The Naturalising Process of Japanese Loanwords in *the Oxford English Dictionary*

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1. Introduction

All languages we can think of have many borrowed words, or loanwords, in their vocabulary. English is not an exception. As an international language, it has not only had a great influence on many other languages, but also has absorbed new vocabulary from them. Japan, with its own unique culture, has contributed quite a large number of loanwords into the English language.

The word 'loanword' has been defined in many ways. To give an example, *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" (Haugen & Mithun, 2003, p. 243). In this paper, the word will be used in a slightly wider sense; that is, all words that originated from 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 relating to Japanese loanwords are on the rise. However, most of these have not proceeded further than a descriptive listing (e.g., Gatenby, 1931; Serjeanston, 1935; Burchfield & Smith, 1973, 1974; Mulcahy, 1996; Hayakawa, 2006; Doi, 2008). The purpose of this paper is not simply to produce another list, but to reveal the process of naturalisation which Japanese loanwords have followed, which is, to the best of my knowledge, a topic which has not yet been much studied. However, there are some studies conducted in this field, of which the major ones are Cannon (1994), Kimura-Kano (2006), and Doi (2006).

Cannon argues in his 1994 article that his naturalisation process, which he devised for Malayan loanwords, can also be applied to Japanese loanwords. The four stages he proposes are:

[1] Words that are glossed, italicised, or used with quotation marks

[2] Words that exhibit phonetic, grammatical, syntactic, and semantic adaptation

[3] Words that are recorded in all unabridged dictionaries; or that have gained some productivity, but are not yet fully absorbed

[4] Words that are recorded in almost all of the latest desk dictionaries, carrying various meanings

Although this process described by Cannon is quite well-conceived, there are some points which need consideration. 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 language; loanwords from other languages might behave differently. Once the general mechanisms for both source languages are determined, an overview of the similarities and dissimilarities between the languages may be made. Secondly, even if the naturalisation of Japanese loanwords does indeed follow the process proposed by Cannon, there are still some problems. For example, italicisation and use of quotation marks do not necessarily indicate that a word is not naturalised. Words are sometimes italicised or used in quotation marks for mere emphasis, and this does not mean that the word is not naturalised. 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, thus obscuring the distinction.

A more recent model proposed by Kimura-Kano (2006, p. 39) suggests a process of four stages as follows:

[1] Adaptation of Pronunciation and Orthography
(stressification, lengthening, diphthongizing, spelling adaptation)
[2] Restricted Attributive Use of Nouns (noun compound = loanword + explanatory word)
[3] Acquisition of Productivity (compounding, suffixation, functional shift from noun)
[4] Semantic Shift (transfer of meaning, extension of meaning, metaphoric usage)

While this schema appears more acceptable than that of Cannon's, nevertheless a number of questions arise. How, for example, is the 'noun compound' in Stage 2 different from the 'compounding' in Stage 3? Is it not possible for Stages 3 and 4 to occur simultaneously? Are spelling changes always adaptations? Does attributive usages have to appear after spelling or pronunciation alternations? Each of these questions will be discussed later.

Doi (2006), of which this present paper is an updated and revised version, suggested a naturalising process of three stages as follows:

[1] Paraphrasing (Rephrasing, Restrictive attributive usage)
[2] Productive attributive usage and Compounds
[3] Acquisition of productivity (Derivation, Figurative usage, Changes of meaning)

The current paper will adhere fundamentally to this process.

So much for the previous studies;[1] I will now turn to the data used in this study.

2. The Data

2.1. The Sources of the Data

The main source of data used for the present study is *the Oxford English Dictionary* (OED, hereafter). This dictionary was used because it is readily available in electronic form from the Internet, and can be conveniently searched.

OED was first published in a series of 125 fascicles between 1884 and 1928; and the first edition in 10 volumes was completed in 1928. This was re-issued in 12 volumes together with a separate single supplementary volume in 1933. A four-volume supplement was then circulated between 1972 and 1986. All entries in the 17 volumes were put together, with some additional entries, in 1989 to complete the 20-volume second edition. This was put into CD-ROM format in 1992. Supplementary entries were published under the title *the Oxford English Dictionary Additions Series* in 1993 and 1997; however, before this series was completed, the online service began in 2000 to take it place, with quarterly amendments and updates.[2] The data used in this paper has been taken mainly from this online version.

OED is known for the unique historical principle on which it is based. Not only the definitions, but also spelling variations and illustrative citations throughout the history of each word are listed in chronological order. With some 300,000 entries and as many as 2,437,000 quotations (Berg, 1993, p. 195), OED is undoubtedly the largest and most authoritative English dictionary.[3] This is why this dictionary was used as the primary source of the data.

Another characteristic of OED is the way it deals with proper names. Basically, the policy seems to be not to include them; however, when there are derivative forms or meanings, such derivatives are recorded. Thus, while the name of the city *Tokyo* is not found in the dictionary, its derivative *Tokyoite* is included; and *Nintendo* appears not as the name of the manufacturer, but as a name for a range of computer-games, or as a name for the console on which they are played. This is a characteristic that must be borne in mind in the course of analysis, since it may alter the results.

Occasionally, in this study, when OED does not provide enough citations, or when confirmations were needed, the World Wide Web pages on the Internet have been employed to search for examples of the word concerned. The Google search engine played a sizeable role for this purpose. Additionally, examples from other sources, which I came across during my every-day English reading and listening, have occasionally been used; those examples will be indicated as such where they occur.

2.2. The Search Conducted

With the online version of OED, the most straightforward way to search for loanwords from a specific language effectively and systematically is to use the 'Advanced Search' function. By simply entering the name of the target language and selecting 'in etymology' from a pull-down menu

of fields to be searched, candidates for loanwords can readily be found. However, OED uses several different indicators to represent the same language in its etymological description. For example, the Japanese language is indicated either by *Jap.* or *Japanese*. These two forms were searched separately in the etymology section, which returned 304 and 265 entries respectively. Also, there are 74 cases where the country-name *Japan* occurs instead of the language-name *Japanese*.

However, this did not return all Japanese loanwords in OED, because there are cases in which the origin of the word appears in the definition, but not in its etymological description. Therefore, a search of the definition field was also conducted using the same indicators, plus the word *Japan*. By *Jap.* 7 entries were returned, *Japanese* returned 377, and *Japan* returned 275. Unsurprisingly, many were duplicates of those returned by the search of the etymology field. Eliminating these and combining the number attested from the three indicators, together with those returned by the searches of the etymology section, gave a total of 794 words. However, within this group are some words that have nothing to do with the Japanese language, and these had to be excluded manually. In this way, 229 such words, which were included as a result of matched homonyms and the like, were disqualified, leaving a total of 565 words.

For each of these 565 words, the five immediately preceding and following words in OED listing were checked so as not to leave out any derivative forms. This added 17 words. Finally, the word lists included in the studies of Tokyo Seitoku English Study Society (2003, 2004) were consulted, which added two more words to make the final total 584 words. These are the words analysed in the present study.[4]

The illustrative sentences from OED employed for the investigation are those that can be divided into categories. Those examples which do not have any characteristics that can be used to assign a word to a category were excluded from the analysis, because they pose a difficult problem. For example, while it is not easy to map the word *dotaku* in sentence (1) onto a scale of naturalisation because it does not have any specific characteristic that can be used for such purpose, the same word in (2) can be analysed as occurring together with a paraphrasing phrase and, therefore, as not as yet naturalised.[5]

(1) **1982** AIKENS & HIGUCHI *Prehist. of Japan* iv. 218 Over 350 *dotaku* have been found so far in southwestern Japan, and new discoveries are still being made.

(s.v. dotaku, *n. pl.*, Additions Ser.)

(2) **1966** J. ROSENFIELD tr. *Noma's Arts of Japan* i. 12 The chief artistic remains of this period are its bronze weapons..and bronze bell-shaped objects called *dōtaku*. (*ibid.*)

2.3. Problems That Arise When Using OED

Looking at the words listed in OED, it is obvious that there is some bias in the selection of

words. For example, quite a lot of judo terms, which are used only in the matches, are included. Also, when searching for loanwords in OED, it must be taken into account that it lists many specialised and technical words not used in every-day life. The quotations for such words are from reference books and specified periodicals, and sometimes this alters the outcomes of data analysis. In addition, OED does not record all printed occurrences of a word; the example sentences are a selection for purely illustrative purpose, which is quite natural.

It is certainly of great help in studies such as this that this enormous dictionary can be accessed online. Searching for words borrowed from a certain language has been made far easier and quicker: searching for them manually would certainly be a most time-consuming task. However, there are some problems about the content of OED when electronic searching is concerned.

When OED is used for the ordinary purpose of a dictionary, looking up the meaning or checking the spelling of a word, these kinds of problem do not arise. However, when electronic searches are conducted for the purpose of data acquisition as here, problems arise concerning the way in which the etymologies are presented. In particular, as pointed out by Kimura-Kano (2006, pp. 33–37), and also pointed out above, there is no single way to retrieve all loanwords from a particular source language. To add to this, as also mentioned above, some etymologies are actually presented in the definition, while for other words the sources are not mentioned at all. It is to be hoped that, in the course of the dictionary's on-going revision, the etymological descriptions will be presented in a more consistent manner.

3. The Naturalising Process

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. In principle, each word in a language can be located at a certain point on a continuum, with TOTALLY FOREGN at one extreme and FULLY INCORPORATED (and NATIVE) at the other.[6] Nevertheless, there is a recognisable tendency which the Japanese loanwords follow in the course of naturalising into the English language.

This paper theorises a new scale of naturalisation based on an analysis of the above-mentioned data obtained from OED. According to this theory, the naturalising process has three stages which overlap at their boundaries. In the earlier stage of the process, the loanwords are paraphrased. Then attributive usage appears as a transitional stage. Lastly, the words acquire productivity and make their way into the FULLY INCORPORATED status. The stages here, again, are not a series of sudden jumps and the borders are somewhat fuzzy; thus, drawing distinct lines between the stages is impossible.

These 'stages' will be discussed below with illustrative sentences from OED, and occasionally from other sources.[7] It must be borne in mind that the use of a particular example of a particular word to illustrate a certain stage does not indicate that the word is presently at the stage; the word

might have proceeded to a later stage since the time of the example. It also does not indicate that the word first appeared in that stage in the English language: all Japanese loanwords found in OED ideally proceed from the initial stage of the scale to the final stage.

3.1. Stage 1: Paraphrasing

Cannon (1994) considered punctuation and glossing as indicators of the first stage. Glossing, or paraphrasing, is indeed the first stage towards naturalisation; however, punctuation is not necessarily so, as naturalised words can sometimes be italicised or used within inverted commas. Punctuation and spelling changes are considered to be the second stage in Cannon's study and the first in Kimura-Kano's 2006 study, but in the present study this will be treated later in Section 4.

When foreign words are used in an English context, it is natural for the writer to want to make sure that the words are understood by the readers.[8] Thus, in order to ensure the foreign words are 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 first stage towards naturalisation. Those loanwords that are rephrased by English words or phrases to explain what the unfamiliar words mean fall into this stage. In (3) and (4) below, which have the same structure, the Japanese words are explained in an immediately following appositional phrase.

(3) **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, 2nd ed.)

(4) **1963** H. TANAKA *Pleasures Jap. Cooking* i. 4 *Dashi*, a light, clear fish stock..is quite indispensable to Japanese cookery. (s.v. dashi, 2nd ed.)

Although example (5) has a slightly different structure, the function is the same. In cases such as this, because the English phrase before the loanword gives the explanation, the Japanese word can be used in context, even if it is unfamiliar.

(5) **1908** H. B. SCHWARTZ *In Togo's Country* 170 The woman..wore over her ordinary dress a pair of trousers called *mompe*, fitting closely around the ankle and baggy round the hips.
(s.v. mompe, Sept. 2002 revision)

Another way in which Japanese loanwords are paraphrased, is by means of restrictive attributive usage; that is, English words 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 'productive

attributive usage' stage.

(6) **1959** R. KIRKBRIDE *Tamiko* xxii. 172 He bought Tamiko a kokeshi doll. (s.v. kokeshi, 2nd ed.)

(7) **1841** *Manners & Customs of Japanese* iii. 65 Many and..various peculiarities belong to the *Matsuri* festival. (s.v. matsuri, Mar. 2001 revision)

(8) **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. shoji, 2nd ed.)

(9) 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)

Sugiura (1995, pp. 75–77) provides a detailed list of the way in which loanwords can be paraphrased as such above.

3.2. Stage 2: Productive Attributive Usages and Compound Nouns

As a first step towards productivity acquirement, there are some attributive usages, which are more productive than those that appeared in the previous sub-section. At this stage, the loanwords are not explained by the English words following them; rather, the loanwords themselves function as quasi-adjectives; in other words, the loanword and the following English word together behave as compound nouns. For example, *Nanga books* (books in which the pictures are drawn in Nanga style) in (10) and *tatami room* (a room in which tatami are used) in (11) are considered to be examples of the productive usage; in comparison to the restrictive usage in the previous sub-section, *Nanga painting* (Nanga, which is a style of painting) and *tatami mat* (tatami, which is a kind of mat).

(10) **1972** *Times* 18 May 21/6 Ikeno Taiga's *Taigado Gafu*..made £400. This is one of the finest colour-printed Nanga books and extremely rare. It is dated 1803.

(s.v. Nanga, June 2003 revision)

(11) **1979** *Jrnl. R. Soc. Arts* Nov. 749/1 The interior spaces provide everything that the harsh exterior rejects: complex flowing geometries, traditional tatami room, lush furnishing and peaceful, controlled nature. (s.v. tatami, 2nd ed.)

(12) **1949** *Far Eastern Q.* **9** 73 Nanga school; Buncho (1764–1840); *kakemono* triptych: Confucius and 2 landscapes; paintings in color on silk. (s.v. Nanga, June 2003 revision)

The usage *Nanga school* in (12) above is among these expressions, including *Kamakura epoch* and the like, that could not be clearly designated to a stage. An informal survey of several native speakers of English which I conducted produced contradictory opinions. About half the informants

felt that it indicated 'a school of art in which Nanga is the cachet' (productive usage), while others felt that it was closer to 'Nanga, which is a school of art' (restrictive usage). This division of opinion may support the idea that those usages are in the process of proceeding into this stage from the previous one, sharing some characteristics of both stages.

3.3. Stage 3: Acquisition of Productivity

At this stage, the loanwords acquire greater productivity than those in the previous transitional stage of productive attributive usage. The words that proceed into this stage can be said to be well on their way to full incorporation into the English vocabulary. Kimura-Kano (2006) divided this into two different stages (her Stage 3, 'productivity acquisition', and Stage 4, 'semantic shift'); however, there seems not to be a clear chronological difference in the appearance of these two. Therefore, they have been treated as a single stage in the present study. Also, there are not so many Japanese loanwords that have reached to this stage. This could 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 that these 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 here: 'derivation', 'figurative usage', and 'changes of meaning'.

Derivation: A derivative word is created by attaching a derivational affix to a word. The existence of such derivatives indicates 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 so much importance in the present study where the aim is simply to 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 forming nonce-word adjectives (s.v. -esque, *suffix*, 2nd ed.; -ish[1], 2nd ed.). On the other hand, although productive in the past, *-ess* ('femaleness') has lost its productiveness in present-day English (s.v. -ess, *suffix*[1], 2nd ed.). Also, some suffixes are only productive in a specific field; for example, *-ol* ('a name of chemical substance'; s.v. -ol, *suffix*, March 2004 revision). Below are some sentences taken from OED to exemplify derivative words.

(13) **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, 2nd ed.)

(14) **1958** *Times* 3 Dec. 6/4 Tycoons are not quite as tycoonish as they were before.
(s.v. tycoon, 2nd ed.)

(15) **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, 2nd ed.)

(16) **1894** *Yng. Gentlew.* 168 One accustomed to the kimonoed beauties of Japan.

(s.v. kimono, 2nd ed.)

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

In (17), it is not an individual, but rather an organisation, who will 'commit hara-kiri'. As *hara-kiri*, or suicide by self-disembowelment, is an act carried out by an individual, (17) does not fit into the original usage of 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.

(17) **1888** *Scott. Leader* 17 Mar. 4 The Liberal Union party..will hesitate long before committing 'hari-kari' in that fashion. (s.v. hara-kiri, 2nd ed.)

The Japanese loanword *hara-kiri* has several interesting spelling variations, including *hari-kari*, which seems to be a quite common spelling. In OED, four out of six examples have this spelling; the other spellings in the illustrations being *hara-kiri* and *hari-kiri*. The non-Japanese forms of the word seem to be influenced by rhymes which are quite preferential to the English language, together with the reduction of unstressed vowels. The other spelling variation in OED, albeit without any illustrative sentences, is *hurry-curry*, which appears to be a spelling corruption derived from the pronunciation of *hari-kari*.[9]

Google-ing the World Wide Web pages as a corpus, the following numbers were obtained: *hara-kiri* 263,000; *hari-kari* 76,300; *hari-kiri* 19,000; *hurry-curry* (including commercial names for Indian food) 13,400; and *hara-kari* 533. The numbers indicate that the most Japanese-like *hara-kiri* is the norm, followed distantly by its anglicised form *hari-kari*, while the other forms are probably simply misspellings or somewhat corrupted forms. Spelling alternation will be discussed later (see § 4.1 and § 4.2 below), and it will be pointed out that spellings themselves do not identify a word's position on the naturalisation scale.

In (18) and (19), *tsunami* is not a wave caused by a big earthquake, which is the original meaning. The word's core sense seems to be still preserved, but it is used in a quite figurative or metaphorical way.

(18) **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, 2nd ed.)

(19) 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 decades of repressive rule. (*The Daily Yomiuri*, 26 March 2008, p. 15)[10]

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 usage of the word, it is redundant to say *a tsunami of seawater*; a *tsunami* being already a type of wave, there is no need to indicate it is of seawater. On the other hand, there are literal usages in which *of* is followed by a volume, height, etc. (e.g., a tsunami of an unprecedented scale, a tsunami of two feet) or a date (e.g., a tsunami of 1907, the tsunami of 26 May). These are not figurative usages but are literal ones with a prepositional phrase. Most others are those of figurative usages; the *of*-phrases most typically indicate the material or substance of which the 'tsunami' is made.

Changes of meaning: Semantic changes arise as the loanwords become more adapted into English. 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'.

Extension means "the widening of a word's signification until it covers much more than the idea originally conveyed" (Baugh & Cable, 2002, p. 308). The word *hibachi* in (20) might be an example of extension, as the original Japanese charcoal brazier is explained as a portable barbeque grill.[11] While (20) is the only example of what seems to be an extended usage of *hibachi* found in OED, there are usages found in the World Wide Web pages on the Internet, for example (21), that this loanword is to mean a real barbeque grill. The meaning of the word *hibachi* has been widened to denote any container for charcoal.

(20) **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, 2nd ed.)

(21) **Product Description:** Cast iron hibachi. Features two multi-positional cooking grids. Cooking grids measure 9 x 15 inches. Total measurement 10 x 18 inches. 181 square inches of cooking area. Weight 19 lbs.

(retrieved 24 April 2008, from http://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B0000SW0UU/)

Specialisation is the opposite process in which the meaning of the word becomes narrower or used in one special connection; degeneration and regeneration are when the meaning changes towards

a less or more favourable meaning. These three practices are, to the best of my knowledge, not found among the Japanese loanwords recorded in OED. However, other kinds of semantic changes can be found; and to illustrate these, some examples will be discussed below.

(22) **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, 2nd ed.)

(23) **1829** *Encycl. Metrop.* (1845) XX. 477/1 The Gods worshipped by the Shin-tos are principally.. departed Spirits deified. (s.v. Shinto, 2nd ed.)

(24) **1926** *Time* 14 June 32/3 *Married.* Fred W. Fitch, 56, rich hair-tonic tycoon. (s.v. tycoon, 2nd ed.)

(25) Japan's Sumo Bank (*Time*, 26 July 2004, p. 10, headline)

In (22), the words *ohayo* and *sayonara* are used as verbs (with preterit endings), when the original part of speech are both interjections; the former is a word of greeting, the latter of farewell. This is an example of conversion, or zero-derivation.

In OED's treatment of these words, some problems were found. Firstly, while the word *sayonara* is included, the other Japanese word *ohayo* is not. Since the policy of the dictionary is to record exhaustively all the words found in English language publications, this appears to be an oversight.[12] Also, (22) might not be an exact quote of the original text; since it might not be a full-sentence, but only part of it (*cf.* Kipling, 1970, p. 52). This kind of problem comes up as a consequence of the method in which the citations were collected; many of the people who contributed were not experts in the field of lexicography, or even of linguistics.

Shinto in (23) is not used in the original sense, but is used to mean the devotees of the faith. Likewise, *tycoon* in (24) is not the original Japanese shogun, but is an important or dominant person in business. In (25), the word *sumo* is used to represent not the wrestlers or the Japanese sport itself, but used as an adjective meaning 'big', 'gigantic', or 'powerful'; thus, the meaning conveyed by *sumo bank* is what is now commonly referred to as 'mega-banks'. In all these examples, the changes in meaning do not include broadening in the sense of extension: they might 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 character; however, the difference between semantic extension and transfer is not clear-cut, and thus it is not easy to distinguish the two.

So far, the naturalisation process of Japanese loanwords in principal has been described. In the next sub-section, the process will be reviewed using illustrative words.

3.4. The Naturalisation Process Illustrated

3.4.1. The Typical Process

The word *origami* seems to have followed the prototypical process, and currently considered to

be in the last stage of naturalisation. First, the word was borrowed with a paraphrasing phrase in (26); then, productive attributive usages appear as in (27); and in (28), the word has gained productivity by means of figurative usage. This is the typical naturalisation process among the Japanese words found in OED.

(26) **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, *n.*, Sept. 2004 revision)

(27) **1972** C. FREMLIN *Appointment with Yesterday* xi. 83 The Origami cut-outs they'd had such a craze for over Christmas, they wore on the bed too. (s.v. origami, 2nd ed.)

(28) **1996** *Australian* (Nexis) 5 Mar., Proteins also need to be folded into shape and this biological origami is not always flawless. (s.v. origami, *n.*, Sept. 2004 revision)

Another word that has successfully gone through the stages towards full recognition is *Shinkansen*. Thus, in (29) it comes with the words 'electric railcars'; in (30) as an attributive, *Shinkansen line*; and in (31), it is not any more the original Japanese railway system, but is a service planned outside Japan. Note that the usage in (31) has lost its initial capital to become a general noun. This demonstrates that the word is very commonly accepted, at least in the railway industry.

(29) **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.*, Additions Ser.)

(30) **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. (*ibid.*)

(31) **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. (*ibid.*)

However, care must be taken of the treatment of this and other such technical terms, because the example sentences in OED can be from specialised periodicals and reference books. A word which might be naturalised to a certain degree in the specialised field may well be somewhat behind, or less frequently, ahead, in vernacular speech or in other fields. In Cannon's words, "matters of register and the like" cause enough difficulties on the naturalisation scale "to require occasional fluidity on particular occasions"; that is, "the general assignment may be to Stage 2 but with possible variations of one stage higher or lower" (1994, p. 387). *Shinkansen* is one such word. In a news broadcast, the word was used together with a paraphrasing phrase as in (32). This should indicate that the word is not so familiar among non-Japanese people outside Japan. Although the news

program was made in Japan, because it is intended for viewers throughout the word, it would be safe to conclude as such.

(32) . . . the Shinkansen bullet trains were delayed due to heavy snowfall . . . .

(*NHK News Watch*, NHK BS1, 4:20 a.m. 23 Dec. 2005)

From the above, it can be said 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 somewhat better knowledge of what it is; and railway transportation professionals seem to understand the word in a wider sense such as is used in (31).

3.4.2. Some Non-Typical Examples

The above sub-section gave an illustration of the typical naturalisation process with the words *origami* and *Shinkansen*. In this sub-section, I will present some of the loanwords that do not seem to follow this process and therefore cannot be mapped on my naturalisation scale. However, by giving some explanations for these atypical cases, it will be pointed out that almost all loanwords will generally follow the proposed naturalising process.

Words from technical works: Loanwords that were taken from technical books and articles into OED are quite difficult to fit into the naturalisation scale. When a word is used in a scientific source, most people in the field should be familiar with the word; and thus, the words can come without any paraphrasing, even though 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 book 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. *Koji* → *kojic* and *moxa* → *moxibustion* are examples of such words. However, such derivatives might not be motivated by the adaptation process; instead, they could be scientifically motivated; thus, although these words seem to be counter-examples for my proposed naturalisation scale, they in fact follow it in principle.

Proper nouns: Because of the editing policy, proper nouns themselves are not recorded in OED; however, when they 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 in the attributive usages. *Okinawan* and *Tokyoite*, which start as derivatives in OED, also belong here. The examples of *Nippon* and *Tokyoite* will be used here for illustration.

Nippon, the Japanese way of referring to the country, is of course a proper noun. It has attributive usages recorded in OED as in (33) and (34); and has succeeded to the next stage by forming

a clipped form as in (35) and four derivatives (36) – (39).

(33) **1614** R. WICKHAM *Let.* 25 May in A. Farrington *Eng. Factory in Japan* (1991) I. 163 A smale remembrance per this bearer, of the love & frendshipp I ever owed you, being but a paire of buskins for the winter & a paire of Nepon tabyes for your tutor in the languadge, etc.

(s.v. Nippon, *n.* (and *a.*), Dec. 2003 revision)

(34) **1859** F. HALL *Jrnl.* 30 Dec. in F. G. Notehelfer *Japan through Amer. Eyes: Jrnl. Francis Hall* (1992) 95/2 Dignified Nippon gentlemen with two swords buckled to their sides looked very grave. (*ibid.*)

(35) **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.*[5] and *a.*, Sept. 2003 revision)

(36) **1959** 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 Nipponese.

(s.v. Nipponese, *a.* and *n.*, Dec. 2003 revision)

(37) **1909** *Daily Chron.* 19 Aug. 4/6 The best English account of the conflict from the Nipponian point of view. (s.v. Nipponian, *a.*, 2nd ed.)

(38) **1904** *Times* 27 Oct. 3/3 Nipponism..knows none of the bounds imposed by military honour... The only remedy is to place Nipponism under the ban. (s.v. Nipponism, *n.*, Dec. 2003 revision)

(39) **1942** H. MEARS *Year of Wild Boar* 82 We saw a *modern*-style movie-theater where the picture featured Harold Lloyd; but he was talking Japanese, for they had Nipponized the sound track.

(s.v. Nipponize, *v.*, Dec. 2004 draft)

Likewise, the name of the Japanese capital city, *Tokyo*, can be naturally found in the English language in general, but not in OED. The dictionary does not record attributive usages, but such can be found on web-pages as in (40), (41), and (42).[13] Then, the word has formed the derivative *Tokyoite*, which is found in OED as in (43).

(40) 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. (retrieved 10 Dec. 2005, from http://www.nap.edu/books/NI000757/html/10.html)

(41) The Tokyo governor, a fervent nationalist, is well-known for his outspoken comments.

(retrieved 25 April 2008, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/707389.stm)

(42) Londoners who took part in the survey ate out on average 2.5 times per week compared with 3.4 times for New Yorkers and 3.6 times for Tokyo residents.

(retrieved 25 April 2008, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/6990689.stm)

(43) **1973** *Sat. Rev. World* (U.S.) 25 Sept. 39/1 The newspapers Tokyoites read..carry nothing but

profoundly depressing tidings. (s.v. Tokyoite, *n.*, Additions Ser.)

Slang words: Analysis of the data from OED suggests that slang words often do not follow the naturalisation scale proposed. For instance, *honcho*, *moose*, and *papasan* do not have attributive usages recorded; and for *Maru*, the more productive form historically precedes the attributive usages. However, it must be remembered that the examples in OED are only those recorded in printed texts. As slang naturalises into a language as a part of the spoken language, the earliest stages of the naturalising process of such words are not recorded in writing. The unwritten, or spoken, forms might follow a different process, but investigation of this question must be reserved for another occasion.

Adjectives: There are three loanwords of Japanese origin that appear in OED as adjectives and as nothing else: *Okadaic*, *ibotenic*, and *kainic*. There are several more adjectives of Japanese origin recorded, being derivatives of nouns also there in the dictionary. Such adjectives are of scientific usage, ending in *-ic*, suggesting that they do not appear in every-day conversations or publications of general interest. For this reason, these adjectives are also members of the 'words from technical works' group above mentioned. In some sense, these apparent derivatives might not be derivatives at all; they could be shorthand expressions for the specialised persons of the field to understand; *-ic* being the suffix specifically employed in the field of chemistry to form the names of "oxygen acids and other compounds" (s.v. -ic, 2nd ed.).

A quasi-adverbial: The usage of the word *skosh* found in OED, in the phrase *a skosh* meaning 'a small quantity', can be said to be an adverbial usage, although the dictionary puts it in the category of nouns. This loanword, according to OED, entered the language as slang; thus, this word is also a member of the above-mentioned 'slang words'. However, for this particular word, it is of interest that its usage parallels that of words such as 'little' or 'bit' that existed in English before *skosh* was borrowed. The two underlined parts in (44) indicate this; it seems that the word *skosh* had come to be used in this context with analogy to *a*) the original Japanese meaning and *b*) the usage of similar English words.

(44) **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.*, Additions Ser.)

On the subject of analogous usage, another interesting example is *tsunami*, which gained a figurative usage before the appearance of the attributive usage. This might be evidence that analogy can sometimes advance the process in as much as to skip one or the other earlier steps of naturalisation, but this is yet to be confirmed and can only be a tentative suggestion at this point, because among the loanwords analysed, there are just a few words that can be attested in support of

this theory. The illustrative usages here of the loanword *tsunami* in (45) and (46) can be said to parallel the usage of the word *wave* in (47), *wave* and *tsunami* both being a mass of (sea)water moving towards the (sea)shore.

(45) **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. (= (18))

(46) Africa's silent tsunami of malaria, however, is actually largely avoidable and controllable.
(*The Daily Yomiuri*, 3 Feb. 2005, p. 11)[14]

(47) Take Caribbean and Latin American countries, which experienced a wave of malaria in the 1500's.
(retrieved 25 April 2008, from http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/212/)

3.5. Summary of Naturalisation Process

Before closing Section 3 altogether, the typical naturalisation process among the Japanese loanword found in OED will be reviewed with the loanword *ju-jitsu*, which seems to have gone quite effectively through the three-stage scale. This word was first borrowed into English with a restatement as in (48). Attributive usages next emerged as in (49); and then in (50), the words gain productivity, in this case, by a figurative usage.

(48) **1875** *Japan Mail* 10 Mar. 133/1 *Jiu-jitsu* (wrestling) is also taught, but not much practiced by gentlemen. (s.v. ju-jitsu, 2nd ed.)

(49) **1905** *Daily Chron.* 21 Feb. 7/4 Their gymnasium is often visited by ju-jitsu wrestlers. (*ibid.*)

(50) **1928** F. ROMER *Numbers Up!* 11 'Revenge?'..'nothing of the kind. I shall merely practise Moral Jiu-jitsu.' (*ibid.*)

As described above and in the previous sub-sections, this paper hypothesises that the Japanese loanwords found in OED follow a common naturalising process from TOTALLY FOREIGN to FULLY INCORPORATED. According to the hypothesis, a Japanese word first appears within the English context accompanied by paraphrasing phrases or words; it then acquires a certain degree of productivity in the sense that attributive usages appear. Finally, it gains full productivity and heads toward being completely incorporated into English. Although some exceptions were found, most of them could be accounted for.

In contrast to this linear process, Kimura-Kano (2006) describes a 'cyclic system' in which the borrowed words in her Stage 4 (i.e., those loanwords that are quite well-naturalised) "go back to the earlier stages with their new senses and produce a new series of additional word-formations" (p. 46). This is quite true for those loanwords that become naturalised; however, since such word-formations

occur subsequent to the words having become initially naturalised, they should be considered as formations that have occurred after the original loanword naturalisation process had been completed. Therefore, this phenomenon need not be treated here.

This section described the naturalisation process that the Japanese loanwords follow when becoming part of the English vocabulary. In the next section, I will point out why spelling and pronunciation were not integrated into the model of the naturalisation process proposed in this paper.

4. Spelling and Pronunciation Changes

Although most of the previous studies on Japanese loanwords in English treat spelling and pronunciation changes as part of the assimilation process, these changes will be treated as an isolated process in this paper. This is because of a distinct characteristic of the spelling of the Japanese loanwords found in OED, which do not seem to follow the FOREIGN–ADAPTED scale. This will be illustrated in the sub-sections below. As for pronunciation, it is not possible to specify when the changes occurred; however, this study revealed some interesting facts, and these will be mentioned later.

4.1. Typical Spelling Changes and the Hepburnian System

Because the Japanese language does not use the Roman alphabet to write words, Japanese words have to be Romanised in the course of adaptation into the English lexicon. Quite a few variations of Romanising systems for the Japanese language have been developed. Among the best known are the *Kunrei* style, which is the system approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education; and the Hepburnian style, which is perhaps the most widespread in the world. Needless to say, these strict systems of Romanisation were not followed in the case of the earlier loanwords, since there were no such systems at the time of their borrowing.[15] The differences in the Romanising systems cause spelling variation; for example, *nakhodo / nakodo*, *Nō / Noh*, and *romazi / romaji*. In times when no Romanisation standards were available, the only way for writers to put down Japanese words on paper was to try to spell out what they thought they heard. This is the reason why Kay (1992, p. 543) points out that the "early borrowing from Japanese, before systems of Romanization were established, particularly show modification in spelling", giving *soy / shoyu* and *tycoon / taikun* as examples.

Almost all previous studies I know of have treated such spellings as adaptation towards the English writing system, and give this the status of the first step of naturalisation. However, this is not so, as many of the older loanwords change their spelling towards the Hepburnian system later in the adaptation process (mostly in the late-19th or the early-20th century). This change might be because the Western countries began to recognise the need of a standardised system of transcribing Japanese words, and found the Hepburnian system functional. The unique transcriptions by various individuals were gradually abandoned, and the Japanese *romaji* Romanisation systems, or the

Hepburnian system in particular, took in its place. Four examples of such words are given below in (51). However, the spellings of some words that have acquired citizenship sometimes become so well-established that they are not modified into the standardised system.

(51)						
	FURO	1615	*fro*	KATANA	1613	*cattan*
		1727	*froo*		1874	*katana*
		1884	*furo*			
	SAKÉ	1687	*saque*	ZORI	1823	*sori*
		1797	*sakki*		1884	*zori*
		1878	*saki*			
		1878	*sake*			

When a foreign word appears in an English context, stress is automatically assigned to the words in accordance with the phonological rules of English. When words are used frequently, strong and weak syllables gradually appear as in ordinary English words. In the weak syllables, "the vowel is reduced in speech to a central weak quality (schwa) or is represented by a syllabic consonant. Unless one already knows the spelling of such unstressed or weak syllables, it is not easy to guess what it might be" (Upward & McArthur, 1992, p. 971). When such pronunciation reductions occur to a Japanese loanword, the vowel qualities become obscured to make it difficult for non-native speakers of Japanese to reproduce the *romaji*-stimulated spellings. For this reason, the spelling changes away from the Hepburnian style transliteration, of which some examples are given in (52); then, this process becomes reinforced by 'spelling pronunciations' and force the spelling (and the pronunciations) away from the original.

(52)						
	FUTON	1876	*futon*	HONCHO	1947	*hancho*
		1972	*futong*		1955	*honcho*
	KIMONO	1886	*kimono*	MATSUTAKE	1915	*matsutake*
		1919	*kimona*		1991	*matsutaki*

4.2. Other Non-Hepburnian Spellings

The previous sub-section illustrated most of the spelling changes seen among the Japanese loanwords found in OED. However, there are some other cases in which the spellings of the borrowed words do not follow any of the Japanese systems. Such words will be briefly discussed here.

One explanation for the occurrence of such words is that some slang words are included in OED.

As Warren (1993, p. 67) has pointed out, loanwords that are orally transmitted (including those words which come into language as slang) "may at first faithfully reflect the pronunciation of their sources"; however, they are "free from the bonds of orthography, and are liable to go through unpredictable changes" before they surface in the printed language; that is, the naturalisation process of such words often does not become noticeable in written texts. Some examples of this kind: *hoochie*, *skosh*, and *moose*.

There are also words of Japanese origin borrowed into English via different languages. For example, *mebos* was borrowed by way of South African Dutch; and *soya* via Dutch. Also, cautious handling is needed for those words that were taken into English during the period of Japan's national isolation (from mid-17th until mid-19th century), as the source of these words could be translations from German (or Dutch) into English. Using the letter *s* for the /z/ sounds and initial capitalisation of nouns, such as *Sasen* (for *zazen*), is most probably an example of such German influence.[16] Examining the sources of the illustrative sentences used in OED, and as Ohwada (1997) has pointed out, it is quite safe to say that the largest single work which contributed Japanese loanwords for this period is E. Kæmpfer's *The History of Japan*. This book, written by a German, was translated into English by J. G. Scheucher, and published in 1727. The reason why the spellings are influenced by German seems to be that Scheuchzer himself did not know the Japanese language; thus, he must have used the original Germanised spellings for the words unfamiliar to him.[17]

The kinds of spelling changes and variations above should not be treated as examples of adaptation towards the English spelling. They are certainly different from the standard systems of Romanisation, but not a part of the naturalisation process. As seen here, spelling changes are quite complex; and thus not easy, or in fact, impossible, to incorporate into the naturalisation scale.

4.3. Pronunciations

It is impossible to discover all the changes of pronunciation of Japanese loanwords from the data obtained from OED. However, some points can be made regarding the pronunciations seen there.

OED tries to give pronunciations for all words for which it is possible to do so; that is, to all words except for those which are indicated as obsolete by a dagger (†). However, for most of the Japanese loanwords in the second edition of OED, non-naturalised forms of the pronunciations are given, sometimes even without stress. This must indicate that the compilers of the dictionary, back in 1989, could not determine how the words should be pronounced. There are some surprisingly strange pronunciations; some examples being *amado* /ˈamadoʊ/, *fusuma* /ˈfuːsuːmə/, *magatama* /ˈmɑːgətɑːmə/, *Obaku* /oʊbɑkuː/, and *tempura* /ˈtɛmpʊrə/. In the online revisions, such pronunciations are being revised to fit the English patterns; we must wait until the revisions are concluded for the appropriate 'English' pronunciations of the Japanese loanwords to be recorded. It is also noteworthy

that the revised versions also transcribe the American pronunciations.[18]

It is of interest to note that the foreign vocabulary has introduced a consonant sequence which English had long avoided: the initial /ts/. OED lists a host of such words, including the Russian *tzar* and the Setswana (a Bantu language) *tsetse(-fly)*, all being loanwords.[19] Ten words from Japanese with initial /ts/ are found in OED, all beginning with /tsu/ (i.e., the Japanese /tsɯ/): *tsuba, tsubo, tsugi ashi, Tsukahara, tsukemono, tsukuri, tsunami, tsurikomi, tsutsugamushi, tsutsumu.* Mulcahy (1996, p. 146) points out that "although the impact is limited so far, these words [*sc.* Japanese loanwords with initial /ts/] do demonstrate a striking Japanese influence at the phonological level." As there are other words in OED that begins with /ts/, this phenomenon is not fully of Japanese influence; however, it is true that a significant number of Japanese loanwords beginning with /tsu/ are recorded in the dictionary, that is, as being used in the English context.

Another fact is that there are two cases in which Japanese /ɯ/ are transmitted as /ju:/ in OED. They are both in the second edition, and have not yet been revised; thus, these would certainly be changed in their revised versions. The words are *uta* /'ju:ta/ and *bai-u* /'baɪju:/. This seems to be because the English language does not have many words with an initial /u/ or /ʊ/. Among the 1000-plus 'u' words found in *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005), only 12 words that begin with /u/ or /ʊ/ were found, the others beginning with /ʌ/ or /ju:/, about half of each. This suggests that the compilers of the second edition might have not known the original Japanese pronunciation, and that the pronunciations were determined by analogical reasoning.

From the above, it can be said that pronunciation changes are not always a sign of adaptation; therefore, any attempt to incorporate pronunciation (at least in the sense of dictionary transcription) into the naturalisation scale is likely to prove unsuccessful: The result would be to mark all but a few words as having been more or less adapted, which is not true; the pronunciations that are different from the Japanese original are, in some cases, merely a regrettable error. Despite the fact that there are many naturalised pronunciations recorded, it is not quite possible to determine the border between the naturalised pronunciations and those which are simply erroneous. Moreover, because it is not possible to determine when the pronunciation changes occurred, these changes, too, cannot be incorporated into the naturalisation scale.

5. Conclusion

As shown in the previous sections, loanwords of Japanese origin found in OED appear to follow a specific trajectory of naturalisation. This has been theorised in terms of a scale which begins with TOTALLY FOREIGN at one end and ends with FULLY INCORPORATED/NATIVE at the other as the loanwords become part of the English lexicon. In this paper, naturalisation is viewed as a matter of degree, as it has been in many previous studies, in which all the words in a language can be assigned in theory to a point on this scale, and not as a process in which words proceed to the next stage by

sudden jumps. Thus, the suggestion by Cannon (1994) that a distinction can be made between 'loanwords' and 'loans' contradicts this notion of a continuum, which indeed Cannon himself has pointed out. Still, the findings of this study lend support to the idea that there is a relatively fixed process which the Japanese loanwords found in OED follow in the course of naturalising into the English lexicon.

Cannon (1994) applied to Japanese loanwords a model of the naturalisation process which he derived from his earlier studies of Malayan loanwords. Although the process was quite well-conceived, its relevance is limited because loanwords of Japanese origin might not follow the same process as the Malayan loanwords. When discussing the naturalisation of loanwords from a particular language, generalisation about the process involved should primarily be based on that single language. Therefore, the loanwords analysed in this study are from Japanese only, and analysis of loanwords from other sources have been reserved for future studies.

Unlike many previous studies, the account of the naturalisation process presented in this paper does not include punctuation, italicising, spelling, or pronunciation. Cannon (1994) considered punctuation, italicising, and glossing as indicators of the first stage. Glossing, or paraphrasing, is treated as such also in this paper; however, punctuation and italicising is not, as they do not necessarily indicate that the word has been anglicised: Naturalised or native words can also be italicised or used within quotation marks. Pronunciation and spelling changes are considered to be the second stage in Cannon's analysis, and the first in that of Kimura-Kano (2006); but as seen in this paper, these should be treated differently. The naturalisation process presented in this paper involves only the functions and the meanings of the loanwords.

Taking all of the above into account, the naturalisation process of the Japanese loanwords found in OED is as follows. In the initial stage, words are paraphrased by easily recognisable native or already established expressions to guarantee that the foreign words employed are understood. Then, attributive usages emerge as a transitional phase toward the more productive stage. To finish the naturalisation process, the loanwords acquire greater productivity and acquire FULLY INCORPORATED status. Kimura-Kano (2006) made use of two different stages, 'productivity acquisition' and 'semantic shift', but in this study, a chronological difference among the Japanese loanwords found in OED could not be detected; thus, they are considered to be a single stage in this paper.

Even if, for a particular word, there are no examples of an earlier stage in OED illustrations, or if the order of appearance does not appear to follow the typical sequence of adaptation, it has generally proved possible to provide an explanation. Therefore, the Japanese loanwords found in the dictionary can be said to generally follow the naturalisation scale mentioned above.

As for spelling and pronunciation, although they have been integrated into the models of the naturalisation processes of many previous works, it is not possible to incorporate them in the case of Japanese loanwords. To the best of my knowledge, this is a new proposal to be pointed out. One

reason it is not appropriate to include spellings in the naturalisation scale is that the older loanwords do not follow the rules of the currently-used Romanisation systems. This is because there were no such norms at the time they were borrowed: They were written down as the writers heard the words using the orthography of their native tongues. Slang words are also problematic because the process of integration into English is not recorded in written form. The loanwords that entered English via different languages also pose problems regarding spelling. As for pronunciation, it is not easy to incorporate into the scale of naturalisation, because it is not possible to determine the chronological aspects of the changes based on dictionaries or any other source.

The source of Japanese loanwords analysed here was only from OED.[20] Therefore, further research on such words that are found in other sources and references is needed. Such studies should offer more insights into the recent conditions of the loanwords of Japanese origin. To track down the changes occurring in recent years, and to gain a clearer view of their status today, more current citations must be investigated. Fresh loanwords which are not recorded in OED should be supplemented from other dictionaries and sources that include Japanese loanwords. For this purpose, the use of large text corpora that are now available will be most helpful. Such kinds of further research should also help to elucidate the naturalisation process outlined in this paper.

Forming a universal scale of naturalisation process that can be used freely for every language is a further task for the future. The naturalising process as here proposed should not be simply generalised to languages other than Japanese, because different languages could behave differently. To form a scale that can be used for many languages, the same kind of investigation must be conducted against many languages in order to discover a fundamental pattern of naturalisation. Comparing Japanese loanwords with those from other languages will, at the same time, help to determine the unique characteristics of the Japanese loanwords.

Finally, loanwords hint at the relationships between the lender and the borrower language communities: in the case here, Japanese and English. When a culture comes into contact with another, and when such cultures expand themselves by influencing each other, the language of one culture takes on new vocabulary from each other. Indeed, there are many English loanwords in Japanese, and Japanese loanwords are increasingly being used in the English language. The online revisions of OED record an increasing number of Japanese loanwords, and there will unquestionably be more in the completed third edition; and other dictionaries would surely follow this trend. Such cultural aspects of loanwords should also be studied together to get a fuller view of loanword adaptation.

(May 2008)

Notes

1. Some other previous studies of Japanese loanword adaptation include Warren (1991) and Suzuki (2001). Warren mentions four categories of loanwords, which do not necessarily form stages: 'unassimilated',

'semi-assimilated', 'fully assimilated', and 'pseudo-loans and hybrids'. Suzuki tries not only to generalise the naturalisation process, but also point out the reasons or purposes of such borrowing.

2. The online revisions began in March 2000 from the letter *M*, and the most recent revision in sequence was that of December 2007 with the range of entries including from *purpress* to *quit shilling*. Occasional out-of-sequence revisions are also provided.
3. This is not to say that OED is *the* prescriptive authority. Dictionaries have their own purpose and scope: this determines what information to include or exclude. Tomita (2005) points this out quite convincingly. Also, words continue shifting to make dictionaries outdated in a few years; thus the need for frequent revisions. Hence, no sole dictionary can be an authority. Still, OED is authoritative as being the largest English dictionary ever, and considered as such among almost all English researchers.
4. To include a list of so many words would take up too much space here, and so this has been omitted. The author of this paper will be happy, however, to communicate the list of these words via e-mail attachment or by post to those who are interested in viewing them.
5. A method in which all illustrative sentences can be used for this kind of analysis is yet to be devised.
6. This distinction of FULLY INCORPORATED and NATIVE may not be so important in the current study, as the words considered here are loanwords only. However, in my opinion, fully incorporated loanwords and native words are different: native words being those words that were already there 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, both being a frequently used word in present-day English.
7. The points in discussion will be underlined. All other emphasised, italicised, or bracketed elements are as in the original. Note that OED uses two continuous dots (..), not the regular ellipsis (. . .), probably to save space in the original printed volumes.
8. This is often true, but not always. It is possible that foreign words may be intentionally used to confuse or simply impress other people.
9. Ueno (1985) devotes a whole chapter of his book to a discussion of interesting accounts of the loanwords *hara-kiri* and *seppuku* and how they were borrowed into English.
10. R. Nagakubo at Nanzan Boys' High School, Nagoya, Japan provided me with this example.
11. E. T. W. Haig at the Graduate School of Languages and Cultures, Nagoya University, Japan points out that the use of *hibachi* in (20) is, in fact, not a case of figurative usage (in a personal communication of 20 Dec. 2005). He says 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 (20) and the more clearly extended usage in (21); and therefore, (20) is treated here.
12. OED does not include proper names, due to another editorial policy that such names should belong to

encyclopædias, but not to dictionaries; this might be seen as exception to the policy to record all 'words'.

13. However, this cannot show that the attributive usages appeared before the derivatives; it only reflect the fact that there are currently such possible usages; and thus, it must be admitted that this is a weak point of this argument.
14. N. Takizawa at the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University, Japan provided me with this example.
15. The Hepburnian system was first used by J. C. Hepburn (1815–1911), an American clergyman, in his world-first Japanese–English dictionary of 1867, and was the de facto 'standard' before the *Kunrei* style was made public by the then Japanese Cabinet in 1937. Post-war American occupation saw the revival of the Hepburnian system and it is now presumably the most widely used Romanisation system both in Japan and abroad. For discussion of the many Romanisation styles that have been proposed and used in Japan, see Kusakabe (1977).
16. It is a common rule in German that /s/ before a vowel becomes voiced /z/, and that a noun-initial letter is capitalised (Ohwada, 1996, p. 52, note 1). Therefore, *Sasen* is a quite natural way of spelling *zazen* in German.
17. The relationships between the Japanese pronunciation, the spellings of Kæmpfer's, and OED entry is currently being studied, and will be examined in a future paper of mine.
18. For example, in the March 2004 revision of the word *Obaku*, the pronunciation was revised as below: "*Brit.* /ˈəʊbakuː/, /ˈəubəkuː/, /əʊˈbɑːkuː/, /ɒˈbɑːkuː/, *U.S.* /oʊˈbɑkuː/, /ˈoʊbəkuː/."
19. All 82 words with initial /ts/ recorded in OED are loanwords: 18 from German, 10 each from Japanese and Russian, six from Chinese, five each from Hebrew and Italian, four from Spanish, and 28 from other smaller sources including Swiss names. The oldest of such words are *Zwinglian* /ˈzwɪŋglɪən/, /ˈtsvɪŋglɪən/ (first appearance 1532) and *tsar* (or *czar*) /tsɑː(r)/, /zɑː(r)/ (1555). *Zwinglian* is a derivative from the name of a Swiss religious reformer, U. Zwingli (1484–1531); and *tsar* is the Russian emperor. The first Japanese loanword recorded in the Dictionary with such initial consonant cluster is *tsubo* /ˈtsuːbo/, which first appeared in 1727.
20. The loanwords analysed were solely taken from OED. For the example sentences, other sources were also occasionally used.

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