

English Loanwords and Made-in-Japan English in Japanese

*Mariko Hatanaka**

Hawai'i Pacific University, USA

Justin Pannell

Hawai'i Pacific University, USA

Abstract

English-derived words (EDWs), either English loanwords or made-in-Japan English expressions, are ubiquitous throughout the Japanese lexicon. Though educators may exploit them to aid vocabulary learning, their meanings often diverge from their words of origin, and many EDWs are not used in most English-speaking contexts. This study surveyed six native speakers of Japanese (NSJ) and six native speakers of English (NSE) to examine participants' knowledge of the meanings of both English words with Japanese equivalents and made-in-Japan EDWs. These NSJs often assigned English words the meaning of Japanese EDWs and were unaware that many EDWs are not used outside of Japan. We investigated the attitudes that NSJs maintain toward made-in-Japan EDWs. Reactions were mixed. We proffered several explanations for why this was the case. The pedagogical implications are that English language teachers must be cautious when using EDWs to build vocabulary. We suggested several ways that this learning strategy can be judiciously employed.

Introduction

As the number of English users increases, people are starting to produce new forms of English around the world. There is no longer one “correct,” “authentic” kind of English. While the Inner Circle’s variety of English (Kachru, 1982) is often considered the norm, things are changing. Speakers in Outer-Circle countries and Expanding-Circle countries are creating new varieties of English and are appropriating English for local purposes (e.g., Pennycook, 2001). As educators, we believe that changes in English are inevitable, and we need to welcome them. Although this linguistic revolution may be slow and implicit, it is undoubtedly occurring. In this paper, we focus on how English is appropriated in Japan and discuss some of the functions of Japanese English-derived words (EDW). We also review the literature on the pedagogical implications of exploiting the considerable cache of English which Japanese learners of English have at their disposal, namely the large set of EDWs which they employ daily. While EDWs may prove to be a powerful



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Website: <http://www.hpu.edu>.

* Email: mhatanak@my.hpu.edu. Address: MP 441, 1188 Fort Street Mall, Honolulu, HI 96813, USA.

pedagogical tool for vocabulary building, the degree of semantic shift away from EDWs' words of origin along with the fact that many EDWs have no English equivalents militate against this teaching strategy. In our own study, we take a look at some of the attitudes native speakers of Japanese (NSJ) hold toward made-in-Japan EDWs which have no English equivalents. We conclude with a discussion of some of the ways to counterbalance worries regarding the pedagogical uses of EDWs.

English Words in Japanese

Japanese is written using a combination of *kanji*, an ideographic system of imported Chinese characters, along with two systems of syllabic characters, *katakana* and *hiragana*. Japanese is also many times represented in *romanji*, roman letters used to represent the sounds of Japanese, and the Japanese language is often seen juxtaposed with English expressions in advertisements and like contexts. Modern Japanese contains a strikingly large number of EDWs, which are written in *katakana*. Tomoda (2002) noted that a general academic consensus divides Japanese into (a) *wago*, words originating in Japan written in *kanji* or *kana* (*hiragana* or *katakana*), (b) *kango*, words originating in China which are written in *kanji*, and (c) *gairaigo*, which are words written in *katakana* that originate outside of Japan or China. Since we are concerned with *gairaigo* terms which have English words of origin, the term will here will be restricted to them. *Gairaigo* contrasts with other EDWs in Japanese in that *gairaigo* terms are genuine loanwords which have been borrowed from English. In contrast, (d) *wasei-eigo* are expressions that are coined in Japan from English words. According to Miller (1998), *wasei-eigo* is a result of Japanese people appropriating English words to create new terms for objects, descriptions of feelings, adjectives, and so on. We will use the term "English-derived words" (EDW) to refer to words that are both both *gairaigo* and *wasei-eigo* terms.

Gairaigo and *wasei-eigo* have been rapidly introduced since the World War II, this dovetailing with the end of a nationalistic drive to eradicate foreign influence during the war. To illustrate this linguistic boom, Shinnouchi (2000, as cited in Rebeck, 2002 p. 53) claimed that in 1967, the Dictionary of Foreign Words published by Kadokawa Shoten listed 25,000 loan words, while the 2000 edition of Sanseido's Concise Dictionary of Foreign Words expanded to 45,000 loan words. The distribution of loanword is also heavily skewed toward English. Stanlaw (2004) claimed that English *gairaigo* terms account for approximately 94.1% of all Japanese loanwords (as cited in Ingawa, 2015 p. 12). Further, Honna (1995) noted that foreign words, most of them English, make up 10% of the Japanese lexicon listed in most Japanese dictionaries. He also reported that 13% of the words used by ordinary people in everyday conversations are foreign words. Strikingly, 60% to 70% of newly created words that enter Japanese dictionaries every year are from English (p. 45).

Honna posited three reasons for the rapid spread of EDWs. First, the use of *katakana* makes it possible to introduce foreign words into the Japanese lexicon. Second, the Japanese government limited the number of common-use *jyouyou kanji* for news media and general audience publications in reaction to a recommendation to replace *kanji* with *romanji* made by American educational reformers after World War II. Although the number of *jyouyou kanji* has fluctuated, reducing the number of *kanji* approved for everyday use to approximately 2000 has

limited the expressive power of the orthographic system in practice. *Katakana* EDWs were exploited to fill this void in the lexicon. Third, the Japanese public spends an enormous amount of time and energy undertaking compulsory English education, further facilitating the adoption of many EDWs.

In seemingly paradigmatic cases, *gairaigo* terms are semantically closely related to English words. For instance, words such as *rajio* (ラジオ; “radio”) and *pen* (ペン; “pen”) are derived from “radio” and “pen” respectively and co-refer with those words. However, Kay (1995) described the unavoidable semantic shift that many *gairaigo* terms undergo by noting that “borrowed words inevitably acquire culture-specific meanings, to varying degrees. It would be difficult to find a borrowed word which has retained exactly the same meaning or context of use as its word of origin” (p. 71). *Gairaigo* terms often have a narrower meaning than their origin words. The word *sutoobu* (ストーブ; “heater”), for example, has a more restricted meaning than the English origin word “stove.” At times, the degree of semantic shift can be striking. To illustrate, the meaning of the term *baikingu* (バイキング; all-you-can-eat buffet) diverges dramatically from the meaning of its origin word “viking.” Similarly, the word *manshon* (マンション; “apartment complex”) has undergone significant semantic shift from its origin word “mansion.” Kay offered two reasons for why *gairaigo* terms are especially susceptible to semantic shift. First, the meaning of the origin word may not fully be understood. Second, there is “no deep cultural motivation to protect their original meanings” (Kay 1995, p. 72). The resulting semantic shift oftentimes results in *gairaigo* expressions whose meaning native English speakers cannot arrive at without prior knowledge.

EDWs play important and interesting sociolinguistic functions. In a study of EDWs in Japanese in advertising, Rebeck (2002) posited three main functions of EDWs, namely, filling a lexical gap, achieving a special effect, and serving as euphemisms. While filling a lexical gap may at first blush appear straightforward, this phenomenon exhibits significant complexity. The most straightforward cases of lexical gap filling involve circumstances in which a physical object is named by coining a phrase, such as *rokketo* (ロケット; “rocket”). Ideas may receive names in similar fashion such as in the case of *puraibashii* (プライバシー; “privacy”), which denotes an idea which has gained more social currency as small communities have been replaced by sprawling urban areas. The social landscape in which the language is embedded often complicates lexical gap filling. For instance, Rebeck (2002) noted that “loanwords also have the ability to bestow recognition on a social problem or need that may exist without a name” (p. 55). Rebeck uses the example of back clipping the words “sexual” and “harassment” to produce *sekuhara* (セクハラ; “sexual harassment”), the naming of which cast light on the social problem and partially enabled a discourse about the topic to emerge in popular circles.

Moreover, Shibatani (2009) claimed that even EDWs which appear to have existing Japanese synonyms can have “different shades of meaning and stylistic values, thereby enriching the Japanese vocabulary and allowing for greater range of expression” (p. 746). EDWs generally have a narrower meaning than native Japanese counterparts. For instance, the Japanese word *torikesu* (取り消す; “cancel”) refers to a wide variety of cancellation-type acts, the word *kaiyaku* (解約; “cancel a contract”) is used in reference to the cancellation of contracts, while the EDW *kyanseru* (キャンセル; “cancel”) is reserved for cancellation of reservations or tickets. The narrowed meaning of *gairaigo* terms intrinsically makes them good candidates for lexical gap filling.

Rebuck included in her discussion of special effects of EDWs the following instantiations of this function: conveying “Western qualities,” being trendy and modern, triggering ethnocentric stereotypes, changing the perception or image of something that has not essentially changed, distinguishing Western and Japanese varieties of things, and creative use of language. Miller (1998) similarly emphasized the creative uses of *wasei-eigo* in claiming that “*wasei eigo* relates to aesthetic or poetic needs of speakers... One of the most prominent functions of *wasei eigo* is its use as part of imaginative punning and wordplay” (pp. 130-131). These observations hint at an increased expressive power of the Japanese language engendered by the promulgation of EDWs.

EDWs are often used “because the native equivalent sounds too direct, or when the implied meaning of a word can have negative evaluations” (Rebuck 2002, p. 61). For example, priority seating for the elderly is referred to as *shirubaa shiito* (シルバーシート; “priority seating for the elderly”). The euphemistic use of *wasei-eigo* in this case designates seating for the elderly in a guise which users will find more palatable i.e. of “silver age” rather than of “old age.” Euphemistic use of EDWs is not always so innocuous. Honna (1995) pointed out that the use of the word *loon* (ローン; “loan”) intersected with the Japanese development of a consumer economy and replaced the Japanese original word *shakkin* (借金; “loan”), which had taken on the connotation of excessive spending. The EDW offered the practice of lending an air of respectability and encouraged consumers to seek loans.

Despite the nefarious purposes for which EDWs can be used, these facts further the notion that EDWs serve vital functions in the modern sociolinguistic landscape of Japan. The varied functions of EDWs along with their prevalence in life in Japan has led many to embrace them. Inagawa, whose study (2015) focused on the creative and playful aspects of EDWs in Japanese, pointed out that the continued diffusion of English in Japanese contexts correlates with a “change in the process of assimilation to the local context—a localisation or nativisation of the language” (p. 15). In other words, as EDWs become more familiar and disseminated within Japanese society, they become more deeply embedded in Japanese culture and accepted by Japanese language users. The result is that “localised transformations of English are likely to encourage local audiences to perceive a Japanese-like quality to the English words, rather than feeling that English is somehow a foreign entity encroaching on traditional ground” (p. 16). These remarks indicate not only an appreciative attitude toward EDWs but the prediction that a broader range of Japanese people are comfortable with them than before.

Despite these positive attitudes, EDWs still face opposition. In the extreme case, stalwart traditionalists argue that the use of EDWs must be resisted on the grounds of nationalism and cultural preservation. It is also possible that an individual simultaneously hold seemingly incongruous attitudes toward EDWs. In her ethnographic study of EDW use in a rural town in Hokkaido, Hogan (2003) stated that townspeople generally associate EDWs with greater prestige, a sense of expertise, cosmopolitanism, and youthfulness. However, townspeople also derided individuals who overused EDWs, viewing such people as pompous or socially inappropriate. Thus, the depiction of a simple dichotomy of EDW supporters and detractors is overly simplistic. Individuals may exploit EDWs for their perceived positive associations while simultaneously maintaining negative attitudes bolstered by a belief that EDWs have a corrupting influence. As Hogan’s study was limited to one rural area, the question of what views and attitudes Japanese speakers maintain toward EDWs is still very much a live topic.

Pedagogical Issues Related to English-Derived Words in Japanese

A crucial pedagogical issue related to the attitude of speakers to EDWs emerges from these views. Kay (1995) and Barrs (2011) argued that the pervasiveness of English *gairaigo* terms can serve as a boon to Japanese learners of English, and Nation (2003) pointed out that similarities between L1 and L2 vocabulary can support vocabulary learning. In the context of Japanese learners in particular, Nation asserted that “Encouraging learners to notice this borrowing and to use the loan words to help the learning of English is a very effective vocabulary expansion strategy” (p. 5). Olah (2007) suggested that textbooks ought to integrate *gairaigo* word lists which are familiar and relevant to a topic under discussion into the classroom. However, Olah also noted the reality that “If Japanese have a negative attitude toward LWs [loanwords], then using them as an aid for teaching spoken English would be difficult” (Olah 2007, pp. 182). Hence, the first issue related to pedagogy concerns the attitude that Japanese learners of English hold toward *gairaigo* terms. If the recognition of the functions, expressive power, cosmopolitanism, or other aspects of *gairaigo* terms result in a positive image of *gairaigo* words in the minds of Japanese learners of English, then English learning may be facilitated if it is true that learning through equivalents is helpful. However, if traditionalist or other negative views predominate among EFL students, then this strategy will be undermined. Olah found in his study of the attitudes of Japanese EFL students toward *gairaigo* terms that learners have generally positive attitudes.

While more research needs to be conducted on the facilitative effect that *gairaigo* terms may have on Japanese learners of English, some of the research may appear to count against the possibility of using *gairaigo* terms as a teaching aid. Tamaoka and Miyaoka (2003) found in their study on interlexical activation between Japanese and English that there were no differences in reaction times or error rates of participants who gave affirmative responses to *gairaigo* terms which were either phonetically similar or dissimilar to their English words of origin. Tamaoka and Miyaoka concluded from this finding that “Japanese speakers do not activate lexical representations of English words while processing Japanese loanwords adopted from English” (Tamaoka & Miyoka 2003, 78).

It is important to note that Tamaoka and Miyoka’s study does not rule out the possibility of Japanese speakers activating lexical representations of *gairaigo* terms when learning or using English. If Japanese learners of English consciously attempt to employ *gairaigo* as a learning aid, it is plausible that they will activate the appropriate lexical item. Since their study did not claim that a symmetrical non-activation will hold for Japanese to English activation, we should not rule out this possibility. In fact, these researchers noted the high possibility that participants in their study were relying on their knowledge from previous exposure to *katakana gairaigo* terms to discriminate whether the test words were licit or not. Thus, their study leaves the door open to researchers and educators alike who are interested in utilizing *gairaigo* as a learning tool. Moreover, given the widespread use of loanwords as vocabulary aids in language learning and communication contexts, it is plausible that the same principles will hold in the case of Japanese and English.

In contrast, research has also been conducted which supports the use of *gairaigo* as a learning tool. Brown (1995) asked the participants in his study to choose a word to complete a

sentence from a bank comprised of English words which would each result in a well-formed sentence upon selection. Brown found that Japanese EFL students were more likely to choose a word if it was a *gairaigo* term, suggesting that these students felt more comfortable with *gairaigo*. Brown suggests that EFL teachers of Japanese students may exploit this tendency by using texts which contain a large set of *gairaigo* terms to facilitate vocabulary building. In the same vein, Daulton (1998) administered a fill-in-the-blank vocabulary test to 27 first-year Japanese junior college English majors. Daulton found that the accuracy of students increased dramatically for English words which have been borrowed into Japanese when controlling for word difficulty. He concluded that *gairaigo* terms are an effective instrument for vocabulary building.

A second pedagogical issue concerns *gairaigo* words such as *sumaato* (スマート; “slim or fashionable”) and *naibu* (ナイーブ; “sensitive”) which have undergone substantial semantic shift. As Japanese English language learners become accustomed to exploiting the presence of *gairaigo* terms in the lexicon as a boon to their language learning they may overgeneralize and mistakenly use the English origin words of *gairaigo* terms in inappropriate contexts. This concern is investigated in the present study.

A third pedagogical issue concerns whether Japanese learners of English recognize that *wasei-eigo* terms are Japan’s uniquely coined English words and phrases. Similar to the case of *gairaigo* terms, Japanese learners of English may overgeneralize the strategy of using *gairaigo* terms and misapply to *wasei-eigo* terms the vocabulary building strategy. Since *wasei-eigo* terms by definition do not have English origins despite the fact that they are made up of English words, ill-formed statements may result. For instance, a Japanese learner of English might ask the following questions if she misapplies the strategy: “Do you like to ride jetcoasters?”; or, “do you think there is the right amount of skinship in that relationship?” These are not wellformed expressions in the most English-speaking contexts. If Japanese learners of English are unaware that *wasei-eigo* terms exist, then the prospect of teaching strategies for building L2 vocabulary through the use of *gairaigo* terms appears dimmer.

A further concern relates to attitudes toward and comprehension of *wasei-eigo*. Comprehension of *wasei-eigo* terms by Japanese learners of English has already been the object of some research. Meerman and Tamaoka’s (2009) study found that a group of 92 Japanese ELF learners surveyed for their knowledge of the meanings of *wasei-eigo* terms assigned the correct meaning to the terms more than 80 percent of the time.

Given the pervasive phenomenon of EDWs in Japanese and the above pedagogical concerns, we conducted a small-scale study to explore the comprehension of EDWs by native speakers of Japanese and English. Further, given that *wasei-eigo* are expressions created in Japanese of English linguistic materials, we also probed their attitudes toward *wasei-eigo*

Research Questions

To address these concerns, this paper aims to explore the answers to the following questions:

- (1) How do NSJs and NSEs understand the meanings and connotations of *gairaigo* words (English loanwords in Japanese)?
- (2) How do NSJs and NSEs understand the meanings of *wasei-eigo* words (newly coined expressions using English words)?

- (3) Do NSJs recognize that *wasei-eigo* terms are not used outside of Japan?
- (4) What attitudes toward *wasei-eigo* do NSJs and NSEs maintain?

Methodology

Six NSE (three male and three female) and six NSJ (three male and three female) responded to a written survey concerning their understanding of the meanings and connotations of *gairaigo* terms, their understanding of *wasei-eigo* terms, and their attitudes toward *wasei-eigo*. The participants were all university students attending either Hawaii Pacific University or the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, Hawaii. Participants' ages ranged from 21 to 45. Two of the NSEs have visited Japan.

For the *gairaigo* survey (Appendix A), the following seven words were chosen based on their high frequency of use and the degree of semantic shift which each term has undergone: *smart*, *naive*, *unique*, *reasonable*, *maniac*, *veteran*, and *mansion*. Each respondent was asked to define each word, give an example sentence using each word, and indicate whether each word has a positive or negative connotation. If the two groups systematically offer different glosses for the *gairaigo* terms, especially if the glosses provided by the NSJs coincide with Japanese equivalents, then the results will suggest that the differences in meaning and connotation between a *gairaigo* term and its English origin word are not properly understood by the NSJ group.

Respondents to the *wasei-eigo* survey (Appendix B) were instructed to guess the meanings of the following six *wasei-eigo* terms: *salaryman*, *babycar*, *guardman*, *jetcoaster*, *cheergirl*, and *skinship*. This procedure maintains the same goal of previous studies, namely to identify the success rate at which NSJs can identify the meaning of *wasei-eigo* terms. Surveying the NSE group on the *wasei-eigo* terms serves the purpose of identifying whether NSEs will be able to guess the meaning of *wasei-eigo* terms used in most English-speaking contexts. If NSEs are not able to guess the word correctly, then we can surmise that communication will be inhibited if NSJs use *wasei-eigo* terms as if they were used in English outside of Japan.

Finally, mini-interviews were conducted with both the NSE and NSJ groups to both elicit their attitudes toward *wasei-eigo* terms and to investigate whether the NSJs recognize that *wasei-eigo* terms are not used outside of Japan.

Findings

Table 1 shows the responses to the *gairaigo* survey. Table 2 shows the positive or negative connotations that NSJs and NSEs assigned to the English equivalents of *gairaigo* terms.

As Table 1 shows, NSJs and NSEs may understand English equivalents of *gairaigo* terms in profoundly different ways. In the cases of *unique* and *reasonable*, the responses of every NSJ differed from every NSE. For the remaining five items, the majority of the responses of the two groups differed. What can be gleaned from Table 2 is that the perceived positive or negative connotations of some of these terms differ according to respondent group. The Japanese equivalent of the word *naive* can be used in praises, whereas NSEs assigned the term a negative connotation. Similar remarks hold for the word *maniac*. While each of the NSEs assigned *maniac* a negative connotation, half of the NSJ group assigned a positive connotation.

Table 1
Understanding of Gairaigo Terms' Meaning by NSJs and NSEs

<i>Gairigo</i> Term	Native Speakers of Japanese (N = 6)	Native Speakers of English (N = 6)
<i>Smart</i>	Skinny; Slim (83%)	Not Stupid; Intelligent (100%)
<i>Naïve</i>	Sensitive (83%)	Easily fooled; Unaware (100%)
<i>Unique</i>	Funny (100%)	One of a kind; Special; Different (100%)
<i>Reasonable</i>	Cheap; Affordable (100%)	Fair; Logical (100%)
<i>Maniac</i>	Expert; Otaku (100%)	Crazy (83%)
<i>Veteran</i>	Professional; Expert (100%)	Someone who was in the military (67%)
<i>Mansion</i>	Apartment; Condominium (83%)	Big and fancy house (100%)

Table 2
Perceived Connotations of Gairaigo Terms by NSJs and NSEs

<i>Gairaigo</i> Term	Native Speakers of Japanese (N = 6)	Native Speakers of English (N = 6)
<i>Smart</i>	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%
<i>Naïve</i>	Positive: 67%; Negative: 33%	Positive: 0%; Negative: 100%
<i>Unique</i>	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%
<i>Reasonable</i>	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%	Positive: 100%; Negative: 0%
<i>Maniac</i>	Positive: 50%; Negative: 50%	Positive: 0%; Negative: 100%
<i>Veteran</i>	Positive: 83%; Negative: 0% Neutral: 17%	Positive: 67%; Negative: 0% Neutral: 33%
<i>Mansion</i>	Positive: 17%; Negative: 33% Neutral: 50%	Positive: 67%; Negative: 0% Neutral: 33%

Table 3 reports the NSEs understanding of the meanings of the selected *wasei-eigo* terms. The meaning of some of the words, such as *guardman* or *cheergirl*, were guessed correctly, likely because they are similar to *bodyguard* and *cheerleader* respectively. However, no one in the NSE group was able to guess *skinship* correctly, ostensibly because there is neither an English equivalent nor a similar sounding word which has an identical meaning. In total, four of the six *wasei-eigo* words, *salaryman*, *babycar*, *jet coaster*, and *skinship*, were assigned incorrect meanings by at least one NSE.

Table 3
NSEs' Understanding of Wasei-Eigo Terms' Meanings

<i>Wasei-Eigo</i> Term	Responses by NSEs
<i>Salaryman</i>	a. A person who gives out the salary b. white-collar worker*
<i>Babycar</i>	a. A toy car for babies b. Stroller*
<i>Guardman</i>	Security guy*
<i>Jetcoaster</i>	a. A runway for jets b. Rollercoaster*
<i>Cheergirl</i>	Cheerleader*
<i>Skinship</i>	a. A ship that is made out of skin b. Bonding through touching*

Note. *correct guesses

These findings suggest that within most English-speaking contexts, a NSE would not understand some NSJ utterances of *wasei-eigo* terms.

The NSJ group was given the same list of *wasei-eigo* terms and asked if they knew what each one means. Six out of six NSJs people knew the correct meaning of each word (Appendix C). When the NSJ respondents were informed that these *wasei-eigo* terms do not exist in English, some of them reacted with surprise and even embarrassment. One participant remarked, “I knew some were *wasei-eigo*, but some of them are shocking to know. I think this is bad. Not good for students if they want to work globally. Embarrassing.” Expressing similar sentiments, another respondent stated, “Ashamed. We have to decide one word [for rollercoaster].” The responses of NSJs overall indicate that they believed that *wasei-eigo* terms have English equivalents.

Three out of the six NSJs stated that they were “embarrassed or ashamed,” and three of the six also stated that they were “shocked” or “surprised” that the terms do not exist in English. Three out of the six NSJs evidenced a positive attitude toward these terms and expressed the opinion that the originality of the terms is a unique feature of Japanese English. One NSJ respondent remarked that “I did not know [*wasei-eigo* has no equivalents]! Very surprised—but not ashamed—people in the world should use Japanglish.” Another remarked that while she was “a little ashamed,” she felt that “in Japan it’s used so much and it’s one of Japan’s unique feature so it might be interesting to maybe introduce to native speakers of English. We don’t have to kill this [*wasei-eigo*]. Everyone uses!” Thus, attitudes toward *wasei-eigo* were mixed, sometimes even within the same response, after participants were informed that the terms are not used outside of Japan, with responses ranging from enthusiastic reflection to shock and embarrassment.

NSEs generally agreed that the EDWs were in some way creative or interesting, although they found some of the terms confusing. One NSE stated, “I think they’re [*wasei-eigo* terms] actually very funny and interesting. Some of them have really wrong meaning, but the others are

somehow guessable! Interesting. I like it.” It is worth briefly noting the complexity of this response. While the NSE is on the surface supportive of the local appropriation of English by Japanese speakers, remarking that some of the terms have the “wrong meaning” reinforces the notion that English speakers in predominantly English-speaking countries should control language norms. Similarly, a different NSE respondent remarked, “It’s cool that they’re from a different culture but can adopt a language and create their own meaning. It’s not weird for them to interpret our language differently because sometimes we interpret their language in the wrong way.” Here again, we note that on the surface the statement appears to support local appropriation of English. However, the statement that English is “our” language subtly implies the idea that English is not shared with Japanese speakers. Rather, speakers in English-speaking countries singularly own the language, and therefore determine the norms for English.

Discussion

Our findings show that NSJs and NSEs understand the meanings and connotations of the English equivalents of *gairaigo* terms differently. NSEs correctly assigned the meanings and connotations of the English words, while NSJs assigned the English words the meanings and connotations of the Japanese equivalents. The pedagogical implications of this finding, then, may be articulated as a conditional conclusion. If it is true that *gairaigo* terms can be used to buttress the learning of their English equivalents (Kay, 1995; Olah, 2007; Daulton, 1998; Nation, 2003), then educators of Japanese English learners ought to cautiously explain the differences in meaning and connotation of the *gairaigo* terms and their English origin words. Without the proper guidance, learners may use the English origin words with the intended meaning of the *gairaigo* terms, resulting in the use of these terms in inappropriate contexts.

In our views, educators may implement at least two strategies to use *gairaigo* terms as learning tools. The first strategy is to educate learners to employ *gairaigo* terms to assist initial vocabulary building. The second strategy is to teach the differences between a *gairaigo* term and its English origin word but to do so in a gradual manner. Given the high degree of semantic shift which many of these terms have undergone, an educator may merely teach a few contrasts at a time with the hope that this approach will mitigate the dangers of overgeneralization. Educators ought to introduce pairs or groups of *gairaigo* words and their English origin words over time, pointing out differences in meaning and connotation, while keeping in mind that sometimes close resemblance with fine distinctions may be harder to learn than clear contrasts. The crucial point is that educators need to strongly emphasize that carrying over *gairaigo* meanings to English origin words may result in inappropriate utterances. Educators should also explain the reasons behind the dangers of blind assumptions and encourage their students to carefully check for differences in meaning and connotation on their own before projecting meanings to unknown vocabulary items.

NSJs correctly understood the meaning of most of the surveyed *wasei-eigo* terms. Thus, these findings accord with Meerman and Tamaoka’s (2009) study, which found that Japanese EFL learners correctly identify the meaning of *wasei-eigo* terms over 80 percent of the time. The NSEs were far less successful, as four of the six *wasei-eigo* terms were assigned an incorrect meaning by at least one NSE. The implication from this finding is that many English speakers

will not understand the use of a *wasei-eigo* term used in most English-speaking contexts. Besides the problem of producing an infelicitous utterance, Japanese speakers of English who use *wasei-eigo* terms as if they were everyday expressions are likely to find a breakdown in communication. This conclusion must be tempered with the recognition of a limitation of the study, namely NSEs were not given a context in which to guess the meaning of the *wasei-eigo* terms. Had they been given such a context, it is possible that they would have been able to guess the meanings of the terms. However, these results indicate that using *wasei-eigo* terms in English outside of Japan may significantly jeopardize communication. Further, the findings show that NSJs are often not aware that *wasei-eigo* terms are not used outside of Japan, pointing to the need for educators to explicitly draw learners' attention to the phenomena of *gairaigo* and *wasei-eigo* and to discuss their differences.

The NSJ participants' mixed reactions to *wasei-eigo* terms are partially due to individual differences holding between participants. Those who reacted excitedly may be reflecting Inagawa's (2015) conclusion that English has permeated the Japanese language at a deeper level of nativisation and localization. Since these words have attained a native-like quality for many Japanese speakers, these participants may represent a growing class of Japanese speakers who do not feel that the positive functions and aspects of EDWs are derived from their Western associations. While Japan is an expanding circle country, the localization of English in tandem with the general trend toward globalization has prompted many Japanese people to have a sense of ownership with respect to *wasei-eigo*, a sense of ownership that might well exceed that felt toward *gairaigo* terms.

In contrast, half of the respondents reacted negatively after being informed that the *wasei-eigo* terms do not exist in English. We believe that this can be understood through the lens of the special effect function and the euphemistic function of EDWs. One special effect of EDWs is to imbue an utterance with a sense of Westernism, cosmopolitanism, and modernism (Rebuck 2002; Hogan, 2003; Kay, 1995). If the cosmopolitan and modern connotations associated with *wasei-eigo* are perceived to be dependent on their Western association, then losing the sense of Westernism and forcibly localizing *wasei-eigo* will undermine these positive attributes of these EDWs for some individuals. After subtracting these special effects from *wasei-eigo* terms, their use and presence in the Japanese lexicon may seem otiose or at worst an embarrassment, since the authenticity of the special effect is challenged once the Western associations are divorced from the term. Similarly, if the sense of expertise and prestige which Hogan (2003) and Rebuck (2002) found Japanese speakers associate with EDWs is parasitic on the terms' English origins, then these terms will lose the positive social significance they once enjoyed. Hogan and Rebuck further found that the euphemistic function of EDWs is related to their sense of foreignness. Sensitive topics can be kept at arms length precisely because EDWs have English origins and are associated with the West. Once this sociolinguistic scaffolding is taken away, however, these terms lose the associations which provided for their euphemistic function. More than this, EDWs are often used to express negative attitudes toward the West and to challenge foreign influences (Hogan, 2003). The use of EDWs to label stigmatized groups and behaviors subtly aligns the West with non-normative behavior. When made-in-Japan *wasei-eigo* are recognized as such, the non-normative groups, behaviors, and categories associated with those terms must now be owned by the language community which birthed the terms. Moreover, their use as a tool to criticize

Western influences may appear uncoupled from the terms once one recognizes that these EDWs originate in Japan. While none of the *wasei-eigo* terms used in the survey name stigmatized groups or behavior, the recognition that many EDWs generally do not exist in English may have evoked a sense of uncertainty about EDWs i.e., a confusion about which EDWs can legitimately play which functions. This may further account for some of the negative reactions found in this study.

This study has several limitations, including a small sample size and the small number of words surveyed. Future studies should try to include more respondents of different ages and educational backgrounds. Also, a longer list of EDWs words should be surveyed to identify their similarities and differences in usage, and the *wasei-eigo* terms should be embedded in multiple contexts to investigate whether NSEs can guess the meaning more accurately when a context is provided.

As an exploratory study on the phenomena of English borrowing and appropriation in an EFL context, however, it points to the need for English language educators to pay attention to important and powerful ongoing language changes to the target language which may occur *locally* in the Expanding-Circle context, rather than only in the Inner-Circle context. These changes challenge the conceptualization that the Expanding Circle is 'norm-dependent' while the Inner Circle is 'norm-providing' (Kachru, 1982). Apparently, new norms and language forms are being developed in an Expanding-Circle country such as Japan. If English language educators' goal is to facilitate global communication and understanding, an understanding and appreciation of the nature of English borrowing and appropriation should be promoted among both users of English as a second language and speakers of English as a native language.

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Appendix A
Gairaigo survey used for both NSE and NSJ

	Meaning	Example	Positive/Negative
<i>Smart</i>			
<i>Naive</i>			
<i>Unique</i>			
<i>Reasonable</i>			
<i>Maniac</i>			
<i>Veteran</i>			
<i>Mansion</i>			

Appendix B
Wasei-Eigo survey used for NSE

	Guess?	Thoughts?
Salaryman		
Babycar		
Guardman		
Jetcoaster		
Cheerleader		
Skinship		

What are your thoughts on these 'Waseieigo' ("Made-in-Japan" English Terms)?
What if we start using these words all around the world? Are they weird or acceptable?

Appendix C
Wasei-Eigo survey used for NSJ

Look at the following vocabularies (you are probably familiar with them):

- Salaryman (サラリーマン)
- Babycar (ベビーカー)
- Guardman (ガードマン)
- Jetcoaster (ジェットコースター)
- Cheergirl (チアガール)
- Skinship (スキンシップ)

Did you know that these words are actually not used in English?
Do you think that Native Speakers of English should also use these words?
Should it be accepted/considered as a form of English?
What are your thoughts on these Japanglish / Waseieigo terms?

About the Authors:

Mariko Hatanaka received her MA in TESOL from Hawai'i Pacific University in 2016. She has been teaching English in Honolulu and is interested in English as a global language and identity in second language learning.

Justin Pannell is an MA candidate in the TESOL program at Hawai'i Pacific University. He received his M.Phil in Philosophy in 2015 from Syracuse University, where he taught as a teaching associate. His academic interests include content-based instruction, critical pedagogy, and Japanese loanwords.