

Memes in Japanese Language Learning: Unintended Consequences of the Modern Evolution of Telop

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Abstract

The term *telop* broadly refers to overlay text that appears on Japanese TV programs, which has been widely used in Japanese variety shows and news programs since the 1990s. Although ubiquitous in Japanese TV culture, the exact nature and role of telop have received little attention. At first glance, telop may seem like a form of subtitles, yet they are strikingly different in both visual presentation and content. Telop have developed into a rich visual language used by TV producers to capture the attention of viewers and shape their perception. In this paper, I analyze telop and contrast them with subtitles and memes, showing that they can be considered as memes themselves in both appearance and function. I discuss the implications of this for Japanese language learners who use TV materials as a learning tool.

Keywords: *memes, telop, subtitles, visual language*

1. Introduction

There are striking differences between Japanese variety shows and their American counterparts. The most immediately visible and frequently stunning difference is the typically garish Japanese sets, which may feature extremely bright color combinations and childish themes. These texts are called “telop” or *teroppu* in Japanese. Telop serve many purposes, which I will delineate in this paper. The term *telop* was derived from *television opaque projector* equipment, which transmits text or graphics directly onto a screen.

Unlike in the United States and most other countries, in Japan superimposing text over video was common even in the earliest years of TV (Sakamoto, 2007). In recent years, the process to project texts on the screen has been replaced by electronic transmission from a computerized system (Kawabata, 2011), but the term *telop* has remained in use to refer to any text on a TV screen. Japanese people watch TV without considering telop as unusual. I will examine the features of telop and the difference between telop and subtitles, arguing that telop are not subtitles but memes. Finally, I will discuss how telop influence Japanese language learners when they use Japanese TV programs with telop.

Telop has a long history in Japan. Shitara (2011) researched several decades of variety shows on the Japanese public broadcaster NHK, searching through their archives. In the 1960s, she says, it was technically difficult to put a lot of text information onto a TV screen. As a result, texts were sometimes handwritten on the set or stage as a way to show the names of programs or performers. In the 1970s, telop was introduced.

In the 1980s, variety and game shows became increasingly popular in Japan, and telop demonstrated that it was extremely well-suited to those formats. Thus, the amount of telop used in Japanese TV programs increased significantly, and a great variety of telop styles emerged. Therefore, unlike Japanese students, entire generations of Japanese, including teachers, have been exposed to those superimposed texts on TV since they were children. Initially, only a white gothic font was used, or occasionally handwriting, when the producers wanted to show highly decorative characters. Soon, variety programs began using red fonts, and music programs included English lettering for lyrics.

In the 1990s, texts started appearing in various colors and well-designed fonts, in order to match what was happening on screen.

In the 2000s, telop started to take a more active role, explaining and drawing attention to specific happenings on the screen. Kimura et al. (2000), who surveyed viewers about telop, concluded that they had some negative opinions about it. Some viewers thought that telop obstructed their views, and others did not understand why they had to see the telop when they could see what was happening on the screen without it. However, some viewers admitted that they could only get maximum enjoyment from TV programs with telop.

Telop are carefully edited by TV producers to enhance the humor in order to get a high rating. Japanese viewers gradually became accustomed to incessantly reading telop on their screens. Today, telop have become common, and most TV programs have them. Thus, telop have become commonplace on Japanese TV.

2. The Functions, Uses, and Effects of Telop

In this section, I analyze how telop are being used by looking at examples from current Japanese TV programs. There are no governmental restrictions or rules on the usage of telop. TV producers edit them as they like. The four examples that follow demonstrate multiple functions, uses, and effects of telop.

Figure 1, below, is a screenshot I took from a news program. In the upper left corner, we see the time and date, as well as the name of the streaming song. The program's title is written vertically, with the time written above, and the date in the middle. Two presenters are standing on the left side of the screen. Their names are shown at the bottom of the screen, and the font color is matched to each presenter by color: blue for the man, and pink for the woman. The telop that occupy most of the screen contain a list of topics for the day's news. Telop are written using various colors, instead of just black, so they do not look overly serious, but instead are more entertaining, conveying a light impact. Kawabata (2006: 209) states that the frequent use of telop is "tabloidization of TV news and infotainment programs." Telop help to color news content in order to attract larger audiences.



Figure 1: Mezamashi 8 Fuji TV (broadcast on March 28, 2024)

Figure 2, below, is a scene from a variety show. The telop in the upper left shows the title of the segment. On the right side is the topic of the ongoing discussion. These telop, which are called “side telop,” are usually used to indicate the contents and highlights of programs. Morikawa (2020) explains that the original purpose of side telop was to prevent “zapping”—that is, viewers changing channels one after another, which started with the spread of the remote control in the 1980s. As a countermeasure, side telop started to be used to show what was being broadcast, in order to hook viewers’ attention quickly and encourage them to stay with the channel. The telop at the bottom left side of the screen show information about the female guest: name, status, hometown, age, and career. On the bottom right side of the screen, two larger telop have been overlapped, which are direct quotes from the panelists. The bottom text, “*yoku itte kureta arigato ne*” (“Thank god you said so”) is covered by the text, “*shisshishishishi*” (“Shhhh!”), as the panelists deliberately started speaking over each other. In this case, the telop not only depict what the panelists said, but also how their conversation was conducted. These telop provide a dramatizing effect, while also conveying the all-important element of humor.

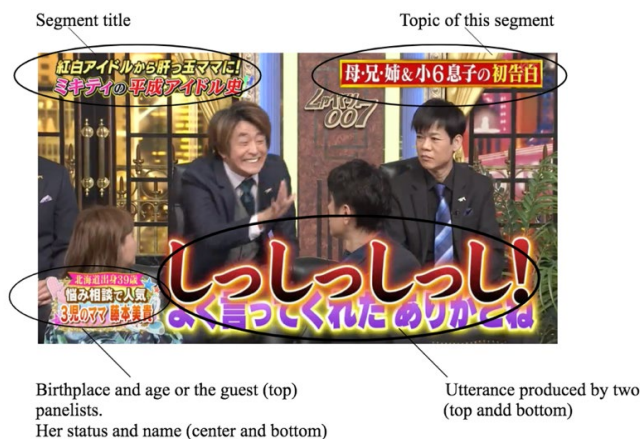


Figure 2: Shabekuri 007 (broadcast on March 4, 2024)

In Figure 3, below, telop are once again used in the upper left corner to display the title of the program, with the segment title in the upper right corner. These function as side telop, while the larger telop at the bottom show the interpretation of the guest's reaction, as edited by the producers. The guest is a traveler from the United States to Japan. During the show, he boasts that he likes to eat unique foods, including insects, snakes, and sharks. At this moment, he is excited by the challenge of eating *natto* (fermented soybeans) for the first time. However, after he tastes one scoop of *natto*, he frowns and spits it out. The telop explain, “*Aji & shokkan dame mitai desu*” (“It seems that he doesn’t like the taste and texture”). This amusing comment is purely from the producers’ perspective, not something said by the guest. Additionally, the telop use & (“and”) instead of the character と. Using & makes the text pop, giving the comment a lighter, more humorous tone. The juxtaposition between the serious face of the guest and the popping telop help to highlight the humor.



Figure 3: *You wa nanishini nippon e?* (broadcast on March 4, 2024)

In Figure 4, below, side telop show the topic and the title of the segment. However, instead of an image, the majority of the screen is filled with text. The telop are prominently displayed in white gothic letters on a blank black background. These telop show a summary of the narration: “*Ibaraki kenmin ichioshi! Tora san ramen*” (“People in Ibaraki prefecture recommend torasan-ramen”). These telop give information to catch the attention of viewers who have been channel zapping or not fully focused on the program.

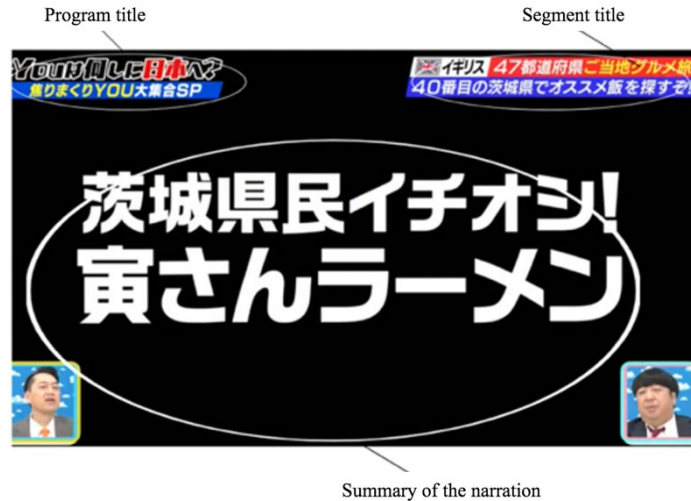


Figure 4: *You wa nanishini nippon e?* (broadcast on March 11, 2024)

In Figures 1 to 4, we can identify the different functions of telop. Side telop are small and static, giving information to the viewers about what the program is about. On the other hand, telop on the bottom and center parts of the screen frequently change, thus influencing the tone of the show by creating more impact on the viewers

3. Terminological Issues

Although the history of telop in Japan is long, many Japanese do not know what exactly they are or do not think deeply about them. In fact, many college-educated Japanese people, when asked what telop are, will respond reflexively with, “A subtitle.” O’Hagan (2016) states that there are terminological issues between captions, telop, and subtitles, with their precise definitions differing from author to author. For example, Shiota (2003) uses the terms *telop* and *subtitles* interchangeably. Sakamoto (2003), on the other hand, states that telop and subtitles are totally different. The original purpose of using texts on TV screens, he says, was to make it easier to understand what foreigners were saying in their languages. That works as subtitles. However, subtitles were also gradually used to clarify speech when the audio was muffled or to clarify unfamiliar Japanese dialects. As a result, subtitles were not only useful for dramas, but also in news programs and documentaries. These more recent uses of subtitles were called telop.

In the 1990s, the use of subtitles evolved further, as producers began cherry-picking funny utterances and flashing them on screen to highlight specific moments in order to create more enjoyable programs. This shift from subtitles being used for purposes of understanding to being used for entertainment is where we see a key difference between subtitles and telop. As producers realized that using telop for entertainment significantly improved their ratings, they began using them more and more on screen.

From Sakamoto (2003), we can see how the usage of onscreen texts evolved into telop, but also how the purposes of telop and subtitles differed. Kawabata (2006) offers another functional difference between telop and subtitles. According to her, there are two types of screen texts: closed caption and open caption. Closed caption is for people who have difficulty hearing, and those viewers can choose whether to have captions or not. On the other hand, open captions cannot be turned off. Based on this distinction, telop can be classified as open captions and subtitles as closed captions.

Despite these differences, viewers do not consciously distinguish between telop and subtitles. O'Hagan (2016) points out that Japanese automatically use *captions*, *telop*, and *subtitles* interchangeably, whether they are open or not. For the purposes of this paper, however, I will distinguish the three terms.

Captions are an umbrella term that refers to either subtitles or telop. However, I use the term *telop* to refer specifically to unremovable onscreen texts whose primary purpose is to entertain an audience. I use the term *subtitles* to refer to translated or transcribed texts onscreen that have been put there to promote understanding. In the following section, I will further distinguish telop and subtitles and analyze their functions.

4. Analysis of Two TV programs

4.1. Method and Data Collection

To analyze the use of telop, I examine an episode of the Japanese variety TV show *Matsuko & Ariyoshi Karisome Tengoku*, which aired on October 28, 2022. To analyze the use of subtitles, I examine Episode 5 of the reality TV show *Terrace House: Opening New Doors*, which was released on Netflix on December 3, 2019. From both programs, I selected scenes in which the TV panelists are talking freely. The length of both samples is three minutes and thirty-five seconds. *Matsuko & Ariyoshi Karisome Tengoku* only uses telop. *Terrace House* only uses subtitles. Table 1, below, presents my data.

Table 1: Raw Data

	<i>Matsuko & Ariyoshi Karisome Tengoku</i>	<i>Terrace House</i>
How many times text is on the screen	33	95
Kind of Animations	Full phrases appear 28 times Scrolling from the left 3 times	Full phrases appear 95 times
Text splitting	2 times	0 times
Sound effects when the telop appear	10 times	0 times
Exclamation marks (!) appear	18 times	2 times
Ellipses (...) appear	5 times	5 times
Question marks (?) appear	1 time	7 times
Text size	unstable	stable
How many kinds of pictures/illustrations are in the text	6	0
Choice to turn on/off	no	yes
Shows the speaker's name	0 times	27 times

4.2 Data Analysis

Terrace House uses text almost three times as often as *Matsuko & Ariyoshi Karisome Tengoku*. That is because subtitles follow everything the people say. Compared to subtitles, telop are short, showing only selected words or phrases. The way telop appear on the screen has greater variations in comparison to the subtitles, which are displayed on the screen all at once. For example, telop can scroll across the screen from left to right, or appear in quick succession with half of the text popping onto the screen first, followed quickly by the rest. In addition, telop are frequently accompanied by sound effects that complement the style of the font (e.g., italic versus gothic) or how the text moves on the screen.

Figure 5, below, is a screenshot from *Matsuko & Ariyoshi Karisome Tengoku*. When a stylized, calligraphic font is used to denote the anger of the speaker, it is accompanied by strong drum beats to reinforce the mood. However, when the font is bright and shining, as in Figure 6, the producers add the twinkling sounds of a shining star. Telop have many kinds of fonts, colors, and sizes. In Figures 5, 6, and 7, telop utilize five types of fonts including gothic bold, mincho, and brush, as well as a variety of colors: black, red, yellow, and white. For yellow, the inside of the font is hollowed out, and translucent white is mixed in to make the letters shine. On the other hand, the subtitles only use white gothic font.

Sometimes pictures are used as telop, instead of text. In Figure 7, a picture of an egg substitutes for the word *egg*. Additionally, the size of telop is not uniform, but is often staggered to mimic the emphasis placed on the utterance. Compare this to Figure 8, in which the characters of the subtitles from *Terrace House* are all the same size. As previously stated, subtitles can be turned off or on, whereas telop cannot.

Subtitles display the speaker's name on the screen when there are several people present or when the speaker does not match the person shown on the screen, as in Figure 8. Telop, however, never use the speaker's name even when the speaker and the person on the screen do not match. In Figure 8, there are two utterances. The first utterance is spoken by a person offscreen, and the second utterance is from the person who is on the screen. The names of the speakers are included in the subtitle within parentheses. However, in Figure 9, the telop show Matsuko Deluxe, a famous drag queen, who is sitting on right side of the screen, but does not give his name or identify him as the speaker among the three people.



Figure 5: Calligraphic Font



Figure 6: Bright and Shining Font



Figure 7: A Picture of an Egg Substitutes the Use of the Actual Word



Figure 8: The Upper Utterance Is Spoken by a Person Who Is Not on the Screen and the Bottom Utterance Is from the Person Who Is on the Screen. Their Names Are Indicated in the Parentheses.



Figure 9: The Speaker's Name Cannot Be Seen on the Screen

From these examples, we can clearly see how the functions of telop and subtitles are different. First, subtitles can be turned on and off, but telop cannot. This speaks to their different purposes. Since subtitles are used to assist viewers, the audience can opt in or out. Conversely, telop are inserted by producers to have a dramatic effect on viewers, so the audience cannot control them.

Second, telop use a variety of colors, fonts, and sizes, which are constantly changing along with the tones of the spoken words. On the other hand, subtitles are uniform because they do not need to utilize decorative texts, since their purpose is to inform, not to entertain, viewers.

Third, telop typically show individual words or phrases, unlike subtitles, which present complete statements. This is because telop are visual language edited by producers to grab the attention of the viewers. Because uniformity is not the primary function of telop, they can selectively use funny words to enhance humor.

In summary, telop are created to entertain viewers, whereas subtitles are created to help viewers understand statements. Thus, their purpose is entirely different. Telop reflect the purposes of TV producers, who determine their wording and position to manipulate the attention of the audience. Even viewers who are not fully following a TV program or who may have been channel zapping can be hooked by telop because telop are themselves entertaining all by themselves. In the following section, I will address the function of memes and how similar this function is to the function of telop, since telop essentially *are* memes.

5. What Are Memes?

The term *meme* was coined by biologist Richard Dawkins in *The Selfish Gene* (1976). Dawkins defined a meme as a unit of cultural transmission between people, similar to a gene in biological inheritance. The biological metaphor extends to the way in which memes propagate, replicate, and mutate. With the emergence of the internet and social media, the term *meme* was applied chiefly to images that users copy and spread virally, so that the common understanding of the word or phrase is narrower than its original meaning.

Figure 10, below, shows the most famous meme character in internet history, known as Doge. In real life, Doge is a female dog named Kabosu. Her owner, Atsuko Sato, sometimes posted pictures of her pet on her blog. The picture shown in Figure 10, in which the dog appears to smile with her neck tilted slightly and her paws crossed, resonated with viewers, who started using it in internet posts and in the creation of memes. That led to the picture spreading all over the world. Kabosu's face went on everything, from sushi to Darth Vader.

In Figure 11, Kabosu's head is attached to a Twinkie-like sponge cake with several positive and colorful words. *Wow* appears twice, which shows the consumers' reactions. The word *delicious*, deliberately misspelled *delishus* in a childish way, increases the sense of cuteness. Other words are *good filled*, *such sponge*, *so cream*, *do want*, and *much cake*, all loaded with positive emotions.



Figure 10: Kabosu Posted on Her Owner's Blog

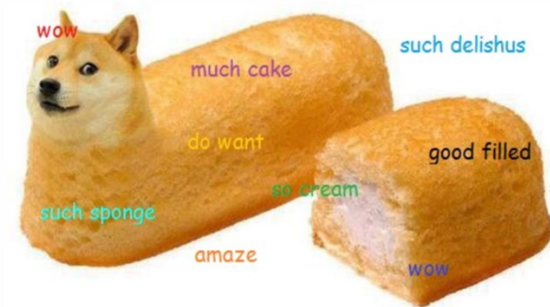


Figure 11: Twinkie-Like Sponge Cake with Kabosu's Head

This meme was almost certainly made for purely playful purposes, but it is interesting to note that this repetition of emotionally laden words happens to align closely with a technique from Neuro Linguistic Programming, or NLP for short (Al-shloul, 2023). NLP is a communication framework with techniques for understanding and facilitating change in thought and behavior to achieve a desired outcome. The visual appeal of pictures and words creates a strong impact and is easily remembered for a long period. It is easy to see how memes, despite their grassroots and playful origin, can also be an excellent vehicle for advertising or propaganda. “Going viral” is now the greatest aspiration of online marketing campaigns.

Memes that were previously just for fun to look at are now easy to create, replicate, and disseminate on the internet, so memes have become a big business. There are a lot of meme generators, which people use for free to create memes. Most memes are seen on social media. According to KnowYourMeme.com, an independently researched and editorialized encyclopedia of memes, half of all memes come from TikTok, and 30 percent come from Twitter/X. Because a large percentage of the population uses social media, many corporations take advantage of this to

use memes in their advertisements. If the memes are well executed, they can reach people all over the world, regardless of age, culture, and gender.

An MIT study (2018) states that social media provide a great platform to spread memes and make ideas go viral. This process is known as “attention hacking” or “weaponizing.” While most messages are transmitted from one person to another through spoken words and only remain in people’s memories, memes are transmitted through the internet, where they remain forever and can be replicated, regardless of whether or not they are humorous or harmful.

In the following section, I will analyze how telop, with their multicolored texts, function as memes on Japanese TV.

6. Telop As Memes

In this section, I will compare the pictures of telop and memes, analyze how they share four essential qualities, and argue that telop *are* memes. Figure 12 is a screenshot from the Japanese TV variety show *Matsuko no Shiranai Sekai*, which was broadcast on February 8, 2022. Figure 13 is a popular meme generated from the American TV drama *The Office* by someone not associated with the program. Notice that in both figures, the central character has his mouth wide open. Placed side by side, these two figures are strikingly similar. The viewers’ interpretation of the pictures is not taken for granted. The interpretation of the picture in Figure 12 was dictated by the producers of the program; and the interpretation of the picture in Figure 13 was dictated anonymously by the technology of meme generation. Comparing these examples of telop and memes, we can see that they share four essential qualities.



Figure 12: Telop from Matsuko



Figure 13: Steve Carell in a Meme from The Office

The first quality is that both pictures carry truncated information, making it easy to copy and paste. When people want to share a mood or feeling with others, short phrases or sentences work well because they summarize feelings with a strong impact. In Figure 12, the telop says, “*Fukoohei yone!? Yononaka wa*” (“Isn’t the world unfair!?”). The producers have obviously tried to optimize the text for a singular truncated effect that can be easily understood without even watching the show. The phrase also shares a nugget of wisdom that is applicable to a wide variety of circumstances. On the other hand, in Figure 13, Steve Carell as “Michael Scott” is screaming with an expression of true shock and dismay with simply three words. Both pictures convey impactful emotions with short phrases that can be used in a variety of contexts. People can look for telop and memes on the internet and share them to express their feelings. Messaging apps have even added features to make it easier to find memes and use them in a conversation.

In addition to the core message of each picture, the second quality they share is that the visual presentation has a cultural context—whether it be characters, fashion, behaviors, or shows. Both images pull the viewer into an environment at a glance, so any reference to a shared cultural context increases their appeal. Figure 12 depicts Matsuko, an iconic figure in the Japanese TV industry. He has five television shows and has been the first-place winner of the 2024 survey “Choose My Favorite Host,” conducted by Oricon, Inc., for five consecutive years. Everyone in Japan recognizes him. Also, due to the popularity of *The Office* and the widespread use of the internet, most people in the United States will recognize characters like Michael Scott. And anyone who does not recognize Michael Scott will almost certainly know Steve Carell, the actor who plays the character. The cultural icons in both pictures lend additional context to their message, while also evoking emotional responses that strongly increase the appeal of the meme or telop.

Third, visual media produce a lower friction of communication than words do. For example, it is probably easier to turn down a request by sharing an informal “Nooo, please” meme than by saying “No” in a text. Also, an iconic picture of an event can make it much easier to begin a conversation or to spread awareness, compared to text alone.

Turkle (2016: 256) says about memes that they may be “even more expressive than talking.” As communication increases through network links, this low transmissional friction allows memes to spread easily and widely. When a meme carries a complex idea or intent, rather than something more simplified like an emotion, it can serve as a starting point for a broader conversation. About this quality of memes, Turkle (2016: 256) states, “The meme track allows people who have no way to participate in a conversation to keep up with it and make their presence felt.... It’s good for those who might not be comfortable speaking up.” By sharing humorous memes, even people who are introverted personalities can make others laugh and feel like participating in conversation. The funnier memes are, the faster their transmission. They become popular by people sharing their humor.

That brings us to the fourth and final important quality that telop share with memes: humor. In both forms, humor is used to make a strong impression and increase acceptance of the speaker. Matsuko is credited with popularizing the current version of *onee kotoba* (“queen talk”), which involves switching quickly between extreme *onna kotoba* (“women’s language”) and extreme *otoko kotoba* (“men’s language”). Because Matsuko switches between *otoko kotoba* and *onna kotoba*, the timing of when he decides to use each heavily influences the tone and humor what he says. In Figure 12, Matsuko speaks *onna kotoba*, which creates a humorous juxtaposition with his picture, in which he looks like a sage solemnly imparting wisdom. In

general, telop are used to heighten humor during a TV program, but the humor can even be seen in a single screenshot from a program. In the same way that people share funny memes to show an emotion or contribute to a conversation, people can send screenshots of their favorite TV show with telop to bond over an idea or share something exciting. In fact, many screenshots of telop, including the one in Figure 12, have been uploaded as memes to a social network site called Pinterest, which allows users to collect and share images that they find online.

7. Implications for Japanese Language Learning

Instructors who teach Japanese as a second language have two important mandates: linguistic and cultural. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) asserts that using authentic instructional materials is essential because they provide real-life examples of language used in everyday situations and can increase the interest of the learners. TV programs are one kind of authentic material, but they rely heavily on telop, which function as memes. How does TV with telop memes affect students who are learning Japanese?

In Figure 14, the telop have a typographical error that results in the wrong *kanji* being used. 店員 (*tenin*) means “shop workers,” when the correct word should be □ □ *tei'in*, which means “allotted number.” Sakamoto (2003) states that young people today learn many Japanese characters from TV screens rather than books because they no longer read, so these errors in telop can be detrimental to children’s spelling skills.

Mori (2014: 414) states that “students need to gain various types of knowledge even for a single *kanji* character or word, including meaning(s), sound(s), orthographic features, compositional structures, stroke order, semantic or phonetic congruence with context, grammatical function, and prototypical or nonprototypical usage.” Students must expend significant effort on each *kanji* they learn, so they naturally gravitate toward strategies that can hold their attention easily because that tends to be more efficient. Azam (2023: 11) states that “the use of telop in Japanese not only helps students to read or pay attention to captions; it also captures their attention, which is especially important in learning a foreign language.” Since telop are essentially memes, it is not surprising that they can hold learners’ attention. However, if they use *kanji* incorrectly, that may adversely affect students’ learning. Therefore, caution should be taken to minimize these potential pitfalls.



Figure 14: The Telop Show a Typographic Error

Another potential pitfall of using telop as a tool in language instruction is that telop may require an unexpected level of cultural proficiency, especially when consumed and shared as individual memes. For example, in Figure 15, the telop say, “*ningyoo ni mukatte yaaaa!*” (“towards dolls I say, YAAAA!”) *Yaaaa* is an onomatopoeic expression that is often used as a battle cry, not only conveying the sound, but also expressing the feelings of aggressive determination.

But the picture in Figure 15 still conveys humor to a Japanese audience, because it depicts a violation of established social relationships. Ariyoshi, who is standing on the left side of the screen, is one of the most popular comedians in Japan, and Matsuko, who is sitting on the right side, is the most famous host in the Japanese TV industry. In this talk show, Ariyoshi usually uses *teineigo* (a polite form of speech) when he talks to Matsuko, so the audience quickly understands that Matsuko is older than him. It is a deeply held belief in Japanese society that one should always be polite to older people. However, in this picture, Ariyoshi looks as if he is attacking Matsuko with his dynamic movement, aggressive facial expression, and strong onomatopoeia. This moment of breaking social expectations will immediately grab a Japanese audience’s attention, so the producers have obviously tried to optimize the text and fonts for a singular, truncated effect that can be easily understood without any context. Therefore, the telop in this picture represents a remarkably challenging piece of media for students who are eager to gain an understanding of Japanese culture beyond the literal comprehension of the language. Being able to grasp the humor in the picture can be an especially rewarding goal.



Figure 15: The Telop Show a Sentence That Is Somewhat Ambiguous Without the Context of the Conversation in the Original TV Program

8. Conclusion

Students learning Japanese often express a natural and eager curiosity about Japanese TV, especially as their linguistic proficiency increases. Telop have evolved into a fixture of Japanese TV culture, far outstripping the ramifications of subtitles and becoming their own visual language, which functions as memes. Because memes have the power to shape perceptions and engage audiences, businesses have an incentive to use them frequently. Since telop share the power of memes, their impact on Japanese TV should not be underestimated. Non-Japanese students learning the Japanese language must be made aware of certain nuances that are markedly different from their own culture in order not to be confused. Telop can be a powerful form of communication that can be used effectively in language instruction, but they can also have detrimental aspects.

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