

***English Loanword Modifiers as a Means for Native vs. Foreign
Differentiation in Contemporary Japanese***

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English has a large-scale influence on numerous languages, one of them being Japanese. Historical contact between Japan and Western cultures resulted in extensive borrowing of new phenomena as well as lexicon. Various sources estimate that 10% of the Contemporary Japanese vocabulary consists of loanwords (Chinese-origin words excluded), and such loanwords are referred to as in '*gairaigo*' in Japanese, meaning 'words coming from outside'. There are different opinions about the increasing use of loanwords and their substitution for existing native lexicon. However, are foreign loanwords really substituting native lexicon in Japanese? Or, maybe, there are other functions and reasons for borrowing words synonymous to native ones?

In the present study we investigate the use of English-based loanword modifiers such as *hotto* (hot), *burakku* (black), *akutibu* (active), etc., that are long-term assimilated to Japanese since they were borrowed in Meiji period (1868-1912) and have corresponding native or Sino-Japanese near synonyms. We have studied the collocation patterns of about 100 of such loanword modifiers using the data from Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese to determine if there are any constraints on their use in nominal phrases (NPs). We argue that despite active and extensive borrowing of English words synonymous to native ones, Japanese language tries to differentiate between native and foreign culture by creating an inventory for the description of foreign-originated phenomena. Therefore, the Japanese language demonstrates the homogeneity of the origin for NPs with loanword modifiers being preferably used to modify loanwords nouns, rather than native nouns.

Keywords: English loanwords, Language teaching, Contemporary Japanese

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1. Introduction: General Overview of Japanese Lexicon Strata

Contemporary Japanese vocabulary integrates words of different origin which are assimilated into the language system in a different degree. Incorporating loanwords into the lexicon is not a unique feature of the Japanese language, however, unlike many other languages, Japanese tends to differentiate words of different origin on a number of levels: orthographical representation, stylistic functions, registers, etc.

There are three major etymological strata, that are singled out in Contemporary Japanese (Irwin 2011): native Japanese (*wago* 和語 or *yamato-kotoba* 大和言葉), Sino-Japanese (*kango* 漢語 ‘Han words’) and foreign (*gairaigo*¹ 外来語 ‘words coming from outside’) – words borrowed from languages other than Chinese. There are also mimetic words (which include different subtypes of mimetic words: *gitaigo* 擬態語, *giongo* 擬音語 and *giseigo* 擬声語), they are sometimes seen as a substratum of native words, and hybrid words (*konshugo* 混種語) – words that contain elements of different origin (e.g. *karaoke* - *kara* 空: native for ‘empty’ + *oke* オケ: clipping of foreign ‘orchestra’).

A most of the languages having numerous lexical strata Japanese has to face the problem of near synonyms differentiation. Contemporary Japanese in many cases not only has near synonymic doublets, but numerous triplets as well: *wago-kango-gairaigo* or native – Sino-Japanese – foreign, respectively. The examples of such triplets are seen in all spheres of life, e.g. *kuruma* 車 – *jidōsha* 自動車 – *kā* カー for ‘car’ or *iro* 色・いろ – *shikisai* 色彩 – *karā* カラー ‘colour’; *tsukue* 机 – *shokutaku* 食卓 – *tēburu* テーブル ‘table’, etc. As one can see those triplets can be found for both concrete and abstract concepts, as well as in different semantic domains (vehicle, colour, furniture), etc. Moreover, not only nouns, but also adjectivals have corresponding near synonyms of different origin.

1.1. Native Words and Sino-Japanese Words

Japanese has extensively borrowed from Chinese, either directly or via Korean kingdoms, starting with 5th century. Contemporary Japanese writing system consists of the Chinese characters borrowed over the period of contacts and two syllabaries: *katakana* and *hiragana*, both being developed from the elements or simplification of Chinese script. However, it is important to note that not all the words belonging to Sino-Japanese stratum were borrowed from Chinese. *Kango* stratum also includes a number of words formed later on in Japan ‘following’ Chinese word formation model and using Chinese character. A number of such words were coined in late 19th century when Japanese needed additional vocabulary to render new notions related to Western culture and Modernization (Frellesvig 2010). Some of such Sino-Japanese coinages later in 19th - 20th centuries penetrated Korean and Chinese lexicon.

The long history of co-existence and originally strict differentiation between written and spoken language resulted in a relatively clear constraints on the use of native and Sino-Japanese near synonyms. Sino-Japanese words are usually written with Chinese characters and widely found in written language; most of them are associated with terminology of different disciplines and scientific fields. Native words have a stronger

¹ In this paper terms *gairaigo* and loanword are used interchangeably as synonyms

association with spoken language and quite often refer to more general and basic concepts.

1.2. Foreign Words in Japanese

The contact of the Japanese culture and language with Western languages dates back to 16 century with the first donor language being Portuguese. Later on even during the period of policy of seclusion, Japan had an inflow of foreign notions and words through the translation of *Rangaku* - Dutch learning² – since the Dutch were the only foreigners that were allowed to trade and had a trade settlement on a Dejima island, in Nagasaki. However the greater contact of both language and culture started in late 19th century and continued, with some periods of slowing down, throughout 20th century. Originally some foreign words were translated by Sino-Japanese coinages, while some were transliterated. In late 19th century words from a number of European languages were borrowed, however, with the surrender in WWII and following occupation, English has become the major donor language for foreign strata. Nowadays, loanwords comprise about 10% of Contemporary Japanese lexicon (Stanlaw 2004).

The contact with Western cultures, that later was transformed into Modernization took place much faster and a much larger scale compared to the contact with Chinese and Korean cultures, therefore, foreign words have penetrated all the spheres of life and, as a result, all registers of speech and most of semantic domains.

“English words have become especially important since WWII, and these loanwords have become genuine parts of the Japanese lexicon, found in daily conversation and the world of letters”

(Daulton 2008: 11).

Foreign-origin near synonyms in many cases still do not have clear-cut constraints on their use and are perceived as ‘competing’ with both native and Sino-Japanese near synonyms. A number of studies has addressed the problem of differentiation between native/Sino-Japanese and foreign words (Loveday 1996, Stanlaw 2010, Kay 1995, Rebuck 2002, Daulton 2008). Most of the previous studies were focused on nouns, but in this paper we will look at a group of English loanword adjectival modifiers (ELAMS), since they are a frequently used but not that thoroughly investigated group of English loanwords having corresponding native/Sino-Japanese near synonyms. We suggest a more elaborated model of previously suggested Homogeneous Collocation Hypothesis for *Gairaigo* Modifiers (HCHGM) (Bordilovskaya 2016) by incorporating the concept of Foreign Culture Frame (FCF) reflected in the Japanese language and a more detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data introduced in the Bordilovskaya (2016). Finally, we will introduce a possible approach to the classification of ELAMs that can have its application in Japanese language education and lexicography.

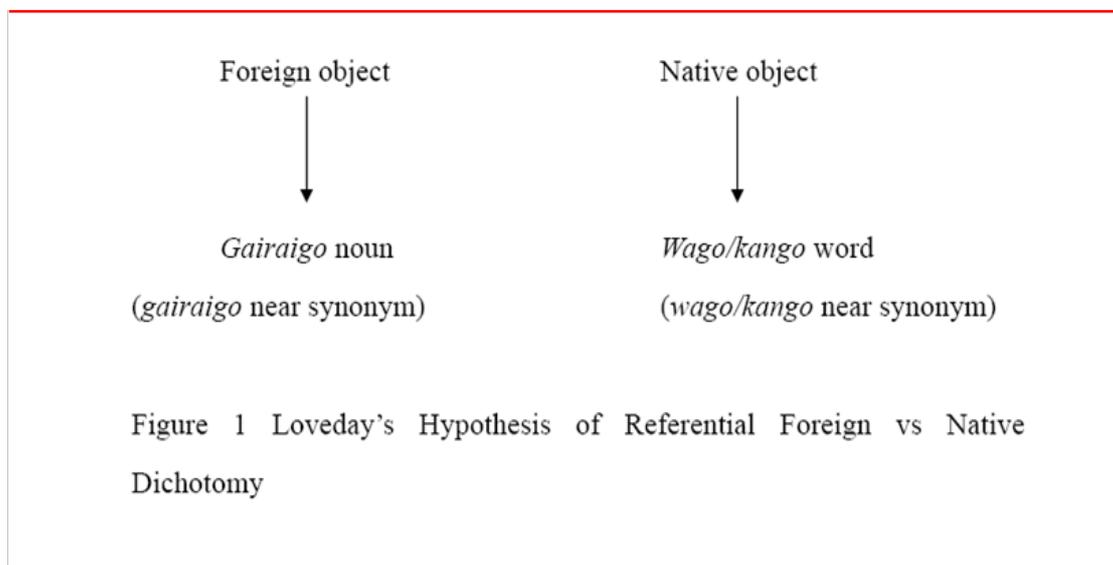
2. Homogeneous Collocation Hypothesis for *Gairaigo* Modifiers and Foreign Culture Frame

2.1. Loveday’s Foreign vs. Native Dichotomy

Homogeneous Collocation Hypothesis for *Gairaigo* Modifiers (HCHGM in Bordilovskaya 2016; HCHA in Bordilovskaya 2012) is an extension of the approach suggested by Loveday to differentiate near synonym of native or Sino-Japanese origin and foreign ones. If there are two similar phenomena, one of native, another of foreign

² Later on the term *Rangaku* was used to refer to all Western science, not only the Dutch one

origin, then *wago/kango* are used to refer to the native phenomenon, while *gairaigo* is used to refer to foreign phenomenon. This approach is called the Hypothesis of Referential Foreign vs. Native Dichotomy (HRFND) (Bordilovskaya 2012, 2016). Figure 1 demonstrates HRFND.



HRFND can be illustrated by comparing the pictures of a Japanese futon (left) and a bed (right) below in Figure 2³.



Figure 2. *Futon vs. Beddo*

Loveday's HRND is easily applicable in case of concrete nouns, when it is clear if the phenomena are of native or foreign origin. However, HRFND is not that transparent in case of abstract nouns or adjectival modifiers. Contemporary dictionaries of foreign words also tend to differentiate between the phenomena depending on their origin.

If we compare dictionary entries from Sanseido's Concise Dictionary of Katakana Words (3rd ed. 2005) for *beddo* 'bed' and *howaito* 'white' we can see that HRFND is reflected for concrete nouns, but not for adjectivals. Entry (1) is explaining the meanings of '*beddo*' (bed) and entry (2) for '*howaito*' (white). Both loanwords date back to Meiji period (1868-1912).

³ Images are taken from the open sources in the Internet

(1) ベッド[bed] ① 洋式寝床、寝台。〈明〉(p 987)
Beddo is a Western style bed (sleeping place), couch. 〈Meiji period〉

(2) ホワイト[white] ① 白、白色。<-> ブラック。〈明〉(p 1045)
Howaito is white, white color. <-> black. 〈Meiji period〉

Although the entry for *beddo* is quite clear and openly states that it is a ‘Western style’ bed, the entry for *howaito* lacks any explanation of how foreign word is different from *shiro*, which is a native colour term for ‘white’. Moreover, the foreign term is explained through the native one, making it even more difficult to differentiate their meaning and use.

2.2. Homogeneous Collocation Hypothesis for Gairaigo Modifiers (HCHGM)

Bordilovskaya (2012, 2016) suggested that Loveday’s HFND can be extended to the level of collocations of English loanword adjectival modifiers when they are used to modify nouns. It was demonstrated that some ELAMs that have corresponding native/Sino-Japanese near synonyms have the tendency to modify loanword nouns, rather than nouns of other origin (native or Sino-Japanese), therefore, there is a tendency for homogeneity of members of collocations in nominal phrases (NPs). In this paper we use the term English loanword adjectival modifier, therefore, we will be further on referring to HCHGM as HCH for ELAMs.

The important difference between the original Loveday’s HRFND hypothesis and our HCH for ELAMs hypothesis is that the former one refers to the difference in use of separate words (concrete nouns), while the later one considers collocations – combinations of modifiers and nouns. HCH for ELAMs offers a broader look at the problem of loanword modifiers’ function in the Contemporary Japanese and deals with a level of word combinations.

HCH for ELAMs suggests that ELAMs are borrowed for more precise description of the qualities of foreign-originated phenomena. Therefore, they are more likely to modify loanword nouns. For example, following HCH for ELAMs *buraun no jaketto* (ブラウンのジャケット; ‘brown jacket’) or *rongu no doresu* (ロングのドレス; ‘long dress’) would present a better collocation than *buraun no haori* (ブラウンの羽織; ‘brown haori’⁴) or *rongu no kimono* (ロングの着物; ‘long kimono’).

2.3. Foreign Culture Frame

We hypothesize that HCH for ELAMs is the realization of the inherent feature of the Japanese culture - the necessity to differentiate between the similar qualities of native and foreign originated phenomena. Similar tendency has been seen, for example, in Korean (Kiaer 2014) and demonstrates the need to balance traditional and Westernized/Modernized life style.

The speakers’ world knowledge (world experience, world perception) motivates the way words, phrases, sentences, etc. are produced and interpreted. In Frame Semantics, word meaning is characterized in terms of experience-based schematizations of the speaker’s world – i.e. frames. Frame approach can be used ‘to describe differences that

⁴ A type of Japanese traditional coat

appear to be defined on social rather than conceptual level ... Communities are defined by the social activities that bind the members together' (Croft and Cruse 2004: 18). Therefore, we suggest that the extensive contact with Western cultures resulted in FOREIGN CULTURE FRAME (FCF) in Contemporary Japanese language and culture. FCF includes not only objects and concepts, but also an inventory used for the description of the qualities of those phenomena. For example different form of representation of the same phenomena might require differentiation, e.g., *gohan* (cooked rice) vs. *raisu* (cooked rice) 'cooked rice', trigger different frames NATIVE or FOREIGN CULTURE. 'Some concepts appear to denote the same thing in the world but profile it against a different frame.' (Croft and Cruse 2004: 18). Therefore, ELAMs are not competing with native or Sino-Japanese modifiers, but are profiled against different frames: foreign or foreign-originated phenomena vs. native-originated phenomena. The differences in the frames of ELAMs and other modifiers is reflected in the collocations with nouns depending on the kind of phenomena (native, culturally-neutral or foreign) the nouns refer to.

Figure 3 demonstrates how the existence of FCF and the differentiation between native and foreign originated phenomena results in HCH for ELAMs on the level of collocations in Contemporary Japanese.

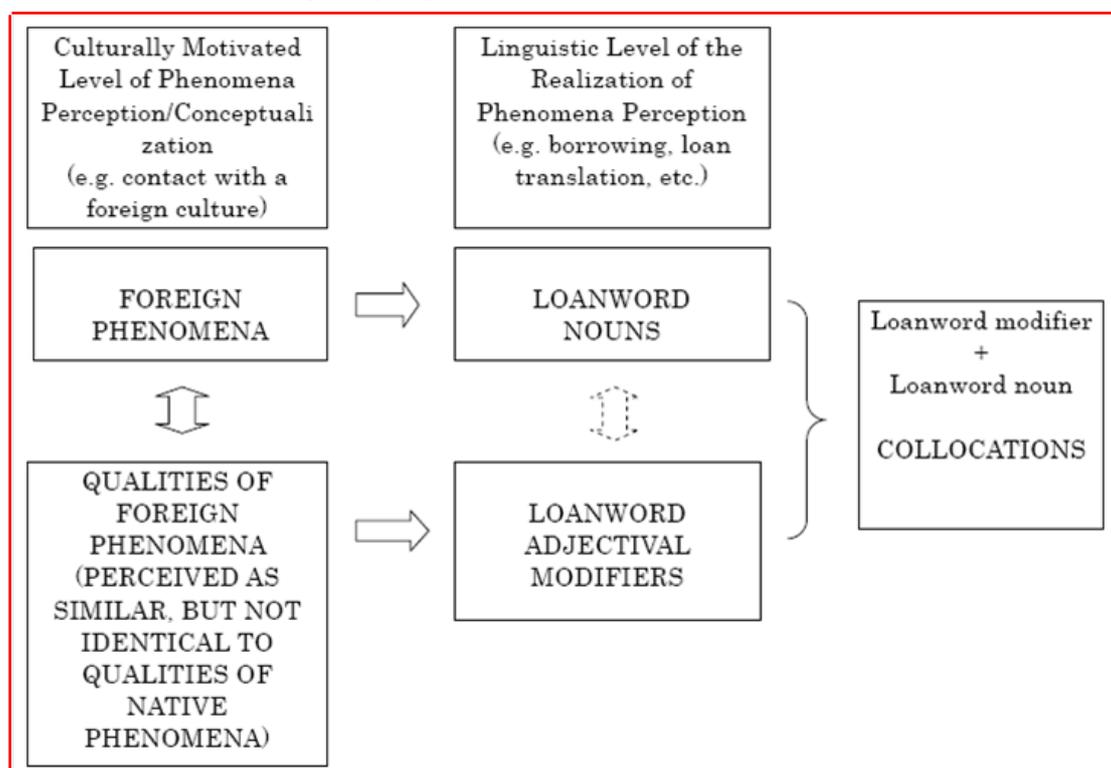


Figure 3. Foreign Culture Frame and HCH for ELAMs

3. Methodology and Case Study ELAMs

In this paper we follow the methodology proposed in Bordilovskaya (2012, 2016) to test HCH for ELAMs. We use Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ) to test a number of ELAMs and see if they have a tendency to collocate with nouns of particular origin (*wago* - native, *kango* – Sino-Japanese or *gairaigo* - foreign).

The object of the given study is English loanword adjectival modifiers (ELAMs)⁵, which are adjectives in donor language (English) and widely used as modifiers for nouns in recipient language (Japanese). We will look at the cases when ELAMs are used to modify nouns with the use of *-no-/-na-* linkers. The variations in the use of linkers for some ELAMs reflect semantic shift and indicates the difference between meanings (3).

(3) *burū no sokkusu* ‘blue socks’ vs. *burū na kibun* ‘sad/depressed mood’.
However, the variations in the use of linkers may reflect the incomplete grammatical assimilation (4).

(4) *sutoreeto no jinzū* ‘straight jeans’ vs. *sutoreeto na sukaato* ‘straight skirt’.
Therefore, we will look at the following collocation pattern of ELAMs:

ELAM + *-no-/-na-*linker + noun.

Further on we will count the number of tokens of each ELAM with nouns of different origin: native, Sino-Japanese or foreign, and try to determine if there is any tendency or preference in their collocations.

Case study group of ELAMs includes 101 ELAMs borrowed in Meiji period (1868-1912), since they have the longest history of assimilation into Japanese and comparable period of borrowing. The list of ELAMs for the case study has been compiled basing on Sanseido’s Concise Dictionary of Katakana Words (2005) and Kadogawa Dictionary of Loan-words (1977). Thus, we will only analyze the collocations when ELAMs are used in the meanings introduced at the period of borrowing, since they are closest to the adjectives in the donor language and are explained through corresponding native/Sino-Japanese near synonyms.

4. Results

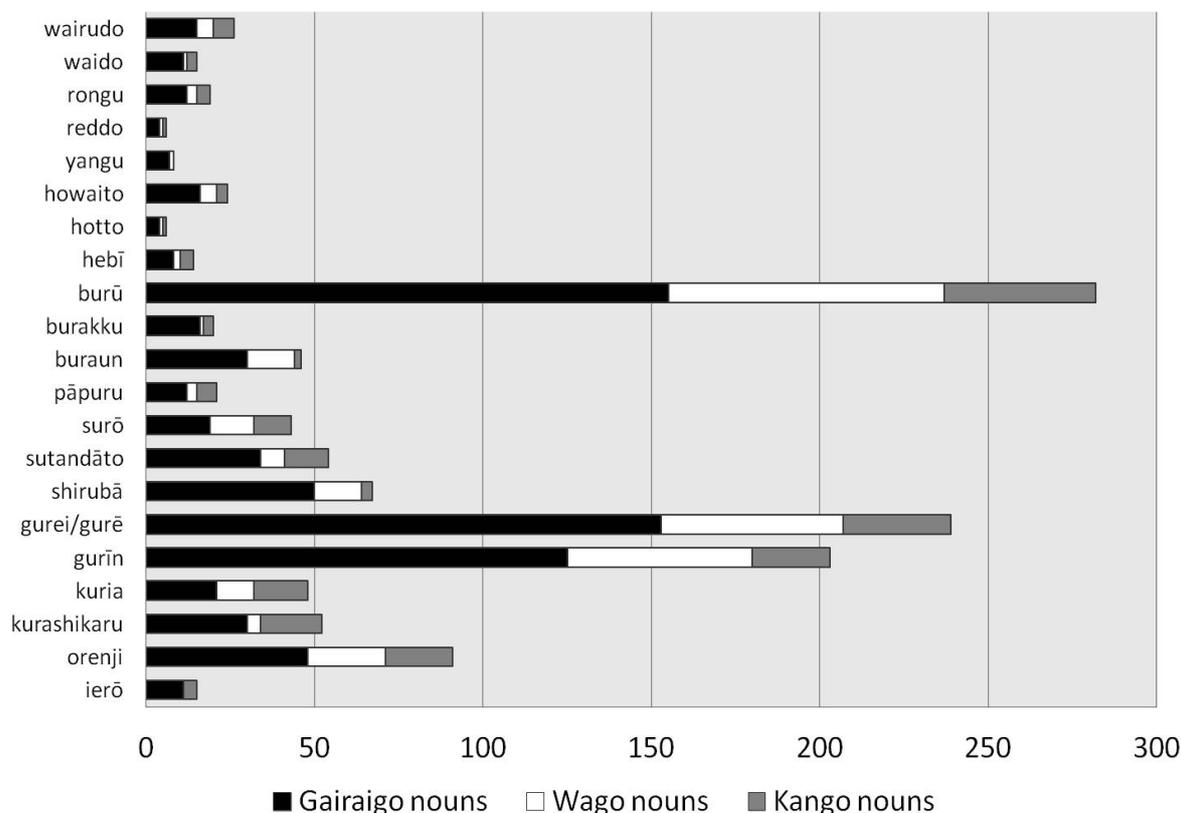
The results of testing HCH for ELAMs on 101 selected ELAMs showed that only 48 had the frequency of more than five tokens. There were three main tendencies for ELAMs: to modify loanword nouns (*gairaigo* nouns), to modify Sino-Japanese nouns (*kango* nouns), or not to show any preference for nouns of particular origin. Graphs 1 through 1 demonstrate the distribution of ELAMs collocations with nouns of different origin.

4.1. ELAMs frequently modifying foreign nouns

Graph 1 demonstrates the results for ELAMs that were more frequently used to modify foreign (*gairaigo*) nouns, compared to the nouns of different origin. Thus, we can see that 21 out 48 ELAMs were explicitly following HCH *ierō* ‘yellow’, *orenji* ‘orange’, *kurashikaru* ‘classical’, *kuria* ‘clear’, *gurīn* ‘green’, *gurē/gurei* ‘gray’, *shirubā* ‘silver’, *sutandāto* ‘standard’, *surō* ‘slow’, *pāpuru* ‘purple’, *buraun* ‘brown’, *burakku* ‘black’, *burū* ‘blue’, *hebi* ‘heavy’, *hotto* ‘hot’, *howaito* ‘white’, *yangu* ‘young’, *reddo* ‘red’, *rongu* ‘long’, *waido* ‘wide’, and *wairudo* ‘wild’.

⁵ Correspond to Japanese ‘nominal adjectives’ in Nishiyama (1999); (*-na-/-no-* nominal adjectives in Morita (2010))

Graph 1 ELAMs modifying LWNs



Graph 1. ELAMs frequently modifying loanword nouns (*gairaigo* nouns)

Interestingly enough, most of ELAMs explicitly following HCH for ELAMs refer to physical qualities, such as COLOR, LENGTH, SIZE, etc. For example, *rongu no hea* ('long hair'), *buraun no botomu* ('brown bottom'), etc. If we further on analyze the distribution of ELAMs across linguistic domains, we can see that, unlike foreign nouns that are usually limited to one semantic domain, ELAMs are found across several domains (see Table 1).

For example, *gurīn* 'green' is found with loanword nouns from semantic domains such as Fashion, Lifestyle, Food, Technology and Nature :

(5) *gurīn no tai* 'tie', *sukāto* 'skirt', *kāpetto* 'carpet', *garasu* 'glass' as material, *pasuta* 'pasta', *disupurei* 'display', *inku* 'ink', *paseri* 'parsley', etc.

As well as native and Sino-Japanese nouns:

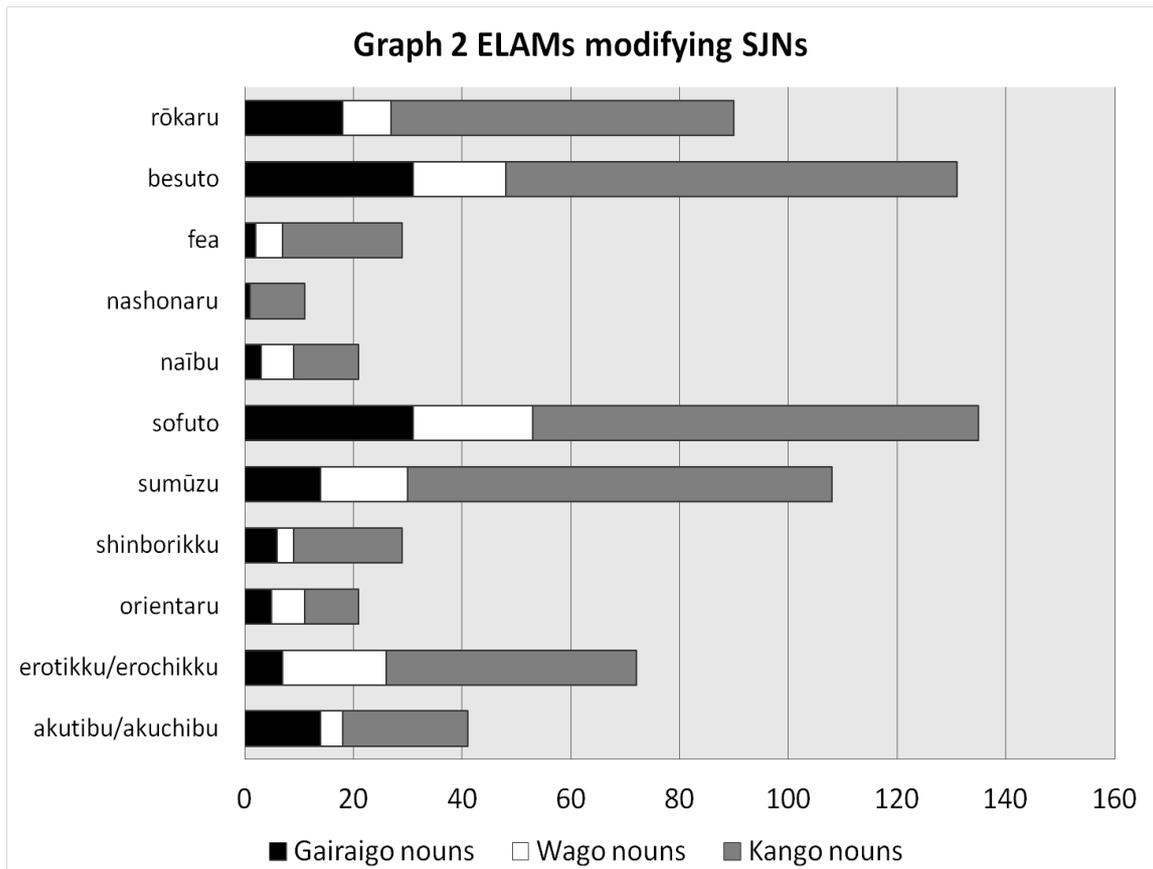
(6) *gurīn no uwagi* 'jacket', *fuku* 'clothes', *yuka* 'floor', *yasai* 'vegetables', *kuruma* 'car', *kaeru* 'frog', etc.

Semantic Domain	Fashion, makeup, accessories		Lifestyle		Food, Drinks		Technology, Science, Education		Plants, Animals, Nature		Culture (Music, Art, Sport etc)	
	LWNs	SJ&N Ns	LWNs	SJ&N Ns	LWNs	SJ&N Ns	LWNs	SJ&N Ns	LWNs	SJ&N Ns	LWNs	SJ&N Ns
ierō (yellow)	x	x					x	x	x			
orenji (orange)	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x		x
kurashikaru (classical)	x	x	x	x			x	x				
kuria (clear)	x	x	x		x	x	x	x				x
gurin (green)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
gurei/gurē (grey/gray)	x	x	x	x			x	x		x		
shirubā (silver)	x	x	x	x			x			x		
sutandāto (standard)	x	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	
surō (slow)			x	x				x			x	x
pāpuru (purple)	x	x	x	x						x		
buraun (brown)	x	x										
burakku (black)	x	x	x	x			x	x				
burū (blue)	x	x	x	x			x	x		x		
hebi (heavy)	x			x	x		x	x			x	x
hotto (hot)	x				x	x						
howaito (white)	x	x	x	x			x					
yangu (young)	x		x	x								
reddo (red)	x	x	x									
rongu (long)	x	x	x	x								
waido (wide)	x			x			x	x		x		
wairudo (wild)	x	x		x							x	

Table 1. The distribution of ELAMs across semantic domains

4.2. ELMs frequently modifying Sino-Japanese nouns

Graph 2 shows the results for 11 ELAMs out of 48 that were more frequently used to modify Sino-Japanese (*kango*) nouns, rather than nouns of other origin. The ELAMs that were placed in this group are: *akutibu/akuchibu* ‘active’, *erochikku/erotikku* ‘erotic’, *orientaru* ‘oriental’, *shimborikku* ‘symbolic’, *sumūzu* ‘smooth’, *sofuto* ‘soft’, *naibu* ‘naive’, *nashonaru* ‘national’, *fea* ‘fair’, *besuto* ‘best’, and *rōkaru* ‘local’.



Graph 2. ELAMs frequently modifying Sino-Japanese nouns (*kango* nouns)

One of the peculiar feature of the ELAMs that showed the tendency to modify Sino-Japanese nouns is that they refer to abstract qualities. Another interesting feature is that these ELAMs modify culturally neutral nouns or Sino-Japanese coinages like *denwa* ‘telephone’ created in Meiji period for new foreign notions. For examples: *shinborikku na hyougen* ‘symbolic expression’, *nashonaru na kikan* ‘national institution’, etc.

Table 2 demonstrates the semantic domains of the nouns ELAMs used to modify. In comparison with the first group of ELAMs Business/Politics and Psychological/Emotional state/Character domains are added.

Semantic Domain	Fashion, makeup, accessories		Lifestyle		Food, Drinks		Technology, Science, Education		Business, Politics		Plants, Animals, Nature		Culture (Music, Art, Sport etc)		Psychological or Emotional State, Character	
	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns
akutibu/akuchi bu	x		x	x			x	x		x				x		x
erotikku/erochikku	x		x	x									x	x		x
orientaru		x	x	x	x	x								x		
shinborikku			x	x				x		x				x		
sumūzu			x	x			x	x	x	x						
sofuto	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x				x		
naibu	x	x												x		x
nashonaru									x	x						
fea									x	x						x
besuto			x	x	x		x	x		x						
rōkaru			x	x						x			x	x		

Table 2. The distribution of ELAMs across semantic domains

For example, ELAM *besuto* ‘best’ is found across Semantic domains such as Lifestyle, Food, Technology and Business modifying loanword nouns:

(7) *besuto na raifusutairu* ‘lifestyle’, *rāmen* ‘ramen’⁶, *taimingu* ‘timing’, *kameraanrugu* ‘camera angle’, *enjinia* ‘engineer’, etc.

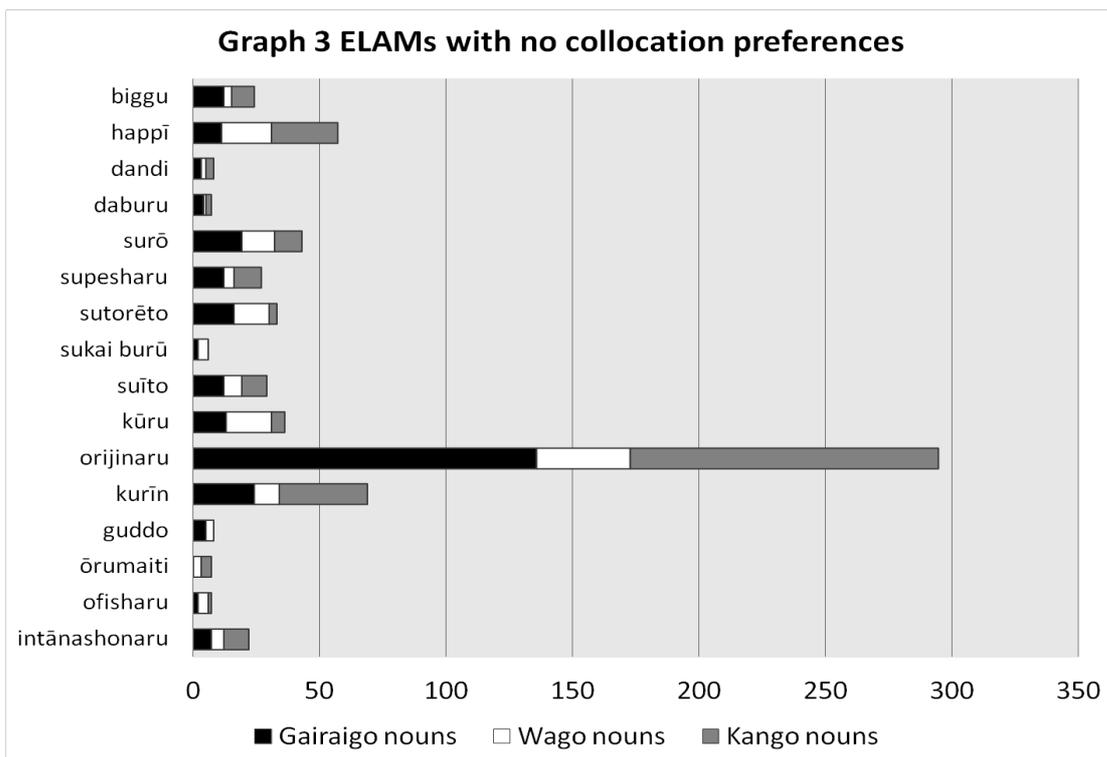
As well as native and Sino-Japanese nouns:

(8) *kisetsu* ‘season’, *kyōtai* ‘state’, *taiō* ‘dealing with/handling’, *kuruma* ‘car’, *seihin* ‘product’, *sentaku* ‘choice’, etc.

4.3. ELAMs with no clear collocation preferences

16 out of 48 ELAMs did not indicate any clear preference to modify nouns of particular origin, either foreign, or native, or Sino-Japanese. However, even when ELAMs were used to modify native nouns, they tended not to collocate with nouns referring to Japanese cultural phenomena. Examples: *ofisharu na tegami* ‘official letter’, *surō na ugoki* ‘slow movement’, etc.

⁶ Ramen is a late Chinese origin loanword and is not seen as a Sino-Japanese word, it is often written with katakana, and, therefore, is registered in loanword dictionaries, e.g. Sanseido’s Dictionary of Katakana Words



Graph 3. ELAMs with no clear collocation preferences

Semantic Domain	Fashion, makeup, accessories		Lifestyle		Food, Drinks		Technology, Science, Education		Plants, Animals, Nature		Culture (Music, Art, Sport etc)	
	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns	LW nouns	SJ&N nouns
orijinaru (original)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x

Table 3. The distribution of *orijinaru* ‘original’ across semantic domains

Most of ELAMs in this group, apart from *orijinaru* did not demonstrate high frequency in BCCWJ corpus. Therefore, it is not clear whether the results reflect the general tendency for these ELAMs, or they are limited by the sample in the given corpus.

The examples with *orijinaru* ‘original’ modifying loanword nouns include nouns in (9), and native and Sino-Japanese nouns are presented in (10):

(9) *orjinaru no foryumyura* ‘formula’, *beruto* ‘belt’, *sutorappu* ‘strap’, *supagettī* ‘spaghetti’, *tēma* ‘theme’.

(10) *eiga* ‘movie’, *sakuhin* ‘work as a book, film, composition, etc.’, *kikaku* ‘plan’, *utsuwa* ‘vessel’, *uta* ‘song’, *kyoku* ‘melody’.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In present study we have introduced a new approach to the differentiation between native, (Sino-)Japanese and English origin near synonymic ELAMs by clarifying the constraints on ELAMs' collocations. In contrast to the previous studies, which were based on questionnaires and limited examples, our approach stems from corpus data.

5.1. *English loanwords and Japanese language learners*

Stanlaw (2010: 40-59) singled out a number of problems that English loanwords (not only ELAMs) pose for the learners of Japanese:

“Problem 1: Students believe English loanwords mean the same thing as their original words do in English...

... Problem 2: Students believe an English loanword can just substitute for a native Japanese term...

... Problem 3: English loanwords seem simply random and arbitrary...

... Problem 4: English loanwords seem to reflect a Japanese copy-cat mentality.”

(Stanlaw 2010: 53-57)

However, our case study investigating the use of ELAMs in Contemporary Japanese has shown they have particular collocation preferences and, therefore, a particular functional niche in the language. Thus, taking into consideration the obvious bias in the structure of ELAMs collocation, we can suggest a new approach to the classification of ELAMs in Contemporary Japanese. Such classification can provide information, necessary for foreign learners of Japanese, so that they can differentiate between ELAMs and native/Sino-Japanese near synonyms to use them in an appropriate and natural way.

5.2. *Classification of ELAMs*

Base on the results of testing HCH for ELAMs we suggest that there are two classes of loanword modifiers;

(1) Class 1: Etymologically and conceptually restrained type: *burakku*-class (tend to modify loanwords nouns)

(2) Class 2: Conceptually restrained type: *besuto*-class (tend to modify Sino-Japanese nouns)

Burakku-class ELAMs follow HCH on both the level of word and phenomenon etymology explicitly, thus, these ELAMs tend to modify nouns of the same (foreign) origin. Most of these ELAMs tend to refer to physically perceivable qualities of foreign-originated (or foreign associated) phenomena.

Besuto-class ELAMs tend to follow the HCH on the level of the origin of the phenomena, rather than words. This can be related to the mixing of the approaches of word and phenomena borrowing started in Meiji period. In the late 19th century in Japan there were two major ways of introducing new notions:

- Direct loans => loanwords (transliteration)
- Loan translation => Sino-Japanese coinages

Therefore, a number of Sino-Japanese nouns. E.g. *shakai* (society) are used to refer to foreign originated phenomena, and in this sense, ELAMs modifying Sino-Japanese nouns are following HCH at the level of the origin of the phenomena, though they are not perceived as loanwords from the perspective of orthography.

5.3. Changing perspective on loanwords

Language as a part of culture works out the most appropriate way to handle historical and social changes. Japanese culture had to handle a dramatic contact with Western cultures as well as technology development over more than 160 years. As a result FCF in a way is reflecting this in Contemporary Japanese language. On the one hand, taking into consideration the existence of FCF and HCH for ELAMs can provide information necessary for learners of Japanese, so that they can differentiate between ELAMs and native and SJ near synonymic modifiers and use them in a way which is balanced and easier processed by native speakers of Japanese. On the other hand, it is one of the ways for the language to balance between the preservation of native culture and introduction of foreign phenomena by working out separate vocabulary for the description of foreign originated phenomena.

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