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On the Use of Katakana in a Modern Japanese Essay

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Key words

Term	Explanation	Example
* <i>Wago</i>	native, Japanese words	<i>kuruma</i> ('wagon', 'car')
* <i>Kango</i>	words of Chinese origin	<i>jidoosya</i> ('car')
* <i>Higairaigo</i>	<i>wago</i> and <i>kango</i>	<i>kuruma, jidoosya</i> ('car')
* <i>Gairaigo</i>	loanwords other than Chinese	<i>kaa</i> ('car')
* <i>Giseigo</i>	onomatopoeia (sound-mimics)	<i>piipii</i> ('peep')
* <i>Gitaigo</i>	phenomimes (manner-describing)	<i>iki-iki</i> ('lively')
* <i>Konsyugo</i>	"hybrid", composite words with one <i>gairaigo</i> and one <i>higairaigo</i> part.	<i>kara-oke</i> ('karaoke', of Japanese <i>kara</i> ('empty') and <i>oke</i> , an abbreviation of the English 'orchestra')
* <i>Kana</i>	Japanese syllabic writing symbols	かな ; カナ
* <i>Hiragana</i>	the <i>kana</i> syllabary with cursive shape	ひらがな
* <i>Katakana</i>	the <i>kana</i> syllabary with squarish shape	カタカナ
* <i>Kanzi</i>	Chinese, ideographic characters	漢字
* <i>Hurigana</i>	Small <i>kana</i> beside <i>kanzi</i> , indicating the pronunciation of the latter	業 <small>わ</small>
* <i>Okurigana</i>	Kana used to write the inflectional endings of words	調 <small>べ</small> る
* <i>Roomazi</i>	Roman letters	A, B, C

0 Introduction

0.1. Background

Despite the general awareness that the *katakana* writing system is changing rapidly, there have been virtually no systematic investigations showing the explicit use of *katakana* in contemporary Japanese writings. The only work available to this point is *On the Use of Katakana with Words of Non-Foreign Origin* by Nakayama (1998). This study analysed the use of *katakana* in daily newspapers. The most important finding was that *katakana* are, to a certain extent, used not only for *gairaigo* but also for *higairaigo*.

0.2 Problem

The modern Japanese language employs three kinds of writing systems. These are called *kanji*, *kana* and *romaji* respectively in Japanese.

Personal taste and style allow for variations to a much higher degree than e.g. in written English, but there are basic guidelines according to which each of these symbols should be used. In newspapers and official documents, these guidelines are followed more than in e.g. fiction literature. *Katakana* is used for recent loanwords etc. (see paragraph 2.2.2.2 B below). The rapid increase of *katakana* is to a large extent due to the enormous amount of loanwords introduced to Japan in recent years. But it also has an explanation in the fact that there seems to be a trend towards increased use of *katakana* even for *higairaigo*.

How *katakana* is used by contemporary Japanese writers is still a widely open question. The use of *katakana* is likely to vary greatly since it reflects their stylistic and thematic differences.

0.3 Goals of the study

The purpose of the present study is to carry out a pilot investigation on the use of *katakana* in a modern Japanese essay, and to compare how the usage of *katakana* differs between daily newspaper and a modern essay. Among the words written in *katakana*, special focus was given to the *higairaigo*, which are normally written in *kanji* or *hiragana*.

The material chosen for the present study is “Runrun o katte o-uti ni kaeroo” by Mariko Hayasi. This author writes in a very modern way, keeping the written language close to the spoken word. This style in literature is called *genbun ittитай*. The earliest examples of literature in this style are from the 17th century. But it was not until around 1890 that the style began to develop, through the works of authors like Simei Hutabatei and Bimyo Yamada. Classical Japanese literature is heavily influenced by classical Chinese, and even today the formal written language retains much of this character. Mariko Hayasi has been recognised for her successful use of a radical and modern form of *genbun ittитай*.

The following questions were posed in the present study: What kinds of words are written in *katakana*? Does the use of *katakana* in this book differ from that in the daily newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*, analysed by Nakayama (1998)? If so, in what respects does it differ? Why does Mariko Hayasi choose to write these particular words in *katakana*?

0.4 Outline

The present study was arranged as first to give background facts on the Japanese language, and in particular the literal rendering of the same. The different parts of the Japanese writing system were then accounted for. With this information as a background, the results of the present study – on the use of *katakana* in a modern Japanese essay - were presented and analysed. These results were then been compared with those by Nakayama (1998). This was meant to reveal the differences between this particular essay and modern, standard written Japanese, and also to offer an analysis of the use of *katakana* for *higairaigo*.

The statistical results are shown in tables and graphs in the Appendices. The results are discussed under section 3 below. All the sample words used in the present study are listed in Appendix VIII.

Throughout this work, Japanese words have been indicated by means of italics (except for when they are written in *hiragana*, *katakana* or *kazji*). There are two common ways of transcribing Japanese words, viz. the Hepburn system the *kunreisiki* system (see paragraph 2.1 below, and Appendix I). In this work, the *kunreisiki* system has been used throughout. All Japanese words that are used in linguistic analyses have been written in italics.

Much of the background material about Japanese lexicon I owe to Sibatani (1996); and much of the material about the Japanese writing system to Kabasima (1979), NHK (1973), and Alfonso (1975).

1 About the Japanese language

1.1 Historical overview

The history of the Japanese language is often divided into two large parts: Old Japanese and Modern Japanese. It was during the Kamakura-Muromati period that the Japanese language lost most of the characteristics of its older state and gained its more modern form. This period may also be referred to as Middle Japanese.

	Periods	Language names
A.D.	710 Nara	Old Japanese
	794 Heian	Late Old Japanese
	1185 Kamakura	} Middle Japanese
	(or 1192)	
	1331 Muromati	
	(or 1392)	
	1603 Edo	Early Modern Japanese
	1868 Meiji	} Modern Japanese
	1912 Taisho	
	1926 Showa	
	1989 Heisei	

1.2 Lexicon

1.2.1 Native vocabulary – *wago*

1.2.1.1 General overview

The traditional Japanese society was centred on agriculture and fishing, and this is reflected in the native vocabulary. There are many native Japanese words relating to nature, agriculture, fish, senses and feelings and to the sounds of nature. Rice, for instance, which has always been the most important ingredient in Japanese food, has different names for its different states. The rice plant is called *ine*, raw rice *kome*, and cooked rice *gohan* or *mesi*. The last two words are also used for meals in general, a fact which shows the important status of rice in Japanese cooking.

There are also many names for fish in Japanese, and some kinds of fish even have different names referring to the different stages of their lives or to different sizes. For example, “yellowtail” has many different names according to its size, and also varying within different dialects. It is called *abuko*, *tubasu* or *wakanago* when it is smaller than 6-9 cm. When it becomes about 15 cm., it is called *yasu* or *wakasi*. When it is between 36 and 60 cm., it is called *inada*, *seguro* or *warasa*. The next stage is called *hamati* (45-90 cm.), and the largest fish are called *huri* (over 1 m.).

In other areas though, the native Japanese vocabulary is relatively poor. Such areas include domestic animals, body-parts, and bodily movements.

1.2.1.2 *Giseigo* & *gitaigo*

These are two large groups of words, which have some common traits and prominent functions in the Japanese language. *Giseigo* (also called *giongo*) are onomatopoeic words (phonomimes), which means that they mimic different sounds. English equivalents are e.g. “bang!”, “thump!” etc. *Gitaigo* may be referred to as “phenomimes”. They are used adverbially to describe the manner in which something is carried out. There are no real equivalents to this type of words in English, which instead uses adverbs such as “vividly”, “gracefully” etc. Below are examples of *giseigo* and *gitaigo* in Japanese, together with English translations:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|-----------|--|
| 1. | <i>giseigo</i> : | wan-wan | ‘bow-wow’ (referring to a dog’s barking) |
| 2. | <i>gitaigo</i> : | yobo-yobo | ‘wobbly’ (description of e.g. someone’s walking) |

Giseigo and *gitaigo* are extremely common in the Japanese language and constitute one of its characteristics. Expressions using *giseigo* and *gitaigo* may often be difficult to translate into other languages, keeping the flavour of the original Japanese sentence.

The abundance of *giseigo* and *gitaigo* compensate for the lack of specificity in other types of words. *Warau*, for instance, means ‘to laugh’ in general. With the help of *gitaigo*, the meaning may be varied in the following ways:

‘laugh’	<i>ha-ha-ha to warau</i>
‘smile’	<i>niko-niko to warau</i>
‘chuckle’	<i>kutu-kutu to warau</i>
‘haw-haw’	<i>wa-ha-ha to warau</i>
‘giggle’	<i>gera-gera to warau</i>

‘snigger’	<i>nita-nita warau</i>
‘simper’	<i>ohoho to warau</i>
‘grin’	<i>nikori to warau</i>
‘titter’	<i>kusu-kusu to warau</i>

1.2.2 Loanwords

1.2.2.1 General overview

The Japanese lexicon contains an extremely large number of loanwords. Most loanwords are of Chinese origin. Traditionally, the Japanese lexicon is divided into three strata. The term *wago* ‘Japanese words’ or Yamato-kotoba ‘Yamato words’ refer to the native vocabulary, and *kango* ‘Chinese words’ refers to loanwords of Chinese origin (in English often called Sino-Japanese words). All other loanwords are called *gairaigo* (‘words from abroad’) in Japanese.

Throughout history, smaller states have been influenced by larger and more developed states. The cultures and languages of Europe have been heavily influenced by the Roman Empire and the Latin language. In the case of Japan, as in most East Asian countries the influencing cultural sphere was China. The Japanese language has borrowed a huge amount of Chinese words. This borrowing of words started very early in Japanese history and three large “waves” can be discerned. Examples of pre-historic borrowings are words such as *uma* ‘horse’ and *ume* ‘plum’. The second wave of Chinese borrowing took place during the Nara period, when many students and court officials went to study in Luoyang and Chang’an in China. The third wave occurred during the 14th century, when followers of the Zen Buddhism introduced new words and new pronunciations of Chinese characters from China to Japan.

These three waves of borrowing in many cases lead to the very same word being introduced into the Japanese languages, from different parts of China and from different times in history. This in turn lead to the fact that the same Chinese character (*kanzi*) often possesses at least two different “Chinese” (Sino-Japanese) readings in Japanese. The pronunciation of the words borrowed from the Wu area is called *go'on* (‘Wu sound/pronunciation’); the pronunciation of the words from the Tang dynasty is called *kan'on* (‘Han/Chinese pronunciation’), and that of the words from Hangzhou is called *too-soo'on* (‘Tang-Song pronunciation’). Not all characters have all three readings, but on the other hand they normally have a native Japanese reading as well.

Systematic contact with the Western world did not start until about 1543, when a Portuguese merchant ship reached Kyuusyuu. The Portuguese had with them both guns, different objects from the Western culture, and also the Christian religion. These were introduced into Japan, with varying degrees of success. After the Portuguese, the Spaniards came to Japan, and after them came the Dutch.

During the Edo period (1683-1868), the Japanese leaders held the country closed to the outside world, except for limited contact through the Dutch in Kyuusyuu.

The second wave of Western cultural influence did not come until the beginning of the Meizi period. During this period the Japanese language borrowed many words connected to the modern Western society from English, German and French.

After World War II, Japan was occupied by the USA and ever since then, the Japanese language has continued to borrow an innumerable amount of English/American words and phrases, as well as other aspects of American culture. Thus, since the Meizi period, English loanwords constitute the major part of the so-called *gairaigo*.

According to the Genkai dictionary (1859), *kango* at that time accounted for 60 percent of

the vocabulary, and *gairaigo* for 1.4 percent. Since then, the proportion of *gairaigo* has steadily increased, while that of *kango* has remained fairly constant.

Between 1956 and 1964 a survey was carried out by the *Kokuritu Kokugo Kenkyuuzyo* (National Language Institute), examining the distribution of loanwords and native words in actual use. Ninety magazines from five different fields were examined. Among the results was found that the proportion of *wago* was not as great as that of *kango*. On the other hand *wago* words occurred more frequently than *kango* words. There were also differences found among the different types of magazines. In the practical and popular science magazines, *kango* were particularly predominant, while the native vocabulary, *wago*, was infrequent. In the domestic and women's magazines on the other hand, the situation was the opposite. There was also much *gairaigo* in the domestic and women's magazines. These results point towards the conclusion that *kango* is used in technical fields, while the *gairaigo* is used more in the domestic and women-related fields such as cooking and fashion.

Another finding in the study mentioned above is that *kango* are more frequently used in newspapers. This also reflects the fact that the *kango* is frequent fields that involve abstract concepts.

The borrowing of both *kango* and *gairaigo* into the Japanese language have resulted in a large number of synonymous expressions. This is due to the fact that even words that already existed in the language have been borrowed. However, these apparently synonymous words often have different shades of meaning and stylistic values. In general, the *wago* words have broader meanings than their corresponding *kango* and *gairaigo*. For example, the *wago* word *torikesi* means 'to cancel' in general or 'to take back'. The *kango* word *kaiyaku* is used of cancellation of contracts and other formal transactions. The *gairaigo* word *kyanseru*, in turn, is used only for the cancellation of appointments or ticket reservations etc. More examples of synonyms of this kind follow below:

<u>wago</u>	<u>kango</u>	<u>gairaigo</u>	<u>English translation</u>
<i>hakari</i>	<i>tenbin</i>	<i>baransu</i>	'balance', 'scales'
<i>o-tearai</i>	<i>yokusitu</i>	<i>basuruumu</i>	'bathroom'
<i>kikai</i>	<i>mikomi</i>	<i>tyansu</i>	'chance', 'opportunity'
<i>omoituki</i>	<i>soozoo</i>	<i>aidea</i>	'idea'

It is often felt that the *wago* words are more informal, *kango* words are more formal, and the *gairaigo* words have a more modern and stylish flavour.

1.2.2.2 *Kango*

The first Chinese words were probably introduced into Japan during the first century A.D. According to the *Nihon syoki* ('Chronicles of Japan') (A.D. 720), Korean scholars began to bring Chinese books to Japan around 400 A.D., and this resulted in a systematic borrowing from the Chinese language.

Not only Chinese words were borrowed, but the entire Chinese writing system. The Chinese characters and words were at first only used by scholars and in official documents, but by the end of the Edo period (1603-1887) the Chinese words had been usurped into the common spoken language and the Chinese characters (*kanzi*) were in common use.

The role of the *kango* vocabulary in Japanese is very similar to that of the Latin vocabulary in e.g. English. *kango* often express abstract concepts and academic vocabulary. For example, native words such as *kinoo* ('yesterday') and *asobi* ('game', 'play') belong to the colloquial language, while their *kango* counterparts (*sakuzitu* and *yuugi* respectively) are used in literary

language and academic vocabulary.

1.2.2.3 *Gairaigo*

Loanwords other than the Chinese-originating *kango* are called *gairaigo*. According to the KKK study of ninety varieties of magazines, which has been mentioned above, English words account for at least 80% of all *gairaigo* words. The Japanese language has also borrowed words from other languages, mainly from French, German, Dutch and Italian.

The distribution of *gairaigo* from different languages reflects what kind of contact Japan had with the nation in question during the time when the words were borrowed into the Japanese language. Portuguese words that are still used include *tabako* ‘tobacco’, ‘cigarette’ and *tempura* ‘deep-fried fish’. Dutch words are more numerous and include *biiru* ‘beer’, *garasu* ‘glass’, and *kokku* ‘cook’. German loanwords are most frequent in the fields of medicine, philosophy and outdoor sports. Examples of these are e.g. *karute* ‘medical file’, *gaaze* ‘surgical gauze’, and *torahoomu* ‘trachoma’. There are many French loanwords related to art and fashion, e.g. *atorie* ‘artist’s studio’, *dessan* ‘sketch’, *pantaron* ‘(lady’s) trousers’, *pureta-porute* ‘ready-made clothing’. Musical terms have been borrowed mainly from Italian, just as they have been in the Western world. Examples are *piano*, *sopurano*, *dakaapo*, *tempo*.

When English words began to be taken into the Japanese language (from the Meizi period on), at first they were translated into *kango* expressions and written in *kanzi*. As a result of this, a large number of *kango* expressions, which did not exist in Chinese, were coined in Japan. Later on, some of these expressions were actually borrowed “back” into the Chinese language. Often, the original English reading was marked by means of *hurigana* (in *katakana*) beside the *kanzi*. Thus there were often for these kinds of words both *kanzi* and *katakana* representations. The *kanzi* gave the meaning of the word, while the *katakana* indicated the foreign reading. The loanwords of this type eventually took either of two possible paths of development: some of them kept their *kanzi* rendering and began to be read according to the *kango* reading of the characters. Other words preserved the *katakana* rendering and continued to be pronounced in a Japanese-English way. Many words actually gained double versions, one *kango* and one *gairaigo* (English) alternative. Examples of this are *kentiku* – *birudingu* ‘building’, *sikihu* – *siitu* ‘sheet’, *tetyoo* – *nooto* ‘notebook’, *densikeisanki* – *konpyuutaa* ‘computer’. The recent trend though, is that the *kango* versions are used less and the *gairaigo* words are favoured. The modern practice concerning loanwords is to borrow by directly representing just the sounds, using *katakana*. The three writing systems thus maintain their respective function: *hiragana* for grammatical *wago* words, *katakana* for *gairaigo*, and *kanzi* for *kango*.

When foreign words are borrowed into the Japanese language, they generally undergo a series of changes: Firstly, the original pronunciation is most often grossly altered, to conform more to Japanese pronunciation. In addition to this, there are three other changes that often occur in the borrowed words: 1) shifts in meaning, 2) Japanese coinage of new *gairaigo* combinations, and 3) change in form due to simplification and abbreviation.

2 The Japanese writing system

2.1 A historical overview

The earliest written records of the Japanese language are from the 8th century. The oldest of these is the *Koziki* (‘Record of Ancient Matters’) (A.D.: 712). This work is written in Chinese characters and the preface to this work is in pure Chinese. It is not clear how these characters were read; they may have been read in Chinese, imitating the Chinese pronunciation – or they

may have been read in a Japanese way. The latter case would have to involve inverting the order of the words and using native Japanese words that correspond to the Chinese characters.

The *Man'yoosyuu* ('Collection of a Myriad Leaves'), an anthology of Japanese verse, was completed in 759 A.D.) By this time, the Japanese had evolved the Chinese writing system into a phonetic means of writing Japanese. In the *Man'yoosyuu*, *kanzi* are used in two ways: semantically (showing the meaning) and phonetically (showing the pronunciation). In order to be able to differentiate between these two groups of *kanzi* and to be able to read the text properly, the characters were written in different styles. A parallel to this system is the use of different types of letters for e.g. English – viz. Roman type letters, German type letters, italics etc. For example, the Japanese word *yama* 'mountain' could be in two ways. One way was to use the Chinese word and its character 山. The other way was to choose Chinese characters which were meant to be pronounced as *ya* and *ma* respectively: 夜麻. This eventually led to the system of multiple readings for each *kanzi* in Japanese. A character such as 山 'mountain' was read both as *san*, the Chinese (or rather Sino-Japanese) reading, and as *yama*, the Japanese reading. The Chinese readings are called *on-yomi* ('sound-reading') and the Japanese readings are called *kun-yomi* ('meaning-reading'). The *kanzi* used as phonetic symbols in the *Man'yoosyuu* are called *man'yoo-gana*.

The next stage in the development of the Japanese writing system was the forming of the syllabaries called *kana* (see Appendix I). This word was originally pronounced as *karina* and its meaning is 'temporary writing'. This name implies that the symbols were considered as merely an aid in reading, while *kanzi* was considered the "real" writing. Two sets of *kana* syllabaries were developed as a simplification of the *man'yoo-gana*. At first, the *kana* symbols were used as mnemonic symbols, facilitating the reading of the *kanzi* and they were written alongside the *kanzi*. The two sets of *kana* symbols are called *katakana* ('partial *kana*') and *hiragana* ('plain *kana*') respectively. The *katakana* syllabary was developed through abbreviations of *kanzi* and they have a squarish shape. The *hiragana* syllabary was developed by simplifying the so-called "grass" (cursive) style of *kanzi*. Examples of these two types of *kana* are given below, together with their respective "mother"/original *kanzi*. It may be noted that for a given syllable, the *katakana* symbol and the *hiragana* symbol often stem from different original *kanzi* symbols. In the examples below, only the *kana* symbols denoting the syllable *o* share a common ancestor.

<u>Modern</u>		<u>Original</u>		<u>Modern</u>		<u>Original</u>		<u>Pronunciation</u>
<u><i>katakana</i></u>	↔	<u><i>kanzi</i></u>		<u><i>hiragana</i></u>	↔	<u><i>kanzi</i></u>		
ア		阿		あ		安		<i>a</i>
イ		伊		い		以		<i>i</i>
ウ		宇		う		干		<i>u</i>
エ		江		え		衣		<i>e</i>
オ		於		お		於		<i>o</i>

Katakana was developed by the monks at the Buddhist monasteries and used as an aid in reading the holy scriptures, which were written in Classical Chinese. *Hiragana* is said to have been developed by the female writers of the aristocracy, and was vastly used by these writers. Women were not encouraged to learn *kanzi*, which were considered to belong to the male domains of learning and official documents. As an example, Lady Murasaki wrote her *Genji monogatari* ('The Tale of Genji') at the beginning of the 11th century, almost entirely in *hiragana*.

Eventually, the three different types of writing systems began to be used for different types of words: *hiragana* was used for Japanese words, *kanzi* for Chinese words and *katakana* for

notes in the margin, pronunciation indications etc. In the Edo period, *katakana* was used in Dutch and English dictionaries. During the Meiji period, *katakana* was generally used instead of *hiragana* in translations of foreign books, as well as in official documents. Due to the use in translations of foreign books, *katakana* soon came to be employed for foreign loanwords (*gairaigo*). In this case, they were often written as *hurigana* alongside *kanji* (see paragraph 1.2.2.3 above). It was also at this time that *katakana* began to be used in literature to signal that a foreigner was speaking Japanese.

Apart from the above discussed writing systems, which are all based on Chinese characters, Roman letters are also used to a certain extent in Japanese writing. Already in the 17th century there were attempts transliterate Japanese into Roman letters. However, it was not until the middle of the Meiji period that a generally accepted system for transliteration was created. James Curtis Hepburn, an American missionary drew up system based on English pronunciation in the book “Japanese-English Glossary”, which was published in 1867. In 1937 the Japanese government promulgated a system based on the phonological arrangement of the *kana* symbols. This system is called *kunreisiki* (‘cabinet ordinance system’). The difference between the two systems lies in the transcription of some twenty syllables. Among these are the syllables つ、し、ち、じ、ふ which are written as *tsu*, *shi*, *chi*, *ji* and *fu* respectively according to the Hepburn system and as *tu*, *ti*, *zi/di* and *hu* respectively in the *kunreisiki* system.

There have been attempts at different times in Japan to traditional writing systems with the Roman alphabet. However, all such attempts have failed. Instead, some simplifications of the traditional writing system have been carried through. After World War II, new guidelines were issued for the *kana* spelling, which thus far had been more historical than phonetic in character. For example, the ending *-masyoo* (‘let’s...’) was traditionally written ませふ (*masehu*), but now came to be written ましょう, which corresponds better to the modern pronunciation. There were also reforms in the field of *kanji*. Many of the more complicated characters were simplified, often by officially adopting alternative forms used for handwriting, with less number of strokes. The number of *kanji* used in newspapers and official writing was also restricted. In 1981, the Japanese government issued a list of 1,945 *kanji* recommended for daily use (“*Jooyoo kanji hyoo*”). This is now regarded as the basic list of *kanji* and those that are included in the list are taught during primary and secondary education. Most newspapers also follow the official list in their use of *kanji*. When characters which are not included in the list are used, the reading is indicated by *hurigana*.

2.2 The modern Japanese writing system

The Japanese writing system is quite unique; four different types of writing are used together. The traditional way of writing is in vertical columns progressing from right to left. However, it is becoming more and more common to employ the Western way of writing, horizontally from left to right. When writing horizontally, numbers written in Arabic figures and abbreviations consisting of Roman letters are commonly used. In mathematical theses even Greek letters and other symbols appear.

The different kinds of writing systems used together in Japanese writing traditionally have quite distinct fields of use (see paragraphs 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.2.3 below). Often, one may find all four of them in one sentence. An example of this is given on the next page:

Japanese:	私	は	CD	か	テープ	を	買う。
Transliteration:	<i>Watasi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>siidii</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>teepu</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kau</i>
Meaning of words:	'I'	topic marker	'CD'	'or'	'tape'	object marker	'buy'
Translation:	'I will buy a CD or a tape.'						

In the above sentence, the pronoun *watasi* ('I') and the verbal stem *ka-* ('to buy') are written in *kanzi*. The grammatical particles *wa* and *o* are written in *hiragana*, while the *gairaigo* word *teepu* ('tape') is written in *katakana*. The English abbreviation *CD* ('compact disc') is written in Roman letters, in the exact same way as it is in the original language from which the word was borrowed.

In the following paragraphs, the different parts of the modern Japanese writing system will be discussed. The norms for writing apply to average Japanese publications.

2.2.1 *Kanzi*

2.2.1.1 The principles of *kanzi*

Kanzi are logographic symbols. In Chinese, each character carries with it a basic meaning and a pronunciation that constitutes a monosyllabic morpheme. Some of these characters/morphemes serve as independent words in their own right, while others must be combined with (most commonly) one other character/morpheme to form a word. Among the writing systems used throughout the world today, the Chinese characters are virtually the only logographic/ideographic symbols still in use. Earlier in history there have been other systems, such as the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Sumerian cuneiform writing.

In Japanese, a *kanzi* most often has more than one pronunciation (see paragraph 1.2.2.1 above). Which pronunciation is to be used is due to circumstance. Some words (mainly composite *kango* words) are to be read using *on-yomi* (*go'on*, *kan'on* or *too-soo'on* depending on the word). Other words (mainly non-composite *wago* words) are read according to the *kun-yomi*. The character 行, for instance, may have the following different readings:

行く	<i>iku</i> ('to go', <i>kun-yomi</i> /Japanese reading)
行儀	<i>gyoogi</i> ('manner', <i>go'on</i> reading)
行進	<i>koosin</i> ('marching', <i>kan'on</i> reading)
行脚	<i>angya</i> ('pilgrimage', <i>too-soo'on</i> reading)

2.2.1.2 The use of *kanzi*

Kanzi are used mainly for independent words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, interjections and conjunctions). There are also many cases when *kanzi* are not used for formal nouns, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections. However, most *wago* adverbs, conjunctions, interjections and particles have a tendency to be written in *kana* instead of *kanzi*.

2.2.2 *Kana*

2.2.2.1 The principles of *kana*

Kana are syllabic symbols. Each *kana* denotes a syllable, which may be constituted by a single vowel sound, a consonant sound plus a vowel sound, or the nasal sound *n*. In more

recent works, the term “mora” is used instead of “syllable”. However, the difference between the two shall not be dealt with here, and the term “syllable” will be used throughout. Syllabic writing systems are very uncommon among the languages of the world. The *kana* symbols can be viewed in Appendix I.

2.2.2.2 The use of *kana*

A. *Hiragana*

Hiragana is used:

- * For *okurigana* (inflectional endings of verbs and adjectives). There are certain rules as to how much should be written in *kana* and in *kanzi* respectively, but the usage is inconsistent. Examples (*okurigana* underlined): 調べる (‘to examine’), 美しい (‘beautiful’).
- * To write particles and grammatical words. Examples: は (topic particle), へ (‘to’).
- * To write words whose *kanzi* is not in the official list of Standard Kanzi. Examples: ひげ (鬚) (‘beard’), うろこ (鱗) (‘scale’).
- * To write words whose *kanzi* is in the official list, but that particular reading of the *kanzi* is not in the official list. Examples: から (空) (‘empty’).
- * As an indication of the reading of difficult *kanzi* or combinations of *kanzi* (often personal names). In this function the *hiragana* may be written in brackets after the word, or more commonly as *hurigana*, in smaller print alongside the *kanzi*. Example: 牧子 (まきこ) (‘Makiko’).
- * For the following words, even though they are *gairaigo*: *tabako* (‘tobacco’, ‘cigarette’), *sarasa* (‘calico’), *kiseru* (‘pipe’). The reason for these words generally being written in *hiragana* is that they are old loanwords, which have almost come to be looked upon as Japanese. Formerly, they were even written in *kanzi* (煙草、更紗 and 煙管 respectively).

B. *Katakana*

Katakana is used:

- * To write foreign loanwords of recent origin. Example: エッセイ (‘essay’).
- * For foreign personal names and geographical names. Exceptions are Chinese and Korean geographical names (and often personal names), which are written in *kanzi*. Examples: ピーター (‘Peter’), フランス (‘France’).
The two instances mentioned above constitute the most frequent use of *katakana* in modern Japanese.
- * Sometimes instead of *hiragana* in some official documents, decrees, notices, forms, etc. This usage is decreasing though, and *hiragana* is used instead.
- * Sometimes in scientific articles instead of *hiragana*. This type of use is also becoming more and more rare.
- * In some written material for children, in which case the use of *katakana* instead of *hiragana* serves the pedagogical purpose to have the children practice *katakana*, which is otherwise much less used than *hiragana*.
- * In telegrams; however, this practice is less commonly nowadays.
- * Often in the same way that italics may be used when writing in English; i.e. to convey slang, idiomatic expressions, words which are in fashion, very colourful

words/expressions, words which the author wishes to emphasise etc. Example:

ウツソ ('you're kidding!').

- * In many cases for commercial names and trademarks. But these are also often written in other ways, i.e. in *kanzi* or using combinations of *kanzi* and either of the *kana* syllabaries. Examples: ケンゾー ('Kenzo'), イッセイ ('Issei').
- * In order to emphasise words or if the writing of a word in *hiragana* results in unclear meaning in its context.
- * For *giseigo*. Examples: ピーピー ('peep'), ハハ ('ha-ha').
- * For scientific names of animals and plants. Example: ネコ ('cat', 'feline') Concerning the writing of names of animals and plants, the following rules apply: In the *Jooyoo kanzihyoo*, about ten common animals and about eighteen botanical names are included, and these are generally written in *kanzi*. Example: 猫 *neko* ('cat'; in the sense of a pet). Names of animals and plants not included in the above mentioned list of *kanzi* are generally written in *hiragana*. Example: ひまわり (向日葵) ('sunflower').
- * For foreign units of measure and currencies. Examples: キロ (キログラム) ('kilo'), メートル ('metre'). These were formerly often written in *kanzi* (斤 and 米 respectively), which were read according to the foreign pronunciation.

2.2.3 Roomazi

2.2.3.1 The principles of roomazi

Roman letters, or *roomazi* in Japanese, constitute an alphabetic system, where each symbol (letter) more or less corresponds to a phoneme of the language in question.

2.2.3.2 The use of roomazi

Roomazi are used inconsistently; mainly for *gairaigo* in the form of acronyms. Examples are CD (pronounced "siidii" and meaning 'CD', 'compact disc'), OL ("ooeru"; 'office lady'). Furthermore, *roomazi* are often used instead of *katakana* for *gairaigo* units in tables, diagrams etc. (where also Greek letters and other symbols are used).

3 Analysis

3.1 Results of the present study

The basic statistical figures relevant to the present study (together with the corresponding figures for Nakayama's study) are shown in Appendix III. Graphs, which give an overview of the most important results may be viewed in Appendix IV (present study - Graph 1 - compared with Nakayama's study - Graph 2), as well as in Appendix V. Tables with detailed results are found in Appendix VI (Table 1 and 2). All the sample words are listed in Appendix VIII (List 1 = *gairaigo*, List 2 = *higairaigo*).

Nakayama's study (1998) was used as a reference. The results of that study was compared to the those of the present study and displayed together in Appendices III (basic figures), IV (graphs), as well as in Appendix VII (detailed tables, following Nakayama's categorisation).

There were altogether 952 sample words, which were subject for classification.

The most striking result of this study was that a considerable number of *higairaigo* were found written in *katakana*. The *higairaigo* were found to make up almost 40 % of all *katakana*-words found in the present study. This may be compared to the 10% found in

Nakayama's study.

Among the *higairaigo* words, the largest categories were “*gitaigo*” (7.7%), “other ordinary nouns” (6.7%), “*katakana*-words usually written in *kanzi*” (4.9%), “adjectives & adverbs” (3.0%), “interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address” (2.8%), “slang, dialectal & literary” (2.8%) “personal names” (2.5%), “*giseigo*” (1.7%), “animals & plants” (1.7%), and “verbs” (1.0%).

The results for *gairaigo* and for the rest of the *higairaigo* were as follow: *Gairaigo* proper nouns were found to stand for 12.3% of the total number of *katakana*-words, and *higairaigo* for 5.4%. The *gairaigo* geographical names made up 2.2% of the total number of *katakana*-words. In “personal names” there were 2.2% *gairaigo* and 2.5% *higairaigo*. In the category “companies, organisations & institutions” the *gairaigo* clearly dominate with 1.3% compared to 0.2% for the *higairaigo*.

In the category “brand names and names of products”, the *gairaigo* amounted to 1.7% and the *higairaigo* to 0.3%. Names of animals and plants belonged in the present material mostly to the *higairaigo* stratum of the language. The *gairaigo* had 4%, while the *higairaigo* reach 1.7%. However, their frequency was significantly lower; 0.2% for *gairaigo* and 0.8% for *higairaigo*. In the category “menu, drinks”; the *gairaigo* figures were as high as 4.1% while the *higairaigo* are only at 0.7%. “Other proper nouns”, viz. those that could not be categorised under any of the specified categories, amount to 0.4%. This was only in reference to *gairaigo* though. There were no examples of *higairaigo* written in *katakana*, qualifying for this category in the present study. The total number of proper nouns in the present study was 12.3% for *gairaigo* and 5.4% for *higairaigo*.

“Units & counters” had four *gairaigo* members, which made 0.4%. The *higairaigo* group had one member only, viz. the word *ko* (counter for small objects etc.).

In the category “interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address” the *higairaigo* were found to stand for 2.8% of the total number of *katakana*-words, and the *gairaigo* for 0.21%. The total frequency for both *higairaigo* and *gairaigo* were lower, though. Many adjectives and adverbs written in *katakana* were found in the present study. The figures were 2.8% for *gairaigo* and 3.0% for *higairaigo*. The verbs written in *katakana* were found to constitute a minor group in the present material. There were some *gairaigo* among them, but the *higairaigo* took the lion's share with 1% of the different words and 0.4% in frequency. The pronouns did not make a large category either. There were only *higairaigo* here and their percentage was 0.7%. However, their total frequency was as high as 1.4%. The nouns pertaining to the category “food & drink” were numerous, though they were exclusively *gairaigo*. Their percentage was 2.0%. Another category that held a very prominent position in the present study was “special terms, slang, dialectal & literary etc.”. The percentage for this category was 4.6%. A special category with the name “professions, hobbies etc.” was designed for the present material. All words here were *gairaigo* and they reach a proportion of 3.1%.

Category No. 10, “denoting pronunciation” hosted *gairaigo* as well as *higairaigo* and the figures were 0.3% and 0.8% respectively. The category “*konsyugo*” had few members, only 0.8%. Category No. 12, “Japanese style English/French/German” was a fairly large sub-category of the *gairaigo* with its 3% and 4.4% in frequency. The words in Category No. 13, “clothes & accessories, fashion world etc.” were numerous. All of them were *gairaigo* and reached 6.3%. Category No. 14, “*katakana*-words usually written in *kanzi* (or *hiragana*)” was obviously made up solely of *higairaigo*. As much as 5% of the total number of *katakana*-words were of this nature. Category No. 15, “*Gairaigo* substituting for common *higairaigo*” was very large with its 10% of the total number of *katakana*-words. The category “other ordinary nouns” was large as far as *gairaigo* are concerned; 29.9%. The *higairaigo* though were down at 6.7%.

There were some differences between the present study and Nakayama's study, both in the character of the materials studied and consequently in the categorisation systems used. The categories used in the present study were arranged using Nakayama's study as a model, but with some adjustments. Consideration was taken primarily to what type of words may or should, according to standard, be written in *katakana*. Consideration was also taken to the difference in character of different text materials.

In Nakayama's study two separate sets of categories were used for *gairaigo* and *higairaigo* respectively (cf. tables for the present study in Appendix VI with those for Nakayama's study in Appendix VII). In the present study only one set of categories is used for both *gairaigo* and *higairaigo*. As a result of this, the number of categories has increased. On the other hand it is judged that a clearer overview is gained and that the difference in the use of *katakana* for *gairaigo* and *higairaigo* respectively emerges more clearly.

The category called "events" in Nakayama's study was not used in the present study. The category was used exclusively for the *gairaigo* words in Nakayama's study, and 59 words of this type were found. In the present study one single *gairaigo* word (*ADC guranpurii*, 'ADC Grand Prix') was found. No *higairaigo* written in *katakana* and denoting events were found, for which reason the establishing of this category was judged unnecessary.

Nakayama used in her study a category called "telegraphic text", but also wrote that this is nowadays not always written in *katakana*. The example in Nakayama's study was taken from an article about the War. No examples of this kind were found in the present study. Due to this, and to the above-mentioned modern treatment of this type of words, it appeared that inclusion of this category was not necessary.

The category "foreigners' speech" had some tokens in Nakayama's study, but no words of this type were found in the present study. Nakayama explains that it is common to find all utterances made by foreigners, even if spoken in Japanese, rendered in *katakana*. This may partly be a means of conveying a non-fluent manner of speaking, or simply a mark that the speaker is not Japanese. However, in newspapers this is not the normal practice. In newspapers *katakana* is not used specifically for words and phrases uttered by non-Japanese people. Depending on what type of material is being studied there may or may not be reason for establishing this as a separate category.

Several categories were created in the present study. This is due to the fact that the text material of the present study had a lot of special (mostly *gairaigo*) words in it. Categories which might be considered of interest exclusively for the present study are "menu, drinks", "adjectives & adverbs", "verbs", "pronouns", "food & beverages", "professions, hobbies etc." and "clothes & accessories, fashion world etc.". These categories reflect the topics of Hayasi's essay.

Furthermore, there were a few categories that have been used in Nakayama's study and the present study alike and that might perhaps be excluded from the categorisation of future studies, regardless of the character of the material. These categories were "units"/ "units & counters" and "*hurigana*". As for units, it might perhaps be questioned if they are of such a special character compared to other *gairaigo* as to warrant a category of their own. *Hurigana* are nearly always written in *hiragana* and some material (for instance newspapers) are almost entirely lacking *hurigana*.

As far as *gairaigo* are concerned, it might perhaps not be necessary to do any sub-categorisation of them at all. Since standard and common practice is to render all *gairaigo* in *katakana*, one might settle for one single category for these words. However, in the present study this practice was not carried out. It was deemed desirable to gain a clear view of the different kinds of words found.

Other differences in categorisation between Nakayama's study and the present study were as follows: The separate categories for companies, institutions, organs etc. In Nakayama's

categorisation system were merged into one category in the present study. Zoological and botanical names were categorised as “animals & plants” under the heading “proper nouns”. The category “dialectal and literary” was enlarged in the present study so as also to include slang words. The category “personal names & geographical names” taken up in the “*higairaigo*” section in Nakayama’s study, were divided and the words of this category have been categorised under “geographical names” and “personal names” respectively. It was felt that these are two quite different concepts. The “companies & organs” of Nakayama’s *gairaigo* section were merged with the “companies & institutions” of the *higairaigo* section. Contrary to geographical and personal names, it was judged that these concepts are very similar.

3.2 Discussion

As far as *gairaigo* are concerned, the use of *katakana* is obvious and therefore the *gairaigo* were not been analysed in their own right in this study, but only in relation to the *higairaigo*. In the first paragraph below the largest *higairaigo* categories are discussed, followed by the remaining categories.

Gitaigo was found to constitute the largest group of *higairaigo* written in *katakana* found in the material. Nakayama (1998) points out, that the official guidelines for written representation of these types of words are *katakana* for *giseigo* and *hiragana* for *gitaigo*. In the present material though, Hayasi chooses *katakana* for both *giseigo* and *gitaigo* throughout the essay. Interestingly enough Nakayama too found, in the study of newspapers, that *gitaigo* were to a large extent written in *katakana*. Consequently, in both studies, there is a notable divergence in this area from the official guidelines for the use of *katakana*. This was irrespective of the different characters of the respective text materials. The reason for the use of *katakana* for *gitaigo* is not obvious. Perhaps some writers find it more natural to use the same rendering for both *giseigo* and *gitaigo*, since these two groups of words could be thought of as rather similar in nature and in use. Examples of *gitaigo* found are *iki-iki* (‘lively’), *iraira* (‘nervously’) and *sassa* (‘quickly’).

The category “Other ordinary nouns” consisted, as far as *higairaigo* are concerned, mostly of nouns commonly rendered in *hiragana*. Many of these words have *kanzi* that are not in the official list; or they consist of non-standard readings of *kanzi*. For this reason they are instead normally written in *hiragana*. The choice to use *katakana* might have been due to a wish from the author to emphasise that particular word. In Nakayama’s study, 2% of the *katakana*-words fell into this category. Using the same categorisation for the present study, as much as 15% of the words ended up under this heading (see Appendix VII). This was a clear sign that Nakayama’s categorisation was not suiting for the present study. Using the new categorisation, these words decreased to 6.7% (see Appendix VI). This was still a lot more than what was found in the newspaper material of Nakayama’s study and this was also the second largest category of the *higairaigo* in the present study. Nakayama divided the category “others” into six sub-categories according to why *katakana* was used. The sub-categories were as follow:

- 1) The word is not used according to its primary meaning, as expressed by the *kanzi*. Examples: 本のオビ (帯) (‘cover slip of a book’; primary meaning of 帯 being ‘belt of a kimono’); カギ (鍵) を握る (‘to hold the key /to a problem etc./’; primary meaning of 鍵: ‘key /to a lock/’); 目からウロコ (鱗) (‘have one’s eyes opened’; primary meaning of 鱗: ‘scale /from a fish/’); ノビ (延び) てる (‘to be ill’, ‘down’, ‘sick’; primary meaning of 延びる: ‘to extend’, ‘stretch’). Using *kanzi* in these situations would emphasise the primary meaning of the word and thus make the

reading in that particular case more difficult.

- 2) The word is used according to its primary meaning, but writing it in *kanzi* would decrease legibility, since the reading is irregular. Examples: メド (目処) ('prospect', 'aim'); ベイゴマ (貝独楽) ('whipping top'); ボヤ (小火) ('small fire'). This category includes practically only words whose *kanzi* or reading is not included in the official list.
- 3) The writer wishes to flavour the word with a special meaning, slightly different from the primary meaning. Examples: カネ (金) ('money'); ズレ (ずれ) ('divergence'); モノ (物) ('thing'). As opposed to categories 1 and 2, the words of this category may also be written in *kanzi/hiragana*, but the writer wants to use the word in a special way. For instance, the word カネ, found in Nakayama's study, refers to the funds raised for an athlete.
- 4) *Katakana* is used for the sake of balance, in harmony with the surrounding text. Examples: ケイリン (競輪) ('cycle race'); ハサミ (鋏) ('scissors'). The word ケイン was of course found in a text about cycle races. All words in that particular passage were *gairaigo* sports terms written in *katakana* and so, most probably, this word was also rendered in *katakana* for the sake of harmony among the writing symbols.
- 5) The use of *katakana* functions merely to emphasise certain words in headlines etc. Examples: ナゾ (なぞ/謎) ('riddle'); ニセ (にせ/偽) ('phoney'); ハズレ (外れ) ('end', 'outskirts'). There is another common way to emphasise words in such circumstances, viz. to add a dot beside each *kanzi/hiragana* of the word or expression.
- 6) The word might as well have been written in *kanzi/hiragana*. Examples: マンガ (漫画) ('manga comic book'); カッコ (括弧) ('parenthesis'), ムダ (むだ) ('waste', 'useless'); オムツ (おむつ) ('napkin'). Nakayama explains that this category is not so clearly distinct from category 2; but in category 6 were put words, which would not appear strange to Nakayama herself if they were written in *kanzi/hiragana*. Nakayama questions the use of *katakana* for this type of words and argues that overuse of *katakana* must be considered an adverse phenomenon.

Nakayama also refers to different theories as to why ordinary nouns are sometimes written in *katakana*. Tamamura (1989) holds that since *katakana* have an extremely low degree of use compared to *kanzi* and *hiragana*, they serve well as markers for *higairaigo*. Kawarasaki (1989) claims that when compound words are written in *kanzi*, the intentions and emotions of the author connected to the word will not appear. For this reason such words are sometimes deliberately rendered in *katakana* instead of *kanzi*. Takebe (1979) gives two examples of cases when *higairaigo* may be found written in *katakana* in newspapers, in order to increase legibility. The first case concerns *kango* whose *kanzi* or reading is not included in the official list. Examples: ゲタ (下駄) ('Japanese wooden clogs'), ゴザ (藁坐) ('straw mat'). The second case concerns *wago* under the same circumstances. Examples: カギ (鍵) ('key'). As examples found in the present study, categorised as "other ordinary nouns" can be mentioned *neta* ('item'), *dozi* ('mistake'), and *hige* ('beard').

It is perhaps more challenging to find a reason for the use of *katakana* for words that are commonly written in *kanzi*, than for those commonly written in *hiragana*. However, one may

guess that the author might have felt a need to distinguish these words from other words written in *hiragana*, once the *kanzi* rendering has been abandoned. Examples of words found are *te* ('hand'), *hito* ('person') and *onna* ('woman').

An interesting feature of the material of the present study was the high percentage of *higairaigo* adjectives and adverbs written in *katakana*. One explanation for this phenomenon might be that many of these words were found in direct speech in the text. Especially adjectives were often found in exclamations and therefore had a function somewhat similar to interjections (see below). Examples are *sugoi* ('wonderful'), *kirei* ('beautiful') and *ii* ('good').

Interjections might be said to belong to a typical field of use for *katakana*, since they are by nature words with an emotional colouring. So are the sentence final particles such as *wa*, *yo*, *ne* etc. Some unusual ways of writing some of these particles were found in the material. Hayasi's use of *katakana* for sentence final particles was found to be very inconsistent though. One and the same particle, e.g. *ne*, is sometimes written in *katakana* (ネ) and sometimes in *hiragana* (ね) in the material. A few cases of "hybrid writing" was also found. These cases include the use of the *katakana* long vowel marker (ー) together with *hiragana*; e.g. ねー for ねえ (affirmative particle). An other case includes the use of a small *katakana* vowel sign after a *hiragana* syllable symbol to denote long vowel; e.g. なア for なぁ.

"Personal names" was found to be a quite special category in the material of the present study. At least three variations were found in Hayasi's essay. For her close, female friends, she uses their given names, written in *katakana*. Example: ルミコ ('Rumiko'). For her close male friends, she uses their family name, written in *katakana*, plus *-kun* (common suffix for male names, indicating informal relationship). Example: オオタケ君 ('Ootake'). Many other people mentioned in the essay are well-known people like actors, authors etc – people whom Hayasi does not know personally, and often does not like very much. These names are written in *kanzi*. The reason for this way of writing names might be a way of signalling to the reader what relationship the author has to the person in question. Apparently, Hayasi prefers *katakana* to signal close relations, while *kanzi* seem to signal more of a distance. According to Nakayama, at different periods through history female given names were often written in *katakana*. However, this custom is not common today, and has probably not much to do with the choice of *katakana* for names in Hayasi's essay.

Giseigo are related in nature to *gitaigo*, but they are officially to be separated in writing texts. *Giseigo* are to be written in *katakana* and *gitaigo* in *hiragana*, as stated above. The treatment of *gitaigo* was found to break these rules in both the present study and in Nakayama's, but the use of *katakana* for *giseigo* is consistent with the official rules. *Giseigo* have, perhaps, a more limited use than *gitaigo*, in that they are used to represent sounds. The *giseigo* written in *katakana* found in the present study were significantly fewer than the *gitaigo*, despite the fact that the latter should actually be written in *hiragana*. Examples of *giseigo* found are *hihi* ('tee-hee'), *karakara* ('clatter'), *gabugabu* ('guzzle').

The words belonging to the category "Animals & plants" were also found to be treated in a special way in the material. The rendering of this type of words in *katakana* is common practice only in scientific contexts, e.g. when the word *neko* ('cat') is used in the meaning "feline". In Nakayama's study 2.6% of the *katakana*-words fell under this category. This might reflect the partially special or technical character of newspaper language. Examples are: *nezumi* ('mouse'), *niwatori* ('chicken') and *buta* ('pig').

The use of *katakana* for *gairaigo* verbs seems obvious. There were three such verbs found, occurring five times in total in the material. However, there were also found ten *higairaigo* verbs written in *katakana*, occurring eleven times in total. It was difficult to find a relevant explanation for the use of *katakana* in these cases. Two examples of these verbs are *dekiru* ('to set up, to finish'), *tupparu* ('dash') and *rikimazu* ('without self-restraint').

For the rest of the categories the results were as follows. Within the category "geographical

names” there were no *higairaigo*, only *gairaigo*. This is consistent with the official guidelines for the use of *katakana*, since Japanese, Chinese and Korean geographical names are (for the most part) *higairaigo* and written in *kanzi*. In Nakayama’s study, some *higairaigo* geographical names written in *katakana* were found. An example is *Ginza*, which is often written in *katakana*, presumably to render a modern and international flair to it.

The category “companies, organs & institutions” did not have many *higairaigo* members compared to the *gairaigo*. However, the *higairaigo* words had almost as high frequency as the *gairaigo* in the material. These facts probably have more to do with the character of the material of the present study, than with the principles for the use of *katakana*, though. Somewhat similarly to the case of *Ginza*, it is presumed that these companies want to create an image with the domestic audience of internationalisation and establishment overseas, by writing their company names in *katakana*. In the present study there were only two examples of this category, viz. *Kinokuniya* and *Ookura*. In the case of the former though, only the “no” was written in *katakana*.

Of the category “Brand names & products” were found only three *higairaigo* members. These were *Kenzoo*, *Toriiyuki* and *Issei*. These are actually names of leading Japanese designers, but are also used as trade marks and for this reason they were sorted under this category. These designers had their training and debuts in France and other foreign countries, and are perhaps for that reason almost considered as foreigners. Many modern designers consider it trendy to use *katakana* for their names, but there are also many famous designers who retain their names in *kanzi*. The words *Kenzoo* and *Toriiyuki* were mentioned only once in the material, while *Issei* was mentioned eight times. The great majority of *katakana* words belonging to this category were *gairaigo*. This might perhaps be expected, and is probably more due to the character of the fashion world than to any supposition that most Japanese brand names would be written in *kanzi* or *hiragana*.

“Menu, drinks” contained only a few *higairaigo* names of dishes etc. The *gairaigo* words abounded here though. This category of words is not mentioned as a traditional field of use for *katakana* (see paragraph 2.2.2.2 B). However, restaurants in Japan frequently write e.g. the word *raamen* (‘Chinese noodle soup’) in *katakana*. The choice of the author to render these words in *katakana* in the material of the present study, might have been a feeling that these words need to be marked as though to stand out from the surrounding *hiragana* of the text. Haysi’s choice of written rendering for these words in the present material was found to be very inconsistent. The word *torisoba* was written in *katakana*, although its *kanzi* are included in the official list. *Sukiyaki* and *torisoba* were also rendered in *katakana*, though *yaki* and *tori* have *kanzi* included in the official list. In the word *yakidoofu*, the *yaki-* was rendered in *kanzi*, while *-doofu* was written in *katakana*. Even more conspicuous was the word *kara-age*, where *kara-* was rendered in *katakana*, *-a-* in *kanzi* and *-ge* in *hiragana*. This makes three different writing systems for one single word. The use of *okurigana* in nouns like this is not consistent; they may or may not be written. Often, the verbs are written with *okurigana* and the nouns of the same stem without them.

“Units & counters” was set up as a separate category, following the example of Nakayama’s study. Nakayama put forward the argument that units are a stable group of words and not prone to change, unlike many other *gairaigo* in Japanese. Counters may be judged as having a similar function in the Japanese language and so were classified together with the units. There was only one single example found of a counter written in *katakana*, and it occurred only once in the material. The word in question was *ko* (counter for small objects etc.). All counters would be expected to be *higairaigo*. Units on the other hand are practically all *gairaigo* nowadays, as Japanese uses the metric system. There were only four units found, viz. *kiro* (‘kilo’), *guramu* (‘gram’), *meeturu* (‘metre’) and *doru* (‘dollar’).

Katakana is not standard for pronouns, yet six different pronouns written in *katakana* were

found in the material. These were *ore*, *boku* ('I'), *watasi* ('I'), *kimi* ('you'), *are* ('that') and *nani* ('what'). They occurred 31 times altogether in the material. The most frequent of them was *kimi*, occurring 14 times. Most of these pronouns were found in direct speech in the material, which perhaps offers a key to why Hayasi chooses to write them in *katakana*.

"Food & beverages" differs from the category "menu, drinks" in that its members do not qualify as proper names. All of the words found here were *gairaigo*, again showing the character of the essay that constitutes the material for the present study.

Only two words found fell under the category "Special terms", viz. *gan* ('cancer') and *tanpakusitu* ('protein'), which are both *higairaigo*. At least *gan* is often written in *katakana*, unless it is used in technical/medical literature. The reason is probably that the *kanzi* for *gan* (癌) is outside the official list and therefore considered too difficult.

"Professions, hobbies etc." had only *gairaigo* members in the present study. It was a category constructed especially for this study, since the vocabulary of the material is to a large extent centred on words of this type. Examples from this category are: *sarariiman* ('salary man', office worker'), *gurafikku dezainaa* ('graphic designer'), *sutairisuto* ('stylist') etc.

The category "clothes & accessories, fashion world etc." share the same characteristics as the above mentioned category, in that it has only *gairaigo* words and that it was constructed especially for this study. However, this category was considerably larger than "professions, hobbies etc." in the present study. Examples of words from this category are: *pantu* ('pants', 'trousers'), *syorudaabaggu* ('shoulder bag'), *T-syatu* ('T-shirt') etc.

"Denoting pronunciation" was found to contain four members categorised as *higairaigo*. All four of them were mere syllables, used in the text to show varieties in pronunciation. Of *gairaigo* there were found four words, all examples of mispronounced foreign words. The use of *katakana* in this circumstance could be considered natural, regarding its role as a marker in texts.

Of *hurigana* there were found only four examples in the present study. The only examples of *hurigana* written in *katakana* – or indeed at all – were the following four: the Chinese cities *Pekin* ('Peking') and *Syanhai* ('Shanghai'), together with the (likewise Chinese word) *maazyau* ('mah-jong') and *zyan'yuu* ('playing partner in mah-jong'). However, the *hurigana* for *yuu* in *zyan'yuu* was rendered in *hiragana*. It was not clear why the author chose this particular way of writing. In Nakayama's study there were also very few examples of *hurigana*, the normal case nowadays is to render them in *hiragana*. Furthermore, newspapers normally restrict the use of *kanzi* to those listed in the "*Jooyoo kanzi hyoo*". The examples found in Nakayama's study were from comic strips addressing children, where all *kanzi* have *hurigana*.

The category "dialectal & literary" includes slang and expressions used mostly or exclusively by young girls. The latter made up most of this category in the present study, and the percentage amounts to about 3%. The use of *katakana* for this type of expressions is consistent with its use as a marker in written material. In the newspaper material it was virtually non-existent, which is hardly surprising since the language in newspaper is formal and standard. Examples of slang are *ojin* ('old man'), *usso* ('you're kidding!'). An example of a literary phrase, probably a quotation, is *zisin wa bitoku da* ('confidence is a virtue'). In the latter case, the written rendering was a mixture of *kanzi* and *katakana*, which was a common way of writing in earlier times (see paragraph 2.1 above).

Konsyugo were categorised as *higairaigo* both in the present study and in Nakayama's. In fact they might as well be sorted under *gairaigo*, since they are composite words with one *gairaigo* and one *higairaigo* part. *Konsyugo* are often written entirely in *katakana*, for the sake of balance in writing. A good example of this is the word *karaoke*, consisting of the *higairaigo* word *kara* ('empty') and the *gairaigo* word *oke* (abbreviation of *ookesutora* 'orchestra'). This word is practically always written entirely in *katakana*. However, unusual

traits were also found concerning the *konsyugo*. Only three out of the eight words found of this type were written entirely in *katakana*, while four words were given “hybrid rendering” with *katakana* and *kanji*. One word was written in *katakana* and *hiragana*, viz. *manppoi* (‘masculine’), where the *gairaigo* man was rendered in *katakana* and the *higairaigo* adjectival ending *-ppoi* in *hiragana*.

“Japanese-coined *gairaigo*” consisted of loan words (mainly English), which have undergone changes of the kind discussed under paragraph 1.2.2.3. Examples are *baito* (‘part-time job’, from the German “Arbeit”), *mansyon* (‘flat’, from the English “mansion”) and *masukomi* (‘mass communication’, abbreviated form of the word).

“*Gairaigo* substituting for common *higairaigo*” might be considered a category more suitable for analysing the use of *gairaigo* than the use of *katakana* per se. In the present study only the latter was studied. However, in future broader studies, categories of this type for *gairaigo* may prove useful. In the present study, these categories served to give a picture of the use of *gairaigo* in the material – something which is largely connected to the use of *katakana*. This category was extremely large in the present study, 10% of all *katakana* words fell under this heading. Of course it is not evident which words should belong to this category. It is in much a matter of opinion what words are “ordinary” *gairaigo* words, commonly used in speech and/or writing and what *gairaigo* words may be considered “superfluous” or “unnecessary”. Examples of words categorised here are: *supiritu* (‘spirits’, instead of e.g. *seisin*), *gooruden ringu* (‘golden ring’, for *kin no yubiwa*), *porisii* (‘policy’, instead of *seisaku* etc.)

4 Conclusion

It was shown in this study, that Mariko Hayasi in her book “*Runrun o katte o-uti ni kaeroo*” employs *katakana* in a way that is non-standard for the Japanese language. At least, her usage of *katakana* is considerably deviating from such guidelines, as described by e.g. Alphonso (1975) and Kabasima (1979) (see paragraph 2.2 above). The material referred to here, concerning the modern guidelines for written Japanese, are about 20 years old, but there was not found any more recent material giving different guidelines. Compared to the results found in Nakayama’s study, which dealt with the use of *katakana* in Japanese newspapers, there were some striking differences. It was found that Hayasi uses *katakana* for many *higairaigo* words that are usually written in *kanji* or *hiragana*.

The most interesting breach of the official standard was perhaps the use of *katakana* for personal names, for *gitaigo* and for ordinary nouns that are normally written in *kanji* or *hiragana*. These were also among the largest categories of *higairaigo* written in *katakana*.

The use of *katakana* in cases such as these may have various explanations. Besides those already mentioned (under paragraphs 2.2.2.1 and 3.2), there are other obvious factors. When Mariko Hayasi wrote “*Runrun o katte o-uti ni kaeroo*”, she was a young, modern writer and the target group for the essay was young people, particularly young women. The author deliberately keeps her written language close to spoken Japanese (i.e. *genbun ittитай* literary style). There is also the fact that the plot of the essay in question revolves around the fashion industry and mass communication, which are by nature domains where *gairaigo* abound. However, this should not directly concern the writing of *higairaigo* in *katakana*.

It should make an interesting theme for future studies, to continue the kind of research performed in the present study, on a broader basis. The task would consist in analysing more material written by young contemporary Japanese authors and comparing the results with official texts in standard Japanese (such as newspaper texts). From the results thus obtained, it may be gained an indication as to in what direction the Japanese written language is

evolving.

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Appendix I

The *kana* symbols

あ	い	う	え	お
ア	イ	ウ	エ	オ
<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
か	き	く	け	こ
カ	キ	ク	ケ	コ
<i>ka</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ko</i>
さ	し	す	せ	そ
サ	シ	ス	セ	ソ
<i>sa</i>	<i>shi/si*</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so</i>
た	ち	つ	て	と
タ	チ	ツ	テ	ト
<i>ta</i>	<i>chi/ti*</i>	<i>tsu/tu*</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>to</i>
な	に	ぬ	ね	の
ナ	ニ	ヌ	ネ	ノ
<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>no</i>
は	ひ	ふ	へ	ほ
ハ	ヒ	フ	ヘ	ホ
<i>ha</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>fu/hu*</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>ho</i>
ま	み	む	め	も
マ	ミ	ム	メ	モ
<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mo</i>
や		ゆ		よ
ヤ		ユ		ヨ
<i>ya</i>		<i>yu</i>		<i>yo</i>
ら	り	る	れ	ろ
ラ	リ	ル	レ	ロ
<i>ra</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ro</i>
わ				を
ワ				ヲ
<i>wa</i>				<i>o (wo)</i>
ん				
ン				
<i>n (n')</i>				

With *hiragana*, long vowel is expressed by adding an extra vowel of the same kind, e.g. ああ、かあ、いい、きい。

Long *e* is often written えい, sometimes ええ.

Long *o* is often written おう, sometimes おお.

Katakana generally follow the same spelling rules as *hiragana*, when they are used to render *higairaigo*. When used for *gairaigo*, long vowel is generally marked by using the symbol ー after the *kana*, e.g. イー、ソー.

Long (double) consonant is marked by っ in *hiragana*, and っ in *katakana*, e.g.

かっこ、カッコ.

Voiced consonant is marked by two dots beside the *kana*, e.g. が̣/が̣ = *ga*.

The syllables of the “h-series” get the sound *b* when written with the above mentioned dots, e.g. ば̣/ば̣ = *ba*. When written with a small circle beside the *kana*, they are pronounced with a *p*- sound, e.g. ぱ̣/ぱ̣ = *pa*.

Syllables such as *sha/sya* or *hya* are rendered in writing by means of using a small *y* e.g. しゃ/シヤ; ひや/ヒヤ. The same principles apply to syllables like *syu*, *syo* etc.

* Transliteration according to the Hepburn system and the *kunreisiki* system respectively. Other syllables that are transliterated differently in the respective systems are: *sha/sya*, *shu/syu*, *sho/syo*, *ja/zya*, *ju/zyu*, *jo/zyo*, *cha/tya*, *chu/tyu*, *cho/tyo*.

In the Hepburn system, a long vowel is often marked by a horizontal stroke over the vowel, e.g. *ō*. Often, though, it is simply omitted. A long *i*, is written *ii*. In the *kunreisiki* system, a long vowel is marked by doubling it, e.g. *oo*.

Appendix II

Categories used in the present study

	<u>Examples</u>
1. Proper nouns	
a. Geographical names	フランス ; ニューヨーク
b. Personal names	インディラ、ルミコ
c. Companies, organisations & institutions	セブンイレブン ; オークラ
d. Brand names & products	グッチ、イッセイ
e. Animals & plants	トマト、コンブ ; ブタ
f. Menu, drinks	カップヌードル、ラーメン
2. Units & counters	キロ ; コ (個)
3. Interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address.	サンキュー ! ; エ ! ; ~ネ ; ~サン
4. Adjectives & adverbs	フリー、キレイ
5. Verbs	エスカレートする、ツツパッてる
6. Pronouns	ボク、キミ
7. Food & beverages	チーズ ; ミルク
8. Special terms	ガン ; タンパクシツ
9. Slang, dialectal & literary	オジン ; ゼーンゼン ; 百人ノミカタアリ
10. Professions, hobbies etc.	スタイリスト、エディター
11. <i>Giseigo</i>	ピーピー
12. <i>Gitaigo</i>	ニコニコ、サッサ
13. Denoting pronunciation	ポントガール ; ミブ ミ
14. <i>Hurigana</i>	北京ペキン、上海シャンハイ

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------------------|
| 15. | <i>Konsyugo</i> | カラオケ、マンっぽい |
| 16. | Japanese-coined gairaigo | ラーメンタイム、バイト |
| 17. | Clothes & accessories,
fashion world etc. | パンツ、ガウン |
| 18. | Nouns usually written in
kanji | テ (手) 、オンナ (女) |
| 19. | Gairaigo substituting for
common higairaigo | スピリッツ (精神 etc.) 、ゴールド
ンリング (金の指輪) |
| 20. | Other ordinary nouns | ベッド ; ウロコ |

Appendix III

Basic statistical figures for the present study and for Nakayama's study

1. Total number of katakana words

	The present study	Nakayama's study
Number of different words	952	2,720
Total frequency	2,608	5,760
Number of words per page	11.5	60

2. Percentage of the total number of katakana-words¹

	The present study		Nakayama's study	
	Foreign loan words	Non-foreign words	Foreign loan words	Non-foreign words
"Number of different words" category	61.2%	38.8%	90.7%	9.3%
"Total frequency" category	67.7%	32.3%	89.9%	10.1%

3. Number of pages

The present study		Nakayama's study	
Total number of pages	Number of target pages	Total number of pages ²	Number of target pages
238	229	96	40.7

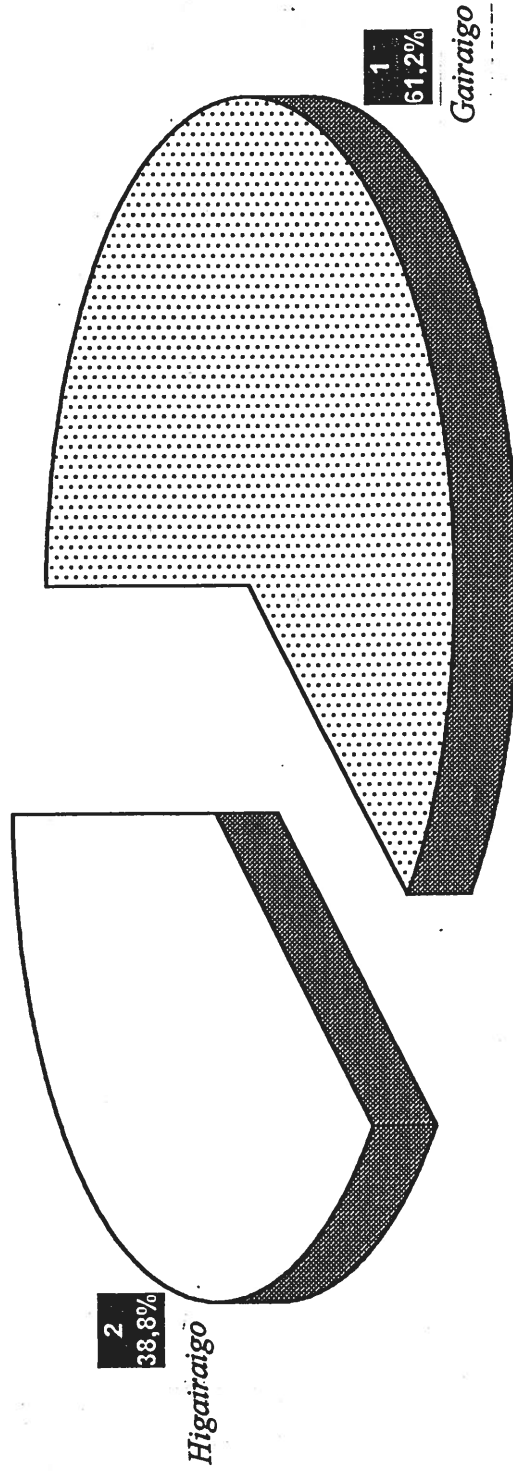
¹ Average figures, based on the total sum of words in the material. It is noteworthy that Nakayama is not consistent in her use of the terms *nobego-suu* and *kotonarigo-suu*; they sometimes swap their places/rôles in Nakayama's study. In the present study, these terms are translated so as not to give rise to questions of meaning or function.

² The figures for the present study refer to the page-size of small, paperback book, while those for Nakayama's study refer to newspaper pages.

Appendix IV

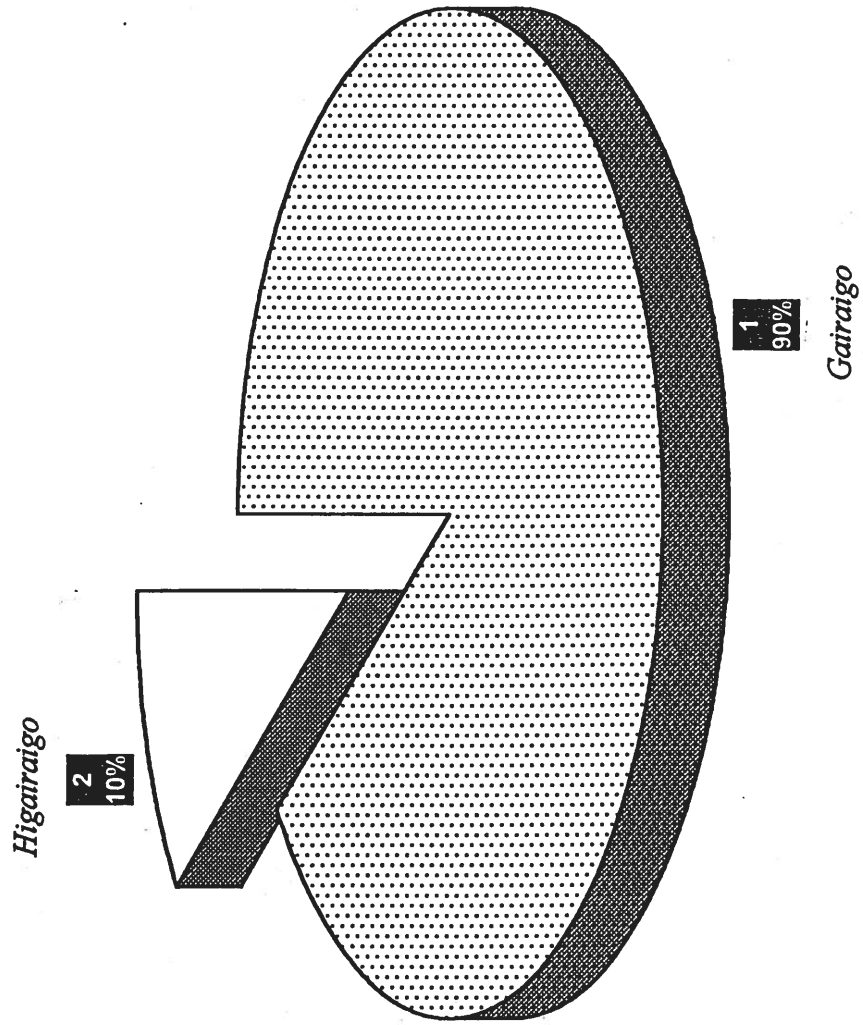
Graph 1

The present study - *gairaigo* and *higairaigo*, percentage of the total number of *katakana*-words

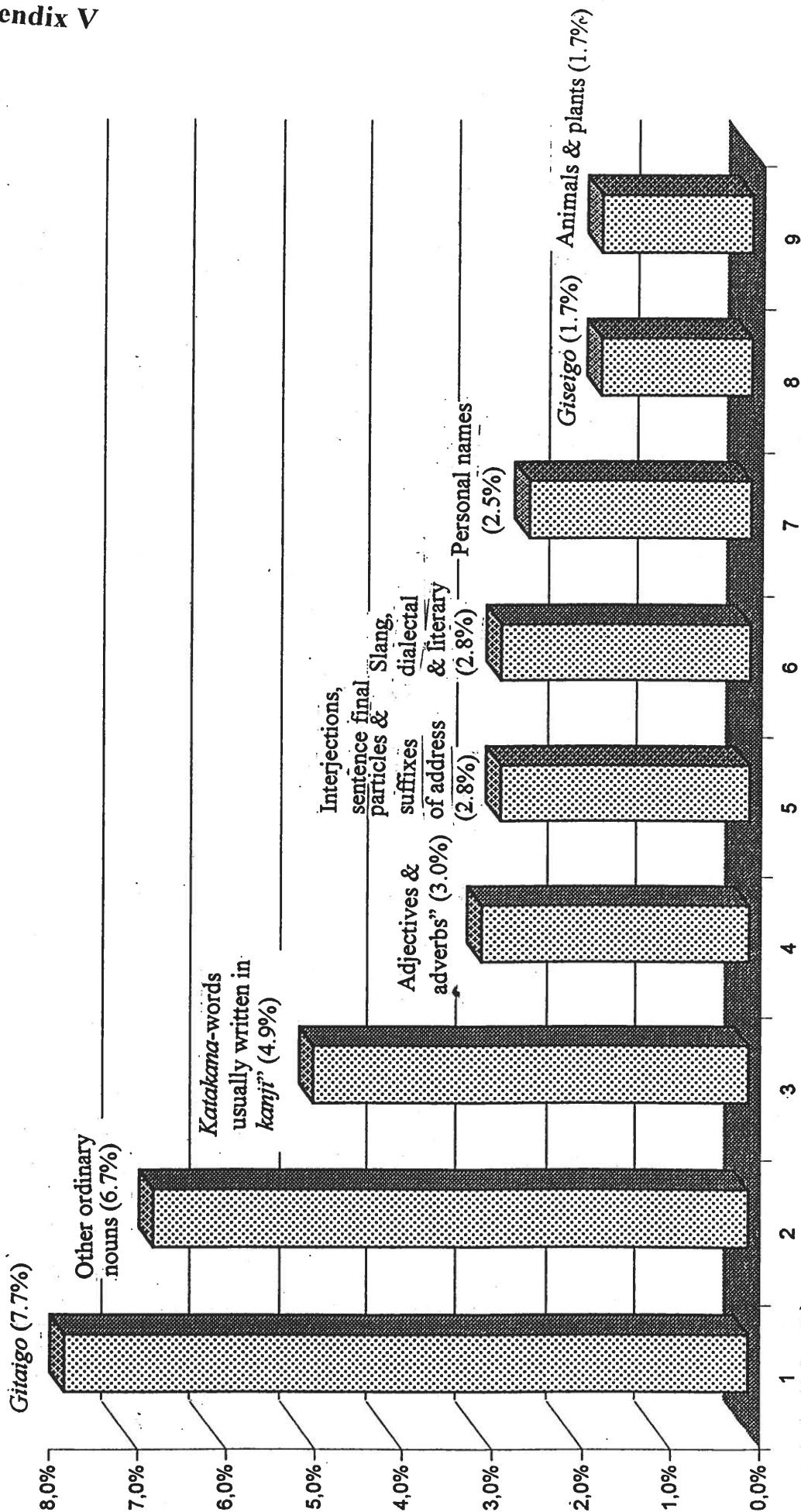


Graph 2

Nakayama's study - *gairaigo* and *higairaigo*, percentage of the total number of *katakana*-words



The present study – the nine largest categories of *higairago katakana*-words



The nine categories displayed here make up a total of 33.9% of all *katakana*-words found in the present study. The rest of the *higairago* consequently make up 4.9% together, since the total percentage of *higairago* words written in *katakana* was found to be 38.8% in the present study.

Appendix VI

Table 1

The present study; number of *katakana*-words found in the material

Figures given first refer to the number of different words found. Figures in brackets refer to their total frequency.

	<i>Gairaigo</i>		<i>Higairaigo</i>	
1. Proper nouns				
a. Geographical names	21	(44)	0	(0)
b. Personal names	20	(28)	24	(78)
c. Companies, organisations & institutions	13	(14)	2	(14)
d. Brand names & products	16	(26)	3	(11)
e. Animals & plants	5	(7)	17	(26)
f. Menu, drinks	16	(43)	7	(20)
<i>Subtotal</i>	92	(163)	52	(143)
2. Units & counters	4	(8)	1	(1)
3. Interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address.	2	(2)	27	(9)
4. Adjectives & adverbs	27	(39)	32	(84)
5. Verbs	3	(5)	10	(11)
6. Pronouns	0	(0)	6	(31)
7. Food & beverages	14	(40)	0	(0)
8. Special terms	0	(0)	2	(8)
9. Slang, dialectal & literary	0	(0)	27	(59)
10. Professions, hobbies etc.	30	(117)	0	(0)
11. <i>Giseigo</i>	0	(0)	15	(22)
12. <i>Gitaigo</i>	0	(0)	73	151
13. Denoting pronunciation	4	(4)	4	(4)
14. <i>Furigana</i>	0	(0)	4	(4)
15. <i>Konshugo</i>	0	(0)	8	(8)
16. Japanese-coined <i>gairaigo</i>	29	(109)	0	(0)
17. Clothes & accessories, fashion world etc.	61	(162)	0	(0)
18. <i>Nouns</i> usually written in <i>kanji</i>	0	(0)	47	(132)
19. <i>Gairaigo</i> substituting for common <i>higairaigo</i>	9	(203)	0	(0)
20. Other ordinary nouns	199	(934)	65	(111)
Total	592	(1,783)	360	(825)

Table 2

The present study: *katakana* words found in the material, shown in percent¹
 Figures given first refer to the number of different words found. Figures in brackets refer to their total frequency (percentage).

	<i>Gairaigo</i>		<i>Higairaigo</i>	
1. Proper nouns				
a. Geographical names	2.2%	(1.8)	0%	(0)
b. Personal names	2.2%	(3.0)	2.5%	(3.0)
c. Companies, organisations & institutions	1.3%	(0.6)	0.2%	(0.5)
d. Brand names & products	1.7%	(1.1)	0.3%	(0.4)
e. Animals & plants	0.6%	(0.3)	1.7%	(0.8)
f. Menu, drinks	1.7%	(5.7)	0.7%	(0.8)
<i>Subtotal</i>	9.7% ²	(6.2) ²	5.4% ²	(5.4) ²
2. Units & counters	0.4%	(0.3)	0.1%	(0.04)
3. Interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address.	0.2%	(0.08)	2.8%	(1.9)
4. Adjectives & adverbs	2.8%	(1.6)	3.0%	(2.8)
5. Verbs	0.3%	(0.2)	1.0%	(0.4)
6. Pronouns	0%	(0)	0.7%	(1.4)
7. Food & beverages	1.5%	(1.5)	0%	(0)
8. Special terms	0%	(0)	0.2%	(0.3)
9. Slang, dialectal & literary	0%	(0)	2.8%	(2.3)
10. Professions, hobbies etc.	3.1%	(4.7)	0%	(0)
11. <i>Giseigo</i>	0%	(0)	1.7%	(0.9)
12. <i>Gitaigo</i>	0%	(0)	7.7%	(5.8)
13. Denoting pronunciation	0.3%	(0.1)	0.4%	(0.2)
14. <i>Furigana</i>	0%	(0)	0.4%	(0.2)
15. <i>Konshugo</i>	0%	(0)	0.8%	(0.3)
16. Japanese-coined <i>gairaigo</i>	3.0%	(4.4)	0%	(0)
17. Clothes & accessories, fashion world etc.	6.3%	(6.6)	0%	(0)
18. <i>Nouns</i> usually written in <i>kanji</i>	0%	(0)	4.9%	(5.0)
19. <i>Gairaigo</i> substituting for common <i>higairaigo</i>	10.0%	(8.2)	0%	(0)
20. Other ordinary nouns	20.9%	(38.2)	6.7%	(4.2)
Total	61.2% ²	(67.7) ²	38.8% ²	(32.3) ²

¹ The figures of each column are calculated using the Total sum in Table 1 as a base,

² These figures are based on the corresponding figures in Table 1; the percentage figures of the sub-categories may therefore not actually add up exactly, due to rounding off.

Appendix VII

Table 1 .

Nakayama's categorisation; Number of *katakana*-words in respective study

Figures given first refer to the number of different words found. Figures in brackets refer to their total frequency.

1.

A <i>Gairaigo</i>	Nakayama's study		The present study	
1. <u>Proper nouns</u>				
1) Geographical names	299	(870)	21	(44)
2) Personal names	311	(625)	21	(29)
3) Companies & organs	337	(627)	9	(9)
4) Institutions	59	(108)	4	(4)
5) Products & commodities	49	(62)	16	(16)
6) Events	59	(84)	1	(1)
7) Others	18	(41)	4	(12)
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1,132</i>	<i>(2,417)</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>(115)</i>
2. <u>Ordinary nouns</u>	1,127	(2,529)	513	(1,662)
3. <u>Units</u>	87	(297)	4	(8)
Total	2,446	(5,243)	593	(1,783)

B <i>Higairaigo</i>				
1. <i>Giseigo</i> & <i>gitaigo</i>	36	(41)	93	(179)
2. Interjections	8	(9)	27	(49)
3. <i>Hurigana</i>	5	(5)	4	(4)
4. Dialectal & literary	2	(2)	27	(59)
5. Foreigners' speech	5	(9)	0	(0)
6. <i>Konsyugo</i>	14	(20)	8	(8)
7. Zoological & botanical names	70	(154)	15	(24)
8. Special terms	34	(44)	8	(12)
9. Telegraphic text	1	(1)	0	(0)
10. Units & counters	5	(92)	1	(1)
11. Personal names & country names	16	(24)	24	(78)
12. Companies & institutions	34	(64)	2	(14)
13. Others	147	(347)	55	(70)
Total	375	(852)	275	(521)

Total A+B	2,720¹	(5,760²)	952	(2,608)
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¹ This figure should actually be 2,720 – a sum coming from adding up Nakayama's own figures in the tables of Nakayama's study. However, the figure above is the one that Nakayama uses in all other tables (corresponding here to tables 2-4).

² In the same manner as explained above, this figure actually adds up to 5,764.

Table 2

Nakayama's categorisation; *katakana*-words found in respective study, shown in percent. Figures given first refer to the number of different words found. Figures in brackets refer to their total frequency (percentage).

A <i>Gairaigo</i>	Nakayama's study	The present study
1. <u>Proper nouns</u>		
1) Geographical names	11.0% (15.1)	2.2% (1.7)
2) Personal names	11.4% (10.9)	2.2% (1.1)
3) Companies & organs	12.4% (10.9)	0.9% (0.3)
4) Institutions	2.2% (1.9)	0.4% (0.2)
5) Products & commodities	1.8% (1.1)	1.7% (0.6)
6) Events	2.2% (1.5)	0.1% (0.04)
7) Others	0.7% (0.7)	0.4% (0.5)
<i>Subtotal</i>	41.6% ¹ (41.9 ¹)	7.9% ¹ (4.4 ¹)
2. <u>Ordinary nouns</u>	41.4% (43.9)	53.1% (63.1)
3. <u>Units</u>	3.2% (5.2)	0.3% (0.2)
Total	90.0% ¹ (91.0 ¹)	61.2% ¹ (67.7 ¹)

B <i>Higairaigo</i>		
1. <i>Giseigo & gitaigo</i>	1.3% (0.7)	9.6% (6.8)
2. Interjections	0.3% (0.2)	2.8% (1.9)
3. <i>Furigana</i>	0.2% (0.09)	0.4% (0.2)
4. Dialectal & literary	0.07% (0.03)	2.8% (2.2)
5. Foreigners' speech	0.2% (0.2)	0% (0)
6. <i>Konshugo</i>	0.5% ² (0.3 ²)	0.8% (0.3)
7. Zoological & botanical names	2.6% (2.7)	1.4% (0.7)
8. Special terms	1.2% (0.8)	1.0% (2.1)
9. Telegraphic text	0.04% (0.02)	0% (0)
10. Units & counters	0.2% (1.6)	0.1% (0.04)
11. Personal names & country names	0.6% (0.4)	2.5% (3.0)
12. Companies & institutions	1.2% (1.1)	0.2% (0.05)
13. Others	2.0% (1.2)	15.2% (13.2)
Total	10.0% ¹ (9.9 ¹)	38.8% ¹ (32.3 ¹)

Total A+B	100% ¹ (100) ¹	100% ¹ (100%) ¹
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¹ These figures are based on the corresponding figures in Table 1 ; the percentage figures of the sub-categories may therefore not actually add up exactly, due to rounding off.

² The figure includes sports terms.

Appendix VIII

The sample words

List 1 - *gairaigo*

1. * * Proper nouns * *

a. * Geographical names *

フランス	6	イタリア	2
パリ	1	トルコ	5
コパカバナ	1	アメリカ	1
アフリカ	1	ハワイ	1
セブ島	1	ヨーロッパ	1
アムステルダム	1	モロッコ	1
ゴールデン街	2	サイパン	1
ラ・ペルラ	1	グアム	10
アルジェリア	1	フィリピン	1
パリ	2	ニューヨーク	1
サンジェルマン	3		

b. * Personal names etc. *

インディラ	1	ネール	1
シラノ・ド・ベルラック	1	ビートルズ	2
アンデルセン	1	シンデレラ	1
デバラ	1	パブロフ	1
ミスター・ピップマン	2	ラディゲ	1
トルストイ	1	ジュリア	1
アラン・ドロン	1	ピーター	2
ディオール	1	ギ・ラロッシュ	1
ラメ	5	ウイスキー	2
スタジオV	1	ジュリー	1

c. * Companies, organisations & institutions *

コンチネンタルエアライン	1	セブンイレブン	1
ベルコモンズ	1	グリコ	1
ワコール	1	ユアーズ	1
トリンプ	1	リングフォン	1
ア・ラ・ターブル	1	ラ・マレ	1
サバティーニ	1	ビックリハウス	1
マキシム	2		

d. * Brand names & products *

キャンティ	4	『キチン』	1
ヴィスコンティ	1	ザッツ・エンターテインメント	1
グッチ	1	クリネックスティッシュ	1
モア	2	ニュートラ	1
『ニューヨーク』	1	アルファ・キュービック	1
ピップエレキバン	2	ヨーガンレール	1

バルバラ 2
女性セブン 1

ラーマ 5
コム・デ・ギャルソン 1

c. * Animals & plants *

キャベツ 1
パセリ 1
カシューナッツ 1

トマト 2
セロリ 2

f. * Menu, drinks *

サラダ 1
サンドウィッチ 1
ステーキ 15
グラタン 1
トリュフ 1
トロピカル・ドリンク 1
カクテル 3
カップヌードル 4

サンデー 1
フライドポテト 1
パンケーキ 1
クロワッサン 3
ジンフィズ 1
テリーヌ 1
シャリピアン・ステーキ 4
カレー 4

2. * * Units & counters * *

キロ 1
グラム 3

メートル 2
ドル 2

3 * * Interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address * *

アイ・アム・ミスター・ピップマン 1 サンキュー 1

4. * * Adjectives & adverbs * *

ファッショナブル 2
フリー 3
グリーン 1
セミロング 1
オーソドックス 1
ハンサム 2
イコール 1
ラフ 2
プロパー 1
シニカル 1
ワイズ 4
リアル 1
ナチュラル 1
ユーモラス 1

セクシー 2
ピンク 2
センシブル 1
ポピュラー 1
ドラマチック 2
シビア 2
サディスティック 1
ロジカル 1
シンプル 1
リリカル 1
オンリー 1
ストレート 1
レア 1

5. * * Verbs * *

エスカレートする 3
チェック・インし 1

コーディネートする 1

6. * * Pronouns * *

7. * * Food & beverages * *

ミルク	1	スナック	5
アイスクリーム	1	スープ	1
コーヒー	5	ビール	7
チーズ	4	ナッツ	1
ワイン	4	ジャム	1
ハム	1	パン	6
クッキー	2	チョコレート	1

8. * * Special terms * *

9. * * Slang, dialectal & literary * *

10. * * Professions, hobbies etc. * *

プロレスラー	1	サラリーマン	14
バーテンダー	1	モデル	3
ボーイ	2	スタイリスト	22
グラフィックデザイナー	1	イラストレーター	1
ファン	2	コピーライター	23
エディター	2	デザイナー	8
マネージャー	2	キャリアウーマン	5
タイピスト	4	スポーツスマン	1
スター	1	コレクター	1
カメラマン	7	ディレクター	1
ホステス	3	フリーライター	1
エンジニア	1	シンガー	1
コーディネイター	1	アーティスト	1
ミュージシャン	1	ストリッパー	1
スカウト	1	アシスタント	5

11. * * Giseigo & gitaigo * *

12. * * Gitaigo * *

13. * * Denoting pronunciation * *

ピーチサイド	1	ポントガール	1
ジャンバースカート	1	ドフトエフスキー	1

14. * * Hurigana * *

15. * * Konyugo * *

16. * * Japanese-coined gairaigo * *

オフィスラブ	2	ラブホテル	2
ホテルマン	1	モーニングサービス	1

シェフ・サラダ 1
 カフェ・テラス 1
 インスタントラーメン 2
 イージー 1
 インテリ 2
 フロント 1
 パート 7
 ギャラ 4
 タレント 2
 トイレ 7
 ローティーン 1
 マスコミ 23
 ハードタイプ 1

ナウい 2
 ラーメンタイム 2
 バイト 4
 ガム 1
 アルバイト 1
 マンネリ 2
 ロリコン 1
 ノンエイジ 1
 マンション 13
 サービス 2
 クローク 2
 フリータイプ 1

17. * * Clothes & accessories, fashion world etc. * *

パンツ 1
 ブラウス 4
 ネクタイ 2
 ビキニ 4
 ブラジャー 7
 ジャケット 1
 スカート 3
 ジーンズ 2
 プリーツスカート 1
 スリッパ 1
 カーディガン 1
 Tシャツ 3
 ジャンパースカート 1
 バッグ 7
 ストッキング 1
 ネグリジェ 1
 イブニング 1
 ショルダーバッグ 4
 ブレスレット 1
 ストラップ 1
 シャギー 1
 アウトウエア 1
 パーマ 1
 パターン 3
 サイズ 5
 スタイル 1
 パフスリーブ 1
 ショート 1
 メイク 1
 スリッパ 2
 キャミソール 1

ガウン 2
 スーツ 3
 ドレス 2
 パンティ 9
 トルコパンティ 1
 ワンピース 6
 ミニスカート 1
 セーター 2
 ハイヒール 3
 ベール 1
 シャツ 1
 パンタロン 2
 ガードル 1
 タイツ 2
 ズロース 1
 スーツケース 1
 ブローチ 1
 チューブトップ 3
 トップ 2
 サイドサポート 1
 フィット 1
 コレクション 4
 パンクヘア 1
 ブランド 2
 アクセサリー 1
 アップ 1
 ニュアンス 1
 モデルクラブ 1
 ニューフェイス 1
 フリル 1

18. * * Nouns usually written in kanji * *

19. * * Gairaigo substituting for common higairaigo * *

スピリッツ 1 [精神；魂；気分；元気]
 ゴールドリング 1 [金の指輪]
 ミラーボール 1 [鏡の球]
 クローゼット 1 [物置部屋；押入；戸棚]
 グラデーション 1 [ぼかし；段階]
 アフターケア 2 [病後の養上；職業指導；更生指導]
 バランス 3 [はかり；てんびん；平均；つりあい；差額残高]
 カウンター 4 [計算機；勘定台；]
 ポリシー 1 [政策；方針]
 ベッドルーム 2 [寝室]
 バスルーム 2 [浴室；お手洗い]
 ワードローブ 1 [洋服たんす；持ち衣服]
 ヘア 1 [髪の毛；毛]
 プロポーション 1 [割合；比率；分け前；部分；比例]
 エゴイズム 1 [利己主義；自我主義；自分本位]
 ランク 3 [列；並び；階級；位]
 スキャンダル 1 [醜聞；汚職；悪口]
 イメージ 3 [像；画像；面影；心に描くすがた；生き写し；映像]
 ムード 2 [気分；気持]
 ジョブ 1 [仕事]
 スクエア 1 [四角；正方形；広場；平方；二乗]
 プレゼンテーション 1 [贈呈；贈与；紹介；上演；発表提出]
 ライバル 4 [好適手；競争相手；]
 チャンス 4 [機会；好機；見込み；運；偶然]
 カムバック 2 [返り咲き；回復；気の利いた応答]
 スマイル 1 [笑顔；微笑；ほほえみ；冷笑]
 アパート 3 [部屋；貸間]
 スチール 1 [鉄鋼]
 ミドル・エイジ 1 [中年]
 ベテラン 2 [老練な人；退役軍人]
 ストップ 1 [中止；停止；停留所]
 クオリティ 1 [品質；性質；品位]
 バリエーション 2 [変化；変動]
 コンセプト 1 [概念；観念]
 コントロール 1 [支配(力)；管理；制御；抑制]
 クリスチャン 1 [キリスト教徒]
 ファイト 1 [けんか；戦い]
 スケジュール 2 [時間表；一覧表]
 データー 1 [資料]
 ガイドブック 1 [旅行案内の本]
 オフィス 1 [事務所；会社；役所]
 ダメージ 1 [損害(額)；被害]
 ストレス 1 [圧迫；緊張]
 ボトル 2 [びん]
 クリスタル 1 [結晶；水晶]
 ランチ 3 [昼食；昼ご飯；弁当；軽食]
 プライド 3 [誇り；自尊心；高慢；自惚れ]
 リクエスト 1 [要求；依頼；需要]
 マニア 1 [狂人；狂気の]
 アドバイス 1 [忠告；助言；通告；報知]

ドキュメント	1	[書類; 文書]
アタック	1	[攻撃; 発病; 発作]
シルク	1	[絹]
バイタリテイ	1	[生命力; 活力]
レジスタンス	1	[抵抗; 反抗]
キャラクター	1	[性格; 性質; 品格; 人格; 登場人物]
ボキャブラリー	1	[語意; 用語数]
ステータス	1	[地位; 身分; 事情]
シチュエーション	1	[位置; 場所; 境遇; 立場; 事態]
ヒロイン	1	[女の英雄; 女丈夫; 女主人公]
セックス	12	[性]
リング	3	[輪; 指輪]
リビング	3	[居間]
ゴシップ	1	[うわさ; 陰口; 雑談]
ラウンジ	1	[談話室]
ツアー	1	[旅行; 観光旅行]
コミュニケーション	1	[伝達; 通信; 交通(通信)機関]
バーゲン	26	[掘出し物; 見切り品]
ジャンプ	1	[跳躍]
プレゼント	2	[贈物]
パノラマ	1	[回転画; 全面的な眺め]
ポスター	2	[公告びら]
フィルム	1	[薄い膜; 映画]
クッション	1	[坐布団]
メニュー	4	[献立表]
レベル	1	[水平; 水平面; 平地; 平原; 標準; 水準]
カーブ	1	[曲線]
サロン	2	[客間; 大広間]
グリル	5	[焼き網; 焼肉]
プロフィール	1	[横顔]
サナトリウム	1	[療養所]
プロ	1	[専門家; 本職(の人)]
ステップ	1	[一步; 歩調; 足音]
ドア	2	[戸; 扉]
シャッター	1	[(窓の)よろい戸]
ゲーム	1	[試合; 遊戯; 競技会]
コンペ	1	[試合; 競争]
ヌード	2	[裸の; 裸体の; 裸体画]
リアリズム	1	[現実主義; 写実主義]
ダイエット	3	[特別食; 食事療法]
アイデア	2	[考え; 思いつき; 想像]
エネルギー	1	[精力; 活動力]
ラブ	3	[愛]
ポーズ	4	[姿態]
レバー	1	[てこ]

20. * * Other ordinary nouns * *

メモ	1	エッセイ	4
シーツ	1	ページ	6
ベッド	7	ノート	4

テレビ 5
タイプ 13
ファッション 5
チャイム 2
カップル 2
エチケット 3
レコード 3
デパート 6
スポンサー 4
テーブル 5
タイミング 1
プラント 1
テクニク 2
ショウウィンドー 1
ナイフ 5
カモフラージュ 1
タンポン 2
ショック 3
コマーシャル 2
ステンレス 4
タブロイド 1
ミス・コンテスト 1
ミス・インターナショナル 1
ミスなんとか 2
ピックアップ 1
バー 6
マイペース 2
ロック 1
パーティー 9
トリオ 1
ブランチ 1
テニス 3
キャンペーン 1
ホーム 1
シーソー 1
サクセス・ストーリー 3
コンクリート 1
リブ 1
ステーキレストラン 1
コーヒーハウス 2
ランチサービス 3
ネオン 1
ホール 1
フォーク 1
ショウ 2
アクション 1
セール 2
ソルド 1
コンサート 1
デザイナーブランド 1
ファッションショー 1

ビデオ 9
コピー 3
ゴム 2
ライト 1
ウイット 1
ディスコ 13
ピアノ 1
マイク 1
アイロン 1
グループ 2
コース 5
ライター 1
エリート 1
ボーナス 2
ゴルフ 1
ダイヤモンド 1
ボール 1
アーケード 1
ビル 1
タブー 2
カメラ 1
カップ 3
ポスト 1
ミス 1
クラブ 2
ブティック 6
コーヒーショップ 1
ベストセラー 2
ギター 3
サック 1
マイナー 2
アイドル 1
アンチ・ファン 1
パブ 1
ナンバー 1
レビュー 1
ファンレター 1
ノック 1
グラビアページ 1
レストラン 7
テニスクラブ 1
アクセント 1
タクシー 7
ファッションビル 1
シーズンオフ 1
オール 1
マネキン 1
ニュース 1
メーカー 1
ディスプレイ 1
ロックフェスティバル 1

モロアアップ 1
バチ 1
ポルノ 3
ファスナー 1
ライブ 1
ロードショー 1
ラブシーン 2
ポルノビデオ 1
バカンス 1
オートバイ 1
ハイスクール 1
エスカレーター 1
フィリピンバンド 2
フロア 4
ピーコック 1
ブリリアント 1
バス 2
デリカテッセン 1
フランスパン 1
シャトー 1
メジャー 1
スケール 1
レース 3
ベッドシーン 2
デメリット 1
カール 1
ハングリー 1
シーン 5
テーマ 1
ガラス 1
ベッティング 1
リストアップ 1
プロダクション 2
スタジオ 1
ポーズ 1
プレイボーイ 1
クラブメイト 1
メゾソプラノ 1
パパ 1
パートナー 1
ウィークエンダー 1
バージン 13
ヒーロー 1
テレビドラマ 1
ADCグランプリ 1

ウインド 1
ハードポルノ 2
マッサージ 1
パンツショップ 1
プラス 1
ダビング 2
カロリー 2
デラックスマンション 1
ナイスミドル 1
ウインドサーフィン 1
エレベーター 5
シート 1
ボタン 1
ワゴン 2
ブルジョア的 1
ラジオ 1
チーク 1
ランデブー 1
コンプレックス 1
ナルシスト 1
スーパー 1
グラビア 4
レズ 1
カフス 1
パトロン 1
レジ 1
ビデオテープ 1
グルメ 5
コップ 2
ジャンル 1
タッパー 1
プールサイド 1
センス 2
ホテル 22
サファリ 1
クラスメイト 5
スキンヘッド 1
ボス 1
ママ 4
フェミニスト 1
キラー 1
マスター 1
ガール 2
パロディ 1

List 2- *higairaigo*

1. * * Proper nouns * *

a. * Geographical names *

b. * Personal names etc. *

ルミコ	1	ヒロミ	9
サチエ	1	カズミ	1
ハヤシ	1	マリ	11
マキ	1	ヤマザキ	1
ツノイ	1	マリコ	5
オオタケ	23	イトー	1
アッコ	6	ヤマ	1
シナコ	1	ミドリ	1
レイコ	1	フミコ	3
エミ	7	ヤマダ	1
ヒネ子	1	チホミ	1
ウドー	1	ユーミン	1

c. * Companies, organisations & institutions *

紀ノ国屋	13	【紀伊國屋】	オークラ	1	【大倉】
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d. * Brand names & products *

ケンゾー	1	イッセイ	8
トリイ・ユキ	1		

e. * Animals & plants *

ネズミ	3	ニワトリ	1	【鶏】
フグ	1	シイタケ	1	
アヤメ	1	ヘビ	3	
コンブ	1	ブタ	1	【豚】
ネギ	1	キュウリ	1	
ハウレンソウ	1	カキツバタ	1	
アサリ	1	小バエ	1	
スッポン	1	モヤシ	1	
レンゲ	6			

f. * Menu, drinks *

カラ揚げ	1	焼豆腐	1	【～豆腐】
スキヤキ	4	ソーメン	1	
トリソバ	1	ラーメン	11	
シラタキ	1			【白滝】

g. * Events *

2 * * Units & counters * *

コ (=個) 1

3 * * Interjections, sentence final particles & suffixes of address * *

エ!	1	ネエーッ	1
キヤー	1	～かア	1
エー	1	アラ	1
ネッ	1	よオー	1
キヤーッ	2	キヤッ	3
エッ	2	～ネ	10
～ワ	6	ヒヤ	2
コンニチワ	1	フン	1
ゴメンナサイ	2	元気イー	1
ヤダー	2	ドーショー	1
ハァイ	1	ホントー	1【本当】
ネエ	1	ナットク	1【納得】
～クン	2【～君】	～サン	1
チャン	1		

4. * * Adjectives & adverbs * *

スゴイ	7	キレイ	6
ステキ	1	ミジメ	1【惨め】
ズルイ	1	イイ	1
アカ	1【赤】	マメ	1
ウブ	2	ヘタ	1【下手】
カッコ(いい/悪い)	2	カッコイイ	1
スキ	3【好き】	アツイ	1【熱い】
マジメ	1	カワイソー	2
イヤらしい	2	イヤ	7
エライ etc.	5【偉い】	フツウ	2【普通】
バカバカしい	1	ダメ	11
ワル	2【悪】	エゲツなさ(に)	2
ナンで etc.	7【何で】	トテモ	1
ヤケ	1	イヤラシイ	1
ナントカ	6【何とか】	バンバン	2【万々】
ナマナマしい	1	ボーゼン	1

5. * * Verbs * *

ツッパッてる	1【突っ張ってる】	オゴリタカブって	1
タンカきっちゃう	1	コボして	1
デキている etc.	2	バレた	1
リキまず	1【力まず】	ホンロウされ	1
ウロチョロして	1	チビリ	1

6. * * Pronouns * *

18. * * Nouns usually written in kanzi * *

テ	5	【手】	オンナ	2	【女】
ヒト	10	【人】	テアイ	1	【手合い】
タカ	1	【高】	チラシ	2	【散らし】
オトコ	3	【男】	ヤリテ	1	【やり手】
サマ	1	【様】	ナイシヨ話	1	【内緒話】
ゼニ	1	【銭】	コンタン	1	【魂胆】
オンチ	1	【音痴】	目キキ	1	【目利き】
タネ	3	【種】	口コツ	1	【露骨】
バカ	11	【馬鹿】	カタカナ	2	【片仮名】
センセイ	5	【先生】	ハナ	1	【鼻】
タマゴ	1	【卵】	ハリ	1	【針】
マシ	2	【増し】	シミ	1	【染み】
ゴホウビ	1	【ご褒美】	ヤツ	1	【奴】
リコウ	1	【利口】	ブ男	4	【醜男】
マチガイ	3	【間違い】	タラフク	1	【たら腹】
イコジ	1	【意固地】	ヒマ	1	【暇】
グチ	1	【愚痴】	フンガイ	1	【憤慨】
インラン	1	【いん乱】	クチ	1	【口】
ウラミ	1	【恨み】	コ (=子)	11	【子】
ハシリ	1	【走り】	悪ノリ	1	【悪乗り】
モト	2	【元】	シブがき隊	1	【渋】
ジャケン	1	【邪険】			

19. * * Foreign words substituting for common higairaigo * *

20. * * Other ordinary nouns * *

ヒワイ	2	ヒゲ	2
ヒガミ	1	ズル	1
キビ	1	ケーベツ	1
ネタミ	1	ソネミ	1
コツ	1	オバさん	2
ヒイキ	1	オニギリ	1
モノマネ	1	コーコツ	1
シロモノ	1	ボツンと	1
ネタ	1	ブス	25
ドジ	1	サヤ	1
ラク etc	3	ケチ	1
ソロバン	2	ヤイテ	1
ウロコ	1	キチンと	4
ウヌボレ	1	マンガ	1
オジさん	2	イトコ	1
ズバリ	1	ダンナ	1
コケ	1	ヨダレ	1
ヤカン	2	タダ	2
セリフ	1	痴話ゲンカ	1
ゾーキ	1	ヨダレ	1
ゲテモノ	2	シブ	1
タメ	1	ミーハー	2
		オカマ	1

ムカッと 1
 ギット 1
 サラッと 1
 サッサ 1
 ヤレヤレ 1
 チラッチラッ 1
 イキイキ 1
 ギョッと 2
 イライラ 2
 シンシン 1
 フラフラ 1
 ポロツ 1
 ボーッ 1
 シラジラ 1
 ドヤドヤ 1
 ジツと 1
 ワクワク 2
 ゾーッと 1
 ニヤニヤ 1
 ムラムラ 2
 クタクタ 1
 ズルズル 2
 ドギマギ 1
 チビチビ 2
 ブラッと 1
 プンプン 1
 ワツと 2
 ピイピイ 1
 ドスン 1

ルンルンルン 1
 キンキラ 1
 ゴクリ 1
 クラクラ 1
 ニコニコ 2
 バリバリ 1
 キラキラ 1
 パツと 2
 ニッコリ 1
 ジロジロ 2
 エンエン 1
 ピカピカ 1
 チヤホヤ 5
 アンアン 4
 オズオズ 1
 ブツブツ 2
 ムカムカ 1
 メチャクチャ 1
 イソイソ 1
 ギッシリ 1
 ジワジワ 1
 トロン 1
 ゴクツと 1
 イジイジ 1
 パアーッと 1
 ギャーギャー 1
 ウキウキ 1
 スラッと 1
 ゲラゲラ 1

13. ** Denoting pronunciation **

ッ プ 1
 ッ ブ 1

ッ ボ 1
 ッ ボ 1

14. ** Hurigana **

麻雀マージャン 1
 北京ペキン 1

雀友ジャンゆう 1
 上海シャンハイ 1

15. ** Konyugo **

カラオケ 1
 ジャリタレ 1
 マンっぼい 1
 ガスコンロ 1

商社マン 1
 マゾッ気 1
 ラムネ菓子 1
 セーラー服 1

16. ** Japanese-coined gairaigo **

17. ** Clothes & accessories, fashion world etc. **

ズーザー 1
アミダ 1
アクビ 2
モン 1
アル 1
カゴ 1(籠)
ツバ 1
一目ボレ 1
セコイ 1
ヤラセ 1
コト 7
(お)ネーちゃん 3
イジキタなさ etc. 1

タチ 3
オモチャ 1
ヒンシュク 1
ドジで 1
カンショウ 1
チャランポラン 1
ラッパ飲み 1
ミエ 2
ブリっ子 1
ウラミツラミ 1
モノ 11
ゴーカン 1
トキメキ 1