

Global Human Resource Development from the Perspective of Japanese Culture: Preparing Japanese Interpreters to Assist Foreign Visitors in 2020

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This article considers the preparation of interpreters to assist foreign visitors to Japan from a cultural perspective. It critically examines some widespread assumptions in modern Japanese discourse, such as the mass media, about visitors, global perspectives, and hospitality. It then proceeds to examine, and offer recommendations concerning, some of the challenges interpreters must face in acting as cultural mediators, ranging from general issues such as stereotypes to specific translation issues.

Keywords: Interpreters, Cross-cultural Communication, Hospitality, Global Perspectives

Introduction

With preparations for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics underway, various segments of Japanese society are struggling to anticipate the needs of the expected influx of foreign guests. In light of the widespread awareness of Japanese pop culture overseas, particularly since the mid-to-late 1990s, no doubt many foreign visitors are eager to experience Japanese culture first-hand, and Japanese students studying foreign languages are excited by the opportunity and challenge of helping with this process. For interpreters, the challenges thus include not just practical matters of language scenarios — both routine and unexpected — but also how to mediate the thorny avenues of cross-cultural exchange.

This article is concerned with helping to prepare interpreters for this task, by discussing some of the issues that they need to

consider, including both common misconceptions and particular challenges bound up with the interpreter's role as cultural mediator. It is the author's hope that a careful engagement with these issues can help to better equip interpreters to meet the needs of foreign visitors in a thoughtful and effective manner.

1. Background: The Tokyo Olympics, Then and Now

A good place to start is with the Olympics themselves, and what perceptions of the event mean for interpreters. Presently the excitement for the 2020 games is steadily building, and businesses are looking afresh at the opportunities that foreign visitors offer. Naturally, both the Japanese government and the mass media have been drawing comparisons to the 1964 Tokyo Olympics.¹⁾ This is entirely understandable. The 1964 Olympics was a landmark event in the twentieth century. In addition to being the first Olympics held in Asia, and the first to be televised, it was also an opportunity to introduce a renewed, democratic postwar Japan to the world stage. The mesh of new Japanese technology — seen in cameras, airports, and the subway system, although perhaps best identified with the Shinkansen which was rushed to completion in time — and celebrations of traditional Japanese culture surrounding the events fostered the popular Western image of Japan as a technologically-advanced country with a deep-rooted traditional sensibility.²⁾ Clearly, the 2020 organizers could do worse than try to capitalize on the spirit of '64.

However, there are also some significant differences between the 1964 Olympics and the contemporary situation of which one must be cognizant, beyond just the obvious difference in level and accessibility of technology. In 1964, most Japanese lacked the opportunity for overseas travel experience — in fact, travel deregulation for tourism had only occurred in April of that year, a mere six months before the Olympics. Today travel is drastically

cheaper and there are a multitude of travel and exchange programs for young Japanese, so if they lack overseas experience it is not for want of opportunity. Another major difference is to be found in the popular awareness of Japan overseas. Foreign visitors to Japan in 1964 had vague notions of Japanese culture, consisting of a hodgepodge of old tropes of *geisha*, temples, and the like. Today's foreign visitors are likely to be at least somewhat acquainted with Japanese pop culture, and a substantial number are fans of Japanese animation, video games, and street fashion.

While the Japanese mass media demonstrates an awareness of this shift, it has by and large overlooked another, equally significant change in the visitors coming to Japan of late: country of origin. In 1964, tourists to Japan often came from affluent nations, particularly in the West. Today, such visitors only comprise a small part of the total number of tourists. In 2016, the combined number of visits to Japan from Europe and North America only comprised 12% of the total, while Asia accounted for nearly 85%. In fact, there were over twice as many visits just from China (and almost as many from South Korea) as Europe and North America *combined*.³⁾ Yet while the mass media has reported on large numbers of shoppers from China, it has not updated its tourist stereotypes. The popular image in the media of foreigners as represented by white-skinned, blond-haired Westerners is ridiculously anachronistic and does nothing to prepare the country for the Olympics when an enormous number of visitors are expected to come from other Asian countries.

This reality has significant implications for how we go about approaching the training of interpreters. A common assumption is that most of the time E-J / J-E interpreters will be assisting native English speakers from the UK or USA, a situation rooted in the view that these are the only forms of English. Language schools often do little to dispel this notion. The first problem with this is that a great many native English speakers hail from neither the UK

nor the USA, and their dialects may stump Japanese interpreters who are unfamiliar with them. A second problem is that most of the visitors will be from Asian countries and speak English as a second language, meaning that interpreters will be dealing with people who are not native speakers at all.

What is required, then, is a better familiarity with world Englishes. While this has been a field of study for some four decades in the West, it has only recently begun to gain traction in Japan.⁴⁾ Some institutions, including KUIS and TUFs, have developed modules and / or research groups dedicated to the subject.⁵⁾ Many schools, however, continue to be strictly orientated around an American English curriculum, giving students little opportunity to be exposed to the varieties of English around the world. It is unfortunate that students face such a situation even as Japanese senior citizens are increasingly visiting the Philippines to partake of cheaper English-language education options. Considering the economic opportunities accorded by the Philippines, India, Singapore and other countries with large numbers of English-speakers, to continue to focus so much on American English is to do a disservice to interpreters, who both during and after the Olympics may be working with many people from those countries. It is therefore imperative to increase their exposure to world Englishes and familiarize them with second-language speakers from other countries as well. Volunteering to work with foreign communities in Japan could be one way to provide interpreters-in-training with valuable practical experience to complement their classroom work.

2. Fostering Global Perspectives

Another common theme of much recent writing on human resources in Japan is that in order to deal with people from other countries, “global skills,” and especially a “global perspective,” are

required.⁶⁾ Of course, this is hardly a uniquely Japanese phenomenon: the international business community has been awash with books and lecture series on globalization and the need to cultivate global mindsets for at least twenty years or more.

What does this mean for interpreters in Japan? Much of the writing in this area has focused on the need to globalize Japanese youth and the economic advantages (and future necessity) of globalized human resources, and at this level of vague abstraction there is little difference from Western writing on the topic. However, while the English-language sphere is frequently concerned with modifying production methods, marketing strategies, and management techniques, most of the Japanese writing in this area has just equated “global” with a wider use of English. Not just scholars and social critics, but even the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) essentializes global human resources as just Japanese proficient in English, and to a lesser extent a little overseas study and the adoption of some ostensibly “global” norms, which usually refers to practices followed by (not necessarily all) American schools or businesses.⁷⁾ These assumptions are usually left unquestioned both by supporters and critics of current trends.

The debate in Japan over global perspectives is therefore dominated by two groups: a collection of linguists discussing the relative standing of Japan’s English-language education, and a variety of social critics castigating the Japanese education system and / or warning of the dangers inherent in prioritizing English to such an extent that the Japanese language and culture are endangered. Alarmist texts like Minae Mizumura’s *The Fall of Language in the Age of English* — which argues that national literary traditions like Japan’s risk being erased in an age of English as a global language — compete with a bevy of works that proffer presuppositions right in their titles (such as numerous variants of

“Why Can’t Japanese use English?”).⁸⁾ This discourse inevitably leaps from half-truths about languages to sweeping generalizations about culture and national identity, usually with little or no historical context. At the same time, there has been what might be described as a backlash against overzealous globalization, with numerous books and television shows extolling any and all aspects of Japanese culture and society through comparisons with other countries, either by describing circumstances overseas unfavorably or by celebrating praise for Japan from an assemblage of foreigners visiting the country. There is little of academic value in this entire discourse, and nothing worthwhile from the perspective of issues related to interpretation. These works cannot even shed light on stereotypes that foreigners have for Japan—and thereby offer inexperienced interpreters clues about what misunderstandings they should be on guard for—because the discourse is orchestrated by Japanese creators and intended for mainstream Japanese audiences. The discourse therefore merely reinforces stereotypes that Japanese have for foreigners, rather than offering any meaningful perspectives from outside. This is unfortunate, because when seeking to help visitors understand Japanese culture it is immensely helpful to know what preconceptions they are likely to be bringing to the table.

Thus far, this article has articulated the challenges interpreters must meet for the upcoming Olympics, and the current state of writing in Japan related to equipping human resources with the global tools to meet such challenges. The upshot, unfortunately, is that most writing on the subject of fostering global perspectives offers little to help interpreters wrestle with the idea of cultural exchange or how they can assist foreign visitors. The remainder of this article will be concerned with articulating what steps could be taken to remedy this situation to at least some degree. One point to consider is a more critical conception of global perspective, beyond

meaning just a Japanese person with some degree of English proficiency. The existence or absence of linguistic capability in and of itself is in no way indicative of whether or not any given individual has a global perspective. Neither does experience traveling or studying overseas by itself necessarily provide such a perspective. A truly global perspective is not just a matter of knowledge about one or more foreign countries; rather, it could be said to involve the cultivation of a particular attitude or outlook consisting of several general characteristics.

The first is thinking beyond the merely national, striving to avoid both ethnocentrism and simplistic dialectics that can be reduced to “us” and “them.” The second is an awareness of shared humanity, rather than seeing people as just representatives of nation-states or regions. The final characteristic is a thoughtful and open-minded attitude towards other cultures, respecting differences without necessarily personally agreeing with all of the content of those cultures. This last point is significant because an attitude of tolerance towards others is sometimes misunderstood as needing to agree with everyone, or going so far as to embrace a completely relativistic view that suppresses one’s own opinion or dismisses it. Interpreters should not feel pressured to agree with the views of visitors. In a similar vein, there is no reason for a global perspective to preclude a love of one’s own country. Keeping these basic principles in mind is necessary if an interpreter is to establish an effective relationship with visitors based on respect and understanding, as will be considered in the next section.

3. Visitor-Orientated Thinking and Hospitality

A global perspective can help provide a foundation for dealing with people from different backgrounds, but it is vital to build on this a spirit of visitor-orientated thinking and hospitality. The most essential element for successful interpretation work is to consider

the needs and values of visitors. This may appear to be obvious, but there is often a tendency in the tourism industry, for example, to tell visitors what they should be interested in based on our own interests and values. Savvy businesses, by contrast, are those that find out what visitors from various regions are interested in and then market to them accordingly. This requires a working knowledge of overseas cultures and how they understand Japanese culture. A good example of what *not* to do is proffered by the Japanese government, which spent the 1990s bewildered by the overseas success of Japanese pop culture — particularly video games, anime and manga — and failed to capitalize on this potential. Recent years have witnessed the birth of the government’s Cool Japan initiative, which promptly undercut itself by declining to consult foreign advisors and rejecting the possibility of adjusting to suit overseas interests, despite “knowing your market” being a basic principle of marketing.⁹⁾ While tourists interested in Japanese pop culture continue to visit Japan, they do so largely in spite of the government’s initiatives and not because of them. Interpreters who fail to learn from these sorts of experiences will risk investing great effort to meet an end neither needed nor desired by visitors.

In this regard, social skills are vital. Interpreters need to be able to put visitors at ease and recognize their needs before they can adequately seek to meet them. This is a quality of social interaction that we often associate with *omotenashi*, a term that has received a lot of media attention both in Japan and overseas thanks to its usage by the Japanese bid for the Olympics.¹⁰⁾ The problem is that *omotenashi* has become a source of pride, celebrated as an aspect of Japanese culture — although a prideful, self-congratulatory approach to hospitality is hardly hospitality at all, since it puts the needs of the host ahead of those of the guest, as some commentators have pointed out.¹¹⁾ Hospitality is intended to help make visitors feel comfortable and satisfied; it is of no use whatsoever if it is pursued

for its own sake without due consideration of the visitors' own needs. Interpreters need to take stock of that old saw of creative writing, "show, don't tell": telling visitors how wonderful and unique Japanese culture is serves no purpose for visitors, and, even worse, may come across as arrogant. It is far more productive to explain, and wherever possible demonstrate, aspects of Japanese culture and let visitors draw their own conclusions about how impressive they may be.

Another aspect of hospitality to consider is the human empathy that is supposed to inform genuine *omotenashi*. Because it is based on anticipating the needs of the visitor and responding to their situation smoothly, traditional *omotenashi* could best be thought of as a sort of intuition. This is particularly valuable for interpreters because in an era of increasing automation through virtual reality experiences and robotic assistance this is a capacity that machines do not possess. If we focus on stressing superficial aspects of the cultural dimension of interpretation, such as smiling and using popular lingo, we risk setting up our interpreters to be easily replaced by machines that have no difficulty performing such superficial roles. Many international visitors will arrive in Japan with smartphones and other digital devices equipped with guidebooks, dictionaries and other software. If an interpreter can offer nothing to enhance their experience beyond a cute demeanor and superficial knowledge, they will rapidly find themselves rendered unnecessary. The ability to understand a visitors' needs, prioritize these, and respond to them in a timely and compassionate manner is a far more valuable asset for interpreters. This constitutes a more genuine and enduring form of Japanese hospitality that cannot be replaced by artificial systems and cute performances.

4. Specific Issues in Translating Japanese Culture

In their capacity as a bridge between multiple cultural contexts,

one of the interpreter's most valuable qualities is the ability to translate and explain aspects of Japanese culture to foreign visitors. Naturally, this requires some familiarity with Japan's traditions and cultural heritage. One problem here is that Japanese students tend to assume that they know a lot about Japanese culture just by virtue of being Japanese, but in reality a sizeable amount of this knowledge consists of old stereotypes that are not much better than the stereotypes visitors bring with them from overseas. Although Japan has always had a diversity of local cultures, these differences were papered over by the Meiji government in the late nineteenth century as part of its modernization plans. The image of Japan as comprising one uniform cultural bloc, discussed as fundamentally different from Western countries, originated at this time, as did a whole host of myths and stereotypes about premodern Japanese history and culture. These included such things as reformulating Shintō as a national faith rather than a loose collection of local religious practices, romanticizing the samurai and reading back Edo-era samurai practices into premodern times, and many other historical anachronisms. Many of these notions continue to be perpetuated today by the mass media and cultural critics alike, unaware that these images are thoroughly modern inventions that are divorced from the real history of Japanese culture. If interpreters hope to correct visitors' misunderstandings of Japanese culture, they must first correct their own misunderstandings, lest they just replace one set of stereotypes with another.

There are also a lot of silly assumptions that do the tourist industry a disservice when they are uncritically followed, such as the notion of Japan's unique four seasons. Needless to say, many countries around the world have four seasons and various cultural tropes and festivities associated with each. While visitors are no doubt interested in experiencing the seasonal variations across Japan, they would find the notion that other countries lack the same

degree of variation illogical and possibly offensive. An interpreter would be wise to emphasize the interesting aspects of each season while tactfully leaving unspoken any claims about Japanese uniqueness, as discussed above.

As for foreign visitors, they certainly bring their own stereotypes and myths about Japan along when they travel. Some of these may be common knowledge among interpreters. For example, many young Japanese are aware that foreign visitors have seen videos about Japanese street fashion; interpreters may be bemused when visitors are disappointed that most Japanese do not regularly dress like the youth in Harajuku or the trendy fashionistas of Shibuya. However, some foreign stereotypes about Japan are not very well known. For instance, some foreign manga fans have a preconception that mainstream Japanese society is highly supportive of LGBT individuals, due to a preponderance of LGBT characters in manga. They may also be expecting Japan to be a high-tech wonderland with advanced robotics and mechanization widespread in daily society. These unrealistic expectations of Japanese culture can lead to frustration and even serious problems if they are not tactfully addressed. While not all myths and stereotypes are negative, they can still lead to misunderstandings, and therefore alleviating trouble before it starts by breaking down stereotypes is an important role for interpreters.

Another set of problems faced by interpreters involves specific translation issues. One is the preponderance of loanwords in contemporary Japanese. While loanwords are a natural aspect of any language, so too is the transformation of those words to suit diverse cultural contexts. The problem is that many Japanese foreign language learners — particularly in the case of English — operate under the incorrect assumption that this is not the case, and that foreign words imported into Japan retain their original meanings. This results in confusion or even hilarity among

native speakers when Japanese speakers then proceed to use the words in their Japanese meanings. Most Japanese students quickly learn that the Japanese 「マンション」 *manshon* and English “mansion” are very different beasts, but they are less aware of the situation with 「リベンジ」 *ribenji*, which has come to mean “I’ll win next time.” While a Japanese speaker can confidently proclaim 「リベンジする」 to indicate “I’ll try again [and succeed],” uttering “I will revenge!” (akin to 必ず復讐しますよ) comes across in English as, if anything, a threat to hurt the listener for a perceived wrong inflicted on the speaker.

Then there is the tendency for some Japanese speakers to assume all loanwords (or even all *katakana-go*!) are from English, leading to confusion when English speakers do not recognize “shū cream” (シュークリーム) — which is not surprising when we consider that the name of the tasty treat comes from the French “chou à la crème,” and which is in English called “cream puff.” There are also a host of Japanese neologisms constructed from English loanwords, such as “skinship” (スキンシップ), which comes from the English words “skin” and “friendship” and is unintelligible in English, leaving the interpreter to draw on terms such as “human touch” or “physical intimacy” instead. There are also many cases where English loanwords could be used in a suitable English context, but are deployed in an inappropriate way, such as “play,” which is often attached in Japan to various words to create new compound nouns but which in English is far more commonly used as a verb.

Another problem is what to do with terms that are distinct in Japanese but lack readily-comprehensible equivalents in foreign languages. This often occurs when describing food culture. 「のり」 *nori*, 「わかめ」 *wakame*, and 「こんぶ」 *konbu* tend to all end up rendered as something like “seaweed,” despite being very different ingredients that can hardly be substituted for one another. Unlike the case with fish and flowers, many ingredients like this may have

no real equivalent and the scientific names given by dictionaries are more likely to confuse than enlighten foreign visitors. In these cases, it is best to just use the original name and add an explanatory clause, as in “*nori*, a type of Japanese seaweed.”

Historical terms present yet another host of conundrums. The samurai are well-known around the world, if misunderstood, although the popular image of samurai in Japan is just as inaccurate as that found overseas. The samurai were only established as a distinct social class in the early modern era, and bushidō is largely a modern invention: but this does not stop Japanese and non-Japanese alike from applying these notions to warriors throughout Japanese history. The loose distinctions in contemporary Japanese among classical *samurai* (侍, one who serves), medieval *bushi* (武士, warrior), and modern *heishi* (兵士, soldier) are likely to be lost on foreign visitors. Alternatively, some foreign visitors may be samurai fans who are well-versed in stories of particular *daimyō*. “Shogun,” like “samurai” a long-established loanword in many European languages, tends to be misunderstood overseas as either a military commander or a dictator, neither of which is accurate. Japanese interpreters are at least likely to understand that shoguns were political leaders and frequently lacked both military acumen and direct power. Then there is the term *bakufu* (幕府), which in its literal translation “curtain/tent government” makes no sense whatsoever. While many decades ago English-language scholars of Japanese history rendered the term as “shogunate,” it is now much more common to use “military government,” “warrior government,” or leave it as “*bakufu*” and simply explain its meaning.

A particularly troublesome issue is the term *tennō* (天皇). Often rendered in European languages with a term based on “emperor,” it is also sometimes given as “sovereign” or “monarch.” The problem is that none of these terms accurately describes the role of the *tennō* in contemporary Japan, and the fact that the *tennō*’s role

changed over time makes one consistent translation problematic. The Imperial Household Agency (宮内庁 *kunaichō*) officially favors “emperor” and similarly uses “imperial” rather than “royal,” but this decision, which dates back to the early Meiji period, has nothing to do with accurately describing the *tennō* and everything to do with nineteenth-century politics (i.e., putting Japan on an equal footing with China, the monarch of which was already being referred to as “emperor” in the West). As a result of this official sanction, interpreters may wish to continue using “emperor,” but should be aware that its connotations — a ruler of varied or multiple territories who depends upon military power — are not an accurate reflection of the *tennō* for any era except that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and are highly inappropriate for the premodern era.

A slightly different problem is represented by “empress,” as, just like with the term “queen,” foreign languages may not make a distinction between the consort of a male ruler and a female ruler who occupies the throne in her own right. For instance, “empress” is used in English-language materials to refer both to Empress Jitō (持統天皇, 645–703) and Empress Teimei (貞明皇后, 1884–1951), but the former was a sovereign and the latter the wife of a sovereign, as their respective Japanese titles immediately make clear. Chinese speakers have no such difficulty, being able to recognize the distinct titles. They are also likely aware of the distinction in their own country’s history between the principle wives of male emperors and the one female emperor, Empress Wu Zetian (武則天, 624–705). Europeans are aware of this sort of distinction as well because of their own history of queens ruling in their own right, but may not be aware of the historical situation in East Asia, or aware of the existence of female Japanese rulers at all. Technically there do exist specific terms in European languages — in English, for example, an “empress consort” is the wife of an emperor, whereas an “empress

regnant” rules in her own right — but the likelihood of most visitors recognizing these terms right away is slim. Here too a quick explanation may be the safest course. Interpreters who are likely to be explaining events or figures from Japanese history are highly recommended to consult the Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms, by Tokyo University’s Historiographical Institute.¹²⁾

Finally, there are the challenges represented by differing cultural views of symbols. One of the most well-known of these is the occasional foreign media controversy generated over the use of the swastika (卐 *manji*). While an ancient symbol found in many cultures, and one usually associated with good fortune and prosperity, in the West it has been tainted due to its appropriation by the German Nazi movement and Third Reich (1933–1945). In Japan, however, it continues to have a positive meaning and is used to represent Buddhism, often being employed on temple banners and artwork as well as on maps to indicate the presence of a temple. This cultural gap has occasionally led to backlashes against Japanese media products overseas, and confusion among some tourists — which has resulted in recent efforts to use alternative symbols on maps for tourists. Although domestic maps would not be affected, even this was enough to incite consternation in the Japanese media, with even the resident foreign community suggesting the idea was silly and unnecessary.¹³⁾ This is a classic case where an interpreter could easily resolve any issues before they arise by clearly explaining that Japanese, and indeed East Asian, use of the swastika predates the Nazi appropriation and continues to have a positive meaning in Japanese culture.

Symbols and terminology associated with the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and the Pacific War (1941–1945) are also possible sources of conflict. The naval ensign employed by the Maritime Self-Defense Force resembles the battle flag of the Imperial Japanese Army and is therefore frequently despised in

China and Korea, while words like *kamikaze* (神風, divine wind) show up in various contexts in Japan (such as in popular culture) but overseas are only known for their wartime-era associations.¹⁴⁾ Instead of being embarrassed by such matters or avoiding them, interpreters need to be able to calmly describe such things when necessary, while showing an attitude of respect to visitors who may find them disturbing. Japanese interpreters should adopt a mature attitude, able to explain even controversial cultural matters calmly, and show recognition of visitors' opinions without feeling pressured to agree with them.

5. Conclusion

This article has attempted to set out the current situation faced by Japanese interpreters and the importance of their role as cultural mediators in that context, as well as some of the broad challenges and specific issues that they must be prepared to address if they are to be successful in their duties. To sum up the key aspects, training of interpreters needs to consider the varieties of language, particularly in the case of English where there are many ESL speakers, the fostering of an open-minded attitude that can move beyond stereotypes of self and others, the encouragement of genuine hospitality focused on ascertaining the needs of visitors rather than imposing our own values on them, and the development of sufficient awareness of assumptions and issues to handle problems that may arise. While this constitutes a substantial challenge, an emphasis merely on language acquisition and a friendly demeanor is woefully inadequate for the training of interpreters to welcome foreign visitors, and programs based on such an approach risk leaving their graduates ill-prepared to meet the challenges awaiting them.

Notes

- 1) On the Olympics and Japan, consider the official Tokyo2020 site (<https://tokyo2020.jp/>), which frequently makes such references (e.g. “1964-nen to 2020-nen no Tōkyō Pararinpikku ni kansuru 20 no Jijitsu nit suite,” November 11, 2014), articles such as Shimada (2016), and even children’s books such as Nihon Orinpikku Akademii (2016).
- 2) The image of Japan as a country with a blend of high-tech and old traditions has been a recurring theme in popular depictions of the country in the West as well as in all manner of guidebooks and the like. This has also played a role in a broader Western discourse of Asia as a hyper-technological “other,” as in “techno-orientalism,” a common trope in much science-fiction as well as other writing. See, for example, Roh et al. (2015).
- 3) See Japan National Tourism Organization (2016).
- 4) Consider, for example, the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE), founded in 1992 but with roots dating back to the 1970s (<http://www.iaweworks.org/>).
- 5) For the modules at KUIS and TUFS, see the project website at: <http://labo.kuis.ac.jp/module/index.html>. For an introduction to the project, see Sekiya et al. (2015).
- 6) See, for example, the plethora of advice and skill books, such as Uchinaga (2011), or advice for raising a “global child” as in Edukēshonaru Nettowāku Gurōbaru Kyōiku Suishin-shitsu (2014).
- 7) Consider, for instance, the reports from MEXT pertaining to global human resource development initiatives in education, such as MEXT (2012).
- 8) Mizumura (2008). It is worth noting the focus accorded the Japanese language in the original title, *Nihongo ga Horobiru toki: Eigo no Seiki no naka de*. There are many articles and books on Japanese struggles with English, such as Peterson et al. (1990), and Terasawa (2015).
- 9) For example, see Alexandra Homma’s interview with Cool Japan Fund CEO Ota Nobuyuki (2016).
- 10) The recent spread of interest in, and writing about, *omotenashi* is often credited to a speech given by newscaster Christel Takigawa on September 7, 2013 as part of the 2020 bid. See, for example, Jordan (2013).
- 11) On this issue, consider the English-language media in Japan, such as

- articles by Shusuke Murai (2014) and Philip Brasor (2015).
- 12) Online Glossary of Japanese Historical Terms, Tokyo University, <http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e>.
 - 13) See, for instance, Wong (2016).
 - 14) Kamikaze was a term famously applied to the typhoons that sank the Mongol invasion fleets in the thirteenth century, but today is mostly known as a euphemism for the Special Attack Units (特別攻撃隊, *tokubetsu kōgeki-tai*) during the final stages of the Pacific War. The term has also entered the English language as a term for any kind of suicide attack.

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