English Today

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Morphosyntactic borrowing from and variation attributed to English in Japanese young women's fashion magazines

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Shorter Article

Cite this article: Takahashi, Reiko. 2026. "Morphosyntactic borrowing from and variation attributed to English in Japanese young women's fashion magazines." *English Today* 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461

Keywords:
English use; magazines; Japan; code-mixing; nativisation

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Abstract

This study examines the use of English grammatical elements in fashion magazines targeting young women published in Japan. A total of 48 tables of contents from three different magazine series were analysed using a list of categories created on the basis of pre-analysis. These categories include the following: functional words (prepositions, auxiliaries, conjunctions and pronouns), determiners (articles, possessive apostrophe *-'s* and pronouns), inflectional attachments (the plural morpheme *-s* and third-person singular present morpheme *-s*), and complete sentences. The analysis also found locally constructed forms that comprise an extra plural *s*, such as *gaaruzuguruupu* 'girls group', in addition to all the listed items. Additionally, the analysis observed approximations to the English system through the attachment of inflectional morphemes and the non-attachment of Japanese adjective morphemes (e.g. HAPPY NEW ME[1]). This voluntary incorporation of morphosyntactic elements from English, despite the absence of any linguistic obligation in Japanese, is characteristic of this expanding-circle context. The nativised forms comprising the distinctive use of *s* (e.g. *gaaruzuguruupu* 'girls group') indicate more than simple lexical borrowing, as they emerged from the systematic application of an L2 grammar rule. This not only indicates highly advanced code-mixing but also morphosyntactic transfer from English to Japanese. People's orientations towards hybrid mixes, exposure to external equivalents, negotiation between exnormative and endonormative forms upon use, actual usages and the subsequent processes of nativisation/stabilisation could be interrelated and require further research.

1. Introduction

The use of English is observed across various media and domains in Japan, including shop signs (MaGregor 2003), posters and advertising texts (Inagawa 2015; Kawabata 2024), lyrics of popular songs (Moody 2006; Stanlaw 2021), TV commercials, and advertisements in magazines (Takashi 1990). In addition, the creative use of English-based loanwords in Japanese, as observed in puns, slogans, and catchphrases, has attracted scholars' attention (e.g. Inagawa 2015).

The purposes of these English uses are thought to be intranational communication among Japanese people (cf. Honna 2020). Considering the presence of English in society, there seems to be people's basic understanding of English behind its use. For instance, *Have a Rice Day*, a phrase used by the Agriculture Ministry, implies that 'the original colloquial English idiom ("...a nice day") is widely known among ordinary Japanese' (Honna 2020, 258). A certain knowledge of English should be present as a basis for understanding the meaning of the phrase. Although audiences' actual understanding of English employed in Japanese commercial texts is unknown without investigation (Kawabata 2024), it is still possible to infer the knowledge necessary to understand the English content from the vocabulary (and grammar, if relevant) used in these texts.

2. Literature review

The use of English in materials published in Japan has been documented in the field of World Englishes. Previous studies have focused on the use of English in advertising

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texts (e.g. Takashi 1990), whereas non-advertising texts have received little attention. Few studies have systematically analysed English use written in English forms, whilst many (e.g. Morrow 1984) have examined the use of loanwords from English written in the Japanese syllabary called *katakana*, which is mainly used to transcribe foreign words.

2.1. Mixing with English

English is typically mixed with the recipient language. English can appear in its original form or in mixed or blended forms with local languages. Previous literature has demonstrated that English is used in various ways, including the following:

1. Written entirely in English, 'pure English forms' (Stanlaw 2021, 200)
2. Written in English and a non-English language, i.e. mixing (cf. Ustinova and Bhatia 2005)
3. Written in a non-English language, blended with syntactic changes (e.g. *sutairisshu-na*) (Harris 2019)

The degree of penetration can be observed in the forms used in the recipient language. English words may undergo linguistic changes during the process of conversion to the host syntactic system. For example, many English adjectives are attached with a Japanese adjective ending *na* after the conversion, as in *supesharu-na* 'special' (Harris 2019). Meanwhile, the English adjective *special* sometimes appears without the adjective ending in frequently used phrases, such as *supesharu gesuto* 'special guest'. This demonstrates the possibility of non-attachment of the Japanese adjective morpheme when an English adjective pre-nominally modifies an English noun. This implementation of the English system—even partial—might indicate the degree of its penetration into the Japanese language.

The linguistic units and processes involved in code-mixing form a hierarchy (Kachru 1978, 1983). This hierarchy indicates the rankings of mixed exponents as follows (from lowest to highest): (a) noun-phrase (NP) insertion, (b) verb-phrase (VP) insertion, (c) unit hybridisation, (d) sentence insertion, (e) idiom and collocation insertion, and (f) inflection attachment and reduplication. Under this hierarchy, 'mixing of simple lexical items ranks lowest' (Kachru 1983, 201); contrarily, mixing involving grammar, including inflection attachment, ranks higher. This predicts the comparative frequency of mixed exponents. In short, inflection attachment and reduplication are less likely to occur, and these demonstrate the extent to which code-mixing has progressed in the host language.

The results of Morrow's (1984) study of English loanwords in Japanese generally support the hierarchy of the exponents of mixing (Kachru 1978, 1983). In Morrow's (1984) study, half of the English loanwords were NPs, and many were used as adjectives in the analysed fashion articles (Morrow 1984, cited in Morrow 1987). Conversely, there was only one instance of a loanword employed in a VP, 'no instances of sentence insertion or idiom and collocation insertion', and 'a few cases of inflection attachment, but no instances of reduplication' (Morrow 1984, cited in Morrow, 1987, 53) in the entire data covering the domains of sports writing, fashion articles, and short stories.

In relation to the hierarchy of exponents illustrated by Kachru (1978), 'the easiest and most obvious case is lexical borrowing', and '[g]rammatical morphemes and items can also be borrowed, though this occurs much less readily' (Schneider 2007, 107). The intensity of language contact is also related to the linguistic features of items that are being borrowed. According to Thomason's (2001) borrowing scale, casual contact leads to simple lexical borrowing. Slightly more contact than casual contact leads to the borrowing of function words (e.g. conjunctions), while more intense contact may lead to the borrowing of basic vocabulary (e.g. pronouns) and derivational affixes (Thomason 2001). In situations of very intense contact, 'inflectional categories and patterns' may be borrowed (Thomason 2020, 41). Thomason (2001) argues that people cannot borrow syntactic or morphological structures without knowing these, although it is possible that they do not speak that language well to borrow a few words.

2.2. Nativisation of English in Japan

The English language undergoes certain processes of change in a new environment. Schneider's (2003) Dynamic Model describes five phases in the development of new Englishes: foundation, exnormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation, and differentiation. Nativisation of English in Japan has been a topic of discussion (Schneider 2014). Ike (2012, 411) claims that 'Japanese English is in the early exonormative phase' in the model. More recently, Ike and D'Angelo (2020, 191) argue that 'in terms of linguistic development, Japan can be assessed as being in a late phase of stabilisation or a very early phase of nativisation'. The model is not adequately suited to the expanding circle (Kachru 1985), although a similar dynamism is behind the emergence of hybrid mixes between local languages and English (Schneider 2014). Previous studies have demonstrated the strong impact of English loanwords on Japanese; however, documentation is still insufficient to discuss the nativisation of English in Japan (Schneider 2014).

In the process of English being localised, 'English words have gone through semantic nativization including semantic broadening, narrowing, and shifting' (Honna 2008, cited in Ike and D'Angelo, 2020, 188). Crawford (2006, cited in Ike 2012) argues that 'English goes through nativisation process within [the] Japanese language and re-enters English with new meaning and/or forms' (398–399). Similarly, Ike (2014) claims that nativised expressions are accordingly used in a Japanese variety of English in intercultural communication.

2.3. Motivations for the study

First, to the best of my knowledge, no research has specifically investigated English use that reflects English grammar (e.g. an inflectional attachment of a plural morpheme *-s*) written in English forms in non-advertising texts in magazines published in Japan. Morrow (1984) observes inflection attachment in mixing but analyses English loanwords written in Japanese. Second, limited literature is available

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press

on the nativisation of English in Japan, as highlighted by Schneider (2014), even taking more recent work such as Ike and D'Angelo (2020) into consideration. How its linguistic processes differ from those of postcolonial Englishes remains unclear and requires further research.

Based on this premise, the present study investigates English use by first language (L1) speakers of Japanese in fashion magazines targeting women in their late teens and 20s, recently published in Japan. Specifically, this study examines English use that reflects English grammar written in English forms in these magazines. It also offers documentation of English use by L1 speakers of Japanese, particularly their use of grammatical elements of English in non-advertising magazine texts. This approach allows for the identification of the possible emergence of hybrid mixes between English and Japanese, and enables a detailed examination of how English linguistically penetrates and possibly develops in the expanding-circle context of Japan. If hybrid mixes are found, then they will be discussed in relation to the process of nativisation based on Schneider's (2003) Dynamic Model.

3. Research methodology

The following research questions will be investigated:

- Do English functional words and sentences written in English forms occur in fashion magazines targeting women in their late teens and 20s published in Japan?
- If yes, then what English functional words and grammatical features occur and in what forms?

3.1. Data collection: materials to be analysed

A total of three magazines published in July 2023, *Non-no* (NN) (2023, September issue), *ViVi* (VV) (2023, September issue) and *CanCam* (CC) (2023, September issue), will be analysed for pre-analysis. These are the three biggest-circulation magazines among the six magazines published in the same category of *young women's magazines* between April and June 2023 (Japan Magazine Publishers Association 2024). The study focuses on magazines targeting young women in their late teens and 20s. Owing to the length of the magazines (each over 100 pages) and for the purpose of comparison, this study concentrates on the tables of contents that all three magazines include in a mutually similar presentation and excludes advertisements.

3.2. Pre-analysis

Initially, I will analyse the tables of contents of the September 2023 issues of the three magazines (a total of three pages) to investigate whether any English words and sentences written in English forms are used, and if so, then the English uses will be categorised as (i) written solely in English or (ii) written in both English and Japanese. I will also identify the parses of the English words found and examine whether any of the following elements are present: (a) adjectives, (b) adverbs, (c) conjunctions, (d) nouns (excluding proper nouns), (e) prepositions, (f) verbs, or (g) other features related to English grammar.

3.3. Findings from the pre-analysis

Overall, English use was found to be written solely in English and in both English and Japanese. Three complete English sentences were identified. Regarding the parses, the vast majority of words written in English were nouns. A few verbs, adjectives, and adverbs were identified. Additionally, some conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, and inflectional morphemes were observed (see Table 1 for a summary of the findings from the pre-analysis). I created the following list of categories for grammatical features based on the findings from the pre-analysis and previous literature:

1. Functional words
   - Prepositions
   - Auxiliaries
   - Conjunctions
   - Pronouns (excluding possessive pronouns)

2. Specific grammatical features
   Determiners
   - Articles
   - Apostrophe -*'s* (possessive)
   - Pronouns (possessive)

   Inflectional attachments
   - Plural morpheme -*s*
   - Third-person singular present morpheme -*s*

3. Complete sentences

4. Other(s)
   - *It* (adjective)

3.4. Main analysis

I will analyse 48 tables of contents of 48 monthly issues from the three magazines (see below for a summary) using this list. If any features that involve English grammar are identified, they will be noted.

Magazines	Issues	Number of issues
Non-no	October 2023–February 2025	14*
ViVi	October 2023–February 2025	17
CanCam	October 2023–February 2025	17

*There were three two-month combined issues, namely, January–February 2024, July–August 2024, and January–February 2025; therefore, the total number of issues published during the period was 14.

4. Results

Overall, English functional words and complete sentences written in English occurred in the analysed magazines. These appeared either solely in English or in combination with Japanese. The items in all categories of the analysis list were identified. One grammatical feature (zero syntactic change) was found in addition to the listed items. In the following sections, I first provide a quantitative summary of the functional words found and then present specific grammatical features of focus with examples to illustrate how these appear in the magazines.[2]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Table 1. A summary of the findings from the pre-analysis of the three magazines (*Non-no*, *CanCam* and *ViVi*) published in September 2023

				Functional words					Determiners	Inflectional attachments	Complete sentences
A total number of adjectives	A total number of adverbs	A total number of nouns/noun phrases	A total number of verbs	A total number of prepositions	A total number of auxiliaries	A total number of conjunctions	A total number of pronouns	A total number of articles	A total number of apostrophes -'s (possessive)	A total number of plural morphemes -*s*	A total number of complete sentences
Non-no September issue (2023)											
1	3	33	1	0	0	9	3	0	2	5	1
CanCam September issue (2023, 9)											
6	0	16	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	6	2
ViVi September issue (2023)											
3	0	26	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0

4.1. Functional words

In total, 88 prepositions, five auxiliaries, 147 conjunctions, and 77 pronouns (excluding possessive pronouns) were identified in the analysis. Among the 88 prepositions, there were 24 instances of *in*, 12 instances of *to*, nine instances of *up*, eight instances of *from*, eight instances of *with*, seven instances of *for*, six instances of *of*, six instances of *on*, four instances of *off*, two instances of *u[nder]*, one instance of *out* and one instance of *by*. Two instances of *let* were found in the form of *Let's* in two different magazine series (CC and VV). There were also three instances of *can* in CC. One hundred and forty-two instances of *&* were identified (70 instances in NN; 32 instances in CC, 40 instances in VV). Additionally, five instances of *or* were found in CC. The 77 pronouns identified include *it* (30 instances), *I* (15), *you* (14), *we* (nine), *me* (eight), and *this* (one).

4.2. Specific grammatical features

The specific grammatical features on the analysis list were observed across the monthly issues of the three series. These included articles, possessive pronouns, possessive apostrophes, plural morphemes, and third-person singular present morphemes. Below, the findings of each grammatical feature are summarised with relevant examples.

4.2.1. Determiners

Article *the*: the use of an article *the* was observed in the analysis and the examples of use include the following:

(1) THE ICONS (CC, December 2023)
(2) The BEST BUDDY! (CC, June 2024)
(3) Back to the 90's (CC, July 2024)

The article in each instance modifies the noun or noun phrase with which it proceeds and indicates a particular function or meaning, including indicating a superlative and a particular time (Instances 2 and 3) in addition to its primary function as the definite article.

Possessional apostrophe *-'s*: possessional apostrophe *-'s* was observed in all three magazine series, and the following is an instance of its use in each magazine:

(4) Models' Talk (NN, March 2024)
(5) Editor's Pick (VV, March 2024)
(6) かとし's World♡ (CC, February 2025)
'*Katoshi*'s World♡'[3]

The apostrophe was attached to an English noun (Instances 4 and 5) and to a Japanese noun written in Japanese (Instance 6).

Pronoun (possessive): different possessive pronouns (*our, your*, and *my*) were found, as exhibited in the examples below.

(7) Our Special, Our Star (CC, February 2024)
(8) Which is your true face? (CC, October 2023)
(9) 堀田真由の My Favorite World (NN, November 2024)
Hotta Mayu no My Favorite World
'Hotta Mayu's My Favorite World'
(10) 今月のMy推し! (CC, February 2025)
Kongetsu no My *oshi*!
'This month's my favourite!'

A pronoun modifies an English noun (Instance 7), an English adjective and noun (Instances 8 and 9), or a Japanese noun written in Japanese (Instance 10). Adding to the determiners reported above, *all* was also found through the analysis, which will be reported alongside the results for the plural morpheme *-s* in the following section.

4.2.2. Inflectional attachments

Plural morpheme *-s*: another grammatical feature found across the magazines was the plural morpheme of *-s*, as presented below:

(11) 着回し14days (NN, November 2023)
Kimawashi 14days
'Mix-and-match wardrobe 14days'
(12) 秋コスメ最新 TOPICS (VV, September 2024)
Aki kosume saishin TOPICS
'Autumn cosmetics latest TOPICS'
(13) 今月の CanCam BOOKS♡ (CC, March 2024)
Kongetsu no CanCam BOOKS♡
'This month's CanCam BOOKS♡'
(14) ViVi models 図鑑 (VV, September 2024)
ViVi models *zukan*
'ViVi models encyclopaedia'
(15) K-POP ボーイズグループ (CC, September 2024)
K-POP *booizuguruupu*
'K-POP boys group'
(16) NEW ガールズグループ (VV, December 2024)
NEW *gaaruzuguruupu*
'NEW girls group'

Additionally, there were also instances of a plural morpheme written solely in Japanese as in *nonomoderuzu* 'non-no models' (NN, September 2023) and *komonozu* 'small items' (CC, December 2024). English use written solely in Japanese is not the main focus; however, it is noteworthy that the plural morpheme is attached not only to an English loanword (*moderu* 'model') but also to a Japanese noun (*konomo* 'small items') written in Japanese. *Booizuguruupu* 'boys group' and *gaaruzuguruupu* 'girls group' in Instances 15 and 16, too, include a plural morpheme. According to *JMdictDB* (2026), *gaaruzuguruupu* 'girls group' is Japanese-made English, which is the equivalent of 'girl group' in English. This is one snapshot of nativisation, in which a plural morpheme *-s* (pronounced as *zu* in Japanese) is added in the process. Furthermore, there are some cases where the morpheme occurs with a determiner *all* as follows:

(17) ALL MODELS (CC, December 2024)
(18) All Eyes On BABYMONSTER (VV, November 2024).

As demonstrated above, the plural morpheme was attached to an English noun written in English, an English loanword written in Japanese, and a Japanese noun written in Japanese, with some English nouns written in English forms occasionally accompanied by the determiner, *all*.

Third-person singular present *-s*: instances of the third-person singular present *-s* were observed across all three magazines, as follows:

(19) ViVi meets Tyla♡ (VV, December 2024)

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(20) せいら meets 韓国 (VV, June 2024)
Seira meets *kankoku*
'Seira meets South Korea'
(21) せいら Presents 真夏のしゃれ顔 (VV, September 2024)
Seira Presents *manatsu no sharegao*
'Seira Presents midsummer stylish face'
(22) 鈴木ゆうか Presents ガーリーなまま大人っぽくなる方法 (NN, September 2024)
Suzuki Yuuka Presents *gaariinamama otonappokunaru houhou*
'Yuuka Suzuki Presents how to look more mature whilst staying girly'
(23) Wearing a new Knit makes everyday more fun!! (CC, November 2023)

Meets and *presents* were the first and second most frequently found verbs with this suffix. Moreover, there was one instance of the suffix used in a complete English sentence (see Instance 23).

4.2.3. Zero syntactic conversion

There were instances where the Japanese adjectival ending *na* did not occur when written solely in English form, and even when written in both Japanese and English, as in the following examples:

(24) HAPPY NEW ME (NN, April 2024)
(25) 豪華 SPECIAL ゲストも! (CC, September 2023)
Gouka SPECIAL *gesuto mo*!
'Glamorous SPECIAL guest, too!'
(26) Special ステッカー付! (CC, December 2023)
Special sutekkaa tsuki!
'Special sticker included!'

Syntactic conversion (i.e. the attachment of a Japanese adjectival ending *na*) (cf. Harris 2019) is one option for using English adjectives in the Japanese language, but some adjectives such as these were occasionally found without the Japanese adjective ending.

Similarly, *it burando* 'it brand' was found in multiple instances as presented below. This *it* is used adjectively with a specific meaning borrowed from English. The *it* is used to denote '[d]esignating a person who or thing which is exceptionally fashionable, successful, or prominent at a particular time, as it bag' (Oxford English Dictionary 2026). The Japanese adjectival ending *na* did not occur in Instance 29, whereas it did in Instance 30. The following are examples of *it* with and without an adjectival ending:

(27) TOKYO IT SHOP GUIDE 2023 (VV, September 2023)
(28) it BAG (CC, November 2023)
(29) Itブランドの NEW MODE (CC, January 2024)
It *burando no* NEW MODE
'It brand's NEW MODE'
(30) it なブランド (NN, October 2024)
it *na burando*
'it brand'

As reported, there were instances where the syntactic system of English remained even after mixing with the recipient language. Null adjectival endings are an indicator of this phenomenon.

4.3. Complete sentences

Ten complete sentences written in English syntax were found. Some were written solely in English, and others in both English and Japanese. These include affirmative and negative sentences, imperative sentences, and questions. The following is a summary of the sentences identified:

Affirmative sentences
(31) We are new non-no models! (NN, July–August 2024)
(32) We are ViVi モデルズ (VV, July 2024)
We are ViVi *moderuzu*
'We are ViVi models'
(33) We are TWS! (CC, August 2024)
(34) Wearing a new Knit makes everyday more fun!! (CC, November 2023)

Negative sentence
(35) We Don't Stop!! (CC, September 2024)

Imperative sentences
(36) DRESS ME UP (CC, October 2023)
(37) Girls Be Ambitious (CC, September 2024)
(38) Don't miss it! 最旬ニットトレンド NEWS 12 (CC, November 2024)
Don't miss it! *Saishun nitto torendo* NEWS 12
'Don't miss it! The latest knit trend NEWS 12'

Questions
(39) How's it Going? (CC, December 2024)
(40) Which is your true face? (CC, October 2023)

The largest number of words included in a sentence was eight, as in Instance 34. All sentence structures were basic as those included in the objectives and content of English study for 7th graders in Japan (MEXT 2017).

5. Discussion

The grammatical features of English identified in the analysis are discussed in terms of the following: (1) the approximation to the morphosyntactic system of English; and (2) the degree of nativisation of English in the expanding-circle context of focus. I will also explore the following questions from the perspective of the Dynamic Model (Schneider 2003) throughout the section: Is similar dynamism driving the emergence of hybrid mixes between Japanese and English? What is the driving force behind the emergence of hybrid mixes? How do the linguistic processes differ from those of postcolonial Englishes?

5.1. Approximation to and incorporation of the English system

Inflection attachments were observed in this analysis, and they rank high in Kachru's (1978) hierarchy of code-mixing exponents. The plural morpheme *-s* was written either in English form (e.g. '14days' [sic]) or in the *katakana* syllabary (e.g. *komonozu* 'small items') and attached to a range of nouns. These instances illustrate that writers attached *s* to express

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press

the plurality of nouns that refer to countable concepts or objects. The omissions of nominal plural markers, third-person singular present markers, and articles are shared across outer and expanding-circle contexts (e.g. Galloway and Rose 2015; Schneider 2014). Contrarily, the authors in this study occasionally used these markers and articles where applicable, even when writing in Japanese discourse. In other words, they incorporated English inflectional markers and articles in Japanese despite owing no linguistic obligation. Syntactic elements and features of the inflectional morphology may be borrowed if there is strong cultural pressure from source-language speakers on borrowers (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). However, such pressure appears to be absent in the English use observed in the fashion magazines analysed this time. This unpressured voluntary incorporation of grammatical elements from English into Japanese is characteristic of this particular expanding-circle context, which differs from the postcolonial contexts, where the perspective of settlers plays an important role in the development of a variety (Ike 2014).

Zero syntactic conversion in the process of borrowing English adjectives also demonstrates the approximation to the English system. The results demonstrate that the Japanese adjective morpheme *na* did not always mark English adjectives (also see *4.2.3 Zero syntactic conversion*). For instance, 'HAPPY NEW ME' conforms to the English syntactic system without including any Japanese adjective marker. This instance can be seen as a sign of the user's exonormative orientation as well.

The analysis of three different magazine series revealed many overlaps in grammatical features. For example, 'We are new non-no models!' (Instances 31; NN, July–August 2024), 'We are ViVi *moderuzu* "models"' (Instance 32; VV, July 2024), and 'We are TWS!' (Instance 33; CC, August 2024) all share a similar sentence structure, and two include a pluralisation marker. That is, the particular structure and morphemes were used comparatively more frequently by the writers of multiple magazines. Moreover, other grammatical elements, such as the third-person singular present *-s*, possessive pronouns *my*, and possessive apostrophes were also found across the different series. This frequency of occurrence might indicate the degree of widespreadness and reflect gauged 'passive familiarity' (Thomason 2001) among intended readers, compared with other grammatical elements that were not identified in the same analysis (e.g. relative pronouns).

5.2. Degree of nativisation

First, hybrid mixes between Japanese and English were observed in the analysis, in addition to the intense use of English loanwords written in English and Japanese. The heavy use of English loanwords itself cannot verify the emergence of a Japanese variety of English because it occurs in Japanese discourse rather than in English discourse (Morrow 2004). However, the analysis also found multiple English inflectional morphemes, namely, the plural morpheme *-s* and the third-person singular present morpheme *-s*. Furthermore, the plural morphemes appeared as a part of hybrid mixes such as *gaaruzuguruupu* 'girls group'. This not only indicates highly progressed code-mixing (cf. Kachru 1978), but also illustrates 'morphosyntactic transfer' (Schneider 2007, 41) from the source language to the recipient language. These locally constructed forms exhibit more than simple lexical borrowings because they could not have emerged without L2 users' incorporation of English inflectional morphemes. It is assumed that, as a result of their systematic application of the pluralisation rule (i.e. attaching *s* to pluralise countable nouns), the locally distinct forms were born, with increased explicitness of pluralisation. Users' retained grammatical knowledge of L2 and unfamiliarity with pre-existing equivalents in the source language (e.g. 'girl group' without *s*) should have served as part of the driving force behind the emergence of the additional *s*.

Although this exceeds the scope of my linguistic approach, people's orientations (either exnormative or endonormative) towards hybrid mixes, exposure to external norms, negotiation between exnormative and endonormative forms upon use, actual usage, and the subsequent processes of stabilisation/nativisation could be interrelated. On the one hand, the possibility that the derived forms comprising English inflectional morphemes will be recognised as a Japanese characteristic should not be completely dismissed if the forms start to appear in intercultural communication (cf. Ike 2012). On the other hand, there is also a possibility that the hybrid forms will disappear. If, for instance, people's exposure to exnormative forms becomes more frequent and intense, that might lead them to notice the differences between the nativised forms and 'old' forms from the source language. Consequently, they may conform to the external norms of standard varieties, most likely, American and/or British English, in the context of Japan. If this is the case, then the emerging forms will end as simple lexical borrowings on the surface, without leaving any trace of nativisation.

6. Conclusion

English functional words and grammatical elements were found solely in English forms and in both English and Japanese. Functional words (e.g. particles) found in this analysis were typically accompanied by nouns, especially when written solely in English. Complete sentences written solely in English occurred less frequently than linguistic units of speech (e.g. noun phrases). Grammatical features (possessional apostrophes, plural markers, and third-person singular present *-s*) were identified across the monthly issues of three different magazine series.

The approximation to the English morphosyntactic system was observed in the attachment of English inflectional morphemes and in the non-attachment of Japanese adjective morphemes in Japanese discourse. Moreover, similar sentence structures and grammatical elements, such as the third-person singular present *-s*, possessive pronouns *my* and possessive apostrophes, occurred across different magazine series. Furthermore, this study observed the emergence of hybrid mixes (compound nouns) between Japanese and English that comprise the English plural morpheme *-s*. These linguistic activities are more than simple lexical borrowings because they involve the use of source-language grammar in the discourse of the recipient language.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press

7. Research implications

An analysis of main texts in fashion magazines is suggested to investigate whether grammatical features similar to the current findings occur on pages other than the tables of contents. Similarly, further research is necessary to investigate whether similar grammatical elements to those identified in this study occur in other media and domains. The comprehensibility of English used in magazines among respected readers can be investigated through empirical research. Additionally, research involving writers would reveal more about their motivations to use functional words and grammatical features of English in fashion magazines.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Dr. Aya Matsuda for her comments on my initial research proposal.

Notes

1. I render the text faithfully in all capitals.
2. All instances are available from the author upon request.
3. *Katoshi* is a proper noun.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S0266078426101461 Published online by Cambridge University Press