

## Japan and English: Communication and Culture, History and Power

Walter Carpenter, Asia University

### The popularity of English in Japan

The English language is popular in Japan. Such a statement seems obvious because examples of its popularity are so abundant. Japanese students begin mandatory study of English in the first year of middle school. And there have been Ministry of Education initiatives to encourage the teaching English in schools even earlier, beginning in elementary school. Reflecting the prominence given to English in the public schools, there are many for-profit English conversation schools, *eikaiwas*. These privately owned conversation schools cater to a wide range of students, from the very young to the elderly, and all ages in between. Too, there are multitudes of for-profit, after-school, cram schools usually referred to as “yobikou” or “juku.” (1) Nowadays, the primary educational function of juku (but not the only function) is exam preparation: coaching students how to achieve higher scores on university entrance examinations. Not surprisingly, English preparation is an important part of juku instruction.

These various types of formalized offerings of English study not only create a demand for English, they create an opportunity for English-speaking teachers; large numbers of native-English speakers living in Japan are employed as teachers of English.

Apart from the numerous instances of formal structured English study, decorative English words and phrases can be found sprinkled throughout Japanese business and popular culture. One discovers a pervasive, often-comical, misuse of English, sometimes referred to as “Japlish” or “Nihonglish.” For native-English speakers residing in Japan, there are regular, perhaps daily, encounters with a wide variety of oral and written English--or something that bears resemblance to English. English can be found in popular music, greeting cards, food packaging, appliances, accessories, and Japanese “manga,” comic books. Publicly on display, freely available to the attentive observer, there are countless examples of misspellings, baffling word choices, and mangled syntax. This type of accessory English used as decoration, a graphic design feature, is found on various types of advertising signage and, perhaps most noticeably, on clothing: jackets, sweaters, and t-shirts especially.

In summary and once again, the reason that most if not all of these observations appear to be so obvious is because English language usage is so widespread; English is firmly, perhaps permanently, established in Japan.

But stating that English is popular doesn't help us to understand why it is so. The question remains: How do we explain the rage for English in Japan?

In reply, most responses can be said to belong to the “English as an international language” category of explanation. Though these English-as-a-global-language explanations are common, they don't say much at all: “English is an international language” really explains little about why English words and English language study are so thoroughly embedded in the culture and educational system of today's Japan.

Moreover, not only do English-as-a-world-language type explanations lack content, they are also inaccurate. For example, at the mid-twentieth century point, in 1950, when English had already been wildly popular *in Japan* for at least four years, it was still far from achieving popularity in the rest of the world. “In 1950, any notion of English as a true world language was but a dim, shadowy, theoretical possibility,” observes David Crystal, a well-known historian of the English language. (2)

Thus, if one wants to understand the reasons for current dominance of English, it is helpful to consider the historical circumstances that preceded its popularity; it was in connection with the opening up of Japan to western influences that English and English teachers first started arriving in Japan. (3)

### Meiji Reforms

Japan started changing into a modern nation-state, though not a democratic one, (4) when it began implementing radical massive reforms--intended to modernize, keep the country safe from more powerful Western nations, and firmly establish a Japanese national identity. These reforms were initiated after Emperor Mutsuhito and his supporters consolidated their power, in 1868. (5)

This period of time, when reforms were being rapidly introduced in order to develop the power, infrastructure, and identity of Japan--Japan as a modern country--is referred to as the Meiji Era. “Meiji” meaning either “enlightened government,” or “enlightened rule.” (6) The Meiji Era lasted more than forty years, from 1868-1912. Essentially, from a governmental perspective, the aim was for Japan to achieve a level of prestige equal to Western nations, for Japan to become an *ittou koku*, “a country of the first rank.” (7) Government-sponsored study missions traveled to Europe and the USA to observe and to conduct on-site studies of the countries and their important state components: correctional and educational institutions, political systems and parties, large corporations, manufacturing facilities, and the organization and functioning of their armed forces. Too, western experts were regularly invited to Japan. One writer summarizes the significance of this time in Japan’s history:

The Meiji era, which marked Japan’s reopening to the outside world after two and a half centuries of self-enforced isolation, was characterized by intense curiosity about the West combined with a strong consciousness of Western power, technological expertise and economic dominance. From the beginning of Japan’s modern history the white Western world thus became the model to emulate, the standard by which to gauge Japan’s progress and modernization. (8)

Thus, beginning with the Meiji reforms and lasting till the 1930s and the early stages of World War Two, a steady stream of Western foreigners, often highly trained specialists--lawyers, military experts, diplomats and scientists, including some missionaries and a few teachers of English--began making their way to Japan. (9)

The results were impressive, and far-reaching: “By the 1880s there had been an explosion of Japanese research into how the outside world did what Japan could not yet do.” (10) Indeed, by the year 1885 “Japan had moved from an Elizabethan era craft economy to the first, or nearly the first, rank of industrial powers.” (11)

### Aftershocks of the World War: Three days in August/September 1945

The Meiji Era is important, especially for understanding the transformation of Japan into a modern nation-state. However, the Meiji reforms still don't explain why it is that English eventually became so dominant; the origins of the current rage for English can be found in the concluding days of World War 2, and the subsequent military occupation of Japan. (12) The occupation lasted from August 1945 till April 1952, nearly seven years. The *continuing* dominance of English is largely due to the *continuing* repercussions of events in this period of time. The most important factor--in terms of sustaining English popularity since then--is the undeniably strong influence of American power: political, economic, and cultural.

Specifically, both the initial and the continuing appetite for English can be linked with three events, all occurring in rapid succession; the events happened within a span of thirty days, in August and September of 1945:

- Emperor Hirohito's announcement of Japan's defeat.
- The formal signing ceremony, which officially ended the war.
- The publication of the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*.

**August 15, 1945.** The day of a famous radio broadcast by Emperor Hirohito announcing, in effect, that Japan had lost the war--though the words "lost," "defeat," or "surrender" were not uttered directly (he left the practical interpretation of his speech to the radio announcer, and others). It was the very first time the Emperor had addressed all his Japanese subjects. (13) The Emperor asked them to, "endure the unendurable and bear the unbearable," as recent events, "did not turn in Japan's favor, and trends of the world were not advantageous to us." (14)

**September 2, 1945.** The day wartime hostilities were concluded, formally and legally. Two Japanese officials signed the official surrender documents, on board the American Navy battleship *Missouri*, in Tokyo Bay. (15) American military forces had already begun disembarking by this time. A key reason that the arrival of these Americans was not met with violent resistance was the Emperor's August 15 radio address, acknowledging that the Japanese war effort had failed.

**September 15, 1945.** Thirty days after the August 15 broadcast, potential speakers of English could buy the first copies of the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*, (*Nichi-Bei Kaiwa Techo*). "It was thirty-two pages long, and its initial printing of three hundred thousand copies disappeared almost immediately." (16) The thin book, really a booklet--coaching its readers how to converse in English, accompanied by explanations in Japanese, and with English phrases written in both roman letters and katakana--became the first mega-selling book in Japanese postwar history.

### **Significance of the events: immediate and lingering effects**

The events of the three days were sudden, dramatic, and planned for on short notice. In combination with their accompanying and long-lasting ripple effects, the events influenced almost every aspect of Japanese politics, economics, culture and education; an understanding of the events and their significance helps to explain the important role of English in Japan. The story of how the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual* came about, and its immediate success, is especially relevant.

### Summary of key points to be discussed

Considered together, these points help explain the current popularity of English.

- English for communication: the arrival of Americans and hybrid Englishes.
- English for communication: the mass media, Japan's first bestseller.
- English and making money: the business of English learning.
- English and the mass media: political and other roles of English.
- English changes the Japanese language: Anglo-hybrids and hybridization.
- Using English in Japan: prestige and other connotations.
- English as a decorative accessory: "Made-in-Japan," Mad-Hatter English.
- Decorative English: description and characteristics.
- English in Japanese advertising: I feel Coke!
- The importance of English and explanations for why Japan lost the war.
- **Considerations of Power:**
- English--power from knowledge: scientific, technological, and business.
- English as a marker of power and inequality--the end of the occupation?

### English for communication: "Panglish" and "SCAPanese"

The September 2, 1945 surrender, together with the dramatic arrival of large numbers of Americans, emphasized the need for English. The usefulness of communicating with the Americans was felt in all strata of society, from top governmental officials, to shopkeepers, restaurant owners, and prostitutes. Some of these attempts at communication spawned both hybrids and their descriptive labels, not unlike current labels, "Japanish," for example. In this regard, Dower notes the English skills of "panpans," prostitutes who catered to American occupation forces:

Like the accomplished courtesans of the past, the panpan also possessed special talents--most notably, in their case, the ability to communicate in a polyglot form of English, a hybrid mix of hooker's Japanese and the GI's native tongue that was humorously identified as "panglish." Getting along in this second language, broken or not, was a skill highly valued in post-surrender Japan—hundreds of thousands of men were also struggling to survive by dealing with the conqueror in the conqueror's tongue (*their* pidgin English was sometimes laughed off as "SCAPanese"). (17) (18)

### English and the mass media: Japan's first bestseller.

The first post-war book aimed at an audience interested in learning English was the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*. Dower offers the following commentary, with some illustrative samples from the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*:

All over Japan people prepared to meet their conquerors by turning to page 1 of this handy guide, which began:

Thank you!  
Thank you, awfully!  
How do you do?

The English phrases were accompanied not only by equivalent Japanese in both ideographic and romanized form, but also by phonetic

(*katakana*) renderings of the English. . . . they were not precise, formal renderings, but had a comfortable colloquial feel to them—as if Ogawa and his associates had managed to spend an evening (or three) in a bar with a woozy native speaker before rushing the draft to the printer. Thus, on encountering their first GI, Japanese could be ready to say phonetically:

*San kyu!*  
*San kyu ofuri!*  
*Hau dei* (or, alternatively, *Hau dei dou*)

The last, apparently, came from “Howdy” and “Howdy-do.” (19)

English and making money: the business of English learning.

The idea for the *Conversation Manual* is attributed to Ogawa Kikumatsu, a Japanese journalist. The booklet, written quickly by Ogawa and his associates, was rushed into print; it was first offered for sale in mid-September, less than two weeks after the Tokyo Bay surrender ceremony. Despite the fact that there were less than four months remaining in 1945, *Japanese-English Conversation Manual* ended the year as the number one bestseller of 1945--selling 3.5 million copies. It then “held the record as the country’s all-time best-selling publication until 1981.” (20)

There are connections between August 15 and the publication of *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*: “the first sensational postwar bestseller was . . . conceived on the day of the emperor’s surrender broadcast,” writes Dower. (21) According to Ogawa, as cited in Dower’s *Embracing Defeat*, his initial response to news of the Emperor’s broadcast and its true meaning--the defeat of Japan--was tears. But, says Ogawa, that initial reaction of grief was soon replaced by a different mindset:

As the story goes, Ogawa was on a business trip when he heard the broadcast. His eyes still moist with emotion, he boarded a train back to the capital and immediately began to consider how to get rich from the changed situation. (22)

For Ogawa, the Emperor’s broadcast of defeat--and his response to it--became an incubator, out of which emerged a simple, and amazingly successful, money-making idea: teaching colloquial English to his Japanese compatriots.

The publication and subsequent success of the *Japanese-English Conversation Manual* was the result of several factors:

- 1) The desire to make money “from the changed situation.” (Japan’s defeat and the impending occupation.)
- 2) A felt need to learn English, due to the arrival of so many Americans.
- 3) Ogawa’s awareness of Japanese lack of English skills and their desire to learn.
- 4) The influence and power of the media: a book.
- 5) Timing: Ogawa’s booklet went on sale less than two weeks after the surrender ceremony, one month after the Emperor’s broadcast of Japan’s defeat.

Three of the factors that were notable in the success of *Conversation Manual*--a desire to generate income, the media, and an awareness of the target customers’ lack of

English communication abilities--continue to be important in the business of English. These factors are, perhaps, most evident in the operation of privately owned English schools. For example, their customers' lack of English language ability is a fundamental reason these schools exist; lack of skill is a primary motivator, though not the only one, why people attend them: these schools are seen as a place "where foreign teachers help them to overcome fears of communication with non-Japanese." (23) Thus, Ogawa's little book is useful for understanding both the historical origins and some important, ongoing, dynamics of the English-learning business in Japan.

#### English and the mass media: political and other roles of English

During the occupation, for many, English became a means to identify with new values and concepts, like "peace" and "democracy." (24) After the darkness and despair of the war years and, ultimately, defeat, English became associated with positive, cheerful feelings and "light"; there was an identifiable and strong desire for better days ahead, for a "new Japan." "The past was dark, the present grim, but the future brighter." (25) And English was going to be part of that future. Says Dower,

Even practical undertakings such as teaching English were carefully wedded to an explicit philosophy of accentuating the positive. "Come Come English" (*Kamu Kamu Eigo*), an enormously popular daily radio program that premiered on February 1, 1946, became famous not only for its conversation lessons, but also for *its* [emphasis in the original] cheery theme song. Here the lyrics were in English, set to the melody of a bouncy old Japanese children's song:

Come, come everybody—  
How do you do, and how are you?  
Won't you have some candy?  
One and two and three, four, five  
Let's all sing a happy song—  
Singing tra la la.

Hirakawa Tadaichi, the moderator of the program, later explained the unusual decision to adopt a theme song for an educational program as being motivated by a keen feeling that this would help foster confidence in the new Japan. "In the dark Japanese society of immediately after the war," he recalled, "we couldn't sing military songs, and wanted an English song to sing proudly that would make people's feelings brighter." (26)

Dower notes how English was purposely interconnected with cultural, political and ideological code words: "bright," "new," "peace," and "democracy":

Hirakawa's lessons were designed to convey . . . humor while fostering an appreciation of democratic practices in everyday life. [Hirakawa's] pedagogy rested on an almost Manichean vision of darkness and light. "I thought in those days," as he put it, "that there could be no reconstruction of Japan until brightness was regained—unless people's hearts became bright and they began to look forward with positive feelings. I seriously feared Japan would collapse if the situation

continued where people forgot to even laugh and didn't know what to do. . . . So when I was asked to do an English program . . . I took it as a solemn opportunity the gods gave me to make Japan bright." (27)

Both Ogawa's booklet, *Japanese-English Conversation Manual*, and the hugely popular "Come Come English" radio program are important in understanding the initial, as well as the continuing, popularity of English in Japan. When English is promoted, and sometimes taught, using the media--printed material, radio broadcasts and more--those media both *reflect* and help to *reinforce* the popularity of English.

English changes the Japanese language: Anglo-hybrids and hybridization.

Dower discusses the mass entry of English words, concepts and phrases into the daily language of Japanese educators. (28) "The Americanization of the education system was revealed in the emergence of a new lexicon of borrowed terms." (29) In referring to terms like *kurabu akutibiti*, "club activity," and other education-related phrases and words, Dower observes, "all these bastardized, imported terms and concepts became part of everyday pedagogical vocabulary." (30)

The entry of large numbers of English loan words into the vocabulary of Japanese educators, students and their parents, together with other English terms being adopted in other domains brought about important changes in the Japanese language:

. . . the very nature of the language as a whole was permanently altered by the introduction of hundreds of terms and phrases that helped define the ethos of the new world of defeat and democratization. (31)

Meanwhile, today, adoption of English vocabulary is a continuing process:

English loanwords have permeated Japanese at an accelerated pace during the postwar era and now comprise more than 10% of the Japanese vocabulary . . . . (32)

McArthur says this massive importation of English directly into Japanese (and other languages) was unforeseen: ". . . few have predicted that under certain circumstances English would simply flow into rather than supplant [another language]." (33)

These changes to "the very nature" of Japanese, a result of a dynamic, ongoing, interaction between Japanese and English, helps explain why English is so dominant; English has become a part of the Japanese language itself. This is apparently what McArthur has in mind when he discusses "Anglo-Hybrids," "Nativized Englishes" and "indigenized Englishes." These are new forms of English, a consequence of an ongoing, somewhat unpredictable, process of language "hybridization." He says "this hybridization [worldwide] is the most extensive of its kind ever known." (34)

McArthur also lends support to the notion that the nature of Japanese itself has been changed: "the languages affected [by this hybridization] will undergo irreversible change in territories where such massive code-mixing occurs." (35)

### Using English: prestige and other connotations.

In Japan an important spin-off of English-Japanese hybridization has occurred: McArthur's "code-mixing" has developed into a unique, made-in-Japan, hybrid: Decorative English, English as an accessory. This type of English word usage in Japan is typically not intended to be functional it is primarily for ornamental display: English for visual and commercial appeal. This is a type of English designed to add artistic, decorative, and monetary value to products, including advertisements; it is "value-added" English. And one of the important reasons for the Decorative English craze is the prestige and status associated with English words.

Though the term Decorative English is not used, Kowner and Daliot-Bul refer to the "prestige," and "feelings" (versus information) associated with Western foreign words, "garaigo," in Japan. In particular, note the mass media use of these words:

The use of *gairaigo* vocabulary, particularly words originating in English, has a special connotation in contemporary Japan. It often denotes prestige, and has an additional connotation of modernity, open-mindedness, internationalism, and the Western lifestyle. The mass media use *gairaigo* to appeal to readers' and viewers' feeling of attraction, arousal and self-esteem rather than to transfer information. (36)

### "Made in Japan" Mad-Hatter English: English as decoration.

McArthur describes Decorative English as "Mad-Hatter English." Others refer to it as "Atmosphere-" or "Mood-English." (37) One writer uses the label, Japlish:

"Japlish" is the word used for the decorative use of English words in Japan. English words are often used on stationery, clothing, and advertising. Japlish is English that is often mistranslated from Japanese and ranges from grammatically correct but cloying and sentimental, to comically misspelled, to downright impenetrable. (38)

### Decorative English: A Brief Discussion (39)

- English, Decorative English in particular, is used extensively in Japanese advertising and design.
- Decorative English for commercial purposes apparently started in Japan.
- It is now popular throughout East Asia and beyond: "Japan has been exporting Decorative English widely, in the process creating a minor global trend." (40)
- Compared with *kanji*, Chinese characters used for routine purposes, the *romaji* (Roman alphabet) of English is cool, stylish and modern. (41)
- Merely the appearance of romaji is enough to suggest glamorous associations.
- Typically, it is really not intended for reading, for imparting information.
- This style of English, even when it is scarcely recognizable as English, serves as a "status marker, a talisman of modernity." (42)
- "The content of decorative language . . . is full of dreamy thoughts . . . the emphasis is on mood rather than meaning." (43)

McArthur cites John Doughill, who has considered the nature of Decorative English and has reflected on why it might be so popular and so widely used in Japan:



[John Doughill] compares such usage to the Mad Hatter's Tea Party in *Alice and Wonderland*. Suspecting that the Hatter would have appreciated the formulations *Good time Bunbun* and *Dusk times mind is a beginning*, he notes Lewis Carroll's observation, 'The Hatter's remark seemed to [Alice] to have no meaning in it, and yet it was certainly English.' (44)

Echoing many of the same sentiments, Natalie Avella explains the creative and artistic importance of English in Japanese graphic design:

Many graphic designers like using English, not only because it adds a certain cachet or trendiness to a design, but because they enjoy its visual simplicity. And with so many shops and products using English words, it is hard for graphic designers to avoid using English in their work. Many designers welcome this, as [Japanese] design writer Ayako Ishida told me: "It's easier to come up with a cool layout using alphabets that have only a couple of strokes, than the very complicated Chinese characters we use."

[Ayako Ishida] also explains that the use of English in graphic design has much to do with the Japanese love of ambiguity: "We Japanese tend to love things that are indirect, that suggest something rather than clearly explaining it. The use of English words is perfect for that, because almost everybody knows basic English—it is a required subject at middle and high school—but almost everybody does not really understand it well. So, English is a helpful tool to convey a message vaguely and indirectly." (45)

#### I feel Coke!: English in advertising. (46)

Millie Creighton is another author who has considered the role and influence of both Western images and English usage in Japanese advertising. (47)

Creighton offers a different explanation for using English in advertising: *selfishness*: since "my" is English--not a Japanese-language equivalent, *watashi no*, or *boku no*, or *watakushi no*--when a Japanese speaker uses "my," the Japanese "core values of conformity, collectivism, and self-abnegation remain intact." (48) Therefore,

- Values expressed by the word "my," or "individual" are not considered typical, or positive, aspects of traditional Japanese character and behavior.
- Using English words allows Japanese to safely express Western, non-Japanese values associated with selfishness, individualism, or possessiveness.
- This difference in Western and Japanese values is why English and Western culture is attractive in Japan.

#### The importance of English and science: why Japan lost the war.

The September 2 surrender ceremony in Tokyo Bay was a reminder of the benefits that can be attained through knowledge of science and technology. Japanese leaders' opinions of why Japan lost the war often referred to weakness in three areas, rationality, science, and scientific attitudes:

“Science” soon became almost everyone’s favorite concept for explaining both why the war was lost and where the future lay. [For example, in an interview] . . . General Yamashita Tomoyuki, about to go on trial in the Philippines, reiterated the familiar refrain with no frills. . . . the general was asked what he regarded to be the fundamental cause of Japan’s defeat, and responded with the only English word he used in the entire interview. “Science,” he said. (49)

A clearly understood message was delivered to the appearance-conscious Japanese on September 2: the importance, indeed the necessity, of acquiring scientific knowledge. The reactions of Japan’s leaders to American power were consistent with Japan’s initial reasons for acquiring scientific knowledge in the Meiji era.

In Japanese eyes, the inescapable impression of September 2, 1945, was that the West—which meant, essentially, the United States—was extraordinarily rich and powerful, and Japan unbelievably weak and vulnerable. . . .

The scene in Tokyo Bay, coming in the wake of the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, offered a stunning lesson . . . . The terrible power of nuclear weaponry proved as mesmerizing as it was terrifying, however, for nothing better exemplified America’s superior scientific, technological, and organizational capabilities. (50)

### **Considerations of Power: Part One**

English and power from knowledge: scientific, technological, and business. September 2 was a visual reminder of the awesome power that could be attained from applying scientific technology to weapons development. Therefore, though the inner working of America’s newly revealed weapons was not yet fully understood, several matters were clear, especially clear to the elites and to Japan’s leaders:

- ❖ The power of the weapons resulted from superior technology and science.
- ❖ The power of the Americans was also derived from superior organizational ability in their economy and in business, especially in large corporations.
- ❖ The Americans--whose language was English--had developed the weapons, as well as the businesses and the economy that produced them.

Consequently a fundamentally important reason for Japan initially opening up to the West via the Meiji reforms continues to motivate the government-mandated study of English: acquiring Western scientific knowledge and technology. For, in 1945, English already had become an important language in the international scientific community. This intimate relationship between English and science has become even stronger since then as, presently, “more than 70% of scientific publications and the vast majority of the leading scientific publishers are . . . in English.” (51)

Too, Japan’s quest for knowledge has now expanded to include virtually any knowledge that increases the productivity and efficiency of major corporations thereby, indirectly, also increasing the economic power of the state. (52) Perceptive observers have noted both the on-going, systematic pursuit of knowledge and the hand-in-glove relationship between big business and the national government. (53)

Moreover, English in Japan's education system takes on added importance when considered in light of these national and corporate strategies for acquiring knowledge; this is one reason that the national government requires all Japanese public schools to teach English. For example, admission into American graduate schools of business is contingent on, among other things, the applicant's knowledge of English. English is not only important in the public schools. It might be difficult, if not impossible, to find an institution of higher learning, private or public, that does not offer English.

Finally, an understanding of this national quest for technical, scientific and business-related types of knowledge partially explains why a Grammar-Translation approach to English, versus a Communicative-based approach, seems acceptable to Japanese educators. One benefit of a Grammar-Translation approach is that it provides students with a basic level of English reading skill. From a governmental viewpoint, one benefit of being able to read, and understand, English (without necessarily using it for communication) is the important ability to acquire information.

### **Considerations of Power: Part Two**

#### English as a marker of power and inequality--the "end" of occupation.

An awareness of the perceived political weakness of Japan, in contrast to the perception of US power--military, diplomatic, political and economic--is an important, though seldom discussed, reason for the popularity of English in Japan. Kowner observes that widespread English usage since the end of the occupation, among other things, "sustains Japan's inferiority," in relationship to the West. (54)

It is not at all difficult to identify a calculated deliberate strategy on the part of both the United States and Japan to keep Japan dependent on the USA, to maintain a Japanese national posture of relative political, diplomatic and military weakness. One reason for Japanese cooperation in this policy is to allow Japan to focus, almost exclusively, on economic power, rather than on political or military power.

John Foster Dulles, appointed by U.S. President Harry Truman, was entrusted with negotiating a formal peace treaty with Japan, thereby both concluding the war and, outwardly, ending the occupation. It was, however, also expected that Dulles would devise a means for maintaining U.S. military and strategic national-defense benefits stemming from the American-led occupation of Japan. This is why, from the outset, the negotiations did not include the Japanese territory of Okinawa. Okinawa was declared non-negotiable: it was too important, a large, strategically important American military outpost in the Asia-Pacific region. Dulles' solution was twofold:

1. A formal peace treaty, to be signed by Japan, the USA and other former war-time allies, in addition to being endorsed by the United Nations.
2. A second, distinct, separate agreement referred to as a bi-lateral, Japan-USA, "security pact." This security agreement was solely between Japan and the USA.

The peace treaty and the security agreement were negotiated and agreed to by chief American negotiator John Foster Dulles and then Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, in 1951; both treaties became effective the following year, 1952. (55)

Dulles, the occupation continued by other means.

After reaching final agreement on the peace treaty and the security pact, Dulles offered this assessment of the security agreement. Japan's acceptance of the 1951 US-Japan security arrangement, said Dulles,

- "... amounted to a voluntary continuation of the occupation." (56)

Assuming Dulles' characterization of the initial security agreement (it was, consequently, slightly revised) was accurate--what then was the nature of that occupation ending, supposedly, in 1952? John Dower provides an answer to the question when he states that SCAP (the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers), with General Douglas MacArthur occupying the top position,

- "... when all was said and done," can be described, simply, as "a neocolonial military dictatorship." (57)

Japan's decision: not to be a "real" country.

If one combines the two perspectives (Dulles' and Dower's) it might not be an exaggeration then to characterize Japan as a "neo-colony." Fallows describes the nature of Japan's current post-occupation political state in a similar manner when he discusses, "Japan's decision not to be a 'real' country. . ."

A real country, in this sense, is one that bears responsibility for all the attributes of sovereignty. It watches out for itself in the world, perhaps in alliances with others but always with ultimate responsibility for its own defense. It makes its own policies. It is finally "sovereign" in the literal sense, answering to no political authority above its own government . . . .

. . . Japan is obviously not a sovereign or independent state. In practice its foreign policy amounts to following whatever lead the United States sets . . . . Japan and America have never been allies in this official sense. The postwar treaty between them was a one-sided guarantee: the United States would protect Japan. In return Japan would help protect itself, and let the United States keep soldiers on its soil. (58)

Consideration of issues of political power might not be seen as a practical exercise, in terms of English usage. However, LaFerber illustrates some practical consequences: how English came to be widely used in the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, for instance. By the late 1950s, says LaFerber, English had replaced Japanese as the main operating language among some key elements of Japan's forces:

U.S. officers were . . . working so assiduously to develop Japanese air and naval forces that English, not Japanese, was the Japanese air force's operational language. (59)

Dower on Japan: "A client state in all but name."

Referring to the conditions under which Japan received its nominal independence and sovereignty--the official ending of the occupation--Dower writes:

In such circumstances it was . . . difficult to imagine a sovereign Japan as anything other than dependent on and subordinate to the United States for the foreseeable future—a client state in all but name. (60)

Japan seen as “free yet not free.”

A description of the dominant position given to the USA by Japan, as a consequence of the 1951 US-Japan security agreement, noted by Dower:

The Americans retained exceptional extraterritorial rights, and the number of military installations they demanded was far in excess of what anyone had anticipated. Hanson Baldwin, the oracular military commentator for the *New York Times*, accurately pronounced this the inauguration of a “period when Japan is free, yet not free.” (61)

Japan seen emasculated, its fate in the hands of mercenaries.

A number of Japanese agree with the basic ideas presented here; some Japanese writers are even more outspoken. In response to American criticism of Japan during the first US-Persian Gulf War, in the early 1990s, historian Kenichi Matsumoto said:

Americans criticized Japan for trying to buy its way out of the Gulf War but few realize that Gen. Douglas MacArthur’s constitution emasculated this country. . . . In renouncing the right of belligerency after World War II, Japan placed its fate in the hands of foreign mercenaries instead of homegrown patriots. (62)

Japan seen lacking backbone, lost without national identity.

An accompanying problem for many Japanese is the issue of national identity. Here, Fallows quotes journalist Ryutaro Ozaki:

“Defeat in World War II not only cured Japan’s militaristic delusions but also destroyed our backbone as a nation. . . . We lost our national identity and haven’t found a new one”—which was why, he said, Japan “flunked the test the test of leadership” . . . . (63)

The ramifications of the US-Japan security agreement are important, both in terms of international political power, and in the requirement that all Japanese schools teach English. If one connects Japan’s deference to the USA in vitally important matters--national defense and foreign policy--together with the fact that English is a required subject in Japan’s education system (a requirement mandated by the same government displaying such deference to the USA), it is difficult *not* to conclude that Japan is, in the best case scenario, a “junior partner” or a “little brother” to the USA. This is another reason for the dominant position of English in Japan. Though it may not be superficially apparent, American political power helps explain the popularity of English. (64)

This analysis is similar to linguist and English-language historian David Crystal’s assessment of why certain languages *maintain* their popularity after becoming dominant. International language dominance--popularity extending over a long period of time--is not solely the result of military might. A militarily powerful nation may be able to establish its language in another country or territory outside its own,

but it requires other kinds of power--power derived from culture, economics, politics, or international success--to maintain language dominance. (65)

### Summary

An observation made at the beginning of this essay is that “English is an international language” type of statements--when offered as explanations for the popularity of English in Japan--explain little or nothing about why and how English has become so thoroughly embedded in the culture and educational system of today’s Japan. However, this does not mean that the “international” aspect of English study is without merit. As Kowner observes:

This English trend in Japan coincides with a broader movement termed *kokusaika* (internationalization) that has swept Japanese society since the early 1980s. Although it is equated often with Westernization, *kokusaika* is meant to accommodate the West by contributing to the international community. Its main medium has been English and “international understanding”. . . . (66)

Another reason “international” is often heard is because the Japanese Ministry of Education and other agencies have been promoting “internationalization,” including promotion of English. Millie Creighton apparently is (perhaps, facetiously) referring to these campaigns of “internationalization” when, writing in the mid 1990s, she states, “throughout the 1980s, and now into the 1990s, the Japanese government has peddled internationalization as a national goal. . . .” (67)

Therefore, while “English is an international language” explanations actually do not explain why or how English became popular, thinking of English in international terms can, perhaps, partially account for its *continuing popularity*. Thus, the intent of this essay is not to minimize the importance of English as an international language. Rather, the goal has been to suggest other, more historically informed and, hopefully, more useful explanations for why English is so successful in Japan.

After considering English in Japan, especially since 1945, there are multiple reasons why English became, and has remained, so popular. Some of the most important are:

- The desire of Japanese to communicate with their “conquerors” (a term used by both Dower and Kowner).
- The economic opportunities to earn money from English, and the associated marketing efforts to convince Japanese of their need to speak English.
- The strong influence of governmental power, by making English study mandatory in the education system.
- The important psychological, rhetorical, social and political/ideological functions of English, especially in the immediate aftermath of the war’s end.
- The widespread diffusion of English words into the language and culture.
- The creativity and pervasive influence of Japanese decorative English.
- Status, prestige and other positive connotations associated with English.
- The importance of English in advertising and throughout the mass media.
- The strong desire of both the national government and corporations to acquire scientific, technological and business knowledge.
- The unequal power relationship between the USA and Japan, especially notable in the areas of national defense and foreign policy.

### An overview of another research perspective (68)

Using a comparative case-study approach, *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*, examines twelve countries, including Japan, and their languages. The aim was to consider why borrowing from English (loan-word adoption) is more widespread and apparent in some languages and less so in others. The cross-cultural perspective of *Globally Speaking*--including consideration of motives for, and patterns of, borrowing from English--helps highlight and explain important factors and processes involved in the global spread of English. The research also reinforces the importance of some factors touched on in this essay.

Important processes, reasons and determinants for adopting English include:

- The presence of a dominant group whose native language is English.
- Direct communication with members of the dominant group.
- A tendency to emulate the dominant group: language, culture, values.
- The mass media is involved in promoting English.
- English is taught in the national education system.
- The existence of important economic and trade connections, especially involving exports, with the dominant group's home country.
- A sense of status or prestige is associated with English.
- There is a need for new terminology, due to cultural or technological changes.
- Possible unique qualities of the culture using English, for example:

Communal psychological features, such as obedience and conformity by the language community, may enhance processes of lexical borrowing, as witnessed in Japan . . . . (69)

The editors of *Globally Speaking* also shed light on various motives and processes underlying the emergence of Decorative English; one of them is the “tendency to create a special jargon.” (70) When considering the under-the-surface motives that help explain English usage, the editors also identify some corresponding benefits, rewards that help reinforce those motives. Applying these concepts to the decorative functions of English, as practiced in Japan, might suggest the following: One reason it *appears* English is so popular is due to the visible and widespread use of “a special English jargon”: English as a decorative accessory. Such English is trendy and, in keeping with the Japanese preference for vagueness rather than clarity, is equated *vaguely* with positive connotations: open-mindedness, a Western life-style, modernity, and a stylishly “international” outlook. The emphasis is on appearance, not content; image trumps meaning. One can be seen as “modern,” or one can go “international” on the cheap, simply by displaying English; it is not necessary to consider either the definition or implications of “international.” It is certainly not necessary to know how to spell it, or any other English word; image-implied connotations are what matter. For some “wearers” and users, perhaps the most important results of displaying this type of English-as-an-accessory are the social and/or psychological benefits.

However, simply because there is an abundance of English on display in Japan does not necessarily imply there is a need, a desire, or an ability of its “wearers” and users *to communicate* in English. As noted, Decorative English is *not* usually intended to communicate information; sometimes it doesn't even make sense. Yet there is a “message” being “communicated,” though the intended recipients of the message do

not necessarily include the native-English speakers who, sometimes, actually do read the words being displayed. As Doughill observes, in fewer words:

It seems to me on reflection that it is possible to link decorative English with Japan's monoculturalism, for it is basically an attempt to look international while remaining insular. (71)

This spin-off of English popularity in Japan, the emergence of a Mad-Hatter hybrid--English as decoration--is a subject that invites further research. One approach to the topic might begin by considering earlier hybrids, "panglish" and "SCAPanese," for example, as well as changes in the Japanese language itself due to massive English loan-word adoption in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Thus, framing a discussion of English usage in Japan against the backdrop of the war not only makes historical sense, it offers explanatory value. For example:

Since Japan's surrender English has acquired an ambivalent place in the Japanese psyche. It sustains Japan's inferiority vis-à-vis its conquerors, but it has regained its previous position [held during the Meiji era] as a medium through which Japanese can emulate the technology of the West and bask in its culture. (72)

The current role of English in Japan is, indeed, ambivalent. For what is increasingly clear is that the current popularity of English was initially established in connection with Japan's defeat, surrender and subsequent occupation. Its continuing popularity can be accounted for by a number of influential factors and ongoing processes: political, economic, educational, cultural, social and even psychological in nature; these often overlap, sometimes they seem to be contradictory, and sometimes they interact with and reinforce each other. Some of these processes and factors, when discussing the popularity of English in Japan, are under examined or, unacknowledged.

### Conclusion

The dominance of English in Japan, particularly the beginnings of its popularity, may be a classic example of what David Crystal had in mind when he wrote:

A language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people – especially their military power. The explanation is the same throughout history. (73)

Crystal illustrates his assertion with a number of examples, among them:

- The initial popularity of the Greek language, explained by the armies of Alexander the Great.
- The beginnings of Latin dominance, explained by the legions of the Roman Empire.
- The spread of Arabic throughout the Middle East and beyond, explained by the adoption of Islam, helped along by Moorish military power.
- The languages of Spanish, Portuguese, and French all displayed similar characteristics in achieving dominance. Therefore, writes Crystal:



The history of a global language can be traced through the successful expeditions of its soldier/sailor speakers. And English . . . has been no exception. (74)

### Notes

(1) Juku began as private schools that taught Confucianism and martial arts, primarily to samurai. Later, they expanded both their range of students and the number of subjects offered: piano, “soroban” (abacus) and English, for example. Louis Frédéric, *Japan Encyclopedia*, pp. 435-36, under the entry “Juku.”

(2) David Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, p. 1.

(3) Throughout the 1800s (and even earlier) there had been contacts between Japan and western countries. Perhaps the most famous was US Navy Commodore Perry’s forced opening of Japan’s ports to American shipping in 1854, after negotiating with the Tokugawa clan shoguns. The first Japanese diplomatic mission to America, to ratify the first Japan-USA trade treaty, took place in 1860. As Walter LaFeber’s telling of the mission indicates, English was not yet an international language:

The trip was difficult. Few Japanese cared to speak English—too difficult—and so spoke only Dutch other than their native language. Not many Americans knew Dutch. The mission included spies who reported on other members. U.S. sailors found soy sauce and fish foul-smelling and so threw out most of the Japanese food, forcing the diplomats to eat meat, cheese, and bread, which they hated. (*The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations throughout History*, p. 23.)

(4) Power was ceded to the emperor; Japanese were “subjects,” not citizens:

The Tokugawa shogunate opened the country’s doors to the West and handed over its 250-year old political power to the emperor in 1868. The new state was to resist pressures from the Western powers (which were then expanding into various parts of Asia) and to achieve an ethnic independence and modernisation. (Odano and Tsuchiya, *Education in Contemporary Japan: Inequality and Diversity*, p.14.)

Also see pages 330-32 (“History: The Edo Period”) in the *Japan Encyclopedia*. The “period of the government of Tokugawa shoguns in Edo, 1603-1868,” is referred to as, “Takugawa-jidai. . . . Also called Edo-jidai.” (*Japan Encyclopedia*, p. 978.)

(5) Lafcadio Hearn says the modern period in Japan began in 1871, with “the bewildering rapidity of recent changes,—from the reconstruction of society in 1871 to the opening of the first national parliament in 1891.” (*Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, pp. 382-83.) Referring to this time, James Fallows writes:

By the 1870s, the Naval Ministry was advised by eighty-seven Englishmen; the Army by forty-six Frenchmen; the Board of Construction by six Dutch experts; and the Medical College by eleven Germans. Americans were present as missionaries, athletic coaches,

and advisers on building a university system. The public school curriculum was standardized around the country; school uniforms, still in use today, were based on those of Prussian cadets. (*Looking at the Sun: the rise of the new East Asian economic and political system*, p. 93.)

(6) *Japan Encyclopedia*, p. 624, under the entry “Meiji.” Also see page 90 in *Looking at the Sun*. Especially useful is Fallow’s explanation of the naming system for Japanese emperors and their corresponding “era names,” at bottom of page.

(7) John W. Dower. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II*, pp. 43-4.

(8) Millie Creighton, “*Soto* Others and *uchi* Others,” p. 216, in *Japan’s Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*. Rotem Knowner expresses a similar view in “Japanese miscommunication with foreigners: In search for valid accounts and effective remedies,” p. 129.

(9) *Japan Encyclopedia*, pp. 332-33, under: History, “The Meiji Era.” Also see, “Meiji Tenno” (The hundred and twenty-second emperor, Mutsuhito), “Meiji-issin,” (Meiji Restoration) and “Meiji-jidai” (Meiji era).

(10) *Looking at the Sun*, p. 92.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 106.

(12) The account of English in Japan, provided here, is somewhat straightforward but it is also simplified; it is not intended as an historical survey. Actually, English has been in and out of favor in Japan previously, as Rotem Knowner notes:

The Japanese attitude to the lingua franca [English] of the modern age has become mixed with the attitude towards the English-speaking nations, the United States and England in particular. At the onset of Japanese modernisation these two nations were a source of admiration for their culture and technology, but also of hostility for their military might and racial arrogance. In certain periods, such as during the Russo-Japanese war, English was hailed as the language of Japan’s allies. Yet, only a few decades later, with the rise of Japanese ultranationalism, English came to represent the nation’s arch-foes and English loanwords were purged from daily use. (“Japanese miscommunication with foreigners,” p. 129.)

The large number of occupying military forces and the accompanying civilians (non-military personnel) were, technically, comprised of wartime “allied forces” (British, American, Russian, and more). In reality the occupation forces were almost exclusively comprised of Americans. This was perhaps especially true of the chief bureaucracy responsible for overall administration of the occupation, known as SCAP (Supreme Command for the Allied Powers). The acronym, S.C.A.P., usually written SCAP (without period marks), actually referred to both the organization and the top official of the organization, General Douglas MacArthur (later, General Matthew B. Ridgway). John Dower describes SCAP’s top-down authority structure as a “super-

government.” He draws parallels between MacArthur’s approach to governing and previous reigns of “the emperor and the feudal shoguns.” Somewhat ironically, though not inaccurately, he refers to SCAP’s Supreme Commander, General Douglas MacArthur, as, “the blue-eyed shogun.” *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 81, 203-05, 209-10 and 223. *Japan Encyclopedia*, p. 831, under the entry, “S.C.A.P.”

(13) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 37.

(14) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 36. Dower’s translation of some words in the Emperor’s August 15 speech differ slightly from Frédéric’s. Dower’s, used in this essay, is “endure the unendurable and bear the unbearable,” compared with Frédéric’s, “tolerate the intolerable and accept the unacceptable.” (*Japan Encyclopedia*, p. 335.)

(15) It surprised many, both Japanese and Americans, that the Emperor nor anyone from his family, nor any representative of the Imperial Household Ministry, attended the surrender ceremony. Dower notes that it was assumed the Emperor, as Japan’s highest authority figure, would naturally be a participant in such a momentous occasion. See *Embracing Defeat*, p. 41. However, though not publicly known at the time, the decision to keep the Emperor away from the ceremony was probably related to another, long-term, politically strategic, decision already made by MacArthur. It was MacArthur’s, and therefore SCAP’s, intent to actively disassociate the Emperor from even the appearance of seeming to bear any responsibility for possible charges of war crimes. See pages 277-345 in *Embracing Defeat*, for an analysis of this and other issues connected with Emperor Hirohito’s responsibility (or lack thereof) for both Japan’s war strategy, and war crimes committed by Japan’s military forces.

(16) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 188.

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

(18) There are other ways that English influenced Japan during the occupation, some intended, some unintended. LaFeber says American attempts to “reshape” Japan:

. . . also included U.S. impacts on Japanese culture. The Korean War, for example, [beginning in 1950] increased the number of uniformed Americans in Japan . . . They brought with them English-language radio and other services that blanketed much of urban Japan. This was part of a large U.S. cultural offensive. (*The Clash*, pp. 299-300.)

(19) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 188.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 187.

(23) Kowner, “Japanese miscommunication with foreigners,” p. 130.

(24) *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 172-77.

(25) Ibid., pp. 172-73.

(26) Ibid., p. 174. In place of Dower's rendering of "Come, Come English," into *Kamu Kamu Eigo*, a possible alternative might be: *Kuru Kuru Eigo*.

(27) Ibid., p. 174. Dower's discussion of the "Come Come English" radio program ends with these observations:

The program remained on the air for seven years, and was regularly listened to in an estimated 5.7 million households. Half a million textbooks were published in conjunction with the program, and half a million fan letters were received between 1946 and 1952. Hirakawa himself became a greatly respected celebrity. (*Embracing Defeat*, p. 174.)

(28) Ibid., pp. 251-53.

(29) Ibid., p. 251.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) "Japanese miscommunication with foreigners," p. 129.

(33) Tom McArthur, *The English Languages*, p. 14.

(34) Ibid., p. 14.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Rotem Knowner and Michal Daliot-Bul, "Japanese: The Dialectic Relations Between 'Westernness' and 'Japaneseness' as Reflected in English Loan Words," p. 258.

(37) The *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language* provides the following definition (credited to Tom McArthur):

**DECORATIVE ENGLISH, also atmosphere English, ornamental English.** Non—technical terms for English used as a visual token of modernity or a social accessory on items of clothing, writing paper, shopping bags, pencil boxes, etc., in advertising, and as notices in cafés, etc. The messages conveyed are 'atmospheric' rather than precise or grammatical, as in 'Let's sport violent all day long'. Use of decorative English appears to centre on Japan but has spread widely in East Asia and elsewhere. (Listed in bibliography, "internet sources.")

(38) Natalie Avella, *Graphic Japan*, p. 105.

(39) In addition to the author's observations and anecdotes, this discussion/summary of decorative English draws from a number of sources: *The English Languages*, *Graphic Japan*, "I feel Coke': Why the Japanese Study English," "The Good Feeling of Fine': English for Ornamental Purposes," "English as a decorative language," "Japan and English as an alien language," and, "Imaging the Other in Japanese Advertising Campaigns." (See bibliography for more detail.)

(40) *The English Languages*, pp. 15-16.

(41) Doughill, "English as a decorative language," p. 33. Cited in *The English Languages*, p. 15.

(42) Mark N. Brock, "'The Good Feeling of Fine:': English for Ornamental Purposes," p. 51. Cited in *The English Languages*, p. 15.

(43) "Japan and English as an alien language," p. 20.

(44) *The English Languages*, p. 16.

(45) *Graphic Japan*, p. 105.

(46) The "I feel Coke!" portion of the section title is adopted from a source cited by Millie Creighton, "I feel Coke': Why the Japanese study English," by Kalman Applbaum. (See bibliography for more detail.)

(47) Creighton considers the topic of advertising in both of her essays cited in this paper: "*Soto* Others and *uchi* Others: Imaging racial diversity, imagining homogenous Japan" and "Imaging the Other in Japanese Advertising Campaigns." Creighton also draws attention to the importance of the continuing influence of American culture in Japan. Notably, she frames her comments in the context of the occupation:

The American occupation brought American popular and consumer culture to Japan. This persisted after the occupation ended because of continuing international economic and political dominance of the United States. ("Imaging the Other," p. 143.)

(48) "*Soto* Others and *uchi* Others," p. 219. In both Creighton's essays, "*Soto* Others and *uchi* Others" and "Imaging the Other in Japanese Advertising Campaigns," she cites, "I feel Coke': Why the Japanese study English," by Applbaum.

In "*Soto* Others and *uchi* Others" Creighton discusses "code-switching." Creighton is primarily interested in connections between racial stereotypes and visual images (visual code-switching). Applbaum, in "I feel Coke," is, apparently, primarily considering Japanese verbal behavior (verbal code-switching). One of Creighton's main points is that western visual images and English words "provide a safer means to express selfish sentiments in a culture that has long disapproved of *wagama*, or self-centred-concerns." ("Imaging the Other," p. 146.)

(49) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 495. Japan's emphasis on science is a recurring theme in Dower's Pulitzer-Prize winning book on Japan in the aftermath of the Second World

War. The Emperor, his advisors, top government officials and high-ranking military officers all, apparently, were persuaded that it was superior American scientific knowledge, and the application of modern technology to the science of war, that best explained why Japan had lost and the Americans had won. See pages 490-496 for a more complete summary of the various reasons given by top Japanese leaders for why Japan lost the war.

An intriguing side-note to the discussion of why Japan lost the war is found in the diary notes of the current Japanese Emperor Akihito, written when he was a boy. Apparently Akihito's diary entry is a summary of reasons for Japan's defeat given by Emperor Hirohito's advisors, overheard and recorded by (then) crown prince Akihito:

Shortly after his father's broadcast, Akihito dutifully recorded that Japan had lost the war for two fundamental reasons: material backwardness, particularly in science, and individual selfishness. One on one, Japanese were superior to Americans, the earnest young heir apparent noted, but the Americans were superior when it came to working as a group. The key to the future thus lay in developing scientific prowess and learning to work harmoniously as a nation as the Americans did. So much for cultural canards about egoistic Westerners and group-oriented Japanese! [The editorial comment is Dower's] (*Embracing Defeat*, p. 291.)

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 43. Dower provides more details of that "stunning lesson":

[Japan's] utter subjugation was reinforced by the dramatic setting of the surrender ceremony itself. . . . The defeated imperial army was scattered throughout Asia and . . . the Pacific Ocean, its millions of surviving soldiers starving, wounded, sick and demoralized. But Tokyo Bay was clogged with hundreds of powerful, well-scrubbed American fighting ships. . . . The imperial soil was being desecrated by . . . an army of occupation whose numbers . . . would surpass a quarter of a million. A country that had celebrated the mythic "2,600-year anniversary" in 1940, and prided itself on never having been invaded, was about to be inundated by white men. . . . (*Embracing Defeat*, p. 43.)

(51) Rosenhouse and Kowner, "The Hegemony of English and Determinants of Borrowing from English and Its Vocabulary," p. 7.

LaFeber notes how "Japan systematically gained access to U.S. technology," (*The Clash*, p. xxii). This accumulation of knowledge is a consistent long-term national economic policy. LaFeber also refers to ongoing Japanese acquisition of U.S. hi-tech technology in connection with competition between Japanese and American computer and semiconductor industries. (*The Clash*, pp. 365, 373, 379, 393.)

(52) Much of this knowledge acquisition is connected, indirectly or directly, with English. The original Meiji-pursuit of technical knowledge now includes all types of corporate- and business-related information: economic, financial, and managerial knowledge, ranging from "hard" technical skills: statistical, mathematical and computer-based macro modeling, to "soft" skills: management theories and styles of

leadership, and motivational-oriented communication techniques. Systematically acquiring knowledge is important for both Japanese corporate and national purposes.

For these reasons, and more, Japan is sometimes referred to as “Japan Inc.” LaFeber offers one definition of “Japan Inc.”: “the team of efficient businesses, aggressive government bureaucracy, and cooperative labor unions . . . .” (*The Clash*, p. 365.)

(53) For example, observes Fallows:

One of the clearest examples of Japan’s commitment to systematic learning is the flood of Japanese students into American business schools. Most . . . are young employees of large Japanese companies, sent to America for a year or two at corporate expense . . . the Japanese students can be seen . . . as an extension of the system for learning everything that can be learned about the surrounding, possibly threatening, environment. (*Looking at the Sun*, p. 94.)

(54) “Japanese miscommunication with foreigners,” p. 129.

(55) John Foster Dulles was President Truman’s special envoy to Japan, with the rank of Ambassador, assigned to negotiate the peace treaty between the US and Japan in 1950 and 1951. The Peace Treaty, officially concluding both the war and the occupation, was agreed to by a majority of United Nations members, in San Francisco, in 1951. As noted, the security pact (treaty) was, supposedly, a separate document--not connected to the peace treaty ending the occupation; it was an exclusive agreement between Japan and the United States. However, in reality, it is apparent that even as the peace treaty was *ending* the occupation, simultaneously, the security treaty was, at least partially, *continuing* it. Later, President Eisenhower chose Dulles as his Secretary of State (1953-59).

(56) *The Clash*, p. 297.

(57) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 81.

(58) *Looking at the Sun*, pp. 169-70. One of Fallows’ most important points is, politically and militarily, Japan and the USA are *not* allies. An alliance assumes equality; each “ally” will come to defense of the other, if necessary. Japan is not pledged to, nor is expected to, come to the aid of the US. In fact, under its current constitution it is not *permitted* to do so. Thus, the US and Japan are not allies as they are not equals. The relationship is one of dependency: Japan is dependent on the USA for foreign policy guidance and for much of its national security. These are the on-going consequences, Fallows says, of Japan’s decision not to be a “real” country. Also, see LaFeber’s similar assessment of the US-Japan security arrangement and related issues in, *The Clash*, pp. 275-95.

(59) *The Clash*, p. 316.

(60) *Embracing Defeat*, p. 552.

(61) *Ibid.*, p. 553.

(62) *Looking at the Sun*, pp. 173-74.

(63) *Ibid.*, p. 174.

(64) In *English as a Global Language* Crystal devotes a lot of space to a discussion of influence, power, and various types of power. Crystal looks to history, to the past, in order to understand and help explain the present; he uses the language of Latin as an example of what he means by different types of “power”:

Latin became an international language throughout the Roman Empire. . . . not because the Romans were more numerous than the peoples they subjugated. They were simply more powerful. . . . when Roman military power declined, Latin remained for a millennium as the international language of education, thanks to a different sort of power—the ecclesiastical power of Roman Catholicism. There is the closest of links between language dominance and cultural power. . . . Without a strong power-base, whether political, military or economic, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. Language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. Language only exists in the brains and mouths and ears and hands and eyes of its users. When they succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. (*English as a Global Language*, p. 5.)

(65) *English as a Global Language*, pp. 7,8.

(66) “Japanese miscommunication with foreigners,” pp. 142-43.

(67) “Imaging the Other,” p. 156.

(68) Introduction, and “The Hegemony of English,” in *Globally Speaking*, pp. 1-18.

(69) “The Hegemony of English,” p. 15.

(70) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(71) “Japan and English as an alien language,” p. 18.

(72) “Japanese miscommunication with foreigners,” p. 129.

(73) *English as a Global Language*, p. 7.

(74) *Ibid.*

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