

The Naturalisation Process of the Japanese Loanwords

Found in *the Oxford English Dictionary* *

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Abstract: Using data obtained mainly from *the Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed. on CD-ROM, ver. 3.0, 2002), the process in which Japanese loanwords incorporated into the English lexicon was reviewed. The process has been theorised in terms of a scale which begins with TOTALLY FOREIGN at one end and finishes with FULLY INCORPORATED/NATIVE at the other. Naturalisation is viewed as a matter of degree in which all the words in English can theoretically be assigned to a point on this scale. Still, it has been observed that the loanwords studied follow a specific trajectory of naturalisation, with three loosely set stages. In the initial stage, words are paraphrased by easily recognisable words or phrases to guarantee that the foreign words employed are understood. Then, attributive usages appear as a transitional phase towards the more productive stage. To finish the naturalisation process, the loanwords acquire greater productivity and in due course achieve the FULLY INCORPORATED status.

All languages we can think of have more or less borrowed words, or loanwords, in their vocabulary. “No language is entirely free from borrowed words, because no nation has ever been completely isolated.”¹ English is not an exception. The phenomenon of linguistic borrowing “predates the language itself”;² that is, English has borrowed many words from its

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¹ Jespersen, 208.

² O’Connor, 135.

very beginning.

As it has become an international language, English has not only had a great influence on many other languages, but has also absorbed new vocabulary from them. English has borrowed words from various European languages, especially French and Latin (either directly or indirectly), and in recent years it has taken words from Asian languages. Japan, because of its own distinctive social and administrative systems and cultures, has contributed quite a large number of loanwords to the English language. Although Japan did not experience colonisation and its geographical situation helped to isolate it from the world,³ Japanese has imported and exported a large number of foreign words.

A language borrows words and phrases from another language to produce loanwords. When phrases are borrowed, because the comprising words of a phrase have strong connexion with each other, they are frequently considered as single words in the recipient language. “Borrowing” seems to be the most commonly used term to describe the process in which a language takes words from another language, and “loanword” is the name given to those words that have been taken in this way. From a different point of view, borrowing and loaning are both sides of the same phenomenon. From the perspective of the recipient language, the words are borrowed; from the viewpoint of the source language, the words are loaned.

The usage of the words “borrow” and “loan” in this context might not be appropriate, because the loanwords are not likely to be returned to the original language, and the recipient language retains the words which it has “loaned”. Crowley pointed this out and suggested the

³ Loveday, 81.

use of “copying”;⁴ however, this term is not commonly used. No researcher seems to have been successful in producing better terms; and thus, I will continue to use the terms “borrowing” and “loanword” in this paper.

The meanings of the words “borrowing” and “loanword” have been defined in a variety of ways. Ui, in the English summary of his paper, describes a “loan-word” as “a word which has become firmly established in the vocabulary of a given language”.⁵ To give another example, the *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* defines “loanwords” as “vocabulary whose basic form and meaning are taken directly from another language, then integrated with lesser or greater fidelity into the phonological and grammatical systems of the matrix language”.⁶ In this paper, the words will be used in a wider sense; that is, all words that have entered the English lexicon via the Japanese language will be treated equally as “Japanese loanwords”, including derivatives of such words; for example, not only *judo*, but also *judoist*.

As loanwords of Japanese origin are increasingly receiving attention, studies involving Japanese loanwords are on the rise. There are plenty of researchers in the field; however, most of their works have not succeeded beyond a purely descriptive listing. The purpose of this paper is not simply to produce another list of loanwords, but to reveal the process of naturalisation that the Japanese loanwords have followed, which is a topic which has not yet been studied in much detail. However, there are a small number of studies conducted in this field, of which some major instances are those by Cannon, Kimura, and Kimura-Kano.⁷

⁴ Crowley, 152.

⁵ Ui, 1.

⁶ Haugen and Mithun, 243.

⁷ Cannon, “Recent Japanese Borrowings”; Kimura, “Naturalization Process”; Kimura-Kano, “Gengo-sesshoku no dainamikkusu”; *Lexical Borrowing*. Some other previous studies of Japanese

Cannon argues that his model of the naturalisation process, which he developed for Malayan loanwords, can also be applied to Japanese loanwords in English. The four “programmatically” stages he proposed are:⁸

- (1) a. Stage 1: Words that are glossed, italicised, or used with quotation marks
- b. Stage 2: Words that exhibit phonetic, grammatical, syntactic, and semantic adaptation
- c. Stage 3: Words that are recorded in all unabridged dictionaries; or that have gained some productivity, but are not yet fully absorbed
- d. Stage 4: Words that are recorded in almost all of the latest desk dictionaries, carrying various meanings

Although Cannon has carefully studied and described the process thoroughly, there are two points which need reconsideration.

Firstly, while it may work for Malayan loanwords, it does not necessarily work for those of Japanese origin. When discussing loanwords from a particular language, generalisations should primarily be based on that single language; loanwords from other languages might behave differently. Although there should be general tendencies among languages, it is only after the mechanisms for both source languages are determined that an overview of the similarities and dissimilarities between the naturalisation process can be made.

loanword adaptation include Suzuki, Kono, and Warren. Warren mentions four categories of loanwords, which do not necessarily form stages: “unassimilated”, “semi-assimilated”, “fully assimilated”, and “pseudo-loans and hybrids”. Kono tried to analyse the naturalisation process as a continuum with “mere quotations” at one end and “fully naturalised loanwords” at the other. Suzuki tries not only to generalise the naturalisation process, but also to point out the reasons or purposes of such borrowings.

⁸ The four stages Cannon proposed in “Recent Japanese Borrowings” are summarised to make the appearance consistent with the other processes discussed below; Cannon presents his process in paragraphs, and not in itemised list as given in (1). Cannon has numbered and named the stages of general naturalisation “for simplicity” as “1. unadapted, 2. partial, 3. more advanced, and 4. complete”, “while admitting that the terms *partial* and *more advanced* are impressionistic” (“Malay(sian) Borrowings in English”, 151).

Secondly, even if the naturalisation of Japanese loanwords does indeed follow this progression proposed by Cannon, there are still some problems. For example, italicisation and use of quotation marks do not necessarily indicate that the word is not naturalised. Words are sometimes italicised or used in quotation marks for emphasis, and this certainly does not mean that the word is unnaturalised. Also, the distinction between Stages 2 and 3 is not clear. “Productivity” in Stage 3 indicates suffixation, conversion, and other methods of word-formation; yet, this overlaps with “grammatical adaptation” in Stage 2, therefore the distinction between the two stages is blurred and unclear. Cannon tried also to make a distinction between “loanwords” and “loans” by pointing out that “a Stage 4 item [on his scale] indeed is a true LOAN”, which is a term he suggested for those borrowed words that are wholly incorporated into the English vocabulary “so as to preserve the old term LOANWORD as a general term for a borrowing at any stage”.⁹ This is a troublesome remark because there is no way to determine precisely which words are in his Stage 4; Cannon has pointed out himself that the naturalising process is not something that could be divided up into concrete stages but is a matter of degree.

A more recent model proposed by Kimura-Kano suggests a process of four stages as in (2).¹⁰

- (2) a. Stage 1: Adaptation of pronunciation and orthography (stressification, lengthening, diphthongizing, spelling adaptation).
- b. Stage 2: Restricted attributive use of nouns (noun compound = loanword + explanatory

⁹ Cannon, “Recent Japanese Borrowings”, 386.

¹⁰ Kimura-Kano, *Lexical Borrowing*, 39. Kimura, “Naturalization Process” and Kimura-Kano, “Gengo-sesshoku no dainamikkusu” give the same model of naturalisation.

word).

- c. Stage 3: Acquisition of productivity (compounding, suffixation, functional shift from noun).
- d. Stage 4: Semantic shift (transfer of meaning, extension of meaning, metaphoric use).

This schema appears to be more acceptable than that of Cannon's given that Kimura-Kano makes clear that the process was devised clearly from Japanese loanwords. Kimura-Kano also does not indicate italicising and use of quotation marks as indicators of naturalisation. Nevertheless, a number of questions arise. Are spelling changes always adaptations? Do attributive usages have to appear after spelling or pronunciation alternations? How is the "noun compound" in Stage 2 different from the "compounding" in Stage 3? Is it not possible for Stage 3 and Stage 4 to occur simultaneously? Each of these questions should become clear in the discussion below.

As most previous studies have pointed out, the naturalisation process should not be viewed as being divided into distinctive stages, but as a matter of degree. Hypothetically, each word in any given language can be located at a certain point on a continuum, with **TOTALLY FOREIGN** at one extreme and **FULLY INCORPORATED** (and **NATIVE**) at the other.¹¹ Nevertheless, there is a recognisable tendency which the Japanese loanwords follow in the development of gradually naturalising into the English language.

I will here hypothesise (3), a new scale, or process, of naturalisation based mainly on

¹¹ This distinction of **FULLY INCORPORATED** loanwords and **NATIVE** words may not be so important in the current study. This is because the words concerned here are loanwords only, and thus no native words are included in this study. However, fully incorporated loanwords and native words are quite different: native words being those words that were already in the English language from the Anglo-Saxon times, and fully incorporated loanwords being those words that were borrowed later into English, but has been fully absorbed into the language. To give an example from a common English pair, while *gift* is a native word used from the times of Old English, *present* is a fully incorporated loanword of French origin, equally being frequently used words in present-day English.

the illustrative sentences given in *the Oxford English Dictionary (the OED, hereafter)*.¹²

- (3) a. Stage 1: Paraphrasing (see Section 2)
- b. Stage 2: Attributive Usage and Compounds (see Section 3)
- c. Stage 3: Acquisition of Productivity (see Section 4)

According to this hypothesis, the naturalisation process has three loose stages which overlap at their boundaries. In the earlier stage of the process, the loanwords are paraphrased. Then, attributive usage appears as a transitional phase; and finally, the loanwords acquire productivity and thence make their way into the FULLY INCORPORATED status. These three stages here, again, are not a sequence of sudden jumps and the boundaries are somewhat fuzzy; and thus, drawing distinct lines between the stages is implausible.

These “stages” will be discussed below with demonstrative sentences taken from *the OED*, and occasionally from other sources.¹³ It should be borne in mind, however, that the use of a particular example of a particular loanword to illustrate a certain stage does not indicate that the loanword is presently at that stage; the loanword might have proceeded to a later stage since the time of the illustrative sentence. It also does not indicate that the loanword first appeared in that stage in the English language: in theory, all Japanese loanwords proceed from the initial stage of the TOTALLY FOREIGN–FULLY INCORPORATED scale to the final stage. Let us now examine my naturalisation process in the following sections.

¹² The edition used for this paper is the Second Edition on CD-ROM, ver. 3.0.

¹³ The points in discussion will be underlined throughout. All other emphasised, italicised, or bracketed elements are as in the original text, if not otherwise indicated; however, the ellipses in brackets are mine. Note that *the OED* uses two continuous dots (..) in the place of the regular ellipses (...), probably to save space in the original printed volumes.

1. Italicising, Use of Quotation Marks, Spelling, and Pronunciation

This section examines what previous studies have incorporated into their models of the naturalisation process, but which actually cannot be incorporated.

Cannon considered glossing, italicising, and use of quotation marks as indicators of the first stage.¹⁴ Glossing, or paraphrasing, is indeed the first stage towards naturalisation; however, italicising and use of quotation marks are not necessarily so, as native words and naturalised loanwords can sometimes be so used. In older texts, there are some loanwords that have been italicised, and others that have not; some native English words that are italicised, and others that are not. This suggests that while italicisation and quotation marks might be markers for foreignness in the current convention, it was not so in older texts when there were not fixed norms; therefore, italicising and use of quotation marks cannot be considered as indicators for the first stage toward naturalisation.

Changes in spelling and pronunciation are considered to be the second stage in Cannon's study,¹⁵ and the first stage in that of Kimura and of Kimura-Kano,¹⁶ but in the present study, these will not be treated as adaptations towards the English norm. In times when no Romanising standards were accessible, the single method for foreigners to put down Japanese words on paper was attempting to spell out what they could perceive. This is the reason why Kay points out that the "early borrowings from Japanese before systems of Romanization were established, particularly show modification in spelling", providing the

¹⁴ Cannon, "Recent Japanese Borrowings".

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Kimura, "Naturalization Process"; Kimura-Kano, "Gengo-sesshoku no dainamikkusu"; *Lexical Borrowing*.

pairs *soy* / *shōyu* ‘soy sauce’ and *tycoon* / *taikun* ‘an important or dominant person’ as examples of such loanwords.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this argument that Kay makes is misleading, as these are in fact not modified spellings. Rather, they are the “original” spellings that the first foreign travellers in Japan have used in an attempt to write down Japanese words they have heard.

Almost all previous studies I know of have treated such spellings as adaptation of spelling towards the English writing system, and have given such spelling adaptations the position of the first step of loanword naturalisation. However, this is not so, as many of the older Japanese loanwords transform their spellings towards the Hepburnian spellings later in the adaptation process, mostly in the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries. This change towards the current spellings occurred as a result of the situation in which the people in western countries began to recognise the necessity of a standardised system of transcribing Japanese words, and found the Hepburnian system functional. The unique transcriptions by various individual writers were gradually abandoned, and the Japanese *romaji* Romanisation systems, or the Hepburnian style in particular, took its place. However, the spelling of some words that have acquired citizenship sometimes becomes so well-established that they are not modified into the standardised system.

Kimura-Kano provides examples of Japanese loanwords that do not have any indication of stress in *the OED*: *hatamoto* /hatamoto/ ‘a shogunal vassal’, *hanami* /hanami/ ‘a blossom-viewing event’, *hanashika* /hanafika/ ‘a professional story-teller’, and *seoi nage*

¹⁷ Kay, 543.

/seoi nage/ ‘a shoulder throw’; and also examples for those that have lengthened, diphthongised, or weakened vowels: *seppuku* /sɛ'pu:ku:/ ‘a ritual suicide by disembowelment’, *sashimi* /'sæʃimi/ ‘sliced raw fish’, *zaibatsu* /zai'bætsu:/ ‘a business conglomerate’, and *sasanqua* /sə'sænkwə/ ‘an evergreen shrub’.¹⁸ However, in the on-going online revisions of *the OED*, these non-English pronunciations are being revised to fit the English patterns. This suggests that the compilers of *the OED*, back in 1989, could not determine how the words should be pronounced in speech, because *the OED* records only the words from written sources; and thus, these examples of seeming adaptations are in fact not adaptations at all.

Kimura-Kano also notes in her account of pronunciation that “when there is a sequence of vowels, [j] is often inserted.”¹⁹ She provides *bai-u* /'baiju:/ ‘the rainy season in Japan’ and *ukiyo-e* /ukijo'je:/ ‘a Japanese art-form’ as illustrations of such words. This could be one analysis; however, I will take a different view.

The pronunciation of *bai-u*, *u* being understood here as a free and distinctive word, seems to come from the fact that the English language does not have many words with an initial /u/ or /ʊ/ vowels. Among the more than 1,000 “u” words found in a learner’s dictionary,²⁰ only 12 words that begin with /u/ or /ʊ/ were found; the others beginning with /ʌ/, /ju:/, /jʊ/, or /ɜ:/, of which the first two are by far the commonest. This suggests that the compilers of *the OED* might have not known the original Japanese pronunciation, and the pronunciations were determined by analogical reasoning.

¹⁸ Kimura-Kano, *Lexical Borrowing*, 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41. Kimura, “*OED no naka no nihongo*” also points out the same. This is not to say that the letter *j* is inserted in spelling. Kimura-Kano notes that a /j/ sound is inserted between two vowels when the vowels appear in sequence.

²⁰ *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English*, 8th ed.

The pronunciation of *ukiyo-e* seems to be a result of reading *ukiyo-ye*, an old spelling variation, phonetically. The only citation of the older spelling in *the OED* is from Lafcadio Hearn's *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields* (1898): "The Ukiyo-yé artist drew actualities, but not repellent or meaningless actualities... He looked for dominant laws..for the order of the beautiful as it was and is." However, this could have been the correct Japanese pronunciation of the word in earlier times, as Hearn is a native speaker of English who had a deep understanding of the Japanese language and culture.

As for spelling, Kimura and Kimura-Kano provide a number of illustrations.²¹ Nevertheless, most of her illustrations can be explained by pointing out that these spelling variations were the spellings developed by westerners who tried to express the Japanese sounds as they perceived them. The others will be explained later by saying that these loanwords are slang, or else, technical terms. The accounts given by Ohwada on the spellings of Japanese loanwords can also be explained along the same lines.²²

That spellings themselves cannot be indicators for the naturalising scale could also be demonstrated from the text of *the History of Japan*,²³ which the current author has been examining for some time. In this text, many loanwords have various spellings when they occur.²⁴ For example, *koban* 'an old Japanese coin' appears in seven different spellings, *saké*

²¹ Kimura, "OED no naka no nihongo"; Kimura-Kano, *Lexical Borrowing*, 41–2.

²² The main four points Ohwada made on the characteristics of spelling alternations are: "alternation of consonants" (e.g. *h* ↔ *f*), "voicing and devoicing of consonants" (e.g. *z* ↔ *s*, *d* ↔ *t*, *g* ↔ *k*), "repetition of consonants" (e.g. *-kk-*, *-nn-*, *-tt-*), and "alternation of vowels" (e.g. *e* ↔ *i*).

²³ Kämpfer. This two-volume work was first published in London in 1727. It consists of a variety of sections, which deal with various aspects of Japanese nature, history, society and culture. There are also some descriptions of Japanese trade during its segregation from most other nations. The translator, Johann G. Scheuchzer, presented as appendices more details on the flora of Japan and on the commerce with the Dutch and the Chinese.

²⁴ These spelling variations can merely be variations that occurred when Kämpfer put them down in

‘Japanese rice brewage’ in six. These alternative spellings are not Anglicised and adapted spellings of the loanwords, but are the spellings devised by Kämpfer as he tried to express the Japanese sounds each and every time they occurred.

In this section, it was examined that italicising, use of quotation marks, spelling, and pronunciation cannot be incorporated into the naturalisation process. In the following three sections, my naturalisation process will be examined stage by stage.

2. Stage 1: Paraphrasing

When foreign words are used in English, it is natural for the writer to want to make sure that the words are understood by the readers.²⁵ Thus, in order to guarantee the foreign words are properly understood, they are often paraphrased with familiar and recognisable words. In this study, loanwords are assigned to this stage of paraphrasing when they are completely, or to a large degree, foreign to a native speaker of English; this is the initial stage towards naturalisation. As the primary stage, there are countless loanwords that appear in this stage and become extinct before succeeding into the subsequent stages; in fact, most loanwords stop in this stage unless they gain inclusive acceptance. Those loanwords that are rephrased by English words or phrases to explain what the unfamiliar words mean fall into this stage. In (4)–(6) below, the Japanese words are explained in an immediately following phrase.

- (4) 1880 I. L. BIRD *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* I. xiii. 135 They rise at daylight..open the amado—wooden shutters which..box in the whole house at night. (s.v. amado)

writing. Some of them could otherwise be the spelling out of “variphones” as Daniel Jones has termed them and as reviewed in Doi’s paper.

²⁵ This is usually true, but not always. It is possible that foreign words may be intentionally used to confuse or simply impress people.

- (5) **1963** H. TANAKA *Pleasures Jap. Cooking* i. 4 Dashi, a light, clear fish stock..is quite indispensable to Japanese cookery. (s.v. dashi)
- (6) Quanbuku is the first person after the Dairi, and by virtue of this title, his supreme Lieutenant and Vicegerent in the government. (Engelbert Kämpfer, 1727, *The History of Japan*)

Although (7) and (8) seem to be quite different from the above three, the intended semantic function is the same. In cases such as these, because the English phrase before the loanword gives the explanation, the Japanese word can be used in context, even if it is unfamiliar.

- (7) The woman who had charge of it wore over her ordinary dress a pair of trousers called mompe, fitting closely around the ankle and baggy around the hips. (Henry B. Schwartz, 1908, *In Togo's Country*)
- (8) Next to the highway, at the entry of the walk, which leads to the temple, stands, for distinction's sake from common roads, a particular fashion'd gate, call'd Torij, and built either of stone or wood. (Engelbert Kämpfer, 1727, *The History of Japan*)

Another way in which Japanese loanwords are paraphrased is by means of restrictive attributive usages; that is, English words or phrases that appear right after the loanword are there to ensure that the readers will understand the Japanese word; thus, the Japanese loanwords in the following examples are considered to still be in this “paraphrasing” stage, and not in the next stage of “attributive usage”. Examples of such restrictive attributive usage: (9)–(11) below.

- (9) **1959** R. KIRKBRIDE *Tamiko* xxii. 172 He bought Tamiko a kokeshi doll. (s.v. kokeshi)
- (10) **1886** J. LA FARGE *Let.* 1 Sept. in *Artist's Lett. Japan* (1897) 217 To look out of the shoji screens into the garden. (s.v. dashi)

- (11) With its thatched roofs and irori hearths, Shirakawa (Ogimachi) seems like a village that has been untouched by the passage of time. (*Connections*, Nagoya International School Newsletter, Spring/Summer 2002)

This section dealt with the first stage of naturalisation, which involved rephrasing and restrictive attributive usages. In the next section will be examined the second phase towards full naturalisation.

3. Stage 2: Attributive Usage and Compounds²⁶

As a first phase towards acquirement of productivity, there occur attributive usages, which are more productive than the restrictive attributive usages that appeared in the preceding section.

The attributive usages in this section are productive in the sense that the loanwords are not clarified or explained by the English words (or phrases) following them; but rather, the loanwords themselves function as quasi-adjectives. In other words, the loanword and the following English word together behave as full-scale compound nouns. For example, *Nanga artists* ‘artists who draw pictures in Nanga style’ in (12) and *tatami room* ‘a room in which tatami are used’ in (13) are considered to be examples of this attributive usage; in comparison to the restrictive usage in the previous section, *Nanga painting* ‘Nanga, which is a style of painting’ and *tatami mat* ‘tatami, which is a kind of mat’.

- (12) Like the Chinese individualist painters who were their models, Nanga artists encouraged one another to make art for art’s sake. (<http://www.inkbox.org/japanesebooks/styles/nanga.html>)

- (13) **1979** *Jrnl. R. Soc. Arts* Nov. 749/1 The interior spaces provide everything that the harsh exterior

²⁶ Whether these noun-plus-noun constructions are phrases or compound words is subject to discussion, but will not be discussed in this paper, as I consider it not essential in the current investigation. There are a number of articles discussing this issue (e.g. Giegerich; Payne and Huddleston, 448–51).

rejects: complex flowing geometries, traditional tatami room, lush furnishing and peaceful, controlled nature. (s.v. tatami)

(14) *Scholar Painters of Japan: Nanga School* (a book title: James Cahill, 1974)

The usage of *Nanga school* in (14) above is amongst these expressions, which include *Kamakura epoch* and the like, that could not be clearly designated to a particular stage. An informal survey of several native speakers of English, both American and British, which I conducted, produced rather contradictory opinions. Roughly half the informants felt that *Nanga school* indicated ‘a school of painting in which Nanga is the cachet’ (attributive usage); while others felt that it was closer to ‘Nanga, which is a school of painting’ (restrictive attributive usage). This division of opinion may support the idea that the naturalisation process cannot be divided into distinctive stages, but is a progression of loose stages which overlap at their fuzzy boundaries.

Two readers of a previous version of this paper suggested that the creation of compound nouns could be in the domain of productivity. This is indeed accurate; nevertheless, because almost all loanwords of Japanese origin go through this stage where compound nouns are created before going on to the next stage of productivity acquisition, I will propose to give this development of creating compound nouns the status of an individual stage. The loanwords are used first with paraphrasing words or phrases, in which the “restrictive attributive usage” is a fairly typical form. When the second noun of such forms is replaced by another that does not paraphrase the first, it is now used in the productive aspect of the attributive usage; in other words, they are now used as compound nouns. It must be this kind of analogical process that makes loanwords go through this second stage of naturalisation.

4. Stage 3: Acquisition of Productivity

At this stage, the loanwords acquire greater productivity than those in the previous transitional stage of attributive usage. The loanwords that proceed into this stage can be said to be well on their way to full incorporation into the English lexicon. Kimura-Kano divided this into two different stages (her Stage 3 “productivity acquisition” and Stage 4 “semantic shift”);²⁷ however, there seems not to be a clear sequential difference in the appearance of these two “stages”. Therefore, they were treated as being a single stage in the present study. Also, there are not so many Japanese loanwords that have reached this stage. This could probably be one of the reasons such differences could not be found; when there are many words in a stage, it is possible that sub-stages become identifiable, and then these sub-stages in turn may possibly become classified as distinct stages.

There could be more or less types of productive development, but for convenience’s sake, three kinds will be mentioned below: derivation, figurative usage, and changes of meaning.

4.1 Derivation

A derivative word is created by attaching one or more derivational affixes to a word. The existence of such derivative words can indicate that the word has become reasonably productive. Although there are many derivational affixes, each of which having a different degree of productiveness, this point is not of much importance in the present study where the

²⁷ Kimura-Kano, “Gengo-sesshoku no dainamikku”; *Lexical Borrowing*. The same discussion appears in Kimura, “Naturalization Process”.

purpose is to simply observe the direction of the naturalisation process. Thus, both the French-derived suffix *-esque* ‘resembling the characteristics of’ and Anglo-Saxon *-ish* ‘of the nature or character of; of or belonging to’ are common endings for developing nonce-word adjectives in present-day English.²⁸ On the other hand, although productive in the past, *-ess* ‘femaleness’ has lost its productiveness in current English.²⁹ Also, some affixes are only productive in a specific field; for example, *-ol* ‘chemical substance’.³⁰ Below are some sentences to exemplify derivative words.

- (15) **1954** F. BOWERS *Jap. Theatre* vii. 224 Another woman who lies down to offer herself as substitute for the married woman—a postwar Kabukiesque ‘substitution’. (s.v. Kabuki)
- (16) **1979** *Times* 3 Dec. 6/4 Tycoons are not quite as tycoonish as they were before. (s.v. tycoon)
- (17) **1860** *All Y. Round* No. 64. 322 Buddhism and Lamaism..permit women..to escape from the sorrows of social life by making a religious and monastic profession, under the title of Bonzesses. (s.v. bonzess)
- (18) **1894** *Yng. Gentlew.* 168 One accustomed to the kimonoed beauties of Japan. (s.v. kimono)
- (19) And indeed it appears that for several hundred years the Religion of *Siaka* made a very slow and insignificant Progress, till about the year of Christ 518, one *Darma*, a great Saint, and thirty third Successor on the holy See of *Siaka*, came over into *China* [. . .] and laid properly speaking the first sure Foundations of the Budsdoism in that mighty Empire. (Engelbert Kæmpfer, 1727, *The History of Japan*)

4.2 Figurative Usage

Figurative usages are such uses in which the word is used somewhat differently from the original meaning but in which its original meaning is not completely transformed or

²⁸ *The OED*, s.vv. *-esque*, *suffix*; *-ish*₁.

²⁹ *The OED*, s.v. *-ess*, *suffix*₁.

³⁰ *OED online*, s.v. *-ol*, *suffix*. Accessed 11 June 2012, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/130948>

disregarded. For example, in (20), it is not an individual, but rather an organisation, who will “commit hara-kiri”. As *hara-kiri* ‘suicide by self-disembowelment’ is an act carried out by an individual, (20) does not fit into the original usage of the Japanese loanword. The word *hara-kiri* in this case means to cause a political party to become disunited and politically powerless. Because the conceptual meaning of “killing oneself” is not eliminated, this example stands here.

(20) **1888** *Scott. Leader* 17 Mar. 4 The Liberal Union party..will hesitate long before committing ‘hari-kari’ in that fashion. (s.v. hara-kiri)

The loanword *hara-kiri* has several interesting spelling variations, including *hari-kari*, which is a fairly common spelling.³¹ In *the OED*, four out of the six illustrative sentences of this loanword have this spelling; the other spellings used in *the OED* illustrations are *hara-kiri* and *hari-kiri*. The non-Japanese forms seem to be influenced by rhymes which are quite preferential to the English language, together with the reduction of unstressed vowels and “spelling pronunciation”. The other spelling recorded in *the OED*, albeit without any illustrative sentences, is *hurry-curry*, which appears to be a spelling corruption derived from the pronunciation of *hari-kari*.³²

Searching through the World Wide Web as a corpus using the Google search engine, the following numbers were obtained: *hara-kiri* 1,230,000; *hari-kari* 294,000; *hurry-curry* (including commercial names for the Indian food) 182,000; *hari-kiri* 122,000; and *hara-kari*

³¹ Ueno devotes a whole chapter of his book to interesting accounts on the Japanese loanwords *hara-kiri* and *seppuku* and how they were borrowed into English.

³² Other instances of spelling corruption might include *ginkgo* ‘the Japanese maidenhair tree’ and *wacadash* ‘a Japanese short sword’.

42,000. Likewise, using the US Yahoo! search engine, the following were obtained: *hara-kiri* 1,940,000; *hari-kari* 121,000; *hurry-curry* 23,800; *hara-kari* 21,100; and *hari-kiri* 18,300.³³

The statistics above should not be entirely trusted, since there are quite a lot of problems that arise when collecting data from search engines.³⁴ This can also be apprehended from the different figures that were obtained from the above searches. However, the figures indicate that the most Japanese-like *hara-kiri* is the norm, followed distantly by its Anglicised form *hari-kari*, while the other forms are most likely misspellings or somewhat corrupted forms. Modifications of spelling and pronunciation have previously been discussed in Section 1, and it has been pointed out there that spellings themselves do not necessarily identify a loanword's position on the scale of naturalisation.

To give another example of a figurative usage, *tsunami* in (21) and (22) below are not waves that are caused by a big earthquake, which is the original meaning. The loanword's fundamental meaning seems to be still maintained, but it is used in a somewhat figurative way.

- (21) **1972** *Science* 11 Aug. 502/1 The Food and Drug Administration..is currently swimming through a tsunami of comments generated by its announced intention to alter the regulations concerning the dispensation of methadone. (s.v. tsunami)
- (22) Today, Tibetans stand at an economic threshold, about to be overwhelmed by the tsunami of China's great expansion in ways that may ultimately be more devastating than the previous

³³ All these searches were conducted between 1:00 and 1:30 a.m. (JST), 25 September 2011.

³⁴ Each search engine has its own way of gathering and listing the results of a search, which is a matter of commercial confidentiality and not open to public scrutiny. The numbers of results gathered by a particular search engine can vary even when the same search-term was used. Also, there are some "mean texts" of "syntactically correct but meaningless verbiage including common search terms" that can "create noise in research data" ("Corpus colossal", *The Economist*). There are other problems as well; for example, most of the contents on the web are written by non-professional writers, thus containing errors in them (ibid.).

decades of repressive rule. (*The Daily Yomiuri*, 26 Mar. 2008)

It is worth noting that when the preposition *of* follows the loanword *tsunami*, there is a high likelihood that it is being used figuratively. This is because, in the original sense of the word, it is redundant to say *a tsunami of seawater*; a *tsunami* being already understood as a kind of wave, there is no necessity to indicate it is of seawater. In the figurative usages, the *of*-phrases are needed to override the default “seawater” meaning of *tsunami*. On the other hand, there are literal usages in which *of* is followed by a volume or height (e.g. *of an unprecedented scale* or *of two feet*) or a date (e.g. *of 1907* or *of 11 March*). These are not figurative usages but are literal ones with a prepositional phrase modifier. Others are those of figurative usages; the *of*-phrases most typically indicate the material or substance of which the *tsunami* is made.

4.3 Changes of Meaning

Semantic changes arise as the loanwords become adapted into the English vocabulary. The loanwords here are those that have transformed their meanings to a greater or lesser extent from the original sense. Such changes are not specific to Japanese loanwords, and can be illustrated from native words and loanwords alike of any origin which are fairly well naturalised. Among the more common of the semantic changes are extension, specialisation, degeneration, and regeneration.

By extension, it is meant “the widening of a word’s signification until it covers much

more than the idea originally conveyed”.³⁵ The loanword *hibachi* in (23) might be an illustration of extension, as the original Japanese charcoal brazier is explained as a portable barbeque grill.³⁶ Although (23) is the only example of what appears to be an extended usage of *hibachi* which can be found in *the OED*, there are usages found in the World Wide Web pages on the Internet, for example (24), that this loanword is used to signify an actual barbeque grill. Thus, the meaning of the loanword *hibachi* has been broadened to represent any container for charcoal. This word has experienced further extension as to gain the meaning of “the food prepared on the top of such grills” as in (25).

(23) **1965** *Austral. Women's Weekly* 20 Jan. 27/1 The other indispensable came from a prolonged stay in Yokohama, a small serviceable iron *hibachi*, the original of the Western barbecue grill, but portable. (s.v. *hibachi*)

(24) Hibachi grill, \$1. Perfect for grilling sausages, veggies, and other light barbeque adventures.
(<http://ix.cs.uoregon.edu/~victorhs/website/sale/>)

(25) We richly feasted on Japanese *hibachi*, Italian and other ethnic foods.
(<http://www.barnet.gov.uk/friends-of-montclair-newsletter-spring-2008.pdf>)

Specialisation is the development towards the opposite direction in which the meaning of the word becomes narrower or where the word becomes used in one special connexion.

Degeneration and regeneration are when the meaning of a word changes in the direction of a less or more favourable meaning. These three practices are not found among the Japanese

³⁵ Baugh and Cable, 308.

³⁶ Edward T. W. Haig (pers. comm.) points out that the use of *hibachi* in (23) is, in fact, not an instance of extended usage. He points out that it is the original Japanese charcoal brazier which the writer of the story brought home from her stay in Yokohama. The *hibachi* is explained by likening it to a portable barbeque grill for the benefit of her Australian readers. However, there could be some relations between the usage in (23) and the more clearly extended usage in (24) and (25); and therefore, (23) can be treated here.

loanwords recorded in *the OED*. However, other kinds of semantic changes can be found; and to illustrate these, several examples will be discussed below.

In (26), the loanwords *ohayo* and *sayonara* are used as verbs (with preterite endings), although the original part of speech are both interjections; the former is a word of welcoming, the latter of farewell.

(26) **1892** KIPLING *Lett. of Travel* (1920) 51 A traveller who has been ‘ohayoed’ into half-a-dozen shops and ‘sayonaraed’ out of half-a-dozen more. (s.v. *sayonara*)

This is an example of conversion, or zero-derivation. In *the OED*’s management of these two words, two problems can be seen. Firstly, whereas the word *sayonara* is documented as a headword, the other Japanese loanword *ohayo* is not. This could be an oversight; or if this was an intended editorial selection, I do not see any motivation for why one or the other had to be left out. Furthermore, (26) might not be an exact citation of the original text; it is not a full-sentence, but only a fragment of it.³⁷ This kind of problem comes up as a consequence of the method in which the illustrative citations were collected—many of the people who contributed were not experts in the field of lexicography, lexicology, or any area of linguistics.³⁸

The loanword *Shinto* ‘a Japanese religion’ in (27) is not used in its original sense, but is used to signify the followers of the faith. Likewise, *tycoon* in (28) is not the original Japanese ruler, or *shogun*, but is an important or dominant person in business.

³⁷ Cf. Kipling, 52.

³⁸ An army of volunteer readers have helped in the course of the making of *the OED*. See Muggleston, ed.; Murray; Winchester, *The Professor and the Madman; The Meaning of Everything; &c.*

(27) **1829** *Encycl. Metrop.* (1845) XX. 477/1 The Gods worshipped by the Shin-tos are principally..departed Spirits defied. (s.v. Shinto)

(28) **1926** *Time* 14 June 32/3 *Married*. Fred W. Fitch, 56, rich hair-tonic tycoon. (s.v. tycoon)

In (29), the loanword *sumo* is used to represent a wrestler of the Japanese sport. The correspondent of the television programme exclaimed her surprise when she was shown an enormous writing brush which was literally greater than a huge sumo wrestler. The same loanword in (30) is used in a further different meaning, and is not used to represent the wrestlers or the Japanese sport itself. It is used as an adjective meaning ‘big’, ‘gigantic’, or ‘powerful’; therefore, the meaning conveyed by a *sumo bank* is a huge bank, being commonly referred to as a “mega-bank” in the Japanese setting.

(29) It’s bigger than a sumo! (*Out & About*, NHK BS2, 11:14 p.m. [JST], 27 Jan. 2010)

(30) Japan’s Sumo Bank (a headline: *Time*, 26 July 2004)

In (26)–(30) above, the modifications in meaning might not include broadening in the sense of extension: they can be considered to be examples of semantic transfer, changes in which the meanings are to a large extent transformed, while in extensions the words retain their quintessential characters; however, the difference between semantic extension and transfer is not straightforward, and thus it is not easy to distinguish the two, and there is no need to do so in the present study.

So far, the naturalisation process of the Japanese loanwords in principle has been described. In the next section, the process will be reviewed by means of demonstrative words.

5. The Naturalising Process Illustrated

In this section, I will illustrate the discussed naturalising process by means of explanatory loanwords. Firstly, the typical process will be reviewed by loanwords that have successfully gained acceptance in English. Next, non-typical cases will be explained to point out that they are, in fact, not counter-examples to the proposed process. After reviewing the process, application to loanwords from older sources will be discussed. The section will be concluded by once again illustrating the typical process using another explanatory loanword.

5.1 The Typical Process

The loanword *origami* ‘the Japanese art of folding paper’ followed the prototypical process, and is currently in the last stage of naturalisation. First, the word was borrowed with a paraphrasing phrase as in (31); then some attributive usages appear as in (32); and in (33), the word has gained productivity by means of figurative usage. This is the typical naturalisation process among the Japanese loanwords found in *the OED*.

- (31) **1961** E. KALLOP in S. Randlett *Art of Origami* (1963) 16 Apart from origami as an art in the sense of the individually unique, folded paper has a role in the ceremonial etiquette of Japanese life. (s.v. origami)
- (32) **1972** C. FREMLIN *Appointment with Yesterday* xi. 83 The Origami cut-outs they’d had such a craze for over Christmas, they were on the bed too (s.v. origami)
- (33) Like a piece of biological origami, the protein folds itself into the form necessary to carry out its job. Without the shape the protein would be worthless.
(http://www.nccs.gov/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/nccs_proteinfolding_lr.pdf)

Another word that has successfully gone through the stages towards full

acknowledgement is *Shinkansen*. Thus, in (34) it appears with the words “electric railcars”; in (35) as an attributive, *Shinkansen line*; and in (36), it is not any longer the original Japanese railway system, but a comparable service planned outside Japan. Note that the usage in (36) has dropped its initial capital letter to develop into a common noun. This demonstrates that the word is very commonly recognised, at least in the railway industry.

(34) **1968** *Japanese Nat. Railways News Lett.* May 5 A plan is in progress to improve the design of the Shin Kansen type electric railcars to be used on the New San-yo Line which is an extension of the New Tokaido Line. (s.v. Shinkansen, *n.*)

(35) **1983** *Hamlyn Encycl. Transport* 94/2 No other train is allowed to use the Shinkansen line and the entire line is controlled from one central control point in Tokyo. (s.v. Shinkansen, *n.*)

(36) **1984** *Railway Gaz. Internat.* Feb. 104/2 With the [Seoul–Pusan] shinkansen postponed, Mr Choi’s attention is now focused on developing a diesel train which can run on the existing track. (s.v. Shinkansen, *n.*)

However, care must be taken of the treatment of technical terms, as the demonstrative sentences in *the OED* can be quotations from specialised periodicals and encyclopaedic reference books. A word which might be naturalised to a certain degree in a specialised field might well be to some extent behind, or less frequently, ahead, in vernacular language in different fields. In Cannon’s words, “matters of resister and the like” can cause enough difficulties on the naturalisation scale as “to require occasional fluidity on particular occasions”; that is to say, “the general assignment may be to Stage 2 but with possible variations of one stage higher or lower.”³⁹

Shinkansen is one of such words. In an English news broadcast, the loanword was used

³⁹ Cannon, “Recent Japanese Borrowings”, 387.

with a paraphrasing expression as in (37). This indicates that the word is not so familiar among non-Japanese people outside Japan. Even though the news programme was made in Japan, because it is intended for audiences throughout the world, it would be safe to conclude as such.

(37) . . . the Shinkansen bullet trains were delayed due to heavy snowfall (*NHK News Watch*, NHK BS1, 4:20 a.m. [JST], 23 Dec. 2005)

From the above, it can be concluded that the loanword *Shinkansen* is still in the first stage of naturalisation in the general sense, while those foreigners who are currently living or who had lived in Japan should have a better knowledge of what it is; and railway transportation professionals seem to understand the loanword in an extensive sense such as used in (36).

5.2 Some Non-Typical Examples

The above section gave an illustration of the most typical naturalisation process by means of the loanwords *origami* ‘the Japanese art of folding paper’ and *Shinkansen* ‘a Japanese railway system’. Although almost all Japanese loanwords found in *the OED* and discussed in this study generally follow the naturalising process proposed above, there are still loanwords that do not seem to follow this process and are therefore difficult to map on my TOTALLY FOREIGN–FULLY INCORPORATED naturalisation scale. However, explanations can be given to these non-typical cases. The three types of non-typical cases discussed below are words from technical works, proper nouns, and slang words.

5.2.1 Words from Technical Works

Loanwords that were taken from technical books and articles into *the OED* are generally quite difficult to map onto any scale of naturalisation. When a word is used in a scientific context, most people in the field should be familiar with the word; and therefore, these words can be used without any paraphrasing words or phrases, even if it is not known to the general public. There are also times in which an example of attributive usage appears in advance of a paraphrased example: this is when an illustration from a volume of general interest follows an example from a technical source.

A technical word sometimes may seem to produce a derivative word without going through the attributive stage. Examples of such words are *koji* → *kojic* and *moxa* → *moxibustion*. However, these derivatives are not motivated by the adaptation process; but rather, they are motivated by scientific purposes. They were coined as shorthand terminologies for specialised persons of a particular field to understand; thus was never a part of the every-day English lexicon. Therefore, although these words seem to be counter-examples, they are not; and it is quite natural that they do not follow my proposed naturalisation scale.

There are two Japanese loanwords that appear in *the OED* as adjectives and as nothing else: *ibotenic* ‘a chemical found in certain mushrooms’ and *kainic* ‘a neurotoxic chemical obtained from certain alga’. There are, in fact, several more adjectives of Japanese origin documented in *the OED*, which are derivatives of nouns which are already recorded therein. All adjectives in the list of Japanese loanwords found in *the OED* are of scientific usage,

ending in the suffix *-ic*, suggesting that these words do not appear in every-day conversations or publications of common interest. For this reason, these adjectives are also members of the group of “words from technical works”. Again, they could be shorthand terminologies for specialists of a particular field to understand; *-ic* being the suffix specifically employed in the field of chemistry to produce the names of “oxygen acids and other compounds”.⁴⁰

5.2.2 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns themselves are not documented in *the OED* because of their editorial policy. However, when the proper nouns come to be used somewhat like an adjective in the English context, they are recorded. Thus, such words as *Nippon*, *Ryukyu*, *Yeddo*, and *Yokohama* have no illustrative examples for the paraphrasing stage, and begin to appear from the second stage of attributive usages. *Okinawan* and *Tokyoite*, which start as derivatives in *the OED*, also have their places here. The examples of *Nippon* and *Tokyoite* will be used below for illustration.

Nippon, the Japanese name for the country, is of course a proper noun. Although *the OED* in principle does not catalogue proper nouns, this word is recorded with the quotation from *the History of Japan* as in (38). It has attributive usages as in (39) and (40); and has succeeded to the next stage by forming a clipped form as in (41) and derivatives as in (42)–(44).

(38) 1727 J. G. SCHEUCHZER tr. *Kaempfer's Hist. Japan* I. i. iv. 58 This Empire is by the Europeans call'd Japan. The Natives give it several names and characters. The most common, and most frequently us'd in their writings and conversation, is Nippon, which is sometimes in a more

⁴⁰ *The OED*, s.v. *-ic*.

elegant manner, and particular to this Nation, pronounc'd Nifon... It signifies, the foundation of the Sun. (s.v. Nippon)

- (39) **1926** *Brit. Weekly* 3 June 185/3 They will simultaneously issue special editions on nippon vellum. (s.v. Nippon)
- (40) Dignified Nippon gentleman with two swords buckled to their sides looked very grave. (a journal entry of 30 Dec. 1859 in Fred G. Notehelfer, 1992, *Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall; 1859–1866*)
- (41) **1942** *Time* 9 Feb. 23/3, I visited a command post in one sector where they had just rounded up a bunch of Nips. (s.v. Nip, *n.*₆ and *a.*)
- (42) **1859** K. CORNWALLIS *Two Journeys to Japan* I. 205 Beyond..was to be seen the houses of the town of Napa..wherein were moored several large junks, native and Niponese. (s.v. Nipponese)
- (43) **1909** *Daily Chron.* 19 Aug. 4/6 The best English account of the conflict from the Nipponian point of view. (s.v. Nipponian, *a.*)
- (44) **1914** *Encycl. Relig. & Ethics* VII. 489/1 The cry of 'Nipponism'..was raised in a somewhat extravagant fashion. (s.v. Nipponian, *a.*)

Likewise, the name of the Japanese capital city, *Tokyo*, can be unsurprisingly found in English, but not in *the OED*. *The OED* does not record attributive usages, but such usages can be found on web-pages as in (45)–(47).⁴¹ Then, the word has formed the derivative *Tokyoite*, which is found in *the OED* as in (48).

- (45) IBM's English to Japanese machine translation system, developed for internal use in the corporation's Tokyo facilities, is currently in operational use for the translation of computer manuals. (<http://www.nap.edu/books/NI000757/html/10.html>)
- (46) The Tokyo governor, a fervent nationalist, is well-known for his outspoken comments. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/707389.stm>)

⁴¹ This cannot indicate, however, that the attributive usages appeared before the derivatives; it only reflects the fact that there currently exist such possible usages.

(47) Tokyo residents live within striking distance of Japan's tallest volcano, which is also the country's highest point at 3,776 meters (12,388 feet).

(<http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/IOTD/view.php?id=1031>)

(48) **1973** *Sat. Rev. World* (U.S.) 25 Sept. 39/1 The newspapers Tokyoites read..carry nothing but profoundly depressing tidings. (s.v. Tokyoite, *n.*)

5.2.3 Slang Words

Investigation of the data from *the OED* suggests that the loanwords which entered the English language as slang words often do not follow the naturalisation scale proposed. For instance, *honcho* 'a leader or a boss' and *moose* 'a young Japanese or Korean woman' do not have attributive usages documented. However, it must be remembered that the demonstrative sentences in *the OED* are only from those recorded in published and written texts. As slang words most often naturalise into a language as part of the spoken language, the earlier stages of the naturalising process of such words are not recorded in writing. The unwritten, or spoken, forms might follow a different procedure, but inquiry of this question must be reserved for another occasion.

The usage of the loanword *skosh* found in *the OED*, in the phrase *a skosh* meaning 'a small quantity', can be said to be an adverbial usage, although *the OED* puts it in the category of nouns.⁴² This loanword, according to *the OED*, entered the language as a slang word; therefore, this word should also belong to this sub-section. However, for this particular loanword, it is of interest that its usage parallels that of words such as *little* or *bit* that was

⁴² *The OED's* treating *skosh* as a noun should be because of its specific usage in *a skosh*, in which the loanword most often occurs after the indefinite article *a*. From this reality, the compilers of *the OED* must have taken the loanword to be a noun. In its definition, *the OED* gives the noun form "a little, a small amount", and then goes on to say that it is frequently used adverbially in *a skosh* 'slightly, somewhat'. All the illustrative sentences recorded in *the OED* are of the adverbial usage.

present in English long before *skosh* was borrowed. The two underlined parts in (49) indicate this; it seems that the word *skosh* had come to be used in this context with analogy to the original Japanese meaning and the usage of similar English words.

(49) **1959** (recorded by Prof. A. L. Hench, Univ. of Virginia) 10 May, ‘Just a skosh,’ he said. When I asked him what he meant he said he had picked the word up in Korea. It means ‘a little bit’. ‘Just a little bit left’ was the meaning. (s.v. *skosh*, *n.*)

On the subject of analogous usage, another stimulating example is *tsunami*, which gained a figurative usage prior to the appearance of the attributive usage. This might be evidence that analogy can sometimes advance the process of assimilation so as to skip one or another of the earlier phases of naturalisation, but this is yet to be confirmed and can only be a tentative proposition at this point, because among the loanwords here studied, there are no other words that can be attested in support of this theory. The demonstrative usages here of the loanword *tsunami* in (50) and (51) can be said to parallel the usage of the word *wave* in (52); *wave* and *tsunami* both being a mass of (sea)water moving towards the coastline.

(50) **1972** *Science* 11 Aug. 502/1 The Food and Drug Administration..is currently swimming through a tsunami of comments generated by its announced intention to alter the regulations concerning the dispensation of methadone. (= (21))

(51) Africa’s silent tsunami of malaria, however, is actually largely avoidable and controllable. (*The Daily Yomiuri*, 3 Feb. 2005)

(52) Take Caribbean and Latin American countries, which experienced a wave of malaria in the 1500’s. (<http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/212/>)

5.2.4 Other Non-Typical Cases

There are some cases in which two or more entries in *the OED* must be combined in order to fit them into the naturalisation scale I have proposed. The words *jinricksha* and *rickshaw* is one pair of such words, whose meaning is “a light two-wheeled vehicle drawn by men”. It is possible to combine these entries because they are different forms of the same word, *jinrikisha*, as spelled in the Hepburnian Romanisation system. The word appears in (53) with explanation, and then the attributive examples appear as in (54). While the other two examples are from the entry for *jinricksha*, (54) must be supplemented from *rickshaw* to complete the whole picture. Lastly, in (55), the word has come into the more productive phase by means of derivation, in this case, a “zero” derivation from a noun to a verb.

(53) **1880** I. L. BIRD *Japan* I. 18 The *kuruma* or jin-ri-kisha consists of a light perambulator body, an adjustable hood of oiled paper, a velvet or cloth lining and cushion, a well for parcels under the seat, two high slim wheels, and a pair of shafts connected by a bar at the ends. (s.v. *jinricksha*, *jinrikisha*, *n.*)

(54) **1886** KIPLING *Departm. Ditties*, etc. (1899) 65 He..Shall watch each flashing rickshaw-light. (s.v. *rickshaw*, *ricksha*)

(55) **1890** *Pall Mall G* 5 Feb 3/1 Chumming with Chinamen, jinrickshaing with Japanese,..palavering with Peruvians. (s.v. *jinricksha*, *jinrikisha*, *n.*)

Other loanwords which are difficult to locate on the naturalisation scale based on the data acquired from *the OED* are those that lack the examples for a particular phase of naturalisation. Among these loanwords are *gaijin* ‘a foreigner’, *kimono* ‘a Japanese-style dress’, *moxa* ‘young Japanese mugwort leaves used in alternative medicine’, *sanpaku*

‘visibility of the white of the eye below the iris, and on either side’ which examples of the paraphrased usage are not recorded. Also, there are words that lack attributive examples (*bonze* ‘a Buddhist clergyman’, *daimio* ‘the title of Japanese feudal lords’, *hara-kiri* ‘suicide by self-disembowelment’, *hibachi* ‘a charcoal brazier’, *honcho* ‘a leader or a boss’, *katsuramono* ‘a category of Noh plays’, *koji* ‘the rice malt’, *moxa*, *tokonoma* ‘an alcove in a traditional Japanese room’, and *tycoon* ‘an important or dominant person’).

The instances of *katsuramono* and *tokonoma* above are due to borrowing of the Japanese clipped forms. Therefore, the forms *katsura* and *toko* were not adaptations that occurred in the English language, thus complicating the results in this study. The other loanwords above cannot be explained in this way; however, it is possible to provide relevant usage examples for all these words from the WWW pages. Consequently, they will be treated as following the proposed naturalisation scale.⁴³ To give just a few such examples, (56) shows a paraphrasing use of *gaijin*, (57) an attributive usage of *daimio*, and (58) is an attributive usage of *moxa*.

(56) Five years later, against the backdrop of rising U.S.–Japan economic tension, Rowan became the first *gaijin* (non-Japanese) to advance to sumo’s top rank, *yokozuna*.

(<http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/p-4221-9780824829414.aspx>)

(57) His wife Shimo also passed away shortly thereafter, and as rumor of their vow spread, the

⁴³ The existence of such examples cannot indicate that a particular usage of a word appeared earlier or later in the process of naturalisation. Also, there are still words that seem not to follow the process when using data only from *the OED*. The following are such words: *dan* ‘a degree of proficiency in judo’, *kago* ‘a Japanese palanquin’, *mingei* ‘traditional Japanese handicraft’, *pachinko* ‘a Japanese pinball game’, and *shikimi* ‘the Japanese anise’, in which an attributive usage appears before the paraphrasing examples; and *dojo* ‘a judo training gym’, *kimono* ‘a Japanese-style dress’, *Mikado* ‘the Japanese emperor’, *sayonara* ‘good-bye’, and *shogun* ‘the hereditary commander-in-chief of feudal Japan’, in which a more productive form appears before the attributive usages. Further research using more illustrative sentences is needed to confirm the proposed process of naturalisation.

grounds of the daimyo mansion became the focus for a “mini-cult” centered on the deity “Shimokichi,” a name of course taken from the wife and husband’s combined names.

(<http://www2.kokugakuin.ac.jp/ijcc/wp/cpjr/newreligions/havens.html>)

(58) An ozone generator is used to control odors from moxa smoke and other herbs.

(<http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/hhe/reports/pdfs/2000-0341-2839.pdf>)

This section demonstrated the naturalising process hypothesised in this paper by means of illustrative loanwords. In the following section will be examined the naturalisation of loanwords which can be seen in older sources, and especially in *the History of Japan*.

6. The Naturalising Process and *the History of Japan*

As I have been reviewing the Japanese loanwords found in *the History of Japan*,⁴⁴ these loanwords will be studied here in terms of the naturalising process proposed in the previous sections.

The index of Japanese loanwords found in *the History of Japan* consists entirely of nouns from the cultural domain.⁴⁵ This is consistent with what Crowley has noted: vocabulary in the cultural domain is more likely to be borrowed than that in other basic domains.⁴⁶ It is also consistent with the claim Whitney has made that words, and among them nouns, are the most straightforwardly borrowed element.⁴⁷ When a community receives a new thing or concept from another, the word to express such a thing or concept will become

⁴⁴ Kämpfer.

⁴⁵ “Cultural domain” in its broadest sense consists of social and political systems, the fauna and flora, and any other constituent of the cultures of a given community. The fauna and flora generally belong to the domain of “nature”; however they can also belong to the domain of “culture” when their use in a given community is taken into account.

⁴⁶ Crowley, 153.

⁴⁷ Whitney.

necessary;⁴⁸ and consequently, it is quite predictable that “many of the new words have been taken over ready-made from the people from whom the idea or the thing designated has been obtained”.⁴⁹

Almost all such loanwords found in *the History of Japan* have not successfully passed through the naturalisation process proposed in the preceding sections. Exceptions include six derivatives (the names of inhabitants of territories⁵⁰ and the believers of faith⁵¹), and a compound (*Sackibrewers*⁵²). The derivatives involve common suffixes which are quite productive, and it can be said that they are at the initial position in the third stage above proposed. The compound of Japanese *saké* and English *brewer* represents the second stage. However, all others have not succeeded beyond the first stage.

When looking at individual instances of usages, it is noticeable that there are indeed countless examples of compounds found in the texts of *the History of Japan*. However, when one reads the whole text carefully, it turns out to be obvious that almost all such loanwords are paraphrased at their first appearances. A word is first paraphrased in an appropriate form, and then can be used freely because the readers already know what it is. A natural conclusion follows thence that these Japanese loanwords found in *the History of Japan* are not naturalised.

It must be noted that the naturalisation development might have continued after it appeared in *the History of Japan*. A loanword in the first stage of naturalisation at the time of

⁴⁸ Hino.

⁴⁹ Baugh and Cable, 303.

⁵⁰ *Nagasakian*, *Riukuan*, and *Satzumese*.

⁵¹ *Budsoism*, *Budsoist*, and *Sintoist*.

⁵² The sentence in which this loanword is used: “Thus for Instance, they lodge the deceitful Beer and Sackibrewers at the bottom of a deep muddy Spring, the Cooks and Pastry-cook’s in another, which is remarkable for its white froth, wranglers and quarrelsom People in another, which rushes out of the ground with a frightful murmuring noise, and so on.”

its publication can have proceeded into the next at later times. However, most of them do not appear in *the OED*, and even when they do, they have not successfully proceeded into a later stage. This suggests the general assumption by previous scholars that older loanwords become more naturalised is erroneous.⁵³

The reason why the Japanese loanwords found in *the History of Japan* have not naturalised is that the purpose of this work by Kämpfer was to familiarise Japan to his fellow Europeans. The Europeans did not adopt the Japanese item, custom, or behaviour; the loanwords were simply tentative borrowings and did not stay in the English lexicon, for the reason that they were not required in the everyday context where English was used. Only those loanwords used regularly follow the naturalisation process successfully.

Also interesting is the fact that the loanword *Budsdo* ‘Buddhism’, which had two derivative forms and was in the early third stage of naturalisation, fell out of use since the time of *the History of Japan*. This is because the word *Budsdo* itself has fallen out of use even in the Japanese language, and consequently also in English. In Japanese it was replaced by *bukkyo*, in English by *Buddhism*. Therefore, *Budsdoism* and *Budsdoist* that appeared in *the History of Japan* are no longer used, and have been replaced by *Buddhism* and *Buddhist*; and likewise *Buds* by *Buddha*, which was borrowed from Sanskrit directly or from a corrupted form of the language.⁵⁴ This shows that even when a loanword is once naturalised, it may become out of use later, which is quite the same process as when a native word goes out of

⁵³ E.g. Cannon, “Zero Plurals”; Umegaki.

⁵⁴ *Buds* and *Buddha* are actually cognates that derived from Sanskrit *buddha* ‘enlightened or awakened’. The former is what was borrowed into English from the Japanese language, and the latter from an Indian language or Sanskrit. The Japanese form is actually a corrupted form of the Sanskrit original: it is a Sino-Japanese loanword that came from Sanskrit via the ancient Chinese language.

use.

7. Summary of the Naturalising Process

Before closing this paper altogether, the typical naturalisation process among the Japanese loanword found in *the OED* will be reviewed using the the loanword *ju-jitsu* ‘a Japanese system of wrestling and physical training’, which seems to have gone quite paradigmatically through the three-stage process. This loanword was first borrowed into English with a paraphrasing word as in (59). Attributive usages subsequently appeared as in (60); and then in (61), the words gains productivity, in this case, by a figurative usage.

(59) **1875** *Japan Mail* 10 Mar. 133/1 Jiu-jitsu (wrestling) is also taught, but not much practised by gentlemen. (s.v. ju-jitsu)

(60) **1905** *Daily Chron.* 21 Feb. 7/4 Their gymnasium is often visited by ju-jitsu wrestlers. (s.v. ju-jitsu)

(61) **1928** F. ROMER *Numbers Up!* 11 ‘Revenge?’ .. ‘nothing of the kind. I shall merely practise Moral Jiu-jitsu.’ (s.v. ju-jitsu)

In contrast to this linear process, Kimura-Kano describes a “cyclic system” where the borrowed words in her Stage 4 (i.e., those loanwords that are well-naturalised) “go back to the earlier stages with their new senses and produce a new series of additional word-formations”.⁵⁵ This is indeed true for those loanwords that have become well-naturalised; however, the new series of word-formations occur after the naturalisation process has completed. It is only after the loanwords become initially naturalised and fully incorporated that such additional word-formations occur. This means that they should be

⁵⁵ Kimura-Kano, *Lexical Borrowing*, 46.

considered as formations that have occurred after the original loanword naturalisation process had been completed; thus the original loanwords in fact do not “go back to the earlier stages”, but go on to a further process. Therefore, this phenomenon need not be treated here.

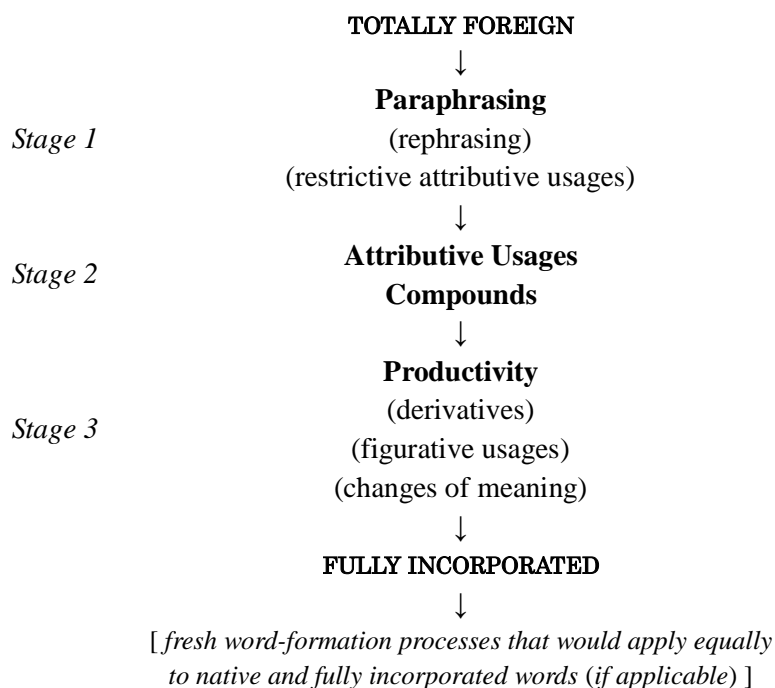
8. Conclusion

In this paper, by observing *the History of Japan* and the illustrative sentences in *the OED*, it was pointed out that italicising, use of quotation marks, and spelling, which many previous works considered as an earlier stage of loanword naturalisation, cannot be regarded as such. The pronunciations given in *the OED* suggests that pronunciation, too, cannot be an indicator of Anglicisation.

As described in the preceding sections, this study hypothesises that the Japanese loanwords follow a common naturalising process from TOTALLY FOREIGN to FULLY INCORPORATED. According to the hypothesis, a Japanese loanword first appears in English accompanied by words or phrases of paraphrasing; it then acquires a certain degree of productivity in the sense that attributive usages begin to appear. Finally, it gains complete productivity and heads towards the direction of being absolutely incorporated into the English language. This process was exemplified by illustrative sentences taken mainly from *the OED*.

Although some exceptions were found as discussed in Section 5, even amongst those Japanese loanwords that can be found in *the OED*, most of them could be accounted for. As the final conclusion, the figure below gives a generalised tendency as to how the loanwords of Japanese origin naturalises into the English lexicon.

Figure: The naturalisation process generalised



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