JAPANESE LOANWORD ORTHOGRAPHY FROM 1955

Mark Irwin

The Japanese government began issuing guidelines on *gairaigo* （loanword） orthography in 1902, although recommendations on standardization （Monbushō 1902） were initially limited to names. Further guidelines were announced later （RKC 1926）, but then rescinded the focus of Japanese government language policy in the first half of the 20th century was rather on the reform of *kana* usage in general, along with setting limits on *kanji* use （Twine 1988: 453-454; Gottlieb 1995: 54-85）. It was two major reports published in the second half of the century, Monbushō （1955） and Bunkachō （1991）, that had the most impact on how loanwords are written today. These I discuss in detail in this paper.

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Monbushō （1955） was the result of two years of deliberation, from 1952 to 1954, by the Technical Terms and Orthography Joint Subcommittee （*Jutsugo Hyōki Gōdō Bukai*） of the Second National Language Council （*Kokugo Shingikai*）.[1] Given centuries of instability,[2] it was probably inevitable that no overall agreement on a standardized loanword orthography was reached （opus cit.: 1） and that the fruits of the Subcommittee's deliberations presented to the Council in March 1954 were contained in a report （ ） rather than a formal recommendation （ ）.

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[1] The Technical Terms Subcommittee had 13 members and was chaired by Dr. Satta Kotoji
, author of books on psychology and phonetics and Professor at Tokyo University of the Arts. The Orthography Subcommittee had 15 members and was chaired by Dr. Hoshina Kōichi
, author of numerous books on the Japanese language and Professor Emeritus at Tokyo Bunrika University （later to become part of Tokyo University of Education）. The Second National Language Council's 62 members were chaired by Dr. Toki Zenmaro , poet, head of Tokyo Hibiya Metropolitan Library, and active in both the romanization and Esperanto movements.

[2] To take just a relatively recent example, Umegaki （1963: 132） and Ishiwata （2001: 151） both quote a survey by Kōjiro Tanesuke which cites 29 different *kana* spellings for *Goethe* recorded in a 56-year period between 1872 and 1928. These include , , , and . Another example of extreme orthographic instability is the word for 'whisk(e)y': NKD records , , , , , and , as well as the stable modern form .

Before listing 19 'General Rules' (　) for loanword orthography, the preface to the report (opus cit.: 3-4) makes clear some of the reasons for the lack of consensus achieved on standardization. The Subcommittee considered there to be three types of *gairaigo*:

(■) Those with a long history, which have 'fused' with native Japanese and which the average speaker does not feel to be *gairaigo*. Examples cited include *tabako* 'cigarette, tobacco' and *kaQpa* 'raincoat'.

(■) Those which are probably felt to be *gaikokugo* rather than *gairaigo*. Examples cited include *oosoritii* 'authority' and *fiaɴse* 'fiancé(e)'.

(■) The remainder, i.e. those which are in widespread use and are felt to be *gairaigo*. Examples cited include *oobaa* 'overcoat' and *rajio* 'radio'.

It is noted that, although for (i) spellings have been largely fixed, for (iii) nativization has meant spellings are frequently divorced from donor spelling or pronunciation, while for (ii) spellings close to donor spelling or pronunciation are still being sounded out. In these references to 'donor spelling or pronunciation' (note the order), the power of donor orthography is made clear.

The first two General Rules concern themselves with overarching issues. Rule 1 states that *gairaigo* should be written in *katakana* and specifically recommends the 113 (di)graphs coded M in Table 2. While 　<dyu> is recommended, its voiceless counterpart 　<tyu> is not. A further 12 digraphs, including the bulk of the *c*-row but, oddly, some traditional *kana* (Table 1) such as 　<nyo> and 　<hya>, appear in parentheses. These are coded as M　in Table 2. Rule 2 urges following accepted spellings where these exist (e.g. 　*keeki* 'cake'), although this is often contradicted by subsequent rules recommending standardization. No attempt is made at defining what an 'accepted spelling' might actually be.

Rules 3 to 5 deal with the mora consonants /ɴ/ and /Q/. Rule 3 states that the mora nasal /ɴ/ be written 　. Contemporary spellings with 　can be found: e.g. *šimupojiumu* 'symposium'. Rule 4 recommends the mora obstruent /Q/ be written reduced, as 　. Before *gendai kanazukai*,[3] standard size 　was common, not only in *gairaigo* spelling but across all vocabulary strata. Rule 5 states that neither of the mora consonants should be inserted on the basis of double letters found in donor word spelling: e.g.

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[3] Literally, 'modern *kana* usage', a government promulgation of 1946.

	a		*i*		*u*		*e*		*o*		*ya*		*yu*		*yo*	
Ø	あ	a	い	i	う	u	え	e	お	o						
	ア	a	イ	i	ウ	u	エ	e	オ	o						
k	か	ka	き	ki	く	ku	け	ke	こ	ko	きゃ	kya	きゅ	kyu	きょ	kyo
	カ	ka	キ	ki	ク	ku	ケ	ke	コ	ko	キャ	kya	キュ	kyu	キョ	kyo
s	さ	sa	し	ši	す	su	せ	se	そ	so	しゃ	ša	しゅ	šu	しょ	šo
	サ	sa	シ	si	ス	su	セ	se	ソ	so	シャ	sya	シュ	syu	ショ	syo
t	た	ta	ち	či	つ	cu	て	te	と	to	ちゃ	ča	ちゅ	ču	ちょ	čo
	タ	ta	チ	ti	ツ	tu	テ	te	ト	to	チャ	tya	チュ	tyu	チョ	tyo
n	な	na	に	ni	ぬ	nu	ね	ne	の	no	にゃ	nya	にゅ	nyu	にょ	nyo
	ナ	na	ニ	ni	ヌ	nu	ネ	ne	ノ	no	ニャ	nya	ニュ	nyu	ニョ	nyo
h	は	ha	ひ	hi	ふ	fu	へ	he	ほ	ho	ひゃ	hya	ひゅ	hyu	ひょ	hyo
	ハ	ha	ヒ	hi	フ	hu	ヘ	he	ホ	ho	ヒャ	hya	ヒュ	hyu	ヒョ	hyo
m	ま	ma	み	mi	む	mu	め	me	も	mo	みゃ	mya	みゅ	myu	みょ	myo
	マ	ma	ミ	mi	ム	mu	メ	me	モ	mo	ミャ	mya	ミュ	myu	ミョ	myo
r	ら	ra	り	ri	る	ru	れ	re	ろ	ro	りゃ	rya	りゅ	ryu	りょ	ryo
	ラ	ra	リ	ri	ル	ru	レ	re	ロ	ro	リャ	rya	リュ	ryu	リョ	ryo
y	や	ya			ゆ	yu			よ	yo						
	ヤ	ya			ユ	yu			ヨ	yo						
w	わ	wa	ゐ	i			ゑ	e	を	(w)o						
	ワ	wa	ヰ	i			ヱ	e	ヲ	(w)o						
g	が	ga	ぎ	gi	ぐ	gu	げ	ge	ご	go	ぎゃ	gya	ぎゅ	gyu	ぎょ	gyo
	ガ	ga	ギ	gi	グ	gu	ゲ	ge	ゴ	go	ギャ	gya	ギュ	gyu	ギョ	gyo
z	ざ	za	じ	ji	ず	zu	ぜ	ze	ぞ	zo	じゃ	ja	じゅ	ju	じょ	jo
	ザ	za	ジ	zi	ズ	zu	ゼ	ze	ゾ	zo	ジャ	zya	ジュ	zyu	ジョ	zyo
d	だ	da	ぢ	ji	づ	zu	で	de	ど	do	ぢゃ	ja	ぢゅ	ju	ぢょ	jo
	ダ	da	ヂ	di	ヅ	du	デ	de	ド	do	ヂャ	dya	ヂュ	dyu	ヂョ	dyo
b	ば	ba	び	bi	ぶ	bu	べ	be	ぼ	bo	びゃ	bya	びゅ	byu	びょ	byo
	バ	ba	ビ	bi	ブ	bu	ベ	be	ボ	bo	ビャ	bya	ビュ	byu	ビョ	byo
p	ぱ	pa	ぴ	pi	ぷ	pu	ぺ	pe	ぽ	po	ぴゃ	pya	ぴゅ	pyu	ぴょ	pyo
	パ	pa	ピ	pi	プ	pu	ペ	pe	ポ	po	ピャ	pya	ピュ	pyu	ピョ	pyo
N/Q	ん	N	っ	Q												
	ン	N	ッ	Q												

Table 1 : The traditional kana

komyunike not *koɴmyunike* 'communiqué' and *akusesarii* not *akuseQsarii* 'accessory'. Nevertheless, the rule goes on to list exceptions, presumably based on accepted usage, where mora obstruent /Q/ insertion is acceptable. These include *baQtaa* 'batter (for cooking, in baseball)', *šaQtaa* 'shutter' and *kaQtiɴgu* 'cutting'. Rule 5 seems to have had no effect on subsequent orthographic practice. Donor words with both double <mm> and double <nn> are still often spelt with an inserted mora nasal /N/, while the situation with inserted mora /Q/ is still complex.

Rules 6 and 8 deal with palatal glides. Rule 6 recommends writing the palatal glide portion of the *katakana* digraph reduced. Thus, not *jazu* 'jazz'. Rule 8 advises using <a> rather than <ya> after the front vowels /i/ and /e/. Thus,

	a	i	u	e	o	ya	yu	ye	yo	wa	wi	we	wo
ø	a ア M B¹	i イ M B¹	u ウ M B¹	e エ M B¹	o オ M B¹								
p	pa パ M B¹	pi ピ M B¹	pu プ M B¹	pe ペ M B¹	po ポ M B¹	pya ピャ M B¹	pyu ピュ M B¹	pye ピェ M	pyo ピョ M B¹	pwa プァ	pwi プィ	pwe プェ	pwo プォ
b	ba バ M B¹	bi ビ M B¹	bu ブ M B¹	be ベ M B¹	bo ボ M B¹	bya ビャ M B¹	byu ビュ M B¹	bye ビェ M	byo ビョ M B¹	bwa ブァ	bwi ブィ	bwe ブェ	bwo ブォ
t	ta タ M B¹	ti ティ M B¹	tu トゥ M^r B²	te テ M B¹	to ト M B¹	tya テャ	tyu テュ B²	tye テェ	tyo テョ	twa トァ	twi トィ	twe トェ	two トォ
d	da ダ M B¹	di ディ M B¹	du ドゥ M^r B²	de デ M B¹	do ド M B¹	dya デャ	dyu デュ	dye デェ	dyo デョ	dwa ドァ	dwi ドィ	dwe ドェ	dwo ドォ
k	ka カ M B¹	ki キ M B¹	ku ク M B¹	ke ケ M B¹	ko コ M B¹	kya キャ M B¹	kyu キュ M B¹	kye キェ M B¹	kyo キョ M B¹	kwa クァ M B²	kwi クィ B²	kwe クェ B²	kwo クォ B²
g	ga ガ M B¹	gi ギ M B¹	gu グ M B¹	ge ゲ M B¹	go ゴ M B¹	gya ギャ M B¹	gyu ギュ M B¹	gye ギェ M B¹	gyo ギョ M* B¹	gwa グァ M B²	gwi グィ B*	gwe グェ B*	gwo グォ B*
c	ca ツァ M* B¹	ci ツィ B²	cu ツ M B¹	ce ツェ M* B¹	co ツォ M B¹	cya ツャ	cyu ツュ	cye ツェ	cyo ツョ	cwa ツワ	cwi ツウィ	cwe ツウェ	cwo ツウォ
č	ča チャ M B¹	či チ M B¹	ču チュ M B¹	če チェ M B¹	čo チョ M B¹					čwa チワ	čwi チュィ	čwe チュェ	čwo チュォ
j	ja ジャ M B¹	ji ジ M B¹	ju ジュ M B¹	je ジェ M B¹	jo ジョ M B¹					jwa ジワ	jwi ジュィ	jwe ジュェ	jwo ジュオ
f	fa ファ M B¹	fi フィ M B¹	fu フ M B¹	fe フェ M B¹	fo フォ M B¹	fya フャ	fyu フュ M* B¹	fye フィェ	fyo フョ B*	fwa フワ	fwi フウィ	fwe フウェ	fwo フウォ
v	va ヴァ M B²	vi ヴィ M B²	vu ヴ M B²	ve ヴェ M B²	vo ヴォ M B²	vya ヴャ	vyu ヴュ	vye ヴィェ	vyo ヴョ B*	vwa ヴワ	vwi ヴウィ	vwe ヴウェ	vwo ヴウォ B²
s	sa サ M B¹	si スィ B*	su ス M B¹	se セ M B¹	so ソ M B¹	sya スャ	syu スュ	sye スィェ	syo スョ	swa スァ	swi スウィ	swe スェ	swo スォ
z	za ザ M B¹	zi ズィ B*	zu ズ M B¹	ze ゼ M B¹	zo ゾ M B¹	zya ズャ	zyu ズュ	zye ズィェ	zyo ズョ	zwa ズワ	zwi ズウィ	zwe ズェ	zwo ズォ
š	ša シャ M B¹	ši シ M B¹	šu シュ M B¹	še シェ M B¹	šo ショ M B¹					šwa シワ	šwi シウィ	šwe シウェ	šwo シウォ
h	ha ハ M B¹	hi ヒ M B¹	hu ホゥ	he ヘ M B¹	ho ホ M B¹	hya ヒャ M* B¹	hyu ヒュ M B¹	hye ヒェ M* B¹	hyo ヒョ M B¹	hwa ホヮ	hwi ホィ	hwe ホェ	hwo ホォ
m	ma マ M B¹	mi ミ M B¹	mu ム M B¹	me メ M B¹	mo モ M B¹	mya ミャ M* B¹	myu ミュ M B¹	mye ミェ M* B¹	myo ミョ M* B¹	mwa ムァ	mwi ムィ	mwe ムェ	mwo ムォ
n	na ナ M B¹	ni ニ M B¹	nu ヌ M B¹	ne ネ M B¹	no ノ M B¹	nya ニャ M* B¹	nyu ニュ M B¹	nye ニェ M* B¹	nyo ニョ M* B¹	nwa ヌァ	nwi ヌィ	nwe ヌェ	nwo ヌォ
r	ra ラ M B¹	ri リ M B¹	ru ル M B¹	re レ M B¹	ro ロ M B¹	rya リャ M* B¹	ryu リュ M B¹	rye リェ M* B¹	ryo リョ M* B¹	rwa ルァ	rwi ルィ	rwe ルェ	rwo ルォ
y	ya ヤ M B¹	yi イィ	yu ユ M B¹	ye イェ M^r B²	yo ヨ M B¹					ywa ユヮ	ywi ユィ	ywe ユェ	ywo ユォ
w	wa ワ M B¹	wi ウィ M B¹	wu ウゥ	we ウェ M B¹	wo ウォ M B²	wya ウャ	wyu ウュ	wye ウィェ	wyo ウョ M^r				
N/Q	N ン M B¹	Q ッ M B¹											

Table 2 : The contemporary **katakana** *series*

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piano not *piyano* 'piano' and *heapiɴ* not *heyapiɴ* 'hairpin'. A greater number of exceptions are listed (e.g. *taiya* 'tyre', *beniya* 'veneer') than are illustrations of the rule, and spelling on this point is still unstable today.

Rule 7 states that the *chōonpu* should be used to indicate long vowels and that and should be avoided and and written instead. Exceptions are nevertheless cited for the latter (e.g. *peeɴto* 'paint'), presumably based on accepted usage.

Rules 9 to 14 deal with the spelling of innovative pronunciations and all recommend a conservative approach. The first of these, Rule 9, is difficult to interpret, however. It recommends that 'original' /tu/ and /du/ be written <to> and <do>. None of the examples cited (*zeɴtorumaɴ* 'gentleman', *bureeɴtorasuto* 'brain trust', *doraibu* 'drive', etc.) actually have |t d tu du|, or anything that may be construed as 'original' or , in the donor word. In all cases, the /u/ is epenthetic. What this rule presumably sought to recommend, then, was that an epenthetic /o/ be employed after donor |t| and |d| rather than the epenthetic /u/ often found in earlier *gairaigo*.[4] That this rule is based on an infelicitous analysis and is seriously confused is corroborated by the exceptions noted later: *cuupiisu* '**two**-piece (dress)', *curii* 'tree', *zuQku* 'canvas, sackcloth' from Du. *doek*, and *zuroosu* '(women's) **d**rawers'. Only half of these, *cuupiisu* and *doek*, are adaptations of donor or .

Rule 10 is clearer: *f-* and *v-*row *kana* should be written with *h-* and *b-*row *kana*, respectively. Thus, *bitamiɴ* not *vitamiɴ* 'vitamin', *puraQto-hoomu* not *puraQtofoomu* 'platform'. Noted exceptions, where 'there is an awareness of the donor sound', include *feminisuto* 'lady's man' and *vokyaburarii* 'vocabulary'. Rule 10 is unusual in having an explanatory footnote which states that at the general meeting of the Second National Language Council there was debate concerning variations in spelling such as *firumu* or *fuirumu* 'film'. In other words, while not stated in explicitly linguistic terms, whether spellings should reflect a mono- or bimoraic pronunciation.

Rule 11 states that <ti> and <di> should be written 'whenever possible' as <či> and <ji>, respectively. Thus *čiimu* not *tiimu* 'team',

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4 E.g. *kacurecu* from Eng. *cutlet* (attested 1864), *šacu* from Eng. *shirt* (attested 1873), or *šiicu* from Eng. *sheet* (attested 1884).

*ji*reɴma not *di*reɴma 'dilemma'. Exceptions, where 'there is an awareness of the donor sound', are *ti*i 'tea' and biru*di*ɴgu 'building'.

Rule 12 urges, in a similarly conservative vein, that <še> and <je> be written 'whenever possible' as <se> and <ze>, respectively. Thus, miruku-*se*eki not miruku*še*eki 'milkshake', *ze*sučaa not *je*sučaa 'gesture'. Here, exceptions cited include *še*edo '*š*hade' and *je*Qtoeɴjiɴ 'jet engine'. Rule 12, like Rule 10, contains an explanatory footnote. This makes it clear that the Council did not agree with the Subcommittee's recommendation on this point: '/še/ and /je/ are sounds that can be pronounced by Japanese people and thus the spellings and ought to be recommended'.

Rule 13 recommends monomoraic <wi>, <we> and <wo> be written as bimoraic <ui>, <ue> and <uo>. Thus, *ui*sukii not *wi*sukii 'whisk(e)y', *ue*ebu not *we*ebu 'wave', sutoQpu*uo*Qči not sutoQpu*wo*Qči 'stopwatch'. A /u/ mora may be dropped altogether when a spelling is established: e.g. saɴdoiQči'sandwich', not saɴdo*ui*Qči. A footnote reveals that the Council failed to agree with the Subcommittee's recommendation here too: 'depending on the donor sound, there is surely no problem with writing <wi>, <we> and <wo>'.

Rule 14 states that the labial glides <kwa>, <kwi>, <kwe> and <kwo> be written <ka>, <kui> <kue> and <ko>, respectively. Thus, su*kue*a not su*kwe*a 'square', remoɴsu*ka*Qšu not remoɴsu*kwa*Qšu 'lemon squash'. This recommendation may be seen as inconsistent. While monomoraic <kwi> and <kwe> should, like <wi> and <we> in Rule 13, be written bimoraically as <kui> and <kue>, monomoraic <kwa> and <kwo> should remain monomoraic through delabialization and be written <ka> and <ko>. Again, exceptions where 'there is an awareness of the donor sound', are noted and include *kwo*otarii 'quarterly (publication)'.

Rule 15 recommends transcribing the |k| of a donor |ks| cluster as <ku> rather than <ki> (i.e. an epenthetic /u/, rather than /i/). Thus, bo*ku*šiɴgu, not bo*ki*šiɴgu 'boxing'. Exceptions cited include e*ki*su 'extract, essence' and te*ki*suto 'text'.

Rule 16 states that 'final -*er*, -*or* and -*ar*, particularly from English' be spelt long using

the *chōonpu*　（see also Rule 7）. Thus,　*raitaa 'lighter'* and *erebeetaa 'lift, elevator'*. As usual, there are exceptions:　*haNma* 'hamm*er*', *suriQpa* 'slipp*er*' and　*doa* 'd**oor**'. No mention is made of admittedly less frequent English final -*ur* or -*ir*.

Rule 17 deals with a minor point of spelling, recommending that donor words in final -*um* be written　<umu>:　*arumini**umu*** not　*arumin**yuumu*** 'alumini**um**', etc. Exceptions cited include　*aru**bamu*** 'album' and *sutaji**amu*** 'stadium'.

Rules 18 and 19 deal once more with the spellings of innovative pronunciations. In the case of Rule 18, the subcommittee recommends the　<tyu> and　<dyu> moras be written　<*ču*> and　<ju>, respectively: e.g.　*su**ču**waadesu* not　*su**tyu**waadesu* 'stewardess',　***ju**usu* not　***dyu**usu* 'deuce'. Only one exception is cited:　*puro**dyu**usaa* '(movie) producer'.

The final rule, Rule 19, is similar in its theme: innovative　<fyu> and　<vyu> should be written　<hyu> and　<byu>. Thus　***hyu**uzu* not　***fyu**uzu* 'fuse',　*iNta**byu**u* not　*iNta**vyu**u* 'interview'. An addendum to Rule 19 states that the five *katakana*　<wi>,　<we>,　<wo>,　<du> and　<di> should not be used to write *gairaigo*.

A final explanatory note appearing after Rule 19 concerns a point of punctuation. The Council notes that while three different marks have conventionally been employed to indicate a word break between two *gairaigo*, the *nakaten*　and two types of hyphen, - and =, it has elected to defer any decision on the matter of which of the three to recommend. It points out that the use of the *nakaten* may be confused with its other major function, roughly equivalent to the use in English of a slash /.

Subsequent to these rules, Monbushō（1955）then goes on to list 17 pages of *gairaigo* orthographic examples. The report concludes with an appendix containing orthographic examples of foreign names and a list of *kana* recommended for their transcription. This is broadly the same as those recommended for general *gairaigo* orthography, although includes five additional *katakana* digraphs, one of which is the curious　<wyu>, cited in the Subcommittee's transcription of 'Württemberg' as ***wyu**ruteNberuku*. These five additional digraphs are coded M^F in Table 2.

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Nearly three decades after Monbushō (1955) was published, the National Institute for Japanese Language published an analysis, Kokken (1984), of the orthographical data found in one of their earlier surveys, Kokken (1962). This has direct relevance to Monbushō (1955) in two ways. Firstly, Kokken (1962) contains data on a range of magazines published in 1956, only two years after Monbushō (1955) was submitted to the National Language Council and four years after the Subcommittee's deliberations began. Secondly, Kokken (1984) expressly analyses the Kokken (1962) orthographical data according to seven of the general rules set forward in Monbushō (1955). Both these factors offer a valuable insight into contemporary orthographic practice.

Monbushō (1955) Rule 1 stated that *gairaigo* should be written in *katakana*. Although Kokken (1984) agrees that '*katakana* was overwhelmingly to the fore', it does list a significant number of loanwords in Kokken (1962) which had alternative non-*katakana* spellings. Of these, the following words had a token count greater than 20 and showed an alternative non-*katakana* orthography in 25% or more of these:

(1)

		for *mirimeetoru* 'millimetre'	(31/31, 100%)
cm,		for *seNčimeetoru* 'centimetre'	(357/359, 99%)
, p., pp.		for *peeji* 'page'	(98/106, 92%)
,	,	for *tabako* 'tobacco, cigarette'	(24/37, 65%)
KW		for *kirowaQto* 'kilowatt'	(13/22, 59%)
, m		for *meetoru* 'metre'	(49/86, 57%)
H		for *hiQpu* 'hips'	(14/26, 54%)
,		for *kurabu* 'club'	(8/21, 38%)
W		for *uesuto* or *wesuto* 'waist'	(34/108, 31%)
		for *pari* 'Paris'	(14/49, 29%)
		for *iNči* 'inch'	(6/22, 27%)
H		for *hiQto* 'hit'	(5/20, 25%)

Monbushō (1955) Rule 3 recommended the mora nasal /N/ be written   . The central finding of Kokken (1984) is that for *gairaigo* whose donor words contained <mb>,[5]

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[5] Note that, even as late as 1984, it appears Kokken is still basing an analysis on donor orthography, not donor phonology. This is surely indicative of how entrenched dictionary traditions are.

<mu> is found where 　　<N> is expected in 21% of tokens and 22% of types. This is in comparison with only 5% of tokens and 11% of types for donor <mp>. Examples of the former were 　　　　　*koro**mu**bia* or 　　　　　　　*koro**mu**biya* 'Columbia' in 53% （9/17） of cases, against 　　　　　　*koroɴbia* in 47% （8/17）. Examples of the latter were 　　*kya**mu**pu* 'camp(ing)' in 3/11 （27%） of cases, against 　　　　　*kyaɴpu* or 　*kiyaɴpu* in 73% （8/11） of cases.

　Kokken （1984） provides an extremely thorough analysis of Monbushō （1955） Rule 7, namely that the *chōonpu* 　　be used to indicate long vowels. Use of the *chōonpu* varied across the five long vowels, with the following ranking found （percentages show propor-tion of *chōonpu* usage by type）: /aa/ （95%, 810/854）, /oo/ （92%, 563/611）, /uu/ （86%, 254/294）, /ii/ （84%, 467/558）, /ee/ （71%, 323/455）. Examples without *chōonpu* in-cluded 　　　*suta**a*** '(movie) star', 　　　*šo**o*** 'show', 　　　　　　*ču**u**riQpu* 'tulip', 　*suki**i*** 'skiing' and 　　　*ne**e**mu* 'name'. Of the non-*chōonpu* spellings, notable were 　<u> for the second mora of /oo/ in 6% （37/611） of types （e.g. 　　　　　*šo**o**booto* 'showboat') and 　　<i> for the second mora of /ee/ in a much larger 26% （119/455） of types （e.g. 　　　　　　*nyuuf**e**esu* 'new member, new employee'）. If these two excep-tional spellings for /oo/ and /ee/ are ignored, then the use of non-*chōonpu* spellings was more common amongst names: 12% （107/895） of types here, as against 5% （92/1721） for other *gairaigo*. Differences were also evident according to donor language, although in some cases the number of donor words was small. While words borrowed from English showed non-*chōonpu* spellings in 7% （137/2081） of types, this figure rose to as high as 21% （6/29） for Dutch and 17% （34/202） for French, while falling to as low as 2% （2/110） for German. Dictionary traditions were clearly playing a role here. Finally, a non-*chōonpu* spelling was more likely to occur word-finally （15%, 130/892） than word-internally （4%, 69/1724）.

　Although Monbushō （1955） Rule 8 advised using 　<a> rather than 　　<ya> after the front vowels /i/ and /e/, the statistics in Kokken （1984） suggest that, in spite of the instability at the time Subcommittee debate was being conducted, the majority of *gairaigo* of this type were in fact already being written with 　　<a> after front vowels. Overall, 70% （192/273） of types evinced 　　<a>, although this was more common with /ea/ （86%, 42/49） than with /ia/ （67%, 150/224）.

　Kokken's （1984） analysis shows how divorced from the contemporary reality of spell-ing practice the Monbushō （1955） Subcommittee's recommendations had been as re-

gards both Rules 10 and 11. Rule 10 stated that *f-* and *v*-row should be written with *h*- and *b*-row *kana*. The disparity was particularly large with donor |f|. Here, the recommended *h*-row *kana* were being employed in a mere 6% (13/214) of types. Bimoraic spellings such as <fua> were found in only 10% (21/214) of types, with the remaining 84% (180/214) being monomoraic spellings such as <fa>. With donor |v|, the split was more even, however. The recommended *b*-row *kana* were found in 43% (149/344) of types, with bimoraic spellings such as <vua> in only 4% (13/344) and monomoraic spellings such as <va> in the remaining 53% (182/314) of types. Rule 11 recommended that <ti> and <di> be written as <či> and <ji>. Both the innovative forms <ti> and <di> were more popular, although the former, with 51% (70/138) of types, less so than the latter, with 73% (60/82) of types.[6] Innovative forms were conspicuously dominant when word final: 88% (28/32) of types for <ti> and 81% (17/21) of types for <di>.

Finally, Monbushō (1955) Rule 16 stated that 'final *-er*, *-or* and *-ar*, particularly from English' be spelt long using the *chōonpu* . Kokken (1984) found this to have been the practice of the time. An overwhelming 96% (273/285) of types borrowed from English final *-er*, *-or* and *-ar* were spelt with a *chōonpu* in Kokken (1962).

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By the 1980s, many of the recommendations in Monbushō (1955) were being ignored, and those of Bunkachō (1991) being anticipated, in orthographic guidelines published by several major organizations. These included, as noted in Kokken (1990: 111-112), the Japan Licensing Authority (NSK 1982), the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association (SYK 1984) and the nation's only public broadcaster, NHK (1987).

Bunkachō (1991) is a document based on debate carried out during the 17th and 18th National Language Council sessions held from 1986-1988 and 1989-1991, respectively. In 1991, it was submitted to the Minister of Education, announced as Cabinet Notification No. 2 and promulgated as Cabinet Directive No. 1. It was the last document submitted by the National Language Council to become either a cabinet notification or directive: the body was disbanded in 2001. Language policy issues are now officially the

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[6] I ignore here Kokken's (1984) statistics for the adapted forms /te/, /tee/, /tee/, /de/, /dee/ and /dee/.

bailiwick of the National Language Subcommittee (*Kokugo Bunkakai*) ,[7] at the time of writing one of four subcommittees within the wide-ranging Culture Advisory Committee (*Bunka Shingikai*) .

The preface to Bunkachō (1991) states that its contents are intended to act as an authoritative guide to *gairaigo* orthography in the spheres of 'laws and ordinances, public documents, newspapers, magazines, broadcasting, etc.', but that it is 'not the document's intention to infringe on individual orthographic practices in scientific, technical and artistic spheres', nor 'in the spelling of proper nouns, including personal names, company names and brand names'. Neither is it the document's intent to 'contradict or negate *gairaigo* orthographies established in the past'.

The document continues with a list of *katakana* recommended for *gairaigo* spelling, divided into two charts. The larger Chart 1 is to be used for 'the general writing of *gairaigo* and foreign names' and consists of the 115 (di) graphs coded B[1] in Table 2. The smaller Chart 2 is to be used for 'the writing of the same when necessary to come as close as possible to the original pronunciation or spelling' and is composed of 20 (di) graphs coded B[2] in Table 2. Taking Chart 1 and Chart 2 together, for a total of 135 (di) graphs, makes for an increase of five (di) graphs over the total of 130 *kana* (M, M , M[F]) recommended in Monbushō (1955). Appearing only in Bunkachō (1991) are <kwi>, <kwe>, <kwo>, <tyu>, <ci> and <vyu>, while <wyu> appears only in Monbushō (1955).

The main thrust of Bunkachō (1991) lies in six 'Fundamental Articles' (

) and 24 'Detailed Articles' (   ). Fundamental Article 1 states that the document treats only *katakana* spellings of *gairaigo*, while Article 2 warns that no attempt will be made to judge between two already well-established variants of the same donor word (e.g.   *guroobu* and   *gurabu* 'glove'). Where a spelling is well-established, notes Fundamental Article 3, it should be adhered to, the use of different variants across different technical fields being perfectly acceptable. Fundamental Articles 4 to 6 provide more detail on the two *kana* charts described in the previous paragraph. Chart 1 *kana* should be used 'for the most part' in writing *gairaigo* whose level of nativization is high, Chart 2 *kana* to write words whose degree of nativization is 'not high' or which are 'to a certain extent' *gaikokugo*. Chart 1 *kana* should be used if

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[7] Note, however, the input to language policy provided by Kokken, especially with regard to current issues regarding the proliferation of *gairaigo*, especially Kokken (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) .

Chart 2 *kana* are unnecessary: e.g. <ie> for <ye>, <uo> for <wo>, <ba> for <va>. In the event of it being necessary to employ *kana* not listed in either chart, no rules or advice are proffered and usage is down to the individual. Ten examples of such usage are cited and these *katakana* are coded B in Table 2.

The 24 Detailed Articles are divided into three groups: (I) Chart 1 'additional' *kana*; (II) Chart 2 *kana*; and (III) the mora consonants, use of the *chōonpu* and other matters. Articles I.1 to I.6 illustrate the usage patterns for all Chart 1 *kana*. I restrict listing examples cited to a small selection of those containing non-traditional (i.e. unshaded in Table 2) *katakana* digraphs: *še*ekaa '(cocktail) shaker', *daije*suto 'digest, roundup', *če*su 'chess', *ša*N*ce* 'ski jump', *bora*N*ti*a 'volunteer', *di*zunii 'Disney', *fe*NšiNgu 'fencing (sport)' and *dyu*eQto 'duet'. Also given, in some cases, are exceptions where usage has already been established. For <ti> and <di>, these include exceptions using both *i-*column (e.g. <či>, <ji>) and *e-*column (e.g. <te>, <de>) *katakana*. For the *f-*row, exceptions employing both *h-*row (e.g. <ha>) and bimoraic spellings (e.g. <fua>) are given.

Articles II.1 to II.10, which deal with Chart 2 *kana*, are a simple list of examples. Each of the 10 articles uses wording such as 'the kana <gwa> should be used to represent the foreign sound <gwa>'. The 'foreign sound' is written in *katakana* and IPA is not employed. Examples cited include *ye*ecu '(William Butler) Yeats', *suwe*edeN 'Sweden', *kwe*succoNmaaku 'question mark', *para*gwai 'Paraguay', *soruje*niiciN '(Alexander) Solzhenitsyn', *hača*turiyaN '(Aram) Khachaturian', *tyu*uba 'tuba', *fyu*ujoN 'fusion', *ve*rusaiyu 'Versailles' and *revyu*u 'revue, (book) review'. Remarks regarding exceptions note that foreign <ye> is 'generally written' either as <e> or <ie>; that the convention of writing, for example, monomoraic <wi> rather than bimoraic <ui> is especially strong with names; that donor <kwa> and <gwa> may also be written with a different reduced *kana*, as and ; and that foreign <tu> has established spellings with both <cu> and <to>, likewise <du> with both <zu> and <do>.

Of the third and final group of Detailed Articles, III.1 and III.2 treat the mora consonants. Article III.2 recommends that the mora obstruent /Q/ be written reduced, as . Article III.1 recommends the mora nasal /N/ be written , but that established spellings

such as　　　　　　　*šimupojiumu* (rather than　　　　　　　*šiNpojiumu*) 'symposium'
should be respected. The noting of this and other exceptions is further proof that Rule 5
of Monbushō（1955）had failed to take hold.

Article III.3 states that, 'as a rule', the *chōonpu* should be used for long vowels: e.g.
　　　　　pooraNdo 'Poland'. However, it notes that there exist established spellings
with Ø-row *kana*, especially when these represent /ee/ and /oo/: e.g.　　　　　　*reeauto*
'layout' and　　　　　　*saradabooru* 'salad bowl'. Loans whose English donor words
have final -*er*, -*or* or -*ar* should be written long (e.g.　　　　　*koNpyutaa* 'computer'),
except where established spellings or variants exist（e.g.　　　　　*koNpyuta* 'com-
puter'）.

Articles III.4 and III.5 are fundamentally identical to Rules 8 and 17 of Monbushō
（1955）and cover the use of　　<a> after front vowels and the spelling of donor word-
final <(i)um>. Article III.6 adopts a more flexible position than that taken by Rule 15 of
Monbushō（1955）. Whereas the latter advocated an epenthetic /u/ following the |k| in
a donor |ks| cluster (e.g.　　　　　*takušii* not　　　　　*takišii* 'taxi'), Bunkachō（1991）
states that an epenthetic /i/ is also acceptable. Current usage is confused and some
gairaigo have both variants. Article III.7 recommends that *kana* indicating palatal
glides,　,　　and　, be written reduced, as should the second *kana* in the digraphs
<va>,　　　<vi>,　　　<ve>,　　　<vo> and　　　<tu>. Oddly, this advice is not offered for
the latter digraph's voiced counterpart　　　<du>.

The final Detailed Article, III.8, addresses the issue of how to indicate a word break in
a loan phrase. While this was passed over in the form of a final explanatory note in
Monbushō（1955: 9）, Bunkachō（1991）sidesteps the problem completely, by stating it
has no position to take and no advice to offer, other than 'conforming to accepted prac-
tice'. Thus, *keesubaikeesu* 'case by case' may be written with spaces (

), with *nakaten* (　　　　　　　　　　), or with hyphens (　　　-　　-　　　),[8] while
non-*kanji*-sphere foreign names (e.g. *maruko poro* 'Marco Polo') may use a *nakaten* (

) or a double hyphen (　　　　　　), but, curiously, not a space (

).

It is worth mentioning one survey whose results are relevant to the Bunkachō（1991）
orthographic recommendations, specifically the use of *b*-row or *v*-row *kana* to write

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[8] The commonly found　　　　　　　　, where the word break is simply ignored, is not men-
tioned.

donor |v|. Sakamoto (2002: 55-56) analysed transcription patterns for the *v*-row in three media: usage found between 1985 and 2001 in three daily national newspapers (*Asahi Shinbun*, *Yomiuri Shinbun* and *Mainichi Shinbun*); usage patterns derived from the search results of three major internet search engines (*Yahoo!*, *goo* and *Google*) carried out in 2002; and a survey carried out by NHK in the same year which asked just under 1,300 respondents which of two transcriptions they usually used. His results are summarized in Table 3.

	baioriɴ : vaioriɴ 'violin' バイオリン：ヴァイオリン	beetoobeɴ : beetooveɴ 'Beethoven' ベートーベン：ベートーヴェン
Asahi	93 : 7	94 : 6
Yomiuri	90 : 10	91 : 9
Mainichi	92 : 8	85 : 15
Yahoo!	49 : 51	48 : 52
goo	52 : 48	47 : 53
Google	52 : 48	42 : 58
NHK	75 : 24	80 : 19

Table 3 : v*-row transcription patterns across three media* (*adapted from Sakamoto 2002*)

Transcription patterns for the *v*-row differ radically by medium. Newspapers are the most conservative, in general following the older Monbushō (1955) recommendation to use the *b*-row. The most politically liberal of the three newspapers, the *Asahi Shinbun*, is in fact the most transcriptionally conservative, although Sakamoto's figures include orthographic practice found in newspaper editions as far back as 1985 and predating Bunkachō (1991). Internet search engine results show the most innovative transcription with a rough 50:50 split between *v*- and *b*-row usage. The NHK survey falls approximately halfway between these two extremes.

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Compared to Monbushō (1955), the tone of Bunkachō (1991) is more forbearing and its content less confused. Although it provides useful guidance on how to transcribe *gaikokugo*, it stops short of offering suggestions for a number of common foreign phones still without an accepted *kana* transcription. Restricting examples to consonants, these include |l θ ð ʒ x|, conventionally transcribed identically to donor |r s z j h|, respectively.

When, therefore, it is 'necessary to come as close as possible to the original pronunciation or spelling' （Bunkachō 1991: 3-4） a transcription is often difficult or ambiguous when restricted to *kana*, a situation which has far-reaching consequences for foreign language pedagogy. This is not to say, however, that such transcriptions have not been proposed or attempted: see Umegaki （1963: 142-143） and Nishimura （1995: 31-32） for some examples.

The match between *kana* graphs and the sounds they actually represent in modern standard Japanese is close to 100% transparent. This means that a document like Bunkachō （1991） is not only recommending a given spelling, but also the pronunciation on which the spelling is based. When, for example, Detailed Article III.3 notes that the word for *computer* can be spelt as either *koNpyuutaa* or *koNpyuuta*, it is in reality acknowledging that the word has two different pronunciations, one with a final short and one with a final long vowel. Many of the orthographic recommendations in Bunkachō （1991）, as well as in Monbushō （1955）, double therefore as recommendations on *gairaigo* pronunciation and offer tacit acknowledgement, especially in Bunkachō （1991）, that these often vary. Purely orthographic alternatives among modern Japanese *gairaigo* alternatives unconnected with variant pronunciations are found in only four areas. The first of these, variation regarding a word break in a loan phrase, is dealt with in Detailed Article III.8. The second, the question of the extent to which the reduced graph in a digraph truly indicates monomoraicity (e.g. /ue/ versus /we/), is considered in Fundamental Article 5.

The third is the use of the *chōonpu* to mark a long vowel, taken up in Article III.3 of Bunkachō （1991）. Examples found in Kokken （1962）, such as *sutaa* 'star' and *čuuriQpu* 'tulip', where tautomorphemic /aa/ and /uu/ are spelt without a *chōonpu*, would, if encountered today, probably be considered non-standard. There are still, however, a very small number of examples in the modern language where tautomorphemic /ii/ may be found written without a *chōonpu*. These include *miira* 'mummy' and *yuriika* 'eureka'. With tautomorphemic /oo/ and /ee/, however, the situation is different. Here, the second mora of /oo/ may be written with <u> （2a）, though never with <o>, while the second mora of /ee/ may be represented by either <i> （3a） or, more rarely, <e> （3b）. Both tautomorphemic /oo/ and /ee/ may also, of course, be written with a *chōonpu* （2b, 3c）.

| (2) | a. | fiNgaabooru | 'finger bowl' | | soorufuru | 'soulful' |
| | b. | gurukoosu | 'glucose' | | sausupoo | 'southpaw' |

(3)	a.	domeeN	'(web) domain'		reepu	'rape'
	b.	baree	'ballet'		regee	'reggae'
	c.	baree	'volleyball'		deeta	'data'

In a very few cases a different spelling serves to distinguish two homonyms: e.g. *booriNgu* 'boring, drilling', but *booriNgu* 'ten-pin bowling'. In careful pronunciation, however, type (2a) and (3a) spellings are typically sounded out as /o-u/ and /e-i/ rather than /o-o/ and /e-e/. Vance (1987: 13) comments on an identical phenomenon in Sino-Japanese vocabulary. While I am unaware of any statistical studies offering corroboration, there is a tendency for type (3a) spellings to occur more frequently in names. The homonyms *meeN* for 'Maine' but *meeN* for 'main', *peeji* for '(Jimmy) Page' but *peeji* for 'page', and quasi-homonyms *geecu* for '(Bill) Gates' and *geeto* for 'gate', are all cases in point.

The fourth and final area where orthographic variation is apparent is the choice of which script to employ when writing *gairaigo*. One of the recommendations made by Monbushō (1955) had taken hold so strongly by the late 1980s, that mention of it in Bunkachō (1991) was no longer deemed necessary. Bunkachō (1991) states nowhere that *gairaigo* should be written in *katakana*, simply noting in Fundamental Article 1 that it will treat only *katakana* spellings. By 1991 this was the script being used to write the overwhelming majority of *gairaigo*. While nearly two decades on from Bunkachō (1991) *hiragana* is rarely encountered in *gairaigo* orthography, a small number of *kanji* spellings are still frequently used.[9] It is, however, a foreign script, the Roman alphabet, which has made greatest inroads into the *katakana* hegemony and it is to this I will turn in a later paper.

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[9] E.g. 　, 　, 　, 　, etc.

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