

IMAGE OF JAPAN AMONG SLOVENES: BORROWED WORDS OF JAPANESE ORIGIN IN SLOVENE

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Abstract

This paper presents the process and mechanism of borrowing from Japanese into Slovene. Japan and Slovenia are geographically and culturally quite distant, and the two languages are genealogically not related. Between such two languages, not many borrowings are expected, but there is a certain amount of borrowed words of Japanese origin in today's Slovene. The focus of this paper is on the words of Japanese origin that are well integrated in today's Slovene. Firstly, the process of borrowing is analysed: there are three main phases for successful borrowing from Japanese into Slovene, but during the process, some obstacles may hinder the completion of this process, so that further creative use of some borrowed words in the Slovene environment cannot be expected. The second part of this paper will closely look at the loanwords of Japanese origin which are already recorded as headwords in today's dictionaries of Slovene. The loanwords are analysed in relation to the borrowing process and adjustments, their semantic fields, and wherever possible, their diachronic changes in use, and other specifics. At the end, the image of Japan seen through the borrowing process and consolidated loanwords is summarized, and possible development of borrowing in the near future is predicted.

Keywords: loanwords; Slovene; Japanese; borrowing; derivation; number and gender

Povzetek

Članek v prvem delu obravnava postopek in mehanizem izposojanja iz tujega jezika v slovenščino, zlasti v primeru izposojanja iz jezika, ki je kulturno in jezikovno oddaljen, kakor je japonski. Drugi del članka je pregled izposojenk, ki imajo svoj izvor v japonskem jeziku in so danes že gesla v slovarju slovenskega jezika. Sledi analiza izposojenk glede na postopek vključevanja v slovensko besedišče in semantično polje, v katerem deluje posamezna beseda. Analiza vključuje, kolikor je možno, spremembe in rabe posamezne izposojenke skozi zgodovino ter druge značilnosti. Na koncu je povzetek današnjega stanja izposojenk in njihove rabe, ki ponuja določeno podobo japonske kulture v slovenski družbi.

Ključne besede: izposojenke; slovenščina; japonsščina; izposojanje; izpeljava; število in spol



1 Introduction

Japan and Slovenia are geographically and culturally quite distant, and the two languages, Japanese and Slovene, are genealogically not related. Between such two languages, not many borrowings are expected, and yet, there have been indirect and direct contacts of the two cultures and nations, particularly after the end of Tokugawa era in 1868. Therefore, borrowings of originally Japanese words do exist in contemporary Slovene. Most of the borrowings from Japanese into Slovene occurred in the 20th and 21st century. From the linguistic point of view, the borrowing mechanism is quite interesting in the case of Japanese words into Slovene, since the phonetic and lexico-grammatical differences between the two languages demand various adjustments for the borrowed words to become loanwords in the Slovene local environment.

The focus of this paper is on the words of Japanese origin that are well integrated in today's Slovene. Firstly, the process of borrowing is analysed: there are three main phases for successful borrowing from Japanese into Slovene, but during the process, some obstacles may hinder the completion of this process, so that further creative use of some borrowed words in the Slovene environment cannot be expected. The second part of this paper will closely look at the loanwords of Japanese origin which are already recorded as headwords in today's dictionaries of Slovene. The loanwords are analysed in relation to the borrowing process and adjustments, their semantic fields, and wherever possible, their diachronic changes in use, and other specifics. At the end, the image of Japan seen through the borrowing process and consolidated loanwords is summarized, and possible development of borrowing in the near future is predicted.

2 Process and mechanism of borrowing

Figure 1 is a schematic summary of the process of borrowing from Japanese into Slovene. There are three main phases for each word, usually a noun, to be accepted as a loanword into Slovene (a., b. and c. in Figure 1). If a borrowed word reaches the last phase (c), we can say that it has fully become a loanword in Slovene, i.e. it is used freely and creatively in the Slovene context.

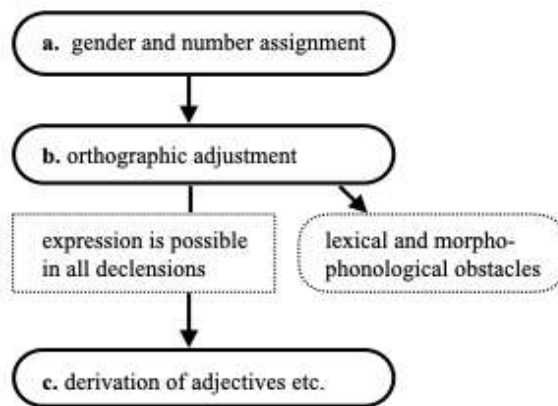


Figure 1: Three phases for successful borrowing

2.1 Gender and number assignment

The first phase (a.) of borrowing is the assignment of gender and number to the new borrowed word. The Japanese language has no category of number or of gender. On the other hand, since the categories of number and gender exist in Slovene, every Japanese noun to be used in the context of Slovene must be categorized into one of the numbers (singular, dual or plural) and genders (masculine, feminine or neutral). The gender and number of each new word is usually decided according to the phonetic form of the word. Since most of the Japanese syllables are open and end in one of the five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* or *u*, the gender is assigned according to the ending vowel, i.e. *-a* as feminine, *-e*, *-i*, *-o* and *-u* as masculine. The assignment of number is basically singular. Words with the moraic nasal /N/ (*-n*) at the word end is also categorized as masculine (See Table 1)¹. Exceptional cases are given with examples on the right side of Table 1: under ② <5> when a word with a final vowel *-e* is interpreted as a plurale tantum (example: *karaoke*), and under ③ <3>, <6> and <11> when nouns with a final vowel *-a*, *-e* or *-o* are interpreted as masculine with slightly different ways of declension.²

Most of the gender and number assignment is done according to the morphological rules under ① in Table 1, that is, originally Japanese words are usually categorized as feminine or masculine in gender, and in most cases singular in number.

¹ This table was made to present all theoretically possible solutions of the gender and number assignment, from <1> to <13> in the table, but for <2> and <8> no example exists. For detailed explanation, please also refer to Shigemori Bučar (2011).

² ③ <3> is a case when a noun with a final vowel *-a* is interpreted as masculine and assigned the second masculine inflection in Slovene. ③ <6> and <11> are cases when the last vowel of a longer noun is observed as a non-voiced or unaccented *-e* or *-o* and declined differently from the cases under ① <4> and <10>. For details, please also refer to Shigemori Bučar (2011).

Table 1: Possible solutions of gender and number assignments to nouns of Japanese origin in Slovene (Shigemori Bučar (2011, p. 251))

Word ending in Jap.	① by morphological rules; singular	example*	② plural interpretation	example	③ additional rules and interpretations	example
-a	f.sg. <1> [+anim] [-anim]	<i>gejša -e</i> <i>ikebana -e</i>	n.pl. <2>	/	m.sg. <3> [+anim]	<i>jakuza -e</i>
-e	m.sg.(-j)<4>	<i>anime -ja</i>	f.pl. <5>	<i>karaoke</i> <i>karaok</i> <i>šitake šitak</i>	m.sg. <6> [+anim]	<i>kamikaze -a</i>
-i	m.sg.(-j)<7>	<i>cunami -ja</i>		/	-Vi>-Vj m.sg. <9>	<i>samuraj -a</i>
-o	m.sg.(-j)<10>	<i>go -ja</i>			m.sg. <11>	<i>kimono -a</i>
-u	m.sg.(-j)<12>	<i>tofu -ja</i>				
-n	m.sg.(-j)<13>	<i>šogun -a</i>				

* Each example is shown in its nominative and genitive form

2.2 Orthographic adjustment

The second phase of the borrowing from Japanese into Slovene is the orthographic adjustment (b. in Figure 1). There are some examples of words that end in the vowel sequence *-ai* in Japanese, for which the *-i* at the end is replaced with a *-j* in the Slovene orthography (under ③ <9> in Table 1, example: *samuraj*). This replacement, which may be called “slovenization” in writing and speaking, occurs most probably because of similar Slovene words with the ending *-aj /-ai/* (e.g. *čuvaj* ‘custodian’; *papagaj* ‘parrot’), and because the borrowed words may then be declined more easily in the same manner as the existing Slovene words, i.e. *čuvaj* [nom], *čuvaja* [gen], *čuvaju* [dat]; *samuraj*, *samuraja* *samuraju*.

Today’s most frequent and worldwide way to romanize Japanese is the Hepburn romanization developed in the late 19th century. On the other hand, the modern Slovene uses a set of Latin alphabet called “gajica” (Gaj’s alphabet) devised by Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj in 1835, based on Jan Hus’s Czech alphabet. The principle of Gaj’s alphabet is that every sound should have only one letter. Japanese consonants for which digraphs are used in the Hepburn system, i.e. *ch*, *ts* and *sh*, are rewritten in the course of borrowing by one letter in Slovene, in case of *ts* by *c*, in case of *ch* and *sh* with a caron (or a hachek=inverted circumflex), *č* and *š* (examples: *tsunami* → *cunami*; *matcha* → *mača*³; *shiitake* → *šitake*⁴). The sound spelled *j* /*ʃ*/ in the Hepburn system is

³ Here is an additional adjustment with the glottal stop, described in the followig paragraph.

⁴ Here, too, is an additional adjustment with the long vowel, described in the following paragraph.

written with the corresponding *ž* or with the digraph *dž* in Slovene. The letter *y* is not used in Slovene (except for foreign proper nouns), and the sound represented by *y* in the Hepburn system is spelled with *j* in Slovene (example: *yakuza* → *jakuza*).

Other disputable points in orthography and phonology are the opposition of long and short vowels: this distinction in Japanese is not expressed in everyday press in English, German etc., and since Slovene also has no distinction of long and short vowels, the originally Japanese loanwords lose this distinction in the Slovene environment (i.e. *budô* → *budo*). A similar problem exists with the glottal stop usually romanized in the Hepburn system as a double consonant. The Slovene authority is of the opinion that a double consonant of foreign origin must be rewritten with a single consonant. Therefore, loanwords are spelled (and pronounced) *mača* for *matcha*, *šitake* for *shiitake*.

Orthography is closely connected to phonology. Some cases at this phase of borrowing changes the phonetic form of the borrowed word, and its consequence is the audial and morphological ‘deformation’ (from the standpoint of the original language) or ‘integration’ (from the standpoint of the new language into which the word is being borrowed). The “slovenized” forms may sometimes trigger association with similar lexical items in Slovene, for example, *sushi* → *suši*, which is similar to the Slovene verb *sušiti* ‘to dry’. The nominalization of this Slovene verb leads to the noun *suša* “draught”, of which the dative or locative form would be *suši*, which may confuse some users of the Slovene language when they encounter a new loanword *suši* to indicate a Japanese dish.

2.3 Lexical and morphophonological obstacles

If a borrowed noun cannot be used freely in the new environment due to some lexical or morphophonological conditions, it leads to the question of whether or not the word will gain its position as a loanword. The following conditions may decide if a word can completely integrate into the Slovene language or not:

- A. lexical space
- B. morphophonological clearness
- C. possibility for further derivation

The first condition above, A, has been explained in the previous section with the example *suši*. If the place to be accepted, in this case the Slovene lexicon, is “crowded”, it is difficult for the new word to gain its position as a part of the lexicon. There are cases when a new word may be too short or too long, or phonologically strange or impossible to be used in the new environment (condition B above). *Ukiyo-e* is such an example. According to the corpus Gigafida⁵, this word is used only in this form (in

⁵ The Gigafida corpus is an extensive collection of Slovene text of various genres, from daily newspapers, magazines, all kinds of books (fiction, non-fiction, textbooks), web pages, transcriptions

nominative) without any declined case forms. In fact, the morpheme *e*, “picture” in Japanese, is very short and there is already a headword “*e*” in Slovene dictionaries (an interjection). Besides, this short borrowed word is used in the Slovene environment only as a terminology in art history, in combination with the concept *ukiyo*. Though there have been exhibitions of the Japanese woodcut prints in Slovenia, and this genre of art has become quite popular in Europe and also in Slovenia, the word is not found in the existing Slovene dictionaries as a loanword. For a comparison, a similar word composition *yamato-e*, in the partly slovenized form *jamato-e*, was used in 1999, according to the corpus Gigafida, but much less often than *ukiyo-e*.

2.4 Derivation of adjectives and further development

On the other hand, flexibility and creativity of the users of Slovene can be felt in cases when new words are derived from the loanwords of Japanese origin (condition C above). The derivation is possible when and only when a loanword is felt quite integrated and used frequently in the new Slovene environment, so that there is the urge among the users to derive new words according to the Slovene grammatical rules. In case of the present research, there are some adjectives derived from loanwords of Japanese origin (phase c. in Figure 1):

haiku → *haikujevski/haikujski* “of haiku, in the manner of haiku”
samuraj → *samurajski/samurajev* “of samurai, samurai’s”
kamikaze → *kamikazov/kamikazin* “kamikaze’s”

Both words of the first example are mentioned in the present Slovene etymological dictionary as a subentry under the headword *haiku*, and it seems that the two forms are competing with each other. The second and third examples are found in the dictionary of Slovene orthography, *ePravopis Slovenian Normative Guide*⁶, both as headwords.

According to the existing dictionary entries, some other loanwords from Japanese are used as adjectives in their noun forms, without deriving a new adjective. In the traditional Slovene grammar, such adjectival use of a noun, usually placed before the head noun of the phrase, is not recommended, but such expressions are gaining ground in Slovene due to the recent influence from the English language, e.g. *shiatsu*: *V Švici je opravila študij shiatsu terapije in zdrave prehrane.* (=In Switzerland she completed the study of *shiatsu therapy and healthy diet.*). Similarly, there is an adjectival use of the

of parliamentary debates and similar. It contains almost 1.2 billion words, or exactly 1,187,002,502 words. (accessed 16.9.2018: <http://eng.slovenscina.eu/korpusi/gigafida>)

⁶ ePravopis Slovenski pravopis 2014 – 2017, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU

noun *sumo*: *sumo borec* (*sumo wrestler* in English), but in this case, there is also an entry in the dictionary as one word, i.e. a further derivation in Slovene: *súmobórec*.⁷

3 Loanwords of Japanese origin in Slovene dictionaries

The abbreviated label “jap”, meaning “*japonščina, japonski* (=Japanese language, Japanese)”, was used to search for loanwords from Japanese which are recorded as headwords in today’s Slovene dictionaries. This was done on the internet portal Fran:

The *Fran* portal brings together dictionaries, Slovenian linguistic sources and portals that took shape or are currently under development at the *Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language* at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU), as well as dictionaries that have undergone the process of retrodigitization within the Institute’s framework.⁸

Total 34 headwords were found with the label “jap” in the following three dictionaries:

1. eSSKJ Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika 2016 –2017
(=Dictionary of the Slovenian Standard Language, 3rd Edition)
2. Slovenski etimološki slovar³ 2015
(=Slovenian Etymological Dictionary, 3rd edition)
3. Slovar novejšega besedja slovenskega jezika 2014
(=Dictionary of New Slovenian Words)

Table 2 is the list of these 34 loanwords labeled “jap” in the three dictionaries. In the table, the headwords (in nominative and genitive forms, as it is usually the case in dictionaries) are listed in alphabetical order, with their assigned gender, and the name of the dictionary in which it is mentioned, the original word in today’s Japanese, and other data and comments. As can be seen, there are 35 headwords listed, but numbers 6 and 13 are one and the same concept, only spelled differently in two different dictionaries (*džudo* and *judo*).

There are certainly much more borrowings from Japanese in today’s Slovene. For example, the list of Slovene words of Japanese origin in Wikipedia has currently 153 entries.⁹ Some examples in this paper were also taken from elsewhere (corpus Gigafida) to illustrate the process of borrowing and obstacles: *ukiyo-e* etc.

⁷ Dictionary of the Slovenian Standard Language, 3rd Edition

⁸ <https://fran.si/o-portalu>

⁹ https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seznam_slovenskih_besed_japonskega_izvora, most recent changes on 5. January, 2018. (accessed 16. 9. 2018)

Here, the scope is within the limit of the label “jap” which indicates that the words are recognized by Slovene lexicographers as loanwords from Japanese, and they exist and have been used in the Slovenian context at least for some time. The 34 loanwords are analyzed below in relation to the assignment of gender and number, phonological adjustment, etymology and semantic fields.

Table 2: Loanwords of Japanese origin in Slovene

No. Headword	Gen.	Dictionary	Japanese	Other information	Sem. field
1 aikido aikida	m	eSSKJ, SNB	あいきどう 合気道	Eng. aikido	《2》
2 animé -êja	m	SNB	アニメ	Eng. anime	《4》
3 búto -a	m	SNB	ぶとう 舞踏	also <i>butoh -a</i> Eng. butoh	《4》
4 cunámi -ja	m	SNB	つなみ 津波	also <i>tsunami -ja</i> (SSKJ) Eng. tsunami	《6》
5 džîudžicu -a	m	Etym.	じゅうじゅつ 柔術	Germ. Jiu-Jitsu or Eng. jiu-jitsu, ju-jitsu	《2》
6 džúdo -a	m	Etym.	じゅうどう 柔道	Germ. Judo, Eng. judo	《2》
7 gêjša -e	f	Etym.	げいしゃ 芸者	Germ. Geisha and Eng. geisha	《4》
8 gô -ja	m	Etym.	ご 碁	Germ. Go	《5》
9 haiku -ja	m	SNB	はいく 俳句	<i>haiku</i> ² – adjectival use <i>haikujevski, haikujski</i> Eng. haiku	《4》
10 harakîri -ja	m	Etym.	はらき 腹切り	Germ. Harakiri	《3》
11 ikebâna -e	f	Etym.	い ばな 生け花	Germ. Ikebana	《4》
12 jakúza -e	m	SNB	やくざ	Eng. yakuza	
13 judo juda	m	eSSKJ	じゅうどう 柔道	[júdo] and [džúdo] Germ. Judo, Eng. judo	《2》
14 káki ¹ -ja	m	Etym.	かき 柿	<i>kaki</i> ² Khaki It. cachi and New Latin (Diospyrus) kaki	《1》
15 kamikâze -e/-am		Etym.	かみかぜ 神風	Germ. Kamikaze and Eng. kamikaze	《6》
16 karaóke -ók karaôke -ôk	f pl.	SNB, Etym.	カラオケ	Eng. karaoke	《5》
17 karatê -ja	m	Etym.	からて 空手	Germ. Karate	《2》
18 katána -e	f	SNB	かたな 刀	Eng. katana, Germ. Katana	《3》

No. Headword	Gen.	Dictionary	Japanese	Other information	Sem. field
19 kimono -a	m	Etym.	きもの 着物	Germ. Kimono	
20 mánga -e	f	SNB	まんが 漫画	Eng. manga	《4》
21 náši -ja	m	SNB	なし 梨	also <i>nashi -ja</i> Eng. nashi	《1》
22 níndža -e	m	SNB	にんじゃ 忍者	Eng. ninja	《3》
23 reiki -ja	m	SNB	れいき 靈氣	in alternative medicine Eng. reiki, Germ. Reiki	《7》
24 rikša rikše rikša -e	f	eSSKJ, Etym.	りきしゃ 力車	Germ. Rikscha, Jap. jinrikisha	
25 samurâj -a	m	Etym.	さむらい 侍	Germ. Samurai, Fr. samurai, samourai,	《3》
26 sêjtan -a	m	SNB	せいたん	also <i>seitan -a</i> Eng. seitan, Germ. Seitan	《1》
27 shiatsu ¹ —/ -ja	m	SNB	しあつ 指圧	[šijácu] also <i>šíácu —/ -ja</i> <i>shiatsu</i> ² adjectival use Eng. shiatsu, Germ. Shiatsu	《7》
28 sôja -e	f	Etym.	—	German Soja, Dutch soja	《1》
29 sudóku -ja	m	SNB	すうどく 数独	Eng. sudoku	《5》
30 súmo ¹ -a	m	SNB	すもう 相撲	Eng. sumo, German Sumo <i>súmo</i> ² adjectival use	《2》
31 súši -ja	m	SNB	すし 寿司	Eng. sushi	《1》
32 šitáka -e	f	SNB	しいたけ 椎茸	usually plural also <i>šitáke</i> — Eng. shiitake	《1》
33 tajkún -a	m	SNB	たいくん 大君	Eng. tycoon Ch. taijun	
34 tamagóči -ja	m	SNB	たまごっち	Eng Tamagotchi	《5》
35 tofú -ja	m	SNB	とうふ 豆腐	Eng. tofu Ch. doufu	《1》

3.1 Gender and number assignment

33 headwords out of 34 are categorized as singular. There is one exceptional case, *karaoke*, to which plural number is assigned. The reason seems to be the semantic analogy of Slovene speakers. In Slovenia, there are several place names with the feminine plural ending *-e*, e.g. Jesenice, Medvode etc. Since *karaoke* is perceived as a certain place where singing takes place, the word was accepted to Slovene as a plurale tantum. The word started to appear in the middle of 1990s in Slovene texts, and it is

now regularly used as a plural noun. In all other cases, words ending in the vowel *-a* are feminine, words with endings *-e*, *-i*, *-o* and *-u* are masculine singular. In case of *shiitake*, the original form for a sort of mushrooms was understood by the Slovene users as plural, and the singular form was created with the ending vowel *-a*, *šitaka*, which is now the headword in the dictionary. The word for ‘mushroom’ in Slovene is *goba* and has the vowel ending *-a*, which may have triggered this creation. It is interesting to observe that all words with more than two syllables with the ending vowel *-o* has the Slovene genitive ending *-a*, while the one-syllable word *go* is declined with the extension for foreign words *-j-*, therefore, when declined, *go* [nom], *goja* [gen], *goju* [dat] and so on. It is to be noted that among these words which end in *-o*, *buto*, *judo* and *sumo* originally had a long vowel *-ô* in Japanese. Particularly such short words may cause difficulties in communication when they are used in other declined forms (*buta* [gen], *butu* [dat], *z butom* [inst]).

3.2 Phonological adjustment

All long vowels *ô* and *û* in original Japanese lose their length when accepted as loanwords in Slovene. However, it is not the case with the long vowel *ê*. Since they are written in the Japanese orthography as a sequence of two syllables, i.e. *-e* followed by an *i*, they have kept the form of two consecutive vowels *e* and *i* in Latin alphabet. Some of them went through the orthography adjustment in the same manner as the sequence *-a* followed by an *i* which was mentioned in section 1.2 above, *ai* → *aj*. Therefore, *-ei* → *-ej*: *geisha* → *gejša*, *seitan* → *sejtan*.

While Japanese is a pitch-accent language, Slovene is a stress-accent language.¹⁰ Generally, the stress falls on the second syllable from the last in Slovene. All words on the list in Table 2 abide by this Slovene rule. It is interesting to observe that the two-syllable words *kaki* ‘persimmon’ and *naši* ‘Japanese pear’ also get the stress accent on the second syllable from the last, i.e. the first syllable in the word, so if they are heard by users of the standard kantô dialect Japanese, they would suggest another meaning, *kaki* as ‘oyster’ 牡蠣 and *naši* as ‘none’ 無し, respectively.

Some of the spellings and pronunciation of the loanwords reveal the history of these words/concepts outside Japan: *džiudžicu* (*jûjutsu*) and *džudo* (*jûdô*). For the former case, the German and English variants were obviously from the time before the Japanese reform for modern *kana* usage in 1946. The *Fran* portal also has a section of language and terminological counselling, and a question of how to spell ‘jûjutsu’ in Slovene was answered in detail in August 2015.¹¹ However, the generally circulated version, *džiudžicu*, is still the headword in the etymological dictionary. In the latter case,

¹⁰ Some dialects in Slovenia retain the tonal accent system even today, but two thirds of Slovenia do not practice the tonal accent, and ‘standard’ Slovene is said to be a stress-accent language.

¹¹ <https://svetovalnica.zrc-sazu.si/topic/993/kako-pisati-ime-športa-jujutsu> (accessed 16. 9. 2018)

the newer version *judo* is regularly used. The sport is very popular among Slovene children and adults. The widely practiced pronunciation is /judo/ ユド and outweighs the variant /džudo/ ジュド.

3.3 Etymology

The dictionary entries contain detailed etymological information, i.e. from which languages these loanwords were taken by Slovene users. None of the 34 loanwords were borrowed directly from Japanese, but most of them through German (6 words), English (14 words) or both German and English (9 words). Other than these, *kaki* (the fruit persimmon) came through Italian and New Latin, *samuraj* through German and French, *taikun* and *tofu* are said to be taken over from English with the help of Chinese forms, *taijun* and *doufu*. In the case of *soja* (*soya* in English), the etymological dictionary says that the loanword came through English and Dutch and the original form in Japanese is *shōyu*. This may be one of the oldest loanwords in Slovene with their origin in Japan, since the Dutch were present in Japan in the beginning of 17th century. It may be that the meaning has shifted in the lapse of time from “soy sauce” to “soy beans”, since beans are called *daizu* in Japanese. Another interesting word on the list is *sejtan* or *seitan* in English. This word is not commonly known in today’s Japan. According to sources, *seitan* is another name for gluten meat. The word was coined in 1961 by George Ôsawa (in Japan Yukikazu Sakurazawa), a Japanese advocate of the macrobiotic diet. In Japanese, the *katakana* naming (a loanword from the West) “guruten mîto” is more usual. It is not known exactly how *seitan* should be written in Japanese. Possible variations are 正蛋, 生蛋, 製蛋.¹²

3.4 Semantic fields

The 34 loanwords of Japanese origin were classified into groups according to their semantics. The numbers on the far right in Table 2 show the following semantic classes:

《1》	Cooking and food	7 words
《2》	Sports and martial arts	6 words
《3》	Samurai culture	4 words
《4》	Art	6 words
《5》	Games and toys	4 words
《6》	Climate	2 words
《7》	Health and medicine	2 words

The number of loanwords taken into account is small (34), and they may not be necessarily classified into these seven separate groups as listed above. These semantic

¹² Wikipedia “Wheat gluten”/グルテンミート. Available at <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/グルテンミート> (accessed 17. 9. 2018).

classes were named just according to my personal intuition, though existing namings of concepts were also taken into account.¹³ The classes «2» and «3» for example, are conceptually quite close, but the concepts of rather old origin (up to the end of Edo period) are grouped together under «3», and more or less “neutral” namings of sports and martial arts are in «2». The semantic class of “Art” «4» is also very various, from the traditional Japanese art of *ikebana* to new popular culture of *anime* and *manga*, as well as from such visual art to literal art of *haiku*, and so on. It is also interesting that the board game *go* is popular among Slovene people since 1960s¹⁴, but next to this rather traditional game, there are new games of *karaoke* and *sudoku*, of which the namings are already accepted into Slovene.

In relation to the semantics of the loanwords listed in Table 2, special attention should be paid to the dictionary entry of the word *cunami*. The entry lists two separate meanings, one for the physical phenomenon of tsunami, the second for an expressive use of this word in context (the following example in journalism): *žal se nam dogaja cunami odpuščanja delavcev, zlasti delavk* (“a tsunami of dismissing workers, especially female workers, is unfortunately happening to us”). Such expressiveness of the users of loanwords is a vital reason for borrowed words to be stabilized as a lexical entry in the recipient language in the process of borrowing.

4 Image of Japan through loanwords

Image of Japan among Slovenes may be given by the types of loanwords in Slovene. Since the phonetic and orthographic appearance of loanwords are adjusted to the environment in the Slovene context, their “Japaneseness” do not always persist. Particularly in case of ‘happily’ slovenized words, some speakers and users of Japanese may be surprised to know their origin.

For the creative competence of the local people borrowing words of foreign origin, the following may be confirmed¹⁵:

1. For the effective use of loanwords in communication, grammatical knowledge of the source language is not required.
2. Foreign words are borrowed into the existing grammatical framework of the recipient language. Users of the recipient language find a proper place for each new word, if and only if they have a semantic reason for borrowing.

The close analysis of dictionary entries revealed some interesting cases of integration of Japanese concepts, customs, cultural and natural phenomena into the

¹³ For example, the list of Slovene words of Japanese origin mentioned under footnote 9 above.

¹⁴ <http://www.go-zveza.si/gzs/go-drustvo-ljubljana> (Society of Go in Ljubljana, accessed, 16. 9. 2018)

¹⁵ Also in Shigemori Bučar (2011, pp. 259-260).

language practice in Slovenia. The practice of borrowing from Japanese into Slovene does not have a very long history. But we discovered some older cases of borrowing, though with the help of other European languages, e.g. *soja* going back to 17th century (?), *džjudžicu* certainly going back to the time before 1946. Image of Japan, at least through the loanwords, is in the area of culinary experience and creation (7 headwords classified under «1» Cooking and food) and in traditional sports which are surprisingly popular and persistent among Slovenes (6 headwords under «2» Sports and martial arts). Other semantic classes showed mixed nature of old and new, haiku and anime, kamikaze and tsunami, go and sudoku.

In this rapidly changing world, it would be exciting to see more derivations with originally Japanese elements (*sumoborec*, *kamikazni kombi* = “suicidal minivan”) and metaphorical and expressive use of loanwords (“a tsunami of dismissing workers”).

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Abbreviations

[dat]	dative case
Eng.	English
Etym.	Slovenian Etymological Dictionary
f	female
Fr.	French
[gen]	genitive case
Germ.	German
[inst]	instrumental case
It.	Italian
m	male
[nom]	nominative case
mn.	plural
SNB	Dictionary of New Slovenian Words
SSKJ	Dictionary of the Slovenian Standard Language