

THE ROLE OF GERMAN IN MODERN JAPANESE MASS MEDIA: ASPECTS OF ETHNOCULTURAL STEREOTYPES AND PRESTIGE FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

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This is not a study about German loan-words in modern Japanese as might be expected by some readers. The following analysis deals with problems of stereotype and prestige functions of German and its use as an active means of communication in Japanese mass media. Although the German language, unlike English or French, is rarely used for slogans or commercial texts and does not play a significant role in connection with the lay-out of Japanese magazines—which often make use of titles, subtitles for different sections in English (and sometimes French)—, it nevertheless is of importance in the domain of product names and product naming strategies (as reflected in mass media) as well as outside the range of language use in the mass media.

When discussing problems related to stereotyping and prestige it is necessary to take the relationship between language and ethnicity (ethnic identity) into consideration. Many experts in the field regard paternity (descent), patrimony (distinctive cultural pattern) and phenomenology (self-identification) as the basic elements of ethnicity. Fishman (1977: 16) distinguishes two aspects in connection with problems of evaluation: "Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders." In connection with the question of so-called "multiple identities" I have tried to include a further component of ethnicity and that is the categorization of others (cf. Haarmann 1983: 32). Views which an ethnic group has about other groups are also an essential element of their self-awareness as a community distinct from others. Thus, the image Japanese have about other peoples (Koreans, Americans, Germans, etc.) is as much a reflection of Japanese identity as is their pride of their culture and language. When speaking about ethnocultural stereotypes—a term which will be used in this contribution as equivalent to "stereotyping image about a foreign culture"—in Japanese society one speaks about certain traits of Japanese ethnicity. Someone who analyzes ethnocultural stereotypes in Japanese society gets to know a great deal about the Japanese, their mentality and their way of thinking. As language is involved the research also concentrates on problems of language preference and attitudes, of social and speech behavior.

Ethnocultural stereotypes which to a certain extent support a community's self-awareness (awareness of the own values), have always existed among peoples of different ethnic origin and there is enough evidence that this has also been true in older times before terms like "nation" or "nationality" were shaped as concepts of political thought in Europe since the end of the 18th century. Ethnocultural stereotypes may include schematic views

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about foreign peoples, their culture (comprising language as one cultural pattern) as well as their country. The Swedes have had their stereotypes about the Finns as the latter have had about the Swedes for centuries. The Germans have always had stereotyping views about the French people, about the Russians, Turks and other nations, etc. Stereotypes which are related to ethnic groups, cultures and languages may change during the course of social and political development but there is one basic feature in the nature of stereotypes which can be considered to be universal in human society, namely the persistence of stereotypes regardless of ideology, societal organization or civilization. It can be regarded as a general experience that ethnocultural stereotypes exist in any community, be it socialist or capitalist, democratic or totalitarian. It is reasonable to assume that stereotypes are a discriminating feature in a community's ethnic identity which—in the role of defensive manifestations like intolerance or mistrust towards other ethnic groups—function also as part of the support mechanism in order to stabilize a group's ethnicity.

It is generally agreed among modern industrialized societies of the Western world that ethnocultural stereotypes should be overcome through education with the aim of reducing their effect on interethnic relations. One has to acknowledge that any kind of stereotype—also in positive manifestations like uncritical admiration or esteem towards other ethnic groups—only serves the purposes of boundary marking in ethnic identity but not those of mutual understanding or experience of cultural relations. It is interesting, however, to observe that in Japanese society which has been strongly influenced by American political and social thoughts since the end of the Second World War and which is believed to have rapidly developed a Western style of living in recent years, the attitude towards ethnocultural stereotypes seems to be much different from other Western countries. The foreigner, from whatever country he may come, will meet with Japanese stereotypes about his nation and culture which in such a pure and stable appearance can hardly be found in any other modern industrialized society. Ethnocultural stereotypes about Americans, Europeans and others flourish among the members of all generations. Although one can no longer say that Japanese society is monolithic it is nevertheless true that attitudes and evaluations among the Japanese have undergone little change compared with the impact of Western influence on the material life in Japan. It is often said that the Japanese youth has adopted a thinking in recent years which is quite different from that of their parents. Growing individualism, however, appears to be rather more an additional feature in the Japanese mosaic culture than a breaking with established values.

Japanese people's attitude towards foreigners comprises a broad panorama of positive and negative stereotypes. An American (US—citizen) or Canadian is generally given a high prestige (provided he has white skin). This is also true for West Europeans. Stereotypes about Westerners and their cultures were shaped after Japan's opening to the west in the mid 19th century and were mainly based upon the experience with Americans and Europeans who came as teachers to the Japanese. The image of the foreign *sensei* (Japanese expression for 'teacher, master') is more or less the same today as it was about a hundred years ago. The attitude towards black Americans or Koreans is much different from the prestige towards white foreigners. A Korean mostly faces difficulties when trying to find an apartment or a job and he may find himself in a similar position as a Turkish guest worker in Germany who is forced into an unwilling ghetto life because of the negative stereotype kept up by the surrounding majority. The persistence of all kinds of ethnocultural stereotypes

which, paradoxically, do not seem to be a target of Japanese education despite the American influence on democracy thinking, may be explained by different reasons. First, the Japanese themselves have little experience with foreign cultures. When they leave Japan to go abroad they mainly do so because of business contacts or on group excursions. Japanese tourists in a foreign country are normally members of a group with a Japanese speaking guide and they have little contact with foreigners during their travel. Secondly, there are few foreigners in Japan compared with the situation of "open" societies in countries like the USA, Britain, France or West Germany where millions of people of different ethnic origin live together and where there is much motivation to reduce stereotyping attitudes. As there is little experience among the Japanese in interethnic contact and intercultural relations there is little reason to reflect about stereotypes and clichés. The persistence of ethnocultural stereotypes is one clear feature of Japanese society which illustrates its relatively isolated development until recent times.

Japanese commercials in the mass media are certainly a domain of communication where ethnocultural stereotypes and social clichés play the most active role in modern life. As the Japanese economy strongly depends on high speed production and sale circuit, commercials on television, on the radio, in magazines, newspapers as well as in the form of shop and spot advertizing are virtually pounding the individual's mind with seductive offerings to stimulate the buying of products. Commercials play a key role as a factor which determines the pace of industrial production. Company managers know that sophisticated strategies in commercial production are as essential for the success of business as are international market shares. Commercials in Japanese mass media are more sophisticated than in the USA and certainly more crammed with ethnocultural stereotypes than in any other country. As commercial managers intend to address a broad public they rely on those elements in people's minds which can be easily mobilized to raise attention for a product. Stereotypes are the biggest reservoir of those elements which are familiar to all Japanese. As long as ethnocultural stereotypes are deliberately applied by commercial managers they appear in their positive manifestations, thus serving to underline the high prestige of the product and the producer's name. Thus, commercials are given an English, French or Italian "touch" by the managers to evoke the intended stereotype in the consumer's mind.

If a producer wants to underline the good quality and the reliability of a car model he is guaranteed best success if he gives the model an English name (e.g. *bluebird*, *skyline*, *lancer*, etc.), has it introduced by an American actor on the background of a Californian landscape or the skyline of New York. In the case where the elegance of a car model is to be stressed the commercial manager is best advised to give the car a French name (e.g. *ballade*, *mirage*, etc.), and to have it introduced by a French VIP in an elegant French setting (e.g. Paris, elegant suburban environment). A speedy sportscar often has an Italian setting and an Italian name (e.g. *carina*, *leone*, etc.). It has to be pointed out here that the mentioned foreign names are chosen by Japanese producers for Japanese products in order to achieve the highest possible attractiveness among consumers on the *domestic* market. The commercials in Japanese mass media address Japanese consumers although sometimes they seem to be arranged by foreign managers for a non-Japanese public. For the purposes of reproducing ethnocultural stereotypes even texts in different languages are used in commercials. Although Japanese is the most frequently used language there are other communicational means which provide the right "stereotype injection" such as English, French, Italian,

German, Portuguese and Spanish. Commercial managers do not hesitate to present the most exotic settings (including language) to the spectators of TV. Last summer's sensation was a bushman from Namibia who posed on the screen with a portable cassette recorder produced by a well-known electronic company speaking to the spectators in his native language. The obvious effect intended by the manager was amazement that the prestige of the company X reaches as far as the bushman tribe in Namibia.

English and French are used as communicational means alongside with Japanese whereas other languages are usually applied only in connection with product names, background music and in settings. To my knowledge, Japanese television is the only mass media in a *monolingual* country (about 98% of Japan's population speak Japanese only) which produces multilingual commercial texts (e.g. English-Japanese, French-Japanese or English-French-Japanese texts alongside with monolingual Japanese, English or French texts). Whereas Japanese is neutral with respect to stereotype or prestige functions all other communicational means are linked to those functions. English or French, thus, are not used by chance but their use and range is deliberately calculated. This implies that an English text cannot be substituted by a French text because English is associated with a different stereotype than French. The same is true when inserting Italian, Spanish, German, Greek terms as well as words from other languages into Japanese texts. In the following table I try to illustrate how features of stereotypes are attached to different products. In Haarmann (1984, chap. 1) I have discussed stereotype functions for a variety of languages but I delimit the overview to English and French.

Language used in commercials	Feature of ethnocultural stereotype	Product attached to the stereotype
ENGLISH	international appreciation	alcoholic drink, tennis racket
	reliability	car, tyre, engine
	high quality	television set, stereo
	confidence	tape-recorder, cassette
	practical use	sports wear
	practical life style	scooter
FRENCH	high elegance	fashion, watch, biscuit
	refined taste	coffee, sweets, tasty food
	attractiveness	car, hand-bag
	sophisticated life style	interior, furniture
	fascination and charme	make-up, cream, perfume

Some languages reveal a restricted application in Japanese commercials. As far as Spanish, Portuguese, Greek or Finnish are employed they play only a specific role in product naming strategies as well as in background settings (photo- or film-settings). Some examples of product names in the above mentioned languages with a minor range of application shall be illustrated here:

Language used for naming	Product name	Product associated with the name
SPANISH	gran turismo	car
	vista	car
	bonita	lady's magazine

GREEK	α digital	television set
	β hi-fi cassette audio & video	stereo
	galant Σ	car
	big <i>pana</i> -color	television set
	<i>panafax</i>	copy machine
	Euthrixine	soap
FINNISH	Hämeenlinna	beauty set (lotions and creams)

Greek is mostly applied in Greek-English hybrid names with a single component as in *α digital*. *Euthrixine* is the only example of a complete Greek name (although presented in an English spelling and pronunciation). Portuguese is not used for product names but only for some settings. In one commercial the stereotype of simple life in a rural area is evoked by a typical Portuguese village scenery presented with a fado (melancholic Portuguese folksong) as background music. In another commercial with a Brazilian setting (using the skyline of Rio de Janeiro as a background) a samba dancing Brazilian is shouting "é isso aí" (that's there) to the audience.

The German language is rarely used in TV-commercials to produce speech acts (including slogans or attributes for products in explanatory texts) but it appears every now and then in product names which are either completely or partly German (see below). When using German names the Japanese producers are appealing to some kind of prestige image among the consumers about the Germans. There must be some stereotyping views about the German people in Japanese society, otherwise producers would not rely on them when applying German in product naming strategies. Although no special investigation has yet been made to find out about the attitude of the Japanese towards the Germans it is easy to get an impression just by talking to people. Generally the German stereotype among the Japanese is characterized by positive features. This means that the image Japanese have about the Germans is a stereotype in its positive manifestation. Just as any stereotype is a bundling of schematic views, the one about the Germans is a strange reflection of German-"ness." According to the general impression Germans are regarded as industrious, tidy people with a rich culture (following the lines of a notion like "a nation of philosophers, poets and musicians").

There are several additional or special features attached to the above general outline of the German stereotype. Associated with the notion of "industrious" Japanese often quote "made in Germany" as the symbol of the German "economic miracle." This trade mark has lost much of its former value among the Germans themselves but the label-conscious Japanese still adhere to it as a guarantee for good quality and prestige. A youngster would save a lot of money to buy a German motor-bike which cost him twice or three times as much as a Japanese motor-bike. But it is for the prestige of such European products that even young people make such an effort. Another special feature of the German stereotype in Japan is the typically German notion of "Gemütlichkeit," a term for which it is difficult to find an adequate equivalent in another language. When translating it as 'cosiness' the English expression would not even cover half of the German term's meaning. Japanese usually do not know the expression "Gemütlichkeit" but in their image about the German way of living this element is included. Before World War II when German was preferred as a foreign language by many Japanese academics the German stereotype

had a much greater backing than nowadays. But the reflection of the stereotyping positive image is vital, nevertheless, when looking at the panorama of foreign names for Japanese products.

Unlike the impact of English which plays a dominant role as a foreign language (alongside with Japanese) in all domains of commercials and advertizing, there is no range of application with a clearly marked influence from German. I have become aware of only some speech acts in German used in TV-commercials like "guten Abend!" (good evening)—said by family members sitting in a kitchen which is offered as a German product—or "Das ist X" (that is X). German expressions are every now and then inserted in Japanese commercial texts or settings. A famous Japanese car producer uses German "schick" (chic) as an attribute for one of his car models. The expression appears in written form in the producer's screen commercial. One could regard "schick" even as a slogan to indicate good quality of the product as a prestige feature. There are some German product names which sometimes appear in extravagant combinations; cf.:

Product name containing a German expression	Product name components	Product associated with the name
<i>Mein Knäcke</i>	Prong+N _G	bread (Swedish type "knäcke")
<i>happy Wagen</i>	Adj _E +N _G	toy for small children (featuring the famous egg-shaped Volkswagen)
<i>Alpen Weiss</i>	compound N _G	candy
<i>Herb Candy</i>	Adj _E +N _E	
<i>Auslese</i>	N _G	hair liquid
<i>Märchen</i>	N _G	flavor pack serving as a deodorant in the bath or toilet
<i>Brigitte</i>	person's name	clock
<i>Sahne</i>	N _G	protection cream for skin
<i>Märzen</i>	N _G	(Japanese) beer
<i>Spitz</i>	N _G	bicycle
<i>Alpen Horn</i>	compound N _G	cheese
<i>Heim</i> (often written in katakana)	N _G	special type of mansion

Although German names are rare compared with the abundant flow of English names there is a variety of naming strategies. Some names are specific (cf. *Mein Knäcke*, *happy Wagen*), others are very vague. *Alpen Weiss* which is an incorrect version of *Alpenweiss* (see below) may hint at the natural flavor of the candies because the meaning of *Alpenweiss* (the white of the Alps) which I, as a native speaker of German have heard for the first time, would suggest some association with nature. *Auslese* is often used also in connection with names for German products and corresponds to English "selection." The list of German names used in Japanese commercials may be enlarged because new German names are likely to appear every day.

In written commercial texts (magazine) the German language is sometimes also used as the communicational means of slogans or even of whole explanatory text. There is a Japanese beer called *Märzen* which has been recently presented in a magazine commercial together with a German text. The text comprises three sentences which read as follows:

Ich hab' Märzen als Sommergeschenk bekommen.

I have received Märzen as a summer gift.

Es gefiel mir gut.

I liked it.

Am Jahresende werde ich bestimmt es dir schenken.

At the end of the year I shall certainly give it to you as a present.

The German text is translated into Japanese in order to enable the magazine reader to understand the meaning of the words presented in such an "exotic" language which is an unusual means for texting in the commercial field. Unfortunately there is a grammatical mistake in the last sentence, otherwise the German setting (together with the beer product itself) would be perfect. Instead of "... werde ich *bestimmt es dir schenken" German grammar requires the following word order: "... werde ich es dir bestimmt schenken." This mistake clearly indicates that the German text was created by a non-native speaker of the German language.

The text, however, is very interesting despite the incorrect grammar. There are two key terms which clearly relate the whole setting to a Japanese environment. One is Sommergeschenk (summer gift), the other is the formation "*am Jahresende... schenken*," thus referring to the winter gift. The beer product is embedded here in a setting where reference is made to the old Japanese customs of

chūgen 'summer gift' (gift given in the middle of the year, on or around July 15) and

seibo 'winter gift' (gift given at the end of the year during the last two weeks of December).

A German unfamiliar with these Japanese customs would understand the meaning of the sentences but not the sense of the setting. This commercial illustrates to what degree a foreign language may function as a symbiotic element in the Japanese mosaic culture of today.

There is also another domain of the mass media where the German language is used outside the commercial field, and this is the lay-out of Japanese magazines (including comics). From a general point of view one could summarize naming strategies for magazines under the heading of "product naming." In such a perspective the following German names for Japanese magazines would feature as product names in the list given above:

Name of the magazine (German)	Remarks in connection with the product
<i>Beruf</i> (profession)	magazine as a forum where companies advertize professional posts and jobs especially in the engineering field
<i>Motorrad</i> (motor-bike)	monthly magazine for fans of motor sports
<i>Panzer</i> (tank)	magazine about tanks and other military equipment
<i>Märchen knit</i> (Märchen 'fairy-tale')	magazine for fancy knitting (sweaters, cardigans, jackets, etc. with fancy design knit for girls and young women)

The combination of a German component (ie. *Märchen*) and an English element (ie. *knit*) signalizes a special usage of German by Japanese which will be referred to as "Deupanisch" (see below).

The fashionable usage of German as a prestigious European language makes it appear sometimes in other sections of magazine lay-out, for example in page markings or story titles. Two such usages shall be mentioned here. One example is the use of German *Karte* (1, 2, 3) as a page marker (section title) in connection with a discussion about illnesses, diseases and alcoholism. *Karte* is clearly associated with subjects in the field of medical care, where this term has also been adopted as a loan-word in the Japanese vocabulary (cf. *Karte* > *karute* 'patient's chart'). Thus, the Japanese language has three borrowed terms for the concept "card," the other two being of Portuguese (cf. Portuguese *carta* > *karuta* 'card for playing') and of English origin (cf. English *card* > *kādo* 'card; card for filing'). The other example of the German use in magazine lay-out is the title of a comic story (cf. *der Finger* 'the finger'). The occurrence of the German language in the above mentioned settings is rare, however, and cannot by any means be compared with the frequency of use of English or French in similar functions.

現在23歳のA子さんは家庭の主婦。高校3年の時、大学受験をすすめられたが、早く社会人になりたいという希望から、卒業して中規模の会社のOLとなった。入社してからは、きびきびと働き、社内の評判もよかった。新入社員歓迎コンパニ、慣れないビールやウイスキーの水割りをすすめるられ、恐る恐る飲んでみた。顔が紅潮して、心臓の動悸がはげしくなったが、先輩たちには「お酒強いね」などとあてられたりして、必死にこらえていた。家に帰るなり、倒れるように眠りこんでしまった。翌朝は多少頭が重かったが、出社してしまえば何ともなくなつた。先輩たちが頭をかかえて、昨夜は飲み過ぎたなどと話しているなかを、おしぼりやお茶を運んだりして、元気に働いていた。やっと大人の仲間入りができたように思ふと、翌日あたりも軽く過動するようになった。

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24歳のホステスC子さん。やや貧乏な家庭の三男二女の長女として生まれた。中学2年の時に、母が子宮ガンで亡くなり、酒飲みて定職のない父をかかえて、幼くして家庭をきりまわすようになった。弟や妹の食事の心配から学校問題まで、心労がたえなかった。中学を卒業して、ある商店の店員として就職したが、給料は少なく、生活は苦しかった。長男が就職して、いくらか生活は楽になったのもつかの間、彼女が20歳になった時、父が肝臓癌で倒れてしまった。

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The use of the German language which is neither familiar among many ordinary Japanese nor among many commercial managers implicates several aspects of hybridization which can only be explained by the special habits of Japanese using this medium as a foreign language. A German native speaker is puzzled by some, if not the majority, of German names found in commercials or street advertizing. The names are written in German, look like German but actually they are not produced by German-speaking people. There is a general tendency of a strange usage of a foreign language also with respect to the communicational media which are more frequently used than German, namely English and French. There are many kinds of hybridization in Japanese mass media. In Haarmann (1984, 1/8) I have

for the first time introduced special terms in order to specify such phenomena. Enlarging the variety of hybridization phenomena by including German-related features there is the following overview:

Hybridization phenomena	Characteristics of language use
Japenglish (Japanese+English)	non-typical English used by Japanese (Japanese English)
Franponais (Français+Japonais)	non-typical French used by Japanese (Japanese French)
Deupanisch (Deutsch+Japanisch)	non-typical German used by Japanese (Japanese German)

As this contribution deals with German I limitate my explanations about Japenglish and Franponais to one example for each.

There is a product name which is written in a hybrid English spelling + Rōmaji (Romanized transliteration of Japanese) *creama* and pronounced *kurīmā*. The component *cream-* corresponds to the English borrowing *kurīmu* in Japanese, the component *-ā* is the Japanese adoption of the English suffix *-er*. Whereas Japanese *-ā* is etymological in borrowings like *mēkā* (maker), *hītā* (heater), *raiā* (lighter) and others it does not correspond to an English formation in *creama*. There is no English word *creamer, instead, *creamy powder* or *creaming powder* is used. An example for Franponais is *spécial sélection* which actually is meant to be *sélection spéciale*. The hybridization in this case obviously results from the fact that the "creator" of the non-French expression applied the grammatical model of English when using French. Based on the English model "*special selection*" (adj. + noun) the French hybrid or Franponais expression "*spécial sélection*" also lacks gender congruence. One could consider this case merely to be a mistake but it actually illustrates a stage of creolization. Many phenomena which can be summarized under the heading of Franponais result from the adoption of the English grammatical model.

The interference of English is also typical of most Deupanisch expressions which can be found among product names as well as in shop and spot advertizing. The name *Alpen Weiss* shows the dependence on the English model of separated compounds. In German, compounds are not separated, both components, instead, are integrated in one noun (cf. *Alpenweiss*). There are several restaurants in Tokyo which either have the name *Wein Keller* or which offer a selection of wines under the heading of *Wein Keller*. Obviously the Japanese intention is to signalize a German style *Weinkeller* which is—according to the ethnocultural stereotype—a part of the German "Gemütlichkeit." In this case of name giving, too, the English model is applied and German terms are inserted, making the name non-typical German. In the Sanno district (Ota-ku) of Tokyo where the German school is located there is a coffee shop called *Kaffeelokal* which is a strange name. In German name usage you either have *Kaffeestube* or *Kaffeehaus* (especially in Austria) but the term *Lokal* is never used in connection with *Kaffee*. *Lokal* usually refers to a pub or restaurant where alcoholic drinks are served. In the mentioned *Kaffeelokal* only coffee and tea are served. Although the name *Kaffeelokal* is written correctly by the Japanese shop owner it is the Japanese usage of German which does not follow German standards. According to German standards the components in the name exclude one another; cf.:

Kaffee (non-alcoholic drink)

Lokal (associating alcoholic drinks)

The German stereotype does not only appear in clear association with the use of German terms or names but it is also signalized in commercial settings where no German

expression is used. Those settings mostly refer to German "Gemütlichkeit." In one commercial children are dancing on a market square in a small German town, in another a group of people is dancing on a meadow in the high mountains (obviously in the Alps). In one TV commercial there is a setting of a boat going down the River Rhine. In such commercials it is only the film-setting which evokes the German stereotype without making use of the language. There is one case of combining two different stereotypes in a screen commercial. A famous French fashion producer mobilizes the French stereotype about high elegance and chic in fashion, combining it with a setting where a German chanson is applied as background music. The intention of the commercial manager presumably is to create the image of a fashion style which reaches far outside France as a country known for its long tradition in fashion creation.

Although the use of the German language is comparatively rare when compared with the more frequent usage of French or the regular use of English in mass media commercials, it nevertheless clearly indicates the German stereotype and with this associates prestige for the product which is offered to the consumers. It is not easy to evaluate the importance of the prestige functions which are related to the use of the German language as a key to evoke the German stereotype. If I had to determine a position in ranking according to the impact of foreign languages in Japanese commercials I would attribute the German language the fourth place in ranking after English first, French second and Italian in third place. Such a ranking, however, does not correspond to the importance of German as a contact language for written and spoken Japanese. Even nowadays there are more borrowings from German than from French or Italian in the Japanese language. This means that German ranks in second place after the dominating English which is the main source for modernization of Japanese.

In the modern Japanese language there are not many German borrowings which play a role in everyday communication but at least one has a wide range of application. The term *arubaito* which was borrowed from German (cf. *Arbeit*) is widely used in modern society. It is interesting to observe that the meaning of Japanese *arubaito* differs considerably from that of German *Arbeit*. In many cases *arubaito* cannot be translated into *Arbeit* in German. Japanese *arubaito* refers to any kind of paid parttime job (work outside professional duties). In many cases when *arubaito* would be used in Japanese the German equivalent is not *Arbeit*. One gets the impression that only in a smaller number of contexts Japanese *arubaito* can be translated by German *Arbeit*. According to the frequency of usage I would propose the following ranking of German equivalents for Japanese *arubaito*:

- arubaito*₁ 'Job'
- arubaito*₂ 'Nebentätigkeit' (a Nebentätigkeit can be 'beruflich' or 'ausserberuflich')
- arubaito*₃ 'Gelegenheitsarbeit'
- arubaito*₄ 'Arbeit'

Japanese *arubaito* also appears in combination with other borrowings; e.g. *arubaito nyūsu* (<English news).

Not only members of the older generation but also younger people know what a German *Baumkuchen* is. Although in the adoption of this term by the Japanese the pronunciation differs considerably from the German original, the Japanese equivalent is still well recognizable as a German borrowing. Japanese like sweet cakes and this seems to be a

long tradition when thinking of Japanese *kasutera* which is a feature of the old Portuguese heritage (<Portuguese Castela). About ten years ago there was an English-German hybrid expression popular among university students. The term, which consists of two components, is *bakkushan* 'beautiful from behind.' *Bakku* is borrowed from English *back* 'backside' and the component *shan* is the Japanese adoption of the German term *schön* 'pretty.' Japanese *bakkushan* is used to characterize a girl who is good-looking only from behind and has no pretty face.

The influence of the German language which is stronger than the French impact in terms of the number of borrowings can still be traced easily today in the Japanese terminology for mountain climbing, medical sciences, also philosophy and literature. For the shaping of public opinion, however, the trivial usage of German in Japanese commercials plays a more important role in Japanese daily life than the German cultural heritage in the Japanese language which dates back to the second half of the 19th century. Ethnocultural stereotypes regardless of their positive or negative manifestations tend to persist once they have been fixed in a society. So it seems to be with the German stereotype which, like the English, French, Italian and other stereotypes will hardly be changed by Japanese education and therefore will easily survive in Japanese society until the end of this century.

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