

GAIRAIGO AND JAPANESE LANGUAGE TEACHING  
Keynote Address for the First Annual Conference  
The Japanese Language Teaching Association  
in honor of Professor Fumiko Koide

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translated by Marie J. Bedell

It is a great honor for me to have been invited here today to deliver the keynote address for what I understand is the first meeting of the *Koide Kinen Nihongo Kyoiku Gakkai*. Now, my eyes are not very good, and I couldn't see the part "*Koide Kinen*" very well, but I think it might be a little unusual to have the expression "so-and-so *kinen*" (in memory of so-and-so) in the title of a conference of this sort. Well, this is surely an indication of the importance of *Koide Sensei* to Japanese language teaching: Japanese language teaching is *Koide Sensei* and *Koide Sensei* is Japanese language teaching — whether I'm using *wa* correctly here or not is another matter — but this is my interpretation of the matter.

I have come close to Japanese language teaching but I haven't once been personally involved in teaching Japanese. Nor, to tell the truth, have I ever given much thought to the topic of teaching Japanese. And so, since Japanese language teaching is the focus of the gathering today, the connection has been made with to, ('and'), "...*to nihongo kyoiku*," however, I'm afraid my talk will necessarily favor the part **preceding** the '*to*', so I beg your understanding.

Today, what I would like to do is talk to you about *gairaigo* (loan words), and ask you to use *gairaigo* without discrimination, to treat them just like native Japanese words (*yamato kotoba*) or Chinese *gairaigo* (*kango*). By doing so it should be possible to foster non-native speakers of Japanese that speak Japanese naturally, just like native Japanese speakers. Any of you who might be saying to yourselves, "I don't discriminate against *gairaigo*, or native Japanese, or Chinese borrowings." Please feel free to take a little nap, or go outside. Anyway, I would like to speak on one or two topics in this vein.

Now while I have stated that I have not been involved in Japanese teaching, I have for instance written questions for the Japanese exams for entering foreign students at Saitama University while I was there. Whenever I would include questions on *gairaigo*, the rate of correct answers would be zero. I included such questions for three years, and for three years the success rate was zero. What could be the reason for this? Somehow, I couldn't help feeling from that time on that *gairaigo* must be a weak point in Japanese language education. Of course, it's possible

that only those who happened to be weak in *gairaigo* came to Saitama University. Of course on exams, posing questions which yield a zero success rate is completely contrary to good test-making; making test questions that establish the level of achievement is the proper way to construct an exam, and I was aware of this. I didn't do it specifically for this talk today, but I have verified over a period of three years, knowing that one year wouldn't do, that *gairaigo* is a weak point, and I have become convinced of this.

As to why *gairaigo* should be a weak point for learners of Japanese, I don't really know. I don't know, but my guess would be that there's the feeling for a lot of people that it's not really worthwhile dealing with. European learners in particular probably feel that Japanese *gairaigo* is so ridiculous no one would even study it. In other words, from their point of view, loan words are just a strange corrupted dialect, whose meanings are even slightly different. What we have at work here then is perhaps that they have no desire to study incorrect, or shall we say, broken, wrong English. And how do Asian students feel? They most likely feel that they would rather study real English than a warped version of English words. It's very possible that they don't have the attitude that *gairaigo* is also a part of Japanese that they should study seriously—this is all my own speculation of course, and maybe it's all completely off base. However, this is why I wanted to talk about *gairaigo* here today.

Now, *gairaigo* is, as you all are aware, borrowed expressions, imported in particular from Europe or America. This is what is given in the dictionary too. So, rather than *gairaigo*, perhaps we should be calling it 'boat language' (舶来語) or 'western words' (洋語 *yogo*). I myself occasionally use the expression *yogo*, ('western words'). However, if you stop to think about it, this is, technically speaking, strange no matter how you look at it. For example, in the NHK Hatsuon *Akusento Jiten* ("Dictionary of Pronunciation and Accent"), which I will take as standard, the word *yoga* appears. This is a Sanskrit word from India. Well then, since *yoga* is not of European origin, is it then not *gairaigo*? It's written in *katakana*, so I think it's all right to consider it *gairaigo*. Or, there's *rupii* (←*rupee*), a unit of money from India or Pakistan. We couldn't say it's not *gairaigo*—isn't it all right to call it *gairaigo*? In Indonesia there's the musical instrument called the *gamelan*; the Indonesian word *gamuran*, or the word *bazaar*—this is originally from Persian, Iranian—shouldn't it be all right to call these *gairaigo*? Borrowings from such regions also, not just from Europe, America, or the West, should be called *gairaigo* too, don't you think?

If you try to think about what could not be called *gairaigo*, first of all there's Chinese. This we could not call *gairaigo*. Korean—you couldn't call that *gairaigo*. Both languages use kanji. And then there's Ainu—you could say it is, you could say it isn't. Take the word *kotan* ('village'). If you write it in *katakana*, it's a rather

stylish, nice word isn't it? But to call it *gairaigo*, well, you somehow feel that you want to, but it's hard to bring yourself to do so. Supposing we were to include Ainu in this group, then what I have come to realize lately is that those languages quite close to us, or even in our midst, Chinese, Korean, and Ainu, are non-*gairaigo*, and we are designating languages in areas other than those as '*gairaigo*.'

Now, that we are excluding Ainu, Chinese and Korean, and particularly designating languages borrowed from other areas with the word *gairaigo* is extremely meaningful from the standpoint of Japanese culture, but I will not go into that today.

Just what position exactly does this *gairaigo* — what we have defined thus as *gairaigo* — occupy within our Japanese culture? I think that, first of all, it begins with modernization during the Meiji Restoration. And what is "modernization" but the imitating of Europe. In imitating we tried to catch up. Ultimately we have caught up, yet we are still imitating Europe. This is modernization. And so, as we got headed in this direction, loan words came in. However, for some reason, in early Meiji what we did with what came in then was not to handle it in the same way as what we now term *gairaigo*, but to combine two Chinese characters, making extremely artificial combinations. And so we coped with the enormous quantity of European modernistic concepts with words created out of combinations of two kanjis. And what we couldn't handle with this method, we wrote in *katakana* — in other words we made do with what we are now calling *gairaigo*.

I will refer to this again later, but to illustrate for the moment, let us take for example, the word 'company', which came from English. How should this be translated? Nowadays we translate it *kaisha*. There is, however, the story that it was first rendered as *shakai*. The word *kaisha*, however, didn't exist in Chinese. Moreover, the word *shakai* did not have the meaning 'society' which is currently associated with it. The kanji *sha* (社) refers to a gathering, or assembly of people sharing a belief in the god worshiped in a certain locality. Or, it referred to a large neighborhood association, consisting of 25 households—large for a neighborhood association. This was what *shakai* referred to in China, not to the *shakai* that we now think of as a community or a society. This we artificially created here in Japan — the combining of *sha* with *kai*. We stuck together the two kanji, both of which mean a gathering of people, or that people gather. I'm sure that Chinese people in those days must have thought that such words as *shakai* or *kaisha*, or speaking of *sha*, *shako* (社交), or the *shadan* (社団) of *shadanhojin* (社団法人), or *shacho* (社長) were strange kanji compounds. Just as Americans today think that *gairaigo* is weird, and can't bring themselves to feel that it's worth studying, so the Chinese must have not wanted to learn such Japanese words. We created kanji words which as Chinese were incorrect, or slanted, in other words, made-in-Japan Chinese. We created quite a lot of such words. And I think that the success of modernization

lay in our having done so.

As was mentioned in the introduction, I have studied Turkish and I am still studying it on occasion. At present in Turkey, though it's not yet completed, an extensive encyclopedia is currently being published, and in the introduction to volume one they write about Japan. It doesn't say, as I have just been saying, that the modernization of Japan was brought about by creating coined-in-Japan Chinese words, but they do say that modernization was introduced through the Japanese language, and that the children were educated in Japanese. This they say, was the great driving force that built the Japan of today. So you see, now foreigners, even Turkish people, recognize this fact. Modernization began in this way, with the adoption of loan words and the acceptance of concepts from foreign countries.

Then, since the war, the information boom and internationalization have become one great movement. The amount of information is truly enormous, to the point of being too big. I used to say quite early on, jokingly, that the *ka* of *johoka* (情報化) is not the kanji *bakeru* (化ける), but should be written with the *ka* of *choka* (超過, excess). Not only is information abundant, but it is constantly changing and new information pours in constantly. Moreover, the information is very high level, and gets more and more so. We can no longer absorb it all by artificially combining two designated kanji as we did at the time of the Meiji Restoration. One reason for this is that competence in kanji has deteriorated throughout the general public. I feel that it goes even deeper, that at the root of this is the fact that we Japanese have grown away from Confucian principles, and that kanji has diminished in tandem with this. Furthermore, supposing we did have a thorough grounding in kanji, we've created so many Chinese compounds since Meiji that we can no longer create new homophones. Also, with all of the information coming in in this age of information and internationalization, even if we were to translate all of it, it wouldn't last more than six months. In computer-related fields it seems to change completely in six-month cycles. And so, I think that such a dizzying rate of change is all the more reason for our incorporating foreign words in the form of *gairaigo* as we now do, by rendering them in *katakana*.

As a well known example, we have the word *mass communication*, which Professor Taeko Nakamura here at ICU has done research on. The word came into Japanese, and the concept came in. There had been no such concept in Japan previously. We did have the words *rajio* and *shinbun*, but we didn't have the concept of communication directed at the masses, the mass communication that meant the broadcasting of a great quantity of information at once to the general public. At the time this came in, it was translated as *taishutsuho* (大衆通報) at UNESCO—an extremely accurate translation. The 'masses' is *taishu*, and 'communication' is *tsuho*. However, no one would use it. They didn't use it and

what did happen was that everyone said *masu · komyunikeeshon*. But *masu · komyunikeeshon* has seven syllables. Japanese doesn't take to such long words, and so now we have *masukomi* — just four syllables. And this form has stabilized. And nowadays, we have split *masukomi* into *masu* and *komi*, and used *komi* to create what we might call made-in-Japan Western or English words, such as *kuchikomi*. *Kuchikomi* would have to be called a hybrid, in this case a blend of Japanese with what seems to be English.

Just how are such loan words received by the general public? The most common opinion is that the proliferation of such words is a big problem. What can we do? A good friend of mine, Ono Susumu has said that if we go on like this the Japanese language will disintegrate. Why would he have written such a strange thing? If you could say that, then English would have disappeared from the face of the earth. English is more than seventy percent borrowed from French, or Romance languages; and Turkish, as of 1928, was 85% Arabic and Persian. However, they haven't disappeared. That doesn't happen. Yet, everyone says we ought to translate things into Japanese. This is fine —one can't oppose such an opinion. If something can be translated, that's terrific. For a while I used to hear complaints about the proliferation of such *gairaigo* in letters to the editor, and readers' columns, and the like, but these days I don't see too much of that sort of thing anymore. Instead, these days I sometimes read exhortations from foreigners who have lived in Japan for some time and speak Japanese and who, perhaps for their own convenience, are scolding the Japanese for using too many loan words, saying that we should value our own language more highly.

But what does the general public think about loan words? In 1988 the NHK Hoso Bunka Kenkyujo conducted a "Survey of Language Environment ". They have been doing an annual social survey on language since 1987; and in 1988 they sampled one thousand people in the metropolitan area, and *gairaigo* was quite popular. In (a) on Figure 1, we see that 54% of the respondents are in

表1 NHK放送文化研究所「第2回言語環境調査」1988

(a) 「意味がわかれば外国語 や外来語をいくら使っても かまわない」	(b) 「外国語や外来語を使うことにつ いて、どういう感想をお持ちです か」		
そう思う	54%	新しい感覚が出せる	50%
そう思わない	35%	微妙な意味合いが出せる	33%
どちらとも		学のある人に見える	7%
言えない	10%	格好よく見える	5%
		意味がわかりにくくなる	37%
		日本語の伝統が	
		破壊される	16%
		その人がキザに見える	10%

agreement with the statement "If the meaning is clear, it's OK to use any amount of foreign words or loan words," and 35% disagreed. Of course, this is under the condition that the meaning is understood; if the meaning weren't clear there would be problems. But really, we Japanese, for instance when we are conversing with someone who is widely educated — this has happened to me quite a bit here at ICU in particular — we might frequently come up against *gairaigo*, or English or something in between English and *gairaigo*. In such situations, when there is a word we don't understand, we have to pretend we do understand. And then, if we are really stymied, we go home and stealthily look it up in IMIDAS or something like that. Of course back in the old days we didn't have IMIDAS. Anyway, the feeling that we can't right then and there ask the meaning of some *gairaigo* that our partner has used is rampant among us Japanese. I used to do that when I was at Tokyo University, and a student would use a word I didn't know. I'd say "What does that mean?" and usually they couldn't explain — they'd be incoherent. And of course, I'm the professor, so I'd tell them not to use words they didn't understand. I only did this in a few special instances. Generally if I didn't understand what something meant, well, since that was the atmosphere, even if I didn't know what they meant, it was really all right.

One thing that amazed me is, once when I went to the second or maybe third floor of Seibu Department store in Ikebukuro where only women's wear is sold and photographed all of the words that could be seen there, how many of the words were completely incomprehensible to me. Now, you may think that it's only natural that a man wouldn't know much about women's things, but I am a linguist you know. But I'm sure that there is no one — I apologize if there's anyone here today from Seibu — there's no one who would say that they would not shop at Seibu because it uses too much *gairaigo*. If anything they'd probably go there for that very reason. If you have a nice product, they (Seibu) know that the same product, or maybe even a not so good product, seems better if there's *katakana*, or even the original language on them. If *gairaigo* were so rejected by everyone, I'm sure Seibu would change their policies immediately starting tomorrow. So, this 54% is not at all in error.

As to why *gairaigo* should be so acceptable, we can see in the response to the question "How do you feel about the use of foreign words and *gairaigo*? Fifty percent responded "It can impart a sense of newness" (新しい感覚が出せる). These must be the ones Seibu is aiming at. Thirty-three percent responded "It can impart subtle shades of meaning" (微妙な意味合いが出せる). There were few who responded "You appear to be educated" (学のある人に見える), surprisingly few; but there must be some like that among us — among those who profess to be scholars. And then there was the similar response, "It looks stylish."

In contrast to these there were negative opinions; as we might expect, quite a few responded "it makes things difficult to understand"; others responded, "it destroys Japanese traditions", "people (who use expressions) like that seem to be snobs." I think that this and "you appear to be educated" are two sides to the same coin. So you see the general public is, I'm afraid, in a highly receptive mood toward *gairaigo*. Given this situation, don't you think *gairaigo* ought to be taught as a matter of course? If it is being taught as a matter of course, then why do we have the case of zero (test scores) at Saitama University? This is what I want to talk about today.

Now, this was just a survey, so it doesn't go into the reasons behind the responses. I would like to mention a couple of my own ideas on this; particularly with reference to the responses "It can impart a sense of newness" and "It can impart subtle shades of meaning." If I may give an example I have written about previously, we had a

native Japanese word meaning a place one spends the night while travelling, *yadoya*. But we abandoned this and

表3 和語／漢語／外来語

やどや	旅館	ホテル
はやさ	速度	スピード
いま	現代	ナウ
いいなづけ	婚約者	フィアンセ

created the word *ryokan*. That was just fine, but then we didn't like that either, and started to use the word *hoteru*. And then, and this is a characteristic of Japanese culture, that once we have adopted something, we won't let go of it. And so we have what is called a layered culture in which all sorts of cultures have been piled one on the other; and what we have adopted we just keep. Just one would be enough, we could have quit. But we don't quit. So now we have *yadoya* and *ryokan* and *hoteru*, each having come to mean something slightly different. A *yadoya* is either a cheap place, or an extremely expensive place; usually cheap, and usually with slanted eaves. And *ryokan* is ordinary. A *hoteru* should be a good place. A bit fancy, in Western style. Therefore, since it sounds good, we call even places that don't deserve the name, *hoteru*. So please don't complain that there are strange *hoteru* or that *hoteru* aren't necessarily all good. As the image or connotation of a word, *gairaigo* brings with it a certain image, for instance, 'new' or 'stylish', which may be only part of the meaning of a word or a meaning associated with the word. You can see this when we take three similar words and look at them together like this.

Let's consider *hayasa*, *sokudo*, and *supiido*. When we say *supiido* it's invariably fast. We don't say *osoi supiido*. Do you say it? I don't. We can say that *hayasa* or *sokudo* is slow or fast. The same is true of *ima*, and *gendai*, and *nau*. There's also *nau*. *Ima* is kind of vague, and *gendai* is very old. *Nau* is perfect to

mean precisely 'just now'. Actually, they say that this too is on the way out. Or, how about *iinazuke*, *kon'yakusha*, and *fianse*. An *iinazuke* is someone one's parents have decided on, that you are going to marry grudgingly. *Kon'yakusha* is if anything ordinary. And a *fianse* has to be young, if you'll pardon my saying so. Don't you think so? If she's not a cute young thing she's just not a *fianse*. If I were to remarry and introduce my *fianse* that would be strange. If I were to introduce her as my *kon'yakusha*, that would probably be fine. Words do have their own image like this. It won't do any good to say it's a shame. That's just the way it is. There are an extremely large number of three-word sets like this; I have only presented a few today. But I think these exemplify the substance lying behind the responses "It can impart a sense of newness" and "It can impart subtle shades of meaning" found in the survey.

Another thing I'd like to point out is that *gairaigo* can be extremely useful as round-about expressions. For example, Japanese of our generation find it very

表4 遠回し表現に利用

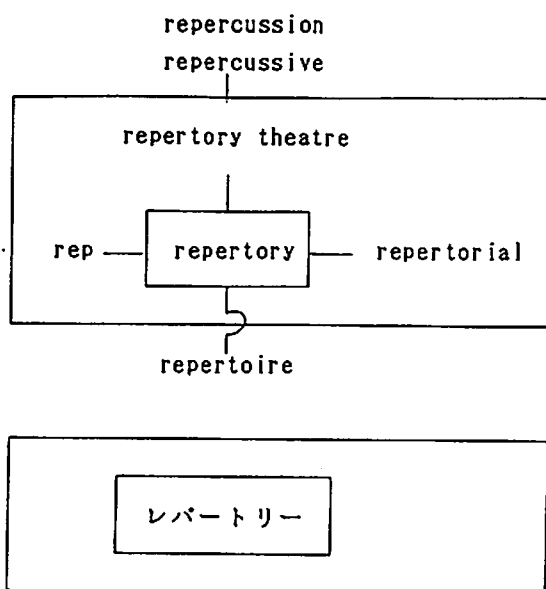
コスト	↔	(かかる) お金、値段、費用	difficult to bring
コイン	↔	硬貨	themselves to mention
アドバイス	↔	忠告	money. We don't talk
アンティーク	↔	古物	about it. <i>Kosuto</i> , on the
セックス	↔	性欲・性交	other hand we can talk
トイレ	↔	便所	about easily. But it's
アベック	↔	二人づれ	the same thing! If we
ハツ	↔	(牛 or 豚の) 心臓	say <i>koin</i> rather than
			<i>koka</i> (硬貨), we feel

somewhat better. It's a bit softer, just as for instance if, instead of saying *anata ni chukoku shimasu*, we were to say *anata ni adobaisu shimasu*. Though the content of the advice may be the same, with *chukoku* (忠告) you'll invariably end up fighting. If we call something that has gotten old *antiiku* rather than *kobutsu* or *furumono*, it will be quite expensive. I think it's probably expensive just because of the word itself. The same is true of sexual language. I can use the word *sekkusu* that we see here in Figure 4 above with no problem, but the words to the right I just can't bring myself to pronounce here in this setting. And as for the next group of words also, *toire* I can use with no qualms, but if I were to use the words on the right, especially in the presence of so many women, I would be criticized, so I don't use them. Or take *abekku*, this is all right to use; but *futarizure* implies something a bit suspicious. *Abekku* is preferable. Take also the word for the heart of a pig or cow, which is kind of out of the ordinary. We say *hatsu*. This is derived from *haatsu*, the English word "heart." Instead of saying I'll have the *ushi no shinzo*, we say I'll have *haatsu*. And this then gradually became *hatsu*. I haven't eaten it, but it's a fairly refined word.



And so, in this way through the use of *gairaigo* we are able to talk about things that we can't mention directly. I think the use of *gairaigo* will continue to flourish. Now, if you ask am I glorifying *gairaigo*, am I wholeheartedly in favor of it, I would have to say I'm not. What we most have to watch out for in the importation of *gairaigo* is, and this is true of any word, that once you have incorporated an expression, it becomes isolated. As an example we may take the word *repaatorii* (repertory), which appears in the *Hatsuon Akkusento Jiten*. I have relied only on dictionary information, but most likely Americans and British who use this word have the kind of network of related vocabulary items that you see in Figure 2 of the handout. There are words very similar to *repertory*, *repertoire*, the adjective

表2 repertory と レパートリー



*repertorial*, and the abbreviation *rep*. Also, using the prefix *reper-*, there is *repercussion*, and *repercussive*. Native speakers then have a, shall we say a family of related words constituting a body of associations in their heads. Now suppose we import such a word as *repaatorii* — this is an accomplished fact

according to the NHK dictionary. When this comes in as a borrowed word it's isolated and helpless; it's lonely. There is not a single other related word. This means that that area of the vocabulary is weak. This is a big problem. If as in English, there were a collection of related words and you knew at least one of them well, you could relate the others by analogy. However, there is not even a single other word in Japanese with a portion of word structure in common with *repaatorii*. Well, for a word ending in *-torii* we do have *santorii* (Suntory).

Making such isolation within a vocabulary system is quite problematic. Recently, however, a means of solving this has come into use. This method consists of creating made-in-Japan Western words, or made-in-Japan English, in other words, hybrids. For example, there is the word *birujingu* in Figure 5. I have indicated

表5 外来語の語彙ネットワーク

○[bɪldɪŋ](building)		cf. 会 社
↓		会社 社会
/bɪruziŋgu/ (ビルヂング)		会員 社交
↓		会席 社員
◎ビル → ◎丸ビル◎ビル街◎マネービル	(公) 会堂	社団 (法人)
◎高層ビル◎ビル火災	会長	社殿
◎ポディービル		
◎インテリジェントビル		
○野球：球の種類	ソフトボール	○ゴーイング マイウェー
	スポンジボール	◎マイ カー→◎マイカー族
投手の球質	スローボール	◎マイ ホーム→◎マイホーム
	フォークボール	主義
	ナックルボール	◎マイ ベース
	ビーンボール	
	⋮	
プレイの種類	ファウルボール	◎フォアボール
		◎デッドボール
		◎クッションボール
		◎パスボール (<passed ball)

pronunciation as found in the dictionary in square brackets, and the orthography, or spelling, in parentheses. Today we won't be concerned with the spelling. Now, the word "building" came into Japanese in the Meiji Period. At first it should have been pronounced *birujingu*, and the spelling shouldn't matter, but it was spelled with *chi* (チ). The Marunouchi Building was spelled ビルヂング. It should still be around somewhere; I have a photograph of it. It took a little while for the *chi* to change to *shi*, (we aren't concerned with spelling today, but it's hard for Americans and British to reconcile themselves to our sticking on vowels (like the *u* on) *bi ru ji n gu*, but that's the Japanese language— it just doesn't seem proper to them.) Then, *bi-ru-ji-n-gu* became *biru*. Well, no sooner does it become *biru*, then if we have *Marubiru*, why there has to be *koso* (高層) *biru*, in other words we stick it on to the ends of words. And then we stuck it at the front of words and came up with blends like *birugai* (ビル街) and *birukasai* (ビル火災) —mixtures of Japanese and *gairaigo*. And then, in Japan, we came up with *maneebiru*, *bodeebiru*, and *interijentobiru*. These are all made-in-Japan English, you know; English-looking words created in Japan. With these sorts of things going on we have created a vocabulary of words built around the word *biru* or *birudingu*. We could view this as the beginning of the creation of a family of words just like those associated with "repertory" (in English).

There is also the example of baseball vocabulary. We have baseball words for various kinds of balls, *sofutobooru*, and *suponjibooru*. These are English, though of course we use them as Japanese. And then there are words for the types of balls thrown by the pitcher: *suroobooru*, *fookubooru*, *nakkurubooru*, *biinbooru*, and

various others. These are all English and used also as Japanese. To make up for a lack of terminology for types of play however, we created such words as *foabooru*, *deddobooru*, *kusshonbooru*, and *pasubooru*. *Pasubooru* was changed from *passed ball*, so we don't really know if it is a combination of Japanese *pasu* and *booru*, but we created all of these made-in-Japan English terms. In other words, we are in the process of creating related vocabulary surrounding the word *booru*.

*Goingu mai wei* (Going My Way) they say is the title of a movie. From this *mai wei*, we have created *mai kaa*, *mai hoomu*, and *mai peesu* (my car, my home, my pace). And then, from these we have *maikaa-zoku* (マイカー族) and *maihoomu-shugi* (マイホーム主義), both made-in-Japan English. This is rather powerful, don't you think? I mean, these words are reproducing here in Japan. But the people involved in English language education all say that these, shall we call them made-in-Japan *gairaigo*, or made-in-Japan English, or hybrids if you will, are being promoted so popularly that it's creating problems for them in teaching English. But does Japanese exist for the teaching of English? All we can do is to be conscious of the fact that such expressions differ from English. Otherwise, this could be dangerous. To illustrate, someone I know very well, who happens to be the section leader of a research institute, went to Paris and, thinking that *tarento* (talent = 'popular entertainer') was French, gave it a French pronunciation, *taran* or something like that, and nobody knew what he was talking about. Something seemed to be lacking. And this is a section leader in a national research institute! For someone in such a position to end up doing something like this brings it close to home. So, that there is so much Japan-made, Japanese-style *gairaigo* is a big problem after all. Certainly, it's a problem, but I think though, that this means it will most likely become necessary to distinguish what is English from what is Japanese. This being the situation then, what I am doing is offering the optimistic view that those isolated *gairaigo* expressions are going to gradually be supplemented.

As to what is going to come about in the next era, I have indicated on page one of your handout the flow of modernization: information proliferation, internationalization, and as the next phase, I think we will have a period of information dissemination. Until now we have been in the position of receptor. The concept of mass communication was received, words were received; these were all

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adopted and incorporated. Now it's our turn. It's natural that the time should come for Japan to disseminate to the rest of the world what we have created — though not necessarily every single thing. If this happens, if you stop to think about it, it's entirely possible that these strange, made-in-Japan English expressions will also be disseminated. Just look at the case with Chinese. We learned kanji from China. Then we created such completely artificial combinations, laughable to the Chinese, as *shakai* and *kaisha*. But now they are using them. And the same thing happened with Korean.

With this kind of give and take, from now on we will not be just uni-directionally receptive, but will enter a period of assertive dissemination. With this in mind, it will be ever more necessary for us to keep an eye on this matter of made-in-Japan English, or hybrids.

Furthermore, if we are to have *gairaigo* treated without discrimination, another point we can't overlook is amount of *gairaigo* existing in the Japanese language today. There are various differing statistics, but according to the NHK *Hatsuon Akusento Jiten* that I have been making reference to, *gairaigo* constitutes 7.7% -- something this extensive cannot be disregarded. Moreover, what I finally want to point out is that, when words are imported from English, we are not just taking them in haphazardly or arbitrarily; there are proper rules being followed. This I would like to talk about in part today.

Chinese people, when they study Japanese, master very early the pronunciation of kanji. That is because there is a correspondence between their own sound for a kanji and the Japanese sound for that kanji. They don't necessarily go so far as to set out these correspondences in writing, but they grasp them in their head. Therefore, they can learn them quickly. Just as the Chinese can do this, so too Europeans and Americans should be able, I think, to adequately grasp the use of *gairaigo* using the knowledge about English that they possess if they are aware of the rules. Of course this is with regard to form only, meaning is a different matter.

As one example, (I refer to Figure 6 on page two) I have listed over-all transformation rules, and the rules of correspondence, but it wouldn't be of much interest to cover all of them now. Today, I will just talk about English words which end in a consonant. There are many such words in English. What I would like to point out is that it is possible to state in writing precisely how these words should be rendered when they are adopted into Japanese. For instance, there are cases where the vowel /u/ is added to the word-final consonant. Exactly when this is done is clear — when the final consonant is m, f, v, s, z, j, r, or l we add /u/. For instance, 'golf' is *go, ru, fu*, the last is of course not 'f' (in Japanese). And then we have p, b, f, v, th, s, sh, ch, j, k, g (f, v and s occur both ways), where *sokuon* (small

表6 音韻変換ルール

①	-C → C u	C = m, <u>f</u> , <u>v</u> , <u>s</u> , z, ʒ, l
②	→ Q C u	C = p, b, <u>f</u> , <u>v</u> , θ, ʒ, <u>s</u> , ʃ, t s, dʒ, dʒ, <u>k</u> , ʒ
③	→ Q C o	C = t, d
④	→ Q C i	C = tʃ, dʒ, <u>k</u>
⑤	→ N	C = n
⑥	→ N g u	C = ɲ

① [gɔlf](golf)  
↓  
/gɔruhu/(ゴルフ)

② [kik](kick)  
↓  
/kiɔku/(キック)

③ [bed](bed)  
↓  
/beɔdo/(ベド)

④ [keik](cake)  
↓  
/keɔki/(ケイキ)

⑤ [gaun](gown)  
↓  
/ga'uN/(ガウン)

⑥ [gɛŋ](gang)  
↓  
/gɛŋgu/(ガング)

*tsu*) occurs before the consonant, making a double consonant, as in *kikku* (kick). *Kiku* (キク) should be just as good, but we write it *ki-k-ku* (キック). It's a rule that we have to double the consonant. If the consonant is t or d, besides doubling the consonant, we find /o/ added to the consonant instead of /u/. This is most likely because there is no syllable *tu* or *du* in Japanese. In the same way we find /i/ rather than /u/ in words ending in ch or j or k. For example, 'cake' may be pronounced *keeku* by some, but I have given it as an example of the addition of /i/, *keeki*. Next, we have the case of the final consonant *n* which is rendered with the Japanese syllabic *n* (*haneru on*, *hatsuon*). And in the case of -ng, there is an additional syllable. In this way, *by* and *large*, for words ending in a single consonant there are established rules for their incorporation into Japanese. In addition, there are similar such rules in the case of vowels also. What I am saying is, there are definite established rules, so learn them.

One more thing, which I will talk about for the very first time here today — that I haven't talked about anywhere else before, is what I will call for the time being long-vowel adjusting (長音調整) rules. I think that we have to pay a little more attention to the treatment of long vowels. What brought this to my attention has to do with a very close friend of mine, the Catholic priest Grootaers. I think you are all familiar with his name. Now, his name, which is Dutch, is pronounced in Japanese *gurootaasu* (グロータース). I see a certain amount of the mail he gets, and many of the letters addressed to him spell his name *gurootasu* (グロータス). Not *taasu* but *tasu*. Of course he himself writes his name with the kanji 愚老足. I'm sure this is in fun, but he did spend a long time in China, and he's in earnest. It's probably not the result of this kanji rendition of his name; it's more likely that where there are

two long vowels like this, they can't both be sustained, and the one further from the accented syllable is not pronounced.

Another interesting item is the word *konpyuutaa*—is it *konpyuutaa* or *konpyuuta*? It seems uneducated if you don't spell it *konpyuutaa*. However, in the natural sciences fields, *konpyuuta* is the proper terminology. Why there is this vacillation needs to be explored I think, but from the point of view of pronunciation, I think they are probably not pronouncing it *konpyuutaa*. If it were pronounced exactly as the katakana is written it would sound like stupid Japanese, and so the shortening occurs. The same sort of vowel adjustment rule is probably at work.

The word *burudoozaa* too has two long vowels, so the one further from the accent, the final *zaa*, is most likely being pronounced with the shortened *za*. If it's really the case that we are pronouncing these in this way, then it offers a perfect explanation for the point which I want to talk about next, which is that the accent on borrowed words falls on the third mora from the end. If this is the case, why doesn't that happen on *burudoozaa*? Well, it just so happens that, in the case of *burudoozaa*, since the third mora from the end, which is where we want to put the accent, is a long vowel, we have to move it forward one mora. This is the somewhat awkward explanation that is usually given. If, however, we take it as *burudooza*, then we can explain it readily. These are examples in which there are two long vowels; for words containing one long vowel we can't construct neat and tidy rules, but vowel shortening does occur occasionally. For example, the word *magajin* (magazine) occurs both with the accent on *ji* and with the accent on *ga*. If we take the version which fits the explanation (of where the accent falls on *gairaigo*), then the *ji* should be long, but nowadays it's given as *magajin*.

This is really the first time I have talked about this situation with the long vowels; you may be thinking "That's weird, or strange", but please take the time once in a while to listen to your own pronunciation or the pronunciation of others. In the Kansai for example, they don't say *koohii*, but *koohi*. And it seems they don't say *hikoojoo* (飛行場 'airport') either, but *hikoojo*. I have read an essay that took up this phenomenon. You may well say, "Well, that's just Kansai. It's different in Tokyo. (Here) it's *konpyuutaa*." If that's what you think, that's fine, but somehow, if we pronounce things just as they're spelled in kana, it just seems strange as Japanese. The reason it sounds strange is, for one thing, that we feel that this long vowel adjustment rule is at work. This topic is what I'd like you, who are all working out there in the field of Japanese teaching, to look into. I don't get many opportunities to listen to the pronunciation of young people any more. There are only old people around me. So I hope you will listen carefully to the pronunciation of young people please, and pay attention to this long vowel phenomenon. This is one reason I have talked about this today.

Figure 8 relates to the accent on *gairaigo* words. The accent falls at the third mora from the end; at least it does that, not one hundred percent of the time, but about seventy percent of the time. So, in the majority of instances it comes on the

表8 英語、日本語アクセント対応表

	英語 / 日本語		
①	+	/ +	263 (30.7%)
②	-	/ +	166 (19.3%)
③	+	/ -	298 (34.6%)
④	-	/ -	131 (15.3%)

『日本語発音アクセント辞典改訂新版』(1985)

4,394語からのサンプル1,464語から得た858語  
 /の左側の+は、外来語のアクセントの位置が英語のアクセントの位置に一致することを、-は、一致しないことを表す。  
 /の右側の+は、外来語のアクセントの位置が終りから3拍目にあることを、-は3拍目以外にあることを表す。

third mora from the end. I recently had a chance to examine a sample of 858 words from a list of 4,394 words. Item number one (of Figure 8) indicates the number of instances (a total of 263, or 30.7%) in which the English accent and the Japanese accent coincided. Not only that, but in the Japanese, that fell on the third mora from the end. The word *beddo* is one such example. "Bed" is only one syllable in English, so the accent falls on the *e*. In the Japanese *beddo*, too, the accent falls on the */e/*.

If you take various combinations in various situations and examine the frequencies you'll find that the position of the English and the Japanese accent will agree; that is, you'll find that when the English accent transfers as is to the Japanese accent position, it will usually be the third mora from the end, three times out of ten.

Of course, I myself am enjoying the interesting aspects of research into the topics I have mentioned today. But *gairaigo* is not just interesting, Japanese *gairaigo* already has its own history. There are rules; there are also clear-cut correspondences with the words of the original language. Since this is the nature of *gairaigo*, I want you, as I mentioned earlier, to cherish *gairaigo* also, just as you do *yamato kotoba* and *kango*, not forgetting that this too is Japanese. Perhaps out there in the teaching arena you are all using in your drills sentences like *hana ga saita*, or *tori ga utau*, which use only *yamato kotoba*. If you would also include sentences like *hoteru ni tomatta* in your drills and, maybe not in the early stages but sometime, if you can find the opportunity to talk about how *hoteru* differs from *yadoya* as well as from *ryokan*, then I think the students' awareness of *gairaigo* would undoubtedly deepen.

Thank you very much for listening.