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Use of English on Japanese commercial signage

Takako Kawabata

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Department of Linguistics
SOAS, University of London

Abstract

This study investigates the use of English on commercial signs in Japanese Linguistic Landscapes (LL) and examines people's perceptions toward the usage to find out whether written English in Japan has widely used and has specific features to be classified as a variety of World Englishes (WE). Previous studies on WE claim that English has spread worldwide due to globalisation and new varieties of English have emerged in various parts of the world. Research on LL argues that English is widely used in Japanese cityscape and it is the dominant foreign language Japanese people are exposed to. Although English is extensively used for commercial purposes in Japan, how it is used and what people think about the usage have not yet analysed in details. This research aims to answer three research questions: (1) 'To what extent is English used on commercial signs in Japan?'; (2) 'What are the linguistic features of the English on Japanese commercial signs?'; and (3) 'What are people's perceptions toward the use of English on commercial signs?'. To examine scales, forms, and functions of English on commercial signage in the Japanese LL, this study analyses linguistic and sociolinguistic features of written English in Japan using quantitative and qualitative methods. To discover to what extent and how English was used on commercial signs in Japan, written text data was collected by observing and recording commercial signs in six research sites. To understand people's perceptions, online survey was conducted among people living in and outside the research region. The quantitative data was measured statistically, and the qualitative data was examined through the use of thematic and content analyses. The study found that although Japanese commercial signs used English extensively, English was not equally used at all research areas or by all business types. Fashion-related businesses and restaurants displayed more signs

containing English compared to other industries. The usage was limited to words and phrases which were mainly used as proper nouns. There were no particular features that could be classified as Japanese English, except some direct translations from Japanese, code-mixing and trans-scriptism practices. This relates to the globalisation of business, and English in Japan is the outcome of glocalisation. Japanese people's perceptions toward English usage revealed a complex state of mind which simultaneously embraced and resisted English in their language culture. The survey participants did not consider the forms of English that are used on Japanese commercial signs as established varieties of English. Instead, they regarded English usages as errors or decorations. This result indicates that the written English that is used for commercial purposes is not yet developed enough to be called 'Japanese English' and treated as a variety of WE. Instead, it should be identified as 'distinctively Japanese use of English'. This study argues that the widespread use of English for commercial purposes in Japanese cityscapes is the outcome of McDonaldization and glocalisation as well as of globalisation. The study adopts a new perspective on WE and proposes the term 'McWords' to explain the use of English for commercial purposes as a by-product of the current global situation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates the spread and patterns of English on commercial signage in Japanese cityscapes and analyses how people perceive its usage. The scale, forms, and functions of English are analysed in relation to World Englishes (WE) and glocalisation. The study is primarily based upon the examination of commercial signage which constitutes the linguistic landscape (LL) in Nagoya, the fourth largest city in Japan, and the survey analysis of residents there. The term ‘linguistic landscape’ denotes the visibility and salience of different languages exhibited on public and commercial signs in a specific geographic region or location (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; see Section 4.2). This research delves into the use of languages in the LL, the domain that has been subject to analysis in the field of sociolinguistics and related disciplines, and has exhibited distinctive features that are absent in other forms of written communication. This research inquires whether English in Japan has spread widely due to globalisation (see Section 4.4) and whether it has specific features that make it amenable to being classified as a Japanese English. Furthermore, the study inquires whether the individuals who see such written English consider them to be manifestations of the English language, of Japanese English or of something else.

1.1 Spread of English in the world

Globalisation has increased the worldwide circulation of people, goods, services, capital, information, and knowledge across national borders, as well as the spread of cultural values and practices. Globalisation is the process of increasing interconnectedness and interdependence among countries and peoples around the world. Globalisation has been facilitated by advancements in transportation, communication, and information technologies, and has had profound economic, social, political, and cultural effects on individuals, communities, and nations. Whilst globalisation facilitates economic expansion, cultural exchange, and international collaboration, it can also lead to negative consequences including the exacerbation of socioeconomic disparities, the perpetuation of exploitation, and the exacerbation of environmental deterioration.

The effects of globalisation are evident in various ways in modern human life, such as the spread of English throughout the world (Blommaert, 2010; Bruthiaux, 2003; Coupland, 2010a). In sociolinguistics, the effect of globalisation is often discussed in terms of the spread of English in various fields, such as business, diplomacy, entertainment, and education. Although it is unclear whether globalisation has pushed

the use of English as a *lingua franca* or widespread use of English has enhanced the globalisation, the two movements may be related.

English is used for international understanding (Crystal, 2006) in the rapidly globalising world. However, researchers have expressed concern that the global spread of English is a ‘linguicism’ (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988) and that English could be a ‘killer language’ (Pakir, 1997) since its dominance could lead to the extinction of other languages and dialects. Nevertheless, the spread of English has led to the emergence of new varieties of English worldwide, and the varieties are recognised as WE (see Section 3.2). In WE paradigms, each variety of English is classified according to its sociolinguistic characteristics. The English used in Japan is categorised as English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English in the Expanding Circle, and Japanese English, among others (see Section 3.2).

1.2 Previous research on English in Japan

English serves not only for international communication, but also as an *intranational* communication in certain countries where English was not traditionally used, including Japan. The Japanese do not customarily speak English with each other. As Honna (2006, p. 120) describes, ‘English is not much needed in Japanese society’. English is used as a *lingua franca* between Japanese citizens and people who have

limited Japanese competence (see Section 2.7). Yano (2008, p. 139) consequently argues that English is not used ‘often enough for it to be established as Japanese English’. However, English words and phrases abound in the media, entertainment, business, and public places (Haarmann, 1989; MacGregor, 2003a, 2003b; Maher, 1991; Seargeant, 2009). The English usage found in the previous studies had two distinctive characteristics. First, the majority of English was not sentences or full texts, but rather words and phrases. Second, the English words and phrases were not adopted into Japanese as loanwords. Japanese has adopted a great deal of English vocabulary, and Western-based loanwords called *gairaigo* (i.e., literally ‘words from outside’) are observed in both spoken and written forms. However, the use of English words in the Japanese context is not straightforward due to the Japanese writing system, which employs four types of scripts (i.e., *kanji*, *katakana*, *hiragana*, and *romaji*), as well as two types of numerals (i.e., *kanji* and Arabic numerals; see Section 2.5). Loanwords are pronounced using Japanese phonetic systems, and their pronunciation differs from the original. When Western-based loanwords are written, they are conventionally transcribed into *katakana*. They are clearly distinguished from original Japanese vocabulary or words borrowed from China, which are written in *kanji* (Chinese characters). The English vocabulary adopted as *gairaigo* and transcribed into *katakana* is considered a part of the Japanese language, not English. Despite this convention,

specific English words and phrases used for commercial purposes have been written in the Roman alphabet in their original English form in recent years. Therefore, English found on Japanese media (e.g., television commercials and popular music songs) cannot be classified as loanwords which result from borrowing, but rather as the use of English lexical items with Japanese.

1.3 Unsolved issues in the previous research

Previous studies on sociolinguistics have argued that English has spread worldwide and that new varieties of English, which are called WE and exhibit certain local characteristics, have emerged. Studies of WE assert that English in Japan has specific features and can thus be called ‘Japanese English’, a new variety of English. Still, the majority of the population of the country uses Japanese as a first language, and the use of English among the Japanese people is limited in daily life. Previous studies on WE have not investigated the extent to which written English is used in Japan or the purpose of its usage. In Japan, English is widely used for commercial purposes; it is particularly prominent on commercial signage in public spaces (Backhaus, 2006; Inoue, 1997). The studies on the Japanese LL claim that English is used widely on street signs, the English words and phrases on those signs are mixed into Japanese sentences or used alongside Japanese texts, and English has become the dominant foreign language to

which Japanese people are exposed in public places (ibid.). Accordingly, most research on English code-mixing and code-switching in written texts has analysed advertisement texts or been conducted in the LL field. However, the majority of LL studies in Japan focus on the quantity of English and other foreign languages in relation to multilingualism and do not analyse how the languages are used in detail. These studies do not distinguish clearly between English and distinctive use of English by the Japanese and have not yet investigated the features of such written English in Japan. Moreover, the studies in question have not inquired whether individuals perceive English usages as manifestations of the English language, of Japanese English or of something else.

In LL studies, there are two perspectives regarding the use of localised English; one sees English usage as an error (e.g., Barrs, 2015; Mohebbi & Firoozkahi, 2021), whereas the other recognises it as a glocalised form of English (e.g., Manan et al., 2017). In the Japanese context, certain researchers categorise the English in Japan as a variety of WE (e.g., D'Angelo, 2012; Morrow, 2004). Although Hino (2016, p. 41) defines Japanese English as 'a pedagogically designed variety of English' and Honna (2008) claims the need to promote Japanese English, no study has identified the specific features of 'Japanese English'. Koscielecki (2000) argues that data is needed which would identify and characterise 'Japanese English' to consider it to be an established

variety. Previous studies have not sufficiently examined whether English in Japan is erroneous or if it has specific features that could be recognised as a variety of English. D'Angelo (2013, pp. 117–118) claims that '[w]e do not need to argue for the legitimacy of Japanese English in order to claim ownership of English and the right to use it to promote our own opinions'. Nonetheless, investigating English in Japan would contribute to a deeper understanding the spread of English and the process of language development. Most importantly, it is questionable to proclaim 'the spread of English' without identifying the nature of English in Japan. English is commonly used in specific types of contents (e.g., shop names, product names, and catchphrases; Someya, 2009). As English is mainly used for commercial purposes, typically as single words and used alongside Japanese, 'spread of English' and 'Japanese English' are not accurate descriptions of the English in Japan. It is unclear whether the Japanese think that English 'spreads' in Japan or if the English usage they are exposed is English, erroneous English, or something else. Language use not only refers to established patterns (e.g., grammar and vocabulary), but also how people use it and structure their views of the world through language. In this respect, language is 'a form of social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

1.4 Research questions and project objectives

Globalisation is one of the factors which has spread English worldwide; globalisation of business and culture is one reason that English is widely observed in Japan. However, English is used for other purposes as well, and it may not be limited to the word/phrase level if the spread occurs due to globalisation. Additional factors affect the use of English in the Japanese LL. One is that the expansion of businesses by global corporations would increase the McDonaldization of Japanese society, and English would appear in the Japanese LL. McDonaldization is a term coined by sociologist George Ritzer in his book *the McDonaldization of Society* (Ritzer, 1993) to describe the process of rationalisation of society, specifically in reference to the fast-food restaurant chain McDonald's. The rationalisation could potentially incentivise the use of English as a means of standardisation in the realm of global marketing (see Section 4.4). Another is that English usage might expand from global corporations to local businesses, and English is used in the Japanese LL as a result of glocalisation (i.e., the combination of global and local; see Section 4.4). Code-mixing and code-switching are thus understood as outcomes of glocalisation. Hence, I hypothesise that the English appears to have spread in the Japanese LL due to McDonaldization and that English usage is the outcome of glocalisation (see Section 4.4).

Previous WE and LL studies in Japanese and non-Japanese contexts have exposed interesting language usage in each community and provided insights into their language situations. In the case of English in Japan, however, scant attention has heretofore been paid to the fundamental questions regarding what Japanese English *is* (if anything) and what it means to Japanese people. The features of written English in Japan and people's attitudes towards the usage have remained obscure. Therefore, this research questions and reinvestigates the assertion that English has spread widely in Japan and that this use of English represents Japanese English, a variety of WE. This research follows studies on the use of English in Japan in the fields of WE and LL. Considering the language situation and the limitations of previous contributions to the literature, the present study examines the spread and use of English in written texts. Specifically, it focuses on the analysis of English usages on commercial signs in the Japanese LL. The linguistic analysis is confined to short scripted English contextualised to the signs and does not explore any other modes of spoken or written English employed within Japan. Bussmann et al. referred to 'text' as '[t]heoretical term of formally limited, mainly written expressions that include more than one sentence' (Bussmann, Trauth, et al., 1996:1187). On the other hand, Richards and Schmidt (2002:549) claim that 'text' is 'normally made up of several sentences that together create a structure or unit [...]' (however one word texts also occur, such as DANGER on a warning sign)' and has 'a

particular communicative function or purpose'. Accordingly, in this thesis, the term 'text' is used to describe a segment of written languages comprising one or more words with a communicative function or purpose. The usage includes use of single words, such as nouns for shop names and product names, as the brand names themselves serve communicative functions in representing and conveying corporate messages. In this research, Japan-specific usages of English are called 'distinctively Japanese use of English' rather than 'Japanese English'. This project differs from other studies because it not only investigates actual usage in written texts but also explores the opinions of individuals about the use of English. The research questions investigated in this study are as follows:

- (1) To what extent is English used on commercial signs in Japan?
- (2) What are the linguistic features of the English on Japanese commercial signs?
- (3) What are people's attitudes towards the use of English on commercial signs?

By examining these questions, this thesis explores how globalisation and glocalisation affect the language usage in the Japanese LL. The first question investigates whether the use of English has spread in Japan. Since the previous LL studies in relation to the spread of English were conducted in Tokyo, this research

investigates the use of English in another city to determine whether English has spread equally in Japan due to the effects of McDonaldization and glocalisation. The second question analyses how English is used in commercial texts. Although previous studies have revealed that code-mixing and code-switching were the major features of English on advertisement and commercial texts in the Japanese LL, those studies have not explained the functions of these English usages. If limited vocabulary or grammatical units are code-mixed for specific functions (e.g., shop names and brand names), the usages could be considered ‘borrowed’ from English vocabulary. It is debatable to label this as the ‘use’ of English and claim the spread of English in the Japanese LL. The third question assesses what the LL audiences think of the English usage. This demonstrates whether the people exposed to English in the LL recognise the spread of English and consider the usage to be English, Japanese English, or something else. Previous studies have mainly examined Japanese attitudes towards spoken English. Evaluating attitudes towards both spoken and written languages is essential to understanding the nature and function of English in Japan fully. By exploring people’s attitudes towards English in the Japanese LL, this research aims to gain insight into the notion of English in Japanese. This study seeks to evaluate whether written English in Japan should be considered a variety of WE. Furthermore, it aims to develop a new outlook on how glocalisation affects English in Japan.

1.5 Research methodology

To examine the use of English in Japan, it is essential to consider the medium and purpose of the use of the English words and phrases, as they are almost exclusively used in commercial media and do not appear in formal Japanese writings. The LL has a distinctive characteristic which other media do not; in many cases, readers and viewers have more freedom of choice in terms of whether they want to read or listen to the language used in other media (e.g., television, magazines, newspapers, and books). They can change the channel or turn off the television if they do not want to engage with it, although they may occasionally glance at the contents. They do not need to read the full contents of magazines or newspapers, although they may notice the front-page headlines. On the other hand, the LL includes texts displayed in the cityscape which are visible even to viewers who do not intend to read them. However, passersby do not necessarily engage with all written languages in the streets, and few people may notice the texts, given the rise of the use of mobile phones in public places. On the other hand, the recent boom of augmented reality games (e.g., Pokémon Go) may encourage awareness of public texts, particularly for games which require players to read street signs and public plaques. Even after taking the above situations into consideration, the LL reaches a broader audience than other media and represents a dynamic use of

language in the community. Hence, an analysis of the LL would provide insight into the discourse of written language choice, as it contains many samples.

This project investigates the questions by analysing quantitative and qualitative data. It is premised on two research methods. The first is the examination of languages in commercial signage that were observed and collected in the course of fieldwork in the LL in Nagoya, Japan. This method is applied in order to determine the extent to which English is used on commercial signs in Japan and the purpose of that use. The second method entails the evaluation of opinions about English and the LL through an online survey of individuals within and outside of the region with a view to identifying perceptions. The quantitative data was measured statistically by using SPSS ver. 25.0. The survey responses were coded by using KH coder ver. 3 for thematic analysis and examined further for the purpose of content analysis.

1.6 Significance of research

Studies of languages predominantly address spoken language systems. Saussure (1916/1983, p. 24) argues that '[a] language and its written form constitute two separate system of signs' and that '[t]he sole reason for the existence of the latter is to represent the former' (ibid., p. 24). His argument does not apply to the use of written language in public places in the twenty-first century. The written form is not

simply the representation of language or its spoken form; it has more complex roles than he claims. Written language should thus not be neglected when researching language use. Writing is considered ‘a difficult topic, little studied, poorly understood’ (Powell, 2009, p. 1), and there are ‘persistent misconceptions and problematic inconsistencies concerning writing systems’ (Joyce, 2016, p. 288). However, both spoken and written languages have unique characteristics in their own right. Written languages also need consistent inquiries. Linell (2005, p. iiiii) critiques the primacy of spoken language and argues for the importance of considering written languages, as ‘language is explored from theoretical and methodological points of departure that are ultimately derived from concerns with cultivating, standardising, and teaching forms of written language’. Studies on English in Japan also follow this tradition, and most of them occur within the educational context. However, not only standardised written languages but also languages used outside educational and formal settings must be considered to understand actual language situations. Furthermore, Sebba (2012) maintains that the few published studies on written multilingualism do not analyse the features of texts. A theoretical framework for written code-switching and code-mixing research has not yet been developed. Analysing distinctive use of English in Japan and its characteristics is the first step towards developing the framework.

The use of languages and scripts in Japan is complex due to the nature of the Japanese language and how it is used (see Section 2.5). Research on reading is likely to be based on knowledge of English and the discourse surrounding WE represents Anglo-centric views of globalisation and language use. Powell (2009, p. 1) expresses the critique that '[a]ll scientific speculation on the history of writing, without exception, is conducted by alphabet-users, . . . which gives a bias to our questions and to what we take as answers'. Share (2008, p. 584) also argues that 'the current state of our knowledge is largely confined to English speakers reading in their native tongue' and that 'the outcomes from non-Anglophone studies are likely to offer a better approximation to the global norm' (Share, 2008, p. 604). This 'Anglocentricity' may have prevented the formation of important questions, such as what written languages mean for people and what languages embody in our society. Additional studies on written languages from diverse viewpoints are therefore required to reveal the impact of English in various language communities, and analysis of English usage in an Asian context may accomplish this purpose.

Research on language and society in Japan has often posited the 'uniqueness' of Japanese society and culture. Kuwayama (2009) finds that Japanese studies fail to inquire cross-culturally into the study of other countries, which leads to the idea of the uniqueness of Japan and 'Japanese exceptionalism'. He argues that a lack of analysis

of ambiguity, diversity, and representativeness results in the belief in Japan's homogeneity (ibid.). Although this project investigates the use of English in the Japanese LL and how it relates to Japanese people's language attitudes, this study is not limited to either Japanese studies or sociolinguistics in Japan. It examines language situations from different perspectives and challenges the notion of English as a *lingua franca* and WE, which primarily views the use of English for communicative purposes. The term English as a *lingua franca* generally denotes the use of English as a common language, encompassing communicative situations in which individuals share other languages (Jenkins, 2007). In this thesis, however, the term is employed in a narrower sense, specifically to refer to the use of English as a shared language among individuals who lack any common languages other than English. Such usage may involve both native and non-native English speakers, not only in international, but also intranational contexts (e.g., between a Japanese citizen and an international student with no or limited proficiency in Japanese, or between a Chinese shop assistant and a Korean tourist in Japan). The findings of this research may be beneficial for reconsidering the spread and use of English in various parts of the world.

1.7 Importance of research theme

In the rapidly globalising world, the existence of languages that many individuals in various parts of the world can access would support communication and social life. This research provides new insights into the study of the global spread of English. The results would contribute to the understanding of the processes by which English is assimilated in Japanese social and cultural contexts. It would also facilitate discussions of the use of English and its purpose in various parts of the world. This study aims to introduce how English is used and received in Japan to researchers and those interested in the fields of WE, LL, applied linguistics, and sociolinguistics. The findings could also be of interest to researchers who study literacy, language education and marketing as well as to a broader audience. It employs theories of globalisation and glocalisation to discuss English in Japan. It is not expected that the research findings will be generalisable across the country. Nonetheless, examining English in Japanese LL may be of benefit, as more studies on language usages in various media and field would assist in uncovering the nature of written language.

1.8 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the principal areas of interest in this study and highlights the concepts which have thus far been absent in WE and LL studies in Japanese contexts. It then clarifies the issues under investigation and states the research questions. Furthermore, it explains the significance of examining the English in the Japanese LL in the fields of linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in the wider communities. Lastly, the chapter provides an outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 describes the background of Japanese languages and society. First, it presents the current Japanese social situation in relation to its language situation, including demographics, immigration, and inbound tourism. The languages used in the current Japanese society is also explained. After that, it describes language contacts in terms of script and lexical borrowings. The systems of written Japanese language which need to be considered with the use of foreign languages are also illustrated. Finally, English as a foreign and second language education in Japan which might affect people's attitudes towards English are clarified.

Chapter 3 discusses the spread of English globally in relation to the use of English in Japan. It subsequently explores English varieties in the world. It then summarises the literature on English in Japan, including English-based loanwords, English as a foreign or second language education, multilingualism, English in media,

and English in LLs. It also presents previous studies on language attitudes among the Japanese. Lastly, Chapter 3 reconsiders the notion of Japanese English to determine whether English in Japan is a variety of WE.

Chapter 4 introduces previous research on English in advertising and in LLs conducted in Japan and throughout the world. It first reviews how English is used for advertising, as English is most widely employed for commercial purposes in Japanese LL. Next, it clarifies the meaning of the term ‘linguistic landscape’ by reviewing previous LL studies and their approaches which deal with demographics, history, economics, politics and language policies and semiotic aspects of signs. LL studies conducted in Japan are also described. It then discusses symbolic capital and market value of English in relation to the roles of languages in the LL. Finally, it explains the theories of globalisation and glocalisation and how they can be applied to the studies on WE, particularly English in Japanese context.

Chapter 5 outlines the research methodologies of analysing language and script use in the LL. It first considers methodological issues in the previous studies in relation to LL and attitudinal studies. After that, research methods applied to this project are explained. It provides background information on the research sites and clarifies research items. Then, it describes survey sampling method and illustrates background information of survey participants.

Chapter 6 illustrates LL research results. Scale of English among other languages and forms of English in the LL are presented with tables and analysed according to research sites, business types, availability of translation, contents of the text, and use of visual aids. The chapter investigates the extent to which English has spread in the Japanese LL and explains how the use of English affects commercial signs and their languages by evaluating the collected data.

Chapter 7 describes and examines the survey data conducted among residents in the research area and people outside Japan. It exposes survey participants' attitudes towards the use of English on signage in Japanese LL and reconsiders the spread and use of English in Japanese LL. By analysing survey responses and representative quotes from the research participants, this chapter reveals what English on commercial signs means for individuals, particularly for those who live in Japan.

Chapter 8 discusses the research findings. By reviewing the results from Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 and the findings from previous research on the use of English in Japanese LL, this chapter examines the manner in which McDonaldization and glocalisation affect the use of English in commercial signs and aims to determine whether the use of English in the Japanese LL is a manifestation of the English language, of Japanese English or of something else. The nature and the role of the commercial usage of English in the LL are also discussed.

Chapter 9 summarises this project. The research findings, analyses, and people's attitudes towards English are reviewed. The chapter answers the questions whether English spread in Japanese LL and the English used there is Japanese English. It also identifies the limitations of the study and how the research findings can be applied to other studies on language use. Finally, the theoretical contributions of this project to sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, specifically to WE studies are mentioned.

Chapter 2: Background - Languages and society in Japan

This chapter explains Japanese society and the languages in order to understand the language practices in the country and consider whether globalisation affects language practice. Several researchers (e.g., Komatsu, 1999; Mori, 2014; Shoji, 2009a) have argued that social changes have led to changes in the Japanese language. Therefore, this chapter first introduces demographics of Japan to give a brief overview of the country. Second, it describes the inbound tourism which affects language usage in the society, particularly in the LL in modern-day Japan. It then illustrates the languages used in Japan and explains language contacts including script and lexical borrowing. Next, it clarifies the system of standard Japanese language in relation to its writing system and loanword usage to highlight the linguistic features of written Japanese and how foreign languages are integrated into the Japanese language. Language education in Japan is then described to elucidate the factors affecting people's language attitudes towards foreign languages in the country. Finally, the chapter reviews language policies and the sign regulations regarding the use of languages in public spaces.

2.1 Demographics in Japan

Although Japan is commonly believed to be ethnically homogeneous nation-state compared to many other countries (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017), Sugimoto (2003) estimated that approximately 4% of the Japanese population are categorised as members of minority groups, including Japanese ethnic groups (e.g., Ainu). Furthermore, Japan has gradually become a multiethnic society as the number of registered short- and long-term foreign nationals has steadily increased since the 1980s, particularly those from Asian and South American countries (Yamawaki, 2005).

According to the 2016 population census by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, (2017a), approximately 124 million of Japan's more than 126 million residents (i.e., approximately 98.4% of the total population) were Japanese. The remaining 1.6% were registered foreign nationals, including long-term or permanent foreign residents and short-term residents staying fewer than three months in Japan (Ministry of Justice, 2014a). The number of registered foreign nationals was approximately 1.5 million in 1997, increasing to approximately 2 million a decade later (Ministry of Justice, 2008). By the end of 2016, the number had increased to approximately 2.4 million people, an increase of 60.7% from two decades prior and the

highest number since the Ministry of Justice began collecting data in 1959 (Ministry of Justice, 2017a).

Among the registered foreign nationals, approximately 339,000 people had been given the status of ‘special permanent residents’ through the Immigration Control Act (Ministry of Justice, 2014b). This status is issued under ‘Special Act on the Immigration Control of, Inter Alia, Those Who Have Lost Japanese Nationality Pursuant to the Treaty of Peace with Japan’ (Act No. 71 of 1991) and is granted to Koreans and Taiwanese who had lived in Japan before 1952 and, along with their descendants, lost Japanese nationality pursuant to the Treaty of Peace with Japan. This status allows them to retain their original nationalities but permits them to stay in Japan legally (Ministry of Justice, 2014b). As a consequence, 99% of those who hold this status are descendants of Korean immigrants, and 0.6% are descendants of Chinese or Taiwanese immigrants who were born or educated in Japan (Ministry of Justice, 2017a). Although Chinese (including Taiwanese) and Koreans (both originally from North and South Korea) are the largest group by nationality – 29.2% and 19.0%, respectively – as the statistics include those holding ‘special permanent resident’ status, residents from the Philippines constitute 10.2%, Vietnam 8.4%, Brazil 7.6%, and Nepal 2.8% of registered foreign nationals (ibid.) A notable increase was observed among

Vietnamese nationals, whose numbers rose by approximately 36.1%, and Nepali nationals, whose numbers rose by 23.2% compared to 2016 (ibid.).

The small percentage of non-Japanese in the total population often gives the false impression that Japan has closed its borders to foreign nationals. However, Japan is one of the most accepting countries of foreigners in the world. According to OECD data on international migration, Japan is the fourth-largest country after Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom among the 37 OECD member countries in terms of inflows of foreign population, with approximately 427,000 people staying in Japan for over 90 days in 2016 alone (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2018). The number of registered foreign workers has also increased due to a June 1990 amendment to the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act that repealed restrictions regarding occupations for the descendants of Japanese émigrés who were born overseas, resulting in an increase in Japanese descendants from South America (Okado, 2004). Moreover, interns from China, Vietnam, and the Philippines have been increasing since the Technical Intern Training Program was institutionalised in 1993 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2017). The Economic Partnership Agreements, which concluded with the acceptance of nurses and caregivers from Indonesia and the Philippines in 2008 and Vietnam in 2014, also accelerated the

increase in Asian workers (ibid.) As a result, ‘the notion of Japan as a racially homogeneous society has come under question’ (Sugimoto, 2003, p. 5).

The number of registered foreign nationals is expected to increase, as the Japanese government is considering introducing a system which allows blue-collar foreign workers with certain skills to live in Japan for extended periods with their families due to the country’s shortage of labourers (The Japan Times, 2016). The new system is controversial, but a simulation model indicates that immigration will improve the Japanese economy and welfare (Shimasawa & Oguro, 2009). In addition, approximately 19,600 people applied for refugee status in 2017, an increase of 80% compared to the previous year (Ministry of Justice, 2017b).

Another type of resident which figures often overlook is people who overstay their visas. In 2016, 65,270 foreign nationals had overstayed their visas, an increase of 3.9% from the previous year (Ministry of Justice, 2017c). The top nine countries and regions, in terms of the number of overstayers, are Asian: South Koreans are the largest group, with 20.3%, followed by Chinese with 13.6% and Thais with 10.0% (ibid.). Indonesian overstayers have increased since the implementation of visa waivers for Indonesian tourists in December 2014 (ibid.). While tourists were the largest group who overstayed visas, overstays among interns for the government’s foreign trainee program have also increased (ibid.). The trainee program has often been criticised for its low

wages and harsh labour conditions, which could lead trainees to escape from their workplaces and overstay their visas (The Japan Times, 2016). Considering these facts, it is likely that more people with foreign backgrounds are living in Japan than the official population census reveals.

The largest number of registered foreign nationals live in Japan's capital, Tokyo, and its surrounding prefectures, Kanagawa and Saitama. As of 2016, approximately 21% lived in Tokyo, followed by Aichi (9.4%), and Osaka (9.1%; Ministry of Justice, 2017d; see Table 2.1). However, the ethnic background of foreign residents in each prefecture differs significantly from those in the metropolitan areas (e.g., Tokyo and Osaka, and central Japan; Statistics of Japan, 2017). While the Chinese are the largest immigrant group in the Kanto region, including Tokyo, Koreans are the largest in Osaka and Brazilians in Aichi (ibid.; see Table 2.1).

Table 2. 1 Number and nationalities of registered foreign nationals in each prefecture

Prefecture	Total	China	Indonesia	S.Korea	N.Korea	Philippines	Vietnam	Brazil
Gunma	52,979	7,273	1,450	2,247	327	7,296	6,348	12,422
Saitama	160,026	62,948	2,082	15,707	1,457	19,169	17,262	7,271
Chiba	139,823	47,875	2,047	15,605	800	18,242	14,091	3,491
Tokyo	521,088	197,510	4,305	92,156	5,625	31,940	31,502	3,398
Kanagawa	198,557	64,830	2,761	28,077	1,759	21,101	15,082	8,549
Gifu	49,649	11,740	675	3,845	561	11,659	4,888	10,564
Shizuoka	83,093	11,527	2,608	4,882	421	15,313	5,948	27,473
Aichi	234,330	46,861	6,093	30,704	2,343	34,514	21,105	52,919
Mie	46,176	7,708	1,349	4,509	360	6,389	3,864	12,683
Osaka	223,025	58,050	2,579	103,078	5,059	7,600	17,168	2,521
Nationwide	2,471,458	711,486	46,350	452,953	31,674	251,934	232,562	185,967

Statistics of Japan (2017) *2017nendo nempo zairyu gaikokujin tokei* [Statistics on foreign residents in 2016 (Definitive number)]

Although there is a larger number of foreign nationals in Tokyo than in all other prefectures, the proportion of registered foreign nationals within the total population is high in the Aichi, Mie, and Gifu prefectures in central Japan. The percentage of registered foreign nationals within each prefecture's overall population is approximately 4% in Tokyo and 3% in Aichi (ibid.; see Table 2.2).

Table 2. 2 Registered foreign nationals within overall population

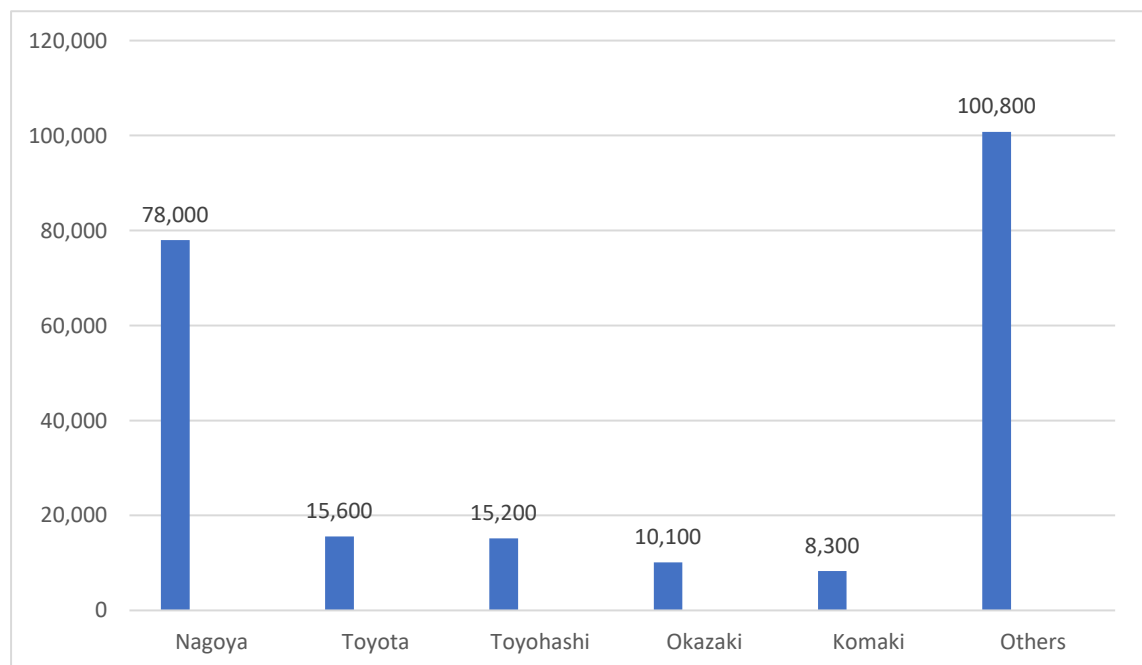
Prefecture	Total population	Foreign nationals	Percentage
Gunma	1,960,000	52,979	3%
Saitama	7,310,000	160,026	2%
Chiba	6,246,000	139,823	2%
Tokyo	13,724,000	521,088	4%
Kanagawa	9,159,000	198,557	2%
Gifu	2,008,000	49,649	2%
shizuoka	3,675,000	83,093	2%
Aichi	7,525,000	234,330	3%
Mie	1,800,000	46,176	3%
Osaka	8,823,000	223,025	3%
Nationwide	126,706,000	2,471,458	2%

Statistics of Japan (2017) *Jinko sokei (Heisei 29nen 10gatsu tsuitachi genzai)* [Total population (as of October 1 2017)]

As seen above, the central region is distinct from other regions of Japan, not only in terms of its large number of non-Japanese residents, but also due to the ethnic background of its foreign residents. The reason central Japan has distinct demographics could be linked to its industries and geographical location. The research area of this project, the city of Nagoya in Aichi prefecture and its surrounding municipalities, have become the home of new migrants, mainly from South American and Asian countries since the 1980s, as there are many international companies, factories, and subsidiaries there, and people with little Japanese competence can find jobs (Okado, 2004). Many people visit Nagoya from neighbouring cities, as it is the largest city in central Japan and thus a business and entertainment hub with extensive facilities and social activities. Large stations in Nagoya are connection hubs to other provincial cities, such as Toyota,

Toyohashi, and Okazaki in Aichi Prefecture; Minokamo in Gifu Prefecture; and Yokkaichi in Mie Prefecture. These cities are located in close proximity and it takes only 20 to 60 minutes to travel from these neighbouring cities to the centre of Nagoya by train or underground. Nagoya has the largest number of non-Japanese residents in Aichi Prefecture, and approximately 33.1% of registered foreign nationals live in Nagoya (Ministry of Justice, 2017e). The others live in the aforementioned cities, as well as the nearby cities of Okazaki and Komaki (See Graph 2.1). The statistics show that approximately 3.4% of the population of Nagoya consists of registered foreign nationals (City of Nagoya, 2017a).

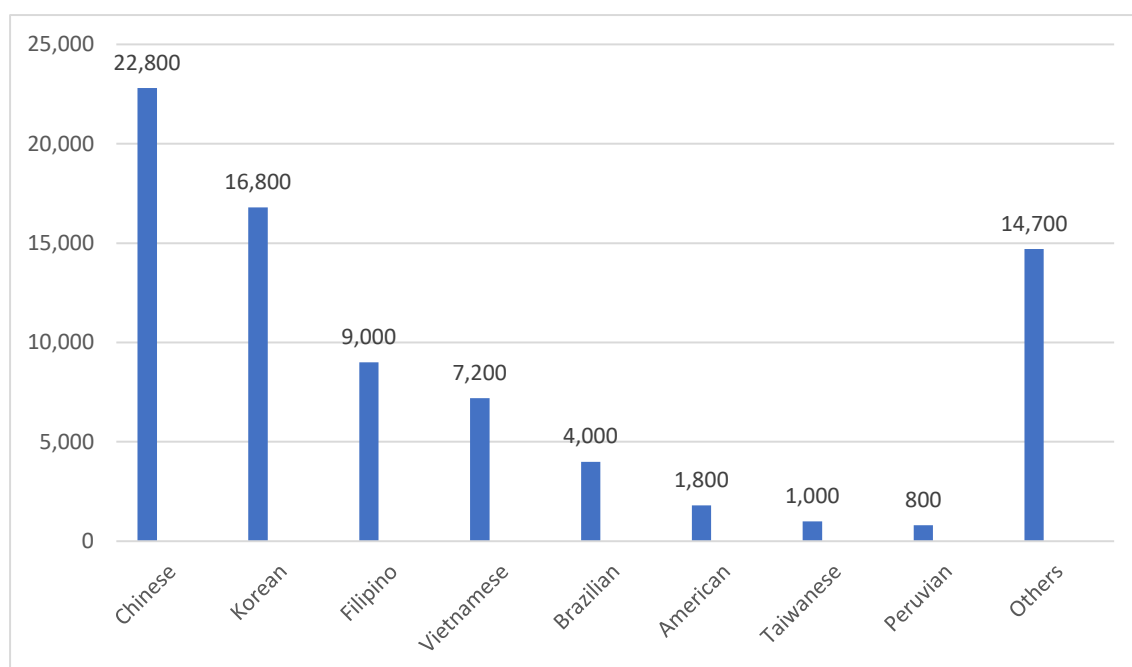
Graph 2. 1 Number of registered foreign nationals in each city in Aichi Prefecture



Aichi Prefectural Government (2018)

Chinese and Koreans are the major groups in Nagoya as well Tokyo and Osaka since the number includes migrants who have special permanent resident status (see above). In the case of Nagoya, approximately 78.7% of South and North Koreans residents hold this status (City of Nagoya, 2017a). In regard to the ethnic backgrounds of non-Japanese in the city and approximately 29.2% are Chinese, 21.5% are South or North Koreans, followed by Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Brazilians (ibid.; See Graph 2.2). Hence, Nagoya city, Aichi Prefecture, and its surrounding areas are culturally and linguistically diverse compared to other regions of Japan. People with diverse backgrounds have changed the demographic pattern, and this change may be observed in other regions in Japan in the future.

Graph 2. 2 Nationalities of registered foreign nationals in Nagoya



City of Nagoya (2017a)

2.2 Inbound tourism

Another factor which affects use of foreign languages in Japan is inbound tourism. Foreign tourists visit Japan for sightseeing, among other reasons (Uzama, 2012). In addition to foreign residents, the number of visitors from overseas has increased. The increase in visitors is not unique to Japan but a global trend. The number of international travellers reached a record high in 2017, and approximately 1.323 billion tourists visited other countries that year (Travel Voice, 2018). The number of people who travelled abroad has shown the largest historical increase since 2010 and is expected to increase worldwide (ibid.). The most popular destination for international

travellers is France (8.6 million people), followed by Spain (8.1 million), and the United States (7.5 million); Japan ranked 12th (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2018; Travel Voice, 2018). In Japan, the number of international tourists reached 5 million in 2002 for the first time and increased to 8 million in 2007 (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2016). Although the number decreased slightly after the worldwide financial crisis of 2007–2008, following the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in 2009, and after the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in 2011, the number of overseas tourists has been growing and in 2016 reached approximately 24 million people. This figure includes those who entered the country multiple times, and it is about three times larger than a decade prior (ibid.).

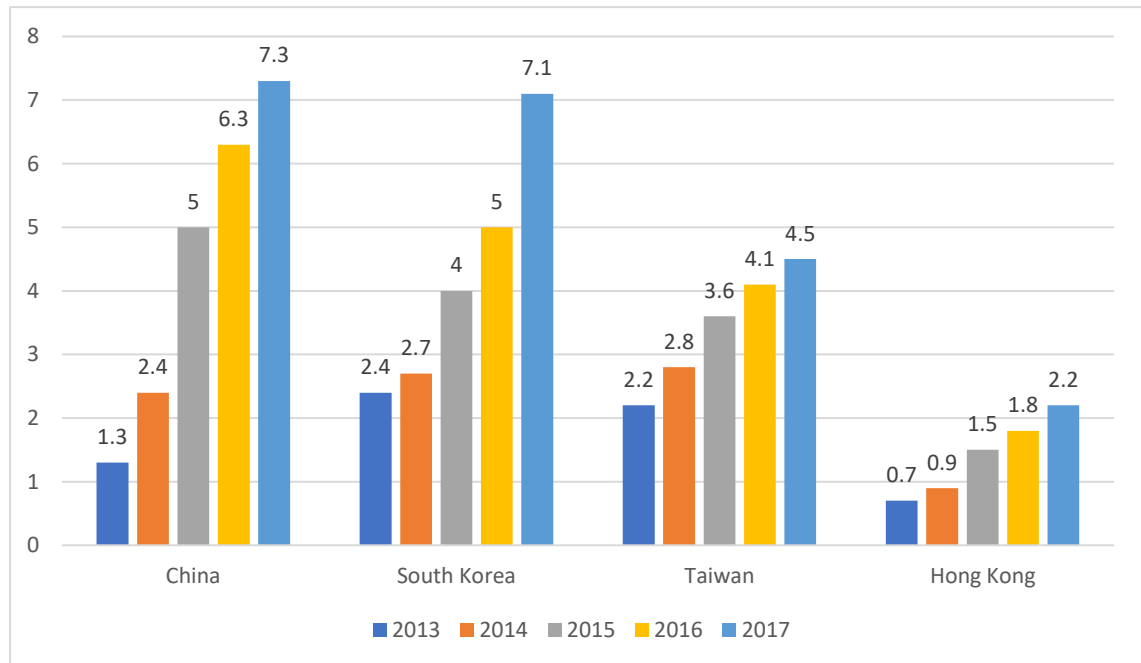
The increase in international tourists to Japan could be linked to government efforts to attract more visitors. In 2003, then-Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi announced the ‘Visit Japan’ campaign to increase the number of international tourists to 10 million people by the end of 2010 (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2003). Japan’s central and local governments and businesses have promoted the campaign under his initiative, and the main targets were tourists from the United States, South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (ibid.). A visa waiver programme was also implemented for tourists from 68 countries and regions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2017). Furthermore, the Japanese food concept of ‘*washoku*’ (traditional dietary

cultures of the Japanese) was added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2013 as an attracting interest (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2013). Approximately 68.3% of international tourists who visited Japan in 2017 noted that the purpose of their visit was ‘eating Japanese foods’ (Japan Tourism Agency, 2018).

The majority of tourists come from the Asian countries and regions targeted by the government. Visitors from China were the largest group, followed by South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2018; see Graph 2.3). The number of visitors from China has increased since 2000, when the Chinese government allowed citizens to travel to Japan in small holiday groups (J. Tan, 2010). The number of Chinese tourists worldwide was 135 million people in 2016, and Japan ranked the fifth most popular destination (ibid.). The number of Chinese tourists to Japan in 2013 was 1.3 million and has drastically increased since. Approximately 7.3 million Chinese people visited Japan in 2017, tripling in four years (Japan National Tourism Organization, 2018). Moreover, Japan was the most popular sightseeing destination for South Koreans in 2016 (ibid.). The number of Korean tourists to Japan tripled from 2.4 million in 2013 to 7.1 million in 2017 (ibid.). Visitors from Taiwan and Hong Kong also steadily increased, and Japan was their second most popular destination (ibid.). The number of Taiwanese tourists to Japan was 2.2 million in 2013

and 4.5 million in 2017 (ibid.). The number of Hong Kong tourists to Japan was 0.7 million in 2013, which increased to 2.2 million in 2017 (ibid.).

Graph 2. 3 Number of tourists to Japan

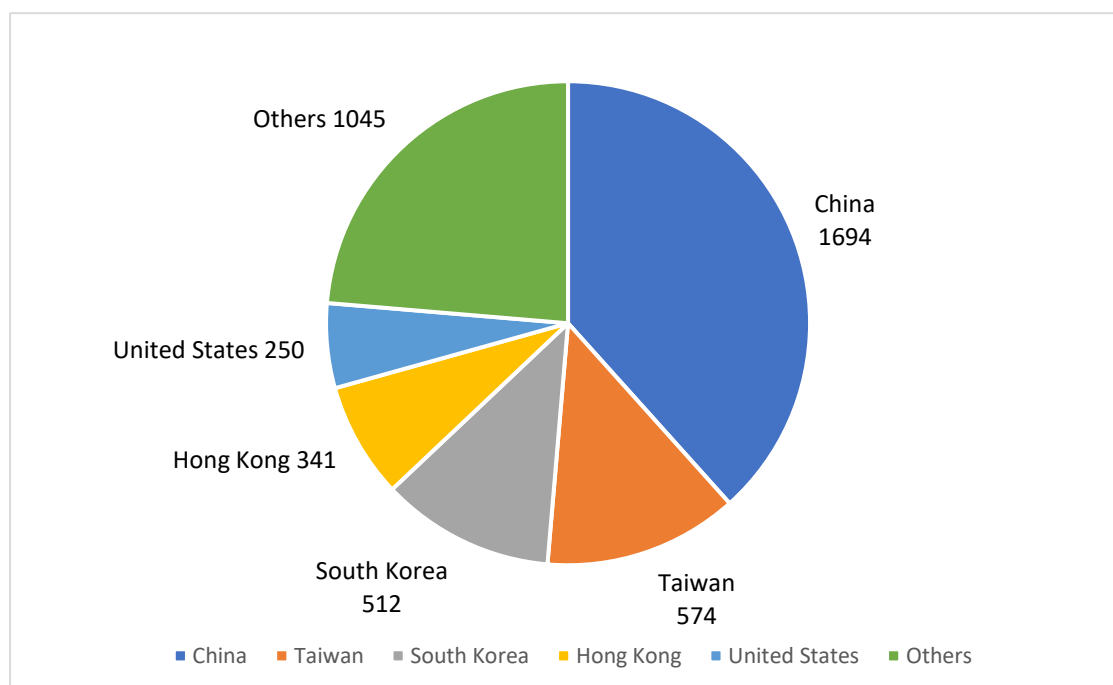


* The number in millions of people

The increase in visitors has helped to boost the Japanese economy. The dynamic effects on economic activities (e.g., expenditures by international tourists) cannot be ignored, as travel and tourism affect the economy and generate employment in both the host and one's own country. The sector contributes to the world economy and accounts for 10.4% of global GDP and 9.9% of total employment in 2017 (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2018). The Chinese are the world's largest travel spenders,

spending US\$258 billion in 2017 (Travel Review News, 2018). That year, overall expenditure by international visitors to Japan was 4.416 billion yen (Japan Tourism Agency, 2018). Chinese tourists in Japan spent 1.694 billion yen, 38.4% of the total expenditure by international tourists (ibid.; See Chart 2.4). The expenditure by tourists from the top five countries constitutes 76.4% of the total amount spent (ibid.).

Chart 2.4 Expenditures by tourists

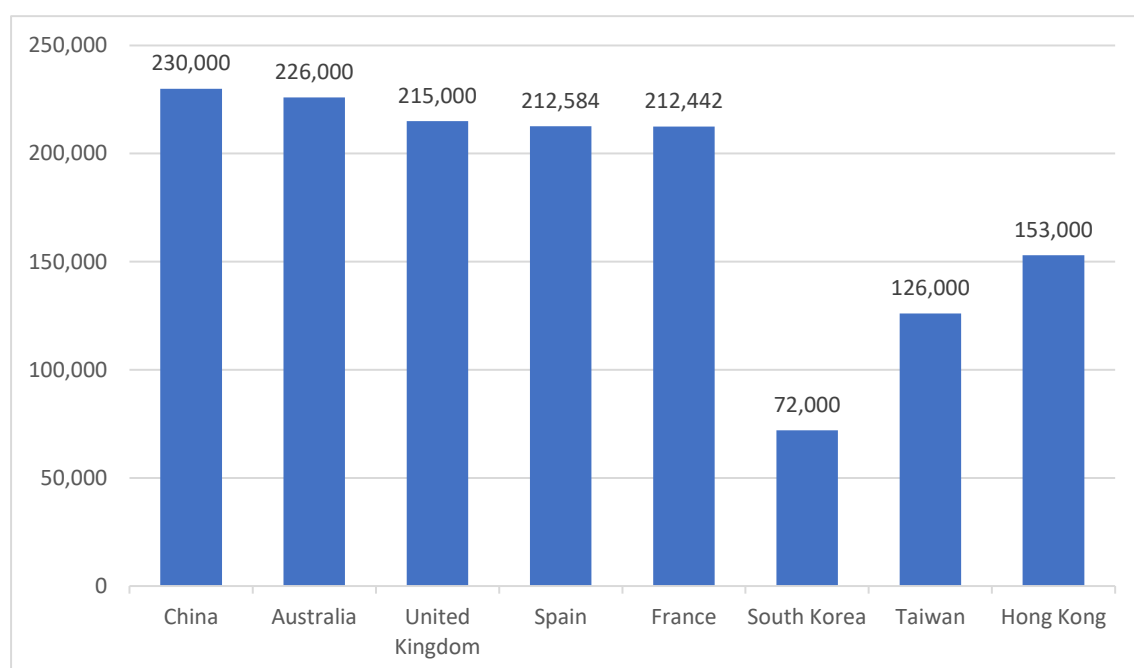


* The amount of expenditure in billions of Japanese yen

The average expenditure per tourist was 153,921 yen in 2017 (Japan Tourism Agency, 2018). China leads in not only the number of tourists, but also its average expenditure per tourist (ibid.; See Graph 2.4). Although tourists from other Asian

countries and regions spent less than those from Western countries, the majority of tourists were from the Asian countries. Thus, the total expenditure from the major exporters of tourists (i.e., South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) is higher than that from the West.

Graph 2. 4 Average expenditure per tourist in 2017



* The amount of expenditure in Japanese yen

The majority of international tourists to Japan rated their visits favourably. Approximately 51% of the international tourists who visited Japan in 2017 claimed that they ‘[were] satisfied with the visit very much’, and 41.7% mentioned that they ‘[were] satisfied with the visit’; a total of 92.7% of the visitors responded positively (Japan

Tourism Agency, 2018). Although over 80% of tourists from the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Spain, the United States, the Philippines, and France were satisfied with their visits, the degree of satisfaction was lower among tourists from the major tourist groups. Among tourists from East Asia, only 29.6% of Koreans stated that they '[were] satisfied with the visit very much', compared to Hong Kongers with 45.2%, Chinese with 49.0%, and Taiwanese with 51.9% (ibid.). The experiences in Japan led to approximately 93.9% of the international tourists wanting to visit again, approximately 58.6% stating that they would 'definitely like to visit Japan again', and 35.3% indicating that they would 'like to visit Japan again' (ibid.). In contrast, the number of Koreans who reported wanting to visit Japan again was the lowest among all international tourists, with only 35.9% claiming that they would 'definitely like to visit Japan again' (ibid.). It could be because they had other purposes for visiting or they might not be interested in touring the same place again. Yet, exploring the reasons in detail could help the inbound tourism, as Koreans were the second-largest tourist group.

In recent years, international tourists have visited not only popular tourist spots (e.g., Tokyo, Chiba [the location of Tokyo Disneyland], Osaka, and Kyoto), but also other areas. The new places which attract international tourists are prefectures such as Aichi (ranked fifth among popular destinations by Chinese tourists), Fukuoka (ranked

second by Korean tourists), Hokkaido (ranked fifth by Taiwanese tourists), and Okinawa (ranked fifth by Hong Kong tourists; Japan National Tourism Organization, 2018). The expansion of international tourism helps to develop the local economy in Japan. The impact of inbound tourism affected the economy and changed LLs in Japan. Local governments have been aware of the economic impacts of tourism and offer language supports to meet the needs of the international tourists, one of which is the regulations on signboards (See Section 2.7). Although tourists from Asian countries have increased, English was still the dominant foreign language observed in previous LL studies conducted in Tokyo. This could be because English is used as a *lingua franca* and the use of English has other purposes such as advertising effects (see Section 4.1).

2.3 Languages in Japanese society

It is not known precisely what languages residents use, as the Japanese national population census does not indicate citizens' ethnicity or language backgrounds. Based on the population census and the country's demographic patterns, the majority of the population uses Japanese and/or Japanese dialect(s) as their first language (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017), although numerous regional dialects, as well as indigenous and minority languages are spoken along with standard Japanese (called *hyojungo* or

kyotsugo, ‘common language’ in English; Gottlieb, 2005). Gottlieb (2005) estimated that more than 99% of people speak Japanese. The speakers of indigenous languages (e.g., Ainu on the northern island of Hokkaido and Okinawans on the islands near Taiwan) also speak standard Japanese outside their speech communities. These indigenous languages are maintained to some degree (Gottlieb, 2005), but Ainu is used for heritage reasons (Sawai, 1998), and the younger generation of Okinawans are shifting towards becoming monolingual Japanese speakers (Matsumori, 1995).

The literacy rate of the Japanese is said to be 99% (Loveday, 1986). Neustupný (1984) questioned the validity of this estimate on the basis of surveys conducted by the Ministry of Education in 1848 and 1955. Although there has been no update to the survey, the World Factbook produced by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) indicates that the literacy skills of the Japanese are the highest in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008).

The use of languages other than varieties of Japanese in public spaces was infrequent, as only 2% of the population are registered foreign nationals and most of these are descendants of Korean immigrants who were born and educated in Japanese society and speak Japanese as their first language (Ministry of Justice, 2014a). Historically, language contacts occurred among limited population in partial areas in Japan. During the ‘closed country’ (*sakoku*) policy which restricted foreign trade under

the Tokugawa government in the seventeenth century, interaction with Dutch and Chinese traders was allowed on an artificial island called Dejima in Nagasaki Prefecture. Moreover, some *daimyo* (feudal lords) maintained contact with China, Korea, and Ryukyu (present-day Okinawa) in other areas (Meyer, 1993). After the Meiji restoration in the mid-nineteenth century, which changed the regime from the Tokugawa shogunate to the imperial court and ended *sakoku*, a pidgin called ‘ports lingo’ was used between non-Japanese-speaking foreigners and locals, particularly in the Yokohama area (R. A. Miller, 1967). After the end of World War II in 1945 and the subsequent years of occupation, large number of US troops were stationed throughout Japan and ‘bamboo English’ sprang up to enable conversation between non-Japanese speakers in the military and locals (ibid.).

However, Japan has gradually become a more multilingual country. As mentioned previously, the number of visitors and new immigrants has increased since the 1980s (Ministry of Justice, 2008, 2014b), and these numbers are expected to continue growing. Because Tokyo hosted the Olympic Games, the government accepted more international labourers to supplement the declining population in Japan (The Japan Times, 2016; Yomiuri Online, 2013). Despite the widespread misbelief that Japan is linguistically homogeneous compared to other countries (Heinrich, 2012), linguistic diversity has been observed in Japanese cities, and the foreign languages

brought into Japan by migrants (e.g., Brazilian Portuguese) are widely spoken in certain regions (e.g., Shizuoka, Aichi, and Gunma Prefectures; Onai, 2009). The languages brought in by visitors and immigrants make the linguistic profile of Japanese society far more complex than it often appears, and language diversity will continue to increase in the country in the coming years.

2.4 Language contacts and borrowing

In terms of language contact, however, Japanese has adopted foreign scripts and vocabulary in both spoken and written systems through contact with other countries since its early history. It is believed that Chinese characters (i.e., *hanzi* in Chinese) were first introduced from China around the third century and brought into Japan in the fourth or fifth century via Korean scholars (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Writing had not been practiced in Japan prior to the introduction of Chinese books (Seeley, 2000). *Hanzi* literally means ‘Chinese characters’ or ‘letters of the Han dynasty’, and they were adopted as primary scripts in Japan (called *kanji*) and in Korea (called *hanja*). In Japan, *kanji* began to be used after the fifth century (Iwasaki, 2013) and were widely practiced in Japanese writings by the seventh century (Y. Kobayashi, 1998). Japanese’s own style of writing liberated from the Chinese style and appeared in the ninth century (Habein, 1984). Two types of phonetic scripts (i.e., *kana*) was created out of Chinese characters

and developed due to the necessity of the Japanese writing their native words and grammatical morphemes and saving the trouble of reading Chinese text in Japanese ways (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). The abbreviation of Chinese characters and guiding marks for reading Chinese text as Japanese were developed and polished; they became one type of phonogram, *katakana* (Seeley, 2000). Another type of phonogram, *hiragana* (i.e., the cursive script of Chinese characters and the origin of modern-day *hiragana*), was also used (ibid.). Both *katakana* and *hiragana* are exclusive to Japan. One reason the Japanese still use *kanji* even though they have developed their own scripts is due to the number of homophones in Japanese. As the sound system of Japanese is simple, with five vowels and 16 consonants (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Writing only in syllabary causes confusion, and the text would be longer if all scripts were transcribed into phonograms. Moreover, it is easier to mix logographs to distinguish among different types of grammatical forms.

Many of the new lexical items introduced into Japanese originated in Chinese classics or English-Chinese dictionaries and were pronounced in a Sino-Japanese manner and accordingly written in *kanji* (Seeley, 2000). Due to the Sino-Japanese words, Japan shares vocabulary with other countries and regions which have also adopted Chinese characters, although the meanings of certain *kanji* in Japanese differ from their original Chinese meanings (L. Zhang, 2004). Specific Sino-Japanese words

were created by translating Western words and transcribing them into *kanji* (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Accordingly, the new words were associated with Sino-Japanese pronunciation and did not precisely correspond to Chinese vocabulary (Seeley, 2000). These made-in-Japan Sino-Japanese words are called *wasei kango*, and some of them were later borrowed by Chinese and Korean and became part of their vocabulary as returned loanwords (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Japan also came into contact with Western countries beginning in the sixteenth century. Vocabulary from Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch was introduced from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries; German, Russian and English in the nineteenth century; and a large inflow of English from the United States began in the twentieth century (Park, 1986). These Western cultures' vocabulary was adopted in the form of loanwords in Japanese to refer to new objects, ideas, or concepts. For example, the names of plants (e.g., tobacco and potatoes) were introduced into Japanese vocabulary (Meyer, 1993). The majority of the loanwords were from Portuguese, along with a small number of Latin and Spanish words (Irwin, 2011). Around 100 Portuguese-based loanwords are still used today but have been completely Japanese and are no longer perceived as loanwords (Park, 1986).

Words related to Christianity also entered Japanese during the missionary era, although most were lost after Christianity was prohibited by the Japanese government, which feared the spread of Christianity in the country (Park, 1986). Although there was

no orthographic practice for loanwords and pronunciation varied, the majority of loanwords adopted during the periods were transcribed into *kanji* or *hiragana* (Irwin, 2011). Dutch vocabulary was introduced to teach anatomy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, botany, geography, engineering, and ballistics (ibid.). New lexical items were created to explain these scientific terminologies by translating them into Japanese and writing them in *kanji* (Seeley, 2000). More *katakana* than *hiragana* or *kanji* was used to write Dutch loanwords, compared to the spellings of Portuguese-based loanwords (Irwin, 2011). Before World War II, over 5,000 English words had been adopted into Japanese as loanwords (Park, 1986). However, teaching and using English was prohibited during World War II, as it was considered a ‘hostile language’ (Clarke, 2009; Irwin, 2011). Although there was no legal ban on it, government propaganda campaigns against the English language prevented people from using it – both English words written in the Roman alphabet and English-based loanwords transcribed into Japanese scripts as *gairaigo*. Both were replaced with new, mostly Sino-Japanese, words (Irwin, 2011). American troops brought new words into Japanese after the war, and the influx of borrowing from English continued after the occupation ended (ibid.). Loanwords from American English were largely adopted with the rise of American global economic and political power (ibid.).

English-based loanwords were written in *katakana*, and the Roman alphabet has been used since the twentieth century (Irwin, 2011). Although no examples of loanwords transcribed into the Roman alphabet can be found in editorials in one of the most widely read newspapers in Japan, *Asahi Shinbun*, until the 1940s, those written in Roman script accounted for 5% of all *gairaigo* by the 2000s (Hashimoto, 2010). The use of Roman script can be found in three forms: acronyms, abbreviations, and full words (Irwin, 2011). The last form has begun to be observed widely in commercial texts (e.g., magazine titles and street signage) since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Sergeant, 2011). The other languages Japanese borrowed and assimilated into Japanese vocabulary were: law and medicine (German), the army and police force (German and French), education (English and French), the navy (English), the musical and culinary spheres (Italian), and the arts, cuisine and fashion (French; Irwin, 2011).

Japanese vocabulary consists of four types of words which differ in their origins: Japanese native words, *kango* (i.e., Sino-Japanese words, most of which were borrowed from Chinese hundreds of years ago); *gairaigo* (i.e., foreign loanwords, mostly European, but also some modern Chinese); and hybrids (i.e., Sino-Japanese or foreign stems with Japanese endings; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). Sino-Japanese words are inseparable from the Japanese language because the bulk of Chinese vocabulary was incorporated into Japanese long ago and is pronounced in Japanese ways (Habein,

1984). As they are written in *kanji*, these Chinese words are considered native words by most Japanese speakers (Park, 1986). The *gairaigo* can be further divided into three categories (ibid.):

- 1) Foreign words that are fully integrated in Japanese and used without the feeling that they are borrowed, such as *zubon* (trousers), and *tabako* (cigarette),
- 2) Words that are understood by everyone and fully recognised by speakers as loans,
- 3) Words that are not fully assimilated in Japanese and used mostly for commercial purposes.

As Park (1986) claims, the third type of loanwords should be recognised as ‘foreign words’ rather than *gairaigo*, particularly when the vocabulary is not written in Japanese script. While the term *gairaigo* does not include the notion of loan-translation, Japanese has both direct loans (transferred) and loan-translations (substituted), as in any Western language (ibid.). *Onyaku* (literally, ‘sound translation’) means direct loan and (*hon*)*yakugo* (literally, ‘translated word’) means loan-translation (ibid.). The *yakugo* include two kinds of loan-translation: *chokuyaku* is ‘directly

translated meaning’, and *iyaku* is ‘freely translated meaning’ (Park, 1986, p. 3). *Onyaku* and *yakugo* are treated differently, and the former is transcribed into *katakana*, whereas the latter is written in *kanji*. Some concepts are described with both *onyaku* and *yakugo*.

Researchers do not agree on the number of loanwords in Japanese, but approximately half of the words used in Japanese may be borrowed from Chinese. One of the reasons the researchers disagree with the figures is that the language use is fluid, and new words appear while others are rarely used. Taylor and Taylor (1995) referred to Hayashi's (1982, pp. 60, 62) research on the standard Japanese dictionary's entries and claimed that approximately 52.9% of words listed were Sino-Japanese, 37.1% were native, 7.8% were foreign, and 2.2% were hybrid in 1969, which indicates that Sino-Japanese and foreign words had increased while native and hybrid words had decreased since 1891 (see Table 2.3). Other researchers have maintained that there is a slightly lower percentage of Sino-Japanese words. Stanlaw (2004) estimated that approximately 45% and Loveday (1986) estimated that approximately 47% of the Japanese lexicon was originally Chinese. Western-based words constitute approximately 10% of the Japanese lexicon (Park, 1986). It is difficult to ascertain the source of the Western-based loanwords due to the lexical similarities of Dutch, German, and English, which are all Germanic languages, and of Portuguese and Spanish, which are Latin languages. Nonetheless, English-based loanwords are the majority. Irwin (2011) estimates that

approximately 85% of Western-based loanwords were derived from English by around 1960, but Park (1986) estimates the English-based loanwords composed approximately 80% of the Western-based loanwords and the number of ‘English-American based loanwords’ has increased. English-based loanwords in Japanese are high-frequency words in English (Daulton, 1998). Daulton (2003) compared frequent word families in English (i.e., the list derived by Paul Nation [Victoria University of Wellington] from the British National Corpus) with entries in loanwords dictionaries and a frequency list generated from newspapers, and he found that approximately 45.5% of the 3,000 most-frequent word families in English correspond to commonly known loanwords in Japanese.

Table 2. 3 Types and percentage of Japanese words in dictionaries

Type	Example	1891	1956	1969
Sino-Japanese	<i>gakko</i> (school)	34.7%	53.6%	52.9%
Native	<i>kawa</i> (river)	55.8%	36.6%	37.1%
Foreign	<i>terebi</i> (television)	1.4%	3.5%	7.8%
Hybrid	<i>ai-suru</i> (to love)	8.1%	6.2%	2.2%

* Summarised from Taylor & Taylor (1995, p. 260)

Most Western-based words integrated into Japanese as *gairaigo* are single words. The first edition of *Katakana* dictionary published by Sanseido in 1972 contained 20,000 *gairaigo*, whereas the 2000 edition listed 52,500 *gairaigo* (MacGregor, 2003a). Due to the increase in *gairaigo*, the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (*kokuritsu kokugo kenkyujo*) established a foreign loanwords committee, surveyed Western-based loanword use in Japanese, and suggested Japanese translations for difficult or unnecessary loanwords (Clarke, 2009). Oshima (2009) examined the number of word entries in two editions of the leading Japanese dictionary *Kojien* and found that 12.7% of the total number of words contained was *gairaigo* in 1955, which increased to 16.6% in 1991. The increase in *gairaigo* does not simply imply that *gairaigo* has replaced Sino-Japanese words and/or native Japanese words. Instead, the increase leads to the surge of the total number of words in Japanese. MacGregor (2003a) also compared the number of *Kojien*'s total entries and indicated that the 1976 edition contained 200,000 words but that the number had increased to 230,000 words in the 1998 edition.

Certain loanwords include both Sino-Japanese and foreign words, which can be spelled in *kanji* and *katakana*, respectively, but the meanings remain the same. For example, both *kisha* (記者) and *janarisuto* (ジャーナリスト) mean 'journalist', although the former has limited meaning of 'an individual who writes news for printed

media’, and the latter includes broader meanings (i.e., ‘an individual who writes news or produces contents for broadcasts such as television’). Loanwords can be used to distinguish Japanese and foreign items. For example, *gohan* (ごはん) refers to ‘cooked rice served in a Japanese-style meal’, while *raisu* (ライス) is used to describe ‘cooked rice served in a Western-style meal’. Furthermore, loanwords may be used to conceal negative conceptions. In relation to COVID-19, ‘pandemic’ is transcribed into *katakana* as ‘*pandemikku* (パンデミック)’, although the Sino-Japanese words ‘*sekaitekidairyuko* (世界的大流行)’ exist. A lockdown is called ‘*rokkudaun* (ロックダウン)’ whose equivalent in Japanese is ‘*toshifusa* (都市封鎖)’. Moreover, a surge of infected patients is ‘*obashuto* (オーバーシュート)’, which is ‘*kansembakuhatsu* (感染爆発)’, and a cluster is ‘*kurasuta* (クラスター)’ which is ‘*shudan* (集団)’ or ‘*mure* (群れ)’. On the other hand, the notions which can be interpreted positively are explained in Sino-Japanese or loanwords which have been used for decades. For example, ‘herd immunity’ is ‘*shudammeneki*’ (集団免疫), ‘new normal’ is ‘*atarashii seikatsuyoshiki*’ (新しい生活様式, literally ‘new lifestyle’), and ‘vaccine’ is ‘*wakuchin*’ (ワクチン). It is difficult to predicate that there is a driving force behind the use of English-based loanwords in the middle of pandemic. Overuse of the loanwords regarding the infection disease, however, has confused people, especially elderly who are not familiar with English (The Sankei News, 2020).

Borrowing is universal and can be observed to a certain extent in any language that experiences language contact. The borrowing from other languages 'is one of the most frequent ways of acquiring new words, and speakers of all languages do it' (Trask, 1996, p. 18). For instance, English has borrowed words from Latin and French, and some English words are formed with elements from Latin or Greek (Durkin, 2014). Japanese, however, has more loanwords from alphabetic languages compared to Chinese. Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009) identified that only 0.2% of the total Chinese vocabulary is borrowed from European languages. In Chinese, characters represent their meaning and pronunciation (P. Chen, 2015), Western-based loanwords are mainly transcribed into Chinese characters into four types: (1) a loan translation (a calque), (2) adopting a character which sounds similar to the original pronunciation (a transliteration), (3) combining loan translation and transliteration, or (4) creating a 'alphabetic word' (also known as 'lettered word') which contains at least one Roman letter and forms the word (A. Cook, 2018). Haspelmath and Tadmor, (2009) argue that the characteristics of Chinese (e.g., the syllable structure, the isolating nature, and the writing system) contribute to the difficulty in borrowing from other languages. Transliterations are widely adopted in Japanese with the use of phonographic *hiragana* and *katakana*, resulting in more loanwords than in Chinese. Haugen (1953, p. 363) argues that 'borrowings' or 'loan words' are 'more like a kind of stealing', and

Trask (1996, p. 18) claims that these words are ‘copying’ since the borrowed or loaned words are not ‘returned’ to the donor language. The borrowers neither ask for permission nor have the intention to return the donor’s words. In the case of Japanese, however, the words borrowed from English has modified their forms, been returned to the donor, and been used in other language communities. For example, *anime* (アニメ, Japanese style animated works) is an abbreviation for ‘animation’, and *karaoke* (カラオケ, sing along to recorded music) is a compound word made of a Japanese word *kara* (空, empty) and a part of English word *oke* (オケ, orchestra). Some Western-based words have developed new original meanings or usages in Japanese and are called *wasei eigo* (see Section 3.5). The English word ‘make’ is altered to the Japanese noun *meiku* (メイク) to mean ‘cosmetics’ and the verb *meiku-suru* (メイクする) to mean ‘make up’. Another English word, ‘strike’, is adapted into two Japanese words in accordance with the context; it means a walkout when it is spelled *sutoraiki* (ストライキ), but a strike in a baseball game when it is spelled *sutoraiku* (ストライク). There are also cases in which loanwords are abbreviated. For example, *kombini* (コンビニ) is an abbreviation of ‘convenience store’. The loanwords in Japanese are ‘inspired’ by the donor language, ‘inherited’ to the recipient, ‘reborn’ to suit with the new contexts, and can be returned in some cases. The language contacts and the lexical borrowings

from various languages in different times have developed and enriched Japanese lingua culture.

2.5 Systems of Japanese written language

It is difficult to distinguish a language from a dialect and to determine which variety is considered the standard in many societies. Sebba (1997, p. 3) argued that ‘there is no systematic way to decide what is a “language” and what is a “dialect”: both refer to exactly the same type of communicative system’. The differentiation is often based on highly political motives rather than linguistic characteristics. In the case of Japanese, a series of reports issued by the *kokugo chosa iinkai* (i.e., Japanese Language Investigative Committee), which was established by the Ministry of Education, officially designated the standard language from 1904 onwards (N. Shioda, 1973). Standard Japanese language refers to *hyojungo* (i.e., standard language) or *kyotsugo* (i.e., common language), and is the most common variety used in modern Japanese society (see Section 2.3). The spoken and written forms of standard Japanese are based on the variety used by the educated classes in the Tokyo area (Clarke, 2009). The standard was gradually achieved from the mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth century and spread via language planning, education, and the media since the end of World War II (ibid.). Most speakers of the other regional varieties of Japanese also have

a command of standard Japanese, as many dialects are mutually unintelligible (Hasegawa, 2015), and the basic writing systems of these dialects are the same as the standard. The dialects are rarely, if ever, written in most texts of a public nature (e.g., official documents, newspapers, or textbooks). Therefore, this thesis only describes the system of standard Japanese.

With the inclusion of Chinese characters, Roman alphabets, and two Japanese original scripts, the modern Japanese writing system employs multi-scripts. It uses four types of scripts: *kanji*, *hiragana*, *katakana*, and *romaji* (literally, ‘Roman letters’). Two types of Chinese characters are used in Chinese-speaking regions: ‘simplified Chinese characters’ which are used mainly in mainland China, and ‘traditional Chinese characters’ which are used in areas such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. The *kanji* used in Japan are the same as or similar to ‘traditional Chinese characters’, although some have fewer strokes than the traditional forms. Along with those *kanji*, there are *kanji* made in Japan which are not used in other countries or regions using Chinese script and are called *kokuji* (national character). For example, the *kanji* 畑 (i.e., cultivated field; pronounced *hatake*, *hata*, or *bata*) was created by combining two *kanji* – 火 (‘fire’, pronounced *hi*, *bi*, *ka*, and so forth) and 田 (‘rice field’; pronounced *ta*, *da*, or *den*) – and is used only in Japan. After the language reforms, the number of *kanji* in use has been reduced in accordance with government guidelines since the mid-twentieth

century (Twine, 1991). The guidelines published in 2010 list 2,136 *kanji* characters in use for general publication as *joyo kanji* (*kanji* designated for daily use; Tamaoka et al., 2017). In addition to the *joyo kanji*, approximately 1,000 *kanji* are allowed for use in personal and place names (Iwasaki, 2013). In addition, each set of *hiragana* and *katakana* has 46 basic characters and diacritical markers to change voiceless consonants into voiced consonants in modern Japanese.

The choice of scripts is flexible in Japanese, as orthography is not prescribed by any official organisation, and Japanese does not have a rigid established orthography that indicates which script should be used for each grammatical function. Nonetheless, there are generally accepted rules for when to use each script in writing. Each script in Japanese has distinct functions and purposes, and the type of script in Japanese affects word recognition due to the complexity of multi-script usage (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). *Kanji* is primarily used for independent words (e.g., nouns, stems of verbs, adjectives and adverbs; Kabashima, 1979). *Hiragana* generally adds suffixes to the ends of *kanji* for verb and adjective conjugations, particles which follow modified nouns, adjectives, and auxiliary verbs which follow verbs (ibid.). *Katakana* has limited use compared to *kanji*, and *hiragana* and is mainly used to write foreign words, plant and animal names (ibid.), and onomatopoeic words (Taylor & Taylor, 1995).

The uniqueness of the Japanese writing system is that foreign and native words are clearly distinguished by the choice of scripts (Park, 1986), although some loanwords imported to Japan long ago, such as ‘tabako’ from Portuguese (tobacco in English), are written in both. Tobacco in *kanji* is 煙草 and in *katakana* is タバコ. Consequently, it is easy to recognise Western-based loanwords in Japanese texts. Regarding loanword spelling, the Japanese government issued guidelines on the standardisation of foreign names in 1902 (Irwin, 2011). Although *mombusho* (i.e., the Ministry of Education) and *bunkacho* (i.e., the Agency for Cultural Affairs) published guidelines on loanword orthography in 1955 and 1991, respectively, variance in spelling continues to this day (Irwin, 2011). *Gairaigo* are still written in *katakana* as *mombusho* suggested (ibid.). As most Western-based loanwords are transcribed into *katakana*, loanwords (*gairaigo*) are also called *katakanago* (words written in *katakana*).

Romaji is the romanisation of Japanese, whereby Latin script is used to write in the Japanese language. *Romaji* is principally used to spell Japanese words in a manner that resembles English for the benefit of non-native Japanese readers (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). For example, the names of streets on signs and passports are written in *romaji*, as are dictionaries and textbooks for Japanese learners. Scientific names can be also written in the Roman alphabet (Clarke, 2009). *Romaji* is used to input Japanese characters into computers. Since keyboards display the Latin alphabet, individuals first

type the *romaji* spelling of Japanese words then convert the *romaji* words that result to Japanese script. Several romanisation systems, such as Hepburn romanisation, Revised Hepburn, Kunrei-shiki romanisation and Nihon-shiki romanisation exist, and non-standard variations are also used. Although the Japanese learn Kunrei-shiki at school (Backhaus, 2014), there is no consensus about the system that ought to be used, and the choice is left to organisations and individuals. Mixtures of two or more spelling systems are observed often, and English spellings and pronunciations are increasingly being adopted, particularly in the names of brands and businesses (*ibid.*). *Romaji*, however, is not used in formal writing (e.g., newspapers, textbooks, academic papers, or novels), except for occasional use for writing abbreviations.

Numbers are written in either *kanji* or Arabic numerals, and the choice between the two depends on the context and text format. *Kanji* is used for vertical texts, whereas Arabic numbers are used for horizontal texts (Iwasaki, 2013) since Japanese text can be written either from top to bottom (i.e., classical Chinese style) or from left to right (i.e., Western style). The style of text was unified after regulations regarding official documents were issued in 1949 (The Chief Cabinet Secretary, 1945). Prior to these regulations, text was written either from top to bottom, from right to left, or from left

to right. The style was changed to write Western words in Japanese and follow the practice of Western countries.

Due to the two types of phonographic scripts (i.e., *hiragana* and *katakana*), script choices in Japanese are flexible, and Japanese texts can be written using any of the four scripts. For instance, the words ‘coffee’ is spelled 珈琲 (in *kanji*), こーひー (in *hiragana*), コーヒー (in *katakana*), and kofi (in *romaji*). Although ‘coffee’ is now conventionally spelled コーヒー in *katakana*, as it is a Western-based loanword, it was spelled 珈琲 in *kanji* in the Meiji era, and this is still observed in the current usage. Orthography is not unified or regulated in Japanese, particularly in text for commercial purposes. Research on orthographic variations using a corpus of modern written Japanese indicates that variations occur mostly with nouns and to a lesser extent with verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (Joyce & Masuda, 2017). For example, the study found five patterns of script usage to spell the word *tamanegi* (‘onion’): *kanji* and *hiragana* (玉ねぎ), *katakana* (タマネギ), *hiragana* (たまねぎ), *kanji* (玉葱), and *kanji* and *katakana* (玉ネギ; *ibid.*). There is no particular reason to spell the word *tamanegi* in any specific script or combination of scripts. The flexibility in script choice is a unique characteristic of written Japanese.

Sentences are read from right to left in vertical text, and the lines are read from left to right in horizontal text, in the Western style. To achieve the grammatical

functions, multi-scripts are mixed within clauses and sentences. Synchronic digraphia, the coexistence of two or more writing systems for the same language, is practiced in certain languages, including Serbian and Croatian or Hindi and Urdu (Dickinson, 2015; Rivlina, 2016). These languages, however, do not customarily mix scripts within a sentence, and the script choice is related to socio-cultural choice (Ahmad, 2011; Ivkovic, 2013). On the other hand, script mixing is the default in Japanese writing.

As Japanese is written without spaces inserted between words in a sentence, the use of multi-scripts facilitates visual discrimination for each linguistic feature. Hannas (1997) categorised Japanese digraphia into two forms: ‘trigraphia’, which uses three scripts for different functions; and ‘true digraphia’, which uses *romaji* for loanwords (e.g., ATM or DVD). The former is generally used for official documents, newspapers, and literature, and the latter is used for magazines and casual text. In formal text, some abbreviations (e.g., ATM) are translated into the Sino-Japanese words (e.g., ‘*genkin jido azukebaraiiki*’ (現金自動預け払い機) or ‘*genkin jido shiharaiki*’ (現金自動支払機). There is, however, no consensus on which style should be used for what purpose. Script use differs depending on media. More *kanji* is observed in newspapers (approximately 72.33%), while less is found in television commercials (approximately 51.38%; Igarashi, 2007). Fewer Roman alphabet characters and Arabic numbers are used in

newspapers (approximately 3.81%), while more appear on television commercials (approximately 10.80%; *ibid.*).

Academics have argued for the difficulty of Japanese writing system as ‘a contender for the title of the most complex system ever’ (Sproat, 2000, p. 47); ‘the most intricate and complicated writing system ever used by a sizable population’ (Coulmas, 1999, p. 122); and ‘one of the worst overall systems of writing ever created’ (DeFrancis, 1989, p. 138). The system might be more complex than other languages; however, any foreign language seems complex for non-native users.

The current Japanese writing system was established through the development of manifold processes and discussions of script and writing style reforms (Twine, 1991). The formation of a language policy officially began in Japan in 1902 with the establishment of the first language policy board, the National Language Research Council (i.e., *kokugo chosa iinkai*), within the Ministry of Education (Clarke, 2009). Since then, proposals regarding the scripts usage and writing style reforms such as abolishing *kanji* and replacing them with *kana* or *romaji* have been proposed but not put into practice (Twine, 1991). After the end of World War II, there was external pressure to abandon Japanese scripts and adopt the romanised writing system (Clarke, 2009). Nevertheless, the fundamental orthographic rules of the Japanese writing system have not changed. Its having been used for a long time by a large number of people

indicates that the system is well accepted by the users. The Japanese writing system is the by-product of language contacts. The system suggests that the Japanese have embraced other languages and incorporated them into their own language. Each language has its own distinctive characteristics. The multi-script system is one of the most unique traits of Japanese.

2.6 Language education in Japan

The modern Japanese school system began with the reconstruction of the education system after the Meiji restoration, which occurred after the opening of the country in the Meiji period (Taylor & Taylor, 1995). After World War II, the Fundamental Law of Education was enforced, and the School Education Act took effect in 1947 (Anderson, 1959, 1975). The Ministry of Education issued *A Suggested Course of Study*, which describes the aims of education and recommended activities. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT; formerly the Ministry of Education) centrally directs the current Japanese education system. Japanese is taught as *kokugo*, and the syllabus based on language policy instructs that ‘good’ Japanese and honorific forms should be taught and indicates the appropriate level of skill to be acquired at each stage of education. Mastering *keigo* is important for functioning in Japanese society (see Section 3.4), which is reflected in modern-day

Japanese language teaching. Furthermore, *kokugo* classes are not only literacy classes, but also aim to introduce literature to teach morals and enrich students' knowledge.

English has been taught at Japanese schools since the beginning of the modern era, and it continues to be highly regarded. The dominance of English was inevitable after the end of World War II. The *Course of Study* describes the aims of teaching English for the Japanese and the classroom activities which should be conducted. The guidelines for EFL and the fundamental purpose of learning English have not changed since the first *Course of Study* was issued as a '*suggested*' guideline and EFL education began in junior and senior high schools as an elective subject. The underlying principle is 'think in English'. The first *Suggested Course of Study* regarding EFL education for junior and senior high schools was proposed in 1947; its aims for studying English were to 'think in English' and to 'know about English-speaking people'(Ministry of Education, 1947). The guidelines listed 'listening and speaking' as primary skills and 'reading and writing' as secondary skills and encouraged teaching the four language skills (i.e., reading, writing, listening, and speaking) in one lesson as an integrated activity (ibid.).

While the goal to 'think in English' is clearly articulated in the guidelines, 'translating into English/Japanese' was also endorsed by the EFL curriculum. The guidelines included an appendix that explained English pronunciation, as well, which

instructed students to ‘be aware of the differences between British English and American English’ and to ‘acquire American English pronunciation’ (Ministry of Education, 1947). Accordingly, most ESL/EFL textbooks introduced American English and American culture (Erikawa, 2014). Although the *Course of Study* has been altered several times, the ‘think in English’ guideline is still in place. In 2011, MEXT began to implement communicative EFL teaching activities in elementary schools. As a result, approximately 93.6% of elementary schools have ‘English activities’ to prepare students before EFL becomes compulsory (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2006). English classes became compulsory from Grades 3 to 6 in elementary school starting in 2020 (ibid.).

The Central Education Council (i.e., *chuo kyoiku shingikai*) stresses the significance of globalisation, reporting that Japanese students need not only to know English, but also to be introduced to a range of other foreign languages. In contrast, educational policy documents discuss English almost exclusively despite being entitled *Gaikokugo* (literally, ‘foreign languages’; (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2012). The guidelines clearly state that ESL/EFL education aims to ‘correspond to globalisation’, ‘foster (students) who can communicate in a foreign language’, and encourage the introduction of communicative language activities in class (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology,

2006). Although Seargeant (2009, 2011) claims that the reforms prompted communicative language teaching, the aims and activities proposed by MEXT have not been practised. The main purpose of learning English in Japan has become to pass high school and university examinations rather than to communicate in English. Consequently, acquiring reading and translating skills were endorsed in public schools until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Despite English having long been taught as an ‘elective’ subject in junior and senior high schools, it is widely studied as foreign or second language. Most people who have had schooling in Japan have studied English for at least six years in formal educational settings, as it has been regarded as a ‘main subject’ in the Japanese educational system. Languages other than English are not widely taught in public schools, and the dominance of EFL in school curricula is evident from the number of students who take the National Center Test for university entrance examinations. While the test offers five foreign languages, over 99% of students chose English tests in 2012 (National Center for University Entrance Examination, 2012).

Alongside formal schooling, children attend commercial cram schools to prepare for enrolment in prestigious universities (Roesgaard, 2006). There are 780 universities (i.e., 86 national, 90 local, and 604 private) with approximately 2.9 million students as of 2017 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology,

2018). Due to the large number of universities per capita, the low academic ability of some students has become a problem at less-rigorous universities (Okabe et al., 2010). Therefore, having a college degree does not always signify one's membership in an elite group in Japan. Approximately 70% of Japanese people receive higher education and continue to learn English (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2018). Nevertheless, educational specialists have identified university students who cannot spell using the Roman alphabet as a major problem (Carreira Matsuzaki, 2015).

Furthermore, many people study English conversation or business English at home or private schools. Attending private *Eikaiwa* (i.e., English conversation) school does not necessarily signify that the students intend to acquire English skills, as these schools have aspects of leisure, and some students expect to socialise with their teacher and peers rather than learn English (Kubota, 2011). Yet, many private English schools exist across the country, and bookshops display numerous English conversation books. Therefore, it is evident that people wish to have contact with English. Approximately 10,000 foreign language schools, teaching not only ESL but also other foreign languages, are registered nationwide (Statistics of Japan, 2014). Among these schools, approximately 1,000 English conversation schools were registered in greater Tokyo in 2014, followed by Aichi Prefecture with about 900 schools and Osaka-fu (greater

Osaka) with approximately 770 schools (ibid.). Per capita, the Aichi and Gifu Prefectures in central Japan have more English conversation schools than do other regions; Aichi ranks highest with 11.97 schools per 100,000 people, Gifu ranks the second with 11.51 schools, whereas Osaka ranks 10th and Tokyo ranks 12th. English is widely studied outside formal schooling in central Japan, which is home to many international companies and has more migrants than other areas. Despite the common belief that the Japanese have fewer language contacts due to Japan's homogeneity, they have exposed to English at both formal and private schools. Yet, the Japanese are accustomed to studying foreign language through *yakudoku* method (i.e., a type of grammar-translation method) until recently. This could be one of the reasons that English usage in Japan is not in spoken form, but predominantly in written form with words and phrases.

In addition to language education for the Japanese, Japanese as a second or additional language education is offered for international students and foreigners who plan to stay in Japan. The first Japanese classes for Indo-Chinese refugees began in 1979; other classes were subsequently offered for Japanese war orphans and their families who had returned from China (K. Nishio, 2005). Due to the increase in international students, 395 private schools for Japanese as a second language were registered as of 2004 (Karasawa, 2005). In addition, some universities offer Japanese

programmes. More institutions will offer Japanese language courses, as the number of non-native speakers of Japanese continues to increase.

2.7 Language policy and regulation on signs

While Japanese is not specified as an official or national language in the constitution of Japan, it is *de facto*, as the majority of the population uses it nationwide. Japanese is regarded as *kokugo* (i.e., national language), intentionally or unintentionally (Gottlieb, 2005). Although official language(s) are not enacted at the state and local governmental levels, certain municipalities and companies have their own language policy or ‘*genko sabisu*’ (i.e., language service) for their citizens, customers, and employees. ‘*Genko sabisu*’ is defined as ‘providing information that foreigners need in the language they can understand’ (Kawahara, 2004a, p. 6). This service includes providing assistance in written forms, and the languages included are not only foreigners’ native languages but also simple English, romanised Japanese, and simple Japanese with ‘*furigana*’ (a Japanese reading aid consisting of smaller syllabic *hiragana* or *katakana* printed next to or above the Japanese ideographic script *kanji* to specify its sounds).

Some municipalities provide assistance in English and other foreign languages to support people with limited Japanese competence since immigration has increased

(Fujii, 2005). The importance of providing language assistance for non-native speakers of Japanese has been recognised since the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 (ibid.), and multilingual texts are provided in cities where the number of non-Japanese speakers has increased; for example, English, Chinese, and Korean are used on some official signs in Kobe (Hibino, 2005). The city of Nagoya, where approximately 3% of the population are registered foreign nationals, took a further step and implemented an official multilingual and multicultural policy as a part of the ‘Nagoya Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan’ (City of Nagoya, 2013). The plan was in effect from 2012 to 2017, and the second plan was implemented for the period 2017 to 2021 after reviewing the first plan (City of Nagoya, 2017b). It aims to support residents and visitors with limited Japanese competence and to create a multicultural society (City of Nagoya, 2013). The policy includes providing a multilingual service for residents and visitors (ibid.), and the Nagoya International Center provides information in eight languages (Nagoya International Center, 2016).

Regarding signage regulations, Nagoya has unique characteristics compared to other regions in Japan in terms of its language practice and has distinctive language policies in public places. The first policy was developed in 1935 and intended to guide the use of Japanese on signage. For an exposition held in 1937, an organisation was established to remove signs with misspellings or errors, as well as signs that could

corrupt public morals (Funakoshi, 1998). Consequently, elderly residents may be more sensitive to errors on signboards than those in other age groups and people in other cities. Since 1988, the city has enforced regulations for outdoor signs directed at pedestrians. Specific types of public signs, such as those indicating directions and the location of facilities, must be written in Japanese and English (Nagoya City Housing and City Planning Bureau, 2013).

The 'Nagoya Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan' details regulations on certain official signs (e.g., maps and direction boards; City of Nagoya, 2013). Signs in city centres and places visited by many foreigners (e.g., stations, immigration offices, and Nagoya International Center) must be displayed in five languages: Japanese, English, Chinese (both simplified and traditional), Korean, and Portuguese (ibid). The Nagoya Municipal Subway also practises this policy and displays multilingual signs in the aforementioned five languages at all stations; announcements are also made in these languages at three major stations (Nagoya Municipal Transportation Bureau, 2014). The Japan Tourism Agency (2010) also promotes using multilingual signs in public transport and other locations for foreign travellers, yet the agency suggests the use of only Japanese, English, and symbols known as pictograms, with Chinese and Korean being optional. Each municipality can decide according to its specific needs and regional characteristics. In addition, the Nagoya City Planning Division have published

detailed guidelines, including instructions on the style, layout, font, size, colour, and order of languages on these signs. On bilingual and multilingual signs, Japanese sentences must be placed on top for horizontal signs and on the left for vertical signs (Nagoya City Planning Division, 2016). The Hepburn Romanisation method must be used for Romanising Japanese words (e.g., names of places and facilities), and English, Portuguese, and numbers must be written in Helvetica bold and Helvetica regular fonts (ibid.). These bilingual and multilingual policies apply to only public signs, but residents of Nagoya and people who visit the city often might be more familiar with and aware of the use of foreign languages due to these multilingual policies.

Multilingual texts in public places in recent years have been written not only for immigrants but also for tourists (e.g., on signs providing information on duty-free shops). Inoue (2005) analysed the usage patterns of multilingual signs in department stores in Tokyo, arguing that Chinese and Korean had begun to appear alongside English as the number of tourists from those countries increased. Inoue's (2009) study also found that Chinese and Korean appeared in shopping areas in Shinjuku, while European languages (e.g., French and Spanish) had been observed in Ginza since 2002 when Japan and South Korea hosted the FIFA World Cup. While a variety of written languages was found in Tokyo, English is the principal *lingua franca* between native and non-native Japanese speakers, particularly the communication with international

tourists, because visitors have various linguistic backgrounds and often little to no Japanese competence. For communication between native Japanese and immigrants or long-term residents, Japanese is still used as a mode of communication in practice. The government provides education in Japanese as a second language for immigrant children to facilitate their assimilation into Japanese society (Noyama, 2005).

On the other hand, globalisation of corporations has changed employees' working situation and language use. English is used as a *lingua franca* for business in international settings, and acquiring sufficient English skills is important for government to more easily obtain foreign investments and for businesses to compete in the global market in the future (Yomiuri Online, 2013, 16 April). In 2000, an advisory commission to then-Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi suggested adopting English as an official language of Japan (Kawai, 2007), although this idea was not officialised. In 2003, however, MEXT published an 'Action Plan for Producing English-Speaking Japanese' to improve the English language proficiency of Japanese people. This plan included adopting English as the language of instruction for high school students and introducing English-language education at the primary-school level (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2003). Following these movements, some companies and local governments have been using scores on English tests (e.g., the Test of English for International Communication [TOEIC]) as a criterion

for both employment and promotion (Torikai, 2005). Leading companies, such as Rakuten and Uniqlo, have taken this a step further by adopting English as their official language (Gottlieb, 2008; Maeda, 2010; Torikai, 2010). Local governments and more companies will likely follow in their footsteps (Gottlieb, 2011). As a result, English has become an important language among the Japanese for economic reasons.

Despite the fact that ESL/EFL education is reinforced, Japanese people's English proficiency is one of the lowest on the international Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) examination (Educational Testing Service, 2014). The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology considers it a problem that the average TOEFL score of Japanese candidates is the second-lowest among their counterparts in Asian countries (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2006). From these test scores and due to their lack of practice, it is believed that few Japanese have sufficient fluency in English. Judging Japanese people's English skills from their test results, however, is an oversimplification for two reasons. Firstly, Japanese test takers' scores cannot be compared to those in other countries, as large numbers of people take the exam in Japan. The number of test-takers has dramatically increased in Japan since the 1980s, and over 100,000 candidates took the test in the 1990s, representing the highest number of test takers in the world (CIEE, 2006a, 2006b). Secondly, the high test registration fees mean that not everyone can afford to

take it. The registration fees vary by country and range from US\$180 to US\$300 as of 25 January 2019 (Educational Testing Service, 2019). It can be inferred that a high proportion of test takers in some countries comprise wealthy and elite groups who receive extra English education. The Japanese study EFL/ESL as a compulsory subject at school, and their focus is on acquiring reading and translation skills (see Section 2.6). Most Japanese people thus have basic reading skills in English, although they cannot achieve high scores on the TOEFL exam, particularly on the listening and speaking sections, due to their lack of exposure and practice. With the changes in demographic, economic situation, and working environment, English demonstrates more presence as the dominant foreign language which the Japanese are exposed to and becomes a more important language the Japanese need to acquire. This situation will persist remain as globalisation of our society continues.

2.8 Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter provided background information on language and society in Japan to introduce factors which affect language use and attitudes among the Japanese. Contrary to popular belief, homogeneity of Japanese society has been changing due to its shifting demographic patterns. A growing number of registered foreign nationals and international tourists has changed language contacts between the Japanese and the

non-Japanese. In terms of borrowing, the Japanese language has developed with the inclusion of foreign scripts and vocabulary from various countries since its early history. However, English is almost exclusively taught at school, and the English is the dominant language to which the Japanese are exposed. Certain municipalities and corporations have started to implement their own language policies, including language assistance for non-native speakers of Japanese. As Japan is expecting and preparing to accept more people with various cultural and linguistic backgrounds and embrace diversity in their society, it is anticipated that more supports would be offered to those who need language assistance in the near future.

Chapter 3: World Englishes and English in Japan

This chapter reviews English varieties in the world and previous studies on English in Japan. It illustrates how English has spread to many parts of the world and defines the term ‘World Englishes’. It subsequently explains previous studies on English in a Japanese context, such as English-based loanwords, English as a foreign/second language education, multilingualism, English in media, and English in linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, the chapter explores previous studies on attitude towards languages and language usage. Lastly, it reconsiders the findings of previous studies on English in a Japanese context and discusses the notion of Japanese English.

3.1 Global spread of English

It is estimated that approximately 7,000 languages are spoken across the world today; the top 20 most widely spoken languages each have over 50 million native speakers, while many indigenous languages are in danger of extinction without preservation efforts (Laponce, 2005). The United Nations reports that one language disappears every two weeks (United Nations, 2016) and that at least half of all languages may cease to exist by the end of the twenty-first century (Austin & Sallabank,

2011). Determining the accurate number of speakers is problematic, as approximately 25% of countries in the world have two or more official languages (Tucker, 1999), and more than half of the world's population is estimated to have command of more than two languages (Ansaldo et al., 2008; Tucker, 1999). Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that the language with the largest number of native speakers is Chinese, with over 1,200 million speakers, followed by Spanish with approximately 437 million speakers; English is ranked third, with approximately 372 million speakers (Simons, & Fennig, 2017). English is distinctive among other major languages in terms of its expansion across the globe. Unlike Chinese, which is mainly spoken by people in China and the Chinese diaspora, English has spread worldwide. English is spoken in so many countries that 59 sovereign states and non-sovereign entities list it as an official language. In 16 nations, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, English is a *de facto* official language (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Furthermore, English is currently used in countries where it had not been historically used in daily life.

English, which was shaped in Britain from the fifth to the end of the sixteenth centuries, was brought to other countries beginning in the seventeenth century through colonial expansion (Ostler, 2010a). Starting with settlement in the United States, it followed the establishment of the East India Company to India and Hong Kong (ibid.). Although English has enjoyed the status of a global language in the twenty-first century,

it was not necessarily the dominant language, and there were rivals to its status as *lingua franca* or global language. Going farther back in time, Greek was the *lingua franca* in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East during the Roman period (European Commission, 2011). Latin served as a *lingua franca* in Western Europe with the expansion of the Roman Empire; it gradually lost its status but maintained its role in academic and scientific domains into the eighteenth century (European Commission, 2011; Ostler, 2010a). Chinese scripts were used in Asian countries (e.g., Japan and Korea; Taylor & Taylor, 1995). During the age of exploration, other European languages (e.g., French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish) also expanded to Asian, African, and Latin American countries through colonisation, when English began to be used outside Britain (Ostler, 2010a). Nonetheless, as Ostler (2010b) argues, the power of languages rises and falls like empires. The influence of European languages grew weaker in colonies where the colonial languages were largely used among settlers from the European countries and local elite groups since the end of World War II, as many former colonies of Western countries became independent. On the other hand, English has continued to be used as the dominant first language in countries such as the United States and Australia; in the latter, mass migration from Britain occurred (Ostler, 2010a). Furthermore, not only Britain, but also the economic and political prosperity of the United States have contributed to the dominance of English. Americanisation and

globalisation since the twentieth century have also facilitated the spread of English (Graddol, 1997).

With globalisation and technological advances, goods, information and people move across borders in increasing numbers, at speeds not experienced in the last century. Due to this increase in mobility, it has become more important than ever to have a language that enables interactions between individuals who do not share the same first language. With globalisation affecting many parts of the world, a shared language is needed for both communication between nations and in multinational settings. For this reason, English has spread all over the world as a *lingua franca* and plays an essential role in various fields. Graddol (1997) and Crystal (2012) hold similar views regarding the domain in which English is used. Crystal (2012) argues that English is a global language for international relations, media, international travel, international safety, education, and communications, among other fields. More specifically, Graddol (1997) contends that English is a major language in the following fields:

1. The working language of international organisations and conferences
2. Scientific publication
3. International banking; economic affairs and trade
4. Advertising for global brands
5. Audio-visual cultural products (e.g., film, TV, popular music)

6. International tourism
7. Tertiary education
8. International safety (e.g., 'airspeak', 'seaspeak')
9. International law
10. As a 'relay language' in interpretation and translation
11. Technology transfer
12. Internet communication (Graddol, 1997)

Ostler (2010b) contends that *lingua francas* are spread via military conquest, commerce, and religious conversion. In many parts of the world, however, the main reason English has become a *lingua franca* is the globalisation of human activities. Graddol (1997) identifies seven global trends which affect human language and communication: demography, world economy, technology, globalisation, immaterial economy, cultural flows, and global inequalities. The spread of English also follows these trends. Information flows from English-speaking countries may largely affect its spread.

English is spoken not only as a first language but also as a second, third, or additional language alongside community languages in countries where it was not

formerly used in everyday life. As a result, as Graddol (2006) emphasises, the majority of interactions conducted in English take place between non-native speakers of English. The importance of English is therefore evident, and its influence continues to grow in many parts of the world. Crystal (2006) estimates that there are approximately 400 million speakers of ESL in the world. Although the figure is now more than a decade old, it indicates that the number of non-native English speakers exceeds that of native English speakers. Crystal (2012) claims that the Indian subcontinent has the third-largest number of English speakers in the world, after the United States and the United Kingdom.

On the other hand, Graddol (2010) argues that the number of English speakers in China may already have surpassed that of India. A national survey conducted in mainland China (excluding Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan) in 2000 indicated that 390.16 million Chinese people had learnt English (R. Wei & Su, 2012). Although the level of fluency of English among the Chinese is still unclear due to a lack of reliable data, the figure demonstrates the potential for the number of English speakers to increase in the future. English has become the strongest *lingua franca* today (Brumfit, 1982), and ‘there is overwhelming acceptance of the global dominance of English’ (Bangboe, 2001, p. 357). Graddol (1997, p. 5) argues that ‘[n]ative speakers may feel the language “belongs” to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or

foreign language who will determine its world future'. According to Widdowson, '[t]he very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it' (Widdowson, 1994, p. 385). However, Mufwene (2010a) argues that the globalisation of English is limited to an urban phenomenon and a socio-economically privileged class. As English does not spread equally to everyone, 'English has become a global language geographically, but [is] not becoming a universal one' (ibid., p. 59). Furthermore, there are different perspectives regarding the spread of English as a *lingua franca*. Crystal (2006) sees that English is used for international understanding. On the other hand, Phillipson (1992, 2009) views the global spread of English as a form of linguistic imperialism. Phillipson (1992, p. 47) argues that English linguistic imperialism is the phenomena that 'the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages'. One of his arguments is that nations, organisations, and corporations purposely promote English for the political and economic advantage of English speakers and that the act results in marginalising other languages. Although Phillipson's approach is unique and provides a different perspective on the global spread of English, there is no evidence that there is any agent or elite group behind its spread. In the case of Japan, English seems to be derived from bottom-up actions rather than elite ideology, as the locals do not necessarily follow

language policies and ESL education guidelines (see Section 2.6). Regardless of the views towards the spread of English, English has become a property of many people across the globe and has developed distinctive characteristics.

3.2 English Varieties in the World

English has spread in countries where it was not traditionally used in daily life, and new varieties of English have developed which contain regional characteristics, aspects of local languages, and cultural traits. The varieties of English which developed in areas which were not traditionally considered English-speaking regions (e.g., the Caribbean, West and East Africa, and parts of Asia) – are called ‘postcolonial English’ due to the countries’ historical backgrounds (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2020; Schneider, 2007). With the expansion of English in countries without colonial backgrounds, English is observed in both spoken and written forms. These new varieties of English have gained scholarly attention and attempts are made to understand the nature and implication of English in society. Researchers categorises the patterns of how languages spread, types of acquisition, and functions in the societies, and these varieties of English are recognised as ‘World Englishes’ (WE). This term describes ‘the localised forms of English’ observed in various parts of the world (Bolton, 2005, p. 69). Melchers & Shaw

(2013, p. 33) argue that ‘any community which uses a variety of English has a linguistic norm for its use’, and the term ‘norm’ here is used for ‘the implicit set of rules speakers appear to use for what it is appropriate to say in what grammatical or social context’. Begum & Kandiah (1997, p. 191) maintain that English varieties have a kind of ‘self-identificational value’ for the community of users. In general, WE has distinctive rules such as appropriateness and comprehensibility developed with local characteristics and practiced among a specific language community to serve its pragmatic and semiotic needs. Mufwene (2010b) indicates that English has evolved into many varieties (i.e., pidgins and creoles) which are classified as separate languages in certain regions. These varieties of English not only have different forms of grammar but are also phonetically diverse, adapting the pronunciations of local languages. On the other hand, varieties of English such as Konglish (Korean English; e.g., Lawrence, 2012) and Arabish (Arabic English; e.g., Bianchi, 2011) are differentiated from pidgins and creoles and categorised instead as WE.

Pidgins arise as a communicative bridge when speakers of mutually unintelligible languages need to interact (e.g., for trade; Velupillai, 2015). When the communicative bridge is used systematically, it is recognised as a new variety of language, a pidgin (ibid.). Similarly, Crystal (1991, p. 264) states that pidgins are formed when ‘two mutually unintelligible speech communities attempt to

communicate, each successively approximating to the more obvious features of the other's language'. De Camp (1968, pp. 30–31) describes a pidgin as a 'contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers' and explains its characteristics as 'a limited vocabulary and a simplification or elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender'. Crystal (1991, p. 334) states that a pidgin is sometimes called a 'makeshift', 'marginal', or 'mixed' language. Sebba (1997) lists the characteristics of pidgins as follows:

- have no native speakers;
- are the result of contact between two or more languages;
- usually draw most of their vocabulary from one language (the lexifier);
- have grammars which are simplified and reduced compared with the grammars of their input languages;
- tend to have simple phonological systems;
- tend to have analytic (isolating) or agglutinating morphology;
- tend to have semantically transparent relationships between words and meaning
- have small vocabularies where words cover a wide semantic range (Sebba, 1997, p. 69).

When a pidgin becomes the main tool for communication between the contact communities and used in more domains than its original purpose, it is called an 'extended' or 'expanded' pidgin (Todd, 1974). A creole, on the other hand, is the first language of a community which developed due to contacts. De Camp (1968, p. 31) describes a creole as 'the native language of most of its speakers' and states that 'its vocabulary and syntactic devices are, like those of any native language, large enough to meet all the communication needs of its speakers'. Romaine (1993, p. 38) argues that 'the development from pidgin into creole involves an expansion of expressive forces in response to communicative needs'. A pidgin is thus used in the process of language development, and a creole is the outcome. While a creole is a mother tongue among the members of the speech community, WE is used as a first, second, third, or additional language. World Englishes does not necessarily originate from a bridge or tool for communication as a result of contacts between two or more speech communities. In a community which had fewer contacts with English-speaking nations, WE may have emerged due to other factors. Pidginised English, English-based creoles, and other varieties of English used in the world are all types of WE. Nonetheless, creoles have a more solid status as languages, whereas WE's position is recognised as varieties of English.

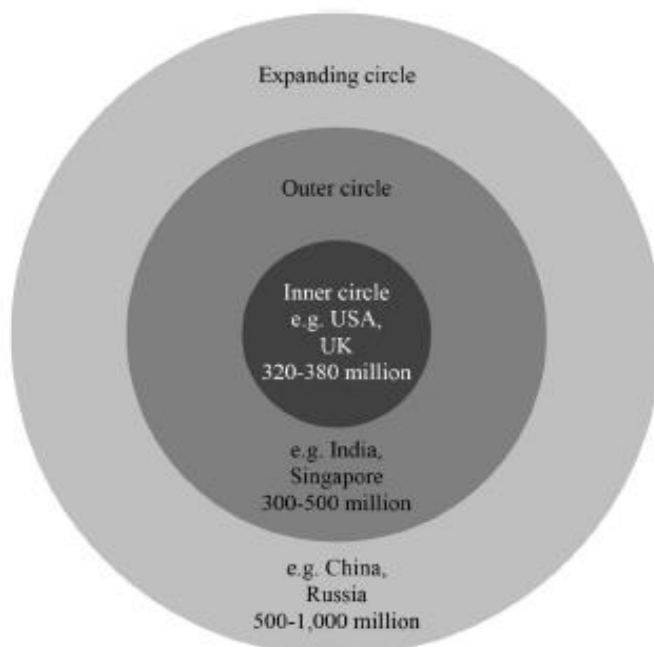
Although studies of English varieties have been conducted as early as the nineteenth century (e.g., *American English* by Webster, 1806, 1828), research on WE emerged in the 1960s in the form of describing specific features of English in former British colonies (e.g., Kachru, 1965, 1969). Kachru (1969) documented the emergence of a spoken and written Indian English which was overlooked in the field of English studies. World Englishes studies have shown that Englishes have been used for both international and intranational communication. The individual varieties of WE have been studied using various approaches. Although they overlap, Bolton (2005, p. 70) identifies several distinct approaches to WE: English studies, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, lexicography, ‘populariser’ approaches, critical linguistics, and linguistic futurology. The study of WE primarily encompasses Englishes used worldwide from sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspectives (e.g., Berns, 2005; Kachru, 1992; Kachru & Smith, 2009; Schneider, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2009; Yano, 2001), and this approach aims to examine the global spread of English, identifies English varieties used in diverse language communities and classifies them. Other major study explores linguistic features and functions of the Englishes in specific linguistic contexts in various language communities (e.g., *Hong Kong English* by Gisborne, 2000; *South African English* by Kasanga, 2006; *Singapore English* by Lim, 2007; *comparison of Englishes in India, Nigeria, Singapore and the U.S.* by Kachru, 2003).

To understand the dynamics of Englishes, researchers have categorised the types of WE and proposed models. The models explain the motives and processes behind the emergence of WE rather than the linguistic features of Englishes used around the globe. Kirkpatrick (2007) classified English used in different countries into three types: English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL), and English as a foreign language (EFL). ENL is used in countries where English is spoken as a native language by the majority of the population, while ESL is used in mainly former colonies where English has been used as an official language alongside native languages. EFL is practiced in countries where English is learned at school for international purposes but not widely spoken in daily life. This model classifies countries according to the process of how people acquire or learn English. Kirkpatrick (2007) argues that these three classifications are problematic, as the term 'native language' causes misunderstanding and overlooks linguistic variations within ENL countries and reinforce the hierarchy of Englishes, leading to 'linguistic discrimination' (Tsuda, 1992) and 'linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992). Kirkpatrick (2007) also argues that the distinction between ESL and EFL has become vague, as the role of English has been increasing in many EFL countries, and the role of English in ex-colonies differs depending on what type of colony they were. For example, English was

used exclusively by elite groups in colonial India (Graddol, 2006), and not all Indian people have a strong command of English, although India is categorised as ESL.

The most influential but controversial model could be Kachru's WE classification. Kachru (1985, 1992) proposes 'three concentric circles of English' (see Figure 3.1) to describe the use of English: (1) the inner circle, where English is used as a first language; (2) the outer circle, where English is used as an official language and has a colonial background; and (3) the expanding circle, where English has neither official status nor colonial history but is widely studied as a foreign language.

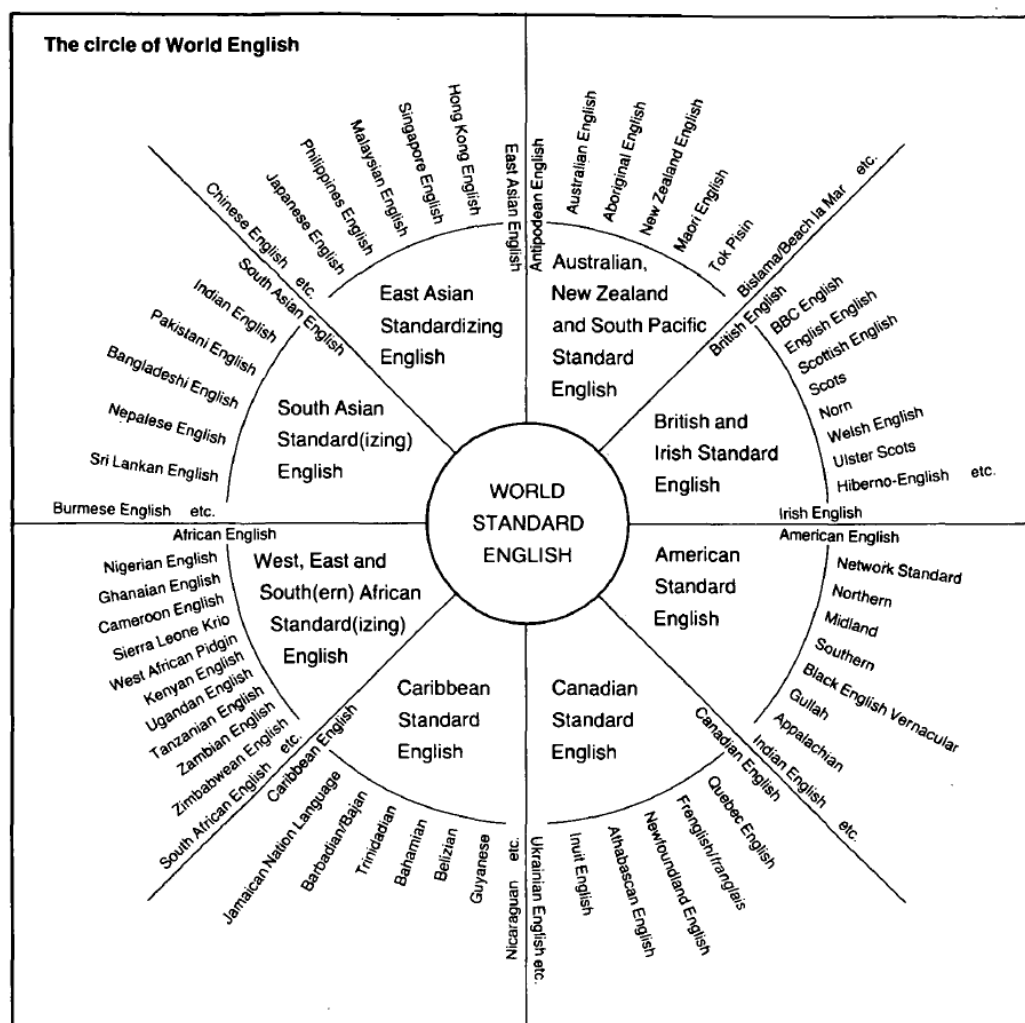
Figure 3.1 Kachru's 'three concentric circles of English' (adapted from Crystal, 1997, p. 54)



Similarly, Phillipson (1992) categorises the English-speaking world into two taxonomies: *core* and *periphery*. The core is equivalent to the ‘inner circle’ labelled by Kachru (1985). The periphery is subdivided into two categories: former colonial countries where English serves various purposes in a wide range of areas, and countries where English is used primarily for international communication.

McArthur (1998) provides a circle model of world English (see Figure 3.2) to describe the use of English in multiple parts of the world (1998, p. 97). However, this model shows is a geographical categorisation only, and it does not take the other aspects of WE into account.

Figure 3. 2 McArthur's 'circle of World English' (adapted from McArthur, 1998)

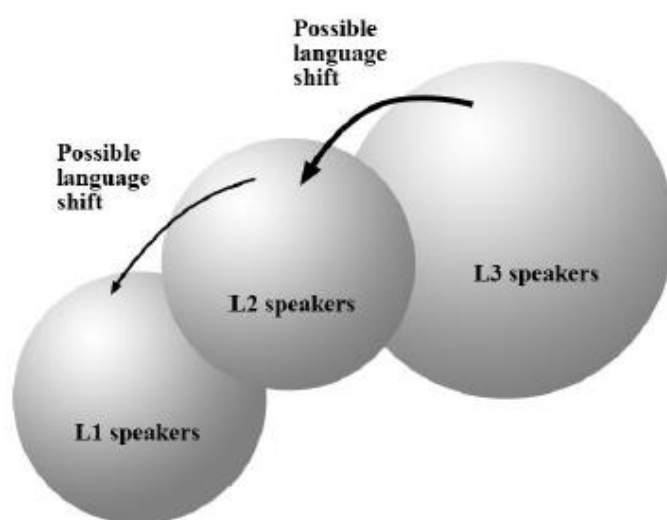


Kachru's, Phillipson's, and McArthur's models classify WE territories according to their political, historical, and geographical backgrounds. These categorisations provide an overview of WE, offer an idea about where English is used, and convey the pluralistic nature of English. Yet the classifications are debatable, as they misrepresent as if a few inner countries own English and provide its norm, ignore variations within the circle; neglect the complexity of sociolinguistic aspects; and do

not take into account the function, frequency, or fluency of English used in each group and by individuals in it. Jenkins (2003) criticises Kachru's WE model for not clarifying the function and situation of English usage. Jenkins (2009) uses the term English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) to refer to a specific communication context for which English is used. McKay (2002) uses yet another term, English as an international language (EIL). From the EIL perspective, English does not belong to particular groups of people, countries, or cultures; instead, people use the language to express their thoughts, values, and so forth. However, the problem with these terms is that they do not correspond to English used for intranational communication. Two types of English use must be considered. One is *intranational* use, which is used for communication between people within the community. The other is *international* use, which is seen in interactions among people outside the speech community. Individuals might use English in both *intra-* and *international* settings. Graddol (2006, p. 110) claims that 'the traditional definition of "second-language user" (as one who uses the language for communication within their own country) no longer makes sense'. As the purposes of using English have expanded in countries where English was not traditionally used, Graddol (1997) proposes a modification to the Kachru's three circles model to illustrate the process by which EFL users would become ESL and ENL users (see Figure 3.3). The model

illustrates the stages of shift occurs to individuals and does not necessarily represent the English used in the entire community.

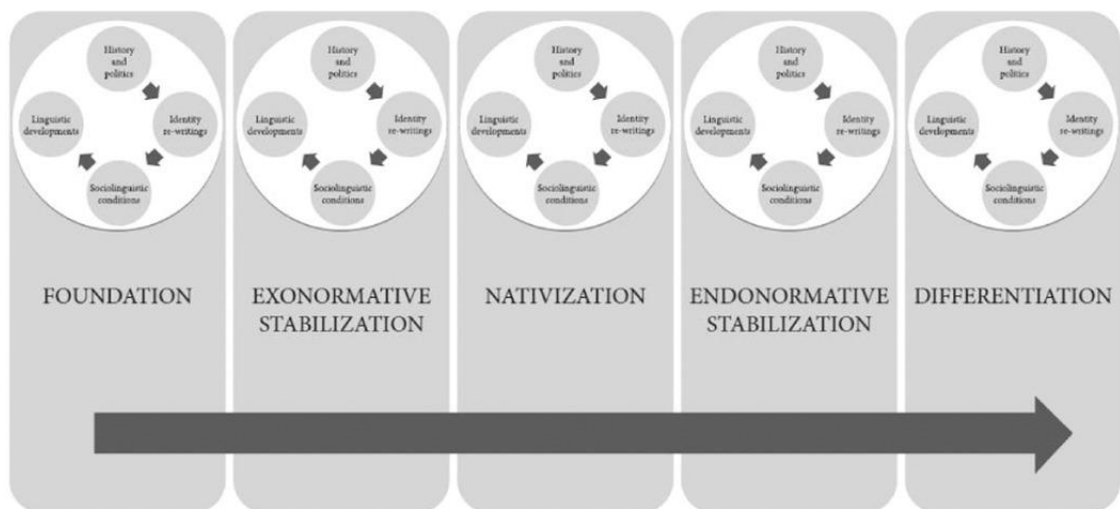
Figure 3. 3 Graddol's modification to the three circles model (adapted from Graddol, 1997)



Schneider (2003, 2007) takes a different approach to WE, which is empathising language ecologies (see Figure 3.4). Schneider (2003) identifies that varieties of English share underlying process in their spread and diversification and move through five stages of diachronic development: (1) foundation (i.e., English begins to be used); (2) exonormative stabilization (i.e., adoption of English norms); (3) nativisation (i.e., incorporation of norm into the local language); (4) endonormative stabilization (i.e., acceptance of the new variety as the local norm), and (5) differentiation (i.e., the new variety reflects local identity and culture; see Figure 3.4).

Schneider's model demonstrates more detailed descriptions of how a language evolves and how a certain linguistic feature emerges from an evolutionary perspective. This model describes greater complexity of sociolinguistic and language contact conditions and posits 'the notion of social identity and its construction and reconstruction by symbolic linguistic means' (Schneider, 2007, p. 26).

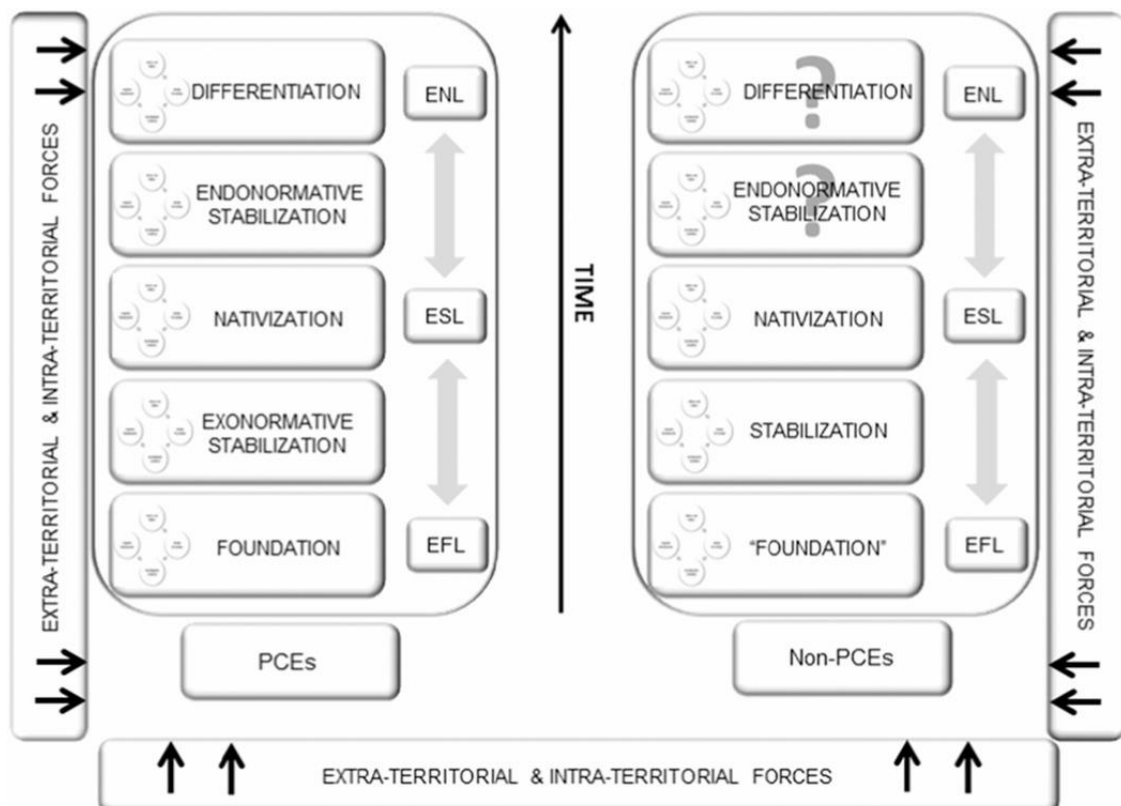
Figure 3. 4 Schneider's developmental stages of the Dynamic Model (adapted from Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017)



Schneider's dynamic model illustrates the process varieties of English which arose as a result of colonisation. However, it does not represent development processes of Englishes in the expanding circle generated by globalisation. To fill the gap between traditional WE frameworks and current language situation, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) propose the extra- and intra-territorial forces (EIF) model (see Figure 3.5).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch does not suggest replacing Schneider’s dynamic model with EIF; rather, they integrate post- and non-colonial Englishes, and propose an alternative to traditional WE paradigms. Although Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s model delves into development process of English varieties and describes the complex realities of the spread of English worldwide, it does not mention the varying degrees of English competence which people possess, nor does it consider the use of English for specific purposes.

Figure 3. 5 Kautzsch’s Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces (EIF) model (adapted from Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017)



Various models are proposed within WE paradigms, and each variety of English is categorised using a different term. However, these models overgeneralise the varieties of English and undervalue the social backgrounds, functions, and roles that English plays in the community. Roles of language are fluid rather than static, and they are not exclusive. An individual may be a member of multiple language communities, and they may use English for multiple purposes at any given time. Kachru and Nelson (2006) claim that social, cultural, economic, and political factors affect the extent and types of English used in East Asia. As varieties of English emerge from different cultural and social contexts, ignoring the complex factors associated with the new uses of English and labelling them all as WE or categorising each variety under a specific group is an over-simplification of their true nature. As Baumgardner (1993, p. 50) states, 'World Englishes form a unique and variegated sociolinguistic mosaic, and each variety, whether already standard or in the process of standardising, is an integral part of this unprecedented international phenomenon'. Pennycook (2003a) suggests eliminating the circles which incorporate codified national varieties and take into account the varieties spreading with globalisation. As Pennycook (2007) maintains, the globalised world exhibits substantial transcultural flows. In the rapidly globalising world, the use of English has become more complex than the simple matter of geopolitical classification or identification of the development process. In the case of

English in Japan, the development processes and linguistic features differ from pidgins, creoles, and WE, and English usage is limited to specific purposes (see Section 3.3). Simple classification such as EFL or English in the Expanding Circle do not do justice to the nature of English in Japan. The notions these models embodied need to be updated to represent current usage in societies.

3.3 English usage among the Japanese

The use of English by the Japanese in daily life is generally limited (Y. Yano, 2008) although English is used among new migrants, visitors, returnees, international families, and students at international schools, as well as by governments and organisations to support non-native speakers of Japanese as a '*genko sabisu*' (language service; see Section 2.7). However, the globalisation of Japanese companies gives the Japanese increasing opportunities to use English (see Section 2.7). The Japanese also use English for the Japanese in the form of advertising, such as in text on commercial signs. A number of researchers have investigated the use of English in Japanese society. Kachru (2005, p. 74), however, criticises the discussion of English in Asia as 'based on a variety of *imperfect* assumptions'. For example, studies on English in Japan predominantly focus on the following six aspects:

1. *Historical*, within the contexts of Japan's language policy towards English;

2. *Functional*, within the context of the *uses* of English;
3. *Formal*, with reference to various types of nativization;
4. *Attitudinal*, with reference to what model and method is appropriate for the Japanese consumer of English;
5. *Pragmatic*, with reference to the interactional contexts within which English is used by the Japanese; and
6. *Acquisitional*, with reference to the strategies for acquisition and issues related to it (Kachru, 2005, p. 74).

As Kachru (2005) argues, research on English in Japan tends to concentrate on factors related to the educational context and learning outcomes. Previous studies have primarily examined the following five fields: English-based *gairaigo* (loanwords), ESL and EFL education, multilingualism, English in media, and English in the LL.

The majority of studies have focused on lexical borrowing and examine the spread and assimilation of English-based *gairaigo* into the Japanese language system (e.g., Barrs, 2011, 2013; Park, 1986). For example, Honna (1995) analysed the *gairaigo* phonetic system in daily conversation. However, most studies on the written form of loanwords analyse the use of *katakana* since it is used to transcribe Western-based loanwords in formal writing (e.g., newspapers and books; see Section 2.5). For instance,

Yazaki (1964) explained the origin of loanwords used in Japanese. Kay (1995) and Koscielecki (2006) discuss the historical and cultural contexts of how English-based loanwords were nativised. Ishino (1983) highlights the issue of orthography, as there is variability in the notation of loanwords transcribed into *katakana*. Park (1986) conducted a more detailed analysis which examined the morphological features of loanwords. Ishiwata (2001) described the characteristics of loanwords in terms of phonology, lexicology, semantics, and notation. To investigate the transition towards the use of loanwords, Oshima (2004) evaluated the loanwords used in a newspaper published from 1952 to 1997. Similarly, Hashimoto (2010) conducted a quantitative analysis of the use of loanwords in two major newspapers and compared their use with speech in the national assembly. Furthermore, Jinnouchi (2007) examined the transitions of the use of loanwords and introduced the results of a survey on attitudes towards the use of loanwords conducted by the Agency for Cultural Affairs from the sociolinguistic perspective. Regarding cognitive skills, Scherling (2012) conducted a survey to examine loanword comprehension among university students. Rubrecht and Ishikawa (2010) examined the use of English-based loanwords in spoken discourse in six Japanese television programmes, and their study found that nearly three-fourths of the English loanwords which appeared in the programmes were not high-frequency words. Moreover, Kowner and Daliot-Bul (2008) discussed reasons for adopting

English-based loanwords from historical perspectives. Jinnouchi (2007) stated that loanwords used officially could be called '*kokyo katakanago*' (public loanwords), as they are commonly used in various media as part of a formal writing style. In contrast, he called the English that is widely represented in advertising 'commercial loanwords' (ibid.). A number of researchers (e.g., Allen, 2020; Barrs, 2013; Daulton, 2008; Rogers et al., 2015; Uchida, 2007) have suggested the benefits of utilising English-based *gairaigo* in ESL and EFL learning. Olah (2007, p. 178) claimed that the reason for extensive use of English-based *gairaigo* was that the use of foreign words symbolised 'the power, wealth and prestige of Western countries' during Japan's social and economic development. Although these studies have highlighted the wide use of English-based vocabulary in Japanese, they have revealed the degree of integration of nativised English-based loanwords (i.e., *gairaigo*) into the Japanese language system rather than English used in its original form (i.e., written in the Roman alphabet). English transcribed into Japanese scripts and in the Roman alphabet should be investigated as their own categories when examining forms and functions of the current usage of English in Japan, particularly in relation to a variety of WE.

While the *gairaigo* studies largely investigate written forms, most research on English usage among the Japanese concerns spoken language. Most analyses have been conducted in specific domains (e.g., phonological features: Nihalani, 2010; Smith &

Bisazza, 1982; lexical development: Honna, 2020; Stanlaw, 2004; discourse structures: Fujiwara, 2014; and pragmatic characteristics: Ike, 2014; Kondo, 1997) and report that interference occurs from Japanese to English. English usage among the Japanese in educational settings examined how students utilise their language knowledge to facilitate communication. Nukuto (2017) analysed code choice between Japanese and English in ESL and EFL classes at junior high schools, and he found that teachers used Japanese to support their learners, even though using English as a medium of instruction is suggested by the Japanese educational ministry (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2012; see Section 2.6). Hanamoto (2016) examined how Japanese students with lower English proficiency levels employed communication strategies in English in a *lingua franca* situation and found that the students employed verbal and non-verbal strategies to achieve mutual understanding. Although these studies displayed the use of English and communication strategies by both teachers and learners, it is questionable whether the English usage represents authentic autonomous use of English since the conversations occurred in classrooms (i.e., controlled settings).

Studies on written English have also examined texts written by Japanese learners in educational contexts. Okaura (2008) examined essays that had been written by Japanese university and high school students and the interference of the writers' first

language into their use of English. Shibata (2006) analysed the influence of Japanese topic-comment structure into constructions in written English. Miyake and Tsushima (2012a, 2012b) compared essays that had been written by Japanese learners of English and by native speakers of English. The Japanese tended to use 'there' constructions, and their expressions were grammatically correct but uncommon among native English speakers. The study examined actual usage of WE among the Japanese and highlighted how English composed by the Japanese differs from other types of English. Although it focused exclusively on evaluating the use of a specific sentence construction among Japanese students, the study suggested that differences exist between the Japanese and native English speakers' expressions, such as transfer from Japanese, different cultural values, and epistemology (ibid.).

Studies on written English have been conducted in relation to multilingualism; they explain the language assistance provisions each municipality has made for non-Japanese nationals (e.g., Backhaus, 2004; Kawahara, 2004b; Miyoshi, 2004; Okado, 2004; Shirahata & Kusunoki, 2004; Takagi & Furuuchi, 2004; Tezuka, 2004). As the texts are published by authorities and principally target people with limited Japanese reading skills, the purposes and functions of English differ from the English which emerged in the community and is used among the Japanese. The texts observed here

are written in so-called standard English used in inner-circle countries where English historically has the status of official or *de facto* language. Accordingly, the English texts examined in these studies do not include code-mixing of English and Japanese.

Bilingualism by the Japanese is also analysed. Wakabayashi (2002), who investigated English and Japanese proficiency among high school students at an international school in Japan, argued that bilingualism could be a future investment for children. Bilingualism or multilingualism would be valuable for members of wider communities, as well as younger generations. Leong (2017) conducted interviews at four Japanese universities and examined the reasons for implementing English-medium instruction (EMI) programmes. The various reasons related to the globalisation of universities and the intention to develop students' English skills to participate in the global market. In addition to the aforementioned studies, code-switching and code-mixing in speech were examined. Gillies (2005, 2006) analysed Japanese-English code-mixing in conversations between a Japanese native speaker and an English native speaker and found that it occurred at the levels of structure, discourse and society. Nishimura (1995, 1997) investigated functional and syntactic aspects of code-switching observed among *nisei* (i.e., second generation Japanese people) in a Japanese/English bilingual community in Toronto, Canada. Fotos (1990) and Kite (2001) analysed how Japanese/English bilingual children attending English-medium international schools in

Tokyo choose code in various domains of interaction. As the use of foreign languages is not a common practice in Japan, most studies on spoken Japanese/English code-switching and code-mixing have been conducted among bilingual speech communities.

There are fewer studies on the use of English which naturally emerged by the Japanese for the Japanese compared to the aforementioned fields, one of which is English in media. In Japan, English is used extensively in pop music and the LL, as well as for advertising purposes (Lee & Moody, 2012; Seargeant, 2011). English words and phrases are widely used in television commercials, titles of popular music, and magazine covers, often for the purpose of ornamentation and positive image. Some researchers have discussed the use of English in the titles of Japanese popular songs (Inoue, 2005) and television programmes (Jinnouchi, 2007). A number of researchers have discussed the use of English lyrics in Japanese popular music (e.g., Dowd & Kujiraoka, 2002; Masaki, 2002; Pennycook, 2003b; Stanlaw, 2004, 2021; Yano, 2000). Moody (2001) examined the rate at which English lyrics appeared in Japanese popular songs and found that 62% within a survey of 307 songs contained English and Japanese lyrics. Stanlaw (2021) argued that the use of English in Japanese pop music and culture is an identity marker. Takashi (1990a) analysed the use of English in advertising texts. Dougill (2008) discussed the widespread use of English for

commercial purposes (e.g., brand names, clothing, products, and packages). Stanlaw (2004) revealed the pervasive presence of English in Japanese society. Seargeant (2011, p. 200) noted that the use of English in Japan is 'ideational' and 'symbolic'. The ideational use reflects the notion that the authorities provide information to members of non-Japanese communities, while symbolic use is targeted at local Japanese audiences for commercial purposes. Nishimura (2003) examined the use of written English on online communication in relation to language ideologies. These studies demonstrate that English is widely used in Japanese popular culture. However, they regard the usage as 'English' even if it is used at the word and phrase level and has characteristics specific to Japanese contexts. As English spontaneously used in Japanese society is mostly observed in commercial texts and has Japanese attributes, more detailed analysis on various types of texts is essential to fully understand how English is used in Japan.

The use of written English in Japan is also studied in the field of LL (see Section 4.2). The LL studies have examined the scales of languages displayed on the street. Empirical research found extensive use of English written in the Roman alphabet (i.e., not in *katakana* as *gairaigo*) in commercial texts on the streets of Tokyo, yet the English on these texts differs from the English used in other English-speaking countries (Backhaus, 2006; Inoue, 2009; MacGregor, 2003b; Someya, 2009). Backhaus (2006)

found numerous signs and business names containing English in Tokyo. Someya (2009) compared the languages and scripts on store signs around two train stations in Tokyo and argued that there were regional differences in the use of scripts, particularly the use of the Roman alphabet. These studies applied quantitative research methods to examine the number of bilingual or multilingual signs in a specific area in Tokyo. Although the spread and use of English in Japan are prominent on commercial signs on the street, few studies have analysed the linguistic features of English used in the Japanese LL. As the spread of English is related to English for advertising and in the LL, the studies on the use of English in these fields are discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.4 Language attitudes

Language attitudes affect speakers' feelings and beliefs about language structure or language use. Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) defines 'attitudes' as 'disposition[s] to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects'. Oppenheim (1982, p. 39) understands that attitudes express mental life 'directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinion, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour'. People's attitudes thus affect various human behaviour directly or indirectly and intentionally or unintentionally.

Previous studies on language attitudes among the Japanese have assessed various aspects related to language use, of Japanese and of foreign languages, mainly English. Gottlieb (2011) examined the surveys of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, in which nearly 70% of respondents indicated that they valued the Japanese language in 2001, with the number increasing to 76.7% by 2008. The respondents also showed concern for the state of disarray of the language and the misuse of honorific forms, especially among younger people (ibid.). This could be supported by the fact that bookstores display a large number of manuals on ‘correct Japanese’ and ‘*keigo*’ (i.e., honorifics). Wetzel (1994) measured the Japanese attitudes towards *keigo* and argued that people in a higher socioeconomic class judged insufficient use of *keigo* negatively, while those in a lower socioeconomic class had more casual attitudes towards *keigo*. Regarding the perceptions of language use, Komatsu (1999, p. 27) argued that ‘for older people, the usage of language which they grow up with is unquestioningly accurate and beautiful. The usage which developed after they passed adulthood can be regarded as wrong and dirty’ (author’s own translation). A report analysing how people feel about changes and variants in Japanese indicated that answers vary depending on respondents’ gender, age, and educational background (Shioda & Takishima, 2013). Tanaka (2017) analysed 20,000 people regarding consciousness of dialects and standard Japanese usage and found that elderly people valued standard Japanese more

than dialects, middle-aged people valued dialects more, and the younger generation did not find specific value in standard Japanese. Use of dialects affects an individual's impression on others. Watanabe and Karasawa, (2013) evaluated people's impressions of standard-Japanese and Osaka-dialect speakers. Their study found that the standard-Japanese speaker was viewed as more intelligent than the Osaka-dialect speaker, although the Osaka-dialect speaker was seen as warmer than the standard-Japanese speaker. Daulton (2011) assessed attitudes towards *gairaigo* and found that university students generally reported that use of *gairaigo* did not hinder their English studies (ibid.). The aforementioned studies evaluated attitudes towards spoken styles of Japanese language.

Regarding the use of *gairaigo*, A survey conducted by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (2004) found that approximately 35% of males and females aged 15 to 19 years old report that they have knowledge of *gairaigo*. On the other hand, only 16.5% of males and 7.6% of females over 60 years old state that they have knowledge of *gairaigo*. Age and gender markers are more prominent in the recent use of *gairaigo*. Generally, younger people understand more *gairaigo* than do older people, and males more than females. Ishino (1983) examined the acceptability of English-based *gairaigo* in Japanese and found that younger people accept more *gairaigo* than those in their fifties. The age gap may be related to individuals'

EFL/English as a Second Language (ESL) educational background since the younger generation has had more opportunities to learn English (see Section 2.6).

Regarding the use of English, Japanese government and popular discourses represent it as an international language and as a tool (Kawai, 2007). However, the Japanese have two contradicting views towards English. One is that the Japanese have desire to acquire English proficiency, and the other is that the Japanese have an English ‘allergy’ due to their poor English language skills, despite having studied English in a formal educational setting for six to 10 years (Mitsutomi, 2013; Stanlaw, 2004). Kachru (2005, p. 73) describes Japanese attitudes towards English as a ‘sweet and sour relationship’. However, these attitudes relate to learning and speaking English. Attitudes towards other people using English would imply different opinions.

Previous studies on the Japanese feelings about English have indicated positive attitudes; however, the findings must be carefully interpreted. Seargeant (2009, 2011) examined the perception of English among the Japanese and claimed that his research participants expressed positive attitudes in regard to the use of English. Nevertheless, most of his research participants had experience living in English-speaking countries or using English in their work. As a result, it is likely that their opinions do not represent Japanese people in general. In fact, my personal experience of teaching EFL at Japanese universities contradicts Seargeant’s results. Many students I taught at higher-level

universities liked English and expressed a wish to study the language as their hobby or for a future career. On the other hand, most students, especially at lower-ranked universities, had studied EFL only for university entrance exams and did not enjoy studying any foreign languages. Many students voiced negative opinions towards English (e.g., that they did not need English skills in Japanese society, that they had no opportunity to use English, or simply that they did not like English). In addition, some students had difficulty spelling with the Roman alphabet and were not aware of basic English rules, such as inserting spaces between all words.

Ryan's (2009) study suggests that participants' remarks cannot be taken literally. He examined attitudes of Japanese learners of English at universities and high schools and argued that the students 'liking English' was not straightforward (ibid.). For some learners, 'liking English' was a 'socially conditioned response employed to express broadly positive attitudes', and the statement is unlikely to show any significant behavioural consequences (Ryan, 2009, p. 405). However, English enjoys a prestigious status and 'there is no non-Anglophone nation where English is so pervasive' (Stanlaw, 2004, p. 8). Igarashi (2016) indicated that 90% of the Japanese university students she surveyed wished to acquire skills in American or British English, 74% of whom specified that they preferred American English. Among the students who favoured American English, 35% stated that it was the variety of English they had studied at

school, and 34% indicated that it was the English variety most widely spoken in the world (ibid.). The finding indicates that the assertion that the Japanese have positive attitudes towards English is an overgeneralisation of Japanese opinion. The research found that the Japanese have positive attitudes towards American or British English.

In relation to WE, a number of studies have investigated the Japanese attitudes towards varieties of English. Evans and Imai (2011) examined university students' awareness of English varieties and the impressions the students had of the varieties. Their study discovered that the students commonly indicated English in the inner circle as English varieties, such as those in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia (ibid.). The students also had positive impressions towards these countries (e.g., superiority of American English and attractiveness of British English; ibid.). Evans and Imai (2011) concluded that American English has status of standard variety of English among the Japanese students due to the strong political and economic influence of the United States. Philpott and Alami (2013) surveyed students and teachers' attitudes and inquired whether distinctively Japanese use of English can be considered a variety of English. They found that the majority of Japanese students and Japanese teachers believe that Japanese English exists, but only half of English teachers view Japanese English as a variety of English. For the students, Japanese English

represents a set of unique lexical, phonetical and grammatical structures that the Japanese use and understand.

Other studies on WE have also found that Japanese university students evaluated American English in relation to power status whilst they expressed more solidarity with English with a Japanese accent. McKenzie (2008) examined university students' perceptions of six varieties of English speech. The research showed that the students evaluated British and American speakers positively in terms of status, while they rated a Japanese speaker of heavily-accented English favourably in terms of social attractiveness (ibid.). Sasayama (2013) also analysed Japanese college students' attitudes towards English speech by Americans and Japanese. The students evaluated American English more highly than English spoken by the Japanese for power, but they preferred English spoken by the Japanese than American English for solidarity (ibid.). Although Hino (2021) claimed that non-native Englishes were viewed as inferior to native Englishes by the Japanese in general, the findings of the aforementioned studies imply that Japanese students might have a greater tolerance of English spoken by the Japanese. However, listening to English and learning English are different issues. Takahashi (2017) examined the attitudes towards the inclusion of varieties of English in English language teaching coursebooks among high school seniors and their English teachers. Her study showed that students were less positive and expressed concern

about including a non-standard variety in a coursebook (ibid.). Furthermore, some teachers believed that some discussion and further consideration would be required to include varieties of English (ibid.).

There are specific factors involved with the acceptance of new varieties of English. Chiba, Matsuura, and Yamamoto (1995) investigated university students' attitudes towards varieties of spoken English and their research revealed that instrumental motivation, respect for indigenous languages, and familiarity with accents had an influence on the students' acceptance of English varieties. World Englishes education could be another factor related to understanding and accepting varieties of English, not only Englishes in the inner circle but also Englishes used in other communities. Attitudes towards varieties of English would undergo changes by providing knowledge of WE. Tanaka (2010) surveyed university students' recognition of the notion of EIL and their opinions on the ideal future English education in Japan. The results suggested that many students were beginning to accept the use of local varieties of English (ibid.). Yoshikawa (2005) also inquired about the recognition of the concept of WE among university students before and after taking the lecture and seminar classes about WE and Singapore, where the students would visit as a part of the university programme. The study indicated that the students' recognition of WE had

changed after being educated about its concept, and they showed higher acceptability of Japanese English (ibid.).

Studies on the use of English and other languages for commercial purposes also indicated positive attitudes towards English by the Japanese. Haarmann's (1986, 1989) surveys of Japanese university students' attitudes towards the use of English, French, and Japanese in commercials found that they had positive attitudes towards the use of English. On the other hand, Stanlaw (2004) contested the idea that other European languages (e.g. French and Italian) also have a positive image for the Japanese. People's attitudes towards specific European languages may have changed in the last two decades, but it is difficult to draw a conclusion due to insufficient studies on Japanese attitudes towards European languages.

Previous studies have conveyed the Japanese people's preference for English used by native speakers, particularly American English. In addition, positive and less positive attitudes towards English exist in Japanese society. Nevertheless, the majority of these studies examined Japanese people's attitudes towards spoken English. Although written English is widely used for commercial purposes in Japan, how the Japanese perceive the usage has not been sufficiently investigated thus far.

3.5 Japanese English?

There is a notion of ‘Japanese English’ in the field of WE. However, whether English in Japan is ‘Japanese English’ or another English used by the Japanese is obscure. Before discussing ‘Japanese English’, it is essential to note that three kinds of written English are used in Japanese society. One is English as a *lingua franca* for people with English reading competence. When English is written in its so-called standard form which originated in the inner circle, it is mainly intended for non-Japanese speakers, although Japanese people with English competence can understand it. This type of English is institutionalised at Japanese schools and used by authorities. The English taught and used at school could be idealised institutionalised English and often students are required to follow model dialogues on teaching materials (see Section 2.6). The English usage out of the context and not regularly used in the inner circle may have been regarded as non-standard or erroneous in the settings (e.g., Barrs, 2015). However, English is recognised as ‘Englishes’ with increasing frequency. Researchers have discussed the implications of applying WE notions to ESL and EFL educational contexts in Japan (D’Angelo, 2012; Morrow, 2004). Although teaching approaches with WE concepts are proposed, in reality, ESL and EFL education in Japan has followed traditional approaches (see Section 2.6).

Another is a nativized English-based word or expression called *wasei eigo* (i.e., literally, made in Japan English). *Wasei eigo* is assimilated into Japanese phonologically, morphologically, and semantically, and it is not only conventionally transcribed into Japanese scripts but also written in the Roman alphabet. For example, jet coaster (ジェットコースター, pronounced 'jietskosuta') is a roller coaster in English. *Wasei eigo* has several functions. It is used as 'part of imaginative punning and wordplay' (Miller, 1998, p. 130) and when the Japanese equivalent word sounds too direct or may be evaluated negatively (Rebuck, 2002, p. 61). Honna (1995) explained the word 'loan' (ローン, pronounced 'ron') has the Japanese equivalent of *shakkin* (借金), but the Japanese word that refers to borrowing money has a negative connotation. Therefore, the English word is used to avoid making an unfavourable impression. *Wasei eigo* is used in all types of media when written in Japanese scripts.

The last type is English written in the Roman alphabet but often mixed into Japanese sentences or with meanings specific to Japan. It is written for the people with some English reading competence or those familiar with Japan-specific English, as well as Japanese reading competence when the text contains Japanese. This type has emerged naturally and is practiced by the local people, particularly for commercial purposes. Among these three types, the use of first type is limited to international communication, and the second type has assimilated into Japanese language. Hence,

this study focuses on code-mixed/code-switched English or English with Japan-specific meanings written in the Roman alphabet. *Wasei eigo* transcribed into Japanese scripts is not treated in this research since it has been nativized in Japanese.

McLellan (2010, p. 435) claims that ‘World Englishes are, by definition, code-mixed varieties’ and that ‘languages co-exist in local and national linguistic ecosystems’. Bentahila and Davies (1983) argue that the act of mixing two codes should be distinguished from choosing only one code, as it produces ‘a third code’. Moreover, Kachru (1983) and Bokamba (1988) differentiate code-mixing and code-switching, as the two entail distinct linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects. Numerous linguists have defined code-mixing and code-switching (e.g., Annamalai, 1989; Bokamba, 1988; Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz, & Hernández-Chavez, 1978; Kachru, 1978, 1983; Muysken, 2000; Tay, 1989). A simple definition of code-mixing is the mixing of linguistic units from two or more languages, dialects, or language registers. Code-switching is the switching of two or more languages, dialects, or language registers in a single discourse. Other terms which describe the use of two or more languages are translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Kano, 2014; García & Wei, 2014; L. Wei, 2011) and transmeshing (Canagarajah, 2007, 2011; Young, 2004). García (2009, p. 45) defines translanguaging as ‘multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds’. On the other hand, Young (2011, p. 67) referred

to code-meshing as the use of ‘dialects, international languages, local idioms, chat-room lingo, and the rhetorical styles of various ethnic and cultural groups in both formal and informal speech acts’. Translanguaging is thus the act of bilinguals and multilinguals using any and all language knowledge to communicate, whereas code-meshing is the use of the whole language repertoire in a single rhetorical performance. Another difference is that translanguaging highlights language use in bi- and multilingual communities, while code-meshing emphasises individual analysis.

Code-mixing, code-switching, and borrowing occur in all languages. Researchers have noted the adaption of English in various languages (e.g., Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia by Al-Jarf, 2009; Arabic by Bianchi, 2011; Mandarin Chinese by Hall-Lew, 2002; Cantonese by Kenstowicz, 2012; Norwegian by Kuitert, 2013; Russian by Styblo, 2007). English is also used as a form of code-mixing in Japanese contexts. Previous studies on English in Japan used the term code-mixing as mixing code A into code B in one sentence and referred to code-switching as switching from code A to code B at sentence level or in the same speech. Consequently, this study follows the definition and uses the term code-mixing to refer to an intersentential use of linguistic units in two or more codes, while code-switching refers to an intrasentential change or shift of codes across sentence boundaries.

In Asia, English is used for various types of commercial purposes. Brock (1991, p. 50) argues that the use of English in Asia is not intended as a means of communication for delivering a message through language. Instead, he claims that English is used 'as a medium of ornamentation' (ibid., p. 50). However, English is used as both ornamentation and a medium of communication in Japan, as it has expanded usage and has given new phrases and expressions to the Japanese. English is adopted into Japanese in creative ways, and it enriches Japanese expressions. Scherling (2016) investigated how English words were used in Japanese punning. His research showed that English is used in Japanese sentences at the morphological and phonetical levels to create puns. English also influences the use of Japanese in advertising texts. English-derived words were used in the forms of wordplay and puns to transmit messages (Inagawa, 2015). As the usage has expanded into the advertisement of items which are culturally specific to Japan, Inagawa (2015) argues that English is in the process of assimilation into the Japanese context (i.e., localisation or nativisation). Inagawa (2015) claims that the use of English and its derivations in advertising could be called 'glocal' features of English. The effects of glocalisation are thus observed not only in English texts, but also in Japanese texts.

Advertising texts are one of the components of LLs. Previous studies on the Japanese LL have noted the extensive use of English (Backhaus, 2006; Inoue, 2009;

MacGregor, 2003b; Someya, 2009). Most of the written English found in the previous LL studies in Japan were single words and short phrases, and they were often used along with their Japanese translations, adopted into the Japanese language structure in the form of code-mixing and code-switching, or contained English that had Japanese-specific meanings which differed from their original interpretation (Backhaus, 2006; Someya, 2009). Hence, MacGregor (2003b) argues that English on shop signs is used as an extension of Japanese. Backhaus (2006) identified specific features of written English on signs: orthographic and lexical interference of Japanese-to-English vocabulary (e.g., texts containing misspellings with Japanese orthographic and phonological interference); lexical interference with the use of words such as ‘snack’ and ‘make’ which mean ‘nightclub/bar’ and ‘make-up’ respectively when these words are used as loanwords; and the code-mixing of English in Japanese sentences on lexical, syntactic, and morphological levels. Backhaus (2006) indicated that morphological mixing often occurs when English and Japanese are combined to form proper nouns (e.g., shop names). MacGregor (2003b, p. 22) also found that foreign languages were used mostly in Japanese linguistic and semantic contexts (e.g., ‘Steak House Polaire’).

As these usages are specific to Japan, they require knowledge of Japanese or distinctively Japanese use of English for full comprehension. The English used in these code-mixing or code-switching texts is thus intended to be read by an audience with

Japanese as well as English reading skills, as the texts are difficult to comprehend without knowledge of Japanese. English has been accepted by the Japanese, and it has developed specific regional Japanese characteristics. Stanlaw (1992) calls this variation of the English 'Japanese English', and Perez (1998) calls it 'Japalish'. Kachru and Nelson (1995, p. 72) claim that the role of English has expanded and that 'grammatical innovations and tolerances, lexis, pronunciations, idioms, and discourse' are seen in these Englishes. However, English usage in the LL is limited to certain types of content, such as shop and business names, business types or product names, and catchphrases (Someya, 2009). The extent to which Japanese English is used in society remains unclear, and it is doubtful that English is used widely in the LL.

While written English is largely used for commercial purposes in the LL in Japan, this is a fairly recent phenomenon (Inoue, 1997). When Masai's (1972) study was conducted in the 1960s, he found only one sign in English, at a coffee shop. On the other signs, English words were transcribed into *katakana* as *gairaigo*. Inoue (2005, 2009) observed landscape paintings and examined how the use of scripts had changed overtime in the LL from the fourteenth century to the present. He classified texts into four types and argued that the script choice shifted with transitions in time: (1) *kanji*-dominant type, (2) *katakana*-dominant type, (3) alphabet-dominant type, and (4) alphabet-plus type (Inoue, 2005, p. 158, 2009, p. 54). Inoue argues that major changes

in the use of scripts on Japanese signs occurred after World War II, moving from Type 1 to Type 2, and that there was subsequently a gradual shift from Type 2 to Type 3, and now in the twenty-first century a shift from Type 3 to 4 (ibid.).

The alphabet-dominant type uses lexical items which are etymologically Japanese and transcribed into the Roman alphabet. In contrast, the alphabet-plus type adopts the alphabet, mainly English, not only at the lexical level but also for entire sentences. The LL changes along with social changes, which refer to any alteration over time in behaviour patterns and cultural values and norms. During the Meiji period, many English words were imported into Japanese society due to the end of ‘closed country’ (*sakoku*) policy under the Tokugawa government and the opening of the country to the West. These English words were translated into Japanese and written in *kanji* to express their meanings. For example, ‘coffee’ was converted to 珈琲 (*kohi*). On the other hand, loanwords written in *kanji* gradually lost their feeling of ‘foreignness’ and were no longer perceived as English-based loanwords, as was seen in the case of loanwords from Chinese which were borrowed centuries ago (see Section 2.4). In the twentieth century, they were transcribed into *katakana* as *gairaigo*: for example, コーヒー (*kohi*), to express modernisation and internationalisation. However, as Inoue (2005) argues, the use of *katakana* for loanwords is generally restricted to single words and has come to be seen as old-fashioned. As English has traditionally

held a high status and been seen as a symbol of modernisation and internationalisation in Japan, the use of *kanji* and *katakana* no longer expresses modernity. Since the 1990s, an increasing number of English words and phrases are being written in the original spelling such as 'coffee' or 'café'. In addition, full sentences or short paragraphs in English are integrated into Japanese texts. Furthermore, foreign languages other than English have started to appear in the Japanese LL since the beginning of the twenty-first century. In terms of written language, language shifts have been taking place in Japanese public places.

Most, if not all, of the literature regarding English in Japan analyses and discusses the use of English-based *gairaigo* and *wasei eigo* in Japanese. Although there are a few studies on code-mixed and code-switched English for commercial purposes in the Japanese LL, previous studies argued that there was specific English usage which was called 'Japanese English'. Twine (1991) describes the difference between spoken and written language: speech could be understood due to its nonverbal features (e.g., a look, gesture, or tone of voice), whereas meanings must be clear with words in writing. In the case of forms used for advertising, they are written language but possess features of spoken language, as they contain a more colloquial style and are often accompanied by visual aids. Examining the features of commercial texts would be beneficial, as they have the characteristics of both written and spoken language forms.

3.6 Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter reviewed the previous studies on WE, English in Japanese context, and language attitudes by the Japanese and evaluated the notion of Japanese English. These studies have found that English usage in Japan has specific features such as code-mixing or code-switching, which differ from the English used in other countries. However, it is still questionable to categorise English in Japan within the current WE framework, as most English is predominantly used for commercial purposes. Japanese people's attitudes towards written English usage, particularly code-mixed and code-switched English, are obscure due to the insufficient investigation of the topic. The use of English in Japan is more related to advertising and marketing strategies than globalisation due to its limited usage.

Chapter 4: Marketing and language use

This chapter first reviews the use of English in advertising. English is widely used for the genre, and it has distinctive usage compared to English used for other purposes in Japan. Next, it introduces the LL studies previously conducted around the world and in Japan and discusses key issues related to LL research. The market value of English is then considered with regard to the reasons for English's popularity and the symbolic capital attached to English. Finally, the chapter introduces theories of globalisation and glocalisation and argues that these theories are linked to English usage in the Japanese LL.

4.1 Advertising and use of English

A large number of texts in Japanese LLs are related to advertisements, and the use of English has become the significant characteristic of commercial texts in Japan. Igarashi's (2007) study indicates that script proportions vary depending on the types of media and that variations also exist among each type of media (e.g., different kinds of magazines). The language style of advertising differs from that of other written forms, such as newspapers or academic reports. The genre of text and the roles languages play thus need to be examined in relation to advertising, as not only script choice but also language choice is affected by genre in Japanese.

In mass communication studies, a genre is a practical device and mechanism to relate mass medium and the expectations its customers have (McQuail, 1987). Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995, p. ix) argue that 'genre knowledge', which is 'an individual's repertoire of situationally appropriate responses to [*sic*] recurrent situation', assists literacy. In applied linguistics, 'genre' refers to a type of communicative situation or text that shares a set of characteristics in terms of its purpose, audience, language, and structure. According to Swales, 'a genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes' (Swales, 1990, p. 58). A genre can be understood as a socially recognised and stabilised pattern of communicative behaviour that serves a specific purpose in a particular social and cultural context such as academic essays, news articles, legal documents, emails, and job application letters. Each genre has its own set of audience expectations and conventions regarding content, structure, style, and language features, which are learned through exposure and experience in a given communicative practice. Genre is often discussed in relation to second-language teaching, as each text genre has a specific linguistic style and recognising genres assists in reading comprehension. A genre approach to reading comprehension is developed from the systemic functional linguistics (SFL) theory proposed by Michael Halliday (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989), which focuses on the social functions of

languages rather than language as a system. Kress, (1988, p. 183) defines a genre as ‘a kind of text that derives its form from the structure of a (frequently repeated) social occasion, with its characteristic participants and their purposes’. Kress (1988, p. 183) further argues that in the relationship between the parties, ‘[e]ach written text provides a reading position for readers, a position constructed by the writer for the “ideal reader” of the text’. Thus, there are assumptions about the ‘ideal readers’ within the text, which comprise their attitudes towards the text and content, as well as potentially their gender, age, and social and linguistic backgrounds. Regarding advertising in the LL, this maps onto writer’s expectations that their target audiences understand the texts and readers’ expectations that they comprehend the meanings as intended (i.e., that the language and scripts function as a means of communication).

The fundamental purpose of advertising is to sell products and services in an economic market. Advertisements both reflect a society and shape ‘society’s values, habits and direction’, as Dyer (1982, p. 183) argues. Moreover, advertisements shape their own culture and create particular images. Goldman (1992, p. 5) argues that advertisements produce ‘connections between the meanings of products and images’. Images are constructed using multimodality (e.g., photographs, pictures, gesture, posture, and colours), as well as language. Kannan and Tyagi (2013, p. 3) maintain that ‘[v]isual content and design in advertising have a very great impact on the consumer,

but it is language that helps people to identify a product and remember it'. Language is as important as other visual aids to deliver messages in advertising. Advertising texts and designs are constructed to appeal to specific target audiences; hence, the code-mixing and code-switching texts in LLs are the result of a carefully planned strategy.

The use of English in advertising is observed not only in Japan but also in many parts of the world. English is the most frequently used foreign/second/additional language for advertising in non-English speaking countries (Piller, 2003). Previous studies revealed that English was commonly used along with the local languages. The use of English with other languages was observed in India (Bhatia, 2000; Kathpalia & Wee Ong, 2015); China (Gao, 2005); Taiwan (Chen, 2006); Hong Kong (Leung, 2010); South Korea (Lee, 2006); Mexico (Baumgardner, 2008); Brazil (Friedrich, 2019); Colombia (Martinez, 2015); Macedonia (Dimova, 2012); the Netherlands (Gerritsen et al., 2000); France (Martin, 2002, 2007, 2008); France and Germany (Hamdan & Hatab, 2009); Hungary (Pétery, 2011); Italy (Vettorel, 2013); and Russia (Ustinova, 2006), among others. Some studies compared the English usage in multiple countries or discussed the nature of English usage across cultures (e.g., Bhatia, 1992, 2001, 2006, 2009; Bhatia & Ritchie, 2006; Cook, 1992; Gerritsen et al., 2007a, 2007b). One of the features of the advertising language found in these studies was the mixing of English

into non-English language. English was also used as a resource for linguistic and cross-cultural creativity (Vettorel, 2013).

Mixing English is discussed in relation to the following three areas: (1) globalisation (e.g., Bhatia, 1992; Martin, 2002); (2) symbolic use (e.g., Cheshire & Moser, 1994; Haarmann, 1989); and (3) identity construction (e.g., Piller, 2003). Bhatia (2009, p. 156) notes that a common feature of Asian advertising is mixing English with local languages, scripts, and accents and argues that the use of English and the Roman alphabet is 'the overwhelming choice' for global marketing. Advertising slogans and copy that mixes English with local languages would appeal not only to locals but also to the international customers who see and hear the phrases. Although adopting syntactic and phonological forms from European languages for advertisements is occasionally observed in English-speaking countries, 'high-level mixing' of English occurs in Asian advertising (Bhatia, 2009, p. 159). Vettorel (2013) maintains that English is used as an attention-getter and as a marker of cosmopolitan and international values in Italian advertising. Hsu (2008, p. 155) identifies that English usage is for not only attention-getting, but also 'internationalism, premium quality, and the trendy taste of the younger generation' and as a graphic design for certain types of advertising in Taiwan. Krishnasamy (2007) also argued that English is used for expressing modernity in Tamil advertisements. In Brunei, English is more prestigious than the local language

and is seen as indicative of ‘glamor and economic success’ (Coluzzi, 2016, p. 497). It possesses a symbolic and economic value in South Korea (Tan & Tan, 2015). English is marketable because it is ‘an economic and commercial commodity’ in the LL (Manan et al., 2017, p. 660). Bhatia (2009, p. 159) lists five motives for mixing English with other languages: ‘attention-getters, product naming, slogans, labels, and the body of ads’. All of the above types are observed in Japanese advertising.

Bhatia (2009) claims that multiple script-mixing is a hallmark of Japanese advertising. Bhatia (2009, pp. 161–162) also argues that mixing English with other languages is done due to ‘cosmetic factors’ and that Japanese advertisers mix English with other scripts for ‘the precedence of attention-catching over intelligibility’ or the ‘mock effects’ of globalisation and Westernisation. Takashi (1990b, p. 45) argues that English is used in Japanese advertising to ‘catch the audience’s attention’. Although English mixed with other languages in advertising has a decorative and symbolic function (Martinez, 2015), Takashi (1990b, p. 45) argues that English elements in Japanese advertising have the more important function to catch the audience’s attention since English written in the Roman alphabet stands out in Japanese texts. Perez (1998) claims that the Japanese use English names for advertising purposes so that products will appear ‘trendy’.

The reason why English, as opposed to other languages, is used to increase the efficacy of advertising is related to the image which the Japanese have of English and its speakers. Seaton (2001) claims that use of English in Japanese advertising functions to create fashionable images which are associated with the U.S. and English language. Advertising creators strategically exploit the positive values attached to English usage (Kachru, 1988). Because the main reason advertising copywriters use English is for decorative purposes, some texts contain non-standard English usage. Seaton (2001) and Dougill (2008) maintain that texts contain incorrect English because it is not necessary to consult a native English speaker and correct the English phrases because the main function of English on those types of texts is design. Moreover, the researchers argue that the Japanese audience knows that the English phrases are not meant to be used for communication and that they probably do not pay close attention to the phrases. Although Seaton (2001) and Dougill (2008) claim that meaning, accuracy, and appropriateness of English phrases are irrelevant for advertising texts, English (i.e., using the Roman alphabet) in Japanese advertising functions as means of communication, as well as to deliver a positive image.

Daulton (2008, p. 30) observes English for advertising from a different perspective and argues that marketers 'take advantage of the public's superficial knowledge of basic English' when using English-based loanwords or the Roman

alphabet in advertising. It is unlikely that readers will fully comprehend all the English words and phrases used for commercial purposes. However, individuals do not need a comprehensive understanding of every word to grasp the meaning of a text. Goodman (1967, p. 126) refutes the perception that reading involves a solid identification of letters and words and argues instead that 'reading is a "psycholinguistic guessing game" in which the reader picks up graphic cues to words, forms a perceptual image, and thus reads by a selection process'. Other information, such as where the text is placed and what images are displayed with it, also provides clues to comprehend its meaning. People do not 'read' all text presented for commercial purposes, but they might comprehend relevant information intentionally or unintentionally.

In addition to the decorative purpose, English usage in Japan may be related to Japanese linguaculture. The Japanese have a long tradition of wordplay (e.g., in the classic novel *Tale of Genji* written in the early eleventh century; Hoffer (1990, p. 15). Dougill (2008) argues that decorative use of English is a form of national expression. Furthermore, Kachru (2005, p. 79) states that the creative and innovative use of English in Japan is 'the Japanization of English'. Kachru and Nelson (2006) claim that the use of English as a decorative function in Japan is for national and cultural 'colour'.

The mixing of various scripts in such advertisements is conceived as a kind of polylingualism or 'polyscriptism'. Polylingualism is realised when language users draw

on all available linguistic features to achieve their communicative purposes, regardless of their level of knowledge and engagement with languages (Jørgensen et al., 2011, p. 34). This requires that ‘the language users may know – and use – the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together’ (ibid., p. 34). Nevertheless, perfect readability is not required to comprehend a given advertisement text if the language users have a rudimentary knowledge of the language and can achieve their purposes. In contrast, polyscriptism refers to the use of all scripts employed by writers and readers to achieve their communicative purposes. Creators of Japanese advertisements that use English may realise that English is not comprehended by all members in the community, but they nonetheless exploit Japanese people’s impressions of English and knowledge of each script type.

Regarding shop names on signs in Japan, the Roman alphabet is used in various ways. Someya (2009) categorises the uses of the Roman alphabet into five types: 1) abbreviations, abbreviated forms, and phonetic uses of the Roman alphabet; 2) *romaji* usage (i.e., use of the Roman alphabet to write Japanese words); 3) mixing of English with Japanese words, such as ‘MY *eikaiwa*’ (literally, ‘My English conversation’); 4) translations of Japanese shop names, such as ‘Kawasakinishi Tax Office’; and 5) use of English, such as ‘The Season Exterior & Garden’. Additionally, some shop names are

written in both English and Japanese, and Japanese versions use all three types of Japanese scripts: *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana* (see Section 2.5; *ibid.*).

As with the use of the Roman alphabet, the use of Japanese scripts also has significant features. Research by Someya (2009) found that various combinations of Japanese script types and the Roman alphabet are used for shop names in Tokyo because each script has a different function and conveys a different ‘image’ to Japanese people. A language delivers not only literal meaning but also other notions. In the case of Japanese, not only the language, but also each script type conveys certain notions. Researchers have used various terms, such as impressions (*insho*), feelings (*kimochi*), effects (*koka*), and images (*imeji*) to explain what native-Japanese speakers associate with each script (Hirose, 2007; Iwahara et al., 2003). Impressions are particularly important for commercial purposes. Akizuki (2005, pp. 171–173) describes the different associations conveyed by each script to native-Japanese speakers and readers. *Kanji* delivers images such as masculine, difficult, complicated, adult, and old; *hiragana* expresses images such as feminine, tenderly, simple, childish, and soft; and *katakana* carries images such as new, foreign or Western, and sharp. These images could be derived from their shapes as well as how they were created. *Hiragana* is cursive and curvy, while *katakana* contains more angular shapes. *Kanji* was originally used to understand Chinese literature, *katakana* was used by male elites, and *hiragana* was

widely used among women who produced diaries, poems, and stories since the creation of the *kana* syllabary in the ninth century (Taylor & Taylor, 1995; see Section 2.4). Satake (2000, pp. 43–48) characterises the use of scripts as the ‘expressionism of scripts’, as each script functions not only to indicate the sound, but also to ‘express’ the image of each character. Due to the image of each script, the nuance of the text differs depending on the choice of scripts in the text. Robertson (2017, p. 516) analysed script choice for pronouns in Japanese comic (i.e., *manga*) and cautioned that ignoring the script selection throughout a text ‘risks overlooking a potentially major element of the message(s) the writing contains or is intended to convey’. In Japanese, script choice depends on cultural aspects rather than grammatical appropriateness. Hannas (1997) and Sebba (2009) state that the choice of script has sociolinguistic implications in Japanese. Therefore, it is important to consider the reason why English is not transcribed according to convention (i.e., in *katakana*) in certain advertisements.

Another aspect which may influence language use is the font of the text. Female Japanese students in the late 1970s created group identities and ideologies by inventing special handwriting-style fonts. Curvy fonts called ‘*hentai shojo moji*’ use standard Japanese writing systems and scripts, but the new fonts were mainly used by teenage girls and became widespread across Japan (Yamane, 1986). The use of these fonts was banned at many schools, but girls kept using them when writing to friends to show their

memberships in and solidarities with the girls' community. Loveday (1986, p. 17) claims that the group identity in Japanese society is 'inferable from interaction through, for example, the employment of honorifics, donator verbs, ... terms of address and reference as well as socially more indexical signs such as dialect, slang and other special (professional) registers'. Not only how the language is used, but also how the language is represented is important to express identities in Japanese society. Moreover, it is essential to consider the use of new types of language. Recent trends, although not unique to Japan, include the use of emoji (i.e., emoticons), whose use began in Japan in the 1990s with the development of mobile phones and are now widely used to express identities within social circles on social media (Nishimura, 2017). People express their group identities and solidarities with languages, even with emoji, in accordance with correctness and contextual appropriateness. The use of emoji signifies that pictures can deliver messages in the same way as written language which uses script. The choice of script is flexible in Japanese; both Japanese scripts and the Roman alphabet are used not only to express meanings but also to represent images, and language may be used as ornamentation on signs in Japan. Nonetheless, how the text is presented with other elements is important for an advertisement to deliver its intended message to the target audience.

The language choice is deliberately made by the speaker or, in the case of texts in the LL, by the writer. Both the speaker/writer of the language and the listener/reader

must be considered, as the choice depends heavily on how the utterance or text could be understood by other people. When speaking face-to-face, a communicating group cooperates to reach a common goal, and meanings can be swiftly negotiated. In a writer-reader relationship, however, the two parties are distant in time and space, and communication tends to go in one direction. The language used in the LL texts is chosen so that it can be read and understood by the target audiences in the broader general public. In addition, texts on commercial signs must serve both as a medium of mutual understanding and as a tool to sell products or services. Text writers thus must consider the message and image they want to communicate and how the text will be perceived by readers. Hyland (2004, p. 4) claims that writing is a practice based on expectation: ‘the reader’s chances of interpreting the writer’s purpose are increased if the writer takes the trouble to anticipate what the reader might be expecting based on previous texts he or she has read of the same kind’. Thus, text comprehension is efficient and effective when writers and readers share common knowledge of the genre.

Many loanwords which have been translated into Japanese could be written in *kanji* or *katakana*. There is no particular reason to write foreign vocabulary words in the Roman alphabet in their original English spellings. The purposes and roles of writing English differ from the *gairaigo* conventionally used in the Japanese writing system. Language and script choices may be affected by beliefs and notions shared in

a community, as one often tries to act according to societal expectations. However, scant studies on audience or consumer attitudes towards the English usage in advertising in LLs have been conducted thus far. For example, English mixing in television commercials was negatively perceived by the Dutch (Gerritsen et al., 2000). On the other hand, Hsu's (2013) study found that English in television commercials and local newspaper advertisements were positively received, and code-mixed English was more acceptable than monolingual English in Taiwan. Hsu (2008) argues that the level of English proficiency and evaluation of localised English are correlated. Furthermore, Leung (2010) conducted a survey in Hong Kong regarding residents' attitudes towards Chinese-English mixing in print advertising. The result indicates that most code-mixed texts could be understood and that type of texts was preferred by young and educated residents (Leung, 2010). Previous studies have shown that mixing English is characteristic of advertising in various parts of the world. As advertising texts are highly observed in the LL, the next section describes previous LL studies conducted worldwide.

4.2 Languages in the Linguistic Landscape

Languages displayed in public spaces draw scholarly attention in various fields, such as applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language planning, and language

education. Written multilingualism in public places and the places themselves have been examined in many parts of the world, and the field of study is referred to as linguistic landscapes (LL). As this research often applies different approaches and involves interdisciplinary studies, other terms, such as language landscapes and semiotic landscapes, are also used to discuss language use in the public sphere. The term 'linguistic landscape' (i.e., *genko keikan* in Japanese) was first used by the Japanese geographer Yasuo Masai, who defined the LL as 'a cityscape which is analysed from the perspectives of language(s) and letters' (Masai, 1972). In his 1962 study, Masai examined store names on signboards in the city of Tokyo and found extensive use of English-based loanwords (ibid.). Although the loanwords identified in his research were transcribed into conventional *katakana*, he reported that the city was 'like a colony' of an English-speaking country due to its dynamic use of English-based vocabulary. He later explained that 'a language can appeal to people's visual sense through its letters... In Japanese cities where many signboards are displayed, LL becomes one of the main components of a landscape' (Masai, 1983). Although the Japanese term *keikan* means 'landscapes' and is not restricted to 'cityscapes', Masai's clarification is pertinent since most previous LL studies were conducted in urban areas. For this reason, Gorter (2006, p. 2) points out that a LL could also be called a 'linguistic city scape', as there are more signs in cities than in the countryside. Gorter and Cenoz

(2008, p. 343) indicate that '[t]he highest density of signs can be found in cities and towns, in particular in the main shopping streets, commercial, and industrial areas'. Due to the considerable amount of research conducted in cities around the world and its focus on the confluence of different languages, Gorter (2006) proposes an alternative term: 'multilingual cityscape'. The word 'landscape' or 'cityscape', however, can be problematic, as it implies that humans have the power to observe a place without considering the fact that the place could wield power with or without human intention (Mitchell, 1994).

Languages used on signs in public places are the primary research objects of

LL. Landry and Bourhis define the LL as follows:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006, p. 7) define the LL as 'linguistic objects that mark the public space' and identify research objects as 'any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location' (ibid. 2006, p. 14). Gorter (2006) summarises the study of the LL as being 'concerned with the use of language in its written form in the public sphere' (Gorter,

2006, p. 2). Thus, they specify the study object of the LL as written ‘language’ on signs, excluding other visual elements (e.g., logos and pictures) from LL research.

However, other visual aids (e.g., layouts, fonts, colours, forms, positions, logos and pictures) function as contextualisation cues (Sebba, 2012). Graddol (2013, p. 73) calls icons in the LLs ‘a third language’. Therefore, limiting the study object to written language and calling the research a ‘linguistic landscape’ does not fully explain the notion of written communication in the environment. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010a) propose the term ‘semiotic landscape’ (SL) to describe languages in space, as individuals interpret text with not only those languages but also other elements (e.g., designs, colours, and the place the text is displayed). The correlation between a language and other landscape-forming elements is analysed in the field of SL mainly in relation to multimodality. Jaworski and Thurlow refer to a SL as ‘any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making’. For them, the study of SLs includes ‘written discourse [that] interacts with other discursive modalities: visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment’ (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010a, p. 2). In this sense, research objects are not limited to written language on signs but are also considered within the wider context of their landscapes. Hence, LL is used as an umbrella term to describe research on language in public space. Semiotic landscape research, on the other hand,

includes analysis of other aspects found in the public space. Since signs use practical components to convey messages, symbolism to represent meanings, and expressiveness as a means of design, it is important to analyse more broadly what a sign implies and how it will be understood by its readers.

Early studies to observe language use in cityscapes examined the use of English in Jerusalem (Rosenbaum et al., 1977). Following these studies, LL studies were conducted in many parts of the world, including Italy (Griffin, 2004); Jordan (Amer & Obeidat, 2014); Macedonia (Dimova, 2007); Ethiopia (Hassen, 2016); Iran (Mohebbi & Firoozkahi, 2021); Cambodia (Kasanga, 2012a); Singapore (Tan, 2014); South Korea (Lawrence, 2012); and China (Yuan, 2019), among many others. Most studies focused on the materiality of signs and their sociolinguistic traits. Scholars from several disciplines contributed to LL research and have discussed language use in terms of language ecology (Hult, 2009); multilingualism (Bogatto & H elot, 2010; Manan et al., 2017); language policies (Barni & Vedovelli, 2012; Hult, 2018); language management (Du Plessis, 2010); language maintenance (Gorter et al., 2012); language ideology (Lanza et al., 2008); language attitudes (Ziegler et al., 2019); and language education (Burwell & Lenters, 2015; Malinowski, 2010). Linguistic landscape research not only examined visible languages, but also considered ‘the presence or absence of certain languages’ (Jaworski & Yeung, 2010, p. 153). Recent studies have explored

language use in specific or micro arenas that may extend beyond the physical domain, including in border regions (Gerst & Klessmann, 2015), resorts (Ruzaitė, 2017), at airports (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013), at places of worship (Coluzzi & Kitade, 2015), in Chinatown (Leeman & Modan, 2009), by a tailor in Chinatown (Hult & Kelly-Holmes, 2019), at train stations (Reyes, 2015), inside a university building (Rámila Diaz, 2016), at university campuses and on their websites (Soler, 2019), in online newspapers (Troyer, 2012), in virtual spaces (Ivkovic & Lotherington, 2009), on social media (Biró, 2018), on shop signs (Wang, 2013), on street signs (Jarlehed, 2017), on tourist notices (Bilá & Vaňková, 2019), on posters for cultural and entertainment events (H. Zhang, 2016) and on protest slogans (Chun, 2014; Kasanga, 2014; Seloni & Sarfati, 2017), among others.

Depending on the sociolinguistic nature of the research sites and the individual field of study, most LL studies can be broadly categorised into two types. The first is those conducted on the basis of language maintenance and revitalisation in official bi- or multilingual areas. The second is those executed in areas with fewer salient sociolinguistic features in relation to globalised language shifts affected by the spread of English. The first type of study mainly applies quantitative research methods to investigate the particular types and languages of texts on signs in a specific area. For example, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) investigated the LL in two multilingual areas:

Friesland in the Netherlands and the Basque Country in Spain. They examined the use of minority languages (i.e., Frisian and Basque, respectively), majority languages (i.e., Dutch and Spanish, respectively), and EIL. Their research found that the language policies in each society affect the use of minority languages and that the number of signs written in minority languages was higher in the Basque Country than in Friesland (ibid.).

Language policies should be considered when examining the LL, as official signs fundamentally indicate political influence in a society. Backhaus (2009a) assessed rules and regulations regarding the LLs of Tokyo, Japan and Quebec, Canada. He claims that the LLs were similar in form, although the language policies differed in the two regions (ibid.). Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, and Barni (2010) emphasise that both official and non-official signs constitute the LL and that it is important to analyse both public and private signs to understand fully how languages and other factors interlink to construct the public sphere. However, official and non-official signs should be investigated separately, as public signs reflect the intention of the authorities while private signs suggest the status of language(s) in a given community.

The second type of study also applies quantitative research to count and compare the number of monolingual and bi- or multilingual signs and discusses how a community adapts its languages to its current social situation. Scholars have conducted

qualitative discourse analyses of written texts and identified interesting characteristics of multilingual signs around the world. For example, Huebner (2006) investigated language use in Bangkok, Thailand and found an observable shift from Chinese to English – an effect of English as a global language – and the development of the Thai language with the influence of English. Kallen and Dhonnacha (2010) conducted comparative research of LLs in two cities (i.e., Fukuoka, Japan, and Galway, Ireland) and evaluated how languages were used in public places in those communities. Scollon and Scollon (2003) illustrated the wide use of English found in the form of signs on the streets in East Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America. Blommaert (2010) argued that the heterogeneity in language practice with globalisation and the spread of English was a worldwide phenomenon.

Previous studies that have been conducted in various parts of the world report on the widespread use of English in their LLs (i.e., cities in Europe; Schlick, 2003; Takhtarova et al., 2015; a resort in Jordan; Al-Naimat & Alomoush, 2018). These studies concern the dominance of English in the LL in relation to globalisation (e.g., Dimova, 2007). English has been used in international brand names and in advertising, and its use has expanded locally (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2014). English has become ‘the international language that most frequently features in bi- and multilingual signs in LL studies’ (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009, p. 388). This finding indicates that

the world is heading towards a single linguistic culture. However, Graddol's (2013) study found that English was not equally distributed in each area of Hong Kong. He categorises degrees of English usage into seven levels, from Level 0 where no use of English is visible to Level 6, where English is used exclusively and no local language is visible in the area (ibid.). Level 0 can be aimed at readers who understand the local language, yet it does not inevitably mean the readers do not have English reading competence, and Level 6 is aimed at those who have high competence in English (ibid.). Bruyèl-Olmedo and Juan-Garau's (2009) research found that English coexists with other languages in multilingual tourist destinations in Spain. Therefore, English in non-English speaking countries can be understood with local norms, not the norm practiced by the traditional perspectives which viewed localised English as an error and an emergence of new language would lead to a language shift. Considering the place where English appears is essential to understanding the nature of English and the extent of English spread.

The study of LLs must consider the specific 'place' and surroundings in which the language is used. Scollon and Scollon (2003) distinguish between the terms 'space' and 'place'. Place refers to 'the human or lived experience or sense of presence in a space: a term much discussed and debated by cultural geographers and others', while

space denotes ‘the objective, physical dimensions, and characteristics of a portion of the earth or built environment: often defined by socio-political ideologies and powers’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, pp. 214, 216). The notions of space and place are also discussed by Hammond (Hammond, 2004), who posits that ‘place’ involves familiarity and that ‘space’ is an unknown physical environment. These perspectives emphasise the importance of considering the social aspects of human behaviours in the environment. In accordance with these distinctions, this research adopts the term ‘place’ to describe the physical place where the text is distributed, observed, and consumed. Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 2) advocate the term ‘geosemiotics’ to address ‘the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world’. They argue that the meaning of public texts can only be interpreted in relation to the social and physical world surrounding them (ibid.). Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 205) further propose three principles of geosemiotics: indexicality, dialogicality, and selection. The indexicality considers the importance of analysing signs in the space: in other words, the place where they are displayed and located gives them meaning. The dialogicality explains the meanings attached to the sign in a given place in relation to the environment. The selection is essential for analysing signs in the LL, as people do not necessarily look at all signs or read all texts. Onishi (2011) points out that certain texts on religious facilities in rural districts are ‘not to be read’ but rather

placed for symbolic value or worship. Thus, it is essential to note that some texts displayed for the public are meant to be looked at but not comprehended. People's actions and the reasons behind them must be considered. Kress and Leeuwen (2006) also claims that signs are embedded in larger contexts and displayed in relation to other signs; thus, they must be examined relationally and interpreted as social relations (ibid., p. 19).

A sign is displayed in a place for a purpose, consumed with a purpose, and has a meaning contingent on its surroundings. Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 2) maintain that '[a]ll of the signs and symbols take a major part of their meaning from how and where they are placed – at that street corner, at that time in the history of the world'. English signs in Japan could thus be presumed to have specific purposes and roles pertaining to the environment, society, and culture. One purpose of commercial signage is advertising. Signs are displayed to show passersby the name and type of business from a distance. With that in mind, on the signage in Japan, language and other features contribute to successful comprehension. Signboards in Japan are either horizontal or vertical. On English vertical signs, which are written from left to right, the text is smaller and contains less information. On the other hand, visibility increases when using Japanese scripts, as Japanese can be written from top to bottom or from left to right. In addition, the Japanese written language uses logographs, which may make it

easier for the Japanese to comprehend (i.e., compared to the Roman alphabet). Features other than language and scripts have not yet been investigated in Japanese LL studies.

In Japan, LL research has investigated the presence of foreign languages, indigenous languages, minority languages, and dialects – along with Japanese. The LL in Japan has not only been examined in the field of Japanese linguistics and sociolinguistics but also in various other fields including geography, anthropology, history, and marketing. In his book *Edo no Kanban* (Signs in Edo period), Saburo Matsumiya (1960; cited in Kobayashi, 1997) illustrated how outdoor signboards were developed and used in the Edo period. Iwai (2007) investigated texts on signs from the same period, focusing on the use of language by various types of businesses. Texts on signs have been analysed in Japan, particularly in the marketing field, since the 1970s, and Kobayashi (1997) noted that several books which describe methods of measuring the marketing effects of signs have been published (e.g., Kobayashi, 1984). Although these studies have focused mainly on texts written in Japanese, research on the use of other languages has increased with the globalisation of English and changes in Japanese society.

Shoji (2009a) argues that Japan's LL has gradually changed over time in accordance with transitions in society and is categorised into three types: Westernisation, internationalisation, and multi-ethnicity. Takagi (2011) adds

localisation to refer to the use of dialects on signboards. Backhaus (2006) discusses multilingualism in Japan's LL from different perspectives and argues that the Japanese LL can be classified into three groups, depending on to whom and by whom the texts are written: for Japanese by Japanese, for non-Japanese by local governments, or for non-Japanese by non-Japanese in their own migrant communities. Furthermore, the purpose of using a particular language should be considered when investigating texts on signs, as the LL consist of advertising texts (e.g., shop names and product names). Moreover, the LL in Japan includes special texts for people with particular textual needs (e.g., Braille texts for visually impaired people; Yamashiro, 2009). Special needs should thus be added to the categorisation.

Most LL studies in Japan have been conducted in Tokyo (e.g., Backhaus, 2006; MacGregor, 2003b; Masai, 1972, 1983; Sadoshima et al., 2009; Someya, 2009), although research has been done in other regions, including Osaka (Nishio, 2011; Takagi, 2011); Kyoto (Matsumaru, 2011); Toyama (Nakai, 2011); and Masuda (Hidaka, 2011). Some pioneering works of Japanese LL were conducted by Masai (1969, 1972, 1983), who analysed store names on signboards in Shinjuku, a district in Tokyo, in terms of their language, script, and type of business. His research found the extensive use of loanwords written in *katakana* on signboards and only one item written in the Roman alphabet (Masai, 1972). Since the opening of the country in the Meiji

period, loanwords were used to show modernity and novelty and had decorative purposes on signs. The Westernisation of Japanese society was reflected in Japanese written texts with the use of *katakana* in the city landscape. The use of *katakana* has decreased, however, and more loanwords are now written in the Roman alphabet as English words. Matsumaru (2011) also analysed the choice of scripts among *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*.

Internationalisation in the LL has occurred since the 1980s and is associated with demographic changes in Japanese society. As the number of migrants and visitors from other countries has increased, local governments have displayed signs in the major foreign languages used in Japan (e.g., English, Chinese, and Korean) to support the assimilation of non-Japanese speakers in the Japanese community as a part of ‘*genko sabisu*’ (‘language service’; see Section 2.7; Backhaus, 2004; Kawahara, 2004a; Miyoshi, 2004; Okado, 2004; Shirahata & Kusunoki, 2004; H. Takagi & Furuuchi, 2004; Tezuka, 2004). To determine the extent to which texts on public signboards accommodate the needs of non-Japanese speakers, Sadoshima, Kobayashi, and Saito (2009) inspected *romaji* texts on direction boards at subway stations in Tokyo. *Romaji* is conventionally used to show pronunciations of Japanese characters, but their research revealed that *romaji* spellings were not standardised and used variant spellings for place names (ibid.). Moreover, some texts written in the Roman alphabet did not indicate

pronunciation in romanised form but rather provided a translation of Japanese words in English (ibid.). Their analysis exposed the importance of reconsidering for whom and for what purposes this information should be written on public signboards. More municipalities have begun to display multilingual signboards in recent years. Backhaus (2011) argues that Chinese signs are frequently observed in Sugamo and Mejiro in Tokyo, although the Chinese signs in the two areas are the same warning signs set up by administrative agencies. Therefore, it could be inferred that the internationalisation of the LL is realised in Japanese society but limited to certain regions, languages, and types of information.

While the LL studies in Tokyo examine the use of loanwords transcribed into Japanese scripts or foreign languages written in their own characters (e.g., the Roman alphabet or *hangul*), the research outside of Tokyo analyses varieties of languages or dialects of Japanese language, since indigenous languages (e.g., Ainu and Okinawan) and many regional dialects are used alongside standard Japanese (see Section 2.3). Asahi (2011) compared LLs on the island of Hokkaido, located in the northern part of Japan, to that on Sakhalin (Japanese name *Karafuto*), an island over which Japan claims sovereignty but which has been under Russian control since 1945. He assessed multilingualism in the two regions, as their linguistic cultures are unique compared to those in other parts of Japan. While both regions have ethnic minorities (e.g., the Ainu

people), the people in Hokkaido speak Japanese as their first language (see Section 2.3), while the official language in Sakhalin is Russian. Since the indigenous languages used in the regions do not have written forms, their languages do not overtly appear in the LLs. Nonetheless, place names derived from the indigenous languages are written in Japanese in Hokkaido and in Russian in Sakhalin (Asahi, 2011). As tourism is one of the main industries in Hokkaido, multilingual signs in English, Chinese, and Korean are displayed in some tourist areas, while bilingual Japanese and Russian signs are found near ports where Russian vessels moor (ibid.). On the other hand, Russian dominates Sakhalin. Only a few signs in English and Japanese are observed, although people come there from various parts of the world on business (ibid.). Nishio (2011) states that an indigenous language originated in Okinawa are observed in Osaka. Although the Okinawan language does not have a written form, it is generally transcribed into *katakana*, which is conventionally used for writing borrowed words originated in Western languages. The use of indigenous languages has the purpose of language maintenance and revitalisation, particularly when displayed on official signs.

Most LL research has been conducted in a single city. Kim (2009), however, conducted a comparative analysis and found that multi-ethnicity is exemplified in Tokyo. She examined the use of *hangul* (Korean characters) and texts transcribed into *katakana* in the Korean districts of Shinjuku-ward in Tokyo and Ikuno-ward in

Osaka. The former district includes an area known as Korea Town, which has many new migrants and has become a famous tourist destination over the last decade. On the other hand, the latter is an area in which one-quarter of the residents are ethnic Koreans with a long family history in Japan who speak Japanese as their first language. Her study found many *hangul* texts in the newly formed Korea Town in Tokyo; only a few *hangul* signs, however, were observed in Osaka, where most ethnic Koreans have lived in Japan for several generations (ibid.). Kim's (2009) study implies that the number of speakers of a specific language is not necessarily reflected in the use of their languages in public places. Backhaus (2011) also investigated Korean signs in the Shin-Okubo area in Shinjuku-ward in Tokyo and noted that most Korean signs were placed by local shopkeepers. The length of time a migrant community had been established in Japan would affect the extent to which their language appears in the LL. The language of new migrant groups tends to appear in the LL but is gradually replaced by the host community's language over time. In addition, how people in the host community think of the language and its users would strongly affect the use of specific languages in the public sphere. Multi-ethnicity is represented when non-Japanese-speaking residents of Japan send messages in their own languages to provide information about the communities. The target readers would be new migrants without sufficient reading competence in Japanese or whose native languages are not supported by the '*genjo*

sabisu' (see Section 2.7) of local governments. Thus, the languages frequently spoken in a community do not necessarily appear overtly in the LL.

Certain texts in the LL may be written to attract customers who understand the minority languages by representing authenticity. Castro-Vazquez (2013) claims that the Chinese language is maintained in the Chinese towns of Yokohama, Kobe, and Nagasaki. Yet, written texts on the streets in Chinatowns are not necessarily displayed for the benefit of migrants who speak Chinese but rather for commercial purposes and tourism (Leeman & Modan, 2009). The target customers can be both Chinese readers and Japanese people who lack competence in Chinese but see the language as ornamental.

Certain languages or dialects might be used for decorative purposes without requiring readers to understand the text. Backhaus's (2006) research found a variety of foreign languages (e.g., English, Chinese, Korean, French, Portuguese, and Spanish) on store signs. Ethnic restaurants may display their languages, and souvenir shops may write signs in a Japanese regional dialect. These texts are used to demonstrate authenticity or local characteristics, and they are often not meant to be read. The use of foreign languages or dialects can have two functions: for communication to deliver the actual message to be comprehended, and for ornamentation or decorative purposes.

There may be a strong correlation between the use of languages in the LL and the economic activities of the area. Some stores have begun to display signs in Chinese and employ shop assistants who speak Chinese due to the increase in Chinese-speaking tourists in recent years. Inoue's (2005) study found that Chinese and Korean had begun to appear in commercial facilities in central Tokyo as a reflection of the increasing number of tourists from other Asian countries. This phenomenon has also been observed in other parts of Japan.

Localisation in the LL is achieved by the use of dialects. Although dialects are not conventionally written in official texts, previous studies have noted the use of dialects on both official and non-official signs. The purposes of using regional dialects depends on the target readers of the text (i.e., local residents or people from outside the region). Dialects for local residents aim to show a sense of affinity or to indicate camaraderie within a speech community. Dialects for people from outside the region express local characteristics to visitors. Studies by Takagi (2011) and Onishi (2011) provided examples of the former type. Takagi (2011) examined the use of the Osaka dialect on official signs and claimed that the dialect was used as a top-down approach. For instance, messages were written in the dialect when the government wished to familiarise local residents with specific issues (ibid.). Onishi (2011) also found the use of dialects in Osaka and Okinawa on official traffic safety signs. Nakai (2011)

illustrated the latter type of dialect usage in the use for commercial purposes in Toyama. Potential customers could be people within or outside of the speech community (i.e., local residents or visitors from other parts of Japan). Although the target readers of the texts could be from outside the community, the audience would not necessarily need full competence in the dialect(s), as the texts are displayed for local advertising.

Depending on the target customers, different types of dialects are used. Takaoka (2011) evaluated the use of the Tosa dialect in Kochi Prefecture on signboards at tourist destinations and argued that the dialect was employed on store signs to signal regional characteristics and appeal to customers, a strategy known as ‘place branding’ (E. Braun et al., 2014). In addition, two types of dialects were found on signs to attract different types of customers: a broad dialect for members of the younger generation in the area who do not use the dialect as frequently as the older generation, and a general dialect for tourists from outside the region. The broad dialect is used for locals, as a dialect with strong characteristics expresses local and group identity more and may be a symbol of prestige, according to Loveday (1986). On the other hand, a general dialect is used for people from outside, as they may have difficulty understanding the message in the broad dialect. The signs in dialects may be posted by the government or local businesses to promote tourism in the area.

Another type of text often overlooked in LL studies is text displayed to support people with special needs. Yamashiro (2009) evaluated Japanese Braille on guide plates attached to the handrails of stairways at all 29 stations on the Yamanote rail line, one of the busiest lines connecting most of Tokyo's major stations and urban centres. His research found that approximately 40% of the Braille displayed had issues with comprehensibility, placement, or content (ibid.). The research findings not only convey the importance of Braille signs, but also show that Braille is one of the writing systems which makes up the LL and should be examined. Braille, however, is only displayed in specific places in Japan (e.g., stations) and not on commercial signs. It is expected that research on different types of signs (e.g., pictograms) will be conducted in the future to support people who require additional support (e.g., people who have dyslexia).

Scholars have assessed the effect of using the LL as a pedagogical resource and investigated the implications of LL on language teaching. For example, Yamada-Rice (2011a, 2011b) compared LLs in Tokyo and London and found a greater quantity and variety of texts in Tokyo. Yamada-Rice (2014) highlights the importance of children's interactions with visual modes in relation to early childhood development and attempts to identify how the environmental footprint in the urban LL affected children's communication practices. The LL facilitates not only the development of one's native language, but also one's study of a foreign language. Rowland (2012)

analysed the benefits of using the LL as a teaching material in EFL classrooms. He argues that introducing English signs into a local area as teaching materials supported the development of learners' symbolic competence and literacy skills (ibid.). Isono (2011) examined the use of the Japanese language in two cities in South Korea, where many Japanese signs are displayed for tourism purposes and Japanese is widely studied as a foreign language. He used pictures of Japanese signs as an educational resource and found the LL to be an effective tool for language learning (ibid.). The LL is not only as a research subject but also a stimulating resource. Its pedagogical effects have attracted the attention of educators; therefore, using the LL in an educational context will be discussed further in the future in various parts of the world.

4.3 Market value of English

Shohamy and Gorter (2009) claim that language choice in the LLs is motivated by the stereotypes which readers have of the language. Images of a language are constructed with various components, and a stereotypical image may assign the languages symbolic capital. English has been associated with symbolic capital which represents 'high quality', 'internationalism', 'modernity', and 'sophistication' (Haarmann, 1984; Takashi, 1992). According to Bourdieu (1984, p. 291), symbolic capital is 'the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability

and honourability'. Along with symbolic capital, Bourdieu (1986) identifies three types of capital: economic, social, and cultural. Cultural capital is further divided into three types: embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. Language skills and their relations are linked to linguistic cultural capital, which is a part of embodied capital (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 114). Furthermore, symbolic and linguistic capital are associated with power. The reasons certain languages are in wide use, or not, could be related to ideas of language and power. The dominance of English among other foreign languages in the Japanese LL also related to the power which English-speaking countries and their cultures possess. Language choice is highly political, involving both internal and external factors.

The power of English may lead to a backlash. Phillipson (1992) criticises linguistic imperialism due to the power. Linguistic imperialism is a sub-type of both cultural imperialism and economic imperialism. In the era of globalisation, English plays an important role in promoting and spreading the ideologies of Western countries (i.e., neoliberalism and capitalism) and is used as a tool to sell products or exploit resources and labour. Phillipson (1988, p. 339) uses the term 'linguicism' to refer to 'the ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of their language (i.e., of their mother tongue)'.

Although language is the ‘production, distribution, and circulation of knowledge, linguistics, and cultural capital’ (Dua, 1994, p. 89), the use of English for commercial purposes in Japanese LLs also indicates its commodification. Nadeem (2011, p. 8) claims that ‘the global interplay of culture, capital, and commodities is not purposeless; it is motivated by the impulses and desires of economic and political elites’. It seems unlikely, however, that the spread of English and the agency behind it are the ideology of the elite in the case of Japanese LLs. The Japanese use English outside the presence of native English speakers, and English is not promoted at the expense of other languages but rather mingles with the Japanese language system. English seems to be widely accepted, not only by global businesses but also by local communities in the LLs. The use of English is driven by forces from the bottom-up as well as top-down levels. Pennycook (2003a, p. 8) criticises the notion of ‘linguistic imperialism’ suggested by Phillipson and argues that ‘[w]hat this lacks... is a view of how English is taken up, how people use English, why people choose to use English’. Therefore, the reasons for selecting and using English in each society need to be considered.

There could be several reasons English enjoys higher status in Japanese society. Kowner and Dalot-Bul (2008) claim that English-based loanwords are extensively used in Japanese due to historical and political conditions, as well as certain linguistic features of Japanese which have influenced their origin and popularity. The

reasons English words and phrases are widely written in the Roman alphabet for commercial purposes in the LL, as opposed to *katakana* as in the formal Japanese writing system, could be the same as the reason for adopting English-based loanwords. Transcribing loanwords in *katakana* gradually lost the image of modernity in the twenty-first century. Thus, English in the Roman alphabet expresses a positive brand image in the globalised world for commercial purposes.

However, the dominance of English for commercial purposes in Japanese society could have more multifaced reasons and further explained by examining the following correlating factors: 1) linguistic culture, 2) politics, 3) Americanisation and globalisation, 4) media, and 5) ESL and EFL education (see Section 2.6). The first reason is associated with the linguistic culture of borrowing in Japan. Historically, Japanese has borrowed foreign lexical items and scripts from other countries (see Section 2.4). Thus, the Japanese might have less sense of resistance to using foreign words. The second and the third reasons are related to the relationship between the United States and Japan. Japan had experienced the power of the United States when it officially opened itself to the world at the end of the Edo period in the nineteenth century. Since the Meiji period, the Japanese have lost a sense of themselves as a global power while also coming to admire American culture (Inoue, 1997). Since Japan's defeat in World War II in the twentieth century, US culture flowed into Japanese society

and has changed the Japanese lifestyle, and globalisation has pushed the flow further. As a result, the Japanese tend to assign more prestige to Americans and Canadians than to other nationalities (Haarmann, 1984). The fourth reason is how the media portrays languages and their users. The media often deliver limited information due to the logistical restrictions of airtime and column space, which lead to the oversimplification of issues and the formation of stereotypes. As a result, the mass media fosters a particular impression of foreign countries and foreigners (Shibuya et al., 2011). This may lead to the stereotypical images of language users. In addition to political reasons and Americanisation, the Japanese may have a positive impression of the United States due to media presentation. Moreover, foreign languages other than English seldom appear in the Japanese mass media. Furthermore, most Japanese study ESL or EFL exclusively at school. A lack of exposure to other languages may have given the Japanese a biased impression of other languages in the world, as well as misconceptions about English itself. The last reason relates to foreign language education and people's English competence. Most Japanese learn English for at least six years in the formal education system, yet many people still have difficulty speaking the language. Accordingly, the Japanese tend to believe that English is a distinctly challenging language, in which only people of great aptitude can acquire high proficiency. Lee (2006) describes the knowledge and use of English in South Korea as a linguistic

expression of modernity, and a place without English is regarded as linguistically disassociated from modernity. English in South Korea has linguistic capital, which can also be applied to the Japanese context. These factors may affect the ideological orientation of Japanese people and give English a higher status than other foreign languages. English enjoys the status because the Japanese have a positive impression of English-speaking countries and English speakers, which (they believe) is used by Americans with greater power than themselves in their prestigious culture and is a difficult language for many Japanese people. English's popularity could be supported to a greater extent by the fact that it is a familiar language which is understood to a certain extent by the Japanese.

Specific languages or script types are used for marketing purposes because they have values to be used for commercial purposes. The status of languages affects their market value. Inoue (1997, 2005) examined market values and commodification of languages in Japanese LL. Inoue (1997) investigated multilingualism in the Japanese LL, considered the market values of foreign languages, and proposed the term 'econolinguistics', arguing that certain languages and scripts have higher market value than others. Baugh (1996, p. 399) also uses this term to discuss 'the relationship between linguistic behaviour and exchange of goods and services' and employs the theory to analyse how an individual's language (in)ability affects one's economic status

or vice versa. Inoue (1997) interprets the term more broadly and discusses the correlation between language and the economy. Moreover, Inoue (1997) claims that not all foreign languages are treated equally in Japan. His study found repeated displays on the streets of Tokyo of not only the major foreign languages in Japan (e.g., English, Chinese and Korean), but also a variety of other languages (e.g., French, German, Spanish and Portuguese; *ibid.*). As these languages were used for commercial purposes, they were considered to have high market values. The other languages, however, seldom appeared in the LL, and when they did, they were used on top-down signs for practical purposes for residents whose first language was not Japanese (*ibid.*).

Inoue (2009) argues that economic factors influence the choice of foreign languages in Tokyo in terms of commercial signs. The words associated with the status of English are generally positive. Therefore, advertisers utilise the positive image the Japanese have of English in their advertising. As a result, many English words and phrases appear in Japanese LLs because they have higher market value than other foreign languages for commercial purposes, and they attract customers. The attitude of the host community towards languages influences the use of the languages in the LL. Although Terasawa (2018) argues that English does not play a market role due to the Japan's linguistic homogeneity, his discussion does not consider the English in advertising texts. He maintains that Japan has a large Japanese-speaking market, thus

Japanese-speaking workers provide services to Japanese-speaking customers (ibid.). His analysis is accurate when reviewing spoken English as a communicative tool in Japan. English in Japan, however, has several functions (e.g., marketing purposes). The most distinctive characteristic of English in Japan is that it has symbolic value and is used for decorative purposes specifically when it is employed for commercial purposes. English in Japan is thus related to business strategies.

With globalisation, many companies have expanded their businesses around the world, and as a result, people see the same companies everywhere they go. As a business strategy, many global companies have English names or names transcribed into the Roman alphabet as their brand names. As mentioned previously, Backhaus (2006) and Someya (2009) found that English was used in many business names. Business names are often associated with logos or brand characters to be easily recognisable. One example is the American global coffeehouse chain Starbucks Corporation, which displays its store name as ‘Starbucks Coffee’ in English with the mermaid logo in Japan. While the internationalisation of the LL can be discussed in terms of bilateral relations between a host community and people from other countries, the globalisation of the LL has been observed in many parts of the world and is not a phenomenon unique to Japan.

According to the previous studies on English in Japan, English for commercial purposes in Japan has various facets: higher status of English, symbolic value of English, and globalisation of business. Globalisation of business and cultures pushes the use of English as a global corporate strategy. The use of English expands beyond global corporations, and local businesses use English to exploit its positive image. Consequently, it seems as though English has spread extensively in Japan. Some readers, however, may have difficulty comprehending the languages used as a result of globalisation. Businesses may expect that English vocabulary will be understood to a certain extent by young Japanese people due to their ESL/EFL education. Elderly Japanese who were born around World War II, however, may have lower English comprehension skills, as they are less likely to have learnt the language at school. People's English skills may be reflected in the LL. Someya (2009) notes that signs that used *kanji* script were dominant in older, more traditional shopping streets, while more texts with the Roman alphabet were found around relatively new commercial buildings. In the latter area, signs written only in the Roman alphabet constituted more than 30% of all the signs observed at the site, and most were store names on commercial buildings (ibid.). Nevertheless, texts written in scripts other than Japanese and the Roman alphabet (e.g., *hangul*) were not observed at either research site (ibid.). Someya's (2009) study also found that English was used extensively on store signs in buildings primarily

containing fashion-related stores. Since fashion and age are strongly related, the use of a particular language may specify the store's target generation. The use of English is the store's language choice to appeal to their target customers (e.g., those of a particular gender or age).

Stanlaw (2004, p. 145) maintains that the English text in Japan 'represent[s] a highly creative use of visual language, both as a linguistic – and artistic – form of communication'. While Haarmann (1984, p. 103) claims that the use of foreign languages in Japan is 'primarily meant for appealing to the public's feelings and not for practical communication', Seargeant (2011, p. 188), who analysed Japanese people's attitudes towards English text displayed in public places, argues that English has two roles in the Japanese context: international *lingua franca* and 'localised symbolic value'. Nevertheless, most empirical studies on the Japanese LL have investigated the spread of distinctive local uses of English such as 'Japanese English', code-mixed English, and English used for international communication under the heading of 'English'. The written English in Japan should be differentiated and discussed as two classifications: English for international communication and English for intranational communication. The specific features which appear in the intranational communication should be explored individually from full English texts used for the international communication, such as text for language assistance in the LL. Landry and Bourhis

(1997) distinguish two types of functions in language in LLs: informative and symbolic.

The informative function signifies the territory where a specific language is used for communication, while symbolic function represents the value and status of the language as perceived by the members of a language community. Japanese has informative function, while English has mostly symbolic function in Japan. However, how the symbolic function of English affect actual language use in the Japanese LL is unclear.

4.4 Globalisation, glocalisation, and language use

Globalisation is discussed in various fields including economics, politics, sociology, and anthropology (e.g., Bauman, 1998; Beck, 2018; Giddens, 2002; Held et al., 1999; Ritzer, 2007; Sassen, 2007; Tomlinson, 1999; Waters, 2004). In sociolinguistics, globalisation and its influence on languages have been discussed in relation to issues such as migration (Vigouroux, 2008), language vitality (Vigouroux & Mufwene, 2008), the mass media and the internet (Androutsopoulos, 2007; Varis & Wang, 2011), electronic media (Jacquemet, 2005), hip-hop (Pennycook, 2007), multicultural classrooms (Spotti, 2011), complementary schooling (Blackledge & Creese, 2010) and higher education (Choi et al., 2019; Piller & Cho, 2013).

Pieterse (2004, p. 17) defines globalisation as ‘an objective empirical process of increasing economic and political connectivity, a subjective process unfolding in the

consciousness as the collective awareness of growing global interconnectedness, and a host of specific globalising projects that seek to shape global conditions'. In this view, economic and political activity shapes the globalisation process, but Agnew (2005) claims that cultural activity also contributes to globalisation. Agnew (2005, p. 2) refers to globalisation as 'the increasing pace and scope of economic and cultural activities across space'. Both perspectives characterise globalisation as an ongoing phenomenon which occurs at an increasing speed in distant parts of the world. Friedman (1999, p. 7) further argues that globalisation 'involves the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before'. Although he speaks from an economic perspective, he deduces from the current situation that nation-states deliberately promote globalisation (Friedman, 1999). Nation-states and controlled capitalist economies may have some influence over our economic activities, but they do not have coercive control over how individuals act and form their society and culture.

Globalisation exists on a continuum which shifts and changes with time. When a society or culture encounters and interacts with others in, for example, an economic, political, social, or cultural realm, the stronger society or culture tends to overwhelm the weaker one. This results in homogenisation, a phenomenon observed in many parts of the world at present in the form of Americanisation. Agnew (2005) contends that the

hierarchical-network model has distributed political power under American hegemony since 1945. Although the European Union and certain Asian countries stand as counterparts in terms of economics and politics, the United States maintains its status as the world's superpower, and its culture has spread worldwide and influenced local cultures. The influence has been observed in the LLs, and Gradečak-Erdeljić and Zlomislić (2014) argued that American cultural values were competing with local culture in the Croatian LL. Ritzer (2008) refers to Americanisation and the homogenisation of the world as 'McDonaldization', which resembles the process that principles of the American fast-food chain McDonald's spread beyond American society to reach across the globe. McDonaldization does not specifically refer to the business activities at McDonald's, but rather is an umbrella term coined to describe the rationalisation of production, work, consumption, and its process in various businesses and sectors. The concept of McDonaldization is based on the principles of efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control, which are central to the fast-food industry and have become increasingly influential in various aspects of modern society (Ritzer, 2018). McDonaldization occurs when a society, its institutions, and its organisations adapt the same characteristics as McDonald's and seed homogenisation as its outcome. Ritzer's argument is applicable not only to studies of economics and sociology, but it also links economic globalisation to cultural globalisation, as he claims consumerism

corelates to modern cultures. Latouche (1996, p. 3) describes 'worldwide standardisation of lifestyles' that Western ideology and Western culture demonstrated by Americans are becoming the norm. In the Westernised world, global uniformity is observed in various human activities. McDonaldization can also be seen in the educational context. Carroll (2013) argues that students' e-learning experience is the McDonaldization of education. The homogenisation of global culture, particularly through the spread of Western-style consumerism and the influence of multinational corporations such as McDonald' is referred as 'McWorld'. The term was introduced in Benjamin Barber's 1995 book *Jihad vs. McWorld* (Barber, 1995). Barber (1995, p. 97) cautions that the world is shifting towards a more singly oriented 'McWorld', where human activities (e.g., entertainment and culture) come together into a single vast enterprise due to Westernisation and the commodification of society.

Ritzer (2007, p. 27) further argues that Americanisation is 'the propagation of American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry, and capital around the world'. Globalisation in the twenty-first century is a process derived from Americanisation and capitalism, which promotes the spread of English and vice versa. This hegemony, however, also generates diversification as a backlash: that is, as a way of respecting and protecting the 'genuine' characteristics of the society or culture, leading to a process of localisation. However, even a global corporation such as McDonald's has different

menus to adapt to local tastes and compete with local retailers (Veseth, 2005). Standardisation, which entails the use of internationally recognised advertisements, and customisation, whereby modifications are introduced to fit local standards and tastes, are marketing strategies (Grishaeva, 2017). Standardisation, which entails the use of internationally recognised advertisements, and customisation, whereby modifications are introduced to fit local standards and tastes, are marketing strategies (ibid., 2017). Grishaeva (2017, p. 352) claimed that locally adapted signs ‘manifest a readiness to accommodate to [*sic*] the potential consumer’. The adaptation to the local market is expressed as ‘think globally, act locally’ (Andersson & Svensson, 2009). Ritzer (2007, p. 27) maintains that Americanisation ‘is a powerful process stemming from the U.S. that tends to overwhelm competing processes (e.g., Japanisation), as well as the strength of local (and glocal) forces that might resist, modify, or transform American models into hybrid forms’. Tomlinson (2003) consequently claims that the process of globalisation can enrich local cultures. Thus, the homogenisation derived from globalisation, Americanisation, and localisation may gradually find a compromise position between extremes and lead to a process of glocalisation.

Japanese companies coined the term ‘glocalisation’ to describe a business strategy in the 1980s, and it has been widely recognised since Ronald Robertson’s use of it in his 1992 book, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. Glocalisation

is the conflation or eclectic mixture of the global and the local and its outcomes. Ritzer (2007, p. 13) argues that '*[g]localization* can be defined as the interpenetration of the global and the local, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas'. Ritzer (2007, p. 13) further outlines the essential features of glocalisation theory and maintains that commodities and the media provide material to the individuals and local groups, who are 'important and creative agents'. Glocalisation theory thus views individuals and local groups as active agents rather than passive agents controlled by capitalism in the globalised world. In the case of English usage for commercial purposes in the Japanese LL, the theory of glocalisation is relevant to explain the factors and mechanisms associated with language choices.

The Western ideology and culture best exemplified by American corporations influence the lifestyles of locals and creates the Westernisation and Americanisation of the world, known as McWorld. The McWorld assists the spread of English, and the dominance of English is consequently observed in LLs. However, the backlash of Americanisation and its hegemony may be observed in language activities. One example of this diversification in terms of language use could be the discussion about 'protecting' the Japanese language and avoiding the use of many Western-based loanwords (Ishino, 1983). However, individuals and locals compromise between the global and the local, and glocalisation emerges as the forms of code-switching and

code-mixing. English has been practiced in various parts of the world, and one of the features of LLs is the mixing of English with local languages. This might be the result of language choices that individuals and local groups made, and one of its outcomes is distinctive use of English in the LL. Nonetheless, the extent to which glocalisation affects the spread of English in Japan is unclear. It could be hypothesised that English *appears* to be spread in Japanese LL due to McDonaldization of businesses. The characteristics of English in Japanese LL must be understood to test that hypothesis. Furthermore, what individuals think of the English usage is unidentified. This research therefore asks the following three questions to analyse the effects of globalisation on English in Japan:

- (1) To what extent is English used on commercial signs in Japan?
- (2) What are the linguistic features of the English on Japanese commercial signs?
- (3) What are people's perceptions towards the use of English on commercial signs?

Globalisation and its impact affect many parts of the world, and the use of English may be correlated with them. A number of researchers argue that the impact of globalisation on the LL is due to the commodification of languages and the dominance

of English (e.g., Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2015; Hult, 2014; Kasanga, 2012b, 2012a; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Vettorel & Franceschi, 2013). The spread and prevalence of English is the result of globalisation with markets, production, and consumption (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009). Although previous WE studies on the use of English for advertising and the LL refer to globalisation as one of the factors English has spread in East Asia, they have not explained how globalisation affects the actual usage of English.

Previous studies on the spread of English in the world stand on two paradigms (i.e., English as a *lingua franca* and EIL; e.g., Jenkins, 2005; McKay, 2002), as well as new varieties of English known as World Englishes (e.g., Kachru & Nelson, 2001; McArthur, 1998). Both approaches maintain the position that English is a tool for communication to a certain degree. Within the *lingua franca* paradigm, Yano, (2001, p. 127) predicts that the future of English in Japan will ‘function only as a means of communication with non-Japanese in international settings’ and will not ‘reflect the Japanese culture and language’. As opposed to his argument, the written English observed in the Japanese LL has more roles than he assumes, as it could have both communicative and symbolic functions. Seargeant (2011, p. 203) describes the appreciation of English in Japan, stating that ‘the prevalence of English within the social landscape is interpreted as being the result of multiple roles that the language plays, which function at both a local and international level’. Hence, Kachru (2005)

expresses the limitations of the traditional WE approach to English in Japanese contexts. As a consequence, it is essential to discuss the use of English in Japan, particularly the written forms, not only with the notion of standard English versus a variety of WE, but also from different perspectives.

4.5 Summary of Chapter 4

This chapter introduced perceptions which need to be considered to analyse the use of English in Japan. Previous research on English in advertising revealed that English has spread in the countries where it was not traditionally used. English is also observed in the LLs in various parts of the world, and its usage has universal features (e.g., being mixed with local languages). It can be argued from the studies on English for advertising and LL that the popularity of English in Japan correlates to the status and market value of English. From these findings, I hypothesise that the English appears to have spread in the Japanese LL due to McDonaldization and that the English usage in the LL is the outcome of glocalisation.

Chapter 5: Research methodology and procedures

This chapter illustrates the methodology and the procedures adopted for the research. The present study consists of two supplementary parts: examination of language use in the Japanese LL and analysis of a survey regarding the language usage on signage. The chapter first discusses relevant methodological issues related to LL research, such as the determination of research sites and data collection. It subsequently explains data collection procedures and analysis methods. Next, it outlines background information on the research sites and clarifies the research items for analysing the functional patterns of English in the LL. It then describes survey methods, such as sampling and survey participants to assess their attitudes towards the language usage in the LL. The study employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to assess the spread, forms, and functions of English in the LL.

5.1 Methodological issues on analysing language in the linguistic landscape

The study of the LL is defined as the analysis of the use of more than one language or dialect in written form in public area. Linguistic landscape studies have been conducted in various parts of the world and applied to research in a variety of disciplines. Nonetheless, solid research methodology has not yet been established. The approaches and methodologies followed in previous studies differ greatly, as the

purposes and the subjects of each study are different. It is difficult to compare and evaluate all studies due to the variance in their research areas and subjects. Although evolving technologies, particularly the development of digital media, have changed research methods in studies of the LL and facilitated the recording and collection of data, certain methodological issues must be considered when conducting LL research and analysing data.

The central issue to address is what LL research should examine. Interests in recent LL research have expanded their research subjects and have gradually shifted to analysis of semiotic aspects of signs (e.g., Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010b), then to discussion of communication in landscape in more broad sense, such as tattoos (Peck & Stroud, 2015) and smell (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). These features are examined as ‘semiotic’ landscape studies, but ‘language’ is semiotic as well and expresses thoughts and views through sounds, letters, and interactions. Research of a ‘linguistic’ landscape should solely investigate the linguistic features of texts in a given landscape. The LL and SL perspectives identify the research subjects but do not specify which ‘features of the languages’ to examine. Studies focusing on the languages in a given landscape are more accurately understood as focusing on the ‘language’ landscape rather than the ‘linguistic’ landscape. Further investigation is necessary to understand

fully the complex relationship between written forms and other modes of discourse and how people interact with each other (Kress, 2009).

While the general study of the LL analyses the languages used on signs in city landscapes, the term LL in the current research is used in a broader sense to describe linguistic phenomena observed in written forms within the public sphere, as well as to address people's attitudes towards the LL. Accordingly, themes examined in studies of the LL need to be considered. Previous studies on the LL were devoted mainly to the description of language use within bi- or multilingual countries and cities (e.g., Brussels, Belgium and Montreal, Canada). Others illustrated the use of foreign languages, mostly English, in international cities (e.g., Bangkok and Tokyo; see Section 4.2). The former often discusses the maintenance and revitalisation of minority languages within communities, while the latter argues for a language shift in the societies in response to globalisation. Nonetheless, English, which has emerged for intranational communication and has specific regional characteristics as an outcome of glocalisation, coexists with other languages in the LLs. The LL can also be evaluated from the perspective of WE.

There are other fundamental questions about the nature of LL research related to research objects, sampling methods, categorisation, and presentation of the signs. Gorter (2018) notes that the research area, the unit of analysis, and the use of

photographs were issues pertaining to LL research methods. The most important question that should be asked is which objects are considered ‘texts’ and ‘signs’. For example, it is necessary to define whether a small handwritten note on the entrance to a store that states ‘back in 5 minutes’ qualifies as a sign. Other elements observed in the LL are, for example, waste and litter containers (Kallen, 2010); manhole covers (Tufi & Blackwood, 2010); graffiti (Karlander, 2018; Rozenholc, 2010); and façades (Gendelman & Aiello, 2010). In traditional LL studies, texts on moving objects (e.g., buses, cars, or clothing which people are wearing) are excluded as research objects, even though they constitute part of the landscape. Studies have discussed the function of ‘mobile’ printed materials in the LL, such as handbills (Scollon, 1997); tourist postcards (Jaworski, 2010); banknotes, pamphlets, tickets, and vehicles (Sebba, 2010); and T-shirts (Coupland, 2010b).

Determination of the research area is important, as the research site should represent the language use in the community or country. Although the term ‘linguistic landscape’ does not specify its research areas, most research was conducted in urban settings. As mentioned in Section 4.2, LL research is generally interpreted as the study of languages in ‘cityscapes’ rather than ‘landscapes’. Since the density of signboards and a population who read signs is higher in urban areas, it is practical to collect data in larger cities when considering the reliability of the research. The LLs differ greatly

by region, however. Onishi (2011) compared texts on signboards in several districts and found regional differences in the use of dialects and *hiragana*. Moreover, the choice of survey sites is problematic (Blackwood, 2015). In most research, main streets in urban areas are selected as survey sites (e.g., Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), as it is easier to collect data there than in rural areas due to the density of signs. The other criterion is to collect data on the streets around stations (e.g., Backhaus, 2006; Lai, 2013; Someya, 2009). Shopping malls are also survey sites of LL studies (e.g., Coluzzi, 2017; Graddol, 2013; Trumper-Hecht, 2009). Nonetheless, less-crowded places (e.g., residential areas) might be able to exemplify the actual characteristics of the community. Shohamy (2015, p. 165) analysed the LL in smaller areas in relation to language policy and stressed that the neighbourhood merits special attention, as ‘neighborhood identities’ form ‘a meaningful territorial space and special connection with its people’. The spatial determination affects the quality of the data. It is valuable to examine LLs in different types of areas and sites. Other issues of concern are how and where texts are presented on signs.

As for data collection methods, Takada (2011) highlights that LLs change over time, leading to issues with the stability and reliability of LLs and their data. Most analyses of language use have similar issues, as languages are the products of human activities and therefore will inevitably change over time. Nevertheless, the change in

the LL occurs more quickly compared to other uses of language. A poster or signboard may be removed a few days after the data is collected, and replicability could be low when verifying research findings. By viewing data collection methods from another perspective, the LL can be investigated without observing actual signs. Since studies of the LL include analyses of public signs, scholars have evaluated the language policies issued by governments and administrative agencies. Backhaus's (2009b) study consisted primarily of an assessment of language policies and guidelines for public signboards in Tokyo in terms of '*genko sabisu*' (see Section 2.7). He argued that foreign language policies in Tokyo were 'tolerant' compared to those in other countries, as bi- and multilingualism had been achieved on top-down signs (*ibid.*). Shoji (2009b) also studied changes in Japanese society by examining papers issued by local governments and argued that the number of signs in foreign languages has been increasing in Japan since the 1990s. Therefore, while it is possible to evaluate the LL without fieldwork, it is essential to improve the reliability of the analysis.

Huebner (2009) raises a question regarding LL studies that give equal weight to a small sticker and a large billboard. Furthermore, the font of texts, the numbers of languages they are written in, the order of languages in the case of a bi- or multilingual text, whether a translation is provided, and the position of a text on a sign are all key factors in determining how a language is regarded in a community. In addition, it is

necessary to decide whether the same warning sign displayed on a street multiple times should be counted as one sign or multiple signs. This also leads to the question of whether the research should involve quantitative or qualitative analysis. In either type of analysis, the quantity of research objects should be taken into account. The number of items analysed differs greatly by researchers. For example, Wang (2013) examined 89 shop signs on one street, Bellés-Calvera (2019) collected 185 texts in three municipalities, and Backhaus (2006) analysed 2,444 items out of 11,834 counted items in 28 survey areas. It is essential to consider how many signs are sufficient to allow for analysis of the characteristic of the research area or the community.

Another question in regard to collecting and analysing data is who displays the signs. In previous LL studies, signs are categorised as either top-down (i.e., official signs placed by governments or authorities) or bottom-up (i.e., non-official signs posted by the private sector or individuals), according to the agencies and ownership of the signs (e.g., Backhaus, 2006). While official signs are more influenced by politics (e.g., language policies in a territory), non-official signs generally have fewer restrictions and tend to be more pragmatic in their choice of languages. Although signs displayed by corporations are regarded as bottom-up or non-official, corporations play a significant role in capitalist societies, and their power is equal to or greater than that of authorities in a market economy. Corporations carefully brand their images and use signage

authorised by their marketing divisions. Therefore, the signs created by corporations are ‘semi-official’ in this sense and differ from texts written by individuals. The languages appearing on three types of signs – posted by authorities, the private sector, and individuals – could thus differ widely and should be analysed separately.

In regard to the categorisation of signs, it is also essential to examine for whom the texts are written. Texts on public signs are generally written for a wide audience, yet they may be displayed for specific groups of people. Depending on the target audience, the use of languages on signs may change. Examining the readers of texts is thus related to the question of which languages are used as texts and why some languages appear or do not appear on signs. These questions appear to be simple and straightforward, as languages typically used in a community are generally those that appear on their signs. Nevertheless, the extensive use of English on signs does not mean that it is used actively in society nor that it has many speakers.

Two types of English are displayed in Japanese LL (see Section 4.2): one as a *lingua franca* for people who do not have Japanese reading competence, and the other as an ornament or symbol due to the influence of Americanisation and commercialism. With regard to data analysis, it is sometimes problematic to distinguish between ‘official’ and ‘non-official’ signs because some signs could be classified as both. For example, transportation companies are publicly owned in many countries, whereas

some are privatised. Since both public and private companies charge fees, they operate as businesses. If both companies operate the same routes, they have business competition. In this case, both types of transportation companies' signs could be classified as 'official', as they have a public nature, but also could be categorised as 'non-official' since they are displayed for commercial purposes to attract customers.

Another case is slogans by tobacco companies. In many countries, advertising tobacco products is banned, but tobacco companies can release slogans to appeal to their customers. Moreover, private companies can produce commercials with slogans. In Japan, after the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in 2011, many consumer electric companies posted advertising slogans (e.g., 'save energy'). Even though tobacco companies and consumer electric companies are private, the texts they produce as slogans do not advertise their products directly; rather, they deliver messages to the wider public. In this sense, these slogans have a public nature, so it is difficult to determine whether they are 'non-official' or 'non-commercial'. Nonetheless, advertising slogans appeal to the subconsciousness of potential customers and induce them to purchase their products even though the companies do not directly express their intention to sell their services or products. In another sense, however, all signs could be considered 'public' since they have a public nature and are displayed in the public

sphere. It is thus essential to define what types of texts are considered ‘official’ or ‘non-official’ before analysing the data.

Another characteristic complicating the investigation of the LL is a linguistic feature of texts, as signs contain many proper nouns. In the case of the Japanese language, *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana* are conventionally used, and it is also possible to write Japanese words in *romaji* as romanised texts (see Section 2.5). Consequently, it is problematic to define whether a noun is Japanese or English when it is written in the Roman alphabet – in other words, whether it is a loanword from Japanese or code-mixing with English. Moreover, it is necessary to consider whether a text contains a standard use of language, a non-standard language, or an error. For example, English texts written in non-English-speaking countries often use non-standard English (Backhaus, 2006). Before analysing a text, it is essential to decide whether such a use should be counted as a misuse of English or a variation of English (e.g., distinctively Japanese use of English). Examining these questions will provide a great deal of information about language use in a society. Therefore, it is critical to investigate the use of language from various perspectives.

The nature of texts is important when evaluating languages. Written texts found in city landscapes (e.g., texts on posters, store signs, and traffic signs) differ significantly from other written media (e.g., newspapers, books, and magazines). When

the former types of texts are seen, readers often notice them first without awareness and then read them with a purpose (e.g., to receive information), though not all texts in the LL are read or noticed by pedestrians. On the other hand, the latter types of media are picked up consciously, and readers read them with intention although they are ‘seen’ when they are displayed. It could be argued that these two types of media have different natures, even though they are both written forms which are publicised for a wider audience. Thus, texts in the LL should be considered as ‘objects’ to be read and ‘objects’ to be seen. As seen in Chapter 4, most studies of the LL in the world observe language use in an area where more than one language is actively used on signs. Minority language(s) or English as a *lingua franca*, along with a language used by the majority of people or a language considered an official language in the society, are the research subjects in classical LL studies. In Japan, most research on the use of foreign languages in the LL is related to *genko sabisu* (see also Section 2.7) for minority and non-Japanese people with regard to social welfare. Nevertheless, the vast majority of texts are presented for local people who use the major language in the area. In particular, most commercial signs are written primarily for their potential customers – Japanese nationals – although the number of migrants and visitors from other countries has increased. Therefore, official signs displayed for non-Japanese readers and commercial signs whose main target is the Japanese should be considered separately.

Regarding analysis of attitudes towards English among the Japanese, few studies have assessed people's perceptions toward varieties of English, particularly written English (see Section 3.4). Most studies evaluated university students' attitudes (e.g., Haarmann, 1986; Stanlaw, 2004); however, examining a limited age group prevents an understanding of the dynamics of language use, as text for commercial purposes aims to reach a wider audience. Moreover, most studies on language attitudes in Japan employed surveys using the Likert scale to evaluate the research participants' responses. A study of individual attitudes to the use of English in television commercials, brand naming and on shop signs in Tehran also used a two-point Likert scale (Khosravizadeh & Sanjareh, 2011). This method enables to analyse a large number of responses, but it makes difficult to identify indistinct opinions, as the participants may only choose responses from the available options. Hsu (2013) and Leung (2010) assessed people's attitudes towards English for advertisements in Taiwan and in Hong Kong, respectively. These studies used multiple-choice questionnaires and assessed attitudes of people from various backgrounds. Bhatia (1987) examined the manner in which language mixing is perceived and understood by consumers by analysing the texts of advertisements in Hindi magazines. Yet, their studies focused on investigating consumers' attitudes towards advertising copy and product type. Other types of text used for commercial purposes (e.g., texts displayed in the LL) were not

used for their investigations. Some LL researchers conduct interviews. For example, five individuals were interviewed in Oromia in Ethiopia (Fekede & Gemechu, 2016), 10 individuals were interviewed in Memphis in the US (Garvin, 2010), and 120 individuals were interviewed at eight research sites in Germany (Ziegler et al., 2019). This is a new approach to the study of the LL, and the research in question mainly examines attitudes to languages other than English and language choice in general.

One ideal method to find survey participants is to talk to pedestrians on the streets and ask their opinions about the texts in the LL. Using this technique may garner quick and accurate responses to a question, such as a gap between people's awareness of languages and the actual usage in the city. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to find participants in some areas of Japan due to the city regulations. For example, in the city of Nagoya, conducting interviews and surveys on the street in many parts of the city is prohibited under the Road Traffic Act, Article 119 (Aichi Police, 2016). Although it is possible to receive permission from the Aichi prefectural police in special cases (ibid.), it is extremely challenging to find participants, as talking to strangers on the streets may cause one to be mistaken for an aggressive tout who tries to lure customers. This is one of the problems the city faces (Asahi Digital, 2016), and it is prohibited under the Ordinance of Prevent Public Nuisances (Aichi Police, 2013). It is

thus desirable to develop a survey method which can be applied to the analysis of written WE in LLs.

5.2 Research methodology

Previous studies on Japanese LLs found numerous monolingual and bilingual English texts on signboards in the streets there. Backhaus's (2006) research illustrated the multilingualism of Japan, which is widely believed to be a monolingual country, and Someya (2009) conducted descriptive linguistic analyses on the use of languages on commercial signs and found an interesting usage of English and Japanese scripts by the Japanese. The English observed on these signs is different from traditional types of language borrowing. The use of English in Japan has unique characteristics, with English being glocalised in Japanese contexts, particularly in commercial texts on signs. It seems clear that English has had a significant effect on Japanese language, culture, and society; Nonetheless, the use of English remains limited to specific purposes. The previous analyses of the Japanese LL, however, did not fully investigate the unique characteristics of the use of English in Japanese written texts for commercial purposes since the main aim of their research was to examine the extent to which English or other foreign languages were used in Japanese cityscapes from a sociolinguistic perspective. Identifying and counting the languages on signs does not fully disclose the reasons

particular languages are chosen over others, nor how the use of language functions as a discourse in the community. Signs in public places can illustrate more interesting phenomena, such as how language and globalisation are correlated, but Blommaert (2013) argues that considering their quantity and the location of their use is not sufficient. Coulmas (2006, p. 58) maintains that

[s]ociolinguistics is the linguistics of choice, and, if only for that reason, we have to come to grips with the relationship of freedom of the will, human action and language, for choice is a notion which presupposes an agent rather than an automaton.

Written language used on commercial signage is the product of linguistic choices and serves communicative functions as well as advertising roles. Further analysis of how a certain language is adopted into Japanese text and perceived by the people is essential when examining the unique characteristics of languages and the LL in the society. Fairclough regards *text* as ‘the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event’ (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). A discursive event is defined as an ‘instance of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice, or social practice’ (ibid., p. 138), and discursive practice is considered to be ‘the production, distribution and consumption of a text’ (ibid., p. 138). Text in the LL is a representation of society, indicates social relations between writers and readers, and expresses identities with its choices of forms in the language systems through media, such as advertisements and

announcements at a particular time and place. Text is a human behaviour and social activity shared in public places through which written forms and meanings are negotiated and reinvented by the group of language users. Text is produced, distributed, and consumed in the LLS. Fairclough criticises how the relationship between language and society is addressed in the field of sociolinguistics and argues that sociolinguistic research dealing with ‘language in its social context’ has not sufficiently denoted ‘the rich and complex interrelationship of language and power’ (Fairclough, 1989, p. 1). The studies on the use of English in the Japanese LL also overlooked the power associated with language use.

Many previous Japanese LL studies were conducted in Tokyo due to the density of signs and ease of collecting the samples for analysis. Since Tokyo is the hub of politics, commerce, and transportation and is the capital of Japan, it is reasonable to select it as the research site. However, Mufwene (2010a) notes that the globalisation of English is not equally spread. Consequently, the city of Nagoya, which has unique characteristics compared to other cities in Japan (see Section 5.4.1), was selected as the research area to observe whether widespread of English is also observed outside Tokyo. The use of language and scripts differs among areas within the city (Inoue, 2009; Someya, 2009). The use of English can be observed in Japan both within and outside areas with a high density of signage. It is difficult to generalise about the features of

language use and claim the spread of English in Japan by observing commercial hubs exclusively. Because previous Japanese LL studies have not fully analysed the similarities and differences of areas within a single city, six research sites with different characteristics were selected to identify the language culture in each location. The research sites are not only salient commercial hubs but also shopping districts in residential and traditional areas to compare how the use of English varies according to locality and the target audiences.

The LL contains official signs, commercial signs, personal notes, and more. Although previous studies on the LL have examined official and commercial signs together, this study exclusively analyses texts that have been written and displayed for commercial purposes. This is because the texts presented for commercial purposes are more likely to represent the actual usage of English by the Japanese in a society than text on official signs, as the former presumably reflects the preferences of potential customers while the latter is enforced by authorities. Although this study is designed to assess the spread and function of English in Japanese LL, the presence of other languages and their combinations are also assessed to compare the extent to which English appears in the LL. Examining the use of languages other than English enables an evaluation of the extent to which the Multicultural Coexistence Promotion Plan (see Section 2.7) of the city and expenditure by international tourists (see Section 2.2) affect

the choice of language on commercial signs. In addition, exploring the use of European languages necessitates an inquiry into the question of whether foreign scripts serve as visual cues – English and other European languages use the Latin alphabet. Lee's (2019) study on signs at beauty and food businesses in two tourist districts in South Korea found that business type and the target audience influence the choice of language on signs. Consequently, this study examines the use of English at various business types in order to discover whether the identity of the target audience affects usage. Someya (2009), in a study of shop signs in Tokyo, found that script choices differ with content type. Therefore, this study also explains how English is used by examining the content of English texts (e.g., shop names, information and catchphrases) and grammatical word classes (e.g., nouns, verbs and adjectives). These analyses also determine whether the use of English on commercial signs is a manifestation of the English language, of Japanese English or of something else. Furthermore, the use of supplements such as logos, photographs and pictures is observed because the non-language elements of a text are also 'read' by the audience (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006) and because 'graphic features could usefully complement any linguistic description' (Walker, 2001, p. 8).

In addition to traditional methods of analysing the Japanese LL, this research includes a sociological dimension through an investigation into people's attitudes towards the text and how the text is consumed in the LL. More specifically, this project

examines quantitative and qualitative data to reveal how people view the use of English on commercial signs. It is important to go beyond the LL texts because, as Spitzmüller (2015) wrote, individuals who interact with texts assign meanings to signs by reference in accordance with their communicative knowledge. Leung (2010) and Hsu (2013) conducted surveys on attitudinal studies on English mixing. In line with those works, the present study also uses a survey. Surveys can elicit information about participant attitudes that can be difficult to measure by using other observational techniques (McIntyre, 1999, p. 75). However, the current project draws on an expanded set of research participants and the participants included not only native-Japanese but also registered foreign nationals, as the languages in the LL are displayed for all people who live and visit there. Gazley et al. (2012) analysed consumer attitudes to television advertisements in Asia, and the results revealed differences between Asian cities. To further examine language attitudes towards the LL, the survey also included people who lived outside Japan. This is to determine whether there are similarities and differences in attitudes towards language usage, specifically the use of English and mixing of English on commercial texts, between people living in the region and those visiting. By surveying these people, this project aims to identify whether people recognise English in Japan as English, Japanese English, erroneous, English for decorative purposes, or something else.

Leung's (2010) research on attitudes towards English for advertising found that code-mixing of English was preferred among young and educated people. As Japanese people's English proficiency may be relatively low (Educational Testing Service, 2014), it is important to determine to the extent to which the Japanese are aware of foreign language texts and can understand the contents of texts that use English. In addition, not all visitors to Japan have reading competence in Japanese, and those who use English as a *lingua franca* have different levels of English competence. Since many commercial texts in the LL mix English and Japanese, non-Japanese speakers may have difficulty understanding the code-mixed texts. Yamasumi (2019) examined the likability of speech among the Japanese and found that the genders and ages of speakers and listeners were correlated. Although the study investigated spoken language, its results are applicable to reader-writer relationships. Therefore, the questionnaires include participants' background information (e.g., gender, age, English and Japanese reading competence). Consequently, the questionnaires assess the participants' preferences for signs, their feelings toward texts that use English, and general opinions about commercial signs.

Digital tools were used to distribute questionnaires and to collect responses from individuals from various backgrounds. Although some believe that online surveys

do not provide opportunities to probe into the accounts that participants give, which can only be elicited through follow-up interviews, the use of online platforms for qualitative surveys has advantages for researchers and participants (Braun et al., 2021). The advantages of using online surveys for research are related to accessibility, efficiency, and reliability. First, online surveys are accessible to most target participants and are easier to use to recruit a large number of participants than to ask individuals to be respondents, as the penetration rate of mobile phones and smart phones is 168.4% (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2017b) as of March 2017, and the Internet is used in 83.5% of households in Japan (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2017c). Still, not everyone can access the internet. In order to address the 'digital divide' (Hargittai, 2011; van Deursen & van Dijk, 2019), the questionnaires were also distributed in person to individuals who could not access the website or were unfamiliar with the internet. Second, participants can access the survey sites wherever and whenever their schedule permits and respond at their own pace. Online surveys make it easy to access geographically dispersed populations (Braun et al., 2017). They feel less pressure to answer the questions in a short time and may stop participating in the surveys if they wish to withdraw from the research. This convenience and flexibility might allow more people to participate in the survey than by asking the participants to submit their responses face-to-face and immediately, as the survey contains free-answer

questions which may require time to respond to. Third is the authenticity of the responses. The participants are expected to provide 'accurate' or 'genuine' answers online. As no direct interactions occur between the participants and the researcher, the responses are less likely to be influenced by the interviewer, and participants will provide less socially desirable answers. However, the inability of the interviewer to clarify meaning of the questions may result in inaccurate responses. Questions may be interpreted differently or misunderstood by participants. To avoid this problem, free-answer sections were provided for participants who had queries regarding the questions or surveys. In addition, the participants may be more willing to share personal information and beliefs due to their indirect contact with other people and maintenance of their anonymity. Braun et al. (2021) claimed that the openness and flexibility of surveys, which can be used to address a wide range of research questions, are advantageous in qualitative research. On the other hand, it is impossible to know whether the target participants answered the questionnaires or one person submitted multiple responses, as identifications of the participants are not verified online. To avoid multiple submissions from the same participant, the IP addresses of all participants were checked prior to data analysis. The surveys were mainly distributed through social network sites which are widely used in Japan (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, and LINE). About two-thirds of the research participants were directly recruited by the

researcher, and the rest were recruited by other participants. To uncover implicit and explicit attitudes towards the language use, the survey includes both multiple choice and open-ended questions. As Braun & Clarke (2013) maintain, open-ended questions can produce rich and complex accounts because participants respond to them in their own words.

5.3 Data analysis methods

By considering the previous studies on English in the Japanese context, this research examines how glocalisation affects written language usage in Japanese society. This study assists the understanding of why English is chosen on commercial signs in Japanese LL and how the action is received by the audience. The present study consists of two components: investigation on the scale and functions of written English in the Japanese LL, and analysis of people's attitudes towards the usage. Having reviewed studies on English in Japanese LL, this study takes descriptive linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches by adapting both quantitative and qualitative methods to explore and reveal the intriguing use of languages on signage in the Japanese LL and the roles which English plays in Japanese society. A descriptive linguistic approach applies LL research method as English or distinctively Japanese use of English most frequently appears on commercial signs in public places. The LL reflects political,

economic, and social activities which take place in the communities. It tends to echo language practice which is or will be accepted by members of the. Examining language usage in the LL enables the exploration and understanding of the role and status of the languages used in the given communities. A sociolinguistic approach employs methods of textual analysis because language consists not only of grammar and vocabulary but also of usages.

In order to evaluate the extent to which English is used on commercial signs in Japan, tokens of signs were collected at six research sites which had different characteristics (see Section 5.4.1). All signs at the research sites were observed and recorded on camera during the field work. To begin, tokens collected at the research sites are analysed to identify which languages and scripts are used in the Japanese LL. Written texts and tokens of English (e.g., shop names, brand names, product names, and advertising slogans) are analysed to examine the extent to which English words, including those written in the Roman alphabet, are used, as opposed to Japanese scripts.

In this research, Japanese words that are written in the Roman alphabet are initially categorised as English because of the characteristics of Japanese orthographic practice and the nature of advertising language. As explained in Section 2.5, several romanisation systems exist, and the mixing of romanisation systems and English spelling rules is increasingly common in commercial texts (Backhaus, 2014).

Therefore, Japanese terms that are written in the Roman alphabet on non-official signs need not be in *romaji* notation and may represent adaptations of English spellings. Moreover, the Roman alphabet can be used to attract attention because the Roman script is foreign to the Japanese and may thus stand out, which is an important factor for advertising (see Section 4.1). Accordingly, romanised Japanese texts are analysed as English, not as Japanese. The same principle applies to the distinction between texts that contain *katakana* and texts with *hiragana* and *kanji*. *Katakana* is primarily used for transcribing Western loanwords (see Section 2.5). Since their usage is limited and they do not always appear in texts, *katakana* might also have an attention-grabbing effect. Someya's (2009) research on the language of shop signs found various patterns in script choices. Accordingly, this study also distinguishes between *katakana* texts and other uses of Japanese script. When a Western-based borrowed word or a phrase is transcribed into Japanese scripts, it is regarded as *gairaigo*, a part of the Japanese writing system. It is difficult to determine whether the usage follows Japanese or English syntax structure when single words appear on signage. All words transcribed into the Roman alphabet are thus subjects of analysis, categorised according to the type of content, and further examined. In this research, the term 'code-switching' is used to refer to a full sentence that is written in Japanese and converted to another full sentence that is written in a language other than Japanese or vice versa. The term 'code-mixing'

is used when a word or a phrase is written in Japanese script and when foreign scripts are incorporated into a sentence.

First, the numbers of signs in each language and script and at each research site were compared in order to observe the relationships between language choice and regional characteristics. The number of signs by business type was observed next because the choice of languages and scripts varies across business types. The linguistic features of the uses of English on Japanese commercial signs, translation types, content types and the use of visual aids were examined to discover the function of English. Words and phrases that are written in the Roman alphabet on code-mixed and untranslated signs were inspected in line with the content of the text in order to discover how English is used. If English is accompanied with a Japanese translation or visual aids, the text does not need to be comprehended fully. Meanings do not need to be conveyed through the use of English. Shop or product names that are written in the Roman alphabet might be transcriptions of Japanese proper nouns rather than of English words. In this case, the Roman alphabet or English might be used for decorative purposes and as means of communication.

The results of the survey were evaluated in order to explore individual perceptions of the use of English on commercial signs. First, the participants were shown 10 photographs of commercial signs that were taken at the research sites, and

their preferences for signs were elicited. This enquiry served two purposes: to discover what types of commercial signs the participants liked and disliked and to acquaint them with various types of texts in the LL. Individuals might not examine signs carefully unless they have a particular purpose in mind (e.g., visiting a particular shop). They might notice a restaurant sign in the street, but they do not necessarily inspect or read a text when they want to buy a book. They might have not thought of signs, and they may have failed to recognise the languages in which they were written. Therefore, the question is designed to solicit participants' ideas and opinions about commercial signs with a view to answering the questions that follow. Subsequently, the participants were instructed to select a reason for their preference from six options. The purpose is to recognise not only languages and scripts but also the other factors that affect preferences for signs. The survey also enquired into participants' feelings about signs in English in order to discover whether the public accept the languages and scripts in the LL. Finally, the survey analyses participants' general opinions about commercial signs in Japan. Each question is examined according to the gender, age, residence and language skills of the participant (in Japanese, English and other languages). Attitudes regarding text on signage are evaluated to determine how people interpret language usage, particularly English in the LL. This supports an assessment of whether individuals consider English text as English, as Japanese English or as a form of design.

This research employs quantitative and qualitative analyses: the former for analysing substantial data from samples collected in the research sites and the survey, and the latter for evaluating survey responses and representative quotations made by research participants. The quantitative analysis is supported by qualitative analysis, and vice versa. For the quantitative data analysis, chi-squared test and Fisher's exact test were conducted to explore statistically significant differences between variables, as the test allows for a simultaneous comparison of more than two groups to determine whether a relationship exists between them. For the analysis of the qualitative data, text data was compared and evaluated by using the Jaccard index to measure correlations between variables. The chi-squared test and Fisher's exact test were also employed. SPSS ver. 25.0 was used for the statistical analyses.

Thematic and content analyses of the participants' responses to the open-ended questions were conducted in order to examine explicit and implicit opinions about English on signs in Japan in detail. Braun & Clarke (2006, p. 6) clarified that thematic analysis is 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data'. Maguire & Delahunt (2017, p. 3352) explained the method further, writing that 'the goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes, i.e., patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue'. Thematic analysis is useful for examining the perspectives of research

participants and for highlighting similarities and differences within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004). The method also prompts an examination of the explicit and the implicit in text data. Braun and Clarke (2006) provided a six-phase guide for conducting thematic analysis. Progress is not always linear, and it is possible to oscillate between phases while analysing qualitative data. The six phrases are as follows:

Phase 1: familiarising yourself with your data,

Phase 2: generating initial codes,

Phase 3: searching for themes,

Phase 4: reviewing themes,

Phase 5: defining and naming themes, and

Phase 6: producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this research, all comments were examined carefully because comments that are not prominent also contain important information about the opinions of the participants.

The coding software KH coder ver. 3 was used for the qualitative text analysis of the comments of the participants in the survey. The software is used for text mining and thematic analysis in the social sciences (e.g., (Baele et al., 2021; Higuchi, 2017b, 2017a; Higuchi & Kawabata, 2003; Iwamori, 2020; Nattuthurai & Aryal, 2018) and enables word groups to be extracted, patterns to be identified in documents, data to be

calculated according to codes and outcomes to be visualised. Higuchi (2016) claimed that visualising data enables the isolation of content themes. Visualising the data also facilitates comparisons between categories.

Before the analysis, five pre-processing steps were taken to clean the data.

1. The first was to pre-process the text data. The survey responses were translated from Japanese to English by the author, and the responses that were in other foreign languages were translated by native speakers. Typographical errors and misspellings were corrected for morphological analysis. Furthermore, articles such as ‘a’, ‘an’ and ‘the’, pronouns such as ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘they’, verbs such as ‘be’ and ‘do’, and symbols such as ‘/’ were removed from the results in the word frequency lists because the exclusion of such words does not change the result of the examination of the content of the research. However, these components were considered in the analysis of each comment. Compound words, such as ‘Japanese people’ and ‘Japanese English’, were treated as single words in order to distinguish them from ‘Japanese language’, ‘Japanese’ and ‘English’ in general for the purposes of the statistical analysis. In the thematic analysis, words with conjugated or inflected forms, such as verbs and adjectives, were extracted in their base forms.

2. After the words that were not necessary for the analysis were removed from the data set, it was important to (1) ascertain how many types of words should be analysed and (2) to determine the mean term frequency (TF) of the analysed words. In particular, the 100 words that occurred most frequently in the participants' comments were subjected to quantitative analysis.

3. The co-occurrences of frequently appearing words was considered, and the responses were inspected by using the words for qualitative analysis. The statistical significance of the co-occurrences of words was evaluated by using the Jaccard index, which is a statistic that compares the similarity and the diversity of sample sets. A high degree of co-occurrence indicates similar patterns in the appearance of the two sets. The two words have a weaker correlation when the index is closer to 0 and a stronger correlation when the index is closer to 1.

4. After the co-occurrences of words and comments were examined, the participants' comments were coded manually in order to generate the main themes, in line with Braun and Clarke's (Braun & Clarke, 2006) six-phase process.

5. The identified themes were analysed according to the gender, age, residence and language skills of the participants in order to observe similarities and/or differences in their characteristics.

The present research profited from the strengths of previous studies by following the identification of the research sites and items and by drawing on the classifications of the linguistic data to uncover the use of language in the Japanese LL and the individual attitudes that it induces. The results are illustrated with tables, graphs and figures.

5.4 Research subjects

5.4.1 Research sites

For this project, Japan's fourth-largest city, Nagoya (see Appendix A), was selected as a research site, and the use of English in the LL and people's attitudes towards English and other languages were analysed. There are five main reasons the city was selected: its location, its demographics, its multilingual nature, people's awareness, and the lack of research related to written foreign languages in the area (see also Section 4.2 and Chapter 2). Nagoya is located in the central region of Japan and is the capital of Aichi Prefecture. It is the largest city in the region and the fourth most populous urban area in the country, with a population of approximately 2.3 million in 2017 (City of Nagoya, 2017a). Compared to Tokyo, where most LL studies in Japan have been conducted, commercial hubs and residential areas are clearly divided in Nagoya. Therefore, it is easier to compare the similarities and differences in language

use between high streets (i.e., where global and domestic chain shops are located with many pedestrians) and narrower streets (i.e., with small family-owned shops which mainly local residents walk past).

To investigate the extent to which languages are used on commercial signs in Nagoya's public places, six survey sites in Nagoya were carefully determined to represent the LL in the city as a whole. As the purpose of the research is to examine language use on commercial signs, the shopping districts of two major city centres (i.e., Meieki and Sakae); two residential areas with shops (i.e., Fujigaoka and Takabata); and two traditional areas with older shopping streets (i.e., Horita and Kurumamichi) in Nagoya, where each area has different characteristics, were selected (see Appendix B). To collect empirical field data, two main streets in each area, each approximately 600 metres long, were chosen. All the relevant survey items for data analysis (e.g., shop signs from the six sites) were collected to determine actual language use in the LL. The items were recorded on camera and video. A video camera was used as a supplement to the still camera, as there was a constant stream of people at the survey sites, and it was often difficult to stop and take photographs. As all districts are close to stations and have business and residential buildings, they should provide a comprehensive picture of the region.

The city centres are commercial hubs in the city with shopping, entertainment, and business districts and are located on the underground Higashiyama line. The Meieki (hereafter Site 1) area is the entrance to Nagoya city, located near the J.R. Nagoya station of the Japan Railway Company, which is a hub station in the central region with a *shinkansen* (i.e., bullet train) and other local lines. The station is adjacent to five other lines: Nagoya Municipal Subway, the Nagoya Railroad system, Kintetsu Corporation, Nagoya Seaside Rapid Railway, and bus terminals which connect to satellite cities. Taikō-dōri in the Meieki area faces the J.R. Nagoya station entrance and has many stores and restaurants. Meieki-dōri is a main avenue located on the east side of the station with high-rise buildings, department stores, and high-end luxury import brand stores; it is one of the main shopping districts on the west side of the city. Another city centre, Sakae (hereafter Site 2), is the most crowded area in the city, with stations on the Nagoya Municipal Subway, Nagoya Railroad system, and bus terminals which connect the city centre to the suburbs. It includes *Hisaya- odori* (i.e., Hisaya Avenue) going north-south, with high-end luxury import brand stores, department stores, and parks and *Otsu - dori* (Ōtsu Avenue), which runs parallel to *Hisaya- odori*, with smaller stores and offices.

The residential areas are located on the terminuses of the underground Higashiyama line. Fujigaoka (hereafter Site 3), in the Meito ward, is a new residential

area with a highly mobile population. Approximately 10% of the residents move in and out of the ward every year (City of Nagoya, 2015). It is located on the east end of the Higashiyama line and is the easternmost area of the city. Fujigaoka station is connected to the Linimo line, which was constructed for linear motor trains to carry passengers to the Aichi Expo held in 2005. Since the exposition, the Linimo line has been used by people who live in commuter towns. There are also buses to universities located outside Nagoya city. A main street from Fujigaoka-kita intersection to Fujigaoka-ekimae intersection running north-south has stores, banks, and offices, and another street from the Fujigaoka-higashi intersection to the Fujigaoka-nishi intersection running east-west has supermarkets and smaller stores. On the other hand, another residential area, Takabata (hereafter Site 4), is in the Nakagawa ward, the westernmost ward in the city. Takabata station is located in the centre of the ward and is the last stop on the Higashiyama line. Many buses run to other areas of the ward and Nagoya port in an adjacent ward. A street running south-north from Takabata station to Takabata Jutaku-nishi has small shops and apartments, and a street running west-east from the station to a nearby train station, Arako, has small offices, shops, clinics, and hospitals.

The other two areas, Horita and Kurumamichi, are more traditional and have a longer history than the other research sites. These areas have shopping streets called *shotengai* in Japanese. Although there are many *shotengai* in Nagoya which used to be

busy shopping districts with local people, many stores have closed down due to lifestyle changes, and many people now prefer going to shopping malls in the suburbs. Nonetheless, *shotengai* in the two research areas remain lively compared to those in other areas of the city. Horita (hereafter Site 5) is in the Mizuho ward located in the southern part of the city and has had small factories since before World War II. In this area, there are two stations called Horita: one is an underground Horita station on the Meijo line, and the other is a train station located approximately 300 metres north of the underground station. A *shotengai* is located near the train station. One main shopping street is called Horita Honmachi Shotengai, and it runs west-east from the Horita-ekimae intersection. Another shopping district is on Horitadori and runs north-south from the *Horita-ekimae* intersection; stations are located on the street. The last survey area, Kurumamichi (hereafter Site 6), is in the Higashi ward. ‘*Higashi*’ literally means ‘east’ in Japanese, but Kurumamichi is close to the centre of the city. There are some temples and historical sites, such as Tokugawa Museum, which stores and displays the properties of the Tokugawa shogunate family. The *shotengai* in this town is called Tsutsui Shotengai, and it holds a traditional summer *Shinto* religious festival every June. The Tsutsui Shotengai runs west-east below one of the largest temples in the area and is located 500 metres north of the underground Kurumamichi station on the Sakuradori line. Another *shotengai* is Kurumamichi Shotengai, which is located

south of the Kurumamichi station and 500 metres west of the nearby Chikusa underground and train stations. It runs north-south from the Sakuradori Kurumamichi intersection to Nishikidori Kurumamichi. As these *shotengai* are in old towns, most stores are small and family-owned operations, and there are few tall buildings on the streets.

Due to various regulations on outdoor advertisements and signs with regard to safety factors, preserving the environment, and ensuring a pleasant view (Takakuwa, 1994), some streets have fewer signboards than other streets surveyed in this study. Since 2004, each city and prefecture has issued and enforced legislation on outdoor signs in accordance with the specific characteristics of the region (Okugai Kōkoku Gyōsei Kenkyūjo, 2005). The Nagoya City Planning Division has established its own Outdoor Advertisement Act and enforced strict regulations for outdoor advertising (e.g., billboards, walls, overhanging boards, telegraph poles, vehicles, banners, electronic signage, posters, placards, standing signboards, flags, and advertising balloons) for safety reasons and a harmonious landscape (Nagoya City Planning Division, 2016). The size of billboards and the locations where they can be installed are restricted to prevent accidents (ibid.). In Nagoya, it is prohibited to display outdoor advertisements on buildings protected by the Ordinance for the Protection of Cultural Properties, in public facilities, at municipal parks, and in and around shrines (ibid.).

Flickering lights, rotating lamps, and red neon signs cannot be used in some areas (ibid.). In addition, there are some areas (e.g., the east side of Nagoya station and around Central Park in Sakae) where displaying standing signboards, flags, banners, posters, and placards is restricted (ibid.), yet ‘signs indicating store names, trademarks, product names, and business types can be displayed if the total size is less than 5 square metres and there are no flickering lights, rotating lamps, or red neon signs’ (ibid.).

5.4.2 Research items

This study analyses the use of languages in written texts on commercial signs in the LL. Therefore, the materials under study are non-official texts found at the six research sites, and official signs (e.g., road signs or maps) are not included. As there are various types of texts in cityscapes, it is necessary to specify the research subjects in more detail. Backhaus (2006, p. 66) considers a ‘sign’ to be ‘any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame’, including ‘items such as “push” and “pull” stickers at entrance doors, lettered foot mats, or botanic explanation plates’. Long (2011, p. 3) described the research subjects in the LL more specifically as follows:

- 1) Written texts, such as those on signboards and labels on products, and not spoken discourse, such as radio commercials and announcement on trains. Thus, the field of the LL deals with visual, not auditory,

information;

2) Scripts found in public places, and not private communication, such as

letters and emails;

3) Messages written for any specific groups or individuals, such as posters,

and not addressed to specific persons, such as memos;

4) Texts that come into sight naturally, not including texts that can be read

deliberately, such as articles in a magazine (Long, 2011, p. 3).

According to the Outdoor Advertisement Act issued and enforced by the Nagoya City Planning Division, outdoor advertisements are defined as ‘advertisements which are displayed outdoors all the time or continuously for a certain period’ (Nagoya City Planning Division, 2011).

Following these outlines and the definitions in previous LL research (see also Section 4.2), the survey items in this study are written texts on non-official signs displayed in public places intended to be read by a wider audience for commercial purposes. More specifically, all sizes and types of objects which contain texts and are defined as outdoor advertisements by the Outdoor Advertisement Act are considered to be signs and counted as research items. Therefore, both text which directly advertises products and services and signs publicising rules (e.g., ‘do not park here’ and ‘no

smoking’) are considered as research items if they are displayed by non-official organisation. Each sign, including a double-sided sign, is counted as one item. Some signs may be found multiple times, but they are counted as one item if the size and the design are identical and if displayed by the same store or office, as the purpose of this research is to investigate how languages are used on a variety of commercial signs, and counting signs with identical texts and designs does not provide a clear picture of the actual language use in the community.

Items excluded from this study are personal texts written for specific persons. In addition, other texts excluded were texts displayed inside stores and behind store windows (unless they were directly attached to the window); texts directly written on objects inside stores (e.g., texts on products in display windows, price tags, and the name and price of each dish on restaurant menus), as they are considered ‘products’ and not ‘signs’. Menus displayed outside stores and text written on display windows are counted as one item, however. The same rule applies to vending machines on the streets. A vending machine with text is counted as one item, although products in it and texts written under the products (e.g., ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ for drinks) are excluded. Signs and objects considered to be products are excluded even if they are placed outside the stores. For example, photographs and descriptions of properties displayed at real estate agents are excluded from the research items. Free papers placed in front of the premises (e.g.,

flyers and brochures provided by travel agencies) are not counted as signs but rather considered products. Tokens considered to be designs rather than texts (e.g., company logos and symbols) are not counted as language but are considered visual items if they are accompanied by text. On the other hand, stickers (e.g., 'Wi-Fi available' or identifying credit card or security companies) are excluded from items, even though they contain both logos and texts. This is because the stickers are provided by the companies and the language and design are not determined by the stores. Equally, 'push', 'pull', and 'auto' signs attached to doors are excluded, as they were attached to the doors as accompanying items when the doors were installed rather than selected by the stores or purchased by them as fixed-form signs from stationery stores. 'Push' and 'pull' signs hung on doorknobs and painted on doors, however, are counted as items, as they are selected by the stores. Moreover, objects with mobility (e.g., texts on clothes or bags people carry and advertisements and messages on vehicles) are excluded from this study. This is related to the reproducibility of research, as mobile texts do not stay in a given space, and it is difficult to capture all mobile texts in a busy cityscape. Certain items (e.g., phone booths) are categorised as 'official' in the research; accordingly, they are not counted as survey items. Likewise, banners displayed by the city or town, such as those with information about upcoming festivals, are also considered to be 'official' and are excluded from the study. In this research, written texts displayed by the

government and the Nagoya city council, the municipal subway, railway companies, the telephone company, and religious groups are regarded as ‘official signs’ due to the public nature of the businesses. Signs displayed at public schools are considered ‘official’, but those at private schools (e.g., cooking school) are treated as ‘non-official’, as this type of education is not compulsory, and the schools must advertise to attract students. The signs attached to telegraph poles are excluded from the items because their size, design, and placement are restricted under the Outdoor Advertisement Act and businesses have less choice in regard to designing signs.

Data collection is conducted from lunchtime until the evening to collect all relevant research items, including specific signs displayed only at certain times of day, such as neon signs and *noren* (i.e., sign curtains hung in shop entrances, often used at Japanese-style casual eateries and displayed only during the stores’ hours of operation). The data collected is classified according to language(s) or scripts, research site, business type, availability of translation, content type, and visual aspects (e.g., logo and photograph).

5.4.3 Survey sampling

The recruitment was conducted among two groups: (A) residents in the central Japan, and B) non-Japanese nationals living outside Japan. The participants in Group

A were recruited in Aichi, Gifu, and Mie prefectures, and most of the participants in Group B reside in the UK. The reason these participants were recruited was to investigate similarities and differences on language attitudes according to people's language skills and familiarities with the LL.

The questionnaires for Group A were prepared in eight languages (i.e., Japanese, English, Portuguese, Spanish, simplified Chinese, Korean, Filipino/Tagalog, and Thai) and simple Japanese written in only *hiragana* and *katakana*. Translation companies were used to translate the original Japanese questionnaires into other languages. For linguistic and cultural validations, the translated questionnaires were checked by native speakers of the languages before being distributed online. The criteria for choosing languages for the surveys is that Nagoya International Center provides assistance in these languages (see Section 2.7); thus, the residents in the region may have reading competence in one of the languages. The participants were prompted to select a language on the first page of the survey questionnaire and then proceeded to the questions. The questionnaires for Group B were written only in English to analyse whether English reading skills assist in comprehension of texts in the Japanese LL, as English – along with Japanese – is the dominant language in the city's LL. The questionnaires for Group B were distributed to people who had visited Japan before, as well as those who were interested in visiting Japan and their friends and families. These

people were recruited as they might be somewhat familiar with and interested in reading Japanese signs.

The surveys consisted of 18 questions for Group A and 20 questions for Group B, including questions regarding participants' background information (see Appendices C and D). The questions for Group A participants were fewer than those for Group B participants because questions regarding visiting Japan were not included. The questions investigated attitudes towards language use in Nagoya's LLs. Preference of signs, attitudes towards language use, and participants' backgrounds were recorded. The questions were asked to analyse whether English in the LL functions as a means of communication and/or as a symbolic element. The surveys for both groups contained closed-ended questions with a Likert scale and open-ended questions. The former included single-answer questions, and the latter consisted of free-answer questions. Studies by Miller and Levin (2014) and Levin and Miller (2015) on Japanese university students and their attitudes towards learning EFL found that students who were not majoring in English tended to choose random options on questionnaires that lacked a neutral option. Those who are not interested in the topic or do not have enough competence in the subject matter have a tendency to respond randomly. Thus, a neutral option (i.e., neither agree nor disagree) was included on the Likert-scale survey to

record opinions from participants who did not have strong attitudes or did not wish to voice their views.

The questions asked about the participants' reading and writing skills rather than listening and speaking skills, as the survey was intended to assess attitudes towards written texts. Although the surveys involve participants with diverse language skills and record participants' language competence, the questions did not assess participants' language skills directly. Instead, self-assessment questions were included as the measurement. The scores of ESL exams widely used in Japan (i.e., Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) and The EIKEN Test in Practical English Proficiency) were indicated as the guide. The scales were not indicated in the survey conducted among Group B participants, as these exams were not widely recognised outside Japan.

5.4.4 Survey participants

A survey was conducted among people with diverse educational and language backgrounds (see Table 5.1). Research participants aged between 20 and 80. The male and female ratio of all the participants was approximately 1:1, and approximately half of the participants were aged between 20 and 29 years old.

Table 5. 1 Participants' information

Age	Gender	Japanese	English	International	Overseas	Total
20s	Male	45	2	6	25	78
	Female	54	1	4	26	85
30s	Male	17	8	4	12	41
	Female	27	5	1	15	48
40s	Male	24	3	1	8	36
	Female	16	1	1	7	25
50s	Male	4	2	1	2	9
	Female	5	1	0	4	10
60+	Male	5	0	0	1	6
	Female	4	1	0	1	6
Total		201	24	18	101	344

The total number of survey participants was 344, of whom 243 participants lived in central Japan during the survey period, and 101 in Group B lived outside Japan. Although the number of non-Japanese residents in central Japan is approximately 3% (see Section 2.1), 20.9% of the survey participants in Group A were non-Japanese nationals. While no participant responded to the survey in simplified Chinese, one participant stated that her first language was Chinese (i.e., simplified characters). In addition, native speakers of Spanish, Korean, Vietnamese, and Thai did not participate in the survey, although the city census indicates that the users of these languages live in the region. The participants were instructed to indicate the primary or first and second languages in which they read and write and their reading skills in Japanese, English, and other languages. Group A was divided into three groups according to the first and the second language in which the participants read and wrote, their language competence

and their familiarity with other languages. Consequently, all participants in Groups A and B were divided into four groups: Japanese, English, international, and overseas (see Table 5.1 and Table 5.2). The total numbers of participants in each group were 201 in Japanese Group, 24 in English Group, 18 in international Group, and 101 in overseas Group. The responses of these four groups were examined separately because language competence, exposure to the Japanese LL, and familiarity with other languages and cultures could affect preferences for texts and opinions about Japanese commercial signs.

Table 5. 2 Participants reading skills

Language	Level	Japanese	English	International	Overseas	Total
Japanese skills	Native	196	4	2	0	202
	Advanced	1	2	3	8	14
	Intermediate	2	12	2	23	39
	Elementary	2	4	10	56	72
	Can't read	0	2	1	14	17
English skills	Native	27	22	3	87	139
	Advanced	25	1	9	11	46
	Intermediate	34	1	2	2	39
	Elementary	99	0	4	1	104
	Can't read	16	0	0	0	16
Other language	Native	8	2	8	28	46
	Advanced	3	2	4	16	25
	Intermediate	8	4	0	14	26
	Elementary	64	13	1	34	112
	Can't read	118	3	5	9	135

All Japanese Group participants (i.e., Japanese readers) were Japanese nationals whose primary language was Japanese. Although four participants indicated

that their Japanese reading skills were elementary or intermediate, they were placed in this group because they indicated that Japanese was their first language and that they did not use other languages. Among the 201 participants in Japanese Group, 141 (70.1%) participants indicated that their second language is English, and 52 (25.9%) stated that they did not use a second language. The other participants indicated Portuguese, Chinese (simplified characters), French, Thai, and Japanese sign language. English proficiency among Japanese Group participants varied, although Japanese nationals should have studied EFL as a compulsory subject for three years at junior high school, except those who spent the time during World War II (see Section 2.4), and many people continue to study it for another three years at high school (see Section 2.6). As the educational backgrounds of the participants were not queried for this study, it is unclear that how long the participants had studied English or how familiar they were with the language. Yet, the participants were asked to rate their English reading proficiency according to major English exams conducted in Japan and self-assess their level. Therefore, these self-assessed proficiency levels should be close to their actual language competence. Although it is widely believed that Japanese people have low English proficiency, 52 (25.9%) of the participants in Japanese Group had above-advanced-level competence, as the questions asked participants about their reading skills rather than speaking and listening skills. While the majority of participants in

Japanese Group had basic English reading competence, 16 (8.0%) stated that they could not read English at all.

English Group participants (i.e., English readers in Japan) had above-intermediate English competence, and their primary language was English. The majority of participants 22 (91.7%) claimed that they had native or near-native English competence. One Japanese national who had lived overseas, had formal education in an English-speaking country, had native or near-native English competence and read and write in English as his primary language was also categorised in this group. Among the 24 participants in English Group, 11 (45.8%) indicated that their second language was Japanese, and for 4 (16.7%), it was Tagalog. Regarding Japanese reading competence, 4 participants (16.7%) had native or near-native Japanese competence. As the primary language of English Group participants was English, these participants may be aware of and have opinions about the English usage in the LL. In addition, 21 (87.5%) had at least some reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English. These participants may also have positive attitudes towards other foreign languages in the LL.

The participants in international Group (i.e., readers of other languages in Japan) had backgrounds in languages other than Japanese and English. Although some

participants in international Group had native or near-native Japanese or English competence, they were categorised into this group according to their first language background and competence. This group included users of Portuguese, which is one of the languages the city promoted as a part of its multicultural plan. The participants had diverse language backgrounds and indicated Portuguese, Filipino (Tagalog), Arabic, Hungarian, Mongolian, Romanian, French, Malagasy, German, or Japanese as their first language. The participants in this group were multilingual and had various second and third languages (e.g., Portuguese, Spanish, German, French, Chinese, Japanese, and English). Of the 18 participants in international Group, 3 (16.7%) stated that their second language was Japanese, as they had lived in Japan and the main language they were exposed to in daily life was Japanese. Regarding Japanese skills, 5 (27.8%) of the participants in international Group had above advanced Japanese reading competence. Although some participants rated their Japanese skills as elementary, there is a possibility that their actual levels may be higher than their self-report, as they responded to the survey in Japanese. They may have received assistance from a person who could read and write Japanese, but it could be also assumed that these participants might not have the confidence to read *kanji* or difficult phrases in Japanese and rated their language skills lower than their actual proficiency, as the questions asked about participants' reading skills. The English competence of international Group participants

also varied. However, 12 (66.7%) of the participants had above advanced levels of English reading skills. Moreover, 8 (44.4%) of them had native or near-native competence in language(s) other than Japanese and English. As the participants had used various languages, they might be more aware of languages which were not observed widely in the city. Furthermore, they may have opinions on the usage of not only Japanese and English, but also other languages which may or may not appear in the LL.

All Group B participants were categorised under overseas Group (i.e., overseas residents) regardless of their primary language. The participants in overseas Group had various language backgrounds and above-elementary reading competence in English or Japanese. Of the 101 participants, 69 (68.3%) indicated English as their primary language. The other languages indicated were Spanish, Chinese (both simplified and traditional characters), French, German, Portuguese, Greek, Filipino/Tagalog, Hebrew, Mongolian, Lithuanian, Turkish, Czech, Arabic, Hungarian, and Italian. Participants also mentioned a variety of second languages. Among them, 27 (26.7%) participants claimed Japanese as their second language. The other second languages the participants indicated were English, Portuguese, French, German, Chinese (simplified characters), Italian, Malay, Spanish, Korean, Polish, Catalan, Russian, Tamil, Urdu, and Greek. The reason the percentage of Japanese as a second language users was higher than the other languages was that the survey questionnaires for overseas residents were distributed to

those interested in visiting Japan. As a result, many participants in overseas Group had studied Japanese as a second or foreign language at the time the survey was conducted. Although one-fourth of the participants had studied Japanese, only 8 (7.9%) of the participants had advanced Japanese reading skills. On the other hand, 98 (97.0%) of the participants had above advanced level of English reading skills. Moreover, 28 (27.7%) had native or near-native competence in language(s) other than Japanese and English. For overseas Group participants, an extra two questions about whether they had visited Japan before and whether they wished to visit Japan in the future were asked to assess their familiarity with the Japanese LL and interest in Japan. Among 101 participants, 65.3% had visited Japan before, and 90.1% stated that they definitely wanted to visit Japan in the future (see Table 5.3). Therefore, the participants in this group had seen the Japanese LL before or were likely to see it in the future. Since most of them had ideas about the Japanese LL and possessed some English reading competence, comparing their attitudes towards English usage in the LL to those of participants who were living in the region would provide insights into the non-Japanese individuals' perceptions of the use of English for commercial purposes in Japan.

Table 5. 3 Participants' travel experiences

Overseas Group participants' experience visiting Japan					
Four times or more	Three times	Twice	Once	Never	Total
23	8	14	21	35	101
Overseas Group participants' wish to visit Japan in the future					
Definitely	Very much	Not sure	Not very	Not at all	Total
91	7	3	0	0	101

5.5 Summary of Chapter 5

This chapter first explained issues concerning the analysis of written English for commercial purposes in Japan, such as selecting the research areas, distinguishing official and non-official signs, determining research items, categorising collected data, and surveying participants. It then provided background information on research sites, research items, survey method, and survey participants. Six sites in Nagoya were chosen for the research, and data collected was classified according to the area, business type, translation, content of the text, and visual aids. The majority of the research participants have reading competence in either Japanese or English. English is the most widely used second language among the survey participants in the central Japan. On the other hand, Japanese was the most widely used second language among the overseas participants, with English ranking second. These participants would provide insights into the written English in Japanese context. Chapter 6 describes the LL data and their evaluation, and Chapter 7 explains the survey results and their analysis.

Chapter 6: Scale of English in the Japanese linguistic landscape

This chapter illustrates the LL research results and findings. It presents the scale of English among other languages and forms of English in the LL with tables and analysed according to survey sites, business types, availability of translation, text content, and use of visual aids. To determine whether a relationship exists between the variables and to probe any statistically significant differences between them, chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was conducted. SPSS ver. 25.0 was used for the analysis.

6.1 Use of languages in the linguistic landscape

This section presents research results and findings and examines language use, particularly English, in Nagoya's LL. While the purpose of this research is to investigate the spread of English and its role in Japanese public space, the number of items containing other languages are also counted to compare the presence with English in the LL. The items collected during the fieldwork are examined according to 1) research sites, 2) business type, 3) type of translation, 4) text content, and 5) visual aids. By analysing the data, this chapter aims to determine whether the use of English has spread equally, in the city of Nagoya; among various businesses; to the community members (i.e., of diverse ages and groups); and for various functions (i.e., in addition

to shop and product names). It also assesses the use of other visual components on signs to identify whether English functions as ornamentation.

6.2 Research sites

The items collected were first categorised according to the language(s) and scripts they contained. They were distinguished as monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual and further classified according to their combinations of languages or scripts. In this research, words or phrases written in the Roman alphabet were initially counted as English or another foreign language, depending on the origin, for the purpose of convenience, and Section 6.5 examines each usage and function. This included spelling errors, grammatical mistakes, and Japanese proper nouns (e.g., store names) transcribed into the Roman alphabet. For example, if the hours of operation are written ‘Open: 10am–7pm’, it is categorised as monolingual English. If the sentence is ‘営業時間: 10 時～7 時’ (Opening hours: 10 to 7), it is labelled as monolingual Japanese without *gairaigo*. On the other hand, foreign languages spelled in *katakana* were treated as loanwords and categorised under the classification of Japanese with *gairaigo*. For example, if a sentence is written ‘オープン: 10 時～7 時’ (Opening hours: 10 to 7), it is categorised as monolingual Japanese with *gairairo*. The word ‘オープン’ (pronounced *opun*) is the *katakana* transcription of the English word ‘open’. The

texts with and without *gairaigo* were distinguished and assessed separately to investigate the types of words and phrases spelled in the Roman alphabet. On the other hand, web and email addresses were considered Japanese because they are conventionally written with the Roman alphabet.

A total of 3,680 commercial signs were counted at the six research sites (see Table 6.1). More signs were displayed in city centres (Sites 1 and 2) and newly developed areas close to universities (Site 3) than in an area connected to nearby cities (Site 4) or traditional areas where many businesses were small and family-owned (Sites 5 and 6). The majority of the signs were either monolingual or bilingual. Among all signs, 1,993 signs (54.2%) were monolingual, 1,635 (44.4%) were bilingual, and 52 (1.4%) were multilingual.

Table 6. 1 Number of signs by use of languages and scripts at each research site

Language	Site	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3	Site 4	Site 5	Site 6	Total
MJJ	Count	103	85	174	135	133	146	776
	Adjusted Residual	-6.8	-5.5	-0.3	1.5	4.9	10.0	
MJG	Count	115	82	166	120	86	59	628
	Adjusted Residual	-2.6	-3.3	2.3	2.6	1.4	-0.1	
MEE	Count	104	179	87	67	32	36	505
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	11.3	-3.3	-1.6	-4.3	-1.9	
MSC	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	2.2	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3	
MPP	Count	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	3.7	-0.9	-0.7	-0.6	-0.6	
MOO	Count	23	35	5	8	5	4	80
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	6.2	-3.6	-1.4	-1.6	-1.4	
BJE	Count	161	61	139	71	75	54	561
	Adjusted Residual	4.0	-4.6	1.2	-2.2	1.0	0.1	
BGE	Count	265	157	258	167	106	46	999
	Adjusted Residual	3.8	-1.9	2.6	1.0	-1.7	-6.1	
BJS	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	1.2	-0.8	-0.6	-0.5	-0.5	
BJO	Count	21	6	4	0	1	1	33
	Adjusted Residual	5.7	0.1	-1.5	-2.5	-1.6	-1.3	
BEO	Count	9	23	3	2	1	0	38
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	7.0	-2.2	-1.8	-1.8	-2.0	
BOO	Count	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	-0.7	-0.8	1.3	1.6	-0.5	
MJEP	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	2.2	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3	
MJEO	Count	12	11	4	3	2	2	34
	Adjusted Residual	1.8	2.3	-1.6	-1.1	-1.1	-0.7	
MEOO	Count	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
	Adjusted Residual	3.1	0.1	-1.2	-1.0	-0.8	-0.7	
MMMM	Count	1	3	2	4	2	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	0.7	-0.5	1.7	0.5	-1.1	
Total	Count	819	649	842	578	444	348	3680

Notes: MJJ = Monolingual Japanese without *gairaigo*, MJG = Monolingual Japanese with *gairaigo*, MEE = Monolingual English, MSC = Monolingual Simplified Chinese, MPP = Monolingual Portuguese, MOO = Monolingual other language, BJE = Bilingual Japanese without *gairaigo* & English, BGE = Bilingual Japanese with *gairaigo* & English, BJS = Bilingual Japanese & Simplified Chinese, BJO = Bilingual Japanese & other language, BEO = Bilingual English & other language, BOO = Bilingual two other languages, MJEP = Multilingual Japanese, English & Portuguese, MJEO = Multilingual Japanese, English & other language,

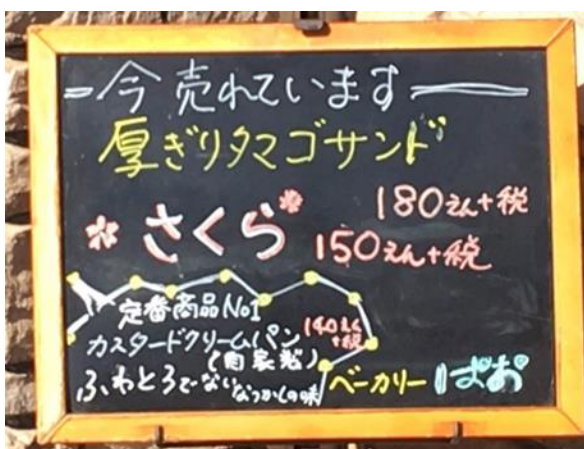
MEOO = Multilingual English & two other languages, MMMM = Multilingual any four or more languages

Most monolingual signs were either Japanese or English. Of the 1,993 monolingual signs, 1,404 (70.4%) were Japanese (see Item 1), 505 (25.3%) were English (see Item 2), three (0.15%) were Portuguese, 80 (4.0%) were other European languages, and one sign (0.05%) was Chinese (Simplified Chinese). The majority of bilingual signs contained Japanese and English; of the 1,635 bilingual signs, 1,560 (95.4%) were Japanese and English (see Item 3). Moreover, most multilingual signs contained three languages. Among the 52 multilingual signs, 34 (65.4%) contained a combination of Japanese, English, and another language (see Item 4), and five signs (9.6%) were English and two other foreign languages (see Item 5). In addition, 12 multilingual signs (23.1%) were written in four or more languages (see Item 6). The majority of signs at the research sites were bilingual Japanese and English, monolingual Japanese, or monolingual English. The number of signs containing both Japanese and English (43.7%) was higher than monolingual Japanese signs (38.2%), and a notable number of monolingual English signs (13.7%) were found. At the research sites, Japanese and English were the dominant languages people were exposed to in the LL.

A small number of signs containing Chinese, Korean, or Portuguese were observed at all research sites. The multilingual promotion plan has promoted these

languages in the city; however, the policy has no binding force with regard to commercial signs. Although a small number of signs in simplified Chinese were observed, signs containing traditional Chinese were not found in the research. The other languages found were European languages (e.g., Italian and French). Languages used by new migrants (e.g., Tagalog and Vietnamese) were not found at the sites.

Item 1: Japanese (at a bakery)



Item 2: English (at a supermarket)



Item 3: Japanese and English (at a hotel)



Item 4: Japanese, English and Portuguese (at a coffee shop)



Item 5: English, Chinese and Korean
(at a pharmacy)



Item 6: Japanese, English, Chinese and Korean (at a department store)



With regard to the script usage on monolingual Japanese signs, 776 (55.3%) signs were written without *gairaigo*, while 628 (44.7%) had *gairaigo*. Among bilingual Japanese and English signs, 561 (36.0%) did not contain *gairaigo*, while 999 (64.0%) did. English was used in Japanese texts even though the texts contained *gairaigo*. These *gairaigo* were English-based loanwords conventionally transcribed into *katakana*. The English words in the bilingual texts could be translated into Japanese or written in *katakana* in the same spelling as *gairaigo*. Thus, English was purposefully written in the Roman alphabet, rather than in the Japanese scripts as *gairaigo*.

The chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine if there was a significant association between research sites and the use of languages and scripts. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test showed a statistically significant association between site and language and script type ($p <$

0.001). As Table 6.1 shows, the proportion of bilingual and multilingual signs (bilingual Japanese without *gairaigo* and English, bilingual Japanese with *gairaigo* and English, bilingual Japanese and other language, and multilingual English and two other languages) at Site 1 was significantly higher than that of monolingual Japanese signs (monolingual Japanese without *gairaigo* and monolingual Japanese with *gairaigo*). Site 2 had a significantly higher proportion of signs that contained English or other foreign languages (monolingual English, monolingual Simplified Chinese, monolingual Portuguese, monolingual other language, bilingual English and other language, multilingual Japanese, English and Portuguese, and multilingual Japanese, English and another language), compared to monolingual Japanese and bilingual Japanese with English (monolingual Japanese without *gairaigo*, monolingual Japanese with *gairaigo*, and bilingual Japanese without *gairaigo* and English). The proportion of signs with *gairaigo* (monolingual Japanese with *gairaigo* and bilingual Japanese with *gairaigo* and English) at Site 3 was significantly higher than that of signs in foreign languages (monolingual English, monolingual other language, and bilingual English and another language). The other sites had significantly higher proportions of monolingual Japanese signs than of signs that contain English and other foreign languages.

Although previous studies on the Japanese LL have argued that English has spread widely in Tokyo (see Section 3.3), this study found that the extent to which

English appeared on signs varied according with the characteristics of areas in the case of Nagoya. Japanese and English were the dominant languages at all sites, yet the city centre had more signs containing English than sites in residential areas with more traditional buildings and smaller businesses, and languages other than Japanese and English were rarely found outside the city centres. At Sites 1 and 3 (i.e., one of the city centres and the area near universities), bilingual Japanese and English signs were the most common type (52.0% and 47.1%, respectively), followed by monolingual Japanese (26.6% and 40.4%, respectively) and monolingual English (12.7% and 10.3%, respectively). Bilingual Japanese and English signs were also most common at Site 2 (33.6%). However, the number of monolingual English signs (27.6%) was slightly higher than monolingual Japanese (25.7%) at Site 2. In contrast, at Sites 4, 5, and 6, where smaller shops were located, the most common type was monolingual Japanese (44.1%, 49.3%, and 58.9%, respectively), followed by bilingual Japanese and English (41.2%, 40.8%, and 28.7%, respectively). Monolingual English signs were also observed at these sites (11.6%, 7.2%, and 10.3%, respectively).

6.3 Business types

Before analysing the relationship between businesses and their language choices, it is important to consider business types and the number of items at each

research site because some businesses operate mainly in city centres (see Table 6.2). Honma (2010) selected 10 business types from the 20 categories in the Japan Standard Industrial Classification published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2013) to classify business types. Referring to Honma's classification but categorised certain areas in more detail, which resulted in 26 business types. These 26 types were selected because they were likely to be found at the research sites and were expected to have differences in their use of languages or scripts due to the nature of the businesses.

The largest number of signs were displayed at Japanese restaurants, which accounted for 14.1% of all signs found at research sites. Restaurants had more signs than other businesses, as they displayed various types of contents (e.g., shop names and menus; see also Section 6.5). Other types of businesses found at the research sites with more signs than the others were fashion-related shops (8.2%), followed by coffee shops/bars (7.6%), and medical/health related shops (7.6%).

As Table 6.2 show, the types of business differed by area. A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between research sites and business types. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between sites and business types ($p < 0.001$). Table 6.2 indicates that Site 1 and Site 2

had a significantly higher rate of department stores and electrical appliance stores compared to the rate of other businesses, such as grocery stores. Site 1 also had a significantly higher rate of restaurants and entertainment venues. Site 2 had a significantly higher rate of fashion retailers, aesthetic or beauty businesses, and galleries and museums. Site 3 and Site 4 had significantly higher rates of education establishments, accommodation and general services than of department stores and fashion retailers. Site 5 and Site 6 had significantly higher rates of grocery stores, retailers and other types of businesses that are not specifically categorised, relative to the rates of department stores, education establishments, accommodation and financial institutions. Therefore, fashion-related businesses (i.e., department stores, fashion retailers and aesthetic or beauty businesses) were mainly located in city centres, while shops that sell the necessities of daily life (i.e., convenience stores and grocery stores) were found more frequently in residential or traditional areas. Therefore, city centres had more fashion-related businesses, while the other areas had shops that were related to more quotidian activities.

Table 6. 2 Number of signs by business type at each research site

Business	Site	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3	Site 4	Site 5	Site 6	Total
Department store	Count	57	52	2	0	0	0	111
	Adjusted Residual	7.5	8.2	-5.4	-4.6	-4.0	-3.5	
Fashion	Count	45	184	22	5	15	31	302
	Adjusted Residual	-3.2	20.6	-6.7	-7.0	-4.0	0.5	
Electrical	Count	29	26	12	0	6	5	78
	Adjusted Residual	3.2	3.7	-1.6	-3.9	-1.2	-0.9	
Convenience	Count	25	0	9	43	20	0	97
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	-4.6	-3.2	7.9	2.6	-3.2	
Grocery	Count	6	11	30	8	50	30	135
	Adjusted Residual	-5.1	-2.9	-0.2	-3.2	9.1	5.2	
Retailer other	Count	37	17	24	22	31	28	159
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-2.3	-2.4	-0.7	2.9	3.6	
Restaurant (Japanese)	Count	152	37	110	70	94	56	519
	Adjusted Residual	4.2	-6.8	-1.0	-1.5	4.6	1.1	
Restaurant (other Asian)	Count	10	0	16	3	14	9	52
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	-3.4	1.4	-2.0	3.3	1.9	
Restaurant (Western)	Count	81	30	15	20	1	21	168
	Adjusted Residual	8.3	0.1	-4.4	-1.4	-4.7	1.4	
Restaurant (other)	Count	7	3	0	1	0	0	11
	Adjusted Residual	3.3	0.8	-1.8	-0.6	-1.2	-1.1	
Coffee shop/bar	Count	52	22	52	79	37	39	281
	Adjusted Residual	-1.6	-4.5	-1.8	5.9	0.6	2.6	
Vending machine	Count	6	3	9	6	1	1	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.1	-0.8	1.4	1.0	-1.3	-1.0	
Medical/health	Count	50	40	37	64	60	29	280
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	-1.5	-4.0	3.4	5.0	0.5	
Aesthetic/beauty	Count	6	56	57	30	34	27	210
	Adjusted Residual	-7.0	3.5	1.5	-0.6	1.9	1.7	
Services (foreign countries)	Count	11	10	13	0	0	0	34
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	1.8	2.1	-2.5	-2.2	-1.9	
Services (general)	Count	8	32	45	35	4	17	141
	Adjusted Residual	-4.8	1.6	2.6	3.0	-3.4	1.1	
Services (other)	Count	0	0	4	0	7	0	11
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	-1.5	1.1	-1.4	5.3	-1.1	
Education	Count	37	16	88	47	4	10	202
	Adjusted Residual	-1.4	-3.7	7.2	3.0	-4.5	-2.3	
Gallery/museum	Count	0	7	0	0	2	0	9
	Adjusted Residual	-1.6	4.7	-1.6	-1.3	0.9	-1.0	
Entertainment	Count	37	10	35	0	7	1	90
	Adjusted Residual	4.4	-1.6	3.7	-4.1	-1.3	-2.7	
Gambling	Count	7	0	6	8	5	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	-2.4	0.0	2.1	1.1	-1.7	
Accommodation	Count	73	14	111	55	8	9	270
	Adjusted Residual	2.0	-5.6	7.4	2.2	-4.8	-3.6	
Office	Count	31	37	23	45	15	16	167
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	1.6	-2.9	4.1	-1.3	0.1	
Finance	Count	38	38	95	32	2	4	209
	Adjusted Residual	-1.5	0.2	8.0	-0.2	-5.1	-3.8	
Charity	Count	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	-0.7	0.9	-0.6	-0.5	-0.5	
Other	Count	13	4	26	5	27	15	90
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	-3.3	1.4	-2.7	5.3	2.4	
Total	Count	819	649	842	578	444	348	3680

The items were further categorised according to business type and language use to determine the business in which English and other foreign languages were likely to be used. Table 6.3 indicates the numbers of signs in Japanese, English, bilingual Japanese and English, and bilingual English and other language, as well as the other bilingual and multilingual signs containing Japanese or English. Because languages other than Japanese and English were seldom observed in this research (see also Table 6.1), they were integrated into the 'other combinations' (OTH) category.

Previous studies on the LL and language use in the Japanese context have not investigated the manner in which the choice of language depends on business type. Although only a small number of signs were found at some of the businesses that were examined in this research, the statistical analysis detected a correlation between the type of business and the choice of language. A Chi-squared test or Fisher's exact tests was run to determine whether there is a significant association between business type and the use of particular languages. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test show a statistically significant association between business type and language ($p < 0.001$). As Table 6.3 indicates, English was used at significantly higher rates at businesses such as department stores, fashion outlets, Western restaurants, coffee shop and bars, and aesthetic or beauty businesses than at

grocery stores, at Japanese restaurants, on vending machines, at medical or health establishments, at education establishments, in accommodation and at financial institutions. Conversely, Japanese was used at significantly higher rates at grocery stores, Japanese restaurants, medical and health establishments, education establishments, in accommodation, at offices and at financial institutions. Languages other than Japanese and English were also used at significantly higher rates at fashion-related businesses, restaurants, coffee shops and bars. Thus, the results indicate that the choice of language depends on business type as well as on the characteristics of areas.

Table 6. 3 Number of signs by business type and language

Business	Language	JAP	ENG	JAE	EAO	OTH	Total
Department store	Count	16	34	56	3	2	111
	Adjusted Residual	-5.2	5.3	1.7	1.8	-1.5	
Fashion	Count	44	113	70	14	61	302
	Adjusted Residual	-8.8	12.5	-7.1	6.5	13.3	
Electrical	Count	28	8	36	2	4	78
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	-0.9	0.7	1.4	0.2	
Convenience	Count	33	19	42	3	0	97
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	1.7	0.2	2.0	-2.2	
Grocery	Count	78	7	42	0	8	135
	Adjusted Residual	4.8	-2.9	-2.7	-1.2	0.7	
Retailer other	Count	60	24	66	3	6	159
	Adjusted Residual	-0.1	0.5	-0.2	1.1	-0.6	
Restaurant (Japanese)	Count	289	10	215	0	5	519
	Adjusted Residual	8.9	-8.4	-0.5	-2.5	-4.3	
Restaurant (other Asian)	Count	23	5	23	0	1	52
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	-0.9	0.3	-0.7	-1.0	
Restaurant (Western)	Count	18	38	72	1	39	168
	Adjusted Residual	-7.5	3.4	0.1	-0.6	11.6	
Restaurant (other)	Count	0	3	6	0	2	11
	Adjusted Residual	-2.6	1.3	0.8	-0.3	2.1	
Coffee shop/bar	Count	55	69	133	2	22	281
	Adjusted Residual	-6.7	5.5	1.7	-0.6	2.6	
Vending machine	Count	0	0	26	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	-4.0	-2.0	6.0	-0.5	-1.1	
Medical/health	Count	140	12	127	0	1	280
	Adjusted Residual	4.2	-4.8	1.0	-1.8	-3.6	
Aesthetic/beauty	Count	46	58	86	8	12	210
	Adjusted Residual	-5.0	6.0	-0.4	4.1	0.7	
Services (foreign countries)	Count	10	4	19	0	1	34
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-0.3	1.6	-0.6	-0.5	
Services (general)	Count	58	17	62	2	2	141
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-0.6	0.4	0.5	-1.9	
Services (other)	Count	1	0	10	0	0	11
	Adjusted Residual	-2.0	-1.3	3.3	-0.3	-0.7	
Education	Count	112	9	80	0	1	202
	Adjusted Residual	5.2	-3.9	-0.8	-1.5	-2.9	
Gallery/museum	Count	1	3	5	0	0	9
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	1.7	0.8	-0.3	-0.7	
Entertainment	Count	26	17	46	0	1	90
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	1.4	1.7	-1.0	-1.6	
Gambling	Count	7	4	15	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	0.2	1.6	-0.5	-1.1	
Accommodation	Count	141	13	115	0	1	270
	Adjusted Residual	4.9	-4.4	0.1	-1.7	-3.5	
Office	Count	95	16	56	0	0	167
	Adjusted Residual	5.1	-1.6	-2.4	-1.4	-2.9	
Finance	Count	94	10	102	0	3	209
	Adjusted Residual	2.1	-3.9	1.9	-1.5	-2.3	
Charity	Count	0	0	2	0	0	2
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-0.6	1.6	-0.1	-0.3	
Other	Count	29	12	48	0	1	90
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	-0.1	2.1	-1.0	-1.6	
Total	Count	1404	505	1560	38	173	3680

Notes: JAP = Monolingual Japanese, ENG = Monolingual English, JAE = Japanese and English, EAO = English and other language, OTH = other combinations

Signs which contained English words and phrases were used by all 26 business types. Approximately 83.8% of department store signs contained English. Among all department store signs, 34 (30.6%) were monolingual English, and 56 (50.5%) were bilingual Japanese and English. English was also used with the other languages and scripts (e.g., German, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*). The department stores at Site 1 were located around hotels and the J.R. Nagoya station (i.e., the station for Shinkansen), where residents and tourists visit. Site 1 is the most international area of the survey sites for this research. The signs there in English and the other foreign languages may be of benefit for international tourists.

Although the majority of tenants in the department stores were fashion retailers, the fashion business needed its own categorisation due to its specific characteristics in terms of language choice. In total, 65.3% of signs for fashion businesses contained English. Fashion-related businesses also displayed a large number of monolingual English signs; 113 (37.4%) of signs used at fashion businesses were written in English, whereas 70 (23.2%) were bilingual Japanese and English. Similar to the department stores, the fashion business also used English with other languages and

scripts but with more varieties. The languages and scripts which accompanied English were Italian, French, Spanish, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*. The use of European languages, however, was the most significant characteristic of fashion-retailer signs; 50 (16.6%) were monolingual European languages, of which 23 were in Italian, 20 in French, 4 in Spanish, and 3 in German. However, these were all names of international fashion brands (i.e., proper nouns).

Another type of business for which the use of English on signs exceeded that of Japanese was the aesthetic/beauty business. Among their signs, 72.4% contained English. Although the percentage was lower than that of department stores, 58 signs (27.6%) were monolingual English, and 86 (41.0%) were bilingual Japanese and English. Carefully observing the text and visuals on signs for the businesses gave us the impression that the beauty standard in Japan has been influenced by Western culture, particularly by English-speaking countries. Beauty industries endorse Western styles (e.g., brown or blond hair, coloured contact lenses, long eyelashes, and pale skin tones). As a result, hairdressers and aesthetic salons used English for their signs to represent the images of Western cultures. While hair salons for female customers used English on their signs, barber shops for men used Japanese. Likewise, on the department-store and fashion-related-business signs, English was the dominant foreign

language for beauty-related industries. Yet, the usage varied depending on the shop location and the gender of their customers.

The other types of business in which many English words were found were coffee shops and bars. These two business types were consolidated into one category since some cafés operated as bars and offered alcohol after 5 p.m. The bars classified in this category exclude the traditional Japanese-style bars or pubs called *izakaya*, as the menus and service they provide differ significantly from Western-style bars. Generally, chain coffee shops and bars have more young customers than do family-owned coffee shops and *izakaya*. Among the coffee shops and bars signs, 72.6% contained English. In addition, 69 signs (24.6%) were monolingual English, whereas 133 (47.3%) were bilingual Japanese and English. The languages and scripts used for the business type depended on the venue's style and menu. Global coffee chains (e.g., Starbucks) tended to use more English words and phrases, while long-established small coffee shops used *katakana*. Moreover, the coffee shops which served Western food (e.g., sandwiches and cakes) were likely to use English, while shops which offered *yoshoku* (i.e., Japanese-style Western food) and Japanese sweets used *katakana* and *kanji*. Although coffee was originally imported from Western countries and coffee shops were once a symbol of modernity, the high number of coffee shops found in the research sites indicated that coffee had become a part of Japanese culture and that

Japanese scripts were used at long-established shops with the conventional spelling of the word 'coffee' (see Section 2.5).

Services related to foreign countries also used signs with English, although not as many as the aforementioned businesses. These businesses (e.g., travel agencies) display images of foreign countries because package tours to popular holiday destinations are their main product. Consequently, 67.6% of signs for this business type used English. Among them, four (11.8%) were monolingual English, and the other 19 signs (55.9%) were bilingual Japanese and English. The lower number of monolingual English signs may be attributable to the following three reasons. Firstly, the script choice for foreign names (e.g., cities and countries) was *katakana* in the Japanese writing system (except for the names of East Asian countries and regions, such as China and Korea). Secondly, customers who purchase package tours may not be proficient in foreign languages. Thirdly, the texts referring to Japanese cities and towns were written in Japanese using *kanji*. Consequently, Japanese may be chosen for the texts. Travel agencies also sell domestic tours.

Another type of business related to foreign countries which uses English on signs are restaurants serving Western cuisine. Although 'Western' is a broad term, there are two main types of 'Western restaurants' in Japan: those serving authentic European or Western food, and those serving Western-style Japanese food (i.e., *yoshoku*). Both

were categorised as ‘Western restaurants’, as Western food is nativized in Japan, and it is difficult to distinguish between authentic Western food and *yoshoku*. However, only American, Italian, French, Spanish, and *yoshoku* restaurants were found in the research. Although languages from these countries were expected to be used on signs, more English words than European-language words were observed. Among the Western restaurant signs, 66.1% contained English. Only 24 signs (14.3%) were bilingual Japanese and another language. Japanese and Spanish bilingual signs were found at two Spanish restaurants; one restaurant displayed nine signs, and the other had one bilingual sign. The other European restaurants had nine signs in Japanese and Italian and five in Japanese and French. The other 15 signs (8.9%) were monolingual French or Italian. However, these monolingual European signs indicated the names of restaurants, so they could be considered proper nouns rather than instances of standard language usage. At *yoshoku* restaurants, more *katakana* was used than the Roman alphabet. The reason other European languages were not found as frequently as English could be related to Japanese people’s foreign language skills. Because English is almost exclusively studied as a second or foreign language in Japan, many people do not have reading competence in other foreign languages (see Section 2.6). Nevertheless, since these European languages were written in the Roman alphabet, people with basic English reading skills may be able to read and pronounce the text on signs.

English was also used for authentic Japanese businesses, such as Japanese restaurants serving traditional Japanese food (e.g., sushi and tempura). In the Japanese restaurants, 10 signs (1.9%) were monolingual English, and 215 signs (41.4%) were bilingual Japanese English. When one considers other combinations of languages, 44.4% of the signs at the Japanese restaurants contained English or other foreign language(s). The signs with English were mainly observed at Sites 1 and 2, where not only locals but also international tourists visit. Although the signs appeared to be read by people with Japanese reading skills, as they contained both Japanese and English, strong Japanese competence was not required to understand the menu due to the photographs and plastic food samples displayed at restaurants in Japan. The relationships between the signs and the visual information are examined in Section 6.6.

Vending machines, charities, galleries or museums, services not categorised in relation to foreign countries, general services, and non-Japanese and non-Western restaurants also had English on their signs. Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue its scale, as there was an insufficient number of signs to compare with other types of businesses.

In addition, English was used with Japanese at places of accommodation (e.g., businesses such as hotels near Nagoya station and real estate agencies in residential area). There was no difference between the language and script choices in hotels and real estate agencies; Japanese signs were the largest group, and bilingual Japanese and

English signs were the second largest. Furthermore, the number of signs containing English surpassed monolingual Japanese signs at electrical appliance stores, most likely because the stores displayed advertising texts of electrical appliances, whose names were English proper nouns.

In contrast, businesses such as grocery stores used more Japanese words than English words and phrases. Only 36.3% of the signs at grocery stores contained English. Among these businesses, 78 signs (57.8%) were monolingual Japanese. Many grocery stores were located near residential areas, and their customers' age groups ranged widely. As a result, Japanese scripts were used to address their diverse target audience.

Another sector which preferred Japanese scripts was education. Even though this category includes English conversation schools known as *eikaiwa* schools, the use of Japanese exceeded that of English. Among all schools' signs, 44.1% used English. Most schools which used monolingual Japanese signs were *gakushujuku* (i.e., cram schools) for elementary to high school students (see Section 2.6). Japanese was used for potential students who would enrol in the *gakushujuku* and may not know enough English (or other foreign language) vocabulary. Consequently, the main language was Japanese, and languages other than Japanese and English were not found, except for

one nursery school for infants from one to three years old which used French in their school name.

Offices also had a higher ratio of Japanese usage; 43.1% of signs contained English. Languages other than Japanese and English were not found, and 95 signs (56.9%) were monolingual Japanese. The offices of global companies or fashion brands included in the category transcribed their company names in *katakana* for office signs, while their shops used English signs. Because offices do not sell products or services directly to their customers, comprehensibility is more important than fashionable images on office signs. In addition, writing office names in Japanese may be for delivery purposes. English names written in the Roman alphabet might cause unnecessary confusion in regard to delivering documents and goods.

The languages used at convenience stores were Japanese, English, and bilingual Japanese and English, except for three signs which contained simplified Chinese. Compared to signs used for other business types, convenience store signs used Japanese scripts and the Roman alphabet more equally; some *gairaigo* were spelled in *katakana* and others in the Roman alphabet. Their language and script choices might be related to their customers' background, as the businesses offer a variety of products and services to all age groups and genders, including both locals and visitors. Fewer monolingual English signs were found at chemists and health-related businesses, which

seemed to be visited more by members of older generations than younger people who lived in the area.

The use of one or more other languages with Japanese or English was rare (see Table 6.3). The other combinations of languages and scripts not mentioned above included three signs at three café operated by Japanese coffee chain in monolingual Portuguese; two signs at fashion retailers in English, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*; one sign at a karaoke shop in monolingual simplified Chinese; one sign at fashion retailer in French and Italian; one sign at fashion retailer in Italian and Spanish; one sign at a drug store in Japanese and simplified Chinese; one sign at a real estate agency in Japanese and simplified Chinese; one sign at a café in Japanese, English, and Portuguese; and one sign at a karaoke shop in English, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*.

6.4 Types of translation

The bilingual and multilingual signs collected include those accompanied by Japanese translations, as well as others code-mixed into sentences based on Japanese syntax. Translation types and their availability were examined in order to investigate how English appeared and how it was used on the signs. Backhaus (2006) used four taxonomies to describe the types of writing with regard to translation: homophonic, mixed, polyphonic, and monophonic. The terms applied in the current research differ

from his version, as the purpose of current research differs from his analysis and treats ‘translation’ differently.

All of the signs except the monolingual Japanese ones were classified into one of four types on the basis of the availability of Japanese texts: full translation, partial translation, code-mixed, and no direct translation. ‘Full translation’ means that the sign was written in two or more languages and that the text in one or more foreign languages was accompanied by a full Japanese version (see Item 7). ‘Partial translation’ means that the sign was written in one or more foreign languages and contained some Japanese phrases or sentences (see Item 8). ‘Code-mixed’ means that Japanese and one or more foreign languages written in non-Japanese scripts are mixed in a sentence (see Item 9); for example, when a sentence indicating the opening hours of a shop is written ‘営業時間： 10am～7pm’ (Opening hours: 10 to 7), with *kanji* and English or ‘オープン： 10am～7pm (Opening hours: 10 to 7), with *katakana* and English, it is categorised as code-mixing of Japanese and English. Lastly, ‘no direct translation’ indicates that a sign is written entirely in a foreign language or contains two or more foreign languages but does not provide a direct Japanese translation (see Item 10). Translation means that foreign words and phrases are transcribed into Japanese scripts and includes not only the translation of meanings but also *katakana* words and phrases indicating the pronunciation of foreign words (e.g., ‘open’ into ‘オープン’; *opun*). As monolingual

Japanese signs were excluded, 2,276 out of 3,680 signs were categorised into one of the four types: 101 full translation signs; 522 partial translation signs; 269 code-mixed signs; and 1,384 no direct translation signs. The four types were then examined according to business type, as the business type was correlated with the choice of languages.

Item 7: Full translation (at a tailor)



Item 8: Partial translation (at a restaurant)



Item 9: Code-mixing (at a coffee shop)



Item 10: No direct translation (at a boutique)



A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there was a significant association between business type and translation type. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test showed a statistically significant association between business type and translation type ($p < 0.001$). As Table 6.4 shows, full translations were found at significantly higher rates in accommodation and at financial institutions than at fashion-related businesses, Western restaurants and aesthetic or beauty businesses. Signs with no direct translations were found at significantly higher rates at fashion businesses, coffee shops and bars, aesthetic or beauty businesses and gambling venues than at grocery shops, Japanese and other Asian restaurants, businesses that offer services that are related to foreign countries and financial institutions. Although financial institutions had a significantly higher rate of code-mixed signs, this category includes the names of banks that have branches in various parts of the city (see below). Fashion outlets, coffee shops and bars, and aesthetic or beauty businesses had signs that were written in English or other European languages to a larger extent than other business types. Therefore, it can be argued that shops that aim to present a fashionable image (e.g., fashion retailers and beauty salons) tend to use English-only signs, while businesses which need to deliver information about their services, such as accommodation providers and financial institutions, favour Japanese.

Table 6. 4 Number of sings by business type and translation type

Business	Translation	Full translation	Partial translation	Code mixing	No direct translation	Total
Department store	Count	7	20	4	64	95
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	-0.4	-2.3	1.3	
Fashion	Count	3	23	6	226	258
	Adjusted Residual	-2.7	-5.7	-5.0	9.4	
Electrical	Count	4	12	4	30	50
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	0.2	-0.8	-0.1	
Convenience	Count	2	9	11	42	64
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	-1.7	1.3	0.8	
Grocery	Count	2	22	10	23	57
	Adjusted Residual	-0.3	2.8	1.4	-3.2	
Retailer other	Count	1	22	8	68	99
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	-0.2	-1.2	1.6	
Restaurant (Japanese)	Count	8	114	29	79	230
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	10.1	0.4	-8.7	
Restaurant (other Asian)	Count	1	15	1	12	29
	Adjusted Residual	-0.3	3.7	-1.4	-2.2	
Restaurant (Western)	Count	1	46	15	88	150
	Adjusted Residual	-2.3	2.3	-0.7	-0.6	
Restaurant (other)	Count	0	6	1	4	11
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	2.5	-0.3	-1.7	
Coffee shop/bar	Count	7	46	14	159	226
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	-1.0	-2.8	3.1	
Vending machine	Count	0	1	7	18	26
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-2.3	2.4	0.9	
Medical/health	Count	7	30	17	86	140
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-0.4	0.1	0.2	
Aesthetic/beauty	Count	2	29	5	128	164
	Adjusted Residual	-2.1	-1.7	-3.6	4.7	
Services (foreign countries)	Count	2	10	5	7	24
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	2.2	1.4	-3.2	
Services (general)	Count	5	12	19	47	83
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-1.9	3.2	-0.8	
Services (other)	Count	0	3	7	0	10
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	0.5	5.7	-3.9	
Education	Count	1	13	19	57	90
	Adjusted Residual	-1.6	-2.0	2.8	0.5	
Gallery/museum	Count	0	4	0	4	8
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	1.8	-1.0	-0.6	
Entertainment	Count	3	7	14	40	64
	Adjusted Residual	0.1	-2.3	2.5	0.3	
Gambling	Count	0	2	1	16	19
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	-1.3	-0.9	2.1	
Accommodation	Count	11	19	21	78	129
	Adjusted Residual	2.3	-2.3	1.6	-0.1	
Office	Count	2	22	2	46	72
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	1.6	-2.4	0.5	
Finance	Count	28	17	41	29	115
	Adjusted Residual	10.6	-2.1	8.1	-8.0	
Charity	Count	0	2	0	0	2
	Adjusted Residual	-0.3	2.6	-0.5	-1.8	
Other	Count	4	16	8	33	61
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	0.6	0.3	-1.1	
Total	Count	101	522	269	1384	2276

At all business types, the least common signs, in terms of translation availability, were signs with full Japanese translations, and the signs that appeared most frequently had no direct translations (see Table 6.4). Signs with full translations appeared frequently at banks in newly developed areas, close to universities, at hotels around Nagoya station, and at Japanese restaurants in city centres. These signs might supplement English for the benefit of individuals with limited Japanese reading skills. In addition, the majority of the texts contained only two or three English words.

On full-translation signs, Japanese texts that were accompanied with English phrases used *gairaigo* in certain contexts. When *gairaigo* was used in shop or business names, the pronunciation of the English words was indicated (e.g., ‘ジーンズメイト (Jeans Mate, *jinzumeito*; see Item 11)’ and ‘クリスタルパーキング (Crystal Parking, *kurisutaru pakingu*; see Item 12)’ rather than meanings. Although ‘parking’ can be translated as ‘駐車場 (*chushajo*)’ in *kanji*, ‘パーキング (*pakingu*)’ in *katakana* was used as *gaiigo*. The other signs either did not contain any loanwords or had loanwords that were written in the conventional script. For example, ‘liquor’ and ‘West entrance’ in English texts were accompanied by ‘酒 (*sake*)’ and ‘西口玄関’ (West entrance, *nishiguchi genkan*) in the Japanese versions of the texts, indicating meanings in *kanji* rather than showing the pronunciations of the words ‘リカー’ (liquor, *rika*) and

‘ウエストエントランス’ (West entrance, *uesuto entoransu*) in *katakana*. Japanese business names were written in both *kanji* and the Roman alphabet on four coffee shop signs, five Japanese restaurant signs (e.g., ‘吉野家’ and ‘Yoshinoya’; see Item 13), and one general service sign. Of the *kanji* and the Roman alphabet signs, three signs at coffee shops and five signs at Japanese restaurants were from the same chains. A general services sign and a restaurant sign at Site 2 and a beauty salon sign at Site 3 contained French names and their *katakana* pronunciation. A multilingual sign at a Japanese restaurant at Site 5 contained welcome messages in 19 languages in 13 scripts (see Item 14). The other signs with full translation had English, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*, and most of their content related to duty-free regulations and information.

Item 11: Jeans Mate (at a boutique)



Item 12: Crystal Parking (at a parking)



Item 13: Yoshinoya (at a diner)



Item 14: Welcome messages

(at a Japanese style bar)



Signs with partial translation were the second most frequently found type. English was the dominant language used alongside Japanese. Restaurants at Site 1 had a large number of signs with partial translations. The signs there also contained photographs of their dishes because hotels and shopping complexes display signs to promote their tenants throughout their facilities. As people cannot see the restaurants from outside the buildings, the businesses use visual aids to give potential customers and passersby an idea of the food they serve. Visual elements and partial translations support comprehension of signs (see Section 6.6). The difference between the full-translation signs and the partial-translation signs was that the former contained more information (e.g., opening hours, phone numbers and addresses) in Japanese and

English, while the majority of the latter contained only the name of the business, which was written in Japanese. In partial translation signs, the other information was written in a way that people with limited Japanese or English reading skills can understand. For example, readers can assume that the text is about hours of operation without knowing the Japanese words ‘営業時間’ (‘opening hours’, *eigyojikan*) when the text contains ‘10:00–18:00’. Another example is telephone numbers, which are conventionally written in Arabic numbers, so readers can infer what the content is without knowing the word ‘TEL’, which is the conventional way to indicate telephone numbers in Japan (when used with numbers).

Code-mixed signs were the second most common type of sign. Code-mixed signs were observed in 24 out of 26 business types. Although banks had many code-mixed signs, these signs showed the official name of the same bank – Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ (三菱東京 UFJ 銀行, *Mitsubishi Tokyo UFJ ginko*; i.e., a proper noun; see Item 15). Although the text contained both Japanese scripts and the Roman alphabet, this use of the Roman alphabet should not be considered English or language. The other businesses with a large number of this type of sign were Japanese restaurants, accommodations, general service, and educational facilities. This type of mixing was most often observed at Site 3 where there were stations to commute to universities. In this research, all code-mixed texts were based on Japanese syntax, and each sentence

contained a single English word written in the Roman alphabet. No sentences were based on the syntax of foreign languages, and no foreign languages or scripts other than English were mixed into the Japanese sentences. Therefore, code-mixed signs were displayed for people with Japanese reading skills and a basic knowledge of English vocabulary. Consequently, this type of sign was mainly for locals and appeared less frequently in city centres which international tourists visit.

Item 15: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ (at a bank)



Of the 2,276 signs, 60.7% did not contain Japanese translations from English or other foreign languages. Signs without Japanese translation were used in 24 of the 26 business types. A large number of no-direct-translation signs were found at fashion, coffee shops or bars, and beauty-related businesses. Although the majority of non-translated words and phrases were in English, 145 signs contained languages other than Japanese and English. The languages and scripts other than English were French, Italian, Spanish, German, Portuguese, simplified Chinese, and *hangul*. The European languages other than English were used at fashion stores, coffee shops and bars, and

beauty-related businesses. The majority of the European language signs found in this research were monolingual or bilingual, used along with English or Japanese. In case of the bilingual signs, however, the contents written in European languages differed from those in English or Japanese. Nevertheless, the audience is not required to have competence in European languages, as the languages were used for store names. Three signs contained simplified Chinese, two of which also contained Japanese texts and another of which was used along with English. A sign containing *hangul* was used with English and simplified Chinese. It is important to note that people who understand *kanji* can comprehend some simple messages written in Chinese without Japanese translation. For example, ‘duty-free’ is written ‘免稅’ in traditional Chinese, ‘免税’ in simplified Chinese, and ‘免税’ in Japanese. The scripts are the same or similar and often have the same meanings. Thus, people who know some Japanese, English, or Chinese can understand part of the bilingual and multilingual texts or guess what the signs indicate.

6.5 Contents of text

Among the items collected for this research, most signs contained multiple pieces of information. While some information is essential for customers and passersby to recognise the business, other information might be less important and included solely

as ornamentation. Therefore, each text on signs with English was classified into 10 types according to its content to identify the role of English (i.e., to deliver a message as a means of communication or to represent an image) and to assess whether the texts had Japanese-specific features. The 10 content types are (a) name of business; (b) product or service; (c) information (e.g., hours of operation and ‘sale’); d) address (e.g., street name or floor); e) contact detail (e.g., phone number or email address); f) action (e.g., ‘push’ and ‘pull’ on doors); g) message (e.g., ‘welcome’); h) advertising slogans (e.g., ‘keep clean’) and catchphrases; i) regulations (e.g., ‘non-smoking’); and j) other. Although business and product names are proper nouns and these include Japanese names that are written in *romaji*, all words and phrases that were transcribed in the Roman alphabet were initially treated as English (except texts that were written in European languages; see Section 5.3). As many signs contained multiple texts, the contents counted exceeds the number of signs.

In this section, code-mixed and no-direct-translation signs containing English were investigated, whereas full- and partial-translation signs and signs containing other foreign languages were not analysed. On full- and partial-translation signs, languages other than Japanese were accompanied by Japanese translations and *katakana* indicating pronunciation. Thus, the Japanese are not required to understand the foreign language(s) to comprehend the meaning of the texts. On the other hand, the Japanese

may be expected to understand the foreign vocabulary and contents of code-mixed and no-Japanese-translation texts if the signs did not contain visual aids to assist text comprehension. The no-direct-translation signs containing Chinese and Korean words and phrases mainly contained information for tourists (e.g., ‘duty-free’). The other signs with these two languages were menus at restaurants, welcome messages, and one job advertisement seeking Chinese-speaking shop assistants at a pharmacy. The job advertisement might target non-Japanese residents, although people with knowledge of *kanji* could understand part of the content. The shop names of a coffee chain and a bakery owned by Japanese corporations were in Portuguese. All texts written in other European languages were the names of international brands (e.g., ‘Chanel’ and ‘Gucci’) or the names of aesthetic or beauty shops (e.g., ‘Salon de Soleil’). As opposed to Chinese and Korean texts which function to deliver specific information, the texts written in European languages were proper nouns transcribed into the Roman alphabet and should thus not be classified as languages. In addition, multilingual signs written in four or more languages were restaurant menus or bank information and regulations.

English was used at various business types, both on code-mixed signs (see Table 6.5) and on no-direct-translation signs (see Table 6.6). A chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between business type and content type in code-mixed signs. The significance level was

set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between business type and content type ($p < 0.001$). As Table 6.5 shows, the finance sector had a significantly higher rate of texts with English code-mixed names as compared to texts that contain other information and contact details. However, those signs included the official names of banks, such as 'Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ', as explained above. In addition, electrical appliance stores had a significantly higher rate of code-mixed product or service names. However, these are also proper nouns. Therefore, the names in question are categorised in accordance with the way in which they are transcribed rather than as foreign words or phrases. It is noteworthy that coffee shops and bars and entertainment businesses had significantly higher rates of English code-mixed texts that contained information than other businesses, such as financial institutions. As explained in Section 6.4, financial-sector enterprises such as banks provide information by using fully translated Japanese and English texts. The text that is displayed at banks is written not only for the Japanese but also for the benefit of individuals with limited or no reading skills in the Japanese language. Coffee shops, bars and entertainment venues, conversely, might use English code-mixed texts to attract attention.

Table 6. 5 Number of code-mixed texts on signs by business and content type

Business	Content	a)Name	b)Product	c)Info	d)Address	e)Contact	g)Message	h)Slogan	i)Regulation	j)Other	Total
Department store	Count	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	0.2	-0.2	-0.5	-0.8	-0.2	-0.7	-0.1	-0.2	
Fashion	Count	1	4	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	-1.6	0.3	-1.1	-0.7	2.0	-0.3	2.2	-0.2	-0.3	
Electrical	Count	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	Adjusted Residual	-1.3	2.0	0.2	-0.4	-0.6	-0.1	-0.6	-0.1	-0.2	
Convenience	Count	3	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	1.8	0.1	-0.7	-1.2	-0.3	-1.1	-0.2	2.7	
Grocery	Count	2	4	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	0.3	0.4	-0.7	0.9	-0.3	0.0	-0.2	-0.3	
Retailer other	Count	2	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	11
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	-1.5	-0.2	2.6	1.1	-0.2	0.1	-0.2	3.1	
Restaurant (Japanese)	Count	9	11	12	1	6	0	6	1	0	46
	Adjusted Residual	-1.4	-0.8	1.0	-0.6	1.0	-0.5	1.3	2.7	-0.6	
Restaurant (other Asian)	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	1.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.3	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	
Restaurant (Western)	Count	5	9	5	0	4	1	2	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	0.7	-0.1	-1.0	1.2	2.4	-0.1	-0.3	-0.5	
Restaurant (other)	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	1.6	-0.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.3	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	
Coffee shop/bar	Count	4	2	12	0	1	0	1	0	0	20
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	-1.9	4.5	-0.9	-0.6	-0.3	-0.5	-0.2	-0.4	
Vending machine	Count	0	4	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	11
	Adjusted Residual	-2.1	0.6	-1.7	-0.7	-1.1	-0.2	6.8	-0.2	-0.3	
Medical/health	Count	8	4	6	1	8	0	0	0	0	27
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	-1.7	0.2	0.0	3.9	-0.4	-1.6	-0.3	-0.5	
Aesthetic/beauty	Count	3	3	2	2	3	0	1	0	0	14
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	-0.6	-0.6	2.1	1.7	-0.3	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3	
Services (foreign countries)	Count	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	1.2	-1.2	-0.5	-0.8	-0.2	-0.7	-0.1	-0.2	
Services (general)	Count	12	11	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	29
	Adjusted Residual	1.6	1.1	-1.4	-0.1	-1.8	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.5	
Services (other)	Count	6	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
	Adjusted Residual	2.6	-1.9	0.1	-0.6	-1.0	-0.2	0.3	-0.2	-0.3	
Education	Count	9	7	2	4	2	0	3	0	1	28
	Adjusted Residual	0.5	-0.5	-1.8	3.1	-0.4	-0.4	0.5	-0.3	1.7	
Entertainment	Count	4	5	9	1	1	0	0	0	0	20
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	-0.4	2.8	0.3	-0.6	-0.3	-1.4	-0.2	-0.4	
Gambling	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	1.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.3	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	
Accommodation	Count	6	5	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	21
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	-0.5	1.5	-0.9	-0.7	-0.3	0.2	-0.2	-0.4	
Office	Count	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
	Adjusted Residual	-0.1	-0.2	-1.0	2.3	1.1	-0.1	-0.6	-0.1	-0.2	
Finance	Count	25	16	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	47
	Adjusted Residual	4.0	0.8	-2.5	-0.6	-2.3	1.6	-1.6	-0.4	-0.7	
Other	Count	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	2.1	1.2	-0.6	-0.9	-0.2	-0.9	-0.1	-0.3	
Total	Count	107	109	77	14	34	2	31	1	3	378

Note: Content type “f) Action and gallery/museum” was not found on the code-mixed signs.

A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between business type and contents type on signs without direct translations. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between business type and content type ($p < 0.001$). As Table 6.6 shows, English shop or business names were used at significantly higher rates at department stores, fashion retailers and convenience stores than at Japanese restaurants, on vending machines and at medical or health establishments. English product or service names were used at significantly higher rates at electrical appliance stores, other types of retailers, Western restaurants, coffee shops and bars and on vending machines than at department stores, fashion outlets, in accommodation and in offices. Information was conveyed in English at significantly higher rates at fashion businesses and grocery stores than at electrical appliance stores, and addresses were written in English at significantly higher rates at electrical appliance stores, Japanese restaurants, medical and health businesses, and offices than at department stores, fashion outlets, convenience stores, grocery stores and on vending machines. Slogans and catchphrases in English were found at significantly higher rates at fashion outlets, on vending machines and in accommodation than at aesthetic or beauty businesses.

Table 6. 6 Number of texts on signs with no direct translation by business type and content type

Business	Content	a)Name	b)Product	c)Info	d)Address	e)Contact	f>Action	g)Message	h)Slogan	i)Regulation	j)Other	Total
Department store	Count	53	9	11	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	83
	Adjusted Residual	4.7	-2.4	0.3	-2.0	-2.1	-0.2	-0.8	-0.5	-0.5	-0.4	
Fashion	Count	164	41	74	16	1	0	1	61	1	0	359
	Adjusted Residual	2.7	-5.2	5.5	-5.5	-4.4	-0.5	-1.3	7.5	0.1	-0.8	
Electrical	Count	10	15	0	9	1	0	0	2	0	0	37
	Adjusted Residual	-1.5	2.8	-2.3	2.0	-0.6	-0.1	-0.6	-0.5	-0.5	-0.2	
Convenience	Count	24	13	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	43
	Adjusted Residual	2.2	1.4	-1.5	-2.6	-0.8	-0.2	-0.6	-0.7	2.7	-0.3	
Grocery	Count	13	5	8	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	28
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	-0.5	2.7	-2.1	-1.2	-0.1	-0.5	-0.1	-0.3	-0.2	
Retailer other	Count	35	31	10	11	4	0	1	6	0	0	98
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	2.5	-0.6	-0.6	-0.3	-0.2	0.2	-0.5	-0.5	-0.4	
Restaurant (Japanese)	Count	12	25	18	23	10	1	0	9	2	0	100
	Adjusted Residual	-5.7	0.9	1.9	2.9	2.5	4.3	-0.9	0.6	3.5	-0.4	
Restaurant (other Asian)	Count	10	3	5	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	28
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	-1.4	0.9	0.7	2.4	-0.1	-0.5	-0.8	-0.3	-0.2	
Restaurant (Western)	Count	55	40	15	16	2	0	0	5	1	0	134
	Adjusted Residual	0.4	2.4	-0.3	-0.5	-1.9	-0.3	-1.1	-1.7	1.2	-0.5	
Restaurant (other)	Count	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	0.5	1.1	-0.7	-0.4	0.0	-0.2	-0.5	-0.1	-0.1	
Coffee shop/bar	Count	92	71	26	39	7	0	3	13	0	0	251
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	2.8	-0.9	1.1	-1.6	-0.4	0.7	-1.5	-0.9	-0.7	
Vending machine	Count	5	15	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	-2.1	4.5	-1.9	-2.0	-1.2	-0.1	-0.5	3.0	-0.3	-0.2	
Medical/health	Count	16	21	10	35	18	0	1	4	0	0	105
	Adjusted Residual	-5.2	-0.4	-0.8	6.2	6.1	-0.2	0.2	-1.5	-0.5	-0.4	
Aesthetic/beauty	Count	96	49	20	24	12	0	3	7	0	0	211
	Adjusted Residual	1.9	0.6	-1.2	-0.9	0.6	-0.3	1.0	-2.5	-0.8	-0.6	
Services (foreign countries)	Count	4	2	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	11
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	-0.3	-1.2	0.5	3.5	-0.1	-0.3	-0.9	-0.2	-0.1	
Services (general)	Count	31	12	3	7	2	0	0	1	0	0	56
	Adjusted Residual	2.5	0.0	-1.6	-0.2	-0.4	-0.2	-0.7	-1.7	-0.4	-0.3	
Education	Count	30	10	4	14	11	0	0	2	0	0	71
	Adjusted Residual	0.5	-1.6	-1.7	1.6	4.3	-0.2	-0.8	-1.5	-0.4	-0.3	
Gallery/museum	Count	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	0.2	0.0	-0.1	-0.6	-0.1	-0.3	-0.8	-0.1	-0.1	
Entertainment	Count	24	15	7	9	2	0	0	1	0	0	58
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.5	-0.5	-0.2	-0.7	-1.7	-0.4	-0.3	
Gambling	Count	9	5	2	4	1	0	1	2	0	0	24
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	-0.1	-0.6	0.5	-0.1	-0.1	1.8	0.1	-0.2	-0.2	
Accommodation	Count	28	8	8	11	11	0	4	16	0	2	88
	Adjusted Residual	-1.5	-2.9	-0.9	-0.2	3.4	-0.2	4.0	3.9	-0.5	5.2	
Office	Count	19	4	2	23	3	0	0	1	0	0	52
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	-2.5	-1.8	6.6	0.3	-0.2	-0.7	-1.6	-0.4	-0.3	
Finance	Count	16	4	2	4	0	0	2	1	0	1	30
	Adjusted Residual	1.6	-1.1	-0.9	0.0	-1.2	-0.1	3.6	-0.9	-0.3	4.5	
Other	Count	16	20	7	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	47
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	3.5	0.6	-1.4	-0.9	-0.2	-0.6	-2.0	-0.4	-0.3	
Total	Count	767	421	236	261	94	1	16	147	5	3	1951

Note: “Service (other)” was not found in the no-direct-translation signs.

English was used to deliver nine types of content information (excluding ‘action’) on code-mixed signs and all 10 types of content on no-direct-translation signs,

where it was predominantly used for words indicating the names of businesses, products, or services. There was a tendency for advertisement slogans and catchphrases to be written in English for fashion, accommodation, and vending machines.

English was used for the names of businesses on 107 code-mixed signs and 767 no-direct-translation signs, as well as for products or services on 109 code-mixed and 421 no-direct-translation signs. However, as explained previously regarding the use of European languages, a business name is a proper noun even if it is transcribed into the Roman alphabet. This usage should thus not be considered the use of English. The majority of texts indicating products or services were single words (e.g., ‘coffee’ and ‘iPhone’). While coffee is a general noun, iPhone is a name of an Apple product. This English word is a proper noun, and people who are familiar with Apple’s business, products, or services would understand it to be a product name rather than an English word. While one sign’s shop name was written in code-mixed way – ‘The ダイソー’ (The Daiso; see Item 16) –the shop is simply known as ‘*Daiso*’ by locals. In this case, the essential word was written in Japanese, and people were not expected to comprehend the English article, ‘the’.

When the names of shops, businesses, products or services are written in English or in the Roman alphabet, they refer to global companies or imported products under their original names (e.g., Starbucks and Microsoft Windows), to Japanese

companies or products that use English names as part of their global business strategies (e.g., Sony) and to Japanese domestic companies or products (e.g., *kimono*). Although the businesses that use English words and phrases without providing Japanese translations tend to offer products and services that are related to Western or global contexts, English texts fulfil advertisement functions, serving as ornamentations and as eye-catching devices. They also facilitate brand recognition among those who do not read Japanese.

Item 16: The Daiso (at a general store)



The other common content type on these signs was ‘information’. There were 77 code-mixed signs and 236 no-direct-translation signs about ‘information’. The majority of texts indicating ‘information’ on no-direct-translation signs were opening hours, ‘am’/ ‘AM’, ‘pm’/ ‘PM’, and times written in Arabic numbers, except for one ‘open’ sign. However, as ‘am’ and ‘pm’ are conventionally used in Japanese, it is questionable to call this usage English. ‘Address’ was written in English on 14 code-mixed signs and 261 signs with no direct translation. All texts indicating ‘address’,

however, were 'F', displaying the floor of the buildings where the businesses were located, or 'Nagoya', identifying the businesses as the Nagoya branch of domestic chains. The use of the letter 'F' to indicate a floor is a Japanese convention. Therefore, this usage is aimed at Japanese readers, and it is questionable to categorise it as English. Furthermore, writing the name of Japanese city in the Roman alphabet is the *romaji* usage. Thus, this is a Japanese proper noun rather than English. Another type of information for which English was frequently used was 'contact details', which appeared in English on 34 code-mixed signs and 94 no-direct-translation signs, in the form of 'TEL' presenting the telephone number of the business. As explained previously, this is a Japanese convention, and abbreviations spelled with capital letters are observed in various text types. Therefore, the words that explain information or point to addresses and contact details have become integrated into Japanese vocabulary, and the Roman alphabet is not used to convey information in English or for decorative purposes in the LL. Hence, they were used as means of communication for people both with and without English reading skills.

Although there were few examples, other information (e.g., 'Takeout OK', see Item 17) was displayed only in English, and signs describing the same or similar information in Japanese were also displayed near the monolingual English signs in those cases. In case of the 'Takeout OK' text, the phrase is not a standard English usage

that is observed in other countries. Thus, it is an example of distinctively Japanese use of English. In contrast, ‘information’ on code-mixed signs contained various pieces of information:

- (a) ‘週末 24h 営業’ (‘Open 24 hours on weekends’, ‘*Open 24h on weekends*’; see Item 18) and ‘24h 受付’ (‘24-hour reception’, ‘*24h reception/accept*’; see Item 21’);
- (b) ‘スタンプためて、ドリンク GET!’ (‘Collect stamps and get a (free) drink’, ‘*Collect stamps, GET drink!*’; see Item 19);
- (c) ‘フード&ドリンク持ち込み OK!’ (‘It is OK to bring your own food and drink’, ‘*Bring your own food & drink OK!*’; see Item 20); and
- (d) ‘時給 up!!’ (‘Hourly wage will be raised’, ‘*Hourly wage up!!*’; see Item 21).

The texts in (a) contain the Roman alphabet ‘h’ to indicate a noun, ‘hour’. Text (b) contains the verb ‘get’ in capital letters, text (c) includes an adjective, ‘OK’, and text (d) uses ‘up’ as an adverb that means ‘to go up’. These usages are instances of code-mixed English.

Item 17: Takeout OK (at a takeaway)



Item 18: Open 24 hours on weekends (at a karaoke venue)



Item 19: Collect stamps, GET drink (vending machine)



Item 20: Bring your own food & drink OK! (at a karaoke venue)



Item 21: Hourly wage up!! and 24h accept (at a restaurant)



Majority of slogans and catchphrases consisted of a single word or a few words, and a few texts consisted of several sentences. There were 31 code-mixed signs and 147 no-direct-translation signs. The texts at international and domestic chains were written in standard English (i.e., that used in English-speaking countries), while those at small independent shops tended to contain non-standard English usage (see Item 22). Advertising slogans and catchphrases used English, but in more creative ways. One example is ‘Cafe *Shûkadô* やってます’ (‘Café Shukudo is open’, ‘Café *Shukado*, open’; see Item 23), which is a mix of English word ‘Café’, a name of the shop ‘*Shukado*’ in *romaji*, and the Japanese verb open. Another is ‘We are stuck fashionable’ (see Item 24), which could be a direct translation from a Japanese phrase meaning ‘we are into fashion’. Thus, the first translation is code-mixing, and the second is distinctively Japanese use of English.

Item 22: Non-standard English usage (at a hair salon)



Item 23: Café Shukado, open
(at a coffee shop)



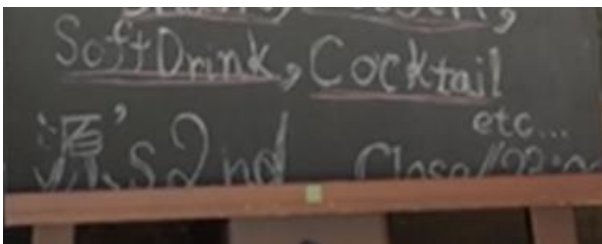
Item 24: We are stuck fashionable
(at a real estate agent)



Additionally, a few interesting uses of English and the Roman alphabet appeared on code-mixed signs. For example, the name of a restaurant contained lexical blending and trans-scriptism practices that are related to Japanese and English, ‘源’s 2nd’, with the *kanji* 源 (*gen*, which is also pronounced *minamoto*), which is a noun that means ‘source’ (see Item 25). Another example is a sign at a travel agency that contained a mixed Japanese and English word, ‘旅’s’, with the *kanji* 旅 (*tabi*), which is a noun that means ‘travel’ (see Item 26). The sign also included *katakana* which indicated how to pronounce the English-Japanese combined word. The name of the package plan was written above the word in *katakana*, with additional information, ‘ツーリスト タビーズ’ (tourist *tabizu*). The audience would determine how to pronounce the new compound noun ‘旅’s’ by referring to the *katakana* ‘タビーズ’. One way of creating a compound noun in Japanese is to attach the particle の (*no*), which translates to ‘of’ or the possessive ‘s’ in English. Therefore, this new Japanese-English mixed word is not only a proper noun created by the travel agency, but it also implies that the readers can add another noun after 旅’s and create a new compound noun of their own imagination. For example, ‘旅の始まり (*tabino hajimari*)’, which means ‘beginning of the travel/journey’. Another example used on a vending machine was ‘eco る (*ekoru*)’, which also combined English and Japanese (see Item 27). The new word made the English word ‘eco’ into a verb by adding the Japanese dictionary verb ending form

‘る (ru)’ to create the verb phrase, ‘do ecology’. Although these forms of lexical blending were still infrequent in the LL, their usage might become more common in the future because they have been used by large corporations.

Item 25: Gen's 2nd (at a restaurant)



*Item 26: Tabizu's
(at a travel agency)*



Item 27: Ecoru (vending machine)



The other example used the Roman alphabet, not English, in Japanese way and made the text stand out as advertising copy. The text ‘お花見 de 乾杯 (*ohanami de kampai*)’ was found at a liquor store (see Item 28). The first *hiragana* and *kanji* phrase ‘お花見 (*ohanami*)’ means ‘cherry blossom viewing’, which is Japanese tradition in spring; the last *kanji*, ‘乾杯 (*kampai*)’ means ‘(make a) toast’. The middle word ‘de’ was transcribed into the Roman alphabet and looks like a European word. However, ‘de’ is also a particle in Japanese grammar if it is pronounced in the Japanese way で (*de*), and it means ‘by’ in English. This phrase does not make sense if ‘de’ is pronounced and used as in other languages, for example French, which uses ‘de’ to mean ‘of’ in English. However, this phrase makes sense when the ‘de’ is used as a Japanese particle as the phrase ‘お花見で乾杯 (*ohanami de kampai*)’ (make a toast whilst viewing the cherry blossoms) exists in Japanese. Thus, ‘de’ serves three purposes: communication in Japanese, decoration and attention-grabbing and creating an impression of European provenance.

Item 28: *Ohanami de kampai* (at a liquor store)



A small number of texts contained other types of contents in English. Texts conveying important information (e.g., actions or regulations) were written in Japanese or accompanied by a Japanese translation in the case of bi- or multilingual signs. In addition, most ‘messages’ were ‘Welcome’, except for a few texts (e.g., ‘Congratulations!’ and ‘Sorry come again’ (which means ‘please visit us again’) written below ‘Closed’) displayed at an English conversation school for children. The signs containing this type of content in English were rare in the LL.

6.6 Visual aids

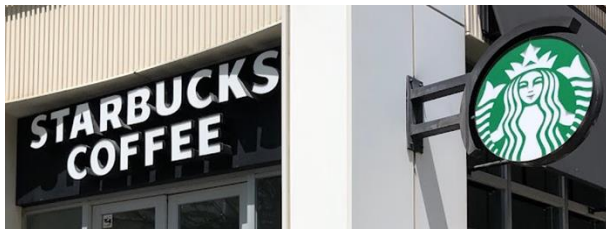
In addition to languages and scripts, other aspects (e.g., the order of languages [which language is written first], size, and colour) and visual aids (e.g., logos, pictures, and photographs) support text recognition. Readers are likely to notice words with larger letters and a bright colour more easily than the others. Nevertheless, people do not necessarily read the text starting from the top line or comprehend the sentence

which stands out visually. Logos, pictures, and photographs are as important as texts, as they assist schemata and reading comprehension. People often understand the types of business or products by looking at the logos, photographs, and pictures on signs and without reading the text. International chains (e.g., McDonald's and Starbucks) display distinctive logos and mascots which people recognise. However, small independent businesses may not have the budget to hire a designer to create such a logo or mascot. Instead, the businesses may utilise pictures, photographs, or illustration to draw the attention of their potential customers. However, text and language may also stand out in the cityscape (see Section 6.5). Furthermore, using visual aids on signs may increase the comprehensibility of the English used in the code-mixing texts as well as of those written exclusively in English. Customers may understand the contents without reading the English words and phrases on signs. Thus, visual aspects of signs were investigated to determine whether English was used with visual aids. This research did not investigate the order of languages, size, and colour, as the mechanisms of how people recognise and identify languages and scripts are complex and remained unclear.

All collected items were categorised into five groups, according to the visual aids on the sign: logo/mascot, photograph, picture, other visual aid, and text only. 'Logo' indicates, for example, the 'M' mark for the fast-food chain McDonald's, and 'mascot' includes the Starbucks Coffee mermaid icon (see Item 29). 'Photograph'

refers to the photograph(s) of the product or service which the business sells (see Item 30). When a photograph was not directly related to the business, it was categorised as ‘other visual aid’. The same classification applied to ‘picture’, which specifies the picture related to the business (see Item 31). ‘Other visual aid’ means that a type of visual not mentioned above was used or that photographs and pictures not related to the businesses were used. For example, a signboard decoration which was not directly related to the business or its products was categorised as ‘other visual aid’. Lastly, ‘text only’ indicates that the signs did not contain visual images.

Item 29: Icon (at a coffee chain)



*Item 30: Photograph
(at a coffee chain)*



Item 31: Picture (at a coffee chain)



As Table 6.7 shows, 1,478 of 3,680 signs (40.2%) had visual aids. More specifically, 713 signs (19.4%) contained photographs or pictures directly related to the businesses. The use of these visuals depends on the availability of translation on the signs. A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between translation types and the use of visual aids in signs. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of the chi-squared test revealed a statistically significant association between translation type and visual aids ($\chi^2(20) = 259.151, p < 0.001$). As Table 6.7 shows, logos or mascots were included at significantly higher rates in full- and partial-translation signs than in Japanese-only signs. Photographs were included at significantly higher rates in code-mixing, no-direct-translation and Japanese-with-*gairaigo* signs than in full-translation, partial-translation and Japanese-without-*gairaigo* signs. Signs without visual aids were found

at a significantly higher rate in Japanese signs without *gairaigo* than in full-translation, code-mixing and no-direct-translation signs.

Among signs with full Japanese translation, 43 (42.6%) had a logo or mascot and 45 (44.6%) were text only. This could be because Japanese people can read the texts and understand the contents. The signs with partial Japanese texts exhibited a similar tendency. This type of sign contained the lowest number of photographs. It is probable that people who visit the sites are expected to comprehend Japanese text without the aid of photographs or pictures, as the signs written in monolingual Japanese without *gairaigo* also contain fewer visual aids. Among this type of sign, 560 (72.2%) were text only, 32 (4.1%) contained photographs, and 63 (8.1%) contained pictures. More monolingual Japanese signs with *gairaigo*, however, were accompanied by photographs. Only 371 signs (59.1%) of this type were text only; 102 (16.2%) contained photographs, and 68 (10.8%) contained pictures. This may support the survey conducted by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (2004) indicating that older Japanese people have difficulty understanding *gairaigo* vocabulary; visuals are thus used to assist with textual comprehension. The same is true for code-mixed signs. Code-mixing signs had a significantly higher rate of photographs. Although the code-mixed texts found in the research followed Japanese grammar and sentence structures, readers may need basic knowledge of English to fully comprehend

them. This could be one of the reasons that more photographs and pictures were contained in signs with code-mixed texts than in signs with the other translation types. It is noteworthy that more than half of the signs that contained foreign language(s) without Japanese translations only displayed text. Among them, only 239 (17.3%) contained logos or mascots, 176 (12.7%) contained photographs, and 119 (8.6%) contained pictures. No-direct-translation signs with photographs were mostly observed around Nagoya station. As explained in Section 6.3, these were restaurant signs that were not displayed around the premises, and readers need visual aids to comprehend the menu and select the restaurant.

Table 6. 7 Number of signs by translation type and visual aid

Translation		Logo / Mascot	Potograph	Picture	Other	Text only	Total
Full translation	Count	43	4	6	3	45	101
	Adjusted Residual	7.2	-2.1	-1.1	-0.7	-3.2	
Partial translation	Count	133	18	44	14	313	522
	Adjusted Residual	6.0	-5.6	-0.5	-2.0	0.1	
Code mixing	Count	38	49	32	25	125	269
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	4.4	1.7	4.1	-4.6	
No direct translation	Count	239	176	119	62	788	1384
	Adjusted Residual	1.1	3.7	-0.7	0.3	-2.8	
Japanese without <i>gairaigo</i>	Count	86	32	63	35	560	776
	Adjusted Residual	-4.5	-6.4	-1.0	0.2	7.9	
Japanese with <i>gairaigo</i>	Count	66	102	68	21	371	628
	Adjusted Residual	-4.4	5.3	1.7	-1.4	-0.4	
Total	Count	605	381	332	160	2202	3680

The relationships between text content types and visual aspects were subsequently analysed to assess whether English texts in the LL served communicative purposes or acted as ornamentation. It is noteworthy that more than half of the signs that contained foreign language(s) without Japanese translations only displayed text. Among them, only 239 (17.3%) contained logos or mascots, 176 (12.7%) contained photographs, and 119 (8.6%) contained pictures. No-direct-translation signs with photographs were mostly observed around Nagoya station. Other types of signs were not investigated, as people would read Japanese texts in full- and partial-translation signs and code-mixed signs; this was considered to be Japanese language in previous analyses. In addition, few signs had other content types, and the text contents were limited to particular words and phrases (see Section 6.5). Of the 788 no-direct-Japanese-translation signs without visual aids, 592 (75.1%) contained one or more pieces of text describing the name of business, the product or service, and the slogan or catchphrase in English. Of these, 405 (58.2%) texts indicated the names of the businesses, 207 (29.7%) texts showed products or services, and 84 (12.1%) described slogans or catchphrases written in English (see Table 6.8). Thus, most English-only texts contained proper nouns. The names would be recognised in those forms.

It is hypothesised that the business and product names and services that are transcribed in the Roman alphabet without visual aids were intended to be read by the

Japanese audience either as English or as *romaji*. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether the Japanese can comprehend the other English texts, especially slogans and catchphrases, some of which were not a single word but consisted of phrases or sentences. Depending on the reader's English skills, the names and the catchphrases could be interpreted as English, as *romaji* or as ornamentation. The texts that were written in the Roman alphabet could be used for both decorative purposes and as language. In either case, it can be presumed from the incidence of English usages in the LL that the readers might accept English-based words and words in the Roman alphabet on Japanese commercial signs.

Table 6. 8 Number of English texts by content type (signs without direct Japanese translations and visual aids)

Content	Name	Product	Slogan	Total
Number	405	207	84	696

6.7 Summary of Chapter 6

This chapter presented the results of the LL research and analysed the scale of English in each research site and business type. Additionally, it assessed the availability of translation, contents of texts, and use of visual aids. The study found that English was observed on the commercial signs of businesses of various types at all six research sites. However, English was used more frequently at businesses such as fashion shops

and restaurants that served Western-style dishes. Businesses which are closely related to daily life, such as supermarkets and chemists, used fewer English words. Moreover, most of the English texts contained single words and short proper nouns (e.g., business and product names). Japanese proper nouns were also spelled in the Roman alphabet. Nevertheless, they reflected conventional *romaji* usage and the spelling of Japanese words in an English way. When short phrases were used for other purposes, they contained expressions that were specific to Japan. All code-mixed texts that were observed contained single English words in Japanese sentences. Furthermore, approximately 60% of the signs did not contain visual aids such as photographs and pictures. It is noteworthy that approximately 57% of the English-only texts did not use any visual aids. It can be inferred from the incidence of English usages that was observed that English and words that are spelled in the Roman alphabet were accepted by their audiences to a certain extent. However, due to limited usage, it would be inaccurate to state that English is used widely in the Japanese LL.

Chapter 7: Attitudes towards the use of English on Japanese commercial signs

This chapter presents the results of an online survey and describes people's language attitudes. The main purpose of the survey is to examine respondents' opinions on the use of English for commercial signs in the LL. However, the survey participants may not be familiar with the languages on the signs. Therefore, the participants were first asked about signage preferences in the LL and the reasons for their preferences. The purpose was to elicit respondents' opinions about commercial signs and texts. The participants were subsequently asked about their feelings towards signs that use English. A Likert scale was used for the questions. To determine whether a relationship exists between the variables and to probe any statistically significant differences between them, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run. SPSS ver. 25.0 was used for the analysis. In addition, open-ended questions inquired about the participants' general attitudes towards language and signs. KH coder ver. 3 was used for the thematic analysis. The survey questionnaires are found in Appendices C and D.

7.1 Preference of signage

7.1.1 Signs used for surveys

Participants' actual understanding was not confirmed directly in this research, as it is unlikely that people are assessed on their understanding of text in daily life except in formal exams. People generally assume that they understand text correctly according to their beliefs. Moreover, individuals do not always pay attention to languages, texts and comprehensibility when they are exposed to street signs. Therefore, this research explored the signs that the participants liked the most and the least. It could be presumed that the participants had no preference on signs, as it appeared that their

preference did not affect the use of language or script in the LL. In fact, a few Japanese participants commented that they ‘[had no preference because they] do not choose a store by its sign’ and ‘signs are just [displayed] there’. In the case of non- native speakers of Japanese, however, language and script choice sometimes affect the selection of a store. Regardless of the claims by the Japanese participants, the questions were included because they were also intended to generate the participants’ opinions and attitudes towards language and script use. The participants were asked to look at 10 selected photographs taken at the research sites (see Sign 1 to Sign 10) and choose the sign they like the most (see Section 7.1.2) and like the least (see Section 7.1.3). In total, 344 participants answered the questions.

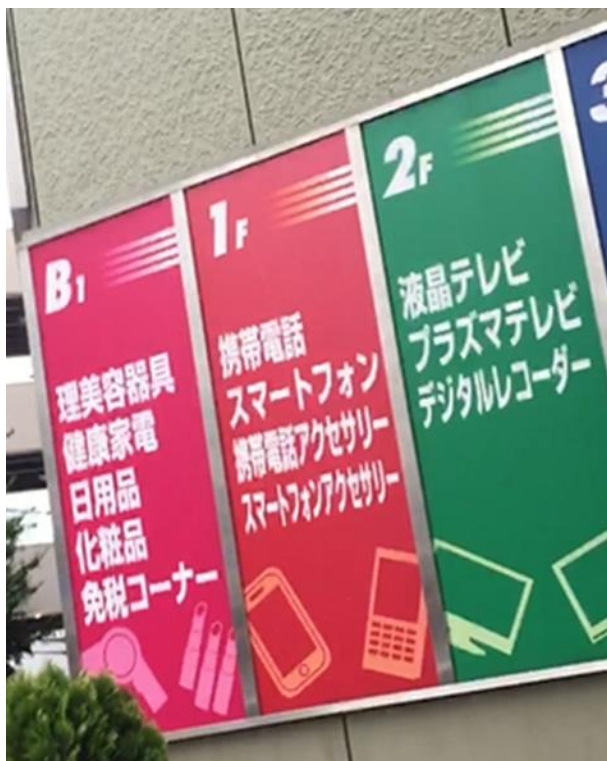
The photographs showed signboards or texts directly written on the windows of shops of various business types; each photograph contained different types of texts, such as text written in Japanese, English and code-switched. Sign 1 was text explaining the type of business written in Japanese only with *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana*; thus, Japanese reading competence played a crucial role in the comprehension of the text.

Sign 1: Text written in Japanese *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* scripts



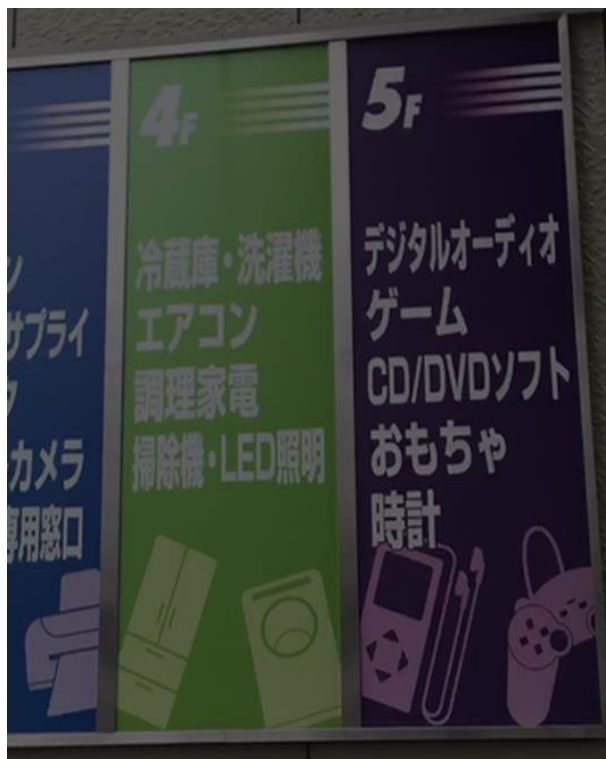
Sign 2 was a group of floor guides and the names of products written in *kanji* and *katakana*, but the floors were indicated by abbreviations, such as 'B1' and '1F'. In addition, pictures of some products were painted on the signboard. Although the signs included English abbreviations, these are often used for floors directly in Japanese commercial text. Thus, it should not be difficult for native Japanese users to comprehend.

Sign 2: Text written in Japanese and English abbreviations



Sign 3 also consisted of floor guides with the names of products, but written in *kanji*, *hiragana*, *katakana*, English in the Roman alphabet and abbreviations, indicating floors. The English used on the signs also consisted of abbreviations, but abbreviations of conventionally used words in both Japanese and English, such as ‘LED’ and ‘CD/DVD’, and the sign also contained pictures of products.

Sign 3: Text written in Japanese with a few English words



Sign 4 was a sign at a boutique written in both Japanese and English in the Roman alphabet. The text was information about new arrivals for the autumn season, but two languages were not direct translations of each other. Japanese version contained more information as it said ‘New items for autumn. Will be in stock one after another!!’. It did not show the kinds of products the shop sold; thus, participants who did not know the shop might find it difficult to know its business type. In addition, a British English word ‘Autumn’ included in the English phrase might have confused some Japanese participants who had studied English in formal educational settings in Japan, as they studied American English, which used the word ‘fall’ to mean the season.

Sign 4: Text written in Japanese and English (No direct translation)



Sign 5 was Japanese and English code-switched text written on the window of a boutique. Opening hours and products were written in English in the Roman alphabet with Japanese below them. The URL of the shop was conventionally written in the Roman alphabet, and floors were written in Arabic numbers (e.g., ‘1’ to indicate the first floor) and an abbreviation (B1). The text was a direct translation of English and Japanese, and the majority of Japanese words were transcribed in *katakana*. Thus, participants could have comprehended half of the content if they knew either Japanese or English, and they could have understood more if they realised that the text was a direct translation of the languages.

Sign 5: Text written in Japanese and English (direct translation)



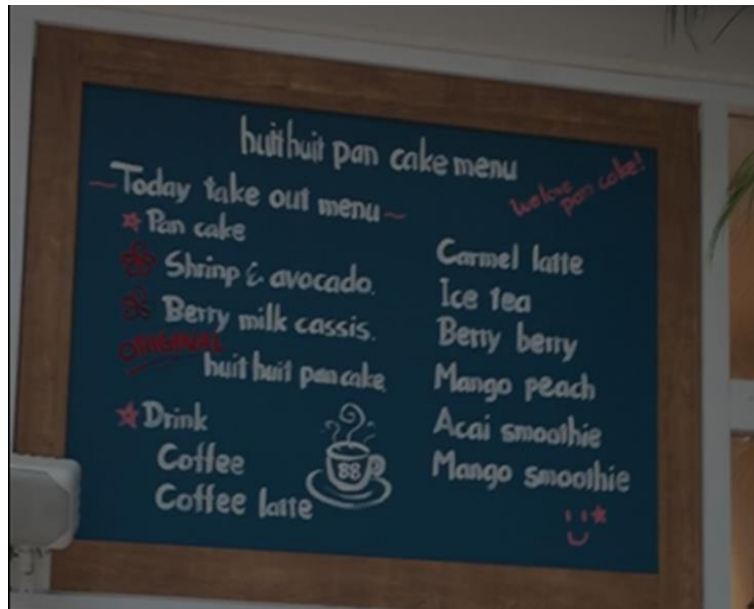
Sign 6 was Japanese and English code-mixed text. The sign contained the name of the restaurant, its menu and message, and the English words used on the sign were mainly single words and short phrases, such as ‘Dessert’, ‘Dinner Menu’ and ‘Welcome Café Party’. It was expected that participants who had Japanese reading competence and were familiar with English menus could understand about half of the content, as the English words in the Roman alphabet were often used on restaurant menus and the structure of the text was Japanese.

Sign 6: Text written in Japanese and English (code-mixed)



Sign 7 was a menu at a café which was written only in English in the Roman alphabet with a picture of a coffee cup. The picture might assist in the comprehension of the text, but it could be difficult for participants to understand the text perfectly without having English reading competence. Even participants with high English skills might be confused, as the sign included the name of the café, which was a proper noun, and non-standard usage of English, such as ‘Today take out menu’, ‘coffee latte’ and ‘ice tea’. As the whole text was written in English, English reading skills played a crucial role in comprehension of the text.

Sign 7: Text written in English only (including distinctively Japanese use of English)



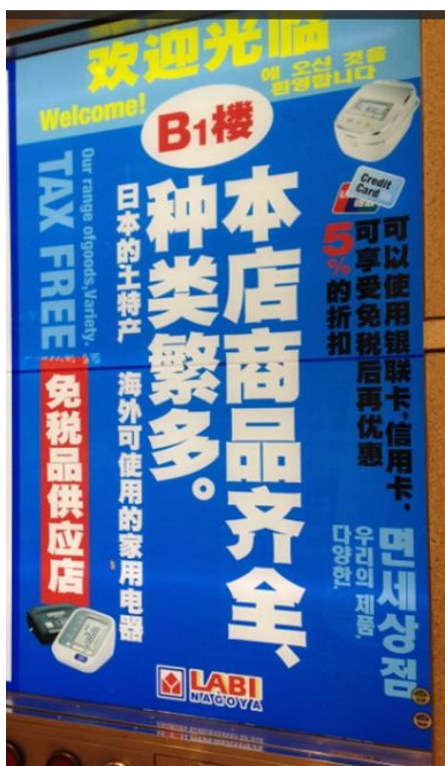
Sign 8 showed information about a sale at a boutique. As the sign was written only in English in the Roman alphabet, English reading skills was important to comprehend the text. The Arabic number and percentage '60%', however, is also used in the Standard Japanese writing system. Consequently, participants without English skills could realise that the text was information about a sale, yet the text did not contain information such as the business type, service or products. Thus, only the participants who knew the shop could tell that it was a sign displayed at a boutique.

Sign 8: Text written in English only



Sign 9 was information about duty free for tourists mainly from Asian countries. This was a multilingual sign written in simplified Chinese with bigger text and more information, along with some Korean in hangul and English in the Roman alphabet with photos of some products and credit cards. Although the sign did not contain Japanese text, participants with Japanese reading competence could have understood the meanings of some vocabulary in Chinese, as some words, such as ‘免税’ (duty free) and ‘商品’ (product) were transcribed with the same Chinese characters, although the meanings of some words, such as ‘本店’ (‘this shop’ in Chinese, but ‘main shop’ in Japanese) differ in Chinese and Japanese. Although only minimal information was written in English and Korean, participants who had competence in these languages could understand that the text was information about duty free at an electrical appliance store with the help of some words and pictures.

Sign 9: Text written in English, Chinese and Korean



Sign 10 was information about duty free at a department store written only in simplified Chinese. The text directly mentioned ‘中国人’ (Chinese people); thus, the text was specifically displayed for tourists from mainland China. When it was written for Chinese speakers from outside the People’s Republic of China, other Chinese vocabulary, such as ‘台湾人’ (Taiwanese) should be used and the text should be written in traditional Chinese characters. Although the entire text was written in simplified Chinese, participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills could have understood some words and phrases in the text, as some Chinese characters were the same as *kanji*. The text also included the name of the department store, with which many residents were familiar. Thus, it could be expected that some participants understood part of the text. It was also predictable, however, that the participants might

not read the text carefully based on the fact that the sign was written in a language of which that they had no or little knowledge.

Sign 10: Text written in Chinese only

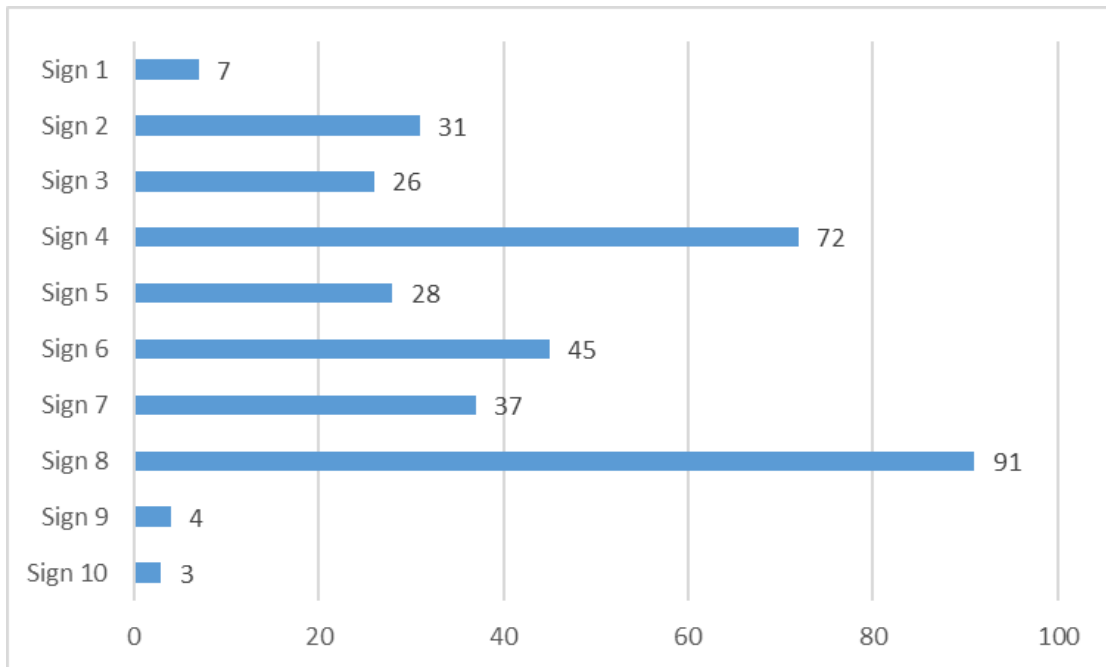


7.1.2 Signs that the participants liked

Firstly, the participants were asked to indicate which of the 10 signs in the city they liked the most so that their preferences could be investigated. The number of participants who selected each sign is shown in Graph 7.1.1. As the graph shows, the most popular sign was Sign 8, which was written only in English; this was selected by 91 participants (26.5%). The second most preferred was Sign 4, which contained both Japanese and English but not a direct translation. A total of 72 participants (20.9%) selected it. These two signs were displayed at boutiques. The other sign that was selected by participants was Sign 6, which was a Japanese-and-English code-mixed

sign that was displayed at a restaurant. English and English-with-Japanese signs were popular among the participants.

Graph 7.1. 1 Number of participants who liked the sign



It is conceivable that participants from different backgrounds liked different signs. Thus, the chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference for a sign and gender, age, residence and language skills. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference for signs and gender ($p = 0.012$). As Table 7.1.1 shows, a significantly higher proportion of male participants preferred Sign 3 and Sign 9, compared to female participants, while a significantly higher proportion of female participants preferred Sign 4. Sign 3 and Sign 9 were displayed at an electrical appliance store, and Sign 4 was displayed at a boutique which sold female clothing and fashion items. Therefore, the participants might have liked the signs not because of the languages in which they

were written but because of their content, design and the type of business at which they were displayed. The reasons for which the participants selected each sign are examined in Section 7.2.

Table 7.1. 1 Signs that participants liked by gender

Gender \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Male	Count	3	19	18	26	10	24	18	45	4	3	170
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	1.4	2.1	-2.5	-1.5	0.6	-0.1	0.0	2.0	1.8	
Female	Count	4	12	8	46	18	21	19	46	0	0	174
	Adjusted Residual	0.4	-1.4	-2.1	2.5	1.5	-0.6	0.1	0.0	-2.0	-1.8	
Total	Count	7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

Second, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there was a significant association between preference for a sign and the age of a participant. The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference for a sign and age ($p = 0.006$). As Table 7.1.2 shows, a significantly higher proportion of participants in their fifties preferred Sign 7, and participants who were in their sixties or older preferred Sign 2 and Sign 10. The languages and scripts that were used on those signs differed considerably. Sign 7 was written only in English, Sign 2 was in Japanese with an English abbreviation, and Sign 10 was only in Chinese. All of these signs contained pictures or photographs. Language could be one of the reasons that prompted participants who were in their sixties and older to like the Japanese sign. Other factors could also be at play – no participants from that age group selected Sign 3, which also contained Japanese as well as pictures and a few English words. The participant who selected the Chinese sign might have liked the department store in question, which had been a symbol of the area and was popular among locals. The participant in question had no Chinese reading skills. The result implies that the participants liked the signs not only because of the languages in which

they were written but also because of their content and because of the images that accompanied the texts.

Table 7.1. 2 Signs that participants liked by age

Age \ Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total	
20s	Count	1	12	17	35	17	18	14	47	2	0	163
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	-1.0	1.9	0.2	1.5	-1.1	-1.2	1.0	0.1	-1.7	
30s	Count	2	8	5	21	10	16	10	15	1	1	89
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	0.0	-0.8	0.7	1.2	1.6	0.2	-2.4	0.0	0.3	
40s	Count	3	7	2	10	0	7	8	22	1	1	61
	Adjusted Residual	1.8	0.7	-1.4	-1.0	-2.6	-0.4	0.7	1.9	0.4	0.7	
50s	Count	0	0	2	5	1	3	5	3	0	0	19
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	-1.4	0.5	0.6	-0.5	0.4	2.3	-1.1	-0.5	-0.4	
60s	Count	1	4	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	12
	Adjusted Residual	1.6	3.0	-1.0	-1.1	-1.0	-0.5	-1.2	0.5	-0.4	2.8	
Total	Count	7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

Third, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference for a sign and the residence of a participant. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference for a sign and resident type ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.3 shows, a significantly higher rate of Japanese participants preferred Sign 8, compared to overseas participants. At the same time, significantly higher rates of overseas participants preferred Sign 3 and Sign 5. Japanese residents were likely to prefer the English-only sign. However, more Japanese residents liked the signs that contained simple English words and phrases than the signs that only contained full sentences in English. Overseas residents preferred bilingual Japanese-and-English signs and signs that contained English words. One explanation could be that overseas residents like to experience Japaneseness when they visit Japan and when they observe Japanese signs. Consequently, more overseas residents preferred bilingual signs to English-only ones.

The participants' feelings towards the signs that contained English phrases are described in Section 7.4.

Despite the fact that most international residents had some Japanese reading competence, majority of them preferred the bilingual sign or signs written entirely in English. One participant who later commented that commercial signs in Japan 'should be English-Japanese mixed' preferred Sign 10, the Chinese-only sign, the most. Therefore, it was not the languages and scripts on the signs but other factors that affected their preferences.

Table 7.1. 3 Signs that participants liked by residence

Resident \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Japanese	Count	4	19	7	47	3	27	18	74	1	1	201
	Adjusted Residual	-0.1	0.3	-3.4	1.3	-5.3	0.2	-1.3	5.2	-1.4	-0.9	
English	Count	1	0	3	2	4	4	2	7	0	1	24
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	-1.6	0.9	-1.6	1.6	0.5	-0.4	0.3	-0.6	1.8	
International	Count	0	0	1	5	2	1	5	3	0	1	18
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	-1.4	-0.3	0.7	0.5	-1.0	2.4	-1.0	-0.5	2.2	
Overseas	Count	2	12	15	18	19	13	12	7	3	0	101
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	1.2	3.3	-0.9	4.7	-0.1	0.4	-5.3	2.0	-1.1	
Total	Count	7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

Fourth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference for signs and Japanese language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.4 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills preferred Sign 8, compared to participants with intermediate and elementary Japanese reading skills, while a significantly higher rate of participants with intermediate Japanese reading skills preferred Sign 3 and Sign 5, compared to those with native or near-native Japanese reading skills. In addition, a significantly higher rate of participants who had no Japanese reading skills preferred

Sign 7. The results correspond to those on the association between preference for signs and residence because the most participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills were Japanese residents and because those with more limited Japanese reading skills were overseas residents. The participants with advanced Japanese reading skills liked the signs that contained Japanese and English, and those who lacked such skills liked the English-only sign. However, one participant who selected the Japanese-only sign, Sign 1, had elementary Japanese skills. It could be presumed that the participant was learning Japanese and was interested in reading the language in order to practice it.

Table 7.1. 4 Signs that participants liked by Japanese language skills

Japanese skills		Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count		4	17	8	47	3	28	20	72	1	2	202
	Adjusted Residual		-0.1	-0.5	-3.0	1.3	-5.4	0.5	-0.6	4.6	-1.4	0.3	
Advanced	Count		1	4	2	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	14
	Adjusted Residual		1.4	2.6	1.0	1.4	-1.1	-1.5	-1.3	-1.1	-0.4	-0.4	
Intermediate	Count		0	4	8	8	8	4	2	5	0	0	39
	Adjusted Residual		-1.0	0.3	3.3	-0.1	3.0	-0.6	-1.2	-2.0	-0.7	-0.6	
Elementary	Count		2	5	7	8	15	12	10	9	3	1	72
	Adjusted Residual		0.5	-0.7	0.8	-2.3	4.4	1.0	1.0	-3.0	2.7	0.5	
Can't read	Count		0	1	1	4	2	1	5	3	0	0	17
	Adjusted Residual		-0.6	-0.5	-0.3	0.3	0.6	-0.9	2.5	-0.8	-0.5	-0.4	
Total	Count		7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

Fifth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference for a sign and English language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference for signs and English language skills ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.5 shows, a significantly higher proportion of participants with native or near-native English reading skills preferred Sign 5, compared to participants with intermediate and elementary English skills, while a significantly higher rate of participants with elementary English reading skills preferred Sign 8, compared to participants with native

or near-native English reading skills. Most of the participants with native or near-native English skills were overseas residents, and the participants with more limited English skills were Japanese residents. The result reflects the association between sign preference, resident type and Japanese skills. However, 37.5% of the participants with elementary English reading skills and 37.5% of those without English reading skills also liked Sign 8, which only contained English. Although the popular signs contained English words and phrases, the English skills of the participants were not related to their preferences for them.

Table 7.1. 5 Signs that participants liked by English language skills

English skills \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count	2	14	17	23	21	23	18	18	2	1	139
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	0.6	2.7	-1.6	3.9	1.6	1.1	-4.7	0.4	-0.3	
Advanced	Count	1	5	1	9	4	5	6	13	1	1	46
	Adjusted Residual	0.1	0.5	-1.5	-0.2	0.1	-0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7	1.0	
Intermediate	Count	0	2	3	12	0	3	2	15	1	1	39
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	-0.9	0.0	1.6	-2.0	-1.1	-1.2	1.8	0.9	1.2	
Elementary	Count	3	6	5	26	3	13	9	39	0	0	104
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-1.4	-1.3	1.2	-2.3	-0.2	-0.8	3.1	-1.3	-1.1	
Can't read	Count	1	4	0	2	0	1	2	6	0	0	16
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	2.3	-1.2	-0.8	-1.2	-0.8	0.2	1.0	-0.4	-0.4	
Total	Count	7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

Finally, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference for a sign and skills in languages other than Japanese and English. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p = 0.003$). As Table 7.1.6 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English preferred Sign 5, compared to participants who had no reading skills in such languages. In addition, a significantly higher rate of participants who had no reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English preferred Sign 8, compared to participants with advanced reading skills in other languages. The

majority of the participants without readings skills in other languages were Japanese residents, and those with advanced skills in the other languages were overseas residents. Thus, this result also reflects the association between sign preference, resident type and language skills. One participant who was a native speaker of Chinese and primarily used Simplified Chinese characters in her writing did not select the signs in that language. One of the participants who selected the Chinese-only sign, Sign 10, was a Japanese national who had been studying Mandarin Chinese. It could be stated that the participant who had studied a foreign language was interested in reading the language. Therefore, there was no strong correlation between sign preferences and reading skills among the multilingual participants.

Table 7.1. 6 Signs that participants liked by other-language skills

Other language \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 3	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count	0	2	1	10	8	7	7	8	2	1	46
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-1.2	-1.5	0.1	2.5	0.5	1.0	-1.5	2.2	1.0	
Advanced	Count	0	3	3	7	2	3	4	2	1	0	25
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.0	-0.2	0.9	-2.2	1.4	-0.5	
Intermediate	Count	1	2	7	4	1	4	0	7	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-0.2	3.9	-0.7	-0.8	0.4	-1.8	0.1	-0.6	-0.5	
Elementary	Count	3	10	9	21	13	15	14	24	1	2	112
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	0.0	0.2	-0.7	1.6	0.1	0.7	-1.5	-0.3	1.3	
Can't read	Count	3	14	6	30	4	16	12	50	0	0	135
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	0.7	-1.8	0.5	-2.8	-0.5	-0.9	3.6	-1.6	-1.4	
Total	Count	7	31	26	72	28	45	37	91	4	3	344

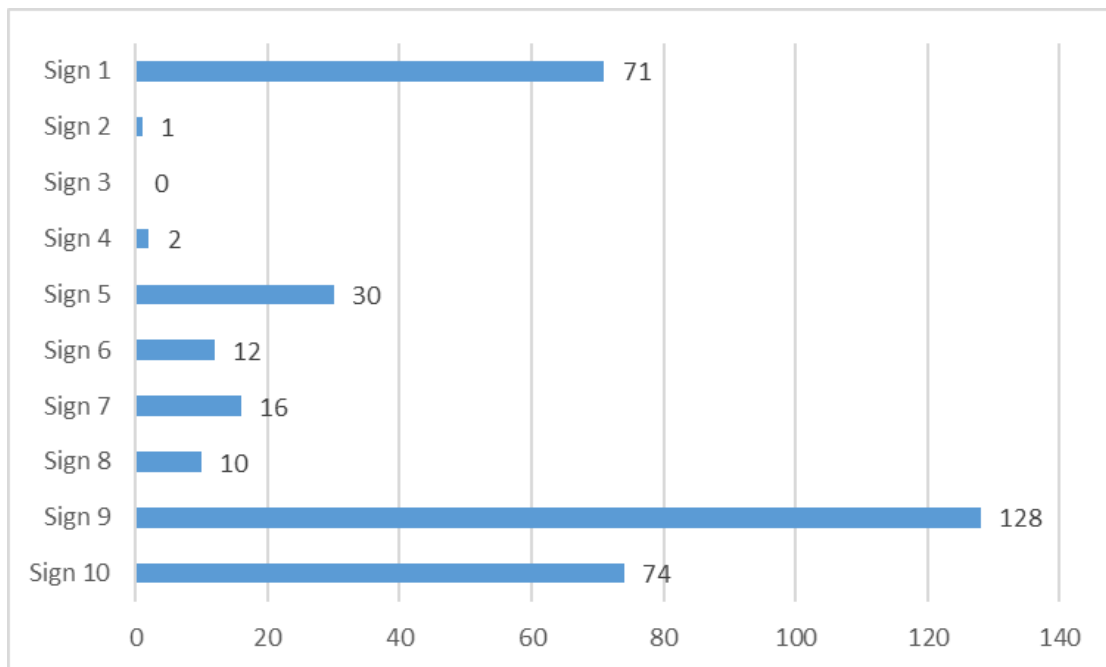
Overall, the results indicate that the Japanese participants liked the English-only Sign 8. One explanation could be that advanced English reading skills were not necessary to understand the content of Sign 8, which contained simple English words and phrases (i.e., 'SALE' and '60% OFF'). However, other elements of the signs might have affected preferences. Sign 7, another English-only sign, was not as popular among the Japanese participants as Sign 8. The participants who had more limited Japanese reading skills preferred English-only signs or Japanese-English bilingual signs because

they found them easier to comprehend. It is important to note that a majority of the Japanese participants preferred English-only signs and signs that contained several English words to signs that were written mainly in Japanese. Thus, it can be argued that the use of English in commercial signs is accepted by the Japanese regardless of their English reading skills.

7.1.3 Signs that the participants liked the least

To determine the least-preferred sign in the city, the participants were asked to select one of the signs from the 10 signs shown in the previous questions. Graph 7.1.2 indicates the number of participants who did not like each sign. As the graph shows, the least-preferred sign was Sign 9, a multilingual sign containing Chinese, Korean and English; 128 participants (37.2%) selected the sign. The second-least-preferred sign was Sign 10, which was written in only Chinese; 74 participants (21.5%) chose it. The third was Sign 1, which was written in Japanese only; 71 participants (20.6%) chose it. No participant selected Sign 3 as their least liked sign. Therefore, the participants preferred signs that contain English, while a large number of participants preferred Japanese- or Chinese-only signs and multilingual sign that contain language(s) other than Japanese and English the least.

Graph 7.1. 2 Number of participants who did not like each sign



A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there are significant associations between least preferred sign and gender, age, residence and language skills. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between least preferred sign and gender ($p = 0.024$). As Table 7.1.7 shows, a significantly higher rate of male participants indicated that Sign 5 was their least preferred sign, compared to female participants, while a significantly higher rate of female participants selected Sign 9 as their least preferred sign. The bilingual Sign 5 was displayed at another boutique, and the multilingual Sign 9 was displayed at an electrical appliance store, as explained in Section 7.1.2. The results on the relationships between most and least preferred signs and gender imply that the male participants might have been more interested in electrical appliance stores and that the female participants paid more attention to fashion-related items. Therefore, the participants selected the signs on the basis of their content rather than on the basis of their language or script.

Table 7.1. 7 Signs that participants did not like by gender

Gender		Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Male	Count		39	1	0	21	4	10	7	52	36	170
	Adjusted Residual		1.0	1.0	-1.4	2.4	-1.1	1.1	1.3	-2.5	-0.1	
Female	Count		32	0	2	9	8	6	3	76	38	174
	Adjusted Residual		-1.0	-1.0	1.4	-2.4	1.1	-1.1	-1.3	2.5	0.1	
Total	Count		71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

Second, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between least preferred sign and age. The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed no statistically significant association ($p=0.055$; see Table 7.1.8).

Table 7.1. 8 Signs that participants did not like by age

Age		Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
20s	Count		32	0	1	7	5	5	4	67	42	163
	Adjusted Residual		-0.4	-1.0	0.1	-2.8	-0.4	-1.3	-0.5	1.4	1.8	
30s	Count		18	1	0	8	2	8	3	32	17	89
	Adjusted Residual		-0.1	1.7	-0.8	0.1	-0.7	2.3	0.3	-0.3	-0.6	
40s	Count		13	0	1	9	3	3	1	19	12	61
	Adjusted Residual		0.1	-0.5	1.2	1.8	0.7	0.1	-0.6	-1.1	-0.4	
50s	Count		6	0	0	1	1	0	1	7	3	19
	Adjusted Residual		1.2	-0.2	-0.3	-0.5	0.4	-1.0	0.6	0.0	-0.6	
60s	Count		2	0	0	5	1	0	1	3	0	12
	Adjusted Residual		-0.3	-0.2	-0.3	4.1	0.9	-0.8	1.1	-0.9	-1.8	
Total	Count		71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

Third, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between least preferred sign and residence. The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.9 shows, a significantly higher rate of Japanese residents had Sign 9 as their least preferred sign, compared to overseas residents, while a significantly higher rate of overseas residents indicated that they preferred Sign 8 the least. Furthermore, a

significantly higher rate of international and overseas residents chose Sign 1 as their least preferred, relative to Japanese residents. Sign 9 contained multilingual texts without Japanese words. The participants who had Japanese reading skills could understand some of the Chinese words in the text (e.g., 免税品, *menzeihin*, ‘tax free’ or ‘duty free’ in English). The Japanese residents, the English residents and the international residents might have liked Sign 9 the least because the text contained information for international tourists, not for Japanese residents, and they might have inferred that the text had not been written for them. International and overseas residents might have preferred the Japanese-only sign the least because of difficulties in comprehending its content. However, none of these participants selected Sign 2 and Sign 3, which contained texts that were mostly written in Japanese. Since the two signs contained pictures of products, Japanese reading skills were not essential to guessing their content and might have had no effect on preferences.

Table 7.1. 9 Signs that participants did not like by resident type

Resident	Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
	Japanese	Count	27	0	2	22	4	7	2	92	45
Adjusted Residual		-3.9	-1.2	1.2	1.7	-1.8	-1.2	-2.5	3.9	0.5	
English	Count	6	1	0	2	0	0	0	8	7	24
	Adjusted Residual	0.5	3.7	-0.4	-0.1	-1.0	-1.1	-0.9	-0.4	0.9	
International	Count	7	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	4	18
	Adjusted Residual	2.0	-0.2	-0.3	0.4	-0.8	-1.0	-0.8	-0.9	0.1	
Overseas	Count	31	0	0	4	8	9	8	23	18	101
	Adjusted Residual	3.0	-0.6	-0.9	-2.0	2.9	2.4	3.6	-3.6	-1.1	
Total	Count	71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

Fourth, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between least preferred sign and Japanese language skills. The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.10 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native

or near-native Japanese reading skills preferred Sign 9 the least, compared to participants without Japanese skills. Conversely, a significantly higher rate of participants with elementary Japanese reading skills preferred Sign 8 the least, compared to participants with native or near-native Japanese skills. Furthermore, a significantly higher rate of participants with elementary and no Japanese reading skills preferred Sign 1 the least, compared to respondents with native or near-native Japanese skills. The result was similar to that on the association between least preferred sign and residence because the participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills were Japanese residents. Participants with less developed Japanese skills might have liked the Japanese-only signs the least because they lacked sufficient expertise in Japanese *kanji*, as explained above. However, 27 Japanese participants (7.8%) least preferred Sign 1, which was written in entirely Japanese scripts, although they were native speakers of Japanese. Therefore, preference for signs was not always correlated with native or near-native language competence.

Table 7.1. 10 Signs that participants did not like by Japanese language skills

Japanese skills \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count	27	1	2	22	4	7	2	91	46	202
	Adjusted Residual	-4.0	0.8	1.2	1.7	-1.8	-1.2	-2.5	3.6	0.7	
Advanced	Count	1	0	0	2	2	3	0	4	2	14
	Adjusted Residual	-1.3	-0.2	-0.3	0.8	2.2	3.0	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	
Intermediate	Count	4	0	0	2	2	1	2	11	17	39
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	-0.4	-0.5	-0.8	0.6	-0.7	0.9	-1.2	3.6	
Elementary	Count	28	0	0	3	2	5	5	21	8	72
	Adjusted Residual	4.3	-0.5	-0.7	-1.5	-0.4	1.0	2.3	-1.6	-2.4	
Can't read	Count	11	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	17
	Adjusted Residual	4.6	-0.2	-0.3	-0.4	1.9	-0.9	0.7	-2.7	-1.6	
Total	Count	71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

Fifth, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between least preferred sign and English language skills. The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.1.11 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native English reading skills preferred Sign 1 the least, compared to participants with elementary English skills, while participants with elementary English reading skills preferred Sign 9 to a larger extent than those with native or near-native English skills. A large number of participants with native or near-native English skills had limited or low Japanese reading skills. Consequently, these participants preferred the sign that was only written in Japanese the least. Although Sign 9 contained English phrases, it was least preferred, as the majority of participants did not have reading competence in Chinese and Korean, which constituted most of the text. The participants with lower English skills might have preferred the multilingual sign the least because most of them were Japanese, and the sign did not contain their language or information that was intended for them.

Table 7.1. 11 Signs that participants did not like by English language skills

English skills \ Sign		Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count	42	0	1	8	6	7	7	39	29	139
	Adjusted Residual	3.6	-0.8	0.3	-1.6	0.7	0.3	1.9	-2.9	-0.2	
Advanced	Count	13	0	0	5	1	5	0	13	9	46
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	-0.4	-0.6	0.6	-0.5	2.2	-1.3	-1.3	-0.3	
Intermediate	Count	4	1	0	3	2	0	2	16	11	39
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	2.8	-0.5	-0.2	0.6	-1.5	0.9	0.5	1.1	
Elementary	Count	11	0	0	10	3	4	1	51	24	104
	Adjusted Residual	-3.0	-0.7	-0.9	0.4	-0.4	-0.5	-1.4	3.0	0.5	
Can't read	Count	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	9	1	16
	Adjusted Residual	-1.5	-0.2	3.1	2.4	-0.8	-0.9	-0.7	1.6	-1.5	
Total	Count	71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

Finally, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between least preferred sign and skills in languages other than Japanese and English. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p = 0.005$). As Table 7.1.12 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with intermediate reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English preferred Sign 1 the least, compared to individuals without such language skills, while participants without reading skills in other languages preferred Sign 9 the least to a larger extent than those who had advanced and intermediate reading skills in the other languages. The participants who had reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English were unlikely to prefer the multilingual Sign 9 the least. One candidate explanation is that the individuals in question were more tolerant of the use of other languages.

Table 7.1. 12 Signs that participants did not like by other-language skills

Other language		Sign	Sign 1	Sign 2	Sign 4	Sign 5	Sign 6	Sign 7	Sign 8	Sign 9	Sign 10	Total
Native	Count		13	0	0	3	1	5	1	14	9	46
	Adjusted Residual		1.4	-0.4	-0.6	-0.6	-0.5	2.2	-0.3	-1.0	-0.3	
Advanced	Count		5	0	0	4	3	1	2	4	6	25
	Adjusted Residual		-0.1	-0.3	-0.4	1.3	2.4	-0.2	1.6	-2.3	0.3	
Intermediate	Count		12	1	0	0	2	1	1	5	4	26
	Adjusted Residual		3.3	3.5	-0.4	-1.6	1.2	-0.2	0.3	-2.0	-0.8	
Elementary	Count		23	0	1	10	4	4	4	42	24	112
	Adjusted Residual		0.0	-0.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	-0.7	0.5	0.1	0.0	
Can't read	Count		18	0	1	13	2	5	2	63	31	135
	Adjusted Residual		-2.7	-0.8	0.3	0.5	-1.6	-0.7	-1.3	2.9	0.5	
Total	Count		71	1	2	30	12	16	10	128	74	344

The results indicate that the Japanese participants were least likely to prefer the multilingual sign that contained English, Chinese and Korean and that participants with limited Japanese reading skills were least likely to prefer the Japanese-only sign. The reason Sign 10 was least preferred by many participants could be that the majority of

participants had no reading competence in Chinese. Thus, they might think it was not written for them. However, the reasons for which participants liked the Japanese sign the least were not based exclusively on its language and scripts – only a few participants preferred other signs that were written in Japanese the least. Only one participant selected Sign 2, which was written in Japanese and contained a few abbreviations, as their least preferred sign. No participant chose Sign 3 as their least preferred sign. Sign 2 and Sign 3 contained pictures of products, while Sign 1 displayed a map of Japan. The map was related to the content of the sign but provided no clues to individuals with limited Japanese reading skills. The implication is that audiences pay attention not only to the language of commercial signs but also to visual aids.

7.2 Reasons for preferences

7.2.1 Reasons for which participants liked the signs

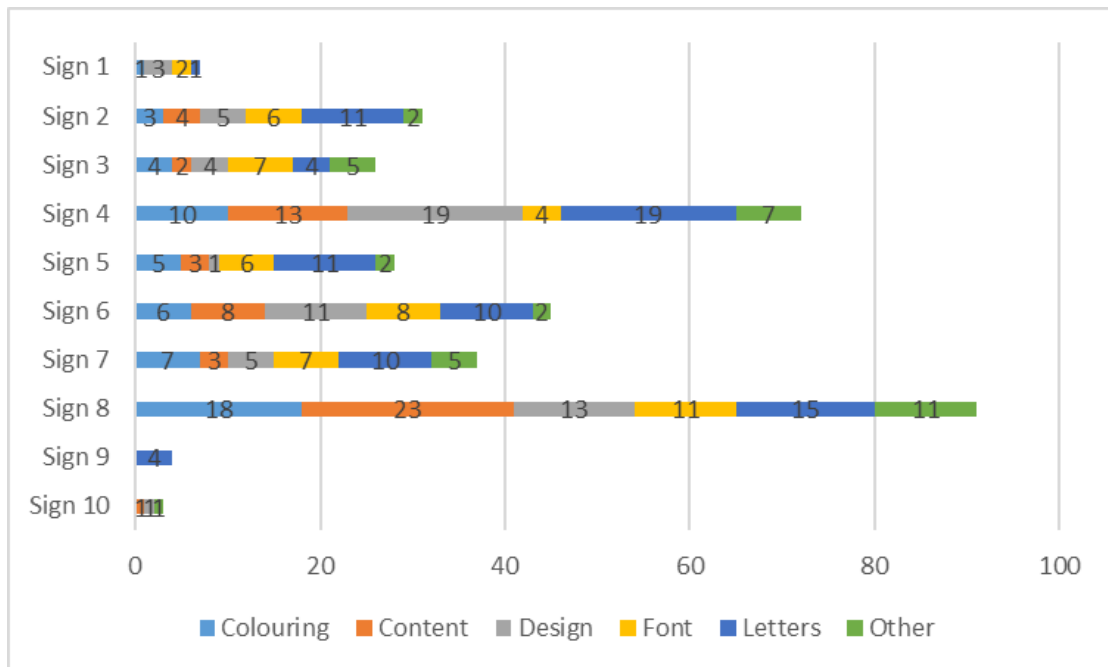
The above analyses show that some of the tendencies in the preferences for signs that the participants exhibited may have been related to gender, age, residence and language skills. Accordingly, the participants were asked to choose between six reasons for preferring one of the 10 signs: 1) like the colouring of the sign, 2) like the content of the text, 3) like the design of the sign, 4) like the font of the letters (scripts), 5) like the letters (scripts) and the language and 6) other reasons. The purpose of asking the question was to find out whether there were reasons other than language or script itself for the preference of signs. Therefore, the participants who selected the option 6), ‘other reasons’, were asked to explain the reason they preferred the particular sign (see Section 7. 3.1).

Graph 7.2.1 shows that, among the 91 participants who liked Sign 8, 23 (25.3%) attributed their preference to the content of the sign. A total of 18 (19.8%) pointed to

the colouring of the sign, while 15 (16.5%) liked signs because of the language and scripts that were used on them. Sign 8 provided information about bargains in simple English words and with a minimum of colour. The result indicated that the participants liked signs which provided information that was useful to them and that full reading competence was not necessarily essential for liking a commercial sign, as long as the sign could achieve its purpose (in this case, providing information about sales).

As for the 72 participants who expressed a preference for Sign 4, 19 (26.4%) liked it because of its design, 19 (26.4%) referred to the language and the script of the text, and 13 (18.1%) pointed to its content. Although Sign 4 contains different information in English and Japanese and requires reading competences in both languages to be understood fully, approximately a fourth of the participants liked it because of the languages in which it was written. This result also indicates that the participants liked commercial signs because of their designs and that full comprehension is not necessary for a sign to achieve its marketing objective.

Graph 7.2. 1 Signs that participants liked and reasons



A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between sign types and reasons for preferences. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between sign types and reasons for liking the sign ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.2.1 shows, a significantly higher proportion of participants liked Sign 8 because of its content, relative to the proportion of participants who based their decision on languages and scripts, and a significantly higher proportion of participants liked Sign 4 because of its design rather than because of the font of the text. At the same time, Sign 9 was preferred the least solely because of the languages and scripts that it contained.

Table 7.2. 1 Signs that participants liked and reasons

Sign	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Sign 1	Count	1	0	3	2	1	0	7
	Adjusted Residual	-0.1	-1.2	1.7	1.0	-0.6	-0.9	
Sign 2	Count	3	4	5	6	11	2	31
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	-0.6	-0.3	0.7	1.5	-0.7	
Sign 3	Count	4	2	4	7	4	5	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	-1.3	-0.4	1.8	-1.1	1.6	
Sign 4	Count	10	13	19	4	19	7	72
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	0.4	2.1	-2.5	0.4	-0.1	
Sign 5	Count	5	3	1	6	11	2	28
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-0.9	-2.1	1.0	1.9	-0.6	
Sign 6	Count	6	8	11	8	10	2	45
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	0.2	1.2	0.6	-0.4	-1.4	
Sign 7	Count	7	3	5	7	10	5	37
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	-1.5	-0.8	0.7	0.3	0.7	
Sign 8	Count	18	23	13	11	15	11	91
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	2.6	-1.1	-0.9	-2.1	0.7	
Sign 9	Count	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.8	3.5	-0.7	
Sign 10	Count	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	0.8	0.7	-0.7	-1.0	1.3	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

The responses were also examined by reference to participant characteristics. First, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between preference reasons and gender. Although male participants were likely to prefer signs from an electrical appliances store, while female participants were likely to be interested in signs from boutiques, the results of the chi-squared test revealed no statistically significant association between the reasons that were given for preferences and gender ($\chi^2(5) = 7.703, p = 0.174$; Table 7.2.2).

Table 7.2. 2 Reasons for liking signs by gender

Gender \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Male	Count	33	24	27	23	48	15	170
	Adjusted Residual	1.9	-1.2	-1.0	-0.7	1.5	-0.8	
Female	Count	21	33	35	28	37	20	174
	Adjusted Residual	-1.9	1.2	1.0	0.7	-1.5	0.8	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

Although the participants who were 60 or older were likely to prefer a department store sign, the results of Fisher's exact test revealed no statistically significant association between the reasons that were given for preferences and age ($p = 0.223$; Table 7.2.3).

Table 7.2. 3 Reasons for liking signs by age

Age \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
20s	Count	17	33	31	24	36	22	163
	Adjusted Residual	-2.5	1.7	0.5	-0.1	-1.1	1.9	
30s	Count	15	13	16	13	26	6	89
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-0.6	0.0	-0.1	1.1	-1.2	
40s	Count	14	9	7	9	18	4	61
	Adjusted Residual	1.7	-0.4	-1.5	0.0	1.0	-1.0	
50s	Count	5	1	3	4	3	3	19
	Adjusted Residual	1.3	-1.4	-0.3	0.8	-0.9	0.8	
60s	Count	3	1	5	1	2	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	-0.8	2.2	-0.6	-0.7	-1.2	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

This said, the results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference reasons and residence ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.2.4 shows, a significantly higher proportion of Japanese residents liked the signs because of their content and design, relative to the proportion of Japanese residents who based their decisions on language, while a significantly higher proportion of overseas residents liked the signs because of their languages and fonts, relative to the proportion of overseas residents who based their decision on the content of the signs. Two of the 10

signs that were shown to the participants were written entirely in English, and the other were either Japanese, Japanese-and-English bilingual or multilingual with Asian languages. Commercial signs in Japan are written and designed predominantly for the Japanese, except when placed in tourist areas. Therefore, the choice of language and script did not affect their preference of signs for native speakers of Japanese. Conversely, non-Japanese participants tended to prefer particular signs because of their use of language.

Table 7.2. 4 Reasons for liking signs by residence

Resident	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Japanese	Count	28	46	45	25	36	21	201
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	3.7	2.5	-1.5	-3.5	0.2	
English	Count	5	2	1	4	9	3	24
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-1.1	-1.8	0.3	1.5	0.4	
International	Count	4	1	3	0	6	4	18
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	-1.3	-0.2	-1.8	0.9	1.7	
Overseas	Count	17	8	13	22	34	7	101
	Adjusted Residual	0.4	-2.8	-1.6	2.3	2.5	-1.3	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference reasons and Japanese language skills ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.2.5 shows, more participants with native or near-native Japanese language skills liked the signs because of their content and design than because of the choice of particular languages, and a significantly higher proportion of participants with elementary Japanese skills liked the signs because of the languages in which they were written rather than because of their content. This result mirrors the association between preference reasons and residence. Although overseas participants lived outside Japan and did not have much opportunity to read signs in Japan, most participants had been learning Japanese as a second, foreign or additional language. However, overseas

residents with limited Japanese reading skills liked the signs that contained English more than the signs that they struggled to comprehend. Therefore, both residence and Japanese language skills shape preferences for signs that are written in Japanese.

Table 7.2. 5 Reasons for liking signs by Japanese language skills

Japanese skill \ Reason	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	28	46	46	25	35	22	202
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	3.7	2.7	-1.5	-3.8	0.5	
Advanced	Count	2	2	3	2	5	0	14
	Adjusted Residual	-0.1	-0.2	0.3	-0.1	1.0	-1.3	
Intermediate	Count	8	3	4	8	10	6	39
	Adjusted Residual	0.9	-1.6	-1.3	1.1	0.1	1.1	
Elementary	Count	14	6	8	11	28	5	72
	Adjusted Residual	1.0	-2.1	-1.7	0.1	3.1	-1.0	
Can't read	Count	2	0	1	5	7	2	17
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	-1.9	-1.3	1.7	1.6	0.2	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference reasons and English language skills ($p = 0.017$). As Table 7.2.6 shows, a significantly higher proportion of participants with elementary English skills liked the signs because of their content, compared to the proportion of participants with elementary English skills who based their decision on the language of a sign. Those participants liked Sign 8, which contained written English phrases, and Sign 4, which was written in Japanese and English. Both signs contained simple English phrases (e.g., '60% OFF' and 'New'). Thus, strong English reading skills were not required to understand the texts, and the content of the signs was more important for the participants, as long as they could understand it.

Table 7.2. 6 Reasons for liking signs by English language skills

English skill \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	26	15	18	26	40	14	139
	Adjusted Residual	1.3	-2.4	-2.0	1.7	1.4	-0.1	
Advanced	Count	5	5	10	8	17	1	46
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	-1.1	0.7	0.5	2.1	-1.9	
Intermediate	Count	5	6	10	5	7	6	39
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	-0.2	1.3	-0.4	-1.0	1.1	
Elementary	Count	17	28	20	10	16	13	104
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	3.4	0.4	-1.8	-2.6	0.9	
Can't read	Count	1	3	4	2	5	1	16
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	0.2	0.7	-0.3	0.6	-0.5	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between preference reasons and skills in languages other than Japanese and English ($p = 0.029$). As Table 7.2.7 shows, a significantly higher proportion of participants with native or near-native other-language skills liked the signs because of the languages and scripts that they contained, compared to the proportion of individuals who based their choices on the content of the signs. The participants in question preferred bilingual and multilingual signs. Although they could not read Chinese and Korean, which had been used in the multilingual signs, they could read English. Since these participants had various language backgrounds, they might have been more sensitive or sympathetic to those who need multilingual signs.

Table 7.2. 7 Reasons for liking signs by other-language skills

Other skill	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	10	3	5	5	17	6	46
	Adjusted Residual	1.2	-2.0	-1.4	-0.8	2.1	0.7	
Advanced	Count	2	1	5	6	9	2	25
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-1.8	0.3	1.3	1.4	-0.4	
Intermediate	Count	6	6	2	7	2	3	26
	Adjusted Residual	1.1	0.9	-1.4	1.8	-2.1	0.2	
Elementary	Count	17	17	18	18	29	13	112
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	-0.5	-0.7	0.5	0.4	0.6	
Can't read	Count	19	30	32	15	28	11	135
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	2.3	2.2	-1.6	-1.4	-1.0	
Total	Count	54	57	62	51	85	35	344

7.2.2 Reasons for which participants preferred signs the least

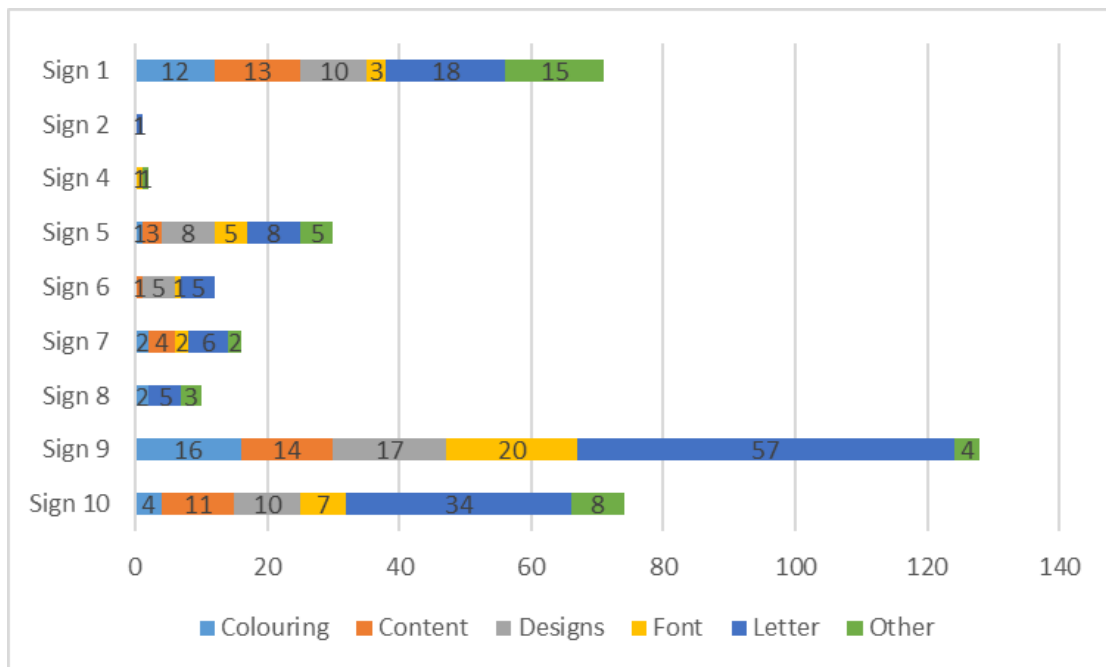
The reasons for which the participants preferred specific signs the least were also examined. The participants were asked to choose the reasons they least preferred a particular sign from the following six options: 1) do not like the colouring of the sign, 2) do not like the content of the text, 3) do not like the design of the sign, 4) do not like the font of the letters (scripts), 5) do not like the letters (scripts) and the language and 6) other reasons. The participants who selected the option 6), 'other reasons', were asked to explain the reason they least preferred the particular sign (see Section 7. 3.2).

As shown in Graph 7.2.2, the participants preferred Sign 9 the least, followed by Sign 10 and Sign 1. Among the 128 participants who liked Sign 9 the least, 57 (44.5%) did not like the sign because of its languages and scripts, 20 (15.6%) pointed to its font, 17 (13.3%) referred to its design, and 16 (12.5%) mentioned its colouring. Sign 9 was a multilingual sign that was written in English, Chinese and Korean. Although the sign explained information for international tourists, which meant that it was not relevant to Japanese residents, it was not its content that the participants disliked but the presentation of the text, that is, its languages, font and design.

Among the 74 participants who liked Sign 10 the least, 34 (45.9%) pointed to its language and script, 11 (14.9%) referred to the content of the text, and 10 (13.3%) referred to its design. Sign 10 was a Chinese-only sign, and the participants who did not speak that language felt that it had not been written with them in mind. Although only a few participants could read Chinese, 11 cited content as their reason for liking Sign 10 the least. It is possible that those with advanced Japanese reading skills could understand some of the *kanji* in the text.

Among the 71 participants who liked Sign 1 the least, 18 (25.4%) explained their decision by referring to languages and scripts, 13 (18.3%) pointed to the content of the sign, and 12 (16.9%) took issue with its colouring. In addition, 15 participants (21.1%) stated that they had other reasons for selecting Sign 1 as their least preferred sign. Sign 1 was written entirely in Japanese. It was reasonable to use Japanese text in Japan. However, the participants who had limited Japanese reading skills could have experienced difficulties in reading *kanji* and may have thought that the sign was not displayed for their convenience. As a consequence, the participants might have selected the sign as their least preferred one. This said, 27 participants who had native or near-native Japanese reading skills also liked the Japanese-only sign the least. They accounted for 13.4% of all participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills (7.8% of all participants). Therefore, language skill is not always the reason for liking or disliking a commercial sign.

Graph 7.2. 2 Signs that participants preferred the least and reasons



*Note: No participants selected Sign 3.

A chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was performed to determine whether there is a significant association between sign types and preference reasons. The significance level was set to $\alpha = 0.05$ (5%). The results of Fisher’s exact test revealed a statistically significant association between sign types and reasons for liking a sign the least ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.2.8 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants liked Sign 5 and Sign 6 the least because of their design. Sign 5 was a bilingual text that was written directly on the window of a boutique, and Sign 6 was a Japanese-English code-mixed text that was written on a blackboard at a restaurant. They both looked as if they had been handwritten. Some participants might have been unfamiliar with handwriting or may have encountered difficulties with reading the texts.

Table 7.2. 8 Signs that participants preferred the least and reasons

Sign \ Reason	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Sign 1	Count	12	13	10	3	18	15	71
	Adjusted Residual	1.9	1.4	-0.1	-2.1	-2.6	3.0	
Sign 2	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.4	1.3	-0.4	
Sign 4	Count	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
	Adjusted Residual	-0.5	-0.6	-0.6	1.7	-1.1	1.8	
Sign 5	Count	1	3	8	5	8	5	30
	Adjusted Residual	-1.4	-0.6	2.0	1.0	-1.4	1.0	
Sign 6	Count	0	1	5	1	5	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	-0.5	2.7	-0.3	0.2	-1.2	
Sign 7	Count	2	4	0	2	6	2	16
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	1.4	-1.7	0.2	-0.1	0.2	
Sign 8	Count	2	0	0	0	5	3	10
	Adjusted Residual	1.0	-1.3	-1.3	-1.1	0.7	1.9	
Sign 9	Count	16	14	17	20	57	4	128
	Adjusted Residual	0.8	-1.0	-0.5	1.9	1.6	-3.6	
Sign 10	Count	4	11	10	7	34	8	74
	Adjusted Residual	-1.7	0.4	-0.3	-0.6	1.4	-0.1	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

The reasons for liking a sign the least were also examined by reference to participant characteristics. A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between the reason for preferring a sign the least and gender, age, residence, Japanese language skills, English language skills and skills in languages other than Japanese and English. The results of the chi-squared test and Fisher's exact tests revealed no statistically significant association between the reason for preferring a sign the least and gender ($\chi^2(5) = 4.363, p = 0.502$; Table 7.2.9), age ($\alpha = 0.05, p = 0.847$; Table 7.2.10), residence ($\alpha = 0.05, p = 0.152$; Table 7.2.11), Japanese language skills ($\alpha = 0.05, p = 0.233$; Table 7.2.12), English language skills ($\alpha = 0.05, p = 0.445$; Table 7.2.13) and other-language skills ($\alpha = 0.05, p = 0.131$; Table 7.2.14). Regardless of their characteristics, the participants tended to prefer a particular sign the least for language-usage reasons.

Table 7.2. 9 Reasons for liking signs the least by gender

Gender	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Male	Count	19	21	24	14	72	20	170
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	-0.5	-0.2	-1.8	1.3	0.4	
Female	Count	18	25	26	25	62	18	174
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	0.5	0.2	1.8	-1.3	-0.4	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

Table 7.2. 10 Reasons for liking signs the least by age

Age	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
20s	Count	17	25	25	17	62	17	163
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	1.0	0.4	-0.5	-0.3	-0.3	
30s	Count	13	9	12	7	38	10	89
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	-1.0	-0.3	-1.2	0.8	0.1	
40s	Count	4	9	9	10	20	9	61
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	0.3	0.1	1.4	-1.1	1.0	
50s	Count	1	3	3	3	7	2	19
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	0.3	0.2	0.6	-0.2	-0.1	
60s	Count	2	0	1	2	7	0	12
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	-1.4	-0.6	0.6	1.4	-1.2	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

Table 7.2. 11 Reasons for liking signs the least by residence

Resident	Reason	Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Japanese	Count	22	29	23	21	87	19	201
	Adjusted Residual	0.1	0.7	-1.9	-0.6	2.0	-1.1	
English	Count	1	3	4	3	11	2	24
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-0.1	0.3	0.2	0.7	-0.4	
International	Count	2	1	2	1	5	7	18
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	-1.0	-0.4	-0.8	-1.0	3.9	
Overseas	Count	12	13	21	14	31	10	101
	Adjusted Residual	0.4	-0.2	2.1	1.0	-2.0	-0.4	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

Table 7.2. 12 Reasons for liking signs the least by Japanese language skills

Japanese skill \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	21	30	23	21	88	19	202
	Adjusted Residual	-0.3	1.0	-2.0	-0.7	2.1	-1.2	
Advanced	Count	1	3	2	2	5	1	14
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	0.9	0.0	0.4	-0.3	-0.5	
Intermediate	Count	1	4	8	7	14	5	39
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	-0.6	1.1	1.4	-0.4	0.4	
Elementary	Count	13	9	14	7	20	9	72
	Adjusted Residual	2.2	-0.2	1.3	-0.5	-2.2	0.4	
Can't read	Count	1	0	3	2	7	4	17
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	-1.7	0.4	0.1	0.2	1.7	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

Table 7.2. 13 Reasons for liking signs the least by English language skills

English skill \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	17	20	27	19	40	16	139
	Adjusted Residual	0.7	0.5	2.1	1.1	-3.2	0.2	
Advanced	Count	3	6	6	4	20	7	46
	Adjusted Residual	-1.0	-0.1	-0.3	-0.6	0.7	1.0	
Intermediate	Count	7	4	4	5	17	2	39
	Adjusted Residual	1.5	-0.6	-0.8	0.3	0.6	-1.3	
Elementary	Count	9	15	12	8	49	11	104
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	0.4	-1.0	-1.4	2.0	-0.2	
Can't read	Count	1	1	1	3	8	2	16
	Adjusted Residual	-0.6	-0.9	-1.0	1.0	0.9	0.2	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

Table 7.2. 14 Reasons for liking signs the least by other-language skills

Other skill \ Reason		Colouring	Content	Design	Font	Letters	Other	Total
Native	Count	7	4	7	2	18	8	46
	Adjusted Residual	1.0	-1.0	0.1	-1.6	0.0	1.5	
Advanced	Count	1	2	6	4	6	6	25
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	-0.8	1.4	0.8	-1.6	2.1	
Intermediate	Count	3	5	4	3	8	3	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.0	-0.9	0.1	
Elementary	Count	11	19	19	15	36	12	112
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	1.4	0.9	0.8	-1.8	-0.1	
Can't read	Count	15	16	14	15	66	9	135
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	-0.7	-1.8	-0.1	3.0	-2.1	
Total	Count	37	46	50	39	134	38	344

7.3 Opinions towards signage

In addition to the multiple-choice questions that were described above, the participants who selected ‘other’ as the reason for liking a sign the most or the least and those who elected to explain their reasons in detail were asked to provide optional comments. After the data was pre-processed, the representative words that appeared in the comments were coded, and thematic analyses were conducted in order to examine the opinions of the participants.

The list of frequently appearing words in the analysis section reflects the adoption of several rules. Capitalisation choices (e.g., ‘English’ and ‘english’ or ‘Japanese’ and ‘japanese’) indicate whether the words were used as particular parts of speech. For example, spelling ‘English’ with a capital ‘E’ indicates that the word was used as a noun, and spelling ‘english’ without a capital ‘E’ indicates that the word was used as an adjective. The word ‘Easy’ designates a noun, and the word ‘easy’ refers to an adjective. The word ‘more’ appears twice because it was used as an adjective and as an adverb.

7.3.1 Opinions about signs that the participants liked

Among the 344 participants, 35 participants who selected ‘other’ as their reason for liking a particular sign and 66 participants who elected to elaborate on their reasons answered the open-ended question. The survey responses contained 297 types of words in total, and 246 types of words with a mean TF of 2.13 (standard deviation: 3.18) were isolated for textual analysis after the elimination of unnecessary words from the data. Among the words that were examined, 176 (approximately 71.5%) appeared once (TF

= 1) in the comments. Table 7.3.1 displays the 100 words that appeared most frequently in the responses and thus provides an overview of the content data.

Table 7.3. 1 The 100 words that appear with the highest frequency in the participants' comments about the signs that they liked

Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF
sign	29	feel	4	clothes	2	anything	1
understand	26	good	4	colour	2	as	1
not	16	need	4	contain	2	atmosphere	1
English	12	still	4	content	2	attempt	1
japanese	12	useful	4	different	2	attract	1
Easy	11	want	4	floor	2	attractive	1
read	10	design	3	food	2	available	1
language	9	easier	3	hand	2	balance	1
easy	8	electronics	3	information	2	base	1
like	8	get	3	kanji	2	big	1
look	8	Japanese	3	particular	2	bit	1
shop	8	katakana	3	picture	2	brand	1
when	8	letter	3	price	2	building	1
english	7	more	3	product	2	cake	1
have	7	more	3	reason	2	capability	1
most	7	other	3	restaurant	2	challenge	1
Japan	6	who	3	sell	2	chance	1
simple	6	also	2	store	2	change	1
text	6	attention	2	street	2	character	1
use	6	bargain	2	which	2	cheaper	1
write	6	bilingual	2	able	1	clearly	1
make	5	buy	2	advertise	1	clothing	1
sale	5	cheap	2	affordable	1	combination	1
see	5	city	2	announce	1	come	1
what	5	clear	2	anyone	1	commercial	1

Since the question concerned signs and preferences, the most frequently used word in the comments was 'sign' (TF = 29), while 'like' also appeared frequently (TF = 8). 'Understand' (TF = 26) was used to explain that the participant's ability to understand the text of a sign affected their preference for it to some degree. The words that are related to language, such as 'English' (TF = 12), 'Japanese' (TF = 3), and 'language' (TF = 9) as well as 'english' (TF = 7) and 'japanese' (TF = 12) showed that

the participants were aware of the use of English on commercial signs in Japan. Languages other than English and Japanese did not appear in the responses, although the participants had seen signs in Chinese and Korean in the multiple-choice questions. In addition, the language and the comprehensibility of a text affected their preferences – ‘Easy’ (TF = 11), ‘easy’ (TF = 8), ‘read’ (TF = 10) and ‘text’ (TF = 6) were also mentioned.

Among the frequently appearing words, the 70 that had $TF \geq 2$ were examined for correlations. Figure 7.3.1 describes the co-occurrence network of words and their Jaccard indices. A coefficient that is equal to or higher than 0.2 indicates a strong correlation, and a coefficient that is equal to or higher than 0.3 indicates a significant correlation between two words. The frequency of words is depicted by bubbles, and the words which were used together were categorised into nine groups that appear in different colours. The most frequently appearing word, ‘sign’, which has a strong correlation with ‘not’, does not appear in the figure because the two words were used together to express both positive and negative views. For example, ‘the sign does not disturb the atmosphere of the city’ and ‘I do not want to see English signs everywhere – I like feeling like I am in Japan’. The second most frequently appearing word, ‘understand’, has a significant correlation with ‘easy’ and ‘simple’. The verb ‘understand’ was mentioned 26 times, and it was used eight times with ‘easy’ (an adjective), nine times with ‘Easy’ (a noun), six times with ‘simple’, and two times with ‘language’. It appeared in comments such as ‘simple and easy to understand’ and ‘this is the language I can understand’. The other frequently appearing words were related to languages. The noun ‘English’ appeared 12 times, of which five saw it used together with ‘Japanese’ (a noun). It was used twice with ‘japanese’ (an adjective), as in

‘contains Japanese and English equally’ and ‘the sign has a combination of English letters as well as Japanese characters’. These words are also correlated with ‘text’, as in ‘text is in both English and Japanese’. In addition, words that refer to scripts, such as ‘letter’ and ‘*katakana*’, were mentioned, and ‘easier’ appeared in comments about languages and scripts, as in ‘using English and Japanese together makes it easier to understand’ and ‘*katakana* is easier for me to read than *kanji*’. The other word which is correlated with scripts is ‘picture’, as in ‘It has pictures to confirm my spelling, one at a time, of the *katakana*’. The other frequently appearing words were about the content of signs, such as ‘product’, ‘electronics’ and ‘bargain’. The words ‘information’ and ‘useful’ were correlated with the content of signs, as in ‘the sign lists useful information’. Words that are associated with the locations of signs also appeared in the comments. The word ‘Japan’ appeared in responses about the participants’ expectations when they were in Japan, as in ‘If I am in Japan, I would like to see Japanese text, not just English’. The word ‘restaurant’ appeared in the comments, as in ‘because it’s the most useful when ordering food or drinks in restaurant’.

Table 7.3. 2 Codes and words for the analysis of comments about the signs that the participants liked

Code	Words
language	language, English, english, Japanese, japanese, katakana, kanji, letter, bilingual, foreign
understanding	comprehend, understand, read
content	text, content, information, guidance, sale, bargain, price, electronics, gaming, dvd, brand, clothes, clothing, Drink, drink, food, dish, cake, eat, delicious
design	design, colour, picture, pictorial, balance, attention, eye-catching, fashionable, font, hand-painted, hand-written
place	shop, restaurant, floor, building, department store, street, city, Japan, England, everywhere, atmosphere

Table 7.3. 3 Codes and frequencies for the analysis of comments about the signs that the participants liked

Codes	Frequency	Percent
*language	34	30.36%
*understanding	34	30.36%
*content	32	28.57%
*design	14	12.50%
*place	20	17.86%
#no_codes	17	15.18%
N of Documents	112	

The comments about the languages and scripts that were found on signs were related to the understanding of the texts. The participants commented that they liked particular signs because they were ‘easy to read with simple letters in English’, because ‘it’s easy to read and understand for Japanese and non-Japanese people who read English’ and because ‘I cannot read many *kanji*, so having *kana* meant I could understand more of it’. Comments about the content of the signs were also related to understanding (‘I can understand the content’ and ‘you can see at a glance that the shop is selling at a bargain price’). Some participants mentioned design, as in the comments ‘simple design and language’, ‘easy to understand pictures or symbols’ and ‘the content

based on the picture, not the language'. Comments about the positioning of signs included 'I am happy to see signs in Japan written in Japanese' and 'Nagoya is a big city, and the sign attracts more attention from those who want to buy clothes'. Furthermore, overseas participants commented that 'when I come to Japan, I don't want to see English signs everywhere – I like feeling like I am in Japan, not England'. To summarise, the participants liked signs that were easy to understand and contained a combination of English and Japanese, regardless of their gender, age, residence and language skills. The participants also liked a particular sign because of its textual content.

7.3.2 Opinions about signs that the participants liked the least

Among the 344 participants, 38 who selected 'other' as the reason for liking a particular sign the least and 82 who elected to elaborate on their reasons provided optional comments. The survey responses contained 325 types of words in total, and 275 types of words with a mean TF of 2.66 (standard deviation: 6.41) were identified for textual analysis after the elimination of unnecessary words from the data. Among the word types that were analysed, 186 (approximately 67.6%) appeared once (TF = 1) in the comments. Table 7.3.4 lists the 100 words that appeared with the highest frequency in the responses and thus provides an overview of the content data.

Table 7.3. 4 The 100 words that appeared with the highest frequency in the participants' comments about the signs that they liked the least

Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF
not	78	kind	5	writing	3	particular	2
understand	55	nothing	5	almost	2	progress	2
sign	29	so	5	bad	2	quality	2
what	23	text	5	China	2	really	2
read	18	about	4	chinese_customer	2	say	2
difficult	16	character	4	clue	2	sense	2
have	15	convey	4	context	2	sentence	2
japanese	13	English	4	either	2	simple	2
language	13	Kanji	4	english	2	tick	2
too	13	many	4	find	2	tourist	2
content	11	picture	4	foreigner	2	UK	2
Japan	9	reason	4	give	2	visual	2
see	9	very	4	good	2	when	2
want	7	well	4	guess	2	word	2
write	7	contents	3	help	2	able	1
feel	6	expect	3	japanese_people	2	accessible	1
hard	6	idea	3	just	2	actually	1
kanji	6	image	3	little	2	ad	1
like	6	know	3	lot	2	afraid	1
look	6	mean	3	message	2	aim	1
only	6	much	3	messy	2	anything	1
shop	6	store	3	mixed	2	as	1
chinese	5	think	3	most	2	attract	1
design	5	useful	3	next	2	audience	1
information	5	who	3	page	2	aware	1

Since the participants were asked why they did not like the signs, the most frequently used word in the comments was the negative word 'not' (TF = 78). The next most frequently appearing word was 'understand' (TF = 55), a tendency that is similar to that observed in the responses to the question about the signs that the participants liked. The frequent appearance of 'read' (TF = 18), 'difficult' (TF = 16) and 'hard' (TF = 6) instead of 'Easy' and 'easy' indicates that the participants did not prefer the signs that they found difficult to read. The other words that appeared frequently which were not used in the comments about the signs that the participants liked were 'chinese' (TF = 5), 'China' (TF = 2), 'chinese customer' (TF = 2), 'foreigner' (TF = 2), and 'tourist'

(TF = 2). The words that were related to China and the Chinese were mentioned in comments about signs that were written in Chinese.

Among the frequently appearing words, 89 words with a $TF \geq 2$ were examined for correlations. Figure 7.3.2 displays the co-occurrence network of words and their Jaccard indices. A coefficient of 0.2 or higher indicates a strong correlation, and a coefficient of 0.3 or higher indicates a significant correlation between two words. The frequency with which words appear is shown by bubbles, and the words that were used together were categorised into 10 groups, which are shown in different colours. The most frequently appearing word, 'not', was used 37 times with 'understand'. The participants commented, 'I don't understand the language' and 'I don't understand the content'. The adjective 'difficult' appeared 16 times and was also associated with 'understand' on 12 occasions. The participants commented, 'difficult to understand because of the language' and 'difficult to understand the sign because the languages are mixed'. The word 'what' was used with 'kind' five times in the comments, which included 'I can't understand what kind of shop it was'. The word 'too' was used to express a negative sentiment. It was combined with 'many' or 'much' five times, as in 'too many sentences and difficult to understand' and 'too many *kanjis*, too much text'.

Table 7.3. 5 Codes and words for the analysis of comments about the signs that the participants liked the least

Code	Words
audience	Japanese people, Japanese customer, Chinese people, Chinese customer, foreigner, tourist, audience, speaker
language	language, English, english, Japanese, japanese, katakana, kanji, letter, bilingual, foreign
understanding	comprehend, understand, read
content	text, content, information, guidance, sale, bargain, price, electronics, gaming, dvd, brand, clothes, clothing, Drink, drink, food, dish, cake, eat, delicious
design	design, colour, picture, pictorial, balance, attention, eye-catching, fashionable, font, hand-painted, hand-written
place	shop, restaurant, floor, building, department store, street, city, Japan, England, everywhere, atmosphere

Table 7.3. 6 Codes and frequencies for the analysis of comments about the signs that the participants liked the least

Codes	Frequency	Percent
*audience	9	6.29%
*language	34	23.78%
*understanding	67	46.85%
*content	21	14.69%
*design	9	6.29%
*place	16	11.19%
#no_codes	38	26.57%
N of Documents	143	

A large number of the comments about understanding the texts were related to the use of languages and scripts on signs. The participants commented that they liked particular signs the least for understanding-related reasons, and their comments included ‘I have no idea what it says’ and ‘I didn’t understand what it was about at all’. Most of these comments were about Chinese signs. Some participants specified that they did not like the Chinese signs because ‘I don’t understand the Chinese characters’.

The other participants stated that they did not like Chinese or English signs. Their comments were as follows: ‘nothing in Japanese, so does not feel as if in Japan’, ‘if I live in Japan, I expect either Japanese or a *lingua franca* like English on signs’ and ‘if I’m going to Japan, I want to see Japanese writing, not English’. Among the participants who mentioned language choices on signs, seven did not prefer the Japanese-only sign. One Japanese participant stated that ‘since the idioms overlap, the Japanese expression is too complicated’. The other six participants had lower Japanese reading skills, and one of them commented that ‘it was written in Japanese *kanji*, no *hiragana* or *katakana*, so it’s difficult to understand. The comments about the audiences of signs included that ‘the sign doesn’t target most Japanese people, but the sign cares too much of Chinese customers’ explosive buying’, ‘manners of Chinese tourists are sometimes not good’ and ‘I don’t want to see the sign because I feel like Japan is being eroded by China’. One participant did not refer to a particular nationality, but commented that ‘the sign guides foreigners using that language. I have the impression that sign has nothing to do with Japanese people’. The comment was made about a multilingual sign that was written in English, Chinese and Korean. These comments about the Chinese people and their languages were reactions to inbound tourism (see Section 2.2). The responses make it possible to argue that the participants did not like signs written in languages that they did not understand, although they accepted English as a *lingua franca*. They also thought that simple Japanese and English would be sufficient for commercial signs in Japan, even though a large number of Chinese tourists visit Japan every year.

7.4 Attitudes to languages on signs

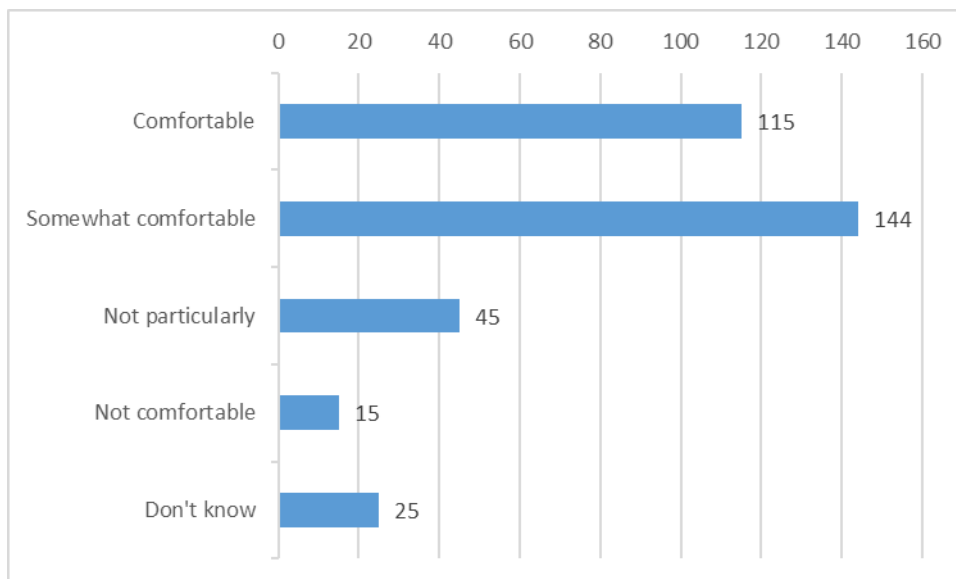
The next questions asked how the participants felt about commercial signs that use English as well as Japanese signs that also use English in the text. These two types

were selected as the languages widely appeared in the city's LL. The purpose of the questions was to assess how the participants regarded the languages and scripts on commercial signs in general. The participants rated their feelings about the signs as follows: 1) I feel comfortable with them, 2) I feel somewhat comfortable with them, 3) I do not feel particularly comfortable with them, 4) I do not feel comfortable with them and 5) I don't know.

7.4.1 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English

The first question in this section asked about English signs in the city, and the results are shown in Graph 7.4.1. Among the 344 participants, 115 (33.4%) felt comfortable with the signs that contained English, with another 144 (41.9%) feeling somewhat comfortable. Therefore, most people were favourably inclined to the use of English on commercial signs in Japan.

Graph 7.4. 1 Participants' feelings about signs that use English



The participants' feelings about signs that contained English were evaluated by reference to participant characteristics. First, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English signs and gender. The results of the chi-squared test revealed no statistically significant association ($\chi^2(4) = 5.923, p = 0.207$; Table 7.4.1).

Table 7.4. 1 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by gender

Gender \ Feeling		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		Male	Count	55	70	21	12
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	-0.3	-0.4	2.4	-0.1	
Female	Count	60	74	24	3	13	174
	Adjusted Residual	0.4	0.3	0.4	-2.4	0.1	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

Second, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English signs and age. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed no statistically significant association ($p = 0.169$; Table 7.4.2).

Table 7.4. 2 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by age

Age \ Feeling		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		20s	Count	60	59	23	9
	Adjusted Residual	1.3	-2.0	0.5	1.0	0.1	
30s	Count	29	39	13	3	5	89
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	0.4	0.5	-0.5	-0.7	
40s	Count	22	29	3	1	6	61
	Adjusted Residual	0.5	1.0	-2.1	-1.1	0.9	
50s	Count	4	9	4	1	1	19
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	0.5	1.1	0.2	-0.3	
60s	Count	0	8	2	1	1	12
	Adjusted Residual	-2.5	1.8	0.4	0.7	0.1	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

Third, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English signs and residence. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between feelings about English signs and residence ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.3 shows, a significantly higher rate of English, international and overseas residents felt comfortable with English signs, compared to Japanese residents, while a significantly higher rate of Japanese residents felt somewhat comfortable with English signs, compared to overseas residents. Among the 201 Japanese residents, 135 (67.2%) had positive feelings about English signs in Japan. Other residents also felt positively about the use of English on Japanese commercial signs. Although all overseas participants resided outside of Japan, their responses about signs that contained English in the country were similar to those of the participants from the other groups. This could be because many participants in the group did not have higher Japanese reading skills but had English competence. It can be claimed that a large number of participants had favourable feelings about signs that contained some English, regardless of their place of residence.

Table 7.4. 3 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by residence

Resident	Feeling						Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Japanese	Count	33	102	31	12	23	201
	Adjusted Residual	-7.9	4.0	1.5	1.7	3.5	
English	Count	13	7	2	1	1	24
	Adjusted Residual	2.2	-1.3	-0.7	0.0	-0.6	
International	Count	12	4	1	1	0	18
	Adjusted Residual	3.1	-1.7	-1.0	0.3	-1.2	
Overseas	Count	57	31	11	1	1	101
	Adjusted Residual	5.8	-2.7	-0.8	-2.0	-2.9	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

Fourth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English on signs and Japanese language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between the two ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.4 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants who had non-existent-to-intermediate Japanese reading skills felt comfortable with English signs, compared to participants with native or near-native Japanese skills, while a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills felt somewhat comfortable with English signs, compared to participants with elementary Japanese skills. At the same time, a significantly higher proportion of individuals with advanced Japanese reading skills were uncomfortable with English signs, compared to participants with intermediate Japanese skills. This result is similar to that on the associations between feelings and residence because residence and Japanese language skills tend to be correlated. A difference was found among the participants with advanced Japanese skills, five of whom (35.7%) did not feel particularly comfortable with English signs. The participants with advanced Japanese reading skills would experience less stress in comprehending Japanese texts, compared to those with less developed Japanese skills. Consequently, the former might

have felt that English signs are not necessary in the Japanese LL. Conversely, participants with less developed Japanese reading skills might have felt that they benefit from signs in the English language.

Table 7.4. 4 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by Japanese language skills

Japanese skill \ Feeling		Feeling					Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Native	Count	33	104	32	10	23	202
	Adjusted Residual	-8.0	4.3	1.8	0.6	3.5	
Advanced	Count	5	3	5	1	0	14
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	-1.6	2.6	0.5	-1.1	
Intermediate	Count	22	13	1	1	2	39
	Adjusted Residual	3.2	-1.1	-2.1	-0.6	-0.5	
Elementary	Count	44	20	5	3	0	72
	Adjusted Residual	5.6	-2.7	-1.7	-0.1	-2.7	
Can't read	Count	11	4	2	0	0	17
	Adjusted Residual	2.8	-1.6	-0.2	-0.9	-1.2	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

Fifth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English signs and English language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.5 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with advanced English reading skills felt comfortable with English signs, compared to participants who had non-existent or elementary English reading skills. It was predictable that the participants with stronger English skills would feel comfortable with the use of English in Japan, especially those who did not possess sufficient Japanese reading skills. However, the participants whose native language was not English and those with lower English reading skills also felt comfortable with the use of English. Among the 104 participants with elementary English reading skills, 66 (63.4%) felt comfortable or somewhat comfortable with English signs. In addition, among the 16 participants who

had no English reading skills, 9 (56.3%) felt somewhat comfortable with the use of English. Therefore, English was accepted among individuals with English skills at various levels.

Table 7.4. 5 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by English language skills

English skill	Feeling						Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Native	Count	73	46	14	2	4	139
	Adjusted Residual	6.2	-2.7	-1.4	-2.2	-2.6	
Advanced	Count	22	15	3	1	5	46
	Adjusted Residual	2.2	-1.4	-1.4	-0.8	1.0	
Intermediate	Count	10	18	6	2	3	39
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.1	
Elementary	Count	10	56	19	9	10	104
	Adjusted Residual	-6.2	3.0	1.9	2.6	1.1	
Can't read	Count	0	9	3	1	3	16
	Adjusted Residual	-2.9	1.2	0.7	0.4	1.8	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

Finally, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about English signs and skills in languages other than Japanese and English. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between the two ($p = 0.009$). As Table 7.4.6 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native other-language reading skills felt comfortable with English signs, compared to participants without other-language reading skills. The majority of the participants who had reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English were international residents in Japan and overseas residents. These participants also had positive feelings about English signs in Japan.

Table 7.4. 6 Participants' feelings about signs that contain English by other-language skills

Other skill	Feeling						Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Native	Count	24	13	6	2	1	46
	Adjusted Residual	2.9	-2.0	0.0	0.0	-1.4	
Advanced	Count	12	8	2	2	1	25
	Adjusted Residual	1.6	-1.0	-0.8	0.9	-0.7	
Intermediate	Count	10	13	3	0	0	26
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	0.9	-0.2	-1.1	-1.5	
Elementary	Count	42	45	10	4	11	112
	Adjusted Residual	1.1	-0.4	-1.6	-0.5	1.3	
Can't read	Count	27	65	24	7	12	135
	Adjusted Residual	-4.2	1.9	2.1	0.6	0.9	
Total	Count	115	144	45	15	25	344

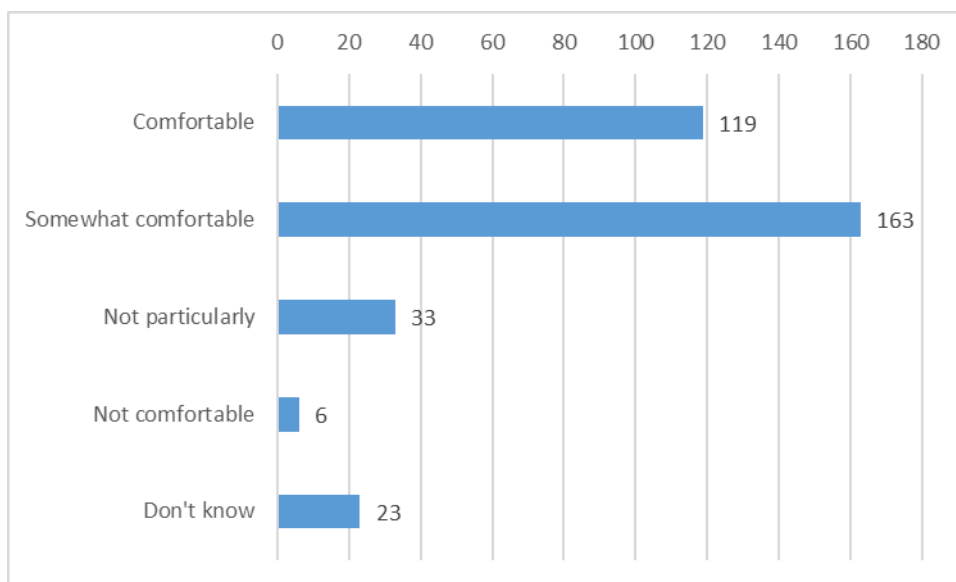
Previous studies (e.g., Haarmann, 1986, 1989; Stanlaw, 2004) on the use of English have claimed that Japanese university students exhibit positive attitudes towards the use of English in Japanese commercials. The present research shows that individuals in their twenties, as well as those in other age groups, have positive feelings about the use of English on commercial signs in Japan. The Japanese participants, the non-Japanese residents and those participants who were visitors to Japan indicated that their attitudes to English on signs were positive. Moreover, the study revealed that individuals who use English as a second or as an additional language and individuals with lower English reading competence also have positive feelings about the use of English. This implies that the respondents recognised the role of English as a *lingua franca* and that those whose primary language was not English also accepted its use on commercial signs.

7.4.2 Participants' feelings about signs that use Japanese and English

The participants were also asked how they felt about commercial signs in Japanese and English. The question did not distinguish between full-translation, partial-

translation and code-mixed signs or between lexical blending and trans-scriptism practices. It referred to bilanguage Japanese-and-English signs in the aggregate. Among the 344 participants, 119 (34.6.9%) felt comfortable with such signs, and 163 (47.4%) felt somewhat comfortable with them (Graph 7.4.2). Most participants exhibited mainly positive attitudes towards Japanese signs that also contain English, and many were more favourably inclined to bilingual signs than to English-only ones.

Graph 7.4. 2 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that contain English



The participants' feelings about commercial signs that contain Japanese and English were also assessed by reference to the participants' characteristics. First, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual signs and gender. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed no statistically significant association ($p = 0.146$; Table 7.4.7).

Table 7.4. 7 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that contain English by gender

Gender \ Feeling		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		Male	Count	58	81	15	6
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	0.1	-0.5	2.5	-0.6	
Female	Count	61	82	18	0	13	174
	Adjusted Residual	0.2	-0.1	0.5	-2.5	0.6	
Total	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344

Second, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there was a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual signs and age. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p = 0.034$). As Table 7.4.8 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants who were in their twenties felt comfortable with bilingual signs, compared to participants aged 60 and above. A large number of participants, including many of those who were aged 60 and above, felt somewhat comfortable with Japanese and English signs. Therefore, most participants had positive feelings about bilingual signs, at least to some extent.

Table 7.4. 8 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that contain English by age

Age \ Feeling		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		20s	Count	66	72	15	2
	Adjusted Residual	2.2	-1.1	-0.2	-0.7	-1.3	
30s	Count	28	46	8	3	4	89
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	0.9	-0.2	1.4	-1.0	
40s	Count	22	28	4	0	7	61
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-0.3	-0.9	-1.1	1.7	
50s	Count	3	9	4	1	2	19
	Adjusted Residual	-1.8	0.0	1.7	1.2	0.7	
60s	Count	0	8	2	0	2	12
	Adjusted Residual	-2.6	1.4	0.8	-0.5	1.4	
Total	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344

Third, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there was a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual signs and residence. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association between feelings about bilingual signs and residence ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.9 shows, a significantly higher rate of international and overseas residents felt comfortable with bilingual signs, compared to Japanese residents. Among the 201 Japanese residents, 156 (77.6%) had positive feelings about bilingual signs. The number of Japanese residents who had positive feelings about signs that contain both Japanese and English was larger than that of Japanese residents who had positive feelings about English-only signs. Although some overseas participants later commented negatively on the use of English in the Japanese LL, the majority of participants in the group preferred Japanese signs that also use English. One explanation might be that most of those individuals had studied Japanese, and the combination of English and Japanese on signs assisted their comprehension while giving them the impression that they had visited Japan.

Table 7.4. 9 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that contain English by residence

Resident	Feeling						Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Japanese	Count	49	107	25	4	16	201
	Adjusted Residual	-4.7	2.6	2.1	0.4	1.1	
English	Count	9	8	1	2	4	24
	Adjusted Residual	0.3	-1.4	-0.9	2.6	2.0	
International	Count	11	5	1	0	1	18
	Adjusted Residual	2.4	-1.7	-0.6	-0.6	-0.2	
Overseas	Count	50	43	6	0	2	101
	Adjusted Residual	3.7	-1.2	-1.5	-1.6	-2.3	
Total	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344

Fourth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual signs and Japanese language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.10 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with intermediate and elementary Japanese language skills felt comfortable with bilingual signs, compared to participants with native or near-native Japanese skills, while a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills felt somewhat comfortable with bilingual signs, compared to participants with elementary Japanese skills. The result for participants with native or near-native Japanese reading skills correspond to those for Japanese residents. The participants with less advanced Japanese skills also favoured Japanese-and-English bilingual signs. Thus, individuals with sufficient Japanese skills might have recognised the role of bilingual signs, which benefit those who are unfamiliar with written Japanese.

Table 7.4. 10 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that also contain English by Japanese language skills

Japanese skill	Feeling	Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		Count	49	107	24	4	18
Native	Adjusted Residual	-4.8	2.5	1.7	0.4	2.0	
	Count	3	7	4	0	0	14
Advanced	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	0.2	2.5	-0.5	-1.0	
	Count	19	16	1	1	2	39
Intermediate	Adjusted Residual	2.0	-0.8	-1.6	0.4	-0.4	
	Count	39	26	4	1	2	72
Elementary	Adjusted Residual	3.9	-2.2	-1.3	-0.3	-1.5	
	Count	9	7	0	0	1	17
Can't read	Adjusted Residual	1.6	-0.5	-1.4	-0.6	-0.1	
	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344
Total	Count						

Fifth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual signs and English language skills. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed a statistically significant association ($p < 0.001$). As Table 7.4.11 shows, a significantly higher rate of participants with native or near-native English reading skills felt comfortable with bilingual signs, compared to participants with elementary or no English skills. Among the 104 participants with elementary English reading skills, 81 (77.9%) had positive feelings about bilingual signs. Moreover, 13 (81.3%) of the 16 participants with no English skills also indicated that they had positive feelings. Thus, Japanese-and-English bilingual signs were widely accepted among the participants, regardless of their English skills.

Table 7.4. 11 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that also contain English by English language skills

English skill	Feeling	Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	Total
		Count	66	58	9	1	5
	Adjusted Residual	4.1	-1.7	-1.6	-1.2	-1.9	
Advanced	Count	16	16	5	1	8	46
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	-1.8	0.3	0.2	3.1	
Intermediate	Count	13	19	5	1	1	39
	Adjusted Residual	-0.2	0.2	0.7	0.4	-1.1	
Elementary	Count	23	58	12	3	8	104
	Adjusted Residual	-3.2	2.1	0.8	1.1	0.5	
Can't read	Count	1	12	2	0	1	16
	Adjusted Residual	-2.4	2.3	0.4	-0.5	-0.1	
Total	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344

Finally, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant association between feelings about Japanese-and-English bilingual sign and skills in languages other than Japanese and English. The results of Fisher's exact test revealed no statistically significant association between the two ($p = 0.338$;

Table 7.4.12). Regardless of participants' skills in languages other than Japanese and English, the participants accepted signs that contained the two languages in the Japanese LL.

Table 7.4. 12 Participants' feelings about Japanese signs that contain English by other-language skills

Other skill	Feeling						Total
		Comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Not particularly	Not comfortable	Don't know	
Native	Count	20	21	4	0	1	46
	Adjusted Residual	1.4	-0.3	-0.2	-1.0	-1.3	
Advanced	Count	10	8	4	1	2	25
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	-1.6	1.1	0.9	0.3	
Intermediate	Count	8	15	1	1	1	26
	Adjusted Residual	-0.4	1.1	-1.0	0.9	-0.6	
Elementary	Count	43	50	7	3	9	112
	Adjusted Residual	1.0	-0.7	-1.5	0.9	0.7	
Can't read	Count	38	69	17	1	10	135
	Adjusted Residual	-2.0	1.1	1.5	-1.1	0.4	
Total	Count	119	163	33	6	23	344

Beyond the participants' attitudes towards signs that contain English, the results also indicate that they had positive feelings about signs that contain Japanese and English. Such positive attitudes were common not only among the Japanese but also among international and overseas residents. Furthermore, more individuals had positive feelings about bilingual Japanese-and-English signs than about English-only signs, regardless of gender, age, residence and language skills. This finding implies that the participants regarded English as a *lingua franca*, and they might have felt that bilingual signs in Japanese and English do not marginalise the Japanese while assisting the non-Japanese.

7.5 Opinions about commercial signs in Japan

To learn whether the participants had specific thoughts or opinions about the languages used on signs, the survey included an optional open-ended question asking what the participants think about the language used on commercial signage in Japan. The question asked about commercial signs in general rather than about the particular signs shown in the survey.

After the data had been pre-processed (see Section 5.3), correspondence analyses were conducted in order to identify similarities and differences between participants' characteristics and their opinions. A chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run on the cross-tabulation tables in order to evaluate statistical significance. Then, thematic analyses were conducted in order to examine participants' comments further and to uncover their specific perceptions of commercial signs in Japan.

Among the 344 participants, a total of 151 responded to the question. The survey responses contained 664 types of words in total, and 589 types of words with a mean TF of 3.04 (standard deviation: 6.10) were identified for textual analysis once the unnecessary words were excluded from the data. Among the types of words that were analysed, 360 (approximately 61.6%) appeared only once (TF = 1). Table 7.5.1 lists the 100 words that appeared with the highest frequency in the responses in order to overview the content data.

Table 7.5. 1 The 100 words that appear most frequently in the participants' comments about signs in Japan

Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF	Words	TF
sign	86	foreigner	12	time	7	like	5
language	47	often	12	translation	7	meaning	5
not	46	too	12	as	6	message	5
English	36	when	12	country	6	mistake	5
japanese	36	commercial	11	find	6	most	5
understand	36	foreign	11	how	6	need	5
use	33	what	11	katakana	6	really	5
have	29	Japan	10	know	6	want	5
think	28	look	10	little	6	accessible	4
good	21	shop	10	more	6	catch	4
difficult	19	text	10	necessary	6	Chinese	4
english	19	which	10	picture	6	chinese	4
feel	18	kanji	9	seem	6	come	4
many	18	lot	9	such	6	contain	4
that	18	much	9	well	6	create	4
see	17	only	8	area	5	display	4
write	17	sense	8	audience	5	easier	4
design	16	speaker	8	comfortable	5	easy	4
make	15	tourist	8	compare	5	enough	4
sometimes	15	use	8	even	5	french	4
other	14	word	8	font	5	however	4
read	14	information	7	give	5	korean	4
more	13	native	7	helpful	5	number	4
very	13	people	7	increase	5	place	4
who	13	rather	7	Kanji	5	quite	4

Although the question concerned commercial signs in Japan in general, the word that appeared with the second highest frequency (after 'sign' [TF = 86]) was 'language' (TF = 47). The other frequently appearing words that referred to languages were 'English' (TF = 36), 'english' (TF = 19), 'japanese' (TF = 36), 'Chinese' (TF = 4), 'chinese' (TF = 4), 'french' (TF = 4) and 'korean' (TF = 4). The words 'Portuguese', 'Italian', 'Asian language' and 'African language' also appeared once, even though they were not on the list. Moreover, words that are related to scripts appeared frequently. Most of them were about Japanese scripts, such as 'Kanji' (TF = 5), 'kanji' (TF = 9), 'Katakana' (TF = 2), 'katakana' (TF = 6), 'hiragana' (TF = 3) and 'kana' (TF = 1),

but one comment contained the word ‘Romanised’. The other notable words that were observed in the comments had to do with the accuracy of texts. A number of positive and negative words were found, such as ‘correct’ (TF = 2), ‘accurate’ (TF = 1), ‘grammatical’ (TF = 2), ‘ungrammatical’ (TF = 1), ‘mistake’ (TF = 5), ‘wrong’ (TF = 4), ‘misusage’ (TF = 2), ‘typos’ (TF = 1), ‘error’ (TF = 1), ‘proofread’ (a verb; TF = 2), ‘proofread’ (a noun; TF = 1), and ‘spellcheck’ (TF = 1).

Among the words that appeared frequently, the 104 words with $TF \geq 4$ were examined for correlations. Figure 7.5.1 displays the co-occurrence network of words with their Jaccard indices. A coefficient of 0.2 or higher indicates a strong correlation, and a coefficient of 0.3 or higher is indicative of a significant correlation between two words. The frequency with which words appear is represented by bubbles, and the words which were used together were categorised into eight groups, which are displayed in different colours.

Japan, the audience are Japanese who actually can read it'. Finally, the word 'information' was used three times with 'much' to explain negative feelings, as in 'too much information'.

Considering the co-occurrence of the words that appeared frequently, their subgroups and the manner in which the words were used in the participants' responses, the comments were categorised into seven main themes, namely 'accuracy of texts', 'audience of texts', 'understanding of texts', 'language and script', 'design of signs', 'content of signs', and 'placement of signs'. Accordingly, seven codes that correspond to the themes were generated for thematic analysis. Table 7.5.2 describes the seven codes that were applied to the themes and the words that were assigned to each code. The number of comments to which each code applied and their share in the total were calculated to overview the data (Table 7.5.3). As Table 7.5.3 shows, 222 sentences were analysed, and approximately 83% of the comments contained one or more codes. Although the question did not specifically solicit the participants' opinions about the use of language on signs, approximately 55.86% of the comments mentioned languages and/or scripts.

Table 7.5. 2 Codes and words for the analysis of comments about commercial signs

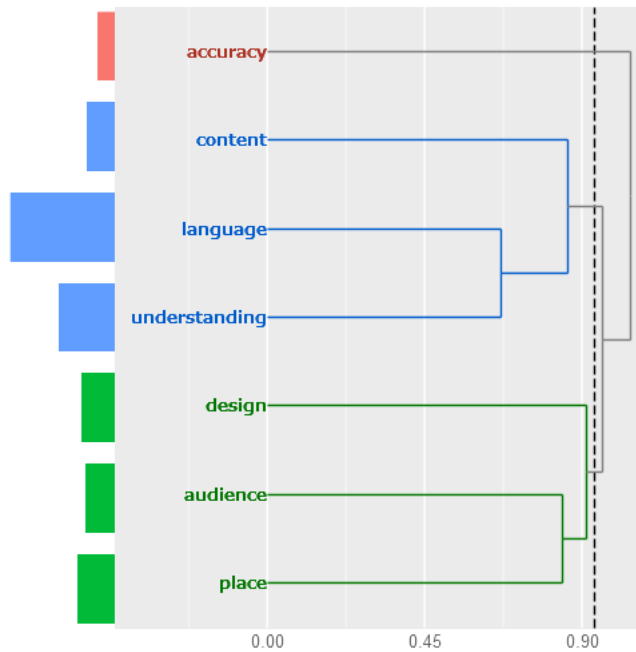
Code	Words
accuracy	correct, accurate, grammatical, ungrammatical, mistake, wrong, misuse, typos, error, proofread, spellcheck
audience	japanese_people, chinese_customer, foreigner, tourist, audience, speaker
language	language, English, english, Chinese, chinese, Korean, korean, French, french, Portuguese, portuguese, Japanese, japanese, Hiragana, hiragana, Katakana, katakana, kana, Kanji, kanji, letter, character, spelling, english-mixed, romanize, Englishization, japanese-english, spell, bilingual, multilingual, multilingualization, pragmatically, word
understanding	understand, understandable, read, readable, unreadable, readability, comprehend, easy-to-understand, easy-to-read, write, translation,
content	text, content, contents, information, announce, guidance, message, sale, bargain, appliance, electronics, dvd, gaming, ipod, clothes, clothings, product, brand, menu, dish, cake, food, drink, price
design	design, attention, colour, colourful, picture, drawing, photo, photograph, pictorial, pictorially, logo, eye-catching, hand-painted, hand-written, handwriting, handwritten, symbol, imagery, image, visual, visually, graphic, horizontally, vertically, vertical, font, visibility, visible
place	shop, store, retail, retailer, company, restaurant, cafe, corporate, floor, building, place, street, roadside, area, regional, town, city, Sakae, Nagoya, Tokyo, Osaka, Japan, England, UK, China, country, urban, everywhere, landscape, atmosphere

Table 7.5. 3 Codes and frequencies for the analysis of comments about commercial signs

Codes	Frequency	Percent
*accuracy	18	8.11%
*audience	33	14.86%
*language	124	55.86%
*understanding	65	29.28%
*content	32	14.41%
*design	37	16.67%
*place	42	18.92%
#no_codes	38	17.12%
N of Documents	222	

Dendrogram 7.5.1 displays groups of codes that form similar patterns as hierarchical clusters. The highest number of comments that the participants provided revolved around languages on signs, and comments about understanding the text and the content of signs were made in relation to language use.

Dendrogram 7.5.1



Correspondence analyses were conducted next in order to evaluate the differences between participant characteristics and opinions statistically. First, a chi-squared test or Fisher’s exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between gender and opinion. The results of the chi-squared tests indicate that there is no significant association between the two (Table 7.5.4). Table 7.5.4 shows the correlations between the themes and gender.

Table 7.5. 4 Correlations between themes and gender

Gender \ Code	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
Male	8 (7.27%)	14 (12.73%)	56 (50.91%)	30 (27.27%)	17 (15.45%)	17 (15.45%)	21 (19.09%)	110
Female	10 (8.93%)	19 (16.96%)	68 (60.71%)	35 (31.25%)	15 (13.39%)	20 (17.86%)	21 (18.75%)	112
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	0.042	0.488	1.784	0.254	0.061	0.09	0	

Second, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between age and opinion. The results of the chi-squared tests indicate that there is a significant association between the two in the comments ($\chi^2(24) = 10.135, p < 0.005$). A single asterisk after a chi-squared value indicates an alpha level of 0.05. Table 7.5.5 shows the correlation between themes and age. A significantly higher rate of younger participants commented on the audience of the signs, relative to older participants.

Table 7.5. 5 Correlations between themes and age

Age \ Code	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
20s	8 (7.84%)	23 (22.55%)	60 (58.82%)	36 (35.29%)	12 (11.76%)	19 (18.63%)	15 (14.71%)	102
30s	7 (13.21%)	3 (5.66%)	33 (62.26%)	17 (32.08%)	11 (20.75%)	8 (15.09%)	13 (24.53%)	53
40s	2 (4.88%)	5 (12.20%)	19 (46.34%)	9 (21.95%)	8 (19.51%)	7 (17.07%)	6 (14.63%)	41
50s	1 (5.56%)	2 (11.11%)	6 (33.33%)	2 (11.11%)	1 (5.56%)	0 (0.00%)	7 (38.89%)	18
60s	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6 (75.00%)	1 (12.50%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (37.50%)	1 (12.50%)	8
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	3.297	10.135*	7.644	7.003	5.664	6.482	7.653	

Third, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between residence and opinion. The results of the chi-squared tests indicate that there is no significant association between the two (Table 7.5.6). Table 7.5.6 shows the correlations between themes and residence.

Table 7.5. 6 Correlations between themes and residence

Code Resident	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
Japanese	8 (7.02%)	16 (14.04%)	65 (57.02%)	32 (28.07%)	17 (14.91%)	18 (15.79%)	25 (21.93%)	114
English	4 (19.05%)	4 (19.05%)	10 (47.62%)	5 (23.81%)	5 (23.81%)	4 (19.05%)	5 (23.81%)	21
International	1 (6.25%)	5 (31.25%)	7 (43.75%)	9 (56.25%)	1 (6.25%)	1 (6.25%)	3 (18.75%)	16
Overseas	5 (7.04%)	8 (11.27%)	42 (59.15%)	19 (26.76%)	9 (12.68%)	14 (19.72%)	9 (12.68%)	71
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	3.737	4.473	1.905	6.222	2.564	1.875	2.805	

Fourth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between Japanese language skills and opinion. The results of the chi-squared test indicate that there is a significant association between the participants' Japanese language skills and the opinions that they expressed in the comments about understanding texts ($\chi^2(24) = 11.036, p < 0.005$). The participants who had more limited Japanese reading skills commented more frequently on the subject of understanding texts, compared to those with advanced skills. Table 7.5.7 shows the correlations between themes and Japanese language skills.

Table 7.5. 7 Correlations between themes and Japanese language skills

Code Japanese	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
Native	9 (7.83%)	16 (13.91%)	65 (56.52%)	32 (27.83%)	18 (15.65%)	19 (16.52%)	26 (22.61%)	115
Advanced	1 (11.11%)	0 (0.00%)	4 (44.44%)	1 (11.11%)	1 (11.11%)	0 (0.00%)	3 (33.33%)	9
Intermediate	6 (20.00%)	4 (13.33%)	15 (50.00%)	5 (16.67%)	4 (13.33%)	4 (13.33%)	3 (10.00%)	30
Elementary	2 (3.77%)	11 (20.75%)	34 (64.15%)	24 (45.28%)	8 (15.09%)	12 (22.64%)	9 (16.98%)	53
Can't read	0 (0.00%)	2 (13.33%)	6 (40.00%)	3 (20.00%)	1 (6.67%)	2 (13.33%)	1 (6.67%)	15
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	8.475	3.19	3.922	11.036*	1.001	3.524	5.393	

Fifth, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between English language skills and opinions. The results of the chi-squared tests indicate that there is no significant association between English language skills and opinions (Table 7.5.8). Table 7.5.8 shows the correlations between themes and English language skills.

Table 7.5. 8 Correlations between themes and English language skills

Code English	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
Native	12 (10.26%)	16 (13.68%)	64 (54.70%)	30 (25.64%)	16 (13.68%)	23 (19.66%)	23 (19.66%)	117
Advanced	4 (10.81%)	6 (16.22%)	22 (59.46%)	13 (35.14%)	7 (18.92%)	5 (13.51%)	8 (21.62%)	37
Intermediate	1 (4.76%)	5 (23.81%)	13 (61.90%)	6 (28.57%)	1 (4.76%)	3 (14.29%)	5 (23.81%)	21
Elementary	1 (2.44%)	5 (12.20%)	20 (48.78%)	12 (29.27%)	7 (17.07%)	3 (7.32%)	6 (14.63%)	41
Can't read	0 (0.00%)	1 (16.67%)	5 (83.33%)	4 (66.67%)	1 (16.67%)	3 (50.00%)	0 (0.00%)	6
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	3.701	1.758	3.239	5.416	2.506	8.485	2.436	

Finally, a chi-squared test or Fisher's exact test was run to determine whether there is a significant correlation between other-language skills and opinion. The results of the chi-squared test indicate that there is no significant association between skills in languages other than Japanese and English and opinions (Table 7.5.9). Table 7.5.9 shows the correlations between themes and other-language skills.

Table 7.5. 9 Correlations between themes and other-language skills

Code Other	*accuracy	*audience	*language	*understanding	*content	*design	*place	Number of Documents
Native	4 (11.43%)	4 (11.43%)	15 (42.86%)	13 (37.14%)	6 (17.14%)	1 (2.86%)	1 (2.86%)	35
Advanced	2 (10.00%)	1 (5.00%)	13 (65.00%)	6 (30.00%)	1 (5.00%)	6 (30.00%)	5 (25.00%)	20
Intermediate	0 (0.00%)	5 (26.32%)	12 (63.16%)	5 (26.32%)	1 (5.26%)	2 (10.53%)	3 (15.79%)	19
Elementary	9 (10.23%)	16 (18.18%)	43 (48.86%)	22 (25.00%)	15 (17.05%)	15 (17.05%)	20 (22.73%)	88
Can't read	3 (5.00%)	7 (11.67%)	41 (68.33%)	19 (31.67%)	9 (15.00%)	13 (21.67%)	13 (21.67%)	60
Total	18 (8.11%)	33 (14.86%)	124 (55.86%)	65 (29.28%)	32 (14.41%)	37 (16.67%)	42 (18.92%)	222
chi-square	3.599	5.083	9.021	2.074	3.448	8.971	7.617	

7.5.1 Comments on English on signs

There were both positive and negative comments about the use of languages on signs, and some participants commented on multiple issues relating to signs in Japan. Two participants commented on the number of signs found in the city. One participant stated that 'there are various types of signs, and it is interesting', and another claimed that the number 'is too small'. In addition, two participants claimed that they had not thought about the language use on signs prior to participating in this survey.

Most of the comments that were related to the languages that are found on signs mentioned the use of English and/or Japanese script. The word 'English' appeared 56 times (25.2%) in the 222 comments. Some of the comments mentioned the use of

other languages in connection with language choices for signs. Several participants expressed their opinion on the use of Chinese and its connection to inbound tourism (see Section 2.2) because some shops in city centres display signs in Chinese. In addition, a few participants voiced their concerns about the behaviour of Chinese tourists in the city, even though the survey question asked them to reflect on the use of language on commercial signs.

To explore attitudes to English further, this section introduces the comments that the participants made which are related to the use of English in commercial signs. Only representative comments are described because, despite being phrased differently, many of the opinions that were expressed overlapped. The participants commented on the number of English words in signs and shared their opinions on the subject. Three Japanese participants stated that there were many English signs, and one of them argued that ‘English is perfectly penetrated’. Two participants claimed that the city should have more signs in English, and one of them suggested introducing more English signs for non-native speakers of Japanese. The other comments also mentioned the audiences of signs. Among those comments, 15 contained words that were related to non-Japanese residents. Of the 15, six contained the words ‘foreigners’, ‘foreign visitors’ or ‘Chinese and Koreans’, three contained the word ‘tourists’, three mentioned ‘non-Japanese speakers/readers’, and three referred to ‘target audience’ and ‘customer group’. In addition, one comment mentioned ‘elderly people’.

The participants’ comments enabled the use of English on commercial signs in Japan to be categorised into two audience-related categories, namely English for non-Japanese speakers and English for Japanese speakers. Both the Japanese and the non-Japanese participants expressed opinions about the two types of English. The comments on English for non-Japanese speakers were related to language assistance and the

design of signs, in terms of layout and the number of languages. The comments on English for Japanese speakers included observations on the roles that English plays and on the feelings that the use of English on signs induces. Moreover, the participants commented on the erroneous use of English in both types of texts.

7.5.2 English for non-Japanese speakers

Some participants thought that the signs were designed ‘according to the target audience’. These participants understood that shops select languages for signs according to their customers’ needs. One overseas participant explained that ‘if they [the shops] want to cater for non-Japanese speaking, they need to display English and Japanese’. These participants addressed language assistance for non-native readers of Japanese. For them, English is not for the Japanese, but rather for people who cannot read Japanese. The comments of three Japanese participants on the volume of English text that they encountered in their cities and elsewhere also indicated that foreign languages, including English, are used for the benefit of non-Japanese speakers. One of them commented that ‘I feel the number of signboards that incorporate foreign languages is increasing in urban areas and areas where there are many foreign residents, but I feel that there aren’t many in other areas yet’. One international participant claimed to ‘[f]eel like it’s not really for the foreigners we are, something somehow only for Japanese people’. Three international residents suggested using English on signs and commented that ‘[a]t least they have to add English too’, ‘they should be English-Japanese mixed’, and ‘I like when Japanese and English are used in the way that everyone can understand the content of the offer’. The English-Japanese mix in this context refers to the use of two languages as English being supplement to Japanese; the participants were not implying code-mixed texts. Although these participants’ first

language was not English, they did not request the use of their primary or first languages on signs. Instead, they thought the use of English would support them, as most participants had some English competence. They and the Japanese participants regarded English as a *lingua franca*.

The number of signs that contain English might be small. However, one international participant evaluated the use of foreign languages in the city and stated that '[f]or a very traditional country and city, Nagoya is already adapting and welcoming to change'. Four English-speaking residents of Nagoya found the use of English in Japanese signs to be helpful, as they mentioned that '[p]lenty of places offer Japanese and English on signs and menus, which makes tourists feel comfortable with going in and being able to order something', and 'I like how accessible many of the signs are - combinations of *kanji*, *hiragana/katakana*, and Romanised /English words - for someone who isn't fully fluent in Japanese'. Thus, how people feel about the languages written on signs differs greatly based on the participant and their Japanese reading skills.

Although the number of inbound tourists has increased, the majority of residents in and around the city are Japanese, and the signs are displayed mainly for them. However, visitors may need additional assistance to read Japanese. The majority of the overseas participants commented on the use of English and that of easy Japanese scripts on signs. Among them, six participants suggested that the signs should be bilingual (i.e., English and Japanese). Four participants had negative feelings towards the excessive use of English and made observations such as 'what's the point in being another country if it's the same as your own?', 'English alone is awful, feels as if being excluded from "being" in Japan' and 'don't create everything in English – I'm not in England

after all'. These participants visited Japan as international tourists. Using *hiragana* and *katakana* would support their reading comprehension, as most of them had studied Japanese. However, they were not fond of seeing English signs everywhere, particularly when visiting Japan on holiday. Two Japanese participants also pointed to Japaneseness and ambience while discussing language choices. They commented, 'if the number of English increases, it may be difficult for Japanese people to read the sign and the Japaneseness may fade'. One said, 'I think it's better to use only Japanese in shopping districts with a traditional atmosphere such as places with old buildings'.

While English was widely accepted as a *lingua franca*, one Japanese participant noticed the discrepancy between the number of signs in major languages and the number of signs in other languages:

I often see signs written in English, Chinese, and Korean along with Japanese. On the contrary, I don't see other languages, although I sometimes find European languages such as French and Italian. But I seldom find other Asian and African languages. I worry that there might be some foreigners who have difficulty.

For some Japanese participants, English and the other foreign languages belong to the speakers of those languages, and languages are a communication tool. They suggested using languages that people need and can read. Some Japanese participants commented on the need for multilingual signs in relation to tourism or multiculturalism. Two participants claimed that 'multilingualism is good', and one stated that the city should display 'more signs written in several languages', while another believed that the signs that many people could read would attract more customers. The latter comment implies

market values of foreign languages on signs: foreign languages are a tool to attract wider audience. However, one participant stated, 'it's enough for shops to display Japanese and English signs unless they have many Chinese and Korean customers'. Another said, '[u]nless many Chinese and Koreans are visiting the shop, I think it would be sufficient if Japanese and English were written'. For these participants, Chinese and Korean signs had practical purposes for language users.

On the other hand, some Japanese participants noted signs with Asian languages were 'unpleasant' and 'difficult to read'. The participants were concerned about two aspects of the use of multiple languages on signs, namely their design and the customers that they target. One Japanese participant argued that 'the use of foreign languages is good for tourists from other countries, but the design is bad when too many languages are used'. Two Japanese participants believed that 'Japanese and English are enough' and 'the other languages are not necessary' because the signs containing several languages are 'difficult to read'. Another Japanese participant did not clearly state whether the multilingual signs were positive or negative, but she believed that stores needed to think carefully about how they designed multilingual signs to convey messages. These participants mentioned not only the language choice according to the target audience, but also the design and wording of the signboards. They felt that the use of more than two languages on signs made it difficult to comprehend the texts. However, bilingual Japanese-and-English signs help not only visitors from English-speaking countries but also individuals from other linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, the participants regarded the use of English on signs as a means of facilitating communication between Japanese and non-Japanese speakers.

7.5.3 English for Japanese speakers

Some participants regarded English as an alternative language for the Japanese. Six participants explained the commercial function of English. One Japanese participant explained, 'I feel the signs are written in languages other than Japanese in order to give them a fashionable look'. Another Japanese participant said, 'it makes me disappointed when I see commercial signs using foreign languages as part of their design, and the nuances are a little strange'. This comment implies that English and some foreign languages have two roles (i.e., a communication tool and a symbolic function). Both the Japanese participants and those who were native English speakers considered the use of English on these signs to have marketing effects.

Five overseas participants claimed that the English on Japanese signs was written for the Japanese. One stated that English was 'obviously not aimed at English speakers'. Moreover, three participants thought the use of foreign languages on signs were to 'add a certain cachet'. One stated that '[l]ike anywhere, commercial signs in Japan are designed to catch attention. Using a foreign language is one way of making the sign stand out, as well as catching the attention of people who speak that language'. These participants recognised that English use on commercial signs had attention-catching effects. Another participant compared language use in English-speaking countries and argued that 'some commercial signs use the English language only because it seems luxurious or cool, similar to how English people see products written in French to be luxurious/expensive'. As he explained in his comment, the use of foreign languages for marketing purposes is not a uniquely Japanese phenomenon. However, the usage was not accepted by some members of the audience – one overseas participant said, 'I'm used to foreign languages being used in Japan to add a certain cache, but would prefer not to see too much of other languages in Japan'.

One overseas participant said that '[t]he use of English seems more modern and targeted at younger customers or foreigners'. One Japanese participant claimed that '[m]ost of them [the signs] are written in the languages the target customers of the shops need or the languages that match the image the shops want to create'. Japanese participants mentioned their impressions of the signs containing English words. These participants, who were in their twenties, had positive feelings toward English. Two participants explained that the use of English was 'fashionable' for Japanese customers, and another used the word 'cool' to refer to the English on signs. They explained that 'by using English together with Japanese, it creates a fashionable atmosphere' and 'English-mixed texts give somehow fashionable impression'. Their statements aligned with previous studies' results which indicated that the Japanese have positive attitudes towards the use of English (see Section 4.3). Therefore, English has both symbolic capital and market value, and the English used on signs conveys a positive impression to the Japanese as a design element as well as a tool for communication.

On the other hand, languages not transcribed in the Roman alphabet had different meanings and functions for Japanese participants. One participant commented that 'European languages including English are adopted as design, but it seems like Asian languages such as Chinese and Korean are used for the speakers of those languages' Another participant argued, '[I] don't want them [stores] to use English and European languages on signs and menus because we don't know for whom the text is written. They only prioritise the style' although he explained that he had no problem with signs that contain words and phrases in Asian languages. Thus, the participant regarded the signs written in English and European languages as ornamentation for the Japanese, not as tools for communication.

The main purpose of commercial signs is to successfully sell products and services. The signs need to attract customers or clients. The use of English is a strategic decision that has to do with customer selection and catering to consumers effectively. However, some participants had negative attitudes towards the use of English. For example, one Japanese participant said, 'I wish the shops consider the beauty of Japanese language more'. Another said, 'only Japanese language, please', referring to multilingual signs. Individuals' impressions of the language usage on signs depend on their reading comprehension skills. The English usage was accepted by individuals who had basic English reading skills, as one participant noted 'there are many English words, but they are OK because I can understand the meanings'. On the contrary, thirteen Japanese participants claimed that the signs were 'difficult to understand', and one participant reported that he could not comprehend the text due to English words on the signs.

Furthermore, mixing English and Japanese could make text comprehension challenging for those who were less competent in English, such as children and the elderly. Five Japanese participants mentioned people for whom the signs could be difficult to understand (e.g., 'the text English is mixed is difficult for children'; 'elderly people aren't familiar with the signs using English in combination with Japanese'; and 'English is used along with Japanese, and it is difficult for older people'). Japanese-and-English code-mixed texts could also be difficult for English speakers. One overseas participant commented that 'often, the mix of English and Japanese can be confusing. Perhaps easier to use one or the other rather than combining part-Japanese and part-English sentences'. One Japanese participant also mentioned, 'Japanese and English are mixed in text. Therefore, it is difficult to understand for foreigners'. These participants mentioned the challenge of reading code-mixed texts. Thus, code-mixed

texts frequently seem confusing to those who are not familiar with English on Japanese signs.

7.5.4 Erroneous use of English

The most important finding about attitudes toward the use of English on commercial signs is that most of the participants thought that the Japan-specific usage of English was erroneous or at least required proofreading. Among the 25 respondents who commented on English usages, only two used the phrase ‘Japanese English’. The two participants who described English in Japan as ‘Japanese English’ were a native English speaker and a Japanese national who claimed to have advanced English skills. Both were males in their thirties and were living in central Japan. The English-speaking participant argued that ‘[o]ftentimes, they use Japanese-English, which often is difficult to comprehend’. The Japanese participant stated, ‘[I] want them [the stores] to stop using Japanese English such as “Take out”’. ‘Take out’, however, is the standard English used in English-speaking countries. It can be assumed that the respondent believed the phrase was Japanese English, as many Japanese people do not learn conversational English at school.

Although previous research on attitudes to language indicates that the Japanese are sensitive to the use of correct grammar and vocabulary (see Section 3.4), both the Japanese participants and the other respondents, regardless of their genders, ages, residences and language skills, described English usages as ‘non-standard’, ‘error[s]’, ‘mistake[s]’, ‘wrong’, and ‘not correct’. (see Table 7.5.10).

Table 7.5. 10 Words describing English on Japanese commercial signs

Words related to errors	TF	Words related to accuracy	TF	Words related to actions	TF
mistake	5	strange	3	translation	6
wrong	4	funny	1	correct	3
misusage	2	inadequate	1	proofread	3
(not) grammatical	2	non-proper	1	spellcheck	1
error	1	doesn't quite make sense	1	use accurate expressions	1
typo	1				
ungrammatical	1				

One Japanese participant described English usages on commercial signs as ‘funny English’, and three referred to ‘strange English’. The other Japanese participants commented that the use of English on signs was ‘often wrong and misleading’ and ‘it’s better not to make any mistakes’. In addition, one international participant, who was from Hungary, commented that ‘[i]t’s better to use only Japanese than to use non-proper English because it will be easier to understand (although I’m Westerner)’. Other comments by international participants pertained to grammatically incorrect or confusing English and French usage on commercial signs. One participant noticed the characteristics of signs and commented that ‘[m]any signs, brand names, etc. use English, or French, but they are filled with typos and mistakes and sometimes poor choices of words’. Another participant noted, ‘[i]f they are in Japanese they are very polite but if they have an English translation the translation is mostly wrong, sometimes even rude compared to the Japanese’. English and other European languages are used for shop, business, and product names in Japan (see Chapter 6). However, some people considered the usage to be typos, mistakes, or inappropriate. The participants who used English as a communication tool in daily life also commented on the errors and suggested proofreading English texts, such as ‘[i]t’s rarely proofread or spellchecked’ and ‘[g]rammatical errors need to be corrected or proofread by a native or near-native speaker’. These participants were originally from English-speaking countries. For most

of them, non-standard English usages were seen as errors. However, one participant stated, 'I find great humour in the misuse of English on Japanese signs'. For the participant, English on signs was misused, as opposed to Japanese English or distinctively Japanese use of English, but he showed more acceptance towards the usage. One Japanese participant pointed out that she 'sometimes found English text containing errors which seemed like using the internet translation'. She also argued, however, that the 'English text with errors might be better than nothing for people who do not understand Japanese'. For participants concerned with the accuracy of English text, the English words and phrases used on signs were not in standard English, but rather were considered erroneous.

Nevertheless, some participants labelled the usage as Japanese English and felt that English text assisted non-native Japanese speakers. One participant referred to 'multicultural coexistence', which was a key phrase introduced in the city. She commented, 'Sometimes, I found errors on the use of foreign languages, which might be unpleasant for readers. Therefore, it is necessary to ask native speakers of the languages to proofread the text, especially in the multicultural coexisting era'. For these participants, English on signs was written for the benefit of non-Japanese readers, not for the Japanese. However, one overseas participant implied that the manner in which English is used in Japan is intended for a Japanese audience. He said, '[s]ometimes it [English] doesn't quite make sense. When I was in Japan, I wondered why it was used when it was obviously not aimed at English speakers'. The comments of the other participants could provide an answer to his question. Two English-speaking participants pointed out that the languages on signs were design rather than explaining the content and claimed that '[c]ompared with signs in English speaking countries, I feel designs (how they look) are more important than rhetoric (content)[*sic*]' and 'they

are very good at catching your eye and being visible. Whether people can understand the content is slightly after'. The participants' opinions about commercial signs in Japan confirm that English texts on signs have two functions. Firstly, English is used as a *lingua franca* by Japanese and non-Japanese speakers. Secondly, English can be used as an attention-grabbing device in marketing strategy.

7.6 Summary of Chapter 7

This chapter described the results from the survey of attitudes towards the languages that are found on signs. The respondents expressed both positive and negative attitudes towards the use of English in the LL, but English was mainly perceived positively by individuals from various backgrounds. There were two perspectives on English usages in commercial signs. One had to do with non-native speakers of Japanese, and the other had to do with the Japanese. The respondents who believed that the English texts were intended for non-native speakers believed that such texts would assist individuals with less advanced Japanese reading skills. However, they were concerned about accuracy and considered Japanese-specific English usages as 'errors' and 'mistakes' that should be corrected. Although only a few participants labelled Japan-specific English usages as 'Japanese English', most were aware that the use of English on Japanese signs differs from that which is observed in other countries. These participants believed that the English usages in question were intended for Japanese audiences and recognised their roles in marketing.

Chapter 8: Discussion

This research questioned the propositions that English has spread in Japan and that the English that is used in the country is Japanese English, a variety of WE. The study examined the use of written English for commercial purposes in the Japanese LL and individual attitudes towards its application.

This chapter reviews the findings of the research. By evaluating the data and the results, it discusses the influence of globalisation on the spread of English on Japanese commercial signs. Then, it explains how McDonaldization and glocalisation affect the use of English in the Japanese LL. In referring to individual attitudes to the use of English in commercial signs, the chapter aims to determine whether the form of English that is used in the Japanese LL is a manifestation of English, of Japanese English or of something else. The nature and the roles of English in commerce in the LL are also discussed.

8.1 The extent to which English is used

The present section reviews the prevalence and distribution of English language usage within a specific urban setting. Specifically, the examination focuses on the analysis of texts displayed on signs in six surveyed sites. The findings reveal that English is observed across all surveyed locations, establishing its status as the dominant foreign language in the city's LL. While the city administration promotes the use of five languages to foster a multicultural society, it is worth noting that this regulation lacks enforceability concerning commercial signage. Consequently, languages other than English are seldom observed in the surveyed sites, and the city's LL primarily comprises Japanese and English. These findings align with previous studies on linguistic

landscapes in Tokyo (e.g., Backhaus, 2006; Inoue, 1997). In addition, the use of Chinese and Korean languages is primarily directed towards the respective language speakers, providing them with relevant information pertaining to visitors or the procurement of goods and services. On the other hand, English and other European languages are predominantly employed in the names of shops and products, with the texts in these languages typically lacking additional practical information for customers.

Further analysis of the observed English usages at each survey site reveals disparities in the degree of English's spread within the city. Greater instances of English texts are found in city centres, whereas fewer signs containing English are observed in areas characterised by traditional architecture and residential dwellings. English usages are frequently observed in newly developed areas and locations associated with economic activities. Additionally, the presence of bilingual signs is particularly prominent in the vicinity of Nagoya station, a popular destination for international tourists. Evidently, the diffusion of English demonstrates a distinct urban inclination, as posited by Mufwene (2010a).

The discrepancies in language choices across sites appear to be influenced by temporal factors, such as the length of time a business has been operational, as well as the physical appearance of the shops, rather than the inherent characteristics of the areas themselves. Greater employment of English words is observed at sites hosting newer establishments that primarily cater to customers in their twenties and thirties (Sites 1 and 2). In contrast, shops located at Sites 5 and 6 appear to have been in operation for several decades, with staff and customers who are generally older (ranging from 60 to 80 years old). Signs at these locations often employ old materials, such as tin, resulting in faded or rusted signage that suggests a prolonged period of display without

maintenance. Japanese is predominantly used on signs at these sites, with *gairaigo* transcribed into *katakana*. However, even in these more traditional areas (Sites 5 and 6), new or renovated shops prominently display English words on their signboards. These newer establishments attract a younger customer base, as observed during fieldwork. Consequently, the characteristics of each survey site, in conjunction with other business-related factors, contribute to variations in language choice.

Language choices are not solely influenced by the characteristics of a specific area but are also shaped by the operational aspects of the businesses. Large global corporations and major domestic companies predominantly operate in city centres, some of which have expanded their business operations overseas. Conversely, businesses in residential and traditional areas tend to be smaller and often family-run, often lacking professional copywriters. Moreover, the target customer base in city centres is more diverse compared to residential areas, where the majority of customers are local residents. These factors significantly impact the selection of languages observed within the LL.

Additionally, the scale of English usage exhibits variations according to the type of business. Fashion-related establishments (e.g., department stores, boutiques, and beauty salons), restaurants, and coffee shops predominantly situated in city centres feature signs that prominently incorporate English. These signs are either solely in English or contain a combination of English and Japanese text. In contrast, shops catering to daily needs (e.g., grocery stores) located in residential areas extensively use Japanese, as do signs displayed on offices. Consequently, the distribution of English within the LL is not uniform geographically or culturally. This observation aligns with Lee's (2019) study on South Korea, which found that business types and target

customers influence the language choices on signs. While previous studies on LLs have primarily focused on the relationship between language choices and geographical characteristics, this study highlights the importance of analysing English usage in various business sectors.

The selection of English as a language of choice by businesses appears to be closely tied to the desired image they wish to project to their customers. English tends to be utilised by establishments associated with Western culture and modernity, such as fashion outlets and technology-focused stores. Global coffeehouse chains and Western restaurants incorporate English in their signage to convey a Western image and attract customers seeking novel experiences. The use of English by fashion businesses may also reflect the influence of the Westernisation of Japanese lifestyle, where English symbolises the West. Similarly, electronic appliance stores often display English texts and Roman alphabets in their advertisements to highlight the novelty and modernity of their products. Previous studies on Japanese attitudes towards English indicate a positive perception of the language and its speakers, associating English with new and modern imagery (see Section 3.4). Businesses may seek to leverage this positive image to enhance their commercial appeal. The use of English in these contexts can be seen as a consequence of Westernisation and Americanisation trends.

Furthermore, the correlation between the choice of English and its positive image can be examined in relation to the availability of translations on signs. A significant proportion of signs (over 60.8%) containing English words or phrases lack direct translations, while 22.9% have partial translations. Businesses in fashion, beauty, coffee, and gambling industries predominantly employ English-only texts without Japanese translations. It has been argued that *wasei eigo* is used when the equivalent

Japanese words are too direct or carry negative connotations (Honna, 1995). In the case of gambling businesses, English may be favoured due to the potential negative connotations associated with the activity. In the twentieth century, Japanese words with negative connotations were often replaced by English terms, transcribed in *katakana* as *gairaigo* or *wasei eigo*. In recent years, English substitutions are increasingly rendered in the Roman alphabet. However, it should be noted that the English texts on commercial signs serve not only as substitutes for *gairaigo* or *wasei eigo* but also have specific functions when spelled in the Roman alphabet. Previous studies on English usage among the Japanese suggest that English serves a symbolic function and is used decoratively (see Section 4.3). Therefore, it can be argued that English words and phrases written in the Roman alphabet on commercial signs serve as ornamentation to express modernity. Similar purposes may apply to the use of European languages. The presence of European languages in the LL of one city centre is primarily observed in high-end fashion brands with global operations. These brands utilise their original names worldwide as part of their strategic business approach. As a result, European languages appear in the LL due to the globalisation of society and lifestyle. The brand names written in English and other European languages aim to be recognised precisely as they are written. However, it is crucial to distinguish these brand names as proper nouns, separate from languages themselves.

Moreover, it was found that signs containing code-mixed and non-direct translations are likely to incorporate photographs and texts, while signs with full and partial translations tend to feature logos or mascots. Photographs and pictures directly describe products or services, eliminating the need for full comprehension of the English texts. In these cases, English serves both decorative and communicative

purposes. However, for logos or mascots to be recognised by customers, there must be shared understanding between businesses and their target audience (e.g., the ‘M’ of McDonald’s and the mermaid that is used to advertise Starbucks coffee). This understanding relies on the shared knowledge and contexts specific to the society in which the sign is displayed. For instance, individuals familiar with Apple products and the Apple logo can easily identify the brand without the need for explicit language comprehension.

In the Japanese LL, it was observed that international and domestic chains tended to employ logos, whereas local independent shops supplemented their English texts with photos. This distinction may arise from the recognition and familiarity that the former chains enjoy, whereas the latter shops needed to visually present and elucidate their products and services to attract customers. Notably, neither previous studies nor the present research have explored the relationship between language choice and its usage in relation to the scale of business operations. Therefore, future studies should investigate the similarities and differences between businesses of varying sizes to gain a comprehensive understanding of how globalisation influences the proliferation of English.

This study highlights the extensive usage of English in the LL of the surveyed urban setting. English emerges as the dominant foreign language, surpassing other languages in terms of visibility and prevalence. The distribution of English within the LL is influenced by various factors, including the characteristics of each surveyed site, the nature of businesses operating in different areas, and the desired image projected by establishments. English is often associated with modernity, Western culture, and globalised brands, and its usage is strategically employed to attract specific

target customers. The presence of English words and phrases, particularly when rendered in the Roman alphabet, serves not only a communicative function but also a decorative and symbolic purpose, reflecting societal trends and aspirations.

8.2 Features of English on commercial signs

This section reviews the characteristics of English usage on commercial signs in Japan. It acknowledges that English is the dominant foreign language on these signs, but highlights certain limitations and challenges in categorising the extent of English spread in Japanese LLs. Similar to Someya (2009), the study finds that English and the Roman alphabet are extensively used in the names of shops and businesses. The use of English for shop, business, product, and service names is particularly prominent, with proper nouns being the most frequently transcribed into the Roman alphabet on signs. However, it is argued that the use of proper nouns and abbreviations does not necessarily constitute English. While proper nouns can be interpreted by referencing a typology of script choices, the conventional use of abbreviations can be classified as Japanese. The study also identifies phrases written in distinctively Japanese use of English on signs, such as slogans and catchphrases. These phrases often involve direct translations from Japanese to English and may require some knowledge of Japanese or English as used in Japan to comprehend their meanings. Although previous studies have categorised such usages as English, they may be considered erroneous by users of other varieties of English. Nonetheless, this distinctively Japanese use of English is a characteristic feature of English on commercial signs in Japan.

The most significant feature of language use on Japanese commercial signs is code-mixing. Code-mixed texts observed in the study involve the incorporation of

single English words or parts of words into Japanese sentences that follow Japanese syntax. English is not only mixed into Japanese sentences but is also used innovatively to create new words and phrases. Examples of code-mixing include lexical blending and the use of trans-scriptism, such as the blending of English possessives with Japanese words (i.e., the ‘s’ in ‘源’s’ and ‘旅’s’). The study examines a local restaurant chain and a travel agency that demonstrate these practices. The restaurant comprises a local chain consisting of six establishments under unified management, all situated in the city center. The travel agency represents one of the largest domestic chains with branch offices spanning across Japan. The restaurant has used blended words for at least a decade, while the travel agency has adopted this device more recently. While the embedding of English possessives into Japanese words is unconventional, some may be familiar with the use of possessives at American restaurant chains, such as McDonald's and Denny's, that display their names in English in Japan (see Item 32 and Item 33). These code-mixing practices are not necessarily indicative of English fluency but serve cosmetic and visual purposes, creating a sense of both globalisation and localisation.

Item 32: McDonald's



Item 33: Denny's



Similar trans-orthographical practices, involving the coexistence of Roman and local scripts, have been observed in other countries. For instance, English assimilation into Hebrew has been identified in Tel Aviv, where shop names combine English and Hebrew words or incorporate single letters from the English alphabet into Hebrew words (Shafir's, 2015). Wachendorff (2016) examined multi-scriptural typography and the coexistence of Roman and Arabic scripts has been found in the German LL. Rivlina (2016) analysed Roman and Cyrillic biscriptal practices in the Russian LL and found evidence of 'script-switching (nonce transliteration), script-mixing (grapho-hybridisation), and script ambiguation (bivalent graphic forms)'. Lexical blending functions as wordplay (Renner, 2015). However, fluency in English is not a prerequisite for engaging in these digraphic practices. Rather, the innovative manipulation of scripts serves primarily as a visual element, contributing to a sense of both global and local influences coexisting harmoniously.

The code-mixed and lexically blended words and sentences observed in the Japanese LL had been written for individuals who possess some knowledge of Japanese and are not strictly English or Japanese English but rather new expressions that have emerged through glocalisation. These expressions serve as attention-catching tools for advertising (see Section 4.1), but their understanding may require a certain level of English knowledge, as they may not be widely accepted in society yet. As a result, code-mixed texts are often displayed alongside photographs to compensate for the lack of full or partial translations.

The choice of script in the Japanese writing system is crucial and holds semiotic significance, similar to colour, layout, and size. As Stöckl (2005, p. 205) argued, 'typography can be understood as a mode/code in its own right'. Typography plays a multimodal role and should be further investigated to understand script choice in

Japanese. Furthermore, the study emphasizes the need for scholarly attention to the relationship between typography, globalization, and the glocalization of language use. Coulmas (1991, p. 227) maintained that scripts became ‘powerful symbols of identification and cultural association’. Thus, making the exploration of trans-orthographical or trans-scriptism practices that emerge when the global and the local intersect a stimulating area of research.

This study has examined the features of English on commercial signs in Japan. While English is the dominant foreign language used on these signs, its usage is not without complexities. The study has highlighted the extensive use of English in shop and business names, particularly through the transcription of proper nouns into the Roman alphabet. However, it argues that the use of proper nouns and abbreviations does not necessarily constitute English. The distinctively Japanese use of English phrases, including slogans and catchphrases, poses challenges in their categorisation as English and may be considered erroneous by users of other English varieties. Furthermore, the study has identified code-mixing as a significant feature of language use on Japanese commercial signs, where English words or parts of words are embedded in Japanese sentences. This practice of code-mixing contributes to the creation of new words and phrases, often through lexical blending and trans-scriptism.

The study also draws attention to the significance of script choice on commercial signs, emphasising its role as a semiotic resource alongside other visual attributes. The coexistence of Roman and local scripts, observed in other countries as well, reflects the interplay between globalisation and localisation. Typography, as a mode of communication, deserves further investigation to deepen our understanding of script choice in the Japanese writing system. Moreover, the study underscores the need

to explore the relationship between typography, globalization, and the glocalisation of language use, as scripts have become powerful symbols of identification and cultural association.

8.3 Attitudes towards English in the Japanese LL

The survey results identified three tendencies in the participants' attitudes towards commercial signs in the Japanese LL. Firstly, language skills affect preference for signs, at least to some extent. The participants with stronger Japanese reading skills preferred signs mainly in Japanese, while those with less developed Japanese reading skills tended to prefer English-only signs or Japanese-English bilingual signs. However, the participants' English reading competence did not significantly influence their preference for English signs. Both the participants with advanced English reading skills and those with limited familiarity preferred signs containing simple English words and phrases. Particularly, the Japanese participants favoured signs with English content over signs mainly in Japanese.

Secondly, the participants evaluated signs based not only on language but also on content, design, and colouring. Visual aids accompanying written texts helped participants understand sign content. Signs with pictures of products provided information and assisted text recognition, especially for participants with limited Japanese reading skills. Additionally, some participants did not prefer handwritten English texts, indicating that overall sign design, including text presentation and language choice, influenced their impressions. Furthermore, there was a tendency for male participants to prefer signs from an electrical appliance store, while female participants favoured signs from a boutique. However, the participants' gender did not significantly impact their reasons for liking signs.

Thirdly, as suggested by previous studies on Japanese attitudes to English, the survey indicated that the Japanese generally hold positive attitudes towards the English language. The participants viewed the use of English on commercial signs as cool, fashionable, and projecting a prestigious image. Both the Japanese and non-Japanese participants had positive views of English on signs. Bilingual Japanese-English signs received higher positive evaluations compared to English-only signs. This trend was particularly prominent among non-Japanese residents, overseas residents, and participants with limited Japanese reading skills. Even participants with non-existent or limited English reading skills felt comfortable or somewhat comfortable with English and bilingual signs. These findings support the notion that English on commercial signs is perceived positively and accepted by individuals from diverse backgrounds, regardless of their English reading skills.

Finally, the participants' comments and opinions revealed their recognition of the dual nature of English on signs in the Japanese LL. They distinguished between English's roles for two target audiences: non-Japanese individuals and the Japanese population. In line with Seargeant (2011, p. 188), the participants recognised that English in Japan has the roles of an 'international *lingua franca*' and that of a source of 'localised symbolic value'. It can be claimed that the participants think English serves as both an international *lingua franca* for communication between Japanese residents and those without sufficient Japanese reading competence and as a language or script used among Japanese people for commercial purposes.

This study highlights the influence of language skills, content, design, and participants' positive attitudes towards English on commercial signs in the Japanese

LL. It underscores the dual nature of English as a communication tool and a source of symbolic value in the Japanese context.

8.4 English, Japanese English or something else

This study found that the participants were aware of the role of English on commercial signs in Japan. For the non-Japanese, English facilitates comprehension. For the Japanese, it serves a decorative purpose. This section discusses the roles of English on commercial signs in relation to the two target audiences that were identified and determines whether the form of English that is used in Japan is a manifestation of English, of Japanese English or of something else.

One fundamental role of the use of English on signs in Japan is *genko sabisu* (see Section 2.7). Although Japanese is the most widely spoken language in Japan and, consequently, the main audience of the LL is Japanese, the participants in the survey thought that English was used in the LL to support non-native readers of Japanese. The increasing number of immigrants to the country and the inbound tourism that the government promotes may provide two explanations. However, most new migrants are from non-English-speaking countries in South America and South East Asia, and a large number of tourists come from Asia. The participants recognised the situations because some of them commented on Chinese tourists, their intensive purchasing activity and so forth. In addition, English was found not only in city centres, which are visited by international tourists and by individuals from diverse backgrounds, but also in traditional and residential areas, where most individuals are locals, as the observation of the LL revealed. However, some participants were concerned that ‘when foreigners leave the city centre, they may find it very difficult to live in’ it because of the limited

availability of English signs. The majority of non-Japanese participants, both those who resided in Japan and those who were living outside of the country, had above-elementary Japanese reading skills and could read *hiragana* and *katakana*. However, they mentioned difficulties in comprehending *kanji* on signs and remarked on the need for English. It is likely that Japanese participants understand how complex written Japanese texts are for non-native Japanese readers and might regard English as being useful for non-Japanese residents and tourists.

Languages on signs may also affect how people feel about themselves and others in a society. Some survey participants had negative impressions to Chinese-only signs which were aimed at a specific group of people (i.e., from mainland China). People might feel that Chinese people are prioritised by the signs, even though they are marginalised in Japanese society. As the number of tourists from China and other Chinese-speaking regions exceeds those from other countries, it is logical that businesses display signs for Chinese readers. However, negative comments on the use of Chinese on signs and Chinese tourists by certain participants indicate that some people feel their territory has been invaded by the large number of tourists. The participants in the survey may think English serves as a *lingua franca* for people with limited Japanese competence. A comment by one participant indicates that English signs give the impression that the stores welcome non-Japanese nationals. English on signs was accepted in Japanese society for international communication. English is visible in the Japanese LL, but the others are not. Languages play a role in communication, but not for all audiences. For those who do not know the language used on signs, they appear to be meaningless lines and strokes. Therefore, the overuse of languages other than Japanese and English is not supported by Japanese residents, nor people whose languages do not appear in the LL.

Another role of English has to do with its symbolic value. One participant pointed out that using particular languages on commercials to project a prestigious image is common not only in Japan but also in other cultures. In Japan, English serves that purpose because it has a higher status (see Section 4.3). Symbolic value has been attached to English due to its status and its market value. The two have a synergistic effect, and the public have a positive perception of the use of English and the Roman alphabet. The fact that global corporations and European luxury fashion brands use English and European languages on signs may also confer a positive image to languages written in the Roman alphabet. Therefore, one role of English transcribed in the Roman alphabet is to raise the value of business by exploiting its symbolic capital.

Some participants noted that the excessive use of English in Japanese commercials was targeted at younger customers. The research supports that English written in the Roman alphabet was frequently observed at stores with younger customers, while long-established stores with older staff tended to have signs displayed for a long time and *gairaigo* written in *katakana*. As the use of English expresses modernity in the twenty-first century, the businesses which target younger generation or provide new and modern products and services may use English on their signs. English has symbolic and market values, and it is commodified by businesses as their market strategy. The participants, both Japanese and non-Japanese, recognised the symbolic value of English and its usefulness for marketing and communication through Japanese commercial signs.

The observation of the LL confirmed that some English usages differ from the forms of English that are used in other language communities. However, there is no specific feature that could be called ‘Japanese English’ except the code-mixing of

Japanese and English and the interference of Japanese expressions into English phrases. The survey of individuals from various backgrounds also indicates that the respondents recognised that the English that is found on Japanese commercial signs differs from other Englishes. However, most of the participants, who considered the role of English to be both facilitative and decorative, viewed the Japanese-specific English that appears on commercial signs as containing ‘errors’ and ‘mistakes’. They believed that the form of English in question is ‘inadequate’ and should be ‘corrected’. Other varieties of English, such as American English, Indian English and Singaporean English are not expected to be ‘corrected’, ‘proofread’ or verified by native English speakers because they are established varieties of the language. Some of the comments that the participants made implied that some assume that their use of language is ‘standard’ and ‘correct’ and that other versions are ‘non-standard’ or ‘errors’. Some of the participants, who were native English speakers, stated that the forms of English on Japanese signs should be proofread or corrected. However, their comments contained typos and errors (e.g., ‘miss usage’). It is possible that the participants were not paying attention to spelling when they were answering the questions. It is reasonable to be critical about the use of language on signs that are displayed in public places but not about comments in survey questionnaires because the natures of the two texts differ. Nevertheless, a comment by one Japanese participant, who claimed that his English skills were advanced, also suggested that judgements about ‘correct’ and ‘standard’ usage are typically based on beliefs and can be unreliable. Although he argued strongly that ‘Japanese English’ should be ‘corrected’, the English phrase that he cited as an example was a standard and correct English form that is used in various English-speaking countries. Moreover, one participant pointed out that some English texts seemed to have been machine translated. This opinion implies that the form of English in question was

not naturally emerged, unlike other varieties of English. Therefore, the participants did not think that the English that is used in Japan is English or Japanese English. Instead, they believed it to be non-standard English with errors.

Another finding is that the Japanese may have considered English words and phrases written on commercial signs to be design rather than language that conveys meaning. Although the participants examined Japanese-and-English code-mixed texts as part of the survey, only two of them expressed their opinions about that type of text. The other participants considered phrases and sentences that were written only in English to be English in actuality. Code-mixed sentences and lexically blended words might not have represented a form of English for most of the participants because these texts followed Japanese syntax, contained only single English words or phrases and required knowledge of Japanese to be understood. The texts that only contained parts of English phrases or which used the Roman alphabet might be considered Japanese or conceptualised as forms of design.

The Japanese recognise English store names and product names to be not only proper nouns but also logos. As Japanese uses logographic *kanji*, Japanese people might be adept at replacing English, which is a foreign cluster of letters for Japanese people, with meaningful units of letters similar to logos. English on signs is not necessarily meant to be comprehended as language which conveys meaning or explains the content of text; it is occasionally used as ornamentation or to present an image, similar to logos and pictures. Text on signage is often accompanied by visual aids. The visuals not only assist text comprehension, but also play an important role in providing particular images to viewers. Therefore, both English and visual aids convey positive images to the audience. In this sense, the visuals also function as a means of communication in the

LL. The survey results indicated that some participants had a negative impression of multilingual signs in the city, due not to the languages on the signs but rather to their design. Thus, the designs and images they express affects how people feel about both languages and signs. English and the Roman alphabet, when used as designs, not only project a positive image but also have eye-catching effects and instil viewers with a sense of novelty and modernity. The symbolic and market values of English may have been leveraged to appeal to customers.

While some believed displaying ‘wrong’ or ‘non-standard’ English to be better than nothing, others expressed negative opinions about the use of English on signs. Japanese participants referred to ‘Japaneseness’ and the ‘beauty of Japanese language’ to support displays of Japanese texts. Non-Japanese participants, both tourists and residents, were against the spread of English because it homogenises landscapes across the globe. One participant pointed out that the signs ‘looked the same as anywhere in the world’. This comment explains the current world situation (e.g., McDonaldization). Due to the effects of globalisation, not only the same shops but also the same languages are ubiquitous. Participants of this survey felt that English on Japanese commercial signs was for particular groups of people (e.g., younger Japanese) and used as design and to attract attention. English in the Japanese LL is used to appeal to the target customers. Japanese and English code-mixing is a localised form of English which may be a reaction to the McDonaldization of society and a backlash against the dominance of a form of English that appeals to a wide audience.

This study found that English appears to be used widely in the LL. However, for the most part, its use is still limited to expressions such as proper nouns and abbreviations. The analysis of attitudes towards Japanese commercial signs and the use of English implies that the limited use of English words is not regarded as a form of the

English language. Instead, it is sentences that are written entirely in English that represent the English language in the eyes of the public. Furthermore, English text on signs is perceived as being present either for the benefit of non-Japanese readers from various language backgrounds, that is, as a *lingua franca*, or for the benefit of the Japanese, who perceive it as having a certain decorative value. The latter perception is related to the market value of English. The realisation of that value does not require audiences to be capable of reading English. In both cases, many believe that Japan-specific English usages are errors. Code-mixed texts, English lexical blending and trans-scriptism practices are used as ornamentations. Although these usages have specific features, they are not thought to constitute Japanese English. They may be viewed as instances of design or manifestations of the Japanese language due to their linguistic features. Therefore, most of the uses of English text on Japanese commercial signs are not English and cannot yet be classified as Japanese English or as a variety of WE, at least according to those who read them. The use of English on commercial signs is the outcome of McDonaldization and glocalisation.

8.5 Glocalisation and English in Japan

Previous studies and discussions of global English have approached the spread of English from the perspective of globalisation. Studies of WE have further claimed that globalisation has resulted in the emergence of new varieties of Englishes, and that the form of English that is used in Japan can be categorised as Japanese English, a WE. In the Japanese context, there is the counterargument that English has not spread in Japan yet and that its usage is limited to international communication. However, most of these arguments have focused on the use of spoken English. English has been used for advertisement purposes, particularly on commercial signs, in LLs in various parts

of the world. Previous studies on the LL in Japan have found the use of English to be extensive. Some researchers, however, claim that the use of English on commercial signs in Japan is erroneous. This study challenged these perspectives, hypothesised that the use of English in Japan is the outcome of glocalisation and inquired into the nature and role of written English in commerce.

The analysis of the LL revealed that signs that contain English words and phrases appear more frequently in city centres than in historical and residential areas, which could reflect the influence of globalisation because the texts in city centres are accessed by audiences from diverse backgrounds, while texts in historical and residential areas are locally oriented. Businesses that aim to project a modern and fashionable image to younger customers display more English signs than shops that sell daily essentials, which is also associated with the Westernisation and globalisation of culture and society. Furthermore, English is used widely by companies that are global chains and by their domestic competitors (e.g., fashion outlets and coffee shops). Since global corporations use English names, English symbolises globalisation. There is a possibility that local shops or businesses use English in order to compete with global companies.

Arguably, some words and sentences that are written in the Roman alphabet for commercial purposes in the Japanese LL are representative of a variety of WE that is influenced by globalisation because they differ from English usages in other language communities. This is particularly true of code-mixing and the lexical blending of English. However, large number of texts written in the Roman alphabet were proper nouns of shop, business, product, and service names, and they were single words or short phrases. These texts were thus not meant to be understood or accepted as a

‘language’; rather, the aim of the usage was brand recognition. The use of proper nouns in the original English or Western spelling is a type of McDonaldization. In other words, global corporations and major domestic companies use English names as a global marketing strategy. This convention has expanded to local businesses due to the status and market value of English, and English words have spread in the Japanese LL. Due to globalisation, the world appears to be heading towards a single culture and becoming ‘McWorld’. The use of English by not only global corporations but also local businesses could be an aspect of the McWorld. English, when it is an outcome of the McWorld, can be defined as ‘McEnglish’. The term ‘McEnglish’ is employed to refer to the utilisation of English lexicon and expressions for enhancing efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control, which are rooted in the notion of McDonaldization, and widespread dissemination of English for commercial purposes across diverse sectors through the influence of global corporations. Furthermore, an English proper noun that is spelled in the Roman alphabet can be identified as a McWord and as a part of a McVocabulary, akin to the McShopping and McEducation which have emerged in the McWorld of Japanese society. The use of this type of English is not an exclusively Japanese phenomenon (see Section 4.1). However, the public do not yet consider these usages to be English. Instead, the Japanese recognise them as being similar to logos or designs.

Moreover, globalisation can induce a reaction and thus initiate localisation. Some local shops and businesses use Japanese to differentiate their brands from those of global chains, which results in localisation. For example, one of the domestic coffee chains spells the names of its shops name in *kanji* (see Item 34), even though ‘coffee’ is conventionally written in *katakana* (see Section 2.5). Various factors affect the choice of languages and scripts in the LL; however, the number of native speakers did not

reflect the language choices in the research areas. Since the majority of the population of the city is Japanese, it should be reasonable to use Japanese texts. Using one's native language can express more nuanced meanings, and displaying signs containing English thus has specific purposes and special effects. In Japanese, for example, the word 'open' in reference to a store's opening time can be expressed as '開店' (*kaiten*), '営業中' (*eigyochu*), '商い中' (*akinaichu*), and so forth. Some signs, however, were written in *katakana* 'オープン' (*opun*) or in English ('open'). The choice depends on the overall context, business type, and target customers. Languages and scripts in the LL are selected to accommodate the feelings (e.g., membership, solidarities, and group identity) of the target audience. How people feel about the use of languages may affect the language choice on commercial signs, and their impressions originated in the symbolic capital which certain languages possess. The use of English in Japan originated from the tendency to idealise American culture and society, which led to the adaptation of *gairaigo* with *katakana* spellings in the Japanese language system. However, the use of *katakana* lost its freshness and modernity, and English words are being spelled in the Roman alphabet in the twenty-first century.

Item 34: Coffee transcribed in kanji (at a coffee shop)



Some English words and phrases on the signs did not use the standard English of English-speaking countries. To adopt the new language and script into the Japanese writing system, a form of glocalisation must occur. Glocalisation of the languages and scripts is a process of adaptation and a practice of localisation. Some businesses adopted that position and included both English and Japanese texts or code-mixes of the two languages in single sentences on their signs. These actions reinforce the compromised position of globalisation and localisation and lead to glocalisation. Other businesses used English to create new vocabulary in the form of puns, as reported by Inagawa (2015) and Scherling (2016). The present study also reported on the use of puns and on the lexical blending of Japanese words and the Roman alphabet, which has resulted in trans-scriptism practices. These new usages of English and the Roman alphabet are the products of glocalisation rather than globalisation. In advertisements, English has been glocalised for the Japanese market. The English used in the Japanese LL can be considered glocalised, made-in-Japan English. The Japanese language has evolved to include more glocalised English.

Previous studies on the use of English in Japanese contexts have distinguished between English, WE and nativised English (i.e., *gairaigo*). Nevertheless, they have not differentiated clearly between the use of WE and that of glocalised English. Code-mixed English is treated as a type of English usage in LL studies. In this research, I distinguished between WE (i.e., new varieties of Englishes) and glocalised English as follows: WE is English with interferences from local languages, for example at the phonological and the morphological level, but it is spelled in the Roman alphabet and uses English vocabulary. Glocalised English, conversely, is a mix of English and local languages and contains linguistic features from both of the languages. For example, it

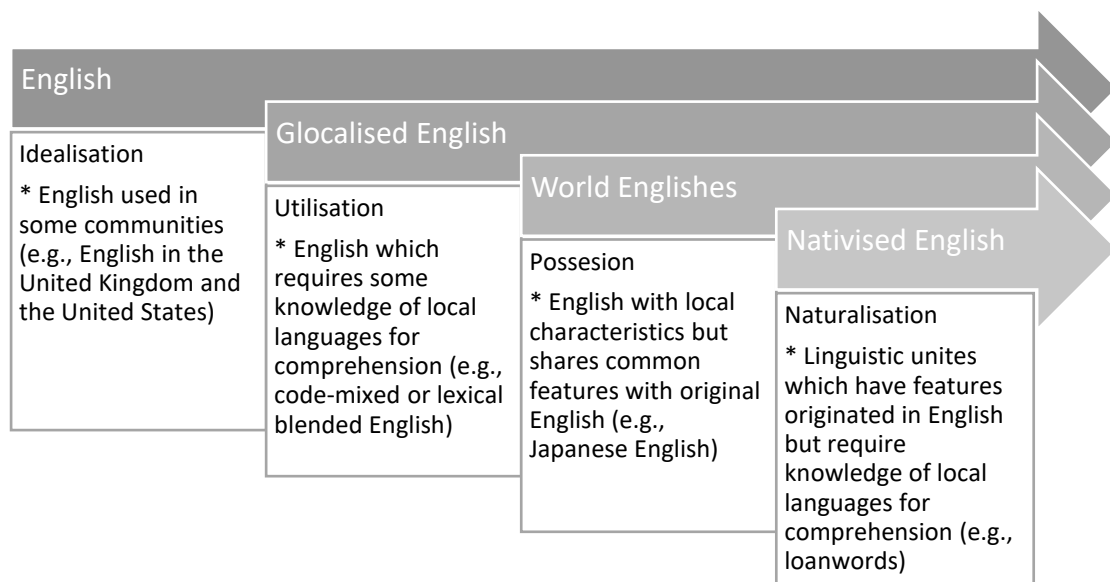
may be written in the Roman alphabet while subsuming vocabulary from both English and local languages.

Previous discussions of the spread of English have focused on geographical traits and the fluidity of language use by individuals or in communities. Those studies have claimed that it is possible to shift from one type of English to another or from L3 uses to L2 and L1 uses. However, individuals can use one or more Englishes depending on the context, the purpose of using English, the interlocutor and the English skills of the speaker. Some use English, others use WE, and others still use ESL or EFL. They may use one or more types on an individual occasion. The different Englishes overlap, and transition from one type of English to another does not occur always. Various types of English coexist in their own right, in a linear and parallel manner. English, WEs, local languages, minority languages and new languages cohabit within individual communities and create new linguacultures in a globalised world.

Figure 8.1 illustrates the use of different types of Englishes and the attitudes that language communities adopt towards them. The first stage is the idealisation of English. Forms of English that are used in specific language communities (e.g., British English and American English) are imported into others (e.g., Japan), and local people idealise the English because they admire and appreciate their history, politics, economy, globalisation and so forth. The next stage entails the utilisation of English. Local people begin to utilise English for specific purposes (e.g., advertisements attach a market value to English), and English and local languages are mixed. As a consequence, glocalised English (e.g., code-mixing and lexical blending) appears. Since it can be difficult to comprehend without knowledge of local languages, glocalised Englishes is recognised as a part of the local language. Then, possession of English occurs. Differentiation from English begins, and it ultimately results in the recognition of WE. The new English

contains characteristics of the local languages but shares features with English (e.g., Japanese English). The WE may be regarded as erroneous English by some individuals who speak the original English, but others may accept it as a variety of English. Thereafter, the naturalisation of English occurs. English is nativised and integrated into the local language system (e.g., loanwords and *gairaigo*). This nativised English comprises linguistic units which exhibit features that originated in English but are accepted as a component of the local languages because knowledge of the latter is required for comprehension. The consequences of the globalisation of society and culture and the spread of English cause contemporary developments to resemble efforts to reconstruct the Tower of Babel. However, an alternative reality has been created before the collapse of the tower. Englishes, including English, WE, glocalised Englishes and nativised Englishes, occupy distinct positions alongside local languages.

Figure 8. 1 Parallel use and attitude towards different types of English(es)



The researchers who investigate languages tend to observe that most (if not all) human activities that involve languages are related to linguistic theories. Research on

WE has presumed that there is a link between the spread of English and globalisation, and it has labelled forms of English that exhibit regional characteristics as varieties of WE. Nevertheless, geography, history and various other factors are intertwined in a complex system and create current language situations. English for commercial purposes is a commodity in Japan. The English on signs and the English on products such as t-shirts and tattoos in LL is a commodity that is influenced by the globalisation of culture and fashion. The commodification of languages can be found in other societies (e.g., *kanji* on clothes and *kanji* tattoos). However, it is important to note that some products, such as signboards and clothes, are often produced in countries where the costs of labour and production are lower. The globalisation of businesses affects lifestyles and language use. Since various factors affect language use, it is essential to adopt a wider perspective and to listen to the opinions of various stakeholders. It is not only researchers but also individuals who are entitled to decide what languages to use in their societies and what to call them. Even if elite groups try to impose their agendas (e.g., Philipson's argument on linguistic imperialism; see Section 3.1), individuals have the free will to accept, refuse or modify circumstances to suit their needs and demands. The use of English and the Roman alphabet in local communities is a manifestation of free will in society. English is used in autonomous ways for commercial purposes. English is also used in Japan for Japanese purposes. It is not reasonable to discuss the ownership of English or to categorise the varieties of English. Studies on English and globalisation have argued for the power relations and hegemony of the language. Nevertheless, the spread of English does not necessarily imply hegemony in the case of the use of English in the Japanese LL.

The Japanese language culture has flexibly adopted foreign languages and scripts. It is presumed that, with the promotion of globalisation, the emergence of English will continue as a form of glocalisation and may eventually produce additional varieties of English in Japan and in other parts of the world. Japanese may be undergoing a process of assimilation and development, as reflected by the adoption of the Roman alphabet and the corresponding system of spelling into the Japanese system of writing, which is comparable to the process by which loanwords were adopted as *gairaigo*. The use of English is one factor that nourishes Japanese linguaculture. What will happen to the use of English when the original English spellings lose their attention-grabbing effects and symbolic values remains unknown. In a rapidly globalising world, this outcome may materialise sooner than expected.

8.6 The future of language

The Japanese language has adopted foreign scripts and vocabulary since its early history and developed them within the Japanese context (see Section 2.4). It is a Japanese tradition and part of Japanese culture to reflect social changes and accept other languages and scripts. Therefore, the use of English written in the Roman alphabet in Japanese texts for commercial purposes is consistent with Japanese language culture. Language is a part of culture that reflects a society, and the use of certain languages and scripts indicates cultural influence from the society where they were originally used. With the globalisation of businesses and the influence of Western culture, the Japanese have begun to accept English written in the Roman alphabet on commercial signs in the LL. Since the Japanese have accepted the use of the Roman alphabet as *romaji* and studied ESL/EFL, they are familiar with the use of English, even if they do not understand the language perfectly.

The words originating from foreign languages are called ‘loanwords’ or ‘borrowings’. However, they are not intended to be ‘returned’ to native speakers and may evolve to have different meanings from the originals in the host language. The Japanese language has adopted a great deal of vocabulary from other languages. Social changes may lead to more English-based words and phrases being integrated into Japanese, and they might not be written in Japanese scripts, but rather in the Roman alphabet in the standard English way. The new way of adapting English-based words might expand from commercial signs and become conventional in other genres. There is a possibility that this usage could be extended to formal Japanese writing systems, just as Chinese characters became essential scripts in Japanese. If that occurs, English may lose its current prestigious status, similar to how writing English-based loanwords in *katakana* has lost its modern image. While English competence is cultural capital in current Japanese society, if more people have English reading (and speaking) competence, it would no longer be capital, but rather an obligatory skill. Overuse of English in the LL would create hierarchy among people with different levels of English competence. Language and power are correlated, and English has both symbolic and linguistic capital.

It is uncertain what will happen to the other languages and scripts observed in the Japanese LLs. While many languages will go extinct without support, new varieties are emerging online, such as emoji (emoticons; Nishimura, 2017). Glocalised English in the Japanese LL may be one of them. McArthur (1998) argues that Japan was not only the inventor of Decorative English but also its exporter. The domain of distinctively Japanese use of English may expand in the future, which could lead to its acceptance outside Japan and its recognition as a distinct Japanese English. Furthermore, not only Japanese English but also Japanese vocabulary would then be

exported to other languages. Miller (1967) notes that Japanese vocabulary has already been exported to Chinese, English, and other languages. In the future, more Japanese and distinctively Japanese uses of English words might be accepted in other languages and developed further within host language systems. As imagined in the 1982 Ridley Scott film, *Blade Runner*, which showed a futuristic 2019 city with neon signs and billboard screens displaying Japanese, more Japanese and made-in-Japan English may be observed in the LLs around the world. New Japanese phrases might be created (e.g., a British fashion brand generates non-standard Japanese sentences for its marketing and design), and the new phrases might include code-mixing of English and Japanese, as was observed in the LL in this research. This trend could be expanded to other languages and could lead to more fusion of languages and scripts and glocalised languages in the era of globalisation, as globalisation assists people, languages, and cultures cross borders more easily today than in previous eras.

8.7 Issues related to LL research

Finally, some issues that emerged during the execution of the project and which are related to LL research must be pointed out. The first has to do with the issue of portrait rights. Although commercial signs are displayed to be seen by the public, some stores refused to grant permission for their signs to be photographed. Two of the stores that I observed during the fieldwork had signs that stated 'No Photos' in Japanese and in English, with an illustration of a camera. Business operators set their own rules, and some of them do not wish their products, interiors, exteriors and the signs that they display outside of their premises to be published in any form. Their right to protect their products, including their signs, must be respected. Thus, the findings of the study are

accurate only insofar as one accepts that the exclusion of the items from those stores did not have a material effect on the analysis.

The second issue is also related to portrait rights. It concerns the feasibility of LL research. I had to be cautious while taking hundreds of photographs at some of the research sites. In old shopping streets and near residential areas which were mostly frequented by locals, my fieldwork raised suspicions, and I was questioned about the purposes for which I was taking photos on multiple occasions. Although much depends on regional characteristics, researchers who are outsiders might not be welcome in some areas.

The third issue has to do with the reliability of the research items and the analysis. It is important to note that shop and business owners do not always design signs or write the texts that appear on them. Instead, they consult designers or purchase pre-made signs that suit their business concepts and the general atmospheres of their premises. For example, Item 35 and Item 36 were displayed at two parking lots at different research sites. Even though these parking lots were located in physically distant places and had different managers, the designs of the signs were similar, and they had the same colour scales and fonts. Thus, the choice of language as well as the design of signs might reflect not only the intentions of owners but also those of designers. The comparison between Item 37, a hand-painted message at a patisserie, and Item 38, a pre-made sign at a restaurant, supplies another example. Both businesses were small and independently owned. Although the nature of these welcoming messages is the same, Item 38 had not been written by a member of staff at the business. The selection criteria for the sign are unclear – it is not known whether the employees purchased the sign because they understood the English text or just because they liked its design. Therefore, treating these types of signs in the same manner and claiming that

they have probative value in an examination of the nature of language use is questionable.

Item 35: At a parking lot



Item 36: At a parking lot



Item 37: A hand-painted sign

(at a patisserie)



Item 38: A pre-made sign

(at a restaurant)



The fourth issue has to do with the dependability of the assessment of language choices. This was one of my reasons for refraining from interviewing shop and business owners in the course of the present project. Some researchers have interviewed shop owners and managers and assessed their choice of languages on signs (e.g., in Ethiopia: Lanza and Woldemariam, 2014; in India: Begum and Sinha, 2019 ; in Malaysia: Manan et al., 2015). However, not all shops and businesses have the owner or the employees who are in charge of the texts and designs of commercial signs on site during business

hours, especially at global companies and domestic chains. Not all employees are in a position to represent their employers and to explain their views on signs and language use. Since commercial signs are displayed for marketing purposes, their design and the choice of language are elements of business strategy that form part of the pursuit of competitive advantage. Even if questions are put to company representatives directly, they might be reluctant to reveal their strategies to researchers if they know that they might forgo profits as a result. Therefore, it is important to respect the right of stakeholders to refrain from disclosing their views to researchers when profit is at stake.

The fifth issue is related to the classification of corporations. This study does not distinguish between the use of English at global and domestic companies. Since global corporations localise their products and services and domestic companies expand their businesses worldwide, it is not easy to differentiate between the global and the local precisely. For example, the Japanese companies Sony Group Corporation and Toyota Motor Corporation operate worldwide, and their names are written in the Roman alphabet. ‘Sony’ is a word that was coined from the Latin ‘*sonus*’ (‘sound’ in English; Nikkei Business Daily, 2021), and Toyota originates from the founder’s surname, which was Toyoda. The categorisation of the companies and their names depends on researchers and the nature of their studies. Still, comparing language-use features at global and local companies would contribute to improving the academic understanding of the manner in which globalisation affects the spread and use of English.

Lastly, handling large amounts of data is time consuming. However, new software will make data analysis easier and shorten the process. Gilles and Ziegler (2021) introduced a technique that relies on image recognition software, the Google Cloud Vision API, which makes it possible to process large volumes of photographic

data and to classify it automatically according to its content, which may include text and pictures. These recent technological developments will enable more research to be conducted on written language and LL.

8.8 Summary of Chapter 8

The research found that the claim that English in Japan is Japanese English, a variety of WE, is questionable. Although English is the dominant foreign language to which individuals in the Japanese LL are exposed, it is debatable whether English is used widely on commercial signs in Japan – the majority of the usages that were observed in the course of the research were related to proper nouns, such as shop and brand names, and to abbreviations which are used conventionally in Japanese texts. There were no particular grammatical features that could be classified as instances of Japanese English, although some of the English expressions differed from other forms of Englishes and some texts contained Japan-specific linguistic features, such as code-mixing and the lexical blending of Japanese and English. The survey results also indicate that the participants did not think that the English usages that are observed in the Japanese LL mirror those that are found in established varieties of English. Instead, the participants believed that the English usages on commercial signs contained Japan-specific expressions or errors. However, the participants recognised that English was used due to its market value.

Using English for commercial purposes in Japan is the outcome of globalisation and glocalisation. Globalisation promotes the use of English words and the Roman alphabet for brand recognition. The English and the vocabulary that is used for this purpose can be identified as McEnglish and McWords. The glocalisation that results from globalisation and localisation creates new English usages, such as code-mixing

and lexical blending. However, the public do not consider these usages to be forms of McEnglish and do not see the new usages as English. Instead, they may recognise them as logos, designs or Japanese words or phrases. Thus, written English on commercial signs in Japan cannot yet be labelled 'Japanese English', that is, a new variety of WE.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This research examined the usage of English in the Japanese cityscape and revealed its rich and colourful use. This final chapter summarises the main findings, considers factors which affect language choices in the LL and the roles and purposes of English for the Japanese, and discusses how glocalisation affects the languages on commercial signs. It also states the limitations of the study, suggests applications of the research findings to other studies, and presents the project's theoretical contributions.

9.1 Summary of study

This study examined the use of English on commercial signs in Japan to determine whether the forms of English that are found in cityscapes are a variety of WE and how glocalisation affects the use of English for commercial purposes. Therefore, the following three research questions were assessed:

- (1) To what extent is English used on commercial signs in Japan?
- (2) What are the linguistic features of the English on Japanese commercial signs?
- (3) What are people's attitudes towards the use of English on commercial signs?

This research examined the theoretical frameworks of WE and LL studies and adopted a new approach to the analysis of English usage. First, it examined the actual use of English on commercial signs as observed in the LL of the city of Nagoya in Japan. Usage was analysed quantitatively. Then, an online survey was conducted so that individual attitudes towards English usages could be observed, and the responses were investigated by using thematic and content analytical methods. The adoption of

the two methods enabled the research to explore the nature of written English in the Japanese context from different perspectives.

Previous studies of Japan have found that the use of English in the LLs is extensive. The current research also found that English was extensively used on commercial signs. Japanese and English were the dominant languages in the LL. English words and phrases were spelled in the Roman alphabet, as opposed to *katakana*, which is conventionally used in the Japanese writing system. English words written in the Roman alphabet were found at all six research sites. However, city centres had more signs with English than did other areas. The text data collected in Nagoya illustrated the widespread use of English, which is contrary to the common belief that Japan is a monolingual country due to its homogeneity. The foreign languages used were limited to English, certain European languages, Chinese, and Korean. The signs using English and European languages were displayed mainly for a Japanese audience, although people with competence in those languages would comprehend the texts. While there were few Chinese and Korean signs, they were targeted at tourists from mainland China and South Korea; Chinese speakers from other regions were not considered because the texts were written in Simplified Chinese and specifically for Chinese nationals. This said, familiarity with written Chinese would enable one to comprehend the texts.

English was used on signs which were monolingual, bilingual, and code-mixed. The bilingual and code-mixed signs were categorised into four types: full Japanese translation, partial translation, code-mixed, and no direct Japanese translation. English and Japanese were frequently used together, but on the majority of signs they were not direct translations of one another. Moreover, the use of English was limited to certain types of content (e.g., names of shops, businesses, products, and services). Spelling certain English words in the Roman alphabet on commercial signs has been accepted

among the Japanese, as some usages (e.g., the letter ‘F’ to indicate floor and ‘TEL’ for telephone numbers) are widely accepted as convention on commercial signs. Nevertheless, most English words and phrases found in this research were proper nouns. Although the proportion was small, evidence of trans-scriptism practices that entail mixing Japanese and the Roman alphabet was found. While some English is used as a means of communication, other English content (e.g., slogans and catchphrases) primarily served decorative purposes. The signs containing these types of contents in English were often accompanied by visual aids (e.g., photographs and pictures). Because the visual aids assist in the understanding of the texts, English does not need to be comprehended but rather is used to represent images on signs.

Although various types of English signs were found in the LL, and it may appear that English words and phrases flourish in the Japanese LL, English was not used equally in the 26 types of businesses examined. Although previous studies on the Japanese LL did not demonstrate a difference in the use of languages according to business types, this research clearly indicated that certain businesses are likely to use more English than others. While various types of businesses displayed signs containing English, businesses related to Western culture (i.e., fashion, beauty, and food) tended to use more English texts than other business types. In addition, businesses which wish to present new, innovative, and Western images tended to use English words and phrases. On the other hand, Japanese scripts were frequently used for businesses which target locals in the residential areas. In the twentieth century, the use of *katakana* provided foreign and Western images for the Japanese, as the Japanese have specific impressions of each script including masculine, feminine, new, old, tender, and sharp (see Section 4.1). In the twenty-first century, however, the Roman alphabet may have

supplanted the modern image of *katakana* because English has a positive image and symbolic capital for the Japanese.

Like previous studies, this one also indicates that most individuals perceive signs that contain English favourably and accept the use of English to a larger extent than the use of other foreign languages. The survey results indicate that the respondents had two perceptions of the use of English on signs, which could be related to the role of English as a *lingua franca* and to its value for Japanese audiences. Those who viewed English as a *lingua franca* considered the use of English on signs to be for the benefit of non-Japanese individuals. Those who thought that the use of English on signs is intended for the Japanese argued that it is an attention-grabbing device and a means of projecting a certain brand image. In either case, the survey revealed that most individuals do not regard English usage in the LL as a form of English or Japanese English but rather as erroneous English. The analysis described Japanese people's complex state of mind, which simultaneously embraced and resisted English in public spaces.

The observation of the LL and the analysis of the survey indicate that English and words that are transcribed into the Roman alphabet function not only as means of communication but also as means of ornamentation. Moreover, code-mixing texts, which is one of the features of English in the LL, may have a role as an attention-getter. English with Japan-specific usage can be called distinctively Japanese use of English to a certain extent. However, as large number of texts written in English were proper nouns, the usage cannot be classified as English or Japanese English.

This research argued that globalisation and glocalisation have affected the use of English in the Japanese LL. Due to globalisation, global corporations have expanded

their businesses in Japan, and they use English or English-like names for their shops, businesses, and products as a global marketing strategy. Local businesses attempt to compete with global chains to attract customers. Japanese local businesses may be aware of people's knowledge and positive image of English and thus use English with Japanese for their shop and product names. As a result, it appears as though English has spread in Japan since those shop and business names and their products or services comprise most of the texts in the LL.

The findings imply that Japan is a part of the 'McWorld', which is increasingly moving towards a single culture with the same chain restaurants, cafes, and retailers present worldwide. Hence, the spread of English in the Japanese LL may be due to McDonaldization of society. The English which global corporations use could be called 'McEnglish' and the vocabulary 'McWords'. At the same time, the glocalisation of language use could be found in forms of code-mixing, lexical blending and transscriptism. The results of this research indicate that it is debatable whether the written English that is found on Japanese commercial signs can be identified as Japanese English, that is, as a variety of WE, at the present time. However, it is possible that the use of McWords and glocalised English may expand to other media, and it may become an essential part of local language systems in the future.

The research revealed that the roles and purposes of English in the LL for the Japanese are complex. English texts on Japanese signs serve as a means of communication and image representation. These roles intermingle to form a linguistic culture in the LL. Although English in the Japanese LL has been widely accepted in Japanese society, the majority of English usages for commercial purposes in the LL are more accurately called McWords or McVocabulary, as opposed to WE, because the usages are mainly for proper nouns. Although certain English usages are specific to Japan

and can be called distinctively Japanese use of English, they were limited and not equally distributed in society.

9.2 Limitations of the study

The research found interesting uses of English and surveyed how people feel about them. Still, it is necessary to conduct further research to explore the use of English in Japan. This study only analysed the views of the audiences of commercial signs on the use of languages and did not account for the opinions of business owners and the creators or designers of signs, particularly in relation to globalised forms of English. As many global companies operate in city centres, these businesses often use English in their logos or designs. It is important to examine opinions from a variety of business sectors about languages on commercial signs. To learn what factors are involved in the choice of languages, researchers could address how businesses engage in social and demographic change, how businesses correspond to globalisation, what the purposes of using English on signs are, and whether businesses consider their choice of language to accommodate their target customers. Furthermore, it is important to expand the research area, as the present study examined the use of languages in a single city, and the survey was conducted mainly among residents in the city and surrounding areas. Comparing urban areas and smaller cities may provide relevant insights into use of English and other languages. In addition, the research objects could be expanded to cover other written media and spoken forms. Further research would enable a more complete understanding of the use of English and its global dissemination to emerge.

9.3 Application of research findings

This study applied LL research methods supplemented by survey analysis. The research findings can be applied to the analysis of new varieties of English and the investigation of how a language spreads and evolves in a new community. Although the main purpose of the research was to examine the roles of English for the Japanese, the survey findings also related to supporting linguistic diversity to achieve a truly multicultural and multilingual society. Non-native Japanese speakers living in Japan stated their need for assistance in reading text, while many participants living outside Japan looked favourably upon signs written in Japanese. The difference originated in their purposes for living in or visiting Japan (i.e., tourism). Because they want to experience an authentic Japanese environment, signs written in English only do not meet their purposes for visiting Japan. Nonetheless, signs containing some English words and phrases along with Japanese scripts support their reading comprehension. People with diverse linguistic backgrounds have visited Japan, and this tendency is expected to continue. Thus, language choices need to be made thoughtfully to assist not a few specific groups, but rather a large number of people. It is thus advisable to include some English text on signs for international tourists. This finding will assist studies of business and tourism in Japan, a nation which aims to attract more international visitors.

Although some issues regarding the association between globalisation and the spread of English remains to be unclear, I believe this research made a few contributions towards the study of WE and LL in Japanese contexts. Although the research focused on issues in Japan, the findings can be applied in research on English in other parts of the world because the effects of globalisation and the language-use reactions to them have been observed in various language communities.

Further research could explore the perceptions and attitudes of different linguistic communities towards the prevalence of English in the LL, as well as the potential impact on local languages and cultures. Additionally, investigations into the influence of globalisation and digital communication technologies on the LL could provide valuable insights into the evolving nature of language use in urban environments. By deepening our understanding of the LL, researchers can contribute to the development of inclusive language policies, effective communication strategies, and culturally sensitive urban planning.

9.4 Theoretical contributions

Previous LL studies have assumed that the English in the Japanese LL is English or a variety of WE. The traditional notion of Japanese English highlights its differences from standard English and describes its characteristics. Nevertheless, this study found that it is inaccurate to call the English usage on commercial signs Japanese English, although English in the LL includes loanwords, code-mixing, and English-like phrases.

Previous WE studies have been discussed in relation to globalisation. The causes and effects of the spread of English are multifaceted, and globalisation is only one of many factors involved. This study indicated that the use of English in the Japanese LL is neither an issue of globalisation versus localisation, nor of standardisation versus adaptation. The use of English on commercial signage in Japan can be understood as a form of glocalisation of culture and language. As Stanlaw, (1992, p. 75) argues, 'Japanese English is used in Japan for Japanese purposes'. The research findings support this argument. English in the Japanese LL is not only for those

with knowledge of English. The role of English encompasses not only communication but also design.

Language use on commercial signs could be one of the outcomes of globalisation and the McWorld. Yet, the research also demonstrates that Japanese has been developing by integrating parts of English written in the Roman alphabet, which is a result of Japanese linguaculture and glocalisation. Glocalised English is not a phenomenon unique to Japan. In fact, the WE observed in many parts of the world are glocalised Englishes.

This study's findings particularly assist sociolinguists to examine the effect of the global spread of English, English as a *lingua franca*, and WE in the age of globalisation. This research contributes to the field of sociolinguistics and aids research on language choices, language development, language and power, advertising language, and language policy and planning. The results are also relevant to the wider community of scholars and practitioners interested in literacy, marketing, teaching English as a second or foreign language, and cultural linguistics. This research has sought to provide insight into the study of WE from multiple perspectives.

The findings contribute to the existing body of research on LL, shedding light on the complex interplay between language choices, urban environments, business sectors, and cultural influences. The study underscores the significance of analysing LL as dynamic and multifaceted entities that reflect social, economic, and cultural dynamics. Furthermore, the findings have implications for policymakers, language planners, and businesses, highlighting the need for a nuanced understanding of language use in urban settings and the potential impact on identity, communication, and commercial success.

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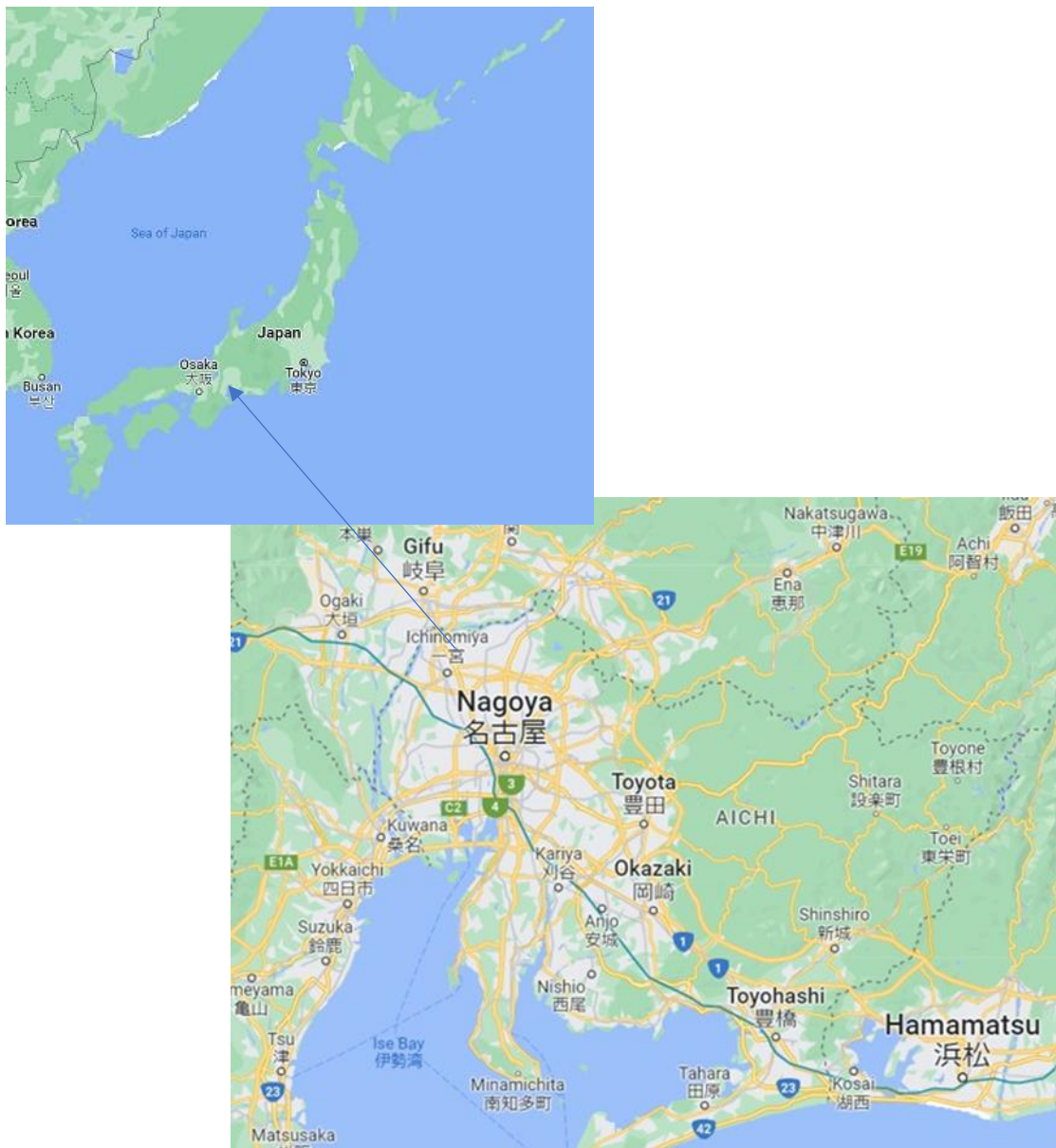
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Appendices

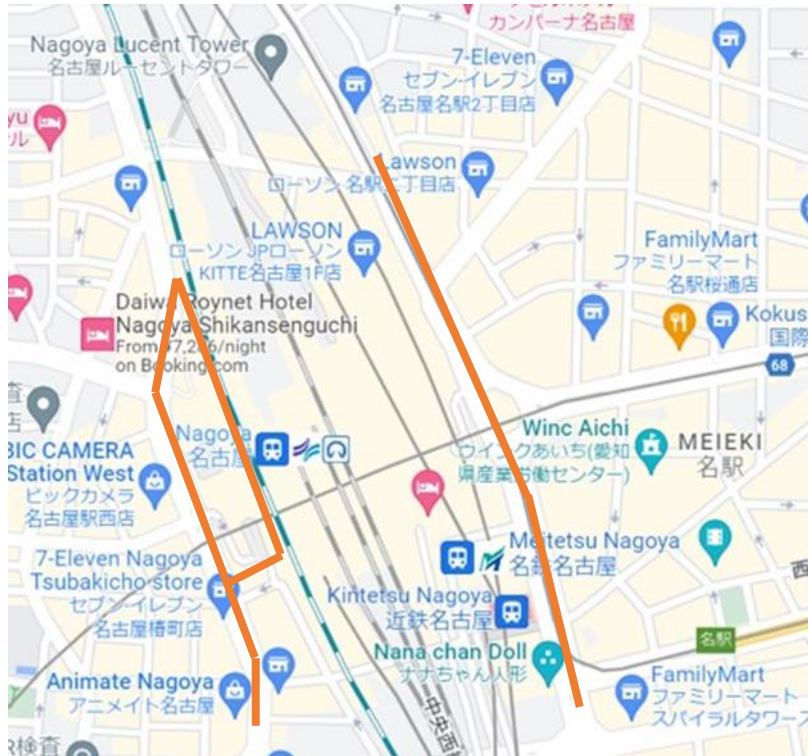
Appendix A: Map of Aichi prefecture, Japan



Source: Google Maps

Appendix B: Research Sites

Site 1: Meieki



Site 2: Sakae



Site 3: Fujigaoka



Site 4: Takabata



Site 5: Horita



Site 6: Kurumamichi



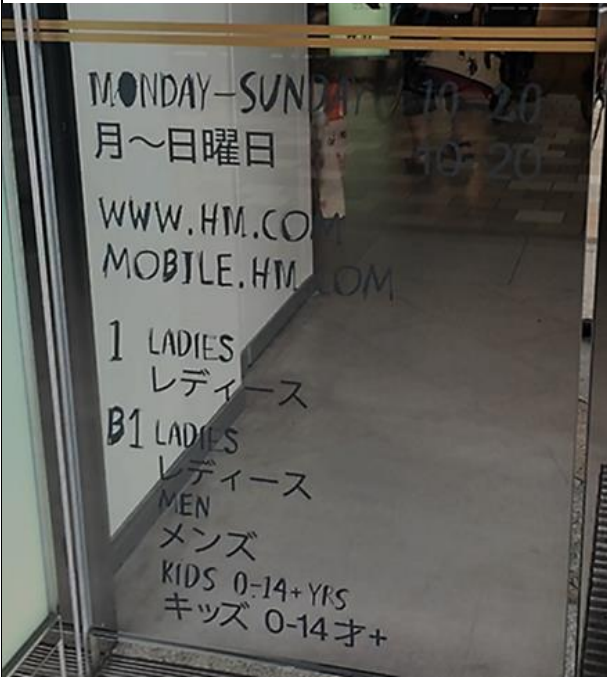
Source: Google Maps

Appendix C: Survey questionnaire for Group A (Residents of Aichi, Gifu, and Mie prefectures)

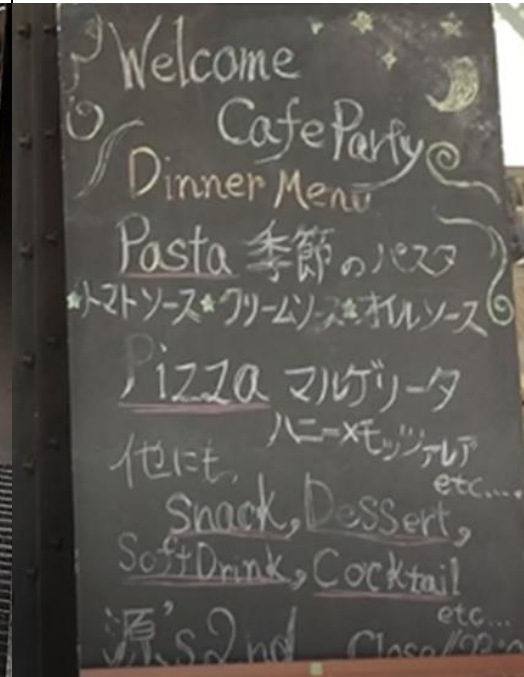
For Q1 to Q6, please look at the photos and answer the questions.

<p>Sign 1</p> 	<p>Sign 2</p> 
<p>Sign 3</p> 	<p>Sign 4</p> 

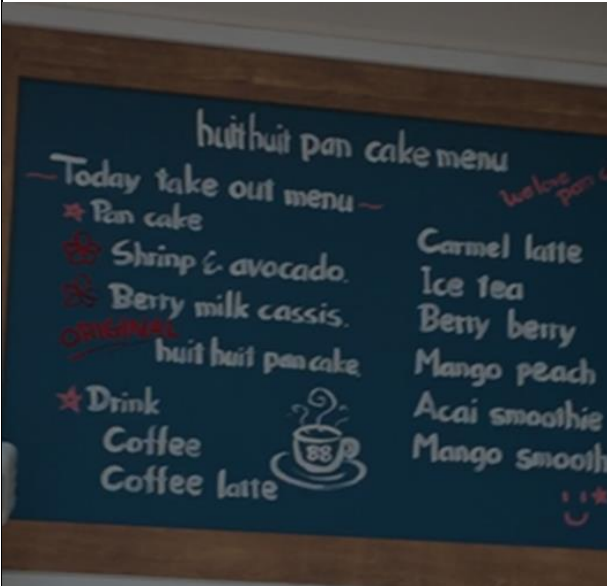
Sign 5



Sign 6



Sign 7



Sign 8



Sign 9



Sign 10



Q1. Which one of the following signs do you like the most in Nagoya City? Please click the sign that you like. (You can enlarge the photos.)

Q2. Why is the sign you selected in Q1 the one you like the most? Please click the reason.

- Like the letters and the language
- Like the font of the letters
- Like the colouring of the sign
- Like the design of the sign
- Like the content of the text
- Other reasons

Q3. If you have selected 'Other reasons' for your choice in Q2, please explain why the sign you selected in Q2 is the one you like the most. (optional question)

Q4. Which one of the following signs you do not like the most in Nagoya City? Please click the sign that you do not like. (You can enlarge the photos.)

Q5. Why is the sign you selected in Q4 the one you do not like the most? Please click the reason.

Do not like the letters and the language

Do not like the font of the letters

Do not like the colouring of the sign

Do not like the design of the sign

Do not like the content of the text

Other reasons

Q6. If you have selected 'Other reasons' for your choice in Q5, please explain why the sign you selected in Q4 is the one you do not like the most. (optional question)

Q7. How do you feel about signs that use English?

I feel comfortable with them.

I feel somewhat comfortable with them.

I do not feel particularly comfortable with them.

I do not feel comfortable with them.

I don't know.

Q8. How do you feel about Japanese signs that also use English in the text?

I feel comfortable with them.

I feel somewhat comfortable with them.

I do not feel particularly comfortable with them.

I do not feel comfortable with them.

I don't know.

Q9. What do you think about the language use on commercial signs in Japan? (optional question)

Q10. What is the primary language (first language) that you read and write in? Please select a language from the list below.

Japanese

English

Portuguese

Spanish

Chinese (Traditional characters)

Chinese (Simplified characters)

Korean
Filipino (Tagalog)
Vietnamese
Thai
Other language

Q11. If you have selected 'Other language' in Q10, please indicate the language.

Q12. What is the second language that you read and write in? Please select a language from the list below.

Japanese
English
Portuguese
Spanish
Chinese (Traditional characters)
Chinese (Simplified characters)
Korean
Filipino (Tagalog)
Vietnamese
Thai
Other language
None (I do not use a second language.)

Q13. If you have selected 'Other language' in Q12, please indicate the language.

Q14. How do you rate your Japanese reading skills? (If you were born and raised in Japan, please select 'native or near-native level'.)

Native or near-native level
Advanced level
Intermediate level
Elementary level
I cannot read Japanese at all.

Q15. How do you rate your English reading skills? (Please indicate the level of your reading and writing skills rather than listening and speaking skills.)

Native or near-native level (STEP EIKEN Grade 1 or TOEIC 870 or above)
Advanced level (STEP EIKEN Grade Pre-1 or TOEIC 740–865)
Intermediate level (STEP EIKEN Grade 2 or TOEIC 550–735)

Elementary level (STEP EIKEN Grade Pre-2 or TOEIC 100–545)

I cannot read English at all. (I do not understand a single word in English.)

Q16. How do you rate your reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English?

Native or near-native level

Advanced level

Intermediate level

Elementary level

I cannot read at all.

Q17. What is your gender?

Male

Female

Q18. What is your age?

20–29 years old

30–39 years old

40–49 years old

50–59 years old

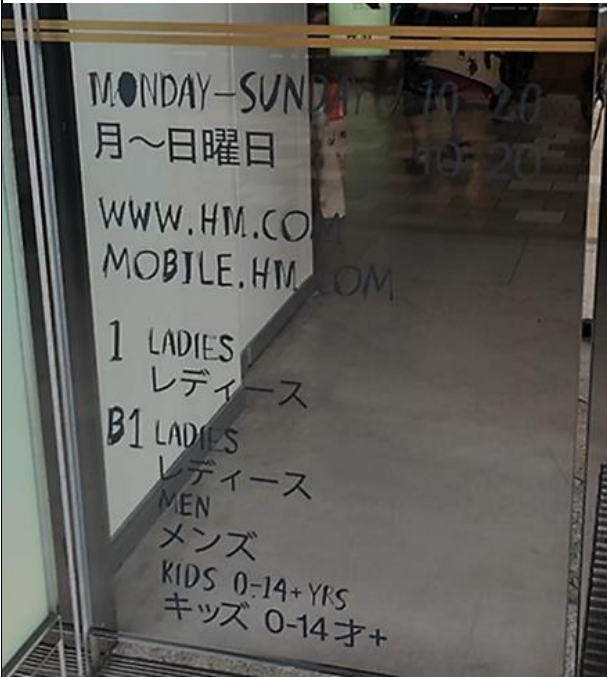
60 years old or above

Appendix D: Survey Questionnaire for Group B (Residents outside Japan)

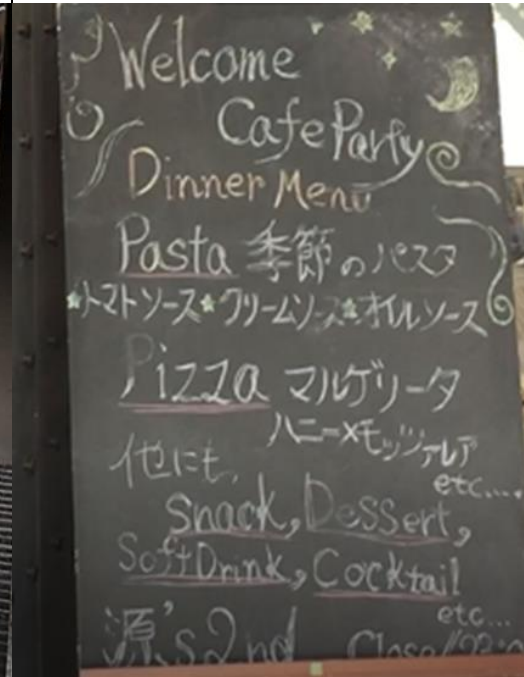
For Q1 to Q6, please look at the photos and answer the questions.

<p>Sign 1</p> 	<p>Sign 2</p> 
<p>Sign 3</p> 	<p>Sign 4</p> 

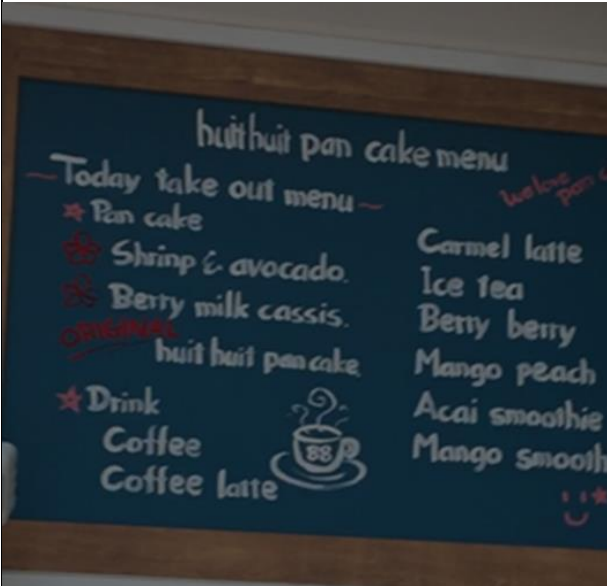
Sign 5



Sign 6



Sign 7



Sign 8



Sign 9



Sign 10



Q1. Which one of the following signs do you like the most in Nagoya City? Please click the sign that you like. (You can enlarge the photos.)

Q2. Why is the sign you selected in Q1 the one you like the most? Please click the reason.

- Like the letters and the language
- Like the font of the letters
- Like the colouring of the sign
- Like the design of the sign
- Like the content of the text
- Other reasons

Q3. If you have selected 'Other reasons' for your choice in Q2, please explain why the sign you selected in Q2 is the one you like the most. (optional question)

Q4. Which one of the following signs you do not like the most in Nagoya City? Please click the sign that you do not like. (You can enlarge the photos.)

Q5. Why is the sign you selected in Q4 the one you do not like the most? Please click the reason.

Do not like the letters and the language

Do not like the font of the letters

Do not like the colouring of the sign

Do not like the design of the sign

Do not like the content of the text

Other reasons

Q6. If you have selected 'Other reasons' for your choice in Q5, please explain why the sign you selected in Q4 is the one you do not like the most. (optional question)

Q7. How do you feel about signs that use English?

I feel comfortable with them.

I feel somewhat comfortable with them.

I do not feel particularly comfortable with them.

I do not feel comfortable with them.

I don't know.

Q8. How do you feel about Japanese signs that also use English in the text?

I feel comfortable with them.

I feel somewhat comfortable with them.

I do not feel particularly comfortable with them.

I do not feel comfortable with them.

I don't know.

Q9. What do you think about the language use on commercial signs in Japan? (optional question)

Q10. What is the primary language (first language) that you read and write in?

Q12. What is the second language that you read and write in?

Q13. If you have selected 'Other language' in Q12, please indicate the language.

Q14. How do you rate your Japanese reading skills?

Native or near-native level

Advanced level
Intermediate level
Elementary level
I cannot read Japanese at all.

Q15. How do you rate your English reading skills?

Native or near-native level
Advanced level
Intermediate level
Elementary level
I cannot read English at all.

Q16. How do you rate your reading skills in languages other than Japanese and English?

Native or near-native level
Advanced level
Intermediate level
Elementary level
I cannot read at all.

Q17. What is your gender?

Male
Female

Q18. What is your age?

20–29 years old
30–39 years old
40–49 years old
50–59 years old
60 years old or above

Q19. Have you ever visited Japan?

More than three times
Three times
Twice
Once
Never

Q20. Do you want to visit Japan in the future?

- Definitely
- Very much
- Not sure
- Not very
- Not at all