

Language Borrowing and Language Diffusion:* **an Overview**

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Perhaps the most frequently encountered product of cultural contact is the set of loanwords that follow from intercultural communication. This "Language Borrowing" section of ICS XI-4 begins with an introduction to some of the major contributions to the linguistic study of the field of language borrowing and a general treatment of some of the latest approaches

Part I gives an overview of the scholarly approaches to the topic, primarily those since 1950 but including some of the earlier European work. Part II gives a contemporary case study on massive language borrowing and the subsequent diffusion of the loanwords throughout a society's language use. Part III gives some examples from many languages of the world of the most advanced stage of language borrowing and diffusion: dual language neologisms in daily use.

PART I History of the Study of Borrowing

Introduction

Borrowing is the process of importing linguistic items from one linguistic system into another, a process that occurs any time two cultures are in contact over a period of time. Haugen's 1950 article on borrowing marks the beginning of the current interest in the topic. Much of the earlier work had dealt with historical linguistics and much of the following work has dealt with other areas of linguistics. The early study of the process of borrowing and its results emphasized items from the linguistic systems such as vocabulary, phonology, grammar. In the last four decades added emphasis has been given to the study of the borrowing of other elements in communication systems. The topic overlaps

with a number of disciplines also concerned with the study of humans and their communication, such as the fields of anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

An etymological dictionary of any major language contains the dozens of sources for its vocabulary. Many factors influence the amount and rate of borrowing. Relatively close contact over centuries in Europe and other areas resulted in extensive borrowing and re-borrowing. The advent of radio and television has introduced another type of language and cultural contact in the spread of linguistic and communicative elements. The globalization of markets for products from around the world has resulted in advertisements which often carry not only foreign names but foreign terms. German "fahrvergnügen" is an example of a term that was being spread some years ago along with the ads for Volkswagens. The term disappeared from use soon after the ads ceased to appear. The development and improvement of means of rapid travel, especially the airplane, have contributed to the increase in borrowing. Together with rising affluence, rapid travel encourages more and wider contact with other languages and other groups of people. Scholars in the field of contact linguistics, sociolinguistics, cultural anthropology and other areas are documenting the amount, rate, and types of borrowings and borrowing processes as they occur.

This treatment begins with an overview of the results of borrowing studies before Haugen's work. The new directions which followed that work and Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953) precede a conclusion on the state of the art through the later part of the 20th century.. Since Weinreich's book, interest in the impact that one language is having on another in the cultural contact situation has intensified. The study of borrowing as a factor in the contact situation has overlapped with the study of other areas of interest in linguistics over the same five decades. For example, the delimitation of the field of borrowing from codeswitching and from transfer and interference is a current problem. (Heller 1988, 15) Another problem is the separation of language acquisition from borrowing.

The Study of Borrowing

Holgar Pedersen's *The Discovery of Language* (1924) documents the development of linguistic science in the 19th century. In the 18th century, little attention was paid to resemblances due to borrowing rather than from internal changes in the languages. Much of the basic theory and practice of the study of borrowing was developed over the next century and a half. For an example, Rasmus Rask helped solve a linguistic problem by using the principle that languages tend to resist borrowing related to certain areas of life. Deeply religious material tends to be transmitted in original form, often for centuries. When a dispute arose about the relation between Sanskrit and Avesta, Rask pointed out that the special religious terms in Zoroaster's teachings were without exception non-borrowed, which indicated the coordinate status of the two languages. Early work on the history of a language identified **doublets**, the

same word borrowed at different times from the same source. The multiple sources of the vocabulary of European languages were analyzed, for example, those of Albanian, a language spoken by people who came in contact with numerous other groups over the centuries. The identification of loanwords from Slavic, Italian, Greek and Turkish was relatively easy. The borrowings from Latin were much earlier and included words which had undergone the many Albanian sound changes over the centuries. Studies which included borrowings from and into the Germanic languages proliferated. Slavic and Celtic studies also produced etymological dictionaries which are still reference points in the field. In addition to studies of the major language groups of Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, and Romance, studies of other languages and language groups were gaining sophistication. The Finno-Ugric family and its spectrum of loanwords from Iranian, the Baltic area, Germanic, Scandinavian, and so on were studied. Turkish, Mongolia and Manchu, all tentatively considered part of the Altaic family, also received attention. As one example of the complexity of studying these languages and those with which they came in contact, the Mongol empire begun by Ghengis Khan in the thirteenth century reached from the Pacific into Eastern Europe. The lack of early written records for some of the languages involved has complicated the study of the situation.

Case studies of languages, such as that of Jespersen for English (1923), summarized the knowledge gained over the preceding century. Careful research had shown how earlier borrowed words went through the various sound changes in the languages, so that dating of language contacts was possible. The studies identified the types of elements which are borrowed. Vocabulary and phonology are borrowed more readily than morphology, syntax and stylistic features. Languages also have different levels of resistance to loans or susceptibility to loans.

Several scholars dealt with the different situations of language contact which impact the borrowing that occurs. Commerce or incidental contact results in relatively few loans. Side-by-side contact over decades or centuries, as in the case of the Scandinavians in England, results in many loans. Domination by one group, such as the French in England after 1066, usually has a one-way effect over time. Contact with a prestige language, whether there are numbers of speakers in contact or not, often results in borrowing by the educated classes, which in turn may or may not diffuse the loanwords through the general vocabulary. Latin phrases are still used in scholarly publications in the West, centuries after Latin was no longer anyone's native language. The work on language histories and borrowing resulted in several major dictionaries, such as the Oxford English Dictionary and the Grosse Wörterbuch.

The field of historical linguistics had studied the issues related to borrowing by the time of Ferdinand de Saussure's work (1915) in linguistics. To de Saussure, the objects of linguistic study are the internal workings of the linguistic system. The external elements, such as its social use, are outside the

scope of this area of linguistic study. The study of borrowing was an example of an external linguistic phenomenon that is important in the historical study of language but is not relevant within a language system: "a loan-word no longer counts as such whenever it is studied within a system; it exists only through its relation with, and opposition to words associated with it..." (1915, 22)

Edward Sapir's *Language* (1921) restated the importance of language contact and influence in his chapter on "How Languages Influence One Another." He noted how Chinese flooded Korean and Japanese with vocabulary and how English borrowed an immense number of words and productive affixes from French, yet in neither case was the borrowing reciprocated. Carefully studying loanwords provides an interesting insight into the history of cultures across the world. In the broadest terms, classical Chinese, Sanskrit, Arabic, Greek and Latin were the five languages that have had an overwhelming significance as carriers of culture. In linguistic terms the way a language reacts to foreign words, by accepting, translating, or rejecting them, may shed light on its innate formal tendencies as well as on the psychological reaction of the speakers who use it.

Bloomfield's influential *Language* (1933) included in its twenty-eight chapters three chapters on borrowing. In "Cultural Borrowing" he paralleled the individual's early learning of speech forms from those in the household with the later addition of speech forms from the dialects and languages with which the individual and group come into contact. Children do not "borrow"; rather, they "acquire." He also pointed out that for adults the degree of control of the other language affects the borrowing. People who know another language well can use the items from the other language at will. On the other hand, people who read the foreign forms, as opposed to learning them in conversation, interpret the foreign orthography in native terms. Thus in English "Mexico" (Spanish [méxiko]) became [méksiko] and "Don Quixote" (Spanish [don kixóte]) became [dan kwÍksat], as in "quixotic," which is given [kwÍksátlk] as the dictionary pronunciation. A large part of the chapter deals with borrowed forms as they are integrated into the syntax and inflection system of the native language. The foreign plural may continue to exist beside the native one, as in "cactus," "cactuses" or "cacti." The borrowed form is used with native prefixes and suffixes as in the original French "garage" becoming "ungaraged." Foreign affixes which occur in enough borrowed items become **productive affixes** in the language, as in Latin-French suffix "-able" in "agreeable," "drinkable." The title of his chapter "Intimate Borrowing" refers to the situation in which two or more languages are used in single geographical area by a single political community. Usually intimate borrowing involves a **dominant** or **upper** and a **lower** language and the borrowing is primarily from the upper to the lower and often includes speech forms which are not new objects or practices. When the results do not spread, the result is a geographically located dialect that arises from the contact situation. Bloomfield's "Dialect Borrowing" starts with the

language learning sequence: home, friends, school, occupation, travel and/or video contact. The speaker learns the language forms appropriate to each, resulting in the speaker's repertoire of variations in forms. The process of acquiring language, including the local, regional, and national or standard forms of speech, was to Bloomfield a part of the overall process of borrowing.

Einar Haugen and the Study of Borrowing

Einar Haugen's "the analysis of linguistic borrowing" (1950) is the major reference point for the field of borrowing. His work summarized and extended the previous research and it forms the basis for much of the later research. Haugen's goal was to "define more precisely the terminology used in linguistic analysis of borrowing, and to set up certain hypotheses concerning the process of borrowing. (1950, 210) First, the use of language forms from two languages is not a random mixing. Rather, a speaker either switches rapidly from one to the other, or switches only for a word, phrase or sentence. Later the term **codeswitching** became a term for this behavior. Second, the resulting language is not a **hybrid** versus a **pure** language, since the term has pejorative sense. All languages borrow and attempts to "purify" the language of foreign elements are misguided. Third, "borrowing" is itself a misleading term since it takes place without consent of the lender and need not be repaid. However, it has been retained in the field as a technical linguistic term. Haugen defined borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (1950, 212). The types of borrowing are discussed in terms of the original pattern or **model**. An **import** is an item similar to the model; a **substitution** is an inadequate version of the original, i.e. speakers of the origins of the original language would not recognize it. The usual terms in the study of borrowing relate to the process rather than the results. **Loanword** is the least precise term since it includes almost all the other terms. Other basic terms include **hybrid**, which may be used where only part of the phonemic shape has been imported. Pennsylvania German (PaG) imported American English (AmE) "plumpie" but where "pie" is imported from English PaG has substituted its morpheme meaning "plum." As examples of **loan translation**, also known by the French **calque**, there are German "Wolkenkratzer," French "gratte-ciel," and Spanish "rascacielos" modeled after English "skyscraper." When a meaning has been imported for an existing word, a **semantic loan** has occurred. American Portuguese added to its "humeroso" (capricious) the meaning "humorous" from AmE. The definitions above may be restated as a division of loans by the extent of the morphemic substitution: none, partial, or total. The material can be restated as: **loanwords** show morphemic importation without substitution; **loanblends** show morphemic substitution as well as importation; **loanshifts** show morphemic substitution without importation

The study of loanword phonology had a long history before 1950. Haugen set the study within the study of language systems and noted the possible behavioral study of which sounds and forms are most likely to be substituted. (1950, 215) In the study of the grammar of loanwords, the analysis had noted the tendency to borrow into certain form classes, such as nouns or verbs. Occasionally items are borrowed into other form classes. Chiricahua Apache borrowed Spanish adjectives "loco" (crazy) and "rico" (rich) as verbs. The patterns vary as the difference in the type of grammar systems varies. The studies of individual languages can be studied for many examples of this process. In loanblends all or part of a native morpheme may be used in the borrowed item. American Norwegian (AmN) uses /kårrna/ (English "corner" blended with N "hyrrna") which is a **blended stem**. A **blended derivative** has native affixes for the foreign, as in Pennsylvania German (PaG) "fannig" for E "funny." **Blended compounds** are frequent in many languages, as in PaG "backabuch" for E "pocketbook." **Loanshifts** result in words with new meanings, a situation which may be difficult for the monolingual foreign speaker encountering a loanshift. American Portuguese (AmP) substituted its "grosseria" (a rude remark) for E "grocery" and other examples are given below. In addition to this **loan homonym**, there is a **loan synonym** which adds a new shade of meaning and a **loan displacement** in which native terms are applied to new cultural phenomenon similar to something in the native culture. Loan shifts and loan translations have had a large role in them development of many languages. Haugen's example is Greek "sympátheia," imported into English as "sympathy," but reproduced by morpheme substitution in Latin "compassio" German "Mitleid," and Russian "sobol'e'znovanie." Substitution may extend to phrases reproduced as native words. This **syntactic substitution** can be seen in AmP "responder para tras" from English "to talk back." A different type of loanword is one created within the borrowing language. Yaqui "liósnóoka" combines Spanish "diós" (God) with Yaqui "nóoko" (speak) to mean "pray." Haugen uses the label **reverse substitution** when loan morphemes are used in native models. The literature on borrowing includes references to a completely native creation for new items, as in Pima "having downward tassels" (oats) and "lightning box" (battery). (1950, 222) When two languages co-exist there is a possibility of **reborrowing**, either at different times or from different dialects. Each may result in two borrowed forms. AmN has the older /tavan/ (E tavern) and younger version with schwa and /r/ and has the E "peddler" in the two dialect forms "peddlar" and "pellar." Spelling, as noted earlier, affects borrowings, as in AmN /sálon/ which resembles "talon." [The added complexities of the study when at least one of the languages has a nonalphabetic system is not part of Haugen's treatment.]

Borrowing studies since at least Whitney's work in 1881 have included a **scale of adaptability** along which linguistic features are distributed. The scale

has nouns on one end, followed by other parts of speech, then affixes, inflections, then sounds. Although some examples of morphological and syntactic borrowings occur, Whitney's conclusion was that "whatever is more formal or structural in character remains in that degree free from the intrusion of foreign material." (quoted in Haugen 1950, 224) Haugen's studies of American Norwegian show English nouns at 75.5% of all borrowings and interjections at 1.4%. Corresponding to the scale of adaptability is a **scale of receptivity** among language, the details of which were left to be worked out by later scholars. Haugen suggested that very little thorough linguistic study had been done on the various structural effects of borrowing. Weinreich in the next section below treats some of the relevant material.

Weinreich's *Languages in Contact*

Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (1953) was the pivotal work on the study of the impact of one language on other languages. The bibliography of 658 titles covered the field from its beginnings to the early 1950's. He treated borrowings within the topic of **bilingualism** and as an example, at least at first, of **interference**, or "deviation from the norms of either language." (1953, 1) **Interference** involves the rearrangement of the linguistic systems of phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax, not merely the addition of elements. The concept of interference, then, suggests more than the "superficial" impact mentioned by Sapir. The book begins by separating two basic areas of study: the languages vs. the psychological and socio-cultural setting of language/ cultural contact. In studying borrowing in two languages, both should be described in the same linguistic model. The full description of each precedes the study of interference in general and borrowing in particular. The description of the two languages may suggest where borrowing will occur, as for example when only one language has a name for an animal in the area. Setting the phonemic inventories side by side shows the phonemes that occur in only one language and which may be borrowed along with the word. Syllable structures may also be borrowed, either by new combinations of old syllables or combinations using a new phoneme. Weinreich went into the details of phonological borrowing as when the Arabic front and back "k's" (phonemically /k/ and /q/) are borrowed as the one unit /k/. This **underdifferentiation** may be reversed to **overdifferentiation** if, for example, the phonetically different front and back pronunciations of Spanish phoneme /k/ are borrowed into Arabic as it /k/ and /q/. A fourth process in phonological borrowing is **phone substitution** which occurs when a structurally similar phoneme is borrowed with the native phonetics, as when dental /t, d, s, n/ (i.e. the tongue touches the teeth) is used for borrowed alveolar /t, d, s, n / (i.e. the tongue touches the ridge formed by the back of the teeth). These and other processes in borrowing may spread and become a regular part of the language. In the bilingual situation, a speaker may elect to

use the **nativized** borrowing or retain the original pronunciation, as may happen when a prestige language is involved. The decision is part of the socio-cultural section which follows the grammatical section.

When grammatical interference was one of the "most debated questions of general linguistics..." in the 1940's, Weinreich tried to bring some order to the study (1953, 29).. A transfer of highly **bound morphemes** often turns out not to be the borrowing of the morphemes directly. Rather, when several forms are borrowed with the same morpheme, the bound morpheme may become productive in the new language and be applied elsewhere. The borrowing of forms such as "statue-statulette" and "cigar-cigarette" yields "kitchenette" and many others. Very few bound morphemes have been transferred in ways that admit no other explanation than borrowing. He cites the borrowing of the first and second persons singular from Bulgarian to one form of Russian as one example. (1953, 32) Further, he notes that such borrowings generally fill a paradigm, that is, the native language has no affix signaling its function. The borrowed morphemes "fill" the paradigm. Morphemes which are not bound or are loosely bound may be borrowed more easily. In Ukrainian, the comparative adjective uses an unstressed bound suffix, and some speakers have added the borrowed Rumanian prefix, a morpheme with the same comparative meaning, to their form to reinforce the meaning. Weinreich suggests that future study might determine that there is a scale of borrowing difficulty going from "the most structurally and syntagmatically integrated inflectional endings, through such 'grammatical words' as prepositions, articles, or auxiliary verbs, to full-fledged words like nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and on to independent adverbs and completely unintegrated interjections." (1953, 35) Here he cited work in the 19th century and his debt to Haugen (1950)

Directions in the Study of Borrowing

Historical and Comparative Linguistics

In Winfred P. Lehmann's *Historical Linguistics: an introduction* (1962), the chapter on borrowing has some suggestions for further study in areas some of which are not yet adequately explored. One area which needed more research was that of **pidgins**. Pidgins are created where people from two or more languages communicate on a very simple level. Phonological and morphological systems are often stripped to essentials and words from both languages are borrowed into the new "system." Two examples are 'disfela haws i-bigfela' ("this house is large") and 'tufela pikinini' ("two children). When whole communities, such as in Haiti, use such a simplified language, it is a **creolized** language. Lehmann noted the need to study the borrowings between dialects with the same rigor as between languages. Borrowings can be made from any of the following to another: geographical dialects, social dialects, ethnic dialects, technical dialects, even idiolects. The same sorts of results can be expected here

as in borrowing between languages. The sophisticated work of Labov (1966) has moved the research toward the rigor suggested by Lehmann. Historical linguistics continues to develop the study of borrowing, especially as the theoretical bases of linguistics expand.

Anttila's *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (1989) set borrowing within the context of language in general and both language acquisition and **analogical change/development** in particular. An example of his integration of these aspects of borrowing is in phonology. He notes OE /f/, /θ/, /s/ as phonetically voiceless until about 700 A.D. when intervocalically they became phonetically voiced. Kentish and other Southern dialect borrowing with, e.g. initial /v/, as in /væt/ (container), reinforced by French loans with the same initials, produced contrasting pairs (minimal pairs /fæt, væt/). Intervocalic long fricatives such as /ff/ were shortened, such as /f/. Thus with the loss of final /e/ in many words in Middle English, final voiced fricatives contrasted with their unvoiced counterparts. Phonetic variation, after the borrowings, eventually reached phonemic contrast in all phonological environments.

Loanwords can be stylistically neutral, prestigious, or derogatory. In Finnish the Germanic /huusi/ (house) is used for "outhouse," and /ruumma/ (room) is where dung is collected in the stable. Conversely, /pissa/ (piss) is the "acceptable" children's word for "urine" while the native /kusi/ has very vulgar overtones. (p.156)

Lexicons change primarily because of borrowings. In addition to an increase in items, the semantics and stylistics are affected. One example is "animal" and "deer," where the latter earlier referred to animals in general. In English "deer" is specialized to one type of animal and "animal" retains its general meaning. Stylistic examples might include Shakespeare's characters who use "uproot" versus those who use "extirpate" and those who use "deracinate." The lexicon changes by items, by changes in meaning area, and by usage factors introduced by loanwords. Recent work deals with syntactic borrowing. (Domingue 1983) Antilla suggests, in contrast to Sapir, that syntax can be borrowed as easily as other parts of grammar. The development of German and English interrogatives, such as "welcher" and "which," into relatives is Latin imitation. Latin ablatives absolute provide "generally speaking" and "taken literally." Syntactic borrowings are obvious in Finno-Ugric, where relics of the original syntax can be found in varying degrees in all languages of the family. Finnish syntax is largely Indo-European, while Lapp syntax in Finland is strongly Finnish – in fact almost Finnish with Lapp words – but is markedly Norwegian in Norway.

The next topic is that of **mixed languages**, which is an idea that seems to mean that some languages users mix language elements from different sources. Yet such an idea applies to all human languages, since they are part of their cultural history. A term that applies universally is an **empty term** and

superfluous in linguistic description. The concept of a mixed language "has remained indemonstrable to the present day." (p.171) In bilingual situations there may be frequent **codeswitching** of words, pronunciation, or so on, but each element is from one or the other language. In American Finnish, "mennin norttiin muuseja hunttaamaan" (I went north to hunt moose), all but the first word is from English but the grammar is all Finnish. The idea of "mixed" is associated with "pure" and "hybrid" languages; such distinctions are untenable.

One area of linguistics that has been studied in situations referred to as mixed languages is that of **pidgins**. Many of these trade jargons began during European expansion and were based on the language of English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. Pidgins in general have greatly reduced syntax, perhaps near a "universal syntax," (p.177) and a limited vocabulary directed toward useful words. Syntax may be left "loose," as in "me eat coconut; coconut me eat" and so on. In extreme cases the syntax may be a reduction of the syntax of one contact language and the vocabulary may consist of borrowing from one or more other languages.

Language Histories

The languages of Europe influenced each other and some of them spread across the globe. The Portuguese and Spanish traders and missionaries traveled to the far East, leaving settlements along the way, and to the Western hemisphere, where both are the major languages of Central and South America. The Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, England all spread their influence and their languages around the world. **Anglicisms** have entered many of the world's languages. (Filipović , 1983) **Internationalisms** are loans that are found in the world's major languages. (Nelde 1981) The studies of all the borrowings in major languages that have occurred are too extensive to cover in this short overview, but some are noted in the references section.

Codeswitching

Since 1950 many attempts have been made to find diagnostic criteria which will distinguish **borrowing, transfer, interference, codeswitching, code-mixing**, and so on. (Heller 1988, 15) One approach in distinguishing codeswitching from borrowing (Scotton 1988, 160) uses the level of social significance of the item. If the nonnative item carries social significance, it is a codeswitch. The criterion might not be helpful where the form and meaning are identical but the label is different. Poplack (1988, 220) seems to suggest that the use of a borrowed item is codeswitching until enough speakers use it and it is accepted by native speakers into the dictionary. A more precise delimitation seems difficult at this point in the study of borrowing and codeswitching.

Social/Ethnic Dialects

The study of borrowing between dialects gained importance with, for example, Labov's (1966) study of the English of New York City. "Sociolinguistics" can mean merely a descriptive study of relations of society and language or it can be a study which seeks to solve linguistic problems, which in turn are ultimately problems of social behavior (p. v-vi) Labov found regular patterns of social variation and stylistic variation in New York City English. The social values attached to the social patterns are illustrated in the study of social class and the r-less dialect on the casual/formal speech scale. An r-less dialect uses in general a vowel or vowel lengthening for word final /r/ or pre-consonantal /r/, as in /baa/ for "bar" and /baan/ for "barn." All social groups use a higher percentage of /r/ as formality increases, but the lower middle class with almost no /r/ in casual speech shows a sudden increase in /r/ in careful speech. In fact they use more /r/ than the upper middle class. This borrowing of a speech pattern from a higher, perhaps more prestigious class is an example of **hypercorrection**. (p. 242) The results show more hypercorrection by women than men. (p. 478) There is a parallel between these results and those found in studying borrowing from a **prestige language**. The social dimensions of language use must be part of any research design. Given the multiplicity of cultures, languages, and dialects in major urban centers, the study of borrowing requires meticulous research and careful statement of conclusions. (Mackey and Ornstein 1979, vii) The level of rigor in research design, data collection, statistical analysis of results and so on has been higher over these five decades since Labov's early work.

Discourse Features

Fields of study such as psychology, sociology, speech communication, communication and linguistics began a cross-fertilization period in the last few decades. Discourse phenomena in language contact studies were often restricted to linguistic elements up to the sentence level until the 1970's. Studies since then have found borrowed **discourse features** in many cultural contact situations. Abrahams and Gay (1972) studied the borrowing of the word games of Blacks by other groups, a process that occurs both through contact and through television/cinema viewing. Clyne's work (1972) on German-English contact in Australia is an example of this topic. **Discourse signals** such as "and," "but" and "of course" are borrowed into the German conversation, as in "Wir haben eine farm in Rosebury /and/ in..." (p.133) "But" is tagged on the end of a German sentence as a pause filler, "... ich hab' vergessen /but/." "Well" may be a **floor holder** or may open a new section of discourse. "Well, dieses Bild ist in einer Stadt." "I'm sorry" may function as an **editer** (Hoffer 1981), as in "Ich habe eine colourfule/ I'm sorry!" The phrase "erases" the false start. (Clyne p.135) It is common in a German conversation to hear the listener's **channel markers** "uh huh," "yes," and "is that so" to signal attention. As in any bilingual community,

codeswitching occurs. The switch often seems to be signaled or triggered by a class of discourse markers such as "and," "anyway," and "well." These and other types of examples suggest that a part of the discourse system of English has been borrowed such that it provides the links forward and backward in the content and the interactional features between speaker-addressee.

Nonverbal Communication

Language use is accompanied by movements of the speaker and addressee. In general, nonverbal communication deals with the non-language features of communication. (Hall, 1977) The field covers **gestures**, **gaze behavior**, **proxemics** (the study of distracting), **haptics** (touching behavior) and many more. In the contact situation any or all of the nonverbal features of another group may be borrowed, resulting in speakers who are **bikinesic**. The study of borrowing in nonverbal communication covers not only the items such as gestures but the effects on cross-cultural or cross-group communication of the lack or misuse of the other's nonverbal features. An example of a borrowed gesture is the **emblem** for "OK." This emblem, an independently meaningful gesture, has been borrowed over much of the world. Most other parts of a nonverbal system do not have a clear "dictionary" meaning and are not so easily borrowed.

The borrowing of a nonverbal feature and using it inappropriately may cause a reaction which is much more powerful than the misuse of a loanword. The study of touching behavior shows that some groups react powerfully to touching behavior by an out-group member. (Hoffer and Santos 1977, 1980) The touching of one's arm during conversation, for example, may be considered repulsive or even immoral. The importance of the nonverbal studies has led to an intensification of the research over the past four decades.

Graphic/Writing Systems in Borrowing

The study of language borrowing in world languages involves many non-alphabetic systems. As will be seen in Part II, the possibilities for creative use of loanwords are multiplied in such situations. Some of the possibilities and some of the difficulties that are involved can be found in Miller (1967, 1986). His work is especially instructive for Part II below.

Conclusion to Part I

The study of borrowing in language contact situations now involves all aspects of communicative behavior. Some areas of the research not covered above are the spread of an ingroup's slang to wider usage, the study of the multiple functions of borrowings (Hoffer 1990), and the work on borrowing from individuals which has been made easier by mass media. One current problem in the field is the need for better definitions where terms overlap, as in borrowing, codeswitching, interference. More research may be necessary before

the appearance of an article as influential as Haugen's some fifty years ago. A second problem is caused by the magnitude and speed of change in the contact situations as large numbers of people move into the relatively more affluent areas of the world and as the media, especially television, the cinema, and the internet impact essentially all people in these countries. The problem is that the amount of borrowing, transfer, interference, is so large that research inevitably falls well behind the actual situation.

PART II Case Study: Japanese Borrowing of English

The study of the Japanese borrowing of English is especially interesting in the context of the cultural contact situation. Simply put, there is no significant cultural contact between large groups of Japanese and English speakers. The cultural contact is to a large extent on the level of "communication," that is to say that the media of transmission of English loans include education settings, internationally distributed films and TV shows/news, and so on. Even so, the importation of English over the past half-century is almost startling.

The loanword dictionaries in Japan have been documenting the influx of foreign words. Some of the dictionaries published over the past thirty-five years are noted in the bibliography. The slim 1965 loanword dictionary from Shueisha Publishing was one of the first. The Sanseido Publishing Company's dictionary, first published in 1972, was in its fourth edition in 1987 and contained over 33,000 entries. By the 90's, the number was over 40,000. Honna (1995) reported that as much as 13% of the running vocabulary and 10% of the different words used in daily conversations are from English. Such an influx of loanwords is of special interest to the sociolinguist interested in the cultural effects of cultural contact and to the linguist interested in observing a language in the midst of rapid change. (Miura 1979; Hoffer 1984; 1990; 1996, 2002; Hoffer & Honna 1988) The rapid growth of borrowings attracted a number of scholars who studied the patterns of phonological and semantic change that occurred during the borrowing process. Miura's book (1979) began looking at the patterns of usage of some of the borrowings. That pattern has become much more complex in the three decades since his book appeared, yet his book should be consulted by anyone pursuing the subject.

The sociolinguist interested in cultures in contact cannot observe directly the various situations of massive borrowing which have occurred over the centuries. The results may be studied and analyzed in earlier cases such as Arabic into Spanish over the centuries of Arabic occupation, French into English over the centuries following the conquest of 1066, Spanish into Quechua as Spain extended its influence over South America, and so on. However, the situation in Japan can be and is being documented as borrowing occurs. The sociolinguist looks to investigate the various ways in which the loans are being used, the functions of that use, the segments of society in which

the various uses occur, and so on. The analysis below gives a broad picture of these topics.

The most frequent use of an English loan is a simple substitution or **code-switch** in which an English item is used instead of the native form. Since this use is part of the definition of borrowing, it is not listed as one of the types of usage below. The headings under which the uses are analyzed are for ease of reference. They do not represent any set of theoretical categories or the like. The general sequence is from easy to complex uses.

The growing complexity of the usage of loans has been studied to some extent by the Japanese language scholars. The various uses of English loans have produced over the years various responses from them and some of their treatments are given in the bibliography. The easier uses are well studied and, in fact, there are in the dictionary almost one hundred pages of examples of the first one listed below.

The seven patterns of English loan usage which follow begin with the simplest and conclude with some sophisticated word play found in Japan in the late 1980's and 1990's. More of these examples are found in the Takahara article which follows in this issue of ICS.

Initials and Acronyms

Almost 100 pages of the 1987 loanword dictionary are devoted to those borrowed initials/acronyms which the Japanese reader may find in, for example, the Japanese press. Examples include popular culture items such as C&W (for Country and Western music) and economic terms such as MIPRO (Monthly Investment Program). Since these uses are in the daily papers, all segments of society include these borrowings in at least their passive vocabulary.

Reductions

English words are often shortened to the first few syllables of their Japanese pronunciation. J 'apaato' [apaatomento] is from E 'apartment' and J 'biru' [birujingu] is from E 'building.'

Shortened compounds

In Japanese compounds are often shortened to the first few syllables of each part. The same language rule applies to borrowed items. Thus, E 'word processor' becomes J 'waapuro' [waado purosasaa] and E 'human technology' becomes J 'hyuutekku.' The loans are from English but are redone in such a way that English speakers would not recognize the meaning and perhaps even the form. These forms as well as many other reductions are found in daily conversation and reading.

Two-language forms

The written form of compounds using both languages makes the sources

clear. J 'haburashi' is from J 'ha' (the Chinese character or *kanji* for 'tooth') combined with E 'brush.' J 'pachipuro' is from J 'pachinko' (an arcade game) plus E 'pro[fessional].' This use of borrowings is growing at all levels of society.

English loans with Japanese morphology

Japanese inflects verbs and adjectives. The English loans have been appearing and are now appearing more frequently in the major Japanese language dictionaries, signaling their official status within the language. For example, J 'demoru' is from E 'demo(nstrate)' plus the verbal ending '-ru.' J 'nau' is from E 'now' plus the adjectival present tense ending J '-i' as in the 'Now' generation. However, the usage itself is J 'naukatta' or 'no longer up-to-date.' The usage is this category may begin in areas such as high technology but it spreads quickly enough so that the number of such examples is growing geometrically in each new major Japanese dictionary.

Japanese words with English morphology

Three types of examples will be given under this heading. The first one is an example of the type of two-language word formation that often occurs when students study a foreign language. The form is a combination of Japanese with English affixes to form a translation equivalent of the common American exclamation 'unbelievable.' The form in Japanese is by no means rarely encountered. 'Unshinjirable' consists of the English affixes /un-/ and /-able/ with the Japanese base form meaning 'believe.' While such forms are never or rarely encountered in print, they do occur in spoken usage and may spread through a segment of society.

The second type of example involves the addition of an English suffix with a Japanese form. In Japanese, a doubled onomatopoeic form is used in some cases where English would use an adverb. For example, in ['the rain falls' +] J/zaazaa/, the J/zaazaa/ indicates a rather heavy rainfall. (A "J" before an example slash indicates a Japanese item and "E" indicates an English item.) Within the last few decades, some Japanese scholars have encountered more and more in spoken language, especially among the young, of the addition of E/li/ = E '-ly' (the English 'Adverb' suffix) to these forms. One example is J/sorosoro/ (E 'liesurely') + E/li/ = J/sorosorori/ = E 'liesurely-ly'. Another example is J/simijimiri/ = E 'keenly-ly' or 'heartilyly'. As with 'unshinjirable' the use may or may not spread through more segments of society, but the use of E '-ly' is reported from multiple sources.

A third type of use is one that is perhaps more importance in terms of grammatical impact. This usage involves only Japanese grammatical items, but the model seems to be English grammar. According to reports from some Japanese scholars, the young have begun adding more frequently J/ni/ to 'adverbial' forms, as in J/hayaku/ (= E 'quickly') + J/ni/.. (Historically the

addition of /ni/ are possible but not necessary). The result is a form which has the force of E 'quickly-ly'. Another example encountered on college campuses is J/hoNtoo/ (= E 'assuredly') + J/ni/ = E 'assuredly-ly'. It has been suggested by Japanese linguists that it is probably the analogy to English adverbs with E '-ly' that is causing the change in usage. Whether the use will spread is not known, but it is a matter to be kept under observation by the sociolinguist. As noted, the usages mentioned here seem to originate in college usage or other learned usage.

Creative Word Play

When Chinese was introduced to Japan over a millennium and a half ago, the early poets soon learned to make use of the graphics of the written symbols, the sounds of the Chinese forms, and the sound of the native words to produce poetry which could carry two or more messages at once. At times the messages reinforced each other; at other times they were distinct; at other times they contrasted with each other. Their creative uses of the possibilities of the language diversity were quite advanced. by the time of the first collection of Japanese poetry in 760 A.D., the *Manyoshu*. Those in Japan today who seek to explore new and creative ways in which to use language have an even greater richness and diversity available to them. English, French, German and many other languages have contributed vocabulary. The exploration of the creative ways in which language is used in Japan is interesting as an example of the advanced state of borrowing. Three types of creative uses are mentioned in this section.

The first example illustrates a simple two language word play which has two interpretations which reinforce each other. It is a slogan used by Japan Railways to discourage smoking. Their sign reads J/getuyoobi-wa suwanai-dee/. (J/getuyoobi/ = E 'Monday'; J/wa/ = topic marker; J/suwanai/ = E 'smoke ' + negation.) In this slogan, /de/ has two possible interpretations, as a version of the English loan 'day' or as a Japanese particle conveying request in the casual style. In formal style the form J/de/ has the short post-consonantal vowel followed by J/kudasai/ = E 'please.' In casual style J/de + kudasai/ can become J/dee/. In the first interpretation, the sentence is read as 'Monday (is) a **day** of not smoking.' In the second it is read as '**Please** do not smoke on Monday.' The two messages reinforce each other in an interesting way.

The second example is one that involves both Japanese and English loanwords. It also involves the use of the *kanji* for two Japanese words. Here there is a clear use of the writing sysem as a component in language borrowing, since the two writing systems indicate that there are two meanings involved. As above, in this example the two meanings reinforce each other. A company in Japan that owned clubs in various locations used the name below

Yuu & I
[*kanji*] [the ampersand symbol] [*kanji*]

In this example the *kanji* for E 'friend' is pronounced J/yuu/ and is homophonous with E 'You.' The second *kanji*, E 'like, love,' is pronounced J/ai/ and is homophonous with E 'I'. The meaning of the whole is a combination which is mutually reinforcing: you and I, friends who like each other. For places where friends meet, it is an interesting and catchy name. In this example Chinese loanwords of ancient times and English loanwords of recent times, together with their graphic representations, are used in Japanese in a creative way.

The third type of creative use is perhaps more significant in the development of the borrowing practice. Two examples are given here. The first one has a **double, reinforcing meaning**, as above, but the English reading follows the English grammatical order. In the sign designed to help keep the noise level down, the first element is the *kanji* pronounced /bi/ and the second is written in one of the Japanese syllabary systems (used for loanwords) for J/saireNto/. The Japanese reading of the first graphic element as a Japanese word results in a compound and as an English word results in an imperative phrase. Thus, J/bi saireNto/ can be read as two English words: E 'Be silent.' In Japanese such a direct command would perhaps be offensive in the public situation. The Japanese /bi/ is also the pronunciation for the *kanji* for 'beautiful' and some Japanese interpret the phrase as 'Silence is beautiful,' similar in meaning to the English saying 'Silence is golden.' The example differs from those above since the English reading depends on a familiarity with English word order in imperatives. Another example of word play involving grammatical patterning is from an ad used a few years ago by the Japan National Railways to promote tourism to a beautiful peninsula southwest of Tokyo.

This Izu Map
E 'This' [*kanji*] E'map'

In this phrase, J/i-zu/ (two *kanji*) is homophonous with the Japanese pronunciation of E 'is' and the whole phrase is to mean 'This is a map of Izu.' The Subject-Object-Verb pattern of Japanese is not evident here; the English grammatical pattern is used. The absence of an appropriate article E 'a' may seem to indicate that the grammatical pattern has not been perfectly followed, yet the final J/u/ of 'Izu' may be interpreted as the article E 'a.'

In these examples and the many more which occur in contemporary Japan, some of the real interest for the reader lies in looking for such entertaining creative uses of language and in deciphering them. Examples involve not only Japanese, Chinese, and English, but also French, German, and so on. It is important for the language scholar to recognize that these creative uses of English loans signal one of the major late stages in the borrowing process.

The seven types of uses of English loans outlined above are not designed

to be exhaustive but suggestive. The two points of especial interest to sociolinguistics have been emphasized already. First, there have been some grammatical dislocations based on English in the speech of some Japanese. The situation warrants careful observation in the future. Second, the proliferation of uses of the loans and their introduction into almost all areas of Japanese language use in such a relatively short space of time is an important topic for the study of cultural and languages in contact. Many of the ideas formulated from studying language changes over centuries can be tested against a language borrowing process that has been compressed into half a century.

Functions of English Loanwords

In addition to studying the development of the linguistic forms as they are borrowed, the sociolinguist that is interested in the cultural implications of the borrowing has several other topics to address. One of these important topics is the kind and degree of expansion of the various uses of the loanwords.

Loanwords serve a number of functions other than ordinary communication of words and ideas. When a new object or activity or idea enters a culture, the word or words which express it may be borrowed. The most basic function of a loanword is **communicating the new** object/action/idea. A culture may elect to use its own resources (as in 'fire-horse' for a steam locomotive) for the new item. In other cases the loanword enters the language and becomes part of the regular dictionary. 'Kimono,' 'pizza,' 'beret' and all the many thousands of other loans have as their basic function simple communication of the dictionary meaning of the word or phrase. These new words may enter and remain for centuries, as indicated for place names in the chapter on names, or they may enter for a time and then fall into disuse. Usually a word must be in use for twenty to twenty-five years before it enters a major dictionary.

In terms of usage, some people like to be among the first to use new items that enter the vocabulary. The identification of the groups which vary in their attitudes toward English borrowing is a study which needs more attention. This point is expanded in the next section.

Loanwords may serve the function of labeling the speaker as **fashionable**, as up-to-date. As noted earlier, Japanese has borrowed an English word which expresses this function well. 'Now,' as in 'the now generation,' has been borrowed as the adjectival form /nau/ and it refers to being up-to-the-minute in terms of fashion, ideas, and so on. The use of loanwords which are no longer 'now' may mark the speaker as old-fashioned, of the older generation, or so on. Japan first borrowed 'BG' for 'Business Girl,' or a female who worked in an office. In the 1960's this term was superseded by 'OL' for 'Office Lady,' although members of the older generation may still use the outdated loanword. Currently many words in the high technology field are being borrowed into Japanese. It is a mark of being up-to-date to be current in recognizing the new words and their reduced forms. Over the past decade or so computer-related

words were being generated with high frequency. /fami koN/ from 'fam(ily) com(puter),' /mini koN/ from 'mini(ature) com(puter),' /hyu tekku// from 'hu(man) tech(nology),' and so on are familiar to any Japanese who keeps up with the modern age. Certain segments of any society seem to attach more value to being 'nau'i' than others. Observations suggest that college students seem to be constantly aware of changes in the most recent usage in language as well as in fashions and so on from abroad.

In Japan there is a function of loanwords which is related to 'Fashionable ' but in some cases has no meaning of being 'recent.' Miura gives the example of the room or area for preparing food in a Japanese house. The native word /daidokoro/ refers to the traditional space, as explained earlier, while the loanword /kicchiN/ refers to the Westernized version of the same space. /kicchiN/ functions to identify the style of the room, the probable style of the house and its occupants. Since there has been a great change in the life-style of Japanese since the reopening of the country to outsiders in 1868, there has been a growing dichotomy between traditional Japan and modern Japan. Words such as /kicchiN/ serve to identify a whole **complex of values** associated with Westernization. A 'Dining-Kitchen' or 'DK' refers to a room which combines the two functions of food preparation and consumption. The form also indicates that the style of table and so on is probably the Western one, with chairs and appropriate table and so on. The secondary function of some loanwords may be that of identifying the speaker's set of values in regard to the topic under discussion.

One function of loanwords is that of acting as a **euphemism** for a native word or phrase that carries negative connotations. In early English language materials, the word 'die' was often avoided and substitutes were used instead: 'fell', 'left', 'went over', 'crossed to the other side', and so on. Languages can use loans as well for the purpose of communicating an idea while avoiding an undesirable connotation. An example is /toire/ or /toiretto/ from the English 'toilet' to substitute for the various native words for the room. There are a number of other examples in current use. For example, /meido/ ('maid') rather than the native /jochuu/ is the preferred term for those working for foreign families; the native word is being seen as one that carries negative connotations. In public transportation and elsewhere, Japan has set aside certain areas and seats for the use of senior citizens, a phrase that is in English a euphemism as well. The phrase that that was in use for a number of years marked the seats is /shirubaa siito/ or 'silver seat,' which identifies perhaps the color of the hair rather than the advanced age of the person who qualifies to sit in the area. Some euphemisms have a semiofficial status. Reports indicate the Japanese media should avoid description of someone as /kichgai/, perhaps at the risk of their jobs. The word to be used on the air or in print is one of the English words of the same meaning: 'crazy' or 'mad.'

Yet another category of the functions of loanwords is that of **prestige** or

elite status. For many centuries in the West Latin was the language of education and therefore the mark of the learned man and woman. In earlier centuries, for example, the educated nun was expected to know Latin and French in addition to her mother tongue. English still has many examples of the prestige of Latin, especially in written materials. *Ibid, etc., et al.* and so on are usual citation forms in educated usage. A number of Latin or Latin-derived phrases are used in the conversation of learned people, such as *inter alia, ex cathedra, and QED* (from *quod erat demonstrandum* or 'that which was to be proved').

In early Japanese history, Chinese was the **mark of the educated person** and was used in the official documents. The situation of English in Japan is different. The use of English loanwords has come to be a mark of education and prestige, but they are used less frequently in official documents than in almost any other part of written Japanese. In terms of education, some 95% or more of Japanese study English from middle school. The entrance requirements at many of the top universities require a high level of competence in written English, so that those who are highly educated have a good command of written English. When the University of Tokyo added competence in spoken English to the requirements, other universities began doing so as well. Especially in the high technology fields, the up-to-date expert uses many English words and phrases. In this way, English loanwords function as prestige markers in terms of education level. The estimate is that by the year 2010 more than 85% of Japanese will have had six years of schooling in the English language. That dedication to the study of English both encourages the borrowing of words and leads to their use as a mark of the educated class.

Loanwords generally are not quickly accepted into official documents, the style of which is usually formal. In official documents, native words (which in this case includes those borrowed from China centuries ago) are the preferred usage. English words are making inroads in some areas such as the public media, with less and less reluctance being shown by the stations to use loanwords. Over the past few decades, the increase in English words in daily use has had an impact on the use of English loans in reporting the stories. As noted earlier, the acronym "DK" for Dining-Kitchen for the Western style arrangement has been approved for official use in the architectural documents. The approval of the use of loans in official documents will probably increase geometrically in the next two decades. The continued high prestige of the originally Chinese words and their written forms in relation to such areas as that of the Emperor, Shinto (the native religion), and Buddhism suggests that English loans will not make much of an inroad into official and ritual usage. English usage will remain the mark of prestige in terms of education and perhaps international experience.

The last function of loanwords to be mentioned here is that of **Poetic/Literary/ Word Play**. Over the centuries Japanese literature included both Japanese and Chinese-derived vocabulary in its poetry and prose. Authors were able to use double-meaning forms for a variety of effects, from humor to pathos.

The classic Japanese novel *Tale of Genji* – the world's first novel, written about 1000-1010 A.D. – included many examples of the intricate and poetic use of wordplay. The ability to produce poetry including such a literary device was one mark of the educated and refined court noble. For a simple example, an early poem in the novel seems to concern the day or occasion (*hiru*) which is not auspicious for a visitor to call. It is also a message about garlic (*hiru*) on the potential visitor's breath that suggests the reason that the day is not auspicious. Given this long history, it is not surprising to see English and other language loans being used in many interesting ways in a variety of forms from advertising to poetry. Examples were given in an earlier section. A few more will help show the intricate use of the loans. Further examples are given in Part III.

The first example is similar to the earlier example of *J/dee/* being interpreted as a Japanese polite request or as the English loan 'day.' This example also suggests two other functions of an English loan, those being prestige and the literary use of word associations. A few years ago the Japan Railways East wanted to choose a name for a line which would have good connotations for the viewers/users. They did a user study which resulted in the choice of 'E-deN,' a combination of the capital English 'E' and the *kanji* for the first element in 'railroad car.' According to reports in the paper at the time, the 'E' was chosen for several reasons. E is the first letter of the English form of the word for 'Electric Rail Car' and of the word 'East.' 'E' also relates to 'every day,' 'economy,' and 'energy,' all of which are related to the riding experience. 'Extern' in Japan refers to work at a distance from home; 'enjoy' suggests the type of ride. Some suggested other related words as 'ease,' 'elegance,' and even 'exotic.' In addition to those connotations, the sound of 'E' is *J/ii/* which means 'good,' so that the combination means 'good railcar'. One final point is that the English pronunciation of the combination is that of 'Eden' or 'paradise' which has good connotations in English. This careful attention to all properties of language, including the connotations of loanwords indicates the advanced stage of borrowing in current Japan. However, one result of the naming of the line 'E-deN' is instructive of the importance of cultural values in the country. The Japan Rail East eventually had to drop the name because too many Japanese people felt that the use of *J/ii/* or 'good' was presumptuous on the part of the company and they did not appreciate the lack of appropriate business modesty. Some of the information received by the company also raises the possibility that the use of a borrowing to substitute for such a fundamental Japanese word as *J/ii/* was not acceptable as of that time.

The second set of examples begins with an extension of the earlier example of 'You & I.' In terms of creative uses, there are appearing more examples of creative alterations of *kanji* to create a particular effect. By 1989 the signs advertising this club included some in which the lower right side of *J/yuu/* had a 'heart' symbol substituted for the Japanese original. The final product was clearly a blending of a *kanji* and a meaningful symbol, although

one not from any graphic system. Shortly thereafter, in some cases the 'heart' symbol was altered to have the lower lines extended through their connection so that the final form resembled to some extent the original Chinese form.

Another type of example is one which uses French, English and Japanese for an effect similar to 'You & I.' The name of a club/bar in Tokyo is J/you moi/, which consists of the English 'you' (which also suggests J/you/ or 'friend') and the French 'moi' or 'I.' The two language 'friends/you and I' idea for a meeting place is extended by the total combination, being pronounced like the Japanese pronunciation for 'humor,' which in this case refers to the meaning relating to good feeling or ambiance: you and I will be in a good, friendly humor if we patronize this club. It is possible that two aspects of the French are used here: first the prestige associated with French in general and second the positive associations with romance in the French culture.

English and other loans in Japanese function in a wide variety of ways and they illustrate the degree and depth of the impact of English on Japanese. If the history of Chinese loans in Japanese is a precedent, within a few centuries essentially all the now frequently used English loans will have been nativized to the point of being in the regular dictionaries. One of the steps in that direction has already begun. Some English words are being written in the script which is usually reserved for native words. A chain of restaurants called the 'Skylark' has its title written in the Japanese syllabic script usually used for native words: hiragana. Some write the first syllable twice as large and the effect may be seen as that of a capital English letter beginning the name. Although the example list is short, it is interesting to recall that the English 'coffee' is regularly written in Chinese characters and is listed in the regular dictionaries in that fashion. As more English loans become written in hiragana and even in *kanji*, the process of English loanwords being nativized will probably move more quickly. The interplay between the cultural and linguistic developments will make an interesting study.

PART III Advanced examples of loanword usage in world languages: dual language neologisms

Introduction to Part III

Part I dealt with the Western scholarship on language borrowing through the 1990's. Part I included all the basic terms and categories used in the research. Part II outlined a case study of Japanese borrowing of English. Japan's massive borrowing of English over a five decade period includes essentially all the categories mentioned in Part I. In addition, Part II presented some examples of the latest stage in borrowing, that is, the general use of borrowed items in daily use: conversations, newspapers, TV, movies, advertising of all kinds. Part II gives more examples of this latest stage in borrowing, concentrating on the use

of dual language neologisms. Several examples from various world languages are given. The primary focus of Part III is a categorization of these types of examples in Japanese/English neologisms in terms of the writing system or systems used.

Dual Language Neologisms

Interesting patterns of morpheme and word occur in brand names, headlines, advertisements and other places too numerous to list. An example is 'Fandemonium,' which occurred on the sports page when reporting the pandemonium created by over-excited fans. Although 'pandemonium' was derived from foreign elements in English, the word has been in use for over four centuries. Some of the examples in this section were tested by means of a questionnaire given to fifty students, mostly university seniors. The meaning and the way the parts were put together were interpreted well by 96% of the group.

A more complicated example 'Tanfastic', which is the name of a chain of stores where tanning is possible, was not analyzed as well by the group. Again, 96% noted either the 'tan' or the 'fast' as a double usage. However, only 50% analyzed the entire message as involving the three elements 'fantastic fast tan'. Neologisms that involve 'English-only' elements are analyzed and understood reasonably well. In advertising this result is not surprising since the ad people want the reader/listeners to understand the word play involved. Neologisms which involve foreign language elements with English usually use one of the more commonly studied European languages such as French or Spanish. In San Antonio, Texas, about 64% of the population is of Hispanic origin and Spanish is common, as are several hundred originally Spanish words in daily usage. An example of a slogan outside a convenience store (like a 7 Eleven) is 'nacho average convenience store.' 88% of the group interpreted the phrase as 'Not your average convenience store,' but only 20% made the connection that the store was pushing its fast food nachos during that ad campaign.

The next example was designed to be a French/English dual use, but only 40% of the group recognized the intended form, which was the French *tres bien*. The example was from a basketball article which discussed an excellent 3-point shooter in professional basketball as 'trey *bien*.' 32% identified the English word as meaning 'three' and the 'bien' as Spanish. The phrase has quickly become common in the field of sports on TV and in the newspaper, so that people interested in sports have presumably learned that it means a three-point shooter who is *tres bien* or very good.

A similar study of the product 'L'eggs' [panty hose sold in a plastic egg] ten years ago found that almost 100% identified the intended 'legs' and 'egg,' but slightly less than 20% interpreted the product name as the first part of the word 'elegance,' although the ad campaign stresses 'sheer elegance.'

The results of the overall study of these and other such examples suggest that a relatively small percentage of the listeners and/or viewers reach the full interpretation of many of the neologisms, at least on first encounter. The examples in this part of the study use only words from languages which have been part of the educational programs in the USA for centuries. For the most part, our full set of examples use words which have entered the English lexicon and been naturalized. In a few cases, such as *tres bien*, the items are rather common ones in movies, TV shows and so on which have French character parts.

Dual Language Neologisms from World Languages

English has in its vocabulary a vast number of loanwords from dozens of languages and therefore there are many possibilities for the kind of language 'play' as suggested above. This section uses only a few of the several hundred examples that have been collected for study.

Latin

The first example is one based on the Latin phrase 'vox populi' or 'Voice of the People'. A fairly new major TV network, the Fox network, chose for one of its slogans the phrase 'Fox populi'. Since a good percentage of English speakers is familiar with the Latin phrase, the new version is easy to analyze: Fox is the Voice of the People. Since there are still hundreds of Latin words and phrases used in all sorts of communication media, the network executives can expect most viewers to understand the word play involved.

The second example is based on a well-known phrase from Julius Caesar's writing, a selection usually read by any Latin student. The phrase itself is 'veni, vidi, vici' or 'I came, I saw, I conquered.' When a new soccer (European football) player joined a British team and the team and player became successful, a British newspaper used the heading: 'Vinnie, vidi, vici.' The soccer player's name was Vinnie and he 'conquered' the world of soccer. This example is a better one than the earlier one to illustrate the element of word play in these neologisms. Newspaper writers and others look for clever use of language to make their point and to make their writing more interesting.

French

Thousands of French words have been borrowed into English over the past millennium. Even so, many are still written in italics, the type-face used for foreign words.

The first examples illustrates haplology in terms of words or partial words. Usually haplology, the dropping of one of two identical or similar items, occurs in phonology, but in this example the haplology involves two quite similar word/word parts. An essay on people who were not really serious about their

Bohemianism described them as 'fauxhemian.' Here the French 'faux' (false, fake) is pronounced like the first part of 'Bohemian.' The neologism is thus quickly recognizable and a rather memorable one.

The second example appeared on the cover of 'TV Guide' when a long running TV show titled 'Voyager' was about to stop production. TV Guide used a version of 'Bon voyage' [literally '(Have a) good voyage/trip' but is usually used for 'Goodbye'] to lead its story. 'Bon Voyager' is the final version, one that is a word play on 'Bon voyage, Voyager' and on the combination of the French word 'bon' (good) and voyager (name of show). The combination thus means 'Good Voyager' and the two readings together yield 'Bon voyage, good Voyager.' Two examples of Bon Voyager

German

Stefanowicz' article later in this issue has a number of examples in this category. Only one example will be used here. In an American sports magazine, an essay involved the sports agent of several well-known sports stars. Thus the agent was powerful one and could at times dictate the terms of a contract. The story dealt with a problem between a sports team owner and the agent. The agent, apparently trying to force the owner to agree to a contract, was labeled an 'Uber-agent'. For many Americans, the word "Uber" has negative connotations from the Second World War and the new compound phrase makes a powerful point even while not going into details.

Italian

Italian is another language that has contributed thousands of words to English. In some large cities there are concentrations of people of Italian descent and Italian remains one of the group's languages. Restaurants in those areas may still be labeled with the Italian version: Ristorante. An interesting neologism has been coined with the Italian word as the base. For a food place that specializes in Italian 'fast food' (sandwiches, pizzas and so on), 'fistorante' is sometimes used. In this version, only the first letter of the original is changed. The first syllable suggests 'fist', which is used to hold the fast food. While 'fastorante' would be a possibility, the rhyming quality would be lost. In many of the best neologisms, there is a minimal displacement of the original. Two good examples above are 'fox populi' (changing only the first letter) and 'bon voyager' (adding only an 'r').

Spanish

As noted earlier, Spanish has also contributed thousands of words to English, including a high percentage that came into English through Mexico. Mexican cuisine is one area that has contributed much vocabulary. Many of the fast food Mexican restaurant chains in the Southwest USA have started

franchises across North American and Europe. Among their specialties is a number of fast foods using a *tortilla*, a product in the bread category.. Various fillings are used and each combination may have its own name. The generic name for such foods that can be held in the hand is 'wrap'. The *tortilla* is wrapped around beef or chicken or so on. One Mexican restaurant chain created a new word for the category and the neologism has spread world-wide -- or at least to Japan where it occurred in the 1990's: 'Wrapidos' The analysis of this form begins with 'wrap, of course. The 'rapido' part is for Spanish 'rapido' or 'fast' as in 'fast food'. At first the ads which featured this term pictured two 'wraps' and of course the Spanish for 'two' is 'dos'. The final, intriguing combination analyzes into 'Two fast-food (Mexican) wraps'.

Another example from Spanish is almost as complicated. About five years ago a sports magazine was covering the National Basketball Association semifinals in early May. The writer referred a specific loss -- of the repeated losses of the Los Angeles Lakers during the same period over a number of years -- as their 'Sink-O de Mayo'. The game was played Sacramento, California, on May 5, which is Cinco de Mayo, a famous Hispanic holiday. The "Sink" refers to the Lakers penchant for losing in the playoffs, especially during the semifinals which often occur during May.

Hebrew

Hebrew has not contributed many words to English, but as treated by Machauf later in this issue, English has contributed words to modern Hebrew. One of her examples is given here because it is a 'triple' word play. The name of a restaurant in Israel is 'Ofcourse' written in Hebrew. 'Ofcourse' is a name in this context but it also derives from 'of course'. The sentence suggests itself: 'Of course! Let's eat at the Ofcourse'. The most interesting part is that the 'of' in English is homonymous with the Hebrew word for 'chicken', which is a specialty of the restaurant. The final analysis, then, is 'Of course! Let's eat at the Ofcourse and have the 'Of' course.' Perhaps there are neologisms that are in effect a quadruple word play, but none seem to be recorded in the books and articles to date.

Chinese

Although Chinese have been a presence in the USA for a century and a half, Chinese has contributed fewer vocabulary items by far than French and Spanish and Italian. Even so, some of the words have been so naturalized that they blend with the regular vocabulary. An interesting example of a neologism is the name of a string of Chinese restaurants that specialized in small places in malls and so on. People can order food as they walk by on the sidewalk or walkway. The name, 'Side *Wok* Cafe', is pronounced as in 'Sidewalk Cafe'. The written form has the Chinese word 'wok' (a type of cook pan associated with Chinese cooking) and the word is often raised a bit from the rest of the words to highlight it.

Japanese

Japanese have also been a presence in the US for a century and a half but Japanese has contributed fewer vocabulary items than Chinese. One of the most well-known Japanese words is *origami*, the word for intricate paper-folding. Within the last five years or so, a hair-styling company made use of the familiar term in the name of its new product: Hairigami. The product helped women fold/plait their hair in intricate designs. Viewers found the neologism clever and suggestive of its usage.

Second-level Dual Language Neologisms

The examples above deal with two language neologisms in which various substitutions or blendings occur. Over the past several years another type of usage has arisen that seems to be a 'second generation' borrowing usage. Three examples are given here

The first example involves a phrase 'abra kedabra' which was coined in a Western language to suggest a Mid-Eastern source. The phrase has been used by magicians for a long time as a sort of magic incantation. The magician may say 'abra kedabra' before pulling a rabbit out of a hat. The phrase has been used by a fast food chain that specializes in *shish kebab*, (from the Turkish) or meat cooked on skewers. This fast food is served from a place called 'Abra Kebababra.'

The second example is a bit convoluted, but it makes the point that French borrowings and products are so familiar in English that word play can use all French elements. This example used two familiar words and a well-known phrase as its source. 'Deja vu' means to have a feeling that one has undergone an experience before. 'Dijon' is primarily known in English as a very popular type of mustard. In the newspaper, the phrase 'dijon vu' was used by one speaker. Although many English speakers may be able to analyze the phrase, the newspaper included the meaning: 'I have spilled mustard on myself again'. Such humorous usage assumes the listener/reader at least has a good chance to analyze the phrase and discover the clever message.

The third example is a second-level neologism created in Japan from English words. For decades, English 'restaurant' has been used in Japan, with the Japanese pronunciation of 'resutoran.' In the 1990's some Japanese men who had been 'restructured' (down-sized; fired) needed to find other employment. They decided to establish a restaurant and they called it a 'risutoran.' [Emphasis added] They explained in the newspaper that it was a restaurant name created by taking 'restaurant' and substituting for its first syllable the first syllable of the Japanese pronunciation of English 'restructured' (pronounced 'ri'). It should be noted that it is likely that no such use would occur unless the population at large had a good chance of analyzing the name properly, being amused at or interested in the name, and thus perhaps interested in going to the restaurant.

Japanese Neologisms: the graphic variations

In Japan dual language neologisms have become quite sophisticated in complexity. Many have one linguistic component which may be read as either of Japanese origin or English origin and, therefore, may be read in two interpretations. These meanings may reinforce each other in interesting ways. (Hoffer 1984, 1990, 1996, 1997, Takahara 1995, 1997, 1999) One well known example is the phrase 'bi sairento'. The complex writing character is pronounced like 'be' and means 'beautiful.' The second word is the Japanese version of English 'silent.' The combination may be read as the rather direct English 'be silent' or interpreted as 'silence is beautiful.' The latter is the more polite version, of course.

The preceding example illustrates another major level of complexity in reading Japanese. The dual language uses are made more complex by the huge number of Chinese loanwords from some 1500 years ago. Japan borrowed the Chinese writing system and eventually developed two syllabic writing systems from it. Japanese has two readings for most Chinese written characters (*kanji*) adapted to Japanese writing. Either the Chinese pronunciation (On) or the Japanese pronunciation (Kun) of the original Chinese may sound like an English word or morpheme and be used in the blends. Yet a third level of complexity is added by the fact that Japanese regularly uses four scripts in its writing system: *kanji*, the two syllabaries (*hiragana* for native morphemes and *katakana* for borrowed words), and the more recent addition of the Western alphabet. Japanese may be able to interpret more easily new blends with English and/or other languages because of they learn to read these many complexities in the writing of Japanese alone.

This section outlines the types of complexities facing Japanese readers when they attempt to interpret new combinations of these many elements. In particular, the examples come from such frequently encountered sources as newspaper and magazine ads and from product names. An excellent source for such neologisms was *Mangajin*, a magazine published in Japan during the 1990's. *Mangajin* had a monthly column where the Japanese analyzed the most interesting neologisms that had appeared recently. At times the new combinations are like intricate word puzzles which take time and ingenuity to interpret. The sequence of examples below is organized in general according to the single, double, or triple writing systems used.

Kanji only

Choo + kan

An example using Chinese characters with English pronunciation is found in 'chookan', the name for a new breakfast drink of several years ago. 'chookan' in Japanese can refer to a morning paper, while the substitution of a different *kanji* pronounced 'kan' or English 'can' could suggest a 'morning can' (that is, a can containing a liquid) to drink while reading the morning paper. The advertising company was associating their new drink with a daily ritual in many households. If successful, the product could be extremely profitable. The

example is not a high level one, but the reception by the public shows that it was a good one.

Alphabet/letter + Kanji E + den

Some years back after the Japan National Railways was divided into parts, Japan East was looking for an innovative name for one of its train cars. After a wide search which asked for public input, the name 'E-den' (English capital E followed by the kanji which begins the phrase 'train car') was chosen. The public saw the 'E' for East, but also as a suggestion of English words with good connotations: essential, exotic, exurban (that is, it could be used to travel to the outer reaches of the city), and so on. In Japanese 'E' is pronounced as 'ii' which is the pronunciation of Japanese 'good', so that the phrase could mean 'good car'. And finally the combination sounds like the English 'Eden' or paradise. The final choice seemed made in heaven, so to speak, and represents a rather complicated use of both the Japanese and English pronunciations and connotations.

The conclusion to this decision making process is interesting. Since in Japan the praise of oneself or one's family or so on is seen as a negative, the Japanese public at large did not like the name 'E-den' which sounded like high praise for itself. The name was eventually removed.

Kanji + alphabet Cha + colate; Ha + Mi + ing

This category is especially interesting and two examples will be used. In 'Cha-colate', the *kanji* for green tea (cha) is used in place of the English alphabetic symbols 'cho' which is pronounced exactly as is 'cha'. The product name sounds exactly like the English word 'chocolate', and the product is chocolate flavored with green tea.

In 'Ha-mi-ingu', the two *kanji* are for 'teeth' and 'beautiful' followed by the English present participle. The word is used for a dental newsletter and the name suggests that a person hums while 'making the teeth beautiful' by brushing.

Hiragana + katakana Nyanchi + taimu

This name for a cat food consists of the native syllabary for 'nyanchi' and the katakana for English 'time.' The whole sounds like the English for 'lunch time.' While a cat in English goes 'meow', a cat in Japan goes 'nyan' and the final product is quite eye and ear catching.

Katakana + *Kanji* Maji + karu

In this example, which occurred in an ad for a vacuum cleaner, the *kanji* pronounced here as 'karu' is preceded by two syllables in the katakana syllabic script usually used for borrowed items. In this case the syllables are pronounced 'maji'. The bilingual combination sounds like the Japanese pronunciation of the English word 'magical' and the syllabic script only version is also used in the ad.

In addition, 'maji' is a shortened or slang form of 'majime' or 'honest' serious', which is informal speech or even slang and has a range of meanings from 'really' to 'wow'. 'Karu' is here written with the *kanji* for the root of the word 'karui' meaning 'light-weight'. Thus the compound of the two items in the shortened

version as written is to be interpreted as 'really light' and suggests 'wow, this (vacuum cleaner) is magically light'. (and is magically effective?)

Kanji + Hiragana

Yu+u+topia

This example has the *kanji* for 'yu' ('hot water') plus the special writing symbol which lengthens the preceding sound plus the hiragana for 'topia.' The combination sounds like the English word 'Utopia' and is an interesting name for a wonderful hot water spa.

Kanji + Katakana

Shun + kan + kuuraa

The first component of this phrase is the set of two *kanji* 'shunkan' which literally mean 'instant.' With the English word 'cooler', it sounds like an all purpose 'instant cooler'. However, by substituting the *kanji* for English 'can' [i.e. container] for the original 'kan' of 'shunkan', the second meaning conveyed by the ad is 'instant cooler for canned beer', which of course is pictured in the ad.

Alphabet only

JR SKI SKI; Whiskey Suntory

A few years ago this slogan, 'JR SKI SKI,' was used to promote travel to skiing areas on the JR, that is, the Japan Railways. The doubled English 'Ski' indicated interest, as in 'ski, ski, ski (the weekend away)'. The pronunciation of 'ski' is like that of Japanese 'suki' [the 'u' is unvoiced] which means 'like, love/enjoy.' Thus there is an association of JR liking a ski trip. In addition, the doubling of 'ski' or 'suki' sounds like a small child who often does not just use one 'suki' for something delightful but doubles it to 'suki suki' or – as suggested here – 'SKI SKI.' The suggestion seems to be that one would really enjoy going skiing on JR.

The second example in this category is one of the simple looking ads for Suntory Whiskey. This one is written as Whiskey Suntory and pronounced in Japanese as if 'wi s'ki santori'. The sequence is understood as English 'we' plus Japanese 'suki' (like/enjoy) plus 'Suntory.' The resulting second reading is a sentence, not in the Japanese order of Subject-Object-Verb, but in the English order of Subject-Verb-Object as 'We like Suntory.'

Alphabet only plus other languages

Udon de Sky

In 'Udon de Sky,' the overt structure begins with the Japanese word for a type of noodle, 'udon', followed by the French/Romance genitive 'de', followed by the English 'sky' as in 'Udon of the Sky'. The name is an interesting trilingual noun phrase which is certainly appropriate as a snack on Japan Air Lines.

The written form has no Chinese-source *kanji* and is all alphabetic for the major name, although just above it the sequence is in the hiragana syllabic script. The hiragana is historically for Japanese items, yet here it is used for all three words. In other words, in this trilingual example, all parts are treated as if completely Japanese.

In addition, the sound sequence indicated by the Japanese hiragana script above the alphabetic version is read 'udondesukai.' This string of sounds is identical to 'udon - desu - kai', where 'desu' is the copular verb and 'kai' is a variant of the question particle 'ka.' Thus, the phrase reads as a Japanese-only

sentence. 'Is this Udon?!' is appropriate for a Japanese airline passenger who is pleasantly surprised to find such a Japanese treat on the airplane.

Kanji plus alphabet-related symbol Yuu & Ai

Earlier the example "Yuu & Ai" was analyzed. The name is a nearly perfect example of the most sophisticated use that can be made from the possibilities of the various scripts while using only three words.

Alphabet plus alphanumeric FURU²

A good example in this subcategory is found in a brand name which appeared a few years ago. The product was a kind of flat-bottomed sieve with a circular label. On the top of the circle were the English words 'MINI BASKET.' Just below that is 'furufuru' which is the Japanese onomatopoeic form meaning 'shake, shake.' This form is usually in the Japanese syllabary but is here in the one for non-native words. The focus is on the brand name in larger letters in English: 'FURU².' Here the symbol for 'squared' could suggest doubling the 'FURU' to 'FURUFURU' and/or it could suggest the pronunciation 'furu tsu' (that is, 'FURU' plus the Japanese pronunciation of the English word '2') which sounds similar to 'furuutsu' or the Japanese pronunciation of the English word 'fruit'. Of course, one good use of the product is to wash and shake fruit dry. While the pronunciations are not exact matches, the consumer usually has no trouble seeing the connections.

Alphabet + *kanji* + alphabet This Izu map

Several years ago the Japan Tourist Organization used this sentence as a promotion of tourism to the beautiful peninsula of Izu southwest of Tokyo. The *kanji* between the English words which begin and end the sentence is the name of 'Izu.' The pronunciation of the sequence sounds like 'This is a map,' which suggests the play on words for 'This is a map of Izu.'

Hiragana plus *kanji* plus alphabet Nandemo + yarima + shoo

The title of this outrageous television program (which means in Japanese 'let's do whatever is asked') explains it all. The participants have to do anything that they are told to do in front of the TV camera. Their tasks range from, for example, swallowing goldfish to delivering a letter to the White House. Readings of a dual meaning arise from the two near homonyms: Japanese verbal ending 'shoo' (in English 'let's do so and so') and English 'show'. Incidentally, this use of 'show' has become one the most popular bilingual suffixes in recent years in Japan. (This example is from the Takahara material covered later in this issue.)

Conclusion to Part III

Japanese dual or trial neologisms are among the most interesting such constructions to analyze. They make use of various world languages and of the many possibilities allowed by the complicated writing system of Japanese. The current speech in Japan abounds in loanwords and in interesting combinations of native words and loan words. Japanese is a flexible language system that

incorporates new vocabulary quickly and the Japanese have for centuries been known for exploring new ways of expressing themselves with the new importations. The field of study of Japanese dual language neology is only a few decades old and the field can expect to see growing attention from language and linguistic scholars over the next decades.

The Future of Language Borrowing Studies

The earlier scholars in the field of languages in contact developed a set of labels for the results of language importation. They also developed some paradigms of language borrowing in terms of phonological adjustments in pronunciation of the new items, morphological impact (i.e. word formation) on the grammar system, and syntax (use of the new items within the native grammatical constructions). The scholars also looked into the functions of loanwords, using to some extent the rhetorical terminology of the Greeks and Romans. They began classifying languages in terms of their receptivity to language importation and change.

Future scholars in the field of languages in contact should have a good background in the work of the Greek and Roman language scholars. The background includes not only the labels for various language and rhetorical constructions and uses but also, when appropriate, their functions. Their work included the poetic uses and functions of vocabulary. Future scholars should also have a good foundation in the work of the various European scholars that worked in the field. The earlier research in the area uses their labels and ideas with some care, while some of the more recent research seems unaware of the rich heritage of the field.

Several new areas in the study of languages in contact have developed in the last half century or so. Japanese represents one of the best examples of the new problems involved in the research. First, the rapid importation of some 50,000 or so foreign words into Japanese over the last fifty years is a test case for in-depth study. Second, several loanword dictionaries have been published over the past forty years that document the new vocabulary. Third, the Japanese writing system is perhaps the most complicated in the world. The number of creative uses of the language that are permitted by the writing system seems unlimited. A close study of the Japanese situation should make significant contributions to the general field of the study of languages in contact. The results of the study of the Japanese situation can then be compared with the results of similar studies of other dual language situations, such as those mentioned earlier, to help advance the field in significant ways.

Five of the areas for future research might be:

1. Labels

The many new or unlabeled uses of loanwords need to have widely accepted labels so that the field can use a more comprehensive and precise vocabulary to discuss the field.

2. Names of subfields

Some of the work on dual language neology is found under the labels of 'puns' or 'word play'. Some of the items and uses of these new forms do fall under the label of 'pun' and even more under the label of 'word play'. However, the use of new forms in serious literature, for example, suggests that the field needs some new labels that do not connote frivolous uses of these new items.

3. System for handling written systems in the study

This area of the field needs careful attention. As seen earlier in the Hebrew examples and the Japanese examples, there are multiple ways in which two or more writing systems can be part of the production and understanding of the new vocabulary items and uses.

4. Resources from earlier scholarship

The appropriate work of the Greek and Roman rhetoricians and of the 19th century European scholars, together with all the pertinent work during the 20th century needs to be collected and made available to current and future scholars. The IAICS website could be a base for the collection of relevant material for use by any interested scholar.

5. International language

As English has become the International Language, dual language creations of a native language and an English loanword have become common in most areas of the world. Research on these situations should be ongoing. At the same time, there are any number of language in contact situations where loanwords are moving across cultural and language intersections. The study of all these situations will help in the understanding of when and how and why such language borrowing and diffusion occurs.

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