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THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH-JAPANESE RELATIONS ON BRITISH ENGLISH:

A DIACHRONIC SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

In this work, I aimed to establish the connection between language and international relations by analysing relevant historical events and their possible influence on language. I did that using the example of British-Japanese relations and their impact on the influx of Japanese borrowings into British English and the description of Japan in British texts. The borrowings I mainly collected from the *Oxford English Dictionary* and Cannon (1996) are studied here regarding their orthography, phonetics, semantics, and morphology. The analysis of the descriptions takes from the concept of the linguistic worldview and is approached from a discourse analysis perspective. The whole analysis is contextualised within the historical events that took place between 1600 and 2020 and are important to British-Japanese relations.

This work consists of three chapters. The first one serves the purpose of the theoretical introduction, where I explain the most essential terms, including *borrowing*, *language contact*, and *linguistic worldview*. I also discuss the methodology I applied in later analyses and justify the established periods.

The second chapter includes ten analyses where the analysed lexemes are sorted according to the year of their first use, and the analysed texts are sorted according to their year of publication, from the earliest to the latest in the studied period. Each analysis starts with some remarks on the source texts, which are followed by a description of the historical background, an analysis of the discursive linguistic worldview, an analysis of the borrowings, and a summary. The analyses differ due to the available source materials and information. For instance, due to the lack of relevant information, the first analyses do not detail the pronunciation of the lexemes, which leaves some space for additional etymological considerations.

The third chapter presents the conclusions, which are sorted into three sections. The first section focuses on the results of the linguistic worldview analyses. The second section presents the conclusions related to the borrowings, their different linguistic aspects, and the factors which may have influenced their influx into British English. The last section of the third chapter answers the research questions asked in the first chapter and lists further implications of the study.

The analysis I performed allowed me to establish the relationship between the history of Japanese borrowings in British English and the history of British-Japanese relations. The

results show that borrowings can be a source of historical information, especially if we consider the changing meaning and dictionary definitions and the years of first use. It was also revealed that the character of the relations is not only reflected in the discourse but also in the influx of borrowing. However, it is shown that war does not particularly inhibit the flow of the borrowings into the language, yet it most likely influences the semantic category or discipline of the borrowed lexemes.

WPŁYW RELACJI BRYTYJSKO-JAPOŃSKICH NA BRYTYJSKĄ ANGIELSZCZYZNĘ: DIACHRONICZNE BADANIE SOCJOLINGWISTYCZNE

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejsza rozprawa omawia relację między językiem a stosunkami międzynarodowymi, poprzez analizę wybranych wydarzeń historycznych i ich możliwego wpływu na dyskurs oraz stan zapożyczeń. Za przykład posłużyły stosunki brytyjsko-japońskie i ich oddziaływanie na napływ słownictwa z języka japońskiego do brytyjskiej angielszczyzny oraz na opis Japonii w brytyjskich tekstach. W tej pracy przyjrzano się zapożyczeniom wyekscerpowanym głównie z *Oxford English Dictionary* oraz słownika Cannona (1996) pod kątem ich ortografii, fonetyki, semantyki i morfologii. Natomiast badania opisów Japonii pobrane z wybranych źródeł oraz korpusów językowych prowadzone były z wykorzystaniem teorii językowego obrazu świata i analizy dyskursu. Kontekstem dla prowadzonych obserwacji językowych są wydarzenia historyczne z lat 1600–2020, istotne z perspektywy stosunków brytyjsko-japońskich.

Rozprawa składa się z trzech rozdziałów. Pierwszy z nich jest wprowadzeniem teoretycznym, w którym wyjaśniono najważniejsze pojęcia, m.in. *zapożyczenie*, *kontakt językowy* i *językowy obraz świata*. Omówiono w nim również metodologię, którą zastosowano w późniejszych analizach, a także uzasadniono przyjęte w badaniach przedziały czasowe.

Rozdział drugi zawiera dziesięć analiz, w których badane leksemy są uporządkowane zgodnie z rokiem ich pierwszego użycia, a analizowane teksty – według roku publikacji, od najwcześniejszych do najpóźniejszych w badanym okresie. Każdą analizę otwierają ogólne uwagi na temat tekstów źródłowych, po których następuje opis tła historycznego, analizy językowego obrazu świata i zapożyczeń oraz podsumowanie. Prezentowanych dziesięć analiz różni się między sobą ze względu na dostępne materiały źródłowe i informacje. Przykładowo, pierwsze analizy nie podejmują pogłębionego oglądu fonetycznego zapożyczeń, co umożliwiło z kolei uwzględnienie dodatkowych rozważań etymologicznych.

W rozdziale trzecim, podzielonym na trzy sekcje, przedstawiono wnioski płynące z wcześniejszych analiz. W pierwszej części tego rozdziału skupiono się na wynikach badań językowego obrazu świata. W drugiej części przedstawiono natomiast rezultaty analizy zapożyczeń, ich różnych aspektów językowych oraz czynników, które mogły mieć wpływ na

ich napływ do brytyjskiej angielszczyzny. W ostatniej części podjęto próbę odpowiedzi na pytania badawcze postawione w pierwszym rozdziale, a także wskazano dalsze implikacje płynące z badania.

Przeprowadzone analizy pozwoliły ustalić związek pomiędzy historią zapożyczeń japońskich w brytyjskim angielskim a historią stosunków brytyjsko-japońskich. Pozyskane wyniki pokazują, że zapożyczenia mogą być źródłem informacji historycznych, szczególnie jeśli uwzględnimy ich zmieniające się znaczenia i definicje słownikowe oraz lata pierwszego użycia. Zauważono także, że charakter relacji znajduje odzwierciedlenie nie tylko w dyskursie, ale również w napływie zapożyczeń. Co więcej, wykazano, że wojna szczególnie nie hamuje przepływu zapożyczeń do języka, choć najprawdopodobniej oddziałuje ona na kategorię semantyczną lub dziedzinę zapożyczonych leksemów.

Słowa kluczowe: relacje brytyjsko-japońskie, brytyjska angielszczyzna, socjolingwistyka, językoznawstwo diachroniczne, zapożyczenia, kontakt językowy, zmiana językowa, analiza korpusowa, analiza dyskursu

英国と日本の関係が英国英語に与えた影響：通時的社会言語学的研究

論文抄録

この博士論文では、関連する歴史的出来事とそれらが言語に及ぼしうる影響を分析することで、言語と国際関係との関連について論じている。日英関係を例にとり、イギリス英語への日本語の借用語の流入や、イギリスのテキストにおける日本についての記述への影響を分析する。借用語は主に Oxford English Dictionary と Cannon（1996)から収集した。選ばれた借用語は、正書法、音声学、意味論、形態論に関して研究されている。記述の分析は、言語的世界観の概念に基づき、談話分析の観点からアプローチしている。分析全体は、1600 年から 2020 年の間に起こった歴史的出来事の中で文脈化されており、日英関係にとって重要である。

　　この博士論文は 3 つの章から構成されている。最初の章は理論的な導入の役割を果たす。そこでは、「借用語」、「言語接触」、「言語的世界観」などの用語が定義されている。この章には、方法論の説明と、選択した定期の正当性が含まれている。

　　第 2 章には 10 の分析が含まれている。分析された語彙は、最初に使用された年によって分類されている。分析されたテキストは、研究対象期間の中で最も古いものから最も新しいものまで、出版年に従って分類されている。各分析は、まず原典に関する記述から始まり、歴史的背景の説明、言説的言語世界観の分析、借用の分析、要約と続く。分析は、入手可能な資料や情報によって異なる。例えば、最初の分析では、関連する情報が不足しているため、語彙の発音については詳述されなかった。その代わりに、語源学的考察のために追加のスペースを割り当てた。

　　第 3 章は結論を示すもので、3 つの節に分類されている。第 1 節では、言語的世界観の分析結果に焦点を当てる。第 2 節では、借用語、そのさまざまな言語学的側面、およびイギリス英語への流入に影響を与える可能性のある要因に関する結論を示す。第 3 節の最後のセクションでは、第 1 章で問われた研究上の疑問に答え、研究のさらなる含意を挙げている。

分析の結果、イギリス英語における日本語の借用語の歴史と、日英関係の歴史との関係を確立することができた。その結果、借用語は歴史的な情報源となりうること、特に意味や辞書の定義の変化、最初に使用された年代を考慮すれば、借用語は歴史的な情報源となりうることが示された。また、関係の性格が談話に反映されるだけでなく、借用の流入にも反映されることが明らかになった。しかし、戦争は借用語の言語への流入を特に阻害するものではないが、借用語の意味範疇や規律に影響を与える可能性が高いことが示された。

キーワード：日英関係、イギリス英語、社会言語学、通時言語学、借用語、言語接触、言語変化、コーパス分析、談話分析

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ABBREVIATIONS

alt.   altered

ARCHER   *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/archer_untagged/index.php?ui=restrict

BNA   *British Newspaper Archive* https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/

BNC   *British National Corpus* https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/

CA   Content Analysis

CJC   Cannon, Garland. 1996. *The Japanese Contributions to the English Language*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

DA   Discourse Analysis

JB   Japanese borrowing

JIT   Japanese to IPA Translator at *International Phonetic Alphabet* https://www.internationalphoneticalphabet.org/japanese-to-ipa-translator/

LW   linguistic worldview / linguistic picture of the world

MHR   Modified Hepburn Romanization

NG   *Google Ngrams* https://books.google.com/ngrams/

ODNB   Matthew, H. C. G. and Brian Harrison. 2004. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

OED   *Oxford English Dictionary* https://www.oed.com/?tl=true

THR   Traditional Hepburn Romanization

CONVENTIONS

The formatting and punctuation in this thesis follow some rules, which are referred to as conventions. Firstly, italics are used for short or single-word examples, titles of books or other proper names (e.g. full names of corpora or programs, NOT names of people or toponyms). Secondly, bold font is used in definitions and quotations to highlight the relevant term. Single inverted commas (' ') are used to provide meanings and examples longer than one word, whereas the quotation marks (" ") are reserved for direct quotations. Lastly, following the Modernised Hepburn Romanisation (MHR) rules, this work implements macrons to indicate long vowels in Japanese. In the anglicised lexemes or the borrowed forms, macron use depends on the consulted source. I prepared all the translations of the quotations and definitions from Japanese and Polish. Instead of marking the authorship next to each translation, I decided to provide this information here.

CHAPTER I
Theory and Methodology

1.   Explanation of the Basic Terms

Interactions with others can influence people in various ways. Firstly, for instance, our knowledge can expand, helping us — people involved in those interactions — formulate new opinions by provoking critical thinking. Secondly, suppose we engage in contact or relationship with someone who uses different speech patterns or language. In that case, this can influence our language (Agha 2006), resulting in, among others, the adoption of new pronunciations or lexemes. Similarly, due to constant contact with foreign cultures and people, native English speakers' lexicons include words from an *omnium gatherum* of languages from around the world. This abundance is frequently passed on to dictionaries that preserve lexemes and secure their official status within a language.

Studying the history of foreign words can shed some light on not only the history of language but also the history of its users and their interactions with others. By studying borrowings in British English, people can learn about the changing demography, cultural and economic influences on Britain, the spread of English-speaking explorers, traders, and settlers, and their encounters with other cultures. It is because "[l]anguage is not only a transmitter of thoughts and ideas, it is also a creator and a reflector" (Baghdasaryan 2011: 40). However, a sole study of borrowings, their frequency and manner of adoption only partially pictures the linguistic character of international relations. This type of research should be preceded by a review of the most important historical events in the analysed relations to make it more complete. Moreover, it should also consider the discourse present in the texts discussing these relations since therein included descriptions and used language may reflect people's attitudes because language is also a carrier of the national character (Baghdasaryan 2011: 40). In other words, through studying these descriptions written through many years, one can learn about sociolinguistic changes occurring alongside the lexical ones (cf. Stubbs 2004: 44). Naturally, it is impossible to explain the mentioned changes and their history fully, yet further studies bring us closer to understanding them.

This work uses a diachronic perspective to examine the mentioned language changes influenced by foreign cultures on a grander macroscale. For this purpose, Japanese and British English — being both geographically and linguistically distant and each with a rich

history of interactions between their users — are an excellent exemplary pair for this type of research. As Best says "one could hardly think of two more disparate countries, divided as they were not just by great distance but also by race, culture, and religion" (2021: 1).

This study is based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which, among others, highlights the effective relationship between language and society and discusses how the linguistic system shapes and affects its users' worldviews. This mutual influence is almost undeniable and is also described by Agha (2006) but with a focus on the social context and its effect on language. However, in their works, Sapir (1963) and Whorf (1978) usually focused on the language-thought relation from the socio-grammatical perspective, with some remarks on the lexical patterns of communication and their role in language user perception. The earlier mentioned Agha's context is also not much of importance in Sapir-Whorf's considerations, thus calling for an application of the natural texts analysed within their socio-historical context.

In this work, I intend to establish the connection between language and international relations by analysing relevant historical events and their possible influence on language, particularly on the example of borrowings from Japanese into British English and a description of Japan in the British texts. However, by no means does this work aim at providing any conclusions or establishing stable structures discussed by Foucault (1972). In other words, this study contextualises the use and influx of Japanese borrowings into British English within the mentioned historical events by answering three specific questions:

A. how the history of Japanese borrowings in English is related to the relations between Great Britain and Japan;

B. how the situational context of these relations and historical events shaped British English used to describe Japan and how it changed throughout the period under investigation;

C. how much we can learn about British-Japanese relations in a non-direct way, i.e., relying merely on language evidence.

We believe that by connecting the changes in the descriptions, borrowings, and the process of their adaptation with historical events, we will be able to point to some correlations that may be the underlying mechanisms of the borrowing process. To do so, we analyse here selected British non-fictional texts written between 1600 and 2020, various British corpora, and takes

from numerous sources listing Japanese contributions in English, e.g. Cannon (1996), Hayakawa (2014), and *OED*.

Despite being studied by various scholars (e.g. the series *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations 1600–2000*) and their fascinating and rich history, British-Japanese relations have not been researched as much as, for instance, British-French relations (e.g. Gibson 2004, Tombs and Tombs 2008). Naturally, the extensiveness and complexity of these relations caused by the proximity of the United Kingdom and France also gave the scholars more material to analyse in terms of linguistic ties. Thus, the British-French relations were also studied from the perspective of their influence on British English or English in general (e.g. Dalton-Puffer [1996] on the French-influenced suffixation in English). However, the answers to the above-presented questions asked in the context of British-French relations are hard to find.

Similarly, the works on British-Japanese relations and influences do not — or merely partially — address the above questions, and their scarceness reveals a research gap that calls for further studies. Naturally, several researchers have indeed studied Japanese borrowings (JBs) in English (see works by Cannon, Doi, Durkin, Gatenby, or Warren), taking different approaches, for instance, by simply analysing their status in English (e.g. Gatenby 1931, 1934), linking it with sociolinguistic aspects (e.g. Mulcahy 1996), or examining their assimilation process (e.g. Kimura-Kano 2006). Some scholars collected the borrowings in the form of a dictionary (e.g. Cannon 1996, Evans 1997, Hayakawa 2014), a list (e.g. Cannon 1981, 1994), and/or categorised them into semantic fields (e.g. Matsuda 1985, Cannon 1996, Tsuchihashi 1997: 686–689, Watanabe 2010, Doi 2010) or according to their type (e.g. Warren 1993b). However, not many scholars focused on the JBs history in English, and if they did (e.g. Mulcahy 1996, Tsuchihashi 1997), their work was not extensive enough or is already partially out-dated since the inflow of JBs did not stop. Also, in the case of Tsuchihashi (1997), the analysis focuses on the adoption of loanwords by the American people, with minor remarks on different types of borrowings, including re-borrowings, loan blends, and loan compounds (1997: 690). Nevertheless, despite focusing on American English, Tsuchihashi had a similar objective to this study since she aimed at tracing "the history of the contact between the Japanese and English languages, focusing on Japanese loanwords in English" (1997: 683). Similarly to Mulcahy (1996), Tsuchihashi (1997) also considers the socio-historical background of the borrowings, but Tsuchihashi's analysis did not take the form of an extensive work and focused merely on the history of Japanese

borrowings in English. Moreover, most of the mentioned scholars undertook a general approach, frequently not distinguishing British English from American English. Yet, if they did, they focused on American English (e.g. Tsuchihashi 1997 or works by Arthur Norman) or the American perspective (e.g. Johnson 1988). Nevertheless, the peculiarity of Japanese lexical borrowings into English, especially in the context of dictionary data, was also recognised by Durkin, who said that this is

> an interesting example because the main contours of the historical contact situation are relatively clear-cut and enable us to see unusually clearly both the potential power of dictionary data and some of the potential pitfalls.
>
> (Durkin 2022: 76)

In other words, due to its straightforward and fixed dates and few intermediary countries the eventful history of British-Japanese contacts is a great exemplary reference point for model lexicographic studies. However, not many linguists have taken advantage of this fact and the available material, or at least they did not do it to its fullest. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that the case of English borrowings in Japanese is a recurring subject of various works, including those by Kay (1995), Seargeant (2005, 2011), and Kościelecki (2006), who also examined the validity of the term "Japanized English". In contrast, the reversed perspective seems to be neglected.

This work aims to fill the presented gap by compiling and verifying the available information and focusing on the neglected British perspective. Thus, this thesis, despite including additional analyses, is also an overview and synthesis of already existing works on English users' description of Japan (e.g. Yokoyama 2001, Das 2016) and JBs in English (e.g. see works by Cannon, Doi, Gatenby, and Warren) and their history (e.g. Tsuchihashi 1997). It should also be highlighted that a similar synthesis is hard to find even in the context of British-French and British-Spanish relations — possibly due to their more extensive and complex history. Importantly, Best (2021: 3) points out a similar research gap regarding the diplomatic description of British-Japanese relations, saying that historians restrained themselves to descriptions of short periods. This work analyses a period of the relations in question as long as possible, yet due to the multitude of considered sources, it only deals with merely one side of the influence, i.e., of Japanese on British English. This one-sided approach also stems from the fact that multiple scholars (e.g. Ike 1995, Kay 1995, Seargeant 2005, Kościelecki 2006, Seargeant 2011) have already studied the influence of English on Japanese and Japan. Naturally, the presented work is not — even though it attempts — a complete

overview of the available works and sources; thus, it also points out certain works that should be revisited and some aspects that would require further extensive and detailed investigation.

Due to the multiplicity of circulating definitions and perspectives, this work starts with explaining the most essential terminology. This chapter first provides the most relevant terms and elaborates on the implemented methodology to enable the results' replicability. However, since I took her an interpretative approach, the results still may differ depending on the consulted sources or application different methods. In this chapter, I also explain in further detail the reasoning behind the choice of British-Japanese relations as the example, British English as the language, and the division of the material for the analyses. In other words, this chapter also includes a brief description of the rich history of British-Japanese relations and the justification for the selected timespans.

1.1.   The British-Japanese Relations and Language Contact

First, we should explain a simple yet historically somewhat confusing term, British-Japanese relations, that have been studied not only by historians (e.g. works written or edited by Best or Nish) but also by literary scholars (e.g. Yokoyama 1987, Mutsu 2002, Papini 2021). At first, it may seem evident that the sides of these relations are the United Kingdom, Japan, and their citizens. However, the analysis covers over four hundred years during which the United Kingdom took different shapes and names.

Throughout the period analysed, i.e., from 1600 to 2020, various kingdoms ruled in the British Isles. The present-day United Kingdom was first the Kingdom of England, which consisted of England and Wales. In 1603, it united with Scotland and Ireland in a personal union known as the Union of Crowns by James VI, King of Scots. The countries remained sovereign entities until 1707, when the Treaty of Union and the Acts of Union came into force; thanks to it, the Kingdom of Great Britain was formed. The state united Scotland with the Kingdom of England, creating a single kingdom encompassing the whole island of Great Britain, which remained in a personal union with the Kingdom of Ireland. Then, in 1801, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was born — a sovereign state established by Acts of Union from 1800, which merged the mentioned Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland. The state changed its borders again by establishing the Irish Free State in 1922. Thus, the kingdom was renamed in 1927 as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland — nowadays referred to as the United Kingdom or Britain. In other words, there is a minor simplification in the term British-Japanese relations since one of the

sides, depending on the analysed period, can be referred to by various names: the Kingdom of England, Kingdom of Great Britain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, nowadays frequently shortened to the United Kingdom.

It is also worth mentioning that at the same time, when new kingdoms were emerging and merging in the British Isles, the British Empire, administrated by the United Kingdom and its predecessor states, continued its expansion on the overseas territories. It is especially important when discussing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which lasted from 1902 till 1922. Furthermore, it is worth noting that various interactions between Japan and the United Kingdom were frequently, in fact, interactions between Japan and the territories administrated by the United Kingdom, where various British representatives were stationed and which were closer to Japan than to the British Isles.

Nevertheless, this work is mainly based on the texts written by people who were not politically involved. Thus, while referring to people, the word *British* in this work denotes the people who first were named English, and then since 1707, British. For instance, Sir William Adams, who visited Japan in 1600, was the first recorded Englishman to sail to Japan (cf. Kościelecki 2006: 25). To avoid any confusion and significant mistakes, the nationality of the source writers is confirmed with the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*).

Following Seargeant, "[j]ust as the term 'English' refers to multiple and diverse linguistic behaviours, so the name 'Japan' has a plurality of possible referents" (2011: 6). Nevertheless, Japan and its history can be perceived as more straightforward — especially in terms of the 1600–2020 period — when it comes to its naming and main territory, i.e., excluding the history of the invaded countries, regions and islands. Japan encompasses 6,852 islands, also called the Japanese archipelago, with five main islands: Hokkaido, Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Okinawa. Being the largest island in the archipelago, Honshu is sometimes referred to as the Japanese mainland, and it is the island where the most important events in Japanese history took place. In terms of naming, we should mention the Empire of Japan, which existed from 1868 to 1912 and included the Japanese archipelago, several colonies and other dependent territories. Then, upon adopting a constitution in 1947, the Empire of Japan lost all of its overseas territories and became the state of Japan. In other words, some may say that Japan returned to its previous name for foreigners, which is not necessarily true, as shown in the following analyses. Regarding the naming, we can also add

that Japanese people nowadays refer to their country as *Nihon* in everyday speech, whereas the reading *Nippon* is used for the official setting. Those two endonyms are also sometimes applied by British writers, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the exonym *Japan* was frequently spelt as *Iapon* or *Japon*.

In this work, the word *Japan* frequently serves the purpose of an umbrella term that encompasses the following terms: Japanese people, Japanese culture and Japan as a country. Thus, the description of Japan can also refer to the description of its people and culturally related terms. Of course, the work acknowledges the fact that some writers, due to the circulating stereotypes, may have had a problem distinguishing Japanese from other Asian nationalities and tries to verify the accuracy of the writers if possible.

Lastly, some point to other terms denoting similar relations, e.g. Anglo-Japanese relations (e.g. Nish and Kibata 2000a). Firstly, the choice for a British-Japanese compound was dictated by the fact that this study mainly focuses on the British side due to the focus on British English. Secondly, since the work covers over four centuries, during which, as presented above, the state names changed several times, the choice of terminology called for opting for a general adjective — like British —, that also does not exclude Northern Ireland, as the *Anglo-* combination form may do.

To summarise, in this work, the term *British-Japanese relations* denotes historically proved and preserved in-text interactions between the representatives of the relations' participants, i.e., British and Japanese people. This brings us to another vital concept: language contact, which "is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact, and language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation" (Weinreich 1966: 5).

Language contact also studied in terms of Japan (e.g. Loveday 1996), is pretty self-explanatory yet may require further discussion. Here, language contact is understood as the exposure (usually mutual) of two linguistic systems, which invariably occurs when the users of different languages or their varieties interact and influence each other. Traditionally, it is often said that language contact is usually responsible for large-scale and sudden changes (Trudgill 1984, cf. Weinreich 1966), but as shown in the below analyses and in the recent works by other linguists (e.g. Doi 2008, 2010, Bulfoni 2016, Schultz 2017, 2018, Oh and Son 2023), quite contrary, it can lead to the process of word borrowing, frequently perceived as subtle and gradual. The difference in the perception of language contact results from the fact

that Trudgill (1984) also considered the geographical limitations of the social interactions between users of different languages, whereas the present linguists (e.g. Bulfoni 2016) acknowledge the role of mass media and the internet in language contact.

Here, language contact simply denotes the interaction between users of different languages, which in this case are British English and Japanese. This notion is important since "it has become increasingly clear in recent years that diachronic change cannot be fully understood without a close analysis of variation across written genres, language use in society as well as external influence of language" (Pfenninger et al. 2014: 1). As Tsuchihashi (1997: 683) says, what makes language contact between English and Japanese interesting is that these two unrelated languages have never been spoken on the same soil as a result of colonisation. However, this is a classical approach that does not consider the modern aspects of the language contact that also takes place via mass media and the internet.

1.2. British English

The study of the English language has a lengthy history and has been conducted from various perspectives (e.g. Gelderen 2014, Horobin 2016), frequently considering different dialects (e.g. Hughes and Trudgill 1991, Milroy and Milroy 1993, Kortmann and Upton 2008), or foreign influences on English (e.g. Dalton-Puffer [1996] on the morphological influence of French, Durkin [2014] on loanwords in English, and Schultz [2018] on the lexical influence of Spanish) highlighting its role as a recipient language (e.g. Bliss 1983). Nevertheless, only one form and dialect are of significant importance in this work since this work focuses on modern British English.

The term *modern* refers to English spoken since the sixteenth century (Trudgill 1984) in England, whereas the term *British* refers to the dialect native to the United Kingdom, spoken predominantly in the British Isles by the British people. For the sake of simplification, it is assumed that people born and raised in Great Britain who identify themselves (or were identified by historians) as British are British. Moreover, it is assumed that if a text was written by a British person, it was written in British English.

Of course, British English spoken in the British Isles differs from county to county and city to city (Kortmann and Upton 2008). Thus, this work incorporates the meaning of *standard* English after Trudgill (cf. Milroy and Milroy 2012, Pillière et al. 2018) to the understanding of British English in this work.

> Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. The difference between standard and non-standard, it should be noted, has nothing in principle to do with differences between formal and colloquial language, or with concepts such as 'bad language'. Standard English has colloquial as well as formal variants […].
>
> (Trudgill 1988: 17)

In other words, despite being about Japan or including borrowings from Japanese, texts included in the source materials, are written by a person recognised as English or British, who wrote their work in standard modern British English. This refers to English present in British books and newspapers. Of course, this language changed through the centuries by the influence of the "speakers at the court, by scholars from the universities and other writers, and, later on, by the public schools" (Trudgill 1988: 17, cf. Milroy and Milroy 2012: 77–98). However, it does not mean that other texts which do not meet this criterion are considered irrelevant. Moreover, the sources considered in the first analyses may not fall into the definition of Standard English since, as the sources show, the language, especially spelling, does not comply with some more general perspectives.

To summarise, this work relies on source materials written in standard modern British English. It denotes British English used after 1600 with all the later changes, where the word *standard* refers to British English understandable to other British speakers. This further clarification accepted in this work approach is essential since, as mentioned, based on this understanding, the source materials were selected.

1.3.   Language Change and its Factors

During the language contact, some lexical units may be taken from the source language (donor) and adapted into the target language (recipient), resulting in a language change. Language change has been analysed (e.g. Aitchison 2001, Smith 2003, Beard 2004, McMahon 2009) or at least mentioned (e.g. Hughes and Trudgill 1991) by various scholars who frequently highlight the cause-and-effect relationship with language contact that usually leads to language change (Pfenninger et al. 2014). This phenomenon is of significant importance in the language evolution since:

> [a]ll languages adapt to meet the changing context and needs of their speech communities. Often languages change as a result of contact with other languages (and their cultures), so language change reflects the social, political, and military history of a speech community. By studying changes in its language, we can better understand the history of a culture.
>
> (Connor-Linton and Shukla 2013: 276)

Historical linguists understand **language change** as the process focusing on "the development of earlier stages of languages into later ones, and the mechanism involved" (McMahon 2009: 7). Language change can be studied in terms of centuries or decades, depending on the range applied by the scholar. It considers various aspects of language, including grammar, phonetics, and, most importantly, lexicon. Thus, here, the mechanism involved in the language change refers mainly to the process of borrowing and the changes occurring in the semantics of borrowings. It should be noted that the change in the language of descriptions, which is also subject to this study, does not fall into the definition of language change but changes in discourse.

Unlike language reconstruction, language change analysis moves from past to present and does not hypothesise but relies on linguistic evidence. Usually, language change is studied using the example of multiple languages simultaneously to reveal shared patterns. Yet, in this work, language change is studied using the example of only one language, i.e., British English. Also, the span is here significantly shorter than in most works performing the language reconstruction and language change analysis since this study covers the span of four hundred and twenty years. By applying these constraints, I was able to study the change in the lexical strata of British English and their relation to historical events. However, since it is a study of borrowings, their mode of adaptation to the target language is examined.

All the language changes occur over time and are frequently studied by sociolinguists, who differentiate its four main types: sound change, lexical change, semantic change, and syntactic change. In this work, I focus on the lexical change, i.e., the introduction of new lexemes via borrowing, and the semantic change of the borrowings. The collected borrowings are studied in terms of the changes introduced due to the assimilation process, which can affect the pronunciation and spelling of the borrowing. Some borrowings also undergo semantic change, resulting in different denotative and/or connotative meanings of the borrowed lexemes in the source and target languages (Allan 2012). Naturally, not all borrowings undergo any type of change because sometimes their form can be copied, and meaning is transferred from the source language. However, the orthographic change in the case of Japanese and English is necessary since these two languages use different scripts.

Therefore, the retrieved lexemes are analysed in this work in terms of their orthographic, phonological, semantic, and morphological changes, their possible roots in historical events, and the character of British-Japanese relations. The orthographic change, in

the case of the analysed pair of languages, theoretically, can be described as the assimilation of one writing system to the other (cf. Doi 2010, Schulz 2017). However, applying the term assimilation assumes that no additional changes occur during that process. Yet, orthographic changes may occur due to the differences in the phonology of the source and target languages (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008).

Unfortunately, the phonological change of the borrowings seems to be understudied, and there is no widely adopted typology designed for the sole purpose of the borrowings' analysis. Usually, this type of change is analysed through generally recognised phonological processes through which the speakers modify speech sounds to match their native language rules (Ohata 2004). Among phonological processes, we can find the assimilation of a word to another language's phonological rules, lenition, which involves a change in consonants (example of "the intervocalic lenition of the velar stop: *aki > axi > ai,* agi > aɣi > ai" in Japanese made by Ito and Mester [2015: 375]), and epenthesis, which involves addition of sounds (example of Japanese "gak → gak<u> 'learning' (学)" made by Kubozono [2015: 2]). Here, we should recognise the differences between the English and Japanese phonological systems, among which (Ohata 2004) enumerates, among others, the differences in the number of vowels and consonants, tense/lax distinctions, syllable types, and rhythm.

Notably, various scholars, including Elizabeth Closs Traugott, Grzegorz A. Kleparski, John Newman, Hermann Paul, Gustaf Stern, Stephan Ullmann, and Alicja Witalisz, typologically studied the semantic change. Based on their work among the processes of semantic change, we can differentiate the broadening (or widening) of meaning or its narrowing (also referred to as specialisation or specification), or its complete change (semantic shift), as well as pejoration — when a word gains a negative meaning or connotation — and amelioration — when a word gains a positive meaning or connotation. The changes in meaning that are an example of pejoration and amelioration can result from a fixed metaphor that uses a given word (Connor-Linton and Shukla 2013: 285), i.e., the general connotation of the metaphor can be transferred to one of its components. To a certain degree, this aligns with de Saussure's theory about linguistic mapping and semantic knowledge. However, despite alluding to certain aspects of Saussure's theory that language users and their brains are rooted in their experience, which naturally varies, this work is closer in its grounds to Labov (1972). It is because the Saussurean framework does not consider the study of language in its social context, which, on the other hand,

forms the cornerstone of Labovian sociolinguistics. Likewise, the diachronic analysis of language in its social context is a paradox which cannot be resolved within the confines of Saussurean linguistics. Change could be investigated only diachronically, and the social aspect of language could be investigated only synchronically in the speech of an individual.

(Romaine 2009: 246)

Lastly, the morphological change in this thesis mainly includes the functional shift of the analysed lexemes (see Chapter III). Among the other morphological changes, we can list those which affect the semantics of a lexeme or its structure (i.e. morphology), e.g. affixation (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008). However, affixation often results in the formation of loan blends (see the section below), which are not recognised by OED in all cases as borrowings from Japanese but rather as derived forms formed within English.

Naturally, various factors can influence language change, which results from language contact. Unfortunately, as Winford (2013) suggests, "scholars have for the most part devoted more attention to the 'structural' aspects of language contact than to the social aspects" (2013: 364). Weinreich (1966) lists multiple aspects that are necessary for a proper understanding of language contact, and in this work, those aspects are used to distinguish factors that influence language change. Another source work is the one written by Mantiri (2010), who, for instance, enumerates five factors of language change: political, social, cultural, technological, and moral factors. This division, but with minor modifications, is also applied in the third chapter while trying to link the detected changes with historical events. The mentioned minor modifications apply to the different understanding of certain factors. The original definitions proposed by Mantiri (2010) seemed to be very similar in certain aspects and thus ambiguous. Therefore, I decided to take Mantiri's (2010) definitions as the model and introduce slight improvements. Nevertheless, the factors presented below are not mutually exclusive and can simultaneously influence the influx of borrowings.

The factors include the **political factor**, which, according to Mantiri (2010), is visible during foreign invasions, migration, and colonisation. Here, it is understood roughly the same way, meaning the political factor encompasses all the official and political decisions and relations that led to the inflow of borrowings into British English. To a certain degree, this factor corresponds to the one on social and political relations between the language groups discussed by Weinreich (1966: 4), which is simultaneously related to the next one, the **social factor**. This factor is understood here similarly to Mantiri (2010) as foreign influences — in this case, the Japanese ones — however, it is narrowed to the non-official contacts between the Japanese and British people that led to the inflow of new borrowings (cf. Winford 2013).

27

Cultural factor (Mantiri 2010) refers to the exposure of one language (British English) to another (Japanese) via television, radio, music, magazines, and trends (e.g. the popularity of Japanese pop culture). Next is the **technological factor** (Mantiri 2010), understood as the one occurring when rapid technological advances force the invention of a new word (e.g. cf. Polish *komputer* or Japanese コンピューター *konpyūtā* with English *computer*). The last factor discussed by Mantiri (2010) after Beard (2004) is the **moral factor**, which deals with the recent developments in anti-racism and environmentalism.

1.4. Borrowings, Loanwords, and Contributions

As Connor-Linton and Shukla (2013: 294) say, one of the essential sources of language change is the contact between speakers of different languages, which can result in the adoption of new words, i.e., borrowings. Notably, according to Sapir, "[v]ocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people and changes of the meaning, loss of old words, the creation and borrowing of new ones are all dependent on the history of culture itself" (1963: 27). In other words, the process of borrowing, or loaning, words from other languages is a sign of a living and progressing language, its evolution, and to trace the history of borrowing words is to trace the history of people.

Haugen's article on borrowings, written in 1950, marks the beginning of the modern interest in this topic (Hoffer 2002). This interest was also shared by Weinreich (1966), who, in his works used the term *interference*, not borrowing, to refer to the phenomenon of language contact and its effects on the lexicon.

> The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc.).
>
> (Weinreich 1966: 1)

In other words, by *interference*, he means the phenomenon of reciprocal lexical influence between the languages in contact (cf. Mahmudi and Mahmudi 2018). However, despite the importance of the work itself, the terminology proposed by Weinreich (1966) is not that commonly used. Some scholars (e.g. Wohlgemuth 2009, Hoffer 2002, Haugen 1950, Durkin 2014) state that the term *borrowing* can refer to two things: either to the process of transferring a term from the source language into the target language or to the product of this process. To avoid this ambiguity, some suggest (e.g. Connor-Linton and Shukla 2013: 294) the use of the term loanword and distinguish it from *borrowing*. In this approach, *borrowing*

is understood as the process of importing words from one language to another and *loanword* as the borrowed form. However, here, similarly to other works (e.g. Dylewski and Bator 2021), the term **borrowing** serves the purpose of an umbrella term, here encompassing all the possible lexical units borrowed from the source language; thus, being partially synonymous with for instance the term *loanword*. The decision to operate mainly with the term borrowing derives from the fact that *OED*, in its sixteen types of formation, does not distinguish between borrowings and loanwords, limiting its proposed search criteria to the first one.

Nevertheless, I also apply the term **loanword** which is understood here after the *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, which 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 and Mithun 2003: 243). However, it should be highlighted that the work mainly focuses on the analysis of loanwords, disregarding loan shifts (e.g. *black belt* [CJC: 99]) and loan blends (e.g. *baka bomb* [CJC: 96]).

Loan shifts are the products of the substitution process where the speaker reproduces the model lexeme inadequately and simply substitutes a similar pattern from their own language (Haugen 1950: 212). Among the examples of loan shifts, we can list one-word translations, phrasal loan translations, semantic claques, and semantic borrowings. The mentioned loan blends are a result of partial substitution and partial importation, where the final product is partially native and partially borrowed. Among the loan blends, we can list semi-calques, phrasal semi-calques, and hybrid creations.

In this work, I am focusing on the products of the importation process (Haugen 1950: 212). In other words, the term *borrowing* denotes here a lexical item adopted from the source language and incorporated into the target language without translation but with possible alternations after assimilation into the target language. Importantly, in this work, the term *borrowing* denotes both structural and lexical borrowings differentiated by McMahon (2009).

The examples of Japanese-origin words for the analyses were collected from Cannon (1996, *CJC*), Evans (1997), Hayakawa (2014), and *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), but some of the remarks in the analyses come from articles discussing selected examples of the borrowings. However, neither *CJC* nor Hayakawa (2014) provides in their works fixed lists of borrowings, but merely *contributions* (*CJC*) or "Japanese words borrowed into English" (Hayakawa 2014: iii). Thus, both works include various types of borrowings, e.g. semantic

borrowings, calques, translations, loan blends, loose translations, as well as other words that are not recognised as borrowings but fall under the umbrella of general term *contributions*.

Since this work focuses mainly on borrowings, different types are distinguished in the analysis only if necessary. They are usually described as borrowings in general, and for more detailed information, it is best to consult *CJC*. OED provides a less generalised perspective, which gives us a list of *borrowings*. However, the most precise is *A Dictionary of Japanese Loanwords* by Evans (1997), which, as the title suggests, is limited to Japanese *loanwords*.

Nevertheless, the term **contribution**, which sometimes is juxtaposed with *borrowing*, is another notion worth discussing. This term denotes here the lexical or semantic items that have not yet been entered into a dictionary and have a significant frequency, i.e., have a potential of becoming a borrowing. This clarification is necessary since, for instance, when Warren (2008) mentions "hidden Japanese contribution", he actually refers to, among other things, loan translations, terms coined in English by Japanese authors, or anglicisation of coinages by Japanese authors in a third language (see Doi 2010: 96), which here are collectively referred to as borrowings.

Here, I am also differentiating linguistics **contamination** (cf. Kościelecki 2006, *linguistic pollution*), which denotes a singular use of unassimilated foreign lexeme. I suggest here that before a word becomes acknowledged as a borrowing, it is first a contamination, then a contribution, and ultimately, it becomes a borrowing. Linguistic contamination denotes here a singular use of a foreign word, either due to the user's bilingualism or lack of a better term in their lexicon or to present a foreign concept and later define it. In other words, as shown in the following analyses, *contamination* can serve two purposes: either as a substitute for a native word or a headword. Importantly, *contamination* is not a standard term in the language contact analyses and may connote a puristic approach. However, in this work, *contamination* does not carry any evaluative meaning but rather highlights the fact that the use of a foreign element is noticeable.

When it comes to the borrowings analysed in this work, there are few examples of borrowings that became entrenched right in the analysed periods, i.e., went quickly from contamination or contribution and became entrenched borrowing with high frequency. Most of the presented lexemes took some time to root themselves in the English lexicon, especially those that were first used in the first analysed period (1600–1632), where the circulation of the new vocabulary was limited, and the first borrowings were entering only the British

English texts, not everyday speech. In other words, most of the analysed lexemes did not enter English dictionaries until the nineteenth century. Thus, most of them were initially mere examples of foreign incorporations, i.e., contaminations or contributions depending on the stage of assimilation.

1.5. Intercultural Communication

Hoffer (2002) says that the linguistic borrowing process occurs invariably when two cultures interact for an extended period. This interaction is a subject of intercultural communication, defined as "a symbolic, interpretative, transactional, contextual process in which people from different cultures create shared meanings" (Lustig and Koester 2006: 13). Notably, while mentioning intercultural communication, another term emerges — intercultural discourse. Even though *discourse* and *communication* are synonymous, they still involve two different institutional and methodological approaches to analysing how people from different cultures communicate (Paulston et al., 2012: 19). **Intercultural communication** focuses on obtaining successful communication with speakers from various cultures. Monaghan, who strongly correlates intercultural communication with DA, defines it as "a field that has taken a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches to the question of how people from different cultures interact" (Monaghan 2012: 30). Moreover, discourse is an integral part of intercultural communication, and is used to explain the relations between the cultures since without mutual understanding the efficient communication cannot be established.

Similarly to Czachur (2020: 12), who highlights the cultural conditioning of texts and discourses' meaning, Paulston et al. (2012) point out the correlation between discourse analysis and intercultural communication that constitutes intercultural discourse. Their work examines and explains this term and lists its problematic aspects. Surprisingly, one of which is that natural languages can be perceived as a negligible aspect of communication. Thus, intercultural discourse, in some way, is not well addressed in terms of linguistics. In this thesis, intercultural communication is essential because the analysed descriptions are either based on or stem from it. Moreover, as proposed in the third chapter, some of the semantic differences between the borrowing and its source form can result from unsuccessful intercultural communication. Moreover, it should be remembered that language and history are cultural elements that integrate people from one culture. In contrast, language alone "reflects and reinforces a particular view we hold of the world" (Baghdasaryan 2011: 42).

1.6. Context, Co-text and Con-situation

According to the classic Morris's (1938) concept, pragmatics is the relation between the signs and their recipients, which suggests that each use of a sign takes place in a given context since each sign's user exists in one — whether it be the situational or cultural context (cf. Levinson 1983, Song 2010). In other words, following Przybyszewski (2009), no utterance can be created, nor can any communication be established, outside a broadly understood context since every context has a special meaning, and it is the context which decides the meaning. In other words, as Song (2010: 877) suggests, proper understanding of the context allows for the elimination of ambiguity. The concept of context is also essential for the study of language contact since, for Weinreich, it is only "in a broad psychological and sociocultural setting that language contact can best be understood" (1966: 4). Moreover, the relevance of the context for any analysis can also be traced in the Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*, which also in line with the Labov (1972) claims that language changes (also called Labov [1972] the *linguistic change*) also influenced by the social, cultural and linguistic context.

> If *langue* is a social fact or knowledge shared by every member of the speech community, then the investigation of a single individual is sufficient to provide an account of it. Data on *parole*, on the other hand, can only be obtained by examining the behavior of individuals as they use the language, so that the individual aspect of language can be studied only through observation of language in its social context.
>
> (Romaine 2009: 245)

Here, *context* can be named the central point of this work, which aims to contextualise the discourse and borrowings within social, historical, political, and cultural events. Moreover, since "[c]ommunication always and inevitably occurs within some context" (Fisher 1994: 22, cf. Neuliep 2006), this concept deserves special attention. Its importance also stems from the fact that

> the meaning of an utterance depends on its context of use, including its co-text. Or, phrased rather more carefully: the literal (propositional, logical, conceptual or cognitive) meaning of a sentence is only one factor in determining how an utterance of that sentence will be interpreted on particular occasions of use. In addition, it is widely recognized that most, if not all, sentences have multiple possible meanings in isolation, although hearers can reduce the ambiguity by reference to the context of the utterance in ways that are not at all well understood.
>
> (Stubbs 2004: 84)

Even though *context* is a common word recurring in various works, it can be understood differently. For instance, Baghdasaryan (2011) understands context as a sociolinguistic dimension of communication. In sociolinguistics, context denotes a repertoire

of styles, each appropriate for different situations (Baghdasaryan 2011: 40). On the other hand, some scholars suggest using the word *context* when referring to inter-text relations, adding that the non-linguistic elements should be called *discourse situations* since the discourse, according to Dell Hymes' theory, depends on the context in which it is implemented (Hymes 1972). So, what is the **context**? In this work, it is an umbrella term that encompasses two other terms, co-text and con-situation.

Halliday, Brown and Yule (1983: 46) present co-text as opposing the physical context. They understand **co-text** as something constraining the word occurring in discourse. This work uses it as the linguistics context, the text preceding a described word or situation, that is necessary for their proper understanding. The concept of **con-situation** (also called by Weinreich [1966] *socio-cultural setting*) is somewhat supplementary to that and is understood here as the knowledge of the political, cultural and social context (e.g. the formality of the situation, cf. Winford 2013) necessary to decode information properly. Thus, if a definite article precedes a word in a text, the reader must understand what this article refers to, the co-text, the con-situation, or both. Naturally, for some analyses, only one context type may be of primary interest, as, for instance, con-situation (also called *cultural context*) for sociologists (e.g. Hinton 2018).

Importantly, the notions of co-text and con-situation are of significant importance while analysing the denotative meaning of expressions used to describe relations since

> Denotation is event-independent in one sense, but not in another. It is event-independent in that persons acquainted with an expression's denotation can evaluate many referential uses by the same criterion. It is event-dependent in that an expression's denotation is only experienced in events of language use and may thus be debated, disputed, normativized, and even normatively transformed through processes of language use.
>
> (Agha 2006: 105)

Following the above understanding, Chapter II aims to consider both co-text and con-situation while attempting to reconstruct the general context, whereas Chapter III tries to construct the broader context based on linguistic and historical facts, as well as available works on similar topics (e.g. Yokoyama 2001). However, it should be remembered that the mentioned reconstruction is a mere attempt since it requires acknowledgement of all the facts, which, unfortunately, considering the extensiveness of the analysed period, is not feasible — at least in this work.

It should also be remembered that the presented division is not the sole one. For instance, Song (2010) differentiates three types of contexts: linguistic, situational, and the mentioned cultural context. The notion of the con-situation applied in this thesis encompasses the cultural and situational contexts proposed by Song (2010), whereas the co-text stands for the linguistic context.

Lastly, it is worth noting that context is essential in proper discourse analysis since discourse "is not simply a representation of related facts; it also must respect various information processing constraints, from both a cognitive and an interactional or social point of view" (van Dijk 1985: 113).

1.7. The Linguistic Worldview

Cognitivists see language as an archive of our experience, semioticians see it as a sense-forming agent, and constructionists as an instrument making our reality (Czachur 2020: 9). All these perspectives meet while studying **the linguistic worldview** (LW, also referred to as the *linguistic picture of the world*) which is of interest of cognitive linguistics and defined as:

> [t]he general cultural heritage of the Universe; it is structured and multi-level. This global linguistic image underlies the communicative system of understanding the human inner world and the outer world. It symbolizes the ways of verbal and mental activity, characteristic for a certain period, reflecting its spiritual, cultural and national values.

> (Abdullayeva et al. 2020:16)

LW is perceived as one of the basic analytical categories of cultural linguistics, and its concept is based mainly on von Humboldt's claim that every language perceives and describes reality in its own way (Underhill 2009). In that sense, it also resembles the later formulated Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which suggests that the structure of a language determines a native speaker's perception and categorisation of experience (Underhill 2009: 14). LW is understood as a language-specific interpretation of reality that can be described as a set of judgments about the world (Bartmiński 1999: 104), and resembles Langacker's conceptualisation of knowledge and Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction of reality. Many works, through the application of Rosch's prototype theory (e.g. Sylwanowicz and Wojtyś 2020, Landmann 2023), also seem to be analysing the linguistic perception of reality named by some scholars as the *linguistic worldview*.

The study of LW is rooted in perspective that "[v]alues and knowledge are encoded in language and [...] they can be reconstructed on the basis of features ascribed to objects,

events and people" (Czachur 2016: 18). To decode this knowledge, and thus study LW, we can use various methods and rely on different types of sources including questionnaires, corpora, dictionaries, or simply texts that express one's perception of the analysed subject (Jedziniak and Ryszka 2024: 150). In this work, I use the LW perspective mainly to decode the British perception of Japan and the Japanese in the written sources. However, it was also useful in noticing the LW coded in the dictionary definitions of the JBs. In other words, contrary to other works discussing linguistic relativity and LW, I decided to not consider the LW coded within the language grammatical structure but within the meanings of the lexical items and the structure and semantics of the texts.

LW frequently occurs along with the term profiling, a subjective linguistic and conceptual operation that shapes LW by describing it through specific aspects, within a given type of knowledge and according to the adopted point of view (cf. Waszakowa 2009, Jedziniak and Ryszka 2024). This work examines LW pictured by British sources and somehow imposed on British people who had no chance to travel to Japan. It is important to note that undoubtedly, the mentioned picture was influenced by British cultural value, which

> is not a static property of things or people but a precipitate of sociohistorically locatable practices, including discursive practices, which imbue cultural forms with recognizable sign-values and bring these values into circulation along identifiable trajectories in social space.
>
> (Agha 2003: 232)

This work examines how the British portrayed and perceived Japan using discourse (cf. *discursive worldview*[1] in Czachur [2016]) and content analyses performed on various types of data and texts. The approach of not limiting the analysis to only one type of source was inspired by the work of Yokoyama (2001), who studied the perception of Japan in the British Victorian mind reflected in the books, newspapers, and theatrical productions. This approach was also taken after searching for accessible sources, which are limited in number for specific periods, and the fact that many works that relied on only one type of text have been done on this subject.

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[1] "The discursive worldview (DWV), analogically to Bartmiński's linguistic worldview, is an interpretation of the reality profiled by discourse, which can be captured as a set of judgements about the world, people, objects and events" (Czachur 2016: 22).

2.   Methodology

Despite adopting a holistic approach, this work does not aim at pointing to universals since there are no "single-style speakers" (Labov 1972), and it is very unlikely for all the members of one community to share exactly the same LW. I rather aim here at some possible mechanisms of borrowing that result from the character of international relations and their influence on the discourse. To do so, the material was divided into two types of samples: long ones and short ones. Long samples refer to descriptions or whole sentences, not fixed phrases. Short samples refer to borrowings, collocations and other phrases analysed outside the co-text. The analysis of short started with their collection from *CJC*. All the headwords were transferred to an Excel file and then searched for in the *BNC* corpus to consider whether a given sample is relevant and used in British English — since Cannon's work generally contributes to Japanese to English. Then, the retrieved list was compared with the list provided by *OED* — searched by etymology[2] — and information provided by Hayakawa (2014), updated with the data about first use, and analysed. It is important to point out that the retrieval of JBs from *OED* ended in December 2020 with 543 lexemes that were first used after 1600. This information is highly relevant since *OED* is constantly being updated and revised[3].

For instance, in 2016, Schultz (2017) retrieved 323 entries that contained the word Japanese in their etymology and entered after 1900 (2017: 43). Importantly, as of now, *OED* provides its users with searching for lexemes after their date of first use, and it is not sure whether it is understood in the same way as Schultz's 'Date of Entry'. Applying Schultz's methodology, i.e., searching for lexemes that entered the English language by 2016 and contain the word 'Japanese' in their etymology, *OED* provides us with 377 results showing some major updates in the dictionary. Therefore, it is possible that this study cannot be replicated in terms of the results retrieved from *OED*; however, the contents of *CJC* and Hayakawa (2014) remain the same.

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[2] For more information on using historical dictionaries and peforming etymological analysis see Durkin (2016).
[3] It is also worth noting that Bliss (1983) recorded 30 lexemes borrowed from Japanese into English. In this work, the lexemes were sorted according to the date of introduction: 17th century: *shogun*, 18th century: *daimio*, *mikado*, 19th century: *bushido*, *geisha*, *hara kiri*, *jinrickshaw*, *jiu jitsu*, *judo*, *kakemono*, *kimono*, *netsuké*, *samurai*, *tycoon*, 20th century: *banzai*, *bonsai*, *fuchigashira*, *haiku*, *kabuki*, *kamikaze*, *karate*, *kendo*, *kozuka*, *makimono*, *Noh*, *origami*, *senryu*, *tokonoma*, *tsuba*.

The combination of different sources helped to distinguish the borrowing from contributions but also enabled noticing contributions that should be considered borrowings. In other words, to analyse the borrowings, those were first extracted from *OED* and *CJC*, along with essential information, i.e., the year of first use and meaning. All the retrieved borrowings were searched for in the *BNC* corpus to establish whether a given borrowing is relevant for this study, meaning whether British English speakers use it. This search also established whether a word is a fixed and entrenched loanword or a mere contamination, e.g. a word used several times in the past with no occurrences in the modern language. These results were also juxtaposed with the NG search for further verification. The collected borrowings were later analysed regarding the semantic changes and any other interesting processes that could be linked to the historical events.

The longer samples were retrieved in two ways depending on the analysed period. Some of the sources, especially in the case of the first analyses, were selected manually based on the author's biography, e.g. Adams's and Saris's diaries and logbooks were among the few British sources about Japan from that period. The manual choice was also conducted based on Rogala's guide and other important works discussing the topic of British-Japanese relations. Moreover, if a source kept reoccurring during the borrowing corpus search, it was also included in the sources discussing Japan for further analysis. All the texts were obtained during the library queries[4] or retrieved from the database provided by the *Gutenberg Project* and *Internet Archive*.

However, the methodology may slightly differ from the analysis to analysis due to differences in the analysed material. Therefore, the additional methodological explanation precedes each of the analyses presented in Chapter II.

According to Suleimanova and Fomina (2023: 109), researchers can overcome the weaknesses, biases, and problems stemming from single-method, single-observer, and single-theory studies by applying various theories, methods, and empirical materials. Therefore, in this work, I decided to apply triangulation, which is "a process of verification that increases the validity of research findings by incorporating several methods in the study of the same phenomenon in interdisciplinary research" (Suleimanova and Fomina 2023: 109). Here, the triangulation is obtained by analysing British-Japanese relations and their impact on British

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[4] The library queries took place at the British Library in London (August 2022) and at Biblioteca di Studi orientali of the Sapienza University of Rome (February 2023 and from October to December 2024).

English through historical events, the presence of Japanese borrowings in British English, and British descriptions of Japan[5]. The fact that there are not only different sets of data but also different methodological approaches in their analyses and retrieval enables the application of correlational triangulation, where

> the research question focuses on the strength of the relationship between two (or more) sets of data collected using different methods. At first glance, this may seem similar to data triangulation. The important difference is that with data triangulation the *same* method is used to collect data from different times, locations or samples. In contrast, correlational triangulation measures the relationships between data collected using *different* methods.

> (Egbert and Baker 2020: 269)

In this analysis, the correlational triangulation derives from the analysis of the long samples retrieved from the corpora, selected books, and archives.

2.1. Corpus Analysis

This method, involving working with language corpora, is implemented during the sample search stage. It enables an easy search for relevant samples, which in this work are British people describing Japan or texts containing JBs. In other words, a corpus analysis is performed to obtain materials for the analysis of the descriptions and to check the borrowings' frequency[6]. The corpus analysis enabled the differentiation of borrowings from mere contaminations, which was of high importance since, based merely on the definition of borrowing and the context of its first use, "[i]t is difficult to distinguish true borrowing from nonce borrowing which seems to be used only in a coincident and incoherent manner by specific speaker groups" (Oh and Son 2023: 5).

Corpus analysis studies natural and original texts, aiming to formulate conclusions from repetitive linguistic events (Stubbs 2004). It means that a correctly conducted analysis can help to notice the general language changes. The corpus analysis is a methodology that enables a researcher to access, highlight, and methodologically explore "attested linguistic phenomena that range from frequent to rare, simple to complex, and easily discernible to stretched over thousands of words" (Hasko 2013). As Molencki points out,

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[5] I sincerely hope that, to a certain degree, I overcame the mentioned weaknesses without becoming multidisciplinary and working within the primarily linguistic paradigm while approaching and studying the historical events and sociological aspects of language contact and change.

[6] It is worth noting that both *OED and* Hayakawa (2014) provide the user with the lexemes frequency (or as in the case of Hayakawa [2014] with an 'assimilation degree'); however, that information is provided for English in general; thus, it required another verification.

speed and far more representative data are the greatest advantages of the application of computer technology, but on the other hand, there are many problems. For example, high frequency words can give rise to an insurmountable *embarras de richesses*. Even in a relatively small corpus, one can find thousands of matches, which may be difficult to interpret. Another significant issue is their ambiguity, as no search program is able to distinguish between.

(Molencki 2012: 19)

To counter the corpora's possible unanalysable plenitude of results, the selection of borrowings had to be done carefully since CJC contains not only borrowings but also broadly understood contributions from Japanese — like names and surnames or toponyms, e.g. *Tokyo*. This problem was noticed by Cannon himself, who wrote that

[b]orrowing raises at least four major problems: delimination of corpus, nomenclature, "quality" of items, and antedating of etymology. Delimination is complicated by the fact that loans, a rubic term for loanwords and various kinds of translation, are essentially unlimited. That is, the total loans from one language into another include huge numbers of biographical or geographical terms which belong in encyclopaedias and atlases rather than lexicons.

(Cannon 2000: 326)

Moreover, Cannon's (1996) contributions are discussed in terms of English in general, contrary to this work that focuses on British English. The corpus analysis was also used to distinguish contributions and borrowings relevant[7] only to British English. All of the 1,425 main entries, along with the cross-reference entries providing a different spelling (an additional 84 searches, 1,509 in total), listed by *CJC*, were searched for in the *BNC* corpus.

Another disadvantage pointed out by Molencki (2012: 19) while working with corpora is the problem of the element's possible spellings and variants that should all be considered while analysing. For instance, the word ju-jitsu is also spelt as *jujutsi*, *jiu-jutsu*, *ju-jutsu*, *jiu jutsu*, and *jiu-jutsu* (*CJC*: 150). Thus, since borrowings can adapt to language's rules, and not all of the incorporated corpora allow for segment searching, to perform a fair corpus analysis, a word is searched in all possible forms. This approach is especially important while working with compound words or neologisms, which sometimes may have a solid spelling or can be divided by a space or hyphen.

Molencki also points to the fact that corpora frequently are based on edited texts rather than original manuscripts (2012: 19); thus, some of the corpora may yield the

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[7] In the later analyses, "relevant to the study" does not mean relevant in the British lexicon. Many borrowings that first appeared in the British texts many years ago are not used by British speakers nowadays. Of course, no language user is familiar with all the words in their native language. Nevertheless, the non-existing frequency raises some doubts, suggesting a very narrow sense of the borrowing, and its use within a possibly specialised context.

borrowings in their alternated and modernised form rather than in an original one. This problem is especially visible in the first two analyses. For instance, Sir William Adams's letters are available in the corpora, yet in many cases, those are the digitalised versions of the books (e.g. Tames 1987), not the letters themselves.

The preliminary study also revealed another problem that emerges while using corpora to study foreign elements in language: homographs. In this analysis, if a given contribution was a homograph with an already existing English word to ensure steady progress of work, it was omitted in the detailed context analysis due to time limitations[8].

After the *BNC* search and preliminary analysis of 1,509 words, the final number of contributions from *CJC* was 274. After eliminating names (e.g. *Akihito*, *Fujiwara*, *Yamato*[9]) and toponyms (e.g. *Edo*, *Ginza*, *Hiroshima*, *Nagasaki*, *Tokyo*, *Fuji*, *Fujiyama*, *Mount Fuji*, *Zipango*/*Zipangu*), as well as duplets (e.g. *futon*, *dojo*) by leaving only one example, the final list lexemes consisted of 258 entries retrieved from *CJC*, and 543 borrowings retrieved from *OED*. It is worth noting that the retrieved number of borrowings from *OED* is similar to the ones suggested by Cannon (1981, 1994)[10] and Tsuchihashi (1997), whose works were limited to loanwords. Interestingly, the similarity in numbers suggests a significant decrease, or even plateau, in the influx of Japanese borrowings into English in general since the 1980s, contrary to Tsuchihashi's expectations:

> [t]he advent of the information age will surely help increase contacts between languages worldwide at a faster speed. Based on this assumption, the number of Japanese loanwords in English will continue to grow.
>
> (Tsuchihashi 1997: 690)

To sum up, the method of collection of the samples for the borrowings analysis was as follows: first, the samples of borrowings and contributions were retrieved from the selected sources (*CJC* and *OED*). Then, the borrowings were searched in BNC to eliminate samples not used by the British speakers and to create a final list of words to analyse. Then the dates

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[8] I retrieved five homographs with a significantly high number of results during the corpus search: *do* (267,396 results in *BNC*), *go* (85,983), *on* (717,612), *sun* (11,025), and *to* (2,565,070) — results as of 10/07/2021. These contributions deserve a separate study involving a proper corpus and context analysis.

[9] *Yamato*, according to *CJC*, denotes two things: a) a Japanese clan, and b) Japan (in Japanese); however, Yamato is also a Japanese name thus was excluded from the final list.

[10] It should be acknowledged that Cannon (1982) wrote an article titled *698 Japanese Loanwords in English*; title explicitly suggests that there are at least 698 loanwords in English; however, the article is not available, thus the extraction of the borrowings from *CJC*, despite being a lengthy process, was necessary.

of the provided by the sources dates of the first use were compiled and compared[11]. The number of returns from the *BNC* was also used as an indicator of whether a word listed by CJC — that can be either a borrowing or a contribution and was not marked by *OED* as a borrowing, should be considered as one.

However, as mentioned earlier, the corpus analysis was also used to retrieve the samples of Japan's description, which also posed some difficulties. Even though corpora significantly ease linguistic studies, those obtained still frequently require manual verification, similar to this case. The difficulty in obtaining valuable information from the corpora analysis for the analysis of the British description of Japan lies in the fact that the word *Japan* has several meanings, including one which frequently disrupted this analysis, which is:

> A varnish of exceptional hardness, which originally came from Japan. The name is now extended to other varnishes of a like sort, esp. to (a) a black varnish obtained by cooking asphaltum with linseed oil, used for producing a black gloss on metal and other materials; (b) a varnish-like liquid made from shellac, linseed-oil and turpentine, and used as a medium in which to grind colours and for drying pigments.
>
> (*OED*)

Due to the numerous returns of the word *Japan* in this sense, this research, which initially aimed at applying solely quantitative perspective, had to lean into qualitative research.

2.2.   Content Analysis

The second method, content analysis (CA), is used to find specific words or themes in the various types of data studied and applied by multiple scholars, e.g. Hsieh and Shannon (2005). Even though CA is most often used in communication studies (Budd, Thorp, Donohew 1967), especially related to health (e.g. Hsieh and Shannon 2005), the method still shows its wide applicability also in linguistic and literary analyses. There are three main approaches to CA, that is, conventional, directed, and summative:

> In conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes. Summative content analysis involves counting and comparison, usually of keywords or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context.
>
> (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1277)

In other words, CA is a study of texts that can come in various forms and is often used to examine communication patterns in a replicable and systematic manner (cf. Budd, Thorp,

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[11] For the issues arising from uncritical use of dictionary first dates see Durkin (2022: 76–78). Due to those issues, the analysis of first uses' dates should be taken not uncritically, with a pinch of salt.

Donohew 1967). This type of analysis is advantageous when working with many articles and other longer sources, and it is often used to complement discourse analysis.

This work implements CA mainly while studying longer texts, i.e., digitalised versions of books and diaries. This method helps to mark the texts' relevant parts, which results in analysing only the selected segments, not the whole text. The analysis of an entire source can result in a very general perspective, and content analysis helps avoid it, which is of high importance since this project has a limited range of focus, which helps ensure the project's feasibility and later replicability. In this case, I apply a directed content analysis since the longer samples are extracted based on the assumption that the nearest context of the searched-for words, e.g. *Japan* and *Japanese*, is mainly about the searched lexemes. CA is also applied while analysing the definitions provided by the lexicographic sources to outline the possible semantic categories[12] based on the repetitive elements of the definitions. In this case, the material is examined with a summative content analysis (cf. Hsieh and Shannon 2005).

The mentioned method frequently applies computation tools, and among the ones implemented here are the already mentioned *Google Ngrams for Google Books*. All the searches that applied *Google Ngrams* are refined according to the criteria: 1800–2019, British English, Case-Insensitive (exception: Figure 2), Smoothing of 3. Since the *Ngrams* (NG) searches and graphs provided below are limited to British English, those should not be used for etymological analyses but rather for presence in that language variant.

2.3.   Discourse Analysis

The meaning of words used in discourse produced by people can reflect their worldviews and attitudes towards others; therefore, to study LW, I decided to apply a simple discourse study, which also provides the socio-cultural background for the later analysis of the borrowings. However, it should be highlighted that the study of the discourse in this thesis is not a fully-fledged discourse analysis that can provide any conclusions, but simply a study that aims at painting a slightly bigger sociological picture of the con-situation in which the borrowings came into being in British English.

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[12] However, this work does not aim at establishing new semantic categories. Exact semantic categorization of the borrowings according to the tropic was already done by Cannon (1996: 26–72). I would like to suggest some additional semantic categories in the last analyses which include some lexemes omitted or left uncategorised by *CJC*.

There are various types of discourse and discourse strategies (Scollon and Scollon 1997); however, discourse analysis (DA) invariably studies language in its social context. Discourse analysis, here also complemented by CA, can be defined as "a theoretical and methodological approach to specific examples of communication that can be used to analyse a wide variety of questions" (Monaghan 2012: 30) and helps understand the connotations evoked by the used forms. This work studies the discourse of written texts, i.e., written discourse, which involves no or limited feedback in the composition of the text and represents the one-sided product — that is also because these texts are read presumably in a different time and place than written (Scollon and Scollon 1997: 88).

As written above, there are various types of discourse; therefore, the discourse analysis in this work slightly varies depending on the text's type. Thus, the first step in the below analyses is to establish the type of discourse — is it an article in a newspaper, a letter meant for somebody, or a book written for a general audience? This is relevant since different texts require a different approach. For instance, in the case of letters, we can still talk about face relationships typical for spoken discourse; it is due to the letter's directness. Therefore, each text may not only vary in terms of language due to the author's educational background but also due to their emotions or relations with the text recipient. Finally, discourse analysis enables a study of emotionally loaded vocabulary or language frequently used according to the expressive language function.

> The discourse analyst working in the real world has to be able to extract, see as relevant, just those properties of the features of context which are relevant to the particular communicative act which he is describing, and which contribute to the interpretation (or intended meaning) of the utterance.
>
> (Brown and Yule 1983: 58)

In this work, discourse analysis focuses primarily on semantics; thus, this analysis can be called semantic discourse analysis, which is one of the discourse analysis types (van Dijk 1985). According to van Dijk "semantic discourse analysis has an extensional or referential dimension" (1985: 105). In other words, it combines the process of drawing meaning from the text and combining it with the text's con-situation or general context. The discourse analysis is used in this project to examine the British linguistic worldview, or to be precise, the linguistic picture of Japan presented by the British writers, and for this purpose, is applied in this thesis.

A part of the discourse analysis applied in this thesis is the frame analysis, which analyses the situational context in its broadest understanding (Tannen 2006, Song 2010). It

also partially takes from the sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD), a social science research method for studying discourse that Keller (2011) applied while analysing knowledge relationships in society. The sociology of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1966) studies the relationship between human thought, the social context within which it arises, and the effects that prevailing ideas have on societies. As a comprehensive analytical perspective, SKAD has been applied in several empirical studies within social science and in disciplines that extend beyond its borders (e.g. in archaeology, Japanese studies, criminology, or linguistics). The sociology of knowledge was pioneered primarily by the sociologist Émile Durkheim at the beginning of the 20th century, whose works dealt directly with how conceptual thought, language, and logic can be influenced by the societal milieu in which they arise (Keller 2011). This approach highlights the close relation society and language which is also proven by other scholars (e.g. Agha 2006, Waszakowa 2009).

In this thesis, with the help of content analysis, discourse analysis is performed to study the LW. The LW's analysis starts with content analysis and manual search, which allow for the extraction of fragments relevant to the study. Then, the sentences are analysed for emotionally charged or evaluative language that allows for assessment of the narration or attitude toward Japan. It should also be noted that the discourse is analysed in the context of Japan, its culture and people in general, so the opinions on particular characters and traditions are not considered in the conclusions and, when provided, serve the purpose of the curio.

Naturally, the LW differs from discourse to discourse, not only due to the author's experience but also due to the text's type. An author may decide on different wordings for the same thought while writing for a newspaper and in their diary due to varying text purposes. However, this problem requires a separate investigation, and here, discourse analysis is performed similarly on various texts, not based on the text's type. Nevertheless, the selected and analysed sources can be assigned to three main discourse source-based categories: diaries, newspapers, and informative sources (Table 1). These categories differ in subjectivity, with diaries being the most subjective due to being a way to map the spiritual itinerary, scrutinise moral conduct, and confess to something (Symes 1999: 359–360, cf. works by Arthur Ponsonby). Newspaper discourse is a type of media discourse that should be objective and informative (O'Keeffe 2011: 441), but particular articles, like opinion columns, are subjective. The discourse in informative sources like guidebooks or reports should be objective because they usually convey information.

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Naturally, each discourse analysis poses different difficulties and problems that a good scholar should address; for instance, in the case of the media discourse, the focus has to be on the genre (e.g. news or advertising), the outlets (i.e., carrier of content), the outputs (e.g. period to be covered) (Bednarek 2006: 5). Thus, and since the *British Newspaper Archive* provides a vast database of newspapers, the run therein query limited the output to the texts marked as *Article*, *Arts & Popular Culture*. To further limit the number of returns, despite applying the relevant timespan, the author also narrowed the search to newspapers limited in London, assuming that therein published articles may provide the readers with the essential information for the whole British society and the smaller and local newspapers may mainly include articles that are reprints from London publishers, or provide information relevant mainly to the local community.

Discourse	Sources
Discourse of diaries (including logbooks and relations) — subjective sources	Analysis 1, Analysis 2*, Analysis 4, Analysis 5
Discourse of newspapers — typologically objective sources	Analysis 4, Analysis 5, Analysis 6, Analysis 7, Analysis 8, Analysis 9, Analysis 10
Discourse of informative sources (including guidebooks and reports) — (typologically) objective sources	Analysis 2*, Analysis 3, Analysis 4

Table 1 Different types of discourses found in the source texts[13]

Discourse analysis was also used to analyse the context of the borrowing's first uses in order to establish their in-text relation. This analysis allowed for a more accurate establishment of the factors that influenced the influx of borrowings.

To summarise, due to the space limitations, the discourse analysis presented in this work is based on the closest context of the selected central terms, which are *Japan*, *Japanese* and other relevant Japanese-specific cultural terms. The retrieved discourse is later analysed in terms of its character (positive, neutral or negative), which is established based on the used

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[13] Since sources in Analysis 2 did not meet the set criteria, they were used to present the general representation of Japan, not the British one.

evaluative language (e.g. *merciful Japanese*, *great Empire of Japan*, *hostile Japanese*). Lastly, the character of the discourse is juxtaposed with the character of the socio-historical context, i.e., con-situation. To ensure the feasibility of this work, I decided to focus on the mentioned con-situation and the closest context without focusing on the discourse type or genre of the analysed source — a similar approach was undertaken by Yokoyama (2001). However, there are similar works focusing on British-Japanese relations within a specific type of discourse, e.g. Daniels (2004), who dealt with the newspaper discourse.

It is essential to highlight that this work treats the selected discourse analysis texts in a manner suggested by Foucault (1972), who said that "[t]he document is not the fortunate tool of a history that is primarily and fundamentally *memory*; history is one way in which a society recognises and develops a mass of documentation with which it is inextricably linked" (1972: 7). In other words, the texts are not detached artefacts of the analysed periods, but sources that were possibly revisited and shaped their readers world view many years after their publication. Moreover, it should be added that an individual's experience naturally cannot represent the experience of a whole community. Thus, the changes in the description provide a more accessible assessment of the character of the relations between Britain and Japan.

2.4. Diachronic Analysis

Diachronic linguistics studies the language change over time — here, the change in British English over a little over four centuries. As mentioned in the previous sections, language change involves various alternations concerning phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. The last one is of central interest in this thesis. This analysis consists of the study of selected samples and their change over time. Applying a diachronic perspective is relatively common in the studies on loanwords or borrowings in general (e.g. Mahmundi and Mahmundi 2019, Dylewski and Bator 2021, Landmann 2023, Oh and Son 2023). In this work, diachronic analysis allows me to compare samples and draw conclusions on the British-Japanese relations as a process rather than a phenomenon.

The diachronic analysis is performed here in two ways, depending on the analysed material. For longer samples, i.e., descriptions of Japan, its people and culture, the adjectives or most emotionally loaded words are extracted and compared through time in terms of meaning. The shorter samples, i.e., single Japan-related words or borrowings, are compared in terms of spelling and meaning, with a brief remark on their phonology in Chapter III. As

the analyses show, the spelling varies; for instance, the word *saké* was first incorporated into British texts as *saki* and remained in this form for over a century. Similarly, the meanings of words change or are added, and it is not uncommon to use *OED* data to track semantic change (e.g. Doi 2010, Allan 2012). With almost 300,000 headwords and around 2,437,000 quotations (Berg 1993: 195), *OED* is undoubtedly the largest and most authoritative English dictionary (Doi 2010: 83, cf. Berg 1993) that walks the user through various semantic changes that a lexeme underwent in English. However, it should be highlighted that many entries in *OED* to this day have not been revisited (e.g. entry *tatami* in *OED* has not been revised since 1933 [as of 10/01/2022]). Nevertheless, *OED* is still the primary source in this work since my goal is to analyse how the borrowings' meanings were changing over time in English itself. Naturally, I also examine in this thesis any semantic changes that occurred during the borrowing process. For this purpose, I am using two Japanese historical dictionaries: *Kōjien* (1991) and *Sūpā Daijirin* (2005). Unfortunately, neither of these two lexicographic sources helps to track the change in the phonetics of the borrowed lexemes; therefore, the brief notes provided on that topic only consider the modern pronunciations of the lexemes and their assimilation with the English phonetic system.

3.   Source Materials

The source materials for the analyses are texts written between 1600 and 2020 in modern (standard) British English by British or English (depending on the analysed period) people. Based on these criteria, the study can be described as a qualitative analysis with elements of the quantitative analysis since it also aims to present as many texts as possible and is due to the study of borrowings. Among the sources selected for this analysis are language corpora, non-fictional books, letters (usually published in the form of books), and newspapers. In other words, this work relies on qualitative data supported by quantitative data.

This work analyses various sources to examine changes in the descriptions of Japan and link them, most notably with the historical events. Of course, undoubtedly, some of the changes were not only caused by the selected events but were also a result of other foreign texts, comments, and other semiotic artefacts, which are "(intentional or unintentional) consequences of human actions" (Siefkes 2012: 3). In the case of British-Japanese relations and British perception of Japan, the discussion on the intertextuality of various sources and their influence on the general opinion on Japan seem to be understudied. For instance, in the analysis of the 17th-century sources, "Lach concentrates solely on printed sources, which had

limited circulation, and which […] might not have had as great an impact on the educated, literate classes as Professor Lach implies" (Massarella 1987: 53), contrary to the other sources. However, the relation between the texts, i.e., intertextuality, is not of main interest in this work, and here only would like to highlight the importance of studies similar to Lach (2010) and Massarella (1987) because various texts not only link the people but also "such semiotic artifacts also link persons to a common set of representations of speech, both explicit and implicit ones, thus making possible the large scale replication of register stereotypes across social populations" (Agha 2006: 155). In some places in this thesis, I try to recognise the influence of foreign texts and perspectives on the British perception of Japan; however, this issue is worth further analysis.

3.1.   Corpora and Databases

As mentioned in the section on corpus analysis, corpora are vast databases of language records. Corpora, nowadays primarily available online, are language resources used, among others, for storing, structuring, annotating, and analysing texts. Using corpora to analyse borrowings can help analyse the embedment and frequency of lexemes (e.g. Dylewski and Bator 2021). To ensure the representativeness of the material, the samples are collected from various corpora and databases:

- *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER untagged) — described by its creators as "a multi-genre historical corpus of British and American English covering the period 1600–1999. The corpus has been designed as a tool for the analysis of language change and variation in a range of written and speech-based registers of English"[14]. This corpus is used in the search for samples of Japanese descriptions, and since *ARCHER* includes both British and American English texts, all the queries were refined and limited the variety of texts to the British ones and the queries were run for the words *Japan*, *Japanese* and *Tokyo*;

- *British National Corpus* (*BNC*) — 100-million-word text corpus used to verify borrowings relevance in modern British English and search for source text to analyse Japan's descriptions. The search is case-sensitive and limited to non-fictional genres;

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[14]Description by the creators, retrieved from https://varieng.helsinki.fi/CoRD/corpora/ARCHER/updated%20ver sion/introduction.html (Accessed 10/10/2021), the corpus is freely available at https://cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk/, yet requires registration.

- *British Newspapers Archive* (*BNA*) — "[c]omprises British news reports from 1700 to 2000. It consists of ten samples drawn from six newspapers per period in 30- or 40-year intervals. Each newspaper is represented by a 10,000-word sample, thus yielding a total corpus size of 600,000 words"[15]. However, the *BNA* database is constantly being updated, providing users with new samples that may influence the analysis results.

The preliminary study has proved the relevance of the number of corpora and databases implemented in this project and their representability. Moreover, working with the above sources facilitates an easy way to monitor JBs in British English. However, it should be highlighted that the selected corpora did not provide enough material for the analyses of the first two periods. Thus, they relied solely on the selected books. Nevertheless, the used corpora were very helpful in analysing the entrenchment of the JBs because they include a variety of genres and types of texts.

3.2. Books

Unfortunately, no corpus contains all the possible texts. Due to their deficiency, even a collection of all the available databases may not provide the global picture of the analysed matter. Thus, the thesis examines carefully selected non-fictional sources. The included sources are mainly collections of letters written between 1600 and 1850, logbooks, diaries or books whose titles kept recurring during the corpus analysis or in other scholars' works' references. The reoccurrence of the titles suggests their importance for analysing British descriptions of Japan. The sources that were primarily consulted for the selection of texts for the descriptions' analyses are Rogala's (2001) *Collector's Guide to Books on Japan in English: a select list of over 2500 titles*, as well as the extensive bibliography of Hayakawa's (2014) *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Words Used in English* and Cannon's (1996) *The Japanese Contributions to the English Language. A Historical Dictionary*.

Notably, the first two analyses are wholly based on manually selected sources — mainly collections of letters, logbooks and diaries. Some may point out that these represent the individual, rather than the general, perspective of Japan; however, it should be remembered that these first accounts of Japan later served as the foundation for formulating future comments about Japan, its culture and its people. Moreover, an individual's opinion on

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[15] Description retrieved from https://www.uni-due.de/anglistik/linguistics/projects/rnc (Accessed 10/10/2021).

a matter can also reflect society's general attitude. In other words, the selected sources are approached with a relevance theory discussed by Levinson (1983), i.e., an assumption that writers try to convey the most essential information about Japan.

4.   Justification for the Selected Timespans

Social reality affects our linguistic choices; thus, to properly contextualise the use and influx of the Japanese borrowings into British English, we should have at least a general overview of the con-situation in which those entered the language. This requires familiarisation with the historical events that were and are most relevant to British-Japanese relations. However, understanding the historical background was also helpful in another way since the material for the analysis had to be divided into smaller batches to improve the feasibility of the project. In this work, the selected material was sorted and assigned to a given section according to its first use date — not the publication date. While sorting, it is vital to apply the date of the origin since various publications — especially the letters written between 1600 and 1800 — were not published until the nineteenth century, when the Hakluyt Society came into existence. Even though some titles were published a few decades — or even centuries — later, they still describe the situation around the time it was written. The division into periods is artificial and based on my subjective observations, yet minding Durkin's warning "about the dangers lurking in sub-periodising our results if we are not diligent in how we then examine them" (Durkin 2022: 77).

Over several decades, the history of Japan itself was a subject of multiple studies, probably not only due to its exoticness and mere curiosity but also an excellent and fast modernisation and fast accommodation to the Western standards that happened twice (from the Tokugawa period to Meiji) and after WWII (Rundall 1850). Importantly, this work does not aim to investigate the history of Japan or the United Kingdom *per se*, merely to outline the historical background of British-Japanese relations with details that enable the description of the ongoing relations as positive, neutral, or negative. This approach is also applied in each analysis, preceded by an outline of the historical background. Notably, the historical facts presented in the given sections are predominantly taken from five volumes of *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations* — but mainly the first volume edited by Nish and Kibata (2000a). These works were the basis for the distinction of the sections introduced in this thesis.

Even though the analysed period starts with the year 1600, it is probable that prior to that year, some British citizens have sailed to the coasts of Japan. Nevertheless, up to now,

most of the sources agree that the first Briton to arrive in Japan was William Adams[16] (cf. Kościelecki 2006), who reached the Japanese coast in 1600. Thus, it is said that the first relations between the Kingdom of England (at that time) and Japan began around 1600 (the beginning of the 1. period) with the arrival of Sir William Adams to the coast of Japan. Yet, their official state was established in 1613. In 1633 (the beginning of the 2. period), Japan started introducing the Sakoku policy, which limited the exchange of goods between Japan and other countries to the Dutch and Chinese. This year marked the beginning of the period when the British had to take information about Japan from other indirect sources. As can be seen, the Sakoku period lasted till 1853 (the end of the 3. period), when the Americans forced the opening of Japanese harbours to other countries. In other words, this period spans 220 years, which, to improve the feasibility of the analysis, was divided into two parts (the Sakoku Period, Part I and the Sakoku Period, Part II) to distribute the source material more evenly. In 1854 (the beginning of the 4. period), British-Japanese relations improved due to the increasing trade. It reached a certain peak with the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902 (the beginning of the 5. period), which was desired since both countries perceived Russia as a threat. The alliance lasted 21 years, with its official termination in 1923 (the end of the 5. period). The 6. period presents texts, which are often the reminiscence of the alliance and the presage of incoming conflict, but also the texts reflecting the negative reception of Japanese invasions of Manchuria and China. The relations became officially hostile in 1940 (the beginning of the 7. period) when Japan entered World War II by signing the Tripartite with Germany and Italy, thus becoming the British enemy. When the war ended, part of Japan was occupied by the British Commonwealth Force until 1952 (the end of the 7. period). After that, British-Japanese relations kept improving, resulting in 1971 (the end of the 8. period) in the first state visit of Emperor Hirohito to the United Kingdom after an interval of 50 years. Later, from 1972 till 2000 (respectively: the beginning and the end of the 9. period), globalisation played a huge role in improving official relations between the United Kingdom and Japan. This period is then followed by technological development, which is visible in the further improvement of the relations in question. The last period starts in 2001 with "Japan 2001", a year-long project which consisted of numerous events in the United Kingdom, embracing the cultural exchange between the British and the Japanese.

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[16] Sir William Adams' history was an inspiration for James Cavell's novel titled *Shōgun* which later on was made into TV series in 1980 (directed by Jerry London) and 2024 (written by Rachel Kondo and Justin Marks).

To emphasise the sociolinguistic aspect of this study, I decided to base the division on historical events rather than linguistic ones, which are also difficult to point out and track. However, we also considered the number of available sources while dividing the material to make chapters similar in size and volume. The timespans are also based on the eventfulness of the periods to avoid the mistake pointed out by Best and made by historians who tend to skip the uneventful periods (2021: 3).

Naturally, the applied division is, to a certain degree, subjective and can be done differently depending on the scholar and selected points of reference. Similarly, the beginning date of British-Japanese relations can vary from scholar to scholar; for instance, Cooper (1992: 265) starts his description of "merely ten years" of these relations from 1613 with the delivery of King James I's letter[17] to Shogun, and ends with the closure of Hirado factory that was followed by the leave of most Englishman staying in Japan. Nevertheless, this study follows its fundamental and pivotal work, i.e., a series by Nish and Kibata, that begins its analysis with 1600 and Adams's arrival.

Lastly, even though historical background plays an essential role in this thesis, it is neither a historical work nor I am a historian myself; therefore, despite all the carefulness, some of the historical facts that may be considered by others more critical could be omitted, or for some too briefly discussed. Thus, the work also aims to provide readers with a rich list of further references to consult. Nevertheless, I tried to follow Foucault's suggestion to consider and distinguish a variety of events, including those of varied importance, length and type (1972: 8).

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[17] Copy of the letter: https://blogs.bl.uk/.a/6a00d8341c464853ef01901e9d3b76970b-pi (Accessed 10/09/2021).

CHAPTER II

Analyses

As stated in Chapter I, the sources and the methodology differ from analysis to analysis due to the variety of the examined material. Hence, the analyses are preceded by a brief description of the used sources and applied methods if necessary. Nevertheless, the structure of the analyses remains the same and includes: first, an introduction with a presentation of the analysed sources, which is followed by a description of the historical background, and two analyses (one of the linguistic world views and the second one of the selected borrowings), all of which is finally encapsulated in a summary.

Each analysis of the borrowing analyses includes a list of borrowings that were presumably first used during the given period (primarily based on *OED* and *CJC*). The first three analyses also include a brief etymological analysis that, in fact, was a by-product of the LW analysis sources reading. Each of the analyses presents a detailed analysis of the most relevant examples that, in some cases, also include minor comments on the borrowings' spelling and pronunciation. The relevance of lexemes chosen to be presented in the analyses below was estimated based on their frequency in the *BNC* corpus and the significance of the orthographic, phonological, semantic and morphological changes that the given lexeme underwent. The selection of the lexemes was necessary due to their significant number.

Notably, the notes on pronunciation are more common in the latter analyses since the data on the original realisation of the first JBs in English and their source lexemes is scarce or non-existent. It would be unreasonable to draw any conclusions about the phonological change of the 17th-century lexemes based merely on modern data; thus, the notes on the sounds of JBs made in the first analyses are just a mere comparison.

The borrowings provided in the analyses are arranged in two fashions. The first three analyses collect the borrowings in tables and sort them by the year of their first recorded use, as evidenced in the word's entry in the *OED*. Then, the subsequent seven analyses provide borrowings as an alphabetical list. The difference in the arrangement of lists results from the shifted focus, i.e., the first three analyses, due to the limited number of accessed sources, could be analysed in more detail, including verification of the first use date. At the same time, the subsequent seven analyses examined the borrowings predominantly relying on the dictionary and corpora data with limited access to the original source. A list of relevant

borrowings from *CJC* then supplements the lists based on *OED*. If a borrowing appears in both sources, it is underlined; if it appears in a different list, a relevant cross-reference is provided.

Notably, the date of first recorded use presented next to each borrowing may not always be the same as the first actual use (see here for a discussion of *OED*'s use of evidence), but it should be close enough in most cases to give a good picture of trends in borrowing. During the etymological analysis, some discrepancies in the date of first use were revealed; the corrected years are provided in square brackets followed by an asterisk. Due to the insignificant number of borrowings, the first three analyses are slightly more detailed than the later analyses.

The summary of each of the analyses includes an assessment of the British-Japanese relations' character and the general character of analysed descriptions, as well as reflections on the borrowings and their presence in the texts of the given period. This section is also supplemented by some comments on the other observed problems and changes that fall outside this project's scope, suggesting directions for future further studies.

Lastly, some conventions should be clarified and reminded to understand the provided analyses better. First, the term *original spelling*, which appears while discussing the borrowings, refers to the spelling used in the source texts. This information is included when there is a difference between the modern spelling of borrowing and the spelling of its first use or when the other spelling comes from a modernised/corrected version of a source text. Moreover, sources that include alternated texts, i.e., rewritten up to the modern standards of English or at least simplified, are preceded with an *alt.* abbreviation. This detail is significant, especially in the first two analyses, i.e., when spelling conventions were not fixed and the spelling varied within a text. Moreover, all the borrowings are spelt the way they are provided in the source; thus, the borrowings capitalised in *CJC* or *OED* are also capitalised in the text.

Secondly, the LW analysis is based chiefly on the closest description of the selected words, which are *Japan*, *Japanese*, and *Tokyo*. Some general opinions are based on the whole texts, yet usually are provided as a mere curio since the thesis focuses on the shorter units, e.g. adjectives, that could reflect the author's attitude towards Japan. Some conventions applied only within a given analysis are provided at its beginning.

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1. First Contacts (1600–1632)

The first analysis relies on diaries, logs, and letters written by Sir William Adams (retrieved from Rundall [1850], Tames [1987], and Corr [2016]; for more information about Adams, see Gowen [1967: 112–182], Tames [1987], *ODNB*1: 268–271], or Corr [2016]), John Saris (retrieved from Tames [1987] and Rundall [1850]; for more information about Saris see *ODNB*48: 981–983), and Richard Cocks (retrieved from Tames [1987] and Hartle [2018]; for more information about Cocks see *ODNB*12: 374–375). Other consulted sources are Samuel Purchas's (1905: 239–283; for more information about Purchas, see *ODNB*45: 575–576) works, originally written in 1613. This English Anglican cleric had never been to Japan but simply collected and translated stories and letters of other — usually foreign — travellers like Francis Xavier, Melchior Nunnes, Valignanus, Ruggerius and Pasius (Purchas: 1905: x). Importantly, no corpus analysis was applied in the analysis of this period since none of the selected corpora includes texts from the period in question, or if it includes (e.g. *ARCHER*), it mentions neither *Japan* nor *Japanese*. Nevertheless, the abundance of sources describing the first British experience in Japan is well acknowledged by various scholars, for instance by Cooper (1992), who says that

> [i]t is an ironic fact of history that of Europeans to visit Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the English stayed the shortest time (a mere ten years), but left an immense amount of documents recording their experience.
>
> (Cooper 1992: 265)

Notably, despite this significant abundance, to ensure the project's feasibility without having — or at least limiting — an impact on the representativeness of the results, the number of sources was limited to three, most important in the given period, writers. According to Cooper (1992: 265), this multitude of sources results from the fact that contrary to the Portuguese merchants and Iberian missionaries, the British constantly travelled across Japan, strengthening the need to exchange letters. Furthermore, the merchants' affiliation with the English East India Company (EIC) forced a continuous flow of information about investments in Japan. These two factors are mentioned by Cooper (1992: 265) as one of the probable reasons for this detailed communication, as well as the abundance of source materials in this period[18]. Yet, as later presented, not all sources were valuable due to their purely informative and objective form. For instance, Corr says that Sir William Adams

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[18] This exchange of information that prevailed in the form of correspondence and reports was used by various scholars, for instance, by Peter Pratt (1822) in *History of Japan, Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company at the Instance of the Court of Directors*.

"wrote little; his letters and logs, while vivid and valuable, would convey too little about the eventful years between 1600 and 1620 on their own" (Corr 2016: vii). Thus, for this analysis, Sir Adams's writings are supplemented with excerpts from the very detailed diaries of John Saris and Richard Cocks, but also their correspondence to various addressees. The analysis also refers to the letter from King James I of England to the Emperor of Japan (January 1611) and other sources.

Unfortunately, the quoted examples are taken from secondary sources due to the lack of access to some original texts. Moreover, in some cases, the authors of the secondary sources altered the original spelling, as in the case of Tames (1987), who modernised and standardised the spelling in his work. Even though the altered spelling does not pose any problems in the analysis of LW, altered sources are not considered in the analysis of borrowings.

In summary, the project analysed the above-discussed sources to retrieve samples relevant to the description's analysis, but also — since the sources had been already consulted — to verify the dates of first use presented by *OED*, *CJC*, and Hayakawa (2014). Since it did not involve additional work, this verification was worth conducting because many *OED* entries have not been revised for over half a century.

1.1. Historical Background

The analysed period takes place during the time of profound societal and religious changes occurring both in England and Japan, which were entering new eras. Even though the analysed period covers the timespan from 1600 to 1632, some of the previous events should also be mentioned to fully comprehend Japan that Adams saw in 1600 and how he perceived it.

Notably, the first Europeans to arrive in Japan were Portuguese traders in 1543, who, according to Philip von Siebold, accidentally discovered Japan (Kato Yuzo in Nish and Kibata 2000a: 66). Then, in 1549, Francis Xavier[19], a Spanish missionary, came to Japan to spread Christianity. The aspect of religion in the history of Europeans dealing with the Japanese is crucial since it was the source of later conflicts, persecution of Christians, and their martyrdom. The first instance of bloody persecution of Christianity was the Martyrdom

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[19] For more information about this Francis Xavier see Gowen (1967: 54–111).

of the Twenty-Six Saints of Japan that took place on the 5th of February 1598 in Nagasaki. At the same time, due to the actions of King Henry VIII formulated as the English Reformation, some Christians were also persecuted in England. However, before that, another important event, named by Das (2016: 1350) as a *significant arrival*, took place when in 1588, Thomas Cavendish returned to England with two Japanese captives — known only under their Christian names, Christopher and Cosmas (Lockley 2019) — who came from "the mightie Iland of Iapon" (Paske-Smith and Anglerius 1928, after Das 2016: 1350). Yet, the first account of Japan in the English text dates back as early as 1577, when Richard Willes, in his expanded version of Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World* (1555), titled *The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, described Japanese people as "tractable, ciuile, wyttye, courteous, without deceyte, in vertue and honest conuersation exceedyng all other nations lately discouered" (Paske-Smith and Anglerius 1928, after Das 2016: 1350). It was the same year when Italian missionary Organtino Gnecchi-Soldi said that

> [y]ou should not think these people are barbarians because, apart from the faith, however prudent we may believe we are, we are great barbarians compared with them. In all truth, I confess that I learn from them every day and I think that there is no other nation in the world with such and so many talents as the Japanese.
>
> (*alt*. Corr 2016: 42, cf. Cooper 1971: 137)

In other words, English people had different ways of learning about Japan, either from textual sources or the oral representations,[20] and their first perception of Japan, based on those semiotic artefacts, could be, in fact, any, i.e., positive, neutral, or negative, depending merely on the accessed source; however, considering the above sources and quotes, the image should be fairly positive.

Then came April of 1600, when Sir William Adams, along with his Dutch companions, arrived in Japan to find "a country in the grip of civil war" (Tames 1987: 11)[21]. In the very moment of his landing in Japan Adams faced a threat of death since Portuguese — who were at that time, along with Spain at war with Holland and England — suggested an execution of the *Liefde*'s crew to which Adams belonged. Nevertheless, after some time, Adams managed to explain the situation to Tokugawa Ieyasu — the founder and first Shogun of the Tokugawa Shogunate —who later took him as his unofficial advisor. Adams's arrival

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[20] For more information about first European-Japanese contacts, consult Corr (2016). For a description of Japan in the 16th century, consult Rundall (1850).

[21] Kościelecki (2006: 25) suggests that Sir William Adams sailed to the coasts of Japan together with another Englishman, Timothy Shoten (cf. Rundall 1850: 37, *Timothy Shotten*), famous for sailing around the world with Sir Thomas Cavendish. However, since Shoten was also a pilot, he most likely sailed on a different ship; thus, it is likely that he did not make it to Japan since the only ship that sailed to the coast of Japan in 1600 was *Liefde*.

marked the beginning of semi-official relations between England and Japan; semi-official, because he was not officially appointed as the representative of English interests, even though, according to Markley (2006: 53), Adams presented himself as a spokesman for English trade. Nevertheless, his presence in Japan eased the later arrival of ships with other Englishmen on board. Among other things that should be kept in mind is also the fact that Adams's presence in Japan was not an impulse that started the English need to establish commercial relations with Japan. As Satow (2016) suggests, the plans of the East India Company regarding the discovery of the North-East Passage date back to 1580. Nevertheless, the presence of William Adams was "one of the considerations that encouraged the directors to try for Japan" (Nish and Kibata 2000a: 2).

After an unofficial visit of Adams in 1611, Captain John Saris was sent by the East India Company to establish official trading relations with Japan. He reached the coast of Japan in June 1613 and passed the letter from King James I to the Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada[22] (Screech 2020). With Adams's help, Saris was able to successfully negotiate permission to trade, thus officially and formally establishing political and trading relations with Japan. The later exchange of goods, which also included paintings, was based on Saris's *Observations of Commodities to be Bought and Sold in Japan*, which described all the commodities that should be the subject of that trading relation.

Among other important events during the analysed period, we should also mention the opening of the East India Company's factory built by Saris in Hirado in 1613 and then its closure in 1623 (Paske-Smith 1927). The closure — that initially was hoped to be just temporary — was primarily caused by a lack of English goods that could be sold to Japanese (Markley 2006: 55), not by any animosity. According to Markley, this closure was also caused by cultural misinterpretations that "hampered efforts to establish the profitable commerce that the EIC envisioned" (2006: 54). The year 1623 is also marked by the Amboyna massacre that took place on Ambon Island (Indonesia) where twenty-one men — Portuguese, Japanese, and English or in the service of the English East India Company — were tortured and executed by the agents of Dutch East India Company (VOC) due to the accusations of treason.

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[22] Captain John Saris also brought the first telescope to have left Europe. See a blog entry from the British Library's website written by Todd (2013) for the 400th anniversary of the beginning of diplomatic and trade relations between Britain and Japan: https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2013/08/japan400-hirado-and-the-british-in-japan.html (Accessed 20/08/2022).

The fact that, due to economic reasons, England voluntarily decided to leave Japan presumably eased the possible tension that could have arisen from issuing the exclusion edicts in 1633. At the height of the Age of Exploration, these edicts, issued by Tokugawa Iemitsu, a new head of the Tokugawa shogunate, led to the closure of Japanese harbours for foreign traders, greatly limiting Japanese contact with other nations. Notably, together with the Dutch and Portuguese, the English also perceived Japan as a valuable trading partner due to its silver production; thus, the decision about the closure was undoubtedly difficult to accept to a certain degree.

If we had to evaluate the relations in the analysed period, we should say that they officially started on a neutral note, yet then may have slightly deteriorated. Even though the negative turn in the relations was not caused by the direct action of the English, who were merely affected by the misconduct of the Portuguese, it still influenced English trade with the Japanese.[23] For additional information on borrowings from this period, see Warren (1993a: 11–13).

To sum up, among the most important events we should name:

1600   – the arrival of Sir William Adams (Massarella 2000);

1603   – James I succeeds Elizabeth I; end of Tudor period in England, and beginning of Edo (aka Tokugawa) period in Japan.

1613   – the arrival of the first English ship, the *Clove,* with John Saris aboard, holding the official letter from King James I; the opening of the English factory in Hirado; Adams is employed by the East India Company (Tames 1987); trade agreement signed by Tokugawa Ieyasu (Gowen 1967: 155);

1614   – an edict suppressing Christianity in Japan (Tames 1987: 93–94; Lu 2015);

1616   – the 'Great Martyrdom' at Nagasaki (Tames 1987: 95);

1620   – Anglo-Dutch alliance (Tames 1987);

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[23] The change in the relations between Japan and other countries is well summarised by Rundall who in his books wrote: "Comparing obvious circumstances with the facts adduced in this volume, the reader, who may not have had to means of investigating the subject, will become aware, probably with feelings of some surprise, that a remarkable change has taken place in the character of the relations which formerly subsisted, and in the character of the relations which now subsist, between the empire of Japon and the states of the Western-hemisphere" (Rundall 1850: v).

1623   – closing of the Hirado factory, the English are leaving Japan (Rundall 1850: xxv; Lu 2015), and first of the Sakoku Edicts; Amboyna massacre (Markley 2006: 143–176);

1624   – Spaniards expelled from Japan (Lu 2015);

1633   – the Tokugawa Shogunate issues the first of exclusion edicts.

1.2.   Analysis

Before proceeding, some additional comments on the below-provided analyses should be made. First, the below analyses of LW are sorted by the author and then by the topic. Second, the quotes describing the Japanese are put separately from those about the Japanese cities. Lastly, the analysed borrowings are all naturally important in the context of British English since all of them come from British sources; thus, they should be considered without any additional corpus search confirming their relevance to this study. However, the corpus analysis was still implemented to study the borrowings' presence in modern British English. Moreover, more space — compared to the later analyses — was devoted to the borrowings' spelling due to an insignificant number of semantic changes.

1.2.1   Linguistic Picture of Japan

As Tames (1987: 11) suggests, during the first decade of Adams's stay in Japan, he remained factual in his writings; only after that time he started to include some of his own observations that painted a positive picture of Japanese people. However, this statement is not in line with the fact that even in the first two letters written by Adams, we can read various positive comments about Japan. At the end of his first letter, Adams writes that

> [t]he people of this Iland of *Iapon* are good of nature, curteous aboue measure, and valiant in warre : their iustice is seuerely executed withour any partialitie vpon transgressors of the law. They are gouerned in great ciuility. I meanse, not a land better gouerned in the world by ciuill policie.
>
> (*alt.* Rundall 1850: 32)

In the same letter, Adams also notes that Japanese are "verie superstitious in their religion, and are of diuers opinions" (*alt*. Rundall 1850: 32). In the later letter, we can read that Japanese are "veri subiect to thear gouvernours and superiores" and "veri zellous, or svpersticious, hauing diuers secttes, but praying all them secttes" (*alt*. Rundall 1850: 44). In the same letter Adams again highlights how lawful and well-governed Japan is, yet also adds that Japan is "[i]n justis very seuer" (*alt*. Rundall 1850: 44).

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When it comes to the Japanese cities and their architecture, Adams mentions that Edo "made a very glorious appearance unto us; the ridge tiles and corner-tiles richly glided, the posts of their doors glided and varnished; […] There is a causeway which goes through the chief street […]. This street is as broad as any of our streets in England" (*alt.* Tames 1987: 60). In similar words he describes the court that was "a wonderfull costly house guilded with gold in abundance" (*alt.* Rundall 1850: 39). Even though these descriptions can be perceived as objective, they also paint a positive picture of Japan. Adams focuses on describing the rich part of Japan with all its wealth and gold, not mentioning its poorer and less glamorous views, that he also saw. Nevertheless, this one-sided description may also result from the fact that Adams, in the beginning, was treated as a guest and was exposed only to the beauty of Japan, yet it is fairly doubtful that the Japanese managed to completely hide the less representative views from Adams's eyes. He also mentions that "theirs citties you may go all ower in ye night with out any trobell or perrill" (*alt.* Rundall 1850: 44). In his descriptions, especially in the letter from December 1613 (Rundall 1850: 57–72), multiple times he compares places in Japan to the ones he knows from his motherland,[24] partially showing the pride of his heritage.

On the contrary, we have Saris, whose "contempt for Adams' assimilation of and apparent preference for Japanese manners, which he privately expressed after the journey's end, resulted in muted tension" (*ODNB*48: 982); this can suggest a possible reluctance of Saris towards Japan and its culture, yet neither this stance nor the partially analysed letters, suggest an evident Saris's reluctance to Japan and its culture.

John Saris is slightly more explicit in his journals, providing very detailed descriptions. However, he usually describes the Japanese people that he encounters and refrains from general comments. In one of his first notes written during his visit to Japan, he describes the Japanese as "portingale-made papist" (*alt.* Tames 1987: 45) when the women at a sight of a picture of Venus, probably thinking that it was the Mother of God, started worshipping it[25]. The most memorable positive entry in his journal praises the Japanese cities as he describes, for instance, Hakata "as great as London within the walls", Osaka as "a castle in it, marvellous large and strong", and Suruga "as big as London, with all the suburb" (*alt.* Tames 1987: 56). As Tames writes "Saris found each successive city more impressive than

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[24] "The boat having a fast made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our barkes are from *London* westward. We found *Ozaca* to be a very great towne, as great as *London* within the walls, with many faire timber bridges of a great height, seruing to passe ouer a riuer there as wide as the *Thames* at *London*" (Rundall 1850: 60).
[25] For a detailed analysis of this situation see Markley (2006: 54).

the last" (1987: 56). Saris was also amazed by the discipline within the Japanese troops. Thus, from Saris's diaries, we can conclude that the Japanese are disciplined, and their cities are impressive. However, the extensive description of Japanese conduct of justice may suggest that Saris could perceive the Japanese also as barbaric (Tames 1987: 57). Nevertheless, with all the detailed information on all the events Saris was invited to attend, a reader may conclude that Japanese people are hospitable and good at providing entertainment (Rundall 1850: 48–55).

Richard Cocks, in his diary, also does not leave much space for evaluative language in his objective descriptions of Japanese. However, between the lines, we can notice his respect towards the Japanese Christians who, due to their faith, were sentenced to death by the Hidetada's edict but still did not "turn pagans" (*alt*. Tames 1987: 94). Cocks describes Hidetada[26] as "a great enemy of the name of Christians, especially Japans" (*alt*. Tames 1987: 94). Similarly to Saris, Cocks refrains himself from judging Japan in general by focusing only on the elements and individuals whom he had seen.

	Japan	**Japanese people**	**Culture**
Adams	safe	*of good nature*, *civill*, *curteous*, *valiant* [violent], supersitious, *zellous* (in the religion matters), obedient	sever law
Saris	—	disciplined, hospitable	—
Cocks	—	devoted	—

Table 2 The traits and characteristics ascribed by the authors to Japan, Japanese and their culture

The above table summarises the descriptions written by the above-analysed authors. It is worth nothing that Adams's "severe law" was mainly a compliment towards the Japanese justice system of that time. Moreover, despite the Saris's reluctance towards Japan, the description remains positive.

Regarding other sources, we should mention the letter from King James I of England to the 'Emperor' of Japan, written in January 1611. In this letter, delivered by the East India Company merchants to the Shogun of Japan, King James I requests the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries and permission for the company to trade. As expected from the first official correspondence, it is devoid of any evaluative language and neither positively nor negatively charged phrasing. On the other hand, some may say that it

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[26] **Tokugawa Hidetada** (1581–1632) was the son of Tokugawa Ieyasu, was the second shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty.

should contain some positive elements to successfully establish trading relations. Nevertheless, this matter remains the subject of research on the seventeenth century trading etiquette (e.g. Biagoli 1996) and the diplomacy of that time (e.g. Zahedieh 1999, Lamal and van Gelder 2021).

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that in the analysed period, Japan was also referred to as one of "the Rice Countries"[27] and "Kingdome of Chamis" by Purchas (1906: 262), and "Kingdom of Jappan" and "countri of Yedzoo and Matesmaye" by Adams (Rundall 1850: 70)[28]. The first phrase highlights that Japan was recognised for its fine rice, whereas second, emphasised the importance of religion to the Japanese people (see analysis of the borrowing *kami* below). The third one shows that Adams was well aware that Japan had an emperor, and he was using the noun 'empire' with respect to Japan, contrary to Purchas, who referred to Japan as 'kingdom'. The last name focuses on the geographical naming of the cities of Japan, with the reasoning behind *Yedzoo* being fairly straightforward, i.e., *Yedzzo* is an anglicised version of *Edo* (nowadays Tokyo), the capital city of Japan at that time. *Matsumaye* is an anglicised version of *Matsumae*, being the name of a Japanese clan.[29] These four different ways of naming Japan suggest that it was perceived through its commodities, religion, and power — with the first two being perspectives adopted from other sources since Purchas had never been to Japan. It is also worth adding that Purchas, a little over two centuries later, was partially criticised by Alcock for giving "a medieval coloring to all our knowledge of the country and people" (1863: 32) in his descriptions of Japan.

1.2.2 Borrowings

As mentioned above, we can hardly speak about borrowings during this period — merely about the first uses of words that later became borrowings. The words discussed below are

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[27] "They haue excluded themselues all Iaua, and the Rice Countries, except where they hold by force" (Purchas 1906: 675).

[28] The conducted analysis revealed the problem of toponyms and their inconsistency, leaving space for further investigations. For sure, among the most interesting variations in the toponyms present in the analysed texts, we should name *Iapon* and *Iapan* (used interchangeably by Adams in his letters, here retrieved from Rundall [1850: 18–32]), *Japonia* (Tames 1987: 10 after *The First Booke of Relations of Moderne States*), *Nepon* (used by Wickham), or *Niphon* (used by Wright in his translation of Morejon's *Briefe Relation of Persecution in Iaponia*, see also Warren 2010: 70). Surprisingly, *OED* provides us with only two alternative forms of the word *Japan*, i.e., *Giapan*, used in 1500s, and *Japon*, used in 1600s. The same research gap applies to the spelling of cities; for instance, Osaka is spelt as *Ozaka* by Adams and *Osakey* by Cocks, and Nagasaki is spelt by Adams either as *Nangasaki* or *Langasachi*. Yet, the issue of toponyms requires further investigation, especially the one mentioned by Adams *Yedzoo*, that, according to Tames (1987: 59), refers to Hokkaido — yet some scholars argue that since its spelling is more similar to *Yeddo* (also spelt as *Yedo* or *Jeddo*) being *Edo* (nowadays *Tokyo*).

[29] The present-day city of Matsumae, where the Matsumae Castle can be found, did not exist in the analysed period. That land simply was under the jurisdiction of the above-mentioned Matsumae Clan.

fairly interesting since even though they were used as early as the seventeenth century, their steady circulation allowed them to enter the dictionaries two centuries later.

While searching for the words of Japanese etymology that for the first time were used in the English texts between 1600 and 1632, *OED* lists (in order based on the year of the first use):

No.	Borrowing	Original spelling	First use	Source
1.	*kami*	*Camis* [plural]	a1601	Relations Mod. States (Harl. MS 6249) ii. xxiv. f. 109[30]
2.	*katana*	*Cattans* [plural]	1613	Saris Journal
3.	*wacadash*	1. *wacadash* 2. *Waggadashes* [plural]	†1613	1. Eaton letters 2. Saris Journal
4.	*oban*	*oban*	1614	Cocks Diary
5.	*tatami*	*Tatamee*	1614	Wickham
6.	*furo*	*fro*	1615	Cocks Diary
7.	*miso*	*misso*	1615	Adams logbook
8.	*shogun*	*Shongo*	1615	Cocks Diary
9.	*bento*	*bento*	1616	Cocks Diary
10.	*ichibu*	*ichebo* and *ichibo*	1616	Cocks Diary
11.	*kobang*	*Coban*	1616	Cocks Diary
12.	*maki-e*	1. *make* 2. *maky*	1616	1. Farrington (Factory in Japan) 2. Cocks Diary
13.	*mochi*	*mushos*	1616	Cocks Diary
14.	*norimon*	*neremon*	1616	Cocks Diary
15.	*samisen*	*shamshin*	1616	Cocks Diary
16.	*tabi*	*tabis*	1616 [1614*]	Cocks Diary
17.	*inro*	*Inro*	1617	Adams letters
18.	*menuki*	*menuque*	1617	Cocks Diary
19.	*tai*	*tay*	1620	Cocks Diary

Table 3 List of borrowings from the 1600–1632 period based on *OED*

Whereas *CJC*, in the given period, lists 27 contributions, among which we can find: from 1613: *Amida*, *catan*/<u>*cattan*</u> (different spelling for *katana*), *Edo*, *urushi* (see 2.2.2), <u>*wacadash*</u>; from 1614: *kimono* (see 4.2.2), *koku* (see 2.2.2), *Nippon*, *obang*/<u>*oban*</u>, <u>*tabi*</u>, <u>*tatami*</u>; from 1615: *chopstick*, <u>*miso*</u>, *momme* (2.2.2), <u>*shogun*</u>; from 1616: *kami* (understood as a title, Jap. 上 *kami*, see Warren 2010: 62, see 2.2.2, cf. 守 *kami*), <u>*kobang*</u>, <u>*mochi*</u>, *sun* (see 2.2.2);

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[30] This source provided by *OED* is hardly to be found; presumably because it is a part of a private collection. However, it is a possible reference to *The First Booke of Relations of Moderne States*, a source also mentioned by Tames (1987). Hayakawa (2014) also cross-refers to an English translation of *The Travellers Breviat, or an Historical Description of the Most Famous Kingdomes in the World. Relating their Situations, Manners, Customes, Ciuill Gourment, and other Memorable Matters* by Botero (1601).

from 1617: *Bon* (see 4.2.2), *camphor*, <u>*inro*</u>, <u>*katana*</u>; from 1618: <u>*kami*</u> (understood as a deity, Jap. 神); from 1620: *machi*, <u>*tai*</u>; and from 1621: *kin*.

The fact that there are differences in years is of no surprise, given the date of publication of Cannon's dictionary and the fact that *OED* is constantly updated (Doi 2010). However, we can easily observe the difference in the choice of words. As *CJC*'s title suggests, it also lists the contributions, including the proper nouns (e.g. *Edo* and *Amida* excluded by *OED*) and words like *chopsticks* and *camphor*[31]. According to *OED*, these two last words are indeed etymologically related to Japanese, yet are not borrowings *sensu stricte*. On the other hand, *CJC* does not mention the above two words (*ichibu* and *maki-e*) provided by *OED*. It shows how progressive the study of borrowings is. *OED* also excludes *machi*, a Japanese word for house, which can be considered irrelevant since BNC provides only one return after running a query. The lack of returns shows that this word may be a mere contamination rather than a contribution since the number of returns is significantly small. *OED* also excludes Cannon's *kin*, a Japanese and Chinese weight, which, however, cannot be analysed as *machi* due to the number of homographs in English[32].

The analysis of the borrowings' first use revealed some inaccuracy and possible missing information. For instance, *CJC* also includes *urushi* (Jap. 漆 *urushi*), a Japanese lacquer tree that, according to *OED*, truly comes from Japanese but dates back to 1727 to Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, translated by Scheuchzer. In contrast, *CJC* Purchas first used *urushi* in 1613. After consulting Purchas (1906: 263), it can be confirmed that *OED* does not include complete information, and Purchas was the first to use the word *urushi*, yet spelt it *Urosci*:

> Within it was covered and without, with *Urosci* (made of Gold beaten into powder) distinguished with Flowers of Gold and Silver, so inserted in the Urosci that none could discern the conjunction, but he which knew the making of the Boxe.
>
> (Purchas 1906: 263)

Another discrepancy can be observed with the first borrowing in the table, *kami*, which, as presented in the list based on *CJC*, has two meanings. The first one recorded according to *OED* around 1601 refers to the spirits and deities recognised by the Japanese

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[31] Etymological explanation: "Loose transl. of *kusu* the tree or its wood, for the J. variety, as a loan extension of the earlier E. word (ult. < Malay), once highly cultivated for camphor (oil)" (Cannon 1994: 102).

[32] A query provides us with 789 returns. It is highly doubtful that all of these examples truly refer in their meaning to the Japanese weight. Nevertheless, as stated in Chapter I, homographs are excluded from the analysis.

Shinto religion — according to Cannon (1996: 153) in 1618. The second one denotes a governor, *daimyo*, or someone of authority or high rank, and this meaning, according to *OED*, dates back either 1662 or 1727, whereas according to Cannon (1996: 153) to 1616, however, in this case, the information provided by Cannon cannot be verified because it does not provide the original source, merely the information that the headword was retrieved from the second edition of the Oxford English Dictionary. The borrowing is still used in both senses and, most importantly, does not deviate from the original Japanese meaning.

A similar situation is with: *momme* (Jap. 匁 *monme*), a Japanese unit of weight, that, according to Cannon (1996: 178), was first used in 1615 by Farrington; *koku* (Jap. 石 *koku*), a Japanese measure unit, first used according to Cannon (1996: 165) by Farrington in 1614, and according to *OED* in 1727; and *sun* (Jap. 寸 *sun*), a Japanese unit of length, first used according to Cannon (1996: 220) by Farrington in 1616. According to *OED*, all these three words were first used by Scheuchzer in 1727, which, after consulting Farrington (1991), proved untrue. A slightly less glaring difference with dates is with *tabi* (Jap. 足袋 *tabi*), Japanese socks that, according to Cannon, were first used by Farrington in 1614, i.e., two years earlier than *OED* suggests. Similar discrepancies are present in Hayakawa (2014), who suggests that *oban* (Jap. 大判 *ōban*) 'an oblong coin', was first used by Cocks (1615 September 7), but I confirmed the suggested by *OED* and *CJC* year of 1614 by consulting Farrington (1991). Nevertheless, there is still a high possibility that an earlier first year of use exists. In other words, the above-presented table is not complete and should also include *urushi* (1613), *koku* (1614), *momme* (1615), *kami* as a title (1616), and *sun* (1616); however, those are analysed in the later periods, since the division of the borrowings was based on the years provided by *OED*, but still marked accordingly with the corrected years provided in square brackets and followed by an asterisk.

After clarifying the above inadequacies, let us move to the detailed analysis of the most interesting borrowings presented in the table, starting with the second one, *katana* (Jap. 刀 *katana*), "[a] long single-edged sword of the Japanese samurai" (*OED*), that was first used in the following sentences: "either of them had two *Cattans* or swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter" (11 June 1613 Saris [Satow, 1900: 79] after Hayakawa [2014], see also Rundall 1850: 48). It was first agreed the words used in the texts of the analysed period were at first not borrowings, but simply contaminations due to their novelty in language. However, these contaminations resulted from various reasons.

As in the Chapter I theorised, there are two reasons for a contamination to occur, and it can be suspected that neither matches this example since come may conclude from this sample that Saris was already well-accustomed with the word *Cattan*, and knew it was a type of Japanese sword since it seems that he did not provide any additional explanation of this word. However, there is also another possible explanation, that the used *or* is not suggesting Saris's uncertainty whether the seen weapon was a *katana* or any other Japanese sword, but simply *as others may say it*, thus being an excellent and first, example of the contamination used as a headword followed by a definition.

The above table, as well as *OED*, presents the words that entered the dictionary, including both words of Japanese etymology and those having the status of borrowings.[33] Interestingly, among one the most often reoccurring borrowings is *wacadash* (now obsolete), which appears in various sources spelt differently, e.g. *waccadashes* [plural] (Cocks Diary, 1615), *wakedasshes* [plural] (Adams logbook, 1615), *wagadashes* [plural] (Will of William Adams, 1620). This borrowing is even more interesting when we consider the fact that it entered the English lexicon twice. *Wacadash* means 'a Japanese short sword' (*OED*) and is based on Japanese 脇差 *wakizashi*, a word that in 1727 also entered the English lexicon as a borrowing replacing *wacadash*, which is far from the original Japanese spelling and pronunciation. Similarly to *Cattan*, *wacadash* was also first used as a headword, i.e., "a *wacadash* or dagger" (November 8, 1615, Cocks [Thompson 2017: 82] after Hayakawa [2014]), and "at departure he gave me a *wacadash* (or a small Japon *cattan*)" (July 30 1617, Cocks [Thompson 2017: 288] after Hayakawa [2014]). This borrowing became archaic due to the popularisation of its new form, *wakizashi* (see 2.2.2, cf. Hayakawa [2014: 460-463]). However, it is disputable whether *wakizashi* should be treated as a separate word rather than a correct form of the word *wacadash* that does not occur in any of the consulted corpora or when analysed with Ngram viewer.

Notably, in the context of the whole analysed period, i.e., since 1600 till 2020, out of the 19 above borrowings, merely ten are present in the *BNC* corpus, with the fourth one, *oban*, having the highest number of returns, 119. However, this number is inaccurate, and none of the returns uses the word *oban* in the sense of borrowing's meaning, i.e., "[a]n oblong gold

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[33] Interestingly, even though the listed words' etymology points to the Japanese origin, these are not marked as borrowings. For instance, out of the presented nineteen words, only nine (i.e., *oban*, *furo*, *miso*, *bento*, *ichibu*, *kami*, *maki-e*, *mochi*, *norimon*, and *menuki*) are labelled as borrowings by *OED*, even though all etymologically come from Japanese. This matter requires further investigation and consultation with *OED*'s editors.

coin with rounded corners, formerly current in Japan and now used on special occasions in offerings or gifts; the sum of money represented by this, equal to ten kobangs" (*OED*). All the *BNC* returns are proper names, i.e., a character's name, whiskey's name or a resort town in Scotland.

Next, let us take a closer look at the spelling of the word *tatami* (Jap. 畳 *tatami*), which was first used by Richard Wickham in his letter to Richard Cocks, dated May 1614 (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1898: 209). In this letter, we can find both singular and plural forms of this word, *Tatamee* and *Tatamees*. Interestingly, when Cocks two years later mentions *tatami* in his diary, he uses a different spelling, i.e., *tattamis* [plural] (Cocks Diary 1616) which is closer to the present-day form, but different from the form Wickham provided him. This shows the different approaches to the transcription of Japanese words that may stand from the author's education.

It is also interesting how some of the writers persistently used Japanese words for simple concepts that could easily be conveyed through their native words. This is the case with *furo* (Jap. 風呂 *furo*), the Japanese word for bath, used for instance by Cocks: "And at night Spaniards envited them selves to our *fro*" (Thompson 2017: 44). However, in this example, Cocks did not provide an additional explanation that may suggest that either Cocks was well-accustomed with this word or expected the reader to already know it. This is a completely different approach than the one adopted by Montanus, who wrote: "Whereupon the Japanners went to a *Troo* (for so they call a Bath), that they might cleanse themselves" (originally written in Dutch, Montanus [1670: 146], Hayakawa [2014: 78])

We should also point out how well Cocks did in the transcription of the word *samisen* (Jap. 三味線 *shamisen*) "[a] Japanese guitar of three strings, played with a plectrum" (*OED*), that according to the MHR, should be spelt as *shamisen*, which according to *OED* is also a possible variant, but not the dominant one, which according to NG was accurate up to around 1980.
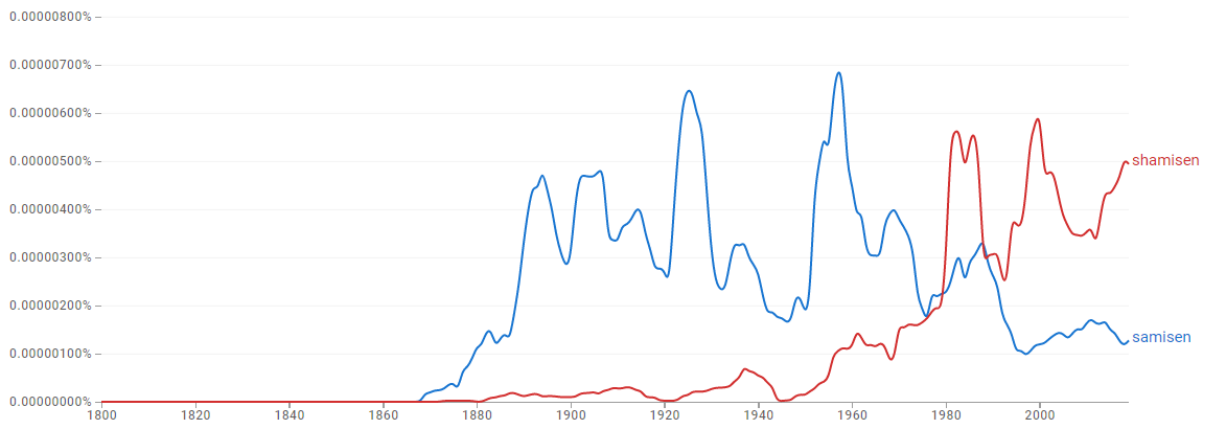
Figure 1 The frequency of the lexemes *samisen* and *shamisen*

Lastly, we should discuss the borrowing *shogun* (also spelt *siogoons*, e.g. 1861: 136, MHR: *Shōgun*, Jap. 将軍), which should be spelt in lowercase according to OED. Even though the *Ngram* search shows that spelling with a capital is more popular (see Figure 2), and consistent English orography, which spells the titles with a capital letter since *shogun* denotes "[t] he hereditary commander-in-chief of the Japanese army, until 1867 the virtual ruler of Japan." (*OED*). Interestingly, *OED* also points out that *shogun* was also called *tycoon* (see 4.2.2).
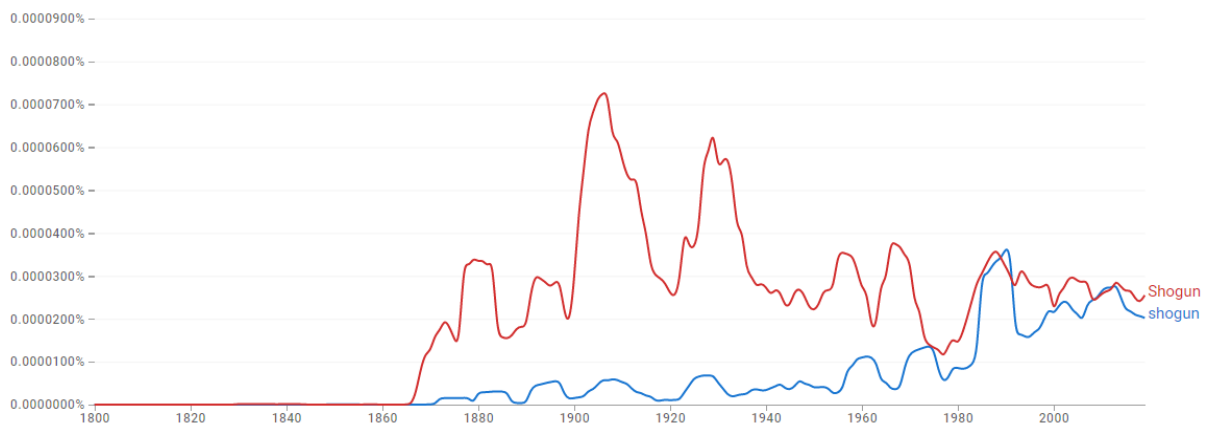
Figure 2 The difference in frequency of the capitalised and non-capitalised spelling of the word *shogun* (case-sensitive)

The semantic analysis of the above borrowings shows no radical semantic changes in the above meanings of these borrowings, neither after their transfer from Japanese to English nor during their over four hundred years of presence in the English lexicon. Most of the definitions present in *OED*, and *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* are very similar in their content, with the only difference in *OED*'s specification that given lexemes refer to the Japanese culture as in the definition of above-mentioned *furo*: "**[i]n Japan**: (originally) a steam bath or

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bathhouse" (*OED*). Additionally, when analysing the above borrowings with NG, we can see that despite *wacadash*, all the borrowings have been in use at some point in the analysed period. If we were to focus on more recent years, for instance, 2000–2019, *kami* and *miso* are the most popular.

1.3.   Summary

The analysis of texts on Japan suggests a relatively positive reception of Japan, the Japanese and their culture. This is in line with other authors who worked with the above-analysed sources (see Rundall 1850, Tames 1987, and Hartle 2018). However, this perspective is contrary to other travellers like Portuguese missionary Luís Fróis, who attributes the severity of Japanese law "to national poverty, which also leads to widespread infanticide" (Hartle 2018: 3). This difference in perspective is understandable if we consider the history of Japanese-Portuguese relations. Moreover, according to Markley, the positive picture of Japan painted by Adams in his letters was caused by the fact that he wanted "to hasten his rescue by idealizing the Japanese as potential trading partners" (2006: 53), and by showing that "the people of Japan embody the characteristics that the English see in themselves and identify with civilized behaviour" (Ibid.).

We can complete the discussion on Japan's LW by referring to Tames (1987), who also mentions a source titled *The Firste Booke of Relations of Moderne States*[34] that paints a positive picture of Japan — a work based on the accounts of several unknown visitors. Among the traits recovered from the mentioned source, Tames lists "perceptiveness, diligence and fortitude, pride and dignity, curiosity and courtesy, literacy and a partiality for the martial arts, delicate beauty and a keen sense of social status" (Tames 1987: 11). This opinion, that Japan was perceived in a positive way is also shared by Rundall who says that "[in] the early intercourse which existed between the empire and the states of the west, the government of Japon is exhibited in a most favourable light" (1850: v). Even though these two opinions mention the general opinion of various countries about Japan — that through translations made its way to the British texts — as the presented analysis proves, British travellers are no exception. The adjectives reflect their positive attitude toward the foreign culture of Japan. Some may want to point to Japan closing its harbours to foreign traders, yet

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[34] For more information about this manuscript, consult Rundall (1850: xxxix). It is highly possible that the description of Japan in this source is based on the texts written by Portuguese travellers.

even though the closure itself was perceived negatively by the English — as it will be presented in the following analysis — the Portuguese were the blamed ones.

When it comes to the summary of the borrowings' analysis, as shown above, despite the multitude of studies revolving around them, the extensive source, such as *OED*, fails to provide all the information recovered by other scholars. Nevertheless, given the expertise of the *OED*'s editors, it is also highly probable that the consulted reprints of the sources were simply assigned the wrong dates.

The analysis of borrowings did not suggest any major semantic shifts in the borrowings' meanings, merely some inconsistencies in their spelling, which were understandable during the analysed period since, at that time, there was no established way of transcribing Japanese words. In the seventeenth century, the authors had to rely on their linguistic instinct while doing their best rendering — most likely from hearing — the Japanese words in their texts. Nevertheless, the spelling inconsistencies for sure cannot be ascribed to the process of loanword naturalisation since those were the first attempts at their spelling. As Doi points out

> [t]he use of diacritical marks, frequent use of hyphenation, or capitalised common nouns could be a consequence of the author's attempt to accurately write down the words as he perceived them. Thus, they are not spelling adaptations.
>
> (Doi 2010: 90)

Almost all the borrowings appear in the source texts simply as headwords that are supplied with an explanation. It would be dubious to say that these contributions entered the sources due to the lexical gap, and it would be hard to admit that one should remain in the language as borrowings. The initial inclusion of Japanese words in the above-quoted sources most probably resulted from the authors' need to familiarise the reader with Japanese culture. While linking the presence of these lexemes in this period with historical events, we should simply acknowledge their existence and correlate it with the English presence in Japan and their curiosity about its culture. In other words, the analysis of the general context, i.e., both the co-text and con-situation, as of now, shows a vague relation between the use and influx of the JBs into British English but presents what was the character and purpose of the first borrowings.

2.   The Sakoku Period, Part I (1633–1750)

According to Cobbing (2013: 5), "[f]or much of the Edo period, a Japanese perspective of Britain as such was conspicuous by its absence". Unfortunately, the search for source materials for this analysis shows that this absence was mutual. In other words, the analysis of this period posed some difficulties due to the shortage of sources relevant to this study, so I also consulted the sources of borrowings' first uses. Thus, Hooke's diary (from 1675, retrieved from Robinson and Adams 1968) initially entered the list of source materials. However, careful reading revealed that Robert Hooke, who had never been to Japan, used the word *Japan*, yet in the sense of 'varnish'. Luckily, the writings by an English priest, John Ovington, who — similarly to Hooke — had never been to Japan, in accounts (from 1696, retrieved from 1929 edition edited by Rawlinson) of his visits to Surat also mention Japan, and some excerpts were used in the LW's analysis. Notably, *ODNB* does not include Ovington's figure; thus, the following excerpts should be treated as additional context rather than a proper LW representation.

Naturally, since the British were banned from Japan, only a few wanted to write about a country they had never visited. Markley (2006) showed that the British perception of Japan during the prevailing Sakoku policy was primarily based on those written by the Dutch, who were allowed to trade with Japan. In other words, as already said, there are not many texts relevant to this analysis that meet the established criteria; however, to present at least a mere glimpse of the attitude towards Japan, the brief analysis of the linguistic picture of Japan is juxtaposed in summary with some excerpts from the first volume of Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*[35] translated by Scheuchzer and originally published in 1727 — which according to *OED* is the source of the majority of the below-analysed borrowings (see Durkin 2022: 77). Moreover, this translation includes a dedication from John Gaspar Scheuchzer[36] to George II (Kaempfer 1906: xxi–xxii) and an introduction written by Scheuchzer (Kaempfer 1906: lxxxix–xc), which may reveal his perception of Japan. However, based on the dedication's form, we can say it is more the description of *the History of Japan's contents rather than* Scheuchzer's opinion. Then again, in the introduction (Kaempfer 1906: xlvii),

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[35] "Scheuchzer's work is interesting. It is a translation of a then-unpublished German work by Engelbert Kaempfer relating his travels in Japan in 1690–2. Kaempfer's German work uses Japanese words to denote various Japanese cultural items and concepts, which Scheuchzer has rendered into English, retaining the same Japanese words." Durkin (2022: 77). This analysis relies on the reprint from 1906.

[36] For more information about the translator consult the *Biographical Note on the Scheuchzer Family* by Sir Archibald Geikie (Kaempfer 1906: xv–xix) or *ODNB*49: 215–216).

Scheuchzer mentions that as a part of the preparation for the translation, he familiarised himself with other works on Japan (e.g. Marco Polo), thus suggesting that the introduction may include some of his own considerations on Japan. Those two were also carefully analysed since they could be an equipoise and supplement to Ovington's notes on Japan. However, it should be remembered the rest of *the History of Japan* is a translation; thus, it does not reflect the British perspective *sensu stricto* on Japan at that time. Nevertheless, the later opinion on Japan was, to a certain degree, based on this translation; thus, it is worth discussing. It should also be highlighted that Kaempfer's *History of Japan* remains one of the most important sources for Japanese borrowings in English since, as Durkin says

> the contact between Japanese and a German speaker (which may well have been via a third language) occurred in the late 17th century, [is] a fascinating exception to Japan's general impenetrability to Europeans at this time, but these words were not relayed into English until over thirty years later, via Kaempfer's German text.
>
> (Durkin 2022: 77)

2.1.   Historical Background

The year 1632 was the last year before the issuing of the first exclusion edict in 1633 that "severely restrict[ed] Japanese trade and travel overseas, and prohibit[ed] the return of Japanese who had settled abroad" (Corr 2016: xiv). As Cobbing says, after the closure of the English factory in Hirado (see 1.1.), "the subject of England rapidly disappeared from the Japanese sphere of interest" (2013: 5); as proof of his words, Cobbing refers to Nishi Kichidayuu's *Shokoku Miyage Sho* (Eng. *Produce of All Nations*, Cobbing 2013) — written 46 years after the English left Hirado —, that mentions various overseas countries, including these trading with the Dutch. This Dutch perspective results from the fact that Kichidayuu was collecting information from the Dutch merchants, who were mentioned as their trading partners, among others, Spain, France, Denmark and Germany.

> England, however, was not even mentioned, deliberately ignored perhaps by the Dutch in Nagasaki on whom Nishi relied for his information, and who viewed the English East India Company as an increasingly competitive trade rival in Asia.
>
> (Cobbing 2013: 6)

Thus, it can be assumed that the disappearance of England from the Japanese texts was not caused — at least not only — by the Japanese resentment towards England, but rather the trade competition between King James I's servants and the Dutch.[37] We can find a somewhat

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[37] The Ambonya massacre remained the source of tension between the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands almost til the end of the 17th century (Barkley 2006).

confirmation of these words in Corr's (2016: 2–3) work, where he says that after the closure of the factory and the expulsion of the Spanish and Portuguese from Japan, a few years later, chief rivals of the English, the Dutch became the unchallenged monopolists of the trade between Japan and the exterior world, that was possible since "[s]ome daimyo allowed merchants to engage in triangular international trade with Europeans using Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands in defiance of Tokugawa seclusion policies" (Ellington 2013: 75).

To better understand the policy ruling in Japan at that time, we shall retrieve some of the essential laws imposed by the other edict of the Tokugawa Shogunate, *The Edict of 1635 Ordering the Closing of Japan: Addressed to the Joint Bugyou of Nagasaki* (Lu 2015: 221–222). First, Japanese ships were "strictly forbidden to leave for foreign countries" (Lu 2015: 221). Secondly, no Japanese were permitted to go abroad; if they did, they had to be executed. The same fate awaited those who returned from overseas after residing there. The edict was also very strict about dealing with the Christian preachers who had to be incarcerated and thoroughly investigated. Lastly, the final Sakoku edict was issued, which put to an end "the Portuguese trade and of all Japanese traffic with Catholic islands" (Corr 2016: xiv).

Among the important events in the analysed period, we should list the unsuccessful *Return* expedition to Japan in 1673, which was supposed to reopen trade relations (Rundall 1850: xxv; Tames 1987: 124). Interestingly, as Cobbing (2013) points out, after this mission, Japanese scholars were still not interested in England since they did not mention it in, for instance, *Iki Shuuwa Roku* (Eng. *the Record of Assorted Tales from Abroad* Cobbing 2013) published in 1681 as a sequel of *Shokoku Miyage Sho*. As suggested by Cobbing (2013: 6), the first reference to England comes from 1695 when England was listed as among "countries whose voyages to Japan have been stopped" (Ibid.) included in Nishikawa Joken's *Kai Tsuushou Kou* (Eng. *Study of Commercial Relations with the Chinese and the Barbarians*, Cobbing 2013). This lack of interest did not help re-establish British-Japanese trading relations, presumably also due to the number of military conflicts in which the British were involved.

However, despite the discussed restrictions placed on foreign trade and relations, during the Sakoku period, Japan was not entirely closed to foreign influence. After 1720, Tokugawa Yoshimune relaxed the rules regarding foreign book import. The Dutch, the scientific knowledge they brought, and goods were the subject of both scholarly and common

interest. This growing fascination enabled a mutual exchange of knowledge that deepened European understanding of Japan via Dutch accounts and texts.

Events[38]:

1633–39 – the Tokugawa *bakufu* issues a series of edicts which effectively close the country from the outside world, with the exception of the Dutch and Chinese (Lu 2015);

1639 – Portuguese excluded from Japan; the beginning of the Sakoku period (Lu 2015);

1641 – Dutch factory removed from Hirado to Dejima;

1642–46 – English Civil Wars;

1660 – Charles II becomes the King of England, Scotland and Ireland;

1673 – unsuccessful mission ordered by Charles II to restore the trade link between Japan and (Rundall 1850: xxv; Tames 1987: 124, Markley 2006: 244–245);

1701–14 – War of the Spanish Succession.

2.2. Analysis

Since, contrary to the above LW analysis's sources, Ovington and Scheuchzer used few adjectives to describe Japan, this analysis relies more on the longer quotations, hoping to reveal the author's attitude toward Japan. Also, due to the insignificant amount of the collected material for the LW analysis, it is still of high importance to present the interrelated character of the analyses and to represent the continuity of changes occurring in the languages.

Similarly to the following analyses, the borrowings retrieved from *OED* and *CJC*, after the descriptions' analysis, are examined in terms of their presence in British English and semantic change by, first, comparing the Japanese meanings in *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* and later, analysing the meanings provide by *OED*. The detailed analysis of the selected borrowings is arranged alphabetically, and the selection was based on the amount of the retrieved information.

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[38] Similarly to the ones in the following analyses, the list of events below does not include extensive notes on either English or Japanese monarchs since only a few were actively interested in re-establishing British-Japanese relations.

2.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

Unfortunately — yet understandably — Ovington wrote little on Japan since his account mainly focused on his stay in Surat. To Ovington, the Japanese were just another Asian nation that shared the characteristics that he ascribed to all the people of the Orient:

> The Orientals are all of them generally jealous, and very circumspect about their Wives; and seldom fail of punishing their Infidelity, if it come to light. [...] And thus in *Japan* Adultery is punished in the Women only; tho' Deflowring of Virgins, Coinage of false Money, and some other Vices, are punished as well in their Relations, as in the Persons of the Criminals.

(*alt.* Ovington 1929: 76)

Ovington was quite negative in his reception of Japanese people, whom he ascribed the love to gambling (1929: 186). However, he was particularly negative about the Emperor, whom he described in a demeaning way, since, according to Ovington, all the Asian rulers presented themselves as demigods (Ibid.: 111).

> [T]he Emperour of Japan calls himself Son of the Sun; and for this Reason, when the Imperial Diadem is upon his Head, will never after appear in the sight of the Moon, for fear of debasing his Greatness, and because he things it would Eclipse his Glory.

(Ibid.: 111)

As a matter of fact, Ovington in the majority of the fragments about Japan focused on the figure of the Japanese Emperor.

> The Nails from their Fingers, too, are grown beyond the Paws of any Lyon, into three or four Inches length, (by any Opinion which they have imbibed, like that of the Emperour of Japan, who, after his Coronation, is deterr'd from permitting either Razor or Scissers to come near his Hair or Nails,) upon a Persuasion that it is a kind of Sacriledge in those cases to cut them.

(Ibid.: 213)

We can find a few instances of positively charged vocabulary around the word *Japan* in Ovington's writing; however, those instances use the word *Japan* in the sense of 'varnish' as in: "I cannot boast of the Lack upon Serutores and Tables at Suratt, which is but ordinary in respect of that at Japan" (Ibid.: 194).

This negative reception of Japan stands in slight opposition to the later Scheuchzer's description of this country as "a valiant and invincible Nation, a polite, industrious and virtuous People, enrich'd by a mutual Commerce among themselves, and possess'd of a Country, on which Nature hath lavish'd her most valuable Treasures" (Kaempfer 1906: xxi–xxii) present in the dedication. However, Scheuchzer, in fact, tried to remain objective in his judgements about Japan, suggesting his fallibility:

> I must own, that these maps, for accuracy and preciseness, fall far short of our European ones, the Eastern Geographers being not skilled enough in Mathematicks and Astronomy for that : But it cannot be supposed, with regards to the Japanese in particular, that being so fully apprized, [...] they should be ignorant, whether of how fat it is wash'd by the Sea, and where it borders upon other Countries and Provinces.
>
> (Kaempfer 1906: lii)

In the introduction, Scheuchzer devoted much space to verifying the information provided by Kaempfer, for instance, regarding the above-discussed maps. He also remarks on the content itself and says that Kaempfer provided the reader "with the visibly fabulous traditions of the Japanese themselves about their original descent" (Ibid.: lvi).

2.2.2 Borrowings

Contrary to the previous analysis, the borrowings below are listed only alphabetically. For more information on the years in the square brackets, see 1.2.2. Before moving to the analysis, it is worth highlighting that Kaempfer (1727) used capital letters to spell words of Japanese origin in most cases. By doing so, he emphasised the foreignness of the words and their use as the headwords, followed by an explanation.

No.	Borrowing	Original spelling	First use	Source
1.	adzuki	Adsuki	1727	Kaempfer
2.	akoya	Akoja	1727	Kaempfer
3.	amazake	Ama Saki	1727	Kaempfer
4.	chanoyu	Tsianoi	1727	Kaempfer
5.	dairi	Dayro	1662	Olearius
6.	hatamoto	Fattamatto	1727	Kaempfer
7.	hinoki	Finoki	1727	Kaempfer
8.	Jodo	Siodo	1727	Kaempfer
9.	kaki	Kaki	1727	Kaempfer
10.	kami	Cami	1727 [1615*]	Kaempfer
11.	kana	Canna	1727	Kaempfer
12.	katakana	Kattakanna	1727	Kaempfer
13.	katsuo	Katsuwo	1727	Kaempfer
14.	ken	Kin	1727	Kaempfer
15.	kiri	Kiri	1727	Kaempfer
16.	kirin	Kirin	1727	Kaempfer
17.	koi	Koitsjaa	1727	Kaempfer
18.	koi-cha	Koitsjaa	1727	Kaempfer
19.	koku	koku	1727 [1614*]	Kaempfer
20.	kuruma	khuruma	1727	Kaempfer
21.	matsuri	Matsuri	1727	Kaempfer
22.	Mikado	Mikaddo	1727	Kaempfer
23.	mikan	Mican	1727	Kaempfer
24.	mikoshi	Mikosi	1727	Kaempfer
25.	miya	Mia	1727	Kaempfer
26.	momme	Mome / Momi	1727 [1615*]	Kaempfer
27.	moxa	Moxa	1675	Hooke
28.	Ritsu	Rit	1727	Kaempfer
29.	saké	Saque	1687	de Thévenot
30.	samurai	Samurai	1727	Kaempfer
31.	satori	Satori	1727	Kaempfer
32.	sen	Sennis	1727	Kaempfer
33.	shaku	Sackf	1727	Kaempfer
34.	shikimi	skimmi	1727	Kaempfer
35.	Shingon	Singon	1727	Kaempfer
36.	Shinshū	Sensju	1727	Kaempfer
37.	Shinto	Sintos [plural]	1727	Kaempfer
38.	shoyu	Soeju	1727	Kaempfer
39.	soy	Souy	1696	Ovington
40.	sugi	Suggi	1727	Kaempfer
41.	sun	Suns [plural]	1727 [1616*]	Kaempfer

42.	*Tendai*	*Tendai*	1727	Kaempfer
43.	*tofu*	*Teu Fu*	1704	Navarrete
44.	*tokonoma*	*Tokko*	1727	Kaempfer
45.	*torii*	*Torij*	1727	Kaempfer
46.	*tsubo*	*Tsubo*	1727	Kaempfer

47.	*urushi*	*urusi*	1727 [1613*]	Kaempfer
48.	*wakizashi*	*Wakisasi*	1727 [1613*]	Kaempfer
49.	*zazen*	*Sasen*	1727	Kaempfer
50.	*Zen*	*Sen*	1727	Kaempfer

Table 4 List of borrowings from the 1632–1750 period based on *OED*

The *OED* advanced search provides us with 50 above-presented words of Japanese origin, out of which six were already mentioned in the previous section. Interestingly, merely 23 are marked specifically as borrowings with one, *akoya*, being partly a borrowing from German and partly from Japanese. The fact that some lexemes, namely 5., 7., 9., 11.–18., 20., 29.–38., 42.–46., are not marked as borrowings, rather than pointing to them as just contributions, showing how much revision *OED* requires. Of course, when compared with *CJC*, we can see several differences in dates. For instance, according to OED, *soy* was first used in 1696 in a text written by Ovignion, whereas according to Cannon (1996: 218), it was first used in 1679. However, *CJC* takes this date from a source marked as W10, the 10th edition of Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (1994), which, when consulted, provides the same date without any further information. It is difficult to state where the year 1679 stems from. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that the word *soy*, including its other orthographical variations, was already used by a different English speaker.

CJC additionally lists in the same period *acupuncture*, *teahouse*, *rin* (see 4.2.2), *daimyo*/*daimio* (see 3.2.2), *Hizen (ware/porcelain)*, *kubo* (see also Warren 2010: 62, see 3.2.2), and *matsu* (see 4.2.2). The first two words, despite their acknowledged by *OED* weak relatedness with Japanese, cannot be considered as borrowings since neither the form nor the meaning come from Japanese, which only added to their popularisation, but did not contribute significantly to their creation. The other three from this group, i.e., *daimio* (1839), *matsu* (1844), and *rin* (1868), according to *CJC* back, respectively, to 1727 (after the above-mentioned W10), 1727 (Cannon does not provide any source), and 1704 (Psalmanazar 1704: 279). The year 1727 may refer to Kaempfer's translation — since it is the only major work that came out in that year — however, the careful analysis of this text did not show any cases of use of these two words. When it comes to *rin*, it was truly used by George Psalmanazar. However, he was not an Englishman, and the text that mentions in was, in fact, an amalgam of other travellers' testimonies. Nevertheless, contrary to Kaempfer's (1727), Psalmanazar's account was originally written in English. With regard to *Hizen* and *kubo*, the first one is

included in *OED*, but not as a borrowing, yet an attributive noun formed from a proper name, whereas *kubo* did not enter *OED*.

Dairi (see Warren 2010), original spelling *Dayro*, is the oldest — excluding the borrowings with corrected date of first use — borrowing among the retrieved ones. This borrowing, like almost every in this section despite *moxa*, comes from a translation — in this case, the one by John Davies. The original text was written by Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo in 1639. This renders the problem of describing the factor influencing the need to adopt this word. In this case, it was presumably the simple need to render the original text as accurately as possible instead of, for instance, filling the lexical gap, even though the way this borrowing is used may suggest that: "One of the greateſt Ceremonies and magnificences to beſeen in *Japan*, is that performed at the birth of a Prince, who is to inherit the dignity of a *Dayro*" (Olearius 1662: 184), i.e., no definition is provided, meaning it was not a headword used for exotification of a text. Another interesting thing is that, as *OED* justly says, *dairi* has indeed two meanings that are in line with multiple Japanese meanings: "In Japan, properly the palace or court of the Mikado: also a respectful mode of speaking of the Mikado or emperor" (*OED*), Jap. 内裏 *dairi*. However, in Olearius (1662), all the examples of *dairi* exercise the second meaning, suggesting that, if ever, these two very different meanings should in *OED* be two different entries with separate years of first use. It is also worth adding that the second meaning, as a matter of fact, was a metaphoric extension of the meaning that extended from the building to its noble dweller.

Next, let us also take a closer look at the word *kana* (original spelling *Canna* or *Kanno*, Jap. 仮名 *kana*), "Japanese syllabic writing, the chief varieties of which are hiragana n. and katakana n." (*OED*). Similarly to the other so far discussed examples, no significant semantic change took place in his case. The definitions from *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* are only more detailed by, for instance, providing information that *kana* is a syllabary that originated from *kanji* (*Kōjien*, see 5.2.2., Jap. 漢字 *kanji*). However, the introduction of this word, which could have entered the English lexicon due to the lexical gap, defies the need to adopt the word *katakana* (original spelling *Kattakanna*, Jap. 片仮名 *katakana*), "One of the two varieties of the Japanese syllabic writing [...]" (*OED*). *Katakana* can be perceived as a more specialised term since it is a *kana* type. Interestingly, *OED* did not apply the same reasoning while introducing *mkhedruli*, but not providing the names of other Georgian scripts. It is

possible that the source dictionary that *OED* used as a reference simply included all the Japanese words that entered Kaempfer's *History of Japan*.

Another worth further discussion borrowing is *ken* (original spelling *Kin*, Jap. 間 *ken*), 'a Japanese unit of length' (*OED*), which even in Japanese is not that commonly used in this sense since the metric system that was using it as a legal unit was abolished in 1958 (*Sūpā Daijin*). Nevertheless, it prevailed in *OED* despite singular instances of its use, even before that year, raising the question of the basis on which words enter the dictionary and whether there is any justified way of removing them.

Interestingly, *OED* also lists *kuruma* (original spelling *khuruma*, Jap. 俥 *kuruma*), 'rickshaw'. It is important to note that in Japanese, this word has a homophone written as 車. 車 in Japanese refers to either a wheel or a type of transportation equipped with wheels (*Sūpā Daijirin*), whereas 俥[39] is defined by *Kōjien* (the character is not listed by *Sūpā Daijirin*) as 1. くるま (*kuruma*, 'a type of transportation equipped with wheels'), 2. 人力車[40] (*jinrikisha*, a two-wheeled vehicle that carries a person and is pulled by a driver [*Kōjien*]) 3. 人の引くの車 の意 (*hito no hiku no kuruma no i*, trans. a vehicle pulled by a person). In other words, in English, a rickshaw can be referred to as *kuruma*, but not every *kuruma* — especially in modern Japanese, where it primarily connotes 'car' in the spoken language — denotes *rickshaw*. It should also be noted that *rickshaw* was first used in 1879 (see 4.2.2.), and the loanword *kuruma* is defined by means of a different borrowing, whereas in Japanese 俥 *kuruma* is defined by the means of 人力車 *jinrikisha* which gave rise to the *rickshaw*. The synonymity of these two lexemes in English is visible in the following quote:

> 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.
>
> (Bird 1880: xx)

Let us move to a very well-known Japanese word *saké* (original spelling *Saque*), "[a] Japanese fermented liquor made from rice. (Hence used by the Japanese as a name for alcoholic liquors generally)" (*OED*), that interestingly in its modern English form retained the French accent above *e* that does not comply with the nowadays acknowledged Hepburn

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[39] This character consists of two radicals that stand for a human (亻) and a vehicle (車).

[40] The literal meaning of the characters points to the fact that *jinrikisha* is a vehicle (Jap. 車) powered by a human (Jap. 人) strength (Jap. 力).

Romanization (see section 4. note on Traditional Hepburn Romanization, and section 8. note on Modified Hepburn Romanization), but is in line with the English pronunciation as /ˈsɑːki/ or /ˈsakeɪ/ (for more notes on phonetic and phonological adaptations see Chapter III 1.1.), which however varies from the Japanese pronunciation, i.e., /sake/. It is also worth noting that in English, *saké* initially referred to the liquor made from rice, and the expansion of meaning took some time.

On the other hand, we have *Shinshū* (Jap. 信州 *shinshū*), which is a different name for the Shin, a major Japanese Buddhist sect (*OED*), that applies the mentioned Hepburn Romanization, which is realised by the use of macron over the long vowels.

Next, a short remark on *sen* (original spelling *Sennis*, Jap. 銭 *sen*), "[a] Japanese copper or bronze coin (see quot. 1897), now a hundredth part of a yen" (*OED*), which due to its similarity with *sen* (1957) "[i]n Indonesia, Malaysia, and other countries of the Far East: a coin or unit of currency valued at one hundredth of the principal measure" (*OED*) requires further etymological analysis, especially of the latter.

Soy (original spelling *Souy*) was first present in John Ovington's voyages. Interestingly, the word *Souy* was not associated with Japan, neither by Ovington nor by Rawlinson, who edited Ovington's work, furnishing it with additional footnotes. Ovington's work was primarily about his voyage to Surat (India); thus, the use of a bean called *souy* was recognised as a generally Asian thing. Interestingly, the etymology of the word *soy* is still disputable. According to *OED*, the etymon of the English word *soy* is Japanese ソイ *soi*, which denotes a regional (Kagoshima) variant of *shōyu* soy sauce.

Lastly, *tofu* (original spelling *Teu Fu* or *Tau-fu*, Jap. 塗布 *tofu*), "A curd made in Japan and China from mashed soya beans; bean curd" (*OED*), that similarly to *moxa* (from Japanese 艾 *mokusa*, used in a compound *moxibustion* [*CJC*: 179]), and already discussed *soy*, was not recognised as a Japanese word. Both *moxa* and *tofu* were first used in reference to the Chinese products, not the Japanese ones: *moxa* — "Discoursed also of the new way of curing the gout by the China *Moxa*, that *Moxa* to be a spunk" (*OED* after Robinson and Adams 1968), *tofu* — "The most usual, common and cheap sort of Food all China abounds in, and which all Men in that Empire eat, from the Emperor to the meanest Chinese, the Emperor and great Men as a Dainty, the common sort as necessary sustenance. It is call'd *Teu Fu*, that is, Paste of Kidney Beans" (*OED* after Kaempfer 1727). Considering the *OED*'s method of

etymological approach, it is debatable whether *tofu* should be described as a Japanese borrowing rather than Chinese.

Out of the 50 borrowings above, merely 17 provide any relevant returns during the *BNC* search. At the same time, the other five either have acknowledged homographs resulting in too many returns, e.g. *sun*, or the obtained few returns do not use the word as the borrowing, e.g. *tsubo* meaning "[a] Japanese unit of area, equivalent to approximately 3.95 square yards (3.31 square metres)" (*OED*, see also *Sūpā Daijirin*, 坪 *tsubo*) was used for instance in the following example "[t]hat's achieved by stimulating the Tsubo points on your meridian energy channels." Where *tsubo*, after its original Japanese meaning, is used in reference to the vital points in oriental therapy, yet this meaning is not present in *OED* (for further explanation, see *Sūpā Daijirin*, 壺 *tsubo*).

2.3. Summary

From the above quotations and examples, we can suspect these two sources, written almost thirty years after each other, present a relatively negative picture of Japan since Scheuchzer tried to remain neutral in his descriptions, which are outshined by Ovington's remarks. However, it should be remembered that Scheuchzer was the leading work on Japan at that time, and even though Ovington's accounts were published earlier, those were mainly about Surat. Nevertheless, Ovington's negative remarks align with Rundall's words on the Japanese government, which since the middle of the 17th century was "regarded as little, if in any degree removed from barbarism" (1850: viii). He also says that it was:

> viewed as mean, selfish, and arbitrary: as acting ungenerously towards the foreigner, by depriving him of the just reward of commercial enterprize; and as inflicting injustice on the native, by depriving him of commodities with which the foreigner, if he were permitted, would willingly supply him.
>
> (Ibid.)

However, Rundall's resentment clearly stems from his negative view of the Sakoku policy. It is possible that his attitude reflects the general 17th and 18th-century British perspective on that policy. On the other hand, the Sakoku policy was not condemned by Scheuchzer, the source author of the texts that British writers consulted. Interestingly, according to Markley

> Scheuchzer's language reflects a consensus among Europeans commentators that the Japanese rivaled or surpassed the English, French, and Dutch in their standards of living, technological sophistication, civility, business acumen, and military prowess.
>
> (Markley 2006: 243)

Moreover, according to Markley (2006: 243–245), for Adams and later Scheuchzer, the Japanese embodied idealised and positive transcultural characteristics that, to English, were fundamental and perceived as universal qualities of civility. However, when referring to Scheuchzer, Markley also includes the perspective from the translated parts. Nevertheless, it can be suspected that after reading Scheuchzer's translation, most British readers perceived Japan positively. However, in the context of this analysis, it should also be remembered that the analysed passages come from people who had not travelled to Japan, and their perspective solely relies on accounts of other, usually foreign, people. It is also worth highlighting that Japan was not the main point of interest for Britain since it had other concerns at that time (Hickey 2010).

During this period, relying solely on Dryden's translation of *the Life of St. Francis Xavier* (1688), we can see various demonyms used in reference to the people living in Japan: *Japanner*, *Japonian*, and *Japonnese* (Warren 2010). The variety of demonyms was caused by the influence of foreign sources that enabled the indirect British-Japanese contacts.

Lastly, it can be added that in the analysed period, Japan appears ten times in *the Proceedings of the Old Bailey*[41], usually as an attributive, suggesting a possible high interest in Japanese products, for instance, the book titled *The History of Japan* (1731). However, most often, *Japan* is used in the sense of 'varnish' as in "Iron japan'd Snuff-Boxes" (1739), "japan tea-chest" (1744), or in some fragments by Ovington (1926). Japan was also present at that time in various English translations of works about that country (see Shimada 2007), which gave various British authors a general picture of Japan that, later on, they could use in their fictional books, like, for instance, Jonathan Swift in his *Gulliver's Travels* (1726).

When it comes to summarising the borrowings analysis, we can start with a simple remark that all of the listed *OED* borrowings are loanwords. However, further analysis puts into question that status since the majority of these words are not in use and presumably should be treated as mere contaminations and, thus, should not be listed in the dictionary. The analysis also renders the problem of a true etymological background of, for instance, *tofu*.

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[41] *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey* https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/search/keyword (Accessed 30/09/2022).

3.   The Sakoku Period, Part II (1751–1853)

The initial search for British sources on Japan written during this period returned only a few possible valuable references. This outcome was unsurprising considering the multitude of conflicts the United Kingdom of Great Britain was involved in, which presumably hindered Britons from further considering Japan as a trade partner. However, a further search revealed additional significant sources, proving that Japan was present in various both factual and fictional works like Smollett's *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1765).

Even though Kaempfer's work was undeniably one of the most influential in shaping the British perception of Japan, it is not the British perception *per se*. This period also offers various translations of, for instance, Swedish naturalist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), which made it easier for the British to learn about Japan. Nevertheless, due to the publication of various eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources, this British perception — which was also perhaps influenced by Kaempfer — can be studied directly from the sources. In this analysis, the consulted sources were written by:

- Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles (*ODNB*45: 788–793, Screech 2016), the Scottish lieutenant-governor of Java and an administrator with the British East India Company (Kowner 2004: 767) — *Report on Japan to the secret committee of the English East India Company* (1929, but written in 1812–16) and *Memoir of the life and public services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (published by his wife Sophia Raffles in 1830 but written in 1811–24);
- Charles MacFarlane (*ODNB*35: 373–374), a Scottish writer known for his novels and travel works — *Japan: An Account, Geographical and Historical, from the Earliest Period* (1852).

Importantly, excerpts from MacFarlane's book, aside from being based on earlier European records, also present recollections of his "dear and excellent old friend" (MacFarlane 1852: viii) and a military officer, James Drummond, whose existence is questioned by for instance, Kowner (2004: 769). The suspicion that some fragments from MacFarlane's book may be works of fiction also requires further investigation. Moreover, due to the possible imaginary character of MacFarlane's work, it is not the central source of this analysis.

Among other influential British texts of this time, we should also list *Materia Indica* (1826) by Sir Whitelaw Ainslie, a British surgeon and writer on *materia medica*. Since this

work is more of a botanical dictionary or encyclopaedia, Ainslie remains factual in his writing and does not use any particularly charged vocabulary. He relies mainly on Thunberg's writings and uses *Japan* primarily in the phrase 'native to Japan'; thus, he does not provide much material to analyse. It is more of a scientific work that a reader would consult to learn more about botany. However, it is essential to acknowledge that this work shows how heavily the British scholars relied on foreign accounts about Japan, provably reflecting their interest in that country. On the contrary, we have *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* (1828, originally published in 1813) by James Cowles Prichard, British physician and ethnologist, which, despite its extensiveness, does not make any remarks on Japanese.

3.1. Historical Background

This period is marked by various changes, including "Britain's Industrial Revolution [which] changed not only Britain but the world, through initiating industrialization at unprecedented levels" (Ellington 2013: 76). In other words, for many people the nineteenth century was a time of profound and accelerated change, a period that, as the poet and writer Thomas Arnold remarked, made it possible to live "the life of three hundred years in thirty" (*Letters on the Social Conditions of the Operative Classes, 1831–2*). Industrialisation, urbanisation, new technologies and scientific discoveries all meant that the realities of daily life differed significantly between 1750 and 1850[42], and progress and advancement were visible both in the United Kingdom and Japan. Yet, it should be noted that Japan did not fall behind Europe even before that period.

> There is no evidence to support traditional views that workers in western Europe lived longer or better than their counterparts in China and Japan. As significantly, Europe enjoyed no decisive technological advantages over Japan or China before 1800 — a fact noted by almost all European merchants and missionaries who visited these countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and marveled at the variety, quality, and low price of Chinese and Japanese goods.
>
> (Markley 2006: 12–13)

The profound sociocultural changes during the analysed turn of centuries also enabled the growth of intelligence due to the rising availability of knowledge in the form of encyclopaedias and scientific exhibitions, which were fairly popular in the United Kingdom. The same pursuit of knowledge was also visible in the continuity of the Japanese *rangaku*

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[42] For a better understanding of the British perception of Japan in the nineteenth century please consult Yokoyama (2001); however, it should be noted that as Best (2021: 8) says Yokoyama's work is *sui generis* in the sense that he does not discuss historiography. For a more general perspective on the British foreign policy in the Far East see Lowe, Peter. 1981. *Britain in the Far East: A Survey from 1819 to the Present*. Harlow: Longman.

scholar tradition[43]. As Ellington (2013) says, even though the economies of Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868) and Britain during the British Industrial Revolution (1780–1860) were "substantially different, both societies were prosperous compared to most of the rest of the world" (2013: 74), he also adds that "[d]evelopments in these two economies were critical in forging the historical paths by which Japan and the UK reached their present impressive levels of affluence" (Ibid.). However, due to the prevailing Sakoku policy, the events listed below were important for merely one side of the analysed relations, yet crucial in the future formation of the alliance.

This period is marked by multiple conflicts that Japan and the United Kingdom were involved in and several British attempts to connect with Japan, either via physically attempting to open the Japanese harbours or theoretically discussing the possible ways of establishing trading relations with Japan. Importantly, these attempts were caused by the growing need to establish alliances with strategic partners who shared a common enemy or offered valuable goods like ore. Yet, this need presumably was not that strong since

> Britain in the mid-nineteenth century was near the peak of its influence in world affairs. Having emerged on the victorious side in the Napoleonic Wars and with the Industrial Revolution underway, it was the world's predominant naval, commercial, and financial power and possessed an overseas empire that was largely secure from the manoeuvrings of its European rivals.
>
> (Best 2021: 12)

Nevertheless, even though this period was not especially abundant in events directly related to the history of British-Japanese relations, adding to all the ongoing conflicts at that time, we should also mention the event of 1771 that was the possible spark for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance discussed in section 5. That year, Count Maurice Benyovszky de Benyó et Urbanó sent six letters to the Dejima Factory Director "warning darkly of fictitious plans for a Russian invasion" (Cobbing 2013: 7). It was the first threat of attack since the thirteenth century[23] and from now on, the Japanese interest in Russia started to grow. Later, a little over forty years later, Raffles prepared

> various reports and conducted intensive correspondence regarding the prospects of trade with Japan. These reports were to provide a rational setting for […] the possible fortune to be made by trading with Japan in particular.
>
> (Kowner 2004: 767)

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[43] From Japanese: "Dutch learning", "concerted effort by Japanese scholars during the late Tokugawa period (late 18th–19th century) to learn the Dutch language so as to be able to learn Western technology; the term later became synonymous with Western scientific learning in general" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

In 1814, Dr David Ainslie (not to confuse with Sir Whitelaw Ainslie) visited Japan by Raffles' order to negotiate with the Dutch factors for the surrender of Dejima to the English (Rundall 1850: xxxiii, Kowner 2004: 767). A few years later, in 1835, the next Japanese reached England, the trio of Iwakichi, Kyukichi, and Otokichi. In 1834, they drifted across the Pacific 1834 after being blown off course and sailed to the coast of America (Parker 1838: 1), where John McLoughlin decided to send them to England to convince the King to open trade with Japan.

However, as previous analyses provide, the examination of British-Japanese relations can only be carried out by considering the relations of Britain and Japan with other countries like China, the United States, and Russia at the very least. Here, we should mention the Morrison incident of 1837, where an American ship, SS Morison, tried to sail to the coast of Japan peacefully yet was cannonballed by the Japanese in accordance with the shogunal Sakoku edicts (Nish and Kibata 2000a).

It is important to note that the conflicts that Britain was involved in, especially with China, had a considerable influence on Anglo-Japanese relations. After the bloody Opium War that lasted for three years and the Chinese defeat, Britain and China signed the Nanjing Treaty in 1842, which forced the opening of more Chinese harbours to foreign trade. Nevertheless, despite the win, China was still perceived as a threat and emerged in the British newspapers as a 'yellow peril'. Among the other conflicts that had a meaningful impact on the course of British-Japanese relations, we should also mention the Crimean War, 1853–56 (see Yokoyama 2001, Hosley 1990, Lu 2015), which helped in rendering Russia as a common British-Japanese enemy.

To summarise, this period is marked by changes in British-Japanese international perception since both Japan and the United Kingdom of Great Britain started perceiving each other as potentially valuable allies in fighting against China or Russia. On the other hand, around this time, the phrase 'yellow peril' was first used; however, initially, it was supposed to denote only Chinese, for whom Japanese were frequently mistaken and compared. The phenomenon of 'yellow peril' was discussed by many scholars, including Lyman (2000), Best (2021), and Wu and Nhu (2022).

Events:

1756 – the Seven Year's War;

1765–83 – the American Revolution;

1803–15 – the Napoleonic Wars;

1808 – the British frigate Phenton successfully enters Nagasaki Harbor (Lu 2015);

1813 – a visit of Dr. Ainslie (Rundall 1850: xxxiii);

1837 – the Morrison incident (Nish and Kibata 2000a);

1839–42 – the Opium War (Nish and Kibata 2000a, Yokoyama 2001);

1841–3 – the Tempou Reform in Japan (Yokoyama 2001);

1843 – the Shanghai opened to the West (Yokoyama 2001);

1845 – ther arrival of Captain Sir Edward Belcher, of H.M.S Samarang, to Nagasaki (Rundall 1850: xxxiii)

1848 – the February Revolution in France and the March Revolution in Germany (Yokoyama 2001);

1851 – the Great Exhibition in London; Louis Napoleon's coup d'etat (Yokoyama 2001);

1853–4 – Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan (Smith 1861: 314–315, Beasley 1951).

3.2. Analysis

The analyses of the linguistic picture of Japan are arranged chronologically. The collected adjectives are presented as a table and supplemented by examples from additional sources. Similar to the previous two analyses, the analysis of the borrowings also includes some minor notes on the etymology, and again, all the borrowings are considered relevant since they come from British sources.

Importantly, as *OED* suggests, it was in the 1800s when the forms *Nihon*, *Niphon*, *Nipon*, *Nip-pon* and *Nippon* started to be used to refer to Japan. Of course, form *Niphon* was also used by William Wright (1619) in *Briefe Relation of Prosecution lately made Aganiſt the Catholike Chriſtians, in the Kingdome of Iaponia*, yet he used it as a name of the island not country, and above all, it was a translation of the work by Pedro Morejon; thus, it can be assumed that Wright (1619) was not fully aware what *Niphon* denotes. Similarly, as discussed below, Parker (1838) uses *Nipon* but, again, presumably in the sense of the island. Around that time, Japan was also referred to as *the land of the rising sun* as in the article from *London*

News (31/08/1850, 183/2), which is a loan translation from Japanese 日出ずる国 *hi izuru kuni* (Warren 1993b: 65). Therefore, the analysis of the linguistic picture of Japan also included the search for the evaluative occurring around those terms. Unfortunately, since only a few texts on Japan of this period entered the corpora, the analysis of the linguistic picture had to be done manually, and similarly to the previous two analyses, take into consideration slightly longer samples, not just a noun phrase with an adjective.

Lastly, out of the ten distinguished periods, this is the first one in which *ARCHER* notes the presence of the word *Japan*. However, three of the four obtained returns use *Japan* in the sense of 'varnish'[44], and one comes from *The Life of Mansie Wauch tailor in Dalkeith*, a fictional book by David Macbeth Moir. In other words, none of the results obtained during the restricted search in *ARCHER* was valuable to the study.

3.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

In numerous letters written between 1812 and 1816 by Raffles, he focused on the character and look of Japanese people, highlighting their similarity to the Europeans by saying:

> [t]hey are represented to be a nervous, vigorous people whose bodily and mental powers assimilate much nearer to those of Europe than to what is attributed to Asiatics in general. […] Their features are masculine and European, with the exception of the small lengthened Tatar eye which almost universally prevails, and is the only feature of resemblance between them and the Chinese. The complexion is fair with Europeans and having the bloom of health more generally prevalent among them than in usually found in Europe.
>
> (Kowner 2004: 767)

However, in most fragments, Raffles discussed Japanese trade using positively charged wording: "Japanese trade was reckoned by far the most advantageous which could be pursued in the East" (Raffles 1830: 66), presenting Japan as a very good trade partner. At the same time, he wrote little, close to nothing, about the Japanese culture or Japan's landscape, and if he did, he did not use neutral wording. Perhaps one of the most interesting passages on Japanese and their culture would be:

> For people who have had very few, if any, external aids, the Japanese cannot but rank high in the scale of civilization. The traits of vigorous mind are displayed in the sciences, and particularly in metaphysics and judicial astrology. The arts speak of themselves, and are deservedly acknowledged to be in a much higher degree of perfection than among the Chinese, with whom they are, by Europeans, so frequently confounded.
>
> (Raffles 1830: 182)

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[44] The first noted one is: "Nobility and Gentry who has sanctioned this useful and elegant invention by way of reference, may be seen as above. Copal and all sorts of Varnishes, Black Japan and Gold Size, Wholesale and Retail, by the Manufacturers." (*The Times* 1792, January 2, p.1)

MacFarlane also uses multiple positively charged vocabulary while describing Japan and Japanese. However, his work is a collection of mostly foreign accounts — from English writers MacFarlane, who also references Adams and Purchas — on and of Japan, meaning that he may have adapted the source perspective. Nevertheless, his fascination with Japan is clearly visible in the preface to his work from 1852. In his writings, he mentions the dangers of Japanese coasts:

> the dangers of the rocky coasts of Japan, which had not been surveyed by any mariner; the dangers of whirlpools which were known to exist there; and the perils of those tremendous hurricanes called typhoons, which prevail at certain seasons on the ocean between Japan and China.

<div align="right">(MacFarlane 1852: 11)</div>

MacFarlane's emphasis on the dangers may suggest the adventurous character of the voyage to Japan, which presumably could enhance potential travellers' interest in Japan.

Nevertheless, this general positive description is in line with Rundall (1850), who in the *Memorials of the Empire of Japon: in the XVI and XVII centuries*, a collection of letters and excerpts of journals, also includes a positive description of the first encounter of Japanese by the crew of H.M.S. Samarang: "The gentlemen of Japon were most polite and courteous, conducting themselves with refined and polished urbanity; and exhibiting in their actions a dignified and respectful demeanour, that put to shame the ill-breeding of the seamen who ventured to laugh at them" (1850: xx). Moreover, Rundall notes that Captain Sir Edward Belcher, despite arriving "with somewhat prejudice in his mind" (1850: xxxiii), speaks positively about Japan.

	Japan	Japanese people	Culture
Raffles	strong and vigilant government, superior ore, secluded	*nervous*, *vigorous*, similar to European, have similar eyes to Chinese, *vigorous mind*, affable deportment	*deservedly acknowledged*
MacFarlane	*extraordinary empire of Japan*,	*interesting*, *shrewd*, *intelligent*, *enterprise*	—

Table 5 The traits and characteristics ascribed by the authors to Japan, Japanese and their culture

3.2.2 Borrowings

Before proceeding to the analysis of the borrowings, it is worth noting that the table below points to various sources. Among them, we can find encyclopaedias, journals and translations of the French illustrations. Encyclopaedias' presence is highly intriguing since common sense suggests that an entry's headword should circulate in a language, at least in the scientific

community, before it enters this type of source. Notably, the first encyclopaedias frequently translated foreign sources; thus, sometimes, they included terms almost entirely unknown to the translation's audience.

No.	Borrowing	Original spelling	First use	Source
1.	*Ainu*	*Ainos* [plural]	1811	Quarterly Review December 385
2.	*aucuba*	*Acuba*	1819 [1809*]	A. Rees, Cyclopædia vol. III
3.	*butsudan*	*Bouts-dan*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan i. 142
4.	*daimio*	*Daimio*	1839 [1727*]	Penny Cyclopaedia vol. XIII. 94/1
5.	*go*	*go*	1840	Chinese Repository December 631
6.	*gobo*	*gobo*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan ii. 214
7.	*hakama*	*vakama*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan 117
8.	*hiragana*	*firokanna*	1822 [1727*]	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan 122
9.	*iroha*	*irofa*	a1832	Encyclopædia Metropolitana (1845) vol. XX. 482/2
10.	*jito*	*gitos* [plural]	a1832	Encyclopædia Metropolitana (1845) vol. XX. 472/2
11.	*kami-sama*	*Cami Sama*	†1849	Memorandum Conf. between J. Glynn & S. Tatsnosen in Docs. Relative to Empire of Japan (1852) 31 in U.S. Congress. Serial Set (32nd Congr., 1st Sess.: House of Representatives Executive Doc. 59) vol. IX
12.	*koro*	*Koro*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan ii. 234
13.	*koto*	*koto*	1795	C. R. Hopson, translation of C. P. Thunberg, Trav. vol. IV. 58
14.	*manyogana*	*manyokana*	1841	Manners & Customs of Japanese xi. 299
15.	*noshi*	*Nosi*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan 193
16.	*Obaku*	*Oobak*	1833	Chinese Repository vol. 2 323
17.	*oyakata*	*Oyagoda*	1818	translation of V. M. Golovnin, Narr. Captivity in Japan vol. I. i. 60
18.	*ri*	*ri*	1817	Blackwood's Magazine September 638/2
19.	*Rinzai*	*Rinzai*	1833	Chinese Repository vol. 2 323
20.	*Roju*	*Riodjou*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan i. 116 (note)
21.	*Soto*	*Syootoo*	1833	Chinese Repository vol. 2 323
22.	*suimono*	*soeimono*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan ii. 197
23.	*ume*	*oume*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan 153
24.	*umeboshi*	*oumebos* [plural]	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan 213
25.	*yukata*	*ukata*	1822	F. Shoberl, translation of I. Titsingh, Illustrations of Japan ii. 254
26.	*zori*	*sori*	1823	F. Schoberl, Japan v. 131

Table 6 List of borrowings from the 1751−1853 period based on OED

Cannon (1996), additionally to some of the above loanwords, among the contributions also lists: *camellia* (1753), *tofu* (1771, see 2.2.2), *maidenhair tree* (1773), *skimmia* (1784, cf. Warren 1995a: 7), *soybean* (1795), *funny* (1799), *habu* (1818, see 4.2.2), *rice paper* (1822), *hara-kiri* (1840, see 4.2.2), and *rising sun* (1840). The broad definition applied by Cannon allows him to also incorporate various types of borrowings, including loan blends, e.g. *soybean* (see Warren 1993b: 64), and words somehow related to Japan or its culture, e.g. *camellia* — from a proper name, but found in Japan.

Despite all the borrowings coming from British sources, out of the 26 borrowings listed above, merely 9 provide any returns when searched for in *BNC*. However, this number includes *ri* and *koro,* which are irrelevant to the study results, i.e., the returns need to use these words in the Japanese borrowing sense. Also, the number includes *go,* which is a homograph with the very common English verb *go*. Due to this, the corpus search to establish this loanword relevance was impossible — 85,983 returns; further analysis should implement a collocations search. However, it did not forbid the brief lexicographic analysis. *Go* (also spelt *Goh*) as a Japanese loanword, denotes "[a] Japanese board game of territorial possession and capture, played with (usually black and white) stones or counters on a square board marked with intersecting lines" (*OED*). It is also worth pointing out that in *OED* has only one meaning derived from Japanese. In contrast, Cannon, similarly to Hayakawa (2014: 91–92), provides us also with *go*, which denotes "[a] liquid unit of capacity of about a third of a pint" (1996: 115).

Moreover, a search for *daimio* (Jap. 大名 *daimyō*), "[t]he title of the chief territorial nobles of Japan, vassals of the mikado; now abolished" (*OED*)[45], did not provide any results, but *daimyo*, another possible spelling, provided 21 returns. The latter spelling is not acknowledged by *OED*, even though it follows the prevailing Modified Hepburn Romanization (MHR, see section 8). It is worth noting that many of the sources (e.g. *CJC*, Bliss 1983, *OED*) in the *daimio*'s definition are cross-referencing terms *mikado* and *samurai*.

Among the borrowings that did not provide any results is also *hiragana* (Jap. 平仮名 *hiragana*), an essential word for understanding Japanese script, along with *katakana* (see 2.2.2) and *kanji* (see 5.2.2). The fact that *BNC* does not include any examples of this word use is relatively surprising, yet not entirely, since some may recognise this term as technical and

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[45] '[A] Japanese prince or nobleman, a feudal vasal of the MIKADO' (Bliss 1983: 141).

not that well-known to the lay audience. This theory is also valid even if we consider the frequency of the lexeme *kanji* (see Figure 3 below), which denotes the complicated characters for which the Japanese script is most known. The similarity in the frequency of *hiragana* and *katakana*, which succeeded *manyogana*[46], is also understandable since those often appear next to each other in the Japanese script explanations. Importantly, both *hiragana* (spelt as *Firo Canna*) and *katakana* (spelt as *Catta Canna*) appear in the chart *Alphabeta Japonum* (1727: 337) in the Scheuchzer's translation of *History of Japan*. Interestingly, till this period five terms related to Japanese script have entered the English lexicon: *kana*, *katakana*, *hiragana*, *manyogana*, and *iroha* '[t]he Japanese kana or syllabary' (*OED*).
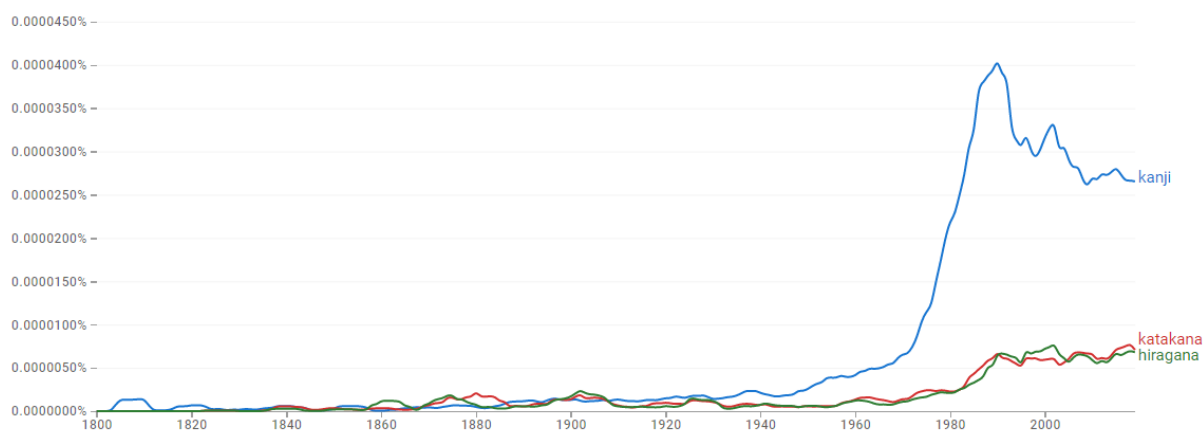
Figure 3 The frequency of the lexemes *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *kanji*

Another interesting group of borrowings is those written with capital letters, i.e., *Ainu*, *Roju*, *Rinzai*, *Obaku* and *Soto.* The last three are proper names of the three principal branches of Zen Buddhism, and their analysis revealed a spelling issue similar to the one in *daimio*. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* spells the last two lexemes using macrons over the vowels that, according to the Japanese pronunciation, would be long, i.e., *Ōbaku* (Eng. IPA: /ˈəʊbakuː/ or /ˈəʊbəkuː/ or /əʊˈbɑːkuː/ or /ɒˈbɑːkuː/ vs. Jap. IPA: /oɯbakɯ/) and *Sōtō* (Eng. IPA: /ˈsəʊtəʊ/ vs. Jap. IPA: /soɯtoɯ/). This difference in spelling presumably stems from the fact that *Encyclopaedia Britannica* applies MHR, whereas *OED* does not apply the macrons suggested by MHR at all.

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[46] The quote in which *manyogana* appears for the first time: "[t]he *manyokana* and the *yamatogana*, the difference between which, in use or nature, is not explained, but they are said to show the original type of every letter" (*OED* after *Manners & Customs of Japanese* xi. 299) also includes *yamatogana*, which probably refers to both *hiragana* and *katakana*.

CJC does not include *kami-sama* 'God' (1892) or 'lord, governor' (1849, now obsolete) provided by *OED*. Presumably, *CJC* does not list it because *kami-sama* is simply a compound of 神 *kami* 'diety' or 上 'person of high rank' (see section 1.2.2., cf. 守 *kami*) and honorific suffix 様 or さま *sama* used while referring to someone of higher status including deities. This fact may put into question the validity of including *kami-sama* in a dictionary since it simply was already included. On the other hand, Cannon's (1996) work may be considered 'not complete' since it also does not include all of the borrowings suggested by *OED*, e.g. *oyakata* 'a master, a boss; (Sumo) the master of a wrestling stable', and *umeboshi* 'pickled and dried ume fruit, eaten as a light meal or snack, typically served with rice'.

Since *umeboshi* was already mentioned, *ume*, denoting a tree "related to the plum and apricot, and bearing fragrant white, pink, or red blossom in winter" (*OED*), used in *umeboshi*'s definition should also be discussed. Its Latin name is *Prunus mume*, which is usually called *plum blossom* in English. NG analysis shows that *ume* is more popular than *plum blossom*, however, the results may be distorted since *ume* can also refer to, for instance, places or people. Unfortunately, the results cannot be compared with *ARCHER* and *BNC* searches since those provide no returns while searching for *ume*. Additionally, Cannon (1996: 180) notes *mume* present in *Prunus mume* as a borrowing from an obsolete form of *ume*.
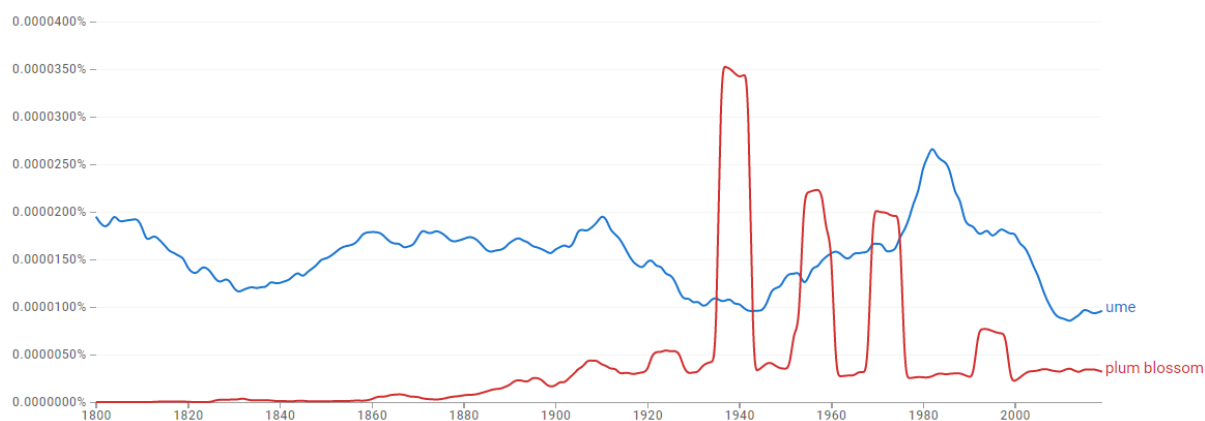
Figure 4 The frequency of the lexemes *ume* and *plum blossom*

Interestingly, in this period, there is another plant name, *aucuba* /ˈɔːkjʊbə/, an evergreen shrub. The etymon of *Aucuba Japonica* is 青木葉 *aokiba* 'an aucuba leaf' (which is neither present in *Kōjien* nor in *Sūpā Daijirin*), usually called in Japanese 青木 *aoki* (Tsuji

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2006: 149–151)[47]. Because *aucuba* underwent a significant change during its transcription, and the original etymon was replaced by its shorter version, it is hard to recognise the Japanese roots of this lexeme. Importantly, *aucuba* is not the commonly used name for this plant, which is usually called *spotted laurel*, *Japanese laurel*, *Japanese aucuba*, or *gold dust plant* (Coats 1992). Notably, *aucuba* was introduced to Britain in 1783 by John Graeffer, meaning British people were familiar with *aucuba* before it entered Rees's *Cyclopaedia,* as *OED* suggests. We can find it already in Sims (1809: 212 [1197]) *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, which points us to various other sources, including, for instance, Thunberg's *Flora Japonica* (1784), that can suggest the existence of even earlier texts than Sims (1809). Warren calls *aucuba* a pseudo-loan, i.e., an English word that is "clearly derived from Japanese elements, but which have never existed in Japanese" (1993b: 64) in its English form or English sense.

Lastly, a note on the missing borrowings should be made. The list retrieved from *OED* does not include *koniak* or *koniaku*, which, according to *OED,* is a borrowing from Japanese. This entry in *OED* deserves a further revision, also because it provides the readers with the wrong date of first use, pointing to 1884, whereas this word appears in the above-analysed writings by Ainslie "Thunberg, in his Account of Japan, tells us, that a medicine, called in Javanese *konjakʃ*, is prepared from the acrid roots of this dracontium" (Ainslie 1826: 50).

3.3.   Summary

The general eventfulness of the period does not correspond to the insignificant eventfulness in terms of British-Japanese relations. The relations between Japan and European countries, including Great Britain, have been summarised by Rundall (1850: xxxi–xxxii), who says that due to the all-turbulent events between the Portuguese, Dutch and English, in which Japanese were also involved, the general perception of the others deteriorated. Yet still, according to Kowner, Raffles depicts the Japanese as "a civilized, European-like people, different from their neighboring nations" (2004: 767). Kowner also says that Raffles seems "to ignore the intellectual development of the era but also challenge it" (Ibid.), probably due to both personal and economic reasons. Because of the comparisons, the notion of race became very flexible in Raffles' writings, probably to portray them as a valuable potential friend and partner in the alliance. Kowner especially points to "Britain's bitter struggle with Napoleon's

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[47] CJC (1996: 21) suggests that the *-ba* element is a combining element possibly resulting fomr nigori (sequential voicing).

France and its ally the Netherlands" (Ibid.) and summarises writings by both Raffles and Ainslie by saying that.

> [i]t is unclear how much of the opinion on the Japanese was Ainslie's and how much was Raffles' own elaboration. Nevertheless, it is contended here that to facilitate British willingness to venture into trade with Japan, Raffles and perhaps also Ainslie were more than willing to promote the status of the Japanese to honorary whites.
>
> (Ibid.: 768)

Kowner's opinion on Raffles' writings is also shared by MacFarlane, who says that "Sir Stamford was great man, yet we cannot but agree […] that his zeal in this instance overstepped his discretion, and that he arranged his scheme without a sufficient knowledge of […] Japan" (1852: 84).

In other words, the writings by Ainslie and Raffles were biased and intentional. On the other hand, MacFarlane's writings appear to be more subjective, without any underlying motif. However, MacFarlane also based his book on the accounts of other Western travellers whose little knowledge of Japan "was largely restricted to the necessarily limited observations written over the past 200 years by the Deshima-based employees of the Dutch East India Company, such as Engelbert Kaempfer" (Best 2021: 16).

Alexander Knox put in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1852, "Japan remains to us [Britons] a vague and shadowy idea", with what MacFarlane does not agree by saying, "[i]t appears to me erroneous to say — though it very commonly *is* said — that we know next to nothing of Japan and the Japanese" (1852: vii).

In summary, the first analyses, and therein analysed excerpts, can be described as having an introductory character since, for the first three periods, the British were mainly familiarising themselves with Japan. In other words, Japan was not the main point of the British, presumably due to other concerns enumerated by Hickey (2010) that it had at that time. Initially, not only borrowings but also Japan and its culture were provided in an explanatory way rather than described in a judging or opinion-making manner.

When it comes to borrowings, as presented above, this period still presents us with loanwords that did not undergo any significant semantic changes. The introduced loanwords do not fill any particular lexical gap since almost all of them, when first used, were preceded or followed by a short, frequently up to three or four words of explanation. Moreover, their implementation into the English lexicon did not enhance effective communication since still, after around two hundred years, those loanwords, when used, are still furnished with a brief

definition. It is interesting to point out that four of the above-presented loanwords come from Encyclopaedias, which could reflect scientific interest in Japan and its culture. It is highly probable if we take into account the fact that out of four borrowings, *aucuba*, *daimio*, *iroha*, and *jito*, only one, *aucuba* is not directly related to Japanese culture, whereas others are biological terms. Most importantly, the significant majority of the analysed loanwords are not frequent in the British lexicon, as seen while searching for them in *BNC* and *ARCHER*, probably because they entered the language not out of necessity but simply as a result of direct social contacts, which was also extended via translations. In other words, the social factor played the most important role in those loanwords' introduction; however, since they did not play any particular role in the language (i.e., were not names of any essential things or concepts), they did not entrench in the British lexicon.

When it comes to other remarks, the fascinating problem of transcription of the Japanese toponyms remains visible, e.g. *Yedo*, *Kago-sima*, *Satzuma*, *Miu-oura*, *Chesky*, *Sakoura* and *Ourá-gawá* from Parker (1838). However, there also emerges the problem of transcription of the Japanese names, as in Parker's writings, who spelt *Iwakichi*, the name of one of the three Japanese men that came to England, as *Ewaketchy*.

Lastly, the visible scarcity of scientific works on this period in the context of British-Japanese relations may suggest its insignificance. However, compared to the next analysis, the sparseness of sources and borrowings is also a valuable indicator and crucial in properly examining relations' influence in the broader general picture. Yet, someone interested in the British policy towards Japan should consult *Gutzlaff memorandum* (1845), which, despite proposing policies that were later not implemented, shows the possible advantages of trade with Japan, which were noticed also by the American (Kato Yuzo in Nish and Kibata 2000a: 67). This document also shows an interesting approach to the spelling of the Japanese cities, e.g. Osaka as *Osacca*, Edo as *Iedo*, and Sendai as *Shendae*.

4.   Around Meiji Restoration (1854–1901)

The opening of Japanese harbours resulted in high interest in Japan, which was visible in the abundance of books on Japan and Japanese art that was widely circulated in Britain (Lehman 1978, Tsuchihashi 1997). Hosley (1999) describes this fascination that inspired both writers and artists, e.g. Marianne North (see *ODNB*41: 109–110), as 'Japan craze' which "was mirrored in the westernisation craze that occurred simultaneously in Japan" (Hosley 1990: 48). This prevailing 19th-century West fascination in Asia resulted in the flourish of Orientalism in art, and the number of the Orientalists, i.e., scholars specialised in the languages and literature of the Eastern world, e.g. Basil Hall Chamberlain.

Due to this abundance, the number of consulted sources is moderately higher than in the previous analyses. Here, the source texts were taken from Elliott (2013) and Yokoyama (2001) based on their availability and whether they were previously analysed by other scholars[48]. Thus, for the linguistic view analysis, we consulted the excerpts from the writings of:

- George Smith (*ODNB*51: 124–126) — *Ten Weeks in Japan* (1861), the first English book on Japan (Yokoyama 2001);
- Sir John Rutherford Alcock (*ODNB*1: 599–601), the first British diplomatic representative to live in Japan — *The Capital of the Tycoon vol. 1* (1863), the first book to describe Edo-period Japan systematically.
- Basil Hall Chamberlain (*ODNB*10: 915–917) — Introductory Chapter to the *Things Japanese Being Notes On Various Subjects Connected With Japan* (1898 version, originally published in 1890), and preface to the *Handbook for Travellers in Japan* (1901 version, originally published in 1891).

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[48] Among other authors worth consulting we should name Sir Harry Smith Parkes (*ODNB*42: 768–774), whose papers are available in the Cambridge Archives. Other works excluded from the analysis include writings by Isabella Lucy Bishop née Bird (*ODNB*5: 870–872) — *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), Robert Fortune (*ODNB*20: 476–477) — *Yedo and Peking: A Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China* (1863), Sherard Osborn (*ODNB*41: 991–993) — *A Cruise in Japanese Waters* (2002 version, originally published in 1859), and Patricio Lafcadio Carlos Hearn (*ODNB*26: 153–154, cf. Bisland 2018) — *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* in two volumes (published in 1895 and analysed by Rachel Harned in her *Impressions from Japan: a translation and analysis of the work of Lafcadio Hearn* [2015]); all easily available at Internet Archive. For scholars who wish to pursue the study of the British reception of Japan in the eighteenth century, please consult the sources available at *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online (Accessed 05/08/2022)

The choice of the source texts was also heavily influenced by the presence or lack of the author's name in the *ODNB*[49].

This analysis differs from the previous ones due to the types of sources chosen for the examination of the linguistic picture of Japan. The conclusions arising from the above sources are furnished with short excerpts from the newspapers retrieved from the *British Newspapers Archive* (*BNA*). Newspapers are a great source for studying the change in British reception of Japan; however, most importantly, they exemplify the social change by the rising popularity of newspapers, which gave access to information about Japan to a significantly bigger audience than books.

4.1. Historical Background

The analysed period is full of various social and political reforms in Britain and Japan. In Britain, the essential reforms included legislation on child labour and education, safety in mines and factories, public health, the end of slavery in the British Empire, the establishment of the police, and other reforms introduced by, for example, the Reform Act of 1867 and Education Act of 1870. At the same time, Japan abolished its traditional anti-Christian policy (Screech 2012) and feudal domains and introduced the General Education Law. Japan also experienced such advancements as opening the first Japanese railway in 1872 (Alcock 1891: 110) and the introduction of electric lighting in Tokyo in 1887, making the Japanese lifestyle more similar to the British one (Howland 2018). However, the changes were also political, like the change in the government due to the end of the Japanese shogunate or the start of movements toward the Japanese script reform.

Notably, the wish for a change in the Japanese writing system was partially ushered in the publication of Hepburn's dictionary and, therein, nowadays called Traditional Hepburn Romanization (THR), which undoubtedly influenced how Japanese borrowings were transcribed into English and other languages. THR was loosely based on the English orthography introduced in 1867 by doctor James Curtis Hepburn, an American Presbyterian missionary (mentioned by Smith 1861: 245), in the first Japanese-English dictionary. The

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[49] Among authors that were excluded due to the lack of their biography in *ODNB* are for instance Charles Wirgman, an English artist and cartoonist, the creator of *Japan Punch* which was the first magazine in Japan, and Charles Lennox Richardson, a British merchant who was murdered by samurai in the Namamugi Incident which later led to the Bombardment of Kagoshima. Their letters may deepen the understanding of the British perspective on Japan, especially when juxtaposed with the depiction of Japan in Anna D'Almeida's *A Lady's Visit To Manilla And Japan* (1863), and Anna Brassey's *A Voyage in the Sunbeam* (1878).

later editions, published in 1872 and 1886 with minor editions, proposed a standardised system of Romanisation that eased the rendering of Japanese names and, most importantly, words into English. However, the general acknowledgement of this system took some time. Despite the considerable influentiality of Hepburn's work, many Japanese borrowings, after the publication of THR, were still transcribed according to the writer's preferences. However, this was not the first of the proposed Romanisations. Yet, the previous "most common" one, introduced by the Portuguese missionaries, was not widely adopted by English writers or authors of the source text the English writers relied on.

Moving to the specific most important events that affected the British-Japanese relations in a direct or a significant indirect way. During the analysed period, Best (2021: 3, cf. Papini 2021: 58–59) distinguishes four stages of British reception of Japan, where the first two describe British reaction to the above-enumerated changes and advancement:

> First, a period of interest lasting from 1854 to the late 1870s was sparked by the acknowledgement that Japan possessed a relatively advanced civilization compared to its moribund Asian neighbours. Second, the years of respect from 1880 to 1894, during which Britain came to value Japan's efforts at modernization, culminating in the former's acceptance of a new commercial treaty. Third, the years of admiration between 1895 and 1899, when Britain deemed Japan to have behaved in a responsible manner following the latter's victory in war over China. And, lastly, the development of trust in 1900 that came with Japan's impressive intervention to assist the West in China during the Boxer crisis.
>
> (Best 2021: 3)

The first stage, differentiated by Best (2021), is not only about the pure general acknowledgement but also in the form of the Ansei Treaties signed in 1858 between Japan and various Western powers, including the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Japan and Britain signed on 26 August. It was followed in 1859 by the arrival of British General Consul Alcock Rutherford (Yokoyama 2001). These two events highlighted that interest in Japan was not superficial; it took the form of tangible actions. Unfortunately, these peaceful events were followed by hostile ones, presumably as an answer to the articles from Morning Herald and British Standard that wrote that "[t]he friendly relations of the European governments appear likely to be disturbed" (24 August 1861, and 30 August 1861 accordingly).

In 1862, the British Legation in Edo was attacked by a samurai (Yokoyama 2001) in an incident known as the Kanagawa incident or the Namamugi incident (Nish and Kibata 2000a). In response, in 1863, Britain bombarded Kagoshima, resulting in the arrival of Ernest Mason Satow (*ODNB* 49: 16–18), a British diplomat who came to assist the negotiations

between the British and Japanese. He also kept a diary of his career in Japan, which was studied by various scholars, e.g. Ruxton (2015).

Unfortunately, it was not the end of the hostile events. In 1869, a major international diplomatic incident took place during the Meiji restoration, i.e., the restoration of the Imperial rule from the shogunate, when Tokyo became Japan's new capital. The Kobe Incident (Yokoyama 2001), or the Bizen affair, stemmed from the tension that arose after the change of government, which led to the outbreak of the Japanese Civil War. It was a mix of the prevalent animosity and cultural misunderstanding that resulted in a crisis in Franco-Japanese relations, also putting other foreign relations at risk.

After the incident, the relations slowly improved, and in 1873, Europe had a chance to learn more about Japan during the World's Fair held in Vienna. Notably, in the 19th century, dramas were frequently the only way to see and experience foreign cultures since art, mainly Japanese, was not that easily available and accessible, and most often, both books and newspapers did not include any pictures other than maps. Thus, *Mikado* play, and before that, the exhibition and opening of the Japanese village were among the most important, if not the only, ways of experiencing Japan and its culture and shaping the British perception of Japan. Therefore, the premiere of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* in London in 1885 (Yokoyama 2001) was of enormous importance in Japan's reception. This year was also crucial in shaping the Japanese image due to the opening of the Japanese Village Exhibition at Humphrey's Hall, Knightsbridge.

Ten years later, in 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War, China ceded Taiwan to Japan and granted Japan a free hand in Korea, adding to the growing power of the Japanese Empire. It had a notable influence on the perception in Japan since, as Best notes in this period, another "more damaging image of Japan had emerged in the West, including Japan." (Best 2021: 5). He points out that some scholars noted that "Japan's military victory over China in 1895 caused alarm in Europe, the stress that from this point on the relatively benign condensation of the past was replaced by a pronounced shift towards perceiving Japan as a malign Asian threat to Western interests; in other words it became the epitome of the 'yellow peril'" (Best 2021: 5). Yet, as Ozaki (1900) points out, Japan's "ambitions and her potentialities were vastly exaggerated by Western politicians and publicists, to whom her latent strength had suddenly appeared also sort of revelation" (Ozaki 1900: 568).

One of the final most important events in the analysed periods is the Sino-Japanese War, which, despite mainly involving two countries, was hugely influenced by the intervention of the Three Powers, i.e., the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States (Ozaki 1900: 567). The event itself "catalysed a new wave of interest in Japan all over Britain" (Papini 2021: 92). Sadly, if only China and Korea "had had any approximately accurate notion about Japan's capabilities as a military power, it is just possible that the war of 1894–5 would have been avoided" (Ibid.).

The Boxer Rebellion was also very important in the future formation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Murashima 2000). That was when Britain and Japan, as two members of the Eight-Nation Alliance, fought together to relieve the foreign legations in Beijing.

Events:

1854 – the Anglo-Japanese Convention (Yokoyama 2001; Hoare 2018: 3–4);

1856–60 – the Second Opium War (Nish and Kibata 2000a, Yokoyama 2001);

1858 – the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty (Yokoyama 2001, Hoare 2018);

1860 – the Peking Treaty (Nish and Kibata 2000a, Yokoyama 2001);

1863 – Kagoshima bombarded by the Royal Navy (Yokoyama 2001);

1865 – Harry Parkes arrives in Japan as British Minister (Yokoyama 2001);

1867 – the Tokugawa Shogun resigned (Yokoyama 2001);

1868 – the Meiji Restoration of Imperial Rule (Yokoyama 2001, Lu 2015);

1871–3 – the Iwakura mission (Nish and Kibata 2000a, Lu 2015);

1872 – the establishment of the Asiatic Society (Yokoyama 2001);

1874 – the rise of economic depression in Britain; The Japanese Expedition to Formosa (Yokoyama 2001);

1877 – the Satsuma Rebellion (Yokoyama 2001);

1894–5 – the First Sino-Japanese War (Papini 2021: 92–96); Treaty revision agreed upon between Japan and England (Lu 2015, Nish 2018);

1899–1901 – the Boxer Rebellion (Silbey, 2012).

4.2. Analysis

This analysis also relies mainly on the manually selected sources rather than corpora since the only returns from this period provided by *ARCHER* mention *Japan* in a list of countries used in advertisements. Similarly, *Japanese* is returned by *ARCHER* only in advertisements, used as an adjective to describe products, e.g. *japanned ware*.

Since the texts by Smith, Alcock, and Chamberlain are available as searchable PDFs, the analysis examines both the general content and discourse as well as the nearest and isolated context returned while searching for words *Japan* and *Japanese*. Since there were many returns, the analysis presents mainly the most relevant and representative ones. The analysis below of Japan's LW also serves the purpose of a transition to later on, just corpora-dependent analyses. It provides a general analysis of Japan, as presented in the British newspapers available at *BNC*. The following criteria refined the *BNC* search: Search all words: *Japan* (Exact search: *checked*); Publication Place: *London, London, England*; Publication Date: from *1854* to *1901*; Access Type: *Free To View*; Article Type: *Article*, *Arts & Popular Culture*, *News*. The query returned 41,672 source texts that later on were generally consulted to create a working methodology to follow during the subsequent analysis.

4.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

The search for the word *Japan* in Smith's *Ten Weeks in Japan* (1861) provides 565 results where the significant majority is prepositional phrases, e.g. *from Japan to Japan*, *of Japan*, *in Japan*, and *with Japan*. Similarly to the first three analyses, no evaluative language can be found in the search word's nearest context; thus, Japan's linguistic picture is analysed based on longer samples, usually one to two sentences.

From Smith's book, which "makes no pretension of being a profound or elaborate treatise on Japan. It is a simple record of facts which the Author witnessed during his brief visit to the country, and on which he has grounded some general observations respecting the moral, social and political condition of the Japanese race" (Smith 1861: A3), we can learn that some Japanese are "of the solid, stable and energetic qualities of natural disposition" (1861: 3), most likely due to the climate. They also "that healthy and proportionate intermixture of physical advantages and material wants" (1861: 4), as well as "proud and haughty in the conscious invincibility of their race and the natural impregnability of their coasts (1861: 7).

According to Smith, Japan has many advantages and secured its position as a "progressive power and civilisation the great colonising and conquering races of the world" (1861: 4). On the other hand, he writes that the previous accounts of Japan "gave an exaggerated and overdrawn picture in favour of the native character, or that the Japanese of the present day have in some important particulars degenerated from the Japanese who lived a hundred or two hundred years ago" (1861: 84). Despite this rather negative comment, he also praises Japan for its government (1861: 164) which is strong and resolute (1861: 417), and for its liberality and tolerance in terms of religion (1861: 198) highlighting that the Christian persecutions were not caused by any bigotry (Ibid.). Smith also interchangeably uses the Empire of Japan and the Kingdom of Japan[50].

Similarly to Smith, Alcock (1863) also criticised previous authors of the text on Japan for writing too fondly of Japan and aimed to fill the "dreary blank" (1863: 66) by presenting Japan at its best and worst. However, it is not the only way these two works are similar. Both share structure, content, and also the representation of Japan. Like Smith, Alcock is also very descriptive and does not depict Japan with simple adjectives but instead descriptions of situations. Alcock praises Japan for its beauty (Ibid.: 90, 100) and justice (Ibid.: 397), as well as speaks somewhat positively about the Japanese due to their vigilant and industrious character; however, in his description of the Japanese women, the phrasing seems to be negative, not to say offensive.

In his writings, Alcock frequently refers to the works by Siebold, Thunberg, Purchas, and Kaempfer, who usually correct mistakes by referring to their own opinions and experiences. The general picture of Japan is pretty neutral, but mostly because, according to Alcock (1863), many of the advancements he saw were a result of opening to foreign nations:

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[50] This also brings us again to the issue of the rendering the Japanese toponyms, which interestingly enough, in Smith's (1861) work, are not only rendered in Latin alphabet, e.g. Osaka as *Ohosaka* or Mount Fuji as *Fusi-sama* (also in Alcock 1863), but also translated, e.g. Kyushu as *Kewsew ("Nine Provinces")*, Shikoku as *Sikok ("Four States")*, and Nagasaki as *Naga-saki ("Long Cape")*. It is also worth pointing out that Smith (1861: 360–361) brings readers' attention to the issue of multiple Japanese dialects, which may result in the variety of English Romanisations due to the differences in the pronunciation of the toponyms.

> I was not disposed to think Kaempfer so far wrong when he concluded his history of Japan, [...] by declaring that 'their country was never in a happier condition than it now is, governed by an arbitrary monarch, shut up and kept from all commerce and communication with foreign nations.' Whether a century hence, the descendants of this generation, which has seen the inauguration of renewed relations, commercial and political, may be able to point to a higher and better civilization, with an equal development of material prosperity and national content, as is every where apparent now, and rejoice in the result as a consequence of foreign relations, is another problem for time to solve

> (Alcock 1863: 391)

Since Chamberlain's (1891) *Handbook* has the form of a guidebook, it comes as no surprise that there is not much evaluative language other than the one praising the country's beauty (e.g. "Japan [is] picturesque") or objectively describing its state (e.g. "Japanese summer is hot"). Nevertheless, Chamberlain's (1891) opinion on Japan is still visible, for instance in the preface:

> But even Japan, great as is the power of imitation and assimilation possessed by her people, has not been able completely to transform her whole material, mental, and social being within the limits of a single lifetime. Fortunately for the curious observer, she continues in a state of transition, -less Japanese and more European day by day, it is true, but still retaining characteristics of her own, especially in the dress, manners, and beliefs of the lower classes. Those who wish to see as much as possible of the old order of things should come quickly.

> (Chamberlain 1891: 2)

The rest of the book is a list of headwords with their definitions and additional sources. Chamberlain, similarly to the two previous authors, mentions other writers, including Siebold, "who, in the early part of the 19th century, did so much by his voluminous writings to excite the curiosity of Europe about the as yet mysterious empire of Japan" (1891: 474). Despite presenting an example that solidifies a fairly positive description of Japan in the previously analysed sources, this work also includes examples of Traditional Hepburn Romanization in practice.

The above comments are also valid for the preface to the *Things Japanese*, a dictionary or, as Chamberlain suggests, a 'guide-book to subjects'. In the Introductory Chapter, Chamberlain (1891) informs his readers about the changes he introduced in the fifth edition of his *Things Japanese* but also confronts the other authors who wrote or spoke about Japan. For instance, he mentions Sir Edwin Arnold:

> Sir Edwin made a speech in which he lauded Japan to the skies—and lauded it justly—as the nearest earthly approach to Paradise or to Lotus-land—so fair-like, said he, is its scenery, so exquisite its art, so much more lovely still that almost divine sweetness of disposition, that charm of demeanour, that politeness humble without servility and elaborate without affectation, which places Japan high above all other countries in nearly all those things that make life worth living.

> (Chamberlain 1891: 3)

Chamberlain agrees with Edwin's article's editor, who puts into question the content of Edwin's laud, who should also praise Japan for its industrial enterprises, commercial talent, wealth, political sagacity, and powerful armaments (Chamberlain 1891: 4). He continues, and says that Japanese proved themselves as "no weaklings, but extremely plucky, practical man" (1891: 4), and should be praised not for the beauty of their art and country, which 'darkened' from the industrial chimney's smoke, which also proves its progress and modernisation that should be the reason for the laud. In the same work, Chamberlain mentions that Japan is criticised for its inharmonious music and lack of decency in women's manner of clothing.

The British interest in Japan was also reflected in the London newspapers, which frequently mentioned and reported all the events taking place in Japan. The articles do not include instances of evaluative language that would picture Japan as positively as the above-discussed writings did. Usually, the articles focused on how the situation in Japan, e.g. civil war, would influence British-Japanese relations or the general geopolitical situation in Asia or Europe. The only two non-politically related topics brought up in this period were the premiere of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* and the opening of the Japanese village (Yokoyama 2001: xix–xx).

It is worth adding that, interestingly, "[a]part from haphazard portrayals of people's countenances, the Americans did not mention any racial matter: they neither discussed Japanese origins nor compared them with other peoples" (Kowner 2004: 770). According to Kowner, "[t]he first British visitors sent back similar reports" (Ibid.), which seems to be incorrect in the light of the analysed excerpts; however, the results of the analysis depend on the selected material. Similarly, the above fragments do not include texts by "writers, who have exerted themselves to correct the error [of representing Japan only in a positive way] by limning Japan and the Japanese in the blackest of colors" (Ozaki 1900: 568).

Ozaki's (1900) comment is in line with the change in the European perception of Japan. In *BNA*, we can find multiple articles from 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War, where Japan is described as a *yellow peril* — there are two earlier results, one from 1869, and the other from 1888, but both come from the magazine *Field*, and neither of the source articles is about Japan. As *OED* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tell us, this term, a loan translation from the French péril jaune, was mostly used for the Chinese people. However, in many of the retrieved articles, this term refers to both Japan and China or to just one of them, e.g. "The yellow peril is more threatening than ever. Japan has made in a few years as much

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progress as other nations have made in centuries" (*Home News for India, China and the Colonies*, 07/06/1896). However, the use of this expression regarding Japan is limited in number when compared with the next century.

4.2.2 Borrowings

The introduction of THR influenced how the proper names were transcribed, e.g. Chamberlain's *Tōkyō*, but also the initial spelling of the borrowings. Before 1867, we could notice a slow standardisation process in the Japanese borrowings spelling that evolved from prevailing conventions. However, the publication of THR, which was mainly based on English orthography and phonetics, was one of the most influential works in that aspect. Many Orientalists, including Chamberlain, due to their high interest in Japan, straight after the publication of THR spelt the new borrowings according to its suggestions, e.g. *jōruri*. Yet many of the earlier borrowings still had to be revisited and retyped when entering the dictionaries in the twentieth century, but not all. For instance, *wacadash* (see 1.2.2) or *geishas*, which were spelt by Pemberton (1861) as *Gaўăshāăs* (or singular *Gaўăshā*) 'tea-house girls'. Nevertheless, various borrowings were entering English via translations, e.g. *fundoshi*, which appeared for the first time in the English language in the English translation of J. A. von Hübner's *Ramble Round World* (1874) by Lady Herbert.

> [IV.1] *aikuchi* (1875), [IV. 2] *aka-matsu* (1862), [IV.3] *ama* (1875), [IV.4] *amado* (1873), [IV.5] *anago* (1895), [IV.6] *andon* (1880), [IV.7] *anma* (1877), [IV.8] *awabi* (1889), [IV.9] *baku* (1881), [IV.10] *bakufu* (1869), [IV.11] *banzai* (1893), [IV.12] *baren* (1895), [IV.13] *bekko* (1889), [IV.14] *Bon* (1899 [1617*]), [IV.15] *bonsai* (1899), [IV.16] *bugaku* (1876), [IV.17] *bushido* (1898), [IV.18] *daikon* (1872), [IV.19] *eta* (1897), [IV.20] *fundoshi* (1874), [IV.21] *fusuma* (1880), [IV.22] *futon* (1875), [IV.23] *geisha* (1861), [IV.24] *Genro* (1876), [IV.25] *geta* (1876), [IV.26] *gobang* (1875), [IV.27] *habu* (1895 [1818*?]), [IV.28] *habutai* (1895), [IV.29] *haiku* (1899), [IV.30] *hake* (1882), [IV.31] *hanami* (1891), [IV.32] *hanashika* (1891), [IV.33] *haori* (1877), [IV.34] *happi* (1880), [IV.35] *hara-kiri* (1856 [1840*]), [IV.36] *hechima* (1883), [IV.37] *Heian* (1893), [IV.38] *heimin* (1875), [IV.39] *hibachi* (1863), [IV.40] *hinin* (1884), [IV.41] *ikebana* (1901), [IV.42] *inkyo* (1871), [IV.43] *janken* (1894), [IV.44] *jinrikisha* (1874), [IV.45] *joro* (1884), [IV.46] *jōruri* (1890), [IV.47] *judo* (1889), [IV.48] *jujitsu* (1875), [IV.49] *junshi* (1871), [IV.50] *kabane* (1890), [IV.51] *kabocha* (1884), [IV.52] *Kabuki* (1899), [IV.53] *kago* (1857), [IV.54] *kagura* (1884), [IV.55] *kakemono* (1890), [IV.56] *kakke* (1874), [IV.57] *kamidana* (1873), [IV.58] *kamikaze* (1896), [IV.59] *kami-sama* (1892), [IV.60] *kaya* (1889), [IV.61] *ken* (1882), [IV.62] *ken* (1890), [IV.63] *keyaki* (1863), [IV.64] *ki* (1893), [IV.65] *kikyo* (1884), [IV.66] *ki-mon* (1871), [IV.67] *kimono* (1886 [1614*]), [IV.68] *koji* (1878), [IV.69] *kombu* (1884), [IV.70] *koniak* (1884), [IV.71] *kotatsu* (1876), [IV.72] *kudzu* (1893), [IV.73] *kura* (1880), [IV.74] *Kuroshiwo* (1885), [IV.75] *kyogen* (1871), [IV.76] *maegashira* (1892), [IV.77] *magatama* (1876), [IV.78] *maguro* (1880), [IV.79] *maiko* (1891), [IV.80] *makimono* (1880), [IV.81] *makunouchi* (1898), [IV.82] *marumage* (1880), [IV.83] *matcha* (1881), [IV.84] *matsu* (1884), [IV.85] *matsutake* (1877), [IV.86] *Meiji* (1871), [IV.87] *metake* (1896), [IV.88] *miai* (1884), [IV.89] *miko* (1874), [IV.90] *mirin* (1874), [IV.91] *misoshiru* (1891), [IV.92] *mitsuba* (1890), [IV.93] *mitsumata* (1871), [IV.94] *mokum* (†1889–

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1927), [IV.95] *mokume* (1884), [IV.96] *mon* (1861), [IV.97] *monogatari* (1876), [IV.98] *mousmé* (1861), [IV.99] *mura* (1876), [IV.100] *muraji* (1891), [IV.101] *Nabeshimayaki* (1886), [IV.102] *nageire* (1889), [IV.103] *nakodo* (1880), [IV.104] *nandin* (1866), [IV.105] *nanten* (1884), [IV.106] *nashi* (1892), [IV.107] *nashiji* (1880), [IV.108] *natto* (1899), [IV.109] *nembutsu* (1875), [IV.110] *netsuke* (1876), [IV.111] *Noh* (1871), [IV.112] *nori* (1891), [IV.113] *obi* (1872), [IV.114] *oiran* (1871), [IV.115] *ojime* (1889), [IV.116] *okimono* (1880), [IV.117] *omi* (1891), [IV.118] *omochi* (1899), [IV.119] *o-muraji* (1869), [IV.120] *onnagata* (1889), [IV.121] *onsen* (1896), [IV.122] *o-omi* (1901), [IV.123] *orihon* (1882), [IV.124] *ozeki* (1892), [IV.125] *raku* (1875), [IV.126] *Ramanas rose* (1876), [IV.127] *reishi* (1886), [IV.128] *renga* (1855), [IV.129] *rikka* (1889), [IV.130] *rin* (1868 [1704*]), [IV.131] *romaji* (1885), [IV.132] *ronin* (1858), [IV.133] *ryo* (1862), [IV.134] *ryu* (1880), [IV.135] *ryugi* (1875), [IV.136] *sakura* (1884), [IV.137] *san* (1878), [IV.138] *sasanqua* (1866), [IV.139] *sashimi* (1880), [IV.140] *sayonara* (1863), [IV.141] *sencha* (1874), [IV.142] *sennin* (1875), [IV.143] *sensei* (1874), [IV.144] *seppuku* (1871), [IV.145] *shakudo* (1860), [IV.146] *shakuhachi* (1893), [IV.147] *shibuichi* (1880), [IV.148] *shiitake* (1877), [IV.149] *Shin* (1877), [IV.150] *shippo* (1875), [IV.151] *shiso* (1873), [IV.152] *sho* (1876), [IV.153] *shō* (1888), [IV.154] *shogi* (1858), [IV.155] *shoji* (1880), [IV.156] *shugo* (1893), [IV.157] *sika* (1891), [IV.158] *soba* (1896), [IV.159] *soroban* (1891), [IV.160] *soshi* (1891), [IV.161] *sumi* (1889), [IV.162] *sumi-e* (1880), [IV.163] *sumo* (1864), [IV.164] *sumotori* (1884), [IV.165] *sunomono* (1900), [IV.166] *surimono* (1899), [IV.167] *sushi* (1893), [IV.168] *tan* (1871), [IV.169] *tan* (1876), [IV.170] *Tanabata* (1880), [IV.171] *tanka* (1877), [IV.172] *tansu* (1885), [IV.173] *tanto* (1885), [IV.174] *temmoku* (1880), [IV.175] *tempo* (1860), [IV.176] *to* (1871), [IV.177] *togidashi* (1881), [IV.178] *tsuba* (1889), [IV.179] *tsukemono* (1885), [IV.180] *tsunami* (1897), [IV.181] *tycoon* (1857), [IV.182] *uchiwa* (1877), [IV.183] *uguisu* (1871), [IV.184] *uji* (1876), [IV.185] *ujigami* (1897), [IV.186] *ukiyo-e* (1879), [IV.187] *uta* (1855), [IV.188] *Yamato* (1879), [IV.189] *yashiki* (1863), [IV.190] *yen* (1874), [IV.191] *yokan* (1875), [IV.192] *yokozuna* (1894), [IV.193] *zabuton* (1897).

In this period *CJC* significantly less contributions because 147, and those include: <u>*amado*</u>, *Arita (ware/porcelain)* (see below), <u>*bakufu*</u>, *banko ware*, <u>*banzai*</u>, *Benten*, *bento* (see 1.2.2)/*obento* (see 5.2.2), *Bizen ware*, *Bonin Islands*, <u>*bonsai*</u>, *bu*, <u>*bushido*</u>/*Bushido*, *chanoyu* (see 2.2.2), *cho*, *Chosen*, *Dai Nippon*, <u>*daikon*</u>, *daruma* (see below), *Diet*, *do*, *emperor fish*, *fatsia*, *flower arrangement*, *fu*, *Fuji*, *Fujiwara*, <u>*fusuma*</u>, <u>*futon*</u>, <u>*geisha*</u>, *genro/*<u>*Genro*</u>, *geta*, *Ginza*, <u>*go*</u> (twice), *Goh* (see 3.2.2), *hagi*, *hai*, *hakama* (see 3.2.2), *han*, <u>*hanami*</u>, <u>*Heian*</u>, <u>*hinin*</u>, *hokku* (a different spelling of the word <u>*haiku*</u>), <u>*ikebana*</u>, *Imari (ware)* (see below), *indigo plant*, *Inland Sea*, *iris*, <u>*judo*</u>, <u>*jujitsu/jujutsu*</u>, *kakemono*, *Kakiemon*, <u>*kamikaze*</u>, *Kano*, *kappa* (see below), *katsure (tree)*, <u>*ken*</u> (three times[51]), *kiku*, <u>*ki-mon*</u>, *knot*, <u>*koji*</u>, *kozo*, <u>*magatama*</u>, *mai*, <u>*matsutake*</u>, <u>*Meiji*</u>, *mino*, <u>*mokum(e)*</u>, <u>*mon*</u> (twice, see below), *Mount Fuji*, *moxibustion*, <u>*mura*</u>, *Nabeshima (ware)* (see *Nabeshimayaki* [IV.101]), *Nara*, *Nihon*, *Nipponese*, *No/*<u>*Noh*</u>, <u>*nori*</u>, *ogi*, <u>*okimono*</u>, *Okinawan*, <u>*omi*</u>, *persimmon*, *pivot*, *privet*, <u>*raku*</u> *(ware)*, <u>*renga*</u>, *rice wine*, *ricksha(w)* (see below), *Rising Sun*, *rugosa rose*, <u>*sakura*</u>, <u>*san*</u>, <u>*sashimi*</u>, *Satsuma*, *satsuma/Satsuma (orange)* (see below), *satsuma/Satsuma (ware)* (see below), <u>*sensei*</u>, *Seto (ware)*, <u>*shakudo*</u>,

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[51] All the meanings as 1. Japanese unit of length (1727), 2. prefecture (1882), and 3. Japanese game (1890), are included in *OED*, but with the first one noted in 1727, thus discussed in section 2.2.2.

shakuhachi, *Shiga('s)*, *shiitake*, *shimada*, *Shin*, *shin*, *Shinshu* (see 3.2.2), *shizoku*, *sho* (twice, see below), *shoji*, *shrine*, *sika*, *soba*, *soja*, *soroban*, *Soto* (see 3.2.2), *sprinkled*, *sumo*, *surimono*, *sushi*, *Taira*, *tan* (twice, both denote Japanese units of measure), *tanka*, *tansu*, *tanto*, *tea ceremony*, *tempo*, *Tempyo*, *tengu* (see below), *Tokugawa*, *Tokyo*, *tsunami* (see Warren 1995b: 40), *Tsushima*, *tung oil*, *tycoon*, *ukiyo-e*, *wisteria*, *Yamato* (twice), *yen*, *Yokohama*, *zabuton* — with 82 (the underlined ones) being also included in the above *OED* list.

Many of Cannon's (1996) contributions are present in *OED* yet are not recognised as borrowings since those come from proper names, for instance, names of wares: *Arita*, *Imari*, *Kakiemon*, *Satsuma* (also attributively of an orange), *Seto*, and other cultural phenomenon, e.g. *shimada* "[a]pplied *absol.* and attributively to a young unmarried Japanese ladies' formal hairstyle […]" (*OED*), which according to Cannon (1996: 209–210) was first used in 1894, and according to *OED* in 1910.

The *OED*-based list shows multiple borrowings spelt with a capital letter. If we were to assign them a semantic category and point to their lexical category in English — because in Japanese, all the source words are nouns — the list would be as follows: n. *Bon* (tradition), n. *Genro* (government), adj. *Heian* (periodisation, see Chapter III Section 2.), n. *Kabuki* (theatre), n. *Kuroshiwo* (proper name), n. & adj. *Meiji* (periodisation, see Chapter III Section 2.), n. *Noh* (theatre), n. *Nabeshimayaki* (pottery), n. *Ramanas rose* (botany, see Warren 1994a or 1995b: 7), n. *Shin* (religion), n. *Tanabata* (tradition), and n. *Yamato* (art). *OED* is pretty consistent in spelling and other examples from these semantic categories with capital letters. This proper capitalisation, i.e., in line with English orthography, suggests a good understanding of the borrowings' source meaning.

From capitalised borrowings, one of the most interesting lexemes is *Genro* (cf. Cannon [1996: 114], who includes both capitalised and uncapitalised spelling), which was borrowed into English in the first sense it was used in Japanese, i.e., "The 'elder statesmen' of Japan, a body of retired statesmen at times informally consulted by the emperor. Also: a member of this body" (*OED*). It is worth noting that this word has three related meanings in Japanese, with the most recent one denoting an 'old expert'. Interestingly, *Genro* was borrowed into English despite not describing any new phenomenon and simply referring to *OED*'s 'elder statesman' in Japanese culture. The applied capitalisation, most likely, stems from respect towards the official title since *Mikado* is spelt in a similar fashion —originally also *Dairi* and *Shogun*. Another thing that should be pointed out is the fact that *Genro*

/ˈɡɛnrəʊ/ (Jap. 元老, in hiragana: げんろう, IPA: /ɡeɴɾoɯ/), despite being based on a word that ends with a so-called long vowel, its last *o* is not accompanied by a macron over it as both THR and MHR would nowadays suggest.

Moving back to the analysis in alphabetical order, we have *baku* (Jap. 獏 *baku*), a creature from Japanese mythology which nowadays also denotes a tapir. Interestingly, *baku* entered neither *CJC* nor Hayakawa (2014), but two other mythical creatures, *tengu* (Cannon 1996: 227, Hayakawa 2014: 423) and *kappa* (Hayakawa 2014: 173) did. If we compare these three words using NG case-sensitive search — to eliminate Baku, the capital city of Azerbaijan, and *Kappa*, a brand — we notice that *kappa* is more frequent in British English than *baku*. However, it is possible that the frequency is inaccurate since the Greek letter *kappa* is also sometimes spelt in lowercase.

Next, *bekko* (Jap. べっ甲 *bekkō*) 'tortoiseshell', which, similarly to *Genro*, should be spelt with a macron over the final *o*. Some may argue that the macron is unnecessary since it is not present in English orthography, and this is true. However, the problem is *OED*'s inconsistency since it sometimes incorporates the macron, e.g. *jōruri*, and sometimes does not, e.g. *ronin* (MHR: *rōnin*). There is also the question of why this lexeme should be included in the English dictionary since, again, similarly to *Genro*, *bekko* does not denote anything new, and its incorporation seems to be unnecessary, especially if we consider the three returns provided by *BNC*, where *bekko* is defined and limited in its use to the Japanese context.

Following the alphabetical order, next we should discuss the well-known *hara-kiri* (Eng. IPA: /ˌhɑːrəˈkiːriː/), which, according to Cannon (1996: 119 after *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* [1994]), was first used in 1840, not 1856. Unfortunately, this information cannot be confirmed due to lack of any further information, even while searching among the NG sources, which suggest that the word This borrowing most likely was popularised within the British English-speaking community by A. B. Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* (1871), which includes his eyewitness of *hara-kiri* — and also other Japanese rituals, including *seppuku* (Eng. IPA: /sɛˈpuːkuː/). *Hara-kiri* was used by various writers like Smith (1861: 131), who furnished it in his text with a brief definition, suggesting its insignificant understandability. It was also present in Pemberton's, who spelt it *harikiri* (1861: 238), i.e., without a hyphen, and Alcock's, who spelt it as *kawakiri* (1891: 392). However, it is also highly possible that Alcock, in fact, was not transcribing the word *harakiri* 'suicide by disembowelment' (*OED*), lit. 'abdomen cut', but *kawagiri* which most likely came from 皮切

り that literally, could be literally translated as 'skin cut', but nowadays denotes 'beginning, start'. At the same time, we have *seppuku*, which has no definition in *OED* and is simply *hara-kiri*'s cross-reference, whereas in Japanese, there is a slight difference. In Japanese, 腹切り *harakiri* (Jap. IPA: /haɾakiɾi/) and 切腹 *seppuku* (Jap. IPA: /sepːɯkɯ/) both refer to suicide by disembowelment; yet, *harakiri* denotes the action, whereas *seppuku* is the whole ritual that allows someone (usually a *samurai*) to commit an honorary suicide.
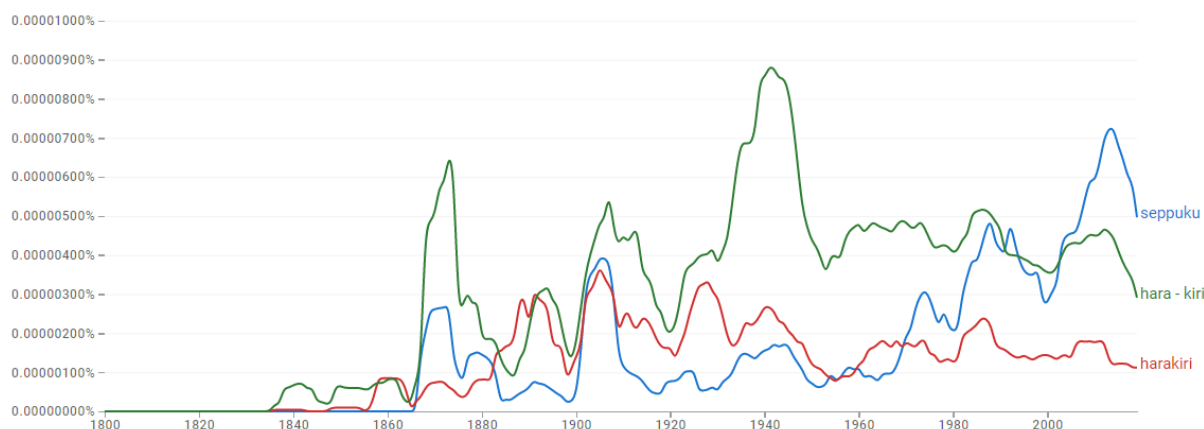
Figure 5 The frequency of the lexemes *seppuku* and *harakiri* (also spelt *hara-kiri*)

Now, let us refer to already discussed in Section 2.2.2. *kuruma* (1724), and *rickshaw*. However, this time, we should juxtapose these terms with a new loanword, *jinrikisha* (1874), and explain the term *rickshaw* in a bit more detail. *Jinrikisha* (cf. *jinrickshaw*, Bliss 1983: 216), discussed in detail by Warren (1997b), is an especially interesting example due to the fact that this loanword was outcrowded by *rickshaw*, which is a lexeme formed within English by clipping and adjusting the Japanese pronunciation to the English one.
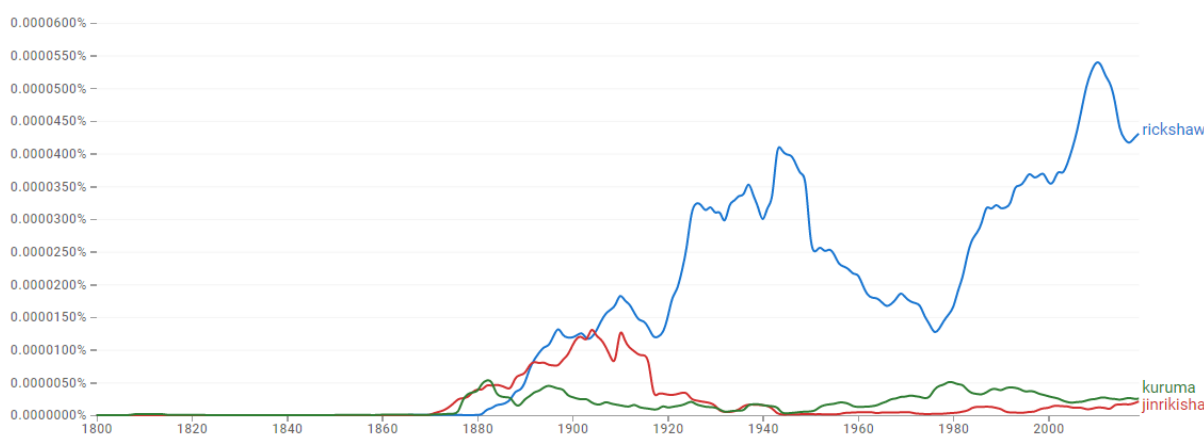
Figure 6 The frequency of the lexemes *rickshaw*, *jinrikisha*, and *kuruma*

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We should also briefly remark on the now obsolete (according to *OED*) borrowing *mokum*. *OED* distinguishes *mokum,* "[a] n alloy used in decorative metalwork to create a woodgrain pattern" (*OED*), from *mokume,* "[a] style or technique of decorative metalwork made to resemble wood grain […]. Also: the mixed-metal laminate […] used in this technique. Frequently attributive." (*OED*), whereas *CJC* lists only *mokum(e)* "[a] Japanese alloy used in decorative work on gold and silver" (1996: 177). On the other hand, Hayakawa (2014: 251), similarly to *OED*, provides the reader with both *mokum* and *mokume*. The *OED*'s differentiation seems incorrect if we consider the fact that *mokum* falls into the *mokume*'s definition, and both words stem from the same etymon Jap. 杢目 (cf. Hayakawa [2014: 251] 木理 'tree rings, woodgrain', see *mokume gane* 9.2.2).

Next, we have, *mon* of which *OED* includes only one meaning as a "Japanese family crest or badge, frequently used in decorative art" (*OED*). As Cannon (1996: 178) adds, it is the same *mon* (Jap. 紋) as the one used in *jomon* (sic!), *kikumon*, and *kirimon*. However, Cannon (Ibid.) also lists another meaning of *mon* as a coin (Jap. 文), not included in *OED*. The selectiveness of *OED* is becoming more evident since, on the other hand, it includes Japanese *yen* and *sen*.

Another interesting borrowing is *mousmé*, which was used to address young unmarried women or waitresses (now historical). The accent over *e* may suggest that the word entered English through French, yet similarly to *saké*, the accent appeared later, i.e., was not introduced by the first user, Pemberton (1861). He spelt this word as *moosme* (1861: 243) in an attempt to preserve the spelling of the prolonged *o*, which was lost in the case of *Genro*. Naturally, the mentioned French influence, in this case, is still possible, but most probably, the accent was added by an English person since its use is justified. The accent highlights the need to pronounce the final *e* that, in all likelihood, would not be pronounced, resulting in the British pronunciation transcribed as /ˈmuːsmei/. Interestingly, this borrowing was popularised in American English by the US Soldiers stationed in Japan (Hayakawa 2014: 255). It entered the language in various forms: *moose*, *mousee*, *mousmee*, and *musume* (Ibid.), and its meaning changed throughout time, receiving a new connotation after WWII: "a lover of an American soldier" (Ibid.). However, in British English, it chiefly functions as a Japanese form of addressing young girls in general, and in that sense was used by Alcock and Hodgson.

Since we mentioned Japanese pottery at the beginning, we should also discuss *Nabeshimayaki*. The last two moras of this lexeme, *yaki*, denote 'ceramic ware' from the

nominalised stem of *yaku* (Jap. 焼く) 'to bake, fire'. When preceded by the name of a Japanese clan, *Nabeshima*, it can be literally translated as 'Nabeshima ware'. *OED* also includes Nabeshima, which is not considered a borrowing because its etymon is a proper Japanese name. Interestingly, *OED* included only *Nabeshimayaki* (as well as attributive *Nabeshima*), omitting, for instance, *Satsumayaki* (only included the attributive *Satsuma*, but not as a borrowing from Japanese).

The fact that the word *kamikaze* (cf. Warren 1994b) is listed in this period, not in Section 7, may come to some as a surprise since this word is usually associated with WWII. This borrowing is included here since its original meaning was also recognised by the British: "[i]n Japanese tradition: a powerful wind, said to be a gift from the gods (see kami n.1); *spec.* either of the gales that destroyed the fleet of the invading Mongols in 1274 and 1281." (*OED*). According to *OED*, this loanword appeared for the first time in Hearn's *Kokoro* (1896)[52] in a sentence: "That mighty wind still called Kami-kazé,—'the Wind of the Gods', by which the fleets of Kublai Khan were given to the abyss" (Hearn 1896: 137, after *OED*). Naturally, the meaning of kamikaze as an aircraft loaded with explosives that went on a suicidal crash, or by extension, its pilot, was first noted during WWII — in 1944, to be precise. Even though it was first used by the New York Times, this term soon became widely recognisable, and as a loanword, it also entered other languages, e.g. Polish *kamikadze* or Italian *kamikaze*.

Currently, this loanword functions in English both as a noun and an adjective, where an adjective, by extension, denotes something reckless, dangerous or potentially self-harming. *BNC* returns 35 examples of *kamikaze* use, where one uses *kamikaze* in its World War II sense, three are proper nouns, and six refer to *kamikaze pilots*. Out of 35 uses 27 are adjectives used in phrases: *kamikaze driver*, *kamikaze lorry drivers*, *kamikaze mission*, *kamikaze rabbit*, *kamikaze love affair*, *'kamikaze' candidate*, *kamikaze style*, *kamikaze ant*, *kamikaze excursions*, *'kamikaze joyriders'*, *kamikaze jet*, *kamikaze act*, *kamikaze spectators*, *kamikaze attacks*, *'kamikaze' attitude*, and *kamikaze seminars*. It is worth noting that the dangerous or reckless aspect of the behaviour is mostly reflected in the phrases related to driving or travelling (e.g. *kamikaze driver*, *kamikaze lorry drivers*, *kamikaze excursions*); however, none of the retrieved samples uses *kamikaze* in its first sense as a 'godly wind' with positive connotations. Also, the use of inverted commas in some of the examples suggests either an ironic use of the loanword or a lack of full entrenchment in the British lexicon. Interestingly,

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[52] To learn more about Hearn and his reception of Japan, see Bisland (2018: 282).

the number of adjectival uses of *kamikaze* in *BNC* does not correspond to the results retrieved from NG (Figure 7).
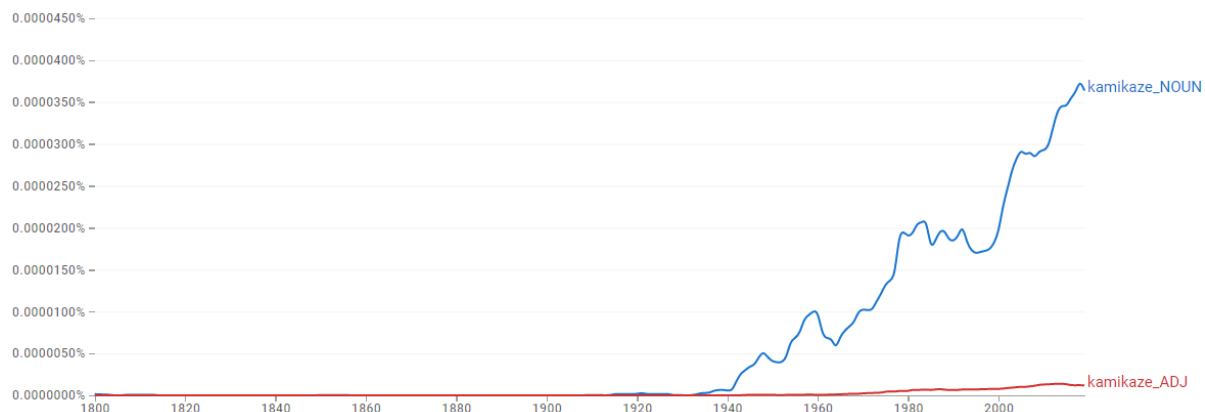
Figure 7 The frequency of the lexeme *kamikaze* used as a noun or an adjective

The next interesting borrowing is *tycoon* [53], which underwent a significant orthographic adaptation since, according to MHR, it should be spelt *taikun*. It should also be pointed out that Smith (1861), in his work, freely uses the word *Tycoon* (capitalised) while still defining *dairi*, *Mikado*, and *shogun*. This loanword reappears several times in the phrase "Tycoon of Japan", usually in reference to the Emperor:

> The Emperor of Japan, sometimes designated by the personal title of *Mikado* and at other times known better among European readers as the *Dairi* (the *Court* of the Emperor); [...] *Kubo-sama* ("Lord-general"), — *Siogoon* (derived from "tseangkeuen" the Chinese term for a Tartar "commander-in-chief"), — or, as he is better known in the wording of recent treaties, the *Tycoon* (the Chinese "ta-keuen" the equivalent of "great prince") [...]. The *Siogoon*, or "secular emperor" from that time, has virtually become the sovereign ruler of Japan. The *Mikado* or "spiritual emperor" has continued to be nominally invested with the supreme dignity; but only a shadow of his former power remains. [...] The Mikado retains the empty title of sovereign and his assent is still deemed requisite to give validity to imperial acts of national importance.

(Smith 1861: 287-289)

The difference between *Mikado* and *shogun* is also highlighted by Alcock, who says that the first one is the titular ruler, whereas the second is the effective one (Alcock 1863: 74). It is also worth adding that with further entrenchment of the word *Mikado*, it was also used in a plural form to describe the Emperor and Empress of Japan (e.g. "The Mikados are considered to have a divine origin" *St. Helens Examiner*, 20/11/1915).

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[53] "The honorific word, *taikun*, was used to address the shogun by visiting Westerners. In the United States, the use of this word caught on after Perry's expedition fired the imagination of the American public. John Hay (1861) spoke to Abraham Lincoln as the *tycoon* meaning a powerful person. Specialization of meaning set in again when industrial magnates began to be considered comparable, in their power and wealth, to the former ruler of Japan" (Tsuchihashi 1997: 685). For more information on *tycoon* see Warren (1994b).

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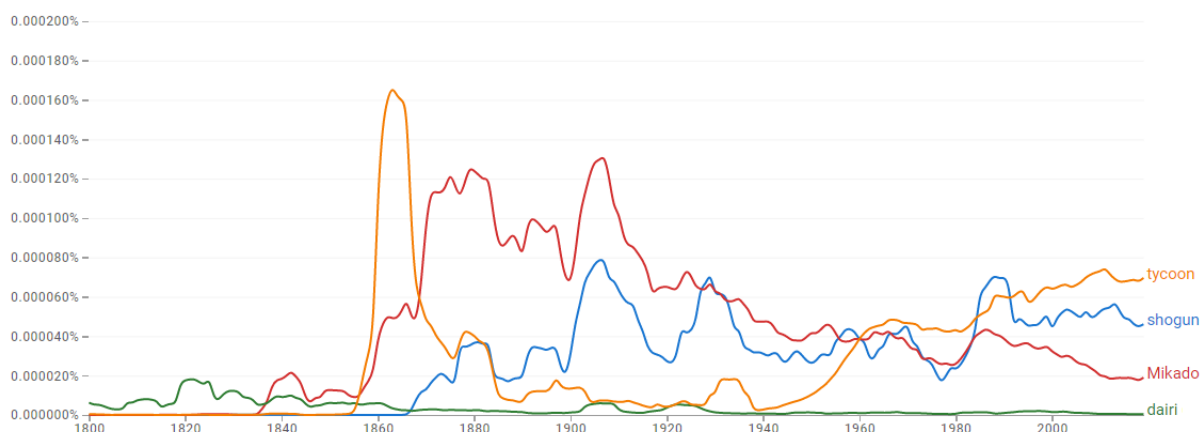
Figure 8 The frequency of the lexemes *tycoon*, *shogun*, *Mikado*, and *dairi*

Next, we have *sayonara* (initially also spelt *sẙŏnāllă* and *saionara*), which may be one of the most developed Japanese borrowings that entered English. A word that in Japanese functions as an interjection nowadays is present in English as an interjection, noun, adjective, and verb. However, NG analysis shows that British English uses it mostly as a noun, whereas the BNC search returns only two hits of its use and no returns in the *ARCHER* search. Yet, it is still fairly popular in NG, with its peak frequency in 2006 at 0.0000057615%. *CJC* puts *sayonara* together with *arigato* and writes that these two lexemes as salutations generally retained their Asian context (1996: 78).

It is also interesting to note that *OED* includes two similar borrowings: *shō*, a Japanese instrument, and *sho*, a unit of measure. Interestingly, both borrowings are derived from two characters, 簫 and 升, respectively, that, according to MHR, should be Romanised with a macron over the final *o*, yet only one is spelt in that matter.

Lastly, we should point to the word *shogunate*, which, to the surprise of some, is not a Japanese borrowing, yet was formed within English by adding the Latin suffix *–nate* to the Japanese loanword *shogun* (see 1.2.2.). The fact that *OED* does not list this lexeme during the search is thus understandable; however, the fact that *CJC* omits this contribution is quite fairly interesting.

4.3. Summary

The picture of Japan painted in the above-analysed sources is in line with what Ozaki (1900) says, that some authors, including Chamberlain Sir Edwin Arnold (*ODNB*2: 479–481), "have

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painted Japan as a terrestrial Paradise, inhabited by a race of charming and guileless and painfully polite angels, endowed with consummate aesthetic taste; as a land where every prospect pleases, without the drawback of even the slightest tincture of vileness among its humanity" (Ozaki 1900: 568)[54]. She also claims that Japan was frequently idealised, but other examples show that it was also portrayed badly. Alcock justly commented and cautioned that

> [p]ublic opinion in a country constitutionally governed as this [the United Kingdom] is, must always be felt and exercise a strong influence on any government in power; it is the more necessary, therefore, that it should be a right opinion, enlightened and guided by knowledge, and not a blind judgement based upon ignorance or misapprehension.
>
> (Alcock 1863: xii)

Perhaps this idealisation stemmed from the fact that British people were more interested in cultural information rather than those related to the number of military conflicts in which the British were involved (Hickey 2010). It is hard not to lean into thinking that, as mentioned by Ozaki (1900), fascination with Japan and its positive reception did not influence the influx of Japanese borrowings into the British lexicon. However, despite this abundance of 193 borrowings, we should highlight that only a handful is widely understood by British speakers.

Importantly, the above analysis of the Japanese LW was very informative, even before the analysis of the wording used to describe Japan. The change in the interest in Japan was also visible in the number of articles written in the given period: 1854–1863: 12,565, 1864–1873: 15,203, 1874–1883: 5,105, 1884–1893: 4,759, 1894–1903: 4,040. This interest does not correspond with the number of borrowings that, according to *OED*, entered English in these timespans. The numbers are: 18, 23, 68, 59, and 31 (or 25 if counted to 1901), accordingly.

The number of sources about Japan corresponds with a high number of borrowings from Japanese that entered English around that time. Most of the borrowings are characterised by low returns while searching in *BNC* and *ARCHER*, yet their initial incorporation corresponds with the high interest in Japan. The borrowed lexemes were usually related to the

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[54] Lastly, it is worth adding that Japan was also present in British fiction. For instance, *The Eastern Wonderland* (1882, https://archive.org/details/japaneasternwond00anguiala/ [Accessed 10/12/2020]) by D. C. Angus aimed to introduce modern Japan to English children or in Oscar Wilde's (*ODNB*58: 910–920) writing. Wilde wrote in 1905 that "the Japanese people are the deliberate self-conscious creation of certain individual artists" (*Intentions: The Decay of Lying, Pen, Pencil, and Poison, the Critic as Artist, the Truth of Masks* available at https://archive.org/details/cu31924079601617/ [Accessed 15/07/2022]) and highlighted the difference between true Japan and the one from paintings, which there is "a pure invention" (Ibid.). In the same book, we can also find another name for Japan, *the Land of the Chrysanthemum*, derived from the Japanese Imperial Seal adopted in 1183.

Japanese artistic culture, reflecting the British interest in Japanese art. The positive relations, understood in this case as open trade and harbours, allowed for the inflow of not only Japanese goods but also Japanese borrowings that, in most cases, were not entering British English texts through translations but descriptions of people who had visited Japan.

The analysis again revealed some problems with the year of first use, as in *Bon*, also spelt as *O-Bon*, which, according to Cannon (1996: 99), was first used in 1617, i.e., almost two centuries before the year proposed by *OED*. Similarly, *kimono*, according to Cannon (1996: 160), was used significantly earlier, i.e., in 1614 by Farrington. There is also a problem with *habu*, for which *OED* needs clarification regarding the origin year since the source quote provides one from 1895. In contrast, in the tab on etymology, we can find a quote from 1818, which most likely is unjustly hidden.

I would also like to point to the similarity of the Japanese *sasanqua* (from Jap. 山茶花 *sazanka* lit. 'mountain flower') with the Polish *sasanka* (Lat. *Pulsatilla*), a cognate with Czech. The fact that all the lexemes refer to — different but still — plants suggests a common etymon. However, this suspicion would require further etymological analysis, which was started by Warren (1995a: 6).

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5. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–1923)

This analysis is based on data retrieved from *ARCHER*, Alfred Harmsworth's (*ODNB*26: 341–346) diary (1923), and newspaper excerpts collected from *BNA*. The diary was chosen as an additional source based on how frequently it was returned as the source of quotations for queries run in *ARCHER*. The analysis is supplemented by the comments made by Papini (2021) and mentioned excerpts retrieved from articles accessed via *BNA*. Since the selected diary and corpora are abundant in information, this analysis did not call for a search for any additional sources.

Despite focusing on Japan's reception by the North East of England, Papini's (2021) work provides an invaluable summary of how Japan was encountered in that region. We assume that the comments made by Papini (2021) are at least partially applicable to the rest of British society, i.e., it is assumed that the perception of Japan was essentially similar throughout the whole of British society.

5.1. Historical Background

The rapid growth of Japan's power did not go unnoticed and could be one of the reasons that fuelled the British eagerness to keep Japan as a friend rather than an enemy. Thus, this period starts from one of the most significant events in the history of British-Japanese relations, the titular alliance (Best 2000). From "the 1870s, the idea of an alliance was heard from time to time both in Britain and in Japan, but the people who advanced such proposal had no power to make it real" (Papini 2021: 98) until January 30th 1902, when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came into force. In the formal treaty of alliance between Japan and Britain, the countries

> proclaimed a common goal to maintain the territorial integrity and 'open door' for trade in China and Korea and committed themselves under certain circumstances to go to war in each other's support. […] For Britain, the only truly world power of this epoch, it witnessed a shift away from its previous policy of 'splendid isolation', while for Japan, which had only fifty years previously been dragged unwillingly out of its voluntary seclusion, it sealed its emergence as a new force in international politics. For the region, it marked a vital step towards the outbreak two years later of the Russo-Japanese War.
>
> (Best 2021: 1)

Even though this period saw the formation of the Japan-British society in 1908[55], contrary to the previous period, the cultural 'Japan craze' was replaced by the interest in Japan as a political and military partner. In other words, in "the history of their contacts during the past four centuries, the Anglo-Japanese relationship was closest in the diplomatic, military and

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[55] For an interesting perspective on the British discrimination of Japan see Bennett (2001).

many other spheres during the period of the Alliance" (Murashima 2000: 159). As mentioned, the signature of the treaty of alliance was a significant event in the history of these relations since it bounded

> Britain and Japan to assist one another in safeguarding their respective interests in China and Korea. Directed against Russian expansionism in the Far East, it was a cornerstone of British and Japanese policy in Asia until after World War I. […] The alliance served Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) by discouraging France, Russia's European ally, from entering the war on the Russian side. It was renewed in 1905 and again in 1911 after Japan's annexation of Korea. On the basis of its tie with Britain, Japan participated in World War I on the side of the Allies.

> (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

The win of the Japanese modernised in a very short period of time army over the soldiers who fought for an enormous Russian Empire boosted Japanese pride and cleared the way for the Japanese expansion in Manchuria and the Korean Empire, giving an outlet for the Japanese imperial ambitions.

The British-Japanese relations in the alliance period are discussed in great detail by Best, who asks and answers the question of "why the British public was willing to consent to what might seem an unlikely or even perhaps distasteful combination" (2021: 2) and "how British public opinion came to accept Japan as more than simply a typical Asian country and one that could be trusted to live up to its alliance obligation" (Ibid.). To a certain degree, Best (2021) suggests that the British did not think highly of Japan, and the 'Japan craze' was limited in its influence and possibly resulted from the fact that this country was perceived as an exotic novelty. Nevertheless, based merely on historical facts, it can be undoubtedly said that this relationship also witnessed a slight shift in Japan's reception, going from a cultural curio in the nineteenth century to a diplomatic ally in the twentieth. However, the relation was not as positive as some descriptions suggest.

Naturally, the diplomatic relations between the sides of the relations thrived and were continuously strengthened. The Japanese government supported the Japanese-British Exhibition in London and sent representatives to join the George V coronation ceremony. In contrast, Britain advanced multiple trading proposals and consistently designated the next diplomats who represented it in Japan. The alliance ties were also partially visible during WWI, and Japan's involvement "was certainly one of the reasons for British victory" (Murashima 2000: 183). However, the positive reception cannot be perpetual, and the relationship deterioration is its natural element.

> As the war [WWI] continued and lengthened, there was the growth of anti-Japanese feelings in Britain because of what was seen as a certain amount of pro-German sentiment in Japan, rumours of a separate peace involving Japan, what were regarded as the excessive wartime profits being made by Japan, and a perception of the country's unenthusiastic attitude to the war.

(Murashima 2000: 185)

According to Murashima, during WWI, "the deterioration in the relationship between Japan and Britain stopped for some time" (2000: 192), i.e., it was not continuous, yet definitely influenced the general reception of Japan (Nish 2013a, cf. Lowe 1969, Kennedy 1969).

The 1919–20 Paris Peace Conference took some toll on British-Japanese relations since Britain tried to adopt "a comparatively neutral position over East Asian issues: sympathetic to China, but bound to Japan" (Nish 2000: 225). Since Japan had a taut relationship with China, it was not content with this new British approach. Most likely, it was one of the many reasons for the deterioration of future political relations, as discussed in great detail by Nish (2000, cf. Kennedy 1969).

Unfortunately, the Four-Power Treaty terminated the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in December 1921 (Nish 2013a: 383[56]). However, the end of the alliance was officially ratified two years later, on August 17, 1923 (Ibid.). In other words, despite the eager desire of the Japanese government and some British politicians, the alliance was not renewed and came to an end in 1923 due to pressure from the United States and Canada. To be precise, the British Empire decided to sacrifice its alliance with Japan in favour of goodwill with the United States (Murashima 2000: 191), which took a clear stand in supporting China in a China-Japan conflict (Ibid.: 184). Yet Britain still desired to prevent the expected alliance between Japan and either Germany or Russia from coming into being.

A tragedy hit Japan just after the official termination of the alliance: the Kanto earthquake on September 1, 1923. Japan received help from many governments, including the American and British ones. "Beyond that, there were private donations such as the Earthquake Relief Fund of the Japan Society of London" (Nish 2000: 271). Unfortunately, British government aid was significantly less than American aid, which "reflected Britain's reduced financial position in the postwar world" (Ibid.).

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[56] Cf. "Anglo-Japanese alliance was renewed in 1905 and 1911, expired in 1921, was then replaced by new Four Power Treaty [...]" (*Daily News*, 19/11/1939).

The history of the relations of this period, as in most cases, cannot be described as entirely positive or negative. Without a doubt, the relations were political and the fact that Britain and Japan relied on each other to a certain degree reflects their trust in possible help from each other. However, the tightening ties between Japan and Germany and the mentioned growth in Japan's power (see *Weekly Journal (Hartleport)* 04/09/1908, p. 16) resulted in British suspicion and slight distrust in Japan. The fact that Britain wanted to avoid taking a clear stance in the China-Japan conflict matter was also not of any help. The rise of various animosities and the outcomes of the final historical events in this period call for naming it hostile relations. However, it should be remembered that the relations were not of that nature for all the years in the discussed period. Thus, in summary, the relations in 1904 were on a positive note yet ended on a negative one, suggesting that the character of the description of Japan can vary significantly depending on the year of its publication. On the other hand, it is tough to provide any guesses on how the discussed historical events could affect the influx and use of the JBs in British English.

Events[57]:

1902	– The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Lu 2015, Murashima 2000, Best 2021);
1904–5	– The Russo-Japanese War (Murashima 2000, Best 2021);
1905	– the renewal of the Alliance;
1908	– the foundation of the Japan-British Society;
1910	– The British-Japan Exhibition (Murashima 2000: 178, Mutsu 2002);
1911	– renewal of the Alliance;
1914–8	– World War I (Murashima 2000);
1919–20	– Paris Peace Conference (Nish 2000, Kennedy 1969);
1921	– the Four-Power Treaty (Nish 2013, Kennedy 1969);
1923	– the Kanto earthquake (Nish 2000).

5.2. Analysis

The below analysis of the LW, as mentioned above, is based on Harmsworth's diary (1923) and *ARCHER* results. It is also supplemented by Papini's (2021) remarks, who analysed the LW of Japan in the English North East newspapers from the literary perspective, performing

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[57] For more information on the British-Japanese relations in the twentieth century see the monograph titled *Britain and Japan in the Twentieth Century: One Hundred Years of Trade and Prejudice* (2007) edited by Philip Towle and Nobuko Margaret Kosuge.

both close and distant reading. As in the previous analyses, the list of borrowings from *OED* is juxtaposed with relevant contributions from *CJC*.

5.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

Let us first start with Harmsworth's diary, whose positive depiction resembles the texts from Section 4 or 1. Harmsworth was charmed by the Japanese landscapes, "[t]he first sight of Japan is noble — great cliffs" (1923: 94), with Mount Fuji being the most praised view and described as "the most beautiful mountain" (Ibid.) and Japanese houses being 'indescribable'. However, Harmsworth's description of Japanese people varies throughout his writings. First, we learn that Japanese ladies are 'attractive' (1923: 95), but later Harmsworth's descriptions become a bit more negative:

- "Japanese are very impassive, but they are not so impassive as the Chinese" (Ibid.: 99);
- "I can understand the Japanese craze that affects so many English visitors who do not realize the other Japan — the Japan whose brutality is notorious, the Japan who is obviously trying to rule China in order that she may rule the world" (Ibid.: 103);
- "The Japanese are superficially polite, and have the art of leg-pulling carried to a degree" (Ibid.: 115);
- "The Japanese are complex people, poetic, fond of tradition, polite, brave, and, in many ways, very inefficient. They are spying, very imitative, and very quick to learn" (Ibid.: 124).

When it comes to the places, Harmsworth speaks negatively almost exclusively about Yokohama, which, according to him, "is a rather mean-looking place" (Ibid.: 94). This is also where he started to perceive Japanese streets as very dangerous due to their narrowness they are difficult to motor. However, despite negative comments and his perception of Japanese as too challenging to learn, he enjoyed Japanese food and culture. Harmsworth writes that people told him that Japanese theatre is dull, but it was not his impression.

There are multiple comparisons of Japan and its culture to other places and nations, not only Chinese. For instance, Japanese music resembled Harmsworth the Indian or Moroccan one, whereas the landscape reminded him "a great deal of Italy". After all, Harmsworth writes that "[w]e are all very sorry to leave Japan" and summarises his stay by saying, "no one can imagine any place, certainly not Japan", and "I thought it was like being

in dreamland — exactly like Japan of the idealists" suggesting a generally positive reception of Japan.

It is worth pointing out that Harmsworth, in his work, sometimes (1923: 118, 128) refers to Japanese people as *Japs*. However, the derogatory meaning of this word is uncertain — yet based on the context, we should even say it is unlikely, e.g.:

- "They detest the Japs" (Ibid.: 79);
- "But it takes at least three Japs to do the work of one European in this factory" (Ibid.: 109);
- "Several English people came to see us off, and an immense crowd of Japs" (Ibid.: 118);
- "On our arrival in ports there have been examinations by every kind of colonial doctor, by Japs, Chinese, and mulattos" (Ibid.: 260).

Regarding the newspapers, we have significantly fewer examples of that positive reception of the Japanese culture. However, it does not mean that they are outnumbered by the negative descriptions — the articles, in most cases, are devoid of evaluative language and negatively charge terms, also in the use of the word *Japs* (see *Weekly Journal (Hartleport)* (10/06/1904, p. 5). The articles are usually informative, recognising Japan as one of the powers (e.g. "[t]here must be no discussion about Manchuria either with Japan or any other Power" *Pall Mall Gazette* 6/1/1905, No. 1528, vol. 80, p. 7), and reporting on the tension between Russia and Japan[58].

Among the exceptions in terms of lack of evaluative language, we should list a very poetic article, *Impression of Japan*, that describes Japan in the following words: "Japan, surely, must be a mirage created by enchantment. Nothing so beautiful could be real" (*Northern Weekly Gazette*, 13/06/1914, p. 9). Many articles, as mentioned, do not use positively charged vocabulary, yet the general description of Japan evokes a positive connotation, as in *London and China Express* (25/03/1920): "Japan is building a great reputation, she is advancing along the high road to prosperity with the aid of science and invention", or in the article *The Poor in Japan* (*The Ripon Observer*, 22/12/1904, p. 3, a

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[58] For instance: "Admiral Alexeieff reported to the Tsar, expressing the opinion that the negotiations then in progress could not result in any understanding owing to the insistently provocative tone of Japan, but tended more and more to increase the tension in the relations between Russian and Japan, and would probably lead to a rupture" (*Pall Mall Gazette* 6/1/1905, No. 1528, vol. 80, p. 7).

reprint from *Pall Mall Magazine*), which tells its readers that they will not see any destitution in Japan. Additionally, we learn that there are "no paupers in Japan, and therefore no workhouses or poorhouses, though there are many hospitals where the sick are healed gratuitously" (1904: 3).

Let us end the analysis of the LW with the remarks made by Papini (2021), who analysed the representation of Japan in the English North East newspapers in detail. He notes that "[d]espite the prominent sympathy towards Japan, the debate about the unexpected aggressively demonstrated by the Japanese during the conflicts against China and Russia did not go unnoticed in the North East [of England]" (Papini 2021: 100). Papini also notes that the conflicts in which Japan was involved in "threatened the idealised image of Japan and their people, who were commonly depicted as passive individuals devoted to art and contemplating nature" (Papini 2021: 100–101). This is in line with Murashima (2000), who wrote about the changing attitude towards Japan. In Papini's analysis, we can also read that the tense relations with other countries

> also led to a partial change in how the "Old" Japan was perceived: no more was it an exclusively static entity to admire and about which to fantasise, but also a country whose artistic traditions were affected by and developed with the passage of time.
>
> (Papini 2021: 101)

Lastly, we should note that with the commencement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan was recognised as an equally important country based on its influence and importance in the region, as compared to Britain. It gave rise in British literature and newspapers to still repeat in various contexts the analogy that Japan is the "(Great) Britain of the East" (Fisher 1968: 343). Interestingly, this comparison, present in British newspapers, is said to be more of a result of the Japanese interest in this analogy (Ibid.: 343). However, even though the Japanese tried to popularise this simile, according to Fisher (Ibid.), it was first used in American newspapers. Nevertheless, some scholars (e.g. Katz 1967) suggest that, to a certain degree, considering the British-Japanese history, this analogy is accurate.

5.2.2 Borrowings

Contrary to the previous ones, this period includes borrowings that first entered American English or are more frequent in that variant. These borrowings are still listed in the list from *OED* since they meet the search criteria but need to be further analysed and included in Chapter II Section 2. numerical summary. In this period, the excluded borrowings are *Maru* and *papasan*.

[V.1] *bai-u* (1910), [V.2] *budo* (1905), [V.3] *bunraku* (1920), [V.4] *daisho* (1923), [V.5] *dotaku* (1908), [V.6] *ishikawaite* (1922), [V.7] *judoka*, [V.8] *kaiseki* (1920), [V.9] *kanji* (1920), [V.10] *katsura* (1908), [V.11] *katsuramono* (1916), [V.12] *kendo* (1921), [V.13] *kombucha* (1902), [V.14] *maitake* (1905), [V.15] *makikomi* (1904), [V.16] *maki zushi* (1914), [V.17] *mama-san* (1904), [V.18] ~~*Maru*~~ (1903), [V.19] *mawashi* (1905), [V.20] *medaka* (1906), [V.21] *mizuna* (1911), [V.22] *mompe* (1908), [V.23] *moribana* (1921), [V.24] *mu* (1913), [V.25] *nage-no-kata* (1906), [V.26] *Nanga* (1910), [V.27] *narikin* (1918), [V.28] *nogaku* (1916), [V.29] ~~*obento*~~ (1902), [V.30] *o-matsu* (1916), [V.31] ~~*papasan*~~ (a1904), [V.32] *randori* (1910), [V.33] *rikishi* (1907), [V.34] *roshi* (1909), [V.35] *rotenone* (1904), [V.36] *ryokan* (1914), [V.37] *sentoku* (1902), [V.38] *sesshin* (1922), [V.39] *sewamono* (1911), [V.40] *shodan* (1913), [V.41] *shosagoto* (1911), [V.42] *shubunkin* (1917), [V.43] *suiboku* (a1908), [V.44] *sukiyaki* (1920), [V.45] *sumi-gaeshi* (1918), [V.46] *sutemi-waza* (1906), [V.47] *tempura* (1920), [V.48] *terakoya* (1909), [V.49] *tomoe-nage* (1906), [V.50] *tsurikomi* (1906), [V.51] *tsutsugamushi* (1906), [V.52] *uchimata* [V.53] *udon* (1920), [V.54] *uki* (1906), [V.55] *ura-nage* (1906), [V.56] *urushiol* (1908), [V.57] *wasabi* (1903), [V.58] *yoko-shiho-gatame* (1918), [V.59] *yondan* (1913), [V.60] *yugen* (1921), [V.61] *yuzu* (1910), [V.62] *zendo* (1914).

In this period, *CJC* lists 36 contributions, out of which 22 seem to be relevant after *BNC* analysis proving their, at last slight, presence in British English: *Amaterasu*, *bunraku*, *dojo* (twice, see 7.2.2.), *fugu*, *fuji*, *Ginkgoaceae*, *haiku* (see 4.2.2.), *Kamakura*, *kanji*, *kendo*, *kobi*, *masu*, *neck-lock*, *origami* (see 7.2.2), *randori*, *shigella*, *shodan*, *shubunkin*, *tempura*, *uchimata*, and *urushiol*. Interstingly, *CJC* includes *fugu* (1996: 112), but *OED* does not, even though it includes *medaka*, another type of fish. It is especially interesting if we consider the fact that *fugu* provides us with two returns in *BNC*, whereas *medaka* has none. Neither of the borrowings is present in *ARCHER*, yet the frequency presented by NG suggests that *fugu* could be worth including in *OED*. However, it should also be noted that according to Warren (1995a: 13), *medaka* is frequently anglicised as *medacca* — a spelling not acknowledged in *OED*.
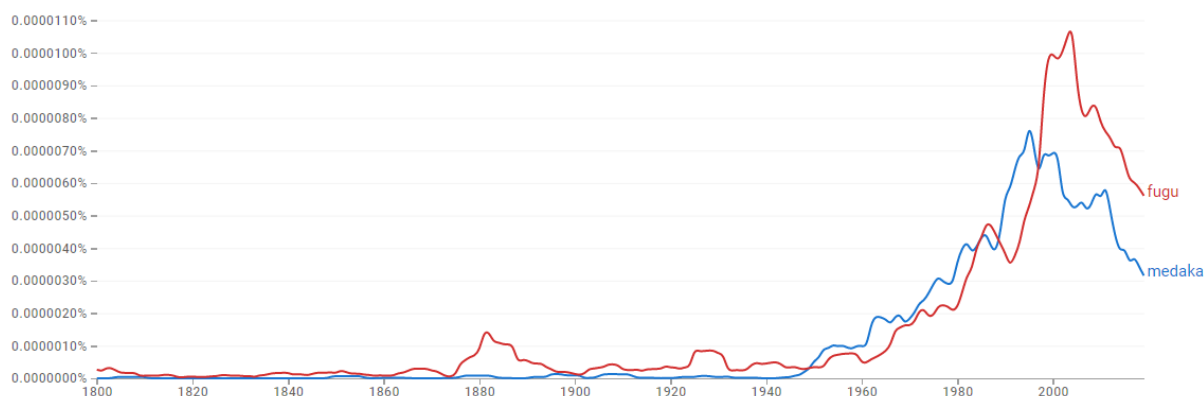
Figure 9 The frequency of the lexemes *fugu* and *medaka*

In this period, 18 borrowings out of 62 listed by OED are related to Japanese sports in general (e.g. *budo*, *randori*) or to a specific one like judo (e.g. *judoka*, *makikomi*, *nage-no-*

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kata), kendo (*kendo*), or sumo (*mawashi* and *rikishi*). This period also observed a continuous influx of borrowings related to Buddhism (e.g. *zendo*, *mu*) and a rising number of food-related lexemes (*tempura*, *maki zushi*, *obento*, and *sukiyaki*).

Following the alphabetical order from the previous analyses, let us start with *kombucha*, a type of Japanese tea. The name in Japanese is fairly descriptive since it was formed from the words *konbu*, Jap. 昆布 'kelp' and *cha*, Jap. 茶 'tea'. It is worth pointing out that the Romanisation of 昆布 as *kombu* is correct according to THR, whereas *konbu* is in line with MHR conventions, which, contrary to THR, does not render syllabic *n* as *m* before certain consonants, including *b*. Unfortunately, neither *BNC* nor *ARCHER* provides any returns while searching for this lexeme. Yet this is fairly understandable given the fact that this beverage, according to NG, gained popularity in recent years, which is not covered by the mentioned corpora. However, the growth in popularity may be related to the second meaning of *kombucha*, 'a fermented beverage', a meaning which was not originally present in Japanese. The lexeme itself, most probably at first, was borrowed from Japanese, along with the initial meaning of the Japanese compound 昆布茶 *konbucha*. Notably, the second meaning, 'a fermented beverage', in Japanese is rendered by the lexeme コンブチャ *konbucha*, spelt in katakana script, which is predominantly used to transcribe words of foreign origin. This lexeme may be an instance of re-borrowing in the case of Japanese. However, this matter requires further etymological analysis of the word *kombucha*.

Next, *kanji*, which can be perceived as a Japanese counterpart of the Chinese lexeme *hanzi*, i.e., Chinese characters. Interestingly, *OED* includes seven words (see 3.2.2, including *rōmaji* from 4.2.2) related to the Japanese script, whereas none are associated with the Chinese one. The reason for including *kanji* rather than *hanzi* lies in the three times higher frequency of the first one, but it only explains the inclusion of *kanji*, not the other six lexemes. *Hiragana* and *katakana* have frequencies that are very similar to Chinese *hanzi*. Nevertheless, the most interesting are the definitions provided in *OED*: "(a) The corpus of borrowed and adapted Chinese ideographs which forms the principal part of the Japanese writing system. Cf. kana n. (b) Any one of these ideographs. Used esp. *attributively*." (*OED*). Meaning (b) can be perceived as an extension of the meaning where a hyperonym, *kanji*, also started to denote its hyponyms, singular characters. It is possibly a result of an unintended synecdoche. Both *Sūpā Daijirin* and *Kōjien* define *kanji* as characters derived from Chinese. However, Japanese generally lacks plurals in the English sense, i.e., no fixed suffix is used to create a plural form

(cf. suffix -たち *tachi*, do not confuse with the borrowing 太刀 *tachi* 'a long sword'); Japanese marks plurality by indicating how big the group or amount is or by providing its quantity. Thus, one could argue that the definition includes both meanings in English. However, those two are not distinguished, and generally, in Japanese, *kanji* is used to refer to the characters derived from China in general.

The list also includes *obento*, a Japanese packed lunch, already borrowed in the seventeenth century as *bento* (see 1.2.2) without the Japanese honorific *o*. Notably, the form *obento* did not replace *bento*; what is more, it is significantly less popular than *bento* in NG and non-present in *ARCHER* and *BNC* — in *BNC*, *bento* has seven returns. This lack of returns calls for removal from the above list.

Contrary to the above *obento*, the initial *o* in *o-matsu* 'black pine' (Jap. 雄松 *omatsu*) is not honorific. However, there is no particular reason to transcribe it with a hyphen since it is a common Japanese compound. The first character, 雄, functions simply as a modifier of the word 松 'pine', like 昆布 *konbu* in 昆布茶 *konbucha*.

Interestingly, *OED* says that *narikin* denotes 'a wealthy parvenu' in Japan. This borrowing seems to be rather misdefined since *parvenu*, by the very definition, is a wealthy person (see *OED*). Neither *Sūpā Daijirin*, *Kōjien*, nor *Jisho*, an English-Japanese online dictionary, note a derogative connotation of *narikin*. It is also worth adding that in English, the borrowing underwent narrowing since, as *OED* notes, this term, in English "is frequently found in reference to private entrepreneurs who profited conspicuously from the First World War (1914–18): cf. Japanese *sensō-narikin* war profiteers" (*OED*).
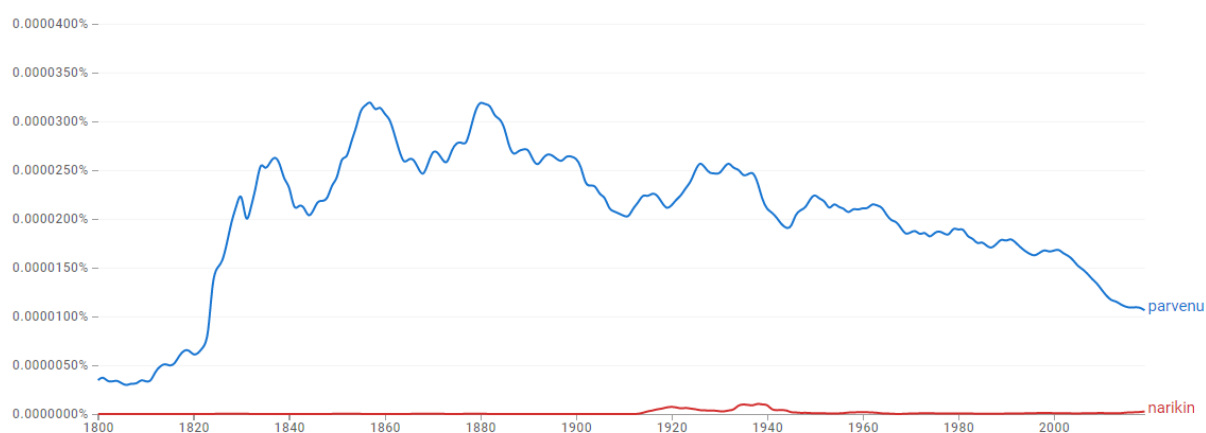
Figure 10 The frequency of the lexemes *narikin* and *parvenu*

Rotenone (see Warren 1995b: 42–43), spelt in Japanese with the katakana script as ロテノン *rotenon*, functions in English both as a verb and as a noun. This lexeme is interesting for its final *e* in spelling, which seems to be unnecessarily added since its etymon does not contain one in its Romanization.

Next, *sukiyaki*, a Japanese dish. The popularisation of this lexeme may be partially caused by the song *Ue wo Muite Arukō* by Kyu Sakamoto, which was given an alternative, completely unrelated to its lyrics, title after the Japanese dish to make it more recognisable for foreigners (Perry 2021). The peak of this word's popularity is also visible in NG, which peaked around the 1960s when the song was released and landed six in the UK Singles chart.

Before moving to one of the most well-rooted borrowings, *urushiol*, a chemical constructed using the Japanese *urushi* (see 2.2.2) and the English suffix *–ol* borrowed from German. The name *urushiol* for this skin-irritating chemical was proposed in this form by a Japanese, i.e., it was formed within Japanese with the use of a German-originated suffix.

Lastly, *wasabi* is a lexeme frequently associated with Japanese cuisine, yet the first information provided by *OED* about it is that it denotes a Japanese herb. Firstly, we should make some remarks on the first use of this borrowing. According to *OED*, it was first used in an American *Bulletin Bureau of Plant Industry* (1903); however, the word *wasabi* was used in Siebold's *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1830). It is hard to believe that no botanist used this lexeme earlier than 1903 in an English text, especially if we consider that Alcock frequently mentioned Siebold and his works, suggesting Siebold's popularity in the British Japan Society. Secondly, we should also discuss that nowadays, *wasabi* is associated more with a green paste used to season *sushi* than with a herb or its root. This shift in meaning calls for an update in *OED*.

5.3.   Summary

It is worth pointing out that Harmsworth's work also shows how well-rooted certain Japanese borrowings were. It is reflected in the lack of definitions or explanations of some Japanese words, i.e., it shows that Harmsworth expected from his readers some familiarity with certain lexemes and, thus, did not feel obliged to define them. In his writings, we can find *Saké*, *rickshaws*, *kimonos*, *geisha*, *harakiri*, *Mikado*, and *wakizashi*, out of which only some are defined. For instance, he defines the words *hara-kiri* which is 'suicide', *wakizashi* 'a short sword or a dirk' and *Saké* as 'native wine' and complements it with a note on its

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pronunciation 'pronounced Sah-kay'. These three explanations show that contrary to the rest of the words, these three lexemes could not be left unannotated due to their insignificant frequency in the British lexicon. Harmsworth's words that "[r]eal Japan is exactly like a living *Mikado*, or, Prioleau says, *The Geisha*. I had no idea that things were the same as a hundred years ago" (1923: 99) suggests that the earlier-century cultural interest in Japan, and the premiere of the plays *The Mikado* and *The Geisha*, may have resulted in a significant entrenchment of these lexemes.

As we can see in Papini (2021: 104), Japan was still referred to as 'the land of the chrysanthemum', and in his analysis, we can see that the mentioned in the previous analysis, 'Japanese craze' resulted in the misrepresentation of Japan (Ibid.: 106). Other texts, like *Transactions and Proceedings of the Society of Japan* (1907), also started to refer to Japan as 'islands of the Rising sun'.

The remarks on misrepresentation in this period show a declining interest in Japan as an exotic curio. Moreover, according to Bennett (2001) the British showed some social, economic, and political discrimination towards the Japanese even though the performed LW presents Japan as a politically and militarily involved country that should be respected. This shift in interest likely influenced the number of borrowed lexemes, which is significantly lower than in the previous period. It can also be suspected that the still noticeably high number of borrowed lexemes resulted from either a steady decline of British interest in Japanese culture or the interest was significantly lower, yet the influx of borrowings was sustained due to the Alliance. Notably, many borrowings in this period are related to Japanese martial arts, with other frequent semantic categories being cuisine (e.g. *maki sushi*, *tempura*, *udon*, *kaiseki*), Japanese theatre (e.g. *Nanga*, *nogaku*, *sewamono*, *shosagoto*, *yugen*), and botany (e.g. *maitake*, *mizuna*, *wasabi*, *yuzu*, *o-matsu*).

6.   The Echoes of Alliance (1924–1939)

For this analysis, I mainly consulted the newspaper excerpts retrieved from *BNA*. The *BNA* search initially was refined by the following criteria: Search all words: *Japan* (Exact search: *checked*); Publication Place: *London, London, England*; Publication Date: From *1924* to *1939*; Article Type: *Article*, *Arts & Popular Culture*, *News*; Subscriber Access: *checked*. The query returned ten source texts that later on were generally consulted to create a working methodology to follow during the next analysis. However, the number of sources was insufficient. Thankfully, the Subscriber Access obtained during library research at the British Library allowed to incorporate in the analysis additional articles from 35,379 ones reserved for the subscribers.

Many books on Japan were written or published during this period, and Rogala (2001) lists most of them[59]. However, the relevance and importance of the sources listed by these authors is hard to estimate. Thus, we decided to limit the analysis to the newspapers' articles and general comments by scholars who analysed the British reception of Japan. Naturally, the description of Japan in the newspapers is definitely significantly different from the one presented in the books. Newspaper articles are usually almost an immediate reaction to the ongoing events, whereas books are written over a longer period, sometimes as reminiscence, e.g. Smith (1861). However, even though newspapers comment on reality faster than books, it is still a part of media discourse, which is a "public, manufactured, on-record, form of interaction. It is not ad hoc or spontaneous (in the same way as casual speaking or writing is)" (O'Keeffe 2011: 441).

6.1.   Historical Background

Despite the end of the Alliance in 1923, Britain and Japan still co-operated[60]; however, the mutual support was not as strong in as many aspects as in the previous years, yet still stable (Best 2000: 26). Also, the tension and a certain resentment between these two countries were still visible in their political decisions.

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[59] For more reference books see Elliott, Andrew, and Milne, Daniel. 2019. Introduction: War, Tourism, and Modern Japan. *Japan Review*, 33, 3–28. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26652974 (Accessed 08/02/2023); and Elliott, Andrew. 2019. "Orient Calls": Anglophone Travel Writing and Tourism as Propaganda during the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941. *Japan Review*, 33, 117–142. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26652978 (Accessed 08/02/2023)

[60] For more information on this topic see Goto-Shibata Harumi. 2000. Anglo-Japanese Co-operation in China in the 1920s. In Nish, Ian Hill, and Kibata, Yoichi (Eds.). 2000a. *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600–2000. Volume I: The Political-Diplomatic Dimension, 1600–1930*, (224–255), Berlin: Springer.

> The Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1925 was not only dead but buried, and its place taken by a mutual suspicion and, on the Japanese side, by a jealousy which would scarcely permit us to work together for any common end. The Japanese remained sullenly aloof, furiously outraged when not informed of Britain's view on China.
>
> (Peterson 1950: 57, cf. Nish 2000: 261)

However, the Alliance was not the only event that echoed in this period. Japan had also been significantly affected and "seriously weakened by the Kanto earthquake of 1 September 1923 (also called The Great Japan Earthquake of 1923), which devastated so much of Tokyo and the industrial facilities of the surrounding area." (Nish 2000: 271). As Nish (2000) points out, Japan, once perceived as a possible threat or a beneficial ally, "was not as strong as she had been in alliance days" (Ibid.). However, it should be clarified that Japan was never a direct threat to Britain's interests but rather a country that could be too helpful for the British enemies.

The relations between Britain and Japan in cultural matters were outshined by all the political decisions and events, as well as the domestic problems caused by the world Great Depression (Kibata 2000: 3). This economic crisis averted the attention of the major global powers like the US, from Far Asia where Japan decided to invade Manchuria leading to the Manchurian Incident on 18 September 1931. However, the Great Depression was not the only reason for the further unfolding of the Japanese invasion since, as Kibata notes, "Britain would let Japan have its way in Manchuria, as long as Britain's interests in the main parts of China were little affected" (2000: 3). Nevertheless, as Fisher (1968: 343) highlights, this event had a meaningful impact on what Britain thought of Japan.

It should also be said that Britain and Japan, despite inevitable disagreements, had a common cause of "resisting the rise of Chinese nationalism" (Kibata 2000: 4). However, the sympathy resulting from a shared goal was challenged by the Shanghai incident in 1932. Shanghai, an economically important city for the British, was the scene of the Chinese-Japanese civil conflict that resulted in the Japanese burning down a Chinese factory (Ibid.: 5).

> The rupture of the friendship between the two states began with the Manchurian crisis that broke out in 1931 and the subsequent fighting at Shanghai in January 1932. From the start, these incidents raised important political and ideological issues since this was the first major use of force by a great power since the end of the First World War and were thus the first real challenges to be faced by the new arbiter of the international order, the League of Nations.
>
> (Kibata 2000: 27)

It is also important to note that by the Shanghai Incident, Britain did not perceive Japan as a threat, and did not recognise the ongoing Chinese-Japanese conflict as a war in the 'European' sense (Kibata 2000: 5). However, tension that arose between the two Asian

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countries led to the Tangku Truce in 1933 (Ibid.: 6), that slightly eased the worried British politicians. The truce signed between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan ended the one-and-a-half-year Manchurian invasion.

Despite the strained situation, Britain was still considering taking some action to improve British-Japanese relations and in 1934, Neville Chamberlain "took the initiative in planning to offer a non-aggression pact with Japan" (Kibata 2000: 7). Interestingly, Japanese officials had a similar thought in their minds. Unfortunately, both countries envisioned different and incompatible outcomes coming from signing the agreement, resulting in the pact not becoming a reality. Further attempts were also made by the Japanese, who advanced their hopes for a next pact that would bind the United Kingdom and Japan; however, those ended fruitlessly. Unfortunately, British-Japanese relations were deteriorating, mainly as a result of the Chinese-Japanese conflict that partially resulted in the Japanese embargo on the products imported to the United Kingdom.

Next, since we have already discussed THR in section 4.1., we should also mention *Kunrei-shiki Romanization* (Jap. 訓令式ローマ字 *kunrei-shiki rōmaji*)[61], also known as the *Monbusho system* or *MEXT system*, which was regulated by the Japanese Cabinet's order of 1937. It is the Japanese Cabinet-ordered Romanization system for transcribing the Japanese language into the Latin alphabet, approved by the International Standardisation Organisation under the code ISO 3602. It is worth noting that despite being one of the official systems currently, the MHR introduced later is still one of the most popular ones, also applied by the Japanese government, for instance, in passports or traffic signs. Nevertheless, some borrowings that entered after 1937 were transcribed according to the *Monbusho system*.

1937 not only saw a development in Japanese Romanization but also the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war that lasted till the end of WWII.

> The effect of the Sino-Japanese war was to turn Britain and Japan away from any consideration of how to come to terms with each other; instead, each sought to use pressure to make the other more amenable. In Japan's case, this led to a revival of interest in its relations with the Axis Powers in Europe in order to sharpen Britain's fear of a three-front war. Japan very quickly turned to Germany as its mediator of choice for peace with China, and in November 1937, invited Italy to accede to the Anti-Comintern Pact.
>
> (Best 2000: 38)

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[61] In January 2024, the Cultural Affairs Agency proposed revising the 1954 Cabinet Order to make Hepburn the standard Romanization system of Japan instead of *kunrei-shiki Romanization* (see 6.1).

During this war, Japan committed many atrocities, among which the most notorious one was the Nanking Massacre (also Romanised as Nanjing Massacre or called the Rape of Nanking)[62] in 1937. The consulted sources (e.g. Nish and Kibata 2000) do not point to any visible effect of this event on British-Japanese relations at that time.

As Best writes, since the beginning of the Manchurian Invasion in 1931, "friendship between the two countries began to disintegrate, and they entered into a prolonged period of mutual antipathy which eventually culminated in the Japanese assault on Britain's Eastern Empire on 8 December 1941" (2000: 26). With this direct attack, the last hopes for the re-establishment of the alliance vanished for many years.

Events[63]:

1929–39 – the Great Depression (Ishii 2000);
1930 – London naval conference (Ishii 2000: 51, Lu 2015);
1931   – Mukden incident, i.e., the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (Lu 2015, Kibata 2000);
1932 – Shanghai incident (Kibata 2000);
1933 – Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations (Lu 2015);
1937–45 – the Second Sino-Japanese war (Kibata 2000);
1939 – the beginning of the World War II; the Tientsin Incident (Kibata 2000).

6.2. Analysis

Since this analysis is based on material retrieved from corpora and newspapers, searching for the book sources was unnecessary. However, my initial considerations to consult that type of source allowed me to find a publication by Paul Fussell titled Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars (1980), which, in additionally to Rogala (2001), may also help find valuable book sources for further analysis. Nevertheless, the following analysis of LIW is mainly based on the articles from *Daily News (London)* (*DN*)[64] and *London and China*

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[62] The consulted historical sources provide little to no information on this event. If you wish to learn more, please see Wakabayashi (2001), where the author lists and reviews three works by Japanese authors on this topic. For more information on this event, see section 10.1. and 10.2.1. in this Chapter.

[63] For more information about Japan's foreign relations until around the end of this period see Akagi's *Japan's Foreign Relations 1542–1936: A Short History* (1936).

[64] Newspaper founded in 1846 by Charles Dickens who aimed "to provide a Liberal rival to the morning Conservative newspapers, most notably The Times. Like the leading provincial newspapers, the Daily News campaigned hard for reform. The opening editorial of the first issue claimed to advance the 'Principles of Progress and Improvement; of Education, civil and Religious Liberty, and Equal Legislation'" (*BNA*). Due to the

Express (*LCE*)[65] due to their availability and influence in the studied period. Notably, the selected newspapers and therein published articles are of different characters; *DN* was rather more objective, focusing on the news important for the British people and writing from their perspective, whereas *LCE* primarily relied on the correspondents based in China, who reported on specific events from the Chinese perspective where Japan was an enemy. Notably, *LCE* was also issuing a supplement that solely focused on the events related to Japan. Nevertheless, it should also be highlighted that *LCE* was discontinued in 1931. Thus, after that year, the analysis relies mainly on the articles retrieved from *DN*.

6.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

The news about the Great Japan Earthquake of 1923 was still making its way into the British newspapers published in January and February 1924. The articles were reporting on the help Japan received from other countries and the loss in trade, but most importantly, on the loss in people that Japan faced. The British narrative naturally pictured Japan as a victim of the natural disaster, using either informative or positive wording, therefore showing sympathy. However, as suggested above, the narrative depends on the source.

Most often, the articles retrieved from *DN* are sympathetic, showing understanding not only of a problematic situation in Japan after the reoccurring earthquakes (another one struck in 1929, see *DN* 23/05/1929) but also the knowledge of cultural differences between Japan and the United Kingdom:

> [T]here are undoubtedly English customs which the Japanese find shocking, just as there are Japanese customs which the English find shocking. That the Japanese feels none of the Englishman's shyness at having his naked body seen [...].
>
> (*DN* 01/07/1939)

DN has significantly more articles using a positive wording as in: "[t]he Japanese people are good sports. They look at the foreign world around them with curiosity and interest, not with contempt" (*DN* 15/12/1936). Even if we find instances of a negative one, they have a rather joking tone, as in an article saying that "[t]he Japanese are not good fliers" (DN 10/05/1937) that was reporting on a record-breaking flight from Tokyo to London of a monoplane named *Kamikaze*.

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lack of the access to the archives of The Times newspaper, I decided to add excerpts from a different newspaper, *LCE*; however, since *DN* and The Times were a rivalry titles, a study on the representation of Japan in these newspapers would be worth pursuing.

[65] There is not much available information on *LCE*. In *BNA* we can wide the information that LCE consists of four titles: *The China Express* (1858–1859), *London and China Express* (1859–1921), *London and China Express DUMMY* (1916–1921), and *The China Express and Telegraph* (1922–1931).

The most negative remarks made on Japan in *DN* were usually related to the events of Chinese-Japanese relations. Still, the negative comments most often highlighted the fact that Japanese actions might lead to a war in Asia ("Japanese menace sowing seeds of future war" [*DN* 26/11/1934]) and were threatening the British interests:

> It will be of interest to your readers to know that the Japanese Government has not only by her action in China stopped all business for us with China but has also put an embargo as a war measure upon our textile goods.
>
> (*DN* 21/01/1939)

The articles retrieved from *LCE* are not the complete opposite of *DN*, not only because of the fact that at the time *LCE* was operating, the Chinese-Japanese relations were not as tense as after its discontinuation, but also because *LCE* was sometimes simply reprinting information provided by *DN* as in the following example: "[a] special diplomatic correspondent of the Daily News' writes that Japan dominates the Far East" (*LCE* 03/07/1924). Nevertheless, in most of the cases, the articles printed in LCE were fairly neutral, simply reporting on various events taking place in Japan, e.g. the Emperor's birthday. Also, many articles were not targeting Japan as strongly as it could be suspected based on the title of the newspaper, e.g. "[...] the Labour Ministry means handing over the control of the Pacific to Japan. Naturally, Japan is delighted, but it is a humiliating position for the British Dominions in the Pacific" (*LCE* 28/02/1924). Some of the articles in *LCE* discussed the foreign policy adopted by Japan or related to Japan, as well as its economic situation, e.g. "[t]rade and economic conditions in Japan showed no improvement the past year" (*LCE* 04/04/1929). But a distrust towards Japan could be felt throughout the whole available analysed period, especially in the articles that directly mention it, e.g. "[...] there still remains the question whether Japan is, or is not, to be regarded as a possible enemy" (*LCE* 07/02/1924). The distrust could be also felt by frequent references to war in the articles on Japan "cannot war with America, but then it is equally true to say that no one can war with her" (*LCE* 03/07/1924). However, it should be pointed out that Japan, throughout the whole period, was militarily involved in various places, so it is of no surprise that this type of article were circulating. Nevertheless, in *LCE,* it is hard to feel the friendship that Best (2000: 26) mentioned.

Lastly, as mentioned in the previous analysis, because of multiple parallels between Japan and Britain, the first was still sometimes called in this period the "(Great) Britain of the East" (Fisher 1968). Naturally, one of the most obvious parallels is that both countries are island nations, but most important is that both had, and still have, an enormous influence on

the global economy, trade, and culture. However, this comparison was challenged by the Manchurian Invasion, after which Freda Utley, in her *Japan's Feet of Clay* (1936), noted that Japan came little closer to being either "Prussia of Asia" or "Russia under the tyranny of the Tsar" (Fisher 1968: 343). In other words, this simile was used in this period until the British did not want to be associated with Japan anymore due to the Manchurian Incident. However, as Fisher (1968) suggests, it is possible that Japan advocated for using this metaphor.

6.2.2 Borrowings

In most analyses, the distinction between the borrowings relevant to British English and those relevant just to American English did not pose any particular difficulties because, in the previous analyses, most of the contributions were first attested in British sources. It was one of the first and most important indicators that borrowing is worth further investigation. However, from this period on, American English started to play a more significant role and became the primary receiver of JBs in some cases. Considering the source of the borrowing's first use, I decided to cross out the lexeme *ah so*. It is an interjection truly difficult to find in the British corpora and noted by neither *CJC* nor Hayakawa (2014). Moreover, *ofuro*, similarly to the *obento* (see 5.2.2), is also a lexeme that was borrowed twice (see *furo* 1.2.2); thus, for the very same reasons, it was removed from the further analysis.

> [VI.1] *ah so* (1927), [VI.2] *gagaku* (1936), [VI.3] *haniwa* (1931), [VI.4] *juku* (1931), [VI.5] *kesa-gatame* (1931), [VI.6] *kyu* (1937), [VI.7] *kyudo* (1933), [VI.8] *Minseito* (1927), [VI.9] *mizutaki* (1933), [VI.10] *mondo* (1927), [VI.11] *mushin* (1934), [VI.12] *Nagami* (1935), [VI.13] *nagewaza* (1932), [VI.14] *napa* (1936), [VI.15] *nisei* (1934), [VI.16] *ofuro* (1934), [VI.17] *o-goshi* (1932), [VI.18] *Oranda* (1928), [VI.19] *osaekomi-waza* (1932), [VI.20] *oyama* (1925), [VI.21] *sabi* (1932), [VI.22] *seoi nage* (1932), [VI.23] *shochu* (1938), [VI.24] *Showa* (1924), [VI.25] *sodoku* (1926), [VI.26] *suiseki* (1929), [VI.27] *wabi* (1934), [VI.28] *waka* (1932), [VI.29] *zaibatsu* (1937).

For this period, *CJC* provides 32 contributions, out of which 17 are present in *BNC*, and are not loan translations or calques: *Ishihara (test)*, *rotenone* (see 5.2.2), *fuji*, *shiitake* (see 4.2.2), *Showa*, *Akita/akita*, *Shibayama*, *nisei*, *mawashi* (see 5.2.2), *mume* (see 3.2.2., a note on umeboshi), *onsen* (see 4.2.2), *yakitori* (see 8.2.2), *Manchukuo*, *ronin* (see 4.2.2), *kyu*, *zaibatsu*, *sumi-e* (see 4.2.2). Similarly to the previous analyse, the underlined lexemes are the ones listed by both *CJC* and *OED*.

Let us start with *haniwa* (Jap. 埴輪 *haniwa*, lit. 'clay cylinder') "[a] clay image or cylinder of a type anciently placed outside Japanese sepulchres" (OED). The *OED*'s definition may seem to be more generalised and less detailed than the ones presented by *CJC*,

which suggest that *haniwa* usually took the form of figurines. Both approaches are correct since initially, these clay products were simple cylinders, and later took the form of figurines (cf. Hayakawa 2014).

One of the interesting lexemes in this period is *juku*, for the first time used in the sense of the *juku system* denoting a Japanese progressive educational Western-based system of private schools which "provides a variety of practical and vocational skills taught in addition to a Western-style core curriculum" (*OED*), later: a school of that type. This lexeme is interesting for its pronunciation, which is British English can be transcribed as /ˈdʒuːkuː/. In Japanese this lexeme, 塾 *juku*, would be transcribed as /dʑɯkɯ/, i.e., with two close back unrounded vowels, and a voiced alveolo-palatal sibilant affricate at the beginning.

On a similar topic we should also make a comment on the phonetics of the lexeme *Minseito* (Jap. 民政党 *minseitō*), name of the Constitutional Democratic Party. The name of this party is pronounced in British English as /mɪnˈseɪtəʊ/, whereas in Japanese it is /miɴseitoɯ/. It is interesting to note that this lexeme, in its borrowed form — possibly due to the British English phonetics rules —, retained the presence of the vowel diphthong in a form of a mid-central vowel and a near-close near-back rounded vowel. Another interesting aspect of this JB is the fact that the party in question formed in 1927 and disbanded in 1940. Most likely, this party had its influence on the British-Japanese relations; however, it seems to be unreasonable to preserve this lexeme in a dictionary, even if marked as *historical*. NG analysis provides us with an insignificant number of returns, with a notification: "Search for "minseito" yielded only one result".
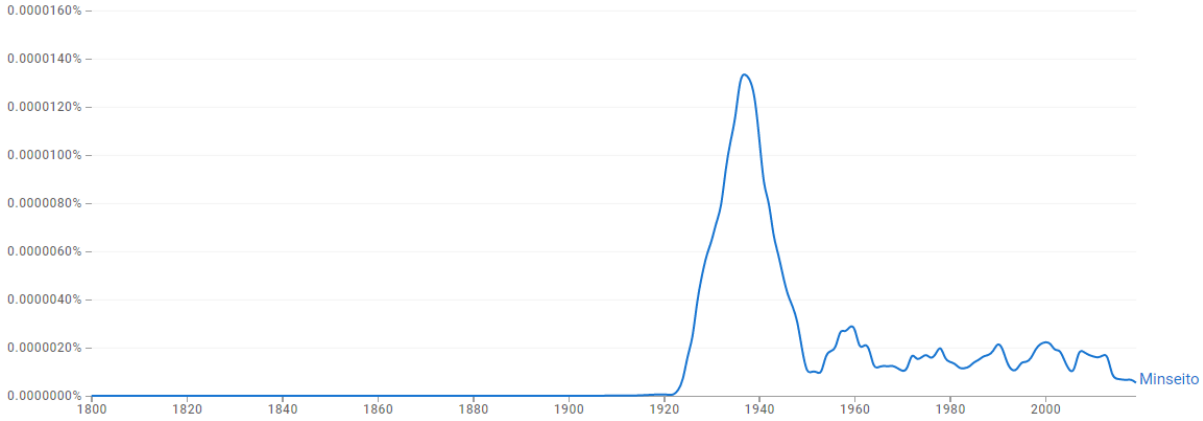
Figure 11 The frequency of the lexeme *Minseito*

The only example from the *cuisine* semantic category is *mizutaki*, "a dish consisting of chopped meat (usually chicken on the bone) boiled with vegetables, tofu, etc., in water or a thin broth lightly seasoned with kombu seaweed stock or fish stock" (*OED*). It is interesting to note, that *mizutaki* (Jap. 水炊き *mizutaki* lit. 'cooked [in] water') is defined with a use of two other JBs, i.e., *kombu* and *tofu*. The definition provided by *OED* is more in line with the one from *Kōjien* rather than *Sūpā Daijirin* which tells us that the ingredients are cooked in the unseasoned water. It is worth pointing out, that according to JIT this lexeme in Japanese has two different ways of pronunciation with two different alveolar plosives, /mizutaki/ which seems to be the model version for the British pronunciation, and /mizudaki/.

One of the most notable examples of a significant semantic change is the lexeme *napa* "[a] form of Chinese cabbage, *Brassica rapa* var. *pekinensis*, with pale green leaves forming a tight barrel-shaped head, which is used in salads and East Asian dishes" (*OED*). The etymon of this lexeme is Japanese 菜っ葉 *nappa* (lit. 'vegetable's leaves') a word that refers to the leaves of any vegetable, especially the ones that are eatable (*Kōjien*). The type of cabbage denoted by English *napa* in is Japanese 白菜 *hakusai* (lit. 'white vegetable). It is interesting to note, that English borrowed the name for a Chinese type of cabbage from Japanese.

Another example of a JB that underwent a semantic change is *nisei*, "[o]f, relating to, or designating a person from North, Central, or South America whose parents were immigrants from Japan" (*OED*). Based on the information provided by *OED*, we know that the source lexeme is 二世 *nisei* (lit. 'second generation'), which in Japanese has three meanings (*Kōjien*). The first two simply refer to the second holder of a name, as in kings or sons. The third meaning denotes a person who is a child of a Japanese citizen born in any immigrant country (*Kōjien* gives an example of Brazil, whereas *Sūpā Daijirin* keeps it general) and has citizenship in that country. In other words, *nisei* is an example of narrowing since *OED* points to the continent of birth. Similarly, *CJC* narrows the meaning to children born in America or Canada. However, Hayakawa (2014) clearly states that the term is used mainly in the Americas, justifying the American perspective in the *OED*'s definition. Nevertheless, *BNC*[66] and NG provide us with some returns, suggesting that the term is also used in British English, most likely following the definition provided by *OED*.

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[66] "Generally there was much less anti-enemy hysteria in the Second World War than in the First; but in the post-Pearl Harbor atmosphere the Japanese Americans (the Nisei), mostly inhabitants of California, were rounded up

Another interesting lexeme is *Oranda*, "[a] breed of goldfish (*Carassius auratus*)" (*OED*). This lexeme is a transliteration of Japanese オランダ *oranda*, which in Japanese also denotes the Netherlands (from *Holland*). It is also an abbreviated form of オランダシシ ガシラ *oranda shishi gashira* written in katakana, or 和蘭獅子頭 (lit. 'Dutch lion-head' [*OED*]) in kanji. Some etymologists claim that this fish was introduced to Japan by the Dutch, hence the use of *Holland* in its name (*OED*). If it is true, it would mean that Japan then introduced this fish to the British people; thus, justifying the lack of the English equivalent, what could be also the case with *napa*.

We should also make some comments on *shochu*, "[a] rough Japanese spirit distilled from various ingredients, including sake dregs" (*OED*) borrowed from Japanese 焼酎 *shōchū*. This lexeme is interesting for its change in pronunciation after borrowing into British English. As *OED* tells us, in British English, this lexeme is transcribed as /ˈʃəʊtʃuː/ whereas in Japanese as /ɕoɯtɕɯɯ/ — we can observe here two sibilants going from alveolo-palatal to postalveolar position when realised. It is also worth adding that that despite not including macrons over the vowels, British pronunciation retained the vowel clusters by including a phoneme /əʊ/ and /uː/ for /oɯ/ and /ɯɯ/ respectively. Following the semantic categorisation proposed by *CJC*, this lexeme is considered a *drink* rather than example of *cuisine*.

Lastly, *zaibatsu* "[i]n Japan, a large capitalist organization, usually based on a single family having controlling interests in a variety of companies, of a type that existed before the war of 1939–45; since 1947, a cartel or conglomerate. Also, the members of such an enterprise." (*OED*), which in its first use was defined as 'money-cliques' (Ibid.). This lexeme originated from Japanese 財閥 *zaibatsu* (lit. 'wealthy clique') which in *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* is defined similarly. In Japanese this lexeme is still used since based on its original meaning started to denoted someone rich. For this lexeme, *OED* provides us only with the British pronunciation /zʌɪˈbatsuː/, which is not that significantly different from the original /zaibatsɯ/.

6.3. Summary

As Lowe notes, "[f]or most of the twentieth century, to the start of the war in December 1941, Britain had been far more closely involved than the United States in dealing with Japan"

and transported from their Pacific coast homes." (retrieved from *BNC*, detailed source data: The Americas. Lancaster, A B. Sevenoaks, Kent: Edward Arnold (Pubs) Ltd, 1984, pp. 1-114. 1856 s-units.)

(2000: 174); however, the involvement took different forms. The character of the relations in this period certainly cannot be called positive, but either neutral or negative at certain moments, especially when the actions undertaken by the Japanese government threatened the British interests in Asia. The picture of Japan in the analysed sources also fluctuated and varied throughout the whole period, depending on the events that were taking place at the given moment. Even though some scholars (e.g. Best 2000) suggest that the relations were more positive some of the historical events and selected descriptions suggest quite the opposite, and however it depends on the moment of the selected period. Best (2000: 26) justly says that the relations were positive at the beginning of the analysed timespan, whereas those deteriorated towards its end. Therefore, it is understandable that the samples retrieved from the newspapers also vary in character in the description of Japan. In other words, we could distinguish two periods within the one period.

It is hard to state of the relations whether they influenced the influx of the Japanese lexemes into British English, but it is possible that they influenced the type of the borrowed lexemes. In this period there are still many lexemes related to martial arts (*kesa-gatame*, *kyu*, *kyudo*, *nagewaza*, *o-goshi*, *osaekomi-waza*, and *seoi nage*) and botany (*mondo*, *Nagami*, and *napa*). However, we have fewer lexemes related to culture and art — and simply JBs in general — compared to the two previous periods.
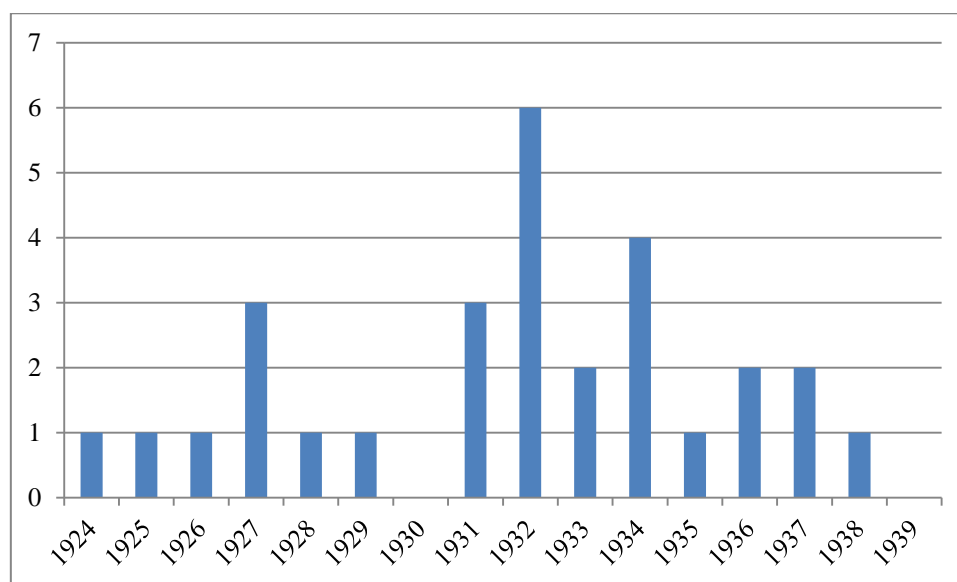
Figure 12 The number of borrowing's 'first uses' per year

Interestingly, if we were to count how many first uses per year we have in this period (Figure 12), we could — similarly to the character of the historical events — distinguish two periods, from 1924 to 1930 and from 1931 to 1938. However, Figure 12 is presented here only for

illustrative purposes. Even though this distinction into two smaller periods is valid for both the analysed LW and historical events, it cannot be applied in the further analysis of the borrowings or formulation of any conclusions. The applied in this thesis division of the material into ten periods already sorts the borrowings arbitrarily. Further distinction into smaller periods may be too convoluted, but most importantly, the date of first use does not reflect the actual use of borrowing and its entrenchment in the language. Thus, a further distinction is, of course, possible, yet it should mainly rely on a change in the borrowings' use frequency rather than on the date of first use; thus, it would require a different methodology

The analysis show that there may have been a slight change in the interest in Japan; all the lexemes related to martial arts in the period are noted to be first used after 1931, i.e., after the Manchurian Incident. However, the pointed correlation is still a mere suspicion and can be fully coincidental, yet it is worth further investigation[67], mainly to verify the years of first use.

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[67] It is also worth to consider whether any major Japanese martial art school was opened around that time in the English-speaking country, or whether British army, that stationed in Asia trained Japanese martial arts facilitating the influx of the borrowings that belong to that semantic category.

7.   World War II and British Occupation (1940–1952)

For the analysis of this period, I again mainly consulted the newspaper excerpts retrieved from *BNA*. The *BNA* search initially was refined by the following criteria: Search all words: *Japan* (Exact search: *checked*); Publication Place: *London, London, England*; Publication Date: From *1940* to *1952*; Article Type: *Article*, *Arts & Popular Culture*, *News*; Subscriber Access: *checked*. The search yielded 6,577 results that later one were searched for any valuable material for further analysis.

7.1.   Historical Background

As part of the continuation of the Japanese operations against China, on 22 September 1940 Japan invaded French Indochina, which escalated the already tensed relations between Britain and Japan[68]. However, the final decision — despite being foreseen by the secret service of the Allied forces (see below) — which definitely worsened the British-Japanese relations was made five days later, on 27 September when Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.

The Japanese active participation in the World War II began with the attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941[69] marking the outbreak of the Asia-Pacific War (Kibata 2000). Later on, Japan attacked British territories in Burma (now Myanmar), Hong Kong, Malaya (now Malaysia), and Singapore.

In 1945, for six years, till 1951, Japan came under Allied Occupation. However, the end of World War II brought British Occupation of the Japanese islands and the beginning of the Cold War. Of course, the British Occupation was not as widely spoken about as the American Occupation. According to Lowe, "British officials in 1945 worked on the assumption that Britain would have a great deal to contribute to the reshaping of Japan. […] However, it soon became clear that the occupation, although 'allied' in name, would be essentially American in character" (2000: 174). (2000: 174). The British Commonwealth Force occupied the western prefectures of Shimane, Yamaguchi, Tottori, Okayama and Hiroshima, as well as the territory of Shikoku Island. In 1951, this became the British Commonwealth Forces Korea with the commencement of the Korean War.

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[68] The Japanese invasion of China resulted in passing the honour of hosting the 1940 Summer Olympics from Tokyo to China. Ultimately, the games were cancelled due to the outbreak of the World War II (Lu 2015).
[69] For more information on the influence of the attack on Pearl Harbour see Best, Antony. 1995. *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbour: Avoiding War in East Asia, 1936–1941*. London: Routledge.

During the occupation, Japan wanted to concentrate "on developing its economy and ensuring the continued dominance of conservatism domestically" (Lowe 2000: 177); at the same time, it was "[o]ne of the most sensitive aspects of the occupation [since it] concerned the revival of the Japanese economy and intensified competition with British exports (Ibid.: 179). Unfortunately, the limiting occupation policy held back the Japanese war-devastated economy (Ibid.: 180). Luckily for Japan, "[a] trade agreement was reached between Japan and members of the British Commonwealth in November 1948, anticipating a substantial increase in trade between Japan and the sterling group" (Ibid). In the same year, the Summer Olympics was held in London; however, Japan did not participate.

It could seem as obvious that during the discussed period the relations were bad. However, the question of how this negativity was reflected in British English and status of JBs remains valid. This period is also interesting from the historical point of view since:

> The Japanese Occupation is generally remembered as primarily an American affair and as a dichotomous relationship between Japan and the United States. However, it was an Allied Occupation, and, despite the persistence of selective historical memories, there was a distinct and at times contentious Allied presence, contribution, and experience.
>
> (de Matos 2005: 1)

De Matos (2005) in her work focuses mainly on the Australian perspective of the occupation, which is understandable since Australia provided around 12,000 troops to the total of 40,000 British Commonwealth Occupation Forces. Nevertheless, along the Australian troops, also the ones from Britain, New Zealand and India stationed in Japan. The end of the Occupation was brought by the peace treaty which was signed at a conference held in San Francisco in September 1951, and came into force in April 1952 (Lowe 2000: 186).

Lastly, let us for a moment move back to the MHR, which after Japan's defeat in the Pacific War in 1945, was promulgated by General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, the official method to transcribe Japanese names. It was because the mentioned in the previous analysis *Kunrei-shiki* developed associations with Japanese militarism.

Events:

1940 – Japanese troops move into northern French Indochina Tripartite alliance with German and Italy (Lu 2015);

1941 – Japan joins the World War II (Lu 2015);

1944 – The Japanese invasion of India;

1945	– Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Japan surrenders to the Allied powers (Lu 2015); Allied Occupation of Japan begins (de Matos 2005, Lu 2015)[70];
1946	– A new constitution is promulgated in Japan (Lu 2015);
1947	– Britain withdraws from Japan, leaving Australia as the sole representative of the Commonwealth forces in Japan (de Matos 2005);
1950	– Korean War (Lowe 2000; de Mantos 2005, cf. Johnson 1988);
1951	– San Francisco peace treaty (Lowe 2000; Lu 2015).

7.2. Analysis

As shadowed earlier, this analysis of JBs is not abundant in notes on their etymology since the plurality of the sources that were published rose year by year making it impossible to continue a watch-out for any misdated lexemes. It was also made difficult by the use of newspapers as the source for the LW. I tried to continue, from the previous analysis, to provide the reader with more comments on the phonetics of the borrowings since neither British English nor Japanese did not underwent since that time any major phonetic changes that could result in a major difference in the present pronunciations of the lexemes and the ones at the time of borrowing.

7.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

The description of Japan in the British newspapers highly matched with the character of the ongoing events and prevailing British-Japanese relations. However, the newspapers did not fail to provide the British readers with other important information that could alter their attitude towards Japan as with the article that read: "[n]ew Premier is Anti-Axis Admiral Yonai Is Japan's new Premier. He is credited with opposing a Japanese-German-Italian military alliance last summer. His anti-Axis policy may draw Japan closer to Britain and the United States" (*DN* 15/01/1940), and gave hope to those who believed in the revival of the positive British-Japanese relations, or possible avoidance in the outbreak of war in Asia. Nevertheless, the situation was "extremely grave." (*DN* 17/01/1940), and the relations remained tensed.

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[70] For more information about the Occupation see Buckley, Roger. 1982. *Occupation Diplomacy: Britain, the United States and Japan, 1945–1952*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The description of Japan was naturally negative or neutral as "Japan has now had a series of short-lived Governments, all of which have tried in vain to bring the Chinese war to a conclusion" (*Truth* 19/01/1940). The British newspapers also reported on the fact that the resentment showed by some British people was reciprocal (e.g. "[a]nti-British feeling grows in Japan" *DN* 24/01/1940), and that the relations with Japan should be monitored since any repetition of any previous hostile events "would aggravate Japanese sentiment against Britain" (*DN* 23/01/1940). However, the sources offered contradicting information depending on the general context on the ongoing events, e.g. "Japan, too, our opponent during the world war, maintains friendly relations with us" (*DN* 26/02/1940).

Among the events that were reported on in the British newspapers was the Asama Maru Incident[71] after which Prime Minister of the United Kingdom said "the British action was not specially directed against Japan, and he expressed surprise at Japanese repercussions, which were not expected by Britain" (*DN* 26/01/1940). At the same time, some journalists wrote that they "don't at all like the way British policy is developing towards Japan. All the signs seem to point the same way, and it's the wrong way" (*DN* 30/03/1940).

Initially, Japan was presented in the British newspapers as not as effective as initially thought, e.g. "Japan expected to be able to beat China to her knees in a short campaign. Nevertheless, that war drags on into its third year" (*Bromley & West Kent Mercury* 16/02/1940). However, some sources at the same time advised that "British people should have an eye on Japan and not be ignorant of its actions" (*Streatham News* 23/02/1940), whereas the others wrote about Japan that seems to be innocent enough to not worry about its possible war uses of the "most unlikely materials" (*John Bull* 24/02/1940). Yet, the caution approach was more common, and British newspapers commented on Japan buying war materials (Hampstead News and DN on 21/03/1940; Truth 15/03/1940) and the opportunities that the conflict in Asia yielded to Japan (Ibid.).

Even though Japan was perceived to be in a vulnerable position and relying on America "for almost all her oil supplies" (*Truth* 17/05/1940), it was still pictured as a persistent and dangerous country, e.g. "Japan will not lose the opportunity to strengthen her position, particularly in the South Pacific" (*Truth* 14/06/1940), "[l]et us face the fact that

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[71] To learn about Asama Maru Incident see the report Briggs, Herbert W. 1940. Removal of Enemy Persons from Neutral Vessels on the High Seas. *The American Journal of International Law*, *34*(2), 249–259. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2192997 (Accessed 11/10/2023)

Japan is a dangerous aggressor linked in sympathy with Germany" (*DN* 11/07/1940), "[a]cross the Pacific there is powerful Japan, in sympathy with Italy and Germany" (*DN* 01/08/1940). Japan was also described as an authoritative (*DN* 01/08/1940) and problematic country, e.g. "Japan, friendly to the Axis, makes trouble in the Pacific" (*DN* 23/09/1940), "Japan would not hesitate to launch her offensive against Vladivostock" (*Streatham News* 16/08/1940), "Japan is going to make herself more of a nuisance than ever in the Far East" (*Daily Herald* 28/09/1940). Even though Japan was "bellicose" in Asia (*DN* 13/08/1940) it still sought "compromise to avoid serious conflict" (*DN* 15/08/1940) with the U.S.

At the end of 1941, when Japan joined the World War II many British newspapers reported that for years it had "been obvious that the war between America and Japan was absolutely inevitable" (*Truth* 04/10/1940), e.g. "[c]ollision with Japan is inevitable" (*DN* 25/10/1941). Multiple sources also wrote on Japan preparing for War (e.g. *DN* 04/08/1941, *DN* 03/09/1941), and its determination that can also pose some threat (e.g. *East London Observer* 19/12/1941).

During the raging war there were fewer articles on Japan because newspapers focused on the military actions taking place in Europe. Nevertheless, some of the articles were still written. Also, they included some information on the victories that Japan had. However, the used language shows the animosity, e.g. "Japan has gained some initial successes—the successes that the murderer, the thief and the cheat can always gain over the honest, decent citizen until he has had time to take steps to institute law and order, and fair dealing" (*DN* 02/01/1942), and "Japan is victorious. For the moment it may not be easy to realise that such victories are transitory" (*DN* 12/01/1942). However, despite the small press coverage Japan received, after five years from Nanking Massacre, some information started to come to light in the British newspapers that discussed the "proof of Jap atrocities" (*Daily Herald* 11/03/1942)[72] which mainly compared the event of 1937 with the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong in 1942 (Ibid.)[73].

Japan was showed as powerful (e.g. "let us not forget that Nazi Germany and Japan are still powerful, and we have to fight all the day to smash them" *Holloway Press*

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[72] Full title of the article reads "Fifty Officers And Man Of The British Army Were Bound Hand And Foot And Then Bayoneted To Death. There Is Full–PROOF OF JAP ATROCITIES" (*Daily Herald* 11/03/1942). The same article was also published by *Daily News* on the same day.
[73] "The barbarities at Hongkong in 1942 were comparable with those at Nanking in 1937, when the civilised world was horrified at the massacre of 20,000 civilians" (Ibid.)

14/01/1944), ruthless (e.g. "Japan had beaten us in the Far East and slaughtered, men, women and children" *Bromley & West Kent Mercury* 10/03/1944), and dangerous (e.g. *DN* 19/05/1944, *Truth* 26/05/1944).

Japan	relations with Japan
powerful, *innocent*, *bellicose*, *the murderer*, *the thief*, *the cheat*, *a dangerous aggressor*, *a menace*, *a nuisance*	hostile, grave

Table 7 Evaluative language used in the description of Japan between 1940–44

The hopes for the near end of the war were reflected in many articles in the British newspapers, e.g. "[w]ith Germany and Japan defeated and disarmed there be no shadow of military menace over the globe" (*John Bull* 27/01/1945), and the end came in August the same year. Notably, most of the articles in BNA from 1945 come from August, i.e., the month when the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings took place and Japan surrounded the Allied forces. The middle of the analysed period saw the "conclusion of hostilities with Japan" (*Richmond Herald* 23/02/1946), though there were "still anxieties at home and abroad" (*Truth* 12/04/1946).

British Commonwealth Occupation Forces in Japan received little press in the British newspapers (e.g. *Richmond Herald* 26/07/1947 or *DN* 05/08/1947), usually only mentioning the American occupation of Japan by referring (e.g. *Syndeham, Forest Hill & Penge Gazette* 09/01/1948), but even before that an anticipation for the changes that the American interference could evoke, e.g. "ready to see Japan Americanised in government, industry and tempo" (*DN* 11/02/1946). The American presence in Japan was acknowledged and broadly commented on, e.g. "[t]oday, Japan for most practical purposes is an American colony, and it is Russia, not Britain, which resists similar ambitions in China" (*Truth* 31/01/1947). However, the War understandably still echoed in the British press, e.g. "as long England held dominant power at sea, there were no world wars, but that her supremacy was challenged by Germany and Japan" (*Illustrated London News* 03/04/1948).

Nevertheless, the hopes for the re-establishment of some at least neutral relations between Britain and Japan were heard, e.g. "[i]t was three years since the defeat of Japan, and it was time that the making of a peace treaty should no longer be obstructed by objections" (*DN* 05/05/1948). After the war, the available articles did not report on Japan using evaluative language but also did not report as often. In some articles, we can read that Japan was slowly rising from all the losses it faced due to conducting an aggressive war and becoming a

booming economy, e.g. "Japan's aim for the future is to conquer the East through her businessmen and to be the leaders in Trade and Industry" (*Bayswater Chronicle* 07/05/1948). Some time later, the British readers also saw some news on the modernisation of Japan (e.g. "Japan today has adopted many Western techniques" *DN* 05/04/1951), and the economic battle that Japan joined (e.g. *DN* 06/02/1952) and its successes in it due to the cheap import that it offered (e.g. *DN* 14/02/1952). In the meantime, the articles reported on the tournaments of the Japanese martial arts, reflecting the rising popularity of, for instance, judo (e.g. *DN* 18/12/1951).

7.2.2 Borrowings

In this analysis I decided to exclude three lexemes based on their definitions in *OED* that point to them being initially borrowed into American English rather than British one, and now being historical. These three lexemes are *Baka*, *honcho* (see Warren 1994b)[74], and *hootchie*. I also excluded *osae-waza* since it is simply a different form of the already borrowed *osaekomi-waza* (see 6.2.2).

Lastly, I decided to exclude *Zengakuren*, which in *OED* either denotes "a radical left-wing student movement in Japan, particularly active during the 1950s and 1960s", or a member of this movement. In Japanese, the meaning of the source lexeme, 全学連 *zengakuren* 'All-Japan Student Association', according to *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* is at the same time more general as well as specific. According to these two dictionaries, it is the name of an organisation rather than a movement, and it does not refer to its members (generalisation); however, the definitions do not specify its political views as *OED* does (narrowing). Yet, to do justice to the *OED*'s definition, it should be said that *Sūpā Daijirin* mentions that in the 1950s and 1960s, this association became the central figure in the student movement. However, most importantly, *Zengakuren* is a proper name; thus, it is not a loanword *sensu stricte* but rather an adoption of an eponym that later on gained a different meaning but related meaning in English.

> [VII.1] *Baka* (1945), [VII.2] *basho* (1940), [VII.3] *dan* (1941), [VII.4] *dojo* (1942 [1915*]), [VII.5] *edamame* (1951), [VII.6] *harai goshi* (1941), [VII.7] *hijiki* (1951), [VII.8] *honcho* (1945), [VII.9] *hoochie* (1952), [VII.10] *jigotai* (1950), [VII.11] *Jomon* (1946), [VII.12] *judogi* (1944), [VII.13] *Kempeitai* (1947), [VII.14] *koan* (1946), [VII.15] *kuzushi* (1950), [VII.16]

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[74] "Many other Japanese loanwords entered English during the occupation and the Korean war. One is *honcho*, which was functionally shifted to a verb by 1955, and more widely during its popularization in the U.S. senatorial Watergate hearings. Now it commonly names a 'boss', as in the redundant *head honcho*" (*CJC*: 63).

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mabe (1940), [VII.17] *manga* (1951), [VII.18] *mono no aware* (1940 [1899*?]), [VII.19] *ninjutsu* (1950), [VII.20] *on* (1946), [VII.21] *origami* (1948), [VII.22] ~~*osae waza*~~ (1941), [VII.23] *oshi* (1940), [VII.24] *oshi-dashi* (1940), [VII.25] *oshi-taoshi* (1940), [VII.26] *oyabun* (1948), [VII.27] *pachinko* (1949), [VII.28] *pan-pan* (1949), [VII.29] *sansei* (1945), [VII.30] *shibui* (1947), [VII.31] *tachi* (1948), [VII.32] *tai-otoshi* (1950), [VII.33] *tenko* (1947), [VII.34] *tonari gumi* (1947), [VII.35] *tsugi ashi* (1950), [VII.36] *tsukuri* (1941), [VII.37] *wakame* (1950), [VII.38] ~~*Zengakuren*~~ (1950).

Cannon lists in the given period eight lexemes, out of which four are also present in *OED*, three are toponyms, and one is a name of a plant: *fatshedera*, *Hiroshima*, <u>*honcho*</u>, <u>*hoo(t)ch*</u>, *Iwo Jima*, *Nagasaki*, <u>*pompom*</u>, and <u>*tenko*</u>.

Let us first start with the lexeme *Kempeitai* (Jap. 憲兵隊 *kenpeitai*) "[t]he Japanese military secret service in the period 1931–1945" (*OED*). In this lexeme, which is noted by neither *Kōjien* nor *Sūpā Daijirin* but listed by both CJC and Hayakawa (2014), we can see that the original /n/ was rendered as /m/. Is suggests that the first users most likely relied in THR while writing down this lexeme. It is a slight phonetic change, that resulted probably from the fact that the first user learnt that word in a Japanese written form.

Next, *koan* (Jap. 公案 *kōan*), from Zen Buddshim, "[a] paradox put to a student to stimulate his or her mind" (*OED*). The definition provided by *OED* — and similar ones in *CJC* and Hayakawa (2014) — highlight the use of paradox to stimulate the student's mind, whereas both *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* to a difficult question or problem, not necessarily a paradox. In this case, it could be perceived as a slight narrowing of the meaning, possibly due to the misinterpretation of the original sense.

When it comes to the difficulty, we should certainly mention the lexeme *mabe*, a type of hemispheric pearl, which is listed neither by *CJC* nor Hayakawa (2014), and renders a problem of a proper semantic categorisation since a pearl is neither a mineral nor a botanical or a chemical term. *Mabe* is said to be borrowed from Japanese, possibly from まべ貝 (also written in katakana マベ貝) *mabegai* 'penguin wing oyster', i.e., from a lexeme that denotes a specific type of oyster that also produces hemispheric pearls. In *Kōjien* we can find the two above forms, whereas *Sūpā Daijirin* provides us only with the shortened form まべ *mabe*, which presumably, through the narrowing of the meaning, i.e., from the whole oyster to the pearl, gave rise to *mabe* in English. In English, it functions on its own or in a compound *mabe pearl*, which was later borrowed by the Japanese, resulting in マベパール *mabepāru* (*Sūpā Daijirin*).

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Let us also mention a popular JB, *manga* which in *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* has three meaning, but the most relevant one has a brief definition of a story expressed through picture and occasionally dialogues. The definition provided by *OED* is very specific, presumably to differentiate Japanese *manga* from a regular *comic book* or *cartoon*:

> A Japanese genre of cartoons and comic books, drawn in a meticulously detailed style, usually featuring characters with distinctive large, staring eyes, and typically having a science-fiction or fantasy theme, sometimes including violent or sexually explicit material. Occasionally also applied to animated film (cf. anime n.3). In extended use, denoting cartoons in this style from other countries. Frequently attributive.
>
> (*OED*)

According to the *Sūpā Daijirin*, *manga* is a comic book since it defines it as コミック *komikku* 'comic', whereas *OED* makes it a genre. In other words, similarly to *mabe*, this lexeme underwent the narrowing of the meaning.

Next, we have a phrase *mono no aware* "[i]n Japanese art, literary criticism, etc.: a capacity to be, or the experience of being, deeply and spontaneously moved by various poignant manifestations of nature, including human nature; esp. a sense of pathos arising from intense awareness of the impermanence of earthly things" (*OED*) from Japanese 物の哀れ *mono no aware*. *OED* also correctly points to the year 1899, when Aston (1899), possibly for the first time, used this phrase. However, Aston defines the phrase *mono no aware wo shiru* (lit. 'to understand/know *mono no aware*'), not *mono no aware* specificially: "To know the Ah-ness of things (*mono no aware wo shiru*) is a phrase which is constantly recurring in Japanese literature, especially during the classical period" (Aston 1899: 187). Nevertheless, the final number of the borrowings from the period does not include this lexeme since it appeared in the English texts earlier than 1940–1952.

Now, popular *origami*, the art of folding the paper (from Jap. 折り紙 *origami*, lit. 'paper folding'), stands in somewhat opposition to the less popular *kirigami*, an art of cutting the paper (from Jap. 切り紙 *kirigami*, lit 'paper cutting'). *Origami* aims at creating spatial objects, whereas in *kirigami*, the cut-out patterns can be either flat or spatial; even though the second method is significantly less popular, it is often mentioned while discussing *origami*, and it is included in *CJC* but is not listed by Hayakawa (2014).
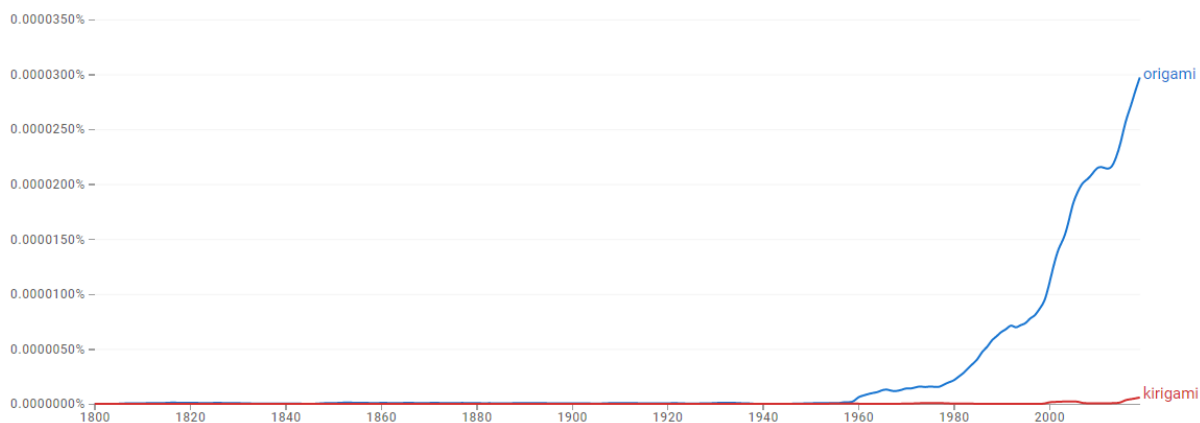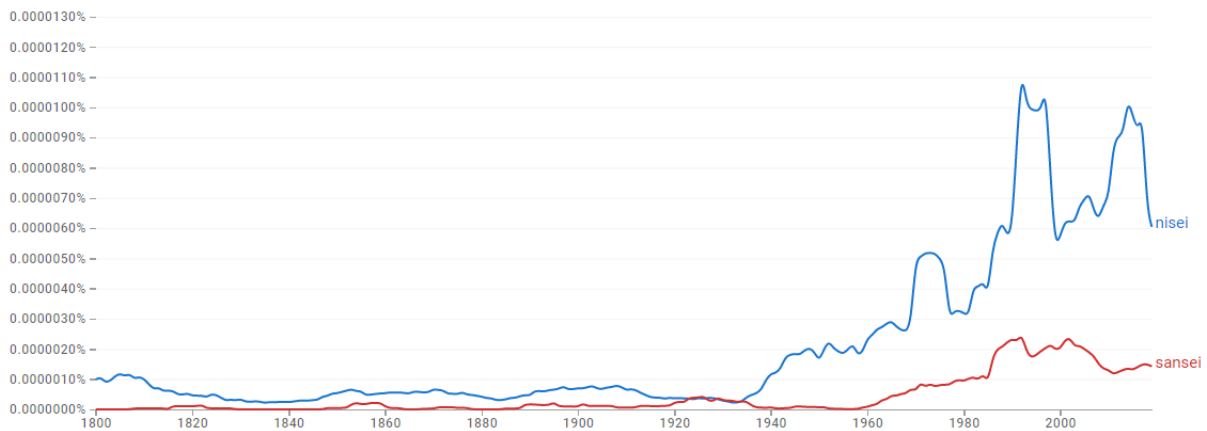
Figure 13 The frequency of the lexemes *origami* and *kirigami*

Next, *ninjutsu*, i.e., "[t]he Japanese art of stealth, camouflage, sabotage, and assassination, developed in feudal times for military espionage, but subsequently used in the training of warriors and others. Cf. ninja n." (*OED*). The provided definition is very similar to the one provided by *Kōjien*; however, none of the consulted Japanese dictionaries provides the information added by *OED* that *ninjutsu* is "[n]ow popular worldwide as a martial art offering training in combat as well as in techniques of stealth, disguise, etc." (*OED*). This lexeme entered British English in the correct form according to both THR and MHR; however, most likely, THR was the model Romanisation system since MHR had not been published yet. According to *OED*, this lexeme can be pronounced in British English either as /nɪnˈdʒʊtsuː/ or /nɪnˈdʒʌtsuː/. In contrast, in Japanese, it would be pronounced as /niɴdzɯtsɯ/, with the most prominent change occurring in /dz/ becoming /dʒ/, and the realisation of /ɯ/ in different ways.

We should also make a short one on *pan-pan* "a Japanese woman consorting with foreign men, esp. with Allied soldiers during the Allied occupation (1945–52); spec. a prostitute working independently on the streets" (*OED*). Cannon's *pompom* was underlined above, since it's another spelling of the word *pan-pan* included in *OED*. Importantly, Cannon points out that *pompom* was first noted in c. 1941–1945 (1996: 192).

Coming to an end, a brief comment on *sansei*, which simply denotes the next generation of *nisei* (see 6.2.2), i.e., "[a]n American born of nisei parents […]; a third generation Japanese American" (*OED*). For *sansei*, BNC has not yielded any results. However, NG provides us with some curves while searching for both lexemes, showing some validity in British English (Figure 14). However, similarly to *nisei*, this case is also an example of the narrowing since, according to *Kōjien*, it denotes, among others, simply the

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third generation. In contrast, *Sūpā Daijirin* adds that it may denote the third generation of immigrants.

Figure 14 The frequency of the lexemes *nisei* and *sansei*

7.3.   Summary

As Murashima says "[t]he Anglo-Japanese relationship ended in catastrophe 20 years after the end of the Alliance. From the best friends to the worst of enemies" (2000: 159). This quote corresponds to the manner of Japan's representation in the British newspapers that was visibly negative when compared with the previous years. After the War, the description became neutral and devoid of emotionally charged vocabulary in the analysed samples. At this point, after the performed seven analyses, it can be suspected, that the British sources are more prone to the use of negatively charged vocabulary in the case of the hostile relations, rather than to the use of positive vocabulary in the case of positive relations.

In this period 12 out of 32 lexemes are related to martial arts, mainly to sumo (e.g. *basho*, *oshi*, *oshi-dashi*, *oshi-taoshi*, *tai-otoshi*) and judo (e.g. *dan*, *harai goshi*, *jigotai*, *judogi*, *kuzushi*, *tsugi ashi*, *tsukuri*). This corresponds to the British press coverage of the judo tournaments which was also fairly high in the analysed period, especially after the end of World War II. There are also three lexemes related to botany, i.e., *edamame*, *hijiki*, and *wakame*, and more borrowings which refer to the Japanese contemporary culture of that time (e.g. *manga*, *pachinko*). The average number of the borrowed lexemes is higher compared to the previous period, suggesting that no matter the character of the relations, as long as culture and language contact is taking place, the influx of the borrowings is secured.

8.   The Post-War Relations (1953–1971)

For the analysis of this period, I again mainly consulted the newspaper excerpts retrieved from *BNA*. The *BNA* search initially was refined by the criteria from the previous analysis, only in a change in the publication date. The search yielded 5,702 results that later one were searched for any valuable material for further analysis.

8.1.   Historical Background

As Lowe (2000: 186) writes, at the end of the conference in San Francisco, that marked the end of WWII Herbert Stanley Morrison, a member of the British Labour Party and Foreign Secretary, met Shigeru Yoshida[75], Prime Minister of Japan in 1946–54 who signed the Treaty of San Francisco. Morrison told Yoshida to adopt progressive economic and social policies in Japan to diminish a similar resentment that was caused in Britain by low wages and devious commercial practices. To that Yoshida replied rather positively, and expressed his wish to "strengthen democracy in Japan and to maintain good relations with the United States and Britain" (Lowe 2000: 186). Nevertheless, in the 1950s British attitudes towards Japan were largely negative due to residual anger over wartime atrocities with resentment at Japan's contribution to Britain's decline (Ibid.: 187). However, the animosity was visible mainly in the public opinion, because in terms of political and economic decisions, the British government "was largely supportive of Japan's efforts to be recognized as a legitimate international power as a member of the western bloc" (Tanaka 2000: 228) — which was also reflected by opening of the British Council in Tokyo in 1953.

> The Foreign Office and, in particular, the British embassy in Tokyo were eager to improve Anglo-Japanese relations, while they were determined to request the Japanese to meet the conditions provided in the San Francisco peace treaty, such as compensation for British POWs [prisoners of war] and for British assets lost during the Sino-Japanese war. The Japanese leaders also considered it imperative to reconstruct a close relationship with Britain to return to the international community.
>
> (Tanaka 2000: 228)

Unfortunately, after the end of the war, it was definitely more difficult for Britain to come to terms with Japan than did the United States (Lowe 2000: 196); nevertheless, "[t]he evolution of Japanese politics was viewed with considerable fascination and underlying anxiety in Britain" (Lowe 2000: 190). Nonetheless, "[t]he Japanese leaders could enjoy full British

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[75] "After a lengthy period in power, Yoshida Shigeru came to be regarded favourably and was perceived as the most satisfactory leader Japan could produce from the perspective of Anglo-American interests. However, aspects of Yoshida's performance were criticized, as in May 1952, when Yoshida encountered strong opposition from a wide spectrum of opinion to his proposal to counter subversive activities" (Lowe 2000: 190).

support for their admission to the United Nations" (Tanaka 2000: 228), which it joined in 1956 (Lu 2015).

Before joining the UN, Shigeru Yoshida resigned as Prime Minister in December 1954. He was succeeded by Ichirō Hatoyama, who wished to improve Japanese relations with the Soviet Union and China (Lowe 2000: 190). The accomplished tightening of the Russo-Japanese relations led to the thriving intercultural exchange and growing interest in the Soviet Union by the Japanese public (Romagnoli 2023).

During Hatoyama's office, on 9 December 1954, the Japanese government re-confirmed *Kunrei-shiki* as its official system (see 6.1) but with slight modifications. One of the most important events for the following analysis of the borrowings is the publication of the *Modified Hepburn Romanization* (MHR), also called *Revised Hepburn Romanization*, in the same year. Despite for *Kunrei-shiki* being an official Romanisation system, many foreigners, and Japanese entities prefer MHR.

In the 1960s, the cultural ties between Britain and Japan again grew stronger. In 1963, the University of Oxford started to teach Japanese as a degree subject, whereas in 1964, Tokyo held the Summer Olympics. Two years later, in 1966, the Beatles played at Nippon Budokan in Tokyo providing a brief respite from unsuccessful, and sometimes even frustrating, British-Japanese negotiations (Braddick 2000: 279). Nevertheless, the Beatles' performance showed growing goodwill between Britain and Japan in their foreign relations policies. This goodwill was also reflected some years later, in 1971, when Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako paid a state visit to the United Kingdom after an interval of 50 years.

> When Emperor Hirohito visited London, a man threw his jacket onto the Emperor's carriage, and the tree that the Emperor planted in Kew Gardens was cut down. These facts showed that the atmosphere of the war period continued into the 1970s.
>
> (Kuroiwa 2000: 236)

Moreover, economically, "Anglo-Japanese trade rivalry became a more serious irritant to relations after 1971, the first year that Japan enjoyed a substantial visible trade surplus with Britain" (Braddick 2000: 281).

Based on the monograph by Nish and Kibata (2000) and therein written chapters by Lowe, Tanaka, and Braddick, we can conclude that the historical events that took place were different. This resulted in varied emotions that accompanied British-Japanese relations. To a certain degree, political relations can be perceived as positive since the United Kingdom and Japan wanted to work out their future and desired cooperation. In terms of trade, Britain and

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Japan were enemies, two rival economies fighting for the reestablishment of their pre-war position as powerful nations in their regions. Public opinion, understandably, held some resentment after Japanese atrocities done to British POWs; however, the cultural interest grew, perhaps facilitating the influx of more culture-related lexemes and concepts.

Events:

1953 – The British Council in Japan was established (Tanaka 2000);

1956 – Japan's Admission to the United Nations (Lu 2015);

1964 – Tokyo Olympics (Lu 2015);

1966 – Admission of Japan to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Tanaka 2000);

1970 – Japan signs nuclear non-proliferation treaty (Lu 2015);

1971 – Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako visited the UK (Kuroiwa 2000).

8.2. Analysis

The analysed article excerpts were mainly retrieved from DN, which was also the main consulted newspaper in the previous analysis, as well as the Stage and Bookseller. Similar to the previous analyses, the comments on the selected borrowings are presented mainly in the alphabetical order.

8.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

Naturally, the relations improved and were significantly more friendly than the turbulent 1941-45 period (Fisher 1968: 343). Nevertheless, Japan remained an enemy; however, this time in an economic competition (e.g. *DN* 19/01/1953 and *DN* 12/10/1953), especially in the topic of wool trade (e.g. *DN* 04/02/1954); thus, emerging as an industrial power, e.g. "In the past decade Japan has quadrupled her industrial production and driven her exports into every major market in the world. She has become a huge market for foreign goods" (*Bookseller* 22/08/1964).

The character should be described as neutral and official, as in the case of Emperor Hirohito of Japan receiving "a message of condolence […] from Queen Elizabeth of Britain on the death of his brother" (*DN* 06/01/1953). The Emperor who was also described as one of the 'Oriental potentates' (*DN* 25/04/1953) or a 'semi-occupied country' (*DN* 13/09/1954). Japan was presented as "a powerful, dangerous, enchanting land" (*DN* 03/05/1954) with "a race of intensely industrious neurotics" (Ibid.) and "intense cultural people" (*DN* 01/11/1954)

According to the British newspapers, modern Japan aspired to be "regarded as a civilised State" (*DN* 18/09/1954); however, the prevailing feudalism made it impossible for Japan to be recognised as one. It took some time for the progress made by this country to be acknowledged by other countries, e.g. "[e]ven Japan now is years ahead of us" (*DN* 29/04/1960).

In 1954, the Premier of Japan was touring the world seeking help for his country (e.g. DN 21/10/1954) that would take a form of "generous and effective support for the restoration of sovereignty and independence to Japan" (*DN* 22/10/1954). The request was received with mixed feelings; however, "[t]he deputation informed the Japanese Prime Minister that any anti-Japanese feeling on this issue would be eradicated as soon as Japan's debt was honoured" (*DN* 28/10/1954)

Japan is frequently mentioned in terms of nuclear weapons (e.g. "Japan will not equip herself with nuclear weapons" *DN* 17/04/1957), and the aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (e.g. "[i]n Japan people exposed to bomb-rays have developed leukaemia six to nine years later" *DN* 06/06/1957). British newspapers expressed their concerns about Japan having access to dangerous substances that could lead "to cheap production of the most menacing substance known to man" (*DN* 17/06/1958).

British newspapers continued to report on the natural disasters that were striking Japan one by one (e.g. "[m]ore than half a million people were homeless in Japan today in the wake of typhoon Ida. Tonight the death roll climbed steadily" *DN* 29/09/1958, and "[c]entral Japan was hit by the second typhoon in a week" *DN* 15/08/1959)

The journalists also acknowledged the development of Japan in terms of their democracy and peace (e.g. *DN* 20/06/1960), and one of the best examples of the growth in these terms was the fact that Crown Prince Akihito married a flour miller's daughter; thus, breaking an almost three thousand year tradition "by allowing a commoner to enter the imperial family" (*DN* 11/04/1959). However, the British newspapers did not perceive another example of democracy and freedom of speech well in the form of student riots (e.g. *DN* 16/06/1960). The articles on that topic mentioned *Zengakuren* (see 7.2.2), defined as a 'militant organisation of Japan's students' (*DN* 20/06/1960).

Lastly, we should say that the *DN* mentioned new books on Japan and its culture (e.g. *DN* 25/05/1960). The *Stage* and *Bookseller* did the same (e.g. *Bookseller* 10/08/1963), which also described thriving cultural exchange between the United Kingdom and Japan.

8.2.2 Borrowings

In this analysis, I decided to exclude two lexemes, chichi 'breast' and skosh 'a little', based on their pragmatic information in *OED* that points to these lexemes being a part of American English colloquial language — initially military slang.

> [VIII.1] *aikido* (1954), [VIII.2] *aikijutsu* (1955), [VIII.3] *amae* (1960), [VIII.4] *andosol* (1958), [VIII.5] *chakonabe* (1959), [VIII.6] ~~*chichi*~~ (1961), [VIII.7] *dashi* (1963), [VIII.8] *emakimono* (1958), [VIII.9] *gaijin* (1964), [VIII.10] *gyoza* (1965), [VIII.11] *ibotenic* (1962), [VIII.12] *ippon* (1957), [VIII.13] *itai-itai* (1969), [VIII.14] *kainic* (1954), [VIII.15] *karate* (1955), [VIII.16] *kata* (1954), [VIII.17] *kawaii* (1965), [VIII.18] *keiretsu* (1965), [VIII.19] *keirin* (1957), [VIII.20] *kinhin* (1954), [VIII.21] *kogai* (1970), [VIII.22] *kokeshi* (1959), [VIII.23] *mae-geri* (1960), [VIII.24] *makiwara* (1959), [VIII.25] *makuuchi* (1957), [VIII.26] *meishi* (1971), [VIII.27] *mingei* (1955), [VIII.28] *minshuku* (1970), [VIII.29] *nikkei* (1969), [VIII.30] *Nikkei* (1970), [VIII.31] *ninja* (1964), [VIII.32] *nunchaku* (1969), [VIII.33] *omiai* (1970), [VIII.34] *oshibori* (1956), [VIII.35] *osotogari* (1956), [VIII.36] *panko* (1970), [VIII.37] *ponzu* (1966), [VIII.38] *ramen* (1962), [VIII.39] *ryotei* (1953), [VIII.40] *sanpaku* (1963), [VIII.41] *seitan* (1968), [VIII.42] *seiza* (1956), [VIII.43] *shabu-shabu* (1970), [VIII.44] *shiatsu* (1967), [VIII.45] *Shihan* (1954), [VIII.46] *shime-waza* (1954), [VIII.47] *Shinkansen* (1968), [VIII.48] *shishi* (1970), [VIII.49] *shokku* (1971), [VIII.50] *Shotokan* (1963), [VIII.51] *shunga* (1964), [VIII.52] *shunto* (1967), [VIII.53] *shuto* (1959), [VIII.54] ~~*skosh*~~ (1959), [VIII.55] *sogo shosha* (1967), [VIII.56] *Sohyo* (1953), [VIII.57] *Soka Gakkai* (1958), [VIII.58] *sokaiya* (1971), [VIII.59] *sosaku hanga* (1956), [VIII.60] *suzuribako* (1967), [VIII.61] *tataki* (1971), [VIII.62] *teppan-yaki* (1970), [VIII.63] *teriyaki* (1961), [VIII.64] *tori* (1955), [VIII.65] *toro* (1971), [VIII.66] *ude* (1954), [VIII.67] *uke* (1956), [VIII.68] *ukemi* (1956), [VIII.69] *umami* (1963), [VIII.70] *wabi-sabi* (1962), [VIII.71] *Wagyu* (1963), [VIII.72] *waza-ari* (1954), [VIII.73] *yakisoba* (1957), [VIII.74] *yakitori* (1962 [1930*]), [VIII.75] *yakuza* (1964), [VIII.76] *Yamaguchi-gumi* (1964), [VIII.77] *yusho* (1969), [VIII.78] *zafu* (1965), [VIII.79] *zaikai* (1968).

From *CJC* we can retrieve 29 lexemes (excluding dublets) that have the year of first use within the analysed period and are not abbreviations (i.e., *CSM* and *JAL*): acupressure, <u>*aikido*</u>, *Akihito*, *bekko* (see 4.2.2), *burakumin*, <u>*gaijin*</u>, *hayashi*, *Ikeya-Seki (comet)*, <u>*ippon*</u>, *kanamycin*, *Kansai*, <u>*karate*</u>, *Minamata disease*, *mitomycin*, <u>*ninja*</u>, *ninjutsu* (see 7.2.2), *ryokan* (see 5.2.2), <u>*seiza*</u>, <u>*Shinkansen/shinkansen*</u>, <u>*Shotokan*</u>, <u>*sogo shosha*</u>, <u>*Sohyo*</u>, <u>*Soka Gakkai*</u>, *Suntory*, *tamari (soy) (sauce)* (see 9.2.2), <u>*teriyaki*</u>, <u>*waza-ari*</u>, and <u>*yakuza*</u>.

Let us first start with *amae*, a dependency behaviour[76] first introduced into English by a Japanese psychoanalyst, Takeo Doi. This lexeme comes from the Japanese verb 甘える *amaeru* 'to pamper', which in its nominal form is 甘え *amae*, denotes in Japanese a situation of being pampered and the feeling of being pampered (*Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin*). Even though Japanese dictionaries do not note the meaning that *OED* notes, it can hardly be perceived as a semantic change since the meaning presented by *OED* is the one suggested by Doi (1973), its author. However, if we were to consider only the lexicographic data, we could categorise *amae* as a borrowing that underwent semantic change since there is a semantic difference. We should also make a short note on the pronunciation of this lexeme. *OED* provides us with two British pronunciations: /əˈmʌɪ/ and /aˈmʌɪ/, whereas JIT provides only one /amae/, showing a problem with rendering the final *e*, as /e/ in British English as it is the case in Japanese.

Next, *andosol*, an interesting lexeme that hardly can be considered a borrowing. It denotes "mineral-rich soil derived largely from material ejected from volcanoes and typically having a dark surface layer" (*OED*). This word indeed derives from the combination of two Japanese kanji, 暗 *an* 'dark' and 土 *do* 'soil', and an ending –sol "used to form the names of different kinds and states of soil" (*OED*); however, this lexeme does not function in Japanese, and its meaning is rendered by Japanese 黒ボク土 *kurobokudo*.

Another interesting lexeme is *kawaii* 'cute', which has not undergone any particular semantic change yet. It is interesting in terms of its phonetics. According to *OED* can be pronounced in two ways: /kəˈwʌɪ/ or /kəˈwʌɪi/. Similarly, JIT also provides two ways of pronouncing this lexeme in Japanese: /kaɰᵝaii/ or /kaɰᵝajɯi/. In this case, JIT's information on the phonetic transcription of this borrowing is fairly detailed. It is the only etymon for which transcription uses rounded voiced velar approximant /ɰᵝ/, which is not present in English. The closest in pronunciation is voiced labialised velar approximant /w/ present in the British IPA transcription.

In the above list, we can find both *nikkei* "[a] person of Japanese descent who has settled or been brought up abroad" (OED) and *Nikkei*, usually with the "designating an index of the relative price of representative shares on the Tokyo Stock Exchange" (*OED*). Due to the

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[76] "Esp. in the writings of the Japanese psychologist Takeo Doi: active desire for dependence on the care and affection of another, esp. that of a child on a parent or (as a psychological disorder) of an adult on an individual or social group" (*OED*); to learn more see Doi (1973).

use of a capital letter in the second one, these two borrowings are easily distinguishable in NG, which shows a significantly more frequent use of the lexeme *Nikkei*. It is worth noting that, most likely, the distinguished by NG *NIKKEI* refers to *Nikkei*. When it comes to pronunciation, neither of the languages distinguishes Nikkei and Nikkei; however, naturally, there is a difference between British and Japanese pronunciation. When the British disregard the double consonant /k/, the Japanese realise it as /k:/, i.e., prolonged *k*.
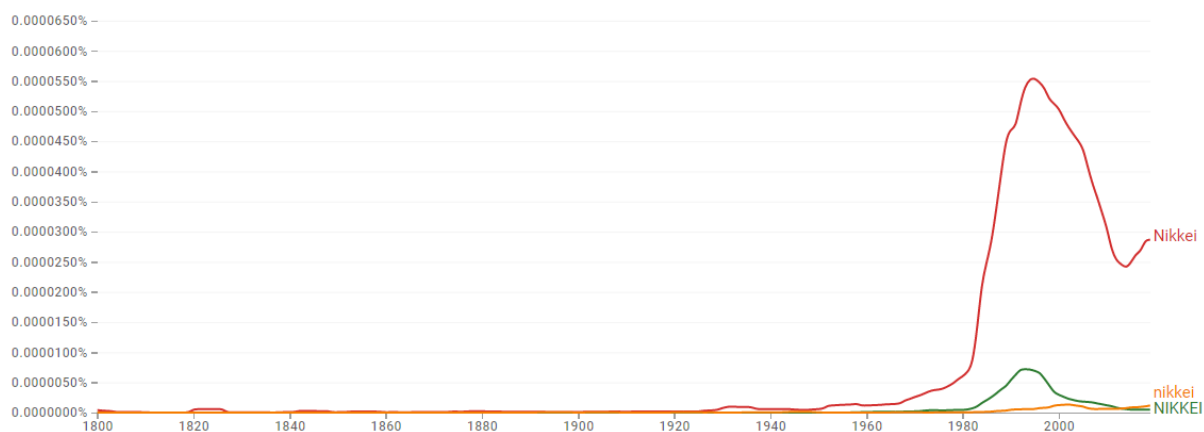
Figure 15 The frequency of the lexemes *Nikkei* and *nikkei*

Among the JBs from this period, the only example of re-borrowing, *shokku* which, according to *OED,* is "[u]sed *jocularly* to denote a shock or surprise in political or economic affairs concerning Japan" (*OED*, cf. Warren 1996: 42). This lexeme first entered Japanese from English as another way to render 'shock' in Japanese language. Then, in the 1970s, it was re-borrowed by English with a narrower meaning. It is interesting to note that shock in British English is transcribed as /ʃɒk/; in its borrowed form, it is pronounced in Japanese as /ɕokːɯ/, and in its re-borrowed form, it is pronounced as /ˈʃɒkuː/.

As mentioned above, I eliminated the adjective *skosh*. Even though *BNC* yields no returns while corpus searching, NG suggests that *skosh* is also present in British English, even though borrowed by American soldiers after the Second World War. However, these few returns most likely refer to the *Skosh* restaurant in York, United Kingdom.

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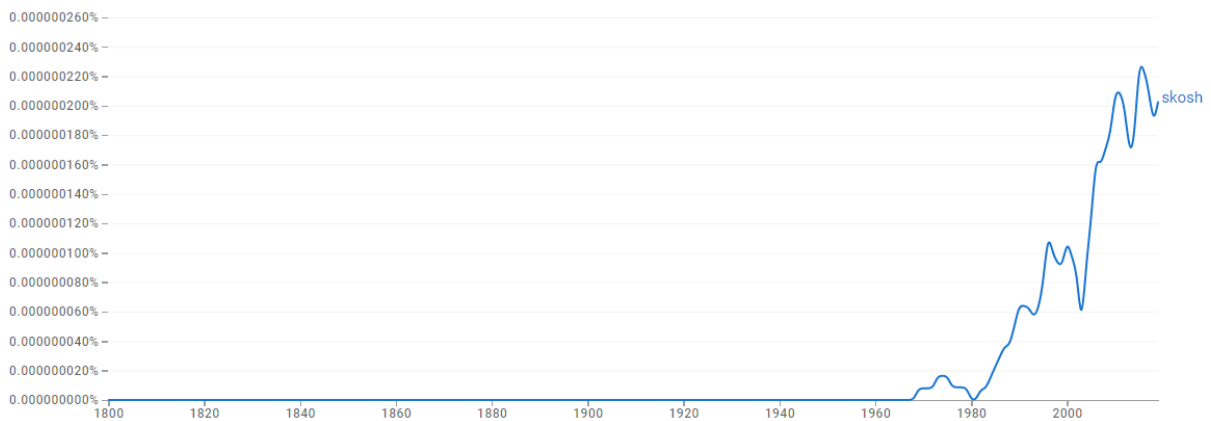
Figure 16 The frequency of the lexeme *skosh*

Wabi-sabi is a Japanese borrowing that functions in English as both an adjective and a noun. This lexeme, even though first borrowed in 1962, gained a significant popularity in the twenty-first century, presumably due to the growing popularity of Marie Kondo, a Japanese decluttering guru, who popularised various Japanese terms related to Zen Buddhism, Shinto religion and Japanese aesthetics, e.g. *kintsugi*, the art of repairing broken pottery with gold. It is worth highlighting that the separate constituents of this compound word, i.e., *wabi* and *sabi*, were borrowed slightly earlier because in 1930s (see 6.2).
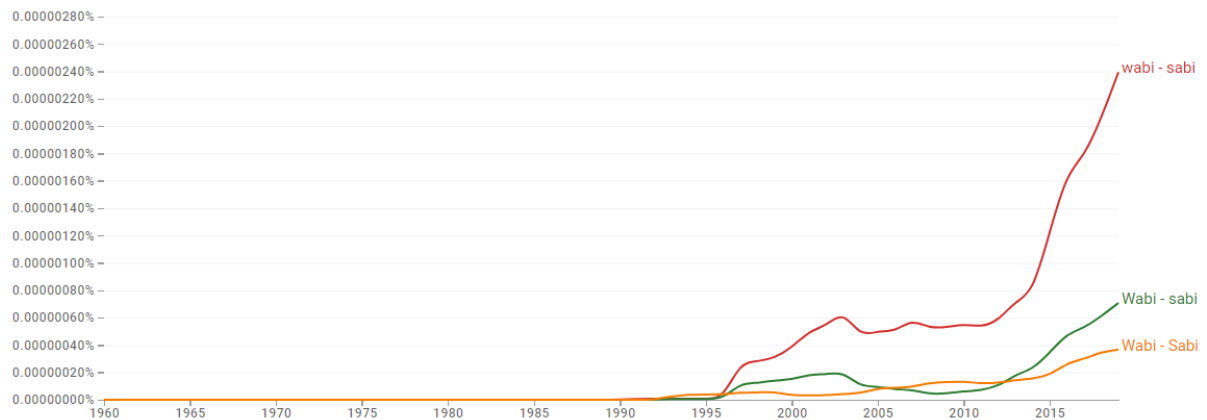
Figure 17 The frequency of the lexeme *wabi-sabi*

Lastly, let us discuss *yakitori*, "[a] Japanese dish consisting of pieces of chicken grilled on a skewer" (*OED*). This lexeme, in its definition differs from shashlik and kabob only by the country of origin, but still could easily be represented by English *grilled chicken* or *chicken skewers*. Naturally, there are more differences if we take a look at the preparation process. However, the need to incorporate the name of each slightly popular foreign dish's name in a dictionary seems unreasonable.

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8.3. Summary

British-Japanese relations seem to be the most difficult to categorise during this period compared to the previous ones. Depending on the analysed dimension, the relations vary from positive to negative. For that very reason, the relations can be easily named as diverse but also relatively close, either due to direct cooperation and cultural exchange or due to rivalry that required Britain and Japan to have an eye on each other.

Similarly to the previous periods, we still can notice that the biggest semantic categories of JBs is the one related to the martial arts: *aikido*, *aikijutsu*, *chakonabe*, *ippon*, *karate*, *kata*, *mae-geri*, *makiwara*, *makuuchi* (also *makunouchi*), *nunchaku*, *osotogari*, *seiza*, *Shihan*, *shime-waza*, *Shotokan*, *shuto*, *tori*, *ude*, *uke*, *ukemi*, and *waza-ari* (21 lexemes). Another numerous group consists of lexemes related to cuisine: *dashi*, *gyoza*, *panko*, *ponzu*, *ramen*, *seitan*, *shabu-shabu*, *tataki*, *teppan-yaki*, *teriyaki*, *toro*, *umami*, *Wagyu*, *yakisoba*, and *yakitori* (15 lexemes); and art: *emakimono*, *mingei*, *shishi*, *shunga*, *sosaku hanga*, *suzuribako*, *wabi-sabi* (7 lexemes). We can also observe an emerging of a new sematic group of lexemes related to business and economy: *keiretsu*, *meishi*, *Nikkei*, *sogo*, *shosha*, *sokaiya*, *shunto*, and *zaikai* (8 lexemes). The last group's presence may result from Japan's growing importance in the economic world, as mentioned in the monograph edited by Nish and Kibata (2000) and the analysed newspapers' excerpts.

It should be noted that the Japanese also had their influence on science, thus facilitating the influx of JBs related to that field: *andosol* (soil), *ibotenic* (chemical compound), *kainic* (chemical compound), *itai-itai* (disease), and *yusho* (disease). If we consider the lexemes listed by CJC with a first use year within the analysed period, the Japanese part in the development of medicine and chemistry is even more visible: *kanamycin* (antibiotics), *mitomycin* (antibiotics), and *Minamata disease* (disease).

Interestingly, English continues to borrow names for certain Japanese groups: *Sohyo* 'the left-wing trade union federation, *Soko Gakkai*, 'a Japanese lay religious group'; and *Yamaguchi-gumi* 'the name of the largest Japanese syndicate of organized crime'.

We conclude this analysis by saying that with the rising number of the analysed so far borrowings, we can see a growing number of borrowings which may not necessarily belong to a dictionary due to their non-entrenched presence in language, e.g. *kogai* 'environmental

pollution in Japan', or very narrow and specialised meaning *mingei*, a type of Japanese folk art.

9.   The Age of Globalisation (1972–2000)

For the analysis of this period, similarly to the previous ones, the source material for the LW analysis consists of the newspaper excerpts retrieved from *BNA*. Initially, the *BNA* search was refined by application of the criteria from the previous analyses with only one change in the publication date. The search yielded 11,616 results that later on were searched for any valuable material for further analysis.

Before proceeding to the presentation of the historical background, I would like to make a short note on the term *globalisation*. Braddick's (2000) work, which is used as a primary source in the next section, even though it includes 'globalisation' in its title, makes very general remarks on this topic. It should be mentioned that there are different types of globalisation[77] concerning, among others, its financial (Piketty 2014)[78] or cultural aspects, which took place at different moments in history. In this section, I mainly focus on the cultural globalisation from the last three decades of the twentieth century, which possibly enhanced the influx of the JBs into British English due to the spread of Japanese popular culture.

9.1.   Historical Background

The beginning of the new wave of globalisation also brought the beginning of the oil crisis that started in 1973 (Braddick 2000: 282). This event influenced the British and Japanese economies mainly separately but enhanced the ongoing competition between these two countries. On the other hand, to promote good relations, in 1975, Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip visited Japan in return for the English visit of the Japanese Emperor and Empress a few years prior. Sadly, the Queen's visit "draw a line under the unfortunate events of the Second World War" (Kuroiwa 2000: 236). Nevertheless, in the meantime, the economic rivalry was showing its front-runner in the opinion of the Japanese:

> Relations reached their nadir during the years 1976–79. The Japanese, who had successfully reversed their own economic slowdown, seemed incapable of comprehending the strength of British concerns. The Japanese believed that they were being made a scapegoat for Britain's stagflation and mass unemployment.
>
> (Braddick 2000: 283)

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[77] "The action, process, or fact of making global; *esp.* (in later use) the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale, widely considered to be at the expense of national identity" (*OED*).

[78] The author of this source discusses in great detail all the factors and events that influenced the economic growth in various countries, including Britain and Japan.

Even though the economic rivalry continued, "minor progress was discernible on Anglo-Japanese political cooperation" (Braddick 2000: 285) after the 1979 British elections when Margaret Thatcher became the first woman prime minister (Ibid.: 284). Those amicable relations were later pursued by the Prime Minister of Japan, Suzuki Zenkō:

> In June 1982, Suzuki Zenko undertook the first official visit to Western Europe by a Japanese premier for nearly eight years. According to Foreign Minister Sonoda, Japan now felt it needed to have close relations with Britain and France in order to gain a big voice vis-à-vis the US and Soviet Union, but in London Suzuki's call to strengthen Euro-Japanese ties met with little enthusiasm.
>
> (Braddick 2000: 285)

In the same year as the election of the new Prime Minister of War, the Falklands War broke out, halting Zenkō's pursuit of friendly relations with the United Kingdom (Ibid.: 286)[79]. According to Braddick (2000), the mid-1980s were a relatively quiet period in British-Japanese relations, with some positive exceptions, as "Japan's acceptance of Britain's proposal to establish a 'track two' forum of scholars, businessmen, journalists, politicians and bureaucrats to promote better long-term relations" (2000: 288). In 1985, the UK–Japan 2000 Group held its first meeting of the yearly conference, which "served as a catalyst, helping to set the agenda – both current and future – across the entire range of bilateral interactions" (Ibid.). Japan was quick and continued its efforts to improve its relations with the UK by normalising "relations with Beijing so soon after the Tiananmen massacre [1989] met with Thatcher's disapproval" (Braddick 2000: 292).

The cultural exchange and interest seemed to thrive with the publications of the *Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan* in 1983, which caught the attention of the British Japanophiles, and ten years later, in 1993, with the publication of Helen McCarthy's book *Anime!: Beginner's Guide to Japanese Animation*[80].

The relations seemed to be positive and unaffected by the ongoing conflicts like the Gulf War (Braddick 2000: 293), which was proven by the politicians who, in the 1990s, started to claim that the British-Japanese relations had never been better (Ibid.: 292). However, despite the transformation, or even improvement, of the relations on the "governmental and

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[79] "Efforts at building a new political relationship received a major setback during the Falklands war in spring 1982. The full story has yet to be revealed, but it is clear that the fundamental disagreement over how to respond to the Argentinian invasion of the British South Atlantic dependency constituted a serious crisis in Anglo-Japanese diplomatic relations" (Braddick 2000: 286).

[80] Helen McCarthy was also the first author to begin cataloguing the anime fandom in the UK; thus, her works may be of interest to the readers who wish exploring the topic of Japanese popular culture popularity in the UK.

business levels, the resurrection of a long-dormant issue — POW compensation — prompted a sudden outpouring of anti-Japanese feelings amongst the British public" (Ibid.: 291).

In the 1980s, atrocities committed by Japan during the Second Sino-Japanese War and WWII started coming to light. People learnt more about the Nanking Massacre[81], the 731 Unit in Manchuria, and the 'comfort women' about which Kim Hak-soon, one of the victims, came forward in 1991 (Yeom 2021). Her speech — and the controversy caused by the Smithsonian exhibition in 1995 (Lowe 2000: 196) — influenced British publicity since it reminded people of all the hardships British soldiers and civilians had to endure when caught by the Japanese army. Possibly, as a response to that, on January 13, 1998, Prime Minister of Japan Ryutaro Hashimoto apologised for the atrocities committed against people who suffered in World War II.[82] However, in terms of trading, the relations in the mid-1980s entered a period of lull "at the end of which the apparent resolution of a number of long-running trade disputes provided London with the opportunity to redefine the Anglo-Japanese relationship" (Braddick 2000: 299).

At the same time, the economic ties between Britain and Japan again grew stronger. This time, due to the growing manufacturing contracts by which in 1986, Nissan Motors began to operate its car plant in Sunderland as Nissan Motor Manufacturing (UK) Ltd. Later, in 1992, Toyota Motors began to operate its car plant at Burnaston near Derby. The governments also aimed to enhance cultural exchange by launching many educational and exchange programmes during this period, e.g. JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching).

Unfortunately, in 1995, Japan was struck with two tragedies, first with the Kobe earthquake (also called the Great Hanshin earthquake) in January, and then a sarin attack in the Tokyo underground in March conducted by Aum Shinrikyo. The sarin attack is the most notorious act of domestic terrorist attack in Japan.

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[81] The "Nanking Massacre" search renders in BNA renders merely 49 results when searching in 1937–2020, limited to London as publication place.
[82] "The important thing is that the Prime Minister of Japan expressed the feelings of deep remorse and stated heartfelt apologies to the people who suffered in World War II directly to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom" (*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*, Press Conference by the Press Secretary January 13, 1998). https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/1998/1/113.html#1 (Accessed 08/10/2022)

Events:

1975 – Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, pay a state visit to Japan (Braddick 2000);

1979 – Margaret Thatcher becomes the first female Prime Minister (Braddick 2000)

1983 – Tokyo Disneyland opens (Lu 2015);

1988 – The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation established;

1991 – UK-Japan Friendship Agreement; EU-Japan Join Declaration of July 1991 (Braddick 2000);

1994 – Documentary *Manga* by Jonathan Ross screened at BBC (Lambie 2015);

1995 – The Kobe earthquake (Lu 2015).

9.2. Analysis

As mentioned, the LW analysis, similar to the previous ones, is based on the data retrieved from *BNA*. However, for a book source of the British perspective, I advise to consult *Kipling's Japan: Collected Writings* (1988) by Hugh Cortazzi.

Unfortunately, the validation of JBs for British English in this analysis was done only partially with the help of *BNC* since its most recent samples are dated 1994; thus, the JBs that were first used after 1994 are only verified with the help of NG, which sadly may render fallible results; thus, it usually requires another source to confirm its results.

9.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

The British newspapers in this period provided their readers with some more information about Japan compared to the previous period. Naturally, it covered the most important events, including the royal visit to Japan (*Bookseller* 24/08/1974). The narration presented by the newspapers is in line with the economic rivalry between Britain and Japan, out of which Japan emerged as a 'super-power' (*Bookseller* 15/04/1978) and 'wealthy' (*Daily Mirror* 25/03/1980), e.g. "[w]ithin only forty years, Japan has risen from the catastrophe of the Second World War to become a world leader in industry and technology" (*Bookseller* 31/07/1987). Due to the Japanese economic stability, it was "expected to help Europe to get out of its recession as a result of a cabinet reshuffle yesterday" (*Daily Mirror* 01/12/1981).

British newspapers continued to praise Japanese natural beauty (e.g. "[i]n Japan, the beautiful gardens and palaces are visited along with what seems to be at least a million other

people" *Fashion and Craft (Creative Needlecraft)* 01/04/1982) and interesting culture making it a wonderful holiday destination:

> Give yourself the holiday of a lifetime in Japan the land of contrasts. Feast your eyes on breathtaking scenery and architecture, watch the colourful pageantry of the many festivals. Touch the delicate pottery, admire the traditional skills [...].

(*Illustrated London News* 01/01/1983)

The cultural exchange could be describe as thriving with the popularisation of the British literature (e.g. growth of Penguin Publishing House in Japan, *Bookseller* 16/03/1990) and productions in Japan (e.g. "[s]inger Brenda Arnau is joining forces with two Japanese businessmen to launch a new agency specialising in taking British acts out to Japan" *The Stage* 28/07/1983), as well as the promotion of the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* which "has something for everyone, appealing to people of wide and varied backgrounds with varying levels of knowledge about Japan" (*Bookseller* 26/11/1983).

The controversies that arose after the Smithsonian exhibition, also echoed in the British newspapers, especially after Tony Blair "angered former prisoners of war by urging Britain to give a warm welcome to Japan's Emperor Akihito" (*Daily Mirror* 26/05/1998). The issue of the British POWs naturally received more press coverage than the 'comfort women' since it was not directly related to the British society. Most of the articles about 'comfort women' come from 1995 (e.g. *Bookseller* 13/10/1995), which described it as a 'form of prostitution' (*The People* 20/08/1995) or 'sex slaves of the Japanese Empire' (*Bookseller* 24/03/1995), sometimes going in some more details, e.g. "comfort women were often left to die after they were abused by hundreds of men" (*Kensington Post* 17/08/1995) or "[o]nce we were crawling on the jungle floor when I came across a leg and as I uncovered the body realised it was a comfort woman whom the Japanese had shot and then discarded like a piece of meat" (*Chelsea News and General Adviser* 17/08/1995). Usually, these articles presented the excerpts from the books about 'comfort women' that were published in the 1990s, e.g. *Fifty years of silence* (1994) by Jan Ruff-O'Herne.

British newspapers seemed to show some appreciation after Japanese broadcasting networks joined the UK in mourning Lady Diana (e.g. *Sunday Mirror* 07/09/1997), showing Japanese interest in the British affairs. Nevertheless, to some the Japanese culture remained difficult to comprehend, e.g. "[t]he Japanese, famous for their own bizarre television programmes" (*The Stage* 03/11/1994). Since many of the examples for this analysis come

from the *Bookseller* magazine, multiple of the comments also present Japan as a great book printing and selling market.

9.2.2 Borrowings

In this period, it was significantly challenging to distinguish borrowings which could be more relevant to American English. Ultimately, no JB was excluded from the further analysis since each could be traced in British sources. It is highly possible that some borrowings first entered American English and then were inserted into the British lexicon. Nevertheless, it still makes them valid as subjects for further investigation. The only problematic lexeme was *robata-yaki* which is found only in its clipped version *robata* in NG.

Lastly, similarly to *Zengakuren* from section 7, I decided to eliminate *Tamagotchi* (also spelt as *Tamagochi*, Eng. IPA: /taməˈɡɒtʃi/), a popular Japanese electronic toy whose name is a compound word which consists of a lexeme two たまご *tamago* 'an egg' and an English borrowing ウオッチ *uotchi* 'a (wrist)watch' or 'to watch' (Jap. IPA: [tamagotˠtɕi][83]). I eliminated this lexeme because it is not only a loan blend (formed within Japanese and later borrowed into English), but also a proper name which did not undergo commonalisation in English. Interestingly, despite coming from a proper name, *Tamagotchi* is marked as Japanese, contrary to *Pac-Man* (see Warren 1997a: 33), and is included in *OED* with the year of first use in 1980. *OED* defines it as the proprietary name for a video and computer name, and its etymology points out its Japanese origin as a compound word that consists of Japanese ぱくぱく *pakupaku* (also written in katakana script パクパク) 'to eat quickly with small bites' (*OED*) or 'repeatedly opening and closing (one's mouth); gasping' (*Jisho*) and English *man*.

> [IX.1] *amakudari* (1974), [IX.2] *anime* (1985), [IX.3] *ankimo* (1984), [IX.4] *Betamax* (1975), [IX.5] *bokeh* (1997), [IX.6] *bukkake* (1984), [IX.7] *butoh* (1978), [IX.8] *chindogu* (1992), [IX.9] *emoji* (1997), [IX.10] *enjo kosai* (1996), [IX.11] *hamachi* (1978), [IX.12] *hentai* (1990), [IX.13] *hikikomori* (1998), [IX.14] *ikigai* (1972), [IX.15] *izakaya* (1987), [IX.16] *kaiju* (1972), [IX.17] *kaiju eiga* (1984), [IX.18] *kaizen* (1985), [IX.19] *kanban* (1977), [IX.20] *karaoke* (1977), [IX.21] *karoshi* (1988), [IX.22] *keitai* (1998), [IX.23] *mecha* (1986), [IX.24] *Midori* (1978), [IX.25] *mokume gane* (1979), [IX.26] *nikkeijin* (1979), [IX.27] *omakase* (1979), [IX.28] *otaku* (1992), [IX.29] *reiki* (1975), [IX.30] *robata-yaki* (1974), [IX.31] *sai* (1973), [IX.32] *sashiko* (1975), [IX.33] *shishito* (1975), [IX.34] *shojo* (1980), [IX.35] *shonen* (1982), [IX.36] *Shorin ryu* (1974), [IX.37] *shosha* (1976), [IX.38] *shuriken* (1978), [IX.39] *Sudoku* (2000), [IX.40] *surimi* (1973), [IX.41] ~~*Tamagotchi*~~ (1997), [IX.42] *tamari* (1977 [1965*]), [IX.43] *tokkin* (1985), [IX.44] *tsutsumu* (1975), [IX.45] *washi* (1978), [IX.46] *zaitech* (1986).

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[83] The phonetic transcription was retrieved from *Wikipedia* https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamagotchi (Accessed 12/09/2023).

CJC provides 45 lexemes which first use dates back to a year within the analysd period. Out of the retrieved lexemes 16 are relevant to this study: *budo* (see 5.2.2), *futon* (see 4.2.2), *juku/Juku* (see 6.2.2), <u>*kaizen*</u> (see Warren 1996: 36), <u>*karaoke*</u>, *Kawasaki disease/syndrome*, *keiretsu* (see 8.2.2), *kyokushinkai*, *minshuku* (see 8.2.2), *Nikkei* (see 8.2.2), *Pac-Man* (see below), *ramen* (see 8.2.2), <u>*sai*</u>, <u>*shosha*</u>, <u>*shuriken*</u>, and *yuko*.

Let us first start with the lexeme *bokeh*, "[b]lurring or hazing in the out-of-focus areas of a photographic image" (*OED*), which underwent an interesting process or Romanisation. The lexeme stems from Japanese 暈け *boke*, 'blur, lack of focus'[84]. This lexeme is pronounced in British English as /ˈbəʊkeɪ/ whereas in Japanese as /boke/. It is possible that the final *h* was added in the British version to highlight that the final /e/ is pronounced.

Next, the lexeme *bukkake*, from Japanese 打っ掛ける *bukkakeru* 'to splash', which has two meanings in English. One that came into existence in 1984: "[a] Japanese dish of noodles served with broth" (*OED*), and the other one, that dates back to 2000: "[a] type of sexual activity in which several men ejaculate on another person" (*OED*). The first meaning is recorded by both *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin*, whereas the second by neither of the dictionaries. Nevertheless, the second meaning is also present in the slang Japanese, which is not always recorded by the Japanese dictionaries.

Enjo kosai (Eng. IPA: /ˌɛndʒəʊ ˈkəʊsʌɪ/), from Japanese 援助交際 *enjo kōsai* 'paid dating' (lit. 'assisted companionship', Jap. IPA: /eɴdʑokoɯsai/), denotes in English "[i] In Japan and Hong Kong: a form of paid escort work in which a young woman provides companionship or sexual favours to an older man in exchange for money or luxury items. Also called compensated dating" (*OED*, cf. *escort*). Interestingly, this word, yielding only one result in NG, entered *OED*, contrary to 慰安婦 *ianfu*, the Japanese way for 'comfort women', which provides more returns in the NG search. Naturally, the only similarity in these two terms is the fact that they are related to prostitution, with *enjo kosai* suggesting voluntary prostitution and *ianfu* the forced one.

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[84] Interestingly, this lexeme was later re-borrowed into Japanese as ボケ味 *bokeaji* 'blue style', also spelt as 暈け味 *bokeaji* or rendered as ボケ写真 *boke shashin* 'Bokeh' (lit. blurry photography).
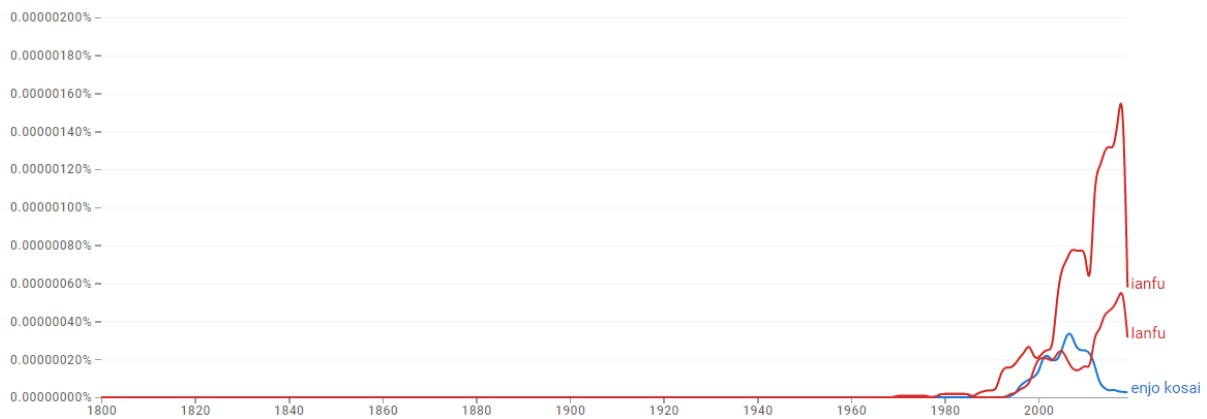
Figure 18 The frequency of the lexemes *ianfu* and *enjo kosai*

The next lexeme, *kanban*, denotes "a card or sheet displaying a set of manufacturing specifications and requirements which is circulated to suppliers and sent along a production line to regulate the supply of components" (*OED*, cf. Warren 1996: 36), and is especially in the *kanban system* phrase which denotes "[t]he coordinated manufacturing system employing kanbans, which ensures that components arrive from suppliers at the time they are required for assembly, thus minimizing factory storage and surplus" (*OED* cf. *just-in-time*).

Keitai, another JB, denotes a mobile phone in English. Since in English, the words *mobile (phone)* and *smartphone* are significantly entrenched, the need to borrow *keitai* is difficult to justify; however, it renders more results during an NG analysis than *ianfu* but is similar in the peak number to *sansei* from the previous analysis (8.2.2.). It should be noted that the word can be found in earlier texts in English, for instance, in the *Japanese-English Technical Terms Dictionary* (1947); however, it should be highlighted that this source is a dictionary where *keitai* is not defined as 'a mobile phone', yet as an adjective 'portable' — the present-day *keitai* in Japanese is a clipped version of the compound word *keitaidenwa*, where 携帯 *keitai* denotes 'portable' and 電話 *denwa* 'phone'.

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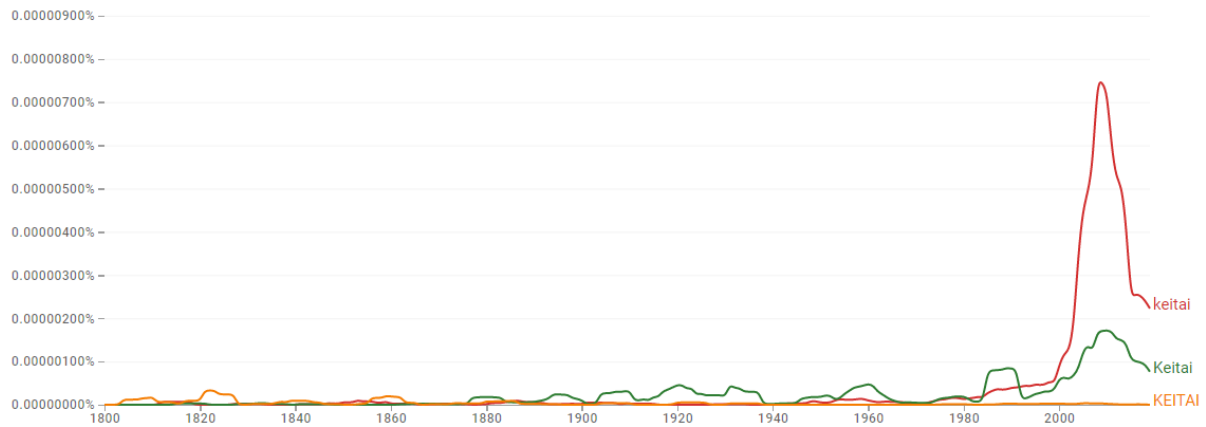
Figure 19 The frequency of the lexeme *keitai*

Next, a borrowing that took little time to enter the British lexicon, *otaku*. This lexeme, according to *Kōjien* and *Sūpā Daijirin* has at least one meaning, yet here we focus on the one that is in line with *OED* definition: "[o]riginally in Japan: a person extremely knowledgeable about the minute details of a particular hobby (esp. a solitary or minority hobby); spec. one who is skilled in the use of computer technology and is considered by some to be poor at interacting with others"*,* however this definition is partially out-dated since it was first published in 2004 (*OED*). This definition is very similar to the one provided by *Kōjien*; however, it is partially incomplete. A more precise definition, which is in line with the present understanding of this word by the British, is provided by *Sūpā Daijirin*. This definition highlights that an *otaku* prefers a fictional world and is particularly interested in Japanese *anime*, *manga*, or video games. *Sūpā Daijirin* also points to the fact that, in this sense, *otaku* has been used in Japanese since the mid-1980s. The definition provided by *OED* most likely comes from the moment when *otaku* slowly entered the British lexicon and was not subject to the partial amelioration that later on took place in Japan. Currently, *otaku*, which is also perceived as an interesting Japanese social phemonena (Hinton 2018), evokes negative connotations in Japan[85] that are not as strong in the English-speaking world. The pop-cultural connotation in the English-speaking world is not as negative as in the Japanese society.

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[85] A strong interest in *anime*, *manga*, or video games is sometimes perceived as something to be ashamed of, especially as an adult. For a cultural representation, see the anime or manga series *Wotakoi: Love is Hard for Otaku* (2018) by Fujita.

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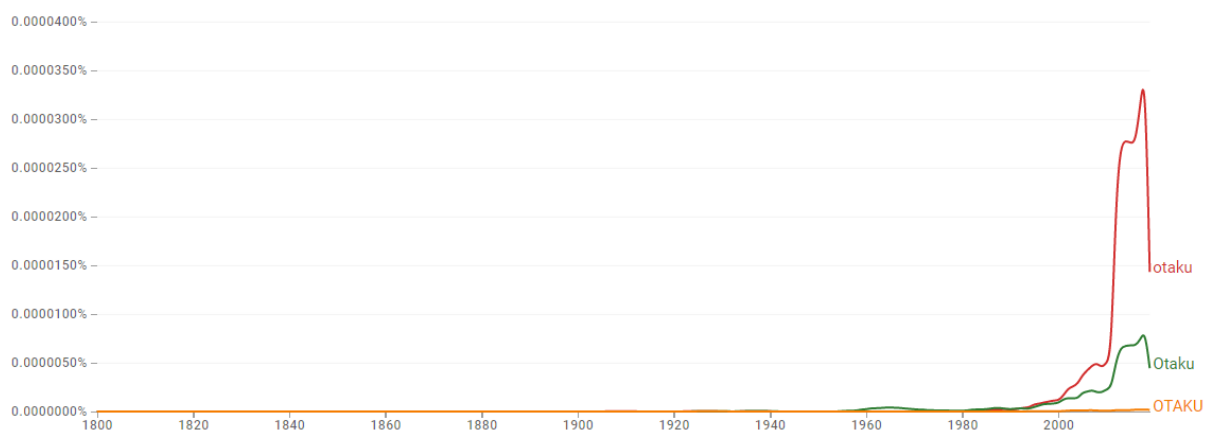
Figure 20 The frequency of the lexeme *otaku*

Continuing the topic of Japanese popular culture, we can move to *shojo* (Eng. IPA: /ˈʃəʊdʒəʊ/) from Japanese 少女 *shōjo* (Jap. IPA: /ɕoɯdzo/) 'girl', which in English mainly denotes the Japanese genre of manga or anime targeted to a young female audience (*OED*). This lexeme is contrasted with *shonen* (Eng. IPA: /ˈʃəʊnɛn/ or /ˈʃəʊnən/) from Japanese 少年 *shōnen* (Jap. IPA: /ɕoɯneɴ/) 'boy', which in English denotes the genre targeted to the young male audience (*OED*). In both cases, we can observe a narrowing of the original meaning, or rather borrowing of only one meaning these lexemes hold.

In the case of *zaitech*, *OED* acknowledges the Japanese origin and points to the fact that it was formed within the Japanese from 財 *zai* 'wealth' and an English borrowing テク *teku* 'tech'. As Cannon (1996: 246) points out, *zaitech* (also: *zaiteku*) is a Japanese abbreviation of 財務 *zaimu* 'financial affairs' and テクノロジー *tekunorojii* from English 'technology'. According to *CJC* (Ibid.), it was coined as an echo to the earlier *haiteku* from English *high-tech*. *Zaitech* denotes a "[l]arge-scale financial speculation by a company, the concept underpinning the major Japanese expansion into American and European markets in the 1980s" (Ibid.).

9.3.   Summary

Even though there are many layers to the character of the British-Japanese relations, and their character cannot be classified as positive, neutral or negative, the newspapers paint a fairly positive picture of Japan in terms of economy. However, according to Braddick (2000), the press coverage was predominantly negative, contrary to the results of the above analysis.

> At the popular level, 'bad news' continued to dominate Anglo-Japanese relations during 1992. Press stories ranged from Japanese mistreatment of whales and dolphins and shipments of Japanese plutonium from Britain and France, to the Sagawa Kyubin corruption scandal, Japanese companies in the UK 'evading' taxes, Shirayama's controversial purchase of County Hall in London, and the prices charged by Japanese computer game companies.
>
> (Braddick 2000: 294–295)

On the other hand, the results are in line with Kuroiwa (2000)[86], who says that British media not only showed interest in Japan, but also praised it for its development. Nevertheless, even though outside the financial matters, relations seemed to be positive, it was a mere façade to many due to the animosity stemming from the atrocities committed by Japan. According to Johnson (1988) even more harsh perception of Japan was present in the American books and newspapers.

According to Tsuchihashi (1997: 690), lexical borrowing has steadily enriched English. In fact, by 1987, Japanese and Spanish tied for second place after French among the recent — at that time — donor languages of loanwords into English (Cannon 1994). Presumably, most of the Japanese borrowings in English have entered English through printed media (Tsuchihashi 1997: 683); however, with the progressing globalisation and growing availability of digital sources, Britons were more frequently exposed to the spoken Japanese via its movies and animations.

If we were to group all the lexemes from this period and assign each only one semantic group based on the information provided by *OED* we could distinguish ten groups: popular culture (*anime*, *emoji*, *enjo kosai*, *hentai*, *kaiju*, *kaiju eiga*, *karaoke*, *mecha*, *otaku*, *shojo*, *shonen*, *Sudoku*, and *Tamagotchi*), cuisine (*ankimono*, *bukkake*, *Hamachi*, *Midori*, *robata-yaki*, *shishito*, *surimi*, and *tamari* [cf. Cannon 1996: 224]), technology (*Betamax*, *chindogu*, and *keitai*), traditional culture (*bokeh*, *butoh*, *mokume gane*, *izakaya*, *sashiko*, *tsutsumu*, and *washi*), society (*hikikomori*, *karoshi*, *nikkeijin*), mentality (*ikigai*, and *reiki*), business and industry (*amakudari*, *kaizen*, *kanban*, *omakase*, *shosha*, *tokkin*, and *zaitech*), and martial arts (*sai*, *Shorin ryu*, and *shuriken*). However, given the multiplicity of the meanings, and their different dimensions we could also apply a different approach distinguishing more specific groups like

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[86] "Stimulated by the American media, which had an interest in Japan, the British mass media began to show an interest in the 1970s. For example, the Economist of 4 January 1975 ran a special edition on Japan titled 'The Century of the Pacific Ocean 1975–2075?' The article pointed out that from 1 January the century of Japan had started and praised Japan even though they felt it necessary to include a question-mark. It complimented Japan, saying that a stable policy for 30 years following World War II and a health administration that increased life expectancy, combined with an appreciation for beauty, formed the basis for economic growth" (Kuroiwa 2000: 251).

sexuality (e.g. *bukkake*, *enjo kosai*, and *hentai*) or anime and manga (e.g. *hentai*, *mecha*, *otaku*, *shojo*, and *shonen*). Considering the fact, that the business and industry category is still present we can conclude that Japan had a continuous status of an important economic player. This can be also exemplified by the term *glocal* which according to *OED* was formed within English, according to Cannon (1996: 115), is a Japanese-English blend of the words *global* and *local* (originated in 1980s) that together form an adjective "[o]f business that is simultaneously global and local, where the global view of the market is adjusted to local conditions" (*OED*).

10. 21st Century (2001–2020)

This period posed multiple problems for the analysis. First, the most important reference works, i.e., *CJC*, Hayakawa (2014), and *OED*, provided only one lexeme for the analysis. In the case of *CJC*, it is understandable that it was published in 1996; however, the scarcity of JBs in the last two reference works may suggest a significant drop in the influx of new Japanese lexemes. Also, *BNC* could not be used for further analysis of the retrieved JBs since this corpora, as mentioned in the previous section, provides users with the most recent samples dating back to 1994. Moreover, *BNA* did not help retrieve the long samples for the linguistic worldview analysis since 725 results in the search for the word 'Japan' were, in most cases, short titles devoid of the evaluative language.

Furthermore, there are few extensive works similar to the ones prepared by Nish that discuss British-Japanese relations in the first two decades of the 21st century. Therefore, the chosen most essential events listed below are mere suggestions based on the articles retrieved from *BNA* and require further verification by a historian specialised in the British-Japanese relations. Naturally, in this work I am analysing the Japanese borrowings within the historical and social context of British-Japanese relations, which are reconstructed based on existing works. Since there are no works I could use as the source materials, I decided to provide a preliminary study based on residual data retrieved from various sources. In other words, this analysis is a mere outline that undoubtedly will require an update within the next few decades. Mainly because, as the previous analyses show, the lack of JBs for the analysis is not a sign of the drop in the influx as suggested above. However, it stems from the fact that some lexemes still need to be recognised as borrowings, which can happen within the next decades. A similar claim was already made by Cannon in 1996:

> [i]t must be remembered that the total loans from these three languages in the 1980s are too recent to be recorded in the standard dictionaries; yet numbers of undated but undoubtedly recent loanwords have appeared in the latest editions of desk dictionaries like Chambers.
>
> (*CJC*: 34)

10.1. Historical Background

In 1999, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan launched the document titled 'Action Agenda 21', which listed twenty-one areas in which Britain and Japan look forward to

cooperate in the next century[87]. The areas were divided into three categories: *people-to-people links*, *mutual prosperity*, and *a better world*. It is worth considering all the events that took place in that period in the context of the discussed agenda that possibly influenced the launch of the year-long 'Japan 2001' cultural exchange project in 2001 [88]. However, despite launching this successful project marking the fruitful British-Japanese cooperation, Japan alone faced many financial difficulties in 2001 that, by some, was named the 'depressing year' in the history of Japan (Lincoln 2002, cf. *Eurofund Europa* report from 2003); to a certain degree, it marked the end of Japan as a global power.

Among the most important events in terms of not only British-Japanese relations but also the history of Japan in general, we should name the Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami that hit Japan on March 11, 2011. In order to help Japan, Britain sent rescue men with rescue dogs and supplies to help the Japanese.

In April 2012, a British trade delegation to Japan, led by Prime Minister David Cameron, announced an agreement to develop weapons systems jointly. It was right before the beginning of the 2012 Summer Olympics that were held in London. It was the first Summer Olympics in London, out of three, in which Japan took part.

In 2016, the United Kingdom held a referendum about Brexit, followed by signing a new trade deal between the European Union and Japan in 2018. Japan called for a 'soft' Brexit that could secure its interest with Britain and the European Union, and the signed new trade deal was hoped to also act as a blueprint for post-Brexit trade between Japan and the UK. Following a referendum on June 23 2016, Brexit[89] officially occurred on January 31, 2020. In September of the same year, Britain and Japan agreed on a free trade agreement, the first one signed by the United Kingdom after leaving the European Union.

Considering these two decades, most likely, the last year of the analysis was the most eventful, not only because of the Brexit that took place in January but also because of the outbreak of COVID-19 in Japan and the United Kingdom in the same month. It was also the

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[87] Retrieved from the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan *ACTION AGENDA 21: THE UK AND JAPAN IN THE 21st CENTURY* https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/uk/agenda21.html (Accessed 10/12/2023)
[88] Information retrieved from a bluebook (2002) prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, from the chapter titled *International Exchange and Public Relations Activities* (192–196) available at https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2002/chap4-a.pdf (Accessed 16/10/2023).
[89] see *Japan-UK relations after Brexit: Looking towards a closer economic partnership* (March 2021) by Asia House available at https://asiahouse.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Japan-UK-Relations-after-Brexit-Asia-House-2021.pdf (Accessed 07/02/2024).

first time the Olympic Games were postponed. According to the initial plan, the Tokyo 2020 Olympics were scheduled to take place in August 2020, but it was moved to March 2021 in response to the pandemic. In September 2020, Shinzo Abe resigned from his office as the prime minister of Japan. He held this office for eight years throughout the cadencies of the three UK prime ministers: David Cameron, Theresa May, and Boris Johnson.

Events:

2011   – Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami, i.e., Fukushima nuclear accident;
2013   – Japan400 — 400th anniversary of the beginning of diplomatic trade relations between Britain and Japan;
2019   – first outbreak of COVID-19 in Wuhan, Hubei, China;
2020   – first cases of COVID-19 in Japan in the United Kingdom; Brexit.

10.2. Analysis

As pointed out at the beginning of this section, there are not many studies on the recent, i.e., the last twenty years, on the JBs or discourse on Japan. Moreover, *OED* (as of December 2021)[90] includes only one JB that entered English in general after 2000. Of no help is also either *CJC* or Hayakawa (2014) which rely on sources that provide information similar to *OED*. Thus, the section on the borrowings focuses on one lexeme.

For the LW analysis of this period, the author again consulted the newspaper excerpts retrieved from *BNA*. The following criteria refined the *BNA* search: Search all words: *Japan,* Publication Place: *London, London, England*; Publication Date: From *2001* to *2020*; Article Type: *Article*, *Arts & Popular Culture*, *News*. The search yielded 725 results, mainly from the *Bookseller* and *The Stage* newspapers. It is important to note that *Bookseller* frequently includes book reviews, especially the issues printed after 2000. Thus, the author made every effort to eliminate such samples to provide an undistorted picture of Japan. Nevertheless, due to the specific scope of the newspapers, which focus on books and the publishing industry, the provided results undoubtedly require supplementary analysis of other sources.

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[90] In March 2024, OED received an update of additional twenty-three entries out of which four are relevant for this period: *isekai* (2018), *kintsugi* (2008), *tokusatsu* (2004), and *washi tape* (2010).

10.2.1 Linguistic Picture of Japan

In the first two decades of the 21st century, *Bookseller* provided British readers with more details of the Japanese culture and current trends in the publishing industry. Among the brought-up trends, we can find information on Japanese women who like "to read stories about pretty boys" (*Bookseller* 25/08/2006), which could be viewed in the Western world as homosexual (Ibid.). In this article, the author most likely refers to 少年愛 *shōnen-ai* (lit. 'boys love') or やおい *yaoi* manga and anime genre.

The analysed newspaper also frequently mentioned the popularity of the mobile phones which Japanese used to read, e.g. "in Japan everyone seems to spend hours reading off their mobiles, whether it be emails, news or comic manga" (*Bookseller* 14/09/2007). This modernisation of the reading process was a reoccurring topic in the *Bookseller*'s articles (e.g. *Bookseller* 14/03/2008), as well as the commonness of manga in Japan and its rising popularity in Britain (e.g. *Bookseller* 21/07/2006).

From time to time, the newspapers provided general comments on the recent events or summarised the circulating opinions, e.g. "[m]ost accounts of foreigners living in Japan are bemused celebrations of its downright weirdness set in the neon maelstrom of Tokyo" (*Bookseller* 22/06/2007). *Bookseller* also provided its readers with the Japanese perspective on various matters, for instance, the emotions that accompanied some Japanese people during the post-war period, which was filled with "a mixture of guilt and curiosity" (*Bookseller* 16/07/2004).

10.2.2 Borrowings

Amigurumi (Jap. 縫い包み *amigurumi* 'a knitted/crocheted toy'), the only borrowing in this analysis, was first used in 2006. It denotes "[t]he Japanese craft of creating small, crocheted or knitted, stuffed figures resembling animals or other creatures. Also: the stuffed figures so created" (*OED*). This lexeme neither yields any results in NG nor is listed by Hayakawa (2014).

Interestingly, the results of a search in Google Images suggest a semantic change since the search for *amigurumi* provides us with knitted toys, whereas the search for 縫い包み provides us with pictures of various stuffed toys (Jap. 縫いぐるみ *nuigurumi*), not necessarily knitted or crocheted. It is important to note that *amigurumi* is a type of *nuigurumi*,

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so it is no surprise that the superordinate term appears among the results when searching for the subordinate term. The consultation with *Kōjien* proves that no semantic change took place since it defines 縫いぐるみ as a knitted stuffed animal.

According to *OED*, the British pronunciation of *amigurumi* (Eng. IPA: /ˌamɪɡɵˈruːmi/ or /ˌamɪɡɵˈruːmi/) renders the common in Japanese /ɯ/, close back unrounded vowel, as /ɵ/, near-close central rounded vowel, or as *OED* notes, a sound between [ʊ] and [ə].

10.3. Summary

Based on the excerpts retrieved from *Bookseller*, we can see that Japan was perceived as a modern society that consumes lots of the popular culture, i.e., manga, and literature in a digital form. On the other hand, no further comments can be made on the borrowings in this period since, as suggested earlier, the new ones will most likely take some time to enter the British dictionaries. Therefore, this analysis should be treated as a pilot study worth updating within a few years.

CHAPTER III

Conclusions

1.   Changes in the Description — the Linguistic Worldview

The primary purpose of language is to convey meaning and conceptualise reality. Both purposes heavily rely on human experience, thus resulting in an "imperfect" reflection of reality or at least not universal. However, some events affect larger groups of people, resulting in a similar LW, which later on can function as a "storehouse" of collective experiences (cf. Sapir 1963, Bartmiński 1999, Abdullayeva et al. 2020). To study LW, through the analysis of socially established meaning within their sociocultural context, is to study a linguistic repository of knowledge about humans and culture. This approach is rooted in the thought that

> every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness.
>
> (Whorf 1978: 252)

The perception of Japan by the British has been a subject of various studies (e.g. Kowner 2000, Yokoyama 2001, Papini 2021)[91]; to add to this discussion, this work aimed at consulting additional sources and contextualising the retrieved information in the historical events. Naturally, the British outlook on Japan presented above differs depending on the consulted source (i.e., a book, a diary, or a newspaper), the author (due to the possibility of including personal opinion)[92], and the period (due to the ongoing events). However, the variety of consulted sources allowed me to notice both their advantages and disadvantages as reference materials. As suggested in the analyses, newspapers present a fairly recent and quick response to the ongoing events (Bednarek 2006, O'Keeffe 2011). However, the newspaper articles do not include as much evaluative language as diaries and books do since their main focus is on presenting the information rather than providing an opinion — despite their huge role as the opinion-making medium — which is also in line with what Bednarek (2006) suggests.

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[91] For information on the reception of Britain by the Japanese, see Cobbing (2013).

[92] Some of the sources analysed above are of questionable character due to being translations and possible fictitiousness (e.g. Kaempfer and MacFarlane) are excluded in the drawing of the conclusions. Those were included above merely to present a broader picture and provide a more general perspective, as well as a deep context.

In contrast, when newspapers are influenced by the most recent reality (O'Keeffe 2011), books provide a delayed response to certain events as well as texts. On the other hand, similarly, newspapers may present a perspective presented by their biased correspondent or source of information presenting another form of intertextuality (cf. Tannen 2006).

In many cases, the presented picture paints Japan as an interesting curio, but it is not very common to recognise Japan as an equal, even if it is an ally. The fact that Japan is home to many traditions that, in the British opinion, significantly vary from what is practised in Europe is very much in line with claims made by Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (1978), where he wrote:

> the Europeans created an image of the Orient as an exotic, backward, culturally inferior 'other', in contrast to the culturally superior and forward-looking European 'self', and then utilized that false, self-serving image as a crude justification for their domination and exploitation of the 'other', and its influential counterpart in the non-literary domain.
>
> (Massarella 2000: 9)

Moreover, it is in line with Ozaki's comment that "[p]erhaps no country in the world has suffered so much, directly and indirectly, at the hands of the imaginative book-maker and magazine writer as Japan" (Ozaki 1900: 568). Even though these words refer to the second half of the nineteenth century, this may also be true for other periods. In many examples, Japan was idealised due to the beauty of its nature, or its image was distorted by the inaccurate representation of its tradition or culture. According to Romagnoli (2019), it is an example of 'imaginative geography' introduced by Edward Said, which can be defined as "[r]epresentations of other places — of peoples and landscapes, cultures and 'natures' — that articulate the desires, fantasies and fears of their authors and the grids of power between them and their 'Otherness'" (Romagnoli 2019: 563).

The only moment when Japan was portrayed as equally civilised, especially in the first analyses, was when it was compared with other Asian countries. As a matter of fact, the representation of Japan varied depending on the writer's intention or the adopted policy at that time. If Japan was to be presented as a potential partner, it had to be described in positive words. However, this conclusion may not be valid in light of other source materials. Naturally, the positive attitude was realised in positively charged vocabulary like 'powerful' and 'wealthy'. However, it is interesting to note that the examples of comparisons between Japan and Britain correlate with the presence of positively charged vocabulary. For instance, if Japan shows some traits that are of high virtue to British society, the author highlights that Japan is similar in that matter to Britain. This type of comparison made by Adams, according

to Raffles (1830), was politically powered, and Adams intentionally portrayed Japan positively to seek help and free himself from Japanese hands. However, many other authors sought a similarity between Japanese and British culture, and the idea of Japan being "the Great Britain of the East" was studied by many scholars, for instance, Katz (1967), Fisher (1968), and Shin (2020).

Even though the analysed descriptions may have seemed to be positive, those, in many cases, were someone's opinions that reflected their mindset at a particular moment. The LW, especially the one studied on the example of the subjective sources, provides us with only a tiny glimpse of the general LW. Since the mid-20th century, some underlying animosity and, from time to time, hidden affection intertwining with a fake resentment or other feelings could be felt but were not directly reflected in all of one's writings.

Lastly, since the linguistic worldview analysis was conducted here very superficially, merely to present a general narration on Japan in the British texts, readers interested more in this topic should consult Kerr (2008) and Pratt (2008). Also, for a different perspective of British culture in Japanese literature, it is worth consulting Butler (2023).

2.   Borrowings

This study analysed the borrowings within their social and historical context by taking a broadly general perspective and analysing British English without any further dialectal or regional distinction. Naturally, the introduction of JBs was not homogenous, and possibly their use depended on the social class of the British English speakers.

It is generally acknowledged that borrowings, an example of lexical change, are being adapted into the target language on four levels: phonological, graphic, morphological, and semantic (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008: 213). However, the analysis showed that the phonological adaptation of the Japanese borrowings is strongly correlated with the graphic one, and the morphological change is related to the semantic one; thus, these are discussed in two pairs. Yet, before proceeding to the discussion on the results of the adaptation analysis, some general remarks should be made.

The performed analysis allowed for pointing out 19 misdated borrowings in *OED* (the updated year is provided in the square brackets; the question mark is used to mark the first use of *mono no aware* but within a longer phrase, not alone [see Chapter II 7.2.2.]):

aucuba (1819 [1809*]), *Bon* (1899 [1617*]), *daimio* (1839 [1727*]), *dojo* (1942 [1915*]), *habu* (1895 [1818*?]), *hara-kiri* (1856 [1840*]), *hiragana* (1822 [1727*]), *kami* (1727 [1615*]), *kimono* (1886 [1614*]), *koku* (1727 [1614*]), *mono no aware* (1940 [1899*?]), *momme* (1727 [1615*]), *rin* (1868 [1704*]), *sun* (1727 [1616*]), *tabi* (1616 [1614*]), *tamari* (1977 [1965*]), *urushi* (1727 [1613*]), *wakizashi* (1727 [1613*]), *yakitori* (1962 [1930*]).

According to Kay (1995), today, there are over 25,000 English loanwords in Japanese, whereas from 543 collected JBs from *OED*, 531 are relevant to British English if we consider results provided by *BNC* and NG. It is also worth noting that out of 1,509 retrieved JBs from *CJC*, only 269 were returned as relevant to British English; in other words, 1,240 lexemes were not listed by *BNC* or are not considered relevant due to not being borrowings (e.g. *Korean*, *funny*, or *Japanese Revolution*), or being simply different spellings of other listed JBs (e.g. *catan*).

The majority of the retrieved borrowings are nouns, and this result is in line with Tsuchihashi's (1997: 689) results, as well as with Haspelmath's (2009) claim that nouns are the easiest to borrow grammatical category, contrary to the verb, which requires more grammatical adaptations than nouns (Haspelmath 2009: 35). Mańczak-Wohlfeld (2008: 113) includes all other grammatical categories to those of a less significant borrowability, which is also in line with the obtained results (cf. Haugen 1950, Weinreich 1966, Bajerowa 1980). Unfortunately, providing an exact number of JBs belonging to the specific grammatical category is difficult for two reasons. Firstly, because many of the JBs underwent a functional shift after existing in English for some time and, for instance, some nouns became nominal adjectives. Secondly, Japanese enables an easy change from a noun to an adjective by the addition of specific suffixes and particles, so it is possible that the JBs that entered English as adjectives did not necessarily undergo a functional shift from nouns during the borrowing process. The etymon of such borrowings were likely adjectival forms, but during the borrowing process, the adjectival suffixes and particles were dropped.

To identify some trends, the author offers an average borrowing number per period (Table 8, average = borrowings / number of years). Naturally, the average will differ depending on the selected timespan. However, the numbers, to a certain degree, correspond with the historical events. The peak of the JBs influx, according to *CJC*, can be marked in the fourth quarter-century (to be precise, in the year 1876), which is in line with the retrieved numbers. Interestingly, according to Cannon's words from 1996, "Japanese has now moved ahead of Spanish as a modern supplier and is gaining on French, though still considerably surpassed, especially in total items in English but also in modern lexical transferring" (*CJC*:

34, after Cannon 1994). Interestingly, according to Kościelecki (2006: 26), who quotes the results of Vos (1963) *Dutch influences on the Japanese language*, English was the primary source of foreign borrowings into Japanese in the periods 1613–1623, 1854–1941, and 1945 onward. The quoted results seem to match the earlier discussed historical events, especially the lack of contact from the middle of the 17th century till the middle of the 19th.

Period	Borrowings from OED	Average	Updated number	Average
1. *1600–1632*	19	19/32 ~ **0,59**	26	26/32 ~ **0,74**
2. *1633–1750*	50	50/117 ~ **0,43**	47	47/117 ~ **0,41**
3. *1751–1853*	26	26/102 ~ **0,25**	26	26/102 ~ **0,25**
4. *1854–1901*	193	193/47 ~ **4,11**	190	190/47 ~ **4,04**
5. *1902–1923*	62	62/21 ~ **2,95**	62 – 3 = 59	59/21 ~ **2,81**
6. *1924–1939*	29	29/15 ~ **1,93**	31 – 2 = 28	29/15 ~ **1,87**
7. *1940–1952*	38	38/12 ~ **3,17**	36 – 5 = 31	31/12 ~ **2,58**
8. *1953–1971*	79	79/18 ~ **4,39**	78 – 2 = 76	76/18 ~ **4,22**
9. *1972–2000*	46	46/28 ~ **1,64**	45 – 1 = 44	44/29 ~ **1,52**
10. *2000–2020*	1	1/20 = **0,05**	1	1/20 = **0,05**
Sum	543	543/420 ~ **1,29**	529	529/420 ~ **1,26**

Table 8 Borrowings in numbers

We can see a significant difference in numbers if we compare the above-presented data with Cannon's results (1996), which state that the twentieth century:

> witnessed 74 Japanese items added to English in the 1900s, 64 in the 1910s, 77 in the 1920s, down to 54 in the 1930s, and then a jump to 64 in the 1940s. […] The year 1957 was highlighted by 14 items (*Minamata disease*). With at least 2 items in every year of the 1960s, we find 12 in 1969, characterized by the 6 relating to sumo (*basho*). The 60 items in the 1970s include 12 in 1970 (*dokusan*). The 66 items added in the 1980s include 9 in 1986 […]. In the early 1990s we find 8 items in 1990 […].
>
> (*CJC*: 33–34)

However, this difference in number mainly stems from the fact that *CJC* provides its users with all the contributions, whereas *OED* includes only the carefully selected borrowings. However, once a lexeme enters *OED*, it never leaves, resulting in many "archaic" borrowings or those that are not necessarily considered borrowings because, most likely, *OED* simply copied information from the previous dictionaries.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that, as mentioned in Chapter II 10.2.2, in March 2024, *OED* received an update of additional twenty-three entries including: *donburi* (1922), *hibachi*

(1863), *isekai* (2018), *kagome* (1895), *karaage* (1951), *katsu* (1976), *katsu curry* (the 1970s), *kintsugi* (2008), *kirigami* (1958), *mangaka* (1994), *okonomiyaki* (1958), *onigiri* (1943), *santoku* (1993), *shibori* (1903), *takoyaki* (1967), *tokusatsu* (2004), *tonkatsu* (1954), *tonkatsu sauce* (1960s), *tonkotsu* (1907), *tonkotsu* (1970s), *washi tape* (2010), and *yakiniku* (1947). Table 8 does not include these borrowing since it was based on the material collected by December 2021.

2.1.   Orthography and Phonetics of the Japanese Borrowings

To a certain degree, we cannot deny that historical events influence the borrowings' spelling. However, this stance depends on what we consider a historical event. Is Great Vowel Shift the same type of historical event as the publication of Hepburn's dictionary (Chapter II section 4.1.), the introduction of the *Monbusho system* (Chapter II section 6.1.), or the revision of Hepburn's Romanisation system (Chapter II section 8.1.)? Are those events more or equally influential as the signature to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Chapter II section 5.1.)? Even if not, each of these events or processes definitely impacted the way borrowings were initially spelt, in which form they entered dictionaries and the spelling of their later popularised version. As Doi claims, "the irregular Romanising spellings are not necessarily due to spelling changes that occurred in the process of naturalising" (2010: 90, cf. Kimura-Kano 2006: 41–42), which suggests that the variety of the Romanising systems may be at fault, rather than the mentioned naturalisation process. As Schultz (2017) justly points out, the "majority of words adopted from Japanese since 1900 have been subject to *transliteration*" (2017: 44), not Romanisation[93]. Transliteration denotes "the process by which the letters or characters of a foreign word are rendered into the alphabet of another language" (Ibid.), i.e., this is not the same as the mentioned Romanisation, which is a system, not a process. According to *CJC* "[b]efore standardized transliterative systems for Japanese were available, there was considerable irregularity, as seen in older loanwords like *itzebu* (*itchebu*, *itzeboo*, and eight other spellings" (1996: 73), or in the above analysed *wacadash*.

To properly analyse the phonetics and phonology of JBs, we should start by making some remarks on their orthography. This order is particularly important in languages in which users had limited contact, resulting in the popularisation of certain pronunciations based on the forms that entered the target language. In the case of the analysed material, it can be said

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[93] To learn more about various Romanisation styles and conventions for the Japanese language, see Kusakabe (1977: 341–383).

that the spelling of JBs in English initially was not consistent and varied significantly until the introduction of the THR, despite the existence of other Romanisation systems. However, most of the consistency was brought by the introduction of MHR since, after its introduction, almost all of the borrowings were Romanised according to its rules. Nevertheless, some inconsistencies still occurred. The biggest inconsistency is that *OED*, in most cases, does not introduce the macrons over vowels that are a part of the MHR system. For instance, in *OED,* we can find *jōruri* spelt with a macron over *e*, and *romaji* spelt without a macron over *o*.

Among other examples of *OED* not following MHR, we can find lexemes with an accent (not present in MHR) over the final *e*, which most likely was used to highlight the vocalisation of the last vowel. For instance, *OED* uses an accent in *mousmé* and *saké*[94] to highlight the final *e*'s vocalisation; however, it does not do it in the case of *metake*. An interesting change of spelling also occurred in the case of *bokeh*, where we can find an additional consonant, which most likely was added to suggest the vocalisation of the final *e*, which in English tends to be silent, e.g. *instance* and *example*.

The fact that the lexemes listed by *OED* do not use MHR (e.g. see Chapter II 3.2.2.) in all of the cases — especially the lack of the macron over the long vowels — may suggest naturalisation of the borrowed words since the spelling does not use any foreign diacritics, except the French accent. However, there is a certain inconsequence. The spelling of most of the borrowings follows MHR, yet simply drops the macron over the long vowels, making them no longer long and thus alternating the original pronunciation, e.g. *romaji* Eng. IPA: /ˈrəʊmədʒi/ vs. Jap. IPA: /ɾoːmadʑi/. Therefore, in some cases, neither spelling (e.g. no indication of the original long *o* in *romaji*) nor pronunciation (e.g. from [oː] to [əʊ] in *romaji*) is preserved. Of course, some may point out that English does not generally use macrons over words. Thus, it would not make sense to include the exception of the Japanese borrowings; however, this argument is also disputable if we consider that the use of the French accent is also fairly uncommon and, in most cases, limited to the French borrowings. However, it is possible that the inconsistency was not so much on the side of the English speakers themselves, but simply resulted from the presence of an intermediary language, e.g. French or Portuguese, which applies a different Romanisation system.

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[94] It should also be highlighted that neither *mousmé* and *saké* were originally spelt with an accent. Even *saké* which was first used in the English translation of a French traveller, Jean de Thévenot. Importantly, not only borrowings, but also toponyms that use the accents over vowels (see Chapter II 3.3 *Ourá-gawá*).

Contrary to the orthography of the analysed borrowings, their phonetics differs between American English and British English; thus, the selection of the English variant for this analysis was historically and linguistically relevant. In other words, the above remarks on the spelling can be applied fairly generally to all the "Englishes", proving the universality of the JBs spelling in English (cf. Doi 2008: 69–71); however, it cannot be done with the below-discussed phonetics even though "English segments are close enough to the Japanese ones that few significant problems arise" (*CJC*: 73).

The characteristic feature of Japanese phonotactics is the dominance of open syllables with the impossibility of any consonant to function as a coda except *n* and *m* (Kubozono 2015)[95]; however, it is not a problem for British English. In fact, most of the sounds present in Japanese have a close corresponding sound in British English; nevertheless, some changes occur, resulting in a "British accent" while pronouncing certain words (cf. Tsuchihashi 1997: 688). Table 9 lists the most prominent changes that occur due to phonetic adaptation through the set of differences in the pronunciation of certain words.

Japanese	British English	Example
/ɯ/ – close back unrounded vowel	/u/ – close back rounded vowel	*juku*
/dʑ/ – voiced alveolo-palatal affricate	/dʒ/ – voiced palato-alveolar sibilant affricate	*juku, ninjutsu, gaijin*
/oɯ/ – mid back rounded vowel + close back unrounded vowel	/əʊ/ – mid central vowel + near-close near-back rounded vowel	*Minseito, Genro*
/ɾ/ – voiced alveolar tap	/r/ – voiced alveolar trill	*hara-kiri, Genro*
/ɕ / – voiceless alveolo-palatal fricative	/ ʃ / – voiceless postalveolar fricative	*shochu*
/tɕ/ – voiceless alveolo-palatal affricate	/tʃ/ – voiceless postalveolar affricate	*shochu*
/ɴ/ – voiced uvular nasal	/n/ – voiced alveolar nasal	*gaijin*
/ɰ / – rounded voiced velar approximant	/w/ – voiced labialised velar approximant	*kawaii*
*/n/ – voiced nasal laminal denti-alveolar	*/m/ – voiced bilabial nasal	*Kempeitai, kombu, kombucha*

Table 9 Selected changes in sounds from Japanese to British English — based on *JIT* and *OED*.

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[95] The phonetic differences between English and Japanese were discussed by many scholars (e.g. Kay 1995), mainly in the context of the English borrowings in Japanese or general limitations of the Japanese phonetic system (e.g. Ohata 2004, Kageyama 2015, Perlin 2021).

When it comes to the discussion on the above information, first, we should highlight that not all phoneticians use /ɕ/ and /tɕ/ in their transcriptions. For instance, Shibatani and Kageyama (2015: xviii) propose the use of /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ respectively. Similarly, Ohata (2004: 6) uses in her work /u/ in the table presenting Japanese vowels; however, in other works, such as Kubozono (2015), it can be observed that this sound is represented by [ɯ]. Kubozono (2015) justifies his choice by stating that he uses [ɯ] instead of [u] due to the fact that this vowel has almost lost the lip protrusion, although it is not as flat as the IPA's [ɯ]. Nevertheless, the differences presented above mostly stem from the transcription system adopted by *JIT*, which was used to transcribe the retrieved borrowings.

Based on the above information, we notice a certain dispalatalisation of the lexemes once they are borrowed into British English. However, it should be noted that the above changes probably result from the fact that most of the JBs were reproduced by British English speakers based solely on the spelling, without access to the original pronunciation. Naturally, some of the phonetic changes may result from the presence of an intermediary language, a channel which helped a JBs to come into existence in British English; thus, each of the lexemes deserves further investigation to adequately study their phonetic change, with a hypothesis, that there was an intermediary language influencing the final pronunciation in British English.

We should also briefly discuss phonetic borrowings, which can be defined as a sound borrowing which usually occurs alongside the borrowing of a lexeme. In the case of phonetic borrowing, the borrowed lexemes do not undergo phonetic adaptation, and the target language users use the pronunciation from the source language. This results in a phonetic borrowing, i.e., the borrowing of a sound (cf. Witalisz 2016: 141). In the case of JBs, due to the significant variety of the English language, even on the British Isles, it is hard to point to any phonetic borrowings from Japanese into English, but most likely, considering the distance and the influx mode of JBs, no phonetic borrowings took place. In other words, based solely on *OED*, we can say that all the borrowings were successfully adapted to British English with no examples of phonetic borrowing, yet with multiple phonetic changes, sometimes also occurring along the orthographic adaptations and changes.

2.2.   Semantics and Morphology of the Japanese Borrowings

According to Tsuchihashi, "[i]n general a loanword has only one meaning and faithfully conveys its Japanese meaning" (Tsuchihashi 1997: 689), which the analysis proved to be not

necessarily true. The performed analysis has revealed some examples that underwent the process of narrowing (e.g. *koan*, *kuruma*, *narikin*, and *nisei*). Moreover, Tsuchihashi argues that in most cases, the borrowings "have no vulgar or obscene connotations [in English] except for those loans from the time of World War II" (Tsuchihashi 1997: 690). It is true in terms of the JBs that were introduced into English by the American soldiers during the Occupation; however, it is partially true if we consider the new potential semantic group of *sexuality* that emerged during the analysis. We can also perceive *otaku*[96] as an example of amelioration; however, the change of the connotative meaning in this case is not confirmed by the lexicographic source but rather by sociological analyses (see 9.2.2.).

When it comes to the semantic change, we should also remember the initial confusion of the terms *shogun* (Chapter II 1.2.2.), *Mikado* (Chapter II 2.2.2.), and *tycoon* (Chapter II 4.2.2.) (cf. Powels 1968). However, this confusion can hardly be observed in Smith (1861), who distinguishes and defines *dairi*, *Mikado*, and *shogun* without any problem, at the same time freely using the word *Tycoon* without any additional explanation, suggesting its strong embedment in the language. Also, this confusion was lost in the lexicographic sources; however, some inaccuracies remained. Nevertheless, similarly to other similar studies (e.g. Dylewski and Bator 2021), most of the analysed items retained original denotation.

Before moving to the morphological changes, we should also mention that Tsuchihashi differentiates eleven semantic fields, i.e., "swords, food and drink, martial arts, sports, fine arts, business, trademarks, science, technology, politics, and religion. Most of these words are technical terms in their respective fields" (Tsuchihashi 1997: 690), whereas *CJC* lists forty, i.e., birds, botany, Buddhism, cloth and clothing, dance, drama, drink, economics, ethnology, fish, food, games, geography, geology, health, history, household, industry, lacquer, linguistics, literature, martial arts, measures, military, money, music, mythology, painting, paper, politics and government, pottery, prints, religion, sociology, sports, swords, titles, transport, weights, zoology, and unclassified (*CJC*: 35). This work did not aim at rediscovering the suggested categories; however, the analysis shows that the new semantic developments call for the inclusion of the categories *sexuality* and *popular culture*. To provide a precise number of JBs' grammatical categories for the updated list, further etymological analysis should be performed.

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[96] "Originally in Japan: a person extremely knowledgeable about the minute details of a particular hobby (esp. a solitary or minority hobby); *spec.* one who is skilled in the use of computer technology and is considered by some to be poor at interacting with others" (*OED*).

The semantic changes may result from unsuccessful intercultural communication (cf. Allan 2012). However, it is only when the semantic change occurs at the borrowing stage, i.e., not when borrowing is already circulated in a language. It may be the case of *saké* or any other early borrowings. Interestingly, despite the differences between the Japanese and the British culture, there are not many instances of semantic change, and they occur independently of the time where they were borrowed (e.g. *saké*, *kuruma*); however, they may depend on the con-situation within those were borrowed (e.g. *kamikaze*) or the target cultural context (e.g. *nisei* and *sansei* — narrowing based on the American perspective).

The semantic changes were combined with the morphological changes due to the reoccurring issue (for instance, also in Polish and German, see Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008: 118) of the borrowings assimilation related to their pluralisation. Usually, the borrowings follow the rules of the target language; however, English has various rules related to the pluralisation of the nouns, and one of posing some problems is the rule related to the pluralisation of fish (Warren 1995). Let us first take, for instance, the borrowing *koi.* Warren (1995a) points out that this lexeme

> in the plural is *koi*, never **kois*. The reason for this is not completely clear. Probably the fact that fish in general have "zero plurals", e.g. *carp: carp, cod: cod*, is more important factor than respect for Japanese morphology (where unmarked plurals are the general rule).

(Warren 1995a: 12)

As a counter-example, Warren (1995b) provides *shubunkin*, plural form *shubunkins*, and suggests that the use of the plural *-s* is dictated by the diminutive suffix *-kin*, which in English would require plural *-s* (1995: 12–13). However, it is worth noting that Japanese, as a matter of principle, does not have a plural form[97]; the matter of the plurality is not a case of morphological change contrary to the change in the lexical category of certain JBs.

As mentioned, similarly to other languages, English usually borrows nouns that later on may also become adjectives or verbs, e.g. *kamikaze* (from noun to both noun and adjective). This conversion is a prevalent process in English that affects the borrowings that enter this language. In fact, this type of morphological change is the most noticeable one in the analysed material. The only example that mostly stands out from the collected lexemes is *shogunate,* which, as pointed out in the analysis, is a blend of a JB shogun with a suffix *–nate,*

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[97] To signify a plural form, it may use reduplication or the suffix -たち *tachi*, yet only a limited number of lexemes can be pluralised in this manner.

which suggests a strong entrenchment of the lexeme *shogun* since it was a subject of a suffixation process in English.

2.3.   Factors

To summarise the conducted analysis, I would like to discuss some potential factors that influenced the influx of JBs that, in the meantime, underwent the above-discussed changes. To understand these factors, we also need to understand the motivation and reasoning behind the borrowing process. The problem of why we borrow is a recurring question asked by various scholars, including Haspelmath:

> there is always the question of why a borrowing had to take place at all because all languages have the means to create novel expressions out of their own resources. Instead of borrowing a word, they could simply make up a new word. And of course there are many cases where it is not at all clear why a language borrowed from another language, because a fully equivalent word existed beforehand.
>
> (Haspelmath 2009: 35)

According to Haspelmath (2010: 35), two main types of factors have been made responsible for why certain words are more likely to be borrowed: social and attitudinal factors, i.e., the prestige of the donor language, puristic attitudes, and grammatical factors, e.g. the claim that verbs are more difficult to borrow than nouns because they need more grammatical adaptations than nouns. Naturally, those factors do not have to be mutually exclusive, but importantly, Mantiri (2010) does not provide an equivalent to the second factor but focuses on various types of the first one. By this, we can assume that Mantiri (2010), to a certain degree, overlooked the grammatical factor proposed by Haspelmath (2009) and, therefore, partially ignored Sapir's claim that the vocabulary of a language goes "far beyond the names of cultural objects" (1963: 27). Nevertheless, the distinction presented by Mantiri (2010) seems to be more oriented on the historical and sociological aspect of the borrowings influx rather than linguistic aspects as the factors, especially the second one, presented by Haspelmath (2009) do. However, this limitation is, in fact, a specification which made Mantiri's distinction suitable for this research.

Similarly to the distinction made by Haspelmath (2009), the one proposed by Mantiri does not include factors that are mutually exclusive. The borrowing of one lexeme could have been influenced by several factors; however, the semantic analysis of the borrowings, their initial co-text of use and their con-situation of coming into being allowed me to match the analysed period with the selected factors (Table 10).

Factor	Period
Social factor	All the borrowings from the first three analyses when the contact and relations were mainly non-official (1600–1853), and later on during all the interactions between British travellers and Japanese (1854–1953) followed by the undisturbed direct interactions between the British and the Japanese (1954–2020)
Political factor	During the enhanced diplomatic contacts (1902–2000)
Moral factor	Borrowings related not only to the environment but to moral code in a broad sense (1940–2000), e.g. *enjo kosai*, *kogai*
Technological factor	In broader meaning, including also the business and economic solutions and systems (1953–2000)
Cultural factor	During the culture exchange facilitated not only by access to foreign media but opened borders (1854–2020)

Table 10 Factors

Considering the distinction proposed by Mantiri (2010), we can see the social factor in all the periods — but naturally not in all the borrowings. However, the applied distinction into five major types of factors does not consider translations, and indirect contact played an essential role during the first two and a half centuries of British-Japanese relations. The indirectness of the contact is not a problem for the scholars studying British-French or British-Spanish relations, yet in this case, it should also be distinguished. Moreover, the scientific aspect of the relations was not included since the technological factor, according to Mantiri (2010), focuses on recent advancements. Considering the shortcomings of the above distinction, I would like to suggest broadening the definition of the *technological factor*, renaming it as a *scientific factor*, or distinguishing it as a separate category. No matter the applied approach, the JBs related to biology or chemistry have a lengthy and steady history in British English.

If we were to break down the history of scientific terms from Japanese, the first and most abundant group would be the JBs related to biology (e.g. *tai* [1620] 'a Pacific sea bream', *akoya* [1727] 'a type of a small marine oyster', *hinoki* [1727] 'a type of large conifer', *aucuba* [1819] 'a type of evergreen shrub', *sika* [1891] 'a small red deer', *mondo* [1956] 'a type of grass') since examples of the word date back almost to the beginning of the British-Japanese relations. However, many examples of the JBs from this group come from a translation of Kaempfer's work.

The next group would be the JBs related to chemistry, e.g. *shakudo* (1860) 'a Japanese alloy of copper and gold', *rotenone* (1904) 'a poisonous compound widely employed as a pesticide and piscicide', *urushiol* (1908) 'an oily phenolic liquid causing skin irritation which

is present in various plants and is the main constituent of the lacquer', *ishikawaite* (1922) 'a black oxide of various metals', *kainic* (1954) 'a neurotoxic organic acid', *ibotenic* (1962) 'an isoxazole used as an insecticide and experimentally as a neurotoxin', and then technology, e.g. *andon* (1880) 'a standing lamp' and 'a production line system', *Betamax* (1975) 'a proprietary name for the videocassette format', and *keitai* (1998) 'a mobile phone'. Naturally, the division into these three categories (i.e., *biology*, *chemistry*, and *technology*) depends on the applied criteria, which could also allow us to distinguish flora and fauna categories within the biological one.

The need to distinguish the *scientific factor* from the *technological* one stems from the fact that, in the case of Japan, there was not much technology to talk about until the globalisation period. In contrast, scientific advancements such as the development of medicine, botany and chemistry have a lengthier history. Naturally, all the factors are worth further and more detailed exploration since each may be of interest to different specialists, e.g.

> for sociolinguists working within the quantitative paradigm, the assumption now seems to be that one of the most important questions to be answered is not whether linguistic rules are affected by social constraints, but rather what place social factors have in a linguistic description of change and variation.
>
> (Romaine 2009: 224)

The analysis shows that the borrowings initially entered the language as headwords defined within the texts. Their use is most likely aimed at shedding some light on the foreign culture rather than finding new terms to name particular objects, traditions, or phenomena. The analysed list of lexemes does not provide any examples of borrowings that replaced the original lexemes, and most of the lexemes are of relatively insignificant frequency when compared with the French borrowings in English. Nevertheless, the lexemes' frequency and borrowability depend on multiple variables, including the grammatical and semantic category of a lexeme (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008, Haspelmath 2009); logically, the borrowings that are names of particular objects or ideas may be subject to a stronger entrenchment due to the popularisation of the said object or idea as in the case of anime and manga, but also various Japanese sports. However, the popularisation of the source culture, or a general interest in it (e.g. Said's *Orientalism*), also plays an essential role in facilitating the influx of the borrowings, e.g. the number of borrowed lexemes after the opening of the Japanese harbours.

Naturally, "[v]arious social factors determine the individual speaker's use of language. All speakers are multidialectal or multistylistic, in the sense that they adapt their style of speaking to suit the social situation in which they find themselves" (Stubbs 2004: 45);

therefore, the use of borrowings may stem from personal choices. Unfortunately, the performed analysis did not allow for distinguishing the JBs' use manner and frequency among various social strata. However, this type of study would be worth pursuing, but most likely focusing on a single community or with a synchronic approach.

Lastly, the immediacy of a borrowing's influx is difficult to measure since most of the etymological and historical dictionaries provide us with the year of the first use rather than the year of entering the dictionary. Likely, many borrowings were first used many years before they became popular in specific languages. Thus, the year of first use is not the best reference point; however, as in this analysis, it can enable a more straightforward categorisation of the analysed material, facilitating additional etymological analysis.

3.   General Remarks

Even though the primary focus was on the borrowing and narrowed in the discourse context, some conclusions may be universal if we accept the strictly causal connection between them. Despite some of the answers to the research questions asked at the beginning of this work appearing in different places throughout the present analyses, I would like to share some conclusions and answer the questions asked directly. Moreover, the following two subsections also expand some of the comments relevant to the specific questions.

A.   How the history of Japanese borrowings in English is related to the relations between Great Britain and Japan.

If we were to reverse the analysis and start from the analysis of the borrowings later to provide some conclusions on the history of British-Japanese relations, we possibly would make some mistakes. We would likely not point to a potential lack of any discontinuity in British-Japanese relations from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. However, the formulated conclusion depends on the analysis we perform. The above-presented etymological analysis, and one of the first uses, perfectly shows that there was no direct contact between Britain and Japan around the period from the middle of the seventeenth century till the middle of the nineteenth century. The 'first uses' occurred in the translated texts or quoted from other foreign sources. In other words, this type of analysis shows the continuity and directness of international relations.

> B.   How the situational context of these relations and historical events shaped British English used to describe Japan and how it changed throughout the period under investigation.

The historical events undeniably influenced how Japan was portrayed in the British texts; however, the type of influence varied on the type of consulted source. The reflection of the historical event on the British depiction of Japan is most visible in the case of newspapers. In contrast, as the source of subjective opinion, the books were subject to personal experience, which could have a different reflection in the produced narrative. Nevertheless, the representation of Japan usually mirrored the character of the ongoing events in British-Japanese relations.

> C.   How much we can learn about British-Japanese relations in a non-direct way, i.e., relying merely on language evidence.

The analysis does not yield enough information to state the character of the British-Japanese relations, whether those were positive, neutral, or negative. We can only learn about their intensity, possibly caused by the prevalent treaties, cultural exchanges, or any other major events. However, contrary to what may be thought, war and other military conflicts do not necessarily halt the influx of the borrowings, or at least not as much as the lack of direct contact — even if we consider the influx of borrowings through the secondary (transmitting) languages. The study of borrowings can also shed some light on what type of exchange took place between the analysed nations.[98]

3.1.   Results vs. Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

In the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, language is perceived as a phenomenon that joins social, cultural, cognitive, and communicative aspects. In this theory, language is not only a means of communication but also a socio-cultural artefact (cf. Siefkes 2012) born from various cognitive processes that allow us to verbalise our thoughts and describe the surrounding world. It also shows that language is a complex mechanism that should not be taken for granted (Whorf 1978: 250). This work addressed this hypothesis by examining the historical events (which could evoke specific cognitive processes), social and cultural context (through both

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[98] For a different perspective, see the work by Oh and Son (2023). According to them, in the case of English borrowing that was used by Koreans from the 1970s till 2015, the most affected by this language contact semantic fields were related to "religion and belief, clothing and grooming, and housing. These fields are also regarded as the domains most affected by social and cultural contact" (Oh and Son 2023: 4).

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the description of Japan and the historical events), and their interrelations with the description of Japan, i.e., formulation of the opinion, and occurrence of the borrowings in British English. By that, I believe I recognised the role of language in shaping culture and social practices. After all, language is not just a means of communication; it is an integral facet of cognition. By making arbitrary decisions, language users symbolise their thoughts and conceptualise reality to communicate these symbols and concepts. The above analyses show that the British writers described Japan according to their moral code and defined the Japanese culture-specific terms according to their cognition of those notions. Moreover, based on the excerpts that include the first uses of the borrowings, we can infer that language structure sometimes inhibited the transfer of the source denotation into English.

3.2. Borrowings as the Source of Historical Information

As shown, borrowings can be a source of historical information. However, we have to be careful in treating them as such a source due to the problems discussed above. We must remember that the decision to include a word in a dictionary is frequently arbitrary and not always based on the word's frequency — especially in the case of the first dictionaries. Moreover, it has been shown that the influx of new vocabulary is not an immediate response to historical events (i.e., if we compare the year of first use and the historical timeline), which most often relates to ongoing cultural changes. This conclusion is in line with Sapir (1963), who said that "linguistic changes do not proceed at the same rate as most cultural changes, which are on the whole far more rapid" (1963: 26).

Also, it should be remembered that written sources are not the best point of reference since certain words tend to enter language via spoken language, e.g. interjections or filler words[99]. Moreover, the analysed corpora and the generally available ones usually do not give us access to private conversations on chats or groups, which are the nowadays are first to introduce borrowings (Bulfoni 2016). Yet, the first use is not always followed by an instant rise in popularity of the borrowed lexemes.

> Social contact brings changes to a language. In the case of large-scale social contact such as war or compulsory unification, the linguistic incidence can be so radical to drive languages to extinction, but in most cases, the linguistic influence is limited to words.
>
> (Oh and Son 2023: 1)

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[99] "a word or phrase used without lexical meaning, simply to fill in what might otherwise be an unwanted pause in an utterance or conversation" (*OED*).

According to Baghdasaryan, "language is considerably more tangible and easier to document than culture, linguists are often better able to analyse and understand their data" (2011: 41). However, this work, rather than praising the linguistic approach, highlights how valuable the linguistic data is. I also tried to prove here that we should be cautious of the things we write and the language we use since it may once become the linguistic material for the analysis.

This study also confirms the results of smaller research conducted by Oh and Son (2023) on the example of English borrowings in Korean. Oh and Son (2023) proved that borrowings provide information on social contact from the diachronic perspective. They also showed, similar to this study, that borrowings also bear information about the attitude toward foreign (source) languages and cultures. Also, this analysis allowed me to characterise each period in relation to borrowing usage. Based on the obtained results, I can confirm that borrowings are a very informative source of historical information. Moreover, I hope I have shown that an analysis of the borrowed lexemes can improve our understanding of history if appropriately conducted.

3.3. Further Implications

The whole project was realised over a span of four years, which, along with the comments made by the consulted Professors, allowed me to notice various aspects that need further investigation. The limitations forced by the selected methodology, consulted sources, and introduced simplifications allowed me to obtain interesting results but also showed other problems worth addressing in the future. For instance, most of the consulted and analysed literary texts are worth performing close reading, and the above brief analyses point to the sources that may require revisiting, which I would like to undertake. Moreover, the analyses largely disregarded the differences between the discourse of the analysed sources, not focusing on the different characteristics of diary, correspondence and other discourses, aiming at providing as broad a picture as possible. Even though this perspective is acceptable in the LW analysis (esp. *discursive worldview*, cf. Czachur 2016), in the future, I would like to compare the discourses of different genres for possible varied perspectives. Also, the language itself is a fallible material since it is not a perfect reflection of reality; thus, it is probable that the analysed language and texts are not of the highest representativeness. Therefore, even though I tried to ensure this representative by consulting sources suggested

by other authors (e.g. Rogala 2001), I would like to compare the results with a control probe of less culturally and historically significant text to see whether the retrieved LW is similar.

In the future, I would also like to use the LW perspective for a further semantic analysis rather than the analysis of the discourse. The LW analysis helps answer the question of how people conceptualise reality (Waszakowa 2009: 50). Therefore, I would like to use this perspective to establish in what categories British people perceived Japanese culture and what elements of this culture were interesting enough to borrow. For now, the performed analysis and the established semantic categories show that Japan is mostly perceived in the categories of *culture* and *martial arts*. I would like to verify this by thoroughly analysing the JBs' semantic categories, not relying closely on the categories proposed by *CJC* or Tsuchihashi (1997). The work on this thesis allowed me to gather the essential information that I can apply in my future research.

Another matter that I would like to analyse in the future is the presence of the borrowings based on the Japanese periodisation names in *OED*. In many cases, the names of the periods are not marked as borrowings from Japanese, and English seems to be inconsistent in their borrowing (or *OED* is inconsistent in their listing). In *OED*, we can find seven lexemes that come from the Japanese historical periods and were borrowed into English either as adjectives or as nouns: adj. *Nara* (710–794), adj. *Heian* (794–1185), n. *Kamakura* (1185[100]–1333), n. *Muromachi* (1333–1568), adj. *Momoyama* (1586–1600, also: *Azuchi-Momoyama*), adj. & n. *Meiji* (1868–1912), adj. & n. *Showa* (1926–1989). Interestingly, *Jomon* and *Yayoi*, two first named periods in the Japanese periodisation, are included in *OED* but only as nouns used attributively to designate certain types of pottery. The rest of the periods, i.e., *Kofun* (c. 250–538), *Asuka* (538–710), *Edo* (1600–1868), *Taishō* (1912–1926), *Heisei* (1989–2019), and *Reiwa* (2019–present) are missing from *OED*. This selectiveness most likely stems from the popularity of specific periods or their art; however, these lexemes in Japanese are nouns, and the functional shift that took place seems to be worth further investigation.

Regarding other matters worth addressing, the analysis revealed some inconsistencies in the spelling of the toponyms (see the footnotes in Chapter II, sections 1.2.1. and 2.2.1.). In the future, I would like to devote some time to analysing them since, as a preliminary search

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[100] A possible mistake in *OED* according to which *Kamakura* in English is "[u]sed *attributively* to designate the art of the period (1192–1333) during which Kamakura was the seat of government in Japan" (*OED*).

has found, they have not been subject to any analysis. Moreover, the results of this thesis can be partially used as the groundwork for further research on, for instance, stereotypes and national character (e.g. Berger and Luckmann 1996, Johnson 1988) or imagological studies (e.g. Niewiara 2019) of Japan in the British mind.

Moreover, I would like to point to a glaring research gap and a significant need for more research on the phonetics of Japanese borrowings in English and the phonetics of borrowings in general. Most of the works discuss specific examples (e.g. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2008) or their certain aspects (e.g. Perlin [2021] on the *syntactic phonetics*[101]) without providing any general conclusions that could help analyse the phonetics of borrowings in other languages. Possibly, it is due to the differences between languages and, most likely, the complexity of the phonetics field itself. However, the field, and especially young scholars, would for sure, with great gratefulness, welcome some general guidance or a methodological suggestion. Presumably, a monograph on this topic would help future scholars explore the topic of borrowing phonetics. Also, it should be noted that this work does not examine the effects of the Great Vowel Shift, which could have affected the first twenty-one JBs that came into British English before the second half of the 17th century. However, it could be an interesting approach to analyse the phonetic change of the Japanese borrowings when they were first borrowed and during the end of the Great Vowel Shift process.

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[101] According to Perlin (2021), this term denotes the existence in a given language, a set of rules related to the placement of sounds in a word and their possible combinations (2021: 109).

SOURCES

The below list includes the sources used in the LW and borrowings' analyses, as well as the ones used in the outline of the historical background. The section titled *Bibliography* includes the list of books and articles that were used in the theoretical considerations.

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