

**The Sinification of Japanese:
Non-linear increase in the usage of Sino-Japanese loanwords**

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Abstract

This paper examines the Sino-Japanese (SJ) loanwords frequencies in literary works from Early Middle Japanese, in response to data cited in Frellesvig (2010). Frellesvig claims that lexical frequency of SJ loanwords increases over time as SJ loanwords become established in use. By surveying additional literary works of different genre, topic, and writing style, it's shown that these factors also influence the loanword frequency. By examining data given in previous studies, discrepancies found in Frellesvig are also corrected and more evidence for the fluctuation in the SJ loanword frequency is also provided based on genre, topic, and writing style.

1. Introduction

The Japanese have adopted the use of Chinese characters in their writing system since the purported introduction of Chinese texts of *Senjimon* and *Analects* by Wani (王仁) during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (応神天皇) according to *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters). Though the earlier writings in *Kojiki* and *Manyōshū* are difficult to read for later generations due to the *kanji* being used as a borrowed syllable or a native gloss (Old Japanese), eventually Japanese script of *hiragana* and *katakana* were developed and used in the Heian period (Early Middle Japanese). *Kanji* and Japanese syllabary were then used concurrently in writings of the Heian period. This short paper attempts to address to what extent words of Chinese origin were used in Japanese vernacular in Middle Japanese (Heian to Kamakura periods), as an expanded discussion of Frellesvig (2010). He claims that the use of Sino-Japanese (SJ) loanwords (or *kango* 漢語) increased steadily in Japanese prose writing through the Early Middle Japanese period (800-1200). However, by using data from previous studies, particularly Tsukishima (1984) and Miyajima (1971), and surveying lexicon usage in additional classical literary works, I will show that the use of SJ loanwords does not necessarily increase linearly with time, but is dependent upon the writing style and topic. In what follows, I first discuss previous studies, and then, present my analyses of *Genji monogatari* and *Konjaku monogatari* among others. Section 4 provides the discussion of the SJ trend and my concluding remarks are in section 5.

2. Previous Studies

Suzuki (2007) is probably the most recent study that contains a review of a list of diachronic studies of loanwords throughout Japanese history that include not only Chinese but also other European languages. For Early Middle Japanese (800-1200), the time period concerned in this study, there are several key studies. Miyajima's (1971) study on SJ loanword frequency on texts such as *Manyōshū*, *Kagerō nikki*, *Makura no sōshi*, *Murasakishikibu nikki*, *Sarashina nikki*, *Ōkagami*, and *Tsurezuregusa* provides a comparison in SJ loanword usage from the Nara period to the Kamakura period. Tsukishima (1984) also conducted a similar study on the usage of SJ loanwords, but across various genres, including poetry, prose, *kanji-kana majiribun*, a style using a combination of Chinese characters and Japanese kana, *hentai kanbun* (deviant Chinese), *kanbun kundokubun* (Japanese readings of Chinese passages), and dictionaries. The works Tsukishima surveyed include poetry from *Kokinwakashū*, prose in tale or diary format such as *Taketori monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, *Tosa nikki*, prose written in *kanji-kana majiribun* from *Konjaku monogatari shū*, temple records written in *hentai kanbun*, Buddhist text on the legend of Genjō written in *kanbun kundokubun*, and lastly definitions of items from *Wamyōruijushō* 和名類聚抄.

Frellesvig's (2010) discussion of SJ loanwords is important because it is one of the few publications in English that try to provide an account on the usage and development of SJ loanwords in Early Middle Japanese. He shows the "steady increase" of SJ loanwords in Early Middle Japanese (2010: 286). He establishes two kinds of explanation on the use of "Chinese" in Japan. The earliest is that of 'Japano-Chinese' (J-Ch), an adapted form of Chinese pronunciation used in Old Japanese, however, the phonetics of J-Ch is unknown (2010: 16). Frellesvig then defines Sino-Japanese as "a nativization of J-Ch, removing it from the realm of a foreign language and providing a nativized pronunciation norm of kanji, which derives from J-Ch, but which in contrast to J-Ch is in full conformity with Japanese phonology and can be used within Japanese" (2010: 278). Frellesvig gives examples of the earliest SJ loanwords from Chinese in Old Japanese, including *popusi* (法師, 'monk, priest'), *rikizi* (力士, 'strong-man'), *syauzi* (生死, 'living and dying'), *tapu* (塔, 'stupa') (2010: 285).

In demonstrating the increased usage of SJ loanwords, Frellesvig relies on previously published data by Tsukishima (1969: 588-9; 1987: 277-8). In comparing the text frequency and lexical frequency, there is discrepancy in the percentage that Frellesvig provides. *Genji monogatari* has 12.6% text frequency of SJ loanwords, yet only 4.8 % lexical frequency of SJ loanwords, summarized in Table 1. Note that the text frequency is the percentage based on how many times all SJ words tokens are used divided by the total number of word count in a running text, while lexical frequency is the percentage of different words obtained from the number of unique SJ words divided by the total number of unique words in a given text.

Table 1. Text and Lexical frequency of SJ loanwords in Frellesvig (2010: 286)

	Text frequency	Lexical frequency
<i>Genji monogatari</i>	12.6%	4.8%
<i>Konjaku monogatari</i>	NA	14.0%
<i>Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den</i>	43%	85.8%

The lexical frequency of SJ loanwords should be higher than the text frequency of SJ loanwords. For example, *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den* is an account of the life of Xuanzang, and the high SJ lexical frequency found in its *kundokubun* (Japanese reading of classical Chinese) can be attributed to the large number of Buddhist terms. The SJ text frequency of the same material is lower because Japanese words are used more often than SJ words, as seen later in Table 3. The lexical frequency of SJ loanwords for *Konjaku monogatarishū* also seems low, given that it is written in *kanji-kana majiribun*, which is similar to *kundokubun*. The next section examines the sources Frellesvig cites in order to confirm the given data. In addition, a longer list of SJ

loanword usage in classical literary works is compiled by surveying results available from previous studies.

3. Examination of SJ loanword data

The discrepancies noted in Table 1 are checked against the primary sources. Furthermore, to show that the use of SJ loanwords increases through a time period, lexical frequency (number of unique words, which is an absolute value) should be the value compared across different literary works instead of text frequency (number of times words are used, which is relative to each text). In Frellesvig’s table, the number of works listed is limited. This study will survey additional literary works from available previous studies. Examples of SJ loanword lexicons used in each literary work are also listed, to indicate what type of vocabulary contributed to the higher SJ loanword frequency.

3.1 Confirmation of SJ loanword lexical frequency in *Genji monogatari*

Tsukishima (1984: 18) cites the data based on Ikeda’s (1953) “*Genji monogatari taisei sakuinhen*,” which is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Lexical Frequency of *Genji monogatari* (counts based on *sakuin* list in Ikeda 1953)

<i>Genji monogatari</i>	Unique words			
Japanese words 和語	14079	(94.1%)		
Chinese words 漢語	712	(4.8%)	Sum of Chinese and compound words	888 (5.9%)
Compound words 和漢複合語	176	(1.2%)		
Total	14967	(~100%)		
False transcription			1888	(12.6% of total)

The word count reported is lexical frequency (% of different words), and there is no text frequency (token count, % of words in running text) data tabulated for *Genji monogatari*. The false numerical count of 12.6% comes from a transcription error that occurred in Tsukishima (1969) when an extra ‘1’ is inserted before the combined count of Chinese and compound word count of 888. The correct numbers are given in Tsukishima (1984). Tsukishima (1984) also reports both the unique word count for lexical frequency and the token count (使用回数) for text frequency for *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den* are based on his earlier work (Tsukishima 1965-1967). Since the word count reported for *Genji monogatari* is only lexical frequency based on unique word count, it should not have been listed in the same table as the token count of *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den*, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Lexical frequency and usage count for *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den* in Tsukishima (1965, reported again in 1984: 24)

<i>Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den</i>	Lexical Count	Overall Usage Count 使用回数
Japanese words 和語	1657 (14.2%)	27406 (56.6%)
Chinese words 漢語	10037 (85.8%)	20989 (43.4%)
Total	11694 (100%)	48395 (100%)

The purpose of the usage count information in Table 3 is to show that despite the higher number of SJ loanwords present in *Daijionji sanzōhōshi-den*, Japanese words are utilized more frequently.

3.2 Confirmation of SJ loanword lexical frequency in *Konjaku monogatari*

Given that *Konjaku monogatari* contains many didactic tales that relate to Buddhism and also historical tales about famous characters in China, one would expect high frequency of SJ loanwords. The number of SJ loanwords in *Konjaku monogatari* cited by Frellesvig is low (14% from Table 1) because only words under the ア行 are counted, and is therefore only a sample count, instead of a comprehensive count of the entire text. (Japanese and SJ loanword distribution across Japanese syllables may not be proportional as well.) Tsukishima (1984: 22) also notes that the SJ loanword frequency would likely to be much higher in tales from the India and China sections. In a separate study by Ariga (1982), based on Minegishi (1974), it is shown that SJ loanword lexical frequency based on unique word count in *Konjaku monogatari* is as high as 42% (see Table 4 below).

Table 4. Lexical frequency of *Konjaku monogatari* in Tsukishima (1984) and Ariga (1982: 358)

	Lexical frequency of SJ loanwords
<i>Konjaku monogatari</i> (1120) [ア行]	479 (14%) [ア行]
<i>Konjaku monogatari</i> (1120)	7908 (42%)

3.3 Survey of SJ loanword usage in additional literary works

This section surveys the usage and types of SJ loanword found in classical literary works in Early Middle Japanese (800-1200). The numbers reported in Tsukishima (1969) for *Ise monogatari* and *Tosa nikki* seem to have small errors as well. If the numbers reported in Tsukishima (1984) are used to generate a lexical frequency comparison, Table 5 would be a more accurate reflection of SJ loanword usage. Miyajima's (1971) study on SJ loanword frequency on texts such as *Manyōshū*, *Kagerō nikki*, *Makura no sōshi*, *Murasaki shikibu nikki*,

Sarashina nikki, *Ōkagami*, and *Tsurezuregusa* is also incorporated in Table 5, providing a more thorough depiction of the increase in SJ loanword usage from the Nara period to the Kamakura period. Ariga's count on *Konjaku monogatari* and Nishida's (1978) study on *Heike monogatari* are included in Table 5 as well. Following Tsukishima's (1984), in chronological order of the literary works, I discuss the types of SJ loanword lexicon utilized to demonstrate why certain works may have higher SJ loanword frequency. In Table 5, the data marked with * are from Miyajima (1971), which was cited in Suzuki (2007: 55), and those with ** are from Sakanashi and Tsukimoto (2001: 81).

Manyōshū, the oldest poetry anthology in Japan, utilized *kanji* in either *kun* (native gloss) or *on* (Chinese syllable) readings to express Japanese vocabulary. Of the few SJ loanwords that were used, they can be divided into Buddhist terminology (group A) and non-Buddhist terminology (group B) that include court titles, games, and plants (Satō 1982: 67).

(1) Buddhist terminology (A)

餓鬼 (*gaki*), 女餓鬼 (*megaki*), 男餓鬼 (*wogaki*), 布施 (*fuse*), 香 (*kau*), 塔 (*tahu*), 力士舞 (*rikijimahi*), 法師 (*hohushi*), 檀越 (*daniwochi*), 無何有乃郷 (*mugaunokehu*), 藐姑射能山 (*hakoyanoyama*), ¹ 婆羅門 (*baramoni*), 生死 (*shauji*)

(2) Non-Buddhist terminology (B)

過所 (*kuwaso*), 双六 (*suguroku*), 左叡 (*saei*), 皂菜 (*saukehu*), 五位 (*gowi*), 朝参 (*teusan*), 画 (*we*)

Table 5. Summary of lexical frequency reported in Tsukishima (1984) with Miyajima (1971)

	Different (異なる語数) and Lexical Frequency of SJ Loanwords 漢語 (% of different words)
<i>Manyōshū</i> (late 7 th to late 8 th century)	20 (0.3%)*
<i>Taketori monogatari</i> (late 9 th century)	96 (7.9%)
<i>Ise monogatari</i> (mid 10 th century)	86 (5.8%)
<i>Tosa nikki</i> (935)	63 (5.9%)
<i>Utsubo monogatari</i> (late 10 th century, circa 970)	94 (4.4%)
<i>Kagerō Diary</i> (974)	236 (6.6%)**
<i>Makura no sōshi</i> (1004)	641 (12.2%)*
<i>Genji monogatari</i> (1008)	712 (4.8%)

¹ “Hakoya no yama” is a place name of particular interest because in the *Book of Zhuangzi*, it is recorded that celestial beings reside on the mountain.

<i>Murasaki shikibu Diary</i> (1008)	277 (11.2%)**
<i>Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari</i> (late Heian 1055)	128 (5.7%)
<i>Sarashina Diary</i> (1059)	146 (7.5%)**
<i>Ōkagami</i> (The Great Mirror, 1086-1123)	1330 (27.6%)**
<i>Konjaku monogatari</i> (1120)	7908 (42%)
<i>Hōjōki</i> (1212)	238 (20.5%)
<i>Heike monogatari</i> (<i>Kakuichibon</i> , 14 th century)	(22.06%) ²
<i>Tsurezuregusa</i> (1331)	1191 (28.1%)*

Taketori monogatari, the earliest prose written in vernacular Japanese, stands out among other fictional prose writing of the mid-Heian period in having a higher count of SJ loanwords. According to Satō (1982: 68), the high percentage of SJ loanwords is due to its use of courtier titles, numbers, Buddhist terms, treasures, clothing names, as well as SJ loanwords used in verb forms. *Ise monogatari* has a comparable number of SJ loanwords as *Taketori monogatari*. A sampling of SJ loanwords from *Ise monogatari* reflect that they are mostly vocabulary related to courtier titles and place names as in (3) (Tsukishima 1984: 17).

- (3) 安祥寺 (*anjyauji*), 右近 (*ukon*), 右大将 (*udaishau*), 陰陽師 (*omuyauji*), 九条 (*kujau*), 宮内卿 (*kunaikyau*), etc.

Utsubo monogatari (*The Tale of the Hollow Tree*) depicts courtship and politics of the aristocracy, and a *koto* (a musical instrument) with miraculous powers. It includes SJ loanwords such as those in (4) (Tsukishima 1984: 18).

- (4) 愛敬 (*aigyau*), 鸚鵡 (*aumu*), 惡毒 (*akudoku*), 惡念 (*akunen*), 惡魔国 (*akumakoku*), 阿修羅 (*ashura*), 阿弥陀三昧 (*amidasanmai*)

Written as *zuihitsu* (literary jottings), *Makura no sōshi* is notable for its high frequency of SJ loanwords. Though much shorter in length, *Makura no sōshi* uses SJ loanwords in similar extent

² Hachiya (1981: 17) says that the number cited is based on Nishida's research (1978: 151). However, Nishida's methodology is different from Hachiya's in that the % SJ loanwords is not based on total count, but a sub-count within 基層語 (*kisōgo*, 'foundational lexicons'), only words used above a certain frequency are considered. Nishida considers that the SJ loanword usage should not just be based on lexical frequency if obscure SJ loanwords are used rarely. He performs a token count first, and conducts a unique SJ loanword count within in the high token count group.

to the *Genji monogatari* (641 versus 712). This may be due to frequent mention of courtier titles and allusions to Chinese classics, including the poetry of Bai Juyi by Sei Shōnagon. For example, in passage 6 of *Makura no sōshi*, Sei Shōnagon mentions the anecdote regarding Yu Dingguo (于定國) in her conversation with Narimasa, who held the court position of *daijin* (大進). Narimasa jested that if one isn't a distinguished scholar in the rank of *shinji* (進士), there would be difficulty understanding Sei Shōnagon's witty reference. Courtier titles under *u* include those in (5) (Sakakibara 1968: index, 17-22).³

- (5) 右京 (*ukyau*), 右近 (*ukon*), 右近内侍 (*ukon no naishi*), 右大將 (*udaisyau*), 内大臣 (*uchi no otodo*), 内大殿 (*uchi no ohoidono*), 右中將 (*uchiyuujiyau*), 右衛門大夫 (*uwemon no taihu*)

After confirming numbers in Table 2 from Section 3.1, *Genji monogatari* is shown to have only 4.8% in the SJ loanword frequency. Given that it's a tale about aristocrats and court life, courtier titles would likely to be used in same, if not higher frequency as in *Makura no sōshi*. Buddhist terms that express characters' religious beliefs are also used. Examples of SJ loanwords starting with *a* given by Tsukishima include those in (6) (Tsukishima 1984: 18).

- (6) 愛敬 (*aigyau*), 愛執 (*aisyuhu*), 惡靈 (*akuryau*), 案内 (*anai/annai*), 阿弥陀 (*amida*)

Similar to *Makura no sōshi*, *Murasakishikibu nikki* also contains a rather high percentage of SJ loanwords at 11.2% compared to 4.8% for *Genji monogatari*. This is probably also attributed to the numerous courtier titles that appear in Murasaki's record of life at court. For example, the section describing the prayer for safe delivery for Empress Shōshi includes numerous titles for the various lady in waiting and also courtier titles of the members of the Fujiwara Michinaga family who were present during the service (Fujioka et al. 1994: 133).

The historical tale *Ōkagami* (The Great Mirror), written in *kana majiribun*, has a high SJ loanword frequency of 27.6%. One major reason may be due to the high number of courtier titles used, similar to *Makura no sōshi* and *Murasakishikibu nikki*. Furthermore, there are also usages of the proper names of various historical emperors, years of reign, and place names, etc. that contribute to SJ loanword count.⁴

³ Not all Japanese courtier titles are not natively Chinese per say, but they are counted as SJ loanwords / 漢語 as adopted and used by Japanese, instead of “purely” Chinese.

⁴ I am following the examples set by previous studies for the sake of comparison, as their numbers include proper names and place names.

As mentioned before, *Konjaku monogatari*shū contains many didactic tales that relate to Buddhism and also historical tales about famous characters in China, and thus has a SJ loanword frequency as high as 42%. Of the 7908 SJ loanwords, 86.4% are nouns. Ariga attributes this high rate to the use of proper names, including people names and place names (1982: 355). She further divides SJ loanwords in *Konjaku monogatari*shū into three categories based on their origin: a) Buddhist terms, b) Chinese classics, and c) daily vocabulary (Ariga 1982: 366).

- (7) Buddhist terms: 惡趣 (*akusyu*), 庵室 (*anshitsu*), 因果 (*inguwa*), 機嫌 (*kigen*), 果報 (*kuwahou*), 觀念 (*kuwannen*)
- (8) Chinese classics: 巍々 (*gigi*), 慳悛 (*kenrin*), 紅淚 (*kourui*), 幟盛 (*shisei*), 寂莫 (*jakumaku*), 蒼天 (*souten*)
- (9) Daily vocabulary: 臆病 (*okubyau*), 勘当 (*kandou*), 奇異 (*kii*), 奇怪 (*kikai*), 荒涼 (*kuwauryau*), 希有 (*keu*)

Examples cited by Tsukishima that begin with ‘a’ are in (10) (Tsukishima 1984: 22).

- (10) 愛敬 (*aigyau*), 愛樂 (*airaku*), 愛執 (*aisyuhu*), 愛欲 (*aiyoku*), 惡緣 (*akuen*), 惡鬼 (*akuki*), 惡行 (*akugyau*), 惡事 (*akuji*)

Hōjōki and *Tsurezuregusa*, *zuihitsu* from the Kamakura period, show higher frequency of SJ loanwords compared to literary works from the Heian period, with the exception of *Ōkagami* and *Konjaku monogatari*shū. In *Hōjōki*, examples of SJ loanwords include those in (11) (Tsukishima 1984: 22).

- (11) 阿弥陀 (*amida*), 安元 (*angen*), 衣冠 (*ikan*), 衣食 (*isyoku*), 一期 (*ichigo*), 一度 (*ichido*), 運 (*un*), 緣 (*en*), 炎上 (*enjyau*), 恩愛 (*onai*)

Tsurezuregusa contains many more SJ loanwords, particularly Buddhist related terms. Examples from *Tsurezuregusa* are cited in (12) (Tokieda, 157).

- (12) 愛敬 (*aigyau*), 愛着 (*aidiyaku*), 愛無 (*ainasa*), 曉方 (*akatsukigata*), 惡鬼 (*akuki*), 惡行 (*akugyau*), 惡事 (*akuji*), 惡神 (*akujin*), 惡日 (*akunichi*), 惡人 (*akunin*), 惡念 (*akunen*), 明日 (*akuruhi*), 明暮 (*akekure*)

Heike monogatari, a militaristic tale depicting the downfall of the Taira clan, contains vocabulary particular to the military, including clothing, titles, cavalry, battle sequences, etc. The SJ loanword frequency of 22.6% given by Nishida (1978: 87-148) is not an overall usage count but a sub-count based on 1394 most frequently used words in eight tiers. Tier 1 contains words with highest frequency, and Nishida adopts the term 基幹語彙 *kikangōi* ‘nucleus lexicons’ to describe the cluster of most frequently used words central to that work. Understanding of ‘nucleus lexicon’ can reflect vocabulary used in general, in terms of 基層語 *kisōgo* ‘foundational lexicons.’ Examples of SJ loanwords include those listed in (13). The numbers within parentheses indicate how often they were used.

- (13) 大納言 (*dainagon*, 206), 中將 (*chyuujyau*, 193), 法皇 (*hohuwau*, 157), 判官 (*hauguwan*, 128), 少將 (*seusyau*, 112), 三位 (*sanmino*, 111), 大將軍 (*taisyaugun*, 101), 主上 (*syusyau*, 77), 一門 (*ichimon*, 58), 天下 (*tenga*, 57), 大臣 (*daijin*, 56), 宰相 (*saisyau*, 47), 宣旨 (*senji*, 30), 朝敵 (*teuteki*, 28)

Nishida (1978: 165) notes that many SJ loanwords not used in the Heian period were used for the first time, including various militaristic terms, Buddhist terms, and rank titles such as those in (14).

- (14) 大將軍 (*taisyaugun*), 武士 (*bushi*), 大衆 (*taisyyuu*), 出家 (*syuke*), 主上 (*syusyau*), 法皇 (*hohuwau*), 大納言 (*dainagon*), 公卿 (*kugyau*)

Table 5 indicates fluctuating use of SJ loanwords in the single digit percentage for most works of the Heian period, and a significant increase during the late-Heian period moving onward to the Kamakura period as exemplified in works of *Ōkagami*, *Konjaku monogatari*, *Hōjōki*, and *Tsurezuregusa*. (However, the increase is not proportional with time, given the peak of 42% for *Konjaku monogatari*, particularly high due to the style of writing and content.) As a possible explanation for the high SJ loanword frequency for works in the Kamakura period, Suzuki (1990) delineates the large number of Zen school related vocabulary that entered Kamakura Japan during the time Japanese were trading with Song China that also saw importation of textiles, books, porcelain, and tea (Suzuki 1990: 58). Curiously, most of the SJ loanwords in *Tsurezuregusa* had been in established use since the Heian period. SJ loanword vocabulary that were used for the first time in the Kamakura period include, but are not limited to: 医術 (*ijutsu*), 強盜 (*gandau*), 興宴 (*kyauen*), and 禪尼 (*zen'ni*). The high lexical SJ loanword frequency in *Tsurezuregusa* would appear to be a result of the developed ease of

writing with both *kanji* and *katakana* in its *kanji kana majiribun* rather than the increased use of newly imported vocabulary.

4. SJ loanword Trends

The previous section focused on the usage frequency of SJ loanwords in various literary texts. This section briefly discusses the trends on the word class of SJ loanwords and the types of lexical items found in literary texts.

4.1 Syntactic category of SJ loanwords

Frellesvig (2010: 287-289) also attempts to account for the types of syntactic categories of the SJ loanwords in addition to giving a numerical indication on the increase of SJ loanword usage. In Ariga's study on *Konjaku monogatari shū*, the use of SJ loanwords in different syntactic categories is reported.

As Table 6 indicates, the SJ loanwords used were primarily nouns, comprising 86.4%. As discussed before, this is likely to be due to the high number of proper nouns used in people and place names, and probably more nouns fall under the Buddhist term category rather than Chinese classics or daily vocabulary. Although Miyajima's 1971 study (*Koten taishō goihyō*) did tabulate word usage by syntactic category, it was for all lexical items, and there are no data on the categorical distribution of just SJ loanwords. Overall, the syntactic category of nouns comprised 40-60% of word usage in the texts surveyed (Miyajima 1971: 334). Considering *Konjaku monogatari shū* uses as high as 42% SJ loanwords, its syntactic category distribution may not be comparable to that of SJ loanwords of other literary texts. The high number of SJ loanwords as nouns concurs with Frellesvig's (2010: 287-288) explanation that most SJ loanwords are often morphologically taken in as nouns, with a small portion as verbal nouns, and even fewer in other categories.

Table 6. SJ Loanword usage by syntactic category (Ariga 1982: 358)

	SJ Loanwords (漢語)
Nouns (名詞)	6832 (86.4%)
Verbs (動詞)	795 (10.1%)
Adjectives (形容詞)	92 (1.2%)
Adjectivals (形容動詞)	131 (1.7%)
Adverbs (副詞)	45 (0.6%)
Other (その他)	13 (0.2%)
Total	7908 (~100%, rounded)

4.2 Types of SJ loanwords

Of the texts surveyed here, the high count of SJ loanwords used is often due to Buddhist terminology or courtier titles, which relate to Buddhism and Confucian ideals on governing, Chinese classics, and administrative codes (律令 *ritsuryau*). Besides the common origin division of Buddhist and Chinese classics on SJ loanwords, Yamada (1940: 354-355) had proposed to look at SJ loanwords in relation to their practical use and origin, including terminology in agriculture, metallurgy, textile, fishing, crafts, and possible importation of plants and animals. In addition, he suggested considering SJ loanwords in topics such as atmospheric phenomena (天象 *tensyau*: 太陽 *taiyau*、太陰 *taiin*、日蝕 *nissyoku*), geology (地儀 *chigi*: 熱帶 *nettai*、火山 *kuwazan*、山嶽 *sangaku*), Shinto and imperial entities (神祇 *jingii*: 天神 *tenjin*、神宮 *jingu*、天皇 *tenwau*), human relations (人倫 *jinrin*: 臣民 *shinmin*、官吏 *kuwanri*、先祖 *senzo*). Yamada (1940: 372-374) also gives titles of 66 Chinese texts that are preserved in Shōsōin, the imperial treasury depository since the late Nara period, which may be of interest in determining the relative time range of introduction of SJ loanwords. Besides the Chinese classics such as *The Analects* (論語) and *Book of Han* (漢書), there are also *Astronomy* (天文要集) *Book of Yinyang* (陰陽書), *The Military of a Peaceful Nation* (安国兵法), and *Medicinal Methods* (医方), which may represent the source of the wide range of SJ loanword vocabulary that were available to the imperial court. Furthermore, *Wamyōruijūshō* (倭名類聚抄) also references over 250 Chinese texts.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to show factors that influence SJ loanword frequency and to clarify the numbers given in Frellesvig (2010: 286) regarding the progressively increased use of SJ loanwords seen in literary texts across Early Middle Japanese. Data from Table 5 illustrate that use of SJ loanwords increased over time in literary works from the Heian to the Kamakura period, though not necessarily in linear fashion. SJ loanword frequency does not increase linearly with time. It is also dependent on the writing style as well as the content (Buddhist stories or Buddhist overtones, stories of Chinese origins, etc.). The SJ lexical frequency from the additional literary works surveyed provide supplemental data to Frellesvig's (2010) discussion in chapter 9. As Frellesvig (2010: 290) states, "During the LMJ [1200-1600] period the use of SJ loanwords in the texts increased. This is probably in part related to the genres represented in the sources, including more *kanji-kana majiribun*, but the establishment of SJ was a major factor, making use of originally Chinese words more freely available in Japanese and thereby facilitating both intake and use of SJ loanwords." The compiled lexical frequency comparison provides more evidence to claims regarding SJ loanwords usage. It would be interesting for

future studies if the usage of SJ loanwords in literary texts could be tabulated based not only on syntactic category, but also on etymological origins, which would show what ideas are adopted and become prevalent in use (Buddhist, Confucian, astronomy, etc.) as suggested by Yamada (1940). If the time of initial usage of a SJ loanword can be established, it would show what types of vocabulary were introduced and gained currency, as reflected in literature from different time periods. An understanding of how the lexical items expanded would reveal the development of Japanese society in terms of not only its language but also its social institutions.

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