

日本語の中の英語、英語の中の日本語

- 英語 / 他言語の境界不確定性について -

溝 上 由 紀

English in Japanese, Japanese in English:
Boundary Ambiguity Between English and Other Languages

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Introduction

In my earlier work (Mizokami, 2002), I attempted to formulate a theory of my own on the workings and politics of language. Reviewing the theories on language by Foucault, Gee, Hall and others, I established my hypothesis on the mechanism of Discourses in society with critical appropriation of their theories. My hypothesis on the mechanism of Discourses that works to maintain the domination/dominated relationships is as follows. First of all, there are 'Dominant Discourses', which are usually referred to as 'truth' or 'common sense' in society. By gaining the consent of both dominant and non-dominant people, these Discourses will acquire 'taken-for-granted' status and become rooted as unchallengeable facts. Dominant Discourses work to direct non-dominant people to consciously and unconsciously consent to the conditions of their own subordination by accepting the dominant value judgments; and thus do dominant people maintain their hegemony, or legitimise existing social relations and power differences. Dominant Discourses thus function to fix and justify existing dominant/dominated relationships and discriminating/discriminated relationships in society. These Dominant Discourses are the surface structure: by 'surface structure', I mean Dominant Discourses are explicitly and repeatedly articulated by people so that everyone in society may acquire them.

Behind the surface structure, or Dominant Discourses, there is the 'deep structure'. I named the deep structure 'Institutionalised Discourses' in the sense that they have rooted in society as institutions in current society. Institutionalised Discourses are the particularly influential and ideological 'binary oppositions' that people seem to take for granted such as 'man/other (= woman)', 'West/other (= East)', 'English language/other languages', 'white people/other people (= non-white people)'. In the Institutionalised Discourses, one term is given superiority over the

other. Institutionalised Discourses are always implicit and hidden, and they work to maintain social discrimination by manipulating the Dominant Discourses. In other words, the Dominant Discourses are generated out of the even more fundamental Institutionalised Discourses.

If so, we cannot undermine the dominant/oppressed relationships by presenting the counter Discourses opposing to the Dominant Discourses, as theoretically these counter Discourses are also generated out of the Institutionalised Discourses. Therefore, what we should do to overcome social discrimination is to weaken the very Institutionalised Discourses. My strategy to weaken the Institutionalised Discourses is to show 'boundary ambiguity' between the binary oppositions. If we can prove the boundary between the categories is in fact ambiguous and constantly re-marked, and that each category is not pure but actually mixed and hybrid, the division between the categories that maintains and reinforces the social inequality might become less significant.

Certainly, this strategy would have a possibility of causing some undesirable results: even though the boundaries between the categories become ambiguous, binary oppositions themselves might not be totally dissolved. Rather there would be a danger that even greater status might be attached to the superior term and the inferior term might be further suppressed. Even so, if we can continue to re-mark the boundaries, and to widen the ambiguity between binary oppositions, there is still a hope that the dominant/oppressed relationships may be at least weakened, if not disappear.

In this discussion, I shall focus on a Dominant Discourse which is extensively articulated currently in this modern world. That is, the 'English as *the* World Language' Discourse which essentially plays a crucial role in reproducing and maintaining certain forms of social discrimination such as linguistic, racial and ethnic discrimination. The 'English as the World Language' Discourse seems to have become cemented as unchallengeable knowledge and gained the status as 'that which is obvious' or 'that which everyone takes for granted' in today's world in which those whose primary Discourse is that of 'native English speaker' seem to be enjoying the dominant status.

Here it should be emphasised again that at the deeper level of the Dominant Discourses, there exist certain Institutionalised Discourses. In the case of the Dominant 'English as the World Language' Discourse today, which is the surface structure, such Institutionalised Discourses as the English language/other languages division, white people/other people division and Anglo-Saxon/other races division are embedded as the deep structure. Obviously these Institutionalised Discourses contain ideologies such as English-centrism or Anglocentrism.

In order to ponder over a possibility of weakening these Institutionalised Discourses, I would like to consider the notion of boundary ambiguity. For the convenience of discussion, in this particular paper I shall mainly focus on the English language/Japanese language binary opposition,

which is one version of the English/other languages Institutionalised Discourse.

It can certainly be said that both English and Japanese are hybrid products which are full of loan words from other languages. As for Japanese, it is said that loan words of Western origin, which are usually described in a distinct syllabary '*katakana*', compose about 10 percent of its vocabulary (Ishiwata, 2001, 27). Of these loan words of Western origin, about 80 percent came from English (Stanlow, 1992). In its early history, the Japanese language was massively influenced by Chinese vocabulary: however this Chinese vocabulary (*kango*) is not usually regarded as loan words (*gairaigo*) (Ui, 1985). Then in the course of time, the Japanese language became rich in vocabulary by borrowing words and phrases from many languages such as Portuguese, Dutch and English. Today, Japanese continues to become hybrid and mixed by adopting a great number of foreign words into it. There are even various kinds of loan words dictionaries called *gairaigo jiten* or *katakanago jiten*, which on average contain 20,000 entries.

Let us turn to the situation of English. Likewise, originally:

The Germanic tribes of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, early Christians with knowledge of Latin and Greek, the Danes and the French-speaking Normans all contributed freely to what, with a smattering of Celtic influence, became known as English. (Holborow, 1999, 69)

Thus English was a hybrid language from the beginning, and it continues to become more hybrid and mixed by borrowing foreign words into the English vocabulary today. Ui (1985, 20-22) argues that 86% of English words are in fact of foreign origin: 36% is borrowed from Latin, 12% from old French, 9% from modern French, 4.5% from Greek, 2% from Scandinavian languages, 2% from Spanish, 1% from Italian, 13.5% from other languages such as Hindi, Chinese and Japanese and 6% from unknown. In such a situation, it might be said that languages are re-marking the boundaries between them at all times.

Japanese words in English dictionaries

Now let us look at how many Japanese words have been taken into the English vocabulary in order to show that English, or the so-called World Language has been in fact made of other languages. Haraguchi and Haraguchi (1998) counted how many Japanese words have been adopted in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (SOD). The first edition of the dictionary was issued in 1933, and then revised editions were published in 1936, 1944, 1973 and 1993. The 1993 edition, which is the fourth edition, was called *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Haraguchi and Haraguchi (1998) call the words of Japanese origin which were taken into English '*kokusai-*

nihongo (internationalized Japanese)'. According to them, the 1933 edition and the 1936 edition contained only 30 *kokusai-nihongo*. Then the 1944 and 1973 editions contained 32 *kokusai-nihongo*, which stands for an increase of only 2 words in 40 years. Thus the number of *kokusai-nihongo* in the SOD was only 32 up until 1973. However, the situation changed in the 1993 edition. In the fourth edition of the SOD, there are 396 *kokusai-nihongo* contained. This means that in 20 years, from 1973 to 1993, the number of *kokusai-nihongo* became 12 times as many as that of the former edition (Haraguchi and Haraguchi, 1998, 339-356). I compared the total number of pages of the 1973 edition with that of the 1993 edition: the 1973 edition consists of 2,672 pages whereas the 1993 edition consists of 3,767 pages. This may mean that the total number of words included in the 1993 edition increased about 1.4 times. It can then be said that the increase of the number of *kokusai-nihongo* is quite remarkable, as this might tentatively suggest that English is becoming more and more hybrid by borrowing words from other languages.

In the meantime, I checked out how many and what kind of words of Japanese origin are contained in *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). I used the OED CD-ROM (2nd edition, version 2.0) issued in 1992. According to an etymology search using the key word 'Japanese', there are 343 Japanese words in the OED beginning with '*adzuki*' and ending with '*zori*'. Most of the words adopted are nouns. The fields from which the words come vary. For example:

- (1) foods such as '*teriyaki*', '*sukiyaki*', '*tofu*', '*yakitori*', '*sashimi*'
- (2) fashions such as '*yukata*', '*monpe*', '*hakama*', '*haori*', '*kimono*'
- (3) plants such as '*ginkgo*', '*keyaki*', '*matsu*', '*sakura*', '*sugi*'
- (4) arts such as '*bonsai*', '*ikebana*', '*kabuki*', '*kyogen*', '*sumie*'
- (5) sports such as '*aikido*', '*karate*', '*judo*', '*sumo*', '*kendo*'
- (6) writing systems such as '*katakana*', '*kanji*', '*romaji*', '*hiragana*'
- (7) religions such as '*Soka Gakkai*', '*Zen*', '*zendo*', '*Shingon*', '*Tendai*'
- (8) furnishings such as '*fusuma*', '*futon*', '*tatami*', '*tokonoma*', '*kotatsu*'
- (9) music instruments such as '*gagaku*', '*koto*', '*samisen*', '*shakuhachi*', '*sho*'
- (10) Others such as '*hara-kiri*', '*yakuza*', '*kamikaze*', '*mama-san*', '*pachinko*'

It should also be noted that many judo-related words (*kesa-gatame*, *ukemi* etc.) and Zen-related words (*mondo*, *zazen* etc.) are included in the dictionary reflecting their worldwide popularity (for the whole list of Japanese words, see appendix).

As can be seen, most of the words above come from traditional culture unique to Japan, which must have been included in the English vocabulary as they are since there were no one-word English equivalents. Of about 500,000 words that the OED includes altogether, 343 words

of Japanese origin may sound as merely a very small part. However as Haraguchi and Haraguchi (1998) show, it could be said that Japanese words are increasingly being taken into English. Moreover, it may be pointed out that the OED does not yet include some Japanese words which seem to be used quite frequently in some English newspapers and magazines today such as '*karaoke*', '*gaijin*', '*ninja*', '*ramen*', '*Shinkansen*', '*anime*', '*manga*', '*walkman*', '*yoga*', '*koban*', '*keiretsu*', '*habatsu*', '*karoshi*'. These words may be included in the English dictionary in the future edition. The recent increase of the Japanese words in English dictionaries could point towards the situation in which the boundary between English and Japanese is gradually being re-marked. As the world becomes more global, all languages would become more and more hybrid. A language may no longer function independent of the influence of other languages. English, which is seen as the world dominant language, is certainly mixed with other languages, little by little making the boundaries between languages more ambiguous.

Given that the English language is likely to be influential now and in the foreseeable future, what can non-English speakers do to undermine the strong Institutionalised Discourse of English/other languages which tries to confine non-English speakers to a subordinated social position? Perhaps it would be better for non-English speakers to try to change their viewpoint (1) to consider that it is in fact their languages that are in part making English a hybrid product of today, and (2) thus to make some efforts to lend their unique vocabularies to English, rather than lamenting that they are passive victims who are dominated by English. It may be difficult and it would take time, but by trying to make English more mixed with their languages, and more dependent on their languages, perhaps non-English-speakers might possibly undermine, even slightly, the English/other languages Institutionalised Discourse.

The use of loan words in the current newspapers

In the Japanese language, it can be said that there are at least three types of loan words. First is *gairaigo* (= loan words) which were originally borrowed from foreign languages especially from Western languages, and were then acculturated into the Japanese vocabulary. Second is *gaikokugo* (= foreign words) which are words of foreign origin, which have not yet been acculturated, or are used only for special and temporary purposes. Third is *wasei-eigo* (= Japanese-made English) which are usually (1) English words that native English speakers would not use for the same meaning as the Japanese do such as *reija* (= leisure, meaning leisure activities), *curemu* (= claim, meaning complaint) and *meka* (= maker, meaning manufacturer), (2) compound English words that the Japanese uniquely created such as *preigaido* (= play guide, meaning ticket agency) and *gasorinsutando* (= gasoline stand, meaning gas station), (3) compound words blending English and Japanese such as *amerikateki* (= America-teki, meaning American-like) and *aponashi* (=

appointment-*nashi*, meaning no appointment), or (4) shortened forms of English words such as *apato* (= apartment) and *depato* (= department store) (Ui, 1985, Stanlaw, 1992, Ishiwata, 2001).

There has been a controversy in Japan regarding the use of loan words in Japanese writing and speech. The use of loan words actually has no official support (Stanlaw, 1992, 194). However, regarding the general public's reception, Ishiwata (2001) argues that a survey suggests that about 60 percent of the Japanese people positively or negatively affirm the use of loan words. It is said that older people are generally more critical of the use of loan words, whereas younger people generally are more accepting of them. As English education has become compulsory among younger people, perhaps younger people feel more familiar with English or other foreign languages more than the older generation does (Ishiwata, 2001, 121-124).

In contrast, let me briefly mention the situation in France, another non-English-speaking country. In France, loan words which are of English or American origin but which have not been fully assimilated into French, are critically called 'Franglais', which is a compounded word of *Français* (= French) and *Anglais* (= English). Words which came into French from English centuries ago are not usually regarded as problematic 'Franglais' (Thody, 1995, 16). It is often said that French people have been and now are very worried about "the invasion of French by words of foreign origin, especially when those words come from English, and even more when they are American" (Thody, 1995, 11). As recent evidence for that, the following two things can be referred to: (1) in 1994 the Loi Toubon (= Toubon law) was approved by the French Parliament which forbade the use of Franglais in order to protect the purity of French, and (2) the 1994 governmental publication of *Dictionnaire des termes officiels de la langue française* (= Dictionary of French official terms) which intends to recommend the use of French words such as 'traitement de texte' rather than English loan words such as 'word processing' (Thody, 1995, Takenaka, 1995). These events may illustrate that the increase of English loan words in French is a source of worry for the French government. However, recently the general public does not seem to oppose the use of Franglais so much. Takenaka (1995, 31) reports that 52 percent of French citizens affirm the use of English loan words, and that the use of Franglais is often regarded as 'modern', 'useful' and 'fun' rather than 'offensive' and 'perplexing'. Meanwhile, a French novelist Michel Tournier claimed in 1994 that the use of Franglais is no problem since all languages have enriched themselves by loan words, and "English itself is to a large extent nothing but a French creole, since it comes from Anglo-Norman, a dialect of eleventh-century French (Tournier, 1994, quoted in Thody, 1995, 13). Even in Britain, Thody (1995) argues, there was an event in 1994 in which an MP proposed introduction of a law banning all words of French origin currently in use in English such as 'fiancee', 'avenue' and 'cigarette', which was rejected in Parliament by 149 votes to 49 (Thody, 278-279). Thus languages, including the dominant English, may not be totally independent of the influence of other languages in today's global world in which people, things and information are

moving across borders all the time.

Having found some evidence of the boundary ambiguity between languages, the next step is to consider the possibility of re-marking the boundary between the English language and the Japanese language. I did this by counting how many English loan words are used in Japanese writings and how many Japanese loan words are used in English writings. In an earlier study, Iwasaki (1994) found that Japanese newspaper editorials usually use only established English borrowings unlike other writings such as print advertising. Therefore, I chose editorials (*shasetsu*) of the *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper as examples of Japanese writing. For comparison, I chose editorials of the *International Herald Tribune* (IHT), an English language newspaper circulated widely within Japan as examples of English writing. The IHT editorial column usually contains two articles, which are the English translation of the two editorial articles of the *Asahi Shimbun* of the previous day. For my study I randomly selected editorials of the *Asahi Shimbun* from April 17, 2002 to April 29, 2002. I then prepared the IHT editorials from April 18, 2002 to April 30, 2002 which corresponded to the *Asahi* editorials. The IHT is not issued on Sundays, so there are 22 English editorial articles and 22 corresponding Japanese editorial articles during the 13 day period.

The topic of 22 Japanese editorials can be classified into the following categories: domestic politics 9, international politics 6, and social matters 7. I counted how many loan words, foreign words and Japanese-made English words were used in the Japanese newspaper editorials first; then I counted how many words of Japanese origin remained intact in the English translation of the newspaper editorials. In counting loan words in English and Japanese newspaper editorials, I left out the names of countries, cities, people, currencies, weights and measures, acronyms (UNESCO, IT) and initialisms (CM, DM). Also in considering Japanese loan words in English newspapers, I excluded the words 'Japan' and 'Japanese', which are more likely to be considered as English words, although according to the OED they are words of Japanese origin.

First, the total number of loan words of Western origin, foreign words with added glosses and Japanese-made English words used in the Japanese editorials was 112. Of the 112, the number of distinct words were 77. I classified these words into the following four categories: loan words from English, loan words from other languages, foreign words with glosses and Japanese-made English words.

| | distinct number | total number |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Loan words from English | 60 | 81 |
| Loan words from other languages | 4 | 4 |
| Foreign words with glosses | 2 | 4 |
| Japanese-made English words | 11 | 23 |

Table: Loan words used in the Japanese newspaper editorials

The following is the list of the words with their frequency of use. If no frequency is mentioned, that means the word appeared only once.

Loan words from English

akushon (action), *asesumento* (assessment), *baio* (bio), *beru* (veil), *bideo* (video), *bijinesu* (business), *boikotto* (boycott), *borantia* (volunteer; 6 times), *bumu* (boom; 2 times), *bureiki* (brake), *burijji* (bridge; 2 times), *chansu* (chance), *chimu* (team; 2 times), *chubu* (tube; 2 times), *dairekutomeru* (direct mail), *deta* (data), *detabesu* (database), *dorama* (drama; 3 times), *eizu* (AIDS), *fan* (fan), *gurobaru* (global), *gurupu* (group; 2 times), *homu* (home), *homupeji* (homepage), *imeji* (image), *intanetto* (internet), *kappuru* (couple; 2 times), *kaunto* (count), *kea* (care), *kesu* (case; 2 times), *kohi* (coffee), *kopi* (copy), *mainasu* (minus), *makuro* (macro), *media* (media), *misairu* (missile), *misu* (miss), *nashonarizumu* (nationalism), *netto* (network), *onbuzuman* (ombudsman), *pasupoto* (passport), *patona* (partner), *pointo* (point), *pesu* (pace), *posuto* (post), *puran* (plan), *raion* (lion), *sabisu* (service; 7 times), *sain* (sign), *sakka* (soccer), *sapoto* (support), *seremoni* (ceremony), *shokku* (shock), *singurumaza* (single mother), *siru* (seal), *sisutemu* (system), *sukato* (skirt), *sutaffu* (staff), *sutoppu* (stop), *warudokappu* (worldcup)

Loan words from other languages

don (don, from Spanish), *gerira* (guerrilla, from Spanish), *mesu* (mes, from Dutch), *noiroze* (Neurose, from German)

Foreign words

nanotekunoroji (nanotechnology), *sukurin* (screen; 3 times)

Japanese-made English words

asesu (= shortened form of assessment), *defure* (= shortened form of deflation; 2 times), *furiraita* (freewriter, meaning freelance writer), *gorudenuiku* ('Golden Week', a series of national holidays from April to May, a Japanese creation), *konbini* (= shortened form of convenience store), *maika* (my car, a Japanese creation), *manshon* (mansion, meaning apartment or flat; 3 times), *sinekon* (= shortened form of cinema complex, a Japanese creation; 6 times), *terebi* (= shortened form of television), *tero* (= shortened form of terrorism; 5 times), *yangu-borantia-pasupoto* (young volunteer passport, a Japanese creation)

In contrast, the total number of Japanese words in the English editorials was 24. The distinct

number was 10, and 3 words out of ten were described with glosses which means that these words are not acculturated into English. Those Japanese words are shown in the following with their frequency in the articles. If no frequency is referred to, that means the word was used only once.

Japanese words

nori (7 times), *zoku-giin* (5 times), *yakuza* (3 times), *yokozuna*, *obon*, *Shinto*, *Shinkansen*

Japanese words with added glosses

omoshiroi (3 times), *ryoshiki-no-fu*, *mutugoro*

Thus the total number and the number of distinct words of established English loan words, or English loan words that can be used in Japanese without glosses, in the Japanese newspaper editorials were 81 and 60 respectively. On the other hand, the total and distinct numbers of established Japanese loan words in the English newspaper editorials were 19 and 7 respectively. Moreover, of 22 Japanese editorial articles I checked, there was only 1 article that did not contain any established English loan words. In contrast, of 22 English editorial articles I checked, 14 articles did not contain any words of Japanese origin. It should be noted that the number of Japanese words in other English writings may be even fewer: the IHT editorial articles probably contain more Japanese words than average English writings since they are translations of the Japanese newspaper editorials and thus some of them deal with Japanese issues. Thus although the sample may have been small, the research result suggests that the boundary between English and Japanese is being re-marked by the English language's one-way colonisation of Japanese much more than vice versa. Even so, there is still a possibility that the users of the Japanese language will be able to re-mark the boundary between English and Japanese little by little: of 7 distinct established Japanese loan words in my English sample, 3 words (*zoku-giin*, *obon*, *Shinkansen*) are not yet included in the OED. These and other Japanese words may be included in English dictionaries in the future, which would contribute slightly to making English more hybrid.

Iwasaki (1994), comparing a Japanese-English dictionary published in 1974 and one published in 1990, finds that the newer dictionary tends to define words for things peculiar to Japan in romanised Japanese whereas the older one tends to define them in English. For example, the 1974 dictionary defines the Japanese word 'engawa' as "a veranda(h); a porch, a stoop; an open corridor; a balcony" (Iwasaki, 1994, 266), whereas the 1990 dictionary defines it as "an *engawa*; *Engawa* is the narrow board-floor space adjoining a Japanese-style tatami room; it is a kind of veranda" (Iwasaki, 1994, 266). In this way, if Japanese words could be exported into English as they are, rather than as English paraphrasing, and moreover if other languages can lend more and more of

their unique vocabularies to English along with the increase of the international and crosscultural communication in this global world, perhaps the strong Institutionalised Discourse of English/other languages might possibly be weakened, however partially it may be.

Conclusion

In this paper, as a possible strategy to weaken the Institutionalised Discourse of English/other languages, I considered a way to re-mark the boundary between English and other languages such as Japanese. By examining English dictionaries and English and Japanese newspapers, I argued that it may be possible that more Japanese vocabulary can be adopted in English in future in order to re-mark the boundary between English and Japanese. What people who are in a supposedly subordinate position in the world, where English is dominant, could do in order to undermine the English/other languages Institutionalised Discourse might be (1) to try to make English more hybrid and mixed with their unique languages, and (2) to re-mark the boundary between English and other languages by the positive diffusion of their cultures. In this way, if they are able to turn their viewpoint to consider that it is in fact their languages that partly make the dominant English language, perhaps the influence of the strong Institutionalised Discourse on them might be slightly undermined.

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Appendix: A list of Japanese words in the OED

343 Japanese words in the OED (alphabetical order)

adzuki, aikido, ama, amado, aucuba, awabi, bai-u, banzai, baren, bekkō, bonsai, bonze, bunraku, bushido, daimio, dairi, daisho, dan, dashi, dojo, Eta, fusuma, futon, gagaku, geisha, Genro, geta, ginkgo, go, Goanese, gobang, habu, habutai, haiku, hakama, hanami, hanashika, haniwa, haori, happi-coat, haraigoshi, hara-kiri, hatamoto, hechima, Heian, heimin, hibachi, hinin, hinoki, hiragana, honcho, hoochie, Huk, ikebana, inkyo, inro, ishikawaite, itai-itai, itzebu, janken, Japan, Japaneseness, Japanesery, Japanesey (Japanesy), jigotai, jinricksha (jinrikisha), jito, jodo, johachidolite, Jomon, joro, joruri, joruri, judo, ju-jitsu, junshi, kabane, kabuki, kago, kagura, kakemono, kaki, Kakiemon, kakke, kami, kamikaze, kana, kanji, karate, kata, katakana, katana, katsuo, katsura, katuramono, kaya, kempeitai, ken, ken, ken, kendo, kesa-gatame, ketchup, keyaki, Kikuchi, kikyō, ki-mon, kimono, kiri, kirin, koan, kobang, kobeite, kogai, koi, koi-cha, koji, kokeshi, koku, kombu, koniak (koniaku), koro, kotatsu, koto, kudzu, kuge, kura, kuroshio, kuruma, kuzushi, kyogen, kyu, maiko, makimono, mama-san, manyo-gana, matsu, matsuri, mebos, Meiji, metake, metasequoia, miai, Mikado, mikan, mingei, miso, mitomycin, mitsumata, mochi, mokum, mompei (mompe), mon, mondo, moose, mousmee, moxa, muraji, nakodo, Nanga, narikin, Nashiji, netsuke, Nippon, nisei, nogaku, Noh (No), nori, norimon, noshi, nunchaku, obang, obi, o-goshi (ogoshi), oiran, ojime, okimono, Okinawan, omi, on, onnagata, onsen, origami, orihon, osaekomiwaza, oshibori, O-soto-gari, oyama, pachinko, parametron, phyto-, plum, protoanemonin, raku, ramanas, randori, renga, ri, rikka, rin, Ritsu, Roju, romaji, ronin, Roshi, rotenone, rumaki, ryo, ryokan, sabi, sake, sakura, samisen, samurai, san, sanpaku, sansei, sasanqua, sashimi, satori, sayonara, sen, sennin, sensei, sentoku, seppuku, shabu-shabu, shaku, shakudo, shakuhachi, shiatsu, shibui, shibuichi, shiitake, shikimi, shikimic, shime-waza, shimose, shin, shingon, Shinshu, Shinto, shishi, sho, sho, shochu, shogi, shogun, shoji, shokku, shosagoto, shoyu, shubunkin, shugo, shunga, sika, skimmia, soba, sodoku, Soka Gakkai, soroban, soshi, soto, soy, sudoite, sugi, suiboku, suiseki, sukiyaki, sumi, sumi-e, sumo, sumotori, sun, surimono, sushi, suzuribako, tabi, tai, tai-otoshi, Takayasu, tamari, tan, tan, tanka, tansu, tatami, temmoku, tempura, Tendai, tenko, teppan-yaki, terakoya, teriyaki, Terra Japonica, to, tofu, togidashi, tokonoma, tonarigumi, torii, tryptophan, tsuba, tsubo, tsukemono, tsukuri, tsunami, tsutsugamushi, tsutsumu, tycoon, uchiwa, udon, uguisu, uji, ujigami, uke, ukemi, ukiyo-e, urushi, urushio, uta, wabi, wacadash, waka, wasabi, yakitori, yakuza, Yamato, yashiki, yen, yokozuna, yugen, yukata, yusho, zabuton, zaibatsu, zaikai, zazen, Zen, zendo, Zengakuren, zori

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