

Econolinguistic aspects of multilingual signs in Japan*

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Abstract

In this paper recent trends of multilingual usage in Japan will be treated from the standpoint of the economy of language. Four different stages of language use are characterized on the basis of observation. The basic underlying idea is that general attitudes to language use in Japan can be categorized into four main types, if the notation or writing system (kanji, katakana and alphabetic notation) is taken into consideration. These four types can be applied not only to the Japanese notation system, but also to language use and dialect use. Various sociolinguistic phenomena seem to have the same social background. However, because of limitations of space, I will concentrate on the use of kanji, katakana and alphabetic notations in Japanese. The four types are (1) the kanji-dominant type, (2) the katakana-dominant type, (3) the alphabet-dominant type, and (4) the alphabet-plus type. They will be discussed one by one in this order. The kanji dominant type is associated with the cognitive use of British English, the katakana dominant type with the affective use of American English, the alphabet dominant type with the symbolic use of international English, and the alphabet-plus type with the practical use of various indigenous systems of writing. The first three types coincide with three kinds of social attitudes towards dialects in Japan: from "dialect eradication" through "dialect description" to "dialects for pleasure". The basic underlying mechanism of language attitude is probably common to all types. These attitudes can be understood as an integrated process of the modernization of Japanese, as discussed by Neustupný in this issue.

1. The Kanji-dominant type: usage patterns in the past

1.1. Images of writing systems

The Japanese writing system is interesting both from the point of view of graphemics and sociolinguistics, as Coulmas (2002) has pointed out.

Different systems of writing are used with different implications and nuances, giving rise to different social associations. For a symbolic illustration consider the place name of Hiroshima. When written in kanji or Chinese characters, it conveys a neutral, formal, administrative image. In Hiragana, a soft entertaining feeling related to tourism is evoked, while Hiroshima in Katakana conveys a hard, harsh image associated with the atomic bomb. When written in alphabetic letters, it gives a modern impression associated with a "cool" international image.

By collecting various kinds of data on the use of katakana and alphabetic writing, certain consistent tendencies were found. By comparing these with similar data in the past, future trends can be predicted. True to the inductive method characteristic of sociolinguistic research in Japan (Sibata 1998), practical, concrete data are presented here to convey by themselves the main points of this article.

1.2. *Corpus planning and status planning*

The present article is a development of Inoue (2001b). Making use of the terminology of language planning, I have argued that the use of English in Japan has moved from the level of "corpus planning" to the level of "status planning". In other words, over the past one and a half centuries English has been used increasingly in individual loanwords in Japanese and is now becoming used in the form of entire sentences and expressions. With regard to loanwords, corpus planning is here subdivided along the lines spelt out above into (1) kanji-dominant type, (2) katakana-dominant type, and (3) alphabet-dominant type, as shown in Table 1. The question of status planning is positioned here as (4), alphabet-plus (indigenous writing) type for representing foreign languages. These four types appeared historically in this order, and the social domains (or contexts, fields) and situations of the actual eras of appearance are also different. These are reflections of the modernization and westernization of Japanese society, and the usage ratios of the types are largely proportional to the growing pressure of the English language. I will discuss these in this order.

As there are many ways of transcribing words in Japanese, many people seem to be interested in this question these days. In some works about economic aspects of language use (Inoue 1997, 2000, 2001a), several surveys are cited to document recent trends. In this article, I report the results of more recent surveys. Some of the surveys were done by graduate students of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Many results are, however, presented as new graphs and figures. It is my belief that

data can be more deeply interpreted by making use of better techniques of representation.

Turning to the status of foreign languages in Japan in the past, the dominant status of English was established in the Meiji era (1868–1912). Among students of higher education German and French were also popular in order to acquire modern practical knowledge of the Western world. However, the general public preferred English, except in a short period of time prior to and during World War II, when English was prohibited as “the language of the enemy”.

In those days, foreign languages were very rarely used in public, for example on signboards. Actual patterns of language use can be inferred from old pictures. If we look at old photographs and postcards, some instances of English or Romanized Japanese can be found, although only in special contexts. Multilingual signs were seldom used, and if used at all, they were intended for foreigners, especially Americans. These signs were thus directed at foreigners and related to economical transactions, for instance, the signboards of shops and hotels for tourists. This kind of research has been called the study of “linguistic landscape” or “Sprachlandschaft”. It can be fruitfully combined with econolinguistics or the study of language and economy.

English also appeared on the labels of western products, such as beer, tobacco, matches, and medicine manufactured in Japan. Documentation is found in several catalogues of labels of commodities. These labels connote western culture. Drinking beer from a bottle with labels written in kanji or kana would have been awkward, making people feel that the beer tastes like soy sauce.

1.3. *Kanji-dominant type: usage patterns before the war*

The first type of language use in Japan is the kanji (Chinese character) dominant type, which was predominant until the end of World War II. It has a long tradition of some 1500 years, since the art of writing was imported from China. Contact with the West began in the sixteenth century, on a limited scale. But a wave of terms originating in Western languages was introduced into Japanese in the wake of the modernization of Japan, that is, after the opening of ports to western countries in 1854, and especially after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. In the days of rapid modernization, foreign concepts were introduced into Japanese in the form of calques written in Chinese characters, partly because intellectuals in the Meiji modernization era had a profound knowledge of classical Chinese. What is more, the meaning of novel concepts was more transparent when

Table 1. *General characteristics of writing in Japan*

<i>JAPANESE NOTATION</i>		<i>LANGUAGE USE</i>			<i>DIALECT</i>	<i>SOCIETY</i>
From corpus to status	Favorite notation of gairaigo and alphabet	General tendency	Target Cognitive and affective	Status	Typical English	Social background
1	Kanji-dominant type Kango	Usage patterns in the past Monolingual society	Cognitive Reception of knowledge for the Japanese	Absolute status of English	British English	before 1945 Totalitarianism, militarism Chinese cultural area
2	Corpus planning Katakana-dominant type Gairaigo	Affective use of loanwords Monolingual society	Affective use of English For the Japanese Affective association with Western culture	Absolute status of English	American English	1945-70s Economic development Democracy
3	Alphabet-dominant type Alphabet Bilingual notation	Recent use of alphabet for Japanese people Partly bilingual society	Symbolic communication For the Japanese	Relative status of English	International Englishes	80s-90s Bubble economy

4	Status planning	Alphabet-plus type	Recent multilingual signs for foreign residents	Practical communication	Relative status	World Englishes	Revival	2000s
		National notation plus	Partly multilingual society	For foreign residents	of languages	Basic command of English	Memorial	Asia considered
		Multilingual notation	Incipient Diglossic society			Abolition of gairaigo	Protection	Internationalization

represented by means of ideographic Chinese characters. This type of kanji dominance can be observed even now in some domains where the change of notation or transcription is not so easy because of legislative problems, for example, for registered trademarks or copyright. Kanji notations of words such as 'glass', read *ga-ra-su*, and 'club', read *ku-ra-bu*, can be found in the names of companies, institutions and buildings even nowadays.

European place names, too, were written in kanji, for example *doitsu* for Germany. Because of this tradition, the German language is rendered as *dokugo* using two Chinese characters that can also be read *hitorigoto* or 'monologue'. This may have been appropriate for students in the past who had no chance of putting their laboriously learned German to use except for reading out texts aloud by themselves. The preponderance of kanji words can be inferred from graphs in *Zusetsu Nihongo* [The Illustrated Atlas of the Japanese Language] (Hayashi 1982). Further illustration is provided by a graph depicting the frequency of foreign words used in the lyrics of pop songs, as shown in Figure 1. This graph shows the trend of loanwords over more than one hundred years since the Meiji Restoration.

2. Katakana-dominant type: affective use of loanwords

The second type of corpus planning concerns the katakana-dominant type, that is, the affective use of English loanwords. In this type of usage,

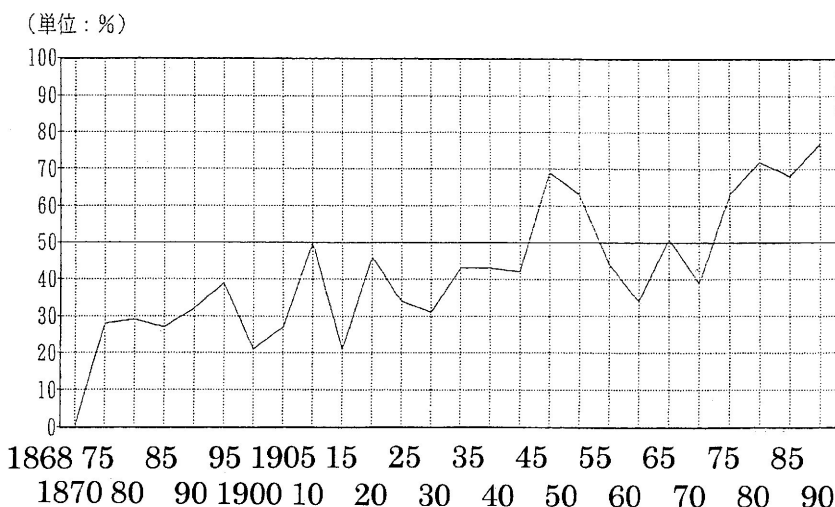


Figure 1. Ratio of songs with foreign words (Yoshida 1996)

foreign elements were typically introduced into Japanese in the form of *gairaigo*, (European loanwords) written in katakana. New ideas and concepts were introduced, not by means of kanji calques, but by foreign words in their phonetic form. This strategy was more suitable to cope with the massive influx of loanwords which moreover sounded more fashionable than Japanese or Sino-Japanese (kanji) words.

After World War II, the linguistic situation in Japan suddenly changed due to the U.S. occupation. A small handbook for English conversation quickly became a bestseller. English loanwords, which had been prohibited as enemy words, were revived, and many new ones were introduced. The sudden increase of loanwords after the War is reflected in Figure 1.

As far as the question of linguistic landscape is concerned, signboards in English were used in many places in Japan for the benefit of the occupation forces. Multilingual signs later acquired a different feature. The practical communication needs of the occupation forces were complemented by items relating to marketing strategies aimed at the general public. At the time English had a classy image, indirectly adding to its economic value.

2.1. *Field data of katakana usage: from katakana to alphabet*

This section first presents data on katakana usage and then examines trends of usage over the past several decades. A marked advance of the alphabet (with English phonetic values) in many fields is apparent. Thus the transition from katakana to alphabet for presenting loanwords is treated here, serving as an introduction to the following section on the use of English sentences and the question of status planning. Economical principles can be adduced to explain the use of one notation or another.

2.2. *Signboards and street signs*

Signboards are of interest to sociolinguists because they are made to attract public attention. An example of a large-scale study is Masai's survey of teahouses or *kissaten* in the Shinjuku area, Tokyo. Follow-up studies were carried out by Masai (1983) and one of my students. The increase of loanwords in katakana as well as the use of alphabetic letters is conspicuous. Recently, several surveys of signboards have been conducted both in Tokyo (MacGregor 2003) and other cities (cf. Backhaus, this issue).

In the following, I present the results of a survey of four shopping malls in the Tokyo metropolitan area (Figure 2). Geographical differences are conspicuous. They reflect the period of time when the shopping malls opened to the public, and also the main consumer groups frequenting them. Roppongi Hills is a highrise shopping mall in central Tokyo, which opened in 2003. Most of the names of the shops are written in alphabet using European words. Landmark Plaza is situated in Yokohama city and opened in 1993. Here we see a similar use of alphabetic writing for European words. Azabu Juuban is a renovated older shopping street near Roppongi Hills featuring a lower frequency of alphabetically written European words and a higher density of Chinese characters. Sugamo Jizodori, situated in the northern part of Tokyo, is nicknamed *Obaachan no Harajuku*, a "fashionable street for old ladies". The main customer group is elderly people. Most signs are in Japanese, written in Chinese characters and Kana. The rate of usage of alphabetic writing seems to vary with the general image of fashionableness of the area. It also reflects the general character of the shopping areas, as well as the social profile of the targeted customer groups. The higher the frequency of alphabetic signs, the more expensive the shops and the higher the social class of the customers.

Another survey has examined several cities in Yamagata comparing old shopping streets near local railway stations and new shopping centers in suburban areas (Sato 2003). As shown in Figure 2, the alphabet is used more frequently in the shopping centers in large cities, and is inversely proportional to the frequency of Chinese characters. The frequency of Katakana is higher in renovated older shopping streets, where neither Chinese characters nor alphabet letters prevail. The frequency of Chinese characters in the cities of Yamagata prefecture ranges between the two shopping malls and the old-fashioned shopping streets in Tokyo. This suggests that, in terms of linguistic landscape, old streets in Tokyo are less fashionable than shopping areas in the countryside.

3. Alphabet-dominant type: English for Japanese readers

3.1. *Alphabet and corporate identity*

The third type is the alphabet-dominant type. The dominance of the alphabet is especially conspicuous in the names of shops and department stores. For example, on shopping bags names are often given in alphabetic writing: TOBU, ISETAN and KINOKUNIYA. Similarly, company acronyms often use alphabetic letters, as in JA, JR, JT, NTT, JAL, and ANA. These acronyms are vocalized in speech, too. As the vanguard

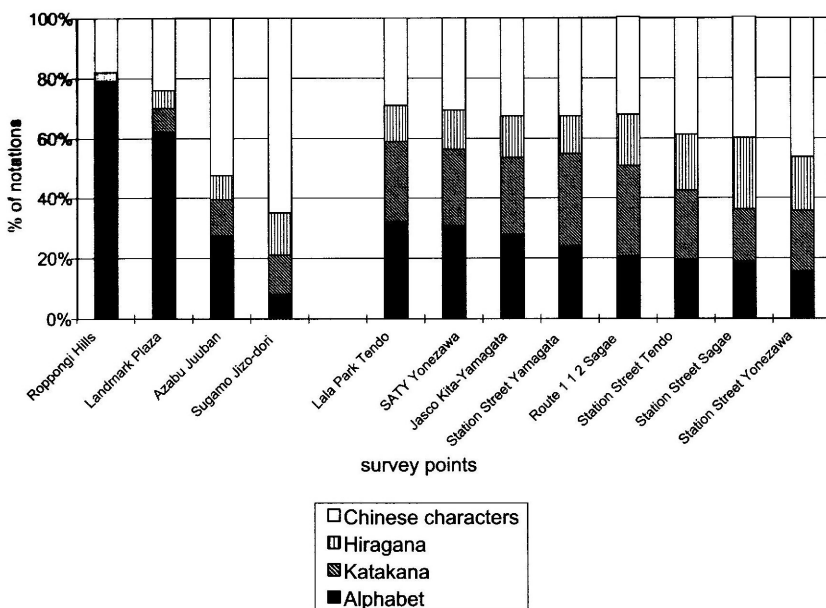


Figure 2. Signboards in Tokyo and Yamagata

of international companies, Japanese automakers spell their names with the alphabet: TOYOTA, HONDA, NISSAN, MAZDA and MITSUBISHI. Other manufacturers such as SONY and Fujitsu, follow the same practice. Alphabetic brand names are essential for foreign markets, but they are used to good effect in Japan, too. Westernized names sell, another example of the economic power of symbols.

In the same vein, the alphabetic spelling of Japanese proper nouns is often modelled on English, for example NISSAY, short for Nihon Seimei, rather than NISSEI, ShinMaywa rather than Shin Meiwa, and Wacoal rather than Wakooru. The prototype of this naming practice is MAZDA named after a Persian god, rather than the common Japanese name *Matsuda*.

The affective use of foreign languages and alphabetical writing is most obvious in commercial fields. Alphabet letters are used because it looks "cool", fashionable and international, and because it communicates a high-class image of the commodity and company in question. When the objective is an affective appeal, the literal meaning of the expression is unimportant.

Sometimes the alphabet is even used in order to obscure the real meaning of a term, as a kind of magical language. For instance, in Japan

“BSE” (Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy) is obscure, whereas its Japanese equivalent *kyōgyūbyō* or “mad cow disease” is readily understood. “BSE” is used in the media not only because it is shorter but also because stockbreeders tried to change the term. This tendency has a long tradition in Japanese. For example, in medical jargon tuberculosis used to be called “TB” (pronounced [te:be:], like German) in order not to be understood by laymen. These are typical examples of “magical language” with underlying economic motivations.

3.2. *Alphabetic titles of magazines*

The notation used in the titles of magazines and periodicals is another instance of commercial factors related to language use. In the last few decades of the twentieth century, the alphabet has been used prominently as in the titles of *An-an*, *Nonno*, and *Friday*. Some of the titles are etymologically Japanese or Ainu, but are given in alphabetic letters only.

We took data for quantification from *Shuppan Nenkan*, a publication almanac and found a general increase in the number of alphabetical titles. The original survey was carried out twenty years ago, and data from the past twenty years was added. We counted the number of purely alphabetical titles, excluding mixed titles that included some form of Japanese script (kanji, hiragana or katakana). We counted the ratio for every ten years since the first issue of *Shuppan Nenkan*. The 6 points on the lefthand side of the graph of Figure 3 show the trend of nearly half a century. A steep line of increase was observed for several decades; however, recently the curve seems to have become a little flat. The 4 points on the righthand side of the graph show related data about new titles and discontinued titles in 1994 and 2003. The ratio of alphabetic titles is significantly higher for new magazines. Publishing companies seem to survive by selling economically sustainable magazines with alphabetical titles. However, in 2003, the ratio of alphabet use decreased. This may indicate that alphabetical titles have lost their appeal after the collapse of the bubble economy in 1991.

Kuroda (1994) did a similar survey, counting only the new publications of every year. This technique reveals the most recent tendencies. The work is also simpler because the total number is small and the rules of counting are different. Kuroda counted titles using a mix of alphabet and kana as alphabetical. Applying Kuroda’s method, 1991 shows a sudden increase in alphabetical titles. The total number of new periodicals was however very small, compared with the 1980s and 2000s.

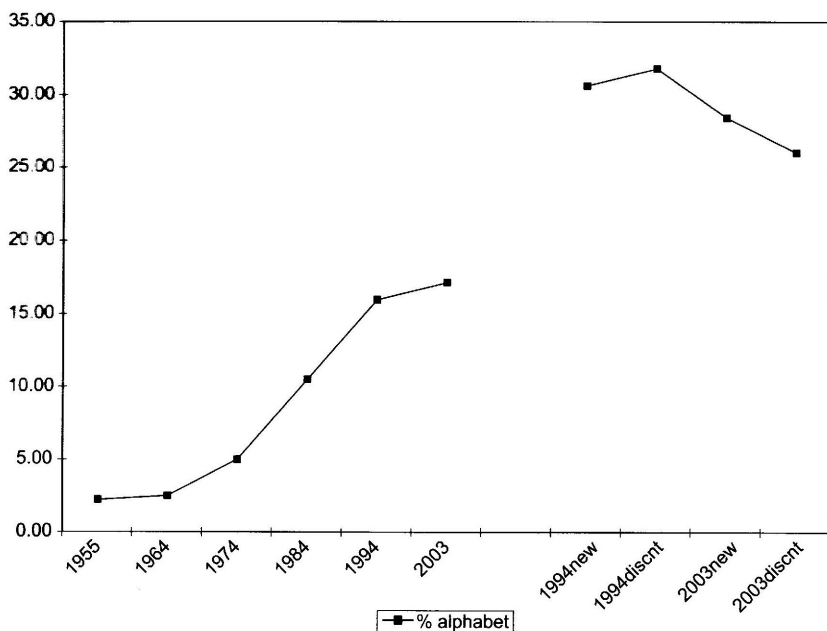


Figure 3. *Alphabetical titles of periodicals 1955–2003*

Thus the year 1991 may be exceptional for showing the highest number of alphabetical titles in the past 35 years. If we consider this year as an exception, a linear increase for more than 30 years can be detected. The 1980s seem to be significant because the number of alphabetical titles overtook the number of katakana titles.

Next, let us take a look at the differences between magazines of different genres. Arranging Inoue's 1994 and 2003 data by percent it appears that "female", "youth", "English" and "music" are the four genres where the alphabet is used most frequently (Figure 4). Music especially, is symbolic of "Europeanization" or "Americanization".

Kuroda (1991) analyzed differences between magazines and periodicals by dividing them into three readership-specific genres. The complex data are presented in a "triangram", a graph that traces the relative relations of three variables totalling 100% (Figure 5). In the event, magazines are divided into three groups, those with alphabet titles, those with katakana titles and those with kanji (and hiragana) titles. Female magazines show a peculiar trend, shifting from the lefthand side of the graph of prevailing kanji (and hiragana) titles, almost directly to the righthand side of alphabet titles. By contrast, children and general magazines show the usual

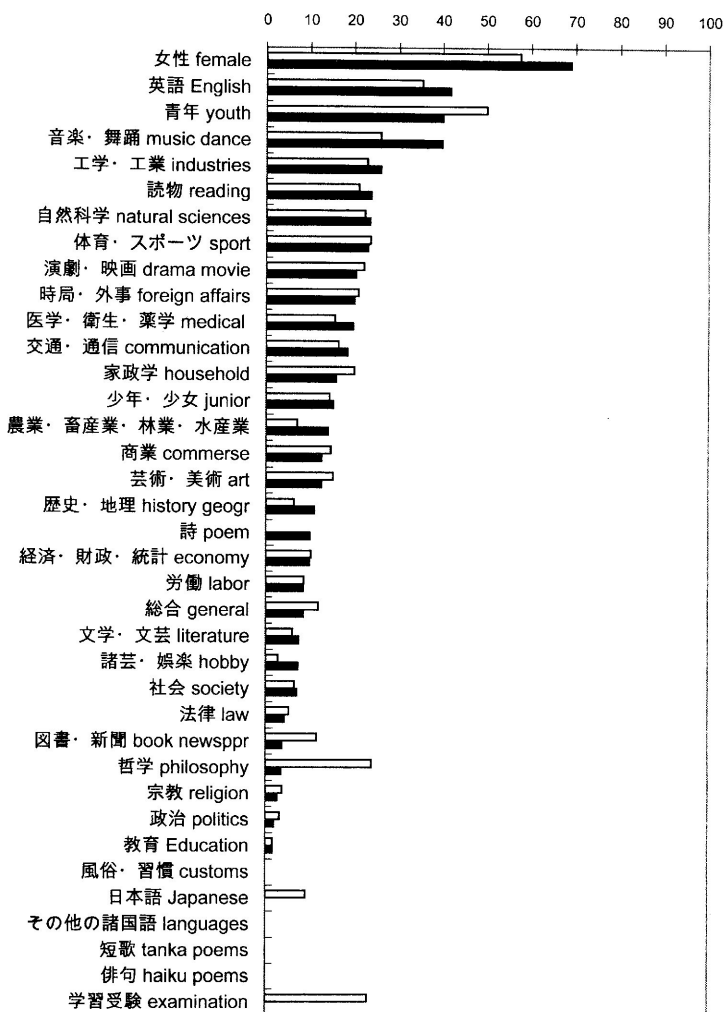


Figure 4. *Alphabetical titles of periodicals 1994–2003, broken down into genres*

route of change of the Japanese lexicon, from kanji (and hiragana) titles, through katakana titles to alphabet titles. The three genres correlate with the age cohorts of the target groups. The high rate of alphabetical titles of women's magazines is indicative of the Westernized worldview of the target group and the marketing strategy directed at this group.

The typical route of presumed notational change is shown in the graph by a slanted arrow from left to right. The graph predicts that, in the absence of outside intervention, the Latin alphabet will be used more and

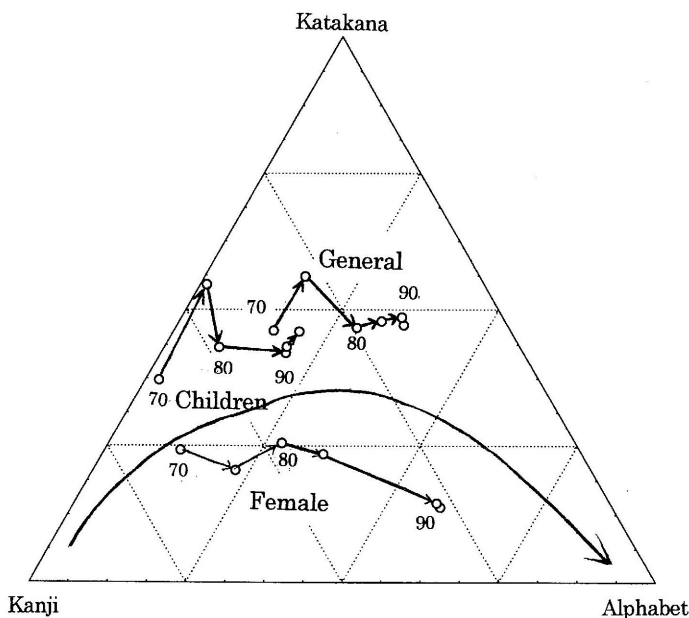


Figure 5. Ratio of notations in titles of periodicals (Kuroda 1991)

more in Japan in the future. Alphabetical titles seem to be used because the periodicals with a Western flair sell well, suggesting an economical motivation behind the choice of notation.

3.3. Movie titles and pop song lyrics

Changes along the same lines can be observed in the titles of motion pictures. Inoue (2001a) shows that the Japanese titles of foreign films steadily approximated the original. Very liberal translations were followed by more direct translations. And in recent years, the number of films released under their original English titles, with or without Japanese translation, has increased. Of late, entire English sentences spelt in **Katakana** are used, as in *Ai rabu yu rabu* [I Love, You Love] in 1980, and *Raifu izu byuutifuru* [Life is Beautiful] in 1997. Some movie titles are given in regular English spelling only, e.g., *I love you*, in 1986. This is indicative of the status of English in Japan today.

A similar trend can be observed in popular music. Entire English sentences are frequently inserted into otherwise Japanese songs, as shown in Figure 6.

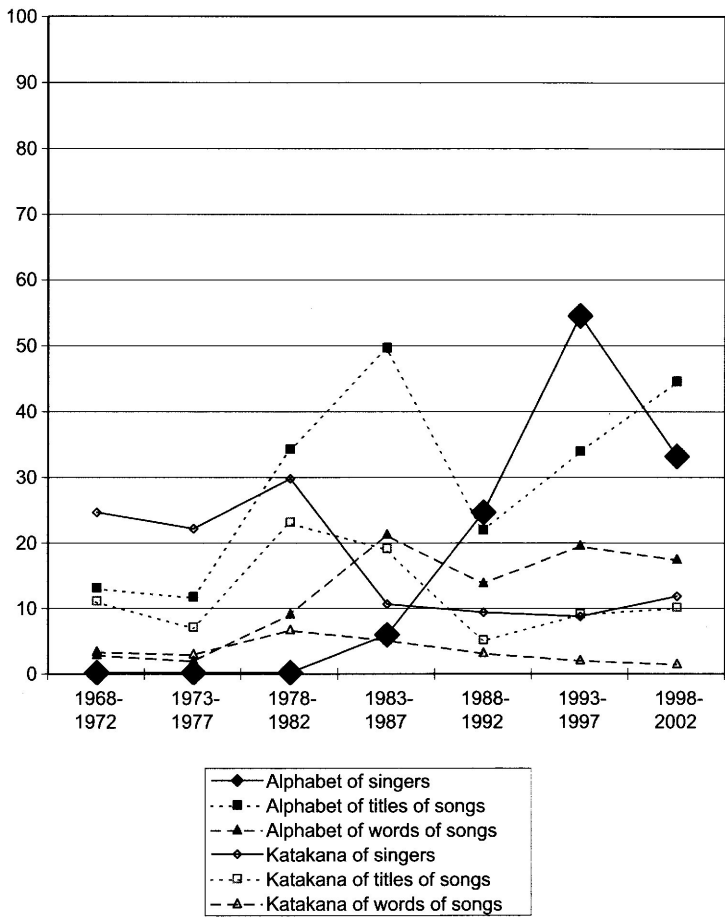


Figure 6. *Katakana and alphabet in the lyrics of pop songs* (Takahashi 2004)

3.4. *Songs as the vanguard of English*

The language use of popular music is a favorite object of investigation by sociolinguists, partly because changes in the choice of language and writing system are easy to document, and partly because they are fond of listening to music. In a recent survey of hit charts, data from the past 35 years were gathered, as shown in Figure 6. The average values of five-year intervals were calculated, using three parameters: words, song titles and names of the singers. The results show that, during the 1980s and 1990s, use of the alphabet increased for all three parameters. Lyrics

changed first but gradually, because many elements can be Europeanized. Song titles were next, because titles can only be changed whenever a new song is produced. The names of pop groups and singers changed last, because established artists are unlikely to change their name. Institutional restrictions on name changes also seem to have an effect. Thus, a kind of implicational rule can be constructed that captures the progression from individual words to song titles to artists' names.

As shown in Figure 6, the 1980s were a significant period with regard to the use of the alphabet in hit songs. Similar tendencies were observed in the titles of magazines. Why the 1980s, is a question that must be left for future discussion. Additional factors that account for the observed increase in the use of the alphabet should be sought in the high growth rates of Japan's so-called bubble economy of the time.

Although the focus of the present discussion is on the written form of the lyrics, pronunciation, too, is undergoing noticeable changes. A marked increase in Americanized pronunciation has been documented for the 1970s and 1980s (Inoue 2000). As pointed out above, pop music is at the vanguard of fashion. It can be expected that the tendencies detected here will spread to the general public in the future.

3.5. *Use of the alphabet in TV commercials*

The frequency of occurrence of alphabetic letters in TV commercials has increased in recent years. Kawakita (1983) has investigated foreign elements in TV commercials, as shown in Figure 7. In one form or another, the Latin alphabet now occurs in three quarters of all commercials. Other linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects also show an increase in foreign elements.

4. The "alphabet-plus" type: multilingual signs for foreign residents

The foreign elements introduced into Japanese discussed so far are largely limited to the lexicon. We are thus dealing with a question of "corpus planning". However, in recent years entire English sentences have begun to appear in the lyrics of pop songs and in movie titles. They are the forerunners for the fourth type of "status planning" concerning the relationship between Japanese and other languages. I call this type the "alphabet-plus type". This term indicates that the alphabet, representing elements of various languages, is used in combination with Japan's traditional writing systems.

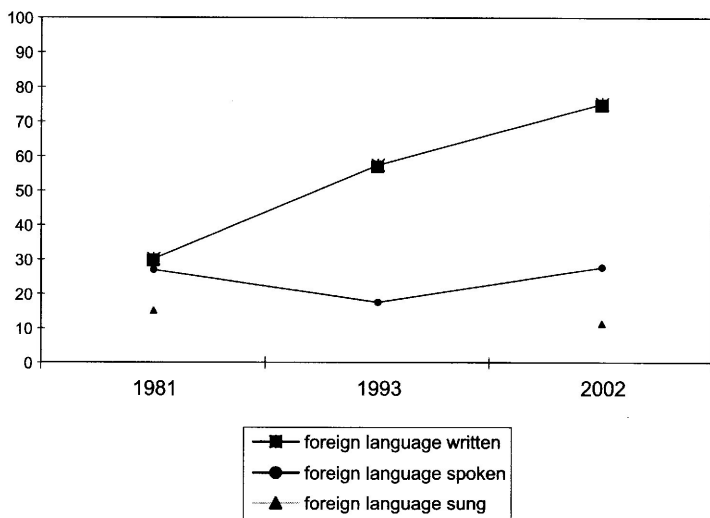


Figure 7. *Foreign elements in TV commercials*

4.1. *From corpus to status*

As already discussed, katakana is typically used for single words only. Its use thus concerns the internal organization of the corpus. In contrast, in the alphabet-dominant type, the use of foreign elements is expanded to include full sentences. Thus the issue has become the status of English in Japan.

Science is the domain where the advance of English is most apparent. More and more papers in scholarly journals are written in English (Inoue 2001b). In conference programs, titles of oral presentations are sometimes given in English, and, in the natural sciences, all papers are presented in English at some conferences, even though these are held in Japan, by and for Japanese participants.

4.2. *Multilingual signs in department stores: incipient diglossia*

Usage patterns during the last two decades of the twentieth century show a shift from the symbolic to the instrumental employment of multilingual signs. As the English language skills of the younger generation have improved, English appears on signs no longer simply to convey an international flair, but also to communicate actual information. The economic

rationale of this “incipient diglossia” should be studied and assessed. Multilingual signs and posters of European and Asian languages are now observable in many places in Japan. Their usage follows certain patterns, and historical tendencies can be discerned on the basis of observed changes.

The languages that appear on information material distributed by Tokyo department stores vary with the location of the department stores in the city, reflecting anticipated customer groups and consumer trends. The Ginza area is frequented by tourists from Western countries. Several Western languages are therefore found on department store brochures. Inoue (2001a) found that in department stores in the Shinjuku area, Korean and Chinese appear in addition to English, reflecting the presence in the area of many Koreans as well as of tourists from Asian countries. A follow-up survey in 2004 revealed that more department stores used a greater variety of languages, both for symbolic-affective and instrumental-communicative purposes.

In this regard, changes on signboards in the Shin-Okubo area near Shinjuku are of interest. Many Koreans live in this area, which is conveniently located but has relatively low housing prices. When local shop owners first put up signs in Korean, other residents protested for fear the image of their neighborhood would be negatively affected. However, of late Korean signs are symbolically displayed there, especially since 2002, the year of the soccer World Cup that was jointly hosted by Japan and the Republic of Korea. A neighborhood in Kawasaki City has been formally given the name of *Koreatown* in order to attract Japanese customers. Signs in railway stations are now frequently in Japanese, English, Korean and Chinese. In the event, Korean letters no longer bear a connotation of community friction or discrimination. All of the four languages seem to be treated relatively equally.

Arabic and other Asian writing systems are rarely seen in Tokyo. However, on closer observation, they do appear on the signboards of ethnic restaurants, as well as on public signs warning against criminal activities.

4.3. *Multilingual signs of administrative language services*

Today, many local governments offer multilingual services for foreign residents. Among the languages used, Korean, Chinese, Pilipino, Thai and Portuguese are the most frequent, because sizeable resident groups speak these languages. Some of the multilingual signs also target new residents from abroad. A survey was published in a recent JACET

(2000) report. It found that the number of languages offered has increased in proportion to the numbers of foreign residents in Japan. Multilingual services by local administrations are now found in many parts of Japan, for instance the multilingual *Guidebook for life in Japan* in the Kanto area, illustrated in Figure 8. The geographical distribution of languages reflects the residential patterns of foreigners in Japan, with some exceptions: Korean language services are absent in some communities where many Korean residents have lived since before World War II. Unlike multilingual fliers and announcements of department stores, this kind of language service is controlled by political rather than economic principles. Practical information about life in Japan is useful for foreigners unfamiliar with Japanese society and culture. Some cities in Nagano Prefecture provide even multilingual garbage bags. Services of this kind do not seem to be motivated by economic considerations, at least not in the sense of generating a tangible return. However, they do have indirect economic repercussions making social interaction proceed more smoothly. Multilingual services facilitate relations between locals and newcomers, a benefit to society at large that is invaluable.

5. The Future of Japanese: status planning

5.1. *Trends of recent changes*

As demonstrated in the previous sections, many recent changes point in the same direction. Katakana is declining, while alphabetic writing is increasing. *Katakana-go* or *gairaigo* (European loanwords) have acquired an old-fashioned feeling. Instead, English spelt in its alphabet is "cool". But the change is gradual. Even countervailing tendencies can be observed.

5.2. *Fewer loanwords and easy Japanese*

One such trend is a movement for the reduction if not elimination of *gairaigo* directed at and promoted by the elderly. Another is a movement for the use of "Easy Japanese" or *yasashii Nihongo*. Intended for emergency situations, it is meant for the benefit of foreign residents with limited Japanese ability. These movements seem to symbolize a kind of reaction against the excessive use of European words. However, it is also possible to see in these movements an attempt to curtail the influx of foreign

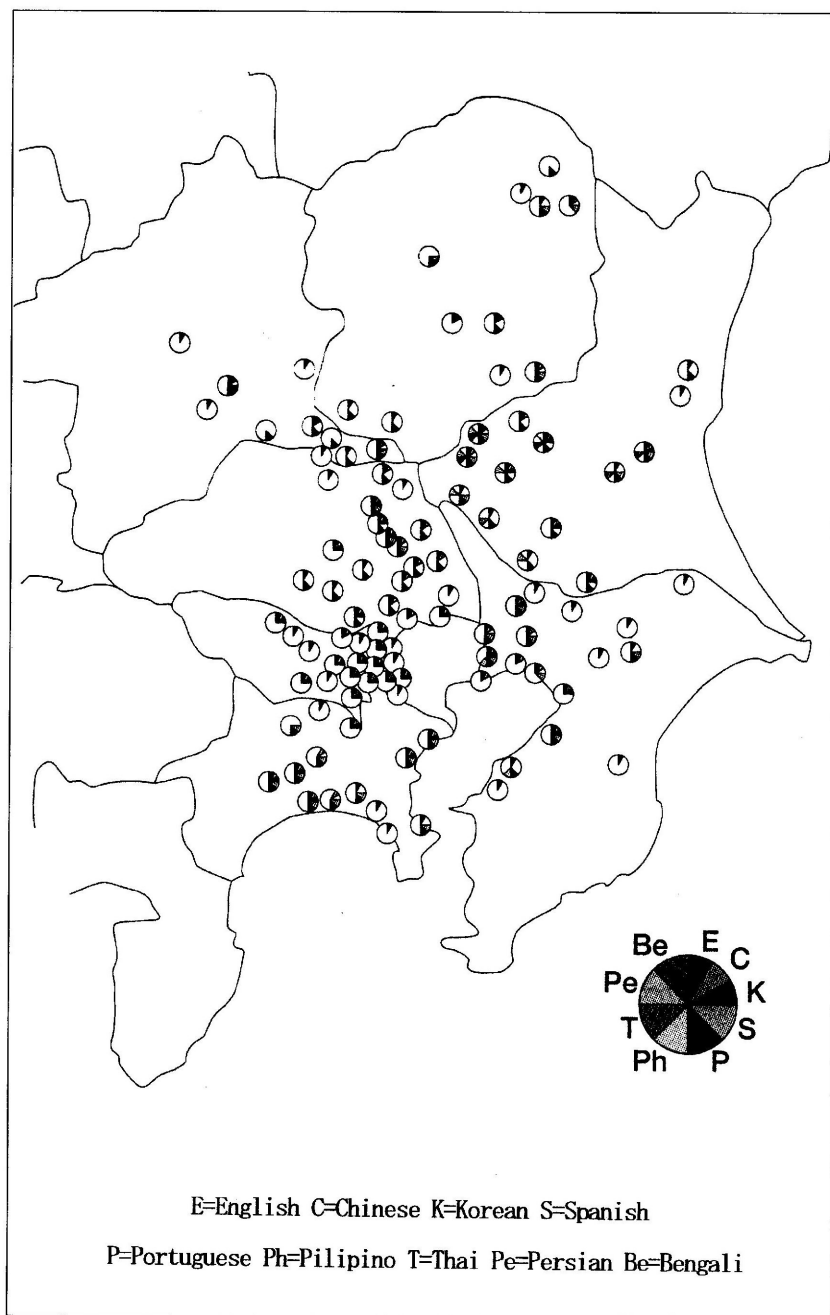


Figure 8. *Distribution of guidebooks in foreign languages in the Kanto area (Oura 1997)*

concepts in the form of loanwords written in katakana. As already pointed out, using loanwords in a Japanized katakana form has become old-fashioned in comparison with their unaltered adoption in the original alphabetic spelling. This suggests that authentic Japanese and authentic English are highly esteemed, while assimilated forms are losing their appeal.

From the changes discussed in this article, it appears that the overall relationship between Japanese and English (and other languages) is undergoing changes concerning their status in Japanese society. This development reflects the forces of both globalization and localization. Its consequences for the future status of Japanese will be an issue of major sociolinguistic interest.

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Note

- * Some of the figures in this article are based on data gathered by students of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies for their graduation theses: Momoko Yoshida, Figure 1; Mai Tamura, Figure 2; Mako Takahashi, Figure 6; Junichi Oura, Figure 8. Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

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