

EIGO EVANGELION
THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ANGLICISMS IN THE JAPANESE SERIES *NEON*
GENESIS EVANGELION

by

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Abstract

This paper discusses the functions of the English language in the Japanese animated series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* in relation to Japanese attitudes towards English. Against the background of the history of these attitudes, the theoretical focus is on two main functions of English in Japanese society: language mixing and ornamental use. The corpus of representations of English in the audio and visuals of *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, categorised according to the model of language mixing in popular culture by Moody (2006), reflects the status of the English language as both exoticised in Japanese society and highly influential in the Japanese lexicon. Moody's (2006) model ultimately proves to require elaboration to be suitable for the categorisation of English use in this *anime*, as especially fictional English terms require a distinction between ornamental and communicative use in addition to Moody's original categories of language mixing (*wasei eigo*, loanwords, nonce borrowings, and code-switching).

Keywords: English, Japanese, sociolinguistics, loanwords, language mixing, Anglicisms, *wasei eigo*, *Neon Genesis Evangelion*

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1 Introduction

“There is a desire to learn about the outside world, but at the same time, this is tempered by a genuine fear of the consequences that such knowledge might bring,” Reesor (2002, pp. 44) describes the ambiguous relationship between the Japanese and foreign influences. According to Reesor, this relationship is similar to that of a bear and a honeycomb:

The bear (Japan) has a sweet tooth and desires the honey (the knowledge and goods) that the bees (a foreign country) may produce. However, the bear is also wary of the painful sting that the bees may inflict (the threat of colonialism and foreign philosophy). On occasion the bear is willing to risk being stung and eats the honey (Japan engages in trade and normalized relations with foreign countries) while on other occasions, the bear forgoes its cravings and eats something less dangerous and easier to access (Japan adopts a more isolationist position) (Reesor, 2002, pp. 42).

Several scholars have shown that while the Japanese are aware of the social and economic benefits that accepting foreign people and (learning) their languages might have, there is an omnipresent fear of losing tradition to internationalisation, as this supposedly poses a threat to Japanese identity (Reesor, 2002; Saito, 2014; Kay, 1995). The somewhat hostile attitude towards foreign influences is still noticeable today: for example, a shop selling alternative clothing in Harajuku, Tokyo became national news for displaying offensive signs used to repel foreigners from the shop, even though the Harajuku ward is renowned for its cultural diversity (Kikuchi, 2017). Despite this hostility, the English language has become indispensable in Japanese society and the Japanese language. This is a result of language mixing in popular culture as well as everyday communication, even though the Japanese are widely known not to be very proficient speakers of English (Reesor, 2002, pp. 41). This raises the question whether the Japanese are merely selective in what foreign influence is allowed or not allowed, or whether there is a bigger issue at play.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 History of Japanese Attitudes Towards the English Language

The Japanese have a long history of insulation from foreign influences and languages. The fear of European imperial expansion and globalisation resulted in the country closing its borders and being “effectively cut off from foreign contact” from 1638 until 1853 (Reesor, 2002, pp. 43). During this isolationist era, “foreign language study was outlawed, sometimes on pain of death” (Reesor, 2002, pp. 43). Japan slowly entered into a process of “westernization” from the 1850s onwards, but negative sentiment towards foreign countries and languages such as English remained. It has often been claimed that this deeply rooted negativity is one of the reasons for the Japanese’ low proficiency in the English language (Reesor, 2002; Kay, 1995; Moody, 2006).

Strict policies and alternating positive and negative attitudes have limited English language learning in Japan for centuries. In the early 1900s, the Japanese term for a user of English, *eigo-zukai*, came to have a negative connotation while the press and Japanese intellectuals advocated the abolition of English language teaching (Reesor, 2002, pp. 44). It was not until 1987 that the Japanese government actively sought to improve English language teaching by means of the JET Programme. This programme involved native English speaking university graduates who were “invited to work in Japanese schools, boards of education, and government offices as teachers, translators, advisors and cultural informants” in order to improve English language education and “international understanding” (Reesor, 2002, pp. 45-6). However, the programme has been subject to criticism as there is a “large disparity between JET’s stated objectives of improving foreign language education and those voiced by the actual policy-makers”, the latter of which rather focused on the economic and material aspects of international understanding (Reesor, 2002, pp. 47). Still, this criticism has not

induced any changes in the objectives in the revised version of the programme in 2002—Reesor therefore calls the JET Programme a “half-hearted commitment” (2002, pp. 45).

From the 2000s onwards, the growing influence of the Internet worldwide resulted in more global interaction and, inevitably, “the need for people of diverse linguistic backgrounds to communicate effectively was causing the further development of English as an international language” (Seargeant, 2005, pp. 318). The Japanese were no exception to this, but the question is whether this era of globalisation of English has changed their ambiguous attitudes towards the language. Saito (2014) conducted a study on Japanese college students’ attitudes toward English. Most of Saito’s respondents thought of “the global language English” as both an asset and a nuisance (2014, pp. 21). In terms of the language being an asset, several respondents describe English as a language of opportunities for jobs and international social connections, as well as the national welfare in that mastery of the English language in, for example, the context of trade, could benefit the Japanese economy (Saito, 2014, pp. 19-21). The description of English as a nuisance mainly involved, as expected, the language being a threat to their identity: “I myself was born as Japanese in Japan, and think things the Japanese way, and I feel a sense of self in using the Japanese language,” says one of the students (Saito, 2014, pp. 16). In addition, Seargeant (2008) argues that “[Japanese] student achievement has failed to match educational investment” and that “the difficulty in effecting positive change in an educational system which is often characterised as being incompatible with contemporary theories of language learning remains a constant theme in most any examination of [English language teaching (ELT) in Japan]” (pp. 122). Even young students, who are able to benefit from modern global communication and access to resources through the Internet and obligatory English language classes at school, do not always meet the expectations set by the ELT policies. The fear that the English

language could somehow jeopardise Japanese identity is also still present, even among the younger generation.

This brief summary of the history of English language in Japan suggests that the Japanese' proficiency in English is not very likely to have improved over the years, nor has its status changed much. Seargeant (2005) argues that so-called 'decorative' English complicates the use of English in Japan even more, as there is an "alternative or parallel existence for the language, whereby it acts as a resource through which local cultures are able to express their attitude and relations to the global while at the same time reinventing the uniqueness of their own culture" (2005, pp. 318). In such cases, English is not specifically used as a language of communication, but rather as a tool to express exoticness for aesthetic purposes in a way that is incomparable to any other Western country. This will be explained further in section 2.2.2.

2.2 The Use of English Language Forms in Japanese

Despite the seemingly negative attitude towards foreign influences and low proficiency in English, the English language influences Japanese society on two important levels: through language mixing, and the more ornamental, "emblematic use in the media, advertising, and popular culture" (Seargeant, 2005, pp. 315).

2.2.1 Language Mixing

There are various ways in which English language forms are integrated in Japanese. Moody (2006, pp. 211-2) distinguishes between two levels of language mixing in his research on Japanese pop music lyrics, namely phrases or clauses and individual lexical items (see figure 1). Longer phrases and clauses "are typically less [nativised] in their pronunciation or usage" which is therefore associated with code switching (Moody, 2006, pp. 211).

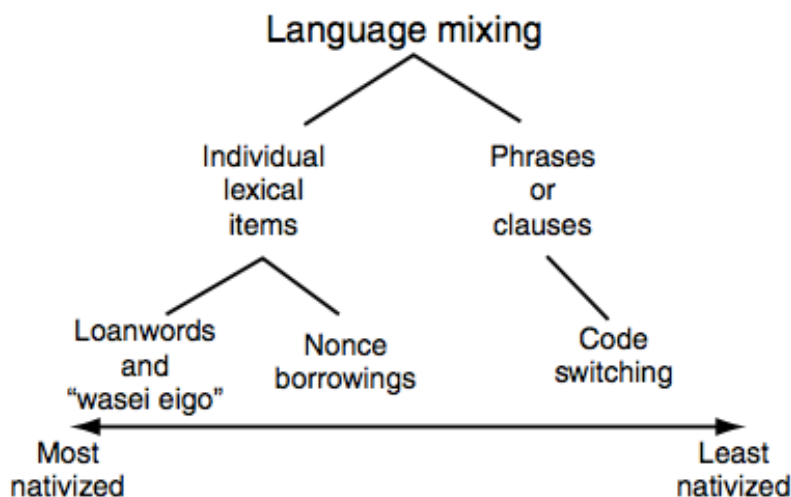


Figure 1: Japanese-English language mixing model (Moody, 2006, pp. 212)

On the other hand, individual lexical items are much more common than the use of longer phrases and clauses in English. One of the three Japanese alphabets, *katakana*, is specifically intended to distinguish foreign words in written text. Most notably, the Japanese language includes a considerable number of English loanwords (Reesor, 2002; Kay, 1995; Moody, 2006). By 1980, “over half of the 25,000 loanwords in *Kadokawa’s Loanword Dictionary* [had] entered the [Japanese] language after World War Two, most of them from English” (Kay, 1995, pp. 68). Loanwords are borrowed and “[nativised] according to the structural requirements of Japanese’s strict [consonant-vowel] structure” (Moody, 2006, pp. 212), as “loanword input to the phonology of L1 is immediately interpreted as a phonological representation by L1” (Paradis et al., 1997, pp. 380). The Japanese language does not distinguish between singular and plural nouns, nor does the language use articles, which also applies to loanwords. It can therefore be said that loanwords involve complete phonological and morphological adaptation to the L1 (Haspelmath, 2009, pp. 41). However, the semantic adaptation of English words to the Japanese language is debatable: loanwords are seen as “property of the donor language” as these words often carry cultural connotations (Scherling, 2016, pp. 278). For example, the loanwords *hazu* (husband) and *waifu* (wife) are associated

particularly with the “Western conceptualization of marriage based on the equality of partners” (Stanlaw, 2004).

The term *wasei eigo* (Japan-made English) describes pseudo-Anglicisms in Japan. Scherling argues that “eventually even loanwords that initially largely corresponded, in meaning and use, to the source word, experience a narrowing or widening or shift in their semantic domain and thus become appropriated and adapted to the particular needs of the language” (2016, pp. 278). For example, the word *apaato* is a contraction of the American English word *apartment*. However, another Japanese word *manshon*, while derived from the English *mansion*, would be better suited to describe the concept of an apartment by American standards in Japanese (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 315). Several scholars argue that *wasei eigo* includes words that are “original to the Japanese language, and simply inspired or motivated by English vocabulary” rather than being loanwords, as the Japanese *wasei eigo* word and its English counterpart differ too greatly in meaning (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 315), which causes many speakers of Japanese to be unaware of the word’s affinity with English (Scherling, 2016, pp. 278). For example, a word like *tension* means “mental or emotional strain” in English (*OED Online*, n.d.), while its *wasei eigo* counterpart is generally perceived as “highness of spirits” or ‘excitement’ in colloquial speech (Ahlström, Ahlström, & Plummer, n.d.).

A nonce borrowing, however, is an uncommon word originating from a foreign language in the context of another language (Moody, 2006, pp. 212) which is a “one-time affair” and is “optional and avoidable, as when an appropriate L1 form is available” as opposed to loanwords (Daulton, 2004, pp. 291). Daulton (2004) argues that English expressions and *gairaigo* (like *wasei eigo* but not restricted to the English language) are often “introduced in the media [as nonce borrowings] without the audience having the necessary knowledge to understand them” as they are used mainly “for effect” (pp. 287). The word

tero, for example, was introduced as a nonce borrowing, an abbreviation of the English word *terrorism*, and became more widely and frequently used from the attacks on September 11, 2001 onwards (Daulton, 2004, pp. 292). This category of language mixing is also often associated with phenomena in “Western countries or modern society” that lead to the introduction of a nonce borrowing into a language, especially in Japanese (Daulton, 2004, pp. 291). In general, the English language is often viewed as a language of modernity, exoticism and “cosmopolitanism” (Moody, 2006, pp. 211) and “Western science,” technology and trade by the Japanese nowadays (Kay, 1995, pp. 68).

2.2.2 Ornamental English in Japanese Popular Culture and Mass Media

Sergeant describes the “ornamental” function of English in Japanese society, in, for example, taglines in advertisements, posters, signs, and “pop culture artefacts” such as magazines (2005, pp. 316). This use of English is often not presented in *katakana* writing, but in Roman alphabet, and can be undecipherable as there is “little regard for the rules of grammar” and includes words that are “obscure if not idiosyncratic” (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 316). Sergeant states that “[t]his is a use of the language for its general cultural connotations rather than its specific denotation” and thereby often makes it incomprehensible to English speakers, as it “[utilises] merely the visual shell of the words” (2005, pp. 316). In other words, English is reinvented for expressive purposes within Japanese society in certain contexts:

The language itself, supremely visual [as Japanese differs greatly from English in terms of written text], also doubles as a decorative art form. Within this context the existence of an ornamental English in Japan can be seen not as the ignorant or wilful misuse of the original language, but rather a strategy of using the language as an

expressive tool which need not be dominated by the strictures of core semantic meanings. (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 316)

The English language is also an indispensable tool for aesthetic purposes in pop songs, as Moody (2006) demonstrated by means of analysing Japanese pop music lyrics. English is used as a stylistic and poetic device that allows songwriters “access to a wider range of allusions, images, metaphors and technical possibilities than is available from ‘purely’ Japanese linguistic sources” in order to “express various forms of social commentary” (Stanlaw, 2004, pp. 102). This means that the ‘ornamental’ use of English cannot only be applied to visual representations, but also to audio material.

To an extent, the English language is still exoticised in Japan as it functions on an “alternative or parallel” level as opposed to communicative English (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 318). The language is not widely accepted as a communicative language and many Japanese are not proficient in English, yet it is widely known as a signifier of globalisation and the exotic culture and language community of the United States and the United Kingdom in particular (Sergeant, 2009). As a result of this parallel, ornamental existence of English, “the high profile of, and immense interest in, [English] is not matched by an equally high level of communicative proficiency among the population” (Sergeant, 2009). As long as the Japanese’ proficiency in the English language remains low, the English language will remain exoticised and the ornamental function of English will persevere.

3 Niche and Research Objective

Even though the use of English in Japanese popular culture has been widely researched with regard to pop music lyrics (e.g. Moody, 2006; Stanlaw, 2000; Dowd and Kujiraoka, 2002), it has remained an untouched subject with regard to *anime*, Japanese animated series. In comparison, *anime* is a more popular global Japanese export product than pop music is, and it is a form of art that is unique to Japan (Hinton, 2014). The science fiction franchise *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (新世紀エヴァンゲリオン, HR¹: shin seiki evangerion), from here on referred to as *NGE*, forms an interesting case study to exemplify the functions of English in this Japanese cultural product. As has been mentioned in section 1.2.1, the English language is, in some cases, seen as a token of exoticism, “cosmopolitanism” (Moody, 2006, pp. 211) and Western science and technology (Kay, 1995, pp. 68), which corresponds to the science fiction theme and setting of the series. This franchise also gives a diachronic perspective on English-Japanese language mixing as two instalments covering the same storyline will be analysed. The fact that *NGE* is a successful *anime* franchise overall, even outside of Japan, might be related to the use of English in the series.

NGE is set in a futuristic, apocalyptic district in Tokyo. The story revolves around three psychologically troubled children who pilot EVAs, or “bio-mechanical giants,” to protect the world from destruction by malevolent otherworldly creatures called Angels (Li et al., 2013, pp. 2). The original animated series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (from here on referred to as *Evangelion*) was first broadcast from 1995 to 1996. The first instalment of a more elaborate, four-part film remake by the name of *Rebuild of Evangelion* (from here on referred to as *Rebuild*) followed in 2007. *Rebuild* was, besides Japan, also shown in cinemas in the United States and South Korea, indicating its international success. *Rebuild* produced a gross revenue of ¥1.752.695.393 (approx. €14.242.473) in Japan, \$107.797 (approx.

1 Hepburn Romanisation

€95.781) in the United States, and ₩529.880.292 (approx. €419.055) in South Korea (“Evangelion: 1.0 You are (not) alone – Box office / business”, n.d.).

Evangelion and *Rebuild* both incorporate a considerable amount of English vocabulary, especially terms related to science and technology. An increase or decrease in the use of English in Japanese and the ways in which the English language is used Japanese (communicative forms such as *wasei eigo* and loanwords, nonce borrowings, and code-switching, as well as ornamental use) may be useful to illustrate the attitudes towards English in Japan. The analysis of and comparison between these two instalments in the *NGE* franchise provides an opportunity for sociolinguistic research with regard to the use of English in Japanese. The storyline was realised twice in 12 years, during an era in which the English language became increasingly important as a result of globalisation through the Internet.

3.1 Research Question and Sub Question

- In what way is the English language used in the 1995 and 2007 version of the Japanese science fiction franchise *Neon Genesis Evangelion* and how might this reflect Japanese attitudes to the English language?
- How can the English words and phrases in *Neon Genesis Evangelion* be categorised according to Moody’s (2006) model of language mixing?

4 Methodology

In this paper, I will determine the use of English in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* based on the model of language mixing provided by Moody (2006), as reproduced in figure 1 (pp. 8). I chose to base my research on his model as it was created with Japanese popular culture in mind, and the idea was to extend its application to a Japanese animated series instead of popular music.

I will analyse the first six episodes of the 1995 television series and the first instalment of the 2007 film series, which cover roughly the same timeframe within the story, for English terms and phrases/sentences. With the aid of the context in which they appeared and the subtitles, I will compile a corpus of transcribed English words and phrases along with the corresponding timestamp. Even though both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* include abbreviations, I will not take these into account, as these are often ambiguous with regard to what language they belong to. I will use the online Japanese-English dictionary *Jisho* to verify the meanings of the fragments of English involved. *Jisho* also provides information about whether a word is commonly used and how difficult a word is by means of providing the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) level, for which N5 is the beginner level and N1 is the most proficient level.

This study combines a quantitative and a qualitative analysis. For the former, I will examine the difference between the two instalments in total occasions of English use in the audio alone and audio plus the number of frames in which English text appears in the visuals. As qualitative analysis, I will examine a selection of words and phrases/sentences from the corpus to illustrate the categories provided by Moody (2006), as well as the two main levels on which the English language influences Japanese provided by Seargeant (2005). From this analysis, I will determine how Japanese attitudes towards English are reflected in the use of English in *Neon Genesis Evangelion*.

I chose this method because I aim to research the use of English in this *anime* franchise as closely and objectively as possible. I would like to find out whether the distinction between communicative and ornamental use of English reflect Japanese attitudes towards English, and I want to simultaneously test if Moody's (2006) model of language mixing can be applied to anime, particularly with regard to this communicative/ornamental distinction.

5 Results

In total, I analysed 288 occasions of spoken English words or word clusters in the first six episodes of the 1995 *Evangelion*, as opposed to 257 in the first instalment of the 2007 *Rebuild*. Among these occasions are several recurring words and word clusters such as ‘pilot’, ‘system’, and ‘entry plug’, which refer to indispensable parts of the plot and were therefore mentioned more than once in almost every episode. I analysed 126 unique English words and word clusters in the first 6 episodes of the 1995 *Evangelion*, whereas there were 124 in the 2007 *Rebuild*.

	<i>Evangelion 1995</i>	<i>Rebuild 2007</i>	% difference
Total cases of English in audio	288	257	-10.8%
(Unique cases)	(126)	(124)	
Number of frames in which English words appear on screen	77	89	+15.6%
Total use audio + visuals	365	346	-5.2%

Table 1: Comparison between Neon Genesis Evangelion 1995 and 2007

As illustrated by table 1, the total amount of English language use in audio in *Rebuild* has decreased by 10.8% compared to the same part of the plot in *Evangelion*. Still, the total running time of both instalments should be kept in mind: the six *Evangelion* episodes in this analysis ran for approximately 20 minutes each, which adds up to 120 minutes or two hours of video material in total, whereas the running time of *Rebuild* was 100 minutes, or one hour and 40 minutes. *Evangelion* included 288 total cases of spoken English in approximately 120 minutes, while *Rebuild* included a total of 257 cases in approximately 100 minutes.

Comparatively, if *Rebuild* were to be as long as *Evangelion*, this instalment would theoretically have included approximately 308 cases of English use when multiplied by $(120/100 =) 1.2$. Still, the differences between the two instalments, whether *Rebuild* is 100 minutes long (31 cases) or 120 minutes long (30 cases), are relatively small and any conclusion drawn from these differences would be arbitrary.

In terms of visual representations of English, however, *Rebuild* incorporates noticeably more frames including English words and sentences within a smaller timeframe compared to *Evangelion*: the figure above illustrates the difference of 77 frames in *Evangelion* and 89 frames in *Rebuild*, which is an increase of approximately 15.6%. If the comparison in terms of running time is applied to the visuals, *Rebuild* would have contained $(89 \times 1.2 \approx) 107$ frames in which English text appears, which is an *increase* of approximately 39%. The visual manifestations of English will be discussed further in section 5.5.

<i>Episode</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Total cases of English in audio (Unique cases)	49 (34)	26 (19)	61 (40)	15 (12)	71 (47)	66 (35)	288
Number of frames in which English words appear on screen	14	13	15	5	14	16	77
Total use audio + visuals	63	39	76	20	85	82	365

Table 2: Specification of episodes from Neon Genesis Evangelion 1995

As can be seen in table 2, there is a large disparity between episode two and four and the other episodes analysed. This might be attributed to the fact that both episodes are more focused on the psychological wellbeing of the pilots and that the episodes do not involve

many action scenes, robots, or computers (Anno & Enokido, 1995), if any (Satsukawa, 1995). Additionally, a large portion, approximately one third, of episode four was silent. Episode five and six, on the other hand, contain considerably more occurrences of English than any other episode. Interestingly, these two episodes revolve entirely around the EVA robots and how these robots fit into the Japanese government's strategy to save the world from a possible fatal cataclysm. In comparison, *Rebuild* involves noticeably fewer moments of complete silence as opposed to *Evangelion*, as well as fewer scenes focusing on the main characters' train of thought and psychological wellbeing. This leaves more opportunities for scenes involving the EVAs and other contexts regarding technology.

Categorising the corpus compiled from *Evangelion* (1995) and *Rebuild* (2007) resulted in the following tables:

Categories	1995	2007
<i>Wasei eigo</i>/loanwords	70	81
Nonce borrowing	29	25
Ambiguous: Code-switching/nonce borrowing	7	4
Ambiguous: <i>Wasei eigo</i> /nonce borrowing	2	1
Ambiguous: Loanword/nonce borrowing	18	13
Total	126	124

Table 3: Categorised unique cases of English in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*

Categories	1995	2007
<i>Wasei eigo</i>/loanwords	202	197
Nonce borrowing	40	28
Ambiguous: Code-switching/nonce borrowing	9	4
Ambiguous: <i>Wasei eigo</i> /nonce borrowing	2	1
Ambiguous: Loanword/nonce borrowing	35	27
Total	288	257

Table 4: Categorised total cases of English in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*

As table 3 and 4 show, the differences between the two instalments in terms of categories is small, even when taking the running time of each instalment into account. Still, there is a considerable increase in the variety of loanwords and *wasei eigo* used in *Rebuild*, and a sizeable decrease in ambiguous cases of loanwords/nonce borrowings in *Rebuild* as a result of fewer compounds. These ambiguous categories will be illustrated further in sections 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3. It is also important to note that there were no cases that could be categorised specifically as code-switching, as no compounds or phrases in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* consisted of more than three words. The cases that I considered possible cases of code-switching were ambiguous in that they could also be categorised as nonce borrowings. This will be explained further in section 5.4.

5.1 Loanwords

Loanwords, as defined in section 2.2.1, are “[nativised] according to the structural requirements of Japanese’s strict [consonant-vowel] structure” (Moody, 2006, pp. 212) and therefore involve complete phonological and morphological adaptation to the L1 (Haspelmath, 2009, pp. 41), but not always semantic adaptation: loanwords are seen as “property of the donor language” as these words often carry cultural connotations (Scherling,

2016, pp. 278). In both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*, loanwords constitute the largest category of language mixing according to the aforementioned definition: phonological and morphological adaptation to Japanese while retaining its original connotation. *Evangelion* includes 59 unique cases of loanwords and 175 in total, whereas *Rebuild* includes 75 unique cases of loanwords and 182 in total. The loanword category, even excluding *wasei eigo* as these categories are joint in Moody's (2006) model, takes up approximately 60.8% of the total English use in the audio in *Evangelion* and approximately 70.8% in *Rebuild*.

Top 5 most used loanwords in the audio of <i>Neon Genesis Evangelion</i>	
<i>Evangelion</i> (1995)	<i>Rebuild</i> (2007)
Pilot (23 occurrences)	System (23 occurrences)
System (20 occurrences)	Zero (19 occurrences)
Percent (10 occurrences)	Pilot (19 occurrences)
Centre (9 occurrences)	Energy (7 occurrences)
Energy (9 occurrences)	Plug (6 occurrences)

Table 5: Top 5 most used English loanwords in *NGE* audio

The most used loanwords in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* as shown in table 5 lend themselves well to represent the category as a whole. For example, the loanword パイロット (HR: pairotto, 'pilot') is a commonly used term in Japanese for a pilot that is taught on the JLPT level N3 (Ahlström et al., n.d.). It is the most used English term in general in *Evangelion*, as well as the most used loanword as it takes up approximately 13.1% of its category in this instalment. In *Rebuild*, it is the third most used loanword, which takes up 10.4% of its category. The term *pilot* is used to refer to the main characters who control the EVAs, which explains why the term occurs so often. Another term that is used exclusively in the context of the EVAs is システム (HR: shisutemu, 'system'), which is widely known computer terminology (Ahlström et al, n.d.) and occurs 20 times in *Evangelion* (11.4% of the loanword category) and 23 times in *Rebuild* (12.6% of the loanword category).

The word ゼロ (HR: zero) is also common in the Japanese language (Ahlström et al, n.d.) and is among the most mentioned loanwords in *Rebuild* with 19 occurrences, which takes up 10.4% of its category. It is derived from the English *zero*, and is used to describe Unit 00 or 零号機 (HR: zerogōki) (e.g. Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 14:02; Anno, 2007, 00:10:53), the prototype of the EVAs in *NGE*. However, this loanword stands out for its ambiguity: the kanji 零 can be pronounced as れい (HR: rei) to express the meaning ‘zero, nought’ in contexts concerning percentages and counting numbers, for example as 零点八 (HR: rei ten hachi, ‘zero point eight’ (Ahlström et al, n.d.), but this kanji is also used as *ateji*—this means that the *kanji* is used for its semantic value to represent a loanword, which allows it to also be read as *zero*. This phenomenon is an indication of an older loanword, as loanwords are generally borrowed into the Japanese language by means of the *katakana* alphabet nowadays (Kowner & Dalot-Bul, 2008, pp. 266). Even though *zero* originates from the English language, its use as *ateji* makes it difficult to decide whether it is an established loanword or whether it has been integrated into the Japanese language to such an extent that is indistinguishable as a loanword to native speakers. In that case, *zero* might also be categorised as *wasei eigo*.

As loanwords undergo complete phonological, morphological, and sometimes even semantic adaptation to Japanese, the terms discussed can be seen as communicative use of English rather than ornamental. Loanwords are borrowed into the language because there is no Japanese equivalent in certain contexts or even not at all, which requires the use of the English loanword to refer to a specific concept.

5.2 *Wasei eigo*

Evangelion and *Rebuild* also contain *wasei eigo*, words “original to the Japanese language, and simply inspired or motivated by English vocabulary” as the *wasei eigo* word often differs

in meaning and/or form as opposed to the corresponding English word (Sergeant, 2005, pp. 315). There are ten unique instances and 24 total occurrences of *wasei eigo* in *Evangelion*, of which the terms *switch* (nine occurrences), *synchro(nisation)* (six occurrences), and *print* (two occurrences) are the reoccurring terms. In *Rebuild*, on the other hand, there are three unique instances and four total instances of *wasei eigo* in *Rebuild*. In this instalment, the term *synchro(nisation)* is the only term that reoccurs (two occurrences). *Wasei eigo* occurs on two levels in *NGE*: full words with narrowed or different meanings in Japanese, and contractions.

Out of the ten unique cases in *Evangelion*, four occasions were labelled as full words with different or narrowed meaning. In *Rebuild*, there were two cases of this kind of *wasei eigo*. With one exception, these words could be considered common words in the Japanese language (Ahlström et al, n.d.). For example, スイッチ (HR: *suicchi*) is derived from the word *switch*, yet meaning of the word *switch* is somewhat narrowed in its Japanese counterpart used in *NGE*: スイッチ is used to refer to the trigger of a gun. The word チャイム (HR: *chaimu*) is derived from the word *chime*, but has also undergone narrowing in meaning: *chaimu* refers to a doorbell in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*.

The word サービス (HR: *sābisu*) in *Rebuild*, on the other hand, stands for *service* and is generally used to imply the concept of ‘(customer) service’ in Japanese (Ahlström et al, n.d.). However, in the narrated preview of the second instalment of the *NGE* film series shown at the end of *Rebuild*, the word サービス is used to refer to ‘fan service’ in the subtitles (Anno, 2007, 01:40:50). This term describes specific (often sexually suggestive) events or other material intentionally added to, for example, an *anime*, to please the audience (“Fan service”, n.d.), and can therefore be considered specific *anime* jargon in this context instead of a common term. However, if it is considered an uncommon term as well as jargon, it could also be categorised as a nonce borrowing.

In terms of *wasei eigo* contractions, there were six occurrences in *Evangelion* and two in *Rebuild*. In *Evangelion*, the word プロ (HR: puro) (Satsukawa, 1995, 13:11), for instance, is commonly used to refer to the term *professional* (Ahlström et al, n.d.). In a different *Evangelion* episode, a secondary school student speaks of watching the news on a テレビ (HR: terebi) (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 06:02), which refers to a television (Ahlström et al, n.d.). Interestingly, the scenes in which these words appeared were not carried over into *Rebuild*, but the terms involved are still widely used today (Ahlström et al, n.d.). While the aforementioned *wasei eigo* contractions could still be seen as somewhat recognisable, there are also several more complicated contractions that occurred in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*. For example, the word シンクロ (HR: shinkuro) stands for the noun *synchronisation* (Ahlström et al, n.d.), and recurs 8 times in *Evangelion* and 4 times in *Rebuild* in various forms. It is mainly used in combination with the verb する (HR: suru) to make the verb *to synchronise*, シンクロする (HR: shinkuro suru, lit. ‘to do synchro’), but it is also added to another noun to make a compound, e.g. as シンクログラフ (HR: shinkuro gurafu, ‘synchronisation graph’) (Anno, 2007, 00:19:20) and シンクロテスト (HR: shinkuro tesuto, ‘synchronisation test’) (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 09:45).

An ambiguous case of *wasei eigo*, however, is the term プライベート (HR: puraibēto, ‘private’) in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:36:10), which is intended to denote the concept of ‘private life’. プライベート can be seen as *wasei eigo* as it could be both a contraction of the term ‘private life’ or a manifestation of the concept ‘privacy’ (Ahlström et al, n.d.) with a slight narrowing in meaning to denote the concept of ‘private life’. However, there is a common Japanese term for private life, 私生活 (HR: shiseikatsu) that has the same connotation as プライベート, yet the English, or *wasei eigo*, term is used. In that case, it could be argued that the word is used ornamentally as there is an appropriate L1 form

available, which in turn suggests that プライベート could also be categorised as a nonce borrowing.

As the full-word *wasei eigo* and the contractions discussed in this section show, these English terms were reinvented phonetically and morphologically, and also semantically in the case of full-word *wasei eigo*, to suit the needs of the Japanese language. Like *wasei eigo*, pseudo-Anglicisms in general can be seen as communicative rather than ornamental because the words have been reinvented to denote specific concepts, especially in informal speech. Still, the fact that such versatile *wasei eigo* exist within a society that is known for its low proficiency in English might contribute to the alternative status of the English language as exotic and ornamental and vice versa, as *wasei eigo* is likely to jeopardise the Japanese' understanding of the meaning of its original English equivalent.

5.3 Nonce Borrowings

There are numerous terms in the *NGE* franchise that suited the definition of a nonce borrowing as discussed in this paper: an uncommon word originating from a foreign language in the context of another language (Moody, 2006, p. 212) that can be “optional and avoidable, as when an *appropriate* L1 form is available” (Daulton, 2004, p. 291, emphasis added).

Evangelion include 29 unique cases of nonce borrowings and 40 in total. These include six reoccurring terms: *block*, *harmonics*, and *lock bolt* reoccur three times each, and *lock*, *third child*, and *phase* reoccur two times each. *Rebuild* includes 25 unique cases of nonce borrowings and 28 in total, and involves three reoccurring terms: *lock bolt*, *second impact*, and *third impact* reoccur two times each. With only nine exceptions among the unique use in both instalments, technical jargon is the main function of the terms ascribed to the nonce borrowing category.

As the *NGE* franchise belongs to the science fiction genre, it includes several terms related to science and technology, e.g. *interface* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 18:02), *harmonics* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 20:04), and *auto-ejection* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 03:27). Seeing as this is mostly technical jargon, these terms are uncommon within the Japanese language, yet idiosyncratic with regard to *NGE* or with regard to the science fiction genre of *anime* in general, as terms like *harmonics* and *second impact* are mentioned multiple times within the franchise. *Second impact* or セコンドインパクト (HR: sekondo inpakuto), a more fictional term in this context, is also a nonce borrowing, as neither word in this compound is a common borrowing in the Japanese language (Ahlström et al, n.d.). The ‘second impact’ is the term officially introduced by the United Nations in *NGE*, which might explain why a general English term is used to describe the event in various languages.

The term *umbilical cable* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 16:48; Anno, 2007. 00:43:03) also belongs to this in-between category. In *NGE*, the term *umbilical cable* refers to the cable used to connect an EVA robot to its power source. The word ケーブル (HR: kēburu) is a common loanword from English, yet アンビリカル (HR: anbirikaru) is not. The supposed L1 equivalent for the English term used would be 臍の緒 (HR: heso no o, ‘umbilical cord’) (Ahlström et al, n.d.)—however, this word is used in Japanese with the specific connotation of the umbilical cord that nurtures a human baby during pregnancy. This meaning cannot be altered as the kanji used represent the meaning of the word: 臍 represents ‘navel’, and 緒 represents ‘cord’ (Ahlström et al, n.d.). This suggests that アンビリカルケーブル is used to denote a wider or different definition of ‘umbilical cord’ than is allowed by the Japanese term—the EVA ‘robots’ are technically not robots, but “giant humans” and “cyborgs, living organic creatures with cybernetic machine and computer components grafted onto them [...], covered from head to toe in restraining metal plates that hide their true organic form”

(“Evangelion”, n.d.). This could also explain why the loanword ロボット (HR: robotto, ‘robot’) does not occur anywhere in *Rebuild*, even though it occurs six times in *Evangelion*. The fact that the EVAs have human characteristics might explain why the concept of an umbilical cord is used in general, and the strict Japanese definition of 臍の緒 could justify the use of an English borrowing as the L1 term simply cannot have the same connotation.

Interestingly, whereas the Japanese language generally does not distinguish between singular and plural nouns, the nonce borrowing for the Children who pilot the EVAs in *Evangelion* is チルドレン (HR: chirudoren, ‘children’) even when referring to a single pilot. A *NGE* fan website suggests that the plural *children* is used on purpose “so NERV can hide the fact that Rei [one of the main characters]—despite being the ‘First Children’—has clones, which makes her several Children instead of one” (“Children”, n.d.). The English term is, in that case, used to provide a specification—the English term can express plurality explicitly whereas the Japanese term cannot. This does not occur in *Rebuild*—in this instalment, the Children are referred to by a Japanese term corresponding to the order in which the Children were selected, e.g. 三人目の子供 (HR: sanninme no kodomo, ‘third child’) or 第三の少年 (HR: dai san no shōnen, ‘third boy’). It remains ambiguous whether the Japanese term refers to one or multiple children, which contributes to the mystery surrounding clones in the plot of *Rebuild*.

In some cases, it is ambiguous whether a lexical item belongs to either the loanword category or the nonce borrowing category. There are 18 unique cases of English use in *Evangelion* that belong to this ‘in between’ category, as opposed to 13 in *Rebuild*. Most of these cases concern compound words in which one word is a common loanword, and the other would better suit the nonce borrowing category—there are 12 cases of this in *Evangelion* and 11 in *Rebuild*. For example, インダクションモード (HR: indakushon mōdo) (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 02:12; Anno, 2007, 00:35:23) is a compound consisting of

the word *induction*, which is an uncommon, nonce borrowing in Japanese (Ahlström et al, n.d.), and *mode*, which is a common loanword. The term パーソナルデータ (HR: pāsonaru dēta, ‘personal data’) is also ambiguous with regard to whether it belongs to the nonce borrowing category or the loanword category. However, in this case, both words in the compound are established loanwords individually, but the compound *personal data* itself is not an established borrowing.

Nonce borrowings seem to illustrate the ornamental use of English rather than the communicative use. The aforementioned examples tend to illustrate the fictional aspects of the series, as well as English terms that were invented specifically for the series in order to evoke the association with cosmopolitanism and modernity without the (Japanese) audience necessarily having to understand the English term.

5.4 Code-switching

In terms of spoken English, neither *Evangelion* nor *Rebuild* incorporate portions of English of more than three words. In *Rebuild*, this is limited to a maximum of two words. While the length of these utterances might indicate that they could also be seen as nonce borrowings, these utterances seem to be less nativised in terms of phonology, even though the voice actors still speak with a recognisably Japanese accent.

On one occasion, a possible case of code-switching is not used in the constraints of a Japanese sentence, which results in a less nativised utterance: the phrase *lift off* (Anno & Enokido, 1995, 01:43; Anno, 2007, 00:16:57) is used independently in the context of the EVAs being ordered to launch. This phrase is sometimes alternated with the Japanese equivalent 発進 (HR: hasshin, ‘departure, takeoff’) in the same context. Interestingly, a phrase like *prepare for lift-off* does not occur in the series—in such cases, the Japanese equivalent is used: 発進準備 (HR: hasshin junbi, lit. ‘departure preparation’). The other

occurrences of possible code-switching are *all OK* (Anno & Enokido, 1995, 14:05), *all nerve link[s]* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 02:09), *check [...] list clear* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 02:11), *all green* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 21:06; Anno, 2007, 00:17:45), and *all range* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 09:56; Anno, 2007, 00:56:14). None of these terms are common borrowings from the English language (Ahlström et al, n.d.).

As only one of these occurrences, *lift off*, is used independently and the voice actors speak with a heavy Japanese accent, it is ambiguous whether true code-switching takes place in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*. Additionally, an appropriate L1 equivalent is likely to be available and the English utterance would not be necessary in the context of *NGE*, as the use of English in this context does not alter the meaning of the utterance. Then, it would be more appropriate to ascribe these cases of English use to the nonce borrowing category, as well as to conclude that the use of the English terms discussed in this section is purely ornamental.

5.5 Visuals

The most striking difference between *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* lies in the visuals: there is an increase of 15,6% in the visual representations of the English language, even when *Rebuild* has a shorter running time than *Evangelion* (see section 5). Not only has the number of frames in which English is used increased in *Rebuild*—the first instalment of the film series also incorporates much longer portions of English text in its visuals than *Evangelion* does, alongside more Japanese text. With the exception of the slogan incorporated in the NERV logo, which will be explained further in section 5.5.1, *Evangelion* does not include any full sentences or phrases of more than four words in its visuals. *Rebuild*, however, incorporates noticeably longer and more text in the visuals.

Visual manifestations of English are evident examples of the ornamental use of English in *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, as the English text appearing in the visuals of both

instalments does not influence the plot in any way, but instead contributes to the overall aesthetic of the series. As Seargeant (2005) argues, “[t]his is a use of [English] for its general cultural connotations rather than its specific denotation” which thereby “[utilises] merely the visual shell of the words” (2005, pp. 316) in order to evoke the association with modernity and cosmopolitanism (Moody, 2006, pp. 211).

5.5.1 Phrases and Clauses

The most notable occurrence of longer portions of English in the visuals in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* is the logo of NERV, which is the fictitious Japanese organisation intended to combat otherworldly creatures in *Neon Genesis Evangelion*. The English slogan “God’s in His heaven, all’s right with the world” appears next to the logo, and this slogan does not appear to have changed over the years (see figure 2 and 3). In *Evangelion*, this slogan is the only visual representation of English consisting of more than three words.



Figure 2: NERV logo in episode 1 of *Evangelion* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 08:45)



Figure 3: NERV logo in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:06:43)

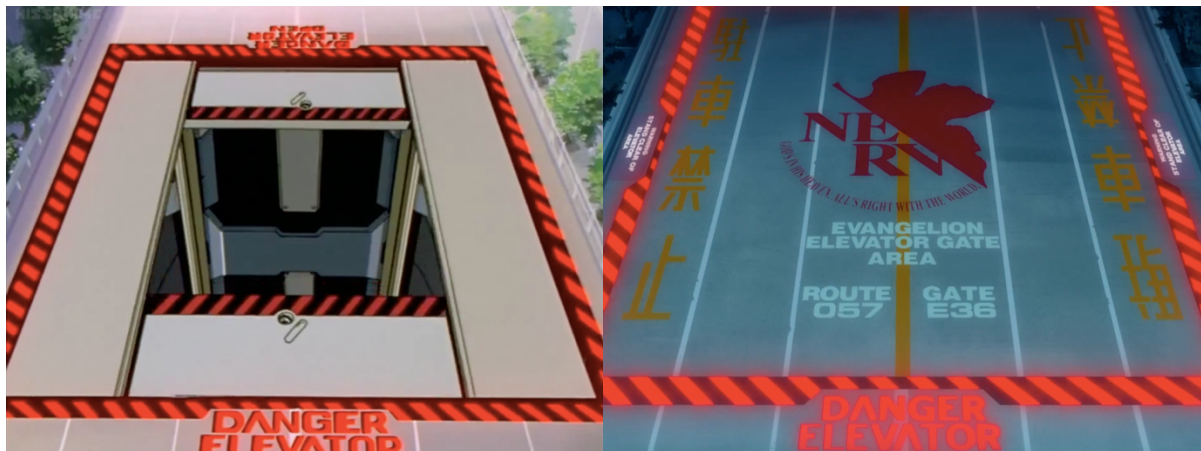
Especially in *Rebuild*, the NERV logo appears in many different places, such as heavy machinery (Anno, 2007, 00:17:26; 00:42:30; 01:26:03), buildings (00:38:38), and documents (00:07:50; 00:29:28; 00:58:05). The contexts in which the logo appears may be seen as odd: nowhere in the storyline concerned in this research does any character refer to God or religion, even though it has been argued that the plot in itself was inspired by the concept of religion (Ortega, 2007; Redmond, 2007).



Figures 4 and 5: NERV manual in episode 1 of *Evangelion* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 10:19) and *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:07:53)

Another example of longer portions of English text in *NGE* visuals is the phrase ‘for your eyes only’. This appears on a manual regarding NERV’s confidential material about Project Evangelion, which concerns the plan for EVA robots to protect civilisation. The phrase ‘for your eyes only’ is not uncommon in terms of confidential material and intelligence services, albeit outdated compared to terms like ‘top secret’, and could therefore be associated with intelligence jargon, though the appearance of only this few English words within a generally Japanese setting may suggest that it is used for aesthetic purposes only. However, there is an important difference between the 1995 scene and its 2007 equivalent, as shown in figures 4 and 5: not only does the 2007 version also feature the *NERV* logo,

including its slogan, on the manual, there is also an English translation provided of the phrase ようこそ NERV 江 (HR: youkoso NERV e, ‘welcome to NERV’).



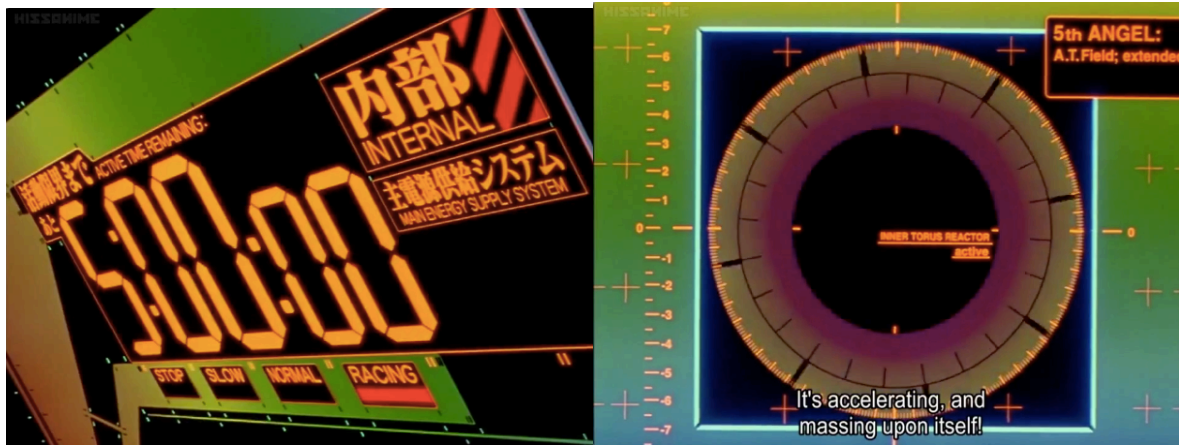
Figures 6 and 7: Elevator pad in episode 5 of *Evangelion* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 21:23) and *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:17:26)

The elevator pad in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* clearly illustrates the increase in use of English in the visuals, as well as more text in general judging from the English text and *kanji* provided on either side of the elevator pad in figure 7 compared to figure 6. Whereas the fragment in *Evangelion* only includes the words ‘danger elevator’, the same location in *Rebuild* incorporates a significantly larger number of words. Alongside the *danger*, *elevator* sign, the visuals include the NERV logo and its slogan, the text *Evangelion elevator gate area*, and the white text on each side of the elevator pad says *warning: stand clear of elevator area*. As the *NGE* franchise involves many scenes with heavy machinery, the most used words in the visuals are *danger* (18 times in *Evangelion* and 5 times in *Rebuild*), *caution* (10 times in *Evangelion* and 7 times in *Rebuild*), and *emergency* (4 times in *Evangelion* and 13 times in *Rebuild*).

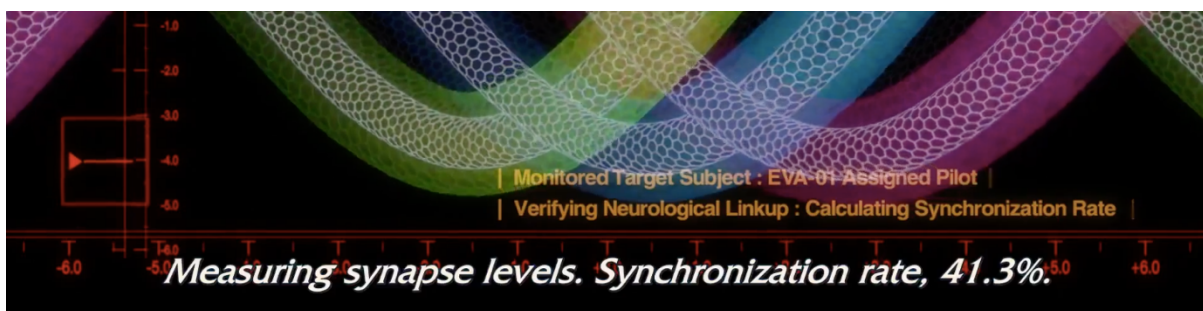
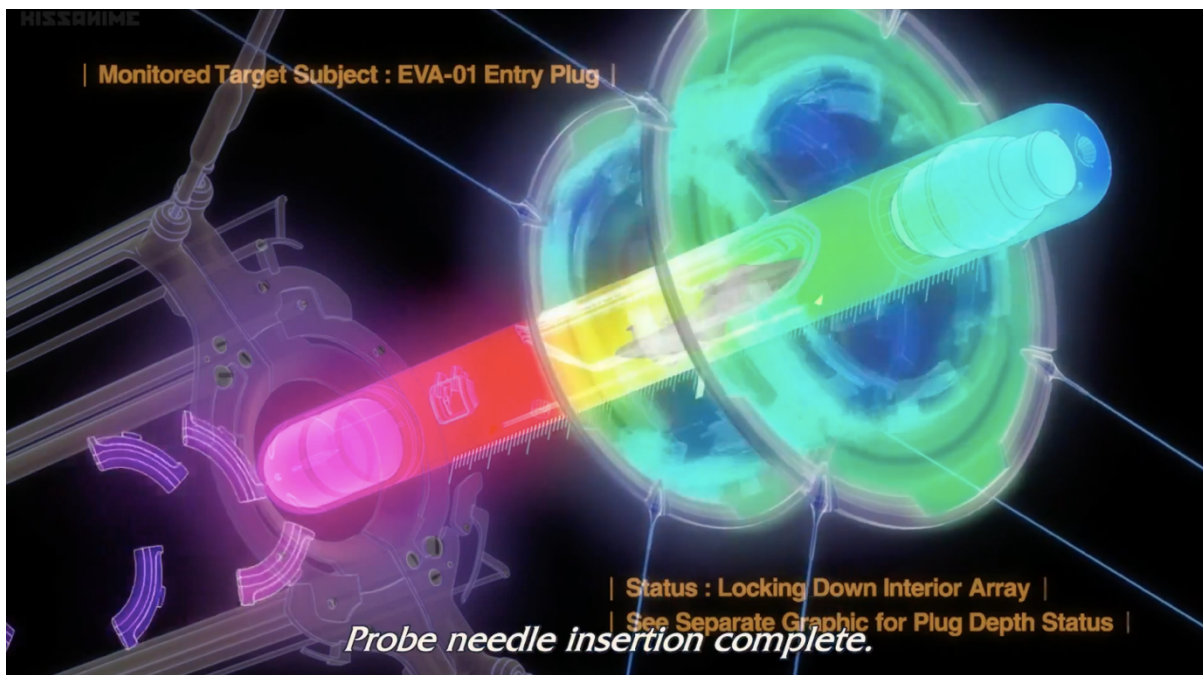


Figure 8: Full English sentences on warning signs in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:49:57)

Figure 8 illustrates the first time in the *NGE* franchise that full English sentences are visible in the visuals. The warning sign on the left reads: *This is an emergency road only permitted to use by NERV. It is prohibited by Japanese government for the public car.* The sign on the right reads: *Please contact [sic] the phone number below if unable to use this emergency phone.* The sentences include minor mistakes, such as the missing ‘o’ in *contact*, and the missing article for *Japanese government* whereas *public car* does have an article. Even though the correctness of the grammar used on the left sign in particular is arguable, and ‘public car’ is not a common term in English, both sentences are intelligible.



Figures 9 and 10: Computer screens in *Evangelion* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 19:10; Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 19:25)



Figures 11 and 12: Computer screens in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:14:49; 00:15:42)

With the exception of the aforementioned NERV manual and warning signs, computer screens constitute another important context in which English text appears in *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*. As has been mentioned before, *Evangelion* lacks in longer portions of text in the visuals which is exemplified in figures 9 and 10: out of all six episodes of *Evangelion* involved in this paper, these stills are among the few depictions of computer screens with parts of English text consisting of three or more words. Nevertheless, the words *inner torus reactor active* in figure 10 are not likely to make sense to a public unfamiliar to these scientific and technical terms, even in the context of the series. In figures 11 and 12 however, significant changes have been made: not only do these stills feature longer phrases—the word choice seems appropriate and not too difficult to understand to a foreign audience within the context of *Rebuild*, as concepts such as *entry plug* and *neurological [...]* *synchronisation* are vital to the plot and recur throughout the instalment.



Figure 13: Viewfinder of a rifle in *Evangelion* (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 18:40)

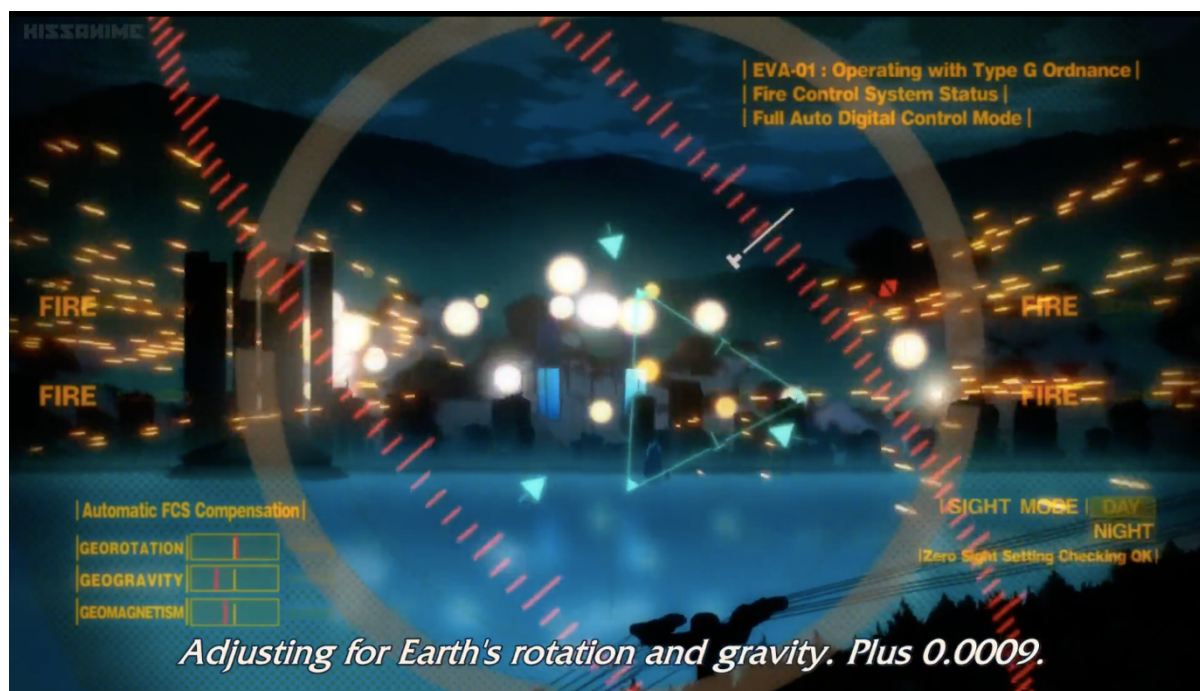


Figure 14: The same viewfinder in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 01:26:11)

In one of the final scenes of the part of the storyline analysed, a scene occurs in which a rifle is used in effort to take down a malevolent creature. This scene is realised in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild* (see figures 13 and 14). The viewfinder shown in this scene in *Rebuild* shows a considerable increase in visual representations of English, as well as more detailed portions of English. Additionally, figure 14 shows a case of morphological overgeneralisation, as *geomagnetism* is a correct word, yet *georotation* and *geogravity* are not.

5.5.2 Individual Lexical Items

Nearly all data obtained from the 1995 *Evangelion* visuals involves individual lexical items, and compounds of no more than two words. Recurring words in this instalment are *caution*, *emergency*, and *danger* in particular, as these often appear on heavy machinery and the EVA robots. Additionally, all title cards appearing halfway through the episodes have titles in English which have not been literally translated from the Japanese title. For example, whereas the Japanese title of episode four reads 雨、逃げ出した後 (HR: ame, nigedashita

ato, ‘rain after running away’), the English title is ‘Hedgehog’s Dilemma’, referring to the fear of hurting someone when getting too close to them emotionally (Vries, 2011, pp. xi). With exception of episode one, all English titles of the episodes involved in this research have not been literally translated from Japanese.

Compared to *Evangelion*, there are fewer spelling errors among the data obtained from *Rebuild*: whereas there are six cases of spelling mistakes or non-standard grammar in *Evangelion*, there are only two in *Rebuild*.



Figure 15 and 16: The ‘Project EVA’ sign in episode 1 of *Evangelion* (Anno & Tsurumaki, 1995, 19:03) and *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:14:35)

As can be seen in figure 15, the word ‘project’ is written with a mirrored J in the first episode of *Evangelion*. This recurs in episodes 3 (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 13:19) and episode 6 (Anno & Satsukawa, 1995, 02:32), and, judging from its form, could be ascribed to the *hiragana* character し (HR: shi) in terms of its shape. In *Rebuild*, however, it is spelled correctly throughout the instalment (see figure 21). There are several other minor spelling errors in *Evangelion*, such as *caution* spelled as *cauntion* [sic] (Anno, 1995, 11:10), and *bridge* spelled as *brige* [sic] (Anno, 1995, 21:27). Interestingly, a scene set in a convenience store in *Evangelion* contains the spelling error *poast pork* [sic] instead of *roast pork* (Anno &

Enokido, 1995, 09:53), which is carried over to *Rebuild* to include the same error (Anno, 2007, 00:26:46).

As illustrated in section 5.5, the visual representations of English in *NGE* evoke the association with advanced technology and modernity as described by Moody (2006) and Seargeant (2005). In *Evangelion*, the aforementioned association manifests itself in only few words that, in some cases, contain spelling errors, and there are no full sentences in the instalment whatsoever. *Rebuild*, on the other hand, incorporates much more and longer portions of English text. The majority of these portions of text appear on computer screens and warning signs in the context of the EVAs in both *Evangelion* and *Rebuild*. The visual manifestations of English used in this franchise are notable examples of purely ornamental use, as they reflect the technological context of the series and appear on screen without influencing the storyline in any way, which suggests that they serve a decorative purpose.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

6.1 Limitations

In this paper, I have analysed two instalments of one specific *anime* franchise within the science fiction genre, *Neon Genesis Evangelion. Evangelion* and *Rebuild* have proven to contain numerous terms related to technology, as the storyline revolves around “bio-mechanical giants” and the computers that monitor them (Li et al., 2013, pp. 2), which is characteristic to science fiction. *Anime* outside this genre, for example more realistic slice-of-life *anime*, might contain noticeably less ornamental use of English and instead incorporate more communicative English. The approach taken in this paper with regard to determining the uses of English language forms in *NGE* is likely to produce different results for other genres of *anime* and other aspects of Japanese popular culture, and can therefore not be considered representative.

Additionally, my level of proficiency in Japanese (N5 to N4) might have caused me to miss certain words in the audio. Despite this, I have done everything in my power to prevent this and I have paid close attention to detail when compiling the corpus: I have analysed each instalment three times for English terms, repeated certain scenes to ensure that I understood the English terms involved correctly, and checked each term with the Japanese-English dictionary *Jisho* before categorising it. Any words that I might have missed would not have impacted the division between the categories of English language use or constituted any categories other than those mentioned in the theoretical background. These words would have simply provided more examples of the existing categories, and would therefore not significantly changed my findings in any way.

6.2 Conclusion

In section 3, I posed the following research question: *In what way is the English language used in the 1995 and 2007 version of the Japanese science fiction franchise Neon Genesis Evangelion and how might this reflect Japanese attitudes to the English language?* and the sub-question *How can the English words and phrases in Neon Genesis Evangelion be categorised according to Moody's (2006) model of language mixing?*

The corpus compiled from the science fiction series *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, in both instalments, confirms Seargeant's (2005) claim that the English language still exists on two separate levels in Japan: English for communicative purposes, and an exoticised English for ornamental purposes. This makes the corpus problematic to categorise, as Moody's (2006) model of language mixing does not incorporate this distinction even though it is a necessary one for fictional manifestations of popular culture as opposed to music lyrics. This leads to several ambiguous cases of language mixing in that they could belong to multiple categories. Some English terms found in *NGE* were invented specifically for the series, for example compounds consisting of one common borrowing and one uncommon borrowing from English, most likely in order to evoke the association with cosmopolitanism and technological advancement as described by Moody (2006), Seargeant (2005; 2009) and Kay (1995).

Contrary to my predictions before compiling the corpus, Moody's (2006) model of language mixing needs to be augmented with the distinction between communicative and ornamental use of English to be useful with regard to *anime*, as the fictional aspect of this art form complicates the categorisation process. The model is oversimplified in terms of its categories outside of the original context of pop song lyrics. For *anime*, particularly in the genre of science fiction, a distinction between ornamental and communicative use of English is necessary in order to accommodate the fictional, invented terms and phrases that are

ambiguous with regard to what category of language mixing they belong to. Some terms, like *umbilical cable* as explained in section 5.3, do not translate directly in Japanese, as the English term is probably used in order to avoid the inherent connotation of the Japanese term. In addition, nonce borrowings and code-switching, which were discussed in section 5.4 and 5.5, prove to be categories that are less communicative and more ornamental in nature than loanwords and *wasei eigo*. This can be accommodated in Moody's (2006) model by means of distinguishing between ornamental and communicative use within the nonce borrowing and code-switching categories.

6.2.1 Future Research

In the course of collecting my research data, I made several observations that did not entirely suit my niche as described in section 3, but were still interesting enough to touch upon in this discussion for the benefit of further sociolinguistic research into the *NGE* series.



Figure 17: SEELE logo in *Rebuild* (Anno, 2007, 00:23:59)

Besides English, the German language also seems to play an important role in *Neon Genesis Evangelion*. Most notably, the organisation that provides NERV with financial means in the series, SEELE, is named after the German word for ‘soul’ (“SEELE (Rebuild)”),

n.d.). Its logo, as presented in *Rebuild* (figure ...), features a line from the poem “Ode to Joy” that reads “[ü]bern Sternenzelt richtet Gott, wie wir gerichtet” and translates as “[a]bove the starry firmament God judges, as we judged” (“SEELE (Rebuild), n.d.”). Like the NERV logo, this slogan refers to religion. In addition, in a later stage of the *NGE* storyline, a main character of German/American heritage is introduced. This results in several occasions of code-switching from Japanese to German, for example when cursing and synchronising with her EVA (“Asuka Langley Sohryu”, n.d.), and an increase of German words and phrases in the visuals. Whereas full-sentence code-switching does not occur in English in this franchise, it does occur in German, which might be an interesting case to explore in further research.

As mentioned in the limitations in section 6.1, the conclusion reached in this paper as a result of specific characteristics of *Neon Genesis Evangelion*, such as technical jargon and terms invented especially for this *anime*, is likely to not be representative for all *anime* or Japanese fiction in general. The stance taken in this paper could be adopted in further sociolinguistic research in order to find out how the distinction between ornamental and communicative English manifests itself and how the categories of language mixing are divided in other aspects of Japanese popular culture.

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