, and noh. Even if the foreign concept is not entirely alien, the original name may be kept if there is something significant about it: thus, Americans freely talk about sputniks, even though we have the word satellite at our disposal.

Many languages are amazingly hospitable to foreign loan words; for example, 16th and early 17th century English or present day Japanese. Many are quite antagonistic to such borrowing and go to great lengths to avoid loan words. Examples of this are both German and Japanese during the Second World War. German refused to use the terms generally accepted throughout the rest of Europe based on English *television* and *telephone*, preferring instead *Fernsehen* and *Fernsprecher*, literally far-see and far-speak, respectively. Both of these terms are direct translations into German of the Latin roots *tele*, *vision*, and *phone*. In Japanese as well, the same situation held. The word for record (present day *rekoodo*) was *oNbaN*, literally sound-disc. In the army, even more ludicrous extremes were reached as *karee raisu* was called *karami-iri-siru-kake-mesi*, literally spice-put-in-soup-put on-rice.

Now we have a situation in which languages are either quite hospitable to loan words, quite antagonistic to them, or somewhere in the middle. Japanese, throughout most of its

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history, has been amazingly hospitable to both foreign cultures and to foreign loan words. In fact, a survey by the Japanese National Language Institute in 1964 concerned with vocabulary items in the Japanese language showed that only 36.7% of all vocabulary items are native Japanese words. 47.5% of the Japanese vocabulary has come from Chinese. However, this is a somewhat misleading picture since the period that these loan words came into Japanese was well before 1000 A.D. In present day Japanese, although these words have peculiar phonological and morphological properties, they are considered by most naive speakers to be native Japanese words. The situation in English is analogous. English speakers do not think of words like *legality*, *creative*, or *familiar* as loan words any longer, despite their origin and their peculiar phonological properties.

The situation with words from Western languages in Japanese is quite different. These words are almost always considered foreign loan words. According to the same survey mentioned above, almost 10% of the vocabulary items in Japanese come from Western languages. I would venture to say that the percentage may be even higher in 1974. Approximately 80% of these words from Western languages derive from English, and the trend is towards more English based loan words, not less.

Why do loan words get used? In all cases there is a need. The most obvious cases are the ones already mentioned. A new concept is introduced, and it is simply easier to retain the original name than to try to create a new name. This explains terms in Japanese like *terebe*, *kooiii*, and *apaato*. It does not explain terms like *tesuto* for *sikeN*, *buuku* for *hoN* or *raisu* for *gohaN*.

Higa (1973) has pointed out that the direction of borrowing proceeds from a dominant culture to a subordinate culture, however these terms may be defined. As Dozier (1964) has also shown in his study on the difference of acceptance of Spanish loanwords in Yaqui and Tewa, there must be some kind of willingness to accept these forms; that is, the dominant culture must also be held in esteem. However, willingness be what it will, Japanese has apparently gone overboard in the desire to import loanwords. A recent Loan Word Dictionary in Japan published by Kadogawa Publishing Company lists over 25,000 items. Not all are used with the same frequency of course, but more importantly, not all of the loanwords one runs across in daily life are listed.

What type of borrowing takes place from English to Japanese? In almost every case, the English word enters Japanese as a noun. This is true despite the grammatical status of the borrowed word. That is, when verbs, adjectives, prepositions, or any other part of speech are borrowed, they enter Japanese as nouns. This creates a number of interesting situations. The English preposition *up* is borrowed into Japanese as *appu*. The verb *suru* 'do' is then attached to the word to form the phrase *appu suru* 'to go up'. This process is identical to the process which allows Chinese based words to become verbal in function: for example, *beNkyoo suru* 'to do study', *reNraku suru* 'to do communication', *kekkoN suru* 'to do marriage', and so on. Obviously, the same thing happens with original verbs in

the majority of cases: English *jog* becomes Japanese *zyoggiNgu suru* 'to do jogging': *copy* becomes *kopii suru* 'to do copy', and so on.

There are some additional factors which make the study of loan words in Japanese of interest. Examine the examples in (1).

Verbs (<i>katakana</i> plus <i>hiragana</i>)		
<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>English source</i>
タクる	takuru	taxi (go by taxi)
ダブる	daburu	double
サボる	saboru	sabotage
デモる	demoru	demonstrate
アジる	aziru	agitate

There are a very small number of English verbs that enter Japanese as verbs. Notice that in every case, the verb ends in -ru, despite the fact that it could conceivably have ended in another consonant or a vowel. That is, *saboru* could just as easily have become *sabotu* or *sabou*: *demoru* could have become *demosu* or *demou*. Incidentally, these five verbs are about the only exceptions to the statement that foreign words enter Japanese as nouns. The only other exceptions are forms like *okkee* 'OK', *orai* 'all right', and other interjections.

In (2), there is another feature which seems to make Japanese unique in its style of borrowing.

From non-existent English		
<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>English source</i>
サラリーマン	sarariimaN	*salaryman
デカンショ	dekaNsyo	Descartes, Kant, and Schopenhauer
マイカー	maikaa	my car
ハイカラ	haikara	high collar
オールドミス	oorudomisu	*old miss (cf. old maid)
ベア	bea	*base up
エンスト	eNsuto	*engine stop

There is a very strong tendency for Japanese to borrow loan words from nonexistent sources. I have only listed seven examples, but the process is widespread. The only equivalent for *sarariimaN* in English would have to be 'salaried man', but I cannot imagine an English speaker referring to an office worker with that expression. Next, *dekaNsyo* comes from a blend of three abbreviated names--Descartes, Kant, and Schopenhauer. This word is interesting because it was used in a parody of a song usually sung by workers in a mine to keep the rhythm going. The title of the song is *dekaNsyobusi*, or 'Dekansho Song': *dekaNsyo* simply being a sound to keep the rhythm.

Next *maikaa* has the English source 'my car', but the meaning in Japanese is quite

different from the English original. In Japanese this means something closer to 'own car'. Thus it is perfectly acceptable to use an expression like *anata no maikaa wa doko?* (lit) 'Where is your my car?'. This construction has formed a number of similar words: *maihoomu* 'my home', *maipeesu* 'my pace' and the most interesting *maiNpotto* '*mine pot'.

haikara is from real English, but the meaning is exclusively Japanese. This is used to describe someone who wears Western clothes very well. In English this word would only be used to describe a collar that is high.

oorudomisu (also *haimisu* '*high miss') is equivalent in meaning to English 'old maid', or spinster.

bea refers to a situation in which your salary (base) rises.

Finally in this section, *eNsuto* comes from 'engine stop' or what happens when you stop your *maikaa*.

In (3) I have listed a few of the kinds of jokes that can be made with loan words.

(3) Puns, blends, and other things

<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>English source</i>
創 ING	soo ING	sewing (創=to make. pronounced <i>soo</i>)
ビール腹	biirubara	beer belly
頭(ヘッド)	heddo	head
犬寝る	keNneru	kennel

sooING is self-explanatory. *biirubara* comes from the loan word *beer* (more precisely this comes from the Dutch *bier*) plus *hara* 'stomach'. *heddo* needs a bit of explanation. In writing Japanese, if a particular Chinese character is either obscure or the way of reading it is difficult, Japanese generally write the proper pronunciation along the side of the character in small *hiragana*. In this case, the character *atama* has *heddo* written along its side to show that it is to be pronounced as a loan word. Incidentally, *heddo* is not written in *hiragana*, but in *katakana*, the usual practice when writing loan words. *keNneru*, as may be seen from the characters, combines *inu* 'dog', or its alternate pronunciation *keN*, with *neru* 'sleep'. It is merely an accident that this is the pronunciation that would be given to a 'kennel', or a place where dogs sleep.

In (4), I have listed several full sentence loan expressions, together with their sources.

(4) Full sentences (kinds of)

<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Romanization</i>	<i>English source</i>
ジスイズアペン	zisu-izu-a-peN	This is a pen. (TV program)
ンヘイユーワツ ユーネーム	heé-you-wattu- yuu-neemu	Hey you, what's you(r) name? (Popular (?) song)
アイアムドッグフ ァーザー	ai-amu-doggu- huaazaa	I am "Dog-father". (Commercial)
ツーチーズバーガー プリーズサンキュウ	tuu-tiizubaagaa- puriizu; saNkyuu	Two cheeseourger(s) please. Thank you. (McDonald's waitress)
ストップザインフレ	sutoppu-za-inhure	Stop the infla (tion): (Election campaign poster)

Needless to say, despite their being based on English, uninitiated English speakers are quite unaware of that fact. I might also point out that, with the exception of the 'cheeseburger' and 'inflation' examples, all can be used as greetings to foreigners on the street.

As I mentioned above, a very general reason for the introduction of loan words into a language is the introduction of a foreign item or concept. There is another reason as well. Higa (1973) states that borrowing often takes place as an indicator of social prestige. In present day Japanese, the social prestige factor has at least two aspects. First, much borrowing is done through advertising. It is highly doubtful that the advertisers care if anyone understands the borrowed words or not. It just looks good, and it impresses the average Japanese to see words in an advertisement which are obviously from English and which he cannot understand. Second, borrowing is done at the personal, or individual, level. Here, while real communication is (usually) the goal, the user of loan words in many cases wishes to impress his listeners with his familiarity with a foreign culture or language, usually American and English, respectively.

If we consider Japanese color terms, we find that almost every color term from English may be used. While it is not unreasonable to expect a foreign term to supplement native vocabulary, it is highly unpredictable that foreign terms will duplicate native vocabulary to a vast degree. Higa (1973:81) claims that in the case of two competing terms, the phonologically shorter form will prevail. He cites as an example.

the case where people in Japan borrowed the word *computer* in preference over its translation *denshi keisanki* (=electric computer) but discarded it later when the Japanese term was shortened to *densanki*.

Higa's analysis is slightly incorrect, I believe, but it does indicate a direction for us to go to determine differences among foreign and native terms. As far as I can ascertain, both *deNsi keisaNki* and *koNpyuutaa* are used with equal frequency, but their referents are different. *koNpyuutaa* refers only to a large large complex computer, while the term *deNsi keisaNki* is usually reserved for a smaller, less complex model, including pocket calculators.

At first glance, the pairs of color terms presented in (5) appear to refer to the same color.

<i>aka</i>	赤	<i>reddo</i>	レンド
<i>momoiro</i>	桃色	<i>piNku</i>	ピンク
<i>koN</i>	紺	<i>daaku buruu</i>	ダークブルー
<i>mizuiro</i>	水色	<i>buruu</i>	ブルー
<i>kiiro</i>	黄色	<i>ieroo</i>	イエロー
<i>tyairo</i>	茶色	<i>burauN</i>	ブラウン
<i>midori</i>	緑	<i>guriuN</i>	グリーン
<i>haiiro</i>	灰色	<i>guree</i>	グレー
<i>kuro</i>	黒	<i>burakku</i>	ブラック

<i>daidaiiro</i>	だいだい色	<i>oreNzi</i>	オレンジ
<i>murasaki</i>	紫	<i>paapuru</i>	パープル
<i>siro</i>	白	<i>howaito</i>	ホワイト

Thus, without question, both *aka* and *reddo* would be translated into English as *red*; *momoiro* and *piNku* would be translated as *pink*; and so with all of the pairs. However, it is unlikely that a language will allow itself the luxury of two absolutely identical lexical items. Color terms form a relatively well-defined area to examine in this respect. Thus, the research being reported here was designed to determine if each pair of colors could describe the same kind of object; and to determine if each pair actually refers to the same color. If the answer to either of these questions is negative, it indicates that the pairs of color terms are not completely synonymous. In order to answer the problems, two sets of questionnaires were distributed.

The design of the questionnaires was extremely simple—too simple as it turned out. All questionnaires were administered to twenty female college students. For the first questionnaire, the twelve native and twelve foreign color terms were presented in random order and the subjects were asked to list typical objects that could be described by each term. The terms were randomized so that the subjects would not continually be comparing pairs of terms. Herein lay the first flaw. About half of the subjects performed as expected, while the others reacted as if the questionnaire were an association test: that is, if I say *blue*, what is the first thing you think of? In addition, one subject has given consistent aberrant responses. Nevertheless, the complete set of answers is given in (6).

(6) Objects referred to by a given color (based on questionnaire responses):

A. 赤(<i>aka</i>)		レッド(red)	
ツーリップ	'tulip'	口紅	'lip stick'
口紅	'lip stick'	シントリーレッド	'Suntory Red'
リンゴ	'apple'	レッドサン	'Red Sun'
血	'blood'		
太陽	'sun'		
くつ	'shoes'		
バラ	'rose'		
ポスト	'mail box'		
マニキュア	'manicure'		
B. 桃色 (<i>momoiro</i>)		ピスク(pink)	
桃	'peach'	カサ	'umbrella'
八重桜	'cherry blossom'	ワンピース	'dress'
桃の花	'peach blossom'	ベッドカバー	'bed cover'
ほお	'cheek'	さくら	'cherry blossom'
ネグリジェ	'negligee'	口紅	'lip stick'

クレヨン	'crayon'	スイトッピ	'sweet pea'
韓国の民族衣裳	'Korean costume'	映畫	'movie'
		風呂のタイル	'tile in bathroom'
		まくらカバー	'pillow case'
C. 紺 (<i>kon</i>)		ダークブルー (dark blue)	
制服	'uniform'	船	'ship'
セーラー服	'sailor uniform'	車体	'car'
ブレザー	'jacket'	海	'ocean'
ゆかた	' <i>yukata</i> '	海軍	'navy'
車体	'car'		
かすり	'splashed pattern material'		
きもの	' <i>kimono</i> '		
セーター	'sweater'		
海	'ocean'		
D. 水色 (<i>mizuiro</i>)		ブルー (blue)	
空	'sky'	パンタロンスーツ	'pants suit'
ブリーチジーンズ	'bleached jeans'	水満	'water drop'
あじさい	'hydrangea'	トルコブルー	'turkish blue'
シャボン	'bubble'	マリンブルー	'marine blue'
「水色の戀」	' <i>mizuiro no koi</i> (a title of a song of Japan)	空	'sky'
		目の色	'eye'
		ブルージーンズ	'blue jeans'
		海	'ocean'
		ブルーチャイム	' <i>Buruu tyaimu</i> (a name of soap)
		ブルーフィルム	'blue film'
		晴れた突	'clear sky'
		ヨット	'yacht'
		ポリバケツ	'plastic bucket'
		ペンのキャップ	'a cap for a pen'
		コート	'coat'
E. 黄色 (<i>kiiro</i>)		イエロー (yellow)	
タンポポ	'dandelion'	シャツ	'sweat shirt'
ひまわり	'sun flower'	イエロー	'yellow submarine'
なつミカン	'summer orange'	サブマリン	(a title of a song)
「黄色い麥わら帽子」	' <i>kiroi mugiwara boosi</i> (a title of a song of Japan)	グレープフルーツ	'grapefruit'
		レモン	'lemon'
		カーテン	'curtain'

レモン	'lemon'	ワンピース	'dress'
車	'car'		
信號	'signal light'		
すみれ	'pansy'		
バナナ	'banana'		
F. 茶色 (<i>tyairo</i>)		ブラウン (brown)	
木	'tree'	かみ	'hair'
机	'desk'	アイシャドー	'eye shadow'
いす	'chair'	ウィッグ	'wig'
チョコレート	'chocolate'	目	'eye'
栗	'chestnut'	くつ	'shoes'
枯木	'faded leaves'	セーター	'sweater'
土	'soil'	「ブラウン」	' <i>buraun</i> ' (a brand name of razor blade')
ねん土	'clay'		
ハンドバッグ	'handbag'		
セーター	'sweater'		
G. 緑 (<i>midori</i>)		グリーン (green)	
メロン	'melon'	野原	'field'
葉	'leaves'	パンタロンスーツ	'pants suit'
木	'tree'	ワンピース	'dress'
植物	'plant'	芝ふ	'lawn'
草	'grass'	ゴルフ場	'golf field'
若葉	'young leaves'		
エメラルド	'emerald'		
芝ふ	'lawn'		
H. 灰色 (<i>haiiro</i>)		グレー (gray)	
ねずみ	'rat'	制服	'our uniform'
砂	'sand'	スーツ	'suit'
事務服	'office uniform'	スラックス	'slacks'
		コート	'coat'
灰	'ash'	セーター	'sweater'
東京の空	'sky in Tokyo'	ロマンスグレー	'romance gray'
雲	'cloud'		
おばあさんの髪	'hair of old ladies'		
制服	'our uniform'		
壁	'wall'		
町	'town'		
雨の日の空	'the sky on a rainy day'		

I. 黒 (<i>kuro</i>)		ブラック (black)	
髪の色	'hair'	マスカラ	'mascara'
墨	'Chinese ink'	インク	'ink'
夜	'night'	コーヒー	'coffee'
闇	'darkness'	黒人	'Negro'
喪服	'mourning dress'	「ブラックニッカ」	'Black Nikka'
きもの	'kimono'		(a brand name of whisky)
セーター	'sweater'	ブラックパワー	'Black Power'
ピアノ	'piano'	ソウルミュージック	'soul music'
ロングドレス	'long dress'	ブラックアンドホワイト	'Black and White'
		チョコレート	'chocolate'
J. だいたい色 (<i>daidairo</i>)		オレンジ (orange)	
オレンジ	'orange'	ワンピース	'dress'
水着	'swimsuit'	オレンジジュース	'orange juice'
ゆず	'citron'	T-シャツ	'T-shirt'
みかん	'mikan'	オレンジペコ	'Orange Pekoe'
だいたい	'summer orange'	ネーブル	'navel orange'
柿	'kaki'	ポスターカラー	'poster color'
夕焼け	'sunset sky'		
かぶきの幕	'kabuki curtain'		
K. 紫 (<i>murasaki</i>)		パープル (purple)	
ぶどう	'grape'	アイシャドウ	'eye shadow'
あじさい	'hydrangea'	パープルシャドウ	'Purple Shadows'
喪服	'mourning dress'		(name of a singing group)
てっせん	'passion flower'		
すみれ	'pansy'	セーター	'sweater'
なすび	'eggplant'	パラソル	'parasol'
虹	'rainbow'	口紅	'lipstick'
きもの	'kimono'		
L. 白 (<i>shiro</i>)		ホワイト (white)	
白衣	'uniform'	ホワイトアンド	'White and White'
ヨットの帆	'sail'	ホワイト	(name of tooth paste)
ブラウス	'blouse'		
ワイシャツ	'shirt'	ホワイトカラー	'white collar'
はみがき粉	'toothpaste'	ホワイトジーンズ	'white jeans'
		ホワイトハウス	'White House'

雪	'snow'	ペンキ	'paint'
テーブルクロス	'table cloth'	油繪具	'oil paint'
花嫁のうちかけ	'wedding dress'	ブラックアンドホワイト	'Black and White' (whiskey)
紙	'paper'		

There are some comments that must be made. Notice for the first pair listed in (6a) that the use of *reddo* is extremely limited, occurring only in proper names, and as a color for lipstick. Lipstick, you will note, is described by both color terms, but *aka* and *reddo* refer to two different shades.

For (6b), notice that both *momoiro* and *piNku* can refer to the colors of flowers and clothing. In the case of flowers, *piNku* refers to a lighter color. In the case of clothing, the same distinction prevails, and in addition, most people I have checked with feel that it is in fact a bit strange to refer to the color of a negligee as *momoiro*.

For (6c), the only area of overlap between *koN* and *daaku buruu* is the ocean. Here too there appears to be considerable disagreement between the subject who listed ocean and follow up interviews. Most people feel that *koN* is inappropriate to describe the color of the ocean.

In (6d), *mizuiro* and *buruu* overlap only in describing the color of Western clothing. Here too, the response 'bleached jeans' appears to be strange, but if *mizuiro* is used at all in this kind of situation, it refers to a lighter color than *buruu*.

In (6e), there is a great degree of difference in objects which *kiro* and *ieroo* may be used to describe. Most people feel here, as well, that the use of *ieroo* to describe a lemon is strange.

In (6f), the only area of overlap between *tyairo* and *burauN* is clothing. Here too, as in the other cases, the single informant who has given aberrant responses has used *burauN* to refer to clothing, and most people feel this usage is strange.

In (6g), *guriuN* and *midori* only overlap in describing lawns, but once again, most people feel that it is strange to refer to a lawn as *guriuN*.

In (6h), *haiiro* and *gurei*, there is overlap with both clothing and the color of hair. In the case of 'our uniforms (the university uniforms)' *haiiro* describes a darker color than *gurei*. In the case of hair, not only does *haiiro* refer to a darker color, it also carries a connotation of dirtiness, while *gurei* connotes the opposite.

In (6i), there is no overlap.

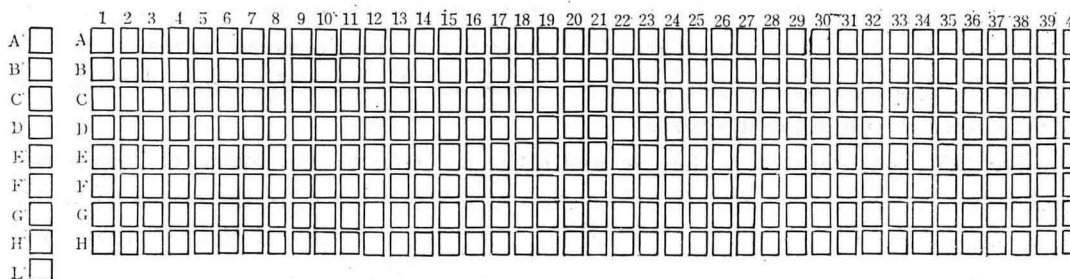
In (6j), although both *daidaiiro* and *oreNzi* can refer to fruits and clothing, *daidaiiro* always refers to a lighter color.

In (6k) and (6l), there is no real area of overlap.

To summarize the results so far, in most cases in which two color terms refer to the same type of object, the colors they denote are quite different. This reaction is confirmed with the results of the second questionnaire given to these same twenty female students.

Beginning with the Berlin-Kay color chart, subjects were asked first to draw the boundaries of a particular color, and second to ascertain the best example of a particular color. The results of these two tasks are presented in (7) and (8) respectively.

(7) *The most suitable example of a certain color*

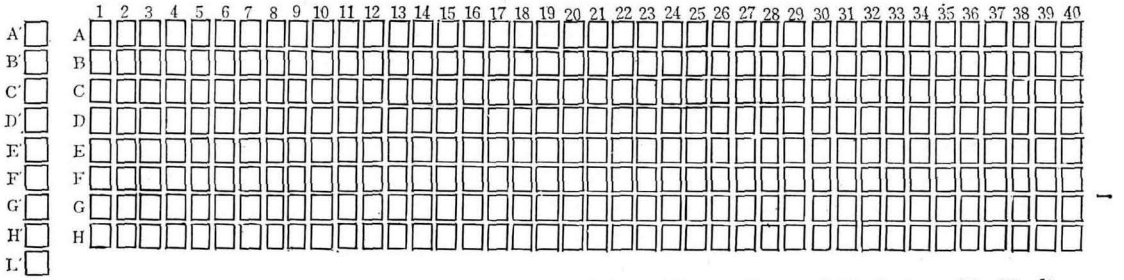


Color chart from *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (B. Berlin and P. Kay 1969)

灰色	(haiiro)	A'—F'
グレー	(grey)	A', C'—F'
黒	(kuro)	I', H-10, 22, 25
ブラック	(black)	I', H-11, 12, 22, 24
桃色	(momoiro)	C-3, 38, 39, D-2, 36, 37, 38, E-36, 37, 38, F-37, 40
ピンク	(pink)	C-1, 36, 37, 38, B-36, 37, 40 D-38, 39, E-37, 40
紫	(murasaki)	F-34, 35, G-42, 33 H-33, 34, 35
パープル	(purple)	E-32, 35, 37, F-32, 33, 36 G-32, 33, 34, 35, H-33, 34
水色	(mizuiro)	A-24, 26, 27, 28, C-24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, D-29, 30
ブルー	(blue)	B-28, 29, C-24, 27, 28, 29 D-27, 28, 29, 30, E-29, 30
紺	(kon)	G-29, 30, 31, H-28, 29, 30
タンクブルー	(dark blue)	F-29, 30, G-28, 29, 30, 31 E-31, H-27, 28, 29, 30
緑	(midori)	E-16, 17, 18, F-17, 18, 19, G-19
グリーン	(green)	E-16, 17, 18, F-17, 18, G-17, 20
黄色	(kiiro)	A-10, 11, 12
イエロー	(yellow)	A-11, 12
だいたい色	(daidairo)	B-8, C-5, 6, D-4, 5
オレンジ	(orange)	C-5, 6, 7, D-5
赤	(aka)	E-1, 2, 3, 4, F-1, 2, 3, G-1
レッド	(red)	E-1, 3, 4, 5, F-1, 3, 4, G-1

茶色	(tyaiiro)	E-7, 8, F-6, 7, 8,9, G-6, 7, 8, 9, 10, H-9
ブラウン	(brown)	F-6, , 8, G-6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, H-7
白	(siro)	the color of the background
ホワイト	(white)	the color of the background

(8) The area which best circumscribes a particular color



Color chart from *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (B. Berlin and P. Kay 1969)

灰色	(haiiro)	A'~G'
グレー	(grey)	A'~G'
黒	(kuro)	H', I', H-9~26
ブラック	(black)	H', I', H-10~26
桃色	(momoiro)	B-37~40, C-1~4, 36~40 D-1, 2, 35~40, E-1, 38
ピンク	(pink)	B-1~4, 35 40, C-1~4, 35~40, D-1, 2, 35~40, E-1, 36~40, F-37~40
茶	(murasaki)	E-33, 34, F-31~34, C-32~35 H-31~37
パープル	(purple)	E-32~35, F-32~34, G-32~35 H-31, 33, 36, 37
水色	(mizuiro)	A-23~30, B-24~30, C-24~30 D-26~30, E-27~30, F-29
ブルー	(blue)	A-23~30, B-23~30, C-24~30 D-24~30, E-25~30, F-26~30
紺	(kon)	F-27~30, G-26~31, H-27~30
ダークブルー	(dark blue)	E-26~30, F-27~31, G-26~31, H-28~30
緑	(midori)	C-15, 16, D-14~18, E-15 19, F-15~21, G-16~19
グリーン	(green)	C-13~16, D-14~19, E-15~19, F-15~21
黄色	(kiiro)	A-10~13, B-10~12
イエロー	(yellow)	A-9~13, B-10~12
だいたい色	(daidaiiro)	B-6~9, C-5~9, D-4~7, E-4, 5
オレンジ	(orange)	B-6~9, C-5~8, D-4~7, E-4~6, F-4
赤	(aka)	D-3~5, E-2~5, F-1~5, G-1~4 F-40, G-40
レッド	(red)	D-3~5, E-2~5, 40, F-1~4, 40, G-4
茶色	(tyaiiro)	D-9, E-6~10, F-6~10, G-5~11 H-5~8

ブラウン	(brown)	E-7~10, F-6~11, G-6~11, H-6~8
白	(siro)	the color of the background
ホワイト	(white)	the color of the background

The results of these sets of responses are summarized in (9).

(9) Results in chart form

		使 用 法 Usage	色 の 範 圍 Color area	一 つ だ け の 色 Best example
1. 赤・レッド	(red)	×	×	×
2. 桃色・ピンク	(pink)	△	×	×
3. 紺・ダークブルー	(dark blue)	△	×	×
4. 水色・ブルー	(blue)	△	×	×
5. 黄色・イエロー	(yellow)	△	△	△
6. 茶色・ブラウン	(brown)	△	△	×
7. 緑・グリーン	(green)	△	△	×
8. 灰色・グレー	(gray)	△	○	△
9. 黒・ブラック	(black)	×	△	×
10. だいたい色・オレンジ	(orange)	△	△	×
11. 紫・パープル	(purple)	×	×	×
12. 白・ホワイト	(white)	×	○	○

× indicates that the loan word and the native Japanese color term are completely different

○ indicates that the loan word and the native Japanese color term are exactly the same

△ indicates that the loan word and the native Japanese color term are approximately the same

Notice that, except for the pairs involving yellow, brown, green, gray, black, orange, and white, the boundaries and best examples are significantly different. In fact, only in the case of white, gray, and yellow are the denoted colors even remotely the same.

To recapitulate, we have seen that in the majority of cases, either the actual color which one of a pair of color terms denotes is different, or the objects referred to fall into separate classes. There are two additional considerations which make the use of a loan word different from the native Japanese word. First, many of the loan words are used very rarely. This is the case with *reddo*, *ieroo*, *burakku*, *paapuru*, and *howaito*. These are clearly words which are not fully assimilated. The second consideration is that the use of loan words is quite stylish. This point cannot be overemphasized. If two terms appear to be exactly identical, the use of the loan word has an additional sociological meaning. It says, in effect, that the speaker is cultivated, mature, educated, and knowledgeable. To back up this point, it must be remembered that the study of English in Japan is a tremendously serious concern. There are over 500 English language schools in Tokyo

alone. Everyone wants to be able to speak English, but very few can. Businessmen sit in English classrooms every night for two or three hours, and still have difficulty uttering simple greetings. Parents make their children attend special English classes, and the children do not speak English either.

The attitude of most Japanese towards English speakers is an accurate barometer of their attitude towards loan words from English. One of the most pretigious positions in Japan is simultaneous translation. That is, if one speaks English, he is immediately "above the crowd". The liberal use of foreign loan words impresses upon the listener the fact the person can speak (or desperately wants to speak) English.

Finally, in conclusion, in regard to color terms, whenever two terms, a native term and a loan word, appear to be identical or synonymous, this is an incorrect appraisal of the situation. There is always a difference between two ostensibly synonymous terms. Perhaps there is a difference in denotations, as in the case of *momoiro* and *piNku*, in which case *piNku* always refers to a lighter color. Perhaps there is a difference in permitted usage, as in the case of *kuro* and *burakku*, where *kuro* is the more general term and *burakku* can only occur in proper names or to describe such things as *koohii* without cream or sugar. Perhaps there is a difference in sociological factors. The most obvious sociological factor that can be seen is the prestige associated with the foreign term as opposed to the native. Thus, assuming that it occurs at all, the use of *burauN no seetaa* 'brown sweater' is clearly marked as prestigious; the desired connotation is that the speaker is extremely conversant with English. These do not exhaust the differences which may be delimited, but they suffice to show that in all cases there is a distinction between two ostensibly synonymous forms if the investigator goes deeply enough.

While I had intended to extrapolate from these observations and comment on the more general theme of synonymy in linguistics, I will leave that for another occasion. I will, however, pass on those conclusions. There are no completely synonymous expressions or sentences. Those expressions or sentences which appear to be synonymous will always contain some kind of distinction. The linguist must determine what those distinctions might be.

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DISCUSSION

Suksan Kim (Seoul National University): The three categories of loan words are not so clear to me. If you accept my definition of loan words as words of foreign origin which are subject to the morpheme structure rule of that language and hence become part of that lexicon of the language, could you clarify these three categories in the light of this definition?

John Hinds: There are at least three levels of loanwords in Japanese and I'll say why I call them loan words, in just a second.

There will be the fully assimilated type of loanwords. These are words that everybody uses and has no problem with, such as, *sebiro*, the word for *suit*. It is even written in Kanji. In Japanese, there is usually a distinction in that foreign loanwords will be written in katakana. The only other use of katakana will be for emphasis, so these are fully assimilated loanwords. There will be words that are possibly assimilated and these will be most of the words here. They will be words that are fully recognized by native speakers as loanwords, but they are understood by everybody.

Finally there will be the category of not assimilated at all. And these will be the type of things done by most advertising agencies, putting things upon the advertisement in the train that nobody understands and that's why the loanwords dictionary has become so important in Japanese. If you read any kind of magazine at all, the lady's magazines, the man's magazines, there is a tendency to use as many foreign words as possible, putting them into Japanese script. So I recognize that there

are three different levels of loan words in Japanese, and I don't intend that this list is either exclusively exhaustive or that it indicates all the types of loanwords that there are.

Kim S.: You are not confusing foreign words with the loanwords? Those listed in the handout are strictly loanwords.?

Hinds: With the exception of four sentences. All the verbs are loanwords rather than foreign words. For these the verbs have undergone almost complete morphological change, so for instance *daburu* the verb "to double", we form the past of that as *dabutta* and so on, the same for the rest; *sabutta* is the past of *saburu*. Nouns in Japanese don't do anything. There's no morphological change that occurs in nouns.

Kim S.: For example, if an English word such as truck borrowed into Japanese in order to become a native Japanese word it has to be pronounced 'torakku' not 'trak', if it were borrowed as a truck, it would not be a loanword, it would still be a foreign word.

Hinds: Yes. So, under that condition, all of these are following the *phonemic* structure of Japanese. And notice that they don't say anything like *salaryman*. They are following the Japanese phonological patterns

Soon Ham Park (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies): Korean and Japanese have many features in common, linguistically as well as sociologically. Somehow, when it comes to loanwords our attitude is certainly different from that of Japanese. We never use loanwords to this extent, to use *burakku* or *reddo*. Could you think of any reasons for such a difference between two people's attitudes?

Hinds: That's a really troubling question. Let me just explain the Japanese attitude towards it. Japanese are extremely quick at grabbing new kinds of things. You know we had *panda* booms that lasted for about six months and when the *panda* boom was over, several people had committed suicide because their warehouses were full of *panda* that nobody would buy. Japanese have the tendency to get things, different things, quickly, and use them up quickly. So if you check this list Loan Word Dictionary, it is amazing. You'll find that words contained in it sometimes are not used any longer. Tell me, I am really interested to know, why are Koreans more hesitant to borrow something psychologically.?

Duk Ho Lee (Seo Gang University): It seems to me that the definition of handled 'loanwords' should be almost equivalent or change to both in terms of both phonological and writing systems. Your examples don't seem to have both. For example, in Korean we have "nampo" coming from "lamp", but we never think of it as a loanword. We simply regard it as one of the Korean vocabulary items. We write it in Korean simply as a Korean word.

Hinds: Obviously, the definition of a loanword is an extremely difficult problem. Japanese is like Korean in some respects in that it writes with Chinese characters for stems and uses the native writing system indicating the inflection of endings, case particles, and so on. Japanese is different from Korean in that it has two types of native writing systems; *hiragana* and *katakana*, both of which are used for different purposes. *katakana* is generally used for emphasis, and for indicating loanwords. In that respect Japanese might be unique in having a writing system which enables it to maintain a clear distinction of foreign versus native words. Now, in English we have conventions such as the use of quotation marks or underlining. In the Japanese case all the things that I'm talking about do follow Japanese phonological patterns. They do conform to the phonological patterns of Japanese. The only area that it does not follow completely is the area of the writing system. However,

they are written in *katakana* rather than in romanization. All these things are written in Japanese except that they are written in *katakana*. Certain Japanese words, that is, as far as I know, native words, for example, *gomi*, the word for garbage, are almost always written in *katakana*. On the otherhand, the loanword *sebiro* is written in Chinese characters despite the fact that they came from English *civil* for civil servant. I went to a Korean restaurant in Tokyo one time and they had the signs for all of the Korean food written in *katakana* *kimuchi*, *bibimba*, and so on, and then on several signs where they listed other things they had *tabako koohi*, *kokakora*, all written in *hiragana*. These are normally written in *katakana*. As I understand your definition of loanword, the definition of loanword is that it is pronounced according to the Japanese sound system. In addition, we use the Japanese writing system to write these despite the fact that we are using **katakana** rather than **hiragana**.