

English in Tokyo's Public Space: Explorations from Ameyoko and Ueno Keisei Station

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INTRODUCTION

Cities are places where strangers meet. Tokyo, a central node in the globalised world, is a case in point. The intensification of contact with the rest of the world perpetually adds diversity to the city. Everybody interacting in Tokyo will experience these effects, and they must learn to deal with this. English plays an important role thereby.¹

English has no official status in Japan. Linguistic minorities like the Ainu or Ryukyuans are expected to use Japanese in public. The same applies to Japan's three million immigrant residents, but tourists are exempt from this expectation. We can gain insights into the use and function of English in Tokyo's public space by focusing on places where tourists and Tokyo residents interact. This chapter provides an ethnographic study of two such places in northeastern Tokyo, the Ameya Yokochō street market (henceforth, Ameyoko) and the adjacent Ueno Keisei Station (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The principal research question is whether one can get by in Tokyo by communicating in English in these public spaces. More concretely, the study seeks to contribute to discussions on world Englishes, English as emergency lingua franca, and grassroots English (Blommaert, 2010; Deshors, 2018; Kachru, 2005; Meierkord & Schneider, 2021) by investigating 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?' (Fishman, 1965).

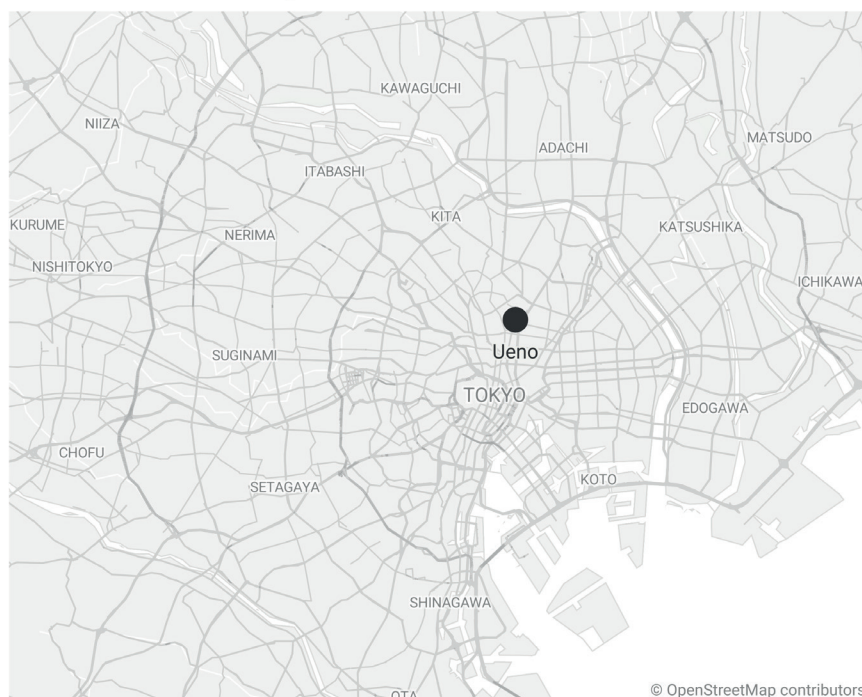
¹ This chapter has profited from suggestions by Emi Otsuji and the editors, for which I am grateful. All remaining shortcomings or errors are mine.

Ueno Keisei Station is a non-place. According to Augé (1995, p. 63), non-places ‘cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity’. Place and non-place are not binary opposites but are ‘like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second is never totally completed’ (Augé, 1995, p. 64). Passengers passing through Ueno Keisei Station do not form a relationship with that place other than getting away from it, regardless of whether they are inbound or outbound. The station will be different in its demographic composition every time one passes there, resulting in a lack of socio-cultural and historical stability. Except for the few people who work at the station, the station does not exert an influence on individual identity. Everyone remains anonymous, and the interactions are contractual (purchasing a ticket for a transportation service). This social composition of a non-place such as Ueno Keisei Station allows strangers to feel more at home than in an unknown place such as Ameyoko. I contrast Ameyoko and Ueno Keisei Station for two reasons. One is to show that place affects how people communicate. Place exerts agency. The second is to show that repertoires are spatial, unstable, truncated and negotiable in their use. Linguistic resources become part of a repertoire through both social and spatial interaction (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 83).

In Japan, schoolchildren learn English from the third grade in elementary school. As an effect and due to the prominence of English in global politics, economy and culture, English influences communication in Japan. Inagawa (2015, p. 12) observes that English is ‘the least alien language to the Japanese due to its cameo appearances in everyday life’. What she terms cameo appearances refers to the prominence of English in the linguistic landscape and English-derived loanwords. A survey into the linguistic landscape of Tokyo revealed that 93% of all multilingual signs contained English (Backhaus, 2007, pp. 71, 83). Also, more than 10% of the vocabulary in everyday spoken language consists of loanwords, the vast majority of which are derived from English (Hogan, 2003). English loanwords are employed in everyday conversations for stylistic effects as English is associated with ‘cosmopolitanism, youthfulness, informality and good humour’ (Hogan, 2003, p. 48).

The widespread appearance of English in everyday life and its prominence in school education notwithstanding, experts agree that attention to English language learning in Japan ‘is not matched by an equally high level of communicative proficiency among the population’ (Sergeant,

Ueno District in Tokyo



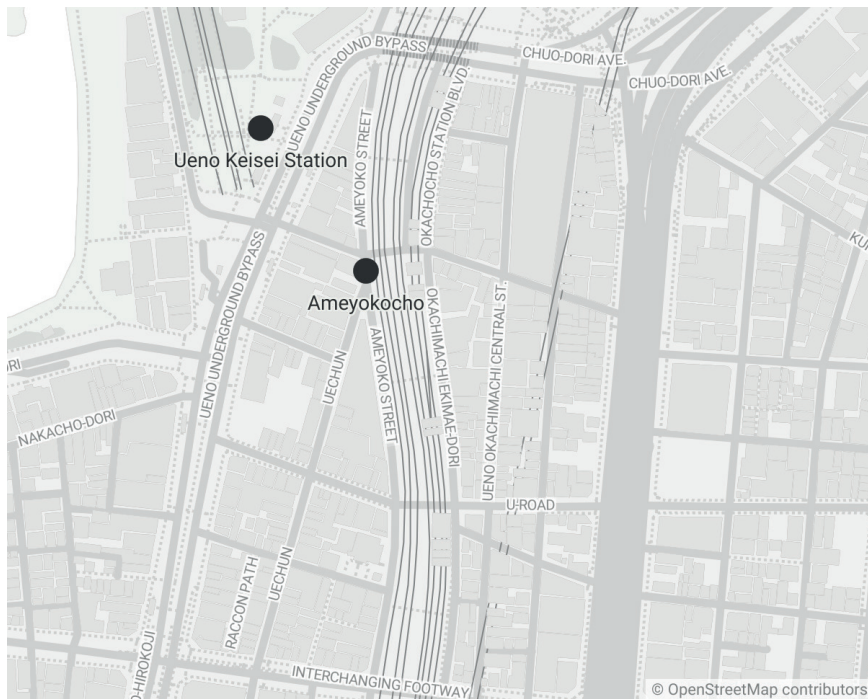
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Figure 4.1 Map of Tokyo

2009, p. 3). Japan ranks low in English proficiency rankings. In 2022, it placed 80th among 111 states, but Tokyo fares better, placing 56th with a ‘moderate proficiency’ (EF Education First, 2023). In the absence of other foreign language competencies, low English proficiency implies that ‘a great majority of Japanese, regardless of socioeconomic class, have remained functionally monolingual’ (Katayama, 2015, p. 119). This chapter examines what this implies for communication problems and strategies that manifest in encounters with tourists in Tokyo’s Ueno district.

Tokyo provides a unique case for examining English in urban settings. It ranks high in the Global Cities Index and is considered one of the major command centres of the global economy. This notwithstanding, it hosts comparatively few migrant residents and shows little traces of cosmopolitan culture (White, 2011). English is not prominent in any



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Figure 4.2 Map of research sites in Ueno

domain, including business and higher education, resulting in a situation where ‘a phenomenon which could be described in any useful analytic way as “Japanese English” does not [...] exist’ (Seargeant, 2020, p. 578). Mass tourism to Japan, including Tokyo, has only developed in the last decade (Henderson, 2017), a period too short to profoundly change linguistic behaviours. This set of circumstances does not allow us to easily link the case of Japan to ongoing discussions of world Englishes. Bars, shops and sales stands have histories and clientele of their own, and with this, specific linguistic repertoires, ideologies and behavioural norms (Heinrich, 2025). People do not necessarily mingle and communicate with each other, and passive and uninterested behaviour towards others is always a possibility when dealing with potential communication problems. In the following, I will first present some sociolinguistic and methodological background information before turning to a discussion of ethnographic data collected at Ameyoko and Ueno Keisei Station.

LANGUAGE IN TOKYO: BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study of sociolinguistics has always been linked to and focused on language in the city. In Japan, we can find a long tradition of works addressing the emergence and spread of Standard Japanese in Tokyo (Nomura, 2013). Also, local varieties within Tokyo, particularly in its downtown area (*shitamachi*) have been explored (Akinaga, 2001), but such research has been conducted using dialectological and historical traditions. The earliest sociolinguistic work on Tokyo is probably Hibiya's (1988) study of the velar plosive in Tokyo speech. More recently, sociolinguistic topics have been expanded and now include, for example, Maher's (2021, pp. 75–90) study on meta-knowledge about and use of loanwords in Tokyo, Yamashita's (2016) study of code-switching in a mosque in Greater Tokyo, or Otsuji's (2018) research on code-switching and code-mixing in restaurants and corner shops. Backhaus (2015) is the only work addressing English in the linguistic soundscape of Tokyo so far.

Outside Japan, contemporary sociolinguistic research on language in the city prominently stresses the mobility of language (Blommaert, 2010), the fact that mobile linguistic resources are employed across the confines of a single language and that interactants draw on the immediate physical context (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2018). Such approaches maintain that demolinguistic approaches of mapping or counting languages, identifying domains of language use, code-switching, and so on cannot fully grasp the features of everyday language use in urban spaces. To capture the mobility of people and their linguistic resources and the immediate spatial context of communication, I chose to apply the following three methods in this survey:

(1) Sound walks: Sound walks were developed by musicologists in the 1960s. They were initially carried out in a group led along a predefined route to explore an acoustic ecology. Sound walks have developed into a sociological methodology that allows studying acoustic experiences and perceptions in an urban setting (Drever, 2020). The heterogeneous population of megacities like Tokyo, its many visitors, built-up infrastructure, different types of interaction, the social distance between interlocutors, and the formal relationships between individuals give rise to a social space that is typically city-like and that sounds urban (Smakman & Heinrich, 2017). Cities have a particular acoustic ecology,

1 that is, a specific relationship between sounds and human behaviour. One
 2 is compelled to behave differently in specific acoustic settings (yelling,
 3 laughter, toasting, lowering the voice, looking away, and so on). Sound
 4 walks allow for a first orientation into a public space's communicative
 5 possibilities and constraints.
 6

7 (2) Linguistic landscapes: According to Landry and Bourhis (1997,
 8 p. 23), linguistic landscapes refer to 'the visibility and salience of lan-
 9 guages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region'.
 10 The linguistic landscape discloses the presence of multilingualism and
 11 linguistic diversity. It reveals patterns of contact and differences in
 12 language status. The linguistic landscape discloses how the public is
 13 linguistically imagined and shows whose presence is acknowledged and
 14 linguistically accommodated. It gives us a sense of being in a specific
 15 place, which impacts how we act there. The contemporary study of
 16 linguistic landscapes includes the study of all sorts of semiotic resources,
 17 including colours, fonts and smells.
 18

19 (3) Linguistic soundscapes: The study of linguistic soundscapes has
 20 only recently gained more attention. Soundscape manuals encourage
 21 students to observe and record the frequency of languages used in public
 22 spaces while paying attention to social variables such as age or gender
 23 (Altuna & Basurto, 2013). However, this method is difficult to apply
 24 when verbal action is not carried out by identifiable actors using clearly
 25 bounded languages. Therefore, I chose to pay attention to mobile lin-
 26 guistic resources in the specific physical space in which they were used.
 27 I stopped at sales stands and ticket counters as if standing in line. This
 28 allowed me to record interactions and to dictate more ethnographic
 29 detail into my phone. These results of the observations are presented
 30 here as excerpts, that is, observed or recorded interactions. The excerpts
 31 capture moments of the interactions that contribute to the creation of
 32 social space. They allow us to zoom into the role of English and the types
 33 and unfolding of interactions that can be observed thereby. The excerpts
 34 presented here have been chosen to show different uses of English by
 35 interactants with differing knowledge and experience of using English in
 36 different spatial settings.
 37

38 I conducted fieldwork in Tokyo in April 2023 and completed three pre-
 39 defined sound walks for Ameyoko and Ueno Keisei Station, respectively.
 40 I recorded acoustic ecologies for a total of thirty minutes. The recordings

reveal acoustic differences between the two public spaces. Ameyoko changes between the different times of the day. There are also spatial differences, in that the middle of the shopping street area gets very lively in the evenings when visitors flock to food stalls and open-air bars. At the northern and southern end of the shopping street, one finds larger chain stores that emanate spoken recorded messages during opening hours. Different types of stands have a distinct acoustic ecology. Tea stands are quieter than shops selling bargained T-shirts on offer, and so on. In Ueno Keisei Station, the area after its main entrance has ticket vending machines. These machines can be operated via touchscreen in various languages, and we find little spoken interaction there.

For the linguistic landscape analysis, I collected ninety-four pictures in Ueno Keisei Station and seventy-five pictures in Ameyoko. I focused on multilingual signs that displayed information also in English. Lastly, I conducted nine soundscape studies (five in Ameyoko and four at Ueno Keisei Station) for which I recorded a total of forty-two minutes (see Table 4.1 in the Appendix).

UENO KEISEI STATION

Ueno is a central place of mobility, work, leisure and contact in Taitō Ward. This ward has a relatively high percentage of foreign residents: 7.7% compared to 4.2% for Tokyo Metropolis or 2.8% for Japan nationwide (Taitō Ward, 2023). The privately operated Ueno Keisei Station serves about 50,000 passengers daily with trains that connect Ueno with Narita Airport. Narita has about 45,000 passengers per day and has direct flight connections to 116 places outside of Japan at the time of writing this chapter. Passengers arriving from the airport at Ueno Keisei station come literally from everywhere and then disperse across Tokyo and Japan. Nobody comes to the station to stay there. Everyone's presence is fleeting. Nobody invests meaning in the station. All of this makes it a non-place. Most foreign visitors to Japan are from Asia, with the top ten nationalities in 2023 being South Korea, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam (JTB Tourism Research & Consulting, 2023). Ueno Park is located right next to Narita Keisei Station. It attracts more than 10 million visitors annually, 2 million alone during the cherry blossom season when this survey was conducted. There are several national museums in the park and an internationally renowned zoo.

The Acoustic Ecology

The three recordings of the acoustic ecology show little difference between them. We can hear a cacophony of voices, making it impossible to overhear concrete conversations. Loud sounds are made by luggage trollies, and there are the chimes of the ticket gates and ticket vending machines. There is music from a public piano. Steps can be heard, and occasionally a siren from ambulances or police cars passing outside the station. The most salient voices come from train ticket vending machines that play recorded messages in Japanese such as ‘otsuri o wasurenaide’ [Don’t forget your change!], or at the mobile stairs ‘ashimoto o chūi kudasai!’ [Watch your step!].² Recorded messages in English from the vending machines can also be heard, such as ‘please touch your button of your choice’. Nothing in the recordings suggests that we are in Tokyo. This could be any busy train station in Japan. For train passengers, the station is not a place in the traditional or anthropological sense, that is, a manifestation of a local culture manifested in time and place. The station has no cultural or linguistic features that are specific to Tokyo. It sounds just like any other busy train station in Japan. Passengers remain anonymous. They come from many different places, depart as quickly as possible, and leave no linguistic or cultural mark behind that would characterise the station as a lived and meaningful social space. Nobody builds an identity based on encounters there. You bring along what you have, get along or muddle through, and then move on to places that are more meaningful. In other words, just like other parts of mobile infrastructure, hotel chains, airports, leisure parks, department stores, and so on, Ueno Keisei Station is a non-place, that is, a space ‘where people coexist or cohabit without living together’ (Augé, 1995, p. 110).

The Linguistic Landscape

English is the foreign language with which Japanese are most familiar. This is due to English at school, its cameo appearances in the linguistic landscape and the frequent use of English loanwords. We can note the

² Japanese is transcribed according to the Modified Hepburn system, Korean according to the Revised Romanisation system, and Chinese is transcribed according to the Standard Hanyu Pinyin system. Written language on signs is put between <angle brackets> and line breaks on public signs are represented by a /slash/. My translations into English are placed in [square] brackets.

cameo function of English in the data collected at the station. A trash bin, for example, has <RECYCLE> written on it in large capital letters, followed by the universal recycle icon <♻️> and then in much smaller Japanese fonts <irete itadaita akiyōki wa sozaibetsu ni risaikuru shiteimasu> [Empty containers are recycled according to material]. Recycle appears twice on this sign, once in English and once as a Japanese loanword <risaikuru>. Knowledge of the loanword makes the English term most likely intelligible also to those who claim not to speak English. A sign directing to the location of the taxi stand (Figure 4.3) features in large Latin letters <TAXI> accompanied by a taxi icon, and only in much smaller fonts do we find the corresponding Chinese term <chūzūchē> and underneath it in Korean <taegsi>. Japanese is missing. Since the Japanese term *takushi* is an English loanword, <taxi> can be regarded as a word that has been unloaned from Japanese loanword *takushi* to its English source form *taxi*. Unloaned means that the English loanword incorporated into the Japanese lexicon is used again in its English form and Latin script. Both *takushi* and *taxi* are seen to be part of the common linguistic knowledge of Japanese. The latter, however, can also be used to address international visitors. In this sense, *taxi* is both English and Japanese.

The prominence of English manifests also in the landmark sign that is attached to the top of the entrance. It reads first in Japanese <Narita kūkō e / itchokusen> [Directly to Narita Airport] and underneath it in English <Narita Airport> accompanied by a large plane icon. Next, we



Figure 4.3 Taxi sign in Ueno Keisei Station



Figure 4.4 Entry sign at Ueno Keisei Station

find a sign that has probably been added later to the building (Figure 4.4). The name of the station is first displayed in Japanese <Narita Keisei Ueno-eki>, then in smaller fonts in English <Keisei Ueno Station>, in yet again smaller fonts in Chinese <jīngchéng zhàn>, and finally in Korean <geisei ueno-yeog>. English may not have the salience of Japanese in size, but it is written larger than Chinese and Korean. This is a ubiquitous feature in signs that use these four languages. Font size indicates status: Japanese first, then English, and then Korean and Chinese. English emerges as the primary lingua franca to address non-speakers of Japanese, although native English speakers are not a major demographic component of Tokyo's foreign population or visitors.

Linguistic landscapes are palimpsests of codes, conventions and attitudes. Signs appear synchronically to the observer, but they have different histories and trajectories. Some signs express attitudes that were once held and policies that were once implemented. The quadrilingual Japanese-English-Chinese-Korean public signs frequently found in Tokyo are a case in point. In the wake of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, these signs entered the linguistic landscape of Tokyo, but this policy was reversed for the Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games convened in 2021. A Council for Multilingual Support consulting the Games' organisation committee recommended that only Japanese and English (accompanied by icons) should be used in the official linguistic landscape (Heinrich, 2021, pp. 135–40).

Public signs also point backwards in time. They indicate the communication problems of the past. We recognise this in a poster at the station's entrance (Figure 4.5). It warns in English, Chinese, Korean,



Figure 4.5 Multilingual warning sign in Ueno Keisei Station

Thai and Vietnamese of the danger of using the mobile stairs with large luggage. Problems on the escalator in the past must have prompted the production of this sign.

Signs in a linguistic landscape are located in a train of time (Blommaert, 2013, p. 51). They connect the past to the present. Note also that such multilingual signs should not be directly seen as an indicator that the languages displayed are widely spoken in Tokyo. They can easily be produced with online translation tools if they contain simple syntactic structures and vocabulary, such as <Danger!!>, <Large luggage> and <Please use the elevator>. We can learn another important function of signs from this example. Ad hoc signs like that in Figure 4.5 seek to regulate the behaviour of different interactants with different values and sets of behaviours. This is evident here because Japanese is missing. It is silently assumed that Japanese nationals do not use mobile stairs with large luggage. The warning to not use the mobile stairs seeks to 'enskill' (Blommaert, 2013, p. 50) foreign visitors to act following local norms.

Visitors can expect foreign language proficiency at the station's tourist information centre. At the entrance we find a multilingual sign (Figure 4.6) that reads first in Japanese <Tōkyō kankō jōhō sentā>, and below in the same font size the English equivalent <Tokyo Tourist Information Centre>. Below, in smaller fonts, we can read in Chinese



Figure 4.6 Tokyo Tourist Information Centre in Ueno Keisei Station

<Dōngjīng lǚyóu xīnxī zhōngxīn> and next to it in Korean <Dokyo gwangwang jeongbo senteo>. Inside the centre, information pamphlets in various languages are displayed: Japanese, English, French, Spanish, German, Italian, Chinese Simplified, Chinese Traditional, Korean and Thai. The tourist information centre most directly and vividly testifies to the station's connection with the rest of the world. Tokyo is a node of global contact, and Ueno Keisei Station is one of its major gateways.

The Linguistic Soundscape

We have already established that Ueno Keisei Station is a non-place and that commuters do not remain there longer than necessary. Homeless people do not stay in the station either as it has no place to sit. Interactions serve the purpose of moving on as securely and quickly as possible. No social ties are formed. There is little or no phatic conversation. The staff of Keisei Railways usually addresses passengers in Japanese first. English is used only if this does not work, which is often the case. During my observations, English was never used as the first language to establish contact on their part. Those passing Ueno Keisei Station are customers, and providing services to customers in Japan requires the establishment of formal relations. It appears that Japanese is the only language in which the Keisei Railway staff feels competent to accomplish this. When Japanese is not understood, English emerges as an emergency lingua franca, that is, a use of English showing 'informal

patterns of acquisition and an uneasiness in use' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 8).

The staffed ticket counters are a major place of interaction. They are located directly next to the ticket vending machines. These machines can be operated via touchscreens in four different languages: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and English. When choosing <English> as the operating language, a sound file states 'all your information will be displayed in English'. The language on the touchscreen changes from Japanese to English and the users are invited to <Please touch the buttons of your choice>. Passengers who are not confident to use the vending machines – those who are not enskilled to operate them – turn to the staffed ticket counters. Most people standing in line are foreign tourists carrying large suitcases with them. They are often traveling in small groups (families or friends). I could not observe anyone using online translation programmes nor witness any communication problems necessitating such assistance. Passengers and railway staff frequently used their fingers to verify the number of train tickets required. At times, more complex issues than the purchase of tickets could be observed, and English always emerged as an emergency lingua franca to settle these.

Excerpt 1: Narita only

At one of the ticket counters, a passenger asks whether it is possible to take a train to Haneda Airport from Ueno Keisei Station.

Passenger: Sorry, are there also trains for Haneda Airport leaving here?

Staff: Narita only. Go left, Ueno Station, please.

Passenger: And from there, I can go to Haneda?

Staff: Yes, go left.

The passenger, speaking foreign-accented English, starts with the apologetic formula 'sorry' to initiate a request politely, and the staff member uses 'please' to soften the imperative 'go left' in his answer. The staff member employs what could be termed Japanese-accented English. We find no conversational cues marking the end of this speech event. There are no phatic elements such as 'thank you' or 'you're welcome', but the problem of whether it is possible to take a Keisei Railway train to Haneda Airport is resolved. However, sometimes problems are not resolved quite as quickly or smoothly.

Excerpt 2: Thirty days wa, one three?

Visitors can also rent bicycles at the luggage deposit office opposite the ticket sales counters. Several bikes are standing in front of the counter. Usually, the staff speak Japanese to non-Japanese-speaking customers and point to a price table attached to their booth. This strategy did not work on one occasion because a customer speaking fluent English with a foreign accent enquired whether renting a bike for an entire month was possible. The display prices do not cover such long periods of rent.

Customer: Is it possible to rent a bicycle for one month?

Staff: One month?

Customer: Thirty days.

Staff: Thirty days? Thiirry days, hai. [Thirty days? Thiirry days, ok.]

Customer: How much is it for thirty days?

Staff: Thirty days wa, one three? [Thirty days is one three?]

Customer: No, three zero.

Staff: (to a second staff member) Thirty wa jūsan-nichi da-ne. Thirty days.

[Thirty (in English) is thirteen days, right? Thirty days? (In English)]

Since her colleague is unsure, she pulls out a calendar, and the customer shows thirty days on the calendar. This resolves the problem.

Communication in English is possible also in this case, but it is difficult. We can observe how the staff member draws on the linguistic resources available to her, inserting English vocabulary in a Japanese matrix sentence using the topic particle *wa* ('thirty days wa', 'one three'), and then seeks assistance from the second staff member [thirty days is thirteen days, right?]. Finally, the second staff member resorts to physical resources (a calendar) to resolve the problem. Resources from Japanese and English are used in this translanguing speech act, and they also draw on physical objects that are present. Language alone could not resolve the problem.

The situation is different at the tourist information centre. We do not find traces of 'informal patterns of acquisition and an uneasiness in use' (Blommaert, 2010, p. 8), the hallmark of emergency lingua franca English. Passengers passing there are occasionally directly invited to ask for information with 'May I help you?' Services are available in Japanese, English, Chinese, Korean and Spanish. Upon my enquiry, I was told

that English is the most widely used language, followed by Chinese. Korean is rarely used. There was no recollection of Spanish having ever been required. The staff member I talked to was Chinese and had studied Japanese in China. She told me in English that she spoke only 'a little English', but despite such a modest self-evaluation she frequently and fluently interacted in English with visitors. The situation was similar at the money exchange booth, where the employee spoke Japanese and English. Upon enquiring, she told me she had learned English at school and university. She also stated that she did not speak English well and was currently learning Spanish as a hobby. Etiquette in Japan requires modesty when speaking about oneself. Still, we can also interpret the assessments of not speaking English well as an indication that the point of reference for speaking well is a skill first language speakers possess. From a world Englishes perspective, this underlines the exonormative orientation of non-native speakers. In other words, staff at the tourist information and money exchange both perceive their English to be not very good compared to that of first language speakers.

AMEYOKO

Ameyoko is a well-known shopping street across the street from Ueno Keisei Station. Markets are insightful for linguistic interaction because they 'define human engagement with difference' (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 3). Since its inception during the post-war US occupation (1945–52) of Japan, Ameyoko has functioned as a food market for residents and local restaurants. Places to eat and drink followed, and so did shops that sell inexpensive clothes, watches and accessories on the street. Today, many stores cater to foreign tourists, and the latest additions are stores selling Japanese cosmetic products, which are popular with tourists. Ameyoko is a well-known place in Tokyo for anyone looking for a relaxed place to meet for drinks with friends or colleagues, make cheap purchases of food and clothes, stock up on supplies at ethnic corner shops, or have a kebab. As a result, visitors are diverse and have different interests in and knowledge of this place. They range from employees who enjoy a drink after work, to young people renting a karaoke box, to migrants or restaurant managers stocking up on food supplies, to residents quickly running errands. Tourists are also attracted to the market. Described as a 'colourful market street in Ueno' in an online guide, it ranks as the 23rd most popular tourist destination in Tokyo

(Japan-guide.com, 2023). The tourist boom that started in the 2010s has accelerated the transformation of Ameyoko into a visibly multilingual and multicultural setting.

The Acoustic Ecology

The loudest sounds in Ameyoko emanate from trains that pass above one side of the street market approximately every thirty seconds. The central Yamanote Loop Line, the north-south running Keihin Tōhoku Line and the JR Narita Express pass directly above the sales stands. Music is played in many shops. The electronic retail store Yodobashi Camera plays an instrumental version of Auld Lang Syne fifteen minutes before the store closes, signalling it is time to leave. In the middle part of Ameyoko, we can hear the clinking of glasses and the clanging of dishes. Standing bars and food stands are in this section. While most visitors speak at low volume, there are exceptions. One can occasionally hear loud laughter, children crying and shop owners shouting for attention. Shop tenants shout out products such as ‘senbee!’ [Rice crackers!], prices such as ‘sen-en!’ [A thousand Yen!] or invite customers to approach their stands ‘irasshaimase!’ [Everyone, come in!]. Since Ameyoko is often crowded, particularly on evenings, weekends or national holidays, one can get very crammed in with other people and overhear conversations. I could detect standard and non-standard Japanese, foreign-accented and native English, as well as many foreign languages, most often Chinese, sometimes Korean, but also Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and many different languages I could not identify. Having so many languages spoken in such a small area makes Ameyoko a distinctive place in Tokyo. Not only does it sound like a street market – it sounds like Ameyoko. With the frequent and loud sounds of trains passing, most, if not all, Tokyoites could identify the place based on its sound.

The Linguistic Landscape

Ameyoko is a sea of signs. We find therein an acknowledgement of the presence of foreigners, and they are often thought to be best addressed in English. This can cause problems, though. To write in a language one expects others to know can be problematic. We can note, however, that not all words and utterances are equally difficult. Expressions such as ‘tax free’ or ‘enjoy your shopping’ are so closely tied to everyday interactions in the street market that they have entered the spatial repertoire of those

working in Ameyoko. Spatial repertoires, according to Pennycook and Otsuji (2015), 'draw on individual as well as other available resources, while individual resources draw on spatial resources' (p. 84). In other words, repertoires are shaped by the places in which individuals have interacted in the past and in which they are currently interacting. Spatial resources in Ameyoko include English signs, native and foreign pronunciations, product names, and transactional terminology such as 'enjoy your shopping' or 'one thousand yen'. The specific spatial resources tied to a place are latently available to everyone interacting there, but it takes individual skills and experience to apply them in interaction.

The cameo function of English is evident in Ameyoko too. Two signs at the London Sports Shop encourage customers to download the shop's app via a QR code. The first sign reads <Kai'in tōroku de 15% OFF> [15% OFF when registering as a member] and below in English <Discount now with free app>. The second sign also uses the English word <OFF> to communicate a discount in an otherwise Japanese sentence. <Kai'in-sama ga otoku! Apuri kai'in-sama ha honjitsu sara ni reji nite 15% OFF!> [Advantage for registered members! App members get an additional 15% OFF at the cash register today!]. Just like <taxi> in the example discussed at the train station, <OFF> has become part of Japanese in its unloaned (English) form and spelling, and so too have <OPEN> and <CLOSE> which we find on a sign at the nearby Niki Golf Store (Figure 4.7). We read the following information there: <Eigyō jikan no go-annai / do-nichi-shukujitsu o fukumu zen'nichi OPEN 10:30 / do-nichi-shukujitsu o fukumu zen'nichi CLOSE 19:30> [Information on the business hours / every day including Saturday, Sunday, and holidays OPEN 10:30 / every day including Saturday, Sunday, and holidays CLOSE 19:30]. Note that during the return from Japanese usage, the Japanese loanword *kurōsu* (meaning both 'closed' and 'close' in Japanese) bears the mark of this semantic extension in English. To start, the sign reads <CLOSE>, not as first language speakers would write and expect *closed*. Upon its transition back from Japanese to English <CLOSE> morphologically indicates non-native use, in that *closed* is usually not used by first language speakers on a sign of opening hours. The unmarked use of *close* (instead of *closed*) can be seen as a feature that is typical of many second language varieties of English (Kortmann et al., 2020) as well as of English as a foreign language or English as a lingua franca (Björkman, 2017). In settings where English is spoken as a (standardised) first language, one would expect something like 'open 10.30 to 19.30'. What we find instead is that <OPEN> and <CLOSE>



Figure 4.7 OPEN/CLOSE sign in Ameyoko

in Figure 4.7 pragmatically mirror the (non-loanword) Japanese terms *kaikan* [open shop] *heikan* [close shop]. The sign is translanguagual in two ways. It uses an English term (also in script) in a Japanese utterance, making <CLOSE> part of Japanese, and it uses <CLOSE> pragmatically in the same way as the Sino-Japanese term *heikan*.

At a store selling jewellery, accessories and handbags, we find <TAX / menzei / FREE>. <TAX FREE> is written about four times larger than the Japanese equivalent expression <menzei> [duty-free] (Figure 4.8). Tax-free signs can be found across the market. They show



Figure 4.8 TAX FREE sign in Ameyoko

variation, and also read <TAX FREE SHOP>, <TAX FREE> or <Japan. Tax-free shop>. They are often accompanied by <Welcome to Japan> in English, with the corresponding message in Chinese or Korean.

The cameo function of English is also evident in what constitutes mobile landscapes, that is, in writing on boxes or bags that is temporarily visible in public spaces. In front of a restaurant, I found large boxes filled with crab meat: <irikani> [cut crab meat] and on the side in large letters <*Product of China*>. Goods are mobile, and so is language. Through such frequent cameo appearances of English in the everyday landscape, English features such as *welcome*, *tax-free*, *product*, *open – close* or *off* enter the (spatial) repertoires of those who visit or work at Ameyoko. The terms we find in these examples are tied to a space of food consumption, international trade and tourism. The language repertoire one can acquire in Ameyoko is particular to these activities and can be understood as an instance of grassroots English. According to Schneider (2016, p. 5), interactions with tourists produce grassroots Englishes, where '[p]revious interactions with tourists in similar settings have taught them which modes of communicative and structural behavior are successful and sufficient, so their acquisition process operates via specific “feedback loops”'. In Ameyoko, these feedback loops are spatial.

On some signs English has shed any residues of its cameo appearance and appears as English *tout court*. The Turkish food stall in the middle of the market is called <Chicken man>. Putting up English signs is facilitated by the fact that the Japanese loanword *chikin* [chicken] is often used in Japanese, as is *men* [man, men]. The international Chinese food delivery store Hungry Panda does not use any Japanese (Figure 4.9). Its shop sign is in Chinese and English only. It reads <Xióngmāo wàimài / Hungry Panda / No.1 Asian Food Delivery>. 'Xióngmāo wàimài' means [Panda delivery] in English.

Communication is most likely not a problem even for those claiming not to speak English, or Chinese. Firstly, English terms have been borrowed in Japanese and are frequently used in a context such as a street market: *ajia* [Asia], *fūdo* [food], or *deribarī* [delivery]. Secondly, visitors are most likely enskilled with food delivery service vocabulary. This is, however, restricted to understanding the function of English in the linguistic landscape and does not necessarily extend to spoken interactions.

Signs in the linguistic landscape are often written in a language one expects others to know, and this is not necessarily a language one knows



Figure 4.9 Hungry Panda sign in Ameyoko

oneself (Spolsky, 2009, p. 33). We find some evidence in a street market (Figure 4.10). In a pawnshop named Ginza, we can read <high-quality sell and expensive purchase>, where <sell> means [sale] and <expensive> means at a [high price]. As in the example of Figure 4.7 above, the return of the English terms <sell> and <expensive> manifest in a form of world Englishes, reflecting the semantic changes due to their incorporation into the Japanese lexicon as a loanword.

At a souvenir stand, we can find a handwritten sign promoting the sales of protective covers for passports (Figure 4.11). The sign reads



Figure 4.10 Ginza pawnshop sign in Ameyoko



Figure 4.11 Passport case sign in Ameyoko

<Spectral price / pasupotokesu / ¥ 1,000 / made in Japan>. *Special* has been mis-copied as <spectal> probably due to the graphical resemblance of the letters i and t. The word *special* is apparently not known to the author of the sign. On the other hand, the English terms and spelling of *passport* and *case* are known, probably due to the Japanese loanwords <pasupōto> [passport] and <kēsu> [case], transcribed in Latin script but here with katakana orthography.

Knowledge of English loanwords in Japanese and knowledge of the respective English terms is a different skill. Cameo-knowledge of English in Japan does not necessarily mean that the English term and its spelling conventions are known. One may know the English loanword *supesharu* [special] but not necessarily also *special* in English. Finally, we can note that <made in Japan> has been skilfully added to this sign. We can consider <made in Japan> to be part of a spatial repertoire in a market where tourists seek to purchase products that are typical of Japan.

We find signs in Ameyoko that testify to interaction problems in public spaces. Such signs typically involve English, underlining the role of English as an emergency lingua franca. A case in point is a handwritten sign at a food stall asking customers to only dispose of paper cups and chopsticks in the trash bin below (Figure 4.12). The sign read <koppu, hashi igai irenaide!> [Don't dispose of anything but cups and chopsticks!]. Below, the words <koppu> [cups] and <hashi> [chopsticks] are accompanied by hand-drawn depictions. Added afterwards, we find a sign that reads <Don't Throw Other garbage>. We know that it has been added later because <Other> refers pragmatically to objects

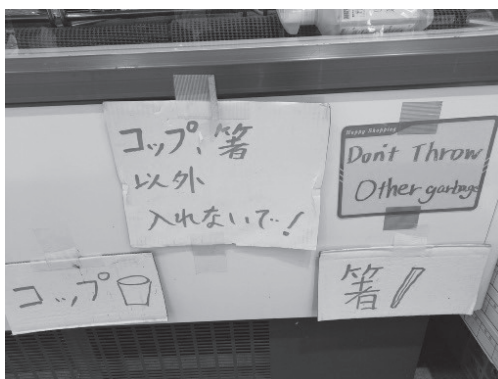


Figure 4.12 ‘Don’t throw other garbage’ sign in Ameyoko

other than those mentioned previously, that is, other than cups and chopsticks.

These signs have been placed over the trash bin to regulate public behaviour (the way trash should be disposed of), and non-adherence to expectations of trash disposal has led to the additional English sign. English is employed to solve behavioural problems of the past for the future. Another such example is a multilingual, hand-written poster in front of a stand selling mangos. The sign has the same message in three languages, from top to bottom: English, Chinese and Japanese: <No! Discount> <xièjué yìjià> <nesage kōshō okotowari shimasu>. The order of the languages and the increasingly smaller font size reveal that this sign is primarily addressed to those who will read the sign in English, then those who read Chinese, and finally those reading Japanese. The sign addresses a problem of the past (bargaining) to be resolved for the future. This problem-solving function locates the sign across time and lifts it out of the moment of its creation, reading and analysis. This sign represents general norms of behaviour expected in a Japanese street market. The need for regulation points to the function of language in aligning diverse people to interactional norms. The most adept language in which to do this is English.

The Linguistic Soundscape

Culturally and linguistically diverse people get things done in Ameyoko, and I could observe high intercultural communicative competence among many vendors. In addition to using bits and parts of English,

they resorted to various strategies to ensure successful communication. They used, at times, signs in Chinese characters, which can be read across several East Asian languages, table calculators, pictures, or simple gestures. There was a division of communicative labour, too. On several occasions I observed that groups of Asian tourists had a Japanese language expert among them. Some family members or friends who could speak Japanese with differing degrees of fluency communicated on behalf of the entire group. Since Japanese food is popular worldwide, many non-Japanese speaking visitors are familiar with Japanese food dishes (*sashimi*, *udon*, *gyōza*). Bits and parts of Japanese food terminology have become a translingual part of the culinary repertoire across many languages. I never observed people resorting to translation programmes, but some customers translated the yen prices into their local currency via their phone calculator app.

Some vendors at Ameyoko replied only reluctantly in English and preferred not to invite non-Japanese-looking customers (like me) to purchase something. There are various strategies to accommodate foreign visitors if proficiency or confidence in English is lacking. For example, an audio recorder in front of the discount chain store *Don Quixote* emanates a recording in Chinese and English. The Chinese-accented English part runs as follows:

Excerpt 3: Welcome to Donkihōte Okachimachi

Welcome to Donkihōte Okachimachi, there is not only seasonal products like sakura mochi, and sakura green tea but also many local souvenirs. If you buy more than five thousand and five hundred you can get the tax-free in (incomprehensible). Please enjoy your shopping at Donkihōte in Okachimachi.

Don Quixote, or *Donkihōte* in Japanese, has hundreds of shops across Japan. In the Ameyoko store an attempt is made to reach out to tourists in Chinese and English. The same person is responsible for this, presumably a Chinese employee. The grammar in the non-standard English message represents various levels of proficiency. For example, there is a lack of noun-verb agreement ('there is products'). At the same time, we can find perfectly adequate grammatical and pragmatic use of English ('Please enjoy your shopping at Donkihōte in Okachimachi'). This pattern is reminiscent of what we saw in the linguistic landscape. The entire expression has become part of an individual's language repertoire. These parts are not random, nor are they expressions of an

individual linguistic habitus. They have been acquired because they are closely linked to activities typical of this particular place. They are part of a spatial repertoire.

The employment of physical objects in interaction can also be noted. Prices were frequently communicated with the help of pocket calculators, and food menus were almost always accompanied by pictures. A sign with drink prices was held by a woman standing in front of a bar while seeking to invite customers: <Beer 600 YEN / High Ball 500 YEN / Gin 500 YEN>. Speaking and writing intersect. Signs are not simply mental objects that are subject to study in semiotics. They are concrete manifestations in space that can be also utilised in concrete (spoken) interaction to get things done.

Another strategy is the use of grammatical templates. When stopping at food stalls, customers are often addressed in English. I could frequently note expressions such as ‘Strawberry’, ‘very sweet’, ‘two boxes’, ‘two thousand yen’. The template consists of the product being sold, maybe with an adjective or complement, and then the price for the number of items (product, adjective, number of items, price). It is easy to replace ‘strawberry’ with ‘tea’ and ‘two boxes, two thousand yen’ with ‘one box, 500 yen’. Here, too, written signs can be employed to get the message across. Chinese customers at a dried fruit store were given information about the price via the vendor picking up a small sign lying on the product. He showed them a sign that read <1個 => 300円 / 2個 => 500 円> [1 pack => 300 Yen / 2 packs => 500 Yen]. In Japanese this information reads as ‘ikko sanbyaku-en’, ‘niko gohyaku-en’. Since Japanese and Chinese share the written characters used here, this sign can also be read in Chinese as ‘yī jiàn => sānbǎi-en, liǎng jiàn => wǔbǎi-en’, and it has the same meaning. The Chinese characters are translingual and can be read (to a large extent) across the boundaries of several East Asian languages (Heinrich, 2020).

Interactions that transgress spatial repertoires may lead to communication problems. Not all problems necessarily result in using English as an emergency lingua franca. Sometimes, simplified Japanese or foreigner talk is employed. In such cases, the non-formal spoken register (with the copula *da* or *de aru*) was used instead of the polite form (*desu* or *masu*). In other words, we can note grammatical simplifications in Japanese as a lingua franca. We can see this in the following excerpt, in which a customer forgot to take his change from the cashier.

Excerpt 4: Kore otsuri, hai

Customer: How much is this?

Staff: One hundred and twenty-five.

Customer: Okay.

Staff: Hai [here you go].

Customer: Thank you very much.

Staff: Chotto matte, matte. Otsuri ga aru. Kore otsuri, hai.

[Hold on, wait, wait. There's change. Here, change, okay.]

Customer: Thank you.

This excerpt shows how numbers and prices constitute no problem and how the interaction is initially concluded by the closure marker *hai* in Japanese. When the issue of forgetting the change occurs, the drugstore employee switches from English to non-formal Japanese ('chotto matte' and 'otsuri ga aru'), and his final statement, 'kore otsuri' [literally, this change], constitutes foreigner talk. Just as simple patterns are used in English, the same is done with Japanese when a customer is supposed not to speak Japanese.

Not all interactions reflect an uneasiness in foreign language use. At a candy store, a male Japanese vendor interacted actively and in various languages with passers-by.

Excerpt 5: Laew phop kan mai

Vendor: Pineapple, pineapple! Pineapple candy, pineapple candy!
Oishii-yo!

[Pineapple, pineapple! Pineapple candy, pineapple candy! Really delicious!]

Customer: Oishii-yo, I have soooo many pineapple (in Thai-accented English).

Vendor: (laughs) yeah yeah yeah yeah, laew phop kan mai, kop khun ka (Brings together two hands in front of his chest and bows to two female customers).

[Yeah yeah yeah yeah, (in Japanese-accented Thai): See you again, thank you very much.]

Customer: Leaw klap ma mai [Thai: We'll come back again].

Vendor: (to me) You can try. (To everyone) irasshai, dōzo.

[You can try. Welcome, have some.]

1 The vendor in this vignette moves smoothly from one language to
 2 another, and his knowledge involves languages that are used on the street
 3 market (English, Japanese, Thai) and bits and parts of language that are
 4 important in the spatial register of the street market ('try', 'see you
 5 again', 'thank you'). Japanese expressions such as 'irasshai' [welcome] or
 6 'dōzo' [please, have some] are part of verbal routines addressing clients
 7 during transactions. We can expect that tourists will pick this up along
 8 their journey in Japan. We see a similar strong skill in translanguaging
 9 on the part of the female customer, who uses English ('I have soooo
 10 many pineapple'), can understand the heavily accented use of Thai from
 11 the vendor, and responds in (native) Thai. She also echoes the vendor's
 12 'oishii-yo' [literally: I assure you, it is delicious] which is pragmatically
 13 awkward when uttered by the customer. She would instead be expected
 14 to say something like 'oishii-sō' [it looks delicious]. But this does not
 15 diminish the good rapport built between vendor and customer. Given
 16 how spontaneously the customer utters 'oishii-yo', there is good reason
 17 to assume that she knew the word 'oishii' [delicious] already and that it
 18 had already been part of her linguistic feature pool as a Thai person who
 19 enjoys Japanese food and culture.

20 There is no uniform use of English in Ameyoko. Most vendors are
 21 not as outgoing and verbose as the staff at the pineapple candy store. A
 22 woman stands in front of a small food stand, trying to elicit interest in
 23 the food on display by saying 'nice food'. A customer looks somewhat
 24 puzzled at the boiled pork feet on display. In the following excerpt,
 25 English is kept at a minimum and accompanied by gestures.

26
 27 *Excerpt 6: Pig*

28
 29 Customer: What's this?

30 Staff: Pig (brings her hand in front of her chest and opens and
 31 closes her right hand quickly, fingers pointed to the top).

32 Customer: Oh (walks on).
 33

34 Note that no written signs indicate what food is on display and for
 35 sale here and note the gesture she made served to illustrate feet. It
 36 is unclear whether this was understood by the customer. Anything
 37 other than nouns, noun phrases, set expressions that are part of the
 38 spatial repertoire ('nice food'), or grammatical templates into which
 39 products and prices can be inserted can be challenging to produce in
 40 spoken interaction. The difference between 'pig' and 'pork' is part of

advanced vocabulary knowledge. A gesture is used to compensate for the linguistic difficulties. Note that English remains the undisputed and sole emergency lingua franca. Japanese is not considered for such settings but is preferred in situations where customers are expecting to be addressed in specific polite registers such as at a train ticket counter in Japan.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION: URBAN MULTILINGUALISM AND ENGLISH IN JAPAN

The status of English worldwide as the most widely diffused and powerful language in the history of humankind is the result of political, economic and cultural factors (Crystal, 2003). In addition to tourism, we can add urbanisation to this listing. The extension and intensification of contacts to the world that perpetually add diversity to Tokyo require that English be employed.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the role of English in Tokyo. There is no uniform use of English, and it is not easy to generalise how English is used in public spaces. We can note differences in its uses in places and non-places and observe that the repertoires we encounter are spatial. Ueno Keisei Station and Ameyoko are only separated by a street but exhibit many differences. At the train station, customers were first addressed in Japanese and then in English (except for the money exchange booth and the tourist information centre), because social rapport and hierarchies need to be established between customers and staff. Social rapport and hierarchies are important in Japanese society. For such interactions, Japanese is the best and probably the only language in which staff and service providers can do so. Secondly, staff at Ueno Keisei Station do not have the option to not communicate, but staff at the street market do. Some vendors will ignore you if you are suspected of not speaking Japanese. There are differences between the stands and shops, too. Many can afford to neglect tourists and employ civil inattention. Tokyo is a global city of 35 million inhabitants, and the presence and impact of tourists can often be negligible for shops that cater mainly to residents. English at Ameyoko does not manifest as the result of language learning in the Japanese education system. It bears features of grassroots English or English as an emergency lingua franca. The situation is different in Ueno Keisei Station (except for the baggage deposit). English is kept to a minimum at the ticket counters, and the

1 structures and vocabulary remain basic. Nonetheless, English appears
2 to be the result of structured language learning. Finally, English at the
3 tourist information and the money exchange resembles uses that are
4 typical in English as a foreign language, but it is rare to find such use of
5 English in the two public spaces studied here.

6 We can observe some commonalities between the two places. If we
7 depart from Fishman's (1965) classical question 'Who speaks what to
8 whom', we can now give the following answer: when Japanese is not
9 available, Japanese use English in Ueno Keisei Station (a non-place) and
10 in the street market of Ameyoko (a place). Foreign visitors also resort to
11 English when they do not speak Japanese. There are different types of
12 English speakers in Japan, and sometimes the interactants' English does
13 not suffice for the communicative tasks at hand. Other resources are
14 employed. Yet, most problems are solved linguistically.

15 This brings us to the second set of questions from the introduction.
16 What do we mean by English, by communication, and by Tokyo? In his
17 discussion of Asian Englishes, Kachru (2005, p. 2) departs from the view
18 that English is used by bilingual speakers in Asia. However, in Ameyoko
19 we encounter English without bilingualism if we define bilingualism as
20 'a reasonable degree of competence in a language other than their mother
21 tongue' (Trudgill, 2003, p. 15). Most Japanese interactants in Ameyoko
22 and at Ueno Keisei Station would probably not see themselves as having
23 such competence in English, nor would they characterise themselves as
24 bilingual. In this situation of English without bilingualism, interactants
25 draw on all linguistic and semiotic resources available to them, and this
26 is again closely tied to the space in which they interact. English without
27 bilingualism is spatial. Rather than observing a 'Japanization of English'
28 (Kachru, 2005, p. 79), we find that Japanese interactants draw on the
29 Anglicisation of Japanese in their intercultural communication. They
30 draw on their knowledge of English loanwords in Japanese. English
31 without bilingualism is closer to Japanese than it is to English. Finally,
32 the use of English resources, particularly in Ameyoko, emerges out of
33 necessity and bears traces of an emergency lingua franca and grassroots
34 Englishes.

35 What, then, can be learned about communication? We can observe
36 three characteristics. Firstly, English features are local and translocal.
37 There is a use of English that is specific to both sites in that it is spatial
38 ('go left' or 'nice food'), and there is translocal English that arrives
39 with the foreign visitors ('enjoy your shopping' or 'may I help you').
40 The latter type of English may cause communication problems because

it requires some formal language education or frequent exposure to this form. Secondly, translanguaging is the order of the day for most situations that must be resolved linguistically. Communication is made up on the spot with all linguistic resources available. The use of English in the public spaces studied here constitutes a practice that defies traditional structural descriptions or labelling. Bits and pieces of language have travelled and have entered the sites via the linguistic landscape or the cameo function of English in Japanese language repertoires. English has been acquired piecemeal through interaction in specific situations, for specific communicative tasks, and in a particular social space. This results in spatial repertoires and flexibility to resolve problems and do things linguistically. This flexibility is arguably Tokyo-like. If cities are places where strangers meet, then Tokyo, the largest city in the world, will potentially expose you to such encounters every day. Thirdly, resolving communication problems is not all about verbal language. Calendars and fingers, gestures and written signs are used. A division between human agency and things is not helpful for a sociolinguistic analysis of urban communication. Everybody draws on whatever is available, resulting in a sociolinguistic blending of the material and immaterial worlds.

This leaves us with the question of what we mean by Tokyo? Here is what it is not: Tokyo is not some set, bounded space where Japanese is spoken and Asian English is used as an additional language in international contexts. Of course, Tokyo could be defined as being geographically bounded (for example, as Tokyo Metropolis), and it could be imagined as being populated by Japanese speakers who resort to English in international encounters. In everyday practice, however, Tokyo is a space where the urban extension to places outside its geographical confines is felt. Definitions of cities that depart from geographical or administrative confines belie the role of large urban conglomerates as nodes of national and international mobility, cultural contacts and economic activities. However, it is precisely this that makes a city city-like. Tokyo's specific interconnection with the rest of the world, the mobility of people and linguistic features, and new forms and types of interaction make communication Tokyo-like.

APPENDIX: LINGUISTIC SOUNDSCAPE STUDIES

Table 4.1 Linguistic soundscape studies

<i>Place</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Length of recording</i>
Ameya-Yokochō	11.04.2023, 11:30h	14:38 min
Ameya-Yokochō	12.04.2023, 10:30h	07:28 min
Ameya-Yokochō	13.04.2023, 11:15h	04:00 min
Ameya-Yokochō	14.04.2023, 10:30h	01:45 min
Ameya-Yokochō	14.04.2023, 12:30h	02:29 min
Ueno Keisei Station	11.04.2023, 10:00h	02:46 min
Ueno Keisei Station	12.04.2023, 10:10h	03:45 min
Ueno Keisei Station	13.04.2023, 11:00h	01:15 min
Ueno Keisei Station	14.04.2023, 12:15h	03:55 min

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