Preliminary Statement
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They are not yet complete, and need review. However, to the extent that they provide a basis for doing tasks in part of the 日欧 Inter-Cultural Communication ゼミ course at Kochi University’s Department of International Communication. As such they are intended for educational purposes. Further, certain content from other sources subject to appropriate permission requests. As extensively as possible sources of outside content has been cited or otherwise made known. Otherwise all content, views, opinions and data presented herein is based on original research and is the original work of the author.
Contents listed below refer to the version as of 28.3.2015.
An audio version, Tasks and a Glossary are provided as separate files available on consultations
Any issues or questions, please contact Howard Doyle at hdoyle@kochi-u.ac.jp.

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English in Japan - GLOSSARY¹

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¹ Words and expressions shaded in grey are listed with explanations in the Glossary, and also cross-referenced to Sections in the Lecture Transcript text where they occur.
Preface

These lectures were originally prepared for a course called *Japanese-European* (or *Japanese-Western*) *Inter-Cultural Communication*. They are a part of a longer series of lectures under the thematic umbrella, *English as a European Language in the World*, of which part relates to English (as a European Language, or as a non-European language) in Japan. It presents key themes from the current lectures in global terms as one case of English as a European Language occurring somewhere in the world – in this case Japan. But the case of Japan can also be looked at separately.

For *English as a European Language in the World*, the choice of English as a vehicle in which to pass through a Japanese-European intercultural communication field is a product of the view that English is an epitomic product of European culture. This means that to an extent, different influences from European culture, from different parts of Europe are evident in English. This raises a question: to what extent is English a nexus of European culture or European languages? Answering this question just now is counter-productive, as it distracts from the context of Japan in which the English language has become textually relevant in far more ways and in far more contexts than most people may imagine. Relevant as a more general world cultural phenomenon that becomes has ingrained in the general language culture of Japan.

As one of the Germanic group of languages in the Indo-European family, English is the only one which has become so syntactically regularized and lexically convergent with roots in languages across the geographical and cultural north and south of Europe – predominantly Latin, French, German (plus a strong case for syntactic influence from British Celtic Languages (in a book about the origins of English, John McWhorter (2008) actually mentions coincidental similarities in Japanese, but denies possibilities for cross-fertilisation from English in the primal stages of the development of English over a thousand years ago).

In this sense English certainly is representative of Europe. And language certainly is a key element of a culture, which can be seen in two ways:

- **Language** as mode and medium for communication of ideas, information and intention.
- **Language** as cultural artifact, most commonly apparent and observable as *Text*.
  (with a capital ‘T’ refers to the concept or generic linguistic or discursive phenomenon; a ‘text’-with-a-small-‘t’ is the tangible quantifiable object)

It is from both of these aspects which English in Japan shall be considered and discussed in these lectures, with regular reference to the forms taken by English in Japan.

English is a European language certainly, but is that all? Certainly English is in North...
America, which is not Europe, so is the culture in North America European? No, not so simple as that. Is English then, say, a Western hemisphere cultural phenomenon? Arguable, but English occurs in India too, where there are more speakers of the language than in North America and Britain combined. So is India a European culture? Certainly not, but certain aspects of the political institutions, media, sport and other aspects of the culture do seem Anglophile, while a greater proportion do remain more indigenously Indian. Similarly with Singapore, Malaysia, Nigeria, Ghana, and quite a few places in Africa and Asia, even maybe in places like Holland or Switzerland. Again not so simple. Still, these lectures are about English in Japan. But the language and the culture in Japan are visibly Japanese – and nobody can deny that. However, English does occur in Japan – and in this sense perhaps it is a way in which European/Western cultural influence occurs in Japan.

The view in these lectures is that English reflects less how European/Western culture occurs in Japan than how Japanese culture and Japanese people have encountered such cultural influences, have responded to them, and the effects that these events and processes have had. Certainly English occurs in Japan (as it occurs in most parts of the world). How, where and when it has occurred, with and by whom, the form it takes – texts – and what happens to the English in Japan are sub-themes. Another aspect is the extent to which there is an identifiable distinct variety of English in Japan, and just what that may be.

Before these can be considered there is a lot to cover, a lot of background to fill.
0.0 Introduction

This series of lectures was going to be called ‘Japanese English, but I changed my mind. One reason was that I found a book called ‘Japanese English’ by James Stanlaw (2004). After reading the book I began thinking that Japanese English sometimes seems like English in other places, but also sometimes doesn’t seem like English at all. Also some people in Japan use only English (just like other people use only Japanese). One final point is that whatever language people in Japan use, there is always English all around in so many places in Japan. In some senses, Nobuyuki Honna (2008) is correct to claim that English is a Japanese language – ie. a language of and in the culture, a language of Japan, a language in Japan.,

Another writer, Koscielecki (2000) has also pointed out,

Although the English language in Japan is made functionally suitable for some domains using exoglossic norm-providing varieties, Japanese speakers do not codify all their experiences through this medium in the Japanese context. It is not common for the Japanese speakers to use English for communication among themselves. English in Japan has not developed any particular features which would qualify it as an established variety. Therefore, we should refrain using the designation “Japanese English”. To do otherwise, we would need some data which would identify and characterize what constitutes "Japanese English".

What this means is that people in Japan can use English or draw things from English to say what they want to say, but they don't actually use only English to communicate with each other. One limitation with this idea is that the same can be said for other languages too. But Koscielecki interestingly agrees with my idea that ‘Japanese English’ is a bit of a misnomer – or means the wrong thing - even if she has different reasons from me. She says basically that ‘Japanese English’ needs to be more substantial in order to get data to investigate, and to be able to actually identify what it really is. If Koscielecki thinks that there is not enough English in ‘Japanese English’, another researcher in Japan, Morizumi Mamoru (2009) gives a lot of different evidence trying to show that there is enough, distinct, language forms in Japanese English for it to be considered a separate variety of English.

But there is another aspect of English in Japan: there are many different things which are actually English or which are drawn from English (and other languages) in Japan, which occur in Japanese language and in texts found in Japanese culture. Therefore it is not just communication in Japan using English language which is the subject here.

I consider use of English a lot in these lectures - how it is used and what English is used. In this way I hope to make clear a lot of the different forms taken and influences had by English in Japan.
I also remember that regarding much of the English in Japan, both Japanese people and also non-Japanese people have to deal with it (for instance English-speaking ‘gaijin’). This means that there is more than one way to consider English in Japan. It is within this milieu that part of my job has been to teach English to people who probably will use English in Japan at some stage.

0.1 Outline

In these lectures, first a field of inquiry is established and background to the field presented.

Then, the following lectures focus on just what ‘English in Japan’ is, a history of contact with and also use of English in Japan is presented before examining the relationship between English and writing systems used in Japan.

Following that, lexical and semantic aspects are examined, specifically focusing on fields of colour, sense and experience.
1. ‘English in Japan’ or ‘Japanese English’ - or what?

1 a. i. Outline
Basically this section starts with some clarification of what I mean by ‘English in Japan’. I do this by expanding on this notion in conjunction with the notion of ‘Japanese English’. In the process, some contextual aspects such as how English as a world language relate to English in Japan (or to Japanese English which may also include what some people call ‘Japlish’, dealt with more in a later lecture). This ends with an attempt to establish a field of inquiry for this series of lectures, which I do by answering the question of just what I need to be interested in: Japanese English, English in Japan, or what?

1 a. ii. Rationale
Why do all this? Well, let’s start with the concept of English as a world language (there is actually a journal called World Englishes, that also has this expression, ‘English as a world language’ as a subtitle on its inside cover). Soon it becomes pretty clear that people who speak English around the world – native and non-native speakers (though I avoid making this distinction because there are a lot of really good, expert users of English who were not really brought up with English as children) – do not all speak the same. Kirkpatrick (2008 pp 6-10, 184-89) gives a fuller current discussion of this issue, that English varies – there are varieties of English. One other thing though, with the idea of ‘varieties of English’ comes another idea – Englishes as a countable noun, that there is more than one English (in the world).

1 a. iii. Japanese English, English in Japan and the Inner/Outer/Extending Circle Model of World Englishes
The often accepted model of this is Braj Kachru’s (1985, 1992) ‘Three Circles of English’ model of world Englishes. It places Japanese English per se in a distant outer circle:
- Inner circle Englishes include British, Irish, American, New Zealand;
- first (maybe ‘middle’) Outer circle includes Indian, Singapore, Nigerian Englishes and other countries where English is a common language for people who speak other languages at home or in their own ethnic proximities;
- Extending circles where English is not spoken commonly but may be used as a de facto official language or is commonly taught in schools, like in China, France, Japan, Brazil or the Ivory Coast.

In a modified version of this model in Stanlaw (2004 p 285, based on Braj Kachru 1997) applied to Englishes in Asia, places Japan in the most outer, “Expanding” circle with countries like Bhutan, Guam, Taiwan, China, South Korea and Myanmar. Two versions of this model are presented below in Figure 1. Can you see where Japan is? However, similar model made by the international language school chain, EF (English First) (cited in Masani 2012) places Japanese English in a middle rather than extreme outside zone. Thus, these models are not fact, just people’s opinions in the end.
Figure 1: *Two Versions of Braj Kachru’s ‘Three Circles Model of World Englishes’*. (Sources: Crystal 2002 p 61 (left); Jenkins 2003 p 16 (right))

One problem with this model is that it is based on nation-state/ethnography – eg. English spoken by Japanese is like such –and-such. It does not consider differences in individuals’ use – not all individuals’ knowledge of, use of and contact with English is the same. The model also ignores how English occurs and how it is used inside, say, Japan. To sum up, Braj Kachru’s ‘Three Circles of World Englishes’ Model is too general to give anything besides a rough guide.

Whatever ‘English in Japan’ is, what form it takes, wherever it lies in the world in relation to other Englishes, it is a language taught and used by different people in Japan in different contexts and in different ways, and it needs to be considered as such. To come to terms with this set of circumstances, in this first lecture I try to construct a model for defining English in Japan in its different usage and form variations. People may take a view that this model could be applied to other language cultures in which the lingua franca is not English, and I would be happy if people did that. However, that is not the purpose now. Rather, in the end I try to use this model to answer the question posed in the title, ‘Japanese English’ or ‘English in Japan’ or what?
Summary of Section 1 a.
'English in Japan' can also be called 'Japanese English' or 'Japlish', but these terms do not incorporate all the English used in Japan. This is because all the people who use English do not all speak it the same. Also, if Japan is in the Expanding Circle of World Englishes, that is just a very rough guide, because it does not say anything about different people knowing different amounts of English.
1 b. Types of English and Users of English in Japan

1 b. i. Defining Types of English in Japan

Kirkpatrick (2008) sees two types of English in Japan:

- an "institutionalised variety based on an American native speaker model (p 192. Italics mine); and also
- an internalized system which becomes apparent when Japanese people start creating their own language forms which are ostensibly Japanese’ but are based on English, which come across as a kind of creative process (Kirkpatrick 2008 p 193 (following Stanlaw 2004)).

An interesting point about this idea is that there begins to be this idea of 2 kinds of English in Japan. Kirkpatrick thinks that there is, like, an official English (American-style) and also people's own English which they make up themselves and which uses some Japanese language rules. It is a bit similar to my idea.

Nobuyuki Honna (2008) has a similar more explicit model in which he points just to ‘American English’ which would correlate with a standard variety or what Kirkpatrick calls ‘institutionalised’. This model is reproduced in Figure 2 below. There is some merit in Honna’s model, especially if the history of English in Japan is considered (done in some detail in a later lecture).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japan’s ELT Model (Present, Unrealistic)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Input</td>
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<td>Students</td>
<td>American English</td>
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<tr>
<th>Japan’s ELT Model (Modified, Realistic)</th>
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<td>Input</td>
<td>Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>American English</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2: Unrealistic and Realistic English Language Teaching Models in Japan** (Source: Honna, 2008. pp 146, 154)

At this point I shall stay with the way Kirkpatrick articulates it, as he is a bit more general and theoretical. Kirkpatrick’s institutionalized variety/internalized system dichotomy is useful, and I use it as a starting point for my own thinking. However it is a bit simplistic: for a start, it does not take into account all the people who use English in Japan. ‘All’ the people includes a large number of non-Japanese people and quite a few Japanese people who are sufficiently bi-cultural and bi-lingual. This point is expanded on in the next section. Honna, who has been an adviser to the Japanese government about English language and English education, seems just to tell what he sees: what people
want to believe about English (not real) and also what is (is real). But he is right about something – people who come from Japanese language culture have to start with Japanese if they want to get any kind of foreign language. This is why it is logical and common sense that people sound Japanese if they speak English.

1 b. ii. Some Users of English in Japan: a couple of problems with the institutionalized variety/internalized system dichotomy

Focussing on English in Japan per se, there is some validity in Kirkpatrick’s typology of English, and the second type is considered extensively in the second half of this lecture. But Kirkpatrick’s typology is limited: it ignores the official and institutionalised English used in certain large companies, government departments and other institutions. For example, when I was applying for a visa extension soon I had to deal with forms written bilingually, in Japanese and English and I actually had the choice of using either language (though I am sure the immigration officer would have preferred even my own poor Japanese). In this sense English is at least a de facto official language in Japan, but it is under Japanese.

Kirkpatrick’s typology also neglects English in Japan which is used,
- when English speakers communicate among themselves;
- when English speakers communicate with Japanese people who do have different levels of ability in English communication (from almost nothing to expert); and of course also
- the English used by Japanese people when communicating with non-Japanese speakers

1 b. iii. The Need to Consider as many Types of English as Possible

I make these criticisms for one simple reason: that there is more than one type or style of English used in Japan! To consider ‘English in Japan’, one must consider as many types and variations of English as possible, not just the generally apparent types. If I encounter any English here in Japan, or in any Japanese language community (or speech community), I want to be able to account for it. This is what I wish to try to do in these lectures.

Summary of Section 1 b

There are different varieties of English in Japan, including internalized varieties - for instance how people naturally speak - and 'institutionalized' varieties. But there are other varieties too, such as when Japanese speak with non-Japanese - a kind of simplified, less natural language. There are also non-Japanese people who are English speakers, who may speak just English (or other languages) with each other
Task 1: **How you see your English in Japan now**

Well, if I ask you, could you tell me about your English, or describe it? How would you describe it? Please think of some adjectives to describe your own English in Japan. (Advice: well, for me, my English is really good, probably expert, native-speaker, educated, probably a bit male-style, probably a bit older-style, perhaps a mix of Australian, British and Japanese style too. Please do not think of just countries when you describe anybody’s English – that just seems too simple, too narrow and too naive)

______________________________

Give some examples of your own English in Japan. (ie what you have said or written in English)

______________________________

Anything in your English which could make it sound or look like non-standard English. Give examples in the space below. (Hint: look in Table 1 in the next section)

______________________________
English in Japan

1 c. English in Japan and English as a World Language

1 c. i  English is Not the only World Language

A further problem comes back to the notion of English as a world language: there are other ‘world languages’. A simple understanding of the term world language is any language which is used both in its base language culture or language (ie ‘speech’) community, and also outside of it. Yet, to be realistic, there would need to be extensive use of such a language for it to be realistically considered a major world language. Other languages in the world are used in Japan now (Chinese and Korean are the most visible in the early 21st century).

Other languages have influenced Japan in the past and continue to influence Japanese language now. I examine this point later in order to argue that English is just one of the ‘world languages’ used in Japan which has affected Japan and Japanese. As such, of course English is significant. But in the history of Japan and Japanese maybe not the most significant. Rather I think about Chinese with kanji ideographic script and the on/kun dichotomy in Japanese semantics come to mind.

1 c. ii.  Japanese English as ‘a World English’?

In an article a couple of years ago, a Japanese professor, Mamoru Morizumi (2009) tried to show how Japanese English could be seen or used as an “International Auxiliary Language” (p 73, 76) and to see how similar it was to core features of world lingua franca English. One issue he was interested in if or how much Japanese English could be taught and used and be acceptable and understandable to people outside of Japan – that is, does Japanese English need to be changed for other people to understand it?

Morizumi eventually concludes that it is difficult for Japanese-style English to be fully understandable, one problem being local Japanese words and also pragmatics – ie. people using or saying things English in the same way they would use or say things in Japanese. But he sees some encouraging points made in some Japanese school teaching materials, and he calls for much more “polymodel” (pp 75-76) attitude to English. He Japanese-style English should be accepted and even taught if it can have some core features similar to what other varieties of English in the world have.

This idea of core English features comes from Jennifer Jenkins, who is a strong supporter of English as lingua franca (ELF). She (and a few others including me) think that different varieties of English are just as good as others if people can use English and be understood

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2 Japanese script based on Chinese logographic script (Halliday 1985 pp 25-26, Barton 1994). Barton (pp 96-97) also notes that Japanese written text may have up to 4 scripts at one time – kanji, hiragana, katakana and Roman script (romaji), the use and significance of these scripts is examined in a later lecture (on ‘English and Writing Systems in Japan’).
by others. She does not agree with people having a standard native (British or American) as the main standard that everybody needs to follow. This is different from the idea that everyone needs to speak like a British or American native speaker. But she has her idea of core features of English that also originally come from native English standards (Jenkins 2009 pp 146-148).

Table 1 lists some things which people from places in the Extending Circle of English which are not features of standard native English but which maybe are still understandable, from Jenkins (2009, whose list actually comes from her friend Barbara Seidlhofer who has been helping top make a big world English lingua franca corpus (ie. collection of words, etc.) at the University of Vienna) It also lists some features which are more specifically Japanese, from Morizumi (2009). Table 1 also shows some things which people may or may not understand outside of Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Lexico-grammatical features</strong></th>
<th><strong>Jenkins (2009) citing Seidlhofer - an ELF Core</strong></th>
<th><strong>Morizumi (2009)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Other sources</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dropping 3rd person 's', like <strong>He eats cake</strong> as <em>He eat cake</em></td>
<td>Drop question form confusion, like, <em>She is pretty, isn't she?</em> – Yes, she is, as <em>She is pretty, isn't it?</em> – No, she is.</td>
<td>Morizumi warns of “turmoil” (p 77) advising against Japanese S+O+V grammar order in English &amp; adding kana to writing system</td>
<td>Contexts, nuance &amp; ways to use English words in Japanese old fashioned or different from original English use, like dandy as handsome male in Japanese but gay or woman-like appearance in English Literal translation of Japanese words &amp; idiom to English confusing, like meet friends as play with friends (from asobu); also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusing ‘who’ and ‘which’</td>
<td>Unnecessary prepositions, like in Go to home</td>
<td>Some Japanese words entering English, like tsunami</td>
<td>Using Using word+suru/naru, like receive catch as get+suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaving out or mistaking ‘a’ and ‘the’</td>
<td>Tag question form confusion, like, <em>She is pretty, isn't she?</em> – Yes, she is, as <em>She is pretty, isn't it?</em> – No, she is.</td>
<td>Japanese words made from English but not the same, like retractable pencil as sharp pen</td>
<td>Clipping and cutting English words, like remote control as remokon &amp; department store as depa-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tag question form confusion, like, <em>She is pretty, isn't she?</em> – Yes, she is, as <em>She is pretty, isn't it?</em> – No, she is.</td>
<td>Some Japanese words entering English, like tsunami</td>
<td>Use of words and expressions often not being English-like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnecessary prepositions, like in Go to home</td>
<td>Some Japanese words entering English, like tsunami</td>
<td>Japanese words made from English but not the same, like retractable pencil as sharp pen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using general verbs like ‘do’, ‘get’, ‘make’, ‘put’, ‘take’</td>
<td>Making difficult noun clauses with ‘that’, like <em>I want to meet my sister as I want that I meet my sister.</em>’</td>
<td>Use of words and expressions often not being English-like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making difficult noun clauses with ‘that’, like <em>I want to meet my sister as I want that I meet my sister.</em>’</td>
<td>Too exact or explicit, like How long? as <em>How long time</em>?; or black as black colour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contexts, nuance &amp; ways to use English words in Japanese old fashioned or different from original English use, like dandy as handsome male in Japanese but gay or woman-like appearance in English Literal translation of Japanese words &amp; idiom to English confusing, like meet friends as play with friends (from asobu); also</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Phonemics &amp; phonology</strong></th>
<th><strong>Jenkins (2009) citing Seidlhofer - an ELF Core</strong></th>
<th><strong>Morizumi (2009)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Other sources</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problems with ‘th’ like in the and also in three, also ‘I’ as in lovely</td>
<td>Problems with ‘th’ like in the and also in three, also ‘I’ as in lovely</td>
<td>Saying ‘p’ instead of ‘f’</td>
<td>Hesitation, translating or worry about the right form causing slow speaking and long pauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel length, like /i/ and /i:/ in ship and sheep</td>
<td>Vowel length, like /i/ and /i:/ in ship and sheep</td>
<td>‘t’ &amp; ‘d’ for ‘th’ in three &amp; though respectively</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowel sound like /æ/ and /e/, like in apple and egg</td>
<td>Vowel sound like /æ/ and /e/, like in apple and egg</td>
<td>Interchanging ‘r’ &amp; ‘l’, like hilarious as hiraljous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouncing each part of</td>
<td>Pronouncing each part of</td>
<td>Pronouncing each part of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schwa, or dropping vowel sounds, like *to* in 2 to 2 sounding like two t’ two
Leaving sounds out, like *probably* as *proby*, and *October* as *Otober*
Problems joining consonant sounds, like *glasses* case as *glas seskase*
Wordstress, like in a *present* and to *present something*
Different patterns of Stress for meaning (ie. *making voice louder or faster, also pauses*)
Pitch (ie. *voice going up and down*)

Complex vowel, like *out as a-u-to*
Adding vowel to final consonant, like *out as a-u-to*
Flat Wordstress like beautiful as *bju:-chi hu ru* not *bju:-ti-f-l*

Other language, communication points

Presumptions about Appropriateness and Pragmatics different sometimes confusing
Concern that using English causes Loss of Japanese Cultural Identity.

Use of Kunrei (Government) roman script system is Japanese not English phonemics-based
People’s personal views and assumptions about English mirror public and institutional views

Table 1: Some Features of Japanese English Language Forms, Use and People’s Attitudes
(Sources: based on Jenkins 2009 and Morizumi 2009)

If there are problems, of course people can always say ‘What?’ or ‘Could you say that again?’ to check what others say anytime, or check in a dictionary if reading. This is common sense. This is why people not understanding, say, English from Japanese people is actually a less serious problem than people think.

From another angle, Stanlaw (2004 p 279) makes just a loose typology of ‘Japanese English’ which is detailed below in Table 2. He is not alone in his thinking – he just draws it together which shows how Japanese English (or English in Japan) is even more multi-faceted than presented so far. Whereas for Morizumi (2009), Japanese English is just an extra (Auxiliary) language, and Jenkins (2009) is interested how English works as lingua franca, Stanlaw (2004) sees Japanese English as different things for different people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanlaw’s (2004) comments</th>
<th>Other commentators’ views</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Japanese English as a variant (ie *type*) of English as a world | Morizumi discusses how the forms a Japanese variety of English could become one possible variety of English as an *
English in Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'a world English'</th>
<th>language</th>
<th>International Auxiliary Language (EIAL) alongside other varieties, but in the end is not optimistic.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese English as 'an' Asian English</td>
<td>like any other country's variant of English with its own idiosyncrasies (ie strange and unique features) though within the same Outer circles or Extending circles as other Asian Englishes as shown in Figure 1</td>
<td>Braj Kachru, Stanlaw and even Honna locate Japanese English in Asia but geographical reasons are the only convincing ones. Like with European and African Englishes, there is too much linguistic, cultural and historical variation to generalize. An exceptional circumstance is dictionaries of Asian English/es and other corpora (Kachru, Y. &amp; Smith 2008 pp 109-10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| English as a Japanese language | includes “standard RP [Received Pronunciation like in Britain], loan words or the Japanese variety of English” (p 292) | Honna, as a strong proponent of English in Japan has an ecological view: English occurs in Japanese culture, making English a language of Japan – a Japanese language. But Honna also prefers Japanese English to have a specific form |

Table 2: ‘Japanese English’ in Stanlaw’s (2004) and others’ views (Sources: Stanlaw 2004, Honna 2008, Morizumi 2009)

In this typology I see Stanlaw simply looking from different perspectives. But the real focus of his book is on the last type: English as a Japanese language. As I mentioned before, I find this too narrow, because it neglects non-Japanese people using English and also Japanese people who are either expert or are deliberately trying to communicate using English.

So, in the end, is Japanese English ‘a world English’? Well, yes, of course it is. It has an idiosyncratic form distinct from other Englishes. Japanese English is normally distinguishable from Japanese language form. Morizumi (2009) is perhaps the most appropriate view in this sense: while people in Japan can make sense of Japanese English forms, people in other language cultures may not be so adept. This does not discount Japanese English in the world. Yet, we should not forget a realistic assessment that outside Japan in the world other world English varieties are more visible, apparent and used.

1 c. iii. English in Japan as Japanese English: amorphized, or ‘Remade in Japan’?

However, Stanlaw finishes his book by discussing one type of English which places his view on common ground with my view – he discusses English “Remade in Japan” (2004, pp 296-98). In summing up this perspective he hopes

“.. that the Japanese people are just as adept at linguistic incorporation as they are incorporating baths and Argentinian tangos into Japanese culture”

(p 297)

Actually, I don’t like the term ‘Remade in Japan’ – it suggests a kind of imitation or copying process, that Japanese people are consciously making something. I prefer to think that English just gets changed somehow – amorphized. By whom and how are separate
questions at this point, but they are considered in the next lecture.

Rather, until the next lecture it is possible to dwell on the problem of language form. Some forms of Japanese English are listed in Table 1 above. But just now I presented the term amorphized English (or amorphization of English. This is explained in Section 2e). The signature of this process is that when, say, English (or other languages’) items are taken from one culture of English and become used in another there is a tendency for those items to lose something of their original form: lexical (eg vocabulary, expressions), morphological (eg different endings to a word to change its meaning), phonological (spoken form, pronunciation) and even syntactic (grammar, word order). In a way, they lose their some of their Englishness.

Actual dwelling on language forms is the problem of so much linguistic argument and analysis. What most people forget are pragmatics and other sociolinguistic aspects, many of which are embedded in, say, Japanese appropriate behavioral practice. One example is the topic of silence in spoken communication (though I have seen exceptions). Textbooks about Japanese communication behavior and pragmatics often include silence as a communication tool and one often misunderstood by people outside of the culture. The same books often say that people speaking English and other languages are not silent so much. But that is silly – people are silent for different reasons (eg. confusion, emotion, embarrassment, or they have nothing to say, or it is just not necessary to say anything) – in English and in Japanese.

So, in Japan are people required to avoid silence when using English in Japan? Or is this requiring them to follow an unwritten rule that using of another language requires people to use appropriate behavioral practices of that language’s culture?

My view is a firm ‘No!’ for both questions. These are very chauvinistic presumptions. People can know some (or much) of the customs and culture of another language. But perhaps people cannot know everything – there is always a chance to make a mistake with customs and culture. Such things cannot be found in any dictionary or grammar book..

And actually, knowing customs and culture are quite different from knowing grammar and words. People can only find out about those things if they find out how people use the language. To do that people need to have contact with the language.

It is for this reason a more ecological, holistic view of English in Japan is attempted in these lectures. As for the question of English ‘remade’ or amorphized in Japan, ‘remade’ ‘No’, as it presumes some conscious or subconscious act of re-making. Rather amorphization – English just becomes changed. It is something a bit more natural or organic. The relevant historical and current processes are examined later.
1 d. ‘Japanese English’ or English in Japan’ or what? conclusion

Japanese English is a variety of English used mostly by people from Japanese language culture, and it may or may not at different times be understandable to people outside of Japan. But of course it is one type of English in Japan.

Yet, I wish to avoid categorizing English in Japan. My main reason is because of different contexts, purposes and users of English, not just different types of English in Japan. I suppose I do not even want to put any adjective at all before the noun ‘English’. Actually I am interested in Japan as a culture and as a geographical area. This is the main reason why I prefer call it ‘English in Japan’, a bigger but more interesting and workable field than something simply called ‘Japanese English’.

**Summary of Sections 1 c & d**

English is not the only world language used in and influencing Japan. Also, Japanese English is one type of ‘world Englishes’, which can be understood or misunderstood at different times by people outside of Japan. In Japanese culture English somehow gets changed – amorphized. This is one way how different varieties of English occur in Japan. Also, context, person and purpose are factors. To include a variety of Englishes in Japan, the term ‘English in Japan’ is the most useful.

**Summary of Lecture 1**

Rather than thinking about just ‘Japanese English’, we have to remember that there are actually different varieties of English in Japan. Consequently, a broader term, such as ‘English in Japan’ is better
2. **Is English in Japan Really English or Really Japanese, or what?**

2 a. **Outline**
This lecture is long, and probably should be in two or more parts. But it is not – sorry about that!

It looks at some examples of English in Japan, just to see the types of things I am talking about all through these lectures. This lecture continues discussion of the differences between the concepts ‘English in Japan’ and ‘Japanese English’. It also tries to argue for the ‘English in Japan’ view based on a continuum model which could be used to mark, qualify or describe any kind of English used - *spoken or written* - by someone in Japan. Further, it considers how different types of English might be understood by people being communicated to, with English, in Japan. The ‘Japlish’ phenomenon is defined and discussed, using example texts which are also analysed using the continuum model. The extent to which Japlish could be pidgin or creole is also addressed, and different linguistic and socio-linguistic views are considered. In the end, 3 answers to the question, ‘Is English in Japan Really English or Really Japanese?’ are given.

2 b i. **English in Japan and Japanese English Revisited**
The book sometimes mentioned in the last lecture (ie Stanlaw 2004) is one of the few books about English in Japan from a cultural perspective. There are other works on Japanese linguistics which consider the influence of English on Japanese from a more applied linguistics angle. But Stanlaw's book – which is called *Japanese English* - is one of a series of books on ‘Englishes’ in Asia published by Hong Kong University Press. Stanlaw holds a stronger view than my own: he considers that English in Japan is changed significantly in form, but is still recognizable as English is some way. He thinks that it is still English even if it is used in natural Japanese discourse. This idea is discussed a bit in some early chapters in his book, but recurs at other points too. But basically Stanlaw seems to think that if somebody in Japan says something it is either English or it is not – like black and white.

Um – that is a problem, as it becomes clear later in these lectures as we look at a few different contexts (including a couple from Stanlaw’s book itself). Actually I was happy to realise Stanlaw’s view, because my view is quite different, and now nobody can accuse me of just copying or stealing ideas from Stanlaw (2004). I think that there is a lot of grey in between that black and white.
I tell more of what I think a bit later. First, just to connect with the last lecture, I finished it by saying a strong ‘No!’ to the idea that English is ‘remade’ in Japan. One reason for this is that language processes are a bit more organic and natural, and I don’t think that anybody is acting consciously to ‘remake’ anything. This lies in part in what Kirkpatrick (2008) and Honna (2008) variously see as an ‘internalized system’ by which English gets changed as it becomes used by people in Japan. The other point is that there are different forms which English takes on (if of course English is an animate or live phenomenon). I introduced also a term, amorphization meaning something like ‘becomes changed’. I think that English is amorphized in the language culture in Japan to different extents in different contexts with different people using the language. This lecture deals a lot with this idea, and I even try to develop a continuum model to show how this amorphization of English happens.

Two more points are that I am more interested in English in Japan – any English, not just Japanese English, which I also include in my model. Also, finally, is the need to understand that English is at once used and at the same time can become part of the language environment – as texts and so on. In this sense, English can be seen as something used and also something that people have contact with and can then take in – it can be meaningful, or just part of the colour of the environment with no consequence. This last point of contact with English being distinct from use of English is very important in these lectures, especially regarding the history of English in Japan.

The same points are not limited to just English in Japan – the same could be said for, say, Japanese language in Honolulu, or Dutch in South Africa. We should not forget that English in Japan is just a case of English being transplanted somewhere in the world or people somewhere using English because it is practical, convenient or they are being forced to use it.

2 b. ii. What Happens to English when it Becomes Used With or As Japanese?

But let’s get back to Japan and get on with the lecture. One condition that nobody could deny is that English in Japan becomes used with Japanese discourse – mixed. I believe that once English items – lexical and semantic (ie meaning), syntactical (ie grammar), phonological (ie speaking, pronunciation), genre (ie types of written or spoken language), or discursive (ie how the language is used and also what is communicated) – become used in Japanese discourse and even in Japanese cultural contexts, they begin to lose some or much of their quality of ‘Englishness’. In other words, these items from English perhaps become less ‘English’ and more ‘Japanese’. This is explained later.
Even though there are problems agreeing with Stanlaw’s opinion, certainly what he says and much of his evidence and elaboration is thought-provoking and should be considered. Mainly this is because he extensively considers discursive and cultural aspects of language. He is like a language anthropologist in a way. I believe that his view is more useful than an opposite, more strictly linguistic perspective because it considers other things besides just language forms.

2 c. Non-Japanese (language) in Japan: communicating

This part of the lecture has a weird title. This is because I was trying to find a term for languages used in Japan which are not Japanese. I am trying to build a perspective of looking at language use in Japan but not include Japanese. It is very difficult – how can people use language to communicate in Japan at all if they do not use Japanese?

Well, actually it is possible. You probably have had some experience hearing, reading or even using some other language in Japan. If you wish, you can try to remember now and note down some details in Task 2 below.

Well, for example,

- I am doing this lecture in Japan, but not in Japanese.
- My friend Tokiko (not her real name) helps people at the Kyoto International Tourist Information Center often not speaking in Japanese, giving them English, Italian or Chinese maps.
- I saw an old Japanese male journalist interviewing an American politician on TV last week, not in Japanese. Both used a kind of strange New York-sounding English.
- Also, at a yakiniku restaurant near my university, the wife talks to the husband in the kitchen in a secret language, because he never learned Japanese – which language? – I don’t know, but it is not Japanese and it is not English! Maybe Korean!

Anyway, I hope you can now see that non-Japanese communication does occur in Japan. If such communication occurs using English, then we have our first type of ‘English in Japan’: disparate English: the English in Japan which is separate from and not connected to any Japanese (language) in Japan.
Task 2:  **NOT using Japanese to communicate in Japan**
(Hint:  look at Section 2c, or any other part of the materials for examples)
Please try to think of people in Japan who communicate but do not use Japanese. Try to think of 2 or 3 types. Also, think of where, when and why they communicate, and also the types of things they say.
(Advice:  NOT something TOO SIMPLE, like just saying 'Kami sa ham ni da!' in a Korean yakiniku restaurant. Something meaningful please!)
Put details in the table below. Also, talk about it with other people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which language?</th>
<th>What the people say? (eg text, words,)</th>
<th>Who? Where/When?</th>
<th>Why use that language?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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**Summary of Sections 2 a, b & c**
When English gets used together with Japanese, it loses some of its 'Englishness'. Still, in some everyday situations, even Japanese people use only English with no Japanese whatsoever. This is a kind of disparate English.
2 d. English in Japan Amorphized

2 d. i. Disparate English

'English in Japan' at its most basic is any English-language discourse – from single word items upwards - which occurs in Japan. **Disparate English** is English-only, separate from Japanese. Disparate means separate, distinct, unrelated. For example the situations mentioned in the last section, at the International Tourist Information Center in Kyoto, and the Japanese journalist’s interview on TV. In these two situations,

- there is communication only through the medium of English, and also
- there is no Japanese at all.

The key reason is simple: one or more of the people in these communication events does not know any Japanese. In other words, one or more of these people is not part of any Japanese language community (or sometimes called 'speech community'). This idea of language community will be discussed much later, but I think it does need to be mentioned now. However, if communication occurs in English, then of course all the people in these communication events are members of an **English language community**.

2 d. ii. English in Japan Losing its ‘Englishness’

Earlier I mentioned my view that when English language items (ie words, expressions, etc.) are used together with Japanese or are somehow mixed together with Japanese or even changed into Japanese form, then they lose their ‘Englishness’ quality and get more of a ‘Japaneseness’ quality. This could be seen as what happens as we go along from one end of the **continuum**.

A continuum is like a line – you can see it in Figure 3 in the next section. In this case the line has **disparate English** at one end. This English of course would have its full integrity of ‘Englishness’ without any ‘Japaneseness’. Then, moving along the line, ‘Japaneseness’ may occur, but certainly some ‘Englishness’ begins to be lost. This is partly due to contexts (ie. who, when, where, why, etc.) beginning to involve Japanese language. This idea of a continuum is shown better below. But the same kind of phenomenon is not unique to just English in Japan – it can happen when any two or more languages begin to be used side-by-side or mixed together, like Latin and English for example.

‘Wasei eigo’ 和製英語 はせいえいご is what people here call English – usually words, sometimes expressions – that are used in Japan, either with a different pronunciation, altered meaning, sometimes different grammar, or all of these. Normally they are written in katakana script (Lecture 4 is about that). Most people say that it is just wrong English. But most people forget that dictionaries in Japan are full of these items – why? The easy answer is because people who make the dictionaries think that wasei eigo is Japanese. Are there any lists of wasei eigo? Yes, lots! Most lists are wasei eigo – English, though some are wasei eigo – Japanese. The wasei eigo phenomenon is a good example of how hard it can
be to separate English and Japanese (Chinese and Korean, French, German, Malay, Russian have similar problems). Therefore, an alternative way to understand distinction between, say, English and Japanese in Japan is a good idea. Part of my idea explained just now is to take away the idea of distinctiveness, and look at overlap, something like this:

![Diagram illustrating overlap between English and Japanese]

But this is too simplistic –
- pronunciation (phonemics),
- lexical form (spelling, etc.),
- syntax (grammar, how it is used),
- semantic significance (meaning), and also
- pragmatic and semiotic significance (ie. if choosing to use wasei eigo, does the choice mean anything?) plus of course context (how, where and when and why it is used) and also
- unit of text (ie. how much language – just one word or a larger text) – these other things matter too. This does happen with other languages, for instance English and Latin, which are described and explained below.

2 d. iii. **A relevant comparison: Latin in English**

**Figure 3 below** shows how Latin (ie the language of ancient Rome) occurs in English. This is actually from other lecture materials I have made, about how English developed over hundreds of years being influenced by other European languages such as Latin. At the same time, I try to show how the same process might similarly be seen with English in Japan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin-in-English *</th>
<th>English in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **i. Disparate Latin**  
[Unlikely to occur due to infrequent use of Latin in modern contexts] | **Disparate English**  
[Likely to occur as spoken or written discourse] |
| **ii. Latin items used in English**  
- ‘eg’ (exemplor gratis – ‘free example’)  
- non sequitur (‘it does not follow’).  
[Closer to ‘disparate Latin’] | **English items used in Japanese**  
- サザーン オールスターズ (Saza-n  
O-rusuta- zu ‘Southern All Stars’) (Stanlaw 2004 p 102)  
[Due to use of different script, such items normally do not appear visually as English, but in Roman script they do][Close to ‘disparate English’] |
| **iii Latin words amorphized** (ie close to or from the original) as English:  
- liber, libris (book) for library  
- monstrare (to show or demonstrate) for ‘demonstrate’  
- publicum (the public or (for/of the) people) for ‘the public’ or ‘publication’  
['Anglicized' Latin] | **English words amorphized as and/or mixed with Japanese**  
- アラフォー (arafo- ‘around forty’)  
(Sukapa-!Days 2009 p 1)  
- 国際コミ (kokusai komyunike-shon  
‘international communication’)  
- ポ グルテスク な 映画 (gurotsuku na  
eiga ‘(a) grotesque movie’)  
[Mixed English and Japanese] |
| **iv Grammar**  
- prepositions coming before a noun: in (in, on, into, onto) like in in casa meaning ‘in (the) home’ or ‘in Latin!’  
[Grammar harder to classify due to extensive variation between Latin and English] | **Grammar**  
[Syntactical forms in English and Japanese coincidentally similar rather than amorphized]  
- functional grammar of loanwords in Japanese,  
  eg adjective or other qualifier +な na + noun eg  
  グロテスク な 映画 (gurotsuku na  
eiga ‘(a) grotesque movie’)  
  [Not normally considered in the first instance as Latin due to high frequency use – some people may think these are just normal English words] |
| **v. Frequent or common English items which are actually Latin**  
- coliseum ((the) Coliseum)  
- status quo ((the) status quo)  
[Not normally considered in the first instance as Latin due to high frequency use – some people may think these are just normal English words] | **Frequent or common Japanese items which are actually English**  
- 煙草 (tabako ‘tabacco’)  
[Actually originally a native American word entering both English and Japanese probably from Spanish]  
[Not normally represented as ‘Non-Japanese’. Limited number of items, frequently nouns, exceptions rather than any particular pattern] |

*Figure 3: Comparison of Latin usage in English with English in Japan (*Source: Doyle (2009))

Though a general comparison of Latin-English with English-Japanese is permissible, Figure 3 also shows some points where they are not directly comparable. These include written text – English and Latin share similar scripts while Japanese and English do not. Also syntax – Japanese grammar rules and conventions may at times coincide with English but by and large they are quite different. Further, Latin is a dead language used by very few people at all nowadays. It influenced English from perhaps 1,000 years ago (though mostly actually later on, from about 1300). On the other hand, the influence of English on Japanese effectively got underway only in the mid-19th century.

2 d. iv. Amorphized Items from Other Languages in Japanese
Also relevant to this last point is of course that items from other languages have entered Japanese. These are commonly called ‘loan-words’. I don’t like this term, mainly because it suggests that one language or the native users of a language own the words and give permission for them to be borrowed. It is closer to the truth that the words are just ‘taken’. A linguistics word is neologism – which sort of means, a new thing written (in that language). In Japanese, these words are called 外来語 がいらいご gairaigo – which has a nuance that the words or expressions just come from another language.

The best example is from Chinese – most significantly the kanji writing system, and a corpus of Chinese-influenced kun phonemic forms of kanji. In a short essay on common Japanese items which are actually from other languages, Horvat (nd) describes several non-English examples and contexts in which they have occurred. Table 3 lists some of these. There are a couple more back in Figure 3 too. Maybe you know some examples too. You can list them in Task 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i. Japanese item</th>
<th>ii. Meaning in English from Japanese</th>
<th>iii. Real or speculative Source</th>
<th>iv. Source language</th>
<th>v. Meaning in English (from source language)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>たばこ</td>
<td>cigarette(s)</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>Native American languages (through Portuguese or Spanish)</td>
<td>Tobacco plant (leaf), tobacco (recreational drug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>いくら</td>
<td>salmon roe</td>
<td>ikra</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>(‘salmon roe’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>てんぷら</td>
<td>tempura</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Portuguese or Spanish</td>
<td>(temperance? - eating fish on Friday instead of meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>とらぶって(いた)</td>
<td>causing trouble</td>
<td>‘trouble’</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>(‘trouble’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>げぼると、げばる</td>
<td>(to engage in violent struggle)</td>
<td>Gewalt</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>(‘power, control, force’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Common Japanese words actually thoroughly Amorphized from Other Languages (Source: based on Horvat nd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>さぼる</td>
<td>miss or stay away from class</td>
<td>sabotage</td>
<td>('sabotage')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>だるい</td>
<td>lethargic, sick, tired, having no energy</td>
<td>dull</td>
<td>Dull (meaning lethargic, not bright and happy, tired, melancholic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>櫛袢 じゅばん</td>
<td>silken undergarment of a kimono</td>
<td>gibau</td>
<td>(‘a doublet’) (ie like an old fashioned white shirt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A usable list of about 350 fairly common words and expressions with some annotations mostly from English which have amorphized into Japanese is presented in a workshop presentation “Wasei Eigo and Engrish” (“Wasei Eigo and Engrish”, 2006. See References for link to the internet website3).

Etymology, or the sources of words, in any language is usually speculative, even in authoritative work such as big dictionaries, and etymology is not the focus of these lectures. More simply, Table 1 should show how items from English and other languages have entered Japanese usage even to the extent that they are not noticed by Japanese natives as not originating in Japan. But above in Figure 3 (comparing Latin in English and English in Japan), such items would fit in the third column (eg 国際コミ (kokusai komyunike-shon ‘international communication’)) or the fifth column (eg 煙草 tabako ‘tobacco’). In these cases the item entering Japanese has been amorphized to fit Japanese language forms (eg 国際 kokusai which means ‘international’ has been stuck together with the English-looking word ‘communication’). Or has surreptitiously entered the language (eg ‘tobacco’).

Finally, items in Table 3 should also show how English is just one of a number of languages which have influenced Japanese and which are similarly used in Japan - similarly to how Latin came to be used in and with English.

---

3If you look on the internet, just searching ‘Wasei eigo’, there are many many lists, so I am not going to recommend any here
Task 3: **Looking for Where English Words in Japan have Come from.**
(Hint: *look at Table 3*)
As you can see, there are some words and expressions which have come into Japanese from other languages. Can you yourself think of some English ones which are used in Japan? Make a list below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese word or expression (Advice: please write in Japanese and also in romaji)</th>
<th>Meaning in English from Japanese (ie from translation or from a dictionary)</th>
<th>Real or Speculative Source of English word (ie where do you think it comes from?)</th>
<th>Original Meaning in English (Advice: maybe this one is different from the second column)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

Show other people, and see if they know any words or expressions like this.
2 d. v. English in Japan which has less ‘Englishness’. In the last section I tried to show how different items where English mixes with Japanese in Figure 1, seem like a continuum. In this way, a continuum could be used to describe how one language (eg English) has come to be used and to influence another (ie Japanese) in the culture and contexts where the latter language is used. But there is a limitation: we are looking at Japanese rather than English. This is a kind of anthropological look at Japanese, looking at the way people or their customs and culture actually are. But we are supposed to be looking at English, not at Japanese.

The point here is that some people (Stanlaw (2004) is one) look in Japanese for English and think they see English. My point is that what they see is actually less ‘English’ than they think. Instead we need to look at how English is used in Japan, how, why and when English is used by people who usually speak Japanese (and also by people who usually speak English), not just what they say and write. For me this is English in Japan. There are some examples soon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary of Section 2 d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English in Japan loses some of its ‘Englishness’ when mixed with Japanese, and equally Japanese loses some of its ‘Japaneseness’ when it is mixed with English. This can be seen as a continuum. Actually there are other languages besides English with which this process occurs. Consequently it is better to examine how and why and when English is used in Japan, not just the English which people speak or write.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 e. English in Japan as a Continuum
2e i. A Continuum Model of English in Japan

Figure 4 is a diagram showing a Continuum model of English in Japan. On the left the light coloured one is Disparate English which contains no Japanese. Then, all zones except Disparate English actually should be seen to blend as one massive zone of English that becomes mixed with or changed – or amorphized - to Japanese form. This could be called Amorphized English.

However, the zone next to Disparate English would also include Japanese containing English plus English which has some Japanese in it. Some people call this Japlish.

![Diagram of Continuum Model of English in Japan](image)

**Figure 4: Types of English in Japan as a Continuum**

2 f. ‘Japlish’
2 f. i. ‘Japlish’

Japlish is not new: in some way it has been around since the mid-19th century. Those were days when in a fit of modernization, the government went so far as to consider abolishing Japanese altogether (Koscielecki, 2000) (as it did for other reasons shortly after the Second World War). These events and other historical aspects are examined in a later lecture.

Japlish is also referred to as ‘Janglish’. Other terms include "wasei eigo (discussed just before) Japan-made English, katakana eigo katakana English" (R. Miller 1967,), and the most sober term coming from the 1930s, ‘Japanized English’ (R. Miller 1967). Laura Miller (1997) has a short discussion about all these names (pp 123 -24). But I shall use ‘Japlish’ because it seems more even. And this name is more common. However the Japlish concept normally has a narrow focus - how Japanese people mix and re-make English words and discourse in Japanese form (also discussed in Stanlaw 2004 p 20). But of course it can go the other way –
how non-Japanese people mix and re-make Japanese words etc. in English form. The easiest examples are loanwords which get changed somehow when they move from one language to another. However it is also discourse – how people speak and write, what they say, what they mean.

Of course we should not limit the place where English, Japanese or Japlish is used to just Japan. Japanese is also used outside of Japan. I remember on the bus to the shopping mall in Honolulu from the hotel, quite a few Japanese people were standing around the door and not sitting down, and the Hawaiian driver got irritated and at a traffic light stopped turned around and angrily shouted “MINA-SAN, O SUATE KUDASA!!” (‘Everybody, could you please sit down!’). All that happened was that passengers who could not follow the Japanese looked a bit stunned. But those who did know enough Japanese started laughing because the driver had used a formal teineigo form (Wetzel 2008 p 123) – when he probably felt like using a much more informal form, such as SUARE! (‘Sit!’) or SUARINASAI! (‘Please sit!’), or he should not have shouted!.

Whether this was Japanese or Japlish is a moot point – it was in America. And in America, telling everyone in English would have been quite appropriate.

Another example is the word gaijin, (‘foreigner) which has been seen as derogatory, rude or insulting. I used to get a bit upset when I heard it until I went to Australia and heard a lot of Japanese people using the word there. I was a bit shocked, and pointed out that perhaps I was not the foreigner any more. They did not seem to worry because for them it was just a convenient way to refer to non-Japanese, meaning someone from outside of Japanese culture. On that basis, I changed my feelings about the word, and actually use it – rightly or wrongly – quite freely now. I am a gaijin and to be honest I don’t think I can, will ever or even want to try to be nihonjin - ie ‘Japanese person or person from Japanese culture’. My apologies to anyone who takes offense, yet it is much more convenient to say just one word instead of ‘non-Japanese person or person not from Japanese culture’ all the time. Is this Japlish? Yes, I think so, because I use this Japanese item while the rest of my discourse is largely English. Here are some more examples.

2 f. ii. Japlish: Example 1
An explicit example of this kind of wasei eigo in discourse was in pangurisshu, a joining of panpan and ingurisshi (‘panpan girl’ – or prostitute - and ‘English’) in liaisons of Japanese women and American military personnel in Japan in the 1940s and 50s (R. Miller, 1967, Stanlaw 2004). Stanlaw discusses and gives examples of this (pp 70 – 72). One example is from a novel. Here is a bit of it:
1. Lloyd  More sukoshi stay, kudasai
2. Hana-ogi  Deki-nai, Lloyd-san. No can stay
3. Lloyd  Doo shite? Whatsahurry?
4. Hana-ogi  Anoo-ne! Takarazuka. My jobu, ne? I jobu go, ne?
5. Lloyd  Chotte, chotto goddam matte! Takarazuka ichi-ji start now. Ima only 10 O’clock, ne?
6. Hana-ogi  Anoo-ne! Lloyd-san. You mess my hair, ne. ...

Example Text 1: Lloyd & Hana-Ogi conversation segment (Source: based on Michener 1954, quoted by Stanlaw 2004 p 71)

The novel is called Sayonara by James Michener, an old writer of some very long historical novels some of which were based on his war and post-war experiences in Japan and the Pacific. Here, presumably he picked up the patois (ie dialect, slang, way of speaking – it’s a French word!) which you can see in the quote above. I have reproduced it differently from Stanlaw, who puts in English translations as well. I have not included those translations because maybe both Japanese speakers and English speakers should be able to understand it – after all, Michener originally was writing in this way for his English-speaking readers. I use this quote actually to show how not just Japanese people can use English and butcher its appropriate form, but gaijin can use Japanese and butcher it too.

In the quote, can you see the English bits and Japanese bits? List some in Task 4.

**Task 4: Japlish Language**

(Hint: see section 2f.vi)

In the quote of Lloyd’s and Hana-ogi’s conversation above, please look for examples of both English and Japanese. Look for examples of words, expressions and grammar.

(Advice: remember my idea that something can be English and Japanese at the same time)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Any Words?</th>
<th>Any Expressions or Idioms?</th>
<th>How might these be expressed properly?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perhaps you can see some bits which are not just English, not just Japanese, but actually
a real mix. This point is where my Continuum Model should be a little useful. Down below
later in Figure 5 you can see where I place Lloyd’s and Hana-ogi’s conversation (H & L)
near the middle of the Continuum, but a bit towards the English side.

There are some other problems with this quoted text:

- it is a synthetic text – this means it is made for a purpose and is not real or natural spoken
discourse
- it is probably intended to be understood by English-speaking readers, say, in America,
with just enough Japanese in it to make it exotic and to seem not to have enough English
to be perfectly clear
- in terms of power, the male, American military character Lloyd is probably stronger in his
ethnicity (ie American military occupation ) gender (male), social (military occupation
administration), economic (more money) status, than Hana-ogi: defeated Japanese, less
rich, female, *panpan* party girl or prostitute.

In these terms, perhaps there would have been more English and less Japanese in real
interactions in the post-war occupation era.

2 f. iii. **Japlish Discourse: Example 2**

Actually when I found this quote from Michener’s novel, it reminded me of some real
conversation I heard in a bar here one night which I recorded by taking notes. Let’s just say that
in the bar, a couple of Japanese girls were using (trying to use) a lot more English than the two
gaijin boys were trying to use Japanese.

It went something like this:

```
...   
i. Japanese Girl (JG) 1: エッ[e?/What]?!
ii. Gaijin Boy (GB) 1: あなたは[anata ha/You are].../ You are very beautiful. I
    think you are very beautiful. わかりますか[wakarimasuka/Do you understand]?
iii. JG1: 彼 何って[kare nan tte/What's he saying]? / アッ[ah/Oh]! Bari
    biyoochifuru?! ...
iv. GB1: なに[nani/What are you/?]
v. JG2: ソッ ソ-[so, so-/Yeah] そう言う意味[sou iu imi/That's what he means]
...   
vi. GB1: /What? Do you know what she’s saying bro?
vii. GB2: No. Maybe - Oh maybe she’s saying 'beautiful' - yeah, I think she’s, like,
    translating, ...
viii. JG2: そう [so-/Yes, that's right], she is bari beau-tiful. Me は[ha/and(what
    about) me]?
ix. GB2: Yeah, she は[ha/and(what about) her]? 
x. JG2: そう [so/yes]! Me も[/mo/also] beau-tiful, too?/
```
I am just trying to recall what I heard, so this short transcript text is a bit synthetic too. But the point here is that people in Japan – Japanese speakers and non-Japanese speakers – still are both using English and Japanese mixed together; Japanese speakers inserting English into their normal Japanese, and English-speakers inserting Japanese into their English.

But that is just what can be seen by looking at the words and expressions they use. There is more:

- **codeswitching**, or changing basically from one language to another) occurs in every spoken turn except in Turns i., iii., iv., vi. & vii. Only in Turns iv. and v. are the speakers actually speaking to somebody from the other culture.

- the Japanese girls do not use English when talking to each other, even though they are with mainly English-speaking boys. Of course the source of their English repertoire is not clear, though they do pick up clearer pronunciation of beautiful, and cute seems confirmed for the girls as a synonym for beautiful even during this exchange. Also the boys do not even try to use Japanese when talking to each other.

- lots of clarifying and asking for clarification of meaning is going on

- there actually is no communication breakdown, though not all of the nuance and meaning may be communicated. But it seems subconsciously that communication is the primary goal, and the English is just as convenient a communication tool as Japanese is

- the girls show a greater range of repertoire of English than the boys’ repertoire of Japanese, even within this minimalized exchange

- because the exchange is so minimal regarding the range of English (and Japanese) items, it is arguable that the language actually is not even English, nor Japanese. Rather it could be a pidgin mix, really basic level language forms or a mix of more than one language also at really basic level, some kind of contact patois which means a local variety of a language – this is a French word! This may be true, but it becomes an obvious and unnecessary question - if we return to the form/s of the language/s making up this pidginized language exchange, then we still need to account at least for the English being used both by the boys and the girls. English in Japan as pidgin or creole is discussed later.

- though minimal, some bits seem a lot less English than other bits. For instance, in Turns viii. to x., pronouns are English, but particles は and も plus elipsed verb to be produce a grammar form looking more Japanese than English. Also, for instance even one of the gaijin
boys says “…she は [ha/and(what about) her]”, albeit ironically.

- rather than actually labeling the language/s being used the pragmatics is more significant. Quite arguably, in this context, gendered discourse is more significant and distinguishable than nationality/ethnicity/linguistic differences. Even so, for me in these lectures, some language forms recognizable as English occur and they need to be accounted for – for instance I need to be able to answer the question, why is English used? This is an issue in analyzing the written texts in the next sections. But just now, as you can see in Figure 5 down below, the Japanese girls and gaijin boys (J & G) are spread widely across the Continuum.


One problem with a lot of linguistic analysis and evidence is that it is from spoken discourse. For English in Japan, written discourse, written text shows notable and peculiar features. These are discussed later in more detail. However, in the title of this lecture, is it English or Japanese or what, can be considered now.

First I had to find some texts, so I went walking around a student job center looking for examples and I found two good ones. The simpler one was this:

Example Text 3: Hitachi Logo & Banner Text (Source: www.hitachi.co.jp)

An ad, or more specifically, a company name and the company logo. In English, ‘next’ is normally an adjective, which needs a noun, but there is no noun here – ie. the ‘next’ what? Also, there is a verb, ‘inspire’. By itself, this is imperative voice, like giving an order – so who ‘inspires’? Clearly, meaning from English here is not clear. So, rather than the language having some communicative function, the choice of language has some other purpose. My idea that it is like a picture, just giving an image. but we should not look for particular meanings here. Linguistics people would say that this text has more semiotic significance (a symbol) than semantic (something with meaning). Also, the company name is in roman script, even though commonly it is written with the same pronunciation as 日立 ひたち hitachi in Japanese.

Using roman script, does that make it automatically English? Many people think so, but lots of other languages use roman script, including also Japanese at different times. These issues about writing systems for English in Japan are complex and are discussed in a later lecture (and Stanlaw (2004) makes some interesting observations too). Just now however, this question: is English written in another way, say in Japanese writing, still English? My basic answer is, Yes it can be. Why? A simple reason is that people use writing just to encode language as it also can be spoken. But of course written text is not as simple as just that reason.
Example Text 4 is more complex: the cover of a pamphlet in which English is not just used for its semantic value, but also its semiotic value. Part of this is in the graphic aspect of English – how it appears in the overall design. The text looks something like this:

Unlike the spoken language example just before, there is no mixing English and Japanese in the same sentence or clause here. Also (on purpose here I might add), there is no English written in Japanese script. So, what is there?

- a title and secondary title (‘Book’ and ‘The Basic Knowledge for the real world’). These are meaningful, relevant to the pamphlet and are comprehensible. Are they correct English? Well, yes, sort of, though ‘The Basic Knowledge …’ bit could have been typed with a capital R and W for ‘real world’.
- an instruction ‘Take free’ in large print This is very glib, minimal English, oddly contrasting with the tiny print Japanese which is very polite, complex formal language requesting people to take copies of the pamphlet ご自由に gojuuni (freely). Why this translation? The easy answer is so people can understand what to do; the difficult answer is that in a sense there is no translation! The English, similarly to the Hitachi text above, is there for affect, like an image – the real message is in the Japanese. So, is the English redundant or unnecessary? Um, yes, I think so. So, why have it? Actually an easy answer: to communicate a message in an image – which actually is far more complex in its construction than the simple text TAKE FREE.
- Similarly down the bottom, ACTION X THINKING X TEAM WORK, key words suggesting images. Though relevant to the purpose of the pamphlet, their purpose is not to convey explicit relevant meaning, rather just suggestions like the image texts mentioned before. Underneath is more Japanese text in tiny print, just repeating the first message at the very top, 社会人基礎力 shakaijinkisoryoku adult’s basic power (!). Actually, none of it is very concrete, but I don’t think it is intended to be.

So what is the English, and what is it for? It is for image construction. It is all part of the overall image. Is the English necessary? Yes and no – not to communicate specific meaning as language normally does, rather to add to a more complex image the makers of the text wish to convey.

Use of English in this way is a type of cultural practice. The English texts themselves actually become Japanese cultural artifacts rather than instances of use of a language in Japan: the English shares common cultural ground with an ukiyo-e print, or a stone lantern in a garden. Ironically, use of English in this way makes Nobuyuki Honna’s (2008) comment mentioned in the last lecture seem accurate: English as a Japanese language. However, English text as Japanese cultural artifact could be the same as any French, Italian or Korean text used in Japan in a similar way.

2f.v. What ‘Japlish’ can Mean

‘Japlish’ is a bit different from wasei eigo. As mentioned before, normally ‘Japlish’ refers to English spoken by Japanese people who also use Japanese language items and forms. It is a one-eyed concept. Yet, equally it could (and I believe should) refer to Japanese spoken by English speakers who also use English language items and forms in their discourse. Why
should this happen?

One reason is that people do not know enough of one language to communicate only in that language, so they need to borrow from the other language. This was happening a bit in the Japanese girls-gaijin boys conversation quoted before. Also, once I went to another bar, and I was talking to a guy from Indonesia. He was a chef, and worked only with Japanese staff. He and I talked in Japanese at first, but later in English. A couple of local Japanese people who knew us came and joined in the conversation and it was a similar kind of ‘Japlish’ as I described before. The point here is that there was absolutely no Indonesian language used – the chef was borrowing from English, and not his own language.

Therefore, of course we should not limit the use of Japanese, English or even Japlish to just native speakers of those languages. Such a view is naïve and ignorant. It is would be a safe assumption to make that in the Indonesian chef’s kitchen some form of ‘Jandonesian’ (Japanese & Indonesian) has occurred at least once in the two years that he has been working there.

By the way, our conversation ended with us trying to teach the Indonesian chef some hiragana – he could speak but he said that he could not read or write any Japanese at all, had never learnt because he said that he had never felt the need to read or write Japanese!

There are other reasons why people chose to mix languages (by custom or by deliberate choice), which will be discussed later.

So, in this sense, Japlish probably is actually the type of English on the one hand and the type of Japanese on the other hand, used by people who do not know enough English and so need to use some Japanese on the one hand, and on the other hand people who do not know enough Japanese and so need to use some English. When people do this, they are trying to communicate – making or using Japlish becomes a communication act. Then, if people do it often enough, it becomes a communication practice or even a type of cultural behaviour.

There is another perspective however: when Japlish is written down and examined, it has form as language or text. Japlish then is language or text - it is not a communication act or a practice or a kind of cultural behaviour. It is not necessarily interesting, stupid, wrong or charming – it is just a kind of artifact which we can take or leave as we wish.

2 f. vi. Japlish as Pidgin or Creole:

As a mix of two languages, Japlish can have characteristics of:

- a **pidgin** – a really simple style language using simplified language forms and sometimes items from different languages, and usually used for just a simple purpose, or
- a **creole** - a language or dialect made up of items from different languages, usually a spoken or known by a large population for many different purposes.

One view is that pidgins and creoles become distinct languages once they lose some of the
defining forms of the original languages, in this case English and Japanese.

For instance, in the grammar, for declarative functions (i.e., *for instance if I tell you about something*) English tends to be Subject+Verb+Object, (S+V+O) and Japanese tends to be S+O+V. So, if people are mixing English and Japanese they may be putting the verb variously in the middle or at the end. You can see this in Turns 4 and 5 in the quote from Michener’s novel: ‘

\[
\text{My jobu, ne? I jobu go, ne?} \quad \text{S+O [should be ‘to my job as indirect object]+V}
\]

and

\[
\text{Takarazuka ichi-ji start} \quad \text{S+O [should be ‘ichi-ji de いちじ で(iichi ji de) indirect object]+V}
\]

Though this is just artificial in a novel, both examples show how the word order is mixed, from both the English view and the Japanese view. Where does the grammar and word order come from? In the quoted bits from Michener’s novel just now, it is hard to say, because it is just an artificial text from a novel. The Japanese girls – gaijin guys example also is hard to tell, because it comprises more code-switching of whole clauses with little clear grammar or word order patterns (e.g., ‘Me は?’ shows just a normal Japanese euphemistic question pattern except with just one word *Me* substituting for おそらく(watashi/I or me). Instead it is possible to say that if the speaker has Japanese as their first language, then a Japanese-type syntax is more likely. If a not Japanese, then that other language could be the source of syntax. This is against a noticeable common pattern with creole languages called *basilectalization*. A *basilect* is the lower class or lower status language when two or more languages meet and begin to mix as pidgins or creoles. Noticeably, if there are two languages beginning to mix, normally lexis (the words and expressions) tends to come form the *acrolect* (or superior, higher class language) and syntax (grammar) patterns tend to come from the basilect, especially for people originally users of the basilect as their first language. Nobuyuki Honna (2008) mentions it in the case of Singapore but not for English in Japan. Mufwene (2009) has a concise explanatory treatment of Creolization and Pidginization processes (and he does not mention English in Japan as an example either).

One problem with this view is that it is too difficult to say which is basilect and which is acrolect in the case of Japanese and English. The only evidence for English in Japan is primarily lexical: historically Japanese has absorbed far more words and expressions from other languages (especially English – a phenomenon considered in the next two lectures) than Japanese going into English. In theory, that would make English the acrolect. But this may have more to do with the odd historical circumstances in which Japanese culture has had contact with English and how English has had to be used.

One other perspective is to focus on the users of the language. For instance a group like the Japanese girls - gaijin guys discussed before (assuming the gaijin guys have English as their first language), could have a recognizable or noticeable pattern: the girls may tend to use Japanese syntax more and the guys use English syntax more. We would need far more evidence than the short, minimal conversation in Example Text 2 though. However, this view
does correlate with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (discussed next). It is not my favorite explanation, but it can help us to make progress.

So, Japlish is pidgin at best? I am not in favor of this view either: this is because of the high amount of amorphized English occurring in Japanese. Whatever it is, it is perhaps best understood as a contact language for people from English language culture and from a Japanese language culture. The phenomenon is discussed through much of the rest of these lectures, after we have put the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to rest.

2 f. vii. English, Japanese and the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf were a professor and his student in America in the early and mid-twentieth century who had a theory about how people speak. Their theory basically is that the way a person uses their language (eg the order of ideas and types of things they say, etc.) reflects the distinctive way people in their culture think. These two guys focused on national/ethnic/linguistic cultures, for instance saying Mexican people speak English differently from Americans because that is what Mexicans do, that is how Mexicans are, that is how Mexicans think.

Similarly, according to the hypothesis, Japanese people use English (and their own language?!?) the way they do, because of their Japaneseness. I think that this view is a bit naïve, for two main reasons. Well, people can be Japanese, but they can also be male or female, old or young, educated or uneducated, lawyers, nurses or engineers, or whatever. For instance, in Japlish Example Text 2 above, the gaijin guys and Japanese girls were talking like any young party boys and party girls in a bar: the guys wanted the girls and the girls wanted attention and another drink!

The second reason is that people say and write lots of different things for lots of different reasons in various ways in any language. How they think of course may influence how they communicate something, and this is evident in any analysis of complex pragmatics or discourse. But saying Shut up! or だまれ! damare/shut up! to a noisy person is similarly straightforward in Japanese and English. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is relevant to what grammar is used in Japlish: predominantly either English syntax or Japanese syntax. But, I think equally or more important, is simply what language the person normally uses, in this case English or Japanese – simply because they are accustomed to it. If people are less accustomed to one language, then perhaps they would opt for the safer, less pragmatically or comprehensibly risky expression, such as Be quiet! or しずか下さい!/Shizuka kudasai/Quiet!

Coming back to the Japanese girls and gaijin guys, we need to ask the question: just how good is the girls’ English and the guys’ Japanese? Language level and therefore confidence with it are factors, not to mention other things that come with interaction experience – for instance, if one thing or another was able to let the guys or girls into the others’ pants, then there is motivation to stay with that strategy again, including maybe again using language in a particular way. Actually,
judging from that conversation, none of them seem to be very good at the other language. How often and at what level people have contact with and use a language does influence how much they are going to be able to use something like the grammar of the language and also have things like pragmatic awareness - knowing how to use the language appropriately in a communicative context.

So, if someone knows a lot about the language form and the pragmatics of a language, the chances are that they are going to be able to use it more like people whose first language it is. Also the opposite, if people don’t really know much of the language they are probably going to rely on what is more familiar, such as words, syntax, pronunciations and also rhetoric patterns (how people speak write and even choose the way they speak or write) from their own normal language and communication behaviour.

John McWhorter (2008) has an interesting plain-language critique of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, and also observes how some Japanese grammatical order is the same as some old Scandinavian language (and he rightly denies that Vikings once sailed to Japan a thousand years ago and influenced Japanese to be the way it is today!). His point is that it is coincidence, because Vikings and Japanese samurai warriors were pretty different and never ever spoke the same language.

Back with Japlish, it is much more easily recognizable if we look at communicative functions - what meaning is being communicated. Also, if there are enough pragmatic cues such as endophoric and exophoric deixis – basically knowing speakers or writes and readers knowing what is talked about in and outside of the communication message. Basically this just means the meaning is somehow understood enough by the other person if the other person knows what the first person is talking about if two people - English speaker and Japanese speaker - both know a bit of the other person’s language, they can actually communicate what they mean to say more effectively, because they probably know more than one way to say it!

Clearly I am a bit dismissive of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. But, near the end of the last section, I pointed out that it depends on how much of the other language the person knows: if people do not know enough, then they still need to try and communicate using the language. Besides dictionaries, almost the only way they can do this is to begin taking from the other language/s they know better – either code-switching, putting in a foreign word or expression here or there, or just translate literally (word-by-word). This is what was happening a bit in the Japanese girls and gaijin guys example before. But it is happening much less (maybe not at all) with 'Wes' in Example 4 below. Why? because the person he was speaking with did not know any Japanese, and Wes had been away from Japan for quite a while and may even have lost some of his first language knowledge.

2 f. viii. Japlish as Pidgin or Creole: Example 4
A real example of this is discussed at length in a case study by Schmidt (1983). One
A qualification that needs to be made is that Japanese words do not appear in this example. However, at some points Japanese syntax and grammar rules are evident. This is one reason why I use this example – to show that Japanese usage is not limited to words, rather to other aspects of language as well.

This study was done in Hawaii over 3 years and the subject was a 33 year-old Japanese male called ‘Wes’ who had actually been living in Hawaii for a number of years. At the start of the study, Wes knew a bit of English but not really enough to function in normal complex English-speaking contexts, but he had picked up and used enough English for his basic needs such as in fast food restaurants. Over 3 years Wes was taught more complex English ostensibly for him to be able to cope in more complex English-speaking situations. In the end, Wes did pick up a bigger repertoire of English, but he continued to speak with a lot of mistakes which showed him still using some Japanese grammar and discourse patterns. Here is an example of Wes’s English at the start:

RS [interviewer, Richard Schmidt]: So what’s the difference between “paint” and “Painting”?
  Wes: Well if I go to exhibition, I saw “paint,” but “I’m start painting” means I do it, not finish
  RS: Yeah, OK, sort of, so what’s the difference between “think” and “thinking”?
  Wes: “I’m think” means now. “I’m thinking” means later. (p 148)

Also,

NS [native English speaker]: you wanna go eat?
  Wes: uh, what you ever like? (p 152)

Example Text 5: Wes’s Conversation (Source: Schmidt 1983)

Schmidt observes that “Wes has a rather rich repertoire of formulaic utterances, memorized sentences and phrases” (p 153) but he asserts that

But it is evident that of Wes’s two major language-learning strategies, imitation and rule formation, imitation is more successful (p 151)

Basically this means that Wes was much better at picking up bits and pieces of English he heard around him, and being able to use them in the right or partly right contexts. But he was not so good at thinking about how and why to use them. Also he did not seem to think of any rules for making his English sound correct. Because he did not know or think about any rules (e.g. grammar rules, rules for different things like word order, etc.) he just bases his language choices on what he thinks is maybe OK in the context. Or he may go back to his first language (L1) Japanese for a source of grammar or other kinds of language rules.

However I think that this is not going to be the case for, say native and expert Japanese and English-speakers in Japan (who have or do not need to learn or acquire a great knowledge either of English or of Japanese). As implied in the last couple of sections, this is one of the basic limitations of this view of Japlish as pidgin or creole – high-level users know enough to speak or write accurately and most likely do not need to worry about their language being mixed
up like lower level users of English in Japan

2 f. ix.  **Japlish and Pragmatic Awareness**
Schmidt (1983) was also interested in the pragmatics of when English-speaking people in Hawaii (he uses the term ‘native speaker’) were listening to Wes’s English, when perhaps Wes did not say things clearly enough. Schmidt generalizes about

... the degree to which native speaker listeners must rely on the nonverbal context not only to decipher the ambiguities of his grammatical system but also to discover the illocutionary force of his [Wes's] communicative messages(p 166)

Basically this means that speakers of one language listening to speakers of another language, who are not very good at talking in the original language, have to think about the context and situation - who, when, where, why these things are being said. And I think that this goes both ways: in any interaction, say between Japanese speakers and English speakers who both know a bit of each other’s languages, both have to think about the ‘nonverbal context’.

2 f. x.  **So, is Japlish actually Pidgin or Creole?**
Before moving onto, I need to conclude these couple of sections on Japlish as Pidgin or Creole. My view is a bit circumspect: Japlish could seen as a pidgin, for a couple of key reasons.

It seems that there is no discernable fixed syntax for Japlish, except that at different times it can show more or less English syntax or Japanese syntax. As for lexis, it can vary just as much, the user of the language simply taking or substituting some item from their own language or some similar simplified item they would know. In this sense, Japlish would show more the characteristics of an immature pidgin variety of English (or of Japanese for that matter), rather than a more maturely developed creole variety. Further evidence is that a creole variety frequently has a community of users of the variety as their first language. Japlish does not have that.

Becoming a distinct language is probably what happened, say, to English influenced by northern German and British Celtic languages and mixing with Latin and French at different points between about 1500 and 500 years ago. But with Japlish, probably not yet. It is probably still just one kind of ‘English in Japan’. This is because I do not think that there is a clear grammar for Japlish yet. On my continuum model, Japlish occurs across the middle zone. This is dealt with in the next section.

**Summary of Sections 2e & 2f**
English in Japan can be understood as a continuum, from disparate English then mostly English with some Japanese then mostly Japanese with some English, until English is not present more or less. Japanese and English mixed up is often called Japlish. Japlish can seem like a pidgin or a creole-type language depending on what language is used and its context. As such, pragmatics affects the form the type of English used by people in Japan.
2 g. Applying a Continuum Model

2 g. i A Continuum of English in Japan

I have mentioned three cases in which Japlish as a type of pidgin or creole (also as a type of English in Japan) is used by both Japanese and English speakers:

1. ‘Lloyd’ and ‘Hana-ogi’ in post-war occupied Japan (L&H);
2. The Japanese girls and the gaijin guys in the bar the other night (J&G);
4. The ‘Hitachi’ logo
5. The ‘Keizai Sangyoushou Kyookuroku Kabushukigaisha’ magazine pamphlet text (KSKK)

Right now I wish to return to the Continuum model of English in Japan described before. I wish to try to place these examples of Japlish– actually I don’t like the term ‘Japlish’, but it is convenient up to now – somewhere in the continuum. Though I strongly believe that we need to look at this equally from both the Japanese perspective and the English perspective, at this time I shall consider only from the English perspective. (How can you make the same Continuum model for a Japanese perspective? Easy, just swap ‘English’ for ‘Japanese’ and ‘Japanese’ for ‘English’!)

Figure 5: ‘Lloyd’ and ‘Hana-ogi’ (H & L), ‘Japanese girls and the gaijin guys in the bar’ (J & G) and ‘Wes’ (W), ‘Hitachi’ and in a Continuum of ‘English in Japan’
Naturally these placements are speculative, and it also depends on the actual contexts and actual language used in each situation. For instance, for Wes and ‘J&G’ there were more language, more situations and therefore more variation, and so they spread across wider fields than ‘H&L’.

Task 5: Finding English in Japan and Placing it on a Continuum
(Hint: look at Figure 5 for an example)
Please try to remember or find two texts containing English in Japan: something spoken and something written
(Advice: just short texts are enough. But please try to have texts more than just one word long.)
Please write them below so that they are clear, and that other people can see which bits seem like English and which seem like Japanese.
After that please think about the texts you have found and try to place them on the Continuum of English in Japan below.
(Advice: use initials (ie just letters), like I have in Figure 2, if you like)
(More advice: of course this is your own analysis and your opinion - if you can explain why you have placed the texts in a particular place this is enough - it shows that you are thinking about English in Japan - how 'English' the language is and also 'how Japanese' the language is)

What kinds of texts?

i. .............................................

ii. ....................................................

iii. ....................................................

Write your chosen texts in the spaces below. Also circle the part of the English in Japan continuum where you think the text is.
In following lectures the issue of how English becomes mixed with Japanese firstly from an historical perspective, then later looking at semantic fields of colour. At this point however, I want to address the question, ‘Is Japanese English really English or is it really Japanese?’ There are various apparent answers, such as ‘English’, ‘Japanese’ and ‘English and Japanese’. I shall try to present rationales for each.

First some advice on limitations to the Continuum model described and applied above.
2g ii  Comment on Types of English being Used – limitations of the Continuum Model of English in Japan

What kinds of English have been used? On the Continuum model presented before, the whole continuum of English in Japan is evident. However most common would be English with some Japanese words or expressions, and English amorphized into Japanese.

The Continuum model for English in Japan has three noticeable limitations:

- **Context of the language** – it is limited to Japan or cultural proximity of Japanese-speaking people. Mixing Japanese and English is permissible as long as communication remains in a Japanese context. Outside of that context (e.g., outside Japan or away from Japanese people) mixed amorphized English becomes less meaningful.

- **Language complexity as a factor.** For instance, a Japanese person may go overseas and speak English, say at a hotel, and use a model of English from an English conversation textbook fairly accurately – such as the formulaic examples at the end of the last section. But this might be the limit of contexts where the person uses English. The person might be a low-level English user, but the only time she uses English, little or no Japanese occurs and the English itself is not very sophisticated. In this situation, only the language used can be considered, and in this situation the person would probably be using disparate English. This is not to say that later on, the person would mix some Japanese with his or her English. If the person does not know lots of English, then the person may fall back on English mixing with Japanese (which can begin to change in form and meaning quite a lot as we have seen). Then we have the same problem as when Japanese style English is used, say, outside of Japan – it becomes less meaningful, or unmeaningful – just the same problem as mentioned in the last lecture about Japlish and Japanese English actually being English or not.

- **Changes in language form, style, topic (or topicality), genre, medium, channel** – if, in a spoken conversation or in, say, emails, people change topic or the way they speak or write, then probably some parts of the communication become clearer or less clear, more or less understandable. This can happen for different reasons to anybody. If, say, the amount of Japanese being mixed goes up or down too much, then the Continuum model cannot be used for the whole text. But it may be able to be used only for part of the text.

This point serves to remind us that if we consider the history of a language, it is advisable to consider the language which people have had contact with and also language which people have used.

2 h. ‘Is Japanese English really English or is it really Japanese?’: Answers

2 h. i. As English

First of all, both the expressions, ‘Japanese English’ and ‘English in Japan’ focus on English or anything with an ‘Englishness’ quality which occurs in Japan or in Japanese. Also, the sources of all the relevant language items are from or in English. Therefore it is English. The
example in the next section used to show how English in Japan is actually Japanese also shows how the origins of these items is actually English.

2 h. ii. As Japanese
At the bottom of my latest satellite TV guide in Japan I noticed a strange expression which appeared like this:

アラフォー
(Around40)

At first I was confused: there was a number written in digits (40) – how should I say it, as English (‘forty’) or as Japanese (四 十 よんじゅう ‘yonjuu’)? Then I noticed the answer to the question sitting in this short text: フォー ‘fo’! Then, in parentheses, was clarification of the meaning, but in English!

The meaning of course relates to the age group ‘around forty’, or if in fact we were now speaking in Japanese, I suppose we could be saying ‘よんじゅうぐらい’ ‘yonsjuu-kurai’. Instead we get フォー ‘fo’ from the English, ‘forty’! Now that is clear, the next question is why have clarification at all? It is just a small banner (ie like an advertisement) on a magazine cover. I am not even convinced that it is clarification. I think that in part, having the English ‘Around40’ is an image text which just happens to be written language and may not be supposed to have semantic significance – it is there just to give an impression. If so, it is not English – it is not even language!

However, the Japanese script certainly was saying something in Japanese.

I began to think about through what process this strange little text developed. Then it occurred to me that what I was looking at was indeed Japanese, though with obvious English roots (which give it ‘Englishness’!). However the process of forming this language item is certainly a Japanese one. ‘Japanization’ may be one term for it (the last lecture mentioned a couple of others, eg ‘English Remade in Japan’ (Stanlaw 2004 p 291). But is a mental ‘process’ actually language? Some people call this Interlanguage (which means a mix of languages in your head. See Selinker 1972); sometimes creole or pidgin. My answer is less about the language form, than about who is saying it. This is explained in the next section.

2 h. iii As neither English nor Japanese – just comprehensible language in context
To illustrate this answer I wish to return to the bar with the Japanese girls and gaijin guys, especially the Japanese girls and what they later said. They were all younger than me, and I
was sitting at the counter away from them sitting at a table, but I was close enough to hear what was being said. Suddenly one of the girls called out an order for another drink. She said,

すみません！ ウォッカ烏龍茶 ください
sumimasen! uokka uuroncha kudasai!
Excuse me! Vodka and oolong tea please

The staff at the bar acknowledged, “はい！ Hai!” then relayed the order to another staff member,

ウォッ茶 一ッぱい -
uoccha ippai-
One ‘vod-cha’!

It struck me as an interesting abbreviation which is something that happens often in Japan with words (eg がいじん gaijin which I discussed above is actually an abbreviation for the more standard, polite がいこくじん gaikokujin).

I commented that it was an interesting abbreviation. The staff agreed with me, but the girls had only half-heard. This made the staff give an explanation of the joining of ‘vodka’ and ‘oolong tea’ in Japanese to make uoccha (‘vodcha’). Then everybody started discussing how the abbreviation is made and some other examples. This abbreviation process is an instance of changing words (I actually prefer the intransitive form, ie. words changing), the amorphization process I mention repeatedly in these lectures.

It has since struck me that they were describing this abbreviation process: a process for making words that were easier to say in the context of the bar, all be it new words. The communication was successful in the context of the bar. But the new expression would become properly current only if people started to say uoccha (‘vodcha’) outside of the bar. But would that be current Japanese, English, or what? (Perhaps the making of new Japlish, or a kind of English in Japan.)

2 i. Amorphization as a language practice

2i. i. Japanese English as an Outcome of a Process which starts with English

The point here is that this mixing of an English word (actually arguably Russian) with Japanese was a process which seemed second nature to the staff, and to the Japanese girls who did not pay much attention. In other words they did not really think about it as especially English or any other language. It just seemed like something which people normally spoke, which is Japanese.

At the same point, once everybody started to pay attention and to deconstruct what had just happened, they came to acknowledge the phenomenon of joining of Japanese and non-Japanese words to make a new item in Japanese.

Is this phenomenon unique to Japanese English or to English in Japan? No – people do it
English in Japan

here all the time, with Japanese as well. One example is the Japanese, 卒業論文 そつぎようろんぶん sotsugyou ronbun ('graduation thesis') which students have to do before graduating from university. It is often called just 卒論 そつろん ‘sotsuron’.

Another example (ironic in this sense) is the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology, もんぶかがくしょう monbukagakushou. People in Japanese often say モンカショウ monkashou, which is where lots of unnecessary bits are cut off, or what people call clipping. Clipping in this way is a kind of language practice in Japanese language culture. (And in English it should be MECST, but people make it even shorter as ‘MEXT’). It is ironic because this institution is the authority making rules for Japanese to be used in public institutional discourse and taught in schools (and also actually rules for the English taught in schools). The significance of this and the extent to which its rules are appropriate and indeed followed will be discussed in a later lecture.

So, Japanese people are prone to change their own language too – probably just like native users of many other languages too. In regard to using, mixing or changing English words in Japanese, Stanlaw (2004) observes that “individuals apparently feel free to use them in creative and highly personal ways” (p 18). In this sense it is not surprising that a drink like ‘vodcha’ comes to be called that, however it is unlikely to be found in any dictionary, and I doubt that the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology would make a rule requiring teachers to teach ‘vodcha’ in schools. Therefore, as a recognizable Japanese word or a recognizable English word, perhaps when English is amorphized into Japanese, it is not actually Japanese, but certainly it loses some or a lot of its ‘Englishness’. However, the fact is that this amorphization process is so prevalent and so second-nature as to be done unconsciously in Japan; that the process itself is a language practice that is recognizable as a cultural behaviour or a cultural practice, even if it is not ‘language’ per se.

Summary of Sections 2 g, h & i

By applying a Continuum model to English in Japan, can accommodate more than one variety of English being used at one time. Also, a Continuum model can explain how English in Japan can be see as English on the one hand, both English and Japanese and even as Japanese at other times. The amorphization of English into Japanese is a type of language behaviour, which is also a Japanese cultural behaviour or cultural practice.
Summary of Lecture 2
Lecture 2 introduced a Continuum model applied to English in Japan. Inside the continuum there is a large zone in which English actually mixes with Japanese. In this sense, English in Japan can be described as a pidgin-type language in some contexts, but not so much as a creole-type language. Though there are a couple of limitations like context and how much the language changes inside a text, the Continuum model permits as many varieties of English as possible to be described. It also permits multiple answers to the question, 'is English in Japan actually English, or Japanese?': English, Japanese, and both.
3. **History of English in Japan**

This lecture is a bit long but it is in 3 parts: explaining what I mean about contact with and use of English, some history of contact with English, and then some history of use of English in Japan. In this lecture, the historical background of English in Japan is considered from three perspectives:

- **a.** contact with English texts
- **b.** contact with English (more about contact with culture, discourses and so on through English (and English language contact with Japan outside of Japan)
- **c.** use of English in Japan

Amorphization of English comes into it a bit, but only incidentally.

The purpose of this is to show that as historical processes, these three phenomena are not new, and nor should they be considered as current developments. Further, though, Japan is the primary environment for the occurrence of English in Japan, yet, English in Japan cannot be considered as limited only to inside Japan – Japanese communities sharing other Japanese cultural practices besides language use exist outside of Japan. Also Japanese people as individuals move around outside of Japan carrying their English knowledge and skills (and other language and communication skills) with them. In this sense, English in Japan is portable, to the extent that it can originate outside of Japan and be brought back to Japan, and even never arrive in Japan at all.

There are not many books about English in Japan, just two that are relevant here: Stanlaw’s (2004) *Japanese English*, which I think has the wrong title, because it is more about English Japan, including English 'Used' in Japan and how people have contact with that; and Loveday’s (1996) *Language Contact in Japan*, which is not just about how Japanese people have encountered English but other languages as well showing how things from different languages traditionally have come into Japan and into Japanese so it is a bit wrong to think of English in Japan as something culturally distinct or separate, Just the same as Chinese cannot be separated from language culture in Japan.

Contact with a language is different from Use of a language. People can have texts with la particular language around them and then either pay attention to them or not pay attention to them. Loveday (1996) is interested only in Contact when people pay attention to the language texts with a level of understanding. Instead I point out that people do not need to pay attention to texts if they do not have, but can simply just notice the texts without understanding them. In other words, people can have contact with and notice the texts, know that it is language and not just lines or pictures, or know that it is not (all) Japanese, but not understand it. Before people can understand the language in the text, they need to recognize it. Sometimes that is a shock. But then people might get used to seeing texts the texts become part of the environment. But Using (some) English, well, people would need to understand something, That is the difference.

Figures 6 and 7 are a summary of patterns, historical trends, some cultural changes and some events in the history of English in Japan. Look at it, but also look at (or listen to) the lectures about it because they discuss the different issues to try and make some sense of English in Japan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates / Events / Periods</th>
<th>Spoken English</th>
<th>Written English</th>
<th>CONTACT WITH English: comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Late 16th–mid 17th century - Japanese wako pirates’ encounter English adventurers.</td>
<td>No purposeful contact.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Incidental encounters, frequently violent trying to kill not communicate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1613-23 - English East India Company merchants and local staff in Hirado &amp; Osaka.</td>
<td>Localized contact with spoken English; some official trade and political documents from England presented to central government in Edo. Delegations plus documents presented in English by Richard Cocks to Tokugawa Shogunate, interpreted into Japanese by William Adams.</td>
<td></td>
<td>English heard or read, but ignored &amp; considered unimportant and barbarian as were other European languages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808 Phaeton Incident in Nagasaki Early &amp; mid 19th Century – incidental isolated contacts with foreign individuals (eg Dutch trader and language teacher Jan Bloomhoff, castaway Nakayama ('John') Manjiro, eccentric Canadian adventurer Ronald MacDonald). 1853, 54 - visits by strong American delegations under Matthew Perry. Meaningful interaction in English now possible at institutional level.</td>
<td>British navy ship Phaeton, terrorizes Nagasaki Harbour. Dutch powerless except as interpreters, Japanese confronted by powerful foreigners speaking unknown language (English) – unforeseen - big shock! Individuals (eg) assisting bringing knowledge of spoken and written English</td>
<td>Available English grammar, lexicons, other written texts to assist translation and raise new translators' skills levels.</td>
<td>Shock effects on political, cultural center, especially with Phaeton Incident. From this period Japanese contact with. Government and intellectuals paying attention to spoken and written English, BUT still very local, isolated, small-scale contact with English. English produced in Japan by Japanese starts. Advantage of focus on English reinforced.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### English in Japan

**1880s-1920s** – Japanese cultural reaction against foreign cultural & political incursions.
- ‘Semi-master’ generation of teachers.
- **1890s** – national school English education starts.
- Japanese-born English teachers predominate.
- Preference for yakudoku translation to Japanese learning approach – decline in spoken English focus.
- As text translation becomes more extensive, less dependence on texts in English and other languages.
- As text translation becomes more extensive, less dependence on texts in English and other languages.
- Many words entering Japanese lexis from European languages, predominantly English.
- Much English text available in the Japanese cultural environment but fewer deliberate popular and public choices to pay attention to English.
- As text translation becomes more extensive, less dependence on texts in English and other languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>School English education restarts – similar to pre-War yakudoku translation learning approach.</td>
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<td>Katakana words return and expand in Japanese.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special purpose English courses for international events.</td>
<td>Floating range in texts explaining Japan in English (&amp; other languages).</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local level English-speaking societies, clubs.</td>
<td>English/Conversation textbooks boom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1920s-45** – rising nationalism key political & cultural phenomenon.
- 1931-45 – Asian and Pacific War.
- New media development (eg. audiovisual: radio).
- **1930s** – hiatus/cut in school English education.
- Less cause, chances or scope for contact with spoken English.
- English being translated - increasing range of fields & genres of texts in world.
- Restrictions on English text inside Japan.
- Japanese military intelligence code-breaking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stabilizing situation of contact with English in Japan: large amounts of English text from abroad, some from Japan; significant corpus of translated English texts meaning many types of English texts can be ignored; acrolectal incursions by European words into Japanese.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Japanese political &amp; cultural reaction against foreign influences – substituting &amp; removing English texts AND foreign katakana words from Japanese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with English large decline in Japan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1945-50s** – **Allied occupation**
- Influx of military & civil administration bringing English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

**1950s-70s** – cultural, technology, economic boom
- 1950-53 - Korean War – Japan sa UN supply base
- 1952 – return of civil administration autonomy
- 1959 – Tokyo gets Olympic Games (5 years later.)
- 1970 – World Expo in Osaka (goes for 6 months)
- 1972- Sapporo Winter Olympics.
- 2002 – World Cup Soccer (coordinating with Sth Korea).

<table>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Massive increase in contact with English:**
- Expanding range of new scientific & cultural fields mediated with English (eg. sport, technology, science)
- International events in Japan enhance contact with English at institutional and local levels
- Expanding English education.

**Greatly enhanced position, role, status of Japan in world causing greater contact with English from inside and outside of Japan.**

**More scope for interactions incurring English.**
### English in Japan

**Belief in needing English to deal with Americans, affecting people's choices about the English which they prefer to have contact with.**

Increasingly apparent Japanese variety of English – in lexis, NOT syntax.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circles</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>1960s-80s – large outgrowth of private juku cram schools, private English conversation schools:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- English as university, school entrance exam subject influencing purpose and type of English people have contact with in school education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘Internationalization’ as a new ideological basis for seeking (contact with) English (-speaking people).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Late 1980s on – economic affluence of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- great increase of international travel for Japanese (especially students, working holiday young people, Audiovisual &amp; electronic media technology in mass market, internet.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1987 on – government JET Scheme initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2000s – large &amp; international companies using English at work.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More extensive contact with English in international context:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- people going overseas encountering English / other languages for business, politics, education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- large increase in interest and visitors from overseas for leisure, culture, business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School-university education &amp; private sector English education evolving as main context for contact with English in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Increasing English (&amp; other) words &amp; expressions entering in current usage in Japanese – lexical items, especially in technological &amp; cultural fields PLUS expansion of Japanese phonemics range.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>More likely contact with English from non-Japanese people (increasingly not from English speaking countries)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JET scheme assistant language teachers to schools nationwide PLUS 'Oral Communication' curriculum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adapted English lexis freely heard/read in katakana form in Japanese popular music, media, sport &amp; other cultural &amp; social fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increasing contact with Korean &amp; Chinese languages, BUT</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contact with English ostensibly inescapable in current era</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6: Historical Timeline of People’s Contact with English in Japan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates / Events/ Periods</th>
<th>Spoken English</th>
<th>Written English</th>
<th>Comments on USE of English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1613-23</td>
<td>English East India Company merchants and local staff in Hirado &amp; Osaka – perhaps less than 50 people in Japan using English – insignificant. Portuguese, Chinese predominant.</td>
<td>Disparate English. From 1620s suppression of foreign cultural practices &amp; languages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850s-80s dramatic increase in interaction with foreigners &amp; foreign countries</td>
<td>Foreign experts, missionaries, traders speaking English with each other &amp; local Japanese more than other languages. Japanese going abroad for learning. Spoken English mainly for international communication purposes.</td>
<td>Dramatic increase in scientific, cultural, literary, political, legal, military text translation into Japanese. Economic, business transactions in English.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880s-1930s</td>
<td>New media (phonograph, film, radio) scope for English broadcasting, some import of foreign music, but low level local use.</td>
<td>Public school English education with focus on translation to Japanese as method. Local, national English-language press (eg Japan Times) operated by expat foreigners, but low level. Translation as major use of English for economic &amp; cultural uses and education.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern education curriculum incl. English</td>
<td>Sudden large increase in English-speaking foreigner population. Large increase in private conversation schools, programs on radio and new TV media. English in local popular music</td>
<td>Renewed conscious need for English as cultural, political, economic &amp; technological recovery. English as exam subject up to university. Greater amount of translating Japanese to English, with technology and other exports from Japan. English as lingua franca in some institutions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930s-40s 1900s-60s</td>
<td>Public education policy for communicative oral English (measured success).</td>
<td>New electronic, online media giving wider scope for language learning and increased access to local and foreign texts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-western cultural view discouraging English</td>
<td>Computer games, online chat and phone services, mobile phone applications</td>
<td>English sourced words, expressions used in Japanese as having lost its ‘Englishness’ New media permitting individuals to customize language forms used.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s- Internet, email, social media.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Historical Timeline Showing Developments in People’s Use of English in Japan
3. History of English in Japan 1– Contact with English as

Contact with Texts

3 a. Linguistic and Anthropological Ideas about Contact with English

So, what is so special about Contact with English? The easy answer is that a person does not need to have any knowledge of English to have contact with it. English is just part of the cultural environment. But if a person does know some English, then contact with English becomes important, because it can be meaningful.

But as was seen before with the Japlish phenomenon, people can have contact with English in the middle of Japanese discourse – as the English word or expression has lost its Englishness (e.g., meaning, pronunciation and normal context for it may have changed) and become Japanese. This is the amorphization idea which was discussed a lot in the last two lectures.

Contact with English is necessary also if a person is going to learn English. In fact in Japan most (or all) people have had contact with English through learning it, at school or outside of school.

This idea of contact with a language (e.g., English) is not new. A professor at Doshisha University in Kyoto wrote a PhD thesis and turned it into a book called Language Contact in Japan (Loveday 1996). Like me later, in his chapters he deals with Chinese, other Asian and European languages as well as English, and he has chapters called things like ‘Gairaigo: Alien Vocabulary’, ‘Lexical Absorption (1959-1990)’, ‘The Context of Internationalization’, ‘The Institutional Context’, ‘Innovating Forces in the Community: Technology, Commerce, and the Media’, ‘Code-Switching and Code-Mixing’, and ‘Remodelling English’. He has a couple of chapters about Non-Japanese Sounds and grammar, which are looked at later in these lectures.

Why do I mention Loveday’s chapters? Well, to give some support to my idea of the spread of contact with English. One other reason is to give a couple of alternative terms, different from some terms I use in these lectures. For example, ‘remodelling English’ is pretty similar to Stanlaw’s (2004) term ‘remade in Japan’, and a bit similar to my term amorphization. The difference is that amorphization is more a natural or unconsciously occurring process and not so much a process which people decide to do. But otherwise there is similar ground.

One other difference between my idea about contact with a second or other language is that the language becomes part of the cultural environment without people being conscious of any meaning in it. However I think that once people start to notice something like a meaning and to think about it and to maybe be affected or do something as a result, then the emphasis shifts to this action or process – use of the language. Linguistics experts call this...
kind of thing interlanguage (Selinker 1972), which Loveday (1996) mentions too (p 13,15) as one process that can happen with contact with people using a new language (together with borrowing, mixing and other processes).

An extra perspective which makes Loveday's understanding of contact with English is the contact itself – people are not having contact with texts so much as contact with other people using the language, who are trying to communicate something to them. I do not go so far – I am just interested in contact with the (English) the texts. Texts of course are part of the language culture, artifacts from the culture itself. Of course they are made by people using language, but I want to think about that as a separate phenomenon just now.

To illustrate, in Figure 8 from Loveday's (1996) book, there is a continuum of contact, from very much on the right (ie “maximal”, “Massive”, “Diglossic bilingual” and “Language-shifting”) down to not so much on the left (ie “minimal”, “Small-scale”, “Distant/dominant non-bilingual”) (p 13). Contact with English in my lectures is even more to the left: from just consciousness of texts existence in the cultural environment. For example noticing a sign with different style writing. Just noticing that it is different, and not yet even noticing that it is English.

There are chapters about the history of contact with English in both Lovejoy's and (1996. Chapter 3) and Stanlaw (2004 Chapter 3), and references to these detailed examinations are made in the continuing lectures below.

Summary of Lecture 3 (1) Section 3a
So, in these lectures, contact with English is just contact with English texts. But it does include contact with texts being produced by people in real time, written (eg. electronic texts like chat) and spoken (eg. like me speaking these English-language lectures to you now). My view is more anthropological than linguistic I think. This is where my ideas are a bit different from Loveday's and Stanlaw's. Later, when I start to focus on the people and the language they use or choose to use, of course I call this use of English. This is where my ideas become more linguistic, similar to Loveday's (1996) and Stanlaw's (2004)
### Table 1.1. A Socio-linguistic Typology of Language-Contact Settings and their Corresponding Contact-Phenomena

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact Phenomenon</th>
<th>Language-contact setting (minimal $\leftrightarrow$ Degree of community bilingualism $\leftrightarrow$ maximal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distant / dominant non-bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areal features</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interference</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interlanguage</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing</td>
<td>*Small-scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code-switching</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code-mixing</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convergence</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pidginization</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decreolization</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates that the contact phenomenon only has the potential to occur in a particular setting and should be understood not as an obligatory feature but as a characteristic tendency frequently associated with a special set of socio-linguistic conditions.

Convergence may occur during the final phase of language shift.

Pidginization may occur in any setting in the early phases of learning a foreign language and may even, in certain cases, become a permanent condition. Pidginization in the form of ‘foreigner talk’ may occur in the dominant non-bilingual setting.

---

**Figure 8:** Types of Contact with Languages, from a Linguistic Perspective: (Source: Loveday 1996. Table 1.1 p 13)
3. History of English in Japan 2– Contact with English

3 b. i Early Insignificant Contact with English: dispelling myths

Arguably the first English to be sensed in Japan was heard, and even then probably not even noticed. Arguably it would have been outside of Japan, by Japanese wako pirates in the mid-16th Century, who used to maraud down as far as modern Indonesia and beyond in the Japanese winters, coming back in the direction of Japan when the winds changed direction in the summers. They would probably have encountered English pirates or other seamen on Spanish or Portuguese ships sailing semi-permanently around the South China Sea or the Spice Islands in eastern Indonesia. They would have fought each with or even killed each other, and learning English (or Japanese) would not have been on their minds. The Portuguese and Spanish were the first Europeans to get involved with Japanese in the 1540s. After the late 1570s (the time of Francis Drake’s circumnavigation – sailing round the world – and he was just an officially-sanctioned pirate), other European sea vessels (Dutch, French and English) started to appear, with any mix of European language-speaking crews.

But this is the point: there was NO serious ADVANCE OF ENGLISH INTO JAPAN. There was just a tiny bit of contact with English and a lot more contact with other non-Japanese languages. Languages do not march into a country and then just happen. People come and bring their culture with them: language is a part of culture and it needs people to be able to exist.

Actually, I don’t know why I am talking so much about this bit of old history. I think it is because so many people now have an idea that English was always very important in the world, and in Japan. If you are interested in English, you need to know it all really happened much later in the nineteenth century, after 1808. But we need to deal with a few myths and a few people

i. English was not significant at all. In those early days it was Portuguese or Spanish which mattered, later Dutch. For example, there was a kind of Portuguese-based creole, mixed with some other European and Asian languages like Arabic and Malay and Persian which Europeans and others tended to use as a lingua franca or contact language, even in places like Nagasaki. Portuguese people spoke Portuguese or Spanish with one another; Dutch spoke Dutch to one another and English (they were not even British then!) spoke English to one another. And Japanese spoke Japanese to one another, sometimes Portuguese but more likely Chinese with the non-Japanese people. Even after the Christianity movement started after the 1580s and begin to influence some local daimyo’s and communities in south western Japan, it was most often Spanish plus Japanese. Also, soon after the English left in 1623, the Tokugawa government in Japan got rid of Christianity, Spanish, English and everything anyway, except for a Dutch factory on Deshima in Nagasaki (sometimes called ‘Dejima’ outside of Nagasaki), and some Chinese and
William Adams (Miura Anjin) (1564 – 1620) was an Englishman who actually seems more Japanese. In the year 1600, a Dutch ship brought William Adams (whose character was renamed Blackthorne in James Clavell’s novel *Shogun* which was dramatized on TV in the early 1980s). As pilot (ie. the navigator or the person who steered) and highest ranking member of a crew of a Dutch ship, Adams arrived in Bungo (Oita) in Kyushu. He later settled in various places: Hirado north of Nagasaki (where an English trading company had a factory from 1613 till 1623), an estate in Yokosuka south of modern Yokohama, and he had a house in Edo. In curious circumstances he had fallen in with the Tokugawas who, lucky for him, came out on top at the end of the Momoyama Era of itinerant civil wars in Japan.

Adams took on a Japanese name (Miura Anjin) and Japanese customs, which was only appropriate for one who became a useful favourite of the Shogun. Initial contact with Japanese people was in Portuguese, which was the main lingua franca for Japanese and Europeans (Varley 1984 p 192), Later Adams picked up Japanese, only using Dutch, English and Portuguese with other Europeans. So, the English that Adams spoke and wrote to other Europeans possibly was the first English IN Japan – disparate English! Just a tiny bit, and it really does not matter.

So, if you think that William Adams was the first person to bring English to Japan, maybe you are right. But, if you think that people were all speaking English around him, you are dead wrong. The only people who were speaking English were about between four or seven English traders and their staff in Hirado near Nagasaki, from 1613 till 1623, and English sailors who visited from time to time. Giles Milton (2002) wrote a book about William Adams called *Samurai William: The Englishman Who Opened Japan*. Even the title is dead wrong. First, Japan had always been open till then. Second, if the writer is talking about Europeans, actually Portuguese arrived in Japan in 1542, more than 50 years before William Adams. Portuguese was a much more important language than English was. Also, there were more Portuguese, and Dutch, and Spanish people in Japan and none of them had any reason to speak or even to know any English language. Hirado is just a small place up around the north west coast of Kyushu from Nagasaki, which was a much bigger where all the Spanish, Portuguese (and Chinese) traders and Christian missionaries were. And even Nagasaki was not very big.

Richard Cocks (1566 – 1624) was the one who spoke English most of the time. Not William Adams Cocks was in charge of the English trading settlement in Hirado probably. This small settlement had on average about 5 English men (some died, some left, one or two new ones arrived, they all drank a lot and all had local ‘girlfriends’) there at any time, from 1613 until 1623. Cocks was what they used to call a ‘factor’ and their settlement was called a ‘factory’, and it was owned by the English East India Company which sort of owned...
almost all English trade in South and East Asia. The English East India Company would become hugely rich 200 years later when they took control in much of India and enter China. But in 1613, it was a very small weak company, and the Dutch and Portuguese were much stronger and richer, and the Portuguese and Spanish were together as Christian (Catholic) missionaries in Nagasaki. They hated the English (who were not Catholic) and were always trying to get the local Japanese daimyo to kill the English. It seems that Richard Cocks did not pick up Japanese very much, but he was able to become good friends with the local daimyo in Hirado, which saved the English from being killed by Spanish and Dutch people at different times. Milton (2002) mentions that some of their local staff picked up English and acted as interpreters, and he mentions that all the Englishmen took local Japanese lovers who may have picked up some real pidgin English. And there was a much bigger Dutch factory in Hirado anyway. The Dutch and the English sometimes were friends and sometimes were enemies – whichever, probably they spoke a mix of Dutch, English, Portuguese and even Japanese with each other at different times.

Consequently, despite some Japanese having some contact with English in the north of Kyushu, English did not really become a phenomenon in Japanese culture at that time. Japanese people had a lot more contact with Portuguese, Chinese, Dutch and even Latin – as the Catholic religious language – than English at that time. However, it is interesting that beyond the myth of Adams bringing Japanese into contact with English, actually English did become used by one group of people in Japan at this time, English and other European traders. But it does not seem to have been a lingua franca, because other languages were used more, other language cultures were stronger, other language communities were larger. However, for English people and other Europeans who stayed (such as in the Christian Jesuit missionary community), it was more they taking on Japanese culture than the other way round. The gravestone of William Adams in Hirado (in Figure 9 below. He died in 1620.) is itself a metaphor for this.
3 b. ii. Dutch and English during Japan’s Closed Period: 1635 to the 1850s.

For a mixture of reasons, mostly political, some cultural, the Tokugawa government shut the rest of the world out of Japan in 1635, except for a diluted flow of commerce and information mainly thorough the Dutch in Nagasaki. Information of the outside world seep in bit by bit though. So it was Dutch which was not just a language of contact but also it was used in Japan, perhaps more than Portuguese and Spanish before it. In this sense, messages and information in Dutch was useful and valued, despite official Tokugawa (and Japanese cultural) antipathy towards outsiders.

Indeed Dutch seems to have been influencing Japanese in ways similar to English later on. Stanlaw (2004 p p48) claims pronoun usage in Japanese became extensive following translation of Dutch treatises in the early 18th Century. I have my doubts about this, in as far as the school of Dutch learning was severely undervalued in Japan until the 19th Century (Varley 1984). Varley also notes the prolonged use of Portuguese as a language of exchange (p 192) and also that much Western scientific knowledge entered Japan through translations from European languages into Chinese and then into Japanese. Further, the Dutch were kept right at arms length, at Dejima – symbolically an island in Nagasaki harbor where it is called ‘Dejima’, people call it ‘Deshima’ in other parts of Japan. It is still one of the most remote places in Japan. For Dutch to affect the syntax of Japanese in such a strong way would require it not only to be used extensively, but also accepted widely. Both of these
things did not happen – they only happened with English much, much later.

However, Varley makes an interesting observation that it was through medicine (and other scientific curiosity) in which various individuals (both Japanese and eminent physicians who arrived as resident doctors on ships as well as the outpost at Dejima) industriously pursued knowledge, which naturally was always going to come from the outside. Initially Dutch was primary, but steadily English books began to be brought to Japan, certainly from the early 19th Century. Many of these Japanese and non-Japanese ‘doctors’ wrote letters to each other but they were not members of any institution.

3 b. iii. Sudden Contact with English: Impact of the Phaeton Incident, 1808.
An institution was eventually set up – perhaps as a result of Tokugawa paranoia than curiosity. In 1808 during the European Napoleonic wars, a British ship, HMS Phaeton, arrived in Nagasaki disguising itself with Dutch flags. This was a time of loud, confident imperious Englishness – very different from the small group at Hirado 200 years before. It was the time of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, and it was British government-sanctioned policy ultimately to conduct business in English as much as possible, which according to Koscielecki (2000) caused many problems for Dutch-speaking interpreters in Nagasaki. One problem was that Japanese officials in Nagasaki first thought that the British were speaking Dutch – because they thought that all people like that spoke Dutch. The British stayed a couple of days, took some food and water after holding some people on Dejima as hostages, and then sailed away.

One effect of the 3-way language confusion was that after a couple of years, in 1811, a translation office was set up - in relative isolation, in Nagasaki. A couple of months later a second translation office was established in Edo (Tokyo) by the Tokugawa government. Stanlaw (2004) describes how local Japanese officials were ordered to study English (with Russian and French), with grammar works and dictionaries all being produced by the same translation offices within a couple of years (pp 49-50, Shimizu 2010 p 7). Also mentioned in the next section). This is interesting because this is similar to how people in Japan started learning and teaching English in the late 19th and 20th centuries – translating and also making and using their own texts.

Another interesting thing is that these first government foreign language institutions eventually turned into Tokyo University and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Stanlaw (2004) provides a timeline of the history of these two institutions detailing this history (reproduced in Figure 8 below).

The HMS Phaeton left after about six days, but the impact on Japan at the top was significant. First, the local Tokugawa bakufu (shogunate) administrator had to kill himself for letting English barbarians get away. Some other people were embarrassed because the
Tokugawa bakufu government was not able to protect Japan. No local Japanese people could communicate with these powerful English-speaking people except the Dutch who just seemed very wimpy – so English seemed more impressive than Dutch from that time on. So, from this traumatic experience of contact with English in 1808, Japanese people at the top realized that they lacked communication ability if they ever had to deal with violent and threatening outsiders again. Thus, within 3 years translation schools had been set up in Nagasaki and in Edo. The languages chosen for attention – English, Dutch, French, Russian and Chinese - tell a lot about priorities of the Tokugawa government. Portuguese was not there, even in Nagasaki where Portuguese (and Chinese) people were actually allowed to live in the town-proper and not isolated like the Dutch on Dejima (Burke-Gaffney 2009). Also, Russian, as Japanese and Russian people were beginning to have contact and face off in the north, over Hokkaido.

So, there is another big myth about the American navy arriving near Edo in 1853 and 1854 being the big shock that changed everything for Japan. Another shock was heard through the Chinese who also could go to Nagasaki – the Chinese had just lost a three-year war with the British (the first Opium War) in 1842. This shock was that big-brother-in-Asia-China could lose to these Europeans, these ‘English’, an unthinkable development. So, the American ‘black ships’ were a shock, but not the first shock and not the first contact, and they did not change everything.

Put it this way: some students who had been studying English in the translation school in Edo became the people who dealt directly in English with the Americans in 1853 and 1854, whereas in 1808 the Japanese had to depend on Japanese-speaking Dutchmen. Yes, things had already been changing, but things just began to change much more and faster after 1853.
c. 1610  Official hereditary *Oranda-tsuiji* (‘Holland interpreters’) and their schools, studying Dutch.

c. 1740  The rise of *Rangaku* (‘Dutch Studies’, or de facto ‘Western Learning’). From 1808, other European languages begin to be studied, including English and French.

1808  The establishment of the Official Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books into Japanese, the *Bansho-tegawaroyoo* 番書和解御用.

1855  This then becomes the Office for the Translation of Western Books/Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books, the *Bansho-shirabe-dokoro* 番書箋所.

1855  A new body is established — The Institute for Western Learning/Institute for Western Studies, the *Yoogaku-sho* 洋学所.

1856  The former institute is renamed as The School for European Languages/The School for Examining Barbarian Books, the *Bansho-shirabe-sho* 番書箋所. The range of languages studied now includes Dutch, English, French, and German.

1862  This then becomes The Government School of Western Languages/Institute for the Investigation of Western Books, the *Yoosho-shirabe-sho* 洋書箋所, and Russian is added to the curriculum.

1863–1868  The former institution is now renamed as The Institute of Progress/Institute for Translation and Foreign Studies, the *Kaisei-sho* 開成所.

1869  This is then renamed as The College of Western Studies the *Daigaku Nankoo* 大学南校, which specializes in the study of English, French and German. A section of this institute later evolves into the Faculty of Literature at Tokyo University.

1873–1897  In 1873, The College of Western Studies is reconfigured as The Foreign Language School, the *Kaisei-gakko* 開成学校, and The Tokyo Foreign Language School, the *Tookyou Kaisei-gakko* 東京開成学校. Chinese and Korean are added to the curriculum at around this time.

1877  The University of Tokyo, the *Tookyou Daigaku* 東京大学, is established. The English Department of the Tokyo Foreign Language School becomes part of the Liberal Arts College of the University.

1886  The University of Tokyo becomes The Imperial University, the *Teikoku Daigaku* 順徳大学.

1897  This former institution is renamed Tokyo Imperial University, *Tookyou Teikoku Daigaku* 東京帝国大学. At the same time, The Tokyo Foreign Language School, the *Tookyou Gakko-gakko* 東京開成学校, is re-established as a separate institution.

1947–the present  Tokyo Imperial University is renamed the University of Tokyo, *Tookyou Daigaku* 東京大学, and currently teaches a wide range of the world's languages.

1949–the present  The Tokyo Foreign Language School is renamed the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, the *Tookyou Gaiwogaku Daigaku* 東京外国語大学 and currently teaches a wide range of languages.

Figure 10: *Historic Timeline of Japanese Foreign Language Institutions, specifically Tokyo University and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies* (Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 51)
3 b. iv. **Dutch and other Language Learning by people in Japan up to the 1850s.**

A couple of other interesting things regarding contact with English happened in the wake of the Phaeton Incident. One is that the assistant of the Dutch Director of Dejima became effectively the first English teacher in Japan (according to Burke-Gaffney 2009, his name was Bloenhoef). Not an English native speaker, but he taught vocabulary and formulaic expressions and so on at the Nagasaki translation school orally without any textbooks.

At that time, all pronunciation was mediated through Dutch and any spelling also – think of it this way – Japanese people at the translation center in Nagasaki were learning to speak English with strong Dutch accents! According to Shimizu (2010), when Canadian stowaway Ranald MacDonald (mentioned later) was brought to Nagasaki before being thrown out of Japan in 1848, one task he was put to was correcting entrenched Dutch-style pronunciations – students from the translation school would be lined up before his cell and they would repeat and otherwise study English from him, arguably the first native speaking English teacher in Japan.

Actually, from a tradition of studying Chinese, Korean, Portuguese and Dutch for centuries before, the small number of Japanese people who studied languages were actually fairly systematic about learning English from the start, and especially with the very meager resources available. For instance, coming from Dutch study, Shimizu (2010) observes a dual tradition:

- practical language – say learning for day-to-day contact with traders and similar people
- academic – similar to *yakudoku* (translation method) which focused on being able to glean knowledge from Dutch books.

One relevant example cited by Shimizu is a Dutch translation of a 1724 British English grammar book, Sewel's *Korte Wegwyzer der Engelsche*, which was adapted by Shozamen Motoki as *Angeria-kogaku-shosen*, published in 1811 (Shimizu, 2010 p 7), three years after the Phaeton Incident.

Shimizu (pp 5-6) states quite clearly that language (learning)-as-tool was the primary motive of Japanese language study from centuries before English. Interestingly, this correlates with the idea of English as lingua franca idea discussed in the first lecture. It means that if they did not need English, they would not have been so eager for it. But not quite lingua franca as people might use English at a tourist market, as a convenient way to communicate. At that time, there was recognition that things could be learned through foreign languages for advancement and betterment of things in Japan.

3b.v **Early Tradition of English Learning and Learning English: a comment**

Consequently, according to Shimizu’s view, people in Japan could just get on with it in these established ways. **Communication was not a priority** – there certainly were very few people with whom anybody in Japan needed to communicate with up until the 1850s and 60s, and
only a few people in Japan needed to do that communication.

Rather, re-encoding knowledge, information, ideas into Japanese was a goal — therefore translation. It is this limited goal which shows how English in Japan was not the lingua franca-type situation most linguistic people are comfortable with. Some people thought about English, many people had contact with English texts, but most people did not use English at all until the twentieth century.

For all intents and purposes, things were going along in this way in about 1850:
- Japanese interpreters learning English with Dutch accents,
- some progress working out grammar and lexis of English
- gleaning what ever they could from Dutch and even some English books which had made it to Japan – according to Shimizu (2010 p 7) people did not worry too much about distinguishing the two
- language study centers were established in at least one point of contact (Nagasaki) and also in the heart of Japan, in Edo
- but very definitely not any work on how to translate all that Japanese into English or into any other language

Yet, in 1853, how many people knew any English or used English? My estimate is maybe less than 100, but probably closer to 200 if we consider private individual scholars studying English texts as a hobby. Anyway, probably many more people than in 1620.

Then suddenly, first in Shimoda in 1853, then in Edo in 1854, the American Admiral Mathew Perry suddenly arrived with fleets of ‘black ships’. From this point Dutch disappears into Japanese history. Rather, it is at this point when, not just English but Americans speaking English were encountered. From then on, at the top as well as at the bottom of Japanese society and culture, things began to change.

Before noting how things changed, the significance of certain individuals needs to be considered.

3 b. vi. Individuals Bringing English, a Culture of English (or something like it) to Japan

Already William Adams has been mentioned, and he (like all the others) was no pioneering hero of English in Japan. Indeed, he ‘went native’, and it probably saved his life. Boxer (1981) describes two types of European who came to Japan before they all (except the Dutch) were banned in 1635: visitors who kept their own culture but later left, like the head of the East India Company’s Hirado factory, Richard Cocks; and “naturalised Japanners” (Boxer 1981 p 22) like Adams. It seems William Adams used Japanese, much much more than Portuguese, Dutch, let alone English. Still he is perhaps the first of these individuals around whom language-bearer myths exist. There are lots of others – most before about 1640 - and I shall mention a few of these.
Varley (1984) mentions an Italian, Sidotti, a Christian missionary who learned some Japanese in Manila who made it into Japan in 1708, and the better known Engelbert Kaempfer, a German physician who went with the Dutch representatives from Dejima to Edo twice in the 1690s. More well known still is Philipp Franz von Siebold, a German in Dutch service in the 1820s, who also travelled about (and whose Japanese-born daughter became the first female doctor in Japan (Doolan, 2000 p 39), and who has a private university in Nagasaki named after him). Regarding English, it is quite possible none of these people spoke it, though of course they may have been able to read it.

Yet, Boxer (1981 pp 24 – 25) describes liaisons between European, East Indian and African men on the one hand and Japanese women (usually as procured women or simply prostitutes, who were forbidden to leave Japan) on the other. He notes that frequently after the men left Japan, these women would maintain correspondence with them for years later, some letters being displayed in modern Dutch museums. Of obvious interest would be the language/s in which they would have been written, but predictably English may not have been one of them.

i. Nakahama Manjiro (‘John Manjiro’)

Regarding English, Nakahama Manjiro (‘John Manjiro’) from south western Shikoku (present-day Kochi Prefecture), just a kid going fishing with his four mates in 1841, gets shipwrecked then rescued by American whalers (suggesting that though foreigners may not enter Japan, they were not afraid to go in close at this time). Manjiro gets taken to Massachusetts of all places (on the US north east coast) and gets to go to school in the United States learning various technological things like navigation, seamanship, and English. Later, he gets some money together and returns to Japan, in Okinawa, in 1851 and perhaps surprisingly is allowed back to Kochi in 1853, where he is treated as a ‘Dutch-school-of-learning’ expert, but is watched by the government. Then, with the shock of Perry and his ‘black ships’ right in the heart of Japanese public control in Edo, the Tokugawa reach out to Kochi (and Nagasaki too) to get what help they can to deal with the new visitors. And so, he had a new role to play, translating and inter-culture communication (though the Americans had gone by the time Manjiro was reached).

Later, Manjiro seems to have actually sailed the Kanrin-maru to San Francisco (talked about later) after the rest of the crew got sick on the first Japanese government-sponsored mission to the United States. He went to Europe as well to learn, came back and taught navigation and other technical subjects, translated similar texts, and then later becomes one of the first professors at Tokyo University (The Manjiro Society). Manjiro's contribution was contact with English culture, contact with English texts, and becoming a model for use of English - and I believe that he achieved these things without planning to. To sum up, he did more for the spread and contact with English than anyone else at this time.

ii. Ranald MacDonald
One young eccentric North American individual was a similarly young American boy who planned to arrive in Japan. Stanlaw (2004 p 50) recounts how Ranald MacDonald, carrying an English dictionary and grammar book, arrived after being gratefully cast adrift off Hokkaido by another American whaling ship in 1848. He was captured, taken all the way down south to Dejima in Nagasaki and kicked out of Japan the following year. Before that happened, MacDonald did make the first Romaji Japanese-English dictionary in Japan, with an illustration in a later lecture in Figure 10. This dictionary is interesting for the way Japanese sounded to MacDonald and the spelling he used for the local Nagasaki dialect words he lists in his handwritten dictionary. MacDonald and his ‘dictionary’ are discussed more in the next lecture and also in Lecture 5 on writing systems in Japan.

MacDonald becomes the closest to being the pioneering hero of English of the myths: while interned in Nagasaki he appears to have taught several Japanese interpreters, among whom were three interpreters who interacted with Perry in 1854 and who went on the Kanrin-maru mission (with Manjiro) in 1860.

The surprising thing is that none of these people were killed. It may be symptomatic of changes in attitude by the government that people with experience with people outside of Japan and communication with them were useful, and later essential. However nobody, even MacDonald, had any primary mission to bring English to Japan. English in Japan was an effect, not a cause. For instance, Manjiro went fishing, and ended up bringing back some books which made an impact: Webster’s Dictionary and a 20-volume work on Navigation.

The ‘English’ as a phenomenon did not come first – it was always information and knowledge first, from the very early days on. But most of it was in English, so English was needed to decode it, so English came and stayed.

iv. James Hepburn
One final individual is another doctor and missionary, an American, who also came to Japan by chance and settled in Yokohama in 1859. He had originally planned to go to Siam (Thailand) then later China. This was James Curtis Hepburn, who after being not allowed to practice medicine in the European settlement in Yokohama set to work on translating the Bible, studying, and codifying Japanese in Roman script. His wife had an English school too. For these things, maybe James Hepburn is the only person with a special interest in English in Japan who came to Japan. And even he developed the interest after he got to Japan, not before.

Eventually by 1867 he had contributed to a Romanization script (Biography of Chinese Christianity). This is significant because it was still the time before modernization in the Meiji Period started. Later, in 1887, on about the third attempt, this writing system (the ヘボンしき or hebonshiki or ‘Hepburn system’) was submitted as a public standard (ultimately rejected in favour of another standard, the 訓令くんれい kunrei ‘government system’ – discussed later...
in Lecture 5). This has happened a few times in recent history, most recently in 1994. He also produced one of the first English-Japanese Japanese-English dictionaries by a non-Japanese (an earlier one had been produced by a Dutch scholar in the Dutch East Indies in about 1830 (Stanlaw 2004)). Also, all this while his wife was running an English school in Yokohama. Altogether he was in Japan for over 40 years.

As an individual, Hepburn appears to be the only one discussed here who conscientiously worked with language as his life purpose. Also, perhaps he is the only one in this period who had enough vision to see how codification of Japanese and English was going to facilitate people’s communication in the present then and in the future. Probably it was some inherent problems in his system which prohibited it from being accepted as the official standard – for instance with long vowels such as /ou/, /oː/ and simple /o/ all being represented by ‘o’). This much alone shows a tendency to reproduce Japanese sounds in an English phonemic way with less definitive English spelling rules - a natural bias in any case.

Still, it raises the question at this point too: to what extent was (and is) Japanese able to be represented appropriately in English?

Hepburn is significant for contact with English because he was the first person to codify how Japanese would look if it was written like English. This is why I mention Hepburn here in the Contact with English lecture – after Hepburn, people in Japan could start to have contact with English in texts which were not written in roman script., most importantly in a standardized way At the same time, he was showing what many English sounds would be like to Japanese if they saw English words written and then could compare them with more familiar Japanese words written using Hepburn’s English phonemics-based system.

Hepburn’s career represents a time when Japanese cultural institutions finally began to take a directive interest in English, and where English does become an issue and a part of Japanese public cultural life. It is a time when Japanese people were having increasing contact with English and also were beginning to use it. How this grew and matured when Japanese national identity reacted to contact with modern foreign cultural incursions is the topic of the next section.

So far only Nakayama (John) Manjiro is the only person who came from Japan who is mentioned as a significant individual. There are a couple of other people though. They are not significant for what they achieved (though these are among the most famous people from the mid and late 19th century in Japan), they are significant for what they realized:

v Sakamoto Ryoma
These days (around 2010) ‘Ryoma’ is perhaps the most inspiring person in Japanese popular culture because he is remembered as a ‘doer’ and because there is some tragedy
surrounding his life and his myth. He was born in Kochi City, in a Samurai family, went away to study swordsmanship and other bushido stuff, fell in with some politically active people in the 1840s and 1850s, and began to see that some solutions to problems in Japan could come from the outside. After being involved in naval and other military ‘academies’ in western Japan, be fell in with some anti-Tokugawa groups, spent some time in Nagasaki (in Glover House as ‘guest’ of British ‘merchant’ Thomas Glover) where he acquired his famous boots and handgun (seen in the famous photo of him all over Kochi City and in other places in Japan). He also helped acquire many weapons form overseas to supply groups mainly in Kyushu who would threaten and effect the end of the Tokugawa bakufu regime.

Regarding English in Japan, Ryoma is significant because he looked outside Japan for inspiration and solutions to problems in Japan, and also wrote about that (in Japanese). In Nagasaki, he had contact with English culture and texts, but there seems no record of any English which he used (maybe just formulaic English like ‘Thank you’ and things like that).

Why significant then? He had contact with English but did not use English. Why didn’t Ryoma use English? I speculate here: perhaps he just did not need to – people around him may have used English for him or instead of him. Still, he got his boots and his handgun from outside of Japan – perhaps because he did have use for them, but not English. Ryoma was far more concerned with things happening around him in Japan and got killed in Kyoto in 1867 as a result of them. He and others just did not need English for the necessary communication in those contexts. Perhaps as simple as that.

vi Fukuzawa Yukichi

In 1994 I had my first short academic paper published, entitled Some Foreign Language Teaching Problems in Japan Are Not New’ (Doyle 1994). In researching it, I came across Yukichi (because he was notable before the Meiji Restoration when the custom for saying Japanese names changed, I call him the same old-fashioned way that I call Ryoma), who had a kind of juku. Yukichi was a scholar of Dutch learning but later became an English teacher (Ike 1995, Shimizu 2010), and later his (private) school, Keio Gijuku, became Keio University which is perhaps the best regarded private university in Japan. According to Ike (1995) English started to be taught there from 1862.

Why is Yukichi significant? For me, two reasons: one is he represents non-government, private efforts and trends – a kind of bottom-up effort to get to grips with English; second relates to why. There is an anecdote from his autobiography (published in 1899, and quoted in Loveday 1996) about Yukichi arriving in Yokohama in 1858 and encountering ‘foreigners’:

... I found myself a perfect stranger: they did not understand me and I could not understand them. I could neither read the signboard ... nor the label on the bottles ...

How mortifying! These several years I have used my time and money to study Dutch, but to no purpose. Ah, I have lost everything ... Then I remembered that I had often heard that English was then used widely abroad. That must be English. My courage had
once failed me, but I took heart again to make a second attempt.

With a firm determination to study English, I now turned to concentrate upon mastering it … (p 63)

Practical purpose, maybe even expediency, and certainly a wish to be able to cope. I think love of study and interest came after that. In plain terms there days, Yukichi may have said, ‘Screw Dutch! Let’s do English!’ Loveday (1996 p 64) mentions a couple of other such “renegades”: Prince Ito (Hirofumi, or Hirobumi) who went on the first official Japanese trip abroad on the Kanrin Maru venture to San Francisco in 1860 and then actually escaped from Japan going to London for a year or so in 1863 and who became Prime Minister of Japan about four times later in the 19th century; Iwasaki Yataro (the third person from Kochi Prefecture!, which is almost as remote as Nagasaki is in Japan geographically) who founded Mitsubishi; and Nijima Jo who started Doshisha University, one of the two big private universities in Kyoto.

But Fukuzawa Yukichi’s response comes from his contact with English – with contact he engaged with it, and he began to use English in Japan, ostensibly as teacher but also in education for getting access to knowledge available in an English-language medium. There were people like him, especially among the samurai class and also some others lower down socially. They had purpose. But most people in Japan did not have any purpose for English, anyway not yet.

3 b. vii Japanese Official Trips Abroad: a comment on the contact aspect

There is much literature about Japanese interest, mania, adoption and adaptation of Western culture and technology in the literature. However, in the middle of all of this writing, there is very little relating to language and language learning.

i. The Kanru Maru Expedition

Already mentioned is the Kanrin-maru (Japan’s first propeller-driven ship, actually bought from the Dutch, captained by Katsu Kaishu though finally piloted by Nakahama (John) Manjiro) mission to San Francisco in 1860. And Fukuzawa Yukichi, who seemed to be a bit rich and had influential friends went too. I call it an ‘Expedition’ because it really does seem like one, a bunch of Japanese cultural and political authorities aboard a second-hand Dutch boat which nobody knew how to sail sailing across the Pacific Ocean to the closest part of the closest big western to a city which was hardly even part of that country at that time. But give those guys credit though, as the trip must have been quite scary.

These people went to San Francisco where they had to wait until they had heard that a separate Japanese delegation to sign a trade treaty had arrived aboard an American ship. In San Francisco they met some important people, but mainly just hung out observing and buying what they could to take back. A couple of people who had had contact with Americans already were among these Japanese visitors, and English was the only foreign language they needed at this time.
ii. The Iwakura Mission

However, a later trip by technocrats (so-called technology planning experts), politicians and other important people to Europe in 1872-73 in what is called the 'Iwakura Mission' (Beasley 1981) contained some interesting situations. One member of the mission, Ito Hirobumi who had been a student in London University in 1863-64, and who later would become Japanese prime minister on three different occasions, was described in the Times newspaper as “speaking English with tolerable fluency” (Beasley 1981 p 29). The mission was a full-on diplomatic affair, for the mission was traveling round the world: in the USA, Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Russia (all, as well as Spain and Portugal).

In these countries, the principal imperialist powers in the world at the time, the Japanese representatives were given similar treatment. In the middle of all of this lots of different languages and interpreting would have taken place. Also, it would have needed to be accurate and appropriate in order to not let different important people be upset. For instance, (Beasley 1981) describes a meeting with Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of the newly formed German Empire, who talked to them of ‘Realpolitik’, the need to be pragmatic in international politics. The Japanese were reportedly impressed. This suggests the communication had been successful (p 31). Elsewhere, Beasley describes how the Japanese while in Britain had to sit through long boring speeches without translation, and had received praise in the newspapers for their patience.

It is in anecdotes like these where it is possible to read between the lines and see the situations in which communication with foreign languages probably was taking place. There were new experiences for most of the Japanese people involved, even on these official overseas trips. However, interestingly, language and the language-communication issues do not figure much at all in people’s observations and comments.

Still, these trips were fairly successful, to the extent that lots of new knowledge could be brought back to Japan. Much would have been from observations by the Japanese, but much also would have been from talking to experts and from reading books written by experts in the experts’ own languages. Of course all this was contact with English (and other languages) and also a bit of use of English (and other languages) that let all these people have contact with the new ideas, information, technology, knowledge and ways of thinking that they craved. It seems that even in this vital period English still was not sought for its own sake, rather English (and other languages) was sought as a tool, as a means to an end.

The next section considers the next period of contact when manic modernization agendas were followed for a short time, until more circumspect mentalities and confident attitudes took over among Japanese people.
Sometime between the years 500 and 700 CE, Chinese writing came to Japan. From that time until about 140 years ago, Japan did not experience any mass contact with any foreign language inside its shores. English and other European languages entered Japan really after the 1870s. In the end, English predominated.

I have mentioned Fukuzawa Yukichi earlier. Shimizu (2010 p 8) mentions the same anecdote which I did, about how initial contact with English made an impact: Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the foremost scholars of Dutch, quickly shifted his attention to English when, on a visit to Yokohama immediately after the opening of the harbor to the world (1859), he was surprised to find that English was the principle language not Dutch. ... He immediately began to take up the study of English instead of Dutch. In 1868 his school became Keio Gijuku, Keio University, which led to a golden age of the study of English in Japan.

I have this quote from Shimizu, because it is about just one individual. But Japan is a society with millions of individuals, and all of whose experiences having contact with English are different no matter how similar and coincidental they may have been. This makes the whole was more messy and less golden than lots of writers and researchers like Shimizu would imagine, but I hope the image of contact and response is clear.

One result of the Iwakura mission of 1870-71 to North America and Europe was seeing different ways to do education. In education, from quite early on, English was being taught as modern schools and universities became founded and as teachers were able to learn enough English to be able to teach. The change took less than a generation (20 years – maybe faster than has happened in China in the late twentieth and early twenty first century) and came with a lot of other changes. Lehman (1981 p 20) sees these changes in this way:

*The only obsession which can clearly be discerned in modern Japanese history is the desire for the independent survival of the Japanese nation; to that sacred end, compromise may not only be preferable, but absolutely necessary.*

This was English from the top of society, part of the kokutai policies (for a strong country and army) of the time. Later, after complete discrediting of kokutai policies and near annihilation of Japan in 1945, a new re-building policy took shape and the same ‘survival’ purpose took hold.

However, back in the 1870s, change became habit and replacing cultural artifacts became fashion. Short hair for men came in, wearing two swords was banned, western-style dress became compulsory at official public functions, and people started drinking beer. In intellectual circles there were suggestions for making Christianity the national religion. Tokyo Imperial University had lectures in English in its first years, and Loveday (1996 p 6), place 1872 as the start of compulsory English study in public schools from age six. This coincides with the Gakusai reforms, basically a big government law about education educational reforms following the establishment of Mobushou (the Ministry of Education) in 1871 (Burnett & Wada 2007 pp 2-3).

Yet, in practical terms, the effectiveness of these developments is debatable. For instance,
Burnet and Wada (2007 p 3) cite UNESCO statistics provided by Japan that in 1873 on 28% of elementary school kids were in school in 1873, over 50% in 1883 and 96% in 1906. But there were almost no materials nor people trained to teach English, and probably other things like Japanese language (kokugo), maths, science and other essential knowledge had priority in the field at grassroots level. Therefore outside of higher or richer social circles, or outside of cities in the country areas where most people lived, contact with English in education at this time was probably negligible.

But there was tangible evidence - texts, people talking about and seeing other cultural things (artifacts) from outside – that other cultures, new discourses, were about. Though much discourse of this new milieu would not have permeated as language text (and certainly not so much as English language text), people would have been conscious of it, would have been having contact with it. The Japanese poster recording a western-style-cum-Japanese *ukiyo e* print image of the Japanese attack on Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese War 1904-05 in Figure 11 demonstrates this. In this greater cultural contact process, perhaps in stops and starts, many people were beginning to have contact with English.
Figure 11: Japanese print with mix of western and ukiyo-e styles displaying the destruction of a Russian ship. Note the English title (with slightly skewed use of ‘of’ and missing ‘the’ before ‘Russian fleet’ – erroneous forms also often seen from English students in Japan today) among all the Japanese text. (Source: Cavendish 2004)
Some people even wanted to be rid of the old culture altogether. Donald Richie (1994), tells for instance of a visit by Ulysses Grant in 1879, after he had been president of the United States. During his visit, he was shown a performance of Noh drama, after which he was told by some Japanese that it was inferior culture compared to western drama and that in the future they may prohibit it. However, Grant disagreed, saying that he was deeply moved by the performance and that it would be a tragedy if Noh drama could never again be performed. Richie attributes the continuity of Noh partly to Grant’s timely comment – an illustrious westerner’s opinions were greatly treasured. Still, I believe that Noh – like the Japanese language - would not have disappeared in any case.

Another instance is different people, such as the Society for the Romanisation of the Japanese Script (ロマ字会) wanted to get rid of kanji. There is still a school in Kyoto on Sanjo Dori Street, near the corner of Higashioji Road just near Higashiyama Station, which keeps this idea alive. Other people talked about even get rid of Japanese language altogether (Lehman 1981 p 22, Loveday 1996 p 67, Stanlaw 2004 p 65).

3b ix Generational Change in Contact with English

In another article, Richard Perren (1992) discusses how after about 20 to 30 years of modernization, Japan slowed down its drive for westernization and reviewing its own culture. There are perhaps three reasons for this. One is simply that Japan was beginning to have success – by 1905 Japan had fought two successful colonial wars, the latter one defeating the European power Russia, and had established an Asian empire similar in scale to some other European colonial powers. At least in government, this was enough to give confidence that Japan as a nation was one of the world’s ‘big boys’, though Japan often got pressure and some discrimination from western countries for most of the twentieth century.

Another reason is that by the 1890s unequal trade treaties were either expiring or Japan had been able to meet the conditions set out in them. This meant that laws and institutions placing Japan below other countries disappeared. One of these, an extra-territoriality in law jurisdiction, by which foreigners did not have to follow Japanese laws disappeared. This meant that foreigners, with whom people would have to make contact using English or some other language, became more numerous and less special in the normal Japanese community.

A third reason was mentioned before, the time it takes for a generation to be replaced. The older generation which had started the race to modernize in the 1860s and 1870s by importing technology, culture, training, experts and languages, had made way for new people for whom these new ways of doing things were a matter of course, had become normal life. For instance, by 1905, English had been a compulsory subject in school for over thirty years, with teaching materials and a new generation of local Japanese trained teachers for over a decade (though the quality and success of the teaching is a different question). Even so, quite a few people were leaving school and going into the adult world with a lot of contact with
English in Japan

English language texts and also some limited experience using English. Also, educated Japanese had been going overseas and returning with new experiences and views on the world. Table 4 below also shows this change about this time. These points are also discussed in relation to use of English in the next lecture.

There is a point to compare in the present: the JET Program which started in 1987, whereby native speakers of mostly English but also lots of other languages have been employed in Japanese schools from elementary schools up, for about 25 years now. This means that a whole generation of people – including almost all students at university in Japan now, have had experience with non-Japanese teachers teaching foreign languages.

In fact I could safely say that everyone listening or reading these lectures has had contact with people and had to use English or another foreign language many times. One hundred years ago, most Japanese people may not have had contact with foreigners, but they had had contact with English.

One of the ideas in Lehmann’s (1981) article quoted above is that after Japan’s two periods or desperate, survival-instinct modernization (ie. 1860s-1890s and 1945-1960s) there was a relaxation of and even reaction against taking on western ways. There are two aspects of this. One is that there may be a sense that enough had changed already, and that Japan and Japanese people had less need. The other is that some people saw Japan and Japanese people losing their Japanese identity.

3b x Generational Change in Contact with English through English Education

Two sections ago I questioned actual extent, amount and quality of English education in schools. School education notwithstanding, people were having contact with English in education in other contexts.

Shimizu (2010) identifies an interesting generational shift which coincides with changes in Japanese public policy and cultural attitudes discussed in the last section. But he does so at the same time as believing that the approaches to learning foreign languages in Japan did not really shift. To repeat these points, Shimizu believes that Japan had a tradition of learning foreign languages, in a “practical” way – for communication with traders, etc. and for interpreters, referred to as “regular”; and an academic way – for reading and getting outside knowledge from foreign language texts called “irregular” by Shimizu (2010 pp 6,9). If there is any truth to this idea, then the role of languages from outside of Japanese culture is not a new phenomenon with English in the 19th century.

When English study arose, it was taken in stride as earlier Dutch, Portuguese and Asian languages had been, for ostensibly similar purposes. However, the profile and priority of English and its study was significantly greater through different levels of the society.
Shimizu identifies 3 generations of English study, detailed in Table 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation s</th>
<th><strong>English Master Generation</strong> (up to very early 20th century)</th>
<th><strong>semi-English Master Generation</strong> (apparent from 1905)</th>
<th><strong>Taisho/early Showa</strong> (1920s to 1940s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Features <strong>mentioned by Shimizu (2010)</strong></td>
<td>Studying English from foreign native speakers (‘experts’, missionaries); ‘regular’ and ‘irregular’ English study</td>
<td>Learning English from Japanese teachers in Japanese but mastering reading and written English; shift to ‘irregular’ study tendency</td>
<td>Cutting of English study in school education, removing English from public display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
<td>Few Japanese teachers of English, influx of foreigners, English study largely uncontrolled and done privately</td>
<td>English in school curriculum, advantages for western (English-speaking) people like extra-territorial legal jurisdictions ending leaving to relative exodus</td>
<td>Despite revived interest in western culture in Taisho age (to mid 1920s), increasing nationalist politics and culture in Japan leading to anti-English policies in education and usage (including removal of amorphized English in katakana)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Generational Approaches over Time to Contact with English through Learning (Source: based on Shimizu 2010 pp 9-10)

The significance of the generational shift apparent in Table 4 is that there were equally apparent changes in the types of English people were having contact with English. For instance, until around about 1905, though there may have been less English around, it was more likely to have been authentic unmediated English texts, disparate English. **Once public English education started and English discourse started to enter mainstream, many more people were likely to have had contact with English.** But the texts would have been mediated by public education curriculum and teaching materials makers, Japanese teachers and also government censors later on, somewhat amorphised English, and often decontextualised English without relevant meaning to a given real context.

A further trend which would not have been as affected by the generational shift is the increasingly extensive translation of English (and other languages) into Japanese. **Translation as a source of contact with English is limited really only to the translators.** Translation as use of English is different, because it is the ultimate form of mediation of a foreign language text. Translation is discussed in the next lecture about Use of English in Japan.

### 3 b. xi Contact with (and Use of) English through the Japanese Writing System

In the last section I mentioned that only 140 to 150 years ago did Japan begin to experience only the second mass contact with foreign languages in its history. The first was Chinese 1,400 years ago. Chinese writing became altered (amorphized!) and entered Japanese language and culture. Is the same thing happening with English (or other languages) after
contact with Japanese people and their culture? I don’t think so.

However in the last lecture I was trying to suggest that words or expressions and some at least have entered Japanese. But it is not just that – some ideas and things in culture have also entered culture in Japan, and such things need to be articulated in Japanese – how much traditional Japanese is used for this, and how much is taken from other languages to talk about such things in Japanese culture?

To illustrate what I mean I want to show some research done by one of my own students (Shimada 2010). She was interested in the Japanese katakana script (discussed next after the history lectures), and one thing she did was look at all the top ten most popular movies in Japan and see how much katakana was used in the titles. She was interested in movie titles because movies need to attract attention, be understood quickly and clearly and sometimes appear fashionable to the public in order to be marketed. In this sense, how movie titles are communicated shows something of how language is used in the culture – and in that way people of course will have contact with language used in the titles.

Of course one way katakana, a phonetic script, is used is to write words from other languages (gairaigo, etc., including English). Here are her results, in Table 5, show clearly increasing use of simpler phonetic katakana especially since the 1960s and especially in the since 1992. This suggests simplification of writing in the popular culture domain. Similarly, recognizably English words become more commonly used. But it does not mean that Japanese is being abandoned – far from it. But it does show a greater frequency of English found with Japanese often amorphized.

An interesting exception was in 1996, ‘Shall we ダンス’ ‘Shall we Dance’, which takes a complete English sentence in roman script but changes just the last word ‘dance’ to katakana script. Compare this with 2001’s ウォーターボーイズ wuo-ta-bo-izu ‘Water Boys’, or 2006’s フラガール (furaga-ru) ‘Hula Girl’, which show more direct amorphization - it is obvious that these English words are presumed to be recognizable, which is presumably why they were chosen. It shows that the makers of these titles are less focused on choosing between English or Japanese than a popularly recognizable way to express movie title. In short, it suggests that using some English – and not just single words or expressions – is part of the language culture in Japan. In other words the language culture in Japan is perhaps is not restricted to nor defined by just the Japanese language any more.
1926 カラボタン (karabotan)
1929 パイプ (paipu)
1931 マダム (madamu)
1942 ハワイ・マレー沖海戦 (hawai mare-oki kaisenn)
1951 カメルン故郷に帰る (kamerunno kokyouni kaeru)
1952 カメルン純情す (karumenn zyunzyou su)
1955 女中ッ子 (jotyuu ko)
1956 カラコルム (karakorumu)
1959 カラルム (karalumu)
1960 キャプボルのある街 (kyu-pora no arumati)
1965 東京オリンピック (Tokyo orinnpikku)
1966 ヒビヤマの竪琴 (hibyama no tategoko)
1969 ミスボン国 (nippon koku)
1970 カラボタン (karabotan)
1971 ピボトム (paipu)
1973 マダム (madamu)
1976 ハワイ・マレー沖海戦 (hawai mare-oki kaisenn)
1981 ガキ帝国 (gaki teikoku)
1982 ニッポン国 (nippon koku)
1985 女中ッ子 (jotyuu ko)
1992 カラボタン (karabotan)
1996 カラボタン (karabotan)

1922 水のないプール (mizunonai pu-ru)
1929 家族ゲーム (kazukugige-mu)
1932 戦場のメリー・クリスマス (senzyoono meri-kurisumasu)
1934 風の谷のナウシカ (kazutenatorino nausika)
1935 台風クラブ (taihuku kurabu)
1936 ビルマの竪琴 (biruma no tategoto)
1937 コミック雑誌なんかいらない! (komikku zassi nannka iranai)
1939 ウッホホ探検隊 (uhohho tankentai)
1942 天空の城ラピュタ (tenkunochiro Papyuta)
1945 キネマの天地 (kinema no tenti)
1946 マルサの女 (marusa no onna)
1947 ジャズ大名 (zyazudaimyo)
1948 となりのトトロ (tonarino totoro)
1949 プラダの女 (plada no onna)
1950 キネマの天地 (kinema no tenti)
1951 トキワ荘の青春 (tokiwa no seiyun)
1952 オデッセイ (oderessui)
1953 ジャズ大名 (zyazudaimyo)
1954 タイム・トラベラー (taiimu toraberu)
1955 ゲッサ (gesa)
1956 インディアン (indenian)
1957 チャペル (chapedo)
1958 タイム・トラベラー (taiimu toraberu)
1959 ケープ (kepi)
1960 ビルマの竪琴 (biruma no tategoto)
1961 センセイ (sensei)
1962 カラボタン (karabotan)
1963 ビルマの竪琴 (biruma no tategoto)
1964 カラボタン (karabotan)
1965 カラボタン (karabotan)
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2011 カラボタン (karabotan)
2012 カラボタン (karabotan)
2013 カラボタン (karabotan)
2014 カラボタン (karabotan)
2015 カラボタン (karabotan)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Movie Title (in English)</th>
<th>Japanese Title</th>
<th>Table 5: List of Japanese Movies Titles including Katakana Script in the Kinema Junpo Magazine Top 10 Japanese Film Rankings from 1931 to 2009 and number registering English or International Word Items (in parentheses). (Source: based on Shimada 2010 Appendix 1)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>ラジオの時間 (radio no zikan)</td>
<td>バウンス ko GALS (baunsu ko GALS)</td>
<td>濑戸内ムーンライト・セレナーデ (setonai mu-nraito・serena-de)</td>
<td>3(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>カンゾー先生 (kanzo - sensei)</td>
<td>CURE キュア (kyuu)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>コキユ / 覚穂 (koki-yu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>ナビィの恋 (nabii no koi)</td>
<td>バトル・ロワイアル (batoru・rowaiaru)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>スリ (suri)</td>
<td>ハッシュ！ (hassyu !)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>エウテカ (エウテカ) (yuriika)</td>
<td>リリィ・シュシュのすべて (ririi・syusyu no subete)</td>
<td>ウォーターボーイズ (who-ta-bo-izu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>美しい夏 キリシマ (utukusinatuu kirishima)</td>
<td>カンゾー先生 (kanzo - sensei)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>スウィングガールズ (suwingu ga-ruzu)</td>
<td>ドッペルゲンガー (dopperugenga-)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>バッチギ！ (patigi !)</td>
<td>メゾン・ド・ヒミコ (mezon・do・himiko)</td>
<td>リンダ・リンダ・リンダ (rinda・rinda・rinda)</td>
<td>5(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>ケルマニウムの夜 (gerumaniumu no yoru)</td>
<td>フラガール (huraga-ru)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>それでもボクはやってない (soredemo boku ha yattenai)</td>
<td>カミュなんて知らない (kamyu nante siranai)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>トウキョウソナタ (tokyo sonata)</td>
<td>天然コケッコー (tennen kokekko-)</td>
<td>サッドヴァケーション (saddo vake-syon)</td>
<td>3(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>カミュなんて知らない (kamyu nante siranai)</td>
<td>ベットウェイ (bettei-wei)</td>
<td>ディア・ドクター (dia・dokuta -)</td>
<td>4(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>シンクガールズ (shinga-ruzu)</td>
<td>カミュなんて知らない (kamyu nante siranai)</td>
<td>ウルトラミラクルラブストーリー (urutora mirakuru rabusuto-ri-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How does this all relate to the contact with English? The simple answer is probably sufficient: *English was seen as necessary, essential even, but only to a point.* Once Japanese people had enough to do what they needed to do, then the race for English began to stall. However, of course individuals and various institutions could and did continue to study, improve and overall increase the amount of and contact with English. But there is a flip side, and it relates to people’s identity as Japanese speakers – more simply Japanese identity. English probably never was going to become a *lingua franca* in Japan. Unlike in countries like Turkey and Vietnam, Japan never even went so far as to replace native kanji and kana scripts with Roman script. Of course this was nothing xenophobic like make Japanese text inscrutable to non-Japanese. No, rather these scripts remained workable despite cultural changes going on, and also, they remained part of the literary and educational culture of Japan and Japanese identity. Also, katakana has been workable (though not suitable) as a way to encode words form English and other languages. The same was true then as it is now. The next section about contact with English up to the present considers reasons for this.

3 b.xii Wider and Deeper Contact with English up to the Present.
This section examines how contact with English has been happening up to and continues beyond the present.

The last section saw how English and other languages came to Japan from about one and a half centuries ago. Part of the reason was because the government saw that it needed western knowledge, technology, political and economic systems, laws, education systems and culture to modernize the country, become stronger and to survive. What happened was revitalization of some extreme aspects of Japanese culture, an aggressive expansion with military power outside of Japan, war and physical defeat for Japan in 1945.

Post-1945 has been different, but none the less, survival has been one motive. Rather than military power, economic demand for modern technology, knowledge and so on, has been a driving factor. An interest in internationalism (*国際化 kokusaika*) has been another. But there have been other factors. One has been that 1945 brought the first and so far only occupation of Japan by a foreign culture and power. The United States and its allies ran Japan for seven years and continued to have a strong influence for many years after. Japan was also economically dependent on the USA, though this dependence has lessened. Amid all these changes, the need to understand and to communicate primarily in English has been crucial. Not just the government and leading cultural institutions, but also normal people have seen English as useful if not necessary in their lives.

Perhaps there have been four phases:

i. **World War 2 – early 1950s**
The first phase was in the years after the war to the early 1950s. General MacArthur and
numerous American specialists ran and reformed Japan from General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Tokyo. They used English. Much translation had to be done, such as the new Japanese constitution, for simple administration purposes. Also, American English became a recognized standard at this time.

All these changes were happening at the top, and were brought in largely from outside of Japan. However, especially in urban areas, around military bases, local people and English-speaking military personnel met, and it was the local Japanese who adapted, often for survival. One example in the last lecture was examined, *pangurisshu*, such as shown in James Michener’s novel *Sayonara* (1957) described before. Another source of English was the American military forces’ Far East Network, which still broadcasts on the local radio network today. Also, once again, students started learning English in school.

ii. 1952 to 1970

A second phase continued on from, say 1952, when Japan finally got its government back in the Treaty of San Francisco which ended the occupation and put the terrible war behind. This period continued to about 1970, the year of EXPO 70 in Osaka, which was a big international showcase of technology, modernization and economic development. EXPO 70 was probably more significant than the 1964 Tokyo Olympics in this sense. If the Olympic Games was broadcast to the world, and Japan could show off things like the Shinkansen bullet train, it was doing it for the first time.

By EXPO 70, which went on for many months and attracted more attention and thousands more from overseas, the Japanese government and companies were more experienced and confident about being able to put on large-scale international shows like this. Japan was back with the big boys in the world, as it had been at the start of the 20th Century.

iii. 1960s to late 1980s

A third phase started before EXPO 70 in the 1960s until the late 1980s, when Japanese rapid economic expansion saw it become the second strongest economic power in the world by the 1980s and much of its wealth came from international trade in manufactured goods. To do this meant negotiating and organizing things, frequently in English. Also, it was a time for incredible growth in *English conversation colleges*. Partly this was because the Education system was perceived as not providing training in the type of English communication people thought they needed, which was to talk comprehensibly, well and with confidence. Schools like GEOS and Aeon grew up in this time. However, also in this period, English became the foreign language of choice for over 95% of high school students, usually because their schools offered no other languages. The *university entrance exams insisting on English certainly meant that almost all young people had contact with English, even if they did not use it for any communicative purpose.*
One other little known factor is also significant: during this time Japan became the country with the most international sister-city links of any country in the world though these days China seems to be very strong (Sister City International). This is significant, because sister-city links operate normally at local government level with various visits, cultural exchanges and so on occurring and needing to be organized, frequently in English. A final factor is that workers from overseas (legal and illegal) were beginning to come to Japan in increasing numbers. Though many of these eventually came to use Japanese, early on English was more common.

iv. Early 1980s onwards, with Spoken English
The current phase (from about the mid or early 80s) is characterized increased contact with English in the sense that people may have contact with other people and speak it. Regarding spoken English there have been also by three main developments. Most significant is cheaper air travel and greater affluence with more cash to spend have enabled greater numbers of Japanese people to travel overseas, a great deal of them traveling independently and using English (and other languages) when they go.

Secondly, from 1986 an initiative by the government for more communicative language teaching in schools has seen up to 10,000 young people coming into Japan each year, organized by MEXT to assist teaching foreign languages, predominately English (though these days other languages are also important but now fewer than 5,000 people come with the JET scheme. This is the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) program (actually starting 1987). These people are sent and are often seen from highly urban to remote rural communities all over Japan. As a result, virtually all school students would have encountered these people.

Third is the development and growth of working holiday and overseas study by Japanese people.

v. Early 21st Century Onwards: Contact with and Use of English in Written Text and Media
Though English had been appearing in advertising, film, books, comics, popular music, radio and television and other popular culture media since the end of the 19th century, the internet and other electronic media such as electronic games have been a different sort of media because the community of English in Japan is not just in Japan any more. Effects of this are more noticeable in use of English and is explained later in Section 3c. This has three main effects on contact with English (so I mention them now) but equally relevant to with Use of English mentioned later:

- New language communities form and may exist either long-term or short term. Though English may be a contact language to start, because it is appropriate or because that is what people online think is the main or common language, people and institutions may,
can and do begin to make their own registers as their new language cultures become ongoing and develop. Also, there can be a mix of both spoken and written styles. Online video games (in which virtual worlds are created, and people do not even know where different users are) are a good example.

- Second, having (increasing) contact with and use of English in online media can be at the sake of contact with English in other media. E-books and online language learning programs like Rozetta Stone are like this.

- A third effect is that people begin to develop language and literacy skills, for say online English text. But among various people, especially in some types of jobs and also among younger people, spoken English and other interpersonal channels (eg. posted mail) decrease. This means that they may not be as good at things like talking and even handwriting in English, but much better at English in written channels such as in online channels. This is a point made by Nicholas Ostler (2010) as a world wide phenomenon, and mentioned by David Gradoll at a conference on English as a lingua franca in the world, two sound predictions for the future.

In modern (early 2013) economically stagnant, social malaise, politically adrift, yet internationally and culturally buoyant Japan, English is something people have contact with (and use) in ways and in media people would not have conceptualized in the past and find hard to conceptualize even now.

To complete this section on contact with English in Japan there is one more conclusive point: the current phase of contact with English has seen a whole generation grow up in the interesting circumstance of not being able to escape contact with English at any level. This phase is different from any other phase in the history of English in Japan for this reason. These days English in Japan is difficult to escape. But I have talked about contact with English till now. The English which is actually used tells a different story.

Summary of Lecture 3 - Section 3b
English was not the first European language which Japanese people had contact with, and it did not begin to become important until after 1808 when a British ship arrived in Nagasaki, which shocked people in government. Instead Dutch was the main medium for information in the school of ‘Dutch learning’. In 1811 the Japanese government set up a translation office as part of an ongoing tradition of obtaining information and knowledge form outside Japan. However only isolated individuals are significant with English at this time: Nakanama (John) Manjiro, Ranald MacDonald, and James Curtis Hepburn are discussed. After American Admiral Mathew Perry arrived in 1853 wanting Japan to open to trade, Japan saw survival as a reason to modernize, and English was the key language for doing this, Japanese people went abroad. Overseas experts came to Japan and after
1890 lots of people started learning English at school. All these enabled most people in Japan to have some contact with English. In the 20th Century, especially after 1945 with American and allied occupation, increasing education and use of and exposure to mass media, including the internet, all Japanese have had contact with English.

Task 6: Timeline of CONTACT with English in Japan
Please make a list of significant points, patterns, periods or events in the history of CONTACT WITH ENGLISH by people in Japan. Also write a couple of comments about each point.
(Advice: first find some events. Don’t worry about exact dates – just the year or the approximate part of the century is enough. You can use events to find different periods of history)
(More advice: if you want to mention different periods in history, looking at Task 6 can help you)
(Advice: a point on a timeline can be either a particular period, or a particular event)
(More advice: remember to put in some year dates to mark the periods clearly. These can be approximate – eg ‘about 1750’ – or exact)
(Hint: of course you can look at the lectures to find different points or different dates of events, etc. for your list)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Events/ Periods</th>
<th>Comments on USE of English (eg what happened + why significant)</th>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>-1970  EXPO 70 in Osaka</td>
<td>A big international economic and cultural display. Many people from other countries came to Japan for many months to see it. Also, many Japanese companies and government offices had to deal with people outside of Japan. For both reasons, English was very important and common, so <strong>many people needed to have extensive contact with English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
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**Task 7: Mapping the Extent of CONTACT with English in Japan**

Please draw a line showing HOW MANY PEOPLE in Japan have HAVE HAD CONTACT WITH ENGLISH, (ie *what proportions*). Do it on the chart below.

*(Advice: *the best way to do this is like a sine curve, which sort of goes up and down like this: ~~~. )

*(More advice: *the numbers down the bottom of the chart are year dates)*

*(Even more advice: remember that sometimes in history, nobody in Japan had any contact with English, so sometimes your line may go below zero)*

*(Hint: *look in the lectures for any dates or periods, and also use your own knowledge of history. If you want to find other information in the library or on the internet - that is a good idea too.)*

Start on the left side with the line below zero

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*ie 英語だめ！*
3. History of English in Japan 3 – Use of English

3c. Use of English in Japan.
The last lecture examined some different periods of Japanese people’s contact with English. Of course people may have had contact with it, but simply having contact does not require skill or knowledge so much as actually knowing enough English to use in a given context for a given purpose.

Here, to ‘use’ English includes
- using English to take in meaning encoded in English, which implies understanding of the language. Such as to read English. Also,
- to use English of course means to make meaningful texts of English to communicate that meaning to others. Plus one other,
- when English items – words or expressions – become used mixed with Japanese or as Japanese – amorphized English

3c. i. The First English Used in Japan.
I am not going to stick my neck out and say that William Adams, the English sailor who was adviser to Tokugawa Shoguns between 1600 and 1620, was the first English user in Japan. However, from 1613 in Hirado in northern Nagasaki, English people had a factory until it closed after unsuccessful business in 1623, as described in Section 3b. English people together of course would have spoken and written a disparate English among themselves. It was mentioned before that Portuguese was more likely to have been used in interactions between Japanese and non-Japanese. Later Dutch became more significant by the 18th Century.

Until 1808, when that British ship *HMS Phaeton* sailed into Nagasaki Harbor disguised as a Dutch ship, and British officers would have been wanting to make their presence known, once again it would have been disparate English. But possibly Dutch or French or Portuguese or English (or a mix) were used then when dealing with the resident Dutch in Nagasaki, who may have at points represented the British while they were there (though most of the Dutch were locked up and ransomed by the British who also raided their storehouse for food and drink). But there would have been negligible or no English used by Japanese at this time.

It is unclear how many English-language books had made it into Japan before 1808, but certainly from 1811, the Tokugawa government had set up a translation office in Edo and also a foreign language-training center in Nagasaki (*oranda tsuuji*) from about 1808. Stanlaw (2004) remarks that the *oranda tsuuju* “produced a remarkable output of materials in a short period of time” (p 50) mentioning English grammars written by 1811 (described in the previous lecture) and a dictionary by 1814. As well as French, Russian and the Dutch already, knowledge of English was being recorded. Steadily texts were also translated and supposedly
read in Japanese by people who needed to study them. Ike (1995 p 3) mentions the government forbidding translators becoming literate in English and Russian!! How and why the government wanted its people to know just one foreign language is not really clear, except that the government was paranoid about foreign invasion. It seems an interesting research topic anyway).

This was very little done by very few people compared to what would be done later. However, when a new phase started, in the 1850s, there was a core of people in Japan who could use written English (read it, and if you include Nakahama (John) Manjiro and some others, also speak it).

3c. ii. New Uses for English in a New Age – translation and learning English with a purpose.
In 1860 the Kanrin maru expedition to San Francisco, the 1872-73 Iwakura Mission around the world, (described in Section 3b) and other Japanese study and fact-finding trips abroad brought new uses for English (and other languages). Suddenly Japanese people (intellectuals, and others) could not sit around looking at Japanese texts in their own time on their own terms. Much of the new knowledge, concepts, information and literature needed for developing the country – and to satisfy people’s interest and curiosity in things from outside of Japan – as well as business and political agreements were in other languages. To use these English texts people had to have contact with these texts of course, but the next stage was to make sense of them. To do this they would need to learn the new languages. Or they could translate.

How is translation a way to use English? Well, in two ways, one is to take the English text use it to get meaning and then convey that meaning in another language – Japanese. Or take something in Japanese and use English to communicate it to people use that language. In some ways translation is a bit of contact with and a bit if use of the language together. Anyway, if there is a communicative purpose and English is used at some point, then obviously it is use of English!

3c.iii Japanese Going Abroad to Learn, People from Abroad to Teach and English
Traditionally people who were interested would study hard to be able to translate Dutch (or English) themselves. But here was no time left to translate – from the time of the Phaeton Incident in 1808, there was some urgency in the government. Later on, increasingly from about 1860 Japanese people would have to respond to and also initiate communication in English, with no time to translate. This was that time of what Shimizu (2010) labels ‘Regular’ learning of English, basically for direct interaction with foreigners, as discussed in the last lecture.
Also mentioned above was a good example Regular Learning of English, Ito Hirobumi, a latter-day prime minister, and member of the Iwakura Mission, who earlier had been to London to study for 2 years 1863-64. He was one of increasing numbers of students and scholars going abroad, and who were going to need English (and other languages) to get and to learn what they wanted and to talk to and correspond with whom they wanted. Further, as Perren (1992) describes, “The Meiji government imported around 300 experts or yatoi – a Japanese term meaning ‘live machines’ – into the country to help upgrade its industry, infrastructure and institutions”. This included:

... Frenchmen were employed in teaching strategy and tactics to the army and in revising the criminal code. The building of railways, installing telegraphs and lighthouses, and training the new navy was done by Englishmen. Americans were employed in forming a postal service, agricultural development, and in planning colonisation and an educational system. In an attempt to introduce Occidental [western] ideas of art, Italian painters and sculptors were brought to Japan. German experts were asked to develop a system of local government, train Japanese doctors and, after the Franco-Prussian War, to educate army officers

(p 26-27)

Though these yatoi may individually have picked up some Japanese, they would have been communicating, speaking and writing in their own languages.

Lehmann (1981) mentions lots of new western technological and philosophical treatises and other literature appearing in Japanese translation and selling very well from the late 1860s (p 23).

Therefore, one of the earliest mass uses of English – perhaps ‘processes’ is a better word here - was translation. More translation was happening than the numbers of people interacting with others using English. As mentioned in the last lecture, one of the valuable things which John Manjiro did was translate quite a few technical texts, such as the 20-volume manual about navigation. He also brought with him from the United States a Merriman-Webster dictionary. Also, early on English was not widespread in the Japanese education system – that would happen in the next phase of English use.

3c. iv Use of English Beyond Translation.

Perhaps by and after 1900, English actually being used rather than simply translated becomes noticeable. There are three ways in which this is noticeable.

i. Newspapers

First is in the media. Newspapers come first. Foreigners had had their own communities’ newspapers – still a kind of disparate English - from about 1862 in Nagasaki and soon after in Yokohama. The well-known Japan Times started in 1897. There were smaller scale magazines and other periodicals. However readership was limited to foreigners and probably
only local people who had an explicit need to get information from these newspapers (one example would have been shipping and other economic news in Japanese port cities). At the same time, Japanese language newspapers spread and expanded quickly– from the Yomiuri Shinbun in 1874. But use of English in the mass media did exist but only in print. English in electronic media did not come till another age, after 1945 starting with radio.

ii. English in Schools
Another way English became used was teaching it in education. It was from the 1890s that English starts to be taught in schools, more than other languages. This is the period which Shimizu (2010 p 9) quoted earlier and in the last lecture, called the “Semi-English Master Generation”. In those days, most people who made it to high school (a minority) usually stopped after junior high school. If a teacher was available students would have been taught English relying heavily on one of those ‘grammars’ - textbooks with grammar and vocabulary, with examples to be learned - drilled in it for rote learning rather than permitted to practice. It is questionable how much of the meaning would have come across to students, and certainly communication was not one of the purposes of this use of English.

Still, after high school, some students had learned something and could use English communicatively on their own; or more significantly, they were encouraged to find or to go and learn or simply to use what they had learned in another place later in their lives.

iii. A Culture of English Developing
A third way links to this use of English in education in schools (and in universities). This links to one of the purposes of translation mentioned above: technological, economic and cultural activities and development. Increasingly English was being taught at universities, and at other private institutions. Also, by 1900 a generation of increasing numbers of students had already gone overseas to study and learn and come back to Japan. This is important, because already a culture of using English (a kind of ‘culture of English’) was developing.

This means that this new period was different from the shock of foreign intrusion which had traumatized a generation of Japanese intellectuals, politicians and others a generation before – English and other languages then, and pressure and purpose to use them was new and still shocking at that earlier time. By 1900, for educated, professional and other significant people, the purposes and need to learn and use English was ever-present and unrelenting, but it was also part of their normal lives by then.

This does NOT mean that everyone in Japan started to prefer to use English. Of course translation of English (and other languages) continued and expanded, and remained (and remains today) the main way for people in Japan to get knowledge and information from other countries and cultures.
3c. v. The Kinds of English being Used: on the Continuum model

But returning to English, what kind of English in Japan was being used? In this period English was being used in or with Japanese around the middle zone according to the continuum presented before. Furthermore, English words (and from other languages) were entering Japanese more and more – in effect influencing and altering the Japanese language in the long term, especially words and expressions and also the writing system. This was examined a bit in Section 3b as a result of contact with English.

This is the amorphization process discussed in the last couple of lectures. This last point about the writing system is discussed in the next section and is the focus of the next lecture which – yes – is on English and the writing system in Japan.

3c. vi A comment on Use of English Affecting Japanese Used

In the first lecture, how words from other languages come to be used with Japanese was examined:

i. simply to take the non-Japanese word with its original context and meaning and use it in with Japanese words (gaijin do this all the time in Japan now). Or

ii. for people consciously to take words and expressions, change the pronunciation and form into, say, katakana, but maybe use only part of the meaning or add extra meaning (コン
ii. to choose consciously or unconsciously a word which does not have Japanese philology (ie origin) and use it in a particular context. This point is examined in two later lectures.

How and when did this begin, and when did it begin with English? Well, in Japanese it is not new – it happened with Chinese words from very early on. It happened with Portuguese and Spanish (eg たばこ tabako, ‘tobacco’) and Dutch (eg ビール bi-ru, ‘bier’), with Ainu language (らっく rakko, ‘sea-otter’) French (バカンス bakansu, ‘vacance’) and English. With English it began when lots of really new words came to Japan.

As mentioned earlier, translation was the main way people were using English from the 1860s, and certainly from 1811. Some things are just not easily translatable. This is why so many words are just taken from other languages (I say ‘taken’, but I do not say ‘borrowed’ or ‘stolen’ because that suggests original ownership – it is language, not precious cultural treasures!)

The linguistic term for such loanwords is neologism: the same thing has been happening in English, for centuries! also in Japanese culture with Japanese language for centuries.

Suddenly translators had to articulate new meanings. Do they start to make a whole lot of new kanji (like Chinese institutions do) when that process needed central government approval? No, it was easier to use the Japanese language facility already used and readily available, katakana.

Remember that suddenly lots of technical, scientific, cultural and philosophical texts were being introduced – for example Nakahama (John) Manjiro brought with him a 20-volume navigation manual back from America. In other fields the sudden amount of text to be translated was as staggering as the extent of economic progress and cultural change visible in Japan in the second half of the 19th Century. Then, among all the new words and expressions, some words and expressions would become more used than others. It is among these that the language forms would become altered the most.

Below in Figure 11 is an example of how one expression (国際コミュニケーション kokusaikomyunike-shon, ‘international communication’) which is an example of how a mixture of Japanese and English changes in different contexts.
English in Japan

because people talk about international communication less often outside of universities. However, outside a
university 国際コミ kokusaikomi is understood and used. One reason is that the types of things people in a time,
place or community talk about are often different from other times, places and communities. To say it in a simpler
way, the community inside a university use the expression more than people outside the university. In the end,
people inside the university cut up the words ‘international communication’ - as 国際 kokusai communication –
containing the English word ‘communication’ – and mix the two words up so much (ie コクコミ kokukomi) that
they really become indistinguishable (ie you cannot tell them apart).

Also, to use katakana did not require government permission – it was more efficient to do this
and keep the basic original form. Of course, first katakana is written.

Later English text would be translated, either into katakana, or into orthodox Japanese –
rarely if ever would any non-Japanese writing remain. Then all the translated material would
later be read by other people in Japan. Any unfamiliar words or expressions would be taken
into the minds of such people, who later would then use them at different times.

Thus after a new language item was written it would be read and then it would be spoken. It is
in this natural linear order that many of the words and expressions came into Japan and into
Japanese in the period before, say, the 1920s. Of course the same processes have been
used since then – even now – but translation is a more complex and direct business
nowadays.

3c. vii  Spoken Language in Visual and Audio Media affecting Use of English in
Japan

i.  Electronic Media

In the 1920s, electronic media started and grew in Japan. It started with radio, but Japanese
was the only language until 1935 (NHK World) when a one-hour English and Japanese
program aimed at Hawaii and west coast North America were started by NHK Kaigai Hoso. By
1944, NHK was broadcasting in 24 predominantly Asian languages.

From September 1945 after the Second World War, Americans and their allies arrived and so
did their electronic media with English. For instance the Americans’ English-only FEN network.
NHK World resumed English-language broadcasting in 1952, just before Japanese television
started up (which happened in 1953). Radio was much cheaper, technologically simpler and
therefore more viable for English-medium broadcasting. However, English-language
broadcasting was always a minor activity among NHK’s other missions.

Also, on TV though more on the radio, English-conversation lesson programs have been
broadcast for decades. NHK now has English medium internet television accessible around
the world. However, it is just one more provider together with all the other internet television service providers plus all the satellite and cable television providers as well. To be honest, I prefer to watch Deutsche Welle TV from Germany because it has more stuff n it and is much more up to date. But why should I watch Deutsche Welle when I can watch BBC World or CNN. But why should I watch TV in English at all, when it is easier for me now to just watch video on the internet in any language I like?

One other big and unnoticed area for people in Japan to use English is in making and selling products, especially manufactured products – automobiles, electronic and other finished manufactured products. These had to be explained to overseas buyers and users, such as in user manuals. This practice began in the 1960s and continues now, though many companies and other people also have dedicated websites in English.

Since the 1990s, the internet has been the other significant medium for English, mainly from non-public sources. Further, CD-ROMs and other software for personal computers, even video games like Nintendo DS and mobile phone programs have become available, and are used. Nintendo DS have appeared in high school English lessons. The internet also provides a medium for interactive communication: through email, interactive websites, chat rooms, video teleconferencing and also simple phone calls.

Yet with increasing modern sophistication of the technology, rather than English being used, it is more just the option of using English being available. The circumstances of English being now an option rather than an essential communication medium has developed from three phenomena:

iii. Translation Software and Programs
One is many programs and websites provide optional languages; and also increasingly sophisticated translation programs instantaneously available. And it is getting even more intense. For instance when I was first doing these lectures (on 19 March 2009), on the ‘babelfish.yahoo.com’ translation website, 12 languages were available, and all translated to and from English. The next closest was French with 7, and they were only European languages. Otherwise Japanese only featured twice: Japanese to English and English to Japanese. Then, now in early 2013, while Babelfish remains more or less as it was in 2009, Just now in early 2013 checking Google, Google translation has translation capability for 65 different languages. This means 65X65 -65=4160 different translation options. One affect of this is that the option not to use English is available. This does not mean that the need to know how to use English should be discounted. English will continue to feature.

However just now the quality of online translation really sucks as to be often incoherent. This means that taking the option not to use English is not a good idea just yet.
iii. **Online Electronic Media**

Another modern use of English is online electronic media. For instance, email addresses use basic English grammar: eg. *hdoyle@hmail.com* – the ‘@at’ mark comes before the domain name (ie. *hmail.com*) as in English, not afterwards as in Japanese.

**So much of the internet is in English.** To illustrate, in a 2006 article, Kelly-Holmes (2006 p 512) reports that of 372 corporate websites she analysed, 147 used English as what she calls a “supercentral language” (ie a basic or main language on, say, a company’s computer system inside and outside their home country). Japanese was used by 9 corporate websites. These statistics are a rough guide only, and they are a bit old now – electronic information technology changes so fast there days. I read in the newspaper recently that, though Chinese, Spanish and Arabic are increasing, English still holds over 75% of internet text. But these data are significant in as far as the internet is a world phenomenon, not just local.

iv. **Non-Email Online Communication**

One other instance is *non-email communication*: chat, SMSs, texting, social networks like Facebook and Twitter, etc. and interactive templates such as application forms. Frequently these have a mix of languages, because either information (like postal addresses) sometimes requires more than one language; or the communication is private and communication is the priority. In the latter situation, people can choose whatever language they like, often the convenient one or the fashionable one – if that means English, so be it (though I myself often prefer to use Japanese in SMSs in Japan, because I require less text to say what I want to say).

v. **Education and Intellectual Circles**

In education and in intellectual circles after 1945, there was new scope, new purposes and new ways to use English. For a long time, all of these centered around the US, American culture, American people, American technology and American English. From new curricula and teaching materials with *new American English models*, to the apparent need to communicate with American companies and customers, to a new generation of overseas academics and intellectuals (not to mention lots of American military personnel and their families already in Japan), to mass media and advertising also focusing on American models and icons, English became seen as something everybody needed to master in the brave new peace-loving high-economic-growth technological age.

*Names of companies reflect this modeling on English*, especially electronics companies. Product names as well: Nissan *Sunny*, Sony *Walkman* and *Discman*, *Calpis*, Mitsubishi’s *i-MiEV*. (“Mitsubishi innovative electric vehicle. The initial "i" doesn't have any particular meaning, the company says.” (Yuasa 2009)). Some names are strange, but they have became internationally well-known. Interestingly there is no apparent widespread modeling on Korean – lately culturally very attractive, and just minimal modeling on French, German,
Italian or Spanish.

In education, say up to the mid 1980s when MEXT revised the foreign language curricula and started the JET Program in 1986 (when they started hiring young people overseas, who started working in 1987), there were English conversation schools and English conversation programs on radio and television already. But that was the tip of the iceberg.

Almost all students were studying English in their textbooks and ‘Reading’ classes at school for at least 3 years though usually 6 years. How were they using English? By and large by reading the English and then translating into Japanese – reinforcing a key literacy and communication practice in the Japanese language culture. This is a significant point and it reflects a chief purpose of foreign language use from the Tokugawa age – a one-way flow of ideas into Japan, the Japanese information storehouse.

Even since 1945, there has rarely been any public drive to have Japanese language translated into English (or other languages in Japan). So, if the grammar-translation (やくどく yakudoku) method nurtured this situation, English was still being used – to teach people how to translate into Japanese a point which Loveday (1996) makes also about English being taught at the start of the 20th century in Japan. Moreover, since the 1950s, pressure has been on students to enter universities. Entrance exam pressure built and built, and English has been one of these exams. Here is the purpose for using English in this way in education.

Here Loveday (1996 pp 75, 96) makes another interesting point – since the early Showa era in the 1930s, English actually has not ever been compulsory in school education

*It should be noted that English is not a compulsory subject in any state [ie public] school in Japan, although it is taught in 99 per cent of them - electively. This situation is fundamentally a response to the fact that English is a required subject in university and senior high-school entrance-examinations. ... Student motivation ... has little to do with world-bloc affiliation or the status of English as a world lingua franca. It is primarily concerned with the instrumental access English provides to the country's top universities, which guarantee professional and economic success: English competence is frequently the decisive factor in institutional entrance-tests; it functions as a means of student selection and, ultimately, of social classification in the Japanese meritocracy. (p 96)*

Loveday is speaking about the late 20th century, not now, when a big change in the MEXT Foreign Language education curriculum is occurring with them being taught at Elementary schools, teachers using English in lessons and more emphasis on literacy and use in real contexts (MEXT nd). But there is one interesting point – in Japanese schools studying a foreign language is compulsory, but the government actually never says which language people must study. Yet, Loveday is right – English entrance exams remain an
important purpose for people in Japan to use English. This is an institutional purpose, even though it is not specifically from the government.

After school, most people in Japan stop using English extensively in their everyday lives. However in school education, English was mainly just a means to an end. Nowadays in schools emphasis has shifted more towards agendas for communicative English use (since the 1980s, with introduction of Oral Communication syllabuses, the JET Program and so on). Yet the special place and purpose of passing university entrance exams remains a chief use of English in Japan.

vi. International Travel
One other field of English use has been international travel. Airfares now are more affordable than decades ago, and people have more reasons to travel. International travel for Japanese people is frequently cheaper than domestic travel.

When travelling internationally, intensive contact with and use of English starts at the airport, and more and more Japanese people are experienced if not trained in how to use English at overseas airports, the hotels, restaurants, shopping, in simple if formulaic interactions with people. (eg ‘Passport please!’ ‘Do you have a blue one?’ ‘How much?’ ‘Thank you!). Few Japanese (besides younger people on working holiday visas or students) have been able to stay long enough to develop strong and lasting interpersonal connections overseas (though frequently this type of relationship may develop inside Japan).

Therefore scope for using English (and other languages) becomes smaller than many people allow. This is changing now, but for many years, say from the 1970s, people from Japan would be using English outside of Japan mainly as individuals. In those days, Japanese people were the only non-western culture affluent enough for frequent international leisure travel. They were conspicuous, and even alienated. Still, within a smaller field than today’s travelers, Japanese people still also have needed to use English outside of Japan.

3c. viii Use of English Now and in the Future
People in Japan have contact with English more now than at any time before. Also, more people use English and have to use it more now than before. In the future this should continue, though there are some foreseeable changing circumstances.

One is the rise of other languages: Chinese, Korean being notable in the local region. But in the short term, – if one needs to choose another language to use or to learn, a language which one already knows a bit of, a language which one can write and read things fairly easily without learning a new script, and a language which one can be fairly confident that a person form another country also knows a bit of - English is convenient.
But for bilateral relations say, between just two Japan and one other country, Korean and Chinese are increasingly popular, with most people now knowing a some expressions or words. For instance, I had to stop in Incheon Airport last May, and I went to a restaurant there. I could say Anagaseyo! Mepchu! Kamisahamnida!, Kambei! – my limit of Korean, but I could at least order a beer successfully. People in Japan may know as much as I do or more. In Japan there is the ongoing Korean boom, where even Japanese artists are going to Korea and doing their art in Korean (and Korean artists coming to Japan).

Another factor has to do with people coming to Japan with better and more extensive knowledge of Japanese than before. This may lessen the need to maintain English as the chief or only medium of international communication in Japan.

Certainly, a similar phenomenon is the significance of American cultural and language models – now British, Australian and other nationals’ cultures and variations of English are more prevalent, though of course the American ones do not diminish. However, also sometimes now, no English! For example in 2008 I saw a sign at the sand-bath center in Ubisuki in southern Kagoshima Prefecture advising people not to stay in the sand bath too long for health reasons: the sign was in Japanese, Putonghua Chinese, Cantonese Chinese and Korean hangul script. No English – first time in 23 years to see a multi-language sign like that in Japan. Then, in 2011 when I went through Fukuoka International Airport, I saw quite a few signs with Chinese, Korean but no English in them (though most of the signs did have some English).

Yet another factor relates to technology. Electronic translation programs and devices, together with automated translation devices are already available. Though English should not be threatened, people may develop the perception that knowing and using a lot of English is not so necessary any more. However I see people’s use of English not diminishing because none of the new technology can be contextually aware. This means that as yet only people can know who, how and when they use English and have a purpose to use it. Until technology can be contextually aware, ultimately it will be the people who use the language, and therefore choosing and making the English which is used.
Summary of Lecture 3. Section 3c

Even though most people in Japan would have had contact with English by the 1890s, except when learning English at school most people did not use English in Japan. From about 1811, the main use of English was in translation. This was normally just from English to Japanese, because one of the purposes to use English in this way was to translate: re-encode essential cultural, technological, economic and philosophical information and knowledge into Japanese. Otherwise, experts coming into assist with development and also Japanese people going overseas were the main people to be using English in Japan. This pattern continued after 1945, however a new use of English – to study and to pass exams developed. In this sense more or less everybody in Japan would have used English. In the mass media, first newspapers, then later radio and television used English but English-language broadcasting was not widespread. Later, computers and the internet gave more scope to use English, but also became a platform for options to use other languages and to use increasingly sophisticated translation programs.

Summary of Lecture 3 as two aspects of the history of English in Japan

These lectures distinguish between the history of contact with English in Japan and use of English in Japan, the point being that contact with English, no matter how widespread does not mean that people were actually using the language. Contact with English here means contact with English language texts. In this sense, actual contact with English occurred much earlier than people in Japan starting to use it. English became used only after the Japanese government realized that much of the knowledge it needed in order to modernize and survive was available in English (and other languages) as well as the need to communicate with people who had this knowledge. Translation was the first use of English and it became an ethos for English education in Japan for many, many years. Though English occurred in the mass media from the 19th Century on, most people in Japan did not start consciously to use English until the growth of the internet, and normally only in a limited way. However, use of other English and electronic translation programs may effect options for foreign language communication in English in the future.
**Task 8: Mapping the Extent of USE of English in Japan**

Please draw a line showing HOW MUCH ENGLISH has been USED by people in Japan. Do it in the space below.

(Advice: the best way to do this is like a sine curve, which sort of goes up and down like this: ~~. )

(More advice: the numbers down the bottom of the chart are year dates)

(Hint: look in the lectures for any dates or periods, and also use your own knowledge of history. If you want to find other information in the library or on the internet, that is a good idea too.)

(Even more advice: remember that '100%' means that people are using English 100% of the time and not using Japanese, so be careful)

Start on the left side with the line below zero.

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Task 9: **Timeline of USE of English in Japan**

Please make a timeline of the history of USE OF ENGLISH by people in Japan. Also write a couple of comments about each point on the timeline.

(Advice: *first find some events. Don’t worry about exact dates - just the year or the approximate part of the century is enough. You can use events to find different periods of history*)

(More advice: *use periods to make different parts of the timeline - looking at Task 8 can help you*)

(Advice: *a point on a timeline can be either a particular period, or a particular event - just like you did in Task 5 actually*)

(More advice: *remember to put in some year dates to mark the periods clearly. These can be approximate - eg 'about 1750' - or exact*)

(Hint: *of course you can look at the lectures to find different points for this timeline*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Events/ Periods</th>
<th>Comments on USE of English (eg what happened, why significant)</th>
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4. **English in Japan and Japanese Writing Systems**

This could be a short lecture, but it is not. The topic is complex, because in Japan English is written in different ways at different times for different reasons.

First, the Japanese writing system, as it is, needs to be explained: the possibility to have 4 different scripts in one sentence (kanji, hiragana, katakana, romaji, and more in atypical circumstances). Among the four, three of them are really different! This factor is significant enough, except these lectures are interested in English more than Japanese. Let's just say that one of the scripts, katakana, has affected amorphization of English in Japan, especially pronunciation in spoken English more than any other factor.

Actually with katakana, it is possible to see the amorphization process at work most easily, in how people shift English phonemes – or sounds - into Japanese form. Another issue is how to change katakana and hiragana (here when mentioning them collectively the term ‘kana’ is used) into romaji. The problem is that romaji can be used to express Japanese on one hand and English (and other languages) on the other. More simply, romaji does not equal English – and there is more than one romaji system used in Japan. These points are examined in this lecture.

Also, the relation between Japanese writing systems and the question of whether Japanese English is actually Japanese or English (also discussed in Lecture 2 Section 2 h) will be reconsidered.

### 4 a. i Japanese Writing Systems in which English Occurs

The four writing systems mentioned above are

- kanji, the Chinese ideographic character script, which actually works differently from Chinese (Japanese characters have multiple spoken forms and meanings, Chinese tending to have single spoken forms and single meanings),
- hiragana and
- katakana (phonemic scripts which sprang from kanji characters) and
- romaji (a script mixing Greek, Roman and other European phonemic scripts, which simply came from outside of Japan when Europeans came).

#### i. Kanji

**Kanji** is the original Japanese script from about 1500 years ago (contemporaneously just before Old English became recognizable as a variety of English), and became a base for making later kana scripts. It has nothing else in common with the other scripts. It has no base for English (though in Chinese, they do use the sounds of different Chinese characters to make Chinese characters for words from other languages – but that is a different subject).

#### ii. Hirgana

**Hiragana** is the first real Japanese script which was made from a few different kanji which had the
same pronunciations of Japanese sounds and words. Also, some sounds and words from Chinese entered the Japanese language at the same time. It was developed a little while after kanji came to Japan. From the start it was a phonetic script. This means the writing tells how the language sounds. The image of hiragana is that it was easier than kanji, so women always used it, while men used kanji. One reason is that women a long time ago were not expected to learn kanji. However this is not really true – men used hiragana too, and many women did know and use kanji.

Not really any English is written in hiragana, just exceptional items

iii. Katakana

Katakana was developed about the same time as hiragana, in the same way – based on parts of kanji which had similar pronunciations (it is said that Kukai – Kobo Daishi – invented both kana forms, but how much of this is true and how much is myth needs more investigation). The literature does not say exactly why katakana was developed – for instance, it is easy to ask why Japanese has two phonetic scripts! But the myth is that katakana was made to record foreign words. In the last lecture, I talked about research done by my student a couple of years ago, about movie titles (shown in Table 5). This is not true either (this issue is examined later in Part 5 b).

Much English in Japan – especially English (and other languages) amorphized into Japanese – is written in katakana. But usually just individual words or short expressions.

iv. Romaji

Romaji first was used in Japan in the 16th Century, and not by Japanese people. Originally it was Europeans using it – in Portuguese, Spanish, Latin and Dutch - though some Japanese people learned it so they could read European languages. In later centuries it was through romaji that different individuals came into contact with English in Japan, but usually it would have been Dutch.
Figure 14: Excerpt from Ranald MacDonald’s rendering of Japanese words in romaji (in the left columns) into English (in the right columns), from his notebook. Unfortunately it is not clear but it does resemble what I saw at the Nagasaki presentation in 2009. (Source: http://friendsofmacdonald.com/?page_id=20)

However in Japan, romaji was not used for Japanese until the 19th Century, in two main ways: to encode words in a written medium for English and other languages in Japan; and to write Japanese
words for non-Japanese to read. For instance, Ranald MacDonald (described in Lecture 3), the north American who found his way to Nagasaki in 1848-49 after first arriving in Hokkaido, had to help Japanese student-interpreters of English with pronunciation – well, he made a small dictionary of Japanese in romaji. It is interesting, because he had only his own ear for listening and deciding how to write the sounds he heard. The Hepburn (標準 hyoujun) and Government (訓令 kunrei) romaji systems came about 30 or 40 years (1870s, 80s and 90s) after Ranald MacDonald in Nagasaki. Figure 14 shows an example from MacDonald’s notes or dictionary (I saw a different one at a presentation in Nagasaki (Burke-Gaffney 2009) - apparently it is available at the History Museum in Nagasaki).

There is no set way to ‘spell’ Japanese words in romaji, though romaji is used in a ‘Japanese’ way, and also for pronunciation forms of other languages including English. An example is the name of the country:

日本, にほん, ニッポン, Nihon, Nippon, Japan, Japon, giaponne etc..

Which languages do you think all these are?

But most English (that is, disparate English not mixed with Japanese) in Japan is written in romaji, all kinds of discourse and texts.

What is the difference between romaji and Roman script?
Well, romaji is a make-up word mixing ‘Roma’ – or ロマ- and 字 ji, (‘character or symbol’), and is actually a Japanese word. I use it in these lectures because it is convenient, and I cannot think of an easier way to say ‘the version of the Roman script alphabet used to write Japanese’. Roman script originally was the alphabet used for writing in ancient Rome. It was always upper case (just big letters. There was no lower case) and also there was no ‘Y’, ‘W’ or ‘J’ and ‘U’ was often written as ‘V’. Roman script now includes lower case - ie small letters; some of these come from Greek alphabet and Northern European runic script - and it changes with each different language. So, please remember: romaji does not equal English!

I should be using the term, ‘English alphabet’, but this is too narrow - only English! As I refer to other languages, especially languages which are written in a version of Roman script, in these lectures I shall continue to use the term ‘Roman script' when referring to alphabets besides romaji

v. Other Scripts
Other scripts for Japanese are simply insignificant, and are used only by tiny communities. An exception is phonemic alphabet, which is used in dictionaries and in language textbooks (though it is used sometimes idiosyncratically in advertising).

4 a. ii English and Japanese in Romaji and Katakana
One of the assumptions about English is that it is not expressed ideographically, for example with a
meaningful picture or symbol. Actually this is not true either – I am thinking of mobile phone
text-messaging. All the same, with English people expect to read something which tells them how
something sounds. This is why Roman script was developed for different European languages, and
other phonetic scripts for other languages too. It is also why, for example, English in Japan is
customarily written using a phonetic script – with English in Japan, the sounds of words come first,
only later do people understand what the words meant (though this was not the case earlier on in
Nagasaki, when Japanese interpreters had to get to grips hearing English spoken to them in the
1810s by a Dutchman on Deshima using a Dutch translation of an English grammar book published
in 1724).

Also, English writing came after a couple of centuries of written Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch.
There was a tradition of European languages and romaji going together – at least people in Japan
interested in Europe would have been aware of this. So, when English was encountered, people just
thought of it as just another European language which had strange but simple writing. The opposite
was the case with, say, English people encountering Japanese for the first time in history – another
Asian language which an unthinkably difficult and inscrutable writing system. Also, probably it took
people a while to realize that there actually were three writing systems, not just one.

Even now, their automatic response for many people from places with languages using roman script
is to write Japanese in romaji. In a similar way, it is an automatic response for many people from
Japan to write other languages which they don’t know in katakana.

When Japanese people started making dictionaries of European languages, they did it the same way
they often do now – used the written form of the other language’s word (ie Roman script for English)
and kanji/kana for the Japanese. Japanese people also naturally used to use katakana sometimes to
show how things were pronounced – and they still do. However, the first Japanese language
dictionaries made, say, by English people were completely Roman script/romaji. Many still are. The
example of one which I saw, made by Ranald MacDonald in 1848-49 (on display at the museum in
Nagasaki, presented by Burke-Gaffney 2009), which was all in romaji, and actually was not standard
標準語 hyoujungo Japanese, but rather local Nagasaki dialect. In other words, Japanese words were,
and are, written as if they were English words. This is because the English people have wanted to
know how the Japanese words sound too – in effect they are trying to change the English words into
some kind of English form. This is why James Curtis Hepburn’s system of English
pronunciation-based romaji based on how he heard Japanese (in Yokohama) is important.
This system has been adopted a lot in Japan (just look out the window of any train at any train station
in Japan and you can see examples in the station name signs).

This is a very important point, because it explains the way of thinking of Japanese people writing, say,
English words in katakana – they want to write down how a word sounds. This is why in the past -
and now – much English in Japan is written in katakana.

Another point: English written in katakana looks really strange to non-Japanese, and it sounds
strange too. This is because non-Japanese people are not accustomed either to reading, writing or hearing English sounding like that. Similarly, Japanese written in romaji, especially sentences, looks strange to Japanese people. Mainly this is because they are not accustomed to reading or writing their own first language like that. How to write Japanese in romaji is examined later in this lecture.

**Summary of Section 4a**

With katakana it is possible to see the amorphization process at work. That katakana was made to write non-Japanese words is just a myth. English in Japan, including Japlish is written in romaji and in katakana. One reason why katakana became prevalent is that translators did not need government approval to use katakana.
In this section, I want to look at katakana, and its connection with English in Japan. There are two things I need to do. One is to give you two warnings, and the other is to look at the history of katakana to give some idea about how it has changed to deal with new words in Japanese (not always being taken from English). There is not a lot in the literature, except in Stanlaw’s (2004) two chapters on writing systems (almost completely about katakana) and about English and Japanese in signs.

**4 b. Katakana**

In this section, I want to look at katakana, and its connection with English in Japan. There are two things I need to do. One is to give you two warnings, and the other is to look at the history of katakana to give some idea about how it has changed to deal with new words in Japanese (not always being taken from English). There is not a lot in the literature, except in Stanlaw’s (2004) two chapters on writing systems (almost completely about katakana) and about English and Japanese in signs.

**4 b. i Japanese, Katakana, English (and other languages)**

As mentioned before, many people think that katakana is used just for writing non-Japanese words, or Japanese words taken from other languages. This is only a little bit true. Actually, katakana is used for a lot of things. Figure 14 gives a list adapted from Stanlaw (2004). Stanlaw lists nine katakana usages including advertising. But I generalize with the last type of usage, to include advertising with other types of strange stylized texts leaving just eight usages.

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<table>
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</table>
| 1 | Words taken from other languages | • ゼミ zemi (a seminar)  
• コースター ko-sta (a coaster) |
| 2 | Onomatopoeic (ie expressing sounds) words and expressions | • チンチラリン chinchirarin (sound of a small bell)  
• ドッカン dokkan (sound of a big crash) |
| 3 | Names of plants and animals | • カンガルー kangaru- (kangaroo)  
• ハス hasu (lotus) |
| 4 | Foreign names and places | • ソール so-ru (Seoul)  
• ヤンさん yan san (Ian / Jan-san) |
| 5 | Special men’s, women’s and other names | • ユーミン yum-in (Yumin – singer Matsutoya Yumi)  
• ガクト gakuto (Gakt – male singer of J-pop) |
| 6 | Rejoinder particles at end of sentences | • いい ナー! ii na- (Really good, isn’t it!)  
• こまった ネ! Komatta ne! (It’s upsetting, don’t you think?!) |
| 7 | Emphasizing things | • だいすきの 味は マチャ だ! daisuki no ha macha da! (The taste I really like is macha) |
| 8 | Stylized texts, such as in advertising | • いい イデア! ii idea (Good idea!) |

Figure 15: Types and Usages of Katakana. Katakana items are in italics. (Based on Stanlaw 2004 pp306-07)

One point apparent in some of these examples in the list just now is that some words in katakana do not seem Japanese. Probably they are not. Sometimes things like computers automatically choose a spelling, script or style of writing, based on frequency or history of use. At other times the writer deliberately chooses something different for some special purpose. This is especially the case where the katakana seems unusual or unnatural.
It is here that English (and other languages) can also get deliberately chosen, for a specific purpose, or not. Stanlaw (2004 p 207) gives an example from an advertisement. Errant English is placed in it instead of appropriate Japanese, such as あなたの anata no:

Kore-wa yuu no wagon?
The “yuu” is of course English ‘you’ and it appears chosen because it is familiar, easy but foreign and maybe cosmopolitan. It is certainly not normal Japanese, and this point is what people in a Japanese advertising market would pick up. It would make them think about it.

One of the examples above – いい イデア！ ii idea – is similar. A normal Japanese word, 考え kangae (‘thought’ or ‘idea’), is an appropriate substitute. However it is normal and even predictable. Using the English word instead gives a different impression, nuance and even intended meaning such as a person using this expression is not thinking a thought, but only is focusing on the outcome, the ‘idea’ itself.

4 b. ii How English Gets Mixed with Japanese
With いい イデア！ ii idea, it is in this mixing, that the English word ‘idea’ loses some of its Englishness. As such it becomes one of the ways in which English becomes used in Japan. This point is considered in greater depth in the next lecture on the language colour and sense. However, first seeing how mixing Japanese and English works is helpful.

In a more complex and complete Japanese text, English is used both in romaji and in katakana. There is a very popular manga and anime series about pirates called ‘One Piece’ – it is popular outside Japan too. Here is an ad for a ‘One Piece’ event in Osaka in early 2013.

This text shows pretty normal use of romaji with katakana and other Japanese scripts: large-font romaji saying the name of the popular manga/anime, then ワンピース wanpi-su ‘One Piece’ in smaller-font katakana. The only other katakana is ギャラリー gyarari- ‘gallery’ telling the type of place the event is to be held. The text is a little similar to the pamphlet-cover text in Figure 4 (in Lecture 2) and the ‘Around 40’ Example Text 5 in which the messages are straight forward and supposed to be read by people I who see them - having contact with those texts – for the first time.

Example Text 7. One Piece news. Note the complementing quality of the Japanese and English together in the same text. To make sense of this text a reader needs to make some sense of the English in romaji as well. But the sense of a young high school student in Japan would not be the same as the sense of an Australian associate professor! (Source: http://www.j-onepiece.com/. Accessed 7 February 2013)
But I wondered about texts that people would not be having contact with for the first time, rather like somebody is interested and already accustomed to the types of texts in the culture or at least know how to read them. So I went into the One Piece website looking for other texts but pretending that I was interested in One Piece or I knew about it (like a high school student!). After a while I encountered Example Text 7 just below. It is news text, a list of dates when different publications, and other media releases occurred in the previous 12 months.

One Piece is essentially an artifact of Japanese pop culture – it has something of the normal language use in Japan, the normal language culture of Japan. The news text has no special graphic design to attract readers – it is just written information. The messages in the text are being communicated in the language of Japanese culture, which is supposed to be Japanese. However:

- there are lots of romaji, yet used for mainly one purpose, the titles of publications and media releases, but there is no extra Japanese text telling the same or related information.
- katakana is used in a fairly normal Japanese ways and not for foreign words, eg. in 海の一流料理人 サンジの満腹ごはん uminoichiruyourininsanjimanpuugohan ‘sea adventurer-chef Sanji’s feed-your-face rice dish’, ‘Sanji’ is a Japanese name which could be written in hiragana or even kanji too.

The point here is that the text has words from English, in romaji, used in the middle of the Japanese cultural context inside the website, not on the outside webpage. If people are looking at this text, they would have had to access the website and search for this text to get information. To understand the information they would need to be able to make sense of the text. The point is that English is used with or as Japanese, and for the normal user of the One Piece manga-anime website, making sense of this text would be a normal communication practice, a normal literacy event (Barton 1994). The point is that there is Text obviously drawn from English, but in the normal reader’s context there is nothing special about it - and it is not even in katakana. But these English-looking words have lost so much of their ‘Englishness’

A more complex text showing features mentioned above, and more, is an advertisement for a James Bond movie in early 2009 from Toho Cinemas Magazine January 2009 pp 2-3. I have analysed this text just below in Figure 16. I think the text illustrates something of what I want you to understand. These include:

- use of language as graphic – part of the visual design, more English in some spaces, more Japanese in other spaces
- longer informative title in Japanese in bottom right corner; bottom left corner of photo a simpler alternative title, ‘James Bond’ in English/romaji
- the predominantly English descriptions start on the normal, left side going across, while the predominantly Japanese descriptions start on the normal, right side, going down
- English words (‘action’, ‘drama’, ‘hit’) are in katakana in the Japanese descriptions and the Japanese title on the right side
- Also a normal Japanese word, ココ koko (‘here’) is written in katakana too.
Context:
Timely publication at same time as release of the film by a movie theater company.
Purpose: advertising and explaining the film.
Genres: advertisement and short descriptive article

Layout:
Large colour photo of action scene (James Bond running with gun on a Siena rooftop in center); Japanese language article with vertical-running text below; insets of scenes from film in small insets on let and right (left side titles in English in Roman script, on right in Japanese with English words in katakan); longer informative title in Japanese in bottom right corner; bottom left corner of photo a simpler alternative title, ‘James Bond’ in English/romaji.

Images:
i. first image is 'active' then recognition of iconic 'James Bond' / '007' names.
ii. inset photo images on left side with titles ('Fashion' 'Car Action', 'Gun Action', 'Love Romance', 'Personal) telling more explicitly detailed images in the film using English perhaps to give an international cosmopolitan feel. Also, it is normal for English writing to start on the left and go to the right, so these 'English' images are spatially in an appropriate place.
iii. Inset photo images on right side, lower down in Japanese running vertically, perhaps to communicate more directly to the predominantly Japanese-speaking audience. Also, it is customary for Japanese writing to start from the right side going down, so these 'Japanese' images are spatially in an appropriate place right to left.

Languages:
i. most of the text is in Japanese. However common and familiar English, used in similar action-genre film advertisements is used. These are short expressions using English grammar.
ii. headings highlighted with larger Japanese script contain words taken from English similarly familiar from action-genre film advertisements (eg アクション akushon ‘action’, ドラマ dorama ‘drama’).
iii. the main Japanese title in the bottom left corner, the expression '...最高ヒット saikou hitto ('really big hit') also includes the English word 'hit'. However, in all these Japanese grammar is used.
iv. the title in English 'James Bond' in larger script highlighted in white on the left side has in much smaller Japanese script clarifies the meaning in more succinct Japanese (007: ジェームズ ボンド zero zero seben je-muzu bondo ‘Double 0 seven James Bond’). The smaller size of the Japanese script - also this time running left to right - does not interfere with the more pronounced larger image of the English-language title.
Task 10: **English or Japanese?**

[Hint: look at the points just above]

Please look at the ‘James Bond’ text and the analysis of it, and answer these questions:

i. Is this text a Japanese text, an English text or both? ...........................................

ii. Why do you think so?

iii. Is there anything strange about the English in this text? ......................

iv. Why do you think so?

v. Is there anything strange about the Japanese in this text? ......................

vi. Why do you think so?
In case you haven’t noticed already, in these lectures, the aspect of English (and other languages) entering and affecting Japanese language – and therefore culture – is important. It is very common, so common that often people do not even think about it. I hope this becomes clear in this examination of the last three written texts using English in Japan; this point was also made earlier in Lecture number two.

But you hopefully you are thinking about it. Also, please think about how katakana acts as a way to draw attention to unusual or unnatural words and expressions, and these include words and expressions taken from English and other languages – non Japanese lexis used with Japanese grammar. Sometimes also the original meaning (say, of the English) changes too. In Stanlaw’s example (earlier in this section) of yuu in … yuu no wagon, the grammar is Japanese even though the word is English: in English ‘you’ would be wrong – it should be ‘your’ wagon’! Instead the advertisers still need to organize the language in a Japanese way which is why the Japanese possessive particle の no is used. Using an English word plus English grammar with Japanese might be too much for most people in Japan.

Task 11: Katakana English and Katakana Japanese

[Hint: Look at Section 4bi.]

Please look for some different types of examples of katakana words or expressions which do or could come from English.

(Advice: please try to find these examples. Don’t just think of them yourself. Using authentic (ie real) text examples is more real and more convincing)

(More advice: look at Figures 14 & 15 for examples – but remember to use words that are more from English than from Japanese)

(Hint: all around there is lots of Japanese for you to look around in, magazines, signs, the internet, your friend’s love letter, …)

(Still more advice: maybe you should not use examples from mobile phone text messages. This is because the symbols and characters and shortened forms are language which becomes changed too much)

Also please say if you think they are mainly English or more Japanese and make a comment about why you think so.

(Advice: this task is about what you think, so if you can give a good reason, that is enough – you opinion is probably right.)

Also, is it just the word which looks unusual or unnatural or the grammar too.

Do it in the table below

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Where you found the example</th>
<th>More English or more Japanese?</th>
<th>Does the original meaning change? (Yes / A bit / Not really / No / Not Applicable)</th>
<th>Your comments about why the examples seem more English or more Japanese</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Words taken from other languages (especially English)</td>
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<td>Names of plants and animals</td>
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<td>Special men's, women's and other names</td>
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<td>Stylized texts, such as in advertising</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Any Other? What?</td>
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</table>
Katakana and Phonemics of English (and Other Languages)

Some points about phonemics of spoken Japanese being a bit more different than most people realize were mentioned in Section 4a. Also the last section examined katakana as a way to use English in Japan. That section looked at katakana as a way to use English as written language. There is a phenomenon called katakana English which basically is pronouncing English (and other languages) as if it was Japanese. But Japanese phonemes are usually aspirated (ie people use their voice) and are mostly combinations of what for English are called vowels and consonants – in English these all have their own sounds which ostensibly are all separate.

One morning I was talking to some people in the office here in Japan about 鍋料理 nabe ryouri hotpot cooking, and one of them said, and asked basically “’Hotto potto’ – how do you pronounce that in English?”. I demonstrated – ’/hot/ /pot/’ but explained quickly not to say the /to/ in ’hotto’ or ’potto’, rather say the /t/ and consciously not use the voice. It became better when they slowed down, and they all were practicing “Hot … pot!”. (but what I did not explain was the English phonetic phenomenon of the minimal pair, basically when sounds of, say two different words are spoken like they are joined together – eg ‘hotpot’ the /~tp~/ in ‘hotpot’ requires the speaker to stop their tongue just back from their teeth blocking any voice sound and at the same time put their lips together to make the /p/ sound. I thought that would have been too much!)

So, the Japanese way to say ‘hotpot’ has four pronounced syllables, the more standard English way has just two. Katakana English normally uses a much larger number of syllables than English. Also, as mentioned in Lecture two, several sounds in English do not occur in Japanese. On this basis, Moizumi (2010) support for a Japanese variety of English would seem shaky. However, he looks towards an English core of certain phonemes, which he believes that Japanese can produce appropriately. However, it is the practice of combining sounds in Japanese which are always distinct in English which causes the problems. This means that Japanese L1 people can use the English core phonemes and maybe sound OK, but trying to pronounce English as katakana sounds does not work, except for other Japanese-speaking people (maybe). Or the English words pronounced in a Japanese way actually have lost their Englishness for Japaneseness.

I have often tried to demonstrate these points by having Japanese people try to do haiku in English. With 17 syllables, haiku (actually senryu, a general-themed haiku, as haiku specifically are supposed to have references to seasons and attendant feeling or atmosphere). In composing them in English, people in Japan have to abandon the normal way of counting syllables in Japanese. It would seem that haiku in English are shorter, but that is not really so – Japanese uses different on and kun pronunciations of kanjis plus
ellipsis of some grammar which can make Japanese haiku sometimes 25% more succinct than English ones (Doyle 2010).

This point was examined also in Lecture 2, and some examples given. In this section, I want to see how Japanese itself has been affected by contact with English (and other languages).

If the history of katakana is considered, there was a very long time (maybe form 800 or 1,200 years) in which katakana did change very much – basically people would use a common kanji, which had the same sound for a lot of different meanings, and they would use that to make a sound that they needed to express in their writing. An example is ‘多’ た/タ ta, which also has a pronunciation 多(い) おお(い) oo(i), and means a lot or many – the katakana character タ ta is supposed to come from this kanji character. Can you find it in Figures 17 or 18 below. These charts show probable source kanji characters for hiragana and katakana characters.

Figure 17: Source Kanji Characters for Hiragana (Source: omniglott.com)
After Japanese people first started having contact with European languages (first Portuguese and Spanish, later Dutch) words from those languages did enter Japanese. But these language items were not very many, and usually it was just a few nouns. Stanlaw (2004) mentions ビール bi-ru and レンズ rensu from Dutch (bier and lens – ‘beer’ and ‘lens’ in English). 煙草 たばこ tabako (‘tobacco’) is a similar item, but it is exceptional in that it made it all the way to becoming kanji. There are other items (some are mentioned in Lecture 2) - they are few but significant for other reasons.

One point about these words coming into Japanese early on and being written in katakana – there were very few and they were almost all nouns. There was not really anything which changed Japanese language at that time. Many people think words like tobacco and bier and castella (cake) are really significant but they are not. The only thing which these words show is that Japanese language was and is capable of taking in words and expressions from other languages – but this was already clear from Chinese (and Korean) influences from over a thousand years before any Japanese person smoked their first pipe. The big changes in the language affected by English and other European languages would happen later, in the 19th and 20th centuries, and these changes are discussed next.

In the end however, more and more words and expressions were entering Japanese and, especially after 1811 (after 1858 when the government started to come together with a modernization agenda) government-sanctioned translation got into higher gears. This is when katakana began to change. Basically, they started to make new-style katakana (which Stanlaw (2004 Chapter 4) calls “innovative katakana”) by using and mixing the older katakana characters to match new sounds in new words from other languages. They could do this, because making new kanji (especially later after the government took
over education and deciding what people should and should not learn) needed approval from higher up.

But katakana did not need anybody’s permission (a point mentioned in the last lecture in Section 3a). This process has continued up until the present, at which times, anybody (even me! and you!) in Japan can use katakana to match particular spoken sounds. Stanlaw (2004 Chapter 4) goes into this history in some detail, and points out that there are new katakana “innovative katakana” as well as smaller older katakana systems. Below, in Figure 19, Stanlaw’s set of ‘innovative katakana’ are represented, while in Figure 20 a recent chronology of when some of these have entered usage in Japan since the middle of the 20th Century.

Figure 19: New ‘Innovative’ Katakana variations entering Usage in Japanese since the early 19th Century. (Source: Stanlaw 2004 pp 86-87)
Having to deal with an expanded set of phonemes has been one of the affects of English (and other languages) on Japanese. However, one other noticeable phenomenon has been the practice of taking the English words to fit basic Japanese syllabic phonemic patterns. For instance, taking some items from the examples mentioned in the last section, it is easy to see how this has occurred. One other, the verb ‘(to) get’ is considered – it is a bit special, because of how it is used in English as an all-round verb (like する suru in Japanese), but from which just the nuance of to take or receive or win are kept when it is used in Japanese. Also the grammar of ‘ゲット get’ is different in Japanese. These are all listed in Figure 21.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original English items</th>
<th>How the English phonemes could seem more accurately phonemically written in romaji representations of katakana and in katakana</th>
<th>As Japanese phonemes in romaji</th>
<th>In Japanese as katakana</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Bond</td>
<td>je i m’ zu bo n du (ジェインズ ボンデゥ)</td>
<td>je- mu zu bo n do (ジェームズ ボンド)</td>
<td>Each of these has either a schwa /ə/ or a voiceless vowel, which can be encoded in Japanese as an /u/ sound that is often not clearly voiced in Japanese. Yet, in Japanese becomes a marked voiced sound, usually with /o/. The same is the case with ゲット ge tto and グッド (イデア) gu ddo (idea)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action</td>
<td>a ku shu n (アクシゥン)</td>
<td>a ku sho n (アクション)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drama</td>
<td>du ra- ma (デゥラーマ)</td>
<td>do ra ma (ドラマ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) hit</td>
<td>hi tu (ヒテゥ)</td>
<td>hi tto (ヒット)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Good) idea!</td>
<td>gu dda i de a (グッダイディア)</td>
<td>(gu ddo) i de a (いい) イデア</td>
<td>This is a good example of an English minimal pair (ie when last syllable of one word is joined to the first syllable of the next). Therefore unlike Japanese katakana pronunciation, English pronunciation does not correspond with spelling. Plausible that ‘idea’ is actually from German, in which ‘i’ is pronounced as ‘i’ in English ‘is’, and ‘dea’ as separate phonemes, /de/ and /a/ (/idea/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) coaster</td>
<td>ko u su ta- (コウスター)</td>
<td>ko- su ta- (コースター)</td>
<td>The first part of this word shows how Japanese vowel sounds are simpler than English which can have multiple phonemes (eg /ou/ for ‘oa’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) get</td>
<td>ge tu (ゲテゥ)</td>
<td>ge tto (ゲット (する))</td>
<td>This word needs different syntax (normally coupled with the modal する suru to articulate narrow meaning of to ‘receive’ or to ‘achieve’. This is unlike the English, in which ‘get’ is itself a multi-semantic modal verb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Craig</td>
<td>da nie ru ku re i gu (ダニュル クレイグ)</td>
<td>da ni e ru ku re i gu (ダニエル クレイグ)</td>
<td>Showing a limitation of Japanese not able to distinguish /r/ and /l/. This reflects one point where katakana English in Japan departs from phonemic forms of other Englishes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21: Differences in English and Japanese Phonemics if Encoded as Katakana. (NB See Stanlaw 2004 p 74 Table 3.5 for a more detailed set of examples and technical explanations)
4 b. iv. Comments and Warning about Learning Katakana, Romaji, English, Japlish and English in Japan

First comment is that much of what is talked about in these lectures is historical and anthropological – this means that I describe things as they are (or at least how I see they are), not as they should be. For example, I have described and discussed the Japanese which Ranald MacDonald heard and wrote down in his notebook, and which can now be seen in a museum in Nagasaki. Nowadays nobody would ever tell people to use that as a model for studying Japanese. But 160 years ago, there was no other model, and even the Japanese people at the Interpreter School in Nagasaki realised that even Ranald MacDonald’s regional north American English was a better model than the English that they had been hearing before all mediated through a Dutch translation of an English grammar book published in 1724. I could say that all the English examined here is the type of thing that could be seen or heard in a language museum.

So please look at these just as artifacts, NOT as examples of English in Japan to learn and use yourself. For instance, as can be seen, **katakana is a bit problematic, especially if it is used for a basis for pronouncing English.** Also, it can be seen that **using katakana phonemes in romaji is of course not the same as English spelling.**

Both of these are serious points for learning English in Japan. At the bottom line, as soon as English is mixed with Japanese, the English loses some of its Englishness (and the Japanese some of its Japaneseness). This is because teachers and students usually prefer a disparate foreign language (ie separate from their own language).

Rather, the amorphized English in Japan I am talking about here of course should NOT be seen as a variety to be learned. This is, to be realistic, despite the fact that it is the type and style which is most prevalent in Japan, including things taken from English, written in katakana and spoken as ‘Japlish’ (see Lecture 2 Section 2f).

4 c. i Kana and Romaji Variations, Japanese and English Pronunciation

James Curtis Hepburn was discussed in Lecture 3 as an individual who had singular significance with regard to English in Japan. One reason is for his Hepburn system of writing kana phonemes in romaji (ヘボンしき **hebon shiki**. Also referred to as **hyojinshiki Standard System** (Stanlaw 2004 p 67)). Hepburn was an American, so naturally his romaji system was going to reflect English phonemes (more particularly the north American variety of English he was accustomed to). Also, he lived and worked in Yokohama, which is very close to the variety of Japanese which became a standard in Japan.

There are a couple of other systems which are used in Japan, with different romaji spelling systems, or orthographies. For example, should the kana symbol し or シ be written as
‘shi’ (Hepburn system) or as ‘si’ from the government system (訓令式 kunrei shiki) and Japan system (日本式 nippon shiki)? The answer is ‘It depends!’

For instance, as Stanlaw points out, the Hepburn system is used in local government and on railway signs, but the kunrei system is taught in schools. So, at different times different romaji spellings are going to occur. Which is appropriate? Again, it depends – it depends on whether it is Japanese or English or another language which is being written. This becomes clearer if the different kana and romaji orthography systems are looked at, as presented in Table 6 (Stanlaw 2004 p 67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hiragana</th>
<th>Hyoujunnshiki</th>
<th>Kunreishiki</th>
<th>Nipponshiki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>し</td>
<td>shi</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ち</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
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<tr>
<td>つ</td>
<td>tsu</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tu</td>
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<tr>
<td>づ</td>
<td>zu</td>
<td>zu</td>
<td>du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ちゃ</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>zya</td>
<td>dya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ち</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ちゅ</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>zyu</td>
<td>dyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ちょ</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>zyo</td>
<td>dyo</td>
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<td>じゃ</td>
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<tr>
<td>じゅ</td>
<td>ju</td>
<td>zyu</td>
<td>zyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>じょ</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>zyo</td>
<td>zyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Comparisons of Differences in 3 Japanese Romaji Systems (Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 67 Table 3.3) (NB: The ‘Hyoojun-shiki’ is otherwise called the Hepburn system)

There seem to have been other romaji scripts in Japan since 500 years ago. According to omniglot.com, the first were based on Portuguese and later Dutch phonemic-based syllabries. In modern Japanese, the present systems date from:

- 1867, for James Curtis Hepburn’s English-based script;
- 1886 for what might be hybrid or even original Nippon-shiki compiled by Tanakadate Aikitsu (who was a physicist who spent a lot of time in Scotland and Germany and started aviation and seismology research centers at Tokyo (Imperial) University) who presented it to the Romaji-kai (Hannas 1997 pp 41-44 describes some of this history).
- 1937 when the central government in Japan ordered a new romaji script developed from the Nippon-shijiki, the Kunrei system, to be used probably as a Japanese nationalistic anti-western policy. Ironically in 1954 the Kunrei system was revised set to be taught in Japanese elementary schools and later recognized by the US government as the authoritative Roman writing system for Japanese.

Warner (2011) tells about this, with extra details on omniglot.com and scriptsource.org.
But Warner (2011) thinks only about English. If the romaji is for English words, then the Hepburn system is appropriate, because it is based on English phonemics – it is designed to spell Japanese as if it were English, which is why ‘し’ is written as ‘shi’!. However, the other systems are not based on English phonemics. It is difficult to see what phonemics they are based on, besides Japanese. Which is why ‘し’ is written as ‘si’! The sound of し of course is /ʃi/. In English it is spelt ‘shi’, ‘schi’ in German! Where does ‘si’ come from then? Italian? Does this mean that, say the kunrei (government) system is actually Italian? No! It is not simple like that, and neither should people even think of what phonemics of what language is being used. The answer is that the kunrei system is the Japanese spelling system using romaji – this is how the government has decided to write (and spell) し in Roman script as ‘si’. Nipponshiki is basically an early version of kunreishiki.

4 c ii Japanese, Different Romaji Systems and English: a comment

In other words, romaji systems, apart from the Hepburn system, are indigenous Japanese. Especially the kunrei system is an indigenous cultural artifact. This means that by using them people are deciding to pronounce sounds like ‘si’ in a Japanese way (that is as /sI/ and not /ʃi/ (the English way).

Regarding English in Japan, especially amorphized English, people need to be careful which romaji system they use. As mentioned before, using systems apart from the Hepburn system means, actually, that people are NOT using English!

This is a problem for Japanese people. In Japanese, and for Japanese communication of course, having different romaji systems is possible. This is because people normally use other scripts (kana) instead. In school education in teaching Japanese (国語 こくご kokugo) the kunrei system is appropriate. However, in foreign language education, is it appropriate? Sometimes – perhaps for Italian.

However for English in Japan the kunrei romaji system is not appropriate. This is simply because particular pronunciations do not sound like English if pronounced in an English phonemic way. So use the Hepburn system please.

Task 12: Using Romaji and Using Roman Script in an English Language Context

In the table below, please write the romaji alphabet, then an example of a word starting with each letter, which you should write both in romaji and in the normal Japanese script. Then write how you would explain the word in English.

(Advice: this task is to help you to start thinking about katakana, and words from English and other languages amorphized into Japanese)

(Hint: there are 26 spaces - 2 examples are already done. Try to do 24 more)
(More advice: if it is clear that you use a dictionary for this task, you will certainly lose marks or possibly fail this course. So, please use your own knowledge only. If you want to talk with other people about it, that is OK. But using a dictionary - that is too easy and it is not thinking, which is what I want you to do)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>romaji</th>
<th>Word in romaji</th>
<th>Word in other Japanese script</th>
<th>How you explain the word in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Example)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>阿波</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | | |
| | | | |
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| | | | |
Questions:
Any letters in the English alphabet which you could not use for writing Japanese in romaji script? ........ Which? ..................................................................................................................
Why do you think you could not use those letters?

Summary of Sections 4 b and c
Katakana is used for much more than non-Japanese words. Actually it is arguable that English and other languages have changed Japanese by expanding the use of katakana, and also the range of phonemes in Japanese. English can be mixed with Japanese in written form as katakana or romaji. But as katakana it can be mixed syntactically. There are different romaji systems: the Hepburn ‘hyoojun shiki’ system based on English phonemics and kunrei shiki (government system), based on Japanese phonemic interpretation of romaji characters, being the more common.
Task 13: **Romaji for Japanese and Romaji for English in Japan**

Please look at the 8 (sets of) examples of katakana words which you made in Task 11. Please re-write them in romaji in the table below.

(Advice: you need to do this twice, according to the Hepburn system (ie hyoojun shiki) and in the government system (ie kunrei shiki))

(More advice: sometimes there are some tricky romaji spellings. For example, there is a train station in Yokohama called 上大岡, which in English is often written as 'Kamigoka'. This is not really correct, is it. It should be kamiooaka カミオオオカ! But the Hepburn system lets people write just ‘o’ for オオ/oo/ (not /oː/, which sounds like English ‘or’), and that is confusing for people who do not know about it too. Also, sometimes in English people write ‘Kamiouka’, which shows the middle /oːo/ as a long sound, which is a little bit correct. Another example is a name like 斉藤 さいとう, which is usually written as ‘Saito’, even though it should be written as saitou. The safest way is just to use the Hepburn system - the best way to write both Japanese and English in romaji and in Roman script - together.)

Also please say which one you think is more appropriate (ie. better).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Katakana Items</th>
<th>Hepburn hyoojun system romaji</th>
<th>Government kunrei system romaji</th>
<th>Comment (ie which romaji system is more appropriate, why)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. **Expressing in Japanese or in English in Japan: colour and sense**

This lecture is about words – sometimes a Japanese word is used, sometimes not, and sometimes people just make up a word – that is if people understand of course. People learn words and expressions, by hearing them and by seeing them. But there are two other factors: when and where people hear or see them. Where, how and more importantly when (in its history) people hear or see a word or expression are considered as factors in people choosing which word or expression to use.

5a. **Expressing in Japanese or in English – how and why**

This lecture is entitled ‘Expressing in Japanese or in English…’. I know ‘Expressing’ is an unusual word to use, but it is the best word I could think of to say ‘having an idea or an image or something else in one’s head and finding the best way to communicate it accurately and understandably’. Other words could be ‘articulate’, ‘communicate’, or even ‘say’. But the nuance I wanted to have is ‘communicated direct from inside one’s mind to the outside, to other people’. Then, ‘in English or in Japanese’ – well people do not normally make a clear decision that they will use one language this time or a different language another time. People normally are too focused on communicating, or expressing. Also, as I have been trying to say all through these lectures with the Continuum model, I think there is a cross-over area between English and Japanese, in that things people hear or see or write or say can be more English / more Japanese / less English / less Japanese. **It is not the form of what people wish to say or write. Rather it is the meaning - the idea, impression, information, emotion – which they have and wish to express.**

i. **Impression**

Sense and colour are chosen as fields for this discussion, because they are tangible things and they normally do not have compound meanings (ie. *meanings with more than one part*). For instance, if I say blue, it is a colour of, say, the sky on a sunny day and that is all; or it can be a feeling of sadness and that is the start and the end of the meaning I wish to express. However also the meanings of words in these fields are based on a person’s impressions, And impressions are often mediated by experience – including experience of hearing or reading other people’s impressions. Also, colour and sense are phenomena which often occur in everyday life, especially in shopping, advertising, and have a rich range of language to choose from.

ii. **Context, including purpose**

Most importantly, in Japan people often switch from using colour and sense expressions from Japanese and also from English, depending on context. This is a key theme of this lecture. There is not a lot of in the literature about this issue, of people in Japan using English words as Japanese, except as examples of borrowing/gairaigo/mixing/hybridity/nativization (making words on one’s language in an original way – I don’t really like this idea though). Stanlaw (2004)
acknowledges this issue, but does not examine reasons for it in depth. Loveday (1996) on the other hand attempts to account for it.

You don’t need to know all of this, but you do have to know that it happens. Below I have put in three tables from Loveday’s book (Figures 22 and 23) below, because this is the clearest way to show how and why English gets mixed with Japanese – clearly it seems that users of English and Japanese show similar behaviour when making semantic items (ie words or expressions) in their language cultures. Thus, when English enters Japanese language culture, then there is open chance that the same kinds of word/expression process are likely to occur. In other words, Loveday therefore thinks that this same language behaviour in Japanese also happens in English, such as clipping (cutting bits off words like コンビニ konbini convenience store) and attaching semantically significant but grammatically wrong words together (eg マイホーム, マイカー mai ho-mu, maika- and individual’s home, car).

iii. Taboos
In his book Loveday does tell the obvious point that people use words from English and other languages as Japanese when talking about taboo subjects, such as toilets, disease and sex. The idea (which lots of people easily agree with) is that by using loanwords, people keep Japanese pure. An easy example is トイレ toire toilet, from English or French instead of 便所 benjo or (literally and euphemistically) shit house. Asking people to explain why not benjo usually results in mystification or embarrassed laughter, but rarely an explanation except the xenophobic idea of keeping Japanese pure. More telling is another point made by Loveday (1996 p 196), which he labels “semantic opacity”. This just means making the meaning a bit unclear so different nuances can be given while keeping the meaning ambiguous. In this sense, context – where, when and how – English becomes used really is important. This makes it very easy to make puns in Japanese, even more so if English is used with Japanese in Japan.

iv. Convenience
In the last lecture about writing systems, I mentioned that katakana is convenient because people do not need government permission to make or use kanji characters in new ways – people just make a word, encode it in katakana, and taking words off the shelf from other languages like English is an easy, convenient way to do this. But this is writing – many words are not written first, rather spoken. And that actually is pretty normal behaviour with pidgin and creole language varieties, as discussed in the first two lectures (see Section 2f).

I don’t give lots of examples here, mainly because lots of the words and expressions are quite local (like ウォッ茶 uoccha vod-cha! in the bar), or just don’t last or stay fashionable very long. However, the simple point is that at any time people in Japan probably will have contact with amorphized English, probably used more like Japanese.
Figure 22: Why and How English is Used in Expressions As and With Japanese (Source: Loveday 1996 pp 144, 190)
Table 5.6. Japanese Patterns of Word Formation Equivalent to Loan Compounding

1. Noun + noun
   god + wind: suii, kani-bake, 'suicide plane' (I)
   art + person: 芸術 gia-sha, 'traditional hostess' (S).

2. Noun + verb – prepositional meaning
   value + up: fertility ne-age, 'price hike' (I)
   value + down: (E)FUS- ne-age, 'cut in price' (I)

3. Noun + relational noun – preposition
   direction + up: 向上 ka-jo, 'progress' (S).

4. Relational noun – preposition + noun
   up + person: 上人 shi-ro, 'priest' (S).
   behind + aid 後援 ko-ai, 'patronage' (S).

5. Noun + verb is a productive Japanese idiom pattern
   person + kill: 花見 hana-iri, 'Murder' (I)
   flower + see 花見 hana-iri, 'cherry-blossom viewing' (I).

6. Cf. SI compounds of noun + noun (III) for English-based coinages with
   stop: middle + stop: 中止 chu-shi, 'calling off' (S).

7. (Clipped/no suffix) verb + noun
   bake + flower (hana): 半花 ish-bana, 'flower arrangement' (I)
   sleep (ne-nai) + sake sake: 夜眠 re-nai, 'night cap' (I).

8. Cf. SI binomials where the first element contains a morpho-morphic
   and non-suffixable base carrying a verbal meaning which is comparable
   to a zero-marked verbal element in compounds:
   see + thing 觀光 kei-butsu, 'sightseeing' (S).
   enter + hospital 人院 nyo-iar, 'hospitalization' (S).

9. Adjective (i-stem) + noun

10. Adjective (na) base + noun
    safe + zone: 安全地帯 anzen-chi, 'safety zone' (S).

11. Pseudo-prefix adjectival noun + noun
    new + constitution: 新憲法 shin-kengai (S).

12. Verb + verb patterns are indigenous to Japanese, with compound verbs
    derived from two verbs:
    leaning and bowling: kashi-kori
    rising and falling: agari-satori
    boarding and alighting: nori-ori

Figure 23: How Words and Expressions are Made in Japanese (Source: Loveday, pp 146-147)
5 b. Colour

Much of this section is drawn from Stanlaw (2004), especially colour which was the theme of his research reported in Chapter 9 of his book. In his data there are some interesting patterns about choices of language to express colours, which illustrate how English and Japanese compliment and supplement each other in this field.

5 b. i What colours are there in Japan?

Based on findings from research done in California with one person in California (Berlin & Kay 1969, 1991), Stanlaw reports on his own study of colour identification in Japan. His focus was something called linguistic and cultural relativism (i.e. seeing how people in different cultures and language communities say the same types of things sometimes similarly and sometimes differently), but the data from the people about colours he asked about and showed, tell a lot about the words people choose and the influence of English on the language these people use in a Japanese communication context. Basically these data support the point made by Koscielecki (2000) quoted at the very start of these lectures:

*Although the English language in Japan is made functionally suitable for some domains using exoglossic norm-providing varieties, Japanese speakers do not codify all their experiences through this medium in the Japanese context. It is not common for the Japanese speakers to use English for communication among themselves.* ...

This is like, as in the last section, people in Japan are just speaking the language they speak which is mainly identifiable as Japanese but which can often include words and expressions which identifiably are English. In linguistic terms, *exoglossic norm-providing varieties* is the key point – this means that they take something from the English relevant to certain things and transfer it partly or wholly into Japanese context.

The range of colours is listed below in Table 7. This table lists the colours as primary Japanese colour references, secondary and then non-Japanese, and the number of times they were mentioned. A better set of data is in Table 8, which shows overall proportional frequency of mention (i.e. the percentage of the total times they were mentioned).

The colours mentioned in lower case are the non-Japanese colour names. Significant is pink and orange being mentioned so frequently (43% and 45% respectively). Though other non-Japanese colours are mentioned, the significance of the frequency of these two is that they would seem to fill a semantic gap in Japanese people’s consciousness – Japanese people may not have a word for these colours, or feel they cannot adequately refer to them without use of the non-Japanese colour terms (in both these cases ostensibly English words).

Pursuing the same line of thought, data in Table 9 relating to age groups show a spike in the levels of reference to these colours (and non-Japanese colours over all) among high school, university and ‘post university’ groups. Contrastingly there are noticeable dips in frequency of mention of Japanese primary colours among the same age groups.
Table 7: *Range of Colours and Frequency of Mention by Number of Japanese Respondents (Total No 91)* [Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 218]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour Term</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency (#)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akai</td>
<td>RED</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akabuki</td>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akegyu</td>
<td>GREEN</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ake-iro</td>
<td>BROWN</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amakusa</td>
<td>PURPLE</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amagari</td>
<td>PINK</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amekusa</td>
<td>ORANGE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>GREY</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>GREY</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>dark blue</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>light blue</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>yellow green</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>gold</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>flesh</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>dark brown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>sky blue</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>pink</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>khaki</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>beige</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>cream</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>lemon</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-iro</td>
<td>emerald green</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8: Range of Colours and Frequency of Mention by Percentages of Japanese Respondents (Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 220)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Japanese Name</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shiro</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuro</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-iro</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midori</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha-iro</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murasaki</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panku</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orenji</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>Dark blue</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-midori</td>
<td>Yellow-green</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mizu-iro</td>
<td>Light blue</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hai-iro</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumi-iro</td>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gure</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin-iro</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huraun</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaki</td>
<td>Khaki</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beju</td>
<td>Beige</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurinshu-iro</td>
<td>Cream</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remon</td>
<td>Lemon</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emarado guin</td>
<td>Emerald green</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadai-iro</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kana-iro</td>
<td>Sky blue</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sore-iro</td>
<td>Dark brown</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koge-cho</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moko-iro</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daidai-iro</td>
<td>Daidai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9: Range of Colours and Frequency of Mention by Age Group of Japanese Respondents (Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 218)

### Task 14: Research on Telling Colours

This task is short, looks difficult, but is probably easier than you think. What you have to do is simply to give a title to each of the tables with data about colours. So, ...

Please give each table a title.

(Advice: there is no perfectly correct answer and there is more than one answer.)

(More advice: the easy way to do this is to look in the table and make a list of what you see. Don’t just write things like ‘colours’ or ‘numbers’!! What colours?’, or What numbers?‘—what are they about? —are questions you should think about. If you can find answers, please write them down and try to make them into titles.)

(Hint: if you really are having problems, look in the Lecture texts on the course webpage.)

Do this in the space under each Table.
5 b. ii  How New Ways of Telling Colour may have Developed

It would be nice to generalize that consciousness of colour and reference to it with non-Japanese (ie English) words shows that English (and other languages) is entering and filling semantic gaps in Japanese. But such a view is simplistic, and limitations in the data inhibit this conclusion. More significant is the way in which these colours are mentioned (ie spoken), for instance /pɪŋkə/ pinku rather than /pɪŋk/ pink. Naturally the original English pronunciations become altered, in some senses being re-encoded in a Japanese way. This is similar to how a Japanese word like カラオケ karaoke becomes /kɑɾɑʔoke/ (karioki) sometimes when English speakers say it.

Two limitations with using these data are that colour categorization is frequently culture-specific - each culture has its own special way, or things appear in a unique way in a given culture. Also, it is not clear whether Stanlaw gave the Japanese respondents a list of the colours before collecting the data. Further, some colours (from a paint chart shown to the people) are not normally found in Japanese art and design – the colours may not occur traditionally in Japanese culture, and hence there may not be a Japanese philology (ie source of the expression) of names for them. All the same the results are thought-provoking.

5 b. iii  Colour, Sense and a Culture of English: a comment

I mentioned before that colour and sense are two fields about which discourse frequently occurs in the mass media. Earlier in Lecture 4 (Sections 4 a. iv and v), I mentioned how a culture of English has been developing in the decades after World War II – partly within and because of mass media - and that within this culture, amorphization of English into Japanese was taking place. In a sense such a culture has at its core the behaviour or language practice of taking items from English (and other languages) after which such words etc. change into a more ‘Japanese’ form, as was discussed in the last sections. References to and articulations of colour in the research results cited above is an example of the manner in which such a culture of English has occurred. The next section deals with the semantics of sense, and how it has been occurring in Japanese.

Summary of Sections 5a & 5b

Japanese and English show similar processes for making expressions and words. Therefore the ways people make expressions and words using English mixed with Japanese are not surprising. Why people do this relates to the impression or semantic point a person needs to communicate, context, taboo fields where pure Japanese seems inappropriate, and convenience. Research shows that, in Japanese, people articulate some colours using words taken from English and other languages. This is prevalent among young adults. This maybe due to semantic gaps in Japanese, or also impact of similar usage in the mass media. In any case it shows amorphization of English in Japanese lexis. Further, increasing recourse to use of English and other languages in Japanese evidences a culture of English (or at least a culture governed by the cultural practice of taking from other languages and seeing such items change – amorphize – into more appropriate and recognizable Japanese form).
5c  Sense

Colours are tangible - you can see them. But sense is often intangible - you cannot really feel or ‘sense’ it. Reference to sense can be abstract, whimsical, emotional or simply subjective. In this context ‘sense’ relates to feeling but is not about being tactile - you can physically feel it; rather ‘sense’ here means being able to express feelings, including atmosphere, tone, and even degree (how strong or how weak). Sense can also refer to experience, relating to the tone or quality of experience. Sense reference then should not be able to be quantified. What is an example of a sense word? ‘Dull’ is a good word – meaning listness, slow, no energy, a bit sad maybe, certainly not bright. A Japanese equivalent is だるい darui – it means the same as the English, except without the reference to sad or colour (ie ‘not bright’) – just the feeling. This word is interesting because it is a very, very amorphized English word, actually. However it is written in hiragana, not katakana! Do you know the English word it actually comes from? I am not going to tell you (but if you look in Table 3 you can find the answer)!

Another good example I can find to illustrate this is Donald Richie (1983), in an essay, saying that English lacks something because it does not have a word carrying a semantic like the Japanese word しぶい shibui. A dictionary would translate this as ‘astringent (taste)’ but the nuance in Japanese transcends just taste, meaning in some senses understated or restrained (Dunn 2007). This is just an example. This section seeks to go in the opposite direction and see how English (or other languages’) expressions are a way for Japanese to articulate sense.

5c i.  A Model to Explain the Language Choice Process.

Once again I refer to Stanlaw (2004) who enters the culture and psychology fields to explain his research and conclusions. I prefer to resist this because I am not convinced of the generalizability (ie. the same condition is true for all such situations) of such models. I believe that they act best as a suggestion or guide as to what might be going on in a person’s head when they are choosing what to say. Also, there is too much variation in the contexts, also in the different concepts, images, impressions and other types of meaning which people may want to articulate.

In order to demonstrate this as simply as possible, I reproduce here Stanlaw’s initial model (in Figure 20). I think Stanlaw’s model here is a bit naïve compared to Loveday’s (1996) lists shown at the start of the lecture: Stanlaw points out that one of the ways people articulate sense (and experience) is through loanwords, or even making new words by changing the original English, but Loveday goes much further by trying to account for this phenomenon. But Stanlaw makes some points which I think are simple ways to understand how people are thinking when they are mixing some English with Japanese. The significant bit here is on the bottom line in Figure 20. Later Stanlaw (2004 pp 225, 226) describes an example with a word which was used in the 1980s,
● パープル *pa-puru* (‘purple’), and
● パープリン *pa-purin* (‘purpling’ or ‘making trouble’).

The former is a colour, so can be a noun or adjective. The other is a like a noun, but can become a verb if used with する *suru*. The word has been used in connection with ぼおそおぞく *boosoozoku* (young ‘bikies’ or ‘bikers’ on loud motorbikes).

Stanlaw (2004) uses this word because of its weird morphology: ie. choosing not just an English word, but also an English grammar form - the use of an English present participle –*ing* form as gerund in Japanese (Loveday (1996 p 209) mentions a similar example in passing, 帰り語かeringu go(ing) home). As well, based on interview data, Stanlaw reports textual examples from the anthropological context of *boosoozoku* subculture.

However, since I first read about this, I have asked different people in Japan (Japanese teachers, young people male and female, with and without motorbikes) but nobody had ever heard the expression パープリン *pa-purin*. I am not surprised though – expressions go in and out of fashion at different times as language changes. And both Stanlaw’s and Loveday’s lists are from the mid- and late 1990s, almost 20 years ago. Actually I think my example with だるい *darui* / dull mentioned at the start of this section is much simpler and easier.

5c ii Language Amorphized and Language Changed
Stanlaw also has made a schematic model (reproduced here as Figure 21) showing how *pa-puru* and *pa-purin* could be cognified (ie thought up and thought about). This is a useful model as a guide or illustration of different factors involved. However I do not wish to say that it is conclusive.

*Pa-purin* (‘purpling’) is associated with behaviour and generally has a negative sense about it. For instance, it is linked to young ‘bikies’ in Japan who usually roam around in gangs being disruptive and anti-social, though frequently having a social hierarchy within a gang or group. Stanlaw reports that within these social groups *pa-purin* (‘purpling’) behaviour is a kind of purpose – it is what they do! (p 225) The image comes from purple as a colour signifying something modern, maybe showy and even silly.

The ‘–in’ at the end of *pa-purin* is a corruption of the morphological form ‘–*ing*’ for English gerunds or present participles – in other words a bit of an amorphization. So, clearly for an English word referring to a fairly common colour to become used in Japanese to describe the tone of a certain anti-social behaviour by a subculture of predominantly young males, is quite a stretch.

Thus, *pa-puru* and *pa-purin* are interesting examples of how English has entered, become mixed and altered – amorphized – into a more recognizable Japanese phonemic form, and
used semantically and even in appropriate Japanese **syntactical** contexts.

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**Figure 24:** *A Model of Cognitive Processes Leading towards Use of Words taken Partly or Wholly from English or Other Languages and Used in Japanese.* (Source: Stanlaw 2004 p 242 Figure 10.1)

Also, interestingly, the colour purple does not occur on Stanlaw’s lists of colours (discussed in Section 5a before and listed in Tables 7-9). That could make someone wonder if it is recognizable as a colour in Japanese culture. This does not stop Stanlaw continuing to discuss the vocabulary of ‘purple’ further.

A final treatment of the colour is where he compares the Japanese 紫 *murasaki* (‘darker, indigo purple, though sometimes a bit softer in tone, but definitely not bright’) with the word ‘purple’ (pa-puru) as a word taken from English and used in Japanese contexts. This analysis does show different nuances and significances associated with either word. This comparison is reproduced here as Figure 21.
5 c. iv  **Amorphization of ‘Purple’: a comment.**

Though I rely heavily on Stanlaw’s work in this lecture, I do so because these examples illustrate quite well what I have been trying to say about amorphization. If you recall, in Lecture 2 Section 2 I tried to demonstrate that not just meaning but also grammar can change. In the example of *pa-purin* here, its use as a noun in Japanese correlates with English morphology and syntax rules too. Stanlaw also gives a comparative example of *tre-ningu* ‘training’ in a railway advertising campaign – the intention being to articulate catching or using a train as an activity of leisure (p 255). There is a kind of grammatical metaphor here – using grammar to convey a different nuance or meaning instead of changing the root word. In this sense the philology of purple remains, but a lot of other semantic baggage is added.

Also, it is noticeable that words such as 電車イング *denshaingu* or 紫イング *murasakiingu* (referring to activities linked to the words for train and purple of Japanese origin) do not occur. Why not, I wonder: the easy answer is that *densha* and *murasaki* are very, very rooted in Japanese, with specific kanji and very strongly accepted customary...
ways to use the words, and also not use them. And I wonder the extent to which they might come to the minds of people in Japan besides me. So, パープル pa-puru (‘purple’), and パープリン pa-purin (‘purpling’) are good examples of how it is likely that semantic roots from English can be the philological base of amorphization, rather than syntax/grammar. Morphology – eg, the ~ing – is another but far less significant base.

One other comment: *it’s quite easy to see how these words could develop in the mass media or in advertising* (actually tre-ningu did come from advertising, but is not a word in common usage). People hear these words, and if there is a meaningful context in which they can use the words, the people can choose to or choose not to use such words. However, *later, if and when a word becomes more often used outside of the mass media, it is then that they become a more proper part of the language*. If such words or expressions are drawn from English (or other languages), then they become part of the language used in Japan. Whether amorphized English or considered as loanwords, here is another field of English in Japan which needs to be considered for its communicative and semantic significance.

**Summary of Section 5c**
An examination of words relating to sense or experience demonstrates how words or expressions from English or other languages amorphize into Japanese lexically and syntactically. Yet, the first uses of many such items are in the mass media. Later, if the words actually reach mainstream usage, then they can be considered part of the language used in Japan.

**Summary of Lecture 5**
Colour, sense (and experience) are useful semantic fields for investigating English and other languages entering, altering and influencing Japanese. Frequently this seems like a cultural practice of adoption and adaptation of language items sourced from outside of Japanese, as this has happened at different times in Japanese cultural history before. Words and expressions taken from English and other languages both fill apparent semantic gaps in Japanese, but also are used for their novelty or strangeness value to attract attention, for instance in the mass media. The words and expressions change phonemically, semantically and also even syntactically. In the end, if such words or expressions become used more often outside of the mass media, then they can be considered to have become part of the language used in Japan.
Task 15: **Linear Process of Language being Taken from English, Mixing with Japanese and Changed**

In this task you have to decide upon an English expression used in Japan, and along a line show how it has started to become used in Japan, if and how it has mixed with Japanese, if and how it has been changed, what it means now and contexts of its usage (i.e. where, when, by whom and to whom, and why). Remember to show the expression in the text where you find it. Here is an example.

Text: 起司コンフェ

Original whole text: 2層のアイス…アイスクリーム入りもなか「コンフェ」(3月30日)
白桃のみずみずしさ…チューハイ「ほろよい<もも>」(3月28日)
ベースにポークとチキン…即席カップめん「タテロング ご当地最前線 函館しおラーメン」(3月25日)

(Source: [http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/gourmet/](http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/gourmet/), viewed on 30 March 2009)

| Normal English words used to explain cooking | Ingredients in western-style cooking often use non-Japanese words. This actually distinguishes the style from Japanese-style, which uses Japanese words | A base -> be-su ->ベース
Pork -> po-ku -> ポーク
Chicken -> chi-kin -> チキン
Using katakana
- therefore writing and also pronunciation change | ~に ~と ~...
Noun+に +noun+と+noun...
Not change from Japanese grammar pattern |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words/Expression chosen</td>
<td>Reason for these English words to be chosen</td>
<td>How the words change (i): writing system, phonemics</td>
<td>How the words change (ii): Grammar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Normal English words used to explain cooking | Ingredients in western-style cooking often use non-Japanese words. This actually distinguishes the style from Japanese-style, which uses Japanese words | A base -> be-su ->ベース
Pork -> po-ku -> ポーク
Chicken -> chi-kin -> チキン
Using katakana
- therefore writing and also pronunciation change | ~に ~と ~...
Noun+に +noun+と+noun...
Not change from Japanese grammar pattern | Used in context of newspaper’s webpage menu for cooking/gourmet items Familiar, easy-to-recognize form for readers who normally use Japanese |

First, choose a text with some English mixed with Japanese. Show the teacher your choice. Then write it in the space above the table.
(Advice: more than one line, but less than a page. But try to keep it simple!)

Second, what do you think the original English words or expression was? Write what you think in the first space in the table.
(Advice: keep this simple too!)

Third, why do you think someone originally chose to use this English? Write what you think in the second space in the table
(Advice: keep your answer short!)

Fourth, how has the English been changed? Write your answers in the next spaces in the table. Think about lexis (ie vocabulary, words which go together, any common expression), writing, syntax (ie grammar), and phonemics (ie pronunciation), or any other language point.

Fifth, why do you think someone has decided to use words from English and not Japanese only? Write your answer in the last space.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original English Words/Expression chosen</th>
<th>Reason for these English words to be chosen</th>
<th>How the words change (i):</th>
<th>How the words change (ii):</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• writing system</td>
<td>• Grammar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• phonemics</td>
<td>• Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Task 16: *Changes in English Used with Japanese in Japan - review*

These texts are beer-bottle labels framed as a picture-display in a restaurant in Niigata City that sells Yebisu Beer.

In this task you have look at the texts in the picture on the left. They are reproduced in the table below.

As you can see they are similar. But there are differences mainly among the written language, so please focus on that.

(Advice: *you get extra points if you mention anything else besides the language."

(More advice: *please see what you have done in Lectures 2 & 4*)

You have to write about Use of English in each text in comparison with all the other texts.

Please do this first from a **Historical-Cultural Context**.

(Hint: *see Sections 2d, 2fv, 3bvi, 3bix, 3bx, 3bxi, 3cv, 3cvi, 4a, 4b*)

Also please do this from a **Language and Language Form** perspective.

(Hint: *see Sections 2fiii, 2fiv, 4a, 4b, Figures 21 & 22*)

There is an example of how to do it in the very last one.

(Even more advice: *if you can show where language in the texts lies on the ‘Types of English in Japan’ Continuum, as in Figure 5, you can get extra points*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU ALL MALT BEER</td>
<td>Traditional beer with a historical context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU-BEER</td>
<td>Modern interpretation with a focus on quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU BEER</td>
<td>Traditional brew with a modern twist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU LAGER-Beer</td>
<td>A classic lager with a traditional touch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU TRADITIONAL BREW</td>
<td>A traditional brew with a focus on heritage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEBISU BEER NIPPON BREWERY COMPANY Limited</td>
<td>A modern interpretation with a focus on authenticity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical-Cultural</th>
<th>Meiji Year 23</th>
<th>Meiji Year 26</th>
<th>Meiji Year 41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language/Language Form</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical-Cultural</td>
<td>Language/Form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showa Year 11</td>
<td>Name and description copywriting all in English – gives a modern cosmopolitan image, also beer is not originally Japanese drink. But ‘Yebisu Traditional’ gives image of old product taste and feeling. Name ‘YEBISU’ in large Roman letters is actually old Japanese (eg. ‘YE’, not ‘E’) but in Romaji looks like European language, eg. English. Label colour is golden, like rich-taste beer, plus it is a different more modern image from older labels. English in description below is normal copywriting style, with words like ‘rich’, ‘mellow’ ‘traditional art’ used appropriately. ‘Born 1887’ is a bit odd, but could be used to make this beer seem animate or living (ie. ‘born’, not ‘made’). ‘From 1887’ is better. Important product details in small-written vertical Japanese text on sides, not intruding on main label.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Showa Year 46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heisei Year 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[Lectures 6 and 7 are adapted versions of dictaglos (grammar dictation) texts from a content-based set of materials called *English in Japan: a content-based program with “dictagloss”* (2014) used for an English teachers’ professional development workshop].

6 **Learning English in Japan**

Learning English in Japan has been examined in Lecture 3b and 3c, about contact with and use of English. For instance, Table 4 lists Shimizu’s (2010) interpretation of how attitudes to English were shaping some of the types of learning of English, especially at government-set curriculum level.

I wrote an article in the 1990s called “Some Things in Japanese English Language Education are not New” (Doyle 1994). This was a few years after the JET scheme had started and the *Monbushou* was trying hard to start up communicative English teaching, even if their efforts were not so successful or just the wrong thing to do. My article paralleled things happening around Harold Palmer in Japan. Palmer was a British language educationalist who was interested in using early audio-recording technology to help people learn English. In the 1920s (just a hangover from Shimizu’s Semi-English Master generation in the Taisho-Showa era) Japanese government representatives in Britain found out about Palmer’s work and through contacts different institutions connected with education and the government sponsored Palmer, his daughter and some others to come to Japan to institute their work. What happened was that Palmer’s ideas were not instituted, a bit like recent decades, when new approaches to teaching English were put forward but not properly or widely taken up in school-education institutions. But Palmer was supported until the mid-1930s and different people outside of government still took up his ideas through this time.

I wrote that in some ways history was repeating itself in the 1990s, when school education remained quite institutional and traditional. But families were sending the majority of children to *juku* cram schools to learn in evenings and on weekends because it seemed that the freer, non-government *juku* and English conversation schools were where the learning of English that people thought they needed was happening. In this sense, there is an institutional / non-institutional divide in how people learn English in Japan (and anywhere for that matter). However, I think that from Lecture 3 it should be apparent that this divide has less to do with history repeating, nor any Confucian, vertical hierarchical Japanese respect for authority than the fact that until the 1870s there was no central government policy about language or any education in Japan. So, this background needs to be considered before examining types of learning of English that occur.

6a. **Three Basic Types of learning**

From the beginnings of modern English in Japan, in the early nineteenth century, there have been three ways in which people learn it: *institutionally, uninstitutionally and unintentionally.*
‘Institutionally’ means through institutions, such as in schools and linked to public purpose, government policy or common curriculum. ‘Uninstitutionally’ means not linked to such public domains, rather personal or private purpose, independently and independent choice. ‘Unintentionally’ means learning without planning to, including without purpose or even awareness of learning process, such as simply by acquiring or picking up knowledge or repertoire of English.

6ai Institutionalized Learning
The most common English learned institutionally in Japan is disparate English, and the main way it is learned is through teaching in schools. This began in Nagasaki in 1811, just after the British warship, *HMS Phaeton*, arrived there in 1808 and English-speaking British sailors spent a few days terrorizing the Dutch traders and local Japanese administrators who thought that the British were speaking Dutch. From that point on Japanese governments have always placed importance on knowing foreign languages in order to deal with people and discourse coming from outside. The most efficient way to deal with it then as now was to translate it. So, in a sense, people were learning to change meaning from an unrecognizable form (that is in English or other languages) into recognizable form (that is into Japanese). Teaching it in school began to happen to everyone in Japan from the 1890s in public school education, and also in universities. Until the wars in the 1930s and 40s British-style English was institutionally learned. Since the War’s end in the 1940s, American-style English was promoted and presumed superior. Schools and learning institutions like juku supplementary schools outside of public education usually taught and helped people learn English to pass tests which were mostly translation-style and many people studied privately with books and other materials for the same purposes. Only recently have institutions like the government and also big companies started English-teaching programs for other, more communicative purposes than translating English into Japanese, such as for using English inside and outside of Japan. This even includes some electronic learning programs and other resources on radio, television and on the internet promoted by national universities and publishers, the national broadcaster and the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology.

6aii Uninstitutionalized Learning
Uninstitutionalized learning of English probably first occurred in Japan on a needs basis in Hirado near Nagasaki, where English traders were established from 1613 to 1623. This was when some local Japanese staff of the English traders maybe tried to learn some English to communicate with the English traders, and maybe a kind of pidgin English-Japanese is what they learned. But English was not as important as Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch then, and any English knowledge was quickly lost. Later in the 19th century, people discovered English had become more important in the world than 200 years before. Therefore they began to learn it in order to be able to communicate directly with people in the world. Ito Hirofumi who secretly escaped from Japan to Britain and actually studied at London University, and Fukuzawa Yukichi, who decided to switch his study focus from Dutch to English when he did not understand some signs written romaji in Yokohama – both in the 1860s. Both show how people have tried to learn
English uninstitutionally since. Both had their own purposes for knowing English – to recognize and understand English texts that they had contact with and also to be able to use English in a meaningful and communicative way. People therefore may learn by leaving Japan for an English-speaking place to live and learn there. People may try to learn themselves for their own purposes. There have also been schools teaching things like English conversation outside of the normal institutionalized English education systems, as well as many books, learning centers, internet and other electronic media support programs available inside and outside of Japan. The point is that institutionalized learning does not require teaching of English, though of course teaching is also one way to learn uninstitutionally. Secondly, people learn in uninstitutionalized ways for their own needs and purposes, and normally people are very conscious of their learning. Thirdly, though institutionalized learning may sometimes go together with institutionalized learning of English, people’s institutionalized learning is not limited to learning English in Japan – people can and do learn English outside of Japan.

6aiii Unintentionally Learning English

People learn things unintentionally, even subliminally, when they learn without planning to learn them. With language-learning, it happens when people simply pick up the language in no systematic or purposeful way. It is a type of language acquisition, like children pick up their language.

Two of the necessary conditions for unintentional language learning are having contact with the language and also a context for using it – if people do not use the language sometime, then nobody can be sure that they have learned the language or not. Learning English in Japan includes picking up some English words or expressions by themselves, being able to use the English, noticing something about that use, and then retaining or keeping this knowledge to use again, most likely in similar or related contexts. The history of subliminal learning of English in Japan is as old as English in Japan. People have always picked up bits and pieces of language that they have contact with and take in. But using the language again in a different way or in a different context may mean that the person changes it – maybe pronunciation, spelling, grammar, even meaning. In some ways this is how English in Japan becomes amorphized into Japanese.

Thinking for a moment only about the English, or disparate English, if people pick up some English and use it, say, in the way Japanese language is used, then the English loses some of its Englishness. This means that the words or expressions or their pronunciation become less English! After that, people still have contact with the language and may continue to use it in a way different from the original English.

There is one other thing in English learning in Japan: learning the way to use English, for example in particular genres or in particular media. This is more like learning literacy skills than language knowledge. Literacy skills, especially when using language like in writing something or doing something with a computer, is a mixture of language knowledge, knowledge about the

thing the person is trying to do and also often experience. In this way, knowledge about the thing the person is trying to do and also experience can help the person to succeed in doing it even if their language knowledge is not enough. Yet, at the same time, people can pick up the language which is connected with the thing that they are doing, and then always remember that language form in the same context. The person would not understand all of the meaning, nuance and ways to use the language form, but the person would know enough to use the language form again in the same context. The best example of course is operating a computer program – such as me using a search engine or email in Japanese, or a person in Japan interacting with electronic media containing English in Japan.

So, learning English in Japan unintentionally means that people just pick it up in an uncontrolled way, then they may notice the English later. But then they may use it in a way different from the original English. Or people just do what they need to do – say with computers – and any English that they may or may not know is counter-balanced by knowledge and experience of the thing they are doing. In other words, the English itself is not important, rather it is just an incidental part of the things which people do in normal life together with normal Japanese and anything else the person needs to know.

Summary of Lecture 6
Institutional, uninstitutional and unintentional learning of English has taken place in Japan, like in other places in the world. Institutional means that people learning English do not choose what to learn nor how to learn it – just like school learning. Uninstitutional learning is when people can and do choose, including choice of institutional learning modes if they want. Unintentional learning is when people do not plan to learn English but texts and other stimuli, schemata and so on in people’s social and cultural environments end up with people noticing or otherwise picking up English without choosing nor planning to. This can include neologisms and other items in Japanese which come from English, and an increasingly significant source is from electronic media use for which literacies contain language components which are actually English or have been sourced from English.
Task 17*: Your Learning English in Japan (*Optional task, with Task 18. Bonus points if you do it)

How have you learned English in Japan?
-
-

How do you learn English in Japan?
-
-

How might you learn English in Japan in the future?
-
-
7 Attitudes to English in Japan

People’s attitudes to English in Japan revolve around one simple aspect of English in Japan. People traditionally have been able to get along quite well without it. Learning English in Japan is like learning something else, more than is necessary. This might explain some people’s ambivalence or antipathy it would be good, but it is not so simple as that: if English was never necessary or at least never advantageous in Japan, then realistically it may never have sprung up as it has. Most of the attitudes mentioned below developed after English, hence generated by real-life or cultural notion or impression. Later less ambivalent attitudes would develop, if English ever became a viable alternative mode for doing things in Japan, or for doing things from Japan without Japanese. Need and also rejection of cultural self or identity may figure here.

Whatever attitudes, it is always complex insofar as people can have one attitude stimulated by one thing and another stimulated by another thing, even simultaneously. Also, no matter the attitudes, even in the mid 20th century war years, English was needed in Japan’s overseas empire because of the absence of anyone there knowing enough Japanese for them to be able to get any colonial things done. But that was English outside, not in Japan.

7a Generated Attitudes

In 1808 that British warship, HMS Phaeton pretended to be a Dutch ship and came into Nagasaki Harbour and bellicose British sailors spoke English with Japanese officials who thought that they spoke Dutch. This realization of English as a lingua franca came as a shock of something new and, worse, necessary, in decades after. ‘Lingua franca’ here means ‘contact language’ or what people of different language cultures use when they have contact with each other. English became increasingly necessary but not immediately. Even as late as the 1860s when people like philosopher and academic, Fukuzawa Yukichi, had contact with English in Yokohama and realized that it was necessary to use English in the future, there has always been attitude of reaction to the first shock. This can go three ways:

- confused discomfort or panic;
- deal with it – usually dealing with English but keeping Japanese cultural integrity;
- reaction against English

However attitudes to English in Japan are defined, one characteristic is noticeable: attitudes to English in Japan are generated by the English. This means that if there were no English, it is likely that people would not have an attitude or even notice. In a sense this is possible, as for more than 1,000 years Japan functioned quite properly without English. Most people in Japan do not come with English inside them, say as part of their identity. If English forms part of people’s identity in Japan, most likely it is just a small part. The English which people have any attitude to is a phenomenon, like anything cultural. This means that English occurs, and then people have an attitude to it. In this sense, having to use English or having contact with it in different contexts generates people’s attitudes to it.
7bi  English Shock!
The most common attitude to English is surprise, sometimes shock, at least unforeseen inconvenience. This means that if a person suddenly has contact with English and/or suddenly has to use English, probably they are unprepared for it. Then there is maybe some panic, some discomfort and emotional response like embarrassment or irritation, all of which cause distress – or negative stress (though for some people there is happiness, delight, stimulation, which can cause eustress, - positive stress). Some negative stress probably occurred in Nagasaki when HMS Phaeton arrived in Nagasaki in 1808, and also for John Manjiro who was picked up with his friends by an American whaling ship in on the sea south of Shikoku in 1841. It still happens, often, to me.

7bii  English Redressed
So, dealing with English was just part of dealing with the bigger issue of intrusion and influence from outside of Japan. Yet, simple re-encoding texts from other languages into an appropriate form for consumption by Japanese people was a key way of how some people dealt with this new problem. At first, in history, this shock-panic-confusion led to short-term but commonsense steps to deal with a problem.

To use the same earlier perspectives as for learning English in Japan, institutionally people in Japan decided to deal with this new language. Who dealt with it? Centralized and local government institutions, and also some local education and cultural institutions. First, the centralized government (the Tokugawa bakufu) strategically set up translation centers in 1811 in Nagasaki and Edo (Tokyo) which doubled as language training centers (but only for selected people under strict institution control). Much later the center in Tokyo became Tokyo University. However, this was the extent of cultural compromise: these were translation centers, and not just for English (French and Russian too). These centers also taught these languages, and a strictly controlled number of teachers needed to learn more two or more languages.

This response shows up a common attitude for dealing with English – redress the English as something easier to take in, such as translated into Japanese. This is one reason why school English curricula, textbooks and tests focus on translation into Japanese, almost never requiring changing Japanese into English or using English to produce English texts for its own sake.

People in their own lives outside of public institutions in Japan have often dealt with English (for example at work) in common sense ways available to them: for instance rushing off online or to a book store to buy CD-ROM materials or English conversation phrasebooks with all the supposedly necessary English forms conveniently translated into Japanese, send a child to an English conversation kindergarten, or a teacher who finds out that they have to teach English in English then enrolls in an English conversation school themselves.
Dealing with English

From the 1870s, people and government institutions started to deal with English in ways which had not been available to them before. One way was to go overseas to find out and learn about other people, other cultures, other languages, including English (this is discussed better in Chapter 3). There were government initiatives to send people overseas to learn English and to get other knowledge, skills and ideas, plus an education policy implementing English study in public schools. This double strategy has recurred a few times, in the late 19th century and later still after World War II, in both periods with the purpose of building a modern Japan. Thirty years ago there was new government policy to pay foreign-language-speaking foreigners (mostly English speakers) to flood schools and local government offices in Japan to help teach English to help deal with people from outside of Japan. This tied in with ideas of globalization and internationalization. But these concepts are not traditional Japanese ones. They are just new concepts adapted to frame and justify how and why the government deals with English. Even now (early and mid 2010s) there is government policy for teaching English for the misconstrued purpose of increasing students’ critical thinking and interactive competence, and also engagement with different perspectives and opinions – but surprisingly to teach these things from lower elementary school level! This shows a steadily entrenched institutional attitude that English is necessary, even though people can be critical and interact with each other quite well using Japanese.

Many people just avoid contact with English or having to use English. Another way people deal with English is ‘Just do it!’ This expression actually is the logo for Nike sports equipment, but it expresses well what happens when people in Japan are faced with a situation when they suddenly have to use English. This may sound like people are not embarrassed, maybe shameless or are simply obliging or optimistic, and that can be true of course.

Overly Focused on English Form.

However, what is noticeable is people focusing on the English so much that they do NOT think about other things. For example, the context (such as what has happened just before. Eg. the person might obviously be non-Japanese but may speak some Japanese in that situation); the person they are communicating with (this can be in written media or spoken. Eg. maybe non-Japanese people who also do not normally use English, such as Germans or Koreans); what is appropriate behavior (eg. sometimes it is not even necessary to talk, such as with a supermarket cashier).

Focus on the form of English does reflect some success for the institutionalized learning and top-down attitudes about English being a tool for international and intercultural communication, regardless of the situation, and a corresponding focus on known (or presumed) accurate and appropriate form so as not to upset the other person. Japanese people using English in Japan often never waver from trying to use some form or expression which they remember being taught or shown was correct, even when in the context it is not. Focused perseverance might be the best word to describe this attitude.
Antipathy
As well, some people antipathetic. They are against English – they just do not like it. Two common reasons: simply they cannot understand and don’t want to because it is all too difficult; and/or some people are just too caught up with or strongly identify with local Japanese culture. The first point is people who don’t normally use specifically English, or can find no clear purpose for English in their lives. For instance, in 2013 in Nagoya an elderly viewer of NHK went to court suing the broadcaster for too many katakana expressions, or foreign words mostly English as Japanese. Fair enough! There are strict Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology controls on Japanese ideographic kanji but not on phonemic katakana script, so even NHK take the easier path and take non-Japanese words and use them as Japanese. But NHK do this far less often than other broadcasters. If some people in Japan react against English (and other languages) entering Japanese, it is because all people in the end prefer what they are familiar with. In Japan that is local, Japanese things and Japanese sense.

There is another, simpler attitude to English many people have. Such people tend to have less contact and very little use of English in their normal lives. Their attitude is connected to a preference for Japanese or local cultural sense, and that basically is how they prefer to see the world. In this way, if they see some romaji text, hear a word that is unfamiliar or sometimes even a joke (!), they call it ‘English’ (or for jokes, an ‘American joke’). So, for such people, English is something that is not local, it is something different, or whatever it is, it is not Japanese. English is something that needs to be translated, or better still avoided.

Embracing English
On the other hand there are people who embrace English – they like it, it gives some aesthetic satisfaction, it is cosmopolitan or ‘cool’, an intellectual angle including people who like to do tests like TOEFL, TOEIC or the ‘Eiken’ in Japan. Embracers of English include people who answer on questionnaires that they enjoy studying English. Some of these people may not really like to study English and may not really like to use it, but they like to be able to communicate with, deal with or just make sense of things outside of Japan authentically, without the support of Japanese language. There are others who either like to (try to) use English, for different reasons, and other people for whom English is no big deal, just an alternative way to communicate with people. Frequently, such people have extensive experience with or exposure to life outside of Japan. Also, frequently, these people are just as in tune to other languages besides English – just like the scholars at the Nagasaki and Edo translation centers two hundred years ago.

One other aspect is of embracing English is that such people can come to seek an extra or a new identity beyond identifying with Japan. In this sense, people might seek to identify with the world or with, say, a culture outside of Japan like European fashion or US hiphop culture. For such people though it is less the English language than the culture that they can access by using English for which they have the stronger attitude.
English as Tool

Finally there are people who need English in Japan. Perhaps these people include some people who like it, some who do not prefer English and many who are ambivalent – English is not an important part of their life, or they are just not interested. But various companies are instituting policies of using English at work, many companies require communication in English and other languages with people outside of Japan as part of business, customers and so on. As well, some people are interested in things like golf, or barbeques or information technology, which are things which have English-sourced vocabulary attached to them. For those people English can be just a way to do the thing, and not the thing itself – English as a means to an end!

Attitudes of People from English-Language Cultures to English in Japan

Lastly there are people in Japan who come from English-language cultures, people like me. Almost all of those people are not from Japan. Also, not all of them were not born in places with a dominant English language culture – such as people from China, Russia, France or Brazil. Such people’s lives are less likely to link so completely with Japan – their interests and their sense may incorporate things from outside of Japan. Such people are usually foreigners in Japan and the English they use can include some local Japanese expressions too. Why? Because they, like their English, currently are in Japan. Also, case by case, they might need English more than local people as mode of communication. Yet one important thing about attitudes to English of people from English-language cultures – English can form part of their identity, just the same as Japanese language frequently forms part of the identity of people from Japan.

Summary of Lecture 7

People’s attitudes to English in Japan are normally caused by the phenomenon of English. The best example is surprise or shock of having contact or having to use it. Attitudes are shaped by having to deal with English in different contexts, such as institutionally at school or for work. Commonly people focus on language form forsaking communicative and pragmatic aspects. Sympathy or antipathy towards English is partly tied up with a person’s identity. However English might not comprise an important part of identity, rather the thing which people can access or do by using English would generate their attitude to it.

Task 18*: Your Attitudes to English in Japan (*Optional task, with Task 17. Bonus points if you do it)

In this task you have to think about how you feel about English in Japan, and how you deal with it. (Advice: extra points if you give examples)

How do you feel about English in Japan?
How do you deal with English in Japan?
Task 19: **You and Your English in Japan**

In this task you have a chance to think and tell about the English you have contact with - ie text - and the English you use - ie. with or from other people. Please do this in relation to the present (ie your present situation) and also your future (ie where and what you will be and what you will be doing later on, after now)

1. **who and what you are/will be**, and also what you are doing now/will be doing (probably) in the future
   (Advice: you can start using these words if you like: ‘At present I am (a) ... . I am now (doing) .... & In the future I plan/hope/want to/probably will be (a) ... . At that time I plan/hope/may/want to/could be (doing) ... )

2. **where you are now/will be later on**, in what situations
   (Advice: you can do it simply, just mentioning a place or places and also occupation or the kind of situation you are/will be in)

3. **describe the English you have/will have contact with** - ie what Text. (For example will you have contact with any spoken English? What about written English?)
   (Advice: you can do this using these words if you wish: The English/types of English I have contact with is/are/may/could be ...)

4. **describe the English you use/will** (probably) use. (For example, what English will you write or speak with other people?)
   (Advice: you can do this using these words if you wish: The English/types of English I am now using/may/could/will be using is/are/may/could be ...)
   (Hint: of course look at things that you have done before in other Tasks in this course to get ideas about what to write)
   (Another hint: examples can be useful)

Do it in the spaces below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>You and Your Present English</th>
<th>You and Your Future English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who or what you are / will be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where &amp; When</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What English you have contact with – ie. English Texts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What English you use – ie. your own English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Task 20: Terms from the Glossary**

In this task you have to look through the Glossary below and find four terms: the **most interesting** term, the **easiest** to understand, the **most difficult** to understand and the term you think you need to know the most.

Write them down in the table below. Also write what page you found them on.

Then, in your own words (not copying from the text), please write a couple of sentences telling how you understand this word.

Look at the example, and then do the task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Page numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>'Text'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This is a concept. It is different from 'a text' which is something real and tangible. 'Text' is anything real that has meaning. People normally think of language texts, usually written texts. But 'text' is when, say, language is used they do it by making Text. It is the Text that people see or hear when they read or listen. Also when people have contact with any language, actually they have contact with language Text.*

1. Most interesting

2. Easiest

3. Most difficult

4. Term you need to know most

Finally, at the end of the course, if there is one term which you would like to remember and be able to tell other people about, what is it?

**Why this term?**
English in Japan - GLOSSARY

an abbreviation (2h.iii)
making a word shorter; different from initialization, which is using just the first letters to make an expression shorter (eg. ‘USA’), an abbreviation would be, for instance, ‘Eng’ for ‘English’. Clipping is one type of abbreviation

to account for something (1b.iii)
describe and explain it

an acrolect (2f.vi)
superior, or higher class language. A basilect is the lower status language in a creolization process
SEE ALSO basilect

William Adams (aka Miura Anjin) (1564 – 1620) (3b.i, 3b.vi)
Possibly the first English person to arrive in Japan, on a Dutch ship in 1600. Eventually became close to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and took on a Japanese name, life and lifestyle, and did He may have been the first person to speak English in Japan, but did not speak English so much after that. He helped the English East India Company ‘factory’ in Hirado a lot, even though some of those English men did not like him or trust him much.

amorphized, amorphization (1c.iii, 2b.i, Figure 2, 2d.iii, 2e, 2g.ii, 2i.i. 3a, 3b.x, 3b.xi; 4a.i; 5c )
being changed or getting changed – in the context of English in Japan, Stanlaw (2004) talks about English being “remade” in Japan, being influenced by Japanese. Also, creolization and hybridization (ie. mixing, say, English with another language is similar). But if I talk about English being amorphized, I am talking only about English independent of any other language. But if I talk about amorphization of English in the context of Japan, amorphization can be seen as a language practice even as a cultural practice (giving Stanlaw’s “remade in Japan” (2004 p 209) more credence
SEE ALSO writing system

appropriate behavioral practices of a language culture, appropriateness, appropriacy (1c.iii)
the idea that there are standards or particular ways for people in a language community to talk, write, use language or behave. Sometimes these standards are not so clear, because they are decided while people talk or write – sometimes they are made or fixed like rules, say, by somebody in the government. This is an aspect of pragmatics too

an artifact (2f.iv)
an artificial text (2f.vi)
a text made up by somebody, normally if they want the text to appear like a real, authentic text

auxiliary language, international (1c.ii)
an expression used by Morizumi (2009), who says that English can be used as a spare language for different people, because it is known by so many different people in the world. He thinks that even Japanese English can be an auxiliary language for people from Japan without changing to other types of English - when, say, English (or other languages’) items are taken from one culture of English and become used in another there is a tendency for those items to lose something of their original form

a basilect, basilectalization (2f.vi)
the lower class or lower status language when two or more languages meet and begin to mix as pidgins or creoles. Often lexis – words and expressions from a basilect go into the creole while syntax, grammar and so on go in from the acrolect, the higher status language. Basilectalization is the name for this linguistic process.

bi-cultural (1b.i)
being familiar with – understanding of and also feeling for – two cultures at the same time

bi-cultural and bi-lingual (1b.i)
a person’s English skills are good enough for them to be able to understand and do things in a culture and with its language in all kinds of ways, as well as in and with their own ‘first’ culture and language

bi-lingual (1b.i)
being able to use two different languages. A strict meaning is that a person needs to be really good at both languages. But these days normally it means being able top use one or both of the languages just a bit.

(a language) channel (2g.ii, 3b.xii)
a bit similar to language media but more general, but basically the way something is communicated, say, spoken or written
SEE medium

clarification of meaning (2f.iii)
making something clear, or checking what somebody means to say

a clause (2f.v)
a unit of text containing: either one grammar function, one ideational or discursive function or
both. Usually a clause is talked about grammatically, such as part of a sentence with a verb in it.

**clipping** (2i.i, 3c.vi Figure 11)
a kind of abbreviation, cutting away unnecessary bits from words to make them shorter and easier, eg remote control becomes remocon

**Richard Cocks (1566-1624)** (3b.i, 3b.vi)
Chief of the early English East India Company ‘factory’ in Hirado from 1613 to 1623. He may have been the first person to have spoke English in Japan most of the time.

**code-switching** (2f.iii)
Basically, changing form one language to another in the middle of talking or writing

**a communication act** (2f.v; 5a.i)
doing something on order to communicate; sending or receiving a message (usually thought of as just the sending of a message)

**a communication practice** (2f.v, 3c.vii; 4b.ii)
when a communication act becomes normal behaviour and becomes recognized by people as a way to communicate

**communicative functions** (2f.vii)
what meaning is being communicated, and even how it is being communicated

**a contact language** (1c.ii, 2f.vi)
the language variety that people from two or more different cultures use when they meet and have to communicate with each other; different from contact with a language

**contact with English, contact with a language, contact with a second or other language** (3a, 3bvi, 3bvii, 3bviii, 3bix, 3bx, 3bxi, 3bxii)
where people have English (or other language) text around them in their environment, even if they do not understand it. This idea is broader than Loveday’s (1996) idea, which is more just linguistic, and begins to connect with Selinker’s (1972) interlanguage idea— rather here contact with a language is language as part of one’s environment Contact with English includes learning it, but translation has a communicative purpose of getting or giving information or a message which makes it seem more like use of English.

SEE ALSO use of English, translation

**(in) context** (2h.ii; 5a.i; 5b.ii; 5c)
in a (given) situation, normally a real situation; things such have language can only be really understood properly if there is a context. Also pragmatics can be understood properly too

SEE ALSO decontextualized English
a continuum  (2d.ii, Figure 3, 2f.x, 2g)
a line – like a 2-dimensional measure. It measures or shows how much one thing is in one
direction and how much that thing is not something in the other direction, eg very hot to very
cold, or Englishness to Japoneseness.

continuum model  (2d.ii, Figure 3, 2f.x, 2g, Figure 5; 5a.i)
placing different bits of text on a continuum spread between one language and another to see
how much of one language or the other is being used

core features of English  (1c.ii, Table 1)
an idea that there are some things in (the middle of English) – certain language forms – that
people need to be able to use to communicate with English. The idea comes from Jennifrer
Jenkins (2000, 2009) and Brbara Seidlhofer, who talk mainly about a group of English sounds
that people need to know. Other people use the same idea to include English grammar, etc.

a corruption, a corrupt (language) form  (5b.ii)
when a word or part of a word becomes altered a bit
ALSO SEE  amorphization

creole, a creole language, creolization  (2f.vi)
a language or dialect made up of items from different languages, usually a spoken or known by
a large population for many different purposes. A creole language is more complex than a
pidgin language, because it normally has written forms, sometimes a literature, is used in a big
range of communication functions. Sometimes creoles are not stable and can change easily,
but other creoles are stable, change less quickly and begin to look like real, mature languages.
English in many ways started out as a creole for a few hundred years.

a cultural artifact  (2f.iv, 3b.viii)
a piece of something in a culture, or even a piece of a culture, to use as evidence of something.
Normally artifacts are tangible – they can be touched or sensed. Text can be a cultural artifact –
evidence of language used or what people have contact with in a language culture

cultural behaviour  (2f.v)
how people act or do things, which seems normal for people from a particular culture, or which
can even characterize or define the culture. Cultural behaviour can include communication
practices.

de facto  (1b.ii)
seeming like something but not exactly the same, maybe just approximately like it; sometimes
good enough to be instead of something
**decontextualized English, decontextualized language** (3b.x)
Language text (word, phrase or sentence) that has no context—a person cannot understand exactly what it means except in a general way or in more than one way if the person thinks of more than one possible context; a language text without clear pragmatics; most words and sentences in a dictionary are decontextualized language because they have no special time or place or person saying or writing them and no special purpose.

**declarative functions** (2f.vi)
A type of modality, like a normal common verb form, e.g., English tends to be Subject+Verb+Object, (S+V+O) and Japanese tends to be S+O+V without lots of modal verbs; for instance if I tell you about something

**deixis** (2f.vii)
A part of pragmatics, also called 'reference'; basically knowing speakers or writers and readers knowing what is talked about in and outside of the communication message.

SEE ALSO endophoric deixis and exophoric deixis

**a dichotomy** (1b.i)
2 different things, phenomena ideas or whatever, that exist but are different, and which may do something at the same time

**Discourse, discursive** (2b.ii, 2f.iii, 2f.viii)
How language is used and also what is communicated; Discourse-with-a-capital-D is the linguistic concept of discourse, and it is similar to ideas and language (which is just a way that ideas, information and feelings are communicated, and ideology—actually Discourse is a very hard thing to explain because it is very, very theoretical

**a discourse** (Preface, 3b.viii)
An idea, a meaning, a message; something which can be communicated as language or as something else and be encoded or recorded as text—as text it can be seen, heard, taken in and understood

**disparate English** (2c, 2d.i, 2d.ii, Figure 2, 3b.i, 3c.i)
English only; a type of English which is quite distinct or separate from other types of English in a local language culture, such as different idiom or pronunciation. For example, the English in Japan which is separate from and not connected to any Japanese (language) in Japan

**ellipsis, elipsed** (2f.iii)
Leaving out something in a sentence or in a language pattern. Ellipsis often happens when, say two people know what each other is talking about and therefore do not need to keep repeating a word.
to encounter (1b.iii)
to meet or to ‘bump into’ somebody or something

endophoric deixis (2f.vii)
referring or talking about something in or outside of a conversation or communication which is mentioned in the conversation or communication
SEE ALSO deixis

English as a Japanese language (0.0 Introduction, 1c.ii, Table 2)
a language of and in the culture of Japan (Honna 2008), a language of Japan, a language in Japan

English as an Asian language (1c.ii, Table 2)
English in Asia having its own features different from other Englishes in other parts of the world; also English being a lingua franca in Asia

English as lingua franca (ELF) (1c.ii, 3b.iv)
English as a contact language; or English as a common language in an English language community – some people think about ELF as the common language for the world.

English core (1c.ii)
SEE core features of English

English in Japan (1b.iii, 2d.i, 2f.x, 2h.iii, 3b.vi)
Basically any English people have Contact with in Japan which is produced or Used in Japan. This includes disparate English as well as Japanese English and might even include some Japanese depending on how much English neologism is mixed with it

an English language community
a group of people who use English language or a variety of English; the people in an English language culture

English repertoire (2f.iii)
SEE repertoire

Englishness (1c.iii, 2d.ii, 2d.v, 2e, 2h.i)
having features of English (language); being (of) English (language)

ethnicity (2f.ii)
somebody’s race background, sometimes connected to culture or where a person comes from, but generally a person’s family or even biological background

**exophoric deixis**  (2f.vii)
referring or talking about something outside of a conversation or communication which is not mentioned - some people call it assumed knowledge
SEE ALSO deixis

**first language**  (2f.viii, 2f.x)
the language of a person’s main language community or language culture, usually the language used in the place where they grow up. It is perhaps the most important source of language knowledge for most people. Often called ‘L1’

**(language) form**  (2g.ii)
how language appears as text, what it looks like as writing or how it sounds. Linguistically, language form includes lexis, syntax (some people also consider morphology such as the beginnings and endings or words to change meaning) and phonology (sounds etc.)

**formulaic utterances**  (2f.viii)
for example formulaic English is really common expressions which people use often or lightly –‘thank you’ or ‘OK’ being good examples. Often people may know a little bit of formulaic language forms – for instance I can say ‘Good bye’ in English, Japanese, Chinese, French, German, Korean, Russian, Spanish and Italian, but I do not know any more than that

**gairaigo**  (2d.iv)
SEE neologism

**genre, a genre**  (2b.ii, 2g.ii)
types of written or spoken language – similar to ‘text types’. Also how language is used in a particular way, for particular purposes or in particular contexts
SEE ALSO  style

**graphic, graphic text**  (2f.iv; 4b.ii)
picture or design; how something is seen or how it appears, for example its image, its proportional size or is spacing and lay out. A text in which the design, image or artistic points are important can be called a graphic text.

**grammar**  (2f.viii; 4b.ii)
SEE syntax

**grammar rules**  (2f.viii)
rules or conventions for organizing language, usually under nouns, verbs, adjectives and
adverbs. Two issues are: right and wrong grammar, and also who decides the grammar rules anyway
SEE syntax

**identity** (3b.xi)
basically how a person sees themselves, what, who they are, where they come from, and sometimes what they think or feel they are not; similarly, another person’s identity can be how one person sees that other person – who, what they are, where from, etc. Identity can have a connection with a culture or a community, for example somebody feeling or thinking that they come from a particular culture or community

**institutionalized variety (of English), English in Japan as** (1b.i)
a view of English in Japan following an American native speaker model. This idea was suggested first by Stanlaw (2004), but seems similar to Honna’s (2008) idea of a present-day Unrealistic ELT model. It is different from Stanlaw’s other type, an Internalized variety of English in Japan

**interlanguage** (3a)
a very ‘linguistics’ idea about what is happening in people’s brains when they are dealing with a new language and also dealing with their L1, based upon Chomskian notion of a Language Acquisition Device in people’s brains, and the word, interlanguage, given by Selinker (1972) to cover the processing and any mixing of languages. Some people think interlanguage happens outside when people are actually speaking using two or more languages, but words like mixing or codeswitching are simpler and better because they are just describing what is taking place, or my idea about amorphization which tends to be more about the text and the language culture and not what is happening in people’s brains

**internalized variety (of English), English in Japan as** (1b.i, 2b.i)
Also called a, ‘Internalized system’ (Kirkpatrick (2008). English that people in Japan have in their head, from learning in school or other contact with English. This model has its own form, perhaps different from American or other varieties of English in the world. This idea is is similar to Honna’s (2008) Modified, Realistic model. It is different form Stanlaw’s other type, an Institutionalized variety of English in Japan

**international auxiliary language** (1c.ii)
SEE auxiliary language, international

**Japanese English** (1c, 1c.ii)
a Japanese language community (1b.iii)
a group of people who use Japanese language; the people in a Japanese language culture

Japaneseness (2d.i)
having features of Japanese (language) or Japanese culture; being (of) Japanese (language) or Japanese culture

Japanization (1c, 2h.ii)
How Japanese language culture affects English, or some people would say how Japanese people re-make English (eg, Stanlaw (2004 p 291) calls it “English remade in Japan”

Japlish (2f.i, 2f.ii, 2f.iii, 2f.viii, 2f.ix, 2h.iii)
a mix of Japanese and English together; also called things like Janglish and Japanized English

kana scripts (3bxi, 4a.i)
phonemic scripts used to write sounds of words – normally like a consonant and vowel together, but there are vowel-type sounds also. There are two types, hiragana (for more Japanese language words) and katakana for using other specific types of words. The scripts are based on older ideographic Chinese kanji characters which had had similar pronunciations to older Japanese words over 1,000 years ago

katakana (3b.xi, 3c.vi; 4a.i; 4a.ii; 4b.i)
one of the two Japanese phonemic scripts, used mostly for specific purposes like writing neologistic (gairaigo or) loanwords (the other phonemic kana script, hiragana, is normally used for writing text rooted in Japanese when ideographic kanji characters are not used)
SEE ALSO phonology

katakana English (4b.iii)
basically is pronouncing English (and other languages) as if it was Japanese

Language (Preface)
a medium for of communicating ideas, information feeling or intention; language is usually ordered by grammar, is normally produced as written or spoken text but in other ways too like signs or pictures;
also, a part of a culture which appears as cultural artifact, most commonly apparent and observable as Text

a language (Preface)
an encoded medium for communicating discourses, information or feelings, in a culture among recognized and use d by people – the community – sharing that culture. Languages can cover a wide range of communicative functions, and usually have distinct forms. Dialects and creoles
are usually similar to particular languages or mixes of different languages but not different enough or developed enough to become separate languages

a language community  (1b.iii, 1c.i)
a group of people who use a particular language or language variety; similar to a speech community or a discourse community

a language culture  (1c.i, 2l.i, 3b.xi, 3b.xii)
how language is in a particular culture; this includes, how people use language, what language (or languages there are). A language culture is reflected in texts from that language culture

a language practice  (2i.i)
when a way to use language becomes normal behaviour and becomes recognized by people, similar to a communication practice using language

lexical, lexis  (0.1 Outline, 1c.iii, 4b.ii)
words, vocabulary, idiom, expressions etc in a language

a literacy event  (4b.ii)
an event when someone uses literacy skill (or literacy practice), such as reading something or writing something, usually in a particular context; Based on a concept explained in Barton (1994)
SEE ALSO communication practice

a loan-word  ‘(2d.iv; 5c.i)
SEE neologism

(a language) medium  (2g.ii, 3b.xii)
A bit similar to a language channel, but more specific – similar to how people talk about ‘the mass media'; spoken media could include telephone or person to person, and written media could include online or writing on paper. A mixed media may be, say, chat online which is a often a spoken style (as if people are talking) but it is written with a keyboard

a milieu  (0.0 Introduction, 3b.viii)
a culture or an environment; normally thought of as a person’s social or cultural environment or surroundings

morphological, morphology  (1c.iii; 5c.i)
how a word stem (normally at the start or end) changes to change the grammar function or meaning

native speakers  (2f.v)
users of a language who come from the community of that language, were brought up in the culture of that language and who may share some ethnic or other characteristics of people from the same community

nativization (5aii)
making words on one’s language in an original way

a neologism (2d.iv, 3c.vi)
a word or expression taken from one language and used in another language; more commonly called ‘loan-word’: in Japanese called 外来語 がいらいご gairaigo

official and institutionalized English (1b.ii)
English or varieties of English forms which a government or other institution (ie company, school) prefers or tells people they need to know or use. Sometimes the official language

orthography (4c.i)
SEE spelling system

philology, philological (5c.iv)
the development of meanings in a word or an expression; studying the development of meaning and use of different words and expressions in a language, how meaning and use of the word or expression has changed over time. Similar to etymology, which is looking for the sources of words and expressions

phonemics
SEE phonology

phonological, phonology (1c.iii)
Spoken form of a language, such as pronunciation. Phonemics – the sounds in a language – and phonetics – making sounds with a person’s voice, normally including language sounds – are aspects of phonology

pidgin, pidginized language (2f.iii, 2f.vi)
a type of language with not many so many words or expressions in it, normally a mix of two or more languages used by people from different language cultures when they do not know each other’s languages. Pidgin-type language is used usually just for a small range of communication functions. Pidginization is the linguistic process of how such a language is made

polymodel (1c.ii)
there is more than one model of to use to understand something properly. Morizumi (2009) uses this word to recommend people try to understand English (in Japan or in the world) in more than
one way in order to understand properly what English is

**pragmatic awareness**  
(2f.ix)  
how much people know or can sense about how language is used – if people have high pragmatic awareness, they can probably understand a lot more nuances and things communicated non-verbally than people with low pragmatic awareness. People with higher pragmatic awareness are better at picking up pragmatic cues than people with low pragmatic awareness. To an extent, pragmatic awareness can change from one language (variety) to another

**pragmatic cues**  
(2f.vii)  
something in communication or in a message that gives a signal to a reader or to a speaker that is important in the meaning or tone in the message. Cues can be in the sound of a voice, changing topic, mentioning something, how the message is communicated, or even starting or ending something in the message

**pragmatics**  
(2f.iii)  
how language is used; when people talk about it, it includes things like context, politeness and face, modality, reference

**proximity**  
(2g.ii)  
how close to or how far from something

**reference**  
(2f.vii; 5b.i)  
SEE deixis

**a repertoire**  
(2f.iii, 2f.viii)  
the various things a person knows or can use in a language; eg English repertoire is what English a person knows and can use – a bit different from just knowing English words and grammar

**redundant**  
(2f.iv)  
extra and unnecessary. Redundant language is like when somebody says something but uses extra words with the same meaning which are not really necessary

**romaji, roman script**  
(2f.iv, 3b.xi, 4a.i, 4a.ii)  
the kind of writing using the alphabet, such as in English other European and world languages, which comes originally from the Romans 2 000 years ago who spoke Latin

**the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis**  
(2f.vii)  
that the way a person uses their language (eg the order of ideas and types of things they say, etc.) reflects the distinctive way people in their culture think. This idea was put forward in the
20th century by two American psychology specialists, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf

**semantic, semantics** *(2b.ii, 2f.iv; 5b.i, 5c.iv)*
meaning; a part of linguistics connected to the meaning of something

**semiotic, semiotics** *(2f.iv)*
symbols, the meaning in symbols, symbolism of something like in advertising or religion

**spelling, spelling system** *(4c.i)*
a standard way to write things in a language to match the phonetics or even the semantics or lexis, represented as written text. Orthography us the linguistics term.

**(language) style** *(2g.ii)*
style is linked to appropriateness (suitable and unsuitable ways to use language) and it is linked to genre (how or what way language is used for a particular purpose or in a particular context). Often people describe language style in a text as seeming like a language used in some other way, eg she writes her report in a spoken style. Also, there is the issue of who decides when a style or what style is appropriate

**a syllable** *(4b.iii)*
an individual sound, usually with an aspiration (voiced). Syllables in Japanese are different because the basic phonemic units are different – saying the sounds of the alphabet (eg /ae/, /b/, /k/, /d/, etc.) or kana syllabary (eg. /ha/, /hi/, /hu/, /he/, /ho/) in either language gives the best illustration

**syntax, syntactic** *(1c.iii, 2f.vi, 2f.viii, 2f.x)*
(about) grammar or word order, basically organization of meaning in a communication
SEE ALSO grammar rules

**a taboo** *(5a.i)*
something that is forbidden in a culture; culturally embedded phenomena or discourses which have strong negative or other semiotic significance (eg. Often relating to sex, religion, senisitivity repulsion, stereotyped (bad) behaviour, images, etc.)

**Text (with a capital ‘T’)** *(Preface; 3b.xii; 4b.ii)*
the concept or generic linguistic or discursive phenomenon of text as a tangible record of language

**a text (with a small ‘t’)** *(Preface, 2f.ii, 3a; 3b.viii, 3b.xii)*
the tangible quantifiable object, a record of language (like a book or email) or other type of discourse (like an audio recording, picture or or a movie). ALSO SEE an artificial text
Three Circles of English model of World Englishes  

A convenient model for placing different varieties of English in zones closer to or more distant from the center circle, where so-called native varieties lie. It was proposed first by Braj Khachru, a linguist originally from India now working in the US, in 1994. Though this model is a bit dated, and does not really fit in with ideas of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in the world, it is still used because it is convenient. By the way, Japanese English is said to lie in the outer-most ‘Extending circle’

a topic, topicality  

very simply what people are talking or writing about; also sometimes called the subject (of conversation)

translation  

re-encoding (writing or saying) meaning in text of one language as text of another language. With a communicative purpose, this is use of those languages, though this is not an orthodox understanding of the expression, ‘use of English’.

a typology  

a set of types; a set of ways to call different types of something

use of English, English used  

to use English of course means to make meaningful texts of English to communicate that meaning to others., such as by writing or speaking. Using English also includes reading or listening to English texts with a purpose, such as to get information contained in the text, Using English to take in meaning encoded in English, which implies understanding of the language - therefore translation should be considered as use of English. On the other hand, learning English such as in school does not have a communication purpose, so I think ‘learning English’ is a bit more like just contact with English. Yet, if learning English is just contact with English, then teaching English certainly is use of English (even if grammar-translation methods are used. But use of English can also include when English items – words or expressions – become used mixed with Japanese or as Japanese – amorphized English.

SEE ALSO amorphized English, translation

wasei eigo  

a Japanese language term for English – usually words, sometimes expressions – that are used in Japan, either with a different pronunciation, altered meaning, sometimes different grammar, or all of these. Normally they are written in katakana script. Often wasei eigo is very amorphised English, so much so that it has become identified as normal Japanese

a world language  

(1c.i, Table 2)
any language which is used both in its base culture or language (ie ‘speech’) community, and also in the world outside of it. But sometimes there can be no real base language community (eg. with Esperanto) or there can be more than one base language community (such as with English)

**a writing system (4a;4a1)**
a way to write things – a way to present meaning in a linear way as written text. Sometimes a particular language has a particular writing system as part of the language culture (like English), sometimes different writing systems are used (like Japanese), sometimes there is no writing system. Writing systems can be ideographic (ie something is written and it shows some meaning or idea), sometimes phonetic (ie. something is written and it shows a spoken sound from the language).
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Appendix

Ideas for Future Lectures
1. Learning English in Japan
2. The pragmatics of English in Japan
3. English and Culture in Japan
   - English language and speech communities.
      ① English users: by gender; by age; by occupation; by education
4. English in Japan, Japanese English and English in the World Language

Summing up: the English of Japan

Post-script

The Japanese of Europe